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## Appendices

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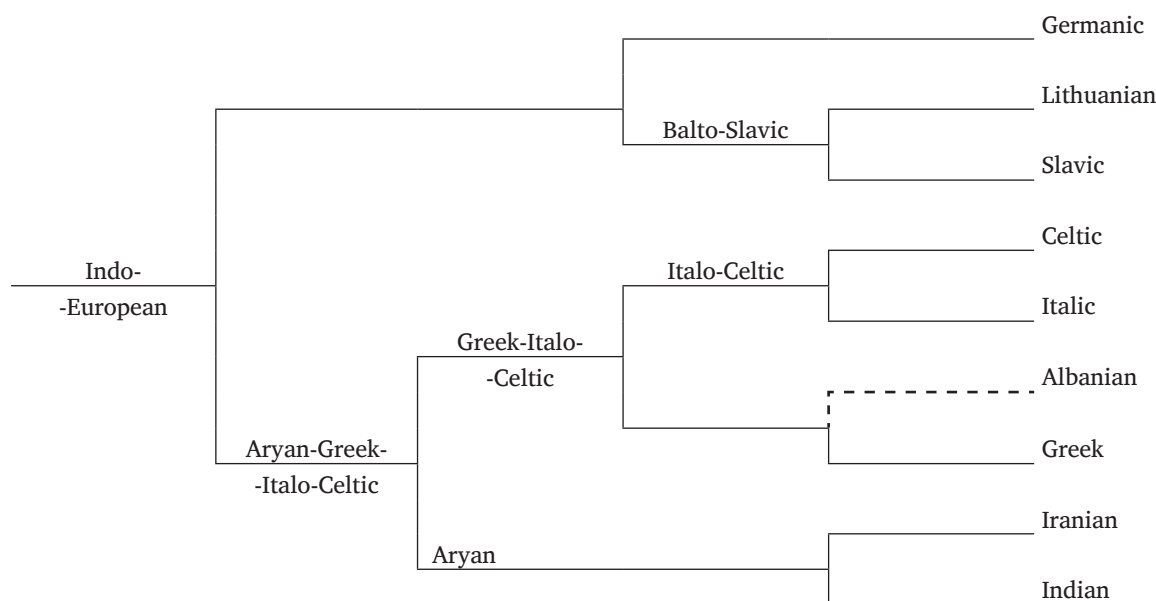
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## APPENDICES



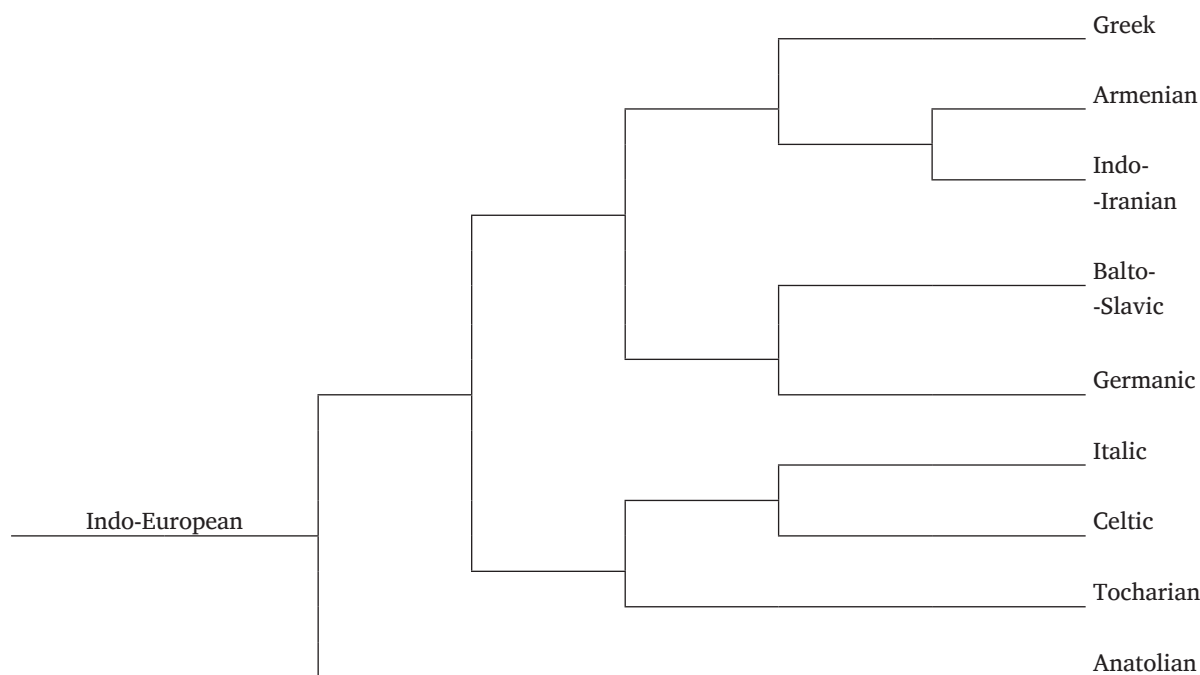
### I THE PLACE OF THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES AMONG THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

The tree diagram designed in 1860 by August Schleicher reflects the then-prevalent conception of the inter-relationship between Indo-European languages. Such a scheme inspired by botanical taxonomy is today only of historic value, among others because of the 20<sup>th</sup> century finding that the Tocharian and Anatolian languages are of Indo-European origin.



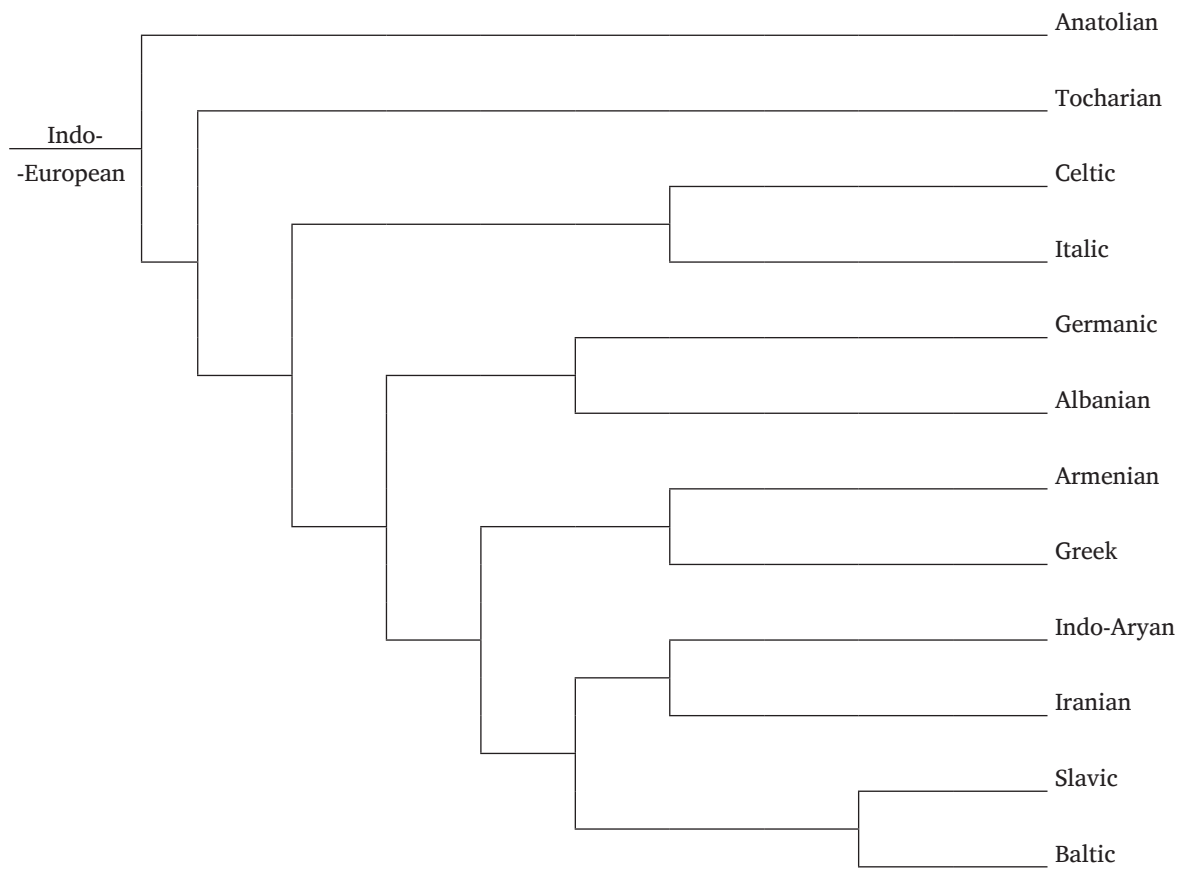
**Scheme 4:** Classification of the Indo-European languages by Schleicher 1860

The discovery that the two Tocharian languages (known as Tocharian A & B) from Chinese Turkestan, Hittite and other languages from ancient Asia Minor also are of Indo-European origin profoundly altered the classification of the Indo-European languages. In the period 1926–1942 Edgar Howard Sturtevant formulated the Indo-Hittite hypothesis, which is based on a primary opposition between Anatolian and non-Anatolian languages. All later models working with a genealogical tree-diagram take in account Sturtevant’s hypothesis. One of them was formulated by Gamkrelidze & Ivanov (1984, 415):



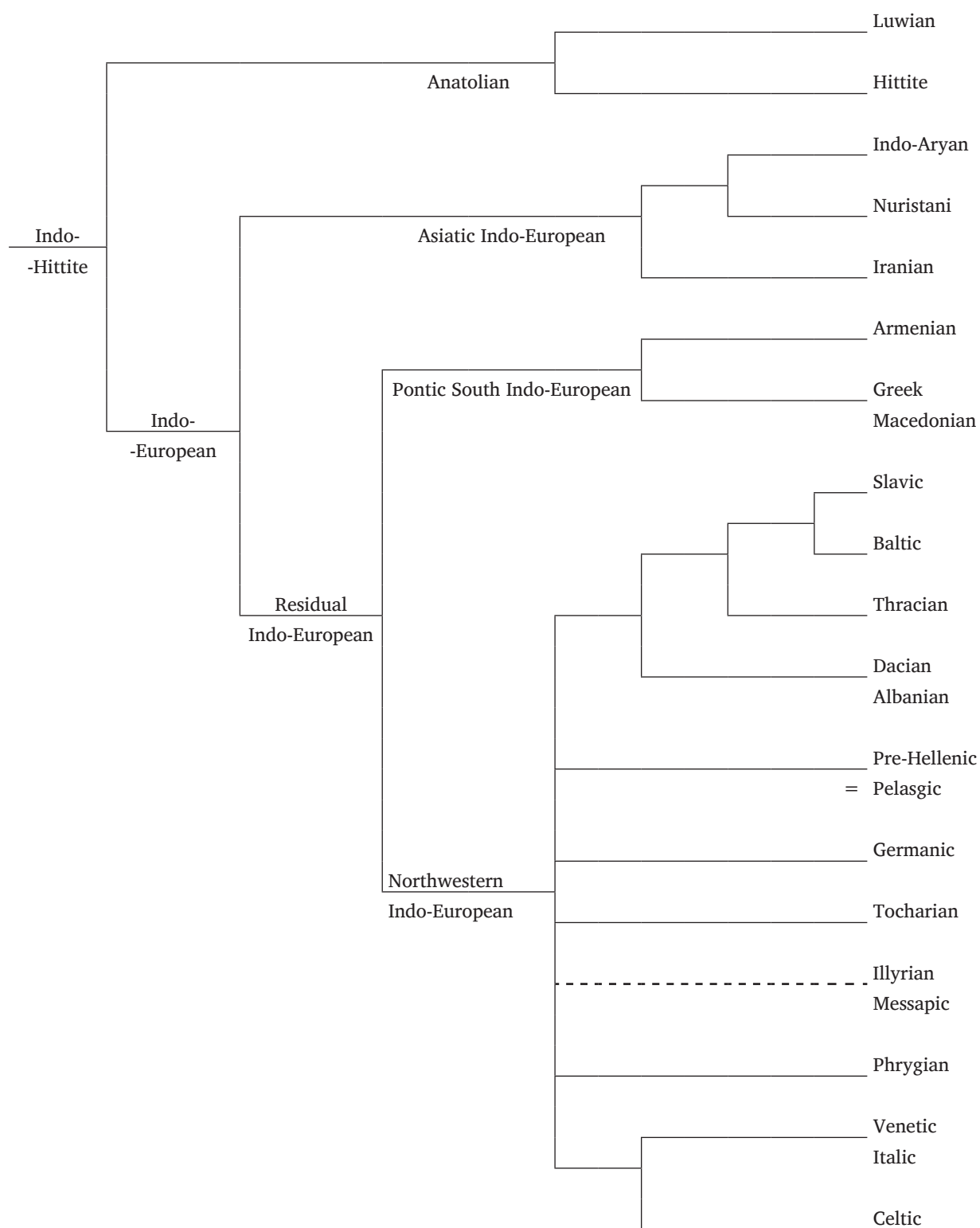
**Scheme 5:** Classification of the Indo-European languages by Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984

Ringe, Warnow & Taylor (2002, 87) applied the cladistic method:



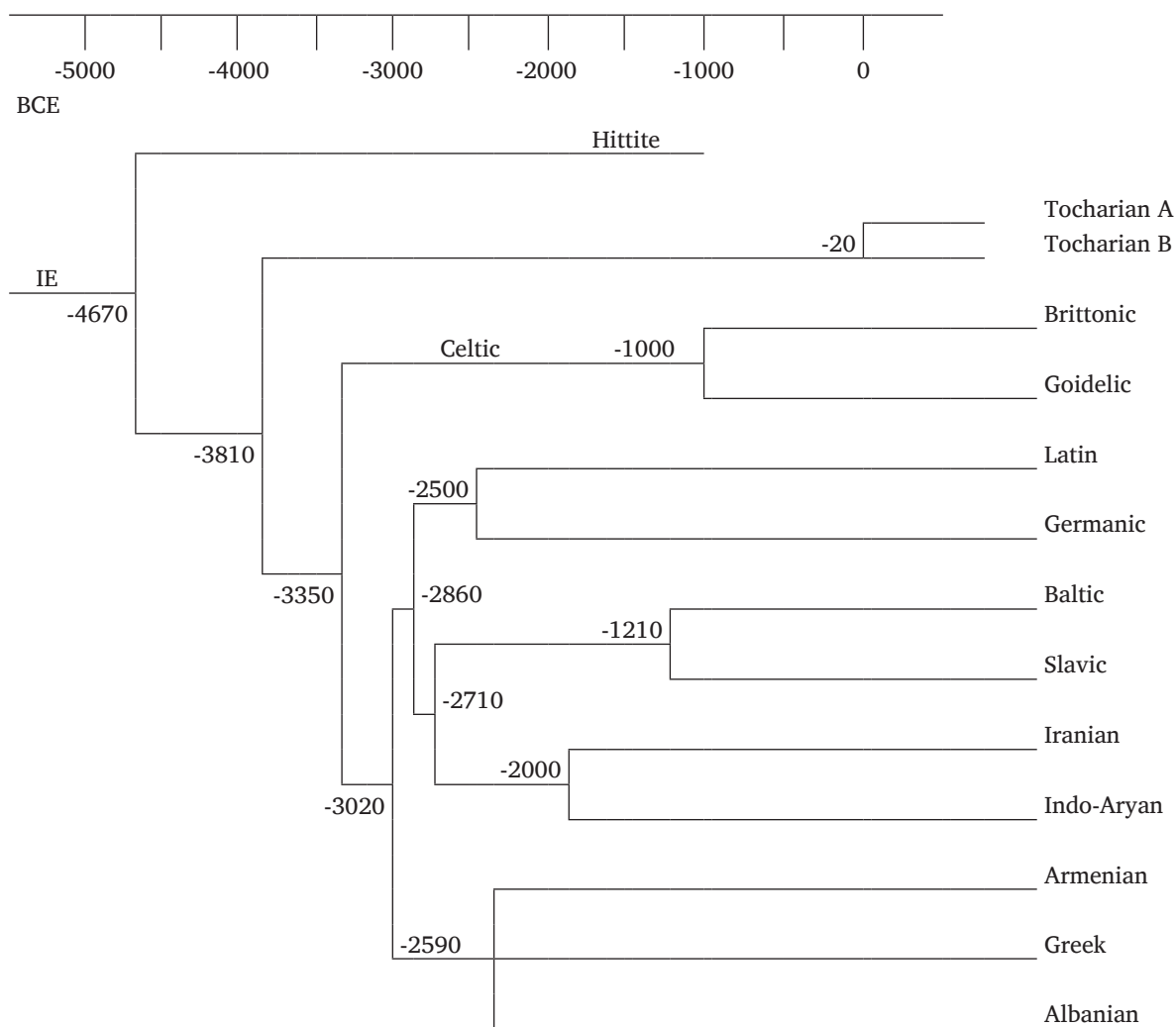
**Scheme 6:** Classification of the Indo-European languages by Ringe, Warnow & Taylor 2002

Eric P. Hamp presented his own original model of the disintegration of the Indo-European languages (1990). This model is based on specific phonological, morphological and lexical isoglosses and includes many relict languages:



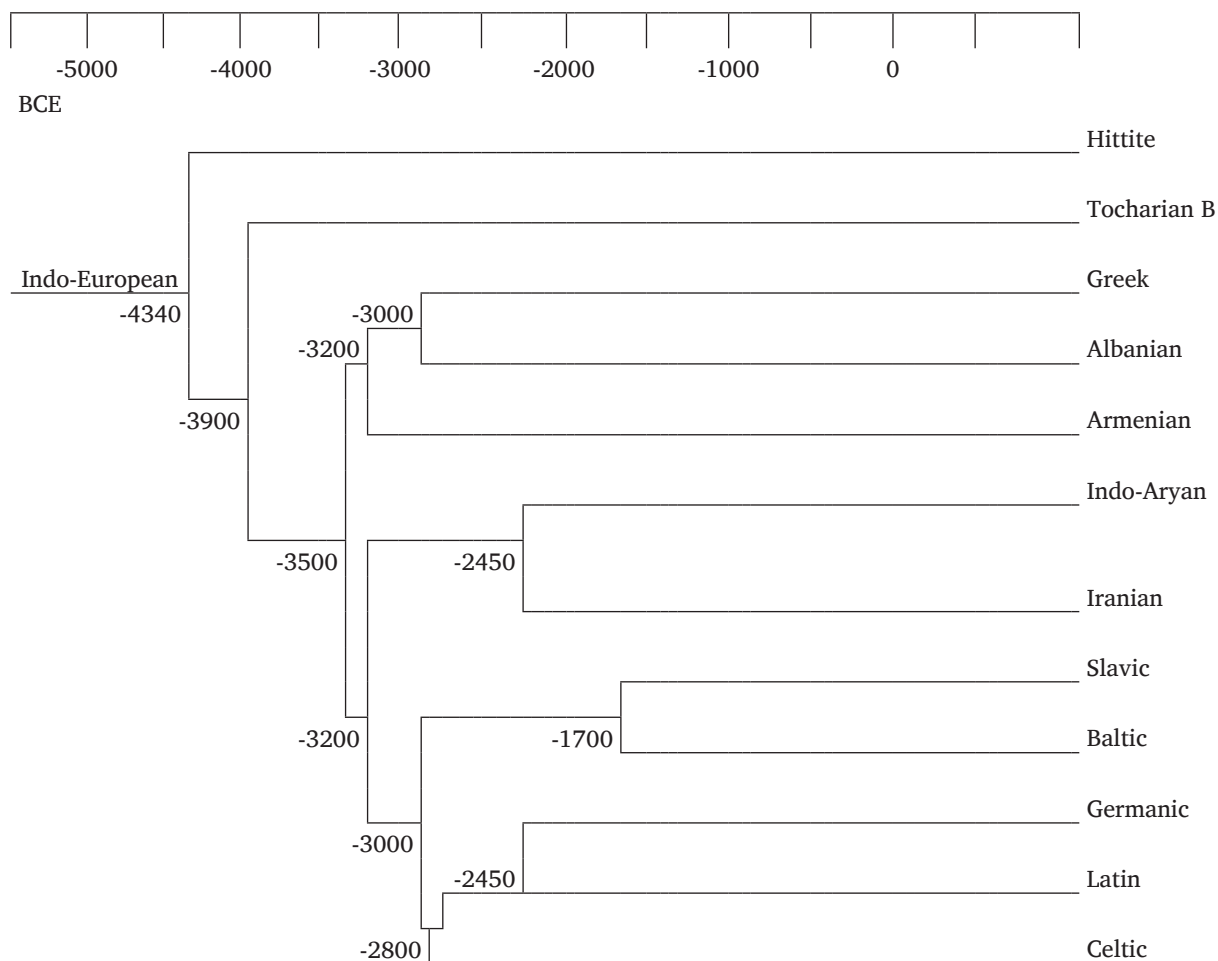
**Scheme 7:** Classification of the Indo-European languages by Hamp 1990

The absolute chronology of language divergence is provided only by glottochronology. The results computed by Sergei Starostin stem from the application of his own method of recalibrated glottochronology (presented in Santa Fe, 2004).



**Scheme 8:** Classification of the Indo-European languages by Sergei Starostin 2004

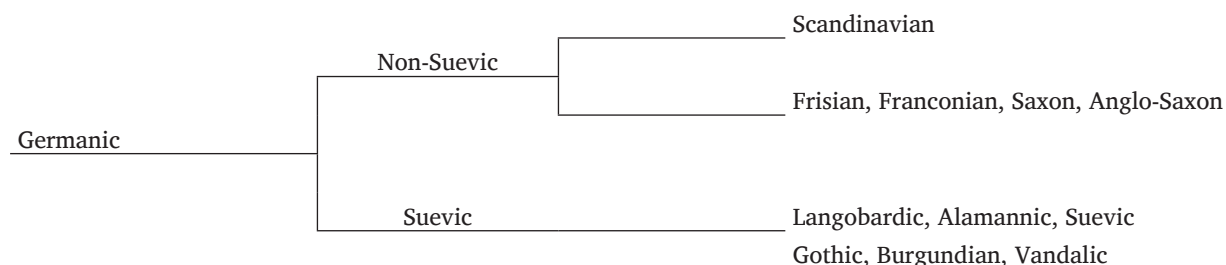
Indo-European classification according to the model of George Starostin (2015, 568–69).



**Scheme 9:** Classification of the Indo-European languages by George Starostin 2015

## II MODELS FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

The first general classification of the Germanic languages was formulated already by the pioneers of historical comparative linguistics. Johann Christoph Adelung (1806) suggested a classification of the tribal dialects of late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages into two categories: Suevic in the southern part of the Germanic area and non-Suevic, which was spoken around the Baltic and North Sea.



**Scheme 10:** Classification of the Germanic languages by Adelung 1806



Similarly Jacob Grimm (1819) assumed that there are two main branches, each of which further divides into two further sub-branches. Some of the tribal dialects were to have a transitional status between the branches.



**Scheme 11:** Classification of the Germanic languages by Grimm 1819

According to Jacob Grimm, the languages with transitional traits are Frisian, Anglian (1–2), Franconian (2–3), and the languages of Quadi and Marcomanni (3–4). He also acknowledged an alternative model in which the south Germanic continuum (4) forms one branch and all the others (1–3) form another.

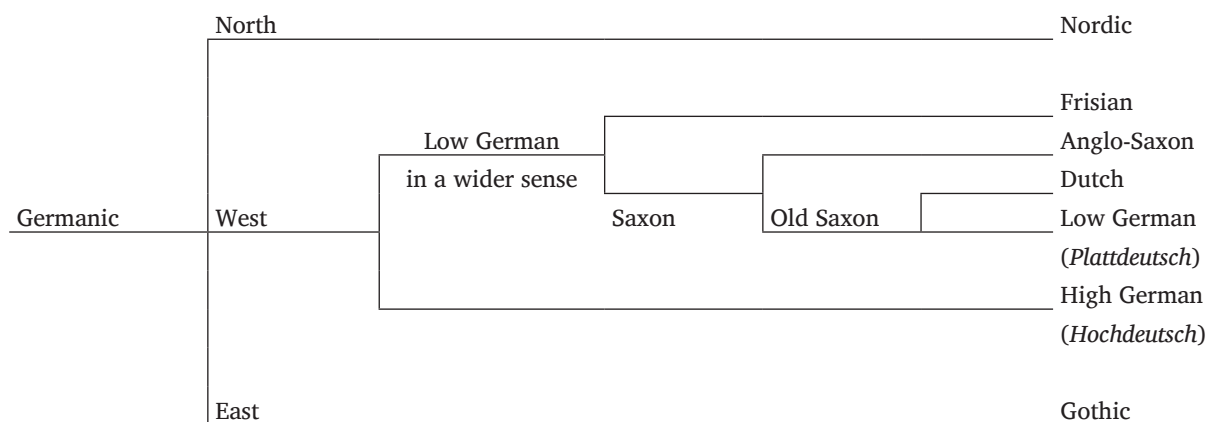
Similarly, Witold Mańczak (1992) gained very similar results with the help of his original classification model based on lexicostatistical analysis of parallel texts. He organized the individual varieties according to their decreasing similarity to Gothic. Old High German was to have been the most similar, followed by Old Saxon, and the Scandinavian languages show the most differences.

Another model of the binary classification was presented by Karl Müllenhoff (1898):



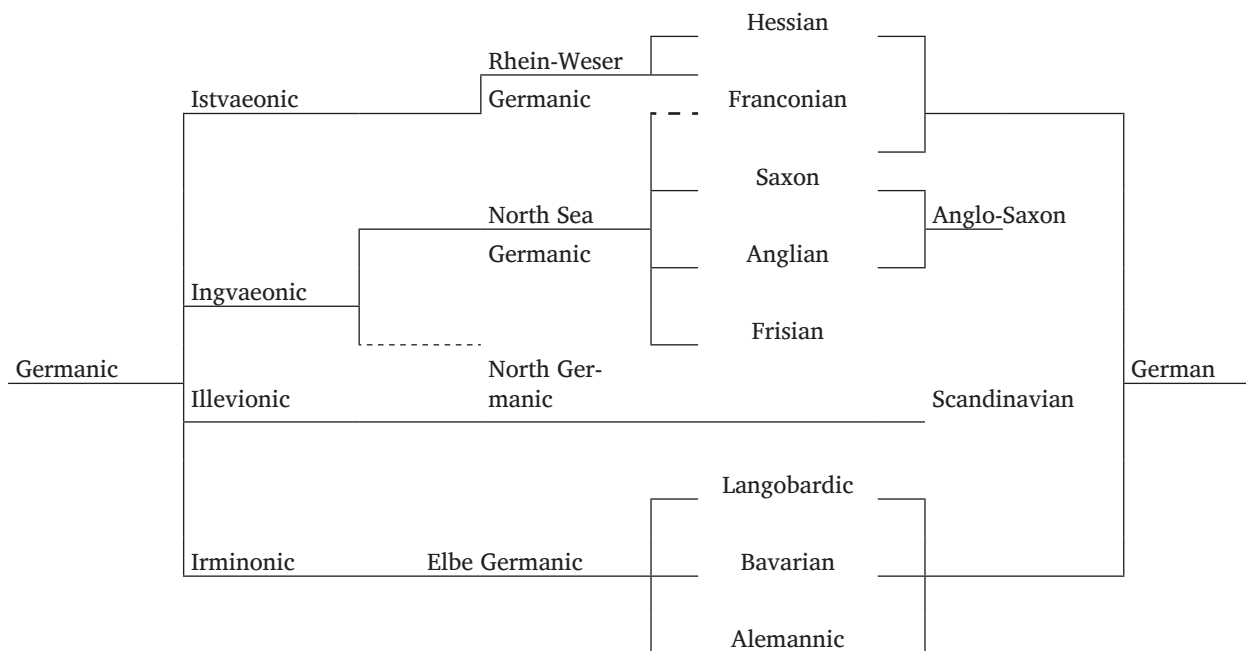
**Scheme 12:** Classification of the Germanic languages by Müllenhoff 1898

The most frequently-used model divides the Germanic languages into three branches: an East one with only one documented representative (Gothic), a West one and finally a Scandinavian (or Nordic) one. The author of the following classification is Schmidt (1860):



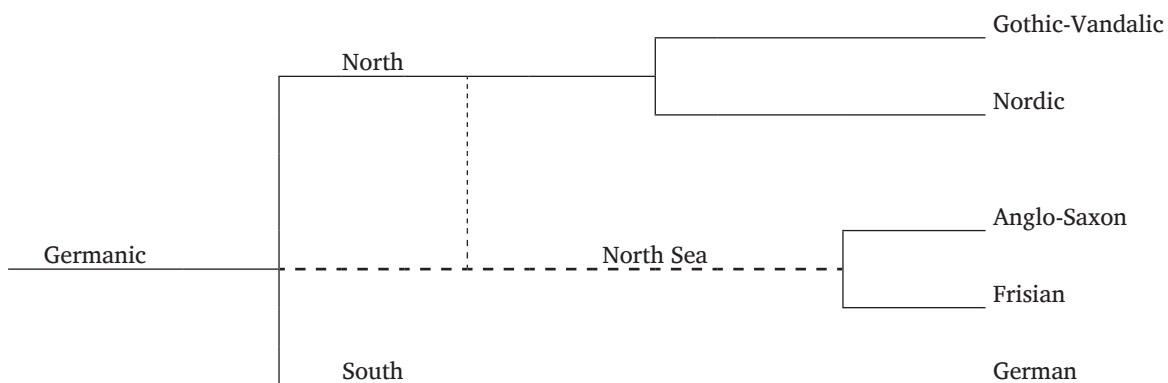
**Scheme 13:** Classification of the Germanic languages by Schmidt 1860

Friedrich Maurer (1943) depicted the development of the tribal Germanic dialects into the language of the late Middle Ages and present day, including convergent processes, in the following diagram:



**Scheme 14:** Classification of the Germanic languages by Maurer 1943

Ernst Schwarz (1951) assumed that around 200 BC, the Germanic language continuum was already divided into a North zone, producing later the Scandinavian languages as well as Gothic with the other East Germanic tribal dialects, and also a South zone where the later German dialects were formed. About four centuries later, a third, transitional zone crystallized, which developed into the languages of the Angles and Frisians.

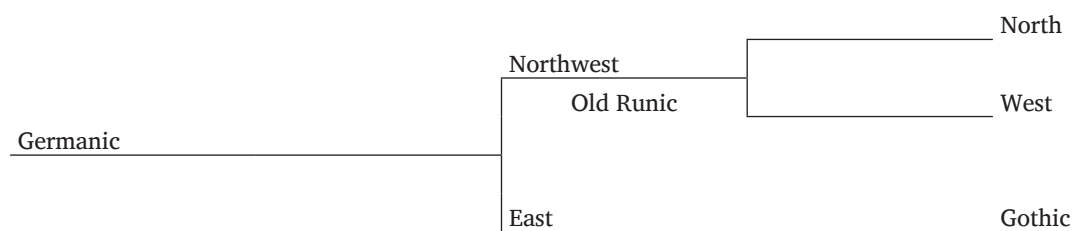


**Scheme 15:** Classification of the Germanic languages by Schwarz 1951



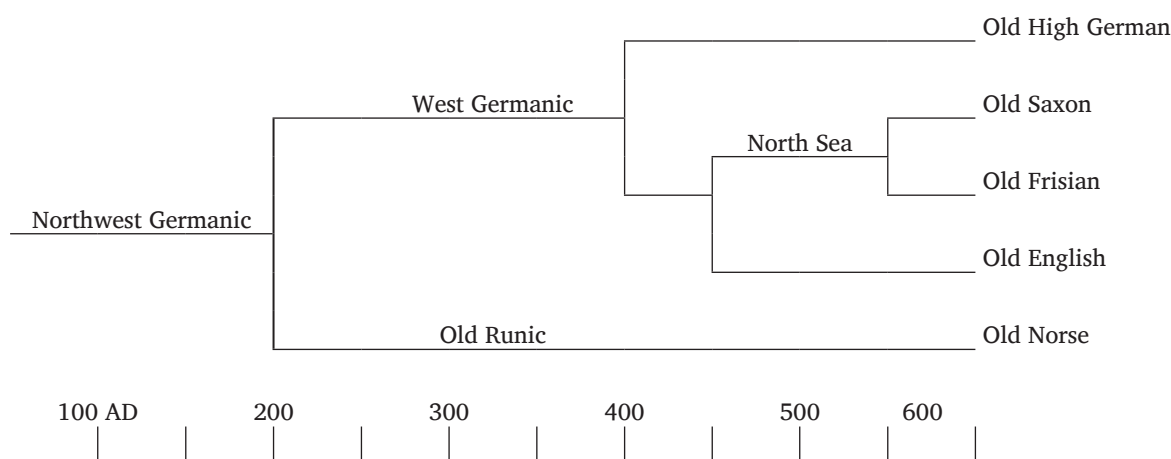
Abbreviations: C Central, dial. dialect, E East, Erm. Erminonic, Gmc. Germanic, Ingv. Ingvaemonic, Istv. Istvaeonic, L low, O Old, M middle, N North, Nor. Norwegian, S South, W West.

In contrast to the previous model, Elmer Antonsen (1975) assumed only an opposition of East and Northwest branches of Germanic.



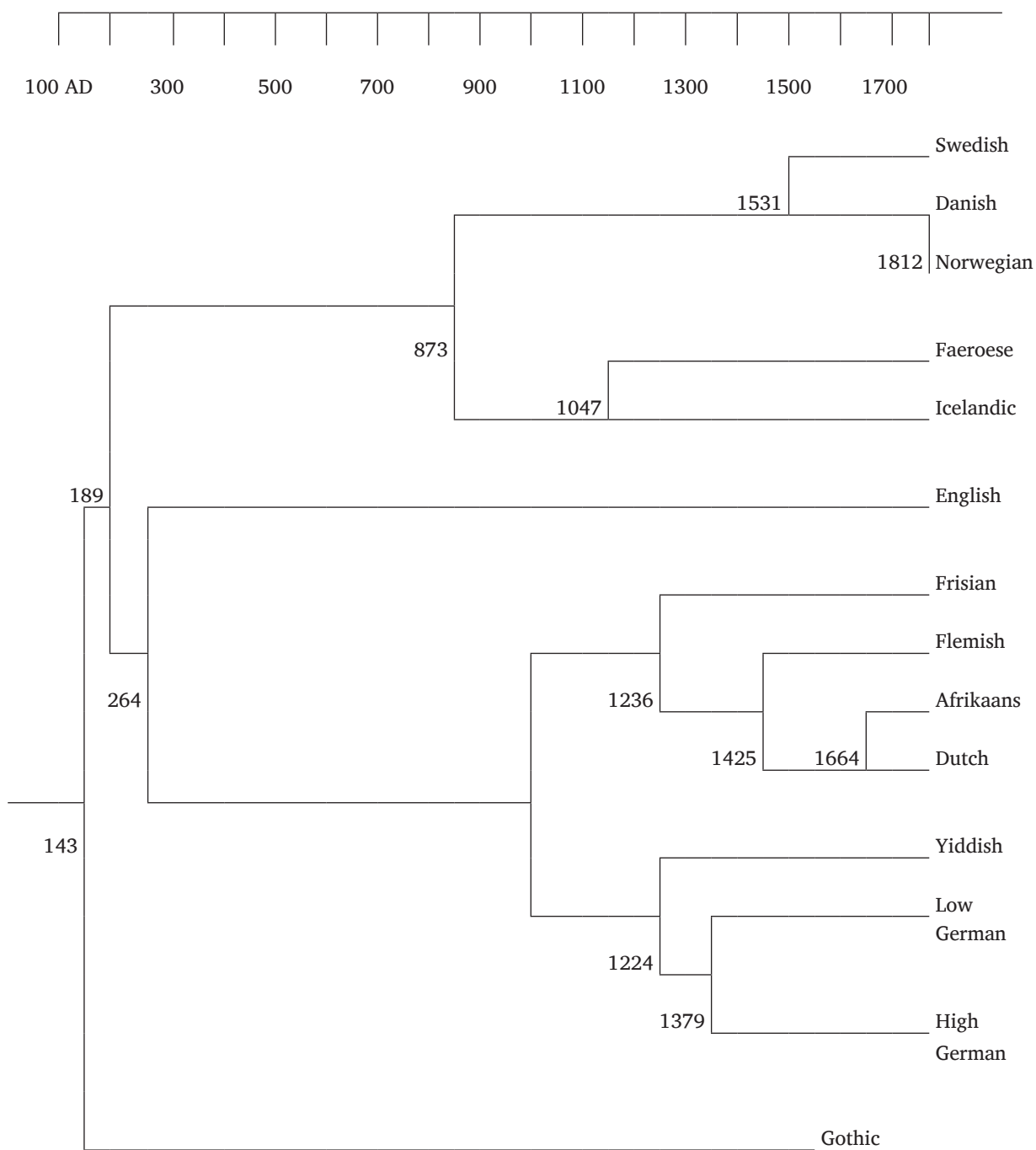
**Scheme 17:** Classification of the Germanic languages by Antonsen 1975

Hans F. Nielsen (2000) returned to the traditional assumption in his model of the divergence of Northwest Germanic. This conception, common mainly among Scandinavian linguists, views Old Runic as a direct predecessor of the Scandinavian languages only.



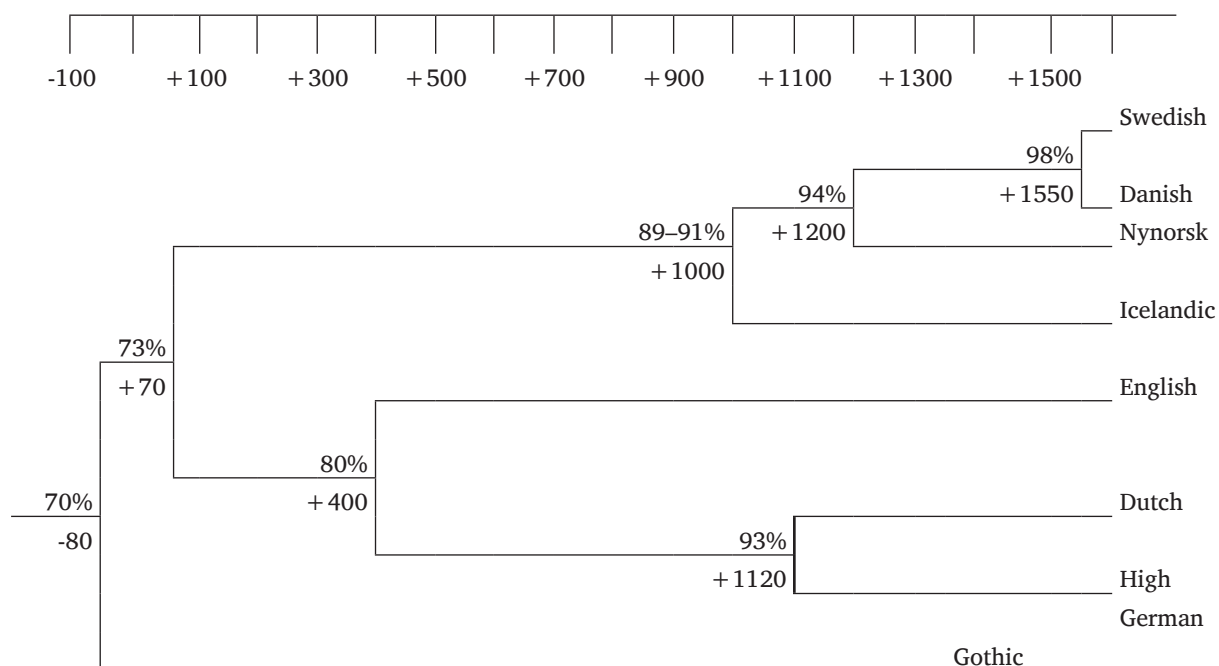
**Scheme 18:** Classification of the Germanic languages by Nielsen 2000

Sheila Embleton (1986, 117) used her own modification of glottochronology for the classification of the Germanic languages. She herself, however, acknowledges that the impossibility of determining all loanwords between individual languages leads to distortion of the results, especially of the more recent data.



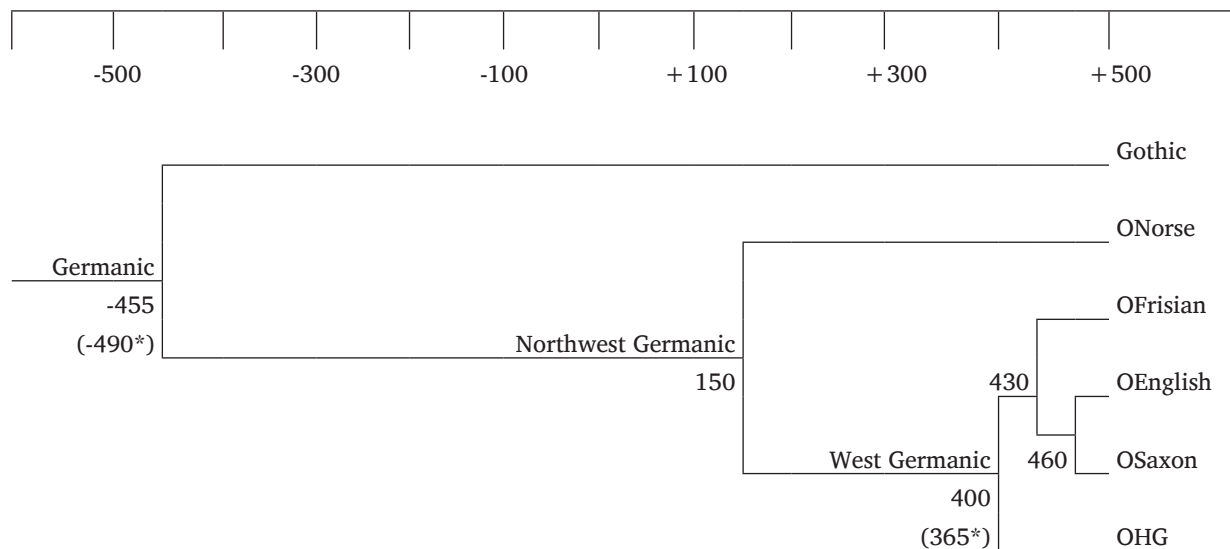
**Scheme 19:** Classification of the Germanic languages by Embleton 1986

The more recent attempt to apply glottochronology to the classification of the Germanic languages was published by Starostin and Burlak (2001, 82–105). Starostin employed his modification of recalibrated glottochronology. The model is based on a comparison of seven modern literary languages and Gothic.



**Scheme 20:** Classification of the Germanic languages by Starostin & Burlak 2001

Malášková & Blažek (2012–2016, 10) applied the recalibrated glottochronology to Old Germanic languages (see Appendix VII):



**Scheme 21:** Classification of the Germanic languages by Malášková & Blažek 2012–2016

The asterisked data are calculated without the “deviating” pairs, Gothic-Old Norse (300 BCE) and Old Saxon – Old High German (460 CE).

## III AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORICAL-COMPARATIVE PHONETICS OF THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

|                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| IE *                    |  |
| <b>P-</b>               | Got. <i>faihu</i> “property, money”, OHG <i>fihu</i> , Old Saxon <i>fehu</i> , OE <i>feoh</i> (E <i>fee</i> ), OI <i>fé</i> “cattle” < * <i>pekū-</i>  |
| <b>-P-</b>              | Got. <i>hafjan</i> , OHG <i>heffen</i> , OI <i>hefia</i> “to lift, raise” < ** <i>kH<sub>2</sub>p-je/o-</i>  |
| <b>b-</b>               | OHG <i>pfuol</i> , OFr, MLG, OE <i>pōl</i> , Norwegian dial. <i>pōla</i> “swamp” < * <i>bōl-</i> ;<br>Got. <i>peika-bagms</i> “palm tree”, OE <i>pēc</i> “tip, apex”, OI <i>pík</i> id. < * <i>biġo-</i>   |
| <b>-b-</b>              | Got. <i>þaúrf</i> “field”, OHG <i>dorf</i> , OS <i>thorp</i> “village”, OE <i>þorp</i> “farm, homestead”, OI <i>þorp</i> “farm; unit” < * <i>trbo-</i>   |
| <b>b<sup>h</sup>-</b>   | Got. <i>baírgahei</i> “mountain landscape”, OHG <i>perc / berg</i> , OS <i>berg</i> , OE <i>beorg</i> , OI <i>bjarg</i> , <i>berg</i> “mountain” < * <i>b<sup>h</sup>erġ<sup>h</sup>o-</i>   |
| <b>-b<sup>h</sup>-</b>  | Got. <i>liufs</i> , gen. <i>liubis</i> “dear, beloved”, OHG <i>liup</i> , <i>liub</i> , <i>liob</i> , OS <i>liof</i> , gen. <i>liobes</i> , OE <i>léof</i> , OR <i>leubaz</i> , f. <i>leubu</i> (* <i>leubō</i> ), OI <i>ljúf-r</i> < * <i>leub<sup>h</sup>o-</i>  |
| <b>t-</b>               | Got. <i>þreis</i> , OHG <i>driē</i> , OS <i>thria</i> , OE <i>þrie</i> , OI <i>þrír</i> “three” < * <i>treiēs</i> (m.); cf. OR f. <i>þrijoz</i> < * <i>treiās</i>  |
| <b>´t-</b>              | Got. <i>hvaþar</i> , OHG <i>hwedar</i> , OS <i>hwethar</i> , OE <i>hwæþer</i> , OI <i>hvaðarr</i> “which” < * <i>k<sup>u</sup>ótero-</i>   |
| <b>-t´</b>              | Got. <i>fadar</i> , OHG <i>fatar</i> , OS <i>fadar</i> , OE <i>fæder</i> , OI <i>faðir</i> “father” < ** <i>pH<sub>2</sub>tér-</i>   |
| <b>d-</b>               | Got. <i>táthun</i> , OHG <i>zehan</i> , OS <i>tehan</i> , OE <i>tén</i> , OI <i>tíu</i> “ten” < * <i>dékmt</i>   |
| <b>-d-</b>              | Got. <i>fotus</i> , OHG <i>fuoz</i> , OS, OE <i>fōt</i> , OI <i>fótr</i> “foot” < * <i>pōd-</i>  |
| <b>d<sup>h</sup>-</b>   | Got. <i>daúhtar</i> , OHG <i>tohter</i> , <i>dohter</i> , OE <i>dohtor</i> , OS <i>dohtar</i> , OI <i>dóttir</i> “daughter”, cf. OR nom.pl. <i>dohtriz</i> < ** <i>d<sup>h</sup>ugH<sub>2</sub>ter-</i>  |
| <b>-d<sup>h</sup>-</b>  | Got. <i>ana-biudan</i> “to command”, OHG <i>p/biotan</i> , OS <i>biodan</i> , OE <i>béodan</i> , OI <i>bjóða</i> “to offer” < * <i>b<sup>h</sup>eud<sup>h</sup>-</i>   |
| <b>k-</b>               | Got. <i>harjis</i> “army”, OHG <i>hari</i> , <i>heri</i> , OS <i>heri</i> , OE <i>here</i> , OI <i>herr</i> “id., troop” < * <i>korjo-</i>   |
| <b>´k-</b>              | Got. <i>tiuhan</i> , OHG <i>ziohan</i> , OS <i>tiohan</i> , OE <i>téon</i> “to pull”, cf. OI ( <i>full-</i> ) <i>týja</i> “to help” < * <i>deuk-</i>   |
| <b>-k´</b>              | Got. <i>rign</i> , OHG, OS <i>rigan</i> , <i>regin</i> , OE <i>reg(e)n</i> , E <i>rain</i> , OI <i>regn</i> “rain” < * <i>reknó-</i>   |
| <b>ġ-</b>               | Got. <i>kalds</i> , OHG <i>c(h)alt</i> , OS <i>cald</i> , OE <i>ceald</i> , OI <i>kaldr</i> “cold” < * <i>goltó-</i>   |
| <b>-ġ-</b>              | Got. <i>jok</i> , OHG <i>jo(c)h</i> , <i>ju(c)h</i> , OS <i>juk</i> , OE <i>geoc</i> , OI <i>ok</i> “yoke” < ** <i>Hjugo-</i>  |
| <b>ġ<sup>h</sup>-</b>   | Got. <i>gasts</i> , OHG <i>c/gast</i> , OS <i>gast</i> , OE <i>giest</i> , OI <i>gestr</i> “guest”, in OE also “foreigner” < * <i>ġ<sup>h</sup>osti-</i> , cf. OR <i>gastiz</i> (English <i>guest</i> is of Scandinavian origin)   |
| <b>-ġ<sup>h</sup>-</b>  | Got. <i>liugan</i> , OHG <i>liucan</i> , <i>liugan</i> , OS <i>liogan</i> , OE <i>léogan</i> , E <i>lie</i> , OI <i>ljúga</i> “to lie, tell lies” < * <i>leug<sup>h</sup>-</i>   |
| <b>ĥ-</b>               | Got. <i>háirto</i> , OHG <i>herza</i> , OS <i>herta</i> , OE <i>heorte</i> , OI <i>hjarta</i> “heart” < * <i>ĥerd-</i>   |
| <b>-ĥ´</b>              | Got. <i>ga-teihan</i> “to tell, announce”, OHG <i>zihan</i> “to accuse”, OS <i>af-tihan</i> “to deny, refuse”, OE <i>téon</i> “to accuse”, OI <i>téa</i> “to show” < * <i>dejk-</i>  |
| <b>´ĥ-</b>              | Got. <i>fagr</i> “suitable”, OHG, OS <i>fagar</i> “beautiful”, OE <i>fæger</i> , English <i>fair</i> , OI <i>fagr</i> id. < ** <i>pH<sub>2</sub>kró-</i>   |
| <b>ġ-</b>               | Got. <i>kunþs</i> , OHG <i>c(h)und</i> , OS <i>kūđ</i> , OE <i>cūđ</i> , OI <i>kunnr</i> , <i>kuðr</i> “known, familiar” < ** <i>ġ<sup>h</sup>H<sub>3</sub>tó-</i>   |
| <b>-ġ-</b>              | Got. <i>waúrġjan</i> , OHG <i>wurchan</i> , OE <i>wyrġan</i> , OI <i>yrġja</i> “to work, do” < * <i>urġ-</i> , next to OS <i>wirkian</i> id. (* <i>uerġ-</i> )   |
| <b>ġ<sup>h</sup>-</b>   | Got. <i>gulþ</i> , OHG <i>cold / gold</i> , OS, OE <i>gold</i> , OI <i>gull</i> , <i>goll</i> “gold” < ** <i>ġ<sup>h</sup>H<sub>3</sub>tó-</i>   |
| <b>-ġ<sup>h</sup>-</b>  | Got. <i>ga-wigan</i> , OHG <i>wekan / wegan</i> , OF <i>wega</i> , OE <i>wegan</i> , OI <i>vega</i> “to move” < * <i>ueġ<sup>h</sup>-</i>  |
| <b>k<sup>u</sup>-</b>   | Got. <i>huas</i> , OE <i>hwā</i> , Old Swedish <i>hvar</i> “who” m. < * <i>k<sup>u</sup>o-s</i> , next to OHG ( <i>h</i> ) <i>wer</i> , OS <i>hwe</i> < * <i>k<sup>u</sup>e-s</i>  |
| <b>´k<sup>u</sup>-</b>  | Got. <i>saihvan</i> , OHG, OS <i>sehan</i> , OE <i>sēon</i> , E <i>see</i> , OI <i>sjá</i> < * <i>sek<sup>u</sup>-</i>   |
| <b>-k<sup>u</sup>´</b>  | Got. <i>þius</i> , f. <i>þiwi</i> , OHG <i>deo</i> , f. <i>diu(wa)</i> , OS f. <i>thiwi</i> , <i>thiu</i> , OE <i>ðeo(w)</i> , f. <i>ðeowu</i> , OI f. <i>þý</i> , <i>þír</i> “servant/female servant”, cf. OR <i>þewaz</i> “servant” < * <i>tek<sup>u</sup>ú-</i> , <i>-uó-</i> / * <i>tekuí-</i>   |
| <b>ġ<sup>u</sup>-</b>   | Got. <i>qens</i> , <i>qino</i> “woman”, OHG <i>quena</i> “id., lady, madam”, OS <i>quân</i> , <i>quena</i> id., OE <i>cwên</i> id. (> English <i>queen</i> ), <i>cwene</i> “woman (prostitute)”, OI <i>kván</i> , <i>kvæn</i> “wife”, <i>kona</i> “woman” < Germanic * <i>k<sup>w</sup>ēni</i> & * <i>k<sup>w</sup>enōn</i> < * <i>ġ<sup>u</sup>ēni-</i> , * <i>ġ<sup>u</sup>enā</i> |
| <b>-ġ<sup>u</sup>-</b>  | Got. <i>riqis</i> , <i>-izis</i> , OI <i>rōkvr</i> “darkness” < ** <i>H<sub>1</sub>reg<sup>u</sup>-os-</i>   |
| <b>ġ<sup>u</sup>h-</b>  | OHG <i>war(a)m</i> , OS <i>warm</i> , OE <i>wearm</i> , English <i>warm</i> , OI <i>varmr</i> < * <i>ġ<sup>u</sup>ormo-</i> , cf. Got. <i>warmjan</i> “to warm, heat”, but OS <i>gūdea</i> , OE <i>gūþ</i> , OI <i>gunnr</i> , <i>guðr</i> “a fight” < * <i>ġ<sup>u</sup>ntiā</i> , cf. OHG <i>gundfano</i> “banner of arms”   |
| <b>-ġ<sup>u</sup>h-</b> | Got. <i>snaiws</i> , OHG <i>snêo</i> , gen. <i>snêwes</i> , OS <i>snêo</i> , OE <i>snâw</i> , English <i>snow</i> , OI <i>snær</i> , gen. <i>snévar</i> < * <i>snoig<sup>u</sup>h-o-</i>   |
| <b>s-</b>               | Got. <i>sitan</i> , OHG <i>sizzan</i> , <i>sitzan</i> , OS <i>sittian</i> , OE <i>sittan</i> , E <i>sit</i> , OI <i>sitja</i> < * <i>sed-(je/o-)</i>   |

|      |   |
|------|---|
| ˘-s- | Got. <i>wisan</i> , OHG <i>wesan</i> , OS, OE <i>wesan</i> (cf. E <i>was</i> ), OI <i>vesa</i> (& <i>vera</i> ) “to be (located)” < * <i>ues-</i>   |
| -s-˘ | Got. <i>ais</i> , gen. <i>aizis</i> “ore”, OHG <i>êr</i> “ore, iron”, OS <i>êr</i> , OE <i>âr</i> “ore”, OI <i>eir</i> “id., copper” < * <i>ajes-</i>   |
| r    | Got. <i>ga-redan</i> “to be level-headed”, OHG <i>râtan</i> , OS <i>râdan</i> , OE * <i>rædan</i> , OI <i>ráða</i> “to advise” < * <i>rêd<sup>h</sup>-</i>  |
| l    | Got. <i>ligan</i> , OHG <i>likkan</i> , <i>liggan</i> , OS <i>liggian</i> , OE <i>licgan</i> , E <i>lie</i> , OI <i>liggia</i> < * <i>leg<sup>h</sup>-(i)e/o-</i>   |
| m    | Got. <i>midjis</i> , OHG <i>mitti</i> , OS <i>middi</i> , OE <i>midde</i> , E <i>mid-</i> , OI <i>miðr</i> “middle” < * <i>med<sup>h</sup>io-</i>   |
| n    | Got. <i>niujis</i> , OHG, OS <i>niuwi</i> , OE <i>nēwe</i> , <i>néowe</i> , E <i>new</i> , OI <i>nýr</i> < * <i>neuio-</i>  |
| ʀ    | Got. <i>þaúrnu</i> , OHG <i>dorn</i> , OS, E <i>thorn</i> , OE, OI <i>þorn</i> < * <i>tʀnu-</i>   |
| l̥   | Got. <i>hulþs</i> “merciful”, OHG, OS, OE <i>hold</i> , OI <i>holtr</i> “inclined, favourable” < * <i>kl̥tó-</i>  |
| m̥   | Got. <i>ga-qumþs</i> , OHG <i>qhuumft</i> , <i>cumft</i> , <i>cunft</i> , OI <i>sam-kund</i> “meeting” < * <i>g<sup>m</sup>m̥-ti-</i>   |
| n̥   | Got. <i>undar</i> , OHG <i>untar</i> , <i>undar</i> , OS <i>undar</i> , OE <i>under</i> , OI <i>undir</i> “under” < ** <i>H<sub>2</sub>n̥-d<sup>h</sup>er-</i>  |
| i̥   | Got. <i>jer</i> , OHG <i>jâr</i> , OS <i>jâr</i> , <i>gêr</i> , OE <i>gēar</i> , E <i>year</i> , OI <i>ár</i> < ** <i>(H<sub>1</sub>)i̥jēro-</i>  |
| ʷ    | Got. <i>vato</i> , pl. <i>vatna</i> , OHG <i>waz(z)ar</i> , OS <i>watar</i> , OE <i>wæter</i> , English <i>water</i> , OI <i>vatn</i> < * <i>uod-or/n-</i>  |
| i    | Got. <i>fisks</i> , OHG <i>fisc</i> , OS <i>fisk</i> , OE <i>fisc</i> , E <i>fish</i> , OI <i>fiskr</i> < * <i>pisko-</i>   |
| u    | Got. <i>fugls</i> , OHG <i>fogal</i> , OS <i>fugal</i> , OE <i>fugol</i> , E <i>fowl</i> , OI <i>fugl</i> “bird” < * <i>puglo-</i>  |
| ī   | Got. <i>skeirs</i> , MHG. <i>schîr</i> , OS <i>skîr</i> , OE <i>scîr</i> , E <i>sheer</i> , OI <i>skîrr</i> “clear” < * <i>skîr(i)o-</i>  |
| ū    | Got. <i>rums</i> , OHG, OS, OE <i>rûm</i> , E <i>room</i> , OI <i>rúmr</i> “spacious, roomy” < * <i>rūmo-</i>   |
| e    | Got. <i>baíran</i> , OHG <i>peran</i> / <i>beran</i> , OS <i>beran</i> (“to bear children”), OE <i>beran</i> , English <i>bear</i> , OI <i>bera</i> “to carry” < * <i>b<sup>h</sup>er-</i>  |
| a    | Got. <i>hana</i> , OHG, OS <i>hano</i> , OE <i>hana</i> , OI <i>hani</i> “rooster” < ** <i>k<sub>h</sub>n-on-</i>   |
| o    | Got. <i>dal</i> , OHG <i>tal</i> , OS <i>dal</i> , OE <i>dæl</i> , OI <i>dalr</i> “valley” < * <i>d<sup>h</sup>olo-</i>   |
| ē    | Got. <i>mena</i> , OHG, OS <i>mâno</i> , OE <i>môna</i> , E <i>moon</i> , OI <i>máni</i> < * <i>mēn-on-</i>   |
| ā    | Got. <i>broþar</i> , OHG <i>pruodar</i> / <i>bruoder</i> , OS <i>brôthar</i> , OE <i>brôþor</i> , E <i>brother</i> , OI <i>bróðir</i> < * <i>b<sup>h</sup>râter-</i>  |
| ō    | Got. <i>flodus</i> , OHG <i>fluot</i> , OS, OE <i>flôd</i> , E <i>flood</i> , OI <i>flóð</i> < * <i>plôtó/ú-</i>  |
| CHC  | Got. <i>fadar</i> , OHG <i>fatar</i> , OS <i>fadar</i> , OE <i>fæder</i> , E <i>father</i> , OI <i>faðir</i> < * <i>p<sub>h</sub>tér-</i>   |
| eḷ   | Got. <i>steigan</i> , OHG, OS, OE <i>stīgan</i> , OI <i>stīga</i> “to raise, ascend” < * <i>steig<sup>h</sup>-</i>  |
| aḷ   | Got. <i>gait</i> s, OHG <i>keiz</i> , <i>geiz</i> , OS <i>gêt</i> , OE <i>gât</i> , E <i>goat</i> , OI <i>geit</i> < * <i>g<sup>h</sup>ajdi-</i>  |
| oi   | Got. <i>stains</i> , OHG <i>stein</i> , OS <i>stên</i> , OE <i>stân</i> , E <i>stone</i> , OI <i>steinn</i> , OR <i>stainaz</i> < * <i>stoino-</i><br>Got. <i>filu-faihs</i> , OHG, OS <i>fêh</i> , OE <i>fâg</i> , OI <i>fáinn</i> “varied, manifold” < * <i>poïko-</i> , cf. OR <i>faihido</i> “I paitned” (in OHG <i>ê</i> before <i>h</i> , <i>r</i> , <i>w</i> ) |
| eʷ   | Got. <i>þiuda</i> , OHG <i>diota</i> , OS <i>thioda</i> , OE <i>þéod</i> , OI <i>þjóð</i> “people, folk” < * <i>teutá-</i>  |
| aʷ   | Got. <i>aukan</i> , OHG <i>auhhôn</i> , <i>ouhhôn</i> , OS <i>ôkian</i> , OE <i>éacian</i> , OI <i>auka</i> “to multiply, reproduce” < * <i>aug-</i>  |
| oʷ   | Got. <i>rauþs</i> , OHG <i>rôt</i> , OS <i>rôd</i> , OE <i>réad</i> , E <i>red</i> , OI <i>rauðr</i> < ** <i>H<sub>1</sub>reud<sup>h</sup>o-</i>  |

**Note:** The reconstructions with the only asterisk (\*) indicate the late Indo-European level after the fall of laryngeals. Two asterisks (\*\*) indicate the earlier level of the protolanguage, including the laryngeals.

**Abbreviations:** E – English; Got. – Gothic; MHG – Middle High German; MLG – Middle Low German; OE – Old English; OFr – Old Frisian; OHG – Old High German; OI – Old Icelandic; OR – Old Runic; OS – Old Saxon.

The **First Germanic Sound Shift (*Lautverschiebung*)**, also called **Grimm’s law** or **Rask’s rule**, involves all Germanic languages and describes the change of the Indo-European voiceless stops \**p*/\**t*/\**(k̥)*/\**k<sup>u</sup>* to the Proto-Germanic voiceless fricatives \**f*/\**þ*/\**χ*/\**χ<sup>w</sup>* > Gothic *f*/*þ*/*h*/*hw*; the Indo-European voiced stops \**b*/\**d*/\**(g̊)*/\**g<sup>w</sup>* to the Proto-Germanic voiceless stops \**p*/\**t*/\**k*/\**k<sup>w</sup>* > Gothic *p*/*t*/*k*/*q*, and the Indo-European voiced aspirated stops \**b<sup>h</sup>*/\**d<sup>h</sup>*/\**(g̊<sup>h</sup>)*/\**g<sup>wh</sup>* to the Proto-Germanic voiced stops or fricatives \**þ*/\**ð*/\**g*/\**g<sup>w</sup>* > Gothic *b*/*d*/*g*/*w* ~ *g*.

Björn Collinder (1935/1936) proposed the idea that the geographic term Θούλη, first recorded by Pytheas of Massalia in the period 330–325 BCE and mediated especially by Polybius, Strabo, Pliny and Procopius, reflected the oldest known Germanic proper name. It is important to stress that it also represents the first witness of **Lautverschiebung**. Collinder offered a very promising etymology on the basis of the first component of the Old Norse compound *þaularvágr* „Bucht, in der man festsitzen“ (*vágr* meant “sea, bay”) and some Scandinavian place-names as Norwegian *Taul*, *Taule*, or Swedish *Tölö* (cf. de Vries 1962, 606), assuming the primary



semantic motivation “die engen Fjorde”. An alternative Germanic etymology formulated by Torp could be sought in Old Norse *pollr* m. “tree; post, pillar, beam”, fig. “man” < Proto-Germanic *\*pullaz* < *\*tulno-* or *\*t̥(H)no-* (de Vries 1962, 615–16). This idea agrees with the witness of Procopius of Caesarea on the exceedingly large forests in Thule in his description of environment of the Scythiphini, the aboriginals of this territory:

θηρίων τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλων ζώων μέγα τι χρῆμα αἱ τε ὕλαι αὐτοῖς φέρουσι, μεγάλαι ὑπερφυῶς οὔσαι, καὶ τὰ ὄρη, ἃ ταύτη ἀνέχει

“For the forests, which are exceedingly large, produce for them a great abundance of wild beasts and other animals, as do also the mountains which rise there.”

[Procopius: *The Gothic War* VI.15; Translated by H.B. Denning]

Independently on decision between both the solutions it represents the witness that Lex Rask – Grimm was applied already in the 4th cent. BCE. The beginning of this sound rule should correlate with disintegration of the Proto-Germanic dialect continuum into East and Northwest Germanic, dated only a century earlier, to the 5th cent. BCE (see Malášková & Blažek 2012[2016], 10; Blažek 2022).

**Verner’s Law** involves the Proto-Germanic voiceless fricatives *\*f*, *\*þ*, *\*s*, *\*χ*, *\*χʷ* in medial position. If a stressed vowel preceded them, they did not change. However, if a stressed vowel followed, they underwent voicing and became fricatives *\*b*, *\*d*, *\*z*, *\*g*, *\*gʷ*.

**Second Germanic Consonant Shift or High German Consonant Shift** affected only High German dialects. This change operated in several phases and spread from south to north.

Phase 1: Germanic *\*p/\*t/\*k* > *-ff,-f / -zz-* (> *-ss-*), *-z* (> *-s*) / *-hh-* (> *-ch-*) in intervocalic and word-final position.

Phase 2: Germanic *\*p/\*t/\*k* > *pf (ph) / ts > tz, z / kch* in word-initial position, when geminate, and after the consonants *l/r/m/n*.

Phase 3: Germanic *\*b, \*d, \*g* > *p, t, k*. This change was first attested in the Langobardian text *Edictus Rothari* from 643 in names ending in *-perg, -pert, -prand*. Today it can be found only in South Bavarian dialects of Austria and in Upper Alemannic dialects of Switzerland; standard German shows only *\*d > t*.

Phase 4: Germanic *\*þ/\*d̥* > *d*. This change appeared in the High German area in the 9th–10th centuries (the oldest texts have *th*, but an Alemannic runic inscription on a brooch from the late 7th century found in Bad Ems already exhibits *d*) and this change spread further north to Low German, Dutch (12th century) and Frisian (13th and 14th centuries).

#### IV COMPARATIVE MORPHOLOGY OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

##### IV.1 Nouns

Indo-European *o*-stems (masculine)

|          | Old English                   | Old Saxon        | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic         | Gothic                        | *Germanic                | *Pre-Germanic                   |
|----------|-------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>dæg</i>                    | <i>dag</i>       | <i>tac</i>      | <i>dagr</i>   | <i>laukaz</i>     | <i>dags</i>                   | <i>dagaz</i>             | <i>-os</i>                      |
| gen.     | <i>dægēs/</i>                 | <i>dages/-as</i> | <i>tages</i>    | <i>dags</i>   | <i>Asugisalas</i> | <i>dagis</i>                  | <i>dagasa / -isa</i>     | <i>-oso / -eso</i> (pron.)      |
| dat.     | <i>dæge</i>                   | <i>dage</i>      | <i>tage</i>     | <i>dege</i>   | <i>hahai</i>      | <i>daga</i> <sup>instr.</sup> | <i>dagai</i>             | <i>-ōi &lt; -o-ei</i>           |
| acc.     | <i>dæg</i>                    | <i>dag</i>       | <i>tac</i>      | <i>dag</i>    | <i>staina</i>     | <i>dag</i>                    | <i>daga</i> <sup>n</sup> | <i>-om</i>                      |
| instr.   | <i>dægi/e</i> <sup>loc.</sup> | <i>dagu</i>      | <i>tagu</i>     |               |                   | ( <i>daga</i> )               | <i>dagō</i>              | <i>-ō &lt; -o-H<sub>1</sub></i> |
| nom. pl. | <i>dagas</i>                  | <i>dagos</i>     | <i>taga</i>     | <i>dagar</i>  | <i>stanaz</i>     | <i>dagos</i>                  | <i>dagōs/-ōz</i>         | <i>-ōs(es) &lt; -o-es</i>       |
| gen.     | <i>daġa</i>                   | <i>dago</i>      | <i>tago</i>     | <i>daga</i>   | <i>flAinA?</i>    | <i>dage</i>                   | <i>dagō</i> <sup>n</sup> | <i>-ō-m</i>                     |
| dat.     | <i>daġum</i>                  | <i>dagum</i>     | <i>tagum</i>    | <i>dōgom</i>  | <i>-borumz</i>    | <i>dagam</i>                  | <i>dagamiz</i>           | <i>-o-mis</i>                   |
| acc.     | <i>daġas</i>                  | <i>dagos</i>     | <i>taga</i>     | <i>daga</i>   | <i>stAbA</i>      | <i>dagans</i>                 | <i>daganz</i>            | <i>-ons &lt; -o-ms</i>          |

Indo-European *i(i)o*-stems (masculine)

|          | Old English   | Old Saxon                     | Old High German    | Old Icelandic | Old Runic       | Gothic           | *Germanic                  | *Pre-Germanic   |
|----------|---------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>hirde</i>  | <i>hirdi</i>                  | <i>hirti</i>       | <i>hirðer</i> | <i>raunijaz</i> | <i>hairdeis</i>  | <i>herdijaz</i>            | <i>-i̯-os</i>   |
| gen.     | <i>hirdes</i> | <i>hirdies</i>                | <i>hirtes</i>      | <i>hirðes</i> |                 | <i>hairdeis</i>  | <i>herdijisa</i>           | <i>-i̯-eso</i>  |
| dat.     | <i>hirde</i>  | <i>hirdie</i>                 | <i>hirte</i>       | <i>hirðe</i>  |                 | <i>hairdja</i>   | <i>herdijai</i>            | <i>-i̯-oi</i>   |
| acc.     | <i>hirde</i>  | <i>hirdi</i>                  | <i>hirtie</i>      | <i>hirðe</i>  | <i>makija</i>   | <i>hairdi</i>    | <i>herdija<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>-i̯-om</i>   |
| instr.   | <i>hirde</i>  | <i>hirdiu</i>                 | <i>hirt(i)u</i>    |               |                 |                  | <i>herdijō</i>             | <i>-i̯-ō</i>    |
| nom. pl. | <i>hirdas</i> | <i>hirdios</i>                | <i>hirte, -ā</i>   | <i>hirðar</i> |                 | <i>hairdjos</i>  | <i>herdijōs, -ōz</i>       | <i>-i̯-ōs</i>   |
| gen.     | <i>hirda</i>  | <i>hirda</i>                  | <i>hirteo</i>      | <i>hirða</i>  | <i>Wiwio</i>    | <i>hairdje</i>   | <i>herdijō<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>-i̯-ōm</i>   |
| dat.     | <i>hirdum</i> | <i>hirdio,<sup>o</sup>ium</i> | <i>hirtum, -im</i> | <i>hirðom</i> |                 | <i>hairdjam</i>  | <i>herdijamiz</i>          | <i>-i̯-omis</i> |
| acc.     | <i>hirdas</i> | <i>hirdios,<sup>o</sup>da</i> | <i>hirte</i>       | <i>hirða</i>  |                 | <i>hairdjans</i> | <i>herdijanaz</i>          | <i>-i̯-ons</i>  |

Indo-European *ā*-stems (feminine)

|          | Old English       | Old Saxon       | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic    | Gothic       | *Germanic               | *Pre-Germanic                             |
|----------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|---|
| nom. sg. | <i>ġifu</i>       | <i>geba</i>     | <i>geba</i>     | <i>ġiǫf</i>   | <i>laþu</i>  | <i>giba</i>  | <i>gebō</i>             | <i>-ā &lt; -eH<sub>2</sub></i>            |
| gen.     | <i>ġife</i>       | <i>geba</i>     | <i>geba</i>     | <i>ġjafar</i> |              | <i>gibo</i>  | <i>gebōz</i>            | <i>-ās &lt; -eH<sub>2</sub>-os</i>        |
| dat.     | <i>ġife</i>       | <i>geþu</i>     | <i>gebu</i>     | <i>ġiǫf</i>   | <i>solu</i>  | <i>gibai</i> | <i>gebai</i>            | <i>-āi &lt; -H<sub>2</sub>-ei</i>         |
| acc.     | <i>ġife</i>       | <i>geba</i>     | <i>geba</i>     | <i>ġiǫf</i>   |              | <i>giba</i>  | <i>gebō<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>-ām &lt; -eH<sub>2</sub>-m</i>         |
| nom. pl. | <i>ġifa, -e</i>   | <i>geba</i>     | <i>gebā</i>     | <i>ġjafar</i> |              | <i>gibos</i> | <i>gebōz</i>            | <i>-ās &lt; -eH<sub>2</sub>-es</i>        |
| gen.     | <i>ġifa, -ena</i> | <i>geþo(no)</i> | <i>gebōno</i>   | <i>ġjafa</i>  | <i>runo</i>  | <i>gibo</i>  | <i>gebō<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>-(ā)-ōm &lt; -(e)H<sub>2</sub>-ōm</i>  |
| dat.     | <i>ġifum</i>      | <i>geþum</i>    | <i>gebōm</i>    | <i>ġjofom</i> |              | <i>gibom</i> | <i>gebōmi/uz</i>        | <i>-āmi/us &lt; -eH<sub>2</sub>-mi/us</i> |
| acc.     | <i>ġifa, -e</i>   | <i>geba</i>     | <i>gebā</i>     | <i>ġjafar</i> | <i>runoz</i> | <i>gibos</i> | <i>gebōz</i>            | <i>-āns &lt; -eH<sub>2</sub>-ns</i>       |

Indo-European *i*-stems (masculine)

|          | Old English    | Old Saxon       | Old High German    | Old Icelandic | Old Runic                  | Gothic         | *Germanic                 | *Pre-Germanic            |
|----------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|----------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>ġiest</i>   | <i>gast</i>     | <i>gast</i>        | <i>gestr</i>  | <i>-gastiz</i>             | <i>gasts</i>   | <i>gastiz</i>             | <i>-i-s</i>              |
| gen.     | <i>ġiestes</i> | <i>gastes</i>   | <i>gastes</i>      | <i>gests</i>  | <i>uþwinaz<br/>-gandiz</i> | <i>gastis</i>  | <i>= o-stem<br/>-iza</i>  | <i>-ei-eso</i>           |
| dat.     | <i>ġieste</i>  | <i>gaste</i>    | <i>gaste</i>       | <i>gest</i>   |                            | <i>gasta</i>   | <i>= o-stem<br/>-ai</i>   | <i>-ei-ei</i>            |
| acc.     | <i>ġiest</i>   | <i>gast</i>     | <i>gast</i>        | <i>gest</i>   | <i>hal(l)i</i>             | <i>gast</i>    | <i>gasti<sup>n</sup></i>  | <i>-i-m</i>              |
| instr.   | <i>ġieste</i>  | <i>gasti(u)</i> | <i>gastiu</i>      |               |                            |                | <i>gasti</i>              | <i>-i (*loc.)</i>        |
| nom. pl. | <i>ġiestas</i> | <i>gesti</i>    | <i>gesti</i>       | <i>gester</i> |                            | <i>gasteis</i> | <i>gasti̯z</i>            | <i>-ei-es</i>            |
| gen.     | <i>ġiesta</i>  | <i>gestio</i>   | <i>gestio, -eo</i> | <i>gesta</i>  |                            | <i>gaste</i>   | <i>gastiō<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>-ei-ōm</i>            |
| dat.     | <i>ġiestum</i> | <i>gestium</i>  | <i>gestim</i>      | <i>gestom</i> | <i>-gestumz</i>            | <i>gastim</i>  | <i>gastimiz</i>           | <i>-i-mis<br/>o-stem</i> |
| acc.     | <i>ġiestas</i> | <i>gesti</i>    | <i>gesti</i>       | <i>gesti</i>  |                            | <i>gastins</i> | <i>gastinz</i>            | <i>-i-ns</i>             |

Indo-European *i*-stems (feminine)

|          | Old English  | Old Saxon      | Old High German    | Old Icelandic | Old Runic    | Gothic         | Germanic                  | *Pre-Germanic |
|----------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>ést</i>   | <i>anst</i>    | <i>anst</i>        | <i>brúðr</i>  |              | <i>ansts</i>   | <i>anstiz</i>             | <i>-i-s</i>   |
| gen.     | <i>éste</i>  | <i>ensti</i>   | <i>ensti</i>       | <i>brúðar</i> |              | <i>anstais</i> | <i>anstaiz</i>            | <i>-oĭ-s</i>  |
| dat.     | <i>éste</i>  | <i>ensti</i>   | <i>ensti</i>       | <i>brúð</i>   | <i>winai</i> | <i>anstai</i>  | <i>anstēi</i>             | <i>-eĭ-ei</i> |
| acc.     | <i>ést</i>   | <i>anst</i>    | <i>anst</i>        | <i>brúð</i>   | <i>fahi</i>  | <i>anst</i>    | <i>insti<sup>n</sup></i>  | <i>-i-m</i>   |
| nom. pl. | <i>ésta</i>  | <i>ensti</i>   | <i>ensti</i>       | <i>brúðir</i> |              | <i>ansteis</i> | <i>anstiz</i>             | <i>-eĭ-es</i> |
| gen.     | <i>ésta</i>  | <i>enstio</i>  | <i>enstio, -eo</i> | <i>brúða</i>  |              | <i>anste</i>   | <i>anstiō<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>-eĭ-ōm</i> |
| dat.     | <i>éstum</i> | <i>enstium</i> | <i>enstim</i>      | <i>brúðom</i> |              | <i>anstim</i>  | <i>anstimiz</i>           | <i>-i-mis</i> |
| acc.     | <i>ésta</i>  | <i>ensti</i>   | <i>ensti</i>       | <i>brúðir</i> |              | <i>anstins</i> | <i>anstinz</i>            | <i>-i-ns</i>  |

Indo-European *u*-stems

|          | Old English  | Old Saxon     | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic    | Gothic        | *Germanic                 | *Pre-Germanic     |
|----------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>sunu</i>  | <i>sunu</i>   | <i>sun</i>      | <i>sonr</i>   | <i>maguz</i> | <i>sunus</i>  | <i>sunuz</i>              | <i>-u-s</i>       |
| gen.     | <i>suna</i>  | <i>sunies</i> | <i>sunes</i>    | <i>sonar</i>  | <i>magoz</i> | <i>sunaus</i> | <i>sunauz</i>             | <i>-ou-s</i>      |
| dat.     | <i>suna</i>  | <i>suno</i>   | <i>sunn</i>     | <i>syne</i>   | <i>magiu</i> | <i>sunau</i>  | <i>sunēu</i>              | <i>-ēu (loc.)</i> |
| acc.     | <i>sunu</i>  | <i>sunu</i>   | <i>sun</i>      | <i>son</i>    | <i>magu</i>  | <i>sunu</i>   | <i>sunu<sup>n</sup></i>   | <i>-u-m</i>       |
| nom. pl. | <i>suna</i>  | <i>sunī</i>   | <i>sunī</i>     | <i>syner</i>  |              | <i>sunjus</i> | <i>suniwiz</i>            | <i>-eĭ-es</i>     |
| gen.     | <i>suna</i>  | <i>sunio</i>  | <i>suneo</i>    | <i>sona</i>   |              | <i>sunīwe</i> | <i>suniwō<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>-eĭ-ōm</i>     |
| dat.     | <i>sunum</i> | <i>sunum</i>  | <i>sunim</i>    | <i>sonom</i>  |              | <i>sunum</i>  | <i>sunumiz</i>            | <i>-u-mis</i>     |
| acc.     | <i>suna</i>  | <i>sunī</i>   | <i>sunī</i>     | <i>sono</i>   |              | <i>sununs</i> | <i>sununz</i>             | <i>-u-ns</i>      |

Indo-European *r*-stems (m.)

|          | Old English        | Old Saxon       | Old High German  | Old Icelandic  | Old Runic      | Gothic          | *Germanic                               | *Pre-Germanic      |
|----------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|---|--------------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>bróðor</i>      | <i>brôðer</i>   | <i>bruoder</i>   | <i>bróðer</i>  | <i>swestar</i> | <i>broþar</i>   | <i>brōþēr</i>                           | <i>-ér</i>         |
| gen.     | <i>bróðor</i>      | <i>brôðer</i>   | <i>bruoder</i>   | <i>bróðor</i>  |                | <i>broþrs</i>   | <i>brōþriz/-az</i>                      | <i>-r-ós/-r̥-s</i> |
| dat.     | <i>breðr</i>       | <i>brôðer</i>   | <i>bruoder</i>   | <i>brøðr</i>   |                | <i>broþr</i>    | <i>brōþri</i>                           | <i>-r-i (loc.)</i> |
| acc.     | <i>brôðer</i>      | <i>brôðer</i>   | <i>bruoder</i>   | <i>bróðor</i>  |                | <i>broþar</i>   | <i>brōþ(e)ru<sup>n</sup></i>            | <i>-ér-ŋ</i>       |
| nom. pl. | <i>bróðor, -ru</i> | <i>brôðer</i>   | <i>bruoder</i>   | <i>bræðr</i>   | <i>dohtriz</i> | <i>broþrjus</i> | <i>brōþriz</i>                          | <i>-ér-es</i>      |
| gen.     | <i>bróðra</i>      |                 | <i>bruodero</i>  | <i>bræðra</i>  |                | <i>broþre</i>   | <i>brōþrō<sup>n</sup></i>               | <i>-r-ōm</i>       |
| dat.     | <i>bróðrum</i>     | <i>brôðarum</i> | <i>bruoderum</i> | <i>bræðrom</i> |                | <i>broþrum</i>  | <i>brōþrumiz</i><br><i>&lt; -ur-miz</i> | <i>-r̥-mis</i>     |
| acc.     | <i>bróðor, -ru</i> | <i>brôðer</i>   | <i>bruodera</i>  | <i>bræðr</i>   |                | <i>broþruns</i> | <i>brōþrunz</i>                         | <i>-ér-ŋs</i>      |

Indo-European *n*-stems (m.)

|          | Old English   | Old Saxon           | Old High German      | Old Icelandic | Old Runic        | Gothic        | *Germanic                                | *Pre-Germanic             |
|----------|---------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|--|---------------------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>hāna</i>   | <i>hano</i>         | <i>hano</i>          | <i>hane</i>   | <i>gudija</i>    | <i>hana</i>   | <i>hanō<sup>(n)</sup>/-ē<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>-ōn</i>                |
| gen.     | <i>hānan</i>  | <i>henon, -e/an</i> | <i>hanen, -(e)in</i> | <i>hana</i>   | <i>Wiwilann</i>  | <i>hanins</i> | <i>haniniz/-az</i>                       | <i>-en-es/-os</i>         |
| dat.     | <i>hānan</i>  | <i>hanon, -e/an</i> | <i>hanen, -(e)in</i> | <i>hana</i>   | <i>-halaiban</i> | <i>hanin</i>  | <i>hanini</i>                            | <i>-en-i (loc.)</i>       |
| acc.     | <i>hānan</i>  | <i>hanon, -an</i>   | <i>hanon, -un</i>    | <i>hana</i>   |                  | <i>hanan</i>  | <i>hananu<sup>n</sup></i>                | <i>-on-ŋ</i>              |
| nom. pl. | <i>hānan</i>  | <i>hanon</i>        | <i>hanon, -un</i>    | <i>hanar</i>  |                  | <i>hanans</i> | <i>hananiz</i>                           | <i>-on-es</i>             |
| gen.     | <i>hānena</i> | <i>hanono</i>       | <i>hanōno</i>        | <i>hana</i>   | <i>arbijano</i>  | <i>hanane</i> | <i>hananō<sup>(n)</sup></i>              | <i>-on-om</i>             |
| dat.     | <i>hānum</i>  | <i>hanon, -un</i>   | <i>hanōm</i>         | <i>hōnom</i>  |                  | <i>hanam</i>  | <i>hanunmiz</i>                          | <i>-ŋ<sub>2</sub>-mis</i> |
| acc.     | <i>hānan</i>  | <i>hanon</i>        | <i>hanon, -un</i>    | <i>hana</i>   |                  | <i>hanans</i> | <i>hananunz</i>                          | <i>-on-ŋs</i>             |

Indo-European *n*-stems (f.)

|          | Old English    | Old Saxon      | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic     | Gothic         | *Germanic                  | *Pre-Germanic     |
|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>tunġe</i>   | <i>tunga</i>   | <i>zunga</i>    | <i>tunga</i>  | <i>Aluko</i>  | <i>tuggo</i>   | <i>tungō<sup>n</sup></i>   | <i>-ōn</i>        |
| gen.     | <i>tunġan</i>  | <i>tungun</i>  | <i>zungūn</i>   | <i>tungo</i>  | <i>Igijon</i> | <i>tuggons</i> | <i>tungōniz/-az</i>        | <i>-ōn-es/-os</i> |
| dat.     | <i>tunġan</i>  | <i>tungun</i>  | <i>zungūn</i>   | <i>tungo</i>  |               | <i>tuggon</i>  | <i>tungōni</i>             | <i>-ōn-i</i>      |
| acc.     | <i>tunġan</i>  | <i>tungun</i>  | <i>zungūn</i>   | <i>tungo</i>  |               | <i>tuggon</i>  | <i>tungōnu<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>-ōn-ŋ</i>      |
| nom. pl. | <i>tunġan</i>  | <i>tungun</i>  | <i>zungūn</i>   | <i>tungor</i> |               | <i>tuggons</i> | <i>tungōniz</i>            | <i>-ōn-es</i>     |
| gen.     | <i>tunġena</i> | <i>tungono</i> | <i>zungōno</i>  | <i>tungna</i> |               | <i>tuggono</i> | <i>tungōnō<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>-ōn-ōm</i>     |
| dat.     | <i>tunġum</i>  | <i>tungon</i>  | <i>zungōm</i>   | <i>tungom</i> |               | <i>tuggom</i>  | <i>tungōnmiz</i>           | <i>-ōn-mis</i>    |
| acc.     | <i>tunġan</i>  | <i>tungun</i>  | <i>zungūn</i>   | <i>tungor</i> |               | <i>tuggons</i> | <i>tungōnunz</i>           | <i>-ōn-ŋs</i>     |

Indo-European *nt*-stems

|          | Old English     | Old Saxon       | Old High German | Old Icelandic   | Old Runic | Gothic           | *Germanic                   | *Pre-Germanic |
|----------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>fréond</i>   | <i>friund</i>   | <i>friunt</i>   | <i>fráende</i>  |           | <i>frijonds</i>  | <i>frijōnd-s/-z</i>         | = cons. stem  |
| gen.     | <i>fréondes</i> | <i>friundes</i> | <i>friuntes</i> | <i>fráenda</i>  |           | <i>frijondis</i> | <i>frijōndiza/aza</i>       | = o-stem      |
| dat.     | <i>fríend</i>   | <i>friunde</i>  | <i>friunte</i>  | <i>fráenda</i>  |           | <i>frijond</i>   | <i>frijōndi</i>             | = cons. stem  |
| acc.     | <i>fréond</i>   | <i>friund</i>   | <i>friunt</i>   | <i>fráenda</i>  |           | <i>frijond</i>   | <i>frijōndu<sup>n</sup></i> | = cons. stem  |
| nom. pl. | <i>fríend</i>   | <i>friund</i>   | <i>friunt</i>   | <i>gefendr</i>  |           | <i>frijonds</i>  | <i>frijōndiz</i>            | = cons. stem  |
| gen.     | <i>fréonda</i>  | <i>friundo</i>  | <i>friunto</i>  | <i>gefanda</i>  |           | <i>frijonde</i>  | <i>frijōndō<sup>n</sup></i> | = cons. stem  |
| dat.     | <i>fréondum</i> | <i>friundum</i> | <i>friuntum</i> | <i>gefōndom</i> |           | <i>frijondam</i> | <i>frijōndumiz</i>          | = o-stem      |
| acc.     | <i>fríend</i>   | <i>friund</i>   | <i>friunt</i>   | <i>gefendr</i>  |           | <i>frijonds</i>  | <i>frijōndiz</i>            | = cons. stem  |

Indo-European root nouns

|          | Old English   | Old Saxon      | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic | Gothic                   | *Germanic                  | *Pre-Germanic     |
|----------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>burġ</i>   | <i>burg</i>    | <i>burg</i>     | <i>mörk</i>   |           | <i>baurgs</i>            | <i>burg-s/-z</i>           | <i>-s</i>         |
| gen.     | <i>byrġ</i>   | <i>burgēs</i>  | <i>burg(i)</i>  | <i>merkr</i>  |           | <i>baurgs</i>            | <i>burg-iz/-is</i>         | <i>-es</i>        |
| dat.     | <i>byrġ</i>   | <i>burg(i)</i> | <i>burg(i)</i>  | <i>mörk</i>   |           | <i>baurg</i>             | <i>burgi</i>               | <i>-i (loc.)</i>  |
| acc.     | <i>burġ</i>   | <i>burg</i>    | <i>burg</i>     | <i>mörk</i>   |           | <i>baurg</i>             | <i>burgu<sup>n</sup></i>   | <i>-ṛ</i>         |
| nom. pl. | <i>byrġ</i>   | <i>burgi</i>   | <i>burgi</i>    | <i>merkr</i>  |           | <i>baurgs</i>            | <i>burgiz</i>              | <i>-es</i>        |
| gen.     | <i>burga</i>  | <i>burgo</i>   | <i>burgo</i>    | <i>marka</i>  |           | <i>baurge</i>            | <i>burgō<sup>n</sup></i>   | <i>-ōm</i>        |
| dat.     | <i>burgum</i> | <i>burgum</i>  | <i>burgum</i>   | <i>mörkom</i> |           | <i>fotum<br/>baurgim</i> | <i>burgumiz<br/>i-stem</i> | <i>-mis</i>       |
| acc.     | <i>byrġ</i>   | <i>burgi</i>   | <i>burgi</i>    | <i>merkr</i>  |           | <i>baurgs</i>            | <i>burgiz</i>              | <i>= nom. pl.</i> |

IV.2 Pronouns

1st person singular personal pronoun

|      | Old English    | Old Saxon          | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic     | Gothic       | *Germanic        | *Pre-Germanic             |
|------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| nom. | <i>īc</i>      | <i>ik, ek</i>      | <i>ih</i>       | <i>ek</i>     | <i>ek, ik</i> | <i>ik</i>    | <i>ēk / ik</i>   | <i>eġH</i>                |
| gen. | <i>mīn</i>     | <i>mīn</i>         | <i>mīn</i>      | <i>mín</i>    |               | <i>meina</i> | <i>minē</i>      | <i>mei<sub>1</sub>-nē</i> |
| dat. | <i>mē</i>      | <i>mī</i>          | <i>mir</i>      | <i>mér</i>    | <i>mez</i>    | <i>mis</i>   | <i>mes / miz</i> | <i>meso</i>               |
| acc. | <i>mē, mec</i> | <i>mī, mī, mik</i> | <i>mih</i>      | <i>mik</i>    | <i>mik</i>    | <i>mik</i>   | <i>mék / mik</i> | <i>meġe</i>               |

1st person dual personal pronoun

|      | Old English       | Old Saxon     | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic | Gothic         | *Germanic        | *Pre-Germanic             |
|------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------|----------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| nom. | <i>wit</i>        | <i>wit</i>    |                 | <i>vit</i>    |           | <i>wit</i>     | <i>wét / wit</i> | <i>we<sub>1</sub>-duo</i> |
| gen. | <i>uncer</i>      | <i>uncero</i> | <i>unkêr</i>    | <i>okkar</i>  |           | <i>*ugkara</i> | <i>uŋkara</i>    | <i>ŋġerē?</i>             |
| dat. | <i>unc</i>        | <i>unc</i>    |                 | <i>ok(k)r</i> |           | <i>ugkis</i>   | <i>uŋkiz</i>     | <i>ŋġeso</i>              |
| acc. | <i>unc, uncit</i> | <i>unc</i>    |                 | <i>ok(k)r</i> |           | <i>ugkis</i>   | <i>uŋk</i>       | <i>ŋġe?</i>               |

1st person plural personal pronoun

|      | Old English      | Old Saxon     | Old High German | Old Icelandic   | Old Runic  | Gothic            | *Germanic        | *Pre-Germanic            |
|------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| nom. | <i>wē</i>        | <i>wī, wē</i> | <i>wir</i>      | <i>vér</i>      | <i>wiz</i> | <i>weis</i>       | <i>wīs / wiz</i> | <i>we<sub>1</sub>jes</i> |
| gen. | <i>úser, úre</i> | <i>úser</i>   | <i>unsêr</i>    | <i>vár</i>      |            | <i>unsara</i>     | <i>unserē</i>    | <i>ŋserē</i>             |
| dat. | <i>ús</i>        | <i>ús</i>     | <i>uns</i>      | <i>óss, øss</i> |            | <i>uns, unsis</i> | <i>unsiz</i>     | <i>ŋseso</i>             |
| acc. | <i>ús(ic)</i>    | <i>ús</i>     | <i>unsih</i>    | <i>óss, øss</i> |            | <i>uns, unsis</i> | <i>uns</i>       | <i>ŋse</i>               |

2nd person singular personal pronoun

|      | Old English    | Old Saxon        | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic   | Gothic       | *Germanic        | *Pre-Germanic |
|------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|
| nom. | <i>þū</i>      | <i>thū</i>       | <i>dū, du</i>   | <i>þú</i>     |             | <i>þu</i>    | <i>þū</i>        | <i>tū</i>     |
| gen. | <i>þín</i>     | <i>thīn</i>      | <i>dīn</i>      | <i>þín</i>    | <i>þina</i> | <i>þeina</i> | <i>þīnē</i>      | <i>teī-nē</i> |
| dat. | <i>þē</i>      | <i>thê</i>       | <i>dir</i>      | <i>þér</i>    |             | <i>þus</i>   | <i>þes / þiz</i> | <i>teso</i>   |
| acc. | <i>þic, þē</i> | <i>thic, thî</i> | <i>dih</i>      | <i>þik</i>    |             | <i>þuk</i>   | <i>þék / þik</i> | <i>tege</i>   |

2nd person dual personal pronoun

|      | Old English       | Old Saxon  | Old High German | Old Icelandic  | Old Runic | Gothic        | *Germanic      | *Pre-Germanic  |
|------|-------------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| nom. | <i>ġit</i>        | <i>git</i> |                 | <i>it, þit</i> |           | <i>jut</i>    | <i>jūt</i>     | <i>īuduo</i>   |
| gen. | <i>incer</i>      |            |                 | <i>ykkar</i>   |           | <i>igqara</i> | <i>iŋkwarē</i> | <i>ŋġuerē?</i> |
| dat. | <i>inc</i>        | <i>inc</i> |                 | <i>yk(k)r</i>  |           | <i>igqis</i>  | <i>iŋkwiz</i>  | <i>ŋġueso?</i> |
| acc. | <i>inc, incit</i> | <i>inc</i> |                 | <i>yk(k)r</i>  |           | <i>igqis</i>  | <i>iŋkw</i>    | <i>ŋġue?</i>   |

2nd person plural personal pronoun

|      | Old English         | Old Saxon                     | Old High German | Old Icelandic  | Old Runic | Gothic        | *Germanic     | *Pre-Germanic  |
|------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| nom. | <i>ġē</i>           | <i>ġī, ge</i>                 | <i>ir</i>       | <i>ér, þér</i> |           | <i>jus</i>    | <i>jūz</i>    | <i>īūs</i>     |
| gen. | <i>íower, éower</i> | <i>euwar, iuwar, iuwer(o)</i> | <i>iuwêr</i>    | <i>yþvar</i>   |           | <i>izwara</i> | <i>izwerē</i> | <i>usuerē?</i> |
| dat. | <i>íow, éow</i>     | <i>eu, iu(u)</i>              | <i>iu</i>       | <i>yþr</i>     |           | <i>izwis</i>  | <i>izwiz</i>  | <i>usueso?</i> |
| acc. | <i>íow, éow(ic)</i> | <i>eu, iu(u)</i>              | <i>iuwih</i>    | <i>yþr</i>     |           | <i>izwis</i>  | <i>izw</i>    | <i>usue?</i>   |

3rd person personal pronoun – masculine

|          | Old English           | Old Saxon            | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic | Gothic      | *Germanic     | *Pre-Germanic  |
|----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>hē</i>             | <i>hé, hi(e)</i>     | <i>er</i>       | <i>hann</i>   |           | <i>is</i>   | <i>iz</i>     | <i>e-/i-s?</i> |
| gen.     | <i>his</i>            | <i>is, ez</i>        | <i>[sîn]</i>    | <i>hans</i>   |           | <i>is</i>   | <i>esa</i>    | <i>eso</i>     |
| dat.     | <i>him</i>            | <i>im(u/o), him</i>  | <i>imu, imo</i> | <i>honum</i>  |           | <i>inma</i> | <i>ezmē/ō</i> | <i>e-sm-ōī</i> |
| acc.     | <i>hi(e)ne</i>        | <i>ina(n)</i>        | <i>inan, in</i> | <i>hann</i>   |           | <i>ina</i>  | <i>inō(n)</i> | <i>im-ōm</i>   |
| nom. pl. | <i>hí(e), hý, héo</i> | <i>sia, sea, sie</i> | <i>sie</i>      | <i>þeir</i>   |           | <i>eis</i>  | <i>ejiz</i>   | <i>eī-es</i>   |
| gen.     | <i>hi(e)ra</i>        | <i>iro, ira, era</i> | <i>iro</i>      | <i>þeira</i>  |           | <i>ize</i>  | <i>izō</i>    | <i>e-s-ōm</i>  |
| dat.     | <i>him</i>            | <i>im</i>            | <i>im</i>       | <i>þeim</i>   |           | <i>im</i>   | <i>imiz</i>   | <i>eī-mis</i>  |
| acc.     | <i>hí(e), hý, héo</i> | <i>sia, sea, sie</i> | <i>sie</i>      | <i>þá</i>     |           | <i>ins</i>  | <i>inz</i>    | <i>i-ns</i>    |

3rd person personal pronoun – neuter

|          | Old English | Old Saxon           | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic | Gothic      | *Germanic     | *Pre-Germanic |
|----------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>hit</i>  | <i>it, et</i>       | <i>iz</i>       | <i>þat</i>    | <i>it</i> | <i>ita</i>  | <i>it</i>     | <i>id</i>     |
| gen.     | <i>his</i>  | <i>is, es</i>       | <i>es, is</i>   | <i>þess</i>   |           | <i>is</i>   | <i>esa</i>    | = m.          |
| dat.     | <i>him</i>  | <i>im(u/o), him</i> | <i>imu, imo</i> | <i>því</i>    |           | <i>imma</i> | <i>ezmē/ō</i> | = m.          |
| acc.     | <i>hit</i>  | <i>it, et</i>       | <i>iz</i>       | <i>þat</i>    | <i>it</i> | <i>ita</i>  | <i>it</i>     | <i>id</i>     |
| nom. pl. | = m. pl.    | = m. pl.            | = m. pl.        | <i>þau</i>    |           | <i>ija</i>  | <i>ijō</i>    |               |
| gen.     |             |                     |                 | <i>þeira</i>  |           | <i>ize</i>  | <i>izō</i>    | = m.          |
| dat.     |             |                     |                 | <i>þeim</i>   |           | <i>im</i>   | <i>imiz</i>   | = m.          |
| acc.     |             |                     |                 | <i>þau</i>    |           | <i>ija</i>  | <i>ijō</i>    |               |

3rd person personal pronoun – feminine

|          | Old English          | Old Saxon           | Old High German      | Old Icelandic | Old Runic | Gothic      | *Germanic    | *Pre-Germanic                         |
|----------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>hío, héo</i>      | <i>siu/e/a, sea</i> | <i>siu, sî, si</i>   | <i>hon</i>    |           | <i>si</i>   | <i>sî</i>    | <i>sî &lt; siH<sub>2</sub></i>        |
| gen.     | <i>hi(e)re, hýre</i> | <i>ira/u/o/e</i>    | <i>ira, iru, iro</i> | <i>hana</i>   |           | <i>izos</i> | <i>ezōz</i>  | <i>esās &lt; es-eH<sub>2</sub>-s</i>  |
| dat.     | <i>hi(e)re, hýre</i> | <i>iru, iro</i>     | <i>iru, iro</i>      | <i>hennar</i> |           | <i>izai</i> | <i>ezāi</i>  | <i>esjāi &lt; esjeH<sub>2</sub>ei</i> |
| acc.     | <i>hí(e), hý</i>     | <i>sia/u, sea</i>   | <i>sia, sie</i>      | <i>henne</i>  |           | <i>ija</i>  | <i>ijōn</i>  | <i>ejām &lt; ej-eH<sub>2</sub>-m</i>  |
| nom. pl. | = m. pl.             | = m. pl.            | <i>sio</i>           | <i>þær</i>    |           | <i>ijos</i> | <i>ijō</i>   | <i>ijās &lt; iH<sub>2</sub>-es</i>    |
| gen.     |                      |                     | <i>iro</i>           | <i>þeira</i>  |           | <i>izo</i>  | <i>izō</i>   | <i>esām &lt; e-s-eH<sub>2</sub>m</i>  |
| dat.     |                      |                     | <i>im</i>            | <i>þeim</i>   |           | <i>im</i>   | <i>imiz</i>  | <i>ej-mis</i>                         |
| acc.     |                      |                     | <i>sio</i>           | <i>þær</i>    |           | <i>ijos</i> | <i>ij-ōz</i> | <i>?iH<sub>2</sub>-ns</i>             |

1st and 2nd person possessive pronouns singular, plural and dual (all nom. forms masc.)

|        | Old English         | Old Saxon           | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic              | Gothic        | *Germanic                  | *Pre-Germanic  |
|--------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| 1. sg. | <i>mín</i>          | <i>mûn</i>          | <i>mûn</i>      | <i>minn</i>   | <i>mînas</i><br>(gen.) | <i>meins</i>  | <i>mînaz</i>               | <i>meinos</i>  |
| 2. sg. | <i>þín</i>          | <i>thûn</i>         | <i>dîn</i>      | <i>þinn</i>   |                        | <i>þeins</i>  | <i>þînaz</i>               | <i>teinos</i>  |
| 1. du. | <i>uncer</i>        | <i>unka</i>         | –               | <i>okkarr</i> |                        | <i>*ugkar</i> | <i>unkeraz</i>             |                |
| 2. du. | <i>incer</i>        | <i>inka</i>         | –               | <i>ykkarr</i> |                        | <i>igqar</i>  | <i>ink<sup>w</sup>eraz</i> |                |
| 1. pl. | <i>úre</i>          | <i>ûsa</i>          | <i>unsêr</i>    | <i>várr</i>   |                        | <i>unsar</i>  | <i>unzeraz</i>             | <i>ņseros</i>  |
| 2. pl. | <i>íower, eower</i> | <i>iuwar, eowar</i> | <i>iuwêr</i>    | <i>yþvarr</i> |                        | <i>izwar</i>  | <i>izweraz</i>             | <i>usęeros</i> |

possessive-reflexive pronoun (nom. for all genders and numbers)

|  | Old English | Old Saxon  | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic     | Gothic       | *Germanic    | *Pre-Germanic |
|--|-------------|------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
|  | <i>sín</i>  | <i>sûn</i> | <i>sûn</i>      | <i>sinn</i>   | <i>sin(n)</i> | <i>seins</i> | <i>sînaz</i> | <i>seinos</i> |

demonstrative pronouns (masc.)

|          | Old English       | Old Saxon              | Old High German              | Old Icelandic | Old Runic   | Gothic       | *Germanic         | *Pre-Germanic                     |
|----------|-------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>þē</i>         | <i>thê, thie</i>       | <i>der</i>                   | <i>sá</i>     | <i>sa</i>   | <i>sa</i>    | <i>so</i>         | <i>so</i>                         |
| gen.     | <i>þæs</i>        | <i>thes</i>            | <i>des</i>                   | <i>þess</i>   |             | <i>þis</i>   | <i>þesa</i>       | <i>te-so</i>                      |
| dat.     | <i>þæm, þám</i>   | <i>them(o/u)</i>       | <i>demu, demo</i>            | <i>þeim</i>   | <i>þaim</i> | <i>þamma</i> | <i>þazmē/ō</i>    | <i>to-sm-ōi</i><br><i>toi-mi</i>  |
| acc.     | <i>þone</i>       | <i>thena, thana</i>    | <i>den</i>                   | <i>þann</i>   | <i>þin</i>  | <i>þana</i>  | <i>þan, þanon</i> | <i>to-m</i>                       |
| instr.   | <i>þý, þon</i>    | <i>thiu</i>            | ( <i>diu</i> only in neutr.) |               |             |              | <i>þiō</i>        | <i>tīō &lt; tīo-H<sub>1</sub></i> |
| nom. pl. | <i>þá</i>         | <i>thê, thea, thie</i> | <i>dê, dea, dia, die</i>     | <i>þeir</i>   |             | <i>þai</i>   | <i>þai</i>        | <i>toi</i>                        |
| gen.     | <i>þara, þára</i> | <i>thero</i>           | <i>dero</i>                  | <i>þeira</i>  |             | <i>þize</i>  | <i>þaizōn</i>     | <i>toi-s-ōm</i>                   |
| dat.     | <i>þæm, þám</i>   | <i>them, then</i>      | <i>dēm, dēn</i>              | <i>þeim</i>   |             | <i>þaim</i>  | <i>þaimiz</i>     | <i>toi-mis (instr.)</i>           |
| acc.     | <i>þá</i>         | <i>thê, thea, thie</i> | <i>dê, dea, dia, die</i>     | <i>þá</i>     |             | <i>þans</i>  | <i>þanz</i>       | <i>tons</i>                       |

demonstrative pronouns (neutr.)

|          | Old English                           | Old Saxon           | Old High German   | Old Icelandic                       | Old Runic  | Gothic                              | *Germanic                    | *Pre-Germanic                              |
|----------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| nom. sg. | <i>þæt</i>                            | <i>that</i>         | <i>daz</i>        | <i>þat</i>                          | <i>þat</i> | <i>þata</i>                         | <i>þat</i>                   | <i>tod</i>                                 |
| gen.     | <i>þæs</i>                            | <i>thes</i>         | <i>des</i>        | <i>þess</i>                         |            | <i>þis</i>                          | <i>þesa</i>                  | = m.                                       |
| dat.     | <i>þæm, þám</i>                       | <i>them(o/u)</i>    | <i>demu, demo</i> | <i>þ(v)í (-v- according to hví)</i> |            | <i>þamma</i><br>( <i>þei that</i> ) | <i>þazmō/ē</i><br><i>þei</i> | = m.<br><i>toi-mi</i><br><i>tei (loc.)</i> |
| acc.     | <i>þæt</i>                            | <i>that</i>         | <i>daz</i>        | <i>þat</i>                          | <i>þat</i> | <i>þata</i>                         | <i>þat</i>                   | <i>tod</i>                                 |
| instr.   | <i>þý &lt; *þī</i><br><i>þon = m.</i> | <i>thiu = m.</i>    | <i>diu = m.</i>   | <i>þué</i>                          |            | <i>þe</i>                           | <i>þē</i>                    | <i>tē</i>                                  |
| nom. pl. | = m. pl.                              | <i>thiu/a, thea</i> | <i>diu</i>        | <i>þau</i>                          |            | <i>þo</i>                           | <i>þō</i>                    | <i>tā &lt; teH<sub>2</sub></i>             |
| gen.     |                                       | <i>thero</i>        | <i>dero</i>       | <i>þeira</i>                        |            | <i>þize</i>                         | = m.                         | = m.                                       |
| dat.     |                                       | <i>thēm, thēn</i>   | <i>dēm, dēn</i>   | <i>þeim</i>                         |            | <i>þaim</i>                         | = m.                         | = m.                                       |
| acc.     |                                       | <i>thiu/a, thea</i> | <i>diu</i>        | <i>þau</i>                          |            | <i>þo</i>                           | <i>þō</i>                    | <i>tā &lt; teH<sub>2</sub></i>             |

demonstrative pronouns (fem.)

|          | Old English    | Old Saxon         | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic         | Gothic       | *Germanic                | *Pre-Germanic                     |
|----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| nom. sg. | <i>só, séo</i> | <i>thiu</i>       | <i>diu</i>      | <i>sú</i>     |                   | <i>so</i>    | <i>sō</i>                | <i>sā &lt; seH<sub>2</sub></i>    |
| gen.     | <i>þære</i>    | <i>thera/o</i>    | <i>dera/u/o</i> | <i>þeirar</i> |                   | <i>þizos</i> | <i>þaiz(j)ōz, þezjōz</i> | <i>te-si-eH<sub>2</sub>-s</i>     |
| dat.     | <i>þære</i>    | <i>theru/o/a</i>  | <i>deru/o</i>   | <i>þeire</i>  |                   | <i>þizai</i> | <i>þezōi, þaizōi</i>     | <i>te-si-eH<sub>2</sub>-ei</i>    |
| acc.     | <i>þá</i>      | <i>thiu</i>       | <i>dea, dia</i> | <i>þá</i>     |                   | <i>þo</i>    | <i>þōn</i>               | <i>teH<sub>2</sub>-m</i>          |
| nom. pl. | = m. pl.       | <i>thê, tha</i>   | <i>deo, dio</i> | <i>þér</i>    |                   | <i>þos</i>   | <i>þōz</i>               | <i>tās &lt; teH<sub>2</sub>-s</i> |
| gen.     |                | <i>thero</i>      | <i>dero</i>     | <i>þeira</i>  |                   | <i>þizo</i>  | <i>þezōn</i>             | = m.                              |
| dat.     |                | <i>thēm, thān</i> | <i>dēm, dēn</i> | <i>þeim</i>   |                   | <i>þaim</i>  | <i>þaimiz</i>            | = m.                              |
| acc.     |                | <i>thê, tha</i>   | <i>deo, dio</i> | <i>þér</i>    | <i>þaiaz, þaz</i> | <i>þos</i>   | <i>þōz</i>               | <i>tās &lt; teH<sub>2</sub>-s</i> |



### IV.3 Adjectives

Germanic adjectives are divided into so-called *strong* and *weak inflections* according to the classification proposed by Jacob Grimm.

#### IV.3.1 Strong adjectives

The strong adjectives follow the nominal declension of the Indo-European *o*-stems for the masculine and neuter and the IE *ā*-stems for the feminine. The *i*- and *u*-stems do not differentiate between the genders. Some case endings of the strong declension were taken over from the declension of the demonstrative pronouns, and therefore this declension is also sometimes called the pronominal declension. The following table shows the forms with pronominal endings in italics.

| case/number/<br>gender | Old English    | Old Saxon             | Old High<br>German     | Old Icelandic           | Gothic            | *Germanic          |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| nom. sg. m.            | blind          | blind                 | blint, <i>blintêr</i>  | blindr                  | blinds            | -az                |
| gen.                   | <i>blinds</i>  | blindes, -as          | blindes                | <i>blinds</i>           | blindis           | -esa               |
| dat.                   | <i>blindum</i> | <i>blindum, -omu</i>  | <i>blintemu</i>        | <i>blindum</i>          | <i>blindamma</i>  | -azmō              |
| acc.                   | <i>blindne</i> | <i>blindan</i>        | <i>blintan</i> (blint) | <i>blindan</i>          | <i>blindana</i>   | -an-a <sup>n</sup> |
| instr.                 | blinde         | blindu, -o            | blintu                 |                         |                   |                    |
| nom. sg. neut.         | blind          | blind                 | blint                  | <i>blint</i> (*blind-t) | blind             | -a <sup>n</sup>    |
|                        |                |                       | <i>blintaƷ</i>         | (spakt)                 | <i>blindata</i>   | -at                |
| gen.                   | <i>blinds</i>  | blindes, -as          | blindes                | <i>blinds</i>           | <i>blindis</i>    | -esa               |
| dat.                   | <i>blindum</i> | <i>blindum, -omu</i>  | <i>blintemu</i>        | blindo, -u              | <i>blindamma</i>  | -azmō              |
| acc.                   | blind          | blind                 | blint                  | <i>blint</i> (*blind-t) | blind             | -a <sup>n</sup>    |
|                        |                |                       | <i>blintaƷ</i>         | (spakt)                 | <i>blindata</i>   | -at                |
| nom. sg. f.            | blind          | blind                 | blint                  | blind                   | blinda            | -ō                 |
|                        | (hwatu)        |                       | <i>blintiu</i>         | (spøk)                  |                   |                    |
| gen.                   | <i>blindre</i> | <i>blindara, -era</i> | <i>blintera</i>        | <i>blindrar</i>         | <i>blindaizos</i> | -aizōz             |
| dat.                   | <i>blindre</i> | <i>blindaru, -eru</i> | <i>blinteru</i>        | <i>blindri</i>          | blindai           | -aizōi / -ōi       |
| acc.                   | blinde         | blinda                | blinta                 | blinda                  | blinda            | -ō <sup>n</sup>    |
| nom. pl. m.            | <i>blinde</i>  | <i>blinde</i>         | <i>blinte</i> (blint)  | <i>blindar</i>          | <i>blindai</i>    | -ai                |
| gen.                   | <i>blindra</i> | <i>blindara</i>       | <i>blintero</i>        | <i>blindra</i>          | <i>blindaize</i>  | -aizōn             |
| dat.                   | blindum        | blindum               | <i>blintêr</i>         | blindum                 | <i>blindaim</i>   | -amz / -aimiz      |
| acc.                   | <i>blinde</i>  | <i>blinde</i>         | <i>blinte</i> (blint)  | blinda                  | blindans          | -anz               |
| nom. pl. neut.         | blind          | blind                 | <i>blintiu</i> (blint) | blind                   | blinda            | -ō                 |
| acc.                   | blind          | blind                 | <i>blintiu</i>         | blind                   | blinda            | -ō                 |
| nom. pl. f.            | blinda         | blinda                | <i>blinto</i> (blint)  | blindar                 | blindos           | -ōz                |
| gen.                   | <i>blindra</i> | <i>blindaro</i>       | <i>blintero</i>        | <i>blindra</i>          | <i>blindaizo</i>  | -aizō <sup>n</sup> |
| dat.                   | blindum        | blindum               | <i>blintêr</i>         | blindum                 | <i>blindaim</i>   | -amz / -aimiz      |
| acc.                   | blinda         | blinda                | <i>blinto</i> (blint)  | blindar                 | blindos           | -ōz                |

The declension of *i-* and *u-*stem adjectives in preserved its specific form only in Gothic, though even Gothic shows some pronominal forms.

|          | m.                | f.                 | ntr.                    | m.               | f.                | ntr.                   |
|----------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| nom. sg. | hrains            | hrains             | hrain, <i>hrainjata</i> | hardus           | hardus            | hardu, <i>hardjata</i> |
| gen.     | hrainis           | <i>hrainjaizos</i> | = m.                    | hardaus          | <i>hardjaizos</i> | = m.                   |
| dat.     | <i>hrainjamma</i> | hrainjai           | = m.                    | <i>hardjamma</i> | hardjai           | = m.                   |
| acc.     | <i>hrainjana</i>  | hrainja            | hrain, <i>hrainjata</i> | <i>hardjana</i>  | hardja            | hardu, <i>hardjata</i> |

### IV.3.2 Weak adjectives

The declension of weak adjectives differs from the strong paradigms by a nasal extension: suffixes *\*-en- / \*-on-* for the masculine and neuter, *\*-ōn-* and *\*-īn-* for the feminine. The origin of the suffix *\*-en- / \*-on-* and its derivatives is usually associated with the Indo-European nominal base *\*en- / \*on-*, which appears postpositioned after an adjectival base similarly to the relative *\*īo-* that is attached to the Slavic and Baltic ‘short’ adjectives. Declension follows the respective noun paradigms (see above). (*spōku*)

| case/number/gender | Old English        | Old Saxon                | Old High German     | Old Icelandic | Gothic          | *Germanic                |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| nom. sg. m.        | <i>gōda</i>        | <i>blindo, -a</i>        | <i>blinto</i>       | <i>spaki</i>  | <i>blinda</i>   | <i>-an-ē / -an-ō</i>     |
| gen.               | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blinden, -an, -on</i> | <i>blinten, -in</i> | <i>spaka</i>  | <i>blindins</i> | <i>-in-iz / -in-az</i>   |
| dat.               | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blindon, -en, -an</i> | <i>blinten, -in</i> | <i>spaka</i>  | <i>blindin</i>  | <i>-in-i</i>             |
| acc.               | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blindon, -an</i>      | <i>blinton, -un</i> | <i>spaka</i>  | <i>blindan</i>  | <i>-an-u<sup>n</sup></i> |
| nom. sg. neutr.    | <i>gōde</i>        | <i>blinda, -e</i>        | <i>blinta</i>       | <i>spaka</i>  | <i>blindo</i>   | <i>-ō<sup>n</sup></i>    |
| gen.               | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blinde, -an, -on</i>  | <i>blinten, -in</i> | <i>spaka</i>  | <i>blindins</i> | <i>-en-iz / -en-az</i>   |
| dat.               | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blindon, -en, -an</i> | <i>blinten, -in</i> | <i>spaka</i>  | <i>blindin</i>  | <i>-en-i</i>             |
| acc.               | <i>gōde</i>        | <i>blinda, -e</i>        | <i>blinta</i>       | <i>spaka</i>  | <i>blindo</i>   | <i>-ō<sup>n</sup></i>    |
| nom. sg. f.        | <i>gōde</i>        | <i>blinda, -e</i>        | <i>blinta</i>       | <i>spaka</i>  | <i>blindo</i>   | <i>-ō<sup>n</sup></i>    |
| gen.               | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blindun</i>           | <i>blintūn</i>      | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindons</i> | <i>-ōn-iz</i>            |
| dat.               | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blindun, -on, -an</i> | <i>blintūn</i>      | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindon</i>  | <i>-ōn-i</i>             |
| acc.               | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blindun, -on, -an</i> | <i>blintūn</i>      | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindon</i>  | <i>-ōn-u<sup>n</sup></i> |
| nom. pl. m.        | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blindun, -on, -an</i> | <i>blinton, -un</i> | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindans</i> | <i>-an-iz</i>            |
| gen.               | <i>gōdra, -ena</i> | <i>blindono</i>          | <i>blintōno</i>     | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindane</i> | <i>-an-ō<sup>n</sup></i> |
| dat.               | <i>gōdum</i>       | <i>blindum, -un</i>      | <i>blintōm, -ōn</i> | <i>spōkum</i> | <i>blindam</i>  | <i>-an-m(u)z</i>         |
| acc.               | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blindun, -on, -an</i> | <i>blinton, -un</i> | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindans</i> | <i>-an-unz</i>           |
| nom. pl. neutr.    | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blindun, -on, -an</i> | <i>blintun</i>      | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindona</i> | <i>-ōn-ā</i>             |
| gen.               | <i>gōdra, -ena</i> | <i>blindono</i>          | <i>blintōno</i>     | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindane</i> | <i>-an-ō<sup>n</sup></i> |
| dat.               | <i>gōdum</i>       | <i>blindum, -un</i>      | <i>blintōm, -ōn</i> | <i>spōkum</i> | <i>blindam</i>  | <i>-an-m(u)z</i>         |
| acc.               | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blindun, -on, -an</i> | <i>blinton, -un</i> | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindona</i> | <i>-ōn-ā</i>             |
| nom. pl. f.        | <i>gōde</i>        | <i>blindun, -on, -an</i> | <i>blintūn</i>      | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindons</i> | <i>-ōn-iz</i>            |
| gen.               | <i>gōdra, -ena</i> | <i>blindono</i>          | <i>blintōno</i>     | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindono</i> | <i>-ōn-ō<sup>n</sup></i> |
| dat.               | <i>gōdum</i>       | <i>blindum, -un</i>      | <i>blintōm, -ōn</i> | <i>spōkum</i> | <i>blindom</i>  | <i>-ōn-m(u)z</i>         |
| acc.               | <i>gōdan</i>       | <i>blindun, -on, -an</i> | <i>blintūn</i>      | <i>spōku</i>  | <i>blindons</i> | <i>-ōn-unz</i>           |

**IV.3.3 Comparison of adjectives**

For comparison of adjectives, the Germanic languages use stems in \*-iz-/\*-ōz- for the comparative and stems in \*-ist-/\*-ōst- for the superlative: Gothic *hauhs* “high” : *hauhiza* “higher” : *hauhista* “the highest” = Old High German *hōh* : *hōhīro* / *hōhōro* : *hōhīsto* / *hōhōsto* = Old English *héah* : *híehre* : *híehsta* = Old Icelandic *hár* : *hóre* : *hóstr*; and also \*(t)um- and \*(t)um-ist-: Gothic *auhuma* “higher” : *auh(u)mists* the highest”, *aftuma* “last” : *aftumists* “the latest”, and others.

**IV.4 Cardinal and ordinal numerals**

|                  | Old English        | Old Frisian         | Old Saxon            | Old High German       | Old Icelandic        | Gothic          | *Germanic         | *Pre-Germanic                            |
|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|--|
| 1                | <i>án</i>          | <i>en</i>           | <i>ên</i>            | <i>ein</i>            | <i>einn</i>          | <i>ains</i>     | <i>aina-</i>      | <i>(H<sub>1</sub>)oiño-</i>              |
| 1 <sup>st</sup>  | <i>forma</i>       | <i>forma</i>        | <i>formo</i>         |                       |                      | <i>fruma</i>    | <i>furma-</i>     | <i>pr<sub>o</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-mo-</i>   |
|                  | <i>fyr(m)esta</i>  | <i>ferost</i>       | <i>furisto</i>       | <i>furisto</i>        | <i>fyrstr</i>        |                 | <i>furista-</i>   | <i>pr<sub>o</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-isto-</i> |
|                  | <i>áresta</i>      | <i>er(i/o)st</i>    | <i>êrista</i>        | <i>êristo</i>         |                      |                 | <i>airista-</i>   |  |
| 2 m.             | <i>twégen</i>      | <i>twen(e)</i>      | <i>twêne</i>         | <i>zwêne</i>          | <i>tveir</i>         | <i>twai</i>     | <i>twai</i>       | <i>duoi(H<sub>1</sub>)</i>               |
| 2 f.             | <i>twá</i>         | <i>twa</i>          | <i>twâ, twô</i>      | <i>zwâ, zwô</i>       | <i>tvær</i>          | <i>twos</i>     | <i>twô</i>        | <i>duô</i>                               |
| 2 n.             | <i>twá, tú</i>     | <i>twa</i>          | <i>twê</i>           | <i>zwei</i>           | <i>tvau</i>          | <i>twa</i>      | <i>twau</i>       | <i>duou</i>                              |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup>  | <i>óðer</i>        | <i>other</i>        | <i>ôthar</i>         | <i>ander</i>          | <i>annar</i>         | <i>anþar</i>    | <i>anþeraz</i>    | <i>antero-</i>                           |
|                  | <i>æfterra</i>     |                     |                      |                       |                      |                 |                   | <i>aftero-</i>                           |
| 3 m.             | <i>þrí(e), þrý</i> | <i>thre, treje</i>  | <i>thria</i>         | <i>drî</i>            | <i>þrír</i>          | <i>þreis</i>    | <i>þrijiz</i>     | <i>treies</i>                            |
| 3 f.             | <i>þrío, þréo</i>  | <i>thria</i>        | <i>threa</i>         | <i>drîo</i>           | <i>þrjár</i>         | <i>þreis</i>    | <i>þrijöz</i>     | <i>trijās</i>                            |
| 3 n.             | <i>þrío, þréo</i>  | <i>thriu, thria</i> | <i>thriu</i>         | <i>drîu</i>           | <i>þrjú</i>          | <i>þrija</i>    | <i>þrijō</i>      | <i>tri(i)ā</i>                           |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup>  | <i>þrida</i>       | <i>thredda</i>      | <i>thriddio</i>      | <i>drirr(i)o</i>      | <i>þriþi</i>         | <i>þridja</i>   | <i>þridja-</i>    | <i>tritio-</i>                           |
| 4                |                    |                     |                      |                       |                      | <i>fidwor</i>   | <i>feðwōr</i>     | <i>k<sup>e</sup>etjōr(H<sub>2</sub>)</i> |
| 4 m.             | <i>féower</i>      | <i>flower</i>       | <i>fiuwar, fior</i>  | <i>fior, feor</i>     | <i>fjórir</i>        |                 | <i>feðu(o)ris</i> | <i>k<sup>e</sup>etures</i>               |
| 4 f.             |                    |                     |                      |                       | <i>fjórar</i>        |                 | <i>feðurōz</i>    | <i>k<sup>e</sup>eturās</i>               |
| 4 n.             |                    |                     |                      |                       | <i>fjogur</i>        |                 | <i>feðurō</i>     | <i>k<sup>e</sup>eturā</i>                |
| 4 <sup>th</sup>  | <i>féo(we)rða</i>  | <i>fiarda</i>       | <i>fiordo</i>        | <i>fiordo</i>         | <i>fiorði</i>        |                 | <i>feðurða-</i>   | <i>k<sup>e</sup>etj<sub>u</sub>rto-</i>  |
| 5                | <i>ff</i>          | <i>fif</i>          | <i>fif</i>           | <i>fimf, finf</i>     | <i>fim(m)</i>        | <i>fimf</i>     | <i>fimf</i>       | <i>penk<sup>e</sup>e</i>                 |
| 5 <sup>th</sup>  | <i>fffto</i>       | <i>fifta</i>        | <i>fifto</i>         | <i>fimfto, finfto</i> | <i>fimm(ti)</i>      | <i>fimfta</i>   | <i>fimfta-</i>    | <i>penk<sup>e</sup>to-</i>               |
| 6                | <i>sex, siex</i>   | <i>sex</i>          | <i>sehs, ses</i>     | <i>sehs</i>           | <i>sex</i>           | <i>saihs</i>    | <i>sexs</i>       | <i>s(y)éks</i>                           |
| 6 <sup>th</sup>  | <i>si(e)xta</i>    | <i>sexta</i>        | <i>sehsto, sesta</i> | <i>sehsto</i>         | <i>sétti</i>         | <i>saihsta</i>  | <i>sexssta-</i>   | <i>s(y)éksto-</i>                        |
| 7                | <i>siofon, -un</i> | <i>sigun, sogen</i> | <i>sibun</i>         | <i>sibun</i>          | <i>sjau</i>          | <i>sibun</i>    | <i>seibun</i>     | <i>septŋt</i>                            |
| 7 <sup>th</sup>  | <i>seofōða</i>     | <i>si(u)gunda</i>   | <i>sibunda</i>       | <i>sibunto</i>        | <i>si(a)undi</i>     |                 | <i>sebunða-</i>   | <i>septŋto-</i>                          |
| 8                | <i>éahta</i>       | <i>acht(a/e)</i>    | <i>ahto</i>          | <i>ahto, -u</i>       | <i>átta</i>          | <i>ahtau</i>    | <i>aχtau</i>      | <i>óktōu</i>                             |
| 8 <sup>th</sup>  | <i>eahtoða</i>     | <i>achtunda</i>     | <i>ahtodo</i>        | <i>ahtodo</i>         | <i>átti, attandi</i> | <i>ahtuda</i>   | <i>aχtōðan-</i>   | <i>óktōtó-</i>                           |
| 9                | <i>nigon</i>       | <i>niugun</i>       | <i>nigun</i>         | <i>niun</i>           | <i>nú</i>            | <i>niun</i>     | <i>newun</i>      | <i>(H<sub>1</sub>)neum̃</i>              |
| 9 <sup>th</sup>  | <i>nigoða</i>      | <i>niugunda</i>     | <i>nigundo</i>       | <i>niunto</i>         | <i>níundi</i>        | <i>niunda</i>   | <i>newunða-</i>   | <i>(H<sub>1</sub>)neum̃tó-</i>           |
| 10               |                    |                     |                      |                       | <i>tíu</i>           | <i>taihun</i>   | <i>teχun</i>      | <i>dékŋt</i>                             |
|                  | <i>tíen, tén</i>   | <i>tian</i>         | <i>tehan</i>         | <i>zehan</i>          |                      |                 | <i>teχan</i>      | <i>dékomt</i>                            |
| 10 <sup>th</sup> | <i>téōða</i>       |                     |                      |                       | <i>tíundi</i>        | <i>taihunda</i> | <i>teχunða-</i>   | <i>dékŋtó-</i>                           |
|                  |                    | <i>tegotha</i>      | <i>tegôtho</i>       |                       |                      |                 | <i>tegunþa-</i>   | <i>dékŋto-</i>                           |
|                  |                    | <i>tianda</i>       | <i>tehando</i>       | <i>zehanto</i>        |                      |                 | <i>teχanða-</i>   | <i>dékomto-</i>                          |

|      | Old English            | Old Frisian                    | Old Saxon          | Old High German      | Old Icelandic           | Gothic               | *Germanic                | *Pre-Germanic         |
|------|------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 11   | <i>en(d)le(o)fan</i>   | <i>andlova, elleva</i>         | <i>elleban</i>     | <i>einlif</i>        | <i>ellifu</i>           | <i>ainlif</i>        | <i>ain-lib/fa-</i>       |                       |
| 12   | <i>twelf</i>           | <i>twel(e)f</i>                | <i>twelif</i>      | <i>zweelif</i>       | <i>tolf</i>             | <i>twalif</i>        | <i>twa-lib/fa</i>        |                       |
| 13   | <i>þríoténe, -týne</i> | <i>thretine</i>                | <i>thriutein</i>   | <i>drizehan</i>      | <i>þrettán</i>          |                      |                          |                       |
| 14   | <i>féoworténe,</i>     | <i>fiowertine</i>              | <i>fiertein</i>    | <i>fiorzehan</i>     | <i>fiogortán</i>        | <i>fidwortaihun</i>  |                          |                       |
| 15   | <i>fifténe, -týne</i>  | <i>fifine</i>                  | <i>fiftein</i>     | <i>finfzehan</i>     | <i>fim(m)tán</i>        | <i>fimftaihun</i>    |                          |                       |
| 16   | <i>siexténe, -týne</i> | <i>sextine</i>                 | <i>se(h)stein</i>  | <i>sehzehan</i>      | <i>sextán</i>           |                      |                          |                       |
| 17   | <i>siofonténe</i>      | <i>siguntine</i>               | <i>sivontein</i>   | <i>sibunzehan</i>    | <i>siaut(i)án</i>       |                      |                          |                       |
| 18   | <i>eahtaténe</i>       | <i>achtatine</i>               | <i>ahtotein</i>    | <i>ahtozehan</i>     | <i>at(t)tán</i>         |                      |                          |                       |
| 19   | <i>nigonténe</i>       | <i>niuguntine</i>              | <i>nigentein</i>   | <i>niunzehan</i>     | <i>nitían</i>           |                      |                          |                       |
| 20   | <i>twéntig</i>         | <i>twintich</i>                | <i>twêntig</i>     | <i>zweinzug</i>      | <i>tottogo, tuttugu</i> | <i>twai tigjus</i>   | <i>twai tegu-</i>        | <i>δυοῖ δεκάτη</i>    |
| 30   | <i>þri(t)ig</i>        | <i>thritich</i>                | <i>thritig</i>     | <i>driz(z)ug</i>     | <i>þrír tigr</i>        | <i>þreis tigjus</i>  | <i>þrijis tegu-</i>      | etc.                  |
| 40   | <i>féowertig</i>       | <i>fiuwertich</i>              | <i>fiwartig</i>    | <i>fiorzug</i>       | <i>fjórír tigr</i>      | <i>fidwor tigjus</i> | <i>fedwōr tegu-</i>      |                       |
| 50   | <i>ffftig</i>          | <i>fiftich</i>                 | <i>fiftig</i>      | <i>finfzug</i>       | <i>fimm tigr</i>        | <i>fimf tigjus</i>   | <i>fimf tegu-</i>        |                       |
| 60   | <i>si(e)xtig</i>       | <i>sextich</i>                 | <i>se(h)stig</i>   | <i>sêhzug</i>        | <i>sex tigr</i>         | <i>saihs tigjus</i>  | <i>sexs tegu-</i>        |                       |
| 70   | <i>hundseofontig</i>   | <i>si(u)gentich</i>            | <i>ahtsibunta</i>  | <i>sibunzo, -zug</i> | <i>sjau tigr</i>        |                      | <i>seibun tegu-</i>      |                       |
|      |                        |                                |                    |                      |                         | <i>sibuntehund</i>   | <i>sebunteχund-</i>      |                       |
| 80   | <i>hundehtatig</i>     | <i>achta(n)tich, tachtig</i>   | <i>(ant)ahtoda</i> | <i>ahtozo, -zug</i>  | <i>átta tigr</i>        |                      | <i>αχτα tegu-</i>        |                       |
|      |                        |                                |                    |                      |                         | <i>ahtautehund</i>   | <i>αχταuteχund-</i>      |                       |
| 90   | <i>hundnigontig</i>    | <i>niuguntich, tniogentich</i> | <i>nigonda</i>     | <i>niunzo, -zug</i>  | <i>nú tigr</i>          |                      | <i>newun tegu-</i>       |                       |
|      |                        |                                |                    |                      |                         | <i>niuntehund</i>    | <i>newunteχund-</i>      |                       |
| 100  | <i>hund, hundred</i>   | <i>hundred, -erd</i>           | <i>hund(erod)</i>  | <i>hunt, hundert</i> |                         | <i>hund</i>          | <i>χundā<sup>n</sup></i> | <i>κῆντόμ</i>         |
|      | <i>hundtéontig</i>     |                                |                    | <i>zêhanzo, -zug</i> | <i>tú tigr</i>          | <i>taihuntehund</i>  |                          |                       |
| 120  | <i>hundtwelftig</i>    |                                |                    |                      | <i>hundrað</i>          |                      |                          |                       |
| 1000 | <i>þúsend</i>          | <i>thusend</i>                 | <i>thúsundig</i>   | <i>dūsunt</i>        | <i>þús(h)und 1200</i>   | <i>þūsundi</i>       | <i>þūs(a)χundī-</i>      | <i>tūso-(d)κῆντι-</i> |

### IV.5 Verbal conjugation

#### IV.5.1 Strong verbs

The classification of strong verbs according to ablaut of the stem vowel may be best illustrated by examples from Gothic:

| class/forms    | infinitive              | 1. sg. pret. ind. act.   | 1. pl. pret. ind. act.  | particip. II pret. m.     |
|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| I.             | <i>ei + P</i>           | <i>ai + P</i>            | <i>i + P</i>            | <i>i + P</i>              |
|                | <i>beidan</i>           | <i>baid</i>              | <i>bidum</i>            | <i>bidans</i>             |
| II.            | <i>eu + P</i>           | <i>eu + P</i>            | <i>u + P</i>            | <i>u + P</i>              |
|                | <i>-biudan / tiuhan</i> | <i>-bauþ / tauh</i>      | <i>-budum / tauhum</i>  | <i>-budans / tauhans</i>  |
| III.           | <i>e + S + C</i>        | <i>a + S + C</i>         | <i>u + S + C</i>        | <i>u + P</i>              |
|                | <i>bindan / wairpan</i> | <i>band / warp</i>       | <i>bundum / waurpum</i> | <i>bundans / waurpans</i> |
| IV.            | <i>e + S + C</i>        | <i>a + S + C</i>         | <i>ē + S + C</i>        | <i>u + S + C</i>          |
|                | <i>niman / bairan</i>   | <i>nam / bar</i>         | <i>nemum / berum</i>    | <i>numans / baurans</i>   |
| V.             | <i>e + P</i>            | <i>a + P</i>             | <i>ē + P</i>            | <i>e + P</i>              |
|                | <i>giban / saiĥvan</i>  | <i>gaf / saĥv</i>        | <i>gebum / sehūm</i>    | <i>gibans / saiĥvans</i>  |
| VI.            | <i>a + C</i>            | <i>ō + C</i>             | <i>ō + C</i>            | <i>a + C</i>              |
|                | <i>faran</i>            | <i>for</i>               | <i>forum</i>            | <i>farans</i>             |
| VII.1.         | <i>ai + C</i>           |                          |                         |                           |
| without ablaut | <i>haitan</i>           | <i>haihait</i>           | <i>haihaitum</i>        | <i>haitans</i>            |
| VII.2.         | <i>au + C</i>           |                          |                         |                           |
| without ablaut | <i>aukan</i>            | <i>aiauk</i>             |                         |                           |
| VII.3.         | <i>a + S + P</i>        |                          |                         |                           |
| without ablaut | <i>haldan</i>           | <i>haihald</i>           |                         |                           |
| VII.4.         | <i>ē/ō + P</i>          |                          |                         |                           |
| without ablaut | <i>slepan / ĥopan</i>   | <i>saislep / ĥaiĥvop</i> | <i>-saislepun</i>       |                           |
| with ablaut    | <i>letan</i>            | <i>lailot</i>            | <i>lailotum</i>         | <i>letans</i>             |
| VII.5.         | <i>ū + j / w</i>        |                          |                         |                           |
|                | <i>saian</i>            | <i>saiso</i>             | <i>saisoum</i>          | <i>saians</i>             |

C = consonant, P = plosive, S = sonant, V = vowel.

present indicative active forms

|        | Old English        | Old Frisian      | Old Saxon         | Old High German   | Old Icelandic | Old Runic       | Gothic         | *Germanic                 | *Pre-Germanic    |
|--------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| 1. sg. | <i>bindu, -e</i>   | <i>binde</i>     | <i>bindu, -o</i>  | <i>bintu</i>      | <i>bind</i>   | <i>gibu</i>     | <i>binda</i>   | <i>ḅendō</i>              | <i>-ō</i>        |
| 2.     | <i>binde/is(t)</i> | <i>bind(e)st</i> | <i>bindis</i>     | <i>bintis</i>     | <i>bindr</i>  |                 | <i>bindis</i>  | <i>ḅendīs(i), -z(i)</i>   | <i>-é-si/-sí</i> |
| 3.     | <i>bindeð/þ</i>    | <i>bindith</i>   | <i>bindið/d/t</i> | <i>bintit</i>     | <i>bindr</i>  | <i>bAriutīþ</i> | <i>bindiþ</i>  | <i>ḅendī(i), -đ(i)</i>    | <i>-é-ti/-tí</i> |
| 1. du. |                    |                  |                   |                   |               |                 | <i>bindos</i>  | <i>ḅendōw(i)z</i>         | <i>-ō-ues</i>    |
| 2.     |                    |                  |                   |                   |               |                 | <i>bindats</i> | <i>ḅendap̄s</i>           | <i>-o-tes</i>    |
| 1. pl. | <i>bindaþ</i>      | <i>bindat(h)</i> | <i>bindath/d</i>  | <i>bintamês</i>   | <i>bindum</i> |                 | <i>bindam</i>  | <i>ḅendam(i)z, -me(s)</i> | <i>-o-mes</i>    |
| 2.     | <i>bindaþ</i>      | <i>bindat(h)</i> | <i>bindath/d</i>  | <i>binte/i/at</i> | <i>bindið</i> |                 | <i>bindiþ</i>  | <i>ḅendīþ(i), -ð(i)</i>   | <i>-é-te/-té</i> |
| 3.     | <i>bindaþ</i>      | <i>bindat(h)</i> | <i>bindath/d</i>  | <i>binta/ent</i>  | <i>binda</i>  |                 | <i>bindand</i> | <i>ḅendanþ(i), -ð(i)</i>  | <i>-o-nti</i>    |

present optative forms

|        | Old English   | Old Frisian     | Old Saxon     | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Gothic          | *Germanic                | *Pre-Germanic               |
|--------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. sg. | = 3. sg.      | = 3. sg.        | <i>binde</i>  | <i>binte</i>    | <i>binda</i>  | <i>bindau</i>   | <i>ḅendaiun</i>          | <i>-oiH<sub>1</sub>-i</i>   |
| 2.     | = 3. sg.      | = 3. sg.        | <i>bindes</i> | <i>bintês</i>   | <i>bindir</i> | <i>bundais</i>  | <i>ḅendaiuz, -s</i>      | <i>-oiH<sub>1</sub>-s</i>   |
| 3.     | <i>binde</i>  | <i>binde</i>    | <i>binde</i>  | <i>binte</i>    | <i>bindi</i>  | <i>bindai</i>   | <i>ḅendai(ḅ, -ḅ)</i>     | <i>-oiH<sub>1</sub>-t</i>   |
| 1. du. |               |                 |               |                 |               | <i>bindaiwa</i> | <i>ḅendaiw(e)</i>        | <i>-oiH<sub>1</sub>-uē</i>  |
| 2.     |               |                 |               |                 |               | <i>bindaits</i> | <i>ḅendaiḅs</i>          | <i>-oiH<sub>1</sub>-tes</i> |
| 1. pl. | = 3. pl.      | = 3. pl.        | = 3. pl.      | <i>bintēm</i>   | <i>bindim</i> | <i>bindaima</i> | <i>ḅendaim»</i>          | <i>-oiH<sub>1</sub>-me</i>  |
| 2.     | = 3. pl.      | = 3. pl.        | = 3. pl.      | <i>bintêt</i>   | <i>bindið</i> | <i>bindaiḅ</i>  | <i>ḅendaiḅ(i), -ð(i)</i> | <i>-oiH<sub>1</sub>-te</i>  |
| 3.     | <i>binden</i> | <i>binde(n)</i> | <i>binden</i> | <i>bintên</i>   | <i>bindi</i>  | <i>bindaina</i> | <i>ḅendain(ḅ, -ð)</i>    | <i>-oiH<sub>1</sub>-ent</i> |

mediopassive indicative forms

|        | Old English   | Old Icelandic | Old Runic    | Gothic          | *Germanic          | *Pre-Germanic           |
|--------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. sg. | <i>hátte</i>  | <i>heite</i>  | <i>haite</i> | <i>bindada</i>  | <i>ḅendai</i>      | <i>-H<sub>2</sub>eī</i> |
| 2.     |               |               |              | <i>bindaza</i>  | <i>ḅendaza(i)</i>  | <i>-o-sóī</i>           |
| 3.     | <i>hátte</i>  |               |              | <i>bindada</i>  | <i>ḅendada(i)</i>  | <i>-o-tóī</i>           |
| 1. pl. | = 3. pl.      |               |              | = 3. pl.        | = 3. pl.           |                         |
| 2.     | = 3. pl.      |               |              | = 3. pl.        | = 3. pl.           |                         |
| 3.     | <i>hátton</i> |               |              | <i>bindanda</i> | <i>ḅendanda(i)</i> | <i>-o-ntóī</i>          |

preterite indicative forms

|        | Old English   | Old Frisian      | Old Saxon     | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic     | Gothic         | *Germanic        | *Pre-Germanic         |
|--------|---------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. sg. | <i>band</i>   | <i>band</i>      | <i>band</i>   | <i>bant</i>     | <i>batt</i>   | <i>un-nam</i> | <i>band</i>    | <i>ḅand(a)</i>   | <i>-H<sub>2</sub></i> |
| 2.     | <i>bunde</i>  | <i>band(e)st</i> | <i>bundi</i>  | <i>bunti</i>    | <i>bazt</i>   |               | <i>banst</i>   | <i>ḅandt(e)</i>  | <i>-t(e)?</i>         |
| 3.     | <i>band</i>   | <i>band</i>      | <i>band</i>   | <i>bant</i>     | <i>batt</i>   | <i>gAf</i>    | <i>band</i>    | <i>ḅand(e)</i>   | <i>-e</i>             |
| 1. du. |               |                  |               |                 |               |               | <i>bundu</i>   | <i>ḅundw(e)</i>  | <i>-uē</i>            |
| 2.     |               |                  |               |                 |               |               | <i>bunduts</i> | <i>ḅundḅs</i>    | <i>-tes</i>           |
| 1. pl. | = 3. pl.      | = 3. pl.         | = 3. pl.      | <i>buntum</i>   | <i>bundum</i> |               | <i>bundum</i>  | <i>ḅundum(i)</i> | <i>-m̄(e)</i>         |
| 2.     | = 3. pl.      | = 3. pl.         | = 3. pl.      | <i>buntut</i>   | <i>bunduð</i> |               | <i>bunduḅ</i>  | <i>ḅundḅ(i)</i>  | <i>-te</i>            |
| 3.     | <i>bundon</i> | <i>bundun</i>    | <i>bundun</i> | <i>buntun</i>   | <i>bundu</i>  |               | <i>bundu</i>   | <i>ḅundun(ḅ)</i> | <i>-nt</i>            |

preterite optative forms

|        | Old English       | Old Frisian      | Old Saxon     | Old High German   | Old Icelandic | Old Runic   | Gothic          | *Germanic         | *Pre-Germanic              |
|--------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. sg. | = 3. sg.          |                  | <i>bundi</i>  | <i>bunti</i>      | <i>bynda</i>  |             | <i>bundjau</i>  | <i>ḅundjaun</i>   | <i>-iēH<sub>1</sub>-m̄</i> |
| 2.     | = 3. sg.          |                  | <i>bundis</i> | <i>buntis</i>     | <i>byndir</i> |             | <i>bundeis</i>  | <i>ḅundis</i>     | <i>-iēH<sub>1</sub>-s</i>  |
| 3.     | <i>bunde</i>      | <i>bunde, -i</i> | <i>bundi</i>  | <i>bunti</i>      | <i>byndi</i>  | <i>wate</i> | <i>bundi</i>    | <i>ḅundi(ḅ)</i>   | <i>-iēH<sub>1</sub>-t</i>  |
| 1. pl. | = 3. pl.          |                  |               | <i>buntîm(es)</i> | <i>byndim</i> |             | <i>bundeima</i> | <i>ḅundimē</i>    | <i>-iH<sub>1</sub>-mé</i>  |
| 2.     | = 3. pl.          |                  |               | <i>buntît</i>     | <i>byndið</i> |             | <i>bundeip</i>  | <i>ḅundiḅ(i?)</i> | <i>-iH<sub>1</sub>-té</i>  |
| 3.     | <i>bunde/o/an</i> | <i>bunde, -i</i> | <i>bundin</i> | <i>buntîn</i>     | <i>byndi</i>  |             | <i>bundeina</i> | <i>ḅundin(ḅ)</i>  | <i>-iH<sub>1</sub>-ent</i> |

IV.5.2 Weak verbs

present indicative of weak verbs: Class I

|        | Old English      | Old Frisian      | Old Saxon        | Old High German  | Old Icelandic     | Old Runic          | Gothic                 | *Germanic                                    | *Pre-Germanic              |
|--------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| 1. sg. | <i>fremme</i>    | <i>fremme</i>    | <i>fremmiu</i>   | <i>frummiu</i>   | <i>tel fóri</i>   | <i>taliþo fahi</i> | <i>lagja sokja</i>     | <i>lagijō sōkijō</i>                         | <i>-ej-ō</i>               |
| 2.     | <i>fremes(t)</i> | <i>frem(e)st</i> | <i>fremis(t)</i> | <i>frumis(t)</i> | <i>telr fōrir</i> |                    | <i>lagjis sokeis</i>   | <i>lagi(ji)s(i), -z(i) sōki(s)i, -z(i)</i>   | <i>-ēje-si / -eje-sí</i>   |
| 3.     | <i>fremeð</i>    | <i>frem(e)th</i> | <i>fremið</i>    | <i>frumit</i>    | <i>telr fōrir</i> |                    | <i>lagjiþ sokeiþ</i>   | <i>lagi(ji)þ(i), -đ(i) sōkiþ(i), -đ(i)</i>   | <i>-ēje-ti / -eje-tí</i>   |
| 1. pl. | = 2. pl.         | = 2. pl.         | = 2. pl.         | <i>frummemēs</i> | <i>teljum</i>     |                    | <i>lagjam sokjam</i>   | <i>lagijam sōkijam</i>                       | <i>-ejo-me</i>             |
| 2.     | <i>fremmað</i>   | <i>fremmath</i>  | <i>fremmiað</i>  | <i>frummet</i>   | <i>telið</i>      |                    | <i>lagjiþ sokeiþ</i>   | <i>lagi(ji)þ(i) sōkiþ(i)</i>                 | <i>-ēje-te / -eje-té</i>   |
| 3.     | = 2. pl.         | = 2. pl.         | = 2. pl.         | <i>frumment</i>  | <i>telja</i>      |                    | <i>lagjand sokjand</i> | <i>lagijanþ(i), -đ(i) sōkijanþ(i), -đ(i)</i> | <i>-éjo-nti / -ejo-ntí</i> |

present indicative of weak verbs: Class II

|        | Old English       | Old Frisian            | Old Saxon            | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Gothic             | *Germanic                | *Pre-Germanic                          |
|--------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1. sg. | <i>sealfige</i>   | <i>klagie</i>          | <i>makon</i>         | <i>salbôm</i>   |               | <i>kalla salbo</i> | <i>salbôm(i) salbōjō</i> | <i>-ā-mi &lt; -eH<sub>2</sub>-ā-iō</i> |
| 2.     | <i>sealfas(t)</i> | <i>klagast</i>         | <i>makos(t)</i>      | <i>albôs(t)</i> | <i>kallar</i> | <i>salbos</i>      | <i>salbō(ji)s(i)</i>     | <i>-ā-(ie)-si</i>                      |
| 3.     | <i>sealfað</i>    | <i>klagath, -eth</i>   | <i>makod/t/ð</i>     | <i>salbôt</i>   | <i>kallar</i> | <i>salboþ</i>      | <i>salbō(ji)þ(i)</i>     | <i>-ā-(ie)-ti</i>                      |
| 1. pl. | = 2. pl.          | = 2. pl.               | = 2. pl.             | <i>salbômēs</i> | <i>kollum</i> | <i>salbom</i>      | <i>salbō(ja)m(i)z</i>    | <i>-ā-(ie)-mes</i>                     |
| 2.     | <i>sealfiað</i>   | <i>klagiath, -ieth</i> | <i>mako(ia)d/ð/t</i> | <i>salbôt</i>   | <i>kallið</i> | <i>salboþ</i>      | <i>salbō(ji)þ(i)</i>     | <i>-ā-(ie)-te</i>                      |
| 3.     | = 2. pl.          | = 2. pl.               | = 2. pl.             | <i>salbônt</i>  | <i>kalla</i>  | <i>salbond</i>     | <i>salbō(ja)ñþ(i)</i>    | <i>-ā-(io)-nti</i>                     |

present indicative of weak verbs: Class III

|        | Old English         | Old Frisian                     | Old Saxon        | Old High German | Old Icelandic  | Gothic        | *Germanic               | *Pre-Germanic                |
|--------|---------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. sg. | <i>hæbbe</i>        | <i>hebbe, hab</i>               | <i>hebbiu</i>    | <i>habê̄m</i>   | <i>hef(i)</i>  | <i>haba</i>   | <i>χabjō</i>            | <i>-H<sub>1</sub>-iō</i>     |
| 2.     | <i>hafas, hæfst</i> | <i>he(f)st, hast</i>            | <i>habes</i>     | <i>habês(t)</i> | <i>hef(i)r</i> | <i>habais</i> | <i>χabêjs(i), -z(i)</i> | <i>-eH<sub>1</sub>-ie-si</i> |
| 3.     | <i>hafað, hæfð</i>  | <i>hefth, hevet, hat, havit</i> | <i>habed</i>     | <i>habêt</i>    | <i>hef(i)r</i> | <i>habaiþ</i> | <i>χabêjþ(i), -đ(i)</i> | <i>-eH<sub>1</sub>-ie-ti</i> |
| 1. pl. | = 2. pl.            | = 2. pl.                        | = 2. pl.         | <i>habê̄mēs</i> | <i>hofum</i>   | <i>habam</i>  | <i>χabjam(i)z</i>       | <i>-H<sub>1</sub>-io-mes</i> |
| 2.     | <i>habbað</i>       | <i>habbeth</i>                  | <i>he/abbiad</i> | <i>habêt</i>    | <i>hafið</i>   | <i>habaiþ</i> | <i>χabêjþi, -đi</i>     | <i>-eH<sub>1</sub>-ie-te</i> |
| 3.     | = 2. pl.            | = 2. pl.                        | = 2. pl.         | <i>habê̄nt</i>  | <i>hafa</i>    | <i>haband</i> | <i>χabjanþi, -đi</i>    | <i>-H<sub>1</sub>-io-nti</i> |

suffixes for the preterite indicative forms of weak verbs

|        | Old English             | Old Frisian         | Old Saxon               | Old High German | Old Icelandic   | Old Runic       | Gothic            |
|--------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. sg. | <i>-de, -te</i>         | <i>-de, -t(e)</i>   | <i>-da, -ta</i>         | <i>-ta</i>      | <i>-ð/þ/ta</i>  | <i>-do, -to</i> | <i>-da, -ta</i>   |
| 2.     | <i>-des(t), -tes(t)</i> | <i>-dest, -test</i> | <i>-des(t), -tes(t)</i> | <i>-tôs(t)</i>  | <i>-ð/þ/tir</i> |                 | <i>-des, -tes</i> |
| 3.     | <i>-de, te</i>          | <i>-de, -t(e)</i>   | <i>-da, -ta</i>         | <i>-ta</i>      | <i>-ð/þ/ti</i>  | <i>-te, -ti</i> | <i>-da, -ta</i>   |

|        | Old English        | Old Frisian           | Old Saxon          | Old High German      | Old Icelandic    | Old Runic | Gothic            |
|--------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| 2. du. |                    |                       |                    |                      |                  |           | -d/ <i>teduts</i> |
| 1. pl. | = 3. pl.           | = 3. pl.              | = 3. pl.           | - <i>tum, -tōm/n</i> | -ð/ <i>þ/tum</i> |           | -d/ <i>tedum</i>  |
| 2.     | = 3. pl.           | = 3. pl.              | = 3. pl.           | - <i>tut, -tôt</i>   | -ð/ <i>þ/tuð</i> |           | -d/ <i>tedum</i>  |
| 3.     | - <i>don, -ton</i> | - <i>don(en), -te</i> | - <i>dun, -tun</i> | - <i>tun, -tôn</i>   | -ð/ <i>þ/tu</i>  |           | -d/ <i>teduþ</i>  |

### IV.5.3 Preterite-present verbs

In these verbs, the stem vowels in the present tense correspond to the preterite tense.

| "to know"       | present        |                 | preterite           |                 |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
|                 | 3. sg.         | 3. pl.          | 3. sg.              | 3. pl.          |
| Old English     | <i>wát</i>     | <i>witon</i>    | <i>wisse, wiste</i> | <i>wisson</i>   |
| Old Frisian     | <i>wēt</i>     | <i>witon</i>    | <i>wiste</i>        | <i>wisten</i>   |
| Old Saxon       | <i>wēt</i>     | <i>witun</i>    | <i>wissa</i>        | <i>wissun</i>   |
| Old High German | <i>weiz</i>    | <i>wizzun</i>   | <i>wissa, wista</i> | <i>wissun</i>   |
| Old Icelandic   | <i>veit</i>    | <i>vitu</i>     | <i>vissa</i>        | <i>vissu</i>    |
| Gothic          | <i>wait</i>    | <i>witun</i>    | <i>wissa</i>        | <i>wissedun</i> |
| *Germanic       | <i>wait(e)</i> | <i>witun(p)</i> |                     |                 |
| *Pre-Germanic   | <i>uoid-e</i>  | <i>uid-nt</i>   |                     |                 |

| "to be useful"  | present                              |                                       | preterite    |               |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
|                 | 3. sg.                               | 3. pl.                                | 3. sg.       | 3. pl.        |
| Old English     | <i>déag</i>                          | <i>duġon</i>                          | <i>dohte</i> | <i>dohton</i> |
| Old Frisian     | <i>dāch</i>                          | <i>daged</i>                          | <i>dege</i>  |               |
| Old Saxon       | <i>dōg</i>                           | <i>dugun</i>                          |              |               |
| Old High German | <i>toug</i>                          | <i>tugun</i>                          | <i>tohta</i> | <i>tuhtun</i> |
| Gothic          | <i>daug</i>                          |                                       |              |               |
| *Germanic       | <i>ḍaug(e)</i>                       | <i>ḍaugun(p)</i>                      |              |               |
| *Pre-Germanic   | <i>d<sup>h</sup>ug<sup>h</sup>-e</i> | <i>d<sup>h</sup>ug<sup>h</sup>-nt</i> |              |               |

| "to know how, to be able to" | present                 |                              | preterite          |                 |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
|                              | 3. sg.                  | 3. pl.                       | 3. sg.             | 3. pl.          |
| Old English                  | <i>can(n)</i>           | <i>cunnon</i>                | <i>cūðe</i>        | <i>cúðon</i>    |
| Old Frisian                  | <i>kan</i>              | <i>kunnon</i>                | <i>kūthe, kūde</i> |                 |
| Old Saxon                    | <i>kan</i>              | <i>kunnun</i>                | <i>konsta</i>      | <i>konstun</i>  |
| Old High German              | <i>kan</i>              | <i>kunnun</i>                | <i>konda</i>       | <i>kondun</i>   |
| Old Icelandic                | <i>kann</i>             | <i>kunnu</i>                 | <i>kunna</i>       | <i>kunnu</i>    |
| Gothic                       | <i>kann</i>             | <i>kunnun</i>                | <i>kuṇpa</i>       | <i>kuṇpedun</i> |
| *Germanic                    | <i>kann(e)</i>          | <i>kunnun(p)</i>             |                    |                 |
| *Pre-Germanic                | (analogical innovation) | * <i>ġnnH<sub>3</sub>-nt</i> |                    |                 |



| “to grant”      | present               |   | preterite              |                         |
|-----------------|-----------------------|---|------------------------|-------------------------|
|                 | 3. sg.                | 3. pl.                                  | 3. sg.                 | 3. pl.                  |
| Old English     | <i>on(n), an(n)</i>   | <i>unnon</i>                            | <i>úðe &lt; *unðe</i>  | <i>úðon &lt; *unðun</i> |
| Old Saxon       |                       |   | <i>gi-onsto</i>        |                         |
| Old High German | <i>an</i>             | <i>unnun</i>                            | <i>onda, onsta</i>     | <i>ondun</i>            |
| Old Icelandic   | <i>ann</i>            | <i>unnu</i>                             | <i>unna &lt; *unþa</i> | <i>unnu</i>             |
| *Germanic       | <i>ann(e)</i>         | <i>unnun</i>                            |                        |                         |
| *Pre-Germanic   | (analogic innovation) | <i>*H<sub>3</sub>nnH<sub>2</sub>-nt</i> |                        |                         |

| “to suffer from poverty” | present        |                          | preterite       |                 |
|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                          | 3. sg.         | 3. pl.                   | 3. sg.          | 3. pl.          |
| Old English              | <i>þearf</i>   | <i>þurfon</i>            | <i>þorfte</i>   | <i>þorfton</i>  |
| Old Frisian              | <i>thōr</i>    | <i>thur(v)on, thoren</i> | <i>thorste</i>  | <i>thorsten</i> |
| Old Saxon                | <i>tharf</i>   | <i>thurbun</i>           | <i>thorftha</i> | <i>thorftun</i> |
| Old High German          | <i>darf</i>    | <i>durfun</i>            | <i>dorftha</i>  | <i>dorftun</i>  |
| Old Icelandic            | <i>þarf</i>    | <i>þurfu</i>             | <i>þurftha</i>  | <i>þurftu</i>   |
| Gothic                   | <i>þarf</i>    | <i>þaurbun</i>           | <i>þaurfta</i>  |                 |
| *Germanic                | <i>þarf(e)</i> | <i>þurbun(þ)</i>         |                 |                 |
| *Pre-Germanic            | <i>tōrp-e</i>  | <i>t̥r̥p-ŋt</i>          |                 |                 |

| “to must, be obliged to” | present           |                        | preterite      |                          |
|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
|                          | 3. sg.            | 3. pl.                 | 3. sg.         | 3. pl.                   |
| Old English              | <i>sceal(l)</i>   | <i>sculon, sceolon</i> | <i>sceolde</i> | <i>sceoldon, sculdon</i> |
| Old Frisian              | <i>skel, skil</i> | <i>skilun</i>          | <i>skolde</i>  | <i>skolden-</i>          |
| Old Saxon                | <i>scal</i>       | <i>sculun</i>          | <i>scolda</i>  | <i>scolدون</i>           |
| Old High German          | <i>scal</i>       | <i>sculun</i>          | <i>scolta</i>  | <i>scolتun</i>           |
| Old Icelandic            | <i>skal</i>       | <i>skulun</i>          | <i>skylda</i>  | <i>skyldu</i>            |
| Gothic                   | <i>skal</i>       | <i>skulun</i>          | <i>skul-da</i> | <i>skuldedun</i>         |
| *Germanic                | <i>skal(e)</i>    | <i>skulun(þ)</i>       |                |                          |
| *Pre-Germanic            | <i>skol-e</i>     | <i>sk̥l̥-ŋt</i>        |                |                          |

| “to remember” | present         |                 | preterite         |                     |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
|               | 3. sg.          | 3. pl.          | 3. sg.            | 3. pl.              |
| Old English   | <i>man, mon</i> | <i>munon</i>    | <i>munde</i>      | <i>mundon</i>       |
| Old Saxon     | <i>far-man</i>  | <i>munin</i>    | <i>far-monsta</i> | <i>far-muonstun</i> |
| Old Icelandic | <i>man</i>      | <i>munu</i>     | <i>munða, -da</i> | <i>munðu, -du</i>   |
| Gothic        | <i>man</i>      | <i>munun</i>    | <i>munda</i>      | <i>mundedun</i>     |
| *Germanic     | <i>man(e)</i>   | <i>munun(þ)</i> |                   |                     |
| *Pre-Germanic | <i>mon-e</i>    | <i>m̥n̥-ŋt</i>  |                   |                     |

| “to find a place, may” | present          |                 | preterite            |                        |
|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------|
|                        | 3. sg.           | 3. pl.          | 3. sg.               | 3. pl.                 |
| Old English            | <i>mót</i>       | <i>móton</i>    | <i>móste</i>         | <i>móstun</i>          |
| Old Frisian            | <i>mōt</i>       | <i>mōton</i>    | <i>mōste</i>         | <i>mōsten</i>          |
| Old Saxon              | <i>môt, muot</i> | <i>môtun</i>    | <i>môsta</i>         | <i>môstun</i>          |
| Old High German        | <i>muoz</i>      | <i>muozun</i>   | <i>muosa, muosta</i> | <i>muosun, muostun</i> |
| Gothic                 | <i>gamut</i>     |                 |                      | <i>gamostedun</i>      |
| *Germanic              | <i>mōt(e)</i>    | <i>mōtun(þ)</i> |                      |                        |
| *Pre-Germanic          | <i>mōd-e</i>     | <i>mōd-ŋt</i>   |                      |                        |

| “to be able to, may” | present                  |                           | preterite             |                         |
|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
|                      | 3. sg.                   | 3. pl.                    | 3. sg.                | 3. pl.                  |
| Old English          | <i>mæġ</i>               | <i>maġon, mæġon</i>       | <i>mæhte, meahte</i>  | <i>mæhton, meahton</i>  |
| Old Frisian          | <i>mei</i>               | <i>mugun, mogen</i>       | <i>machte, mochte</i> | <i>machten, mochten</i> |
| Old High German      | <i>mag</i>               | <i>magun, mugun</i>       | <i>mahta, mohta</i>   | <i>mahtun, mohtun</i>   |
| Old Icelandic        | <i>má &lt; mag</i>       | <i>megu</i>               | <i>matta</i>          | <i>máttu</i>            |
| Gothic               | <i>mag</i>               | <i>magun</i>              | <i>mahta</i>          |                         |
| *Germanic            | <i>mag(e)</i>            | <i>magun(þ)</i>           |                       |                         |
| *Pre-Germanic        | <i>mag<sup>h</sup>-e</i> | <i>mag<sup>h</sup>-ŋt</i> |                       |                         |

#### IV.5.4 Other irregular verbs

“to be”: present indicative forms

|        | Old English                | Old Frisian       | Old Saxon         | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic                      | Gothic       | *Germanic                      | *Pre-Germanic              |
|--------|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. sg. | <i>eom, eam<br/>béo(m)</i> | <i>bim, bem</i>   | <i>bium, biun</i> | <i>bim, bin</i> | <i>em</i>     | <i>em</i>                      | <i>im</i>    | <i>izm<br/>b̥(u)- + izm</i>    | <i>H<sub>1</sub>es-mi</i>  |
| 2.     | <i>eart<br/>bis(t)</i>     |                   | <i>bist, bis</i>  | <i>bis(t)</i>   | <i>est</i>    |                                | <i>is</i>    | <i>is / iz<br/>b̥(u)- + is</i> | <i>H<sub>1</sub>es-si</i>  |
| 3.     | <i>is<br/>bið</i>          | <i>is(t)</i>      | <i>ist, is</i>    | <i>ist</i>      | <i>es</i>     | <i>Az (according to 2 sg.)</i> | <i>ist</i>   | <i>ist</i>                     | <i>H<sub>1</sub>es-ti</i>  |
| 1. du. |                            |                   |                   |                 |               |                                | <i>siju</i>  | (according to opt.)            |                            |
| 1. pl. | = 3. pl.                   | = 3. pl.          | = 3. pl.          | <i>birum</i>    | <i>erum</i>   |                                | <i>sijum</i> | =                              | <i>H<sub>1</sub>s-mos</i>  |
| 2.     | = 3. pl.                   | = 3. pl.          | = 3. pl.          | <i>birut</i>    | <i>eruð</i>   |                                | <i>sijuþ</i> | =                              | <i>H<sub>1</sub>s-tHe</i>  |
| 3.     | <i>sind(on)<br/>beoð</i>   | <i>send, sind</i> | <i>sind(un)</i>   | <i>sint</i>     | <i>eru</i>    |                                | <i>sind</i>  | =                              | <i>H<sub>1</sub>s-enti</i> |

“to be”: present optative forms

|        | Old English        | Old Frisian | Old Saxon | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Old Runic | Gothic    | *Germanic    | *Pre-Germanic                         |
|--------|--------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. sg. | = 3. sg.           | = 3. pl.    | sī        | sī              | siá           |           | sijau     | sjē + -un    | H <sub>1</sub> s-ǵeH <sub>1</sub> -m̄ |
| 2.     | = 3. sg.           | = 3. pl.    | sīs       | sīs(t)          | sér           | siz       | sijais    | sjēs(i), -zi | H <sub>1</sub> s-ǵeH <sub>1</sub> -s  |
| 3.     | sí(e), s»<br>bío   | sē (sie)    | sī        | sī              | sé            |           | sijai     | sjē(þ)       | H <sub>1</sub> s-ǵeH <sub>1</sub> -t  |
| 1. pl. |                    | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.  | sīn             | sém           |           | (sijaima) | sime         | H <sub>1</sub> s-iH <sub>1</sub> -me  |
| 2.     |                    | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.  | sīt             | séð           |           | (sijaiþ)  | sīþ(e)       | H <sub>1</sub> s-iH <sub>1</sub> -te  |
| 3.     | sí(e)n, s»<br>bíon | sē (sie)    | sīn       | sīn             | sé            |           | sijaina   | sijen(þ)     | H <sub>1</sub> s-iH <sub>1</sub> -ent |

“to want”: present indicative forms

|        | Old English | Old Frisian | Old Saxon  | Old High German | Old Icelandic | Gothic  | *Germanic  | *Pre-Germanic                               |
|--------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------------|---------------|---------|------------|---|
| 1. sg. | wille       | wille       | williu     | willu           | vilja         | wiljau  | wiljō + un | uēlH <sub>1</sub> -iH <sub>1</sub> -ō + -m̄ |
| 2.     | wilt        | wilt        | wili, wilt | wili            | vilt, vill    | wileis  | wilis      | -iH <sub>1</sub> -s                         |
| 3.     | wile        | wili        | wili       | wili            | vil(l)        | wili    | wili(þ)    | -iH <sub>1</sub> -t                         |
| 2. du. |             |             |            |                 |               | wileits | wilīdes    | -iH <sub>1</sub> -tes                       |
| 1. pl. | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.   | wellemēs        | viljum        | wileima | wilīmē(s)  | -iH <sub>1</sub> -me                        |
| 2.     | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.   | wellet          | vilið         | wileiþ  | wilīþ(e)   | -iH <sub>1</sub> -te                        |
| 3.     | willað      | willat(h)   | williad    | wellent         | vilja         | wileina | wilīn(þ)   | -iH <sub>1</sub> -nt                        |

“to do”: present indicative forms

|        | Old English | Old Frisian | Old Saxon | Old High German | *Germanic      | *Pre-Germanic                      |
|--------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. sg. | dó, dóm     | dwā, dwē    | dôm       | tôm, tuom       | ðomi           | d <sup>h</sup> oH <sub>1</sub> -mi |
| 2.     | dést, dést  | dēst        | dôs       | tôs, tuost      | ðosi           | -si                                |
| 3.     | déd, déð    | dēth        | dôt       | tôt, tuost      | ðopi           | -ti                                |
| 1. pl. | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.  | tômôs, tuomês   | ðomes(i)       | -mesi                              |
| 2.     | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.  | tôt, tuot       | ðop(e)         | -te                                |
| 3.     | dódð        | dwāth       | dôd       | tônt, tuont     | ðonþ(i), -ð(i) | -nti                               |

“to do”: present optative forms

|        | Old English | Old Frisian | Old Saxon | Old High German | *Germanic | *Pre-Germanic                      |
|--------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|------------------------------------|
| 1. sg. | = 3. sg.    | = 3. sg.    | dôe       | tô, tuo         | *ðō + un  | d <sup>h</sup> oH <sub>1</sub> -m̄ |
| 2.     | = 3. sg.    | = 3. sg.    | dôas      | tôs, tues       | *ðôs(i)   | -s                                 |
| 3.     | dó, dóe     | dwē         | dôe       | tô, tuo         | *ðō       | -∅                                 |
| 1. pl. | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.  | tôm             | *ðōme     | -me                                |
| 2.     | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.    | = 3. pl.  | tôt, tuot       | *ðōde     | -té                                |
| 3.     | dón, dóe    | dwē         | dôen      | tô, tuon        | *ðôn(þ)   | -nt                                |

“to do”: preterite indicative forms

|        | Old English         | Old Frisian  | Old Saxon           | Old High German   | Old Runic    | *Germanic          |
|--------|---------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. sg. | <i>dyde</i>         | = 3. sg.     | <i>deda</i>         | <i>teta</i>       |              | <i>đeða</i>        |
| 2.     | <i>dydes(t)</i>     | = 3. sg.     | <i>dedos, dâdi</i>  | <i>tâti</i>       |              | <i>đeðes(i)</i>    |
| 3.     | <i>dyde, dede</i>   | <i>dēde</i>  | <i>deda, dede</i>   | <i>teta</i>       | <i>dede</i>  | <i>đeðep(i)</i>    |
| 1. pl. | = 3. pl.            | = 3. pl.     | = 3. pl.            | <i>tâtum, -un</i> |              | <i>đeðom(e)</i>    |
| 2.     | = 3. pl.            | = 3. pl.     | = 3. pl.            | <i>tâtut</i>      |              | <i>đeðo[?]p(e)</i> |
| 3.     | <i>dydon, dēdun</i> | <i>dēdun</i> | <i>dedun, dâdun</i> | <i>tâtun</i>      | <i>dedun</i> | <i>đeðun(p)</i>    |

“to do”: preterite optative forms (in Old Icelandic and Gothic this verb was grammaticalised and came to serve as the indicative of the preterite optative of weak verbs)

|        | Old English  | Old Frisian    | Old Saxon           | Old High German     | Old Icelandic   | Gothic            |
|--------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. sg. | = 3. sg.     | = 3. sg.       | <i>dedi, dâdi</i>   | <i>tâti, teta</i>   | <i>-ð/þ/ta</i>  | <i>-d/teðjau</i>  |
| 2.     | = 3. sg.     | = 3. sg.       | <i>dedis, dâdis</i> | <i>tâtis, tetis</i> | <i>-ð/þ/tir</i> | <i>-d/teðeis</i>  |
| 3.     | <i>dyde</i>  | <i>dēde(n)</i> | <i>dedi, dadi</i>   | <i>tâti</i>         | <i>-ð/þ/ti</i>  | <i>-d/teði</i>    |
| 1. pl. | = 3. pl.     | = 3. pl.       | = 3. pl.            | <i>tâtîm</i>        | <i>-ð/þ/tim</i> | <i>-d/teðeima</i> |
| 2.     | = 3. pl.     | = 3. pl.       | = 3. pl.            | <i>tâtît</i>        | <i>-ð/þ/tið</i> | <i>-d/teðeip</i>  |
| 3.     | <i>dyden</i> | <i>dēde(n)</i> | <i>dâdin</i>        | <i>tâtîn</i>        | <i>-ð/þ/ti</i>  | <i>-d/teðeina</i> |

## V ANCIENT, BYZANTINE, EARLY MEDIEVAL AND LATER RECORDS MENTIONING GERMANIC TRIBES

### V.1 Ammianus Marcellinus: *Res Gestae* (on the Alamanni in the 4th century)

[XIV.10.1] *Haec dum oriens diu perferret, caeli reserato tepore Constantius consulatu suo septies et Caesaris ter egressus Arelate Valentiam petit, in Gundomadum et Vadomarium fratres Alamannorum reges arma moturus, quorum crebris excursibus vastabantur confines limitibus terrae Gallorum.*

[XIV.10.6] *emensis itaque difficultatibus multis et nive obrutis callibus plurimis ubi prope Rauracum ventum est ad supercilia fluminis Rheni, resistente multitudine Alamanna pontem suspendere navium conpage Romani vi nimia vetabantur ritu grandinis undique convolantibus telis, et cum id impossibile videretur, imperator cogitationibus magnis attonitus, quid capesseret ambigebat.*

[XIV.10.1] “While the East was enduring this long tyranny, as soon as the warm season began, Constantinus, being in his seventh consulship with Gallus in his third, set out from Arelate for Valentia, to make war upon the brothers Gundomadus and Vadomarius, kings of the Alemanni, whose frequent raids were devastating that part of Gaul which adjoined their frontiers.”

[XIV.10.6] “And so, after surmounting many difficulties, over paths many of which were heaped high with snow, they came near to Rauracum on the banks of the river Rhine. There a great force of the Alamanni opposed them, and hurling weapons from all sides like hail, by their superior numbers prevented the Romans from making a bridge by joining boats together. And when that was obviously with anxious thought and in doubt what course to take.”

[XVI.12.46] *verum Alamanni bella alacriter ineuntes altius anhelabant velut quodam furoris adfectu opposita omnia deleturi. spicula tamen verrutaque missilia non cessabant ferrataeque arundines fundebantur, quamquam etiam comminus mucro feriebat contra mucronem et loricae gladiis findebantur, et vulnerati nondum effuso cruore ad audendum exsertius consurgebant.*

[XVI.12.47] *pares enim quodam modo coivere cum paribus, Alamanni robusti et celsiores, milites usu nimio dociles: illi feri et turbidi, hi quieti et cauti: animis isti fidentes, grandissimis illi corporibus freti.*

[XVI.12.46] “But the Alamanni, who enter eagerly into wars, made all the greater effort, as if to destroy utterly everything in their way by a kind of fit of rage. Yet darts and javelins did not cease to fly, with showers of iron-tipped arrows, although at close quarters also blade clashed on blade and breast plates were cleft with the sword: the wounded too, before all their blood was shed, rose up to some more conspicuous deed of daring.”

[XVI.12.47] “For in a way the combatants were evenly matched: the Alamanni were stronger and taller, our soldiers disciplined by long practice: they were savage and uncontrollable, our men quiet and wary, these relying on their courage, while the Germans presumed upon their huge size.”

[XVII 1.7] *ut enim rebus amat fieri dubiis et turbatis, hinc equitum nostrorum adcurso, inde navigiis vectorum militum impetu repentino perterrefacti evadendi subsidium velox locorum invenere prudentes, quorum digressu miles libere gradiens opulentas pecore villas et frugibus rapiebat nulli parcendo. extractisque captivis domicilia cuncta curatius ritu Romano constructa flammis subditis exurebat.*

[XVII 1.8] *emensaque aestimatione decimi lapidis eum prope silvam venisset squalore tenebrarum horrendam, stetit diu cunctando, indicio perfugae doctus per subterranea quaedam occulta fossasque multifidas latere plurimos, ubi habile visum fuerit erupturos.*

[XVII 1.9] *ausi tamen omnes accedere fidentissime, ilicibus incisis et fraxinis roboreque abietum magno semitas invenere constratas. ideoque gradientes cautius retro non nisi per anfractus longos et asperos ultra progredi posse vix indignationem capientibus animis advertabant.*

[XVII 1.10] *et quoniam aeris urente saevitia cum discriminibus ultimis laboratur in cassum – aequinoctio quippe autumnali exacto per eos tractus superfusae nives opplevire montes simul et campos – opus arreptum est memorabile.*

[XVII 1.11] *et dum nullus obsisteret, munimentum, quod in Alamannorum solo conditum Traianus suo nomine voluit appellari, dudum violentius oppugnatum, tumultuario studio reparatum est; locatisque ibi pro tempore defensoribus, ex barbarorum visceribus alimenta congesta sunt.*

[XVII 1.7] “For, as is apt to happen in times of doubt and confusion, they were panic-stricken by the raid of our cavalry on the one side, and on the other by the sudden onset of our infantry, who had rowed up the river in their boats; and with their knowledge of the ground they had quick recourse to flight. Upon their departure our soldiers marched on undisturbed and plundered farms rich in cattle and crops, sparing none; and having dragged out the captives, they set fire to and burned down all the houses, which were built quite carefully in Roman fashion.

[XVII 1.8] After having advanced approximately ten miles, they came to a forest formidable with its forbidding shade and their general stood in hesitation for some time, being informed by the report of a deserter that large forces were lurking in some hidden underground passages and wide-branching trenches, ready to burst forth when they saw an opportunity.

[XVII 1.9] Yet they all ventured to draw near with the greatest confidence, but found the paths heaped with felled oak and ash trees and a great quantity of fir. And so they warily retreated their minds hardly containing their indignation, as they realised that they could not advance farther except by long and difficult detours.

[XVII 1.10] And since the rigorous climate was trying to them and they struggled in vain with extreme difficulties (for the autumnal equinox had passed, and in those regions the fallen snows covered mountains and plains alike) they took in hand a memorable piece of work.

[XVII 1.11] And while there was no one to withstand them, with eager haste they repaired a fortress which Trajan had built in the territory of the Alamanni and wished to be called by his name, and which had of late been very forcibly assaulted. There a temporary garrison was established and provisions were brought thither from the heart of the savages’ country.”

[XXVI.4.5] *Hoc tempore velut per universum orbem Romanum bellicum canentibus bucinis excitae gentes saevissimae limites sibi proximos persultabant. Gallias Raetiasque simul Alamanni populabantur; Sarmatae Pannonias et Quadi; Picti, Saxonesque et Scotti et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis; Austoriani Mauricaeque aliae gentes Africam solito acrius incursabant; Thracias et diripiebant praedatorii globi Gothorum.*

[XXVI.4.5] “At this time {357 CE}, as if trumpets were sounding the war-note throughout the whole Roman world, the most savage peoples roused themselves and poured across the nearest frontiers. At the same time the Alemanni were devastating Gaul and Raetia, the Sarmatae and Quadi Pannonia, while the Picts, Saxons, Scots and Attacotti were harassing the Britons with constant disasters. The Austoriani and other Moorish tribes raided Africa more fiercely than ever and predatory bands of Goths were plundering Thrace and Pannonia.”

[XXXI.10.2] *et iam Lentiensis Alamannicus populus, tractibus Raetiarum confinis, per fallaces discursus violato foedere dudum concepto, conlimitia nostra temptabat, quae clades hinc exitiale primordium sumpsit.*

[XXXI.10.2] “And now the Lentienses, an Alemannic race bordering on Raetia, by treacherous raids broke the treaty which had long since been concluded with them and made an attempt upon our frontier; the ruinous beginning of this disaster was the following occurrence.”

Translated by J. C. Rolfe (1950).

## V.2 Jordanes: *De origine actibusque Getarum*, or *Getica* (mid 6th century)

Jordanes [§79–81] recorded the genealogy of the Amali as it was compiled by Cassiodorus in his “History of the Goths” written between 526 and 533 which is now lost. The approximate reigns of the individual rulers from the Amali tribe were reconstructed by the German historian and classical philologist Theodor Mommsen, who assigned one-third of a century to each ruler until Ermanaric. Here Jordanes’s imperfect Latin is reproduced, including his non-uniform writing of proper nouns.

*Horum ergo heroum, ut ipsi suis in fabulis referunt, primus fuit Gapt, qui genuit Hulmul. Hulmul vero genuit Augis: at Augis genuit eum, qui dictus est Amal, a quo et origo Amalorum decurrit: qui Amal genuit Hisarna: Hisarnis autem genuit Hunuil: Hunuil item genuit Ostrogotha: Ostrogotha autem genuit Hunuil: Hunuil item genuit Athal: Athal genuit Achiulf et Oduulf: Achiulf autem genuit Ansila et Ediulf, Vultuulf et Hermenerig: Vultuulf vero genuit Valaravans: Valaravans autem genuit Vinitharium: Vinitharius quoque genuit Vandiliarium: Vandaliarius genuit Thiudemmer et Valamir et Vidimir: Thiidimir genuit Theodericum: Theodericus genuit Amalasuentham: Amalasuentha genuit Athalaricum et Matesuentham de Eutharico viro suo, cuius affinitas generis sic ad eam coniuncta est. Nam supra dictus Hermanaricus, filius Achiulf, genuit Hunimundum: Hunimundus autem autem genuit Thorismundo vero genuit Berimund: Berimund autem genuit Vetericum: Vetericus item genuit Eutharicum, qui coniunctus Amalasuinthae genuit Athalaricum et Mathesuentam, mortuoque in puerilibus annis Athalarico Mathesuenthae Vitigis est copulatus, de quo non suscepit liberum; adductique simul a Belesario Constantinopolim: et Vitigis rebus excedente humanis Germanus patricius fratruelis Iustiniani imp. eam in conubio sumens patriciam ordinariam fecit; de qua et genuit filium item Germanum nomine.*

“Now the first of these heroes, as they themselves relate in their legends was **Gapt** (51–83), who begat Humul. And **Humul** (84–117) begat Augis; and **Augis** (118–150) begat him who was called Amal, from whom the name of the Amali comes. This **Amal** (151–183) begat Hisarnis. **Hisarnis** (184–217) moreover begat Ostrogotha, and **Ostrogotha** (218–250) begat Hunuil, and **Hunuil** (251–283) likewise begat Athal. **Athal** (284–317) begat Achiulf and Oduulf. Now **Achiulf** (318–350) begat Ansila and Ediulf, Vultuulf and Ermanaric. And Vultuulf begat Valaravans and Valaravans begat Vinitharius. **Vinitharius** (?–?) moreover begat Vandaliarius; Vandaliarius begat Thiudimer and **Valamer** (445–?) and Vidimer; and **Thiidimer** (?–?) begat Theoderic. **Theoderic** (475–526) begat Amalasuentha; Amalasuentha bore Athalaric and Mathesuentha to her husband Eutharic, whose race was thus joined to hers in kinship. For the aforesaid **Ermanaric** (351–376), the son of Achiulf, begat Hunimund, and **Hunimund** (?–?) begat Thorismund. Now **Thorismund** (?–?) begat Beremund, Beremund begat Veteric, and Veteric likewise begat **Eutharic**, who married Amalasuentha and begat Veteric, and Veteric likewise begat Eutharic, who married Amalasuentha and begat Athalaric and Mathesuentha. **Athalaric** (526–534) died in the years of his childhood, and Mathesuentha married **Vitigis** (536–540), to whom she bore no child. Both of them were taken together by Belisarius to Constantinople. When Vitigis passed from human affairs, Germanus the patrician, a nephew of the Emperor Justinian, took Mathesuentha in marriage and made her a Patrician Ordinary. And of her he begat a son, also called Germanus.”

Translated by Charles Christopher Mierow (1915).

The genealogy of the Amali begins with a mythical hero named Gapt, whose name is probably only an imperfect transcription of the name *Gaut* and which refers to the ethnonym Goth.

### V.3 Origo gentium Langobardum (c. 650)

*In nomine domini incipit origo gentis Langobardorum:*

[1] *Est insula qui dicitur Scadanan, quod interpretatur excidia, in partibus aquilonis, ubi multae gentes habitant; inter quos erat gens parva quae Winnilis vocabatur. Et erat cum eis mulier nomine Gambara, habebatque duos filios, nomen uni Ybor et nomen alteri Agio; ipsi cum matre sua nomine Gambara principatum tenebant super Winniles. Moverunt se ergo duces Wandalarum, id est Ambri et Assi, cum exercitu suo, et dicebant ad Winniles: “Aut solvite nobis tributa, aut praeparate vos ad pugnam et pugnate nobiscum”. Tunc responderunt Ybor et Agio cum matre sua Gambara: “Melius est nobis pugnam praeparare, quam Wandalis tributa persolvere”. Tunc Ambri et Assi, hoc est duces Wandalarum, rogaverunt Godan, ut daret eis super Winniles victoriam. Respondit Godan dicens: “Quos sol surgente antea videro, ipsis dabo victoriam”. Eo tempore Gambara cum duobus filiis suis, id est Ybor et Agio, qui principes erant super Winniles, rogaverunt Fream, uxorem Godam, ut ad Winniles esset propitia. Tunc Frea dedit consilium, ut sol surgente venirent Winniles et mulieres eorum crines solutae circa faciem in similitudinem barbae et cum viris suis venirent. Tunc luciscente sol dum surgeret, giravit Frea, uxor Godan, lectum ubi recumbebat vir eius, et fecit faciem eius contra orientem, et excitavit eum. Et ille aspiciens vidit Winniles et mulieres ipsorum habentes crines solutas circa faciem; et ait: «Qui sunt isti longibarbae»? Et dixit Frea ad Godan: «Sicut dedisti nomen, da illis et victoriam». Et dedit eis victoriam, ut ubi visum esset vindicarent se et victoriam haberent. Ab illo tempore Winnilis Langobardi vocati sunt.*

[2] *Et moverunt se exinde Langobardi, et venerunt in Golaidam, et postea possiderunt Aldonus Anthaib et Aainaib seu et Burgundaib; et dicitur, quia fecerunt sibi regem nomine Agilmund, filium Agioni, ex genere Gugingus. Et post ipsum regnavit Laiamicho ex genere Gugingus. Et post ipsum regnavit Lethuc, et dicitur, quia regnasset annos plus minus quadraginta. Et post ipsum regnavit Aldihoc, filius Lethuc. Et post ipsum regnavit Godehoc.*

[3] *Illo tempore exivit rex Audoachari de Ravenna cum exercitu Alanorum, et venit in Rugilanda et inpugnavit Rugos, et occidit Theuvane regem Rugorum, secumque multos captivos duxit in Italiam. Tunc exierunt Langobardi de suis regionibus, et habitaverunt in Rugilanda annos aliquantos.*

“In the name of the Lord the origin of the people of the Langobards begins:

[1] There is an island that is called *Scadanan*, which is interpreted “destruction”, in the regions of the north, where many people dwell. Among these there was a small people that was called the *Winniles*. And with them was a woman, *Gambara* by name, and she had two sons. *Ybor* was the name of one and *Agio* the name of the other. They, with their mother, *Gambara* by name, held the sovereignty over the *Winniles*.

Then the leaders of the *Wandals*, that is, *Ambri* and *Assi*, moved with their army, and said to the *Winniles*: “Either pay us tributes or prepare yourselves for battle and fight with us.” Then answered *Ybor* and *Agio*, with their mother *Gambara*: “It is better for us to make ready the battle than to pay tributes to the *Wandals*.”

Then *Ambri* and *Assi*, that is, the leaders of the *Wandals*, asked *Godan* that he should give them the victory over the *Winniles*. *Godan* answered, saying: “Whom I shall first see when at sunrise, to them will I give the victory.” At that time *Gambara* with her two sons, that is, *Ybor* and *Agio*, who were chiefs over the *Winniles*, besought *Frea*, the wife of *Godan*, to be propitious to the *Winnilis*. Then *Frea* gave counsel that at sunrise the *Winniles* should come, and that their women, with their hair let down around the face in the likeness of a beard, should also come with their husbands.

Then when it became bright, while the sun was rising, *Frea*, the wife of *Godan*, turned around the bed where her husband was lying and put his face toward the east and awakened him. And he, looking at them, saw the *Winniles* and their women having their hair let down around the face. And he says, “Who are those Long-beards?” And *Frea* said to *Godan*, “As you have given them a name, give them also the victory.” And he gave them the victory, so that they should defend themselves according to his counsel and obtain the victory. From that time the *Winniles* were called *Langobards*.

[2] And the *Langobards* moved thence and came to *Golaida* and afterwards they occupied the aldionates of *Anthaib* and *Bainaib* and also *Burgundhaib*. And it is said that they made for themselves a king, *Agilmund* by name, the son of *Agio*, of the race of *Gugingus*. And after him reigned *Laiamicho* of the race of *Gugingus*. And after him reigned *Lethuc* and it is said that he reigned about forty years. And after him reigned *Aldihoc* the son of *Lethuc*. And after him reigned *Godehoc*.

[3] At that time king *Audoachari* went forth from *Ravenna* with the army of the *Alani* and came into *Rugiland* and fought the *Rugians* and killed *Theuvane* king of the *Rugians*, and led many captives with him into Italy. Then the *Langobards* departed from their own territories and dwelt some years in *Rugiland* (486–487).

[4] *Post eum regnavit Claffo, filius Godehoc. Et post ipsum regnavit Tato, filius Claffoni. Sederunt Langobardi in campis feld annos tres. Pugnavit Tato cum Rodolfo rege Herulorum, et occidit eum, tulit vando ipsius et capsidem. Post eum Heruli regnum non habuerunt. Et occidit Wacho, filius Unichis, Tatonem regem barbarum suum cum Zuchilone. Et pugnavit Wacho, et pugnavit Ildichis, filius Tatonis, et fugit Ildichis ad Gippidos, ubi mortuus est. Iniuria vindicanda Gippidi Scandalum commiserunt cum Langobardis. Eo tempore inclinavit Wacho suavos sub regno Langobardorum. Wacho habuit uxores tres: Raicundam, filia Fisud regis Turingorum; et postea accepit uxorem Austrigusa, filiam Gippidorum; et habuit Wacho de Austrigusa filias duas, nomen unae Wisigarda, quam tradidit in matrimonium Theudiperti regis francorum; et nomen secundae Walderada, quam habuit uxorem Scusuald rex francorum, quam odio habens, tradidit eam Garipald in uxorem. Filia regis Herulorum tertiam uxorem habuit nomen Silinga; de ipsa habuit filium nomine Waltari. Mortuus est Wacho, et regnavit filius ipsius Waltari annos septem; Farigaidus: isti omnes Lethinges fuerunt.*

[5] *Et post Waltari regnavit Auduin; ipse adduxit Langobardos in Pannonia. Et regnavit Albuin, filius ipsius, post eum, cui mater est Rodelenda. Eo tempore pugnavit Albuin cum rege Gippidorum nomine Cunimund, et mortuus est Cunimund in ipsa pugna, et debellati sunt Gippidis. Tulit Albuin uxore Rosemunda, filia Cunimundi, quae praedaverat, quia iam mortua fuerat uxor ipsius Flutsuinda, quae fuit filia Flothario regis Francorum; de qua habuit filia nomine Albsuinda. Et habitaverunt Langobardi in Pannonia annis quadraginta duo. Ipse Albuin adduxit Langobardos in Italia, invitatos a Narsete scribarum; et movit Albuin rex Langobardorum de Pannonia mense aprilis a pascha indictione prima. Secunda vero indictione coeperunt praedare in Italia. Tertia autem indictione factus est dominus Italiae. Regnavit Albuin in Italia annos tres, et occisus est in Verona in palatio ab Hilmichis et Rosemunda uxore sua per consilium Peritheo. Voluit regnare Hilmichis, et non potuit, quia volebant eum Langobardi occidere. Tunc mandavit Rosemunda ad Longinum praefectum, ut eam reciperet Ravenna. Mox ut audivit Longinus, gavisus est, misit navem angarialem, et tulerunt Rosemunda et Hilmichis et Albsuindam, filia Albuin regis, et omnes thesauros Langobardorum secum duxerunt in Ravenna. Tunc ortare coepit Longinus praefectus Rosemunda, ut occideret Hilmichis et esset uxor Longini. Audito consilium ipsius, temperavit venenum, et post valneum dedit ei in caldo bibere. Cumque bibisset Hilmichis, intellexit, quod malignum bibisset; praecepit, ut ipsa Rosemunda biberet invita; et mortui sunt ambo. Tunc Longinus praefectus tulit thesauros Langobardorum, et Albsuinda, filia Albuin regis, iussit ponere in navem et transmisit eam Constantino-polim ad imperatorem.*

[4] *Claffo, the son of Godehoc reigned after him. And after him reigned Tato the son of Claffo. The Langobards settled three years in the fields of Feld. Tato fought with Rodolf king of the Heruli and killed him and carried off his banner (vando) and helmet. After him the Heruli had no kingly office. And Wacho the son of Unichis killed king Tato his paternal uncle together with Zuchilo. And Wacho fought, and Ildichis the son of Tato fought, and Ildichis fled to the Gippidi where he died. And to avenge his wrong the Gypidis made war with the Langobards. At this time Wacho bent the Suabians under the dominion of the Langobards. Wacho had three wives: (first) Raicunda, daughter of Físud king of the Turingi. After her he took as his wife Austrigusa a girl of the Gippidi. And Wacho had from Austrigusa two daughters; the name of one was Wisigarda whom he gave in marriage to Theudipert king of the Franks, and the name of the second was Walderada whom Scusuald king of the Franks had as his wife, but having her in hatred he transferred her to Garipald for a wife. He had as his third wife the daughter of the king of the Heruli, Silinga by name. From her he had a son, Waltari by name. Wacho died and his son Waltari reigned seven years without posterity. These were all Lethinges.*

[5] *And after Waltari, reigned Auduin. He led the Langobards into Pannonia. And there reigned after him Albuin, his son, whose mother is Rodelenda. At that time Albuin fought with the king of the Gippidi, Cunimund by name, and Cunimund died in that battle and the Gippidi were subjugated. Albuin took as his wife Cunimund's daughter Rosemund, whom he had captured as booty, since his wife Flutsuinda, who was the daughter of Flothar, king of the Franks, had already died. From her he had a daughter by name Albsuinda. And the Langobards dwelt forty-two years in Pannonia. This Albuin led into Italy the Langobards who were invited by Narses (chief) of the secretaries. And Albuin, king of the Langobards, moved out of Pannonia in the month of April after Easter in the first indiction. In the second indiction, indeed, they began to plunder in Italy, but in the third indiction he became master of Italy. Albuin reigned in Italy three years, and was killed in Verona in the palace by Rosemund his wife and Hilmichis upon the advice of Peritheo. Hilmichis wished to be king and could not because the Langobards wanted to slay him. Then Rosemund sent word to the prefect Longinus that he should receive her in Ravenna. When Longinus presently heard this he rejoiced; he sent a ship of the public service and they brought Rosemund and Hilmichis and Albsuinda, king Albuin's daughter, and conducted all the treasures of the Langobards with them to Ravenna. Then the prefect Longinus began to persuade Rosemund to kill Hilmichis and become the wife of Longinus. Having given ear to his counsel, she mixed poison and, after the bath, gave it to him (Hilmichis) to drink in a goblet. But when Hilmichis had drunk, he knew that he had drunk something pernicious. He commanded that Rosemund herself should drink, although unwilling, and*



[6] *Reliqui Langobardi levaverunt sibi regem nomine Cleph de Beleos, et regnavit Cleph annos duos, et mortuus est. Et iudicaverunt duces Langobardorum annos duodecim; posthaec levaverunt sibi regem nomine Autarine, filio Claffoni; et accepit autari uxorem Theudelenda, filia Garipald et Walderade de Baiuaria. Et venit cum Theudelenda frater ipsius nomine Gundwald, et ordinavit eum autari rex ducem in civitatem Astense. Et regnavit Autari annos septem. Et exivit Acquo dux Turingus de Thaurinis, et iunxit se Theudelendae reginae, et factus est rex Langobardorum; et occidit duces revelles suos, Zangrolf de Verona, Mimulf de insula sancti iuliani et Gaidulf de Bergamum, et alios qui revelles fuerunt; et genuit Acquo de Theodelenda filiam nomine Gunperga. Et regnavit Acquo annos VI. Et post ipso regnavit Aroal annos duodecim. Et post ipso regnavit Rothari ex genere Arodus, et rupit civitatem vel castra romanorum quae fuerunt circa litora apriso lune usque in terra Francorum quam ubitergium ad partem orienti, et pugnavit circa fluvium Scultenna, et ceciderunt a parte romanorum octo milia numerus.*

[7] *Et regnavit Rothari annos decem et septem. Et post ipsum regnavit Aripert annos novem. Et post ipsum regnavit Grimoald. Eo tempore exivit Constantinus imperator de Constantinopolim, et venit in partes Campaniae, et regressus est in Sicilia, et occisus est a suis. Et regnavit Grimoald annos novem; et post regnavit Berthari.*

they both died. Then the prefect *Longinus* took the treasure of the *Langobards* and commanded *Albsuinda*, the daughter of king *Albuin*, to be put in a ship, and sent her over to *Constantinople* to the emperor.

[6] The rest of the *Langobards* set over themselves a king named *Cleph*, of the stock of *Beleos*, and *Cleph* reigned two years and died. And the dukes of the *Langobards* administered justice for twelve years and after these things they set up over themselves a king named *Autari*, the son of *Cleph*. And *Autari* took as his wife *Theudelenda*, a daughter of *Garipald* and of *Walderada* from *Bavaria*. And with *Theudelenda* came her brother *Gundwald*, and king *Autari* appointed him duke in the city of *Asta*. And *Atauri* reigned seven years. And *Acquo*, the Thuringian duke, departed from *Turin* and united himself with queen *Theudelenda* and became king of the *Langobards*. And he killed his rebel dukes *Zangrolf* of *Verona*, *Mimulf* of the island of *St. Julian* and *Gaidulf* of *Bergamo*, and others who were rebels. And *Acquo* begot of *Theudelenda* a daughter, *Gunperga* by name. And *Acquo* reigned six years, and after him *Aroal* reigned twelve years. And after him reigned *Rothari*, of the race of *Arodus*, and he destroyed the city and fortresses of the Romans which were around the coasts from the neighbourhood of *Luna* up to the land of the *Franks* and in the east up to *Ubitergium* (*Oderzo*). And he fought near the river *Scultenna* and there fell on the side of the *Romans* the number of eight thousand.

[7] And *Rothari* reigned seventeen years. And after him reigned *Aripert* nine years. And after him reigned *Grimoald*. At this time the emperor *Constantine* departed from *Constantinople* and came into the territories of *Campania* and turned back to *Sicily* and was killed by his own people. And *Grimoald* reigned nine years, and after him *Berthari* reigned.”

Translated by William Dudley Foulke (1907).

#### V.4 Beda Venerabilis: *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* [I, 14-15]:

[14] ... *Unde non multo post acrior gentem peccatricem ultio diri sceleris secuta est. Initum namque est consilium, quid agendum, ubi quaerendum esset praesidium ad euitandas uel repellendas tam feras tamque creberrimas gentium aquilonalium inruptiones; placuitque omnibus cum suo rege Uurtigerno, ut Saxonum gentem de transmarinis partibus in auxilium uocarent; quod Domini nutu dispositum esse constat, ut ueniret contra improbos malum, sicut euidentius rerum exitus probauit.*

[14] “... Whereupon, not long after, a more severe vengeance, for their horrid wickedness, fell upon the sinful nation. They consulted what was to be done, and where they should seek assistance to prevent or repel the cruel and frequent incursions of the northern nations; and they all agreed with their King *Vortigern* to call over to their aid from the parts beyond the sea, the Saxon nation; which, as the event still more evidently showed, appears to have been done by the appointment of our Lord himself, that evil might fall upon them for their wicked deeds.

[15] ANNO ab incarnatione Domini CCCCXLVIII Marcianus cum Valentiniano XLVI ab Augusto regnum adeptus, VII annis tenuit. Tunc Anglorum siue Saxonum gens, inuitata a rege praefato, Britanniam tribus longis nauibus aduehitur, et in orientali parte insulae, iubente eodem rege, locum manendi, quasi pro patria pugnatura, re autem uera hanc expugnatura, suscipit. Inito ergo certamine cum hostibus, qui ab aquilone ad aciem uenerant, uictoriam sumsere Saxones. Quod ubi domi nuntiatum est, simul et insulae fertilitas, ac segnitia Bretonum; mittitur confestim illo classis prolixior, armatorum ferens manum fortiolem, quae praemissae adiuncta cohorti inuincibilem fecit exercitum. Susceperunt ergo, qui aduenerant, donantibus Brittanis, locum habitationis inter eos, ea condicione, ut hi pro patriae pace et salute contra aduersarios militarent, illi militantibus debita stipendia conferrent.

Aduenerant autem de tribus Germaniae populis fortioribus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis, Iutis. De Iutarum origine sunt Cantuarii et Uictuarii, hoc est ea gens, quae Uectam tenet insulam, et ea, quae usque hodie in prouincia Occidentalium Saxonum Iutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Uectam. De Saxonibus, id est ea regione, quae nunc Antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur, uenere Orientales Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones. Porro de Anglis, hoc est de illa patria, quae Angulus dicitur, et ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter prouincias Iutarum et Saxonum perhibetur, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Merci, tota Nordanhymbrorum progenies, id est illarum gentium, quae ad Boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant, ceterique Anglorum populi sunt orti.

Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa; e quibus Horsa postea occisus in bello a Bretonibus, hactenus in orientalibus Cantiae partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne. Erant autem filii Uictgils, cuius pater Uitta, cuius pater Uecta, cuius pater Uoden, de cuius stirpe multarum prouinciarum regum genus originem duxit.

[15] In the year of our Lord 449, Martian being made emperor with Valentinian, and the forty-sixth from Augustus, ruled the empire seven years. Then the nation of the Angles, or Saxons, being invited by the aforesaid king, arrived in Britain with three long ships, and had a place assigned them to reside in by the same king, in the eastern part of the island, that they might thus appear to be fighting for their country, whilst their real intentions were to enslave it. Accordingly they engaged with the enemy, who were come from the north to give battle, and obtained the victory; which being known at home in their own country, as also the fertility of the island, and the cowardice of the Brittons, a more considerable fleet was quickly sent over, bringing a still greater number of men, which, being added to the former, made up an invincible army. The new comers received of the Brittons a place to inhabit, upon condition that they should wage war against their enemies for the peace and security of the country, whilst the Brittons agreed to furnish them with pay. Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany – Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, and those also in the province of the West-Saxon who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, the country which is now called Old Saxony, came the East-Saxons, the South-Saxons, and the West-Saxons. From the Angles, that is the country which is called Anglia [*Angulus\**], and which is said, from that time, to remain desert to this day, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, are descended the East-Angles, the Midland-Angles, Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians, that is of those nations that dwell on the north side of the river Humber, and the other nations of the English.

Their first two commanders [*duces*] are said to have been Hengist and Horsa. Of whom, Horsa being afterwards slain in battle by the Brittons, was buried in the eastern parts of Kent, where a monument, bearing his name, is still in existence. They were the sons of Vietgilsus, whose father was Vecta, son of Woden; from whose stock the royal race of many provinces deduce their original.”

\* The place Angulus (“angle”) can probably be connected with the current name of the Angel region in Eastern Schleswig.

Translated by L.C. Jane (1910).

## V.5 Testimony on the Crimean Goths

**Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq: *Legationis Turcicae Epistolae quatuor*. Item 4: *Epistola quarta et ultima***

The existence of the Crimean Goths was reported by the learned Flemish diplomat Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq. He was born in 1522 in Comines in Flanders and died after a brief period of captivity in 1592 in Normandy. He came from a noble family, thanks to which he received an excellent education. He began studying at the University of Leuven in the Duchy of Brabant when he was only thirteen years old and he continued his studies in Paris, Venice, Bologna and Padova. In 1554 he accepted the position of ambassador of Ferdinand I of Austria, later Holy Roman Emperor (1558–1564). Busbecq was to negotiate a piece treaty with Suleiman the Magnificent. Already in 1555, he travelled to the Ottoman Empire and returned with a letter from the sultan for Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor. In 1556 he again travelled to Constantinople, where he stayed until 1562. Even after his return, he remained in the service of the emperor's family and was knighted.

Busbecq was said to be a polyglot. Besides his mother language Flemish, he could also speak French, Italian, and Latin which he learned during his studies. He also learned German, probably in Vienna. His biographers state that he also spoke Spanish and an unspecified Slavic language. During his stay in the Ottoman Empire, he copied Greek inscriptions and therefore it is believed that he also knew Classical Greek and used interpreters only for Modern Greek. It is obvious from his letters that he had some knowledge of Turkish.

During his second stay in Constantinople, he met two delegates from Crimea. The mother language of one of them was some Germanic language of the Crimean Peninsula, but as he started to prefer Greek, he had forgotten his original language. The other one was a Greek who, due to his business contacts, had learned this Germanic language. It is commonly believed that this second delegate was the main source of Busbecq's information on the unknown Germanic language of the Crimean Peninsula. It is very probable that Busbecq used the Flemish orthography of that time when he recorded words from this language. In some cases one must consider that the recorded words were influenced by Busbecq's mother tongue.

He summarized his observations on this Germanic language in a letter written in Latin dated 1562. Already in 1589, this text was published by a printer in France. However, this was what in modern terminology would be called a pirated version, and it was created on the basis of an imperfect handwritten copy of the original manuscript.

*Non possum hoc loco praeterire, quae de gente accipi, quae etiamnum incolit Tauricam Chersonesum, quam saepe audiveram sermone, moribus, ore denique ipso et corporis habitu, originem Germanicam referre.*

*Itaque me diu cupiditas tenuit videndi ab ea gente aliquem, et si fieri posset inde eruendi aliquid quod ea lingua scriptum esset, sed hoc consequi non potui. Casus tamen utcunque desiderio meo satisfecit.*

*Cum essent duo huc illinc delegati, qui nescio quas querelas nomine eius gentis ad principem deferrent, meique interpretes in eos incidissent, memores quid eis mandassem si id usu veniret, ad prandium illos ad me adduxerunt.*

*Alter erat procerior, toto ore ingenuam quandam simplicitatem praeferens, ut Flander videretur aut Batavus:*

*alter erat brevior, compactiore corpore, colore fusco, ortu et sermone Graecus, sed qui frequenti commercio non contemnendum eius linguae usum haberet, nam superior vicinitate, et frequenti Graecorum consuetudine sic eorum sermonem imbiberat, ut popularis sui esset oblitus, interrogatus de natura et moribus illorum populorum, congruentia respondebat.*

“I cannot pass over what I have learned about a race which still inhabits the Crimea, which I had often heard to resemble a Germanic origin in speech, customs, in features even and in bodily appearance.”

“For a while now the desire has held me of seeing someone from this race, and if it be possible to bring about, of eliciting from this one something which is written in that language, but this I was unable to achieve. Nevertheless happenstance eventually fulfilled my desire.”

“Since there were here two delegates from that place, who were conducting I know not what business in the name of that race, and as my interpreters had chanced upon them, mindful of what I had charged them if such should come about, they therefore led them to me for a lunch.”

“One of them was taller, displaying in his overall appearance a certain native simplicity, so that he looked like a Fleming or Dutchman:”

“the other was shorter, with a stouter body, a swarthy color, Greek in origin and speech, but who with frequent interaction had a not disrespectable command of that language; for the first one on account of proximity and frequent dealings with Greeks had so taken in their speech as to have forgotten that of his own people; though when asked about the nature and customs of those peoples, he responded sensibly.”

*Aiebat gentem esse bellicosam, quae complures pagos hodieque incoleret, ex quibus Tartarorum regulus, cum expediret, octingentos pedites sclopetarios scriberet, praecipuum suarum copiarum firmamentum: primarias eorum urbes, alteram Mancup vocari, alteram Sciuarin.*

*Ad haec multa de Tartaris eorumque barbarie: in quibus tamen singulari sapientia non paucos reperiri memorabat. Nam de rebus gravissimis interrogatos, breviter atque apposite respondere.*

*Ea de causa non temere dictitare Turcas, reliquas quidem nationes scriptam in libris habere sapientiam, Tartaros libros suos devorasse, ideo in pectoribus eam habere reconditam, quam promat cum opus sit, et veluti divina fundant oracula.*

*Eosdem esse perquam immundis moribus: si iurulentum aliquid apponatur in mensa, nulla requirere coclearia, sed ius vola manus haurire. Enectorum equorum carnem devorare, nullo foco admotam, offas tantum sub equestri sella explicare, quibus equino calore tepefactis tanquam opipare conditis vesci.*

*Gentis regulum e mensa argentea cibum capere, primum inferri ferculum caput equi, ut et postremum, quemadmodum apud nos primo novissimoque loco honos habetur butyro.*

*Nunc adscribam pauca vocabula de multis quae Germanica reddebat, nam haud minus multorum plane diversa a nostris erat forma: sive quod eius linguae natura id ferat, sive quod eum fugiebat memoria et peregrina cum vernaculis mutabat: omnibus vero dictionibus praeponebat articulum **tho** aut **the**.*

*Nostratia aut parum differentia haec erant*

“He was saying that the race was a warlike one which inhabited many villages even today, from which the commander of the Tartars, when he would set out, would enlist eight hundred infantry armed with firearms, the primary foundation of his own forces; and that of their main cities, one was called Mancup, the other Sciuarin.”

“To this he added many things about the Tartars and their barbarism, but among whom he recounted not few were gifted with particular insight. For when they were asked about the most serious matters, they would respond concisely and to the point.”

“For this reason the Turks say not casually that, though other nations have wisdom written in books, the Tartars have devoured their books, and have it so stored in their breast, and produce it as the occasion warrants, that they issue something like divine oracles.”

“These same ones have the most terrible habits: if some soup is placed on the table, they require no spoon, but rather the custom is to eat with the palm of the hand. They devour the meat of dead horses, served with no flame, but only lay out the pieces under a horse’s saddle, and thus warmed by the horse’s heat they eat them as if they were lavishly spiced.”

“The chief of this people takes his food from a silver table; the head of a horse is brought in as the first dish, and also the last, just as with us the honor of the first and last dish is held by butter.”

“Now I will write down a few words of the many which sounded Germanic; for no less had many a form clearly different from ours, either because the nature of the language might cause this, or because his memory escaped him and he was mixing foreign words with native ones. Indeed, he would place the article **tho** or **the** before all his words.”

“Those the same as ours or little different were the following:”

| Crimean Gothic    | Latin           | translation | Crimean Gothic   | Latin                   | translation       |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>broe</i>       | <i>panis</i>    | bread       | <i>tag</i>       | <i>dies</i>             | day               |
| <i>plut</i>       | <i>sanguis</i>  | blood       | <i>oeghene</i>   | <i>oculi</i>            | eyes              |
| <i>stul</i>       | <i>sedes</i>    | seat        | <i>bars</i>      | <i>barba</i>            | beard             |
| <i>hus</i>        | <i>domus</i>    | house       | <i>handa</i>     | <i>manus</i>            | hand              |
| <i>vvingart</i>   | <i>vitis</i>    | vine branch | <i>boga</i>      | <i>arcus</i>            | bow               |
| <i>reghen</i>     | <i>pluvia</i>   | rain        | <i>miera</i>     | <i>formica</i>          | ant               |
| <i>bruder</i>     | <i>frater</i>   | brother     | <i>rinck</i>     | ( <i>sive</i> )         | ring              |
| <i>schuuester</i> | <i>soror</i>    | sister      | <i>ringo</i>     | <i>annulus</i>          | ring              |
| <i>alt</i>        | <i>senex</i>    | old         | <i>brunna</i>    | <i>fons</i>             | well              |
| <i>vvintch</i>    | <i>ventus</i>   | wind        | <i>vvaghen</i>   | <i>currus</i>           | wagon             |
| <i>siluir</i>     | <i>argentum</i> | silver      | <i>apel</i>      | <i>pomum</i>            | apple             |
| <i>goltz</i>      | <i>aurum</i>    | gold        | <i>schieten</i>  | <i>mittere sagittum</i> | to shoot an arrow |
| <i>kor</i>        | <i>triticim</i> | grain       | <i>schlipen</i>  | <i>dormire</i>          | to sleep          |
| <i>salt</i>       | <i>sal</i>      | salt        | <i>kommen</i>    | <i>venire</i>           | to come           |
| <i>fisct</i>      | <i>piscis</i>   | fish        | <i>singhen</i>   | <i>canere</i>           | to sing           |
| <i>hoef</i>       | <i>caput</i>    | head        | <i>lachen</i>    | <i>ridere</i>           | to laugh          |
| <i>thurn</i>      | <i>porta</i>    | door        | <i>eriten</i>    | <i>flere</i>            | to cry            |
| <i>stein</i>      | <i>stella</i>   | star        | <i>geen</i>      | <i>ire</i>              | to go             |
| <i>sune</i>       | <i>sol</i>      | sun         | <i>breen</i>     | <i>assare</i>           | to roast          |
| <i>mine</i>       | <i>luna</i>     | moon        | <i>schuualth</i> | <i>mors</i>             | death             |

Table 10: Crimean Gothic - Latin glossary I by Busbecq 1562

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>Knauen tag erat illi Bonus dies: Knauen bonum dicebat et ple-<br/>raque alia cum nostra lingua non satis congruentia usurpabat,<br/>ut</i> | “Knauen tag” was for him ‘Good day’; <i>Knauen</i> meant ‘good’,<br>and he would use many other terms not agreeing well<br>enough with our language, such as |
|---|--|

| Crimean Gothic    | Latin                    | translation       | Crimean Gothic       | Latin                | translation       |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| <i>iel</i>        | <i>vita sive sanitas</i> | life or health    | <i>baar</i>          | <i>puer</i>          | boy               |
| <i>ieltsch</i>    | <i>vivus sive sanus</i>  | living or healthy | <i>ael</i>           | <i>lapis</i>         | stone             |
| <i>iel vburt</i>  | <i>sit sanum</i>         | may it be well    | <i>menus</i>         | <i>caro</i>          | meat              |
| <i>marzus</i>     | <i>nuptiae</i>           | marriage          | <i>rintsch</i>       | <i>mons</i>          | mountain          |
| <i>schuos</i>     | <i>sponsa</i>            | fiancée           | <i>fers</i>          | <i>vir</i>           | man               |
| <i>statz</i>      | <i>terra</i>             | land              | <i>lista</i>         | <i>parum</i>         | too little        |
| <i>ada</i>        | <i>ovum</i>              | egg               | <i>schediit</i>      | <i>lux</i>           | light             |
| <i>ano</i>        | <i>gallina</i>           | hen               | <i>borrotsch</i>     | <i>voluntas</i>      | desire            |
| <i>telich</i>     | <i>stultus</i>           | foolish           | <i>cadariou</i>      | <i>miles</i>         | soldier           |
| <i>stap</i>       | <i>capra</i>             | she-goat          | <i>kilemschkop</i>   | <i>ebibe calicem</i> | Drink up your cup |
| <i>gadeltha</i>   | <i>pulchrum</i>          | beautiful         | <i>tzo vvarthata</i> | <i>tu fecisti</i>    | Thou hast made    |
| <i>atochta</i>    | <i>malum</i>             | bad               | <i>ies varthata</i>  | <i>ille fecit</i>    | He made           |
| <i>vvichtgata</i> | <i>album</i>             | white             | <i>ich malthata</i>  | <i>ego dico</i>      | I say             |
| <i>mycha</i>      | <i>ensis</i>             | sword             |                      |                      |                   |

Table 11: Crimean Gothic - Latin glossary II by Busbecq 1562

*Jussus ita numerabat. Ita, tua, tria, fyder, fyuf, seis, severe, prorsus, ut nos Flandri. Nam vos Brabant, qui vos Germanice loqui facitis, hic magnifice vos efferre, et nos soletis habere derisui, ac si istam vocem pronunciemus rancidius, quam vos Seuen effertis. Prosequatur delude Athe, nyne, thiine, thiinita, thunetua, thunetria etc. Viginti dicebat stega, triginta treithyen, quadraginta furdeithien, centum sada, hazer mille. Quin etiam cantilenam eius linguae recitabat, cuius initium erat huiusmodi:*

*Wara wara ingdolou | seu te gira Galtzou | hoemisclep dorbiza ea*

*Hi Gothi an Saxones sint, non possum diiudicare.*

*Si Saxones, arbitror eo deductos tempore Caroli magni, qui eam gentem per varias orbis terrarum regiones dissipavit. Cui rei testimonio sunt urbes Transilvaniae hodieque Saxonibus incolis habitatae. Atque ex iis ferocissimos fortasse longius etiam summoveri placuit in Tauricam usque Chersonesum, ubi quidem inter hostes religionem adhuc retinent Christianam.*

*Quod si Gothi sunt, arbitror iam olim eas sibi sedes tenuisse Getis proximas. Nec erratum fortasse, qui sentiat maiorem partem eius intervalli, quod est inter Gothiam insulam et Procopiam, quam hodie vocant, a Gothis aliquando insessam. Hinc diversa Gothorum, Westgothorum et Ostrogothorum nomina: hinc peragratus orbis victoriis et seminarium ingens barbaricae multitudinis.*

*Habes quae de Taurica Chersoneso ex his Procopiensibus didici.*

“When asked he counted thus: *Ita, tua, tria, fyuf, seis, severe*, just as we Flemings do. For you men of Brabant, who fancy that you speak German, are accustomed to magnify yourselves and take us for a joke, if we should pronounce horribly what you say as *Seuen*.” “He continued from there *athe, nyne, thiine, thiinita, thunetua, thunetria*, etc. He said *stega* for ‘twenty’, *treithyen* for ‘thirty’, *furdeithien* for ‘forty’, *sada* for ‘one hundred’, *hazer* for ‘one thousand’. Moreover he recited a song from this language, whose beginning was like this:”

“Whether these be Goths or Saxons is not possible to discern.”

“If Saxons, I suspect that they were brought down in the time of Charlemagne, who scattered that people through the various parts of the world. As a testament to this fact there are Transilvania towns which even today are inhabited by Saxon settlers. And so perhaps it seemed fitting to move the most fierce of these even farther, all the way to the Crimea, where even among enemies they still retain the Christian religion.”

“But if they are Goths, I suspect that they have held these regions for themselves beside the Getae for a long time already. Perhaps he would not be mistaken, if one thought that the greater part of that expanse which exists between the island Gotland and what they now call Perekup was once settled by Goths. From here came the various names of the Goths, the West Goths and the Ostrogoths; from here a traversal of the world through victories and the great nursery of the barbaric horde.”

“Now you have what I learned about the Crimea from these men of Perekup.”

Translated by Todd B. Krause and Jonathan Slocum: *The Corpus of Crimean Gothic*

Another English translation was published by Forster & Daniell (1881:355–59); cf. also Stearns 1978, 12–15.

## VI SCRIPT

### VI.1 Runic script

Germanic Runic alphabets are classified chronologically: the so-called Elder Futhark consists of 24 characters which reflect quite precisely the spoken form of the early stages of the Germanic languages in the first centuries CE. Once the spoken form diverged too greatly from the written one, there was a need to develop a new orthography arose. Gothic, as the only East Germanic language, used an original alphabet which was created by Wulfila based on the Greek alphabet with some Runic and Latin characters. The West Germanic languages gradually started using the Latin alphabet. The Runic alphabet remained in use in Scandinavia and in the area colonized by the Normans in a modified form called the Younger Futhark. This new system contains only 16 characters; while some of them changed their phonetic form, others became polyfunctional. With the exception of two characters representing phonemes which never occurred at the beginning of the word (Y /z/; ǰ /ŋ/), each character was named according to the acrophonic principle. The names of the characters were not related to their form, they only served as a mnemonic device. Their Proto-Germanic form has of course disappeared, but it has been reconstructed based on the characters’ names in Gothic, Old Norse and Old English sources (see Table 13).

| Rune | Transliteration | Proto-Germanic name  | Meaning                            |
|------|-----------------|--|------------------------------------|
| ƿ    | f               | *fexu  | “wealth; cattle”                   |
| ᚋ    | u               | ?*ūruz   | “aurochs”                          |
| ᚔ    | þ               | ?*þurisaz  | “the god Thor, giant”              |
| ᚕ    | a               | *ansuz   | “one of the Æsir (gods)”           |
| ᚖ    | r               | *raidō   | “ride, journey”                    |
| ᚗ    | k               | ?*kaunan   | “ulcer” (or *kenaz “torch”?)       |
| ᚘ    | g               | *gebō  | “gift”                             |
| ᚙ    | w               | *wunjō   | “joy”                              |
| ᚛᚛   | h               | *xagalaz   | “hail” (the precipitation)         |
| ᚜    | n               | *naudiz  | “need”                             |
| ᚝    | i               | *isaz  | “ice”                              |
| ᚞    | j               | *jēra-   | “year”                             |
| ᚟    | ī (or æ)        | *i(x)waz / *ei(x)waz   | “yew-tree”                         |
| ᚠ    | p               | ?*perþ-  | “pear-tree”?                       |
| ᚡ    | z               | ?*algiz  | “elk”                              |
| ᚢ    | s               | *sōwilō  | “Sun”                              |
| ᚣ    | t               | *tīwaz/*teiwaz   | “the god Tyr”                      |
| ᚤᚥ   | b               | *berkanan  | “birch”                            |
| ᚦ    | e               | *exwaz   | “horse”                            |
| ᚧ    | m               | *mannaz  | “Man”                              |
| ᚨ    | l               | *laguz   | “water, lake” (or *laukaz “leek”?) |
| ᚩᚰ   | ŋ               | *engwaz  | “the god Yngvi”                    |
| ᚱ    | o               | *ōþila <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Othalan/">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Othalan/</a> *ōþala- | “heritage, estate, possession”     |
| ᚲ    | d               | *dagaz   | “day”                              |

**Table 12:** Runic script – Elder Futhark

| Old <i>futhorc</i> | Old English <i>futhorc</i> |              | Younger <i>futhorc</i> |                 | Gothic            | transliteration |
|--------------------|----------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
|                    | character                  | name         | character              | Old Danish name | name              |                 |
| ƿ                  | ƿ                          | feoh         | ƿ                      | fiu             | fe                | f               |
| ᚋ                  | ᚋ                          | úr           | ᚋ                      | urR “drizzling” | uraz              | u               |
| ᚔ                  | ᚔ                          | þorn “thorn” | ᚔ                      | þhurs           | thyth<br>“good”   | þ               |
| ᚕ                  | ᚕ “o”                      | ós “mouth”   | ᚕ “a”                  | qus             | aza               | a               |
| ᚖ                  | ᚖ                          | rád          | ᚖ                      | reið            | reda              | r               |
| ᚗ                  | ᚗ “c”                      | cén “torch”  | ᚗ                      | kqun            | chozma<br>“ulcer” | k               |
| ᚘ                  | ᚘ “g”                      | gyfu         |                        |                 | geuua             | g               |
| ᚙ                  | ᚙ                          | wen, wynn    |                        |                 | uwinne            | w               |
| ᚛                  | ᚛                          | hægl         | *                      | hqkql           | haal              | h               |
| ᚜                  | ᚜                          | nyd          | ᚜                      | nqubR           | noicz             | n               |

| Old <i>futhorc</i> | Old English <i>futhorc</i> |                       | Younger <i>futhorc</i> |   | Gothic        | transliteration |
|--------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---|---------------|-----------------|
|                    | character                  | name                  | character              | Old Danish name                           | name          |                 |
| ᛚ                  | l                          | <i>is</i>             | ᛚ                      | <i>is</i>                                 | <i>iiz</i>    | i               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ                          | <i>gér</i>            |                        |   | <i>gaar</i>   | j               |
|                    |                            |                       | ᛚ                      | <i>qr</i>                                 |               | a               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ “eo”                     | <i>éoh, íh</i>        |                        | <i>ir</i>                                 |               | ï               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ                          | <i>peorð</i>          |                        |   | <i>pertra</i> | p               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ “x”                      | <i>eolhx</i>          | ᛚ “R”                  | <i>ælgR</i>                               | <i>ezec?</i>  | z               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ                          | <i>sigel</i>          | ᛚ                      | <i>sulu</i>                               | <i>sugil</i>  | s               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ                          | <i>Tí(w), tír</i>     | ᛚ                      | <i>tiuR</i>                               | <i>tyz</i>    | t               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ                          | <i>beorc</i>          | ᛚ                      | <i>biarkqn</i>                            | <i>bercna</i> | b               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ                          | <i>eoh</i>            |                        | <i>eor</i>                                | <i>eyz</i>    | e               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ                          | <i>man</i>            | ᛚ                      | <i>mqnR</i>                               | <i>manna</i>  | m               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ                          | <i>lagu</i>           | ᛚ                      | <i>lqgr</i> “water”<br><i>lquk</i> “leek” | <i>laaz</i>   | l               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ                          | <i>Ing</i>            |                        |   | <i>enguz</i>  | ŋ               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ                          | <i>dæg</i>            |                        |   | <i>daaz</i>   | d               |
| ᛚ                  | ᛚ “œ”                      | <i>éðel, éðel</i>     |                        |   | <i>utal</i>   | o               |
|                    | ᛚ “a”                      | <i>ác</i> “oak”       |                        |   |               |                 |
|                    | ᛚ “æ”                      | <i>æsc</i> “ash tree” |                        |   |               |                 |
|                    | ᛚ “y”                      | <i>yr</i> “bow”       |                        |   |               |                 |
|                    | * “ia, io”                 | <i>ior</i> “eel”      |                        |   |               |                 |
|                    | ᛚ “ea”                     | <i>ear</i> “grave”    |                        |   |               |                 |

**Table 13:** Runic script – Old English and Younger Futhark with names of runes, including Gothic

Note: The variant P for **b** was used in the South Germanic inscriptions (see Macháček, Nedoma et alii 2021, 119).

### VI.2 The Gothic script

| Gothic character | Transliteration | Greek, Latin or Runic source | Late Gothic name with its equivalent in the Gothic of Wulfila’s Bible or its reconstruction (marked with *)                                 | Proto-Germanic   |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|---|--|
| ᛚ                | <i>a</i>        | A                            | <i>aza</i> < * <i>ans</i> “god”   | * <i>ansuz</i>   |
| B                | <i>b</i>        | B                            | <i>bercna</i> < * <i>bairka</i> “birch”   | * <i>berkanan</i>  |
| ᛚ                | <i>g</i>        | Γ                            | <i>geuua</i> < <i>giba</i> “gift”   | * <i>gebō</i>  |
| ᛚ                | <i>d</i>        | Δ                            | <i>daaz</i> < <i>dags</i> “day”   | * <i>dagaz</i>   |
| ᛚ                | <i>e</i>        | E                            | <i>eyz</i> < * <i>aihvs</i> “horse”, cf. <i>aihva-tundi</i> “blackberry bush” = * <i>“horse bush”</i>                                       | * <i>eihwaz</i>  |
| ᛚ                | <i>q</i>        | Π                            | <i>qertra</i> < * <i>qairpra</i> “fruit-tree” (cf. Old Irish <i>ceirt</i> “apple tree” = character <i>q</i> ) or <i>qairnus</i> “millstone” | cf. Old English <i>cweorþ</i> , name of the rune <i>q</i> (see * <i>perþrō</i> ) |
| Z                | <i>z</i>        | Z                            | <i>ezec</i> < ?   | (see * <i>algiz</i> )  |



| Gothic character | Transliteration | Greek, Latin or Runic source | Late Gothic name with its equivalent in the Gothic of Wulfila's Bible or its reconstruction (marked with *) | Proto-Germanic    |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| ᚺ                | <i>h</i>        | H                            | <i>haal</i> < * <i>hagal</i> or * <i>hagls</i> "hail"   | * <i>haglaz</i>   |
| ψ                | <i>þ</i>        | Θ                            | <i>thyth</i> < <i>þiuþ</i> "good"   | * <i>thurisaz</i> |
| ᛇ                | <i>i</i>        | I                            | <i>iiz</i> < * <i>eis</i> "ice"   | * <i>isaz</i>     |
| ᚱ                | <i>k</i>        | Κ                            | <i>chozma</i> < * <i>kusma</i> , cf. Finnish <i>kusma</i> "ulcer"   | * <i>kaunan</i>   |
| λ                | <i>l</i>        | Λ                            | <i>laaz</i> < * <i>lagus</i> "sea"  | * <i>laguz</i>    |
| ᛞ                | <i>m</i>        | M                            | <i>manna</i> < <i>manna</i> "man"   | * <i>mannaz</i>   |
| ᚾ                | <i>n</i>        | N                            | <i>noicz</i> < <i>nauþs</i> "need"  | * <i>naudiz</i>   |
| ᚷ                | <i>j</i>        | Lat. G, Run. ʒ               | <i>gaar</i> < <i>jēr</i> "year"   | * <i>jēran</i>    |
| ᚹ                | <i>u</i>        | Run. ƿ                       | <i>uraz</i> < * <i>ūrus</i> "aurochs"   | * <i>ūruz</i>     |
| ᚺ                | <i>p</i>        | Π                            | <i>pertra</i> < * <i>pairþa</i> ?   | * <i>perþō</i>    |
| ᚻ                | "90"            | Q                            |   |                   |
| ᚷ                | <i>r</i>        | Lat. R, Run. ᚷ               | <i>reda</i> < * <i>raida</i> "wagon"  | * <i>raidō</i>    |
| S                | <i>s</i>        | Lat. S, Run. ʒ               | <i>sugil</i> < <i>sauil</i> or * <i>sōjil</i> "Sun"   | * <i>sōwilō</i>   |
| T                | <i>t</i>        | T                            | <i>tyz</i> < * <i>tius</i> "the god Týr"  | * <i>tīwaz</i>    |
| Υ                | <i>w</i>        | Υ                            | <i>uinne</i> < <i>winja</i> "field, pasture" or <i>winna</i> "pain"   | * <i>wunjō</i>    |
| ᚷ                | <i>f</i>        | Lat. F, Run. ƿ               | <i>fe</i> < <i>faþu</i> "cattle, wealth"  | * <i>fehu</i>     |
| X                | <i>x</i>        | X                            | Serves for transcription of adopted Greek words and proper nouns with χ                                     |                   |
| Θ                | <i>hv</i>       |                              | <i>uuaer</i> < * <i>¹air</i> "kettle"   | -                 |
| Ω                | <i>o</i>        | Ω, ʀ                         | <i>utal</i> < * <i>ōþal</i> "ancestral land"  | * <i>ōþala</i>    |
| ↑                | "900"           | ʀ                            |   |                   |

**Table 14:** The Gothic alphabet created by Wulfila with names from Alcuin's manuscript (Codex Vindobonensis 795)

## VII LEXICOSTATISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE OLD GERMANIC LANGUAGES<sup>1</sup>

The present section brings a lexicostatistical test applied to the six old Germanic literary languages, Gothic, Old Norse, Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon and Old High German. To supplement the words missing in the limited Old Saxon corpus, the Middle Low German counterparts were used in five cases, and once the Crimean Gothic equivalent was taken into account because the Biblical Gothic item was missing (“egg”). The results are recorded as mutual percentages and corresponding time intervals of divergence for every pair of languages:

| % ~ age of divergence | Old Norse                | Old English                | Old Frisian                | Old Saxon                | Old High German            |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Gothic                | 76/84 = 90.48%<br>~ 1030 | 75.5/84 = 89.88%<br>~ 1060 | 69.5/83 = 83.73%<br>~ 1390 | 75/84 = 89.29%<br>~ 1090 | 75.5/84 = 89.88%<br>~ 1060 |
| Old Norse             |                          | 95/100 = 95.00% ~ 730      | 86.5/96 = 90.10%<br>~ 1050 | 93/99 = 93.94%<br>~ 800  | 92.5/100 = 92.50%<br>~ 900 |
| Old English           |                          |                            | 92.5/96 = 96.35%<br>~ 620  | 97.5/99 = 98.48% ~ 390   | 98/100 = 98.00% ~ 450      |
| Old Frisian           |                          |                            |                            | 91/95 = 95.79%<br>~ 670  | 92/96 = 95.83% ~ 670       |
| Old Saxon             |                          |                            |                            |                          | 97.5/99 = 98.48%<br>~ 390  |

**Table 15:** Shares of mutual cognates & age of divergence among the Old Germanic languages

For constructing a tree diagram depicting mutual relations of the languages compared, if they are asynchronously attested, it is necessary to determine the times of attestation. We use the following times: Gothic: 360 CE, Old Norse: 1100 CE, Old Frisian: 1300 CE, Old Saxon: 900 CE. In the case of Old English and Old High German, we will test two variant times, time A 800 CE for the beginning and time B 900 CE for the flourishing of their literary traditions. We have measured the time interval of divergence  $\Delta$  (Table 1). Knowing the times of attestation  $t_1$  and  $t_2$  in every language pair, it is possible to date the partial protolanguages for every pair of languages ( $t_0$ ) and finally to establish the most probable scenario of development, applying the equations:  $2 \Delta = (t_1 - t_0) + (t_2 - t_0)$ ; thus  $\Delta = (t_1 + t_2)/2 - t_0$ ; from here  $t_0 = (t_1 + t_2)/2 - \Delta$

### Scenario A

| pair of languages         | $(t_1 + t_2)/2$          | $\Delta$ | $(t_1 + t_2)/2 - \Delta = t_0$ |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| Gothic – Old Norse        | $(360 + 1100)/2 = 730$   | 1030     | $730 - 1030 = -300$            |
| Gothic – Old English      | $(360 + 800)/2 = 580$    | 1060     | $580 - 1060 = -480$            |
| Gothic – Old Frisian      | $(360 + 1300)/2 = 830$   | 1390     | $830 - 1370 = -560$            |
| Gothic – Old Saxon        | $(360 + 900)/2 = 630$    | 1090     | $630 - 1090 = -460$            |
| Gothic – OHG              | $(360 + 800)/2 = 580$    | 1060     | $580 - 1060 = -480$            |
| Old Norse – Old English   | $(1100 + 800)/2 = 950$   | 730      | $950 - 730 = +220$             |
| Old Norse – Old Frisian   | $(1100 + 1300)/2 = 1200$ | 1050     | $1200 - 1050 = +150$           |
| Old Norse – Old Saxon     | $(1100 + 900)/2 = 1000$  | 800      | $1000 - 800 = +200$            |
| Old Norse – OHG           | $(1100 + 800)/2 = 950$   | 900      | $950 - 900 = +50$              |
| Old English – Old Frisian | $(800 + 1300)/2 = 1050$  | 620      | $1050 - 620 = +430$            |
| Old English – Old Saxon   | $(800 + 900)/2 = 850$    | 390      | $850 - 390 = +460$             |
| Old English – OHG         | $(800 + 800)/2 = 800$    | 450      | $800 - 450 = +350$             |

1) This section represents the modified and shortened version of the article by Malášková & Blažek 2007.

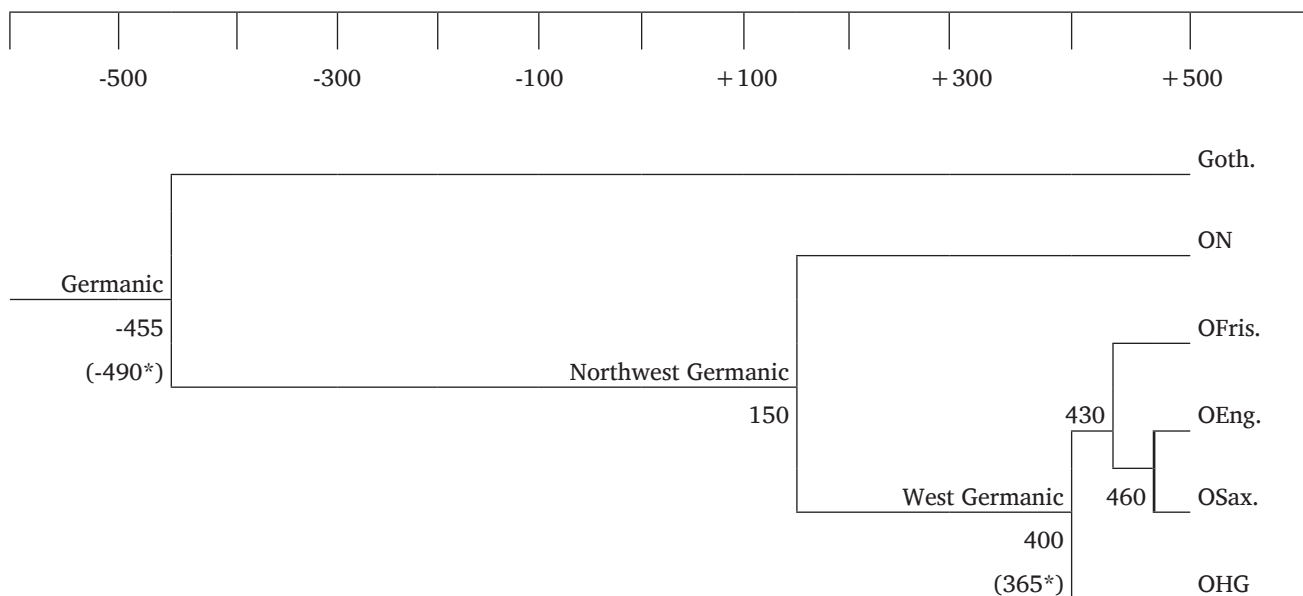
| pair of languages       | $(t_1 + t_2)/2$         | $\Delta$ | $(t_1 + t_2)/2 - \Delta = t_0$ |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| Old Frisian – Old Saxon | $(1300 + 900)/2 = 1100$ | 670      | $1100 - 670 = +430$            |
| Old Frisian – OHG       | $(1300 + 800)/2 = 1050$ | 670      | $1050 - 670 = +380$            |
| Old Saxon – OHG         | $(900 + 800)/2 = 850$   | 390      | $850 - 390 = +460$             |

**Table 16:** Chronology of disintegration of all pairs of the Old Germanic languages – Scenario A

Comments

1. There is an apparent opposition of Gothic vs. Northwest Germanic.  
The average value  $(-300 + -480 + -560 + -460 + -480)/5 = -2280/5 = -456 \approx 455$  BCE determines the probable dating of disintegration of the common Germanic protolanguage.
  2. The later date of the Gothic–Nordic disintegration resulting from the above calculation was probably caused by a secondary neighbourhood of ancestors of Goths (East Germans) and newly incoming ancestors of North Germanic populations to Southern Scandinavia. Abstracting from this value, the average will be  $(-480 + -540 + -460 + -480)/4 = -1960/4 = -490$ , i.e. 490 BCE.
  3. The opposition of North vs. West Germanic is also apparent.  
The average  $(220 + 150 + 200 + 50)/4 = 620/4 = 154 \approx 150$  CE determines a probable date for the disintegration of the common Northwest Germanic protolanguage.
  4. The dates of disintegration within the West Germanic branch are concentrated in the interval from 350 to 460 CE. the average value is  $(430 + 460 + 350 + 430 + 380 + 460)/6 = 2510/6 = 418.33 \approx 420$  CE.
  5. If the closer relation between Old Saxon and Old High German expressed by the result 460 CE is ascribed to a mutual interference between two neighbouring literary languages, the closest relatives are Old Saxon and Old English (460 CE), preceded by Old Frisian (430 CE to both Old Saxon and Old English). The position of Old High German may be determined in two ways:  
(i) A simple average  $(350 + 380 + 460)/3 = 1190/3 = 396.66 \approx 400$  CE;  
(ii) Abstracting from the result between Old Saxon and Old High German, the average is  $(350 + 380)/2 = 365$  CE.
- These results determine the time when the ancestor of Old High German separated from the other West Germanic languages.
6. This model with Old High German first separating from the West Germanic continuum perfectly agrees with the phonetic isoglosses defining ‘North Sea Germanic’: Old English *mē*, Old Frisian *mi*, Middle Dutch *mi*, Old Saxon *mi/me*, vs. Old High German *mir* ‘me’ or vs. Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon *fi* vs. Old High German *fi*mf ‘five’.

**Tree diagram A**



**Scheme 22:** Classification of the Old Germanic languages (scenario A) by Malášková & Blažek 2012–2016

The asterisked data are calculated without the “deviating” pairs, Gothic–Old Norse (300 BCE) and Old Saxon – Old High German (460 CE).

Scenario B

| pair of languages         | $(t_1 + t_2)/2$          | $\Delta$ | $(t_1 + t_2)/2 - \Delta = t_0$ |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| Gothic – Old Norse        | $(360 + 1100)/2 = 730$   | 1030     | $730 - 1030 = -300$            |
| Gothic – Old English      | $(360 + 900)/2 = 630$    | 1060     | $630 - 1060 = -430$            |
| Gothic – Old Frisian      | $(360 + 1300)/2 = 830$   | 1390     | $830 - 1390 = -560$            |
| Gothic – Old Saxon        | $(360 + 900)/2 = 630$    | 1090     | $630 - 1090 = -460$            |
| Gothic – OHG              | $(360 + 900)/2 = 630$    | 1060     | $630 - 1060 = -430$            |
| Old Norse – Old English   | $(1100 + 900)/2 = 1000$  | 730      | $1000 - 730 = +220$            |
| Old Norse – Old Frisian   | $(1100 + 1300)/2 = 1200$ | 1050     | $1200 - 1050 = +150$           |
| Old Norse – Old Saxon     | $(1100 + 900)/2 = 1000$  | 800      | $1000 - 800 = +200$            |
| Old Norse – OHG           | $(1100 + 900)/2 = 1000$  | 900      | $1000 - 900 = +100$            |
| Old English – Old Frisian | $(900 + 1300)/2 = 1100$  | 620      | $1100 - 620 = +480$            |
| Old English – Old Saxon   | $(900 + 900)/2 = 900$    | 390      | $900 - 390 = +510$             |
| Old English – OHG         | $(900 + 900)/2 = 900$    | 450      | $900 - 450 = +450$             |
| Old Frisian – Old Saxon   | $(1300 + 900)/2 = 1100$  | 670      | $1100 - 670 = +430$            |
| Old Frisian – OHG         | $(1300 + 900)/2 = 1100$  | 670      | $1100 - 670 = +430$            |
| Old Saxon – OHG           | $(900 + 900)/2 = 900$    | 390      | $900 - 390 = +510$             |

**Table 17:** Chronology of disintegration of all pair of of the Old Germanic languages – Scenario B

Results B:

1. There is an apparent opposition of Gothic vs. Northwest Germanic.

The average value  $(-300 + -430 + -560 + -460 + -430)/5 = -2180/5 = -436 \approx 435$  BCE determines a probable dating of the disintegration of the common Germanic protolanguage.

2. The later date of the Gothic–Nordic disintegration resulting from the above calculation was probably caused by a secondary neighbourhood of ancestors of Goths (East Germans) and newly incoming ancestors of North Germanic populations to southern Scandinavia. Abstracting from this value, the average will be  $(-430 + -560 + -460 + -430)/4 = -1880/4 = -470$  BCE.

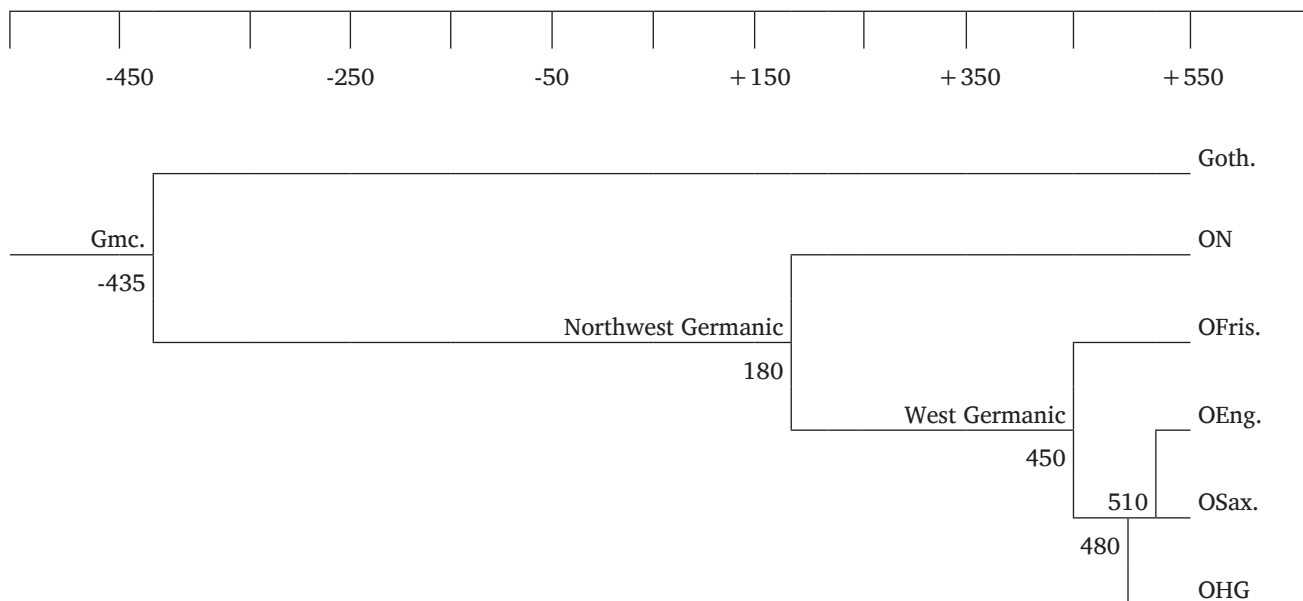
3. The opposition of North vs. West Germanic is also apparent.

The average  $(270 + 150 + 200 + 100)/4 = 720/4 = 180 = 180$  CE determines a probable date for the disintegration of the common Northwest Germanic protolanguage.

4. The dates of disintegration within the West Germanic branch are concentrated in the interval from 430 to 510 CE. The average value is  $(480 + 510 + 450 + 430 + 430 + 510)/6 = 2810/6 = 468.33 \approx 470$  CE.

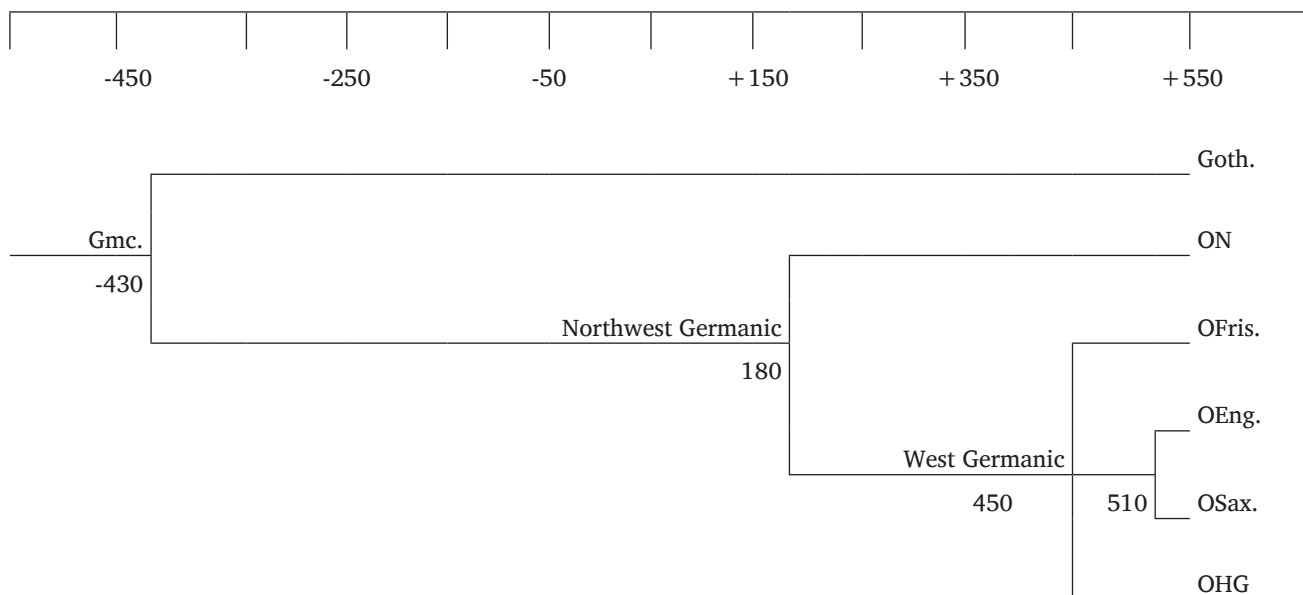
5. If the closer relation between Old Saxon and Old High German expressed by the result 510 CE is ascribed to a mutual interference between two neighbouring literary languages, the closest relatives are Old Saxon and Old English (510 CE). The results of Old High German indicate younger data together with Old Saxon and Old English (510 and 450 respectively), than Old Frisian with Old Saxon and Old English (430 and 480 respectively). This means that it should be Old High German that separated from the common dialect continuum first, preceding Old Saxon and Old English, namely  $(510 + 450)/2 = 480$  CE, preceded by Old Frisian:  $(430 + 480)/2 = 455$  CE (see Tree diagram B1). If the younger result of Old High German–Old Saxon is not taken into account, the relation Old High German to Old English, 450 CE, will be practically identical with Old Frisian in its relation to Old Saxon, Old English and Old High German:  $(480 + 430 + 430)/3 = 446.66 \approx 450$  CE (see Tree diagram B2).

**Tree diagram B1**



**Scheme 23:** Classification of the Old Germanic languages (scenario B1) by Malášková & Blažek 2012-2016

**Tree diagram B2**



**Scheme 24:** Classification of the Old Germanic languages (scenario B2) by Malášková & Blažek 2012-2016

**Statistics**

**I. Missing words**

Gothic: 3 bark, 10 bone, 13 claw, 27 feather, 30 fly (v.), 35 green, 48 liver, 50 louse, 61 nose, 69 round, 75 skin, 78 smoke, 83 swim, 84 tail, 93 warm, 100 yellow; Σ 16. The item 24 egg was reconstructed \**addja* on the basis of Crimean Gothic *ada*.

Old Frisian: 3 bark, 24 egg, 50 louse, 100 yellow; Σ 4.

Old Saxon: 61 nose; Σ 1. The items 2 ashes, 3 bark, 4 belly, 30 fly, 50 louse, 84 tail missing in the Old Saxon lexical corpus were substituted by their Middle Low German counterparts.

**II. Non-cognates (Σ), plus apophonical and morphological variants (ΣΣ), and shares of common cognates (σ):**

Gothic + Old Norse: 11/2 breast, 14 cloud, 26/2 fat, 36 hair, 53 meat, 55 mountain, 68/2 root, 70 sand, 76 sleep, 89/2 tooth. Σ 6; ΣΣ 8; σ 76/84.

Gothic + Old English: 11/2 breast, 14 cloud, 26/2 fat, 28/2 fire, 36 hair, 53 meat, 55 mountain, 70 sand, 73 seed, 89/2 tooth, 94/2 water. Σ6; ΣΣ 8.5; σ 75.5/84.

Gothic + Old Frisian: 5 big, 14 cloud, 17 die, 20 dry, 26 fat, 28/2 fire, 36 hair, 53 meat, 55 mountain, 68/2 root, 70 sand, 73 seed, 86/2 this, 89/2 tooth, 94/2 water, 99 woman. Σ 11; ΣΣ 13.5; σ 69.5/83.

Gothic + Old Saxon: 11/2 breast, 14 cloud, 26/2 fat, 28/2 fire, 36 hair, 53 meat, 55 mountain, 70 sand, 73 seed, 86/2 this, 89/2 tooth, 94/2 water. Σ 6; ΣΣ 9; σ 75/84.

Gothic + Old High German: 14 cloud, 26/2 fat, 28/2 fire, 36 hair, 53 meat, 55 mountain, 70 sand, 73 seed, 86/2 this, 89/2 tooth, 94/2 water. Σ 6; ΣΣ 8.5; σ 75.5/84.

Old Norse + Old English: 3 bark, 53 meat, 55 mountain, 68/2 root, 86/2 this, 94/2 water, 100/2 yellow. Σ 3; ΣΣ 5; σ 95/100.

Old Norse + Old Frisian: 5 big, 14 cloud, 17 die, 20 dry, 53 meat, 55 mountain, 68/2 root, 69 round, 76 sleep, 86/2 this, 94/2 water. Σ 8; ΣΣ 9.5; σ 86.5/96.

Old Norse + Old Saxon: 14 cloud, 53 meat, 55 mountain, 68/2 root, 76 sleep, 86/2 this, 94/2 water, 100/2 yellow. Σ 4; ΣΣ 6; σ 93/99.

Old Norse + Old High German: 3 bark, 11/2 breast, 14 cloud, 53 meat, 55 mountain, 68/2 root, 76 sleep, 86/2 this, 94/2 water, 100/2 yellow. Σ 5; ΣΣ 7.5; σ 92.5/100.

Old English + Old Frisian: 20 dry, 46 leaf, 68/2 root, 69 round. Σ 3; ΣΣ 3.5; σ 92.5/96.

Old English + Old Saxon: 46 leaf, 98/2 who. Σ 1; ΣΣ 1.5; σ 97.5/99.

Old English + Old High German: 46 leaf, 69/2 round, 98/2 who. Σ 1; ΣΣ 2; σ 98/100.

Old Frisian + Old Saxon: 5 big, 20 dry, 68/2 root, 69 round, 98/2 who. Σ 3; ΣΣ 4; σ 91/95.

Old Frisian + Old High German: 5 big, 20 dry, 68/2 root, 69 round, 98/2 who. Σ 3; ΣΣ 4; σ 92/96.

Old Saxon + Old High German: 11/2 breast, 52 many. σ 1; σσ 1.5; σ 97.5/99.

**Wordlist**

|   | English |   | Proto-Germanic      | Gothic            | Old Norse                | Old English       | Old Frisian                             | Old Saxon (M = MLG)    | Old High German (MHG)       |
|---|---------|---|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|---|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | all     | a | *allaz              | alls              | allo                     | eal               | alle, al                                | all                    | all                         |
| 2 | ashes   | a | *askōn              | azgo              | aska                     | asce/<br>æsce     | eska                                    | <sup>M</sup> asche     | aska                        |
| 3 | bark    | a | *barkuz             |                   | borkr                    |                   |   | <sup>M</sup> borke f.  |                             |
|   |         | b | *rendōn             |                   |                          | rind(e)           |   | rinda                  | rinta                       |
| 4 | belly   | a | *kwīþuz/<br>-az/-iz | qīþus             | kviðr                    | (cwīð(a)<br>womb) |   |                        | (quiti vulva)               |
|   |         | b | *wambō              | wamba             | womb                     | wamb<br>womb      | wamme                                   | <sup>M</sup> wamme     | wamba<br>wampa              |
|   |         | c | *būkaz              |                   | (búkr<br>body)           | būc               | <b>būk/<br/>būch</b><br>belly,<br>trunk |                        | būh belly,<br>body, stomach |
|   |         | d | *xrefaz             |                   |                          | hrif b.,<br>womb  | hrif, href                              |                        | href                        |
| 5 | big     | a | *mekilaz            | mikils            | <b>mikill<br/>mykill</b> | micel<br>mycel    |   | (mikil great,<br>much) | mihhil                      |
|   |         | b | *grautaz            |                   | (grauþr<br>porrid-ge)    | <b>grēat</b>      | grāt                                    | grōt big,<br>mighty    | (grōz big,<br>strong)       |
|   |         | c | *stōr(j)az          |                   | stórr                    | (> stōr<br>great) | <b>stōr</b> big,<br>high                | (stōri<br>famous)      | (stuori<br>big, strong)     |
|   |         | d | *braiðaz            | (braiþs<br>broad) | (breið<br>broad)         | (brād<br>broad)   | <b>brēd</b> big,<br>bread               | (brēd<br>broad)        | (breit broad)               |
| 6 | bird    | a | *fuglaz             | fugls             | fugl                     | fugol             | fugel                                   | fugal                  | fogal                       |

|    | English    |                | Proto-Germanic  | Gothic                                     | Old Norse                   | Old English                                | Old Frisian                        | Old Saxon (M = MLG)                           | Old High German (MHG)                 |
|----|------------|----------------|---|--|-----------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 7  | bite       | a              | * <i>bitanan</i>  | <i>beitan</i>                              | <i>bíta</i>                 | <i>bitan</i>                               | <i>bīta</i>                        | <i>bītan</i>                                  | <i>bīz(z)an</i>                       |
| 8  | black      | a              | * <i>blakkaz</i><br>< * <i>b<sup>h</sup>leg-</i><br><i>burn</i> |  | ( <i>blakkr</i><br>dusky)   | <i>blæc</i>                                |                                    | ( <i>blac</i> ink)                            | ( <i>bla(c)h</i> ink)                 |
|    |            | b              | * <i>blēwaz</i>   |  | <i>blár</i>                 | ( <i>blæwen</i><br>blue)                   | ( <i>blāu</i><br>blue)             | ( <i>blāo</i><br>blue)                        | ( <i>blāo</i><br>blue)                |
|    |            | c              | * <i>swartaz</i>  | <i>swarts</i>                              | <i>svarttr</i>              | <b><i>sweart</i></b>                       | <i>swart</i>                       | <i>swart</i>                                  | <i>swartz</i>                         |
| 9  | blood      | a              | * <i>blōðan</i>   | <i>bloþ</i>                                | <i>blóð</i>                 | <i>blōd</i>                                | <i>blōd</i>                        | <i>blōd</i>                                   | <i>bluot</i>                          |
| 10 | bone       | a              | * <i>bainan</i>   |  | <i>bein</i>                 | <i>bān</i>                                 | <i>bēn</i>                         | <i>bēn</i>                                    | <i>bein</i>                           |
| 11 | breast     | a              | * <i>breustan</i>   |  | <i>brjóst</i>               | <i>brēost</i>                              | <i>briast</i>                      | <i>briost</i>                                 |                                       |
|    |            | a <sub>1</sub> | * <i>brustiz</i>  | <i>brusts</i>                              |                             |  | <i>brust</i>                       |   | <i>brust</i>                          |
| 12 | burn       | a              | * <i>brennanan</i>  | <i>brinnan</i>                             | <i>brennabrinna</i>         | <i>beornan</i>                             | <i>berna</i>                       | <i>brinnan</i>                                | <i>brinnan</i>                        |
|    |            | b              | * <i>swelanan</i>   |  | ( <i>svæla</i><br>to smoke) | <i>swelan</i>                              | <i>swela</i>                       | <sup>M</sup> <i>swelen</i>                    | <i>swilizōn</i>                       |
| 13 | claw       | a              | * <i>klō/ēwō</i>  |  | <i>kló</i>                  | <i>clawu</i>                               | <i>klawe / klē</i>                 | <i>clāuua</i>                                 | <i>klāwa</i>                          |
|    |            | b              | * <i>naglaz</i>   | ( <i>ga-</i><br><i>nagljan</i><br>to nail) | <i>nagl</i>                 | <i>næg(e)l</i>                             | <i>neil</i>                        | <i>nagal</i>                                  | <i>nagal</i>                          |
| 14 | cloud      | b              | * <i>melhman</i>  | <i>milhma</i>                              | (OSw<br><i>molin</i> )      |  |                                    |   |                                       |
|    |            | c              | * <i>skeujan</i>  |  | <i>ský</i>                  | <b><i>scēo</i></b>                         |                                    | ( <i>skio/</i><br><i>skeo</i><br>light cloud) |                                       |
|    |            | d              | * <i>wulknan</i>  |  |                             | <i>wolcen</i>                              | <i>wolken</i>                      | <i>wolkan</i>                                 | <i>wolcan</i>                         |
| 15 | cold       | a              | * <i>kaldaz</i>   | <i>kalds</i>                               | <i>kaldr</i>                | <i>ceald</i>                               | <i>kald</i>                        | <i>kald</i>                                   | <i>kalt</i>                           |
|    |            | a <sub>1</sub> | * <i>kulđjon</i>  |  | <b><i>kuldi</i></b>         |  |                                    | <sup>M</sup> <i>külde</i>                     |                                       |
| 16 | come       | a              | * <i>kwemanan</i>   | <i>qiman</i>                               | <i>koma</i>                 | <i>cuman</i>                               | <i>kuma,</i><br><i>koma</i>        | <i>cuman</i>                                  | <i>comen, cumen,</i><br><i>quemen</i> |
| 17 | die        | a              | * <i>đawjanan</i>   |  | <i>deyja</i>                | <i>diegan</i>                              |                                    | <i>dōtan</i>                                  | <b><i>touwen</i></b>                  |
|    |            | a <sub>1</sub> | * <i>đewanan</i>  | <b><i>diwan</i></b>                        |                             |  |                                    |   |                                       |
|    |            | b              | * <i>sterbanan</i>  |  |                             | <i>steorfan</i>                            | <i>sterva</i>                      | <i>sterban</i>                                | <i>sterban</i>                        |
|    |            | c              | * <i>sweltanan</i>  | <i>swiltan</i>                             | <b><i>svelta</i></b>        | <b><i>sweltan</i></b>                      |                                    | <b><i>sweltan</i></b>                         | ( <i>swelzan</i><br>to burn)          |
| 18 | dog        | a              | * <i>xundaz</i>   | <i>hunds</i>                               | <i>hundr</i>                | <i>hund</i>                                | <i>hund</i>                        | <i>hund</i>                                   | <i>hunt</i>                           |
|    |            | b              | * <i>rakkōn</i>   |  | <b><i>rakki</i></b>         | <b><i>ræc</i></b>                          |                                    |   | (G <i>rache</i><br>sheep's dog)       |
| 19 | drink (v.) | a              | * <i>đrenkanan</i>  | <i>drigkan</i>                             | <i>drekka</i>               | <i>drincan</i>                             | <i>drinka</i>                      | <i>drinkan</i>                                | <i>trinkan</i>                        |
| 20 | dry        | a              | * <i>þuruzuz</i>  | <i>þaurusus</i>                            | <i>þurr</i>                 | <i>ðyrre</i>                               |                                    | <i>thurri</i>                                 | <i>durri</i>                          |
|    |            | b              | * <i>gaistaz</i>  |  |                             |  | <i>gāst</i>                        |   |                                       |
| 21 | ear        | a              | * <i>auzōn</i>  | <i>auso</i>                                | <i>eyra</i>                 | <i>ēare</i>                                | <i>āre</i>                         | <i>ōra</i>                                    | <i>ōra</i>                            |
| 22 | earth      | a              | * <i>erþō</i>   | <i>airþa</i>                               | <i>jorð</i>                 | <i>eorð(e)</i>                             | <i>erthe</i>                       | <i>ertha/</i><br><i>erða</i>                  | <i>erda</i>                           |
|    |            | b              | * <i>muldō(n)</i>   | ( <i>mulda</i><br>dust)                    | <b><i>mold</i></b>          | <b><i>molde</i></b> e.,<br>dust, sand      | <b><i>mulde</i></b><br>earth, dust |   | <b><i>molta</i></b><br>earth, dust    |
| 23 | eat        | a              | * <i>etanan</i>   | <b><i>itan</i></b>                         | <i>eta</i>                  | <i>etan</i>                                | <i>eta</i>                         | <i>etan</i>                                   | <i>ezzan</i>                          |
|    |            | b              | * <i>matjanan</i>   | <i>matjan</i>                              | ( <i>metja</i><br>to lap)   | ( <i>metian</i><br>to supply<br>with food) |                                    |   |                                       |

|    | English  |                     | Proto-Germanic                           | Gothic                | Old Norse                         | Old English          | Old Frisian             | Old Saxon (M = MLG)        | Old High German (MHG)    |
|----|----------|---------------------|--|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 24 | egg      | a                   | * <i>ajjaz</i>                           | * <i>addi</i>         | <i>egg</i>                        | <i>æġ</i>            |                         | <i>ei</i>                  | <i>ei</i>                |
| 25 | eye      | a                   | * <i>augōn</i>                           | <i>augo</i>           | <i>auga</i>                       | <i>ēaġe</i>          | <i>āge</i>              | <i>ōga</i>                 | <i>ouga</i>              |
| 26 | fat      | a                   | * <i>faitaz</i>                          |                       | <i>feitr</i>                      | <i>fǣt(t)</i>        |                         |                            | <sup>M</sup> <i>veiz</i> |
|    |          | a <sub>1</sub>      | * <i>faitīda</i>                         |                       |                                   | <i>fǣt(t)</i>        | <i>fatt, fet</i>        | <sup>M</sup> <i>veet</i>   | <i>feizzit</i>           |
|    |          | b                   | * <i>smerwan/-ōn</i>                     |                       | <i>smør smjor</i>                 | <i>smeoru</i>        | ( <i>smere tallow</i> ) | <i>smero</i>               | <i>smero</i>             |
|    |          | b <sub>1</sub>      | * <i>smer-þra-</i>                       | <i>smairþr</i>        |                                   |                      |                         |                            |                          |
| 27 | feather  | a                   | * <i>feprō</i>                           |                       | <i>fjoðr</i>                      | <i>feðer</i>         | <i>fethere</i>          | <i>fedara</i>              | <i>federa</i>            |
| 28 | fire     | a                   | * <i>ailīdaz</i>                         |                       | <i>eldr</i>                       | <i>ael(e)d</i>       |                         | <i>ēld</i>                 |                          |
|    |          | b                   | * <i>bēlan</i>                           |                       | <i>bál</i>                        | <i>bǣl</i>           |                         |                            |                          |
|    |          | c<br>c <sub>1</sub> | * <i>funōn</i><br>* <i>fuwer : fūr</i>   | <i>fon</i>            | <i>funi</i><br><i>fúrr/ fýrr</i>  | <i>fȳr / fūr</i>     | <i>fīor / fūr</i>       | <i>fiur / fuir</i>         | <i>fiur / fuir</i>       |
| 29 | fish     | a                   | * <i>fiskaz</i>                          | <i>fisks</i>          | <i>fiskr</i>                      | <i>fisc</i>          | <i>fisk</i>             | <i>fisk</i>                | <i>fisc</i>              |
| 30 | fly (v.) | a                   | * <i>fleuganan</i>                       |                       | <i>fljúga</i>                     | <i>fleōgan</i>       | <i>fliāga</i>           | <sup>M</sup> <i>vlēgen</i> | <i>fliogan</i>           |
| 31 | foot     | b                   | * <i>fōtz / fōtuz</i>                    | <i>fotus</i>          | <i>fótr</i>                       | <i>fōt</i>           | <i>fōt</i>              | <i>fōt</i>                 | <i>fuoz</i>              |
| 32 | full     | a                   | * <i>fullaz</i>                          | <i>fulls</i>          | <i>fullr</i>                      | <i>ful(l)</i>        | <i>fol, ful</i>         | <i>ful</i>                 | <i>fol</i>               |
| 33 | give     | a                   | * <i>gebanan</i>                         | <i>giban</i>          | <i>gefa</i>                       | <i>giefan</i>        | <i>geva</i>             | <i>geban</i>               | <i>geban</i>             |
| 34 | good     | a                   | * <i>gōðaz</i>                           | <i>goþs</i>           | <i>góðr</i>                       | <i>gōd</i>           | <i>gōd</i>              | <i>gōd</i>                 | <i>guot</i>              |
| 35 | green    | a                   | * <i>grōniz</i>                          |                       | <i>grœnn</i>                      | <i>grǣne</i>         | <i>grēne</i>            | <i>grōni</i>               | <i>gruoni</i>            |
| 36 | hair     | a                   | * <i>xēran</i>                           |                       | <i>hár</i>                        | <i>hǣr</i>           | <i>hēr</i>              | <i>hār</i>                 | <i>hār</i>               |
|    |          | b                   | * <i>taglan/-az</i>                      | <i>tagl</i>           | ( <i>tagl hair, (tæġl tail)</i> ) | ( <i>tæġl tail</i> ) |                         |                            | ( <i>zagal tail</i> )    |
| 37 | hand     | a                   | * <i>xanduz</i>                          | <i>handus</i>         | <i>hōnd</i>                       | <i>hond</i>          | <i>hand</i>             | <i>hand</i>                | <i>hant</i>              |
|    |          | b                   | * <i>mundō</i>                           |                       | <b><i>mund</i></b>                | <b><i>mund</i></b>   |                         |                            | <b><i>mund</i></b>       |
| 38 | head     | a                   | * <i>xauþuðan</i><br>* <i>xauþeðan</i>   | <i>haubiþ</i>         | <i>haufuð</i>                     | <i>hāfod</i>         | <i>hā(ve)d</i>          | <i>hōbid</i>               | <i>houbit</i>            |
|    |          | a <sub>1</sub>      | * <i>xabuðan</i>                         |                       | <i>hofuð</i>                      | <i>hafod</i>         |                         |                            |                          |
| 39 | hear     | a                   | * <i>xausjanan</i><br>* <i>xauzjanan</i> | <i>hausjan</i>        | <i>heyra</i>                      | <i>hieran/ hýran</i> | <i>hēra/hōra</i>        | <i>hōrian</i>              | <i>hōren</i>             |
| 40 | heart    | a                   | * <i>xertōn</i>                          | <i>hárto</i>          | <i>hjarta</i>                     | <i>heorte</i>        | <i>herte/hirte</i>      | <i>herta</i>               | <i>herza</i>             |
| 41 | horn     | a                   | * <i>xurnan</i>                          | <i>háurn</i>          | <i>horn</i>                       | <i>horn</i>          | <i>horn</i>             | <i>horn</i>                | <i>horn</i>              |
| 42 | I        | a                   | * <i>eka</i>                             | <i>ik</i>             | <i>ek</i>                         | <i>ic</i>            | <i>ek / ic</i>          | <i>ic</i>                  | <i>ih</i>                |
| 43 | kill     | a                   | * <i>ðauðjanan</i>                       | <b><i>ðaupjan</i></b> | <b><i>deyða</i></b>               | <b><i>dýðan</i></b>  | <i>dēda</i>             | <i>bi-dōdian</i>           | <i>tōten</i>             |
|    |          | b                   | * <i>kwaljanan</i>                       |                       |                                   | <i>cwellan</i>       |                         | <i>quellian</i>            | <b><i>quellen</i></b>    |
|    |          | c                   |  | <i>us-qiman</i>       |                                   |                      |                         |                            |                          |
|    |          | d                   |  |                       | <i>drepa</i>                      |                      |                         |                            |                          |
| 44 | knee     | a                   | * <i>knewan</i>                          | <i>kniu</i>           | <i>kné</i>                        | <i>cnēo(w)</i>       | <i>kniu / knē / knī</i> | <i>kneo / knio</i>         | <i>chniu</i>             |
| 45 | know     | a                   | * <i>kunnan</i>                          | <b><i>kunnan</i></b>  | <b><i>kunna</i></b>               | <b><i>cunnan</i></b> | <b><i>kunna</i></b>     | <b><i>kunnan</i></b>       | <b><i>kunnan</i></b>     |
|    |          | b                   | * <i>witanan</i>                         | <i>witan</i>          | <i>vita</i>                       | <i>witan</i>         | <i>wita</i>             | <i>witan</i>               | <i>wizzan</i>            |
|    |          | b <sub>1</sub>      | * <i>waita</i><br>1/3 sg.pr.             | <i>wait</i>           | <i>veit</i>                       | <i>wāt</i>           | <i>wēt</i>              | <i>wēt</i>                 | <i>weiz</i>              |



|    | English   |                | Proto-Germanic                      | Gothic                            | Old Norse                   | Old English                                | Old Frisian                      | Old Saxon (M = MLG)                 | Old High German (MHG)        |
|----|-----------|----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 46 | leaf      | a              | * <i>bladan</i>                     |                                   | <i>blað</i>                 | <i>blæd</i>                                | <i>bled</i>                      | <i>blad</i>                         | <i>blat</i>                  |
|    |           | b              | * <i>laubaz/-an</i>                 | <i>laufs</i>                      | <i>lauf</i>                 | <i>léaf</i>                                | ( <i>lāf</i> foliage)            | ( <i>lōf</i> foliage)               | ( <i>loub</i> foliage)       |
| 47 | lie       | a              | * <i>leg(j)anan</i>                 | <i>ligan</i>                      | <i>liggja</i>               | <i>licg-(e)an</i>                          | <i>līdz(i)a</i>                  | <i>liggian</i>                      | <i>ligan/ ligger</i>         |
| 48 | liver     | a              | * <i>librō(n)</i>                   |                                   | <i>lifr</i>                 | <i>lifer</i>                               | <i>livere</i>                    | <sup>M</sup> <i>lever</i>           | <i>lebara</i>                |
| 49 | long      | a              | * <i>langaz</i>                     | <i>laggs</i>                      | <i>langr</i>                | <i>lang/ long</i>                          | <i>long/ lang</i>                | <i>lang</i>                         | <i>lang</i>                  |
| 50 | louse     | a              | * <i>lūsz/-iz</i>                   |                                   | <i>lús</i>                  | <i>lūs</i>                                 |                                  | <sup>M</sup> <i>lūs</i>             | <i>lūs</i>                   |
| 51 | man (vir) | a              | * <i>ferxwjaz</i>                   |                                   | pl. <i>fīrar</i>            | pl. <i>fīras</i>                           |                                  | pl. <i>fīrihos</i>                  | g.pl. <i>fīreo</i>           |
|    |           | b              | * <i>karlaz</i><br>* <i>kerlaz</i>  |                                   | <i>karl</i>                 | <i>carl</i><br>< ON<br><i>ceorl</i>        | ( <i>zerl</i> servant)           | <sup>M</sup> <i>kerle</i>           | <i>karl</i>                  |
|    |           | c              | * <i>mannōn</i> ~<br>* <i>mannz</i> | <i>manna</i>                      | <i>mannr</i><br><i>maðr</i> | <i>manna</i><br><i>monn</i><br><i>mann</i> | <i>man(n)</i>                    | <i>man(n)</i>                       | <i>man(n)</i>                |
|    |           | d              | * <i>wiraz</i>                      | <i>wair</i>                       | ( <i>verr</i> hus-band)     | <i>wer</i>                                 | <i>wer</i>                       | <i>wer</i>                          | <i>wer</i>                   |
|    |           | e              | * <i>gumōn</i>                      | <i>guma</i>                       | <i>gumi</i>                 | <i>guma</i>                                | ( <i>breid-goma</i> bride-groom) | <i>gumo / gomo</i>                  | <i>gomo</i>                  |
| 52 | many      | a              | * <i>felu</i>                       | ( <i>filu</i> much)               | ( <i>fjǫl-</i> very)        | <i>feolu</i>                               | <i>felo/ful</i>                  | ( <i>filu/filo</i> much)            | <i>filu</i>                  |
|    |           | b              | * <i>managaz/-igaz</i>              | <i>manags</i>                     | <i>mangr</i>                | <i>maniġ</i>                               | <i>manich</i>                    | <i>manag / manig</i>                | ( <i>manag / menig</i> much) |
|    |           | b <sub>1</sub> |                                     |                                   | <i>margr</i>                |  |                                  |                                     |                              |
|    |           | c              | * <i>mekuz</i>                      |                                   | <i>mjok</i>                 |  |                                  |                                     |                              |
| 53 | meat      | a              | * <i>fleiskan</i>                   |                                   |                             | <i>flæsc</i>                               | <i>flesk</i>                     | <i>flēsk</i>                        | <i>fleisc</i>                |
|    |           | b              | * <i>xulðan</i>                     |                                   | <i>hold</i>                 | ( <i>hold</i> corpse)                      |                                  |                                     |                              |
|    |           | c              | * <i>likan</i>                      | <i>leik</i>                       | ( <i>līk</i> body)          | ( <i>lic</i> id.)                          | ( <i>lik</i> id.)                | ( <i>lik</i> id.)                   | ( <i>līh</i> id.)            |
|    |           | d              | * <i>memzan</i>                     | <i>mimz</i>                       |                             |  |                                  |                                     |                              |
|    |           | e              | * <i>ketwa/u-</i>                   |                                   | <i>kjot</i>                 |  |                                  |                                     |                              |
| 54 | moon      | a              | * <i>mēnōn</i>                      | <i>mena</i>                       | <i>máni</i>                 | <i>mōna</i>                                | <i>mōna</i>                      | <i>māno</i>                         | <i>māno</i>                  |
|    |           | b              | * <i>tunglan</i>                    |                                   | <i>tungl</i>                |  |                                  |                                     |                              |
| 55 | mountain  | a              | * <i>bergan/-az</i>                 | ( <i>bairga-hei</i> hill-country) | ( <i>bjarg</i> rock)        | <i>beorg</i>                               | <i>berch</i>                     | <i>berg</i>                         | <i>berg</i>                  |
|    |           | b              | * <i>ferg(w)un-jan/jō</i>           | <i>faírguni</i>                   | ( <i>fjǫrg-yn</i> Earth)    | <i>fiergen-</i>                            |                                  |                                     | ( <i>Fergunna</i> )          |
|    |           | c              | * <i>filzan</i>                     |                                   | <i>fjall</i>                |  |                                  |                                     |                              |
| 56 | mouth     | a              | * <i>munþaz</i>                     | <i>munþs</i>                      | <i>munnr / muðr</i>         | <i>mūð</i>                                 | <i>mūth</i>                      | <i>mūth</i>                         | <i>mund</i>                  |
|    |           | b              | * <i>mūlōn</i>                      |                                   | ( <i>mūli</i> snout)        |  | <i>mūla</i>                      | ( <sup>M</sup> <i>mūl</i> n. snout) | ( <i>mūla</i> snout)         |
|    |           | c              | * <i>snabbōn</i>                    |                                   |                             |  | <i>snabba</i>                    | ( <i>snabbe</i> beak)               |                              |
| 57 | name      | a              | * <i>namōn</i><br>* <i>namnan</i>   | <i>namo</i><br>pl. <i>namna</i>   | <i>nafn</i>                 | <i>noma</i>                                | <i>nama/ noma</i>                | <i>namo</i>                         | <i>namo</i>                  |

|    | English       |                | Proto-Germanic               | Gothic                  | Old Norse                  | Old English                | Old Frisian                | Old Saxon (M = MLG)           | Old High German (MHG) |
|----|---------------|----------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 58 | neck          | a              | *xalsaz                      | <i>hals</i>             | <i>háls</i>                | <i>heals</i>               | <i>hals</i>                | <i>hals</i>                   | <i>hals</i>           |
|    |               | b              | *swirhjan-                   |                         | <i>svíri</i>               | <i>swēora</i>              |                            |                               |                       |
| 59 | new           | a              | *neujaz                      | <i>niujis</i>           | <i>nýr</i>                 | <i>nīewe</i>               | <i>nīe</i>                 | <i>niwi/nigi</i>              | <i>niuwi</i>          |
| 60 | night         | a              | *naxtz                       | <i>nahts</i>            | <i>nátt / nótt</i>         | <i>neahht / niht</i>       | <i>nacht</i>               | <i>naht</i>                   | <i>naht</i>           |
| 61 | nose          | a              | *nasō                        |                         | <i>nōs</i>                 |                            |                            | ( <i>nasa-druppo</i> cold)    | <i>nasa</i>           |
|    |               | a <sub>1</sub> | *nusō                        |                         |                            | <i>nosu</i>                | <i>nose</i>                |                               |                       |
| 62 | not           | a              | *ne                          | <i>ne / ni</i>          | <i>né</i>                  | <i>ne</i>                  | <i>ni / ne</i>             | <i>ni / ne</i>                | <i>ni / ne</i>        |
|    |               |                |                              |                         | <i>eigi, ekki</i>          |                            |                            |                               |                       |
| 63 | one           | a              | *ainaz                       | <i>ains</i>             | <i>einn</i>                | <i>án</i>                  | <i>ān/ēn/on</i>            | <i>ēn</i>                     | <i>ein</i>            |
| 64 | person (homo) | a              | *mannōn ~ *mannz             | <i>manna</i>            | <i>mannr maðr</i>          | <i>mann</i>                | <i>mann / monn</i>         | <i>man(n)</i>                 | <i>man(n)</i>         |
|    |               | a <sub>1</sub> | *manniska- n. adj.           | <i>mann-isks</i>        | <i>men-skr</i>             | <i>menn-isc</i>            | <i>mann-iska</i>           | <i>menn-isko</i>              | <i>men(n)-isko</i>    |
|    |               | b              | *gumōn                       | <i>guma</i>             | <i>gumi</i>                | <i>guma</i>                | ( <i>breid-gomo</i> groom) | <i>gumo</i>                   | <i>gomo</i>           |
| 65 | rain          | a              | *regnan / -az                | <i>rign</i>             | <i>regn</i>                | <i>reġn</i>                | <i>rein</i>                | <i>regin / regan</i>          | <i>regan</i>          |
| 66 | red           | a              | *raudaz                      | <i>rauþs</i>            | <i>rauðr</i>               | <i>rēad</i>                | <i>rād</i>                 | <i>rōd</i>                    | <i>rōt</i>            |
| 67 | road          | c              | *wegaz                       | <i>wigs</i>             | <i>vegr</i>                | <i>weg</i>                 | <i>wei</i>                 | <i>weg</i>                    | <i>weg</i>            |
| 68 | root          | a              | *wurtiz                      | <i>waúrts</i>           | (urt plant)                | <i>wyrt</i>                |                            | <i>wurt</i>                   | <i>wurz</i>           |
|    |               | a <sub>1</sub> | *wurti-waluz                 |                         |                            |                            | <i>wortele</i>             |                               |                       |
|    |               | a <sub>2</sub> | *wrōt-                       |                         | <i>rót</i>                 | <i>rōt</i> < ON            |                            |                               |                       |
| 69 | round         | a              | *sena-walaz                  |                         | ( <i>sí-</i> ) <i>valr</i> |                            |                            | <i>sinuwel</i>                | <i>sin(a)wel</i>      |
|    |               | a <sub>1</sub> | *sena-waltaz                 |                         |                            | <i>sine-wealt</i>          |                            | <sup>M</sup> <i>sine-wolt</i> |                       |
|    |               | b              | cf. ON <i>kringla</i> circle |                         | <i>kringl-ótrr</i>         |                            |                            |                               |                       |
|    |               | c              | *trendaz                     |                         |                            |                            | <i>trind</i>               |                               |                       |
| 70 | sand          | a              | *malmōn/-az *melmaz          | <i>malma</i>            | ( <i>malmr</i> ore)        | ( <i>mealm-ihht</i> sandy) |                            | <b><i>melm</i></b> sand, dust | ( <i>melm</i> dust)   |
|    |               | b              | *sandaz / -an                |                         | <i>sandr</i>               | <i>sand</i>                | <i>sand / sond</i>         | <i>sand</i>                   | <i>sant</i>           |
| 71 | say           | a              | *kweþanan                    | <i>qiþan</i>            | <i>kveða</i>               | <i>cweðan</i>              | <i>quetta</i>              | <i>quenthan</i>               | <i>quedan</i>         |
|    |               | b              | *sagjanan *sagēnan           |                         | <i>segja</i>               | <i>secgan</i>              | <i>sedza / sega</i>        | <i>seggian</i>                | <i>sagēn</i>          |
|    |               | c              | *maþliða dixi                | ( <i>maþlja</i> I talk) | ( <i>mál</i> speech)       | ( <i>mæþlan</i> to speak)  |                            | ( <i>mathal</i> lawcourt)     |                       |
| 72 | see           | a              | *sexwanan                    | <i>saiþuan</i>          | <i>sjá</i>                 | <i>sēon</i>                | <i>sia</i>                 | <i>sehan</i>                  | <i>sehan</i>          |

|    | English  |                | Proto-Germanic  | Gothic                              | Old Norse                         | Old English                        | Old Frisian                    | Old Saxon (M = MLG)             | Old High German (MHG)              |            |
|----|----------|----------------|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------|
| 73 | seed     | a              | * <i>aigenan</i>  |                                     | <i>eigin</i>                      |                                    |                                | ( <sup>M</sup> <i>ine awn</i> ) |                                    |            |
|    |          | b              | * <i>fraiwan</i>  | <i>fraiw</i>                        | <i>fræ / frjó</i>                 |                                    |                                |                                 |                                    |            |
|    |          | c              | * <i>sēdan</i><br>* <i>sēðiz</i>                          | ( <i>mana-seþs man-kind</i> )       | <i>sáð</i>                        | <i>sæd</i>                         |                                | <i>sēd</i>                      | <i>sād</i>                         | <i>sāt</i> |
|    |          | c <sub>1</sub> | * <i>sēmōn</i>  |                                     |                                   |                                    |                                | <i>sāmo</i>                     | <i>sāmo</i>                        |            |
| 74 | sit      | a              | * <i>setjanan</i>   | <i>sitan</i>                        | <i>sitja</i>                      | <i>sittan</i>                      | <i>sitta</i>                   | <i>sittian</i>                  | <i>sizzzen</i>                     |            |
| 75 | skin     | a              | * <i>xūðiz</i>  |                                     | <i>húð</i>                        | <i>hȳd</i>                         | <i>hēd</i>                     | <i>hūd</i>                      | <i>hūt</i>                         |            |
|    |          | b              | * <i>fellan</i>   | ( <i>faura-filli foreskin</i> )     | <i>fjall/ fell</i>                | <i>fell</i>                        | <i>fell</i>                    | <i>fel</i>                      | <i>fel</i>                         |            |
|    |          | b <sub>1</sub> | * <i>felmaz</i>   |                                     |                                   | <i>film</i>                        | <i>filmene</i>                 |                                 |                                    |            |
|    |          | c              | * <i>skenþan</i>  |                                     | <i>skinn</i>                      | <i>scinn</i> < ON                  | ( <i>skene bark</i> )          |                                 | ( <sup>M</sup> <i>scint peel</i> ) |            |
|    |          | d              | * <i>swarðuz / -ō</i>                                     |                                     | <i>svorðr</i>                     | <i>sweard / swearð</i>             | ( <i>swarde scalp</i> )        | ( <i>swarde scalp</i> )         | ( <i>swarde scalp</i> )            |            |
|    |          | e              | * <i>xarundan</i>   |                                     | <i>horund</i>                     |                                    |                                |                                 |                                    |            |
| 76 | sleep v. | a              | * <i>slēpanan</i>   | <i>slepan</i>                       |                                   | <i>slēpan</i>                      | <i>slēpa</i>                   | <i>slāpan</i>                   | <i>slāfan</i>                      |            |
|    |          | b              | * <i>swefanan</i>   |                                     | <i>sofa</i>                       | <i>swefan</i>                      |                                |                                 |                                    |            |
| 77 | small    | a              | * <i>lītilaz</i><br>* <i>lūtilaz</i><br>* <i>luttīlaz</i> | <i>leitils</i>                      | <i>lítill</i>                     | <i>lȳtel</i>                       | <i>litik</i><br><i>littich</i> | <i>lutil</i>                    | <i>liuzil</i><br><i>luzzil</i>     |            |
|    |          | b              | * <i>smalaz</i>   | (* <i>smals in smalista least</i> ) | (* <i>smal- in smal-menni</i> )   | <i>smæl</i>                        | <i>smel</i>                    | <i>smal</i>                     | <i>smal</i>                        |            |
|    |          | c              | * <i>smēxiz</i>   |                                     | <i>smár</i>                       |                                    |                                |                                 | <i>smāhi</i>                       |            |
| 78 | smoke n. | a              | * <i>raukiz/-az</i>                                       |                                     | <i>reykr</i>                      | <i>rēc</i>                         | <i>rēk</i>                     | <i>rōk</i>                      | <i>rouh</i>                        |            |
|    |          | b              | * <i>smukōn</i><br>* <i>smauki-</i>                       |                                     |                                   | <i>smoca n.</i><br><i>smíec m.</i> |                                |                                 |                                    |            |
| 79 | stand    | a              | * <i>standanan</i>  | <i>standan</i>                      | <i>standa</i>                     | <i>standan</i>                     | <i>stonda</i>                  | <i>standan</i>                  | <i>stantan</i>                     |            |
| 80 | star     | a              | * <i>sternōn</i>  | <i>stairno</i>                      | <i>stjarna</i>                    | <i>steorra</i>                     | <i>stēra</i>                   | <i>sterro</i>                   | <i>stern / sterro</i>              |            |
| 81 | stone    | a              | * <i>stainaz</i>  | <i>stains</i>                       | <i>steinn</i>                     | <i>stān</i>                        | <i>stēn</i>                    | <i>stēn</i>                     | <i>stein</i>                       |            |
|    |          | b              | * <i>xalluz/-az</i>                                       | ( <i>hallus rock</i> )              | <i>hallr</i><br>Run. <i>halaz</i> |                                    |                                |                                 |                                    |            |
| 82 | sun      | a              | * <i>sunnōn</i>   | <i>sunno</i>                        | <i>sunna</i>                      | <i>sunne</i>                       | <i>sunne</i>                   | <i>sunna</i>                    | <i>sunna</i>                       |            |
|    |          | a <sub>1</sub> | * <i>sōwilō</i>   | <i>sauil</i>                        | <i>sól</i>                        |                                    |                                |                                 |                                    |            |
| 83 | swim     | a              | * <i>swimman-an</i>                                       |                                     | <i>svimm-a</i>                    | <i>swimm-an</i>                    | <i>swimm-a</i>                 |                                 | <i>swimman</i>                     |            |
| 84 | tail     | a              | * <i>stertaz</i>  |                                     | <i>stertr</i>                     | <i>steort</i>                      | <i>stert</i>                   | <sup>M</sup> <i>start</i>       | <i>sterz</i>                       |            |
|    |          | b              | * <i>taglan/-az</i>                                       | ( <i>tagl hair</i> )                | <i>tagl</i>                       | <i>tægl</i>                        |                                |                                 | <i>zagal</i>                       |            |
|    |          | c              | * <i>xalēn</i>  |                                     | <i>hali</i>                       |                                    |                                |                                 |                                    |            |
| 85 | that     | a              | * <i>(j)enaz</i>  | <i>jain</i>                         | ( <i>h</i> ) <i>inn</i>           | <i>geon</i>                        | <i>jen(e)</i>                  | <sup>M</sup> <i>jēne</i>        | <i>jenēr</i>                       |            |
|    |          | b              | * <i>þat</i>  | <i>þata</i>                         | <i>þat</i>                        | <i>ðæt</i>                         | <i>thet</i>                    | <i>that</i>                     | <i>daz</i>                         |            |
| 86 | this     | a              | * <i>sa</i>   | <i>sa</i>                           | <i>sá</i>                         | <i>sē / se</i>                     |                                |                                 |                                    |            |
|    |          | b              | * <i>þa-sa</i>  |                                     |                                   | <i>ðes</i>                         | <i>this</i>                    | * <i>these</i>                  | <i>desēr</i>                       |            |

|     | English |                | Proto-Germanic                     | Gothic              | Old Norse       | Old English | Old Frisian      | Old Saxon (M = MLG) | Old High German (MHG) |
|-----|---------|----------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 87  | thou    | a              | *þū                                | þu                  | þú              | ðū          | thū              | thū                 | đū                    |
| 88  | tongue  | a              | *tungōn                            | tuggo               | tunga           | tunge       | tunge / tonge    | tunga               | zunga                 |
| 89  | teeth   | a              | *tanþuz                            |                     | tōnn            | tōð         | tōth             | tand                | zan(t)                |
|     |         | a <sub>1</sub> | *tunþuz                            | tunþus              |                 |             |                  |                     |                       |
| 90  | tree    | a              | *þaumaz                            |                     |                 | þeām        | þām              | bōm                 | boum                  |
|     |         | a <sub>1</sub> | *þagmaz < *þawwmaz (EWAhd II: 266) | bagms               | þaðmr           |             |                  |                     |                       |
|     |         | b              | *trewan                            | triu                | tré             | trēow       | trē              | trio/treo           |                       |
| 91  | two     | a              | *twō(u)                            | twai                | tveir           | twægen      | twēn             | twēne, twō          | zwēne, zwō            |
| 92  | walk/go | a              | *liþanan                           | ga-leiþan           | líða            | liðan       | (liþa to suffer) | liþan               | (liðan to leave)      |
|     |         | b              | *gangan                            | (at-) gaggan        | ganga           | gangan      | gonga / gunga    | gangan              | gangan                |
|     |         | c              | *gainan                            |                     |                 | gān         | gān              | gān                 | gēn                   |
|     |         | d              | *ejjōn                             | iddja-jedum we went |                 | éode went   |                  |                     |                       |
| 93  | warm    | a              | *xaitaz                            |                     | heitr           | hāt         | hēt              | hēt                 | heiz                  |
|     |         | b              | *warmaz                            |                     | varmr           | wearm       | warm             | warm                | warm                  |
| 94  | water   | a              | *watar<br>*watōn<br>*watnan        | wato<br>vatan       |                 | wæter       | water / wetir    | watar               | wazzar                |
|     |         | b              | *axwō                              | ahva                | (á river)       | (ēa stream) | (ā/ē id.)        | (aha id.)           | (aha id.)             |
| 95  | we      | a              | *wīz ~ *wez                        | weis                | vér             | wē          | wi               | wi / we             | wir                   |
| 96  | what?   | a              | *xwat                              | hwata               | hvat            | hwæt        | hwet             | hwat                | hwaz                  |
| 97  | white   | a              | *xwitaz                            | hweits              | hwítr           | hwit        | hwit             | hwit                | hwit                  |
| 98  | who?    | a <sub>1</sub> | *xwaz                              | huas                | hver (RSw hwaR) | hwá         | hwā              |                     |                       |
|     |         | a <sub>2</sub> | *xwiz                              |                     |                 |             |                  | hwē                 | hwer                  |
|     |         | a <sub>3</sub> | *xwar-jis (where-he)               | (hvarjis which)     | hverr           |             |                  |                     |                       |
| 99  | woman   | a              | *kwenōn                            | qino                | kona            | cwene       |                  | quena               | quena                 |
|     |         | a <sub>1</sub> | *kwēniz                            | (qens wife)         | (kván wife)     | cwēn        |                  | quān                |                       |
|     |         | b              | *wīban                             |                     | wíf             | wīf         | wīf              | wīf                 | wīb                   |
| 100 | yellow  | a              | *gelwaz                            |                     |                 | geolu       |                  | gelu/-o             | gel(o)                |
|     |         | a <sub>1</sub> | *gulwaz                            |                     | gulr            |             |                  |                     |                       |

Table 18: Wordlists of the Old Germanic language and Germanic protolanguage

Abbreviations: G (Modern) German, M Middle, O Old, R(un.) Runic, Sw Swedish.

Note: The **bold** letters indicate the words which are **not** the main synonyms and for this reason are not included in the calculation. It is not our ambition to discuss questions of the Proto-Germanic consonantism. We have chosen one model for transparent reconstructions.

AD #90 – A. Markey (1976a, 21, 22) proposed that IE *\*b<sup>h</sup>og<sup>h</sup>-m-* was taken into Gothic as *bagm-s*; and the triconsonantal cluster was reduced into *\*baum-* from which North and West Germanic variants developed. Kroonen (2013, 47, 71) also reconstructs PGmc. *\*bagma-* < *\*b<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>-mo-*, deriving it from *\*bōgu-* „shoulder, arm“ < *\*b<sup>h</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>g<sup>h</sup>u-*.

## VIII LEXICOSTATISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE FRISIAN DIALECTS<sup>2</sup>

In the 20th century the existing Frisian idioms have been standardly classified into three dialect groups: Western, Eastern and Northern, consisting of the following dialects and varieties:

### **Western Frisian** (see Markey 1978, 173-205)

#### A. Insular:

- 1) East & West Terschelling [Fr. *Skylge*];
- 2) Schiermonnikoog [Fr. *Skiermûntseach*];

#### B. Mainland:

- 1) East: North Klei-Frisian, Walden Frisian (both dialects represent the central core of West Frisian);
- 2) West: Klei-Frisian, South West Hook with special varieties of the cities Hindeloopen, Molkwerum.
- 3) Peripheral (in south from the Kuinder [Fr. *Tjonger*] river, forming the border of the compact dialect area): Appelscha.

### **Eastern Frisian** (see Markey 1978, 250-57)

Originally the coastal and inland area extended from Lauwer in the west to the mouth of the Weser in the east, including the region known as Wursten in the south of Cuxhaven. Contemporary Eastern Frisian is limited only to a small area called Saterland in moors between Oldenburg and Leer, settled only in the 13th century. Now Saterlandic [*Seeltersk*] is spoken in the last three villages:

- A. North: Strücklingen [*Strukelje*] and Ramsloh [*Roomelse*];
- B. South: Scharrel [*Schäddel*];

### **Northern Frisian** (see Markey 1978, 209-47)

#### A: West Insular:

- 1) Sylt [*Sölring*]; 2) West Föhr, South Föhr, East Föhr – Amrum [*Fering – Öömrang*]; 3) Heligoland [*Halunder*];

#### B: East Insular – Mainland:

- 1) East Insular: Hallig (spoken on the Tideland Islands: Langeness, Gröde, Oland);
- 2) Mainland (six main varieties from north to south): Wiedingharde, Bökingharde, West & East Mooring, Karharde, North Goesharde [*Hoorning*], Middle Goesharde [*Hoolm*] and South Goesharde.

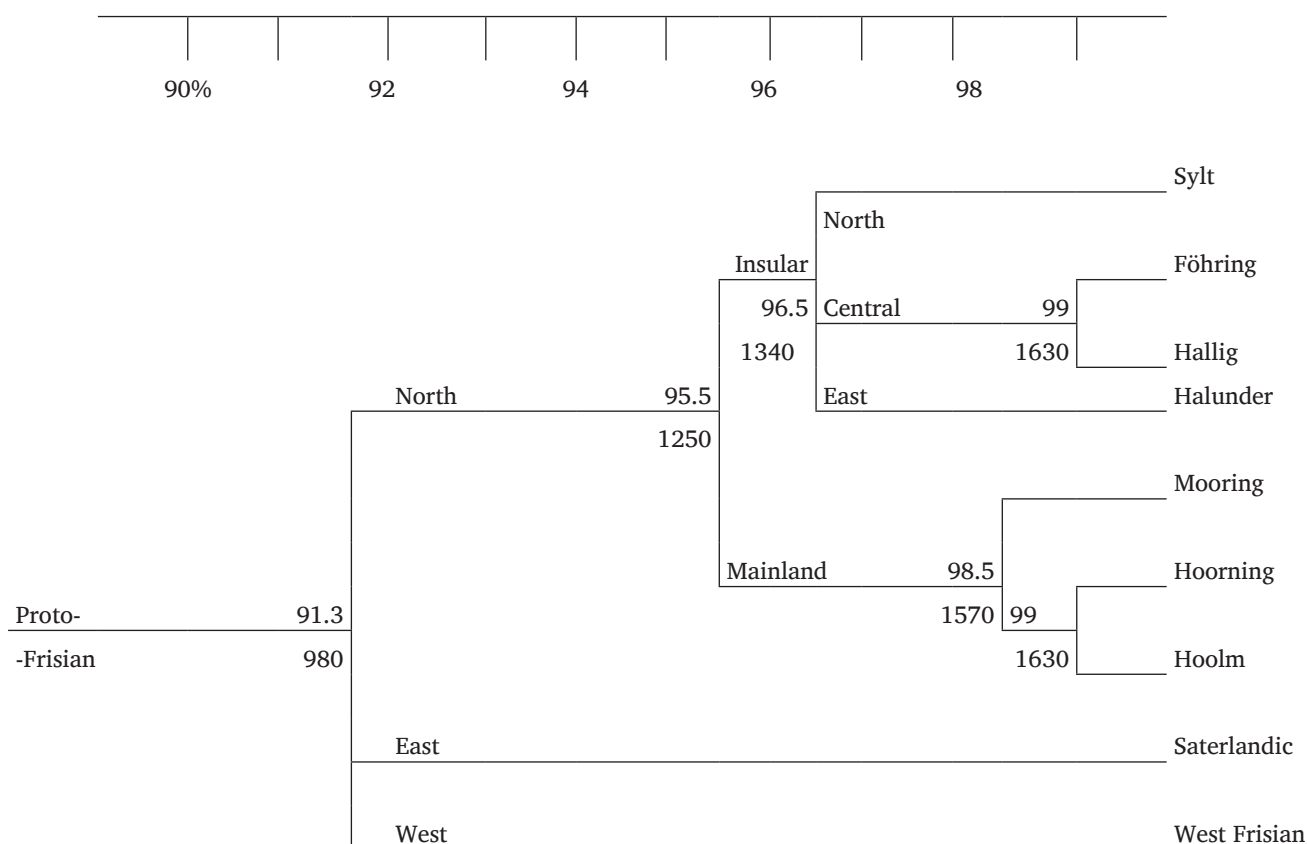
The present analysis is based on comparison of Standard West Frisian, Saterlandic as the only living representative of East Frisian, and seven North Frisian idioms: Mooring, Hoolm, and Hoorning from the mainland, Hallig, Föhring and Sylt from the islands located along the coast, and Heligolandic from the island in a rather isolated position. The reached figures reflect common percentages in comparison of the standard hundred-word-list.

2) This section represents the modified and extended version of the article by Novotná & Blažek 2007.

| %          | Sater | Mooring | Hoolm | Hoorning | Hallig | Föhring | Sylt | Halunder |
|------------|-------|---------|-------|----------|--------|---------|------|----------|
| W. Frisian | 91.7  | 92.8    | 89.9  | 92.8     | 89.9   | 89.9    | 88.6 | 90.9     |
| Sater      |       | 92.9    | 91.8  | 89.7     | 92.9   | 91.8    | 89.4 | 95.8!    |
| Mooring    |       |         | 99.0  | 98.0     | 96.0   | 96.0    | 95.8 | 96.0     |
| Hoolm      |       |         |       | 99.0     | 97.0   | 96.0    | 94.8 | 96.0     |
| Hoorning   |       |         |       |          | 95.0   | 95.0    | 93.8 | 95.0     |
| Hallig     |       |         |       |          |        | 99.0    | 97.9 | 97.0     |
| Föhring    |       |         |       |          |        |         | 95.8 | 96.0     |
| Sylt       |       |         |       |          |        |         |      | 95.8     |

**Table 19:** Shares of mutual cognates among the Frisian dialects

The tree-diagram was constructed on the basis of the method of balanced averages of percentages reflecting the closest pairs of idioms. The crucial question was the position of Saterlandic between West and North Frisian. The average results are very close: West vs. East Frisian: 91.7%, East vs. North Frisian: 92.0% (91.4% without the pair Heligoland vs. Sater), West vs. North Frisian 90.7%. Regarding the fact that the result 92% was reached thank to the surprisingly high score between Heligolandic and Saterlandic, which is probably caused by a specific geographical position of the Island Heligoland between the North and East Frisian Islands, it seems best to calculate with the figure 91.4%, to place Saterlandic in the mid position between West and North Frisian, and consequently to express the disintegration of the Frisian dialect continuum by the common average of the preceding figures, i.e.  $(90.7 + 91.4 + 91.7) / 3 = 91.3$ . Applying the results of the ‘recalibrated’ glottochronology developed by Sergei Starostin, we have reached the following tree-diagram (the method is described in details by Novotná & Blažek 2007, 115-22).



**Scheme 25:** Classification of the Frisian dialects

The results may be summarized as follows:

(1) Contrary to the traditional classification, based especially on the phonological isoglosses, according to this lexicostatistic analysis the North Frisian should be divided into two groups: (a) Mainland and (b) Insular, and the latter into three subgroups: (i) North: Sylt, (ii) Central: Föhring, Hallig, (iii) East: Heligolandic.

(2) Saterlandic stands in the middle position. Rather surprising is its closeness to Heligolandic, which must be explained as a result of influence of extinct East Frisian insular idioms.

(3) Three branches of Frisian, West, East and North, represent real, independent languages, not only dialects, approximately comparable with the situation of the modern West Slavic languages, also consisting of three branches: Czech-Slovak, Lusatian and Lekhitic.

(4) The disintegration of common Frisian was realized in the end of the 10th cent., when all branches separated one from another.

## Wordlists

### OLD, WEST & EAST FRISIAN

| English    | Old Frisian                       | West Frisian                        | East Frisian: Sater | Proto-Germanic                       |
|------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. all     | <i>alle / al</i>                  | <i>alles</i>                        | <i>aal</i>          | * <i>allaz</i>                       |
| 2. ashes   |                                   | <i>jiske / as</i> < Dutch <i>as</i> | <i>ääske</i>        | * <i>askōn</i>                       |
| 3b. bark   |                                   |                                     | <i>boork</i>        | * <i>þarkuz</i>                      |
| 3c. bark   |                                   | <i>bast</i>                         |                     | * <i>þastaz</i>                      |
| 4a. belly  | <i>būk / bŭch</i>                 |                                     | <i>buk</i>          | * <i>bŭkaz</i>                       |
| 4b. belly  |                                   | <i>liif</i>                         |                     | * <i>liþan</i>                       |
| 4d. belly  | <i>wamme</i>                      |                                     | <i>wampe</i>        | * <i>wambō</i>                       |
| 5a. big    | <i>grāt</i>                       | <i>great</i>                        | <i>groot</i>        | * <i>grautaz</i>                     |
| 5b. big    | <i>stōr</i>                       |                                     |                     | * <i>stōraz</i>                      |
| 5c. big    | <i>brēd</i>                       |                                     |                     | * <i>þraidaz</i>                     |
| 5d. big    |                                   | <i>foarsk</i>                       |                     |                                      |
| 5e. big    |                                   | <i>mānsk</i>                        |                     | cf. OFr <i>manich</i> many           |
| 6. bird    | <i>fugel</i>                      | <i>fûgel</i>                        | <i>fugel</i>        | * <i>f(l)uglaz</i>                   |
| 7. bite    | <i>bīta</i>                       | <i>bite</i>                         | <i>bite</i>         | * <i>þitanan</i>                     |
| 8. black   | <i>swart</i>                      | <i>swart</i>                        | <i>suoot/swot</i>   | * <i>swartaz</i>                     |
| 9. blood   | <i>blōd</i>                       | <i>bloed</i>                        | <i>bloud</i>        | * <i>blōdan</i>                      |
| 10a. bone  | <i>bēn</i>                        | <i>bien</i>                         | <i>been</i>         | * <i>þainan</i>                      |
| 10b. bone  |                                   |                                     | <i>knooke</i>       | * <i>knukōn</i>                      |
| 11. breast | <i>brust / burst &amp; briast</i> | <i>boarst</i>                       | <i>brüst</i>        | * <i>brustiz</i> & * <i>þreustan</i> |
| 12a. burn  | <i>berna</i>                      | <i>brânne</i>                       | <i>baa(de)nje</i>   | * <i>þrennanan</i>                   |
| 12b. burn  | <i>swela</i>                      |                                     |                     | * <i>swelanan</i>                    |
| 12c. burn  |                                   |                                     | <i>tûnderje</i>     | * <i>tundrajanan</i>                 |
| 13a. claw  | <i>klawe / klē</i>                | <i>klau / kloer</i>                 | <i>klaue</i>        | * <i>klēwō</i> / * <i>klōwō</i>      |
| 13b. claw  | <i>neil / nīl</i>                 |                                     |                     | * <i>naglaz</i>                      |
| 14a. cloud | <i>wolken</i>                     | <i>wolk(en)</i>                     | <i>wülke</i>        | * <i>wulk(a)nan</i>                  |
| 15a. cold  | <i>kald</i>                       |                                     | <i>koold</i>        | * <i>kaldaz</i>                      |
| 15b. cold  |                                   | <i>koel</i>                         |                     | * <i>kōluz</i>                       |
| 15c. cold  | ( <i>īs</i> ice)                  |                                     |                     | * <i>isaz</i>                        |
| 16. come   | <i>kum / koma</i>                 | <i>komme</i>                        | <i>kuume</i>        | * <i>kwemanan</i>                    |
| 17a. die   | <i>sterva</i>                     | <i>stjerre</i>                      | <i>stierwe</i>      | * <i>sterþanan</i>                   |

| English               | Old Frisian              | West Frisian                        | East Frisian: Sater                  | Proto-Germanic                           |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 18a. dog              | <i>hund</i>              | <i>houn</i>                         | <i>huund</i>                         | * <i>xundaz</i>                          |
| 18b. dog              |                          | <i>dogge</i>                        |                                      | cf. G <i>Dogge</i> < ME <i>dogge</i>     |
| 19. drink             | <i>drinka</i>            | <i>drinke</i>                       | <i>drinke</i>                        | * <i>ðrenkanan</i>                       |
| 20a. dry              |                          | <i>droech</i>                       |                                      | * <i>ðraugiz</i>                         |
| 20c. dry              |                          |                                     | <i>soor</i>                          | * <i>sauzáz</i>                          |
| 20d. dry              | <i>gâst</i>              |                                     |                                      | * <i>gaistaz</i>                         |
| 21. ear               | <i>āre</i>               | <i>ear</i>                          | <i>oor</i>                           | * <i>auzōn</i>                           |
| 22a. earth            | <i>erthe</i>             |                                     | <i>äide / idde</i>                   | * <i>erþō</i>                            |
| 22b. earth            |                          | <i>groun</i>                        |                                      | * <i>grunduz</i>                         |
| 23. eat               | <i>eta</i>               | <i>ite</i>                          | <i>iten</i>                          | * <i>etanan</i>                          |
| 24. egg               |                          | <i>aei</i>                          | <i>oai</i>                           | * <i>ajjaz</i>                           |
| 25. eye               | <i>āge</i>               | <i>each</i>                         | <i>ooge</i>                          | * <i>augōn</i>                           |
| 26a. fat <sub>s</sub> | ( <i>smere</i> tallow)   | <i>swier</i>                        | <i>smeer</i>                         | * <i>smerwan/-ōn</i>                     |
| 26b. fat <sub>s</sub> | <i>fāt</i>               |                                     | <i>fat</i>                           | * <i>faitaz</i>                          |
| 26c. fat <sub>s</sub> |                          | <i>tsjok</i>                        |                                      | * <i>þekwiaz</i> : * <i>þekwuz</i> thick |
| 27a. feather          | <i>fethere</i>           | <i>fear</i>                         |                                      | * <i>feþrō</i>                           |
| 27b. feather          |                          |                                     | <i>függe</i>                         | < G <i>Flügel</i> ?                      |
| 28a. fire             | <i>fiōr / fiūr</i>       | <i>fjûre</i>                        | <i>fjuur</i>                         | * <i>fūr</i> ~ * <i>fuwer</i>            |
| 29. fish              | <i>fisk</i>              | <i>fisk</i>                         | <i>fisk</i>                          | * <i>fiskaz</i>                          |
| 30. fly <sub>v</sub>  | <i>fliāga</i>            | <i>fleane</i>                       | <i>flijooge</i>                      | * <i>fleuganan</i>                       |
| 31. foot              | <i>fōt</i>               | <i>foet</i>                         | <i>fout</i>                          | * <i>fōtz</i> ~ * <i>fōtuz</i>           |
| 32. full              | <i>fol / ful</i>         | <i>fol</i>                          | <i>fül</i>                           | * <i>fullaz</i>                          |
| 33a. give             | <i>geva</i>              | <i>jaen</i>                         |                                      | * <i>geþanan</i>                         |
| 33b. give             |                          |                                     | <i>dwoo</i>                          | * <i>ðōnan</i>                           |
| 34. good              | <i>gōd</i>               | <i>goed</i>                         | <i>goud</i>                          | * <i>gōðaz</i>                           |
| 35. green             | <i>grēne</i>             | <i>grien</i>                        | <i>gräin</i>                         | * <i>grōniz</i>                          |
| 36. hair              | <i>hēr</i>               | <i>har</i>                          | <i>hier</i>                          | * <i>xēran</i>                           |
| 37. hand              | <i>hand</i>              | <i>hân</i>                          | <i>huund</i>                         | * <i>xanduz</i>                          |
| 38a. head             | <i>hā(ve)d</i>           |                                     |                                      | * <i>xabuðan</i>                         |
| 38b. head             |                          | <i>holle</i>                        |                                      | * <i>xulniz</i>                          |
| 38c. head             |                          | <i>heila</i>                        |                                      | * <i>xawilō</i>                          |
| 38d. head             | <i>kopp</i>              |                                     | <i>kop</i>                           | < G. <i>Kopf</i> < L. <i>cuppa</i> cup   |
| 39. hear              | <i>hēra / hōra</i>       | <i>hearre</i>                       | <i>heere</i>                         | * <i>xauzjanan</i>                       |
| 40. heart             | <i>herte / hürte</i>     | <i>hert</i>                         | <i>haat</i>                          | * <i>xertōn</i>                          |
| 41. horn              | <i>horn</i>              | <i>hoarn</i>                        | <i>houden</i>                        | * <i>xurnan</i>                          |
| 42. I                 | <i>ek / ic</i>           | <i>ik / ikke</i>                    | <i>ik</i>                            | * <i>eka</i>                             |
| 43. kill              | <i>dēda</i>              | <i>deadzje</i><br><i>deamejtsje</i> | <i>doodmoakje</i><br><i>dooddwoo</i> | * <i>ðauðaz maga</i>                     |
| 44. knee              | <i>kniu / knē / knī</i>  | <i>knibbel</i>                      | <i>kniebel</i>                       | * <i>knewan þainan</i>                   |
| 45a. know             | <i>kunna</i>             |                                     | <i>kanne</i>                         | * <i>kanna</i>                           |
| 45b. know             | <i>wēt</i> : <i>wita</i> | <i>witte</i>                        | <i>wiete</i>                         | * <i>waita</i>                           |
| 46a. leaf             | <i>bled</i>              | <i>blêd</i>                         | <i>blääd</i>                         | * <i>bladan</i>                          |



| English               | Old Frisian            | West Frisian   | East Frisian: Sater        | Proto-Germanic                                   |
|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|--|
| 46b. leaf             | <i>lāf</i>             |                | <i>loof / looch</i>        | * <i>laupan</i>                                  |
| 47. lie               | <i>lidz(i)a</i>        | <i>lizze</i>   | <i>lääše</i>               | * <i>legjanan</i>                                |
| 48. liver             | <i>livere</i>          | <i>lever</i>   | <i>liuer</i>               | * <i>librō</i>                                   |
| 49. long              | <i>long / lang</i>     | <i>lang</i>    | <i>loang</i>               | * <i>langaz</i>                                  |
| 50. louse             |                        | <i>lūs</i>     | <i>luus</i>                | * <i>lūsz</i>                                    |
| 51a. man              | <i>man(n)</i>          | <i>man</i>     | <i>mon</i>                 | * <i>manōn-</i>                                  |
| 51b. man              |                        |                | <i>käarel</i>              | * <i>ka/erlaz</i>                                |
| 52a. many             | <i>felo / ful</i>      |                | <i>fuul</i>                | * <i>felu</i>                                    |
| 52b. many             | <i>manich / monich</i> |                |                            | * <i>managaz ~ *manigaz</i>                      |
| 52c. many             |                        | <i>gāns</i>    |                            | ?Goth. <i>gansjan</i> to cause                   |
| 53a. meat             | <i>flēsk</i>           | <i>fleis</i>   | <i>flaask</i>              | * <i>flaiskaz</i>                                |
| 54. moon              | <i>mōna</i>            | <i>moanne</i>  | <i>moune</i>               | * <i>mēnōn</i>                                   |
| 55. mountain          | <i>berch</i>           | <i>berch</i>   | <i>bierich &amp; bürch</i> | * <i>bergaz/-an</i>                              |
| 56a. mouth            | <i>mūth</i>            |                | <i>mündelk mündlich</i>    | * <i>munþaz</i>                                  |
| 56b. mouth            | <i>mūla</i>            | <i>mūle</i>    | <i>mule</i>                | * <i>mūlōn</i>                                   |
| 56c. mouth            | <i>snabba</i>          |                |                            | * <i>snabbōn</i>                                 |
| 57. name              | <i>nama / noma</i>     | <i>namme</i>   | <i>noome</i>               | * <i>namōn</i>                                   |
| 58. neck              | <i>hals</i>            | <i>hals</i>    | <i>hoals</i>               | * <i>halsaz</i>                                  |
| 59. new               | <i>nīe</i>             | <i>nij</i>     | <i>näi</i>                 | * <i>neujaz</i>                                  |
| 60. night             | <i>nacht</i>           | <i>nacht</i>   | <i>noacht</i>              | * <i>naxtz</i>                                   |
| 61. nose              | <i>nose</i>            | <i>noas</i>    | <i>nooše</i>               | * <i>nasō</i>                                    |
| 62a. not              | <i>nī / ne</i>         | <i>né</i>      | <i>nī</i>                  | * <i>nī(t)</i>                                   |
| 63. one m.<br>f. & n. | <i>ān / ēn / on</i>    | <i>ien</i>     | <i>aan<br/>een</i>         | * <i>ainaz</i>                                   |
| 64a. person           | <i>mann / monn</i>     |                |                            | = 51a  |
| 64aa. person          | <i>manniska</i>        | <i>minske</i>  | <i>moanske</i>             | * <i>manniskaz</i>                               |
| 65. rain n.           | <i>rein</i>            | <i>rein</i>    | <i>rien</i>                | * <i>regnaz/-an</i>                              |
| 66. red               | <i>rād</i>             | <i>read</i>    | <i>rood</i>                | * <i>raudō</i>                                   |
| 67a. road             | <i>wei</i>             | <i>wei</i>     | <i>wai / pl. weege</i>     | * <i>wegaz</i>                                   |
| 67c. road             |                        |                | <i>stig</i>                | * <i>staiḡō</i>                                  |
| 67d. road             | <i>(forda ford)</i>    | <i>fuort</i>   |                            | * <i>furđōn</i>                                  |
| 68a. root             |                        |                |                            | * <i>wrōtiz</i>                                  |
| 68ab. root            | <i>wortele</i>         | <i>woartel</i> | <i>wüttel</i>              | * <i>wurti-waluz</i>                             |
| 69a. round            | <i>trind</i>           |                |                            | * <i>trendaz</i><br>cf. OE <i>trendel</i> circle |
| 69b. round            |                        | <i>roun</i>    | <i>rùnd</i>                | < G <i>rund</i> < F                              |
| 70. sand              | <i>sand / sond</i>     | <i>sân</i>     | <i>sound</i>               | * <i>sandaz/-an</i>                              |
| 71a. say              | <i>sedza / sega</i>    | <i>sizze</i>   | <i>soagje</i>              | * <i>sagjanan</i>                                |
| 71b. say              |                        |                | <i>snide</i>               |  |
| 72. see               | <i>sia</i>             | <i>sjen</i>    | <i>sjoo</i>                | * <i>sexwanan</i>                                |
| 73a. seed             | <i>sēd</i>             | <i>sie(d)</i>  | <i>säid</i>                | * <i>sēdiz</i>                                   |
| 74. sit               | <i>sitta</i>           | <i>sitte</i>   |                            | * <i>setjanan</i>                                |
| 75a. skin             | <i>hēd</i>             | <i>hûd</i>     | <i>häid</i>                | * <i>xūdiz</i>                                   |

| English                 | Old Frisian                         | West Frisian      | East Frisian: Sater                       | Proto-Germanic           |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 75b. skin               | (skene bark)                        |                   |   | *skinþ-                  |
| 75c. skin               | <i>fell</i>                         | <i>fel</i>        | <i>fäl</i>                                | *fellan                  |
| 75cd. skin              | <i>filmene</i>                      |                   |   | *felmaz                  |
| 76. sleep               | <i>slēpa</i>                        | <i>sliepe</i>     | <i>släipe</i>                             | *slēpanan                |
| 77a. small              | <i>lītik / littich</i>              | <i>lyts</i>       | <i>lītje</i>                              | *luttjaz / *luttiz       |
| 77b. small              | <i>klêne</i>                        |                   | (kleen fein)                              | *klainiz                 |
| 77c. small              | <i>smel</i>                         |                   |   | *smalaz                  |
| 77d. small              |                                     |                   | <i>mīnnelk</i>                            | *mīnniz less             |
| 77e. small              |                                     | <i>bihindlich</i> |   |                          |
| 78a. smoke <sub>s</sub> | <i>rēk</i>                          | <i>reek</i>       | <i>rook</i>                               | *raukiz                  |
| 79. stand               | <i>stonda</i>                       | <i>steat</i>      | <i>steen</i>                              | *stainaz                 |
| 80. star                | <i>stēra</i>                        | <i>stjer</i>      | <i>stiern</i>                             | *sternōn                 |
| 81. stone               | <i>stēn</i>                         | <i>stainaz</i>    | <i>steen</i>                              | *stēnan                  |
| 82. sun                 | <i>sunne</i>                        | <i>sinne</i>      | <i>sünne</i>                              | *sunnōn                  |
| 83a. swim               | <i>swimma</i>                       | <i>swimme</i>     | <i>swimme</i>                             | *swemmanan               |
| 84. tail                | <i>stert</i>                        | <i>sturt</i>      | <i>stüit</i>                              | *stertaz                 |
| 85. that m.<br>n.       | <i>jen(e)</i><br><i>thet</i>        | <i>dy</i>         | <i>jüns</i>                               | *jainaz / *jenaz<br>*þat |
| 86. this m.<br>n.       | <i>this / thius</i>                 | <i>dizze</i>      | <i>disse / düsse</i><br><i>düt / düit</i> | *þai<br>*þat             |
| 87. thou                | <i>thū</i>                          | <i>dou / dü</i>   | <i>du</i>                                 | *þū                      |
| 88. tongue              | <i>tunge / tonge</i>                | <i>tonge</i>      | <i>tünge</i>                              | *tungōn                  |
| 89a. tooth              | <i>tōth</i>                         |                   |   | *tanþuz                  |
| 89ab. tooth             |                                     | <i>tosk</i>       | <i>tüsk</i>                               | *tunþskaz                |
| 90a. tree               | <i>bām</i>                          | <i>beam</i>       | <i>boom</i>                               | *þaumaz                  |
| 90b. tree               | <i>trē</i>                          |                   |   | *trewan                  |
| 91. two m.<br>f. & n.   | <i>twēne</i>                        | <i>twa</i>        | <i>twäin</i><br><i>twoo</i>               | *twajina<br>*twō(u)      |
| 92a. walk               | <i>gunga / gonga</i>                |                   | <i>günge</i>                              | *ganganan                |
| 92a. walk               | <i>gān</i>                          |                   |   | *gēnan                   |
| 92c. walk               |                                     |                   | <i>loope</i>                              | *hlaupanan               |
| 92d. walk               |                                     | <i>rinne</i>      |   | *rennanan                |
| 93a. warm               | <i>warm</i>                         | <i>waerm</i>      | <i>woorm</i>                              | *warmaz                  |
| 93b. warm               | <i>hēt</i>                          | <i>hjit</i>       |   | *xaitaz                  |
| 94a. water              | <i>water / weter / -ir</i>          | <i>wetter</i>     | <i>woater</i>                             | *watar                   |
| 94b. water              | <i>ā / ē (stream, river, water)</i> |                   |   | *axwō                    |
| 95. we                  | <i>wi</i>                           | <i>wy</i>         | <i>wi</i>                                 | *wīz                     |
| 96. what                | <i>hwet</i>                         | <i>hwat</i>       | <i>wät</i>                                | *xwat                    |
| 97. white               | <i>hwīt</i>                         | <i>wyt</i>        | <i>wīt</i>                                | *xwītiz                  |
| 98a. who                | <i>hwā</i>                          | <i>hwa / hwát</i> |   | *xwaz                    |
| 98ac. who               |                                     |                   | <i>wäl</i>                                |                          |
| 99a. woman              | <i>wif</i>                          |                   | <i>wiu</i>                                | *wīþan                   |
| 99b. woman              |                                     | <i>frou</i>       |   | *frawjōn                 |
| 100. yellow             |                                     | <i>giel</i>       | <i>jeel</i>                               | *gelwaz                  |

## NORTH FRISIAN DIALECTS

| English               | Mooring     | Hallig    | Föhring | Hoolm      | Hoorning    | Sylte  | Halunder          | Proto-Germanic  |
|-----------------------|-------------|-----------|---------|------------|-------------|--------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. all                | ââl         | altomaole | ale     | al(e)      | aal(e)      | al     | al                | *allaz          |
| 2. ashes              | eesch       | eesk      | eesk    | eesch      | eesch       | eesken | ēskan             | *askōn          |
| 3a. bark              | rin         | rin       | rinj    | rin        | rin         | rinj   |                   | *rendō(n)       |
| 3b. bark              | buurk       |           | buark   |            |             |        | bork              | *barkuz         |
| 4a. belly             | buuke       | buuk      | bük     | bük        |             | bük    | (bik weibl. Teil) | *bükaz          |
| 4b. belly             | lif         |           | lif     |            | lif         |        | (lif Leib)        | *līban          |
| 4c. belly             | bale        |           |         |            |             |        |                   | *bālgiz         |
| 5. big                | grut        | grot      | grat    | grât       | grot        | gurt   | gröt              | *grautaz        |
| 6. bird               | föögel      | fugel     | fögel   | föögel     | föögel      | fügel  |                   | *f(l)uglaz      |
|                       |             |           |         |            |             |        | fingk             |                 |
| 7. bite               | bite        | bite      | bitj    | bite       | bite        | bit    | bit               | *bitanan        |
| 8. black              | suurt       | süürt     | suart   | suurt      | suurt       | suurt  | sūart             | *swartaz        |
| 9. blood              | blödj       | blööd     | blud    | bloud      | bloud       | blör   | blud              | *blōðan         |
| 10a. bone             | biinj       | bian      | bian    | biin       | biin        | biin   | bēan, bīān        | *bainan         |
| 10b. bone             | knooke      | knaake    | knook   | knooke     | knâāke      | knaak  | knōk              | *knukōn         |
| 11. breast            | burst       | borst     | brast   | burst      | borst       | brest  | boṛs(t)           | *brustiz        |
| 12a. burn             | brāne       | boorne    | braan   | bārne      | barne       | bren   | bārṇa             | *brennanan      |
| 12b. burn             | swise       |           | swiis   |            |             |        |                   |                 |
| 13. claw              | klau        | klau      | klau    | klää pl.   | klää pl.    | -      | klau              | *klēwō / *klōwō |
| 14a. cloud            | woolken     | wolk      |         | wulk       | wulk        | -      | wolk              | *wulk(a)nan     |
| 14b. cloud            |             |           | swark   |            |             |        |                   |                 |
| 15a. cold             | kölj / koul | kööl      | kul     | koul       | koul        | kuul   | kül               | *kaldaz         |
| 15c. cold             |             |           | ias     |            |             |        |                   | *isaz           |
| 16. come              | kaame       | kame      | kem     | kåāme      | kaame       | kum    | kēm               | *kwemanan       |
| 17a. die              | stärwe      | steerwe   | sterew  | steerwe    | steerwe     | sterev | steru             | *sterbanan      |
| 17b. die              | düüdj bliwe |           |         |            |             |        |                   |                 |
| 18. dog               | hün         | hun       | hünj    | hün        | hün'        | hün    | hin               | *hundaz         |
| 19. drink             | drainke     | drinke    | drank   | dränke     | dränke      | drink  | dringk            | *ðrenkanan      |
| 20a. dry              |             | druch     | drüg    | drüge      | drüge       | drügi  | drig              | *draugiz        |
| 20b. dry              | dur         |           | dör     |            |             |        |                   | *þurzúz         |
| 21. ear               | uur         | uur       | uar     | uur        | uur         | uar    | ōar               | *auzōn          |
| 22. earth             | jard        | eerde     | eerd    | eerde      | eerde       | öört   | īr                | *erþō           |
| 23. eat               | äāse        | äā'se     | iidj    | äāe        | äity        | iit    | īt                | *etanān         |
| 24. egg               | oi          | oi        | ai      | oi         | ai          | ai     | ai                | *ajjaz          |
| 25. eye               | uug         | uuch      | uug     | uug        | uuch        | oog    | ōg                | *augōn          |
| 26a. fat <sub>s</sub> | smeer       |           |         | smeer      | smeer       | smöör  |                   | *smerwan/-ōn    |
| 26b. fat <sub>s</sub> | (fât adj.)  | faot      | feet    | (fât adj.) | (faat adj.) | fat    | fat               | *faitaz         |
| 27a. feather          | fääder      | feere     | feeler  | feer       | fäär        | feðer  | fedar             | *feþrō          |
| 28b. fire             | iilj        | ial       | ial     | iil        | iil         | jöl'   | īāl               | *ailidaz        |
|                       |             |           |         |            |             |        | fīr               | *fewur          |

| English              | Mooring           | Hallig           | Föhring                | Hoolm            | Hoorning          | Sylte                    | Halunder         | Proto-Germanic                 |
|----------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 29. fish             | <i>fasch</i>      | <i>faske</i>     | <i>fask</i>            | <i>fasch</i>     | <i>fasch</i>      | <i>fesk</i>              | <i>fesk</i>      | * <i>fiskaz</i>                |
| 30. fly <sub>v</sub> | <i>ftiinj</i>     | <i>ftiine</i>    | <i>flä</i>             | <i>fliin</i>     | <i>fliin</i>      | <i>flö</i>               | <i>fli</i>       | * <i>fleuganan</i>             |
| 31. foot             | <i>fötj</i>       | <i>fööt</i>      | <i>fut</i>             | <i>fout</i>      | <i>fout</i>       | <i>fut</i>               | <i>fut</i>       | * <i>fōtz</i> ~ * <i>fōtuz</i> |
| 32. full             | <i>ful</i>        | <i>fol</i>       | <i>fol</i>             | <i>ful</i>       | <i>fol</i>        | <i>fol</i>               | <i>fol</i>       | * <i>fullaz</i>                |
| 33a. give            | <i>jeewe</i>      | <i>jeewe</i>     | <i>jiiw</i>            | <i>jeewe</i>     | <i>jeew e</i>     |                          |                  | * <i>gebanan</i>               |
| 33b. give            | <i>düinj</i>      | <i>düine</i>     | <i>du</i>              | <i>duun</i>      | <i>duun</i>       | <i>dö</i>                | <i>du</i>        | * <i>ðonan</i>                 |
| 34. good             | <i>gödj</i>       | <i>gööd</i>      | <i>gud</i>             | <i>goud</i>      | <i>goud</i>       | <i>gur</i>               | <i>gud</i>       | * <i>gōðaz</i>                 |
| 35. green            | <i>gräin</i>      | <i>green</i>     | <i>greene</i>          | <i>green</i>     | <i>gräin</i>      | <i>green</i>             | <i>grēn</i>      | * <i>grōniz</i>                |
| 36. hair             | <i>häär</i>       | <i>heer</i>      | <i>hiar</i>            | <i>heer</i>      | <i>häär</i>       | <i>hiir</i>              | <i>hjár</i>      | * <i>xēran</i>                 |
| 37. hand             | <i>hönj</i>       | <i>höön</i>      | <i>hun</i>             | <i>houn</i>      | <i>houn</i>       | <i>hun'</i>              | <i>hun</i>       | * <i>xanduz</i>                |
| 38a. head            | <i>hood</i>       | <i>hääd</i>      | <i>hood</i>            | <i>haud</i>      | <i>haud</i>       | <i>haur</i>              | <i>hōd</i>       | * <i>xabuðan</i>               |
|                      |                   |                  |                        |                  |                   |                          | <i>pēt, pōt</i>  |                                |
| 39. hear             | <i>hiire</i>      | <i>hiire</i>     | <i>hiar</i>            | <i>hiire</i>     | <i>hiire</i>      | <i>hiir</i>              | <i>hjár</i>      | * <i>xauzjanan</i>             |
| 40. heart            | <i>hart</i>       | <i>härt</i>      | <i>hart</i>            | <i>härt</i>      | <i>härt</i>       | <i>hart</i>              | <i>har̥t</i>     | * <i>xertōn</i>                |
| 41. horn             | <i>horn</i>       | <i>höörn</i>     | <i>hurn</i>            | <i>hoorn</i>     | <i>hoorn</i>      | <i>huurn</i>             | <i>hūrn</i>      | * <i>xurnan</i>                |
| 42. I                | <i>ik</i>         | <i>ik</i>        | <i>ik</i>              | <i>ik</i>        | <i>ik</i>         | <i>ik</i>                | <i>ik</i>        | * <i>eka</i>                   |
| 43. kill             | <i>düüdjmäåge</i> | <i>duadmaage</i> | <i>duadmmage</i>       | <i>duudmäåge</i> | <i>duudmaagge</i> | <i>duar maaki</i>        | <i>dōād mōkə</i> | * <i>ðaudaz maga</i>           |
| 44. knee             | <i>knäi</i>       | <i>kneeboole</i> | <i>knöbian</i>         | <i>knäiboole</i> | <i>knäiboole</i>  | <i>kneebiin</i>          | <i>knébiān</i>   | * <i>knewan bainan</i>         |
| 45a. know            | <i>kâne</i>       | <i>kaone</i>     | <i>keen</i>            | <i>kâne</i>      | <i>kaane</i>      | <i>kään</i>              | <i>kan</i>       | * <i>kanna</i>                 |
| 45b. know            | <i>waase</i>      | <i>wee´e</i>     | <i>wed</i>             | <i>waae</i>      | <i>waae</i>       | <i>weet</i>              | <i>wet</i>       | * <i>waita</i>                 |
| 46a. leaf            | <i>blees</i>      | <i>blää</i>      | <i>bleed</i>           | <i>blee</i>      | <i>blee</i>       | <i>bleer</i>             | <i>blēd</i>      | * <i>bladan</i>                |
| 46b. leaf            | <i>luuf</i>       | <i>luuf</i>      |                        | <i>luuf</i>      | <i>luuf</i>       |                          |                  | * <i>laupan</i>                |
| 47. lie              | <i>lade</i>       | <i>laie</i>      | <i>lei</i>             | <i>läie</i>      | <i>lee´e</i>      | <i>lii</i>               | <i>lai</i>       | * <i>legjanan</i>              |
| 48. liver            | <i>liwer</i>      | <i>liwer</i>     | <i>liwer</i>           | <i>liwer</i>     | <i>liwer</i>      | <i>liwer</i>             | <i>liwər</i>     | * <i>librō</i>                 |
| 49. long             | <i>lung</i>       | <i>long</i>      | <i>lung</i>            | <i>lung</i>      | <i>long</i>       | <i>lüng</i>              | <i>lung</i>      | * <i>langaz</i>                |
| 50. louse            | <i>lüs</i>        | <i>lus</i>       | <i>lüs</i>             | <i>lüs</i>       | <i>lüs</i>        | <i>lüs</i>               | <i>lis</i>       | * <i>lūsz</i>                  |
| 51a. man             | <i>moon</i>       | <i>moon</i>      | <i>maan</i>            | <i>moon</i>      | <i>moon</i>       | ( <i>man husband</i> )   | <i>man</i>       | * <i>manōn-</i>                |
| 51b. man             | <i>kjarls</i>     | <i>keerl</i>     |                        |                  |                   | <i>kiarel</i>            |                  | * <i>ka/erlaz</i>              |
| 51a/b. man           |                   |                  | <i>karmen</i>          |                  |                   | <i>kärming</i>           | <i>kärmən</i>    | * <i>karla-manōn</i>           |
| 52. many             | <i>foole</i>      | <i>fole</i>      | <i>föl</i>             | <i>foole</i>     | <i>fååle</i>      | <i>fül / fuul</i>        | <i>fel</i>       | * <i>felu</i>                  |
| 53a. meat            | <i>flååsch</i>    | <i>flaosk</i>    | <i>fleesk</i>          | <i>flååsch</i>   | <i>flaasch</i>    | ( <i>fleesk grease</i> ) | <i>flēsk</i>     | * <i>flaiskaz</i>              |
| 53b. meat            |                   |                  |                        |                  |                   | <i>meet</i>              |                  | * <i>matiz</i>                 |
| 54. moon             | <i>moune</i>      | <i>mööne</i>     | <i>muun</i>            | <i>moone</i>     | <i>moune</i>      | <i>muun</i>              | <i>mūn</i>       | * <i>mēnōn</i>                 |
| 55. mountain         | <i>bärj</i>       | <i>beerch</i>    | <i>berig</i>           | <i>beerj</i>     | <i>beerch</i>     | <i>bärig</i>             | <i>béri(ch)</i>  | * <i>bergaz/-an</i>            |
| 56a. mouth           | <i>müs</i>        | <i>mu</i>        | <i>müs dim. muntje</i> | <i>müs</i>       | <i>müs</i>        | <i>mür</i>               | <i>mit, müt</i>  | * <i>munþaz</i>                |
| 57. name             | <i>nom</i>        | <i>noome</i>     | <i>nööm</i>            | <i>noome</i>     | <i>noome</i>      | <i>noom</i>              | <i>nēm</i>       | * <i>namōn</i>                 |
| 58. neck             | <i>håls</i>       | <i>hals</i>      | <i>hals</i>            | <i>håls</i>      | <i>haals</i>      | -                        | <i>hals</i>      | * <i>xalsaz</i>                |
| 59. new              | <i>nai</i>        | <i>nai</i>       | <i>nei</i>             | <i>nai</i>       | <i>nai</i>        | <i>nii</i>               | <i>nai</i>       | * <i>neujaz</i>                |

| English                 | Mooring                  | Hallig        | Föhring              | Hoolm                    | Hoorning                 | Sylte          | Halunder                          | Proto-Germanic                                     |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 60. night               | <i>nächt</i>             | <i>naacht</i> | <i>naacht</i>        | <i>nächt</i>             | <i>naacht</i>            | <i>nacht</i>   | <i>nōcht</i>                      | * <i>naxtz</i>                                     |
| 61. nose                | <i>noos</i>              | <i>nääs</i>   | <i>nöös</i>          | <i>noos</i>              | <i>nåås</i>              | <i>nöös</i>    | <i>nēš</i>                        | * <i>nasō</i>                                      |
| 62b. not                | <i>ai</i>                | <i>ee</i>     | <i>ei</i>            | <i>äi</i>                | <i>äi</i>                | <i>ek</i>      |                                   |  |
|                         |                          |               |                      |                          |                          |                | <i>ni</i>                         |  |
| 63. one m. f. & n.      | <i>ån</i><br><i>iinj</i> | <i>ian</i>    | <i>ian</i>           | <i>åån</i><br><i>iin</i> | <i>aan</i><br><i>iin</i> | <i>jen</i>     | <i>jān</i>                        | * <i>ainaz</i>                                     |
| 64. person              | <i>mansche</i>           | <i>mänske</i> | <i>mensk</i>         | <i>mänsche</i>           | <i>mänsche</i>           | <i>mensk</i>   | <i>mensk</i>                      | * <i>manniskaz</i>                                 |
| 65. rain n.             | <i>rin</i>               | <i>rin</i>    | <i>rin</i>           | <i>rin</i>               | <i>rin</i>               | <i>riin</i>    | <i>rain</i>                       | * <i>regnaz/-an</i>                                |
| 66. red                 | <i>rüüdj</i>             | <i>ruad</i>   | <i>ruad</i>          | <i>ruud</i>              | <i>ruud</i>              | <i>ruar</i>    | <i>rōad</i>                       | * <i>raudō</i>                                     |
| 67a. road/pl.           | <i>wäi/weege</i>         | <i>wai</i>    | <i>wai</i>           | <i>woi/weege</i>         | <i>wai/weege</i>         | <i>wai</i>     | <i>wai</i>                        | * <i>wegaz</i>                                     |
| 67b. road               |                          |               | <i>doom</i>          |                          |                          |                |                                   | * <i>đōmaz</i>                                     |
| 68a. root               | <i>rötj</i>              |               | <i>rut tree-root</i> | <i>rout</i>              | <i>rout</i>              | <i>röt</i>     | <i>rut</i>                        | * <i>wrōtiz</i>                                    |
| 68ab. root              |                          | <i>wodel</i>  | <i>wortel</i>        |                          |                          |                | <i>wetəl</i><br>( <i>wortel</i> ) | * <i>wurti-waluz</i><br>( < LG)                    |
| 69a. round              | <i>trin</i>              | <i>trin</i>   | <i>trinj</i>         | <i>trin</i>              | <i>trin</i>              | <i>trinj</i>   |                                   | * <i>trendāz</i> ; cf. OE<br><i>trendel circle</i> |
| 69b. round              |                          |               |                      |                          |                          |                | <i>riin, riin</i>                 | < G <i>rund</i> < F                                |
| 70. sand                | <i>sönj</i>              | <i>söön</i>   | <i>sun</i>           | <i>san</i>               | <i>san</i>               | <i>sön'</i>    | <i>sun</i>                        | * <i>sandāz/-an</i>                                |
| 71a. say                | <i>seede</i>             | <i>seede</i>  | <i>sai</i>           | <i>säie</i>              | <i>säie</i>              | <i>sii</i>     | <i>sōqi</i>                       | * <i>sagjanan</i>                                  |
| 72. see                 | <i>siinj</i>             | <i>siine</i>  | <i>sä</i>            | <i>siin</i>              | <i>siin</i>              | <i>se</i>      | <i>si</i>                         | * <i>sexwanan</i>                                  |
|                         |                          |               |                      |                          |                          |                | <i>lūke</i>                       | * <i>lōkōjanan</i>                                 |
| 73a. seed               | <i>sädj</i>              | <i>seed</i>   | <i>siad</i>          | <i>säid</i>              | <i>säid</i>              | <i>siit</i>    | <i>sēad</i>                       | * <i>sēdiz</i>                                     |
| 73b. seed               |                          |               | <i>saamen</i>        |                          |                          |                |                                   | * <i>sēmōn</i>                                     |
| 74. sit                 | <i>sate</i>              | <i>sate</i>   | <i>sat</i>           | <i>sate</i>              | <i>sate</i>              |                | <i>set</i>                        | * <i>setjanan</i>                                  |
| 75a. skin               | <i>hüid</i>              | <i>hut</i>    | -                    | <i>hüid</i>              | <i>häid</i>              | <i>hir</i>     | <i>hid</i>                        | * <i>xūđiz</i>                                     |
| 75b. skin               | <i>schan</i>             | <i>skan</i>   | <i>skan</i>          | <i>schan</i>             | <i>schan</i>             |                |                                   | * <i>skinþ-</i>                                    |
| 75c. skin               | <i>fal</i>               |               |                      |                          |                          |                | <i>fal</i>                        | * <i>fellan</i>                                    |
| 75d. skin               | <i>bäle</i>              |               |                      |                          |                          |                |                                   |  |
| 76. sleep               | <i>slaipe</i>            | <i>sleepe</i> | <i>sliap</i>         | <i>släipe</i>            | <i>släipe</i>            | <i>sliip</i>   | <i>slēap</i>                      | * <i>slēpanan</i>                                  |
| 77a. small              | <i>latj</i>              | <i>lidj</i>   | <i>letj</i>          | <i>läitj</i>             | <i>läitj</i>             | <i>litj</i>    | <i>letj</i>                       | * <i>luttjaz</i> /<br>* <i>luttiz</i>              |
| 77b. small              |                          |               | <i>klian</i>         |                          |                          |                |                                   | * <i>klainiz</i>                                   |
| 77f. small              |                          |               | <i>hen</i>           |                          |                          |                |                                   |  |
| 77g. small              |                          |               |                      |                          |                          | <i>sneerig</i> |                                   |  |
| 78a. smoke <sub>s</sub> | <i>riik</i>              | <i>riak</i>   | <i>riak</i>          | <i>riik</i>              | <i>riik</i>              | <i>rook</i>    | <i>rēak</i>                       | * <i>raukiz</i>                                    |
| 78b. smoke <sub>s</sub> |                          | <i>kwalm</i>  |                      |                          |                          |                |                                   | < LG.  |
| 79. stand               | <i>stönje</i>            | <i>stööne</i> | <i>stun</i>          | <i>stoune</i>            | <i>stoune</i>            | <i>stuun</i>   | <i>stun</i>                       | * <i>stainaz</i>                                   |
| 80. star                | <i>stäär</i>             | <i>steer</i>  | <i>stäär</i>         | <i>steer</i>             | <i>stäär</i>             | <i>stiar</i>   | <i>stēr</i>                       | * <i>sternōn</i>                                   |
| 81. stone               | <i>stiinj</i>            | <i>stian</i>  | <i>stian</i>         | <i>stiin</i>             | <i>stiin</i>             | <i>stiin</i>   | <i>stēan</i>                      | * <i>stēnan</i>                                    |
| 82. sun                 | <i>san</i>               | <i>son</i>    | <i>san</i>           | <i>san</i>               | <i>san</i>               | <i>sen</i>     | <i>sen</i>                        | * <i>sunnōn</i>                                    |
| 83a. swim               | <i>swume</i>             | <i>swome</i>  | <i>sweem</i>         | <i>swume</i>             | <i>swome</i>             | <i>swume</i>   | <i>suumə</i>                      | * <i>swemmanan</i>                                 |
| 83b. swim               | <i>sile</i>              |               |                      |                          |                          |                |                                   |  |

| English            | Mooring                       | Hallig                        | Föhring                      | Hoolm                         | Hoorning                    | Sylte          | Halunder       | Proto-Germanic                     |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| 84. tail           | <i>stjart</i>                 | <i>steert</i>                 | <i>stört</i>                 | <i>steert</i>                 | <i>steert</i>               | <i>stört</i>   | <i>stert</i>   | *stertaz                           |
| 85. that m. f. n.  | <i>jüdeer dideere di</i>      | <i>ju dir di dire dat dir</i> | <i>jüdiar dediar detdiar</i> | <i>jü dideere datdeer</i>     | <i>jü didääre datdär</i>    | <i>didiar</i>  | <i>di dēar</i> | *jainaz / *jenaz *þai þar *þat þar |
| 86. this m. f. n.  | <i>diheere jüheer datheer</i> | <i>diidire judir datdir</i>   | <i>deheerr jühir detheer</i> | <i>diheere jüheer datheer</i> | <i>dihääre jühär dathär</i> | <i>des/det</i> | <i>di hīr</i>  | *þai xēr *jainaz xēr *þat xēr      |
| 87. thou           | <i>dü</i>                     | <i>du</i>                     | <i>dü</i>                    | <i>dü</i>                     | <i>dü</i>                   | <i>dü</i>      | <i>di</i>      | *þū                                |
| 88. tongue         | <i>tung</i>                   | <i>tong</i>                   | <i>tong</i>                  | <i>tung</i>                   | <i>tong</i>                 | <i>tung</i>    | <i>tong</i>    | *tungōn                            |
| 89a. tooth         |                               |                               |                              |                               |                             | <i>ter</i>     | <i>tēn</i>     | *tanþuz                            |
| 89ab. tooth        | <i>täis</i>                   | <i>toske</i>                  | <i>tus</i>                   | <i>tusch</i>                  | <i>tosch</i>                |                |                | *tunþskaz                          |
| 90a. tree          | <i>buum</i>                   | <i>buum</i>                   | <i>buum</i>                  | <i>buum</i>                   | <i>buum</i>                 | <i>boom</i>    | <i>bōam</i>    | *baumaz                            |
| 91. two m. f. & n. | <i>twäär tou</i>              | <i>tweer taue</i>             | <i>tau</i>                   | <i>tweer tou</i>              | <i>twäär tou</i>            | <i>tau</i>     | <i>tau</i>     | *twajina *twō(u)                   |
| 92a. walk          | <i>gunge</i>                  | <i>gonge</i>                  | <i>gung</i>                  | <i>gunge</i>                  | <i>gonge</i>                | <i>gung</i>    | <i>gung</i>    | *ganganan                          |
| 92b. walk          | <i>luupe</i>                  |                               |                              | <i>luupe</i>                  | <i>luupe</i>                |                |                | *xlaupanan                         |
| 93. warm           | <i>wurm</i>                   | <i>woorm</i>                  | <i>warem</i>                 | <i>wurm</i>                   | <i>worm</i>                 | <i>wārem</i>   | <i>warəm</i>   | *warmaz                            |
| 94. water          | <i>wåäder</i>                 | <i>woor</i>                   | <i>weeder</i>                | <i>wäär</i>                   | <i>waar</i>                 | <i>weeter</i>  | <i>wētər</i>   | *watar                             |
| 95. we             | <i>wii</i>                    | <i>wi</i>                     | <i>wi</i>                    | <i>wi</i>                     | <i>wi</i>                   | <i>wü</i>      | <i>wi</i>      | *wīz                               |
| 96. what           | <i>wat</i>                    | <i>wat</i>                    | <i>wat</i>                   | <i>wat</i>                    | <i>wat</i>                  | <i>wat</i>     | <i>wat</i>     | *xwat                              |
| 97. white          | <i>wit</i>                    | <i>wit</i>                    | <i>witj</i>                  | <i>wit</i>                    | <i>wit</i>                  | <i>wit</i>     | <i>wit</i>     | *xwītiz                            |
| 98ab. who          | <i>huum</i>                   |                               |                              | <i>huum</i>                   | <i>hum</i>                  |                |                | *xwazmō                            |
| 98ad. who          |                               | <i>hook</i>                   | <i>hoker</i>                 |                               |                             | <i>hoken</i>   | <i>hekən</i>   | *xwa-                              |
| 99a. woman         | <i>wiif/wüiset</i>            | <i>wuftsit</i>                | <i>wiif</i>                  | <i>wüst</i>                   |                             | <i>wiif</i>    | <i>wif</i>     | *wīban                             |
| 99c. woman         |                               |                               |                              |                               | <i>mārj</i>                 |                |                |                                    |
| 100. yellow        | <i>gööl</i>                   | <i>gul</i>                    | <i>giüil</i>                 | <i>gööl</i>                   | <i>gööl</i>                 | <i>giüil</i>   | <i>gīl</i>     | *gelwaz                            |

**Tables 20:** Wordlists of Old Frisian and West, East and North Frisian dialects

E = English; F = French; Fr = Frisian; G = German; L = Low; M Middle; s. = substantive; v. = verb.

