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GOTHIC LOANS IN ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Perhaps only with exception of such insular idioms as Sardinian and Corse, all remaining Romance languages, hence all continental Romance languages, were more or less influenced by various Germanic languages. The beginning of the contact of the Germanic and Roman world began already in the end of the 2nd cent. BC, when Cimbrians and Teutons attacked North Italy and South Gallia. In that time it is naturally impossible to speak about the Romance languages. Various Germanic tribes threatened the northern border of the Roman Empire in the following centuries, some of them penetrated inside. The time of the most intensive contacts is the era of the Removal of Nations, especially the 5th and 6th centuries AD. Although the primary impuls has been ascribed to Hunns, the most dynamic role in crystalization of the future ethnic and language arrangemant of Europe played the Germanic tribes of the early Middle age. In the Balkan peninsula the Goths and Gepids should be included, in Italy again Goths in several waves, later Langobardians and Franks, in Sicily Normans, in Swiss Alamanns, in Belgium Franks, in France Goths and Vandals in the south, Burgundians in the east, later Franks and Normans in the north, in the Iberian Peninsula Goths and Vandals, but also Suebs. With exception of Alamanns in Swiss, Alsace & Lorraine and Luxemburg, all other Germanic tribes were finally romanized. But their tribal dialects more or less interferred with local idioms which themselves represent various substrata romanized only several centuries before arrival of the Germanic tribes. The Germanic adstrata became so important components in glottogenesis of modern Romance languages. It is natural to expect that their traces appear especially in the lexicon. The strongest influence has been ascribed to three tribal languages: Langobardian in north Italy, Franconian in north France and Gothic in the Balkan Peninsula, north Italy, south France and the Iberian Peninsula. From these idioms only Gothic became a literary language, thanks to the introduction of a specific script and translation of the New Testament by bishop Wulfila in the mid of the 4th cent. The main source of information of West Franconian, used in the territory of north France and of Langobardian from northern Italy, are proper names, naturally besides loanwords. And just the loanwords are the subject of the present study. We decided to limit our interest only to the Gothic influence and

so it is necessary to demonstrate the criteria differentiating it from the remaining idioms. For Langobardian the consonant shift of the High German type (*Althochdeutsche* or 2nd *Lautverschiebung*) is typical, which is known from West Franconian only very limitedly. In both these tribal languages the *Umlaut* operated. None of these features is known in Gothic. It can be summarized in the table

	2nd <i>Lautverschiebung</i>	<i>Umlaut</i>
Gothic	-	-
West Franconian	±	+
Langobardian	+	+

The following examples illustrate the differences allowing to identify Gothic as the donor-language:

(i) OIt. *tattera* “Lappalie, Kleinigkeit”, Valsass. *táto* “Flocke, Schafwolle” reflect the Gothic source of the type **taturō*, while It. *zazzera* “herabwallendes Haupthaar, Mähne”, Grödn. *tsásara* “Perücke”, Romagn. *tsitsarera* “Mähne” represent loans from Langob. **zazera* with the High German consonant shift (#101).

(ii) It. *albergo*, Prov. *alberc* “Herberge” are borrowed from Got. **haribairgo*, while Fr. *héberger* “beherbergen” from Franc. **heribergôn*, how its *Umlaut* signalizes (#43).

(iii) Old French *nasle* “Nestel”, It. *nastro* “Band” must be borrowed from Got. **nastilo* “Bandschleife”, how the absence of *Umlaut* indicates (#66).

Not always the situation is so unambiguous. In these cases other criteria are applied, e.g. the fate of diphthongs, word formation, etc. Very important is the geographical dispersion of the analyzed Germanic borrowings. E.g. if the Romance words of the Germanic origin appear only in the south of the Pyrenean Mountains, their Gothic origin is more than probable. If there are also Provençal and / or Italian cognates, the conclusion has been the same. Rather neglected is Rumanian or Balkano-Romance idioms at all, although it is natural to expect that their lexicons were influenced by some of the East Germanic tribal languages, Gepidic, located in the territory of Dacia and east Pannonia, or more probably Gothic, wide-spread at least shortly over all the Balkan Peninsula with exception of Greece.

The following survey of the probable or at least hypothetical Gothic loans in the Romance languages is based especially on two primary sources: (i) *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Winter 1935) by W. Meyer-Lübke, abbreviated as **ML**, and (ii) *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary* (Leiden: Brill 1986) by Winfred P. Lehmann, abbreviated as **L**. In the following text the language of meanings of the quoted lexemes are preserved according to original sources. Finally it is necessary to mention that our contribution represents a modified part of the bachelor work of one of the present authors.

Wordlist

1) Goth. *af-dauīþs*, preserved only nom. pl. *af-dauīdai* “troubled, annoyed”, past participle of inf. **af-dojan*; cf. Gmc.: ON. *deyja* “to die”, pret. *dó*, OHG. *touwan*, OSax. *dōjan* id. (L 3, 93); the same prefix appears in Langob. **aftjanō*; Rom.: Aret. *atojare* “ermüden”, Pistoja. *attuire* “unterwerfen” (ML 273).

2) Goth. **ahsila*; cf. Gmc.: OHG. *ahsala* “Achsel”, OSax. *ahsla* (**ahslō*), OFris. *axle*, OEng. *eaxel*, ON. *ǫxl* f. *i*-stem (EWD 12); Rom.: Sp. *islilla*, *aslilla* “Achselgrube”, besides the continuants of Lat. *axilla* “Achselhöhle” > Sic. (*a*)*šidda*, with suffixal extension It. *ascella*, Fr. *aisselle*, Prov. *aisela*, Kat. *axella* (ML 842).

3) Goth. **aiskōn* “heischen”; cf. OHG. *eiscōn* “heischen”, OSax. *ēskon* “fragen, fordern”, with diphthong OHG. *eisca* “Forderung”, OFris. *āskia*, OEng. *ascian*, Eng. *ask* (EWD 366)

Rom.: Montan. *ascar* “holen”; also in Basque *eskatu* “fordern” (ML 302 a).

4) Goth. **aliza* “alder”; cf. Gmc. **alizō* > ON. *ǫlr*, OEng. *alor*, OHG. *elira/erila* “Erle” (EWD 230);

Rom.: Sp. *aliso* “Erle” (EWD 230), also Calabrian *audzinu* id. (ML 345a), plus Basque (*s*)*altza* id.; another tree-name of Gothic origin could be Basque (Low Navarre) *burkhi*, (Suletino) *bürkhi* “birch” (DEV c.v.; we owe Dr. Schweitzer for this notice).

5) Goth. **alrūn* “Alraune”, cf. Gmc. **ala-rūnō* “all-secret” > OHG. *alrūn(a)*, G. *Alraun* m., -e f. “magisch gebrauchte, menschenförmige Wurzel” (EWD 30);

Rom.: derivative in OSp. *adrunar* “erraten” (ML 379a).

6) Got. **amaitja* “ant”; cf. WGmc. **ǣmaitjōn* f. > OHG. *āmeiza* “Ameise”, OEng. *æmete*, Eng. *ant* id. (EWD 33);

Rom.: Allier, Puy de Dôme: *maz*; derivative in Creuse, Cantal, Puy de Dôme *m(u)az(e)de*, Rhône *muazöt*, Berrich. *mazet* “Mücke” (ML 394).

7) Got. **ambrs* “Eimer”; cf. Gmc.: OEng. *ambor*, OHG. *ambar*;

Rom.: SFr. *ambro* “Amphora” (ML 1935, 411 c: ... doch ist zweifelhaft, ob die germanischen Wörter nicht auf *amphora* beruhen. Zu diesem *ambro* Claussen, *RF* 15, 892, zeigt eine sonst nicht vorkommende Entwicklung von griech. *ph*).

8) Goth. *azgo* “ashes” < **azgō* (L 54; EWD 56); cf. NWGmc. **aska-* > OIc. *aska*, OEng. *æsce*, OHG. *aska* “Asche” (EWD 56);

Rom.: Sp., Pg. *ascua* “glühende Kohle”. Basque *ausko* “Kohle”; derivative in Salm. *ascuero* “Kohlenhaufen im Herde” (ML 805).

9) Got. *ga-bandwjan* “to give a sign, indicate”, *bandwa*, *bandwo* “sign” (L 61);

cf. Gmc.: ON. *benda* “to give a sign”, Langob. > MLat. *bandum* in Paulus Diaconus: *vexillum quod bandum appellant*, also MGr. βόωνδον “flag” by Procopius of Caesarea;

Rom.: It. *banda* (> Fr. *bande*) “Trupp, Abteilung”, *banda* “Seite”; *bando* “Aufruf” (> Sp., Pg. *bando*); derivatives: Log. *bandana* “Seite; Teil” (ML 1935, 929) and It. *bandire* “verkünden, verbanden”; Prov. *bandir*, id., Sp., Pg. *bandir*; derivatives: It. *bandito* “Verbannter, Verbrecher”; Sic. *vannutu* “berühmt” (ML 930).

10) WGoth. **barsiks* “Barsch”;

Rom.: Kat. *perseg* “Barbier” (ML 966).

11) Goth. **bega* “streit”;

Rom.: Venez., Comask., Bergam., Tirol. *bega*, Friaul. *bege* “streit”. North Italia: It. *bega*, Viar. *bega* “lange Geschichte” (ML 1018).

12) Got. **bisunja* “Fürsorge/surroundings” has been reconstructed on the basis of the adv. & prep. *bisunjane* “round about” (L 73);

Rom.: It. *bisogno* (> Log. *bizondzu*), Fr. *besoin*, Prov. *bezonh* “Not, Bedürfnis”; derivatives: It. *bisognare*, Friaul. *biñá* “nötig haben”, Prov. *besonhar* “sich entschuldigen”, *resoignier* “besorgen”. The form without the *bi*-prefix appears in MLat. glosses from the 7th cent. AD in the form *sonium* “Sorge”. It continues in OFr. *soin* id., Fr. *soigner*, *soignate* “Geliebte, Buhlerin”, OIt. *sogna* “Sorge”, Comel. *seña* “Not” (ML 8089 a).

13) Goth. **blēs-* “Fackel, Flamme”, cf. Gothic *uf-blesan* “to be boastful, puffed up”, besides ON. *blása*, OHG. *blāsan* “to blow”, *blāsa* “Blase”, OEng. *blæ̆s* “blowing” (L 373; EWD 115);

Rom.: Prov. *bleze*, OKat. *blesé*, Kat. *blé* “Lampendocht” (ML 1153 b).

14) Goth. **blauts* “naked”; cf. Gmc.: ON. *blautr* “weak, fearful”, OEng. *blēat*, OFris. *blāt* “poor”, MLG. *blōt* “bare”, OHG. *blōz* “proud”, MHG. *blōz* “bare, naked” (L 75);

Rom.: Ven., Lomb., Mant. *biot* (> It. *biotto*) “nackt”, Piac. *zbiot* id. (ML 1161).

15) Got. **brauþ* “bread” and / or Crimean Goth. *broe* “panis”; cf. Gmc. **brauda-*n. > ON. *brauð*, OE. *brēad*, OFris. *brād*, OSax. *brōd*, OHG. *brōt* “Brot” (L 80; EWD 137), beside MHG. *brüeje* “Brühe” (EWD 139) as a possible counterpart of Crimean Gothic *broe*;

Rom.: Pg. *broa* “Hirsebrot, Maisbrot”; derivatives: Astur. *borrua*, Galic. *borroa* (ML 1280).

16a) Goth. **brid-* “Brett”; cf. WGmc. **breda-* > OSax. (*beddi-*)*bred*, OHG. *bret* “Brett” (EWD 134);

Rom.: OFr. *broi* “Vogelschlinge”, Fr. *brail*, Prov. *bret* (> Sp., Pg. *brete*) “Fuß-

chellen”; derivatives: OFr. *broion* “Vogelschlinge”, Lütt. *brai* “die Füße eines Vogels zusammenbinden”, Prov. *brezar* “Vögel fangen” (ML 1294).

16b) Goth. **bridila* “Brettchen”

Rom.: Emil. *bardela* “Schemel, Fusstritt”, Prov. *bredola*, *berdola* “Tragriemen, Riemen” (ML 1294 a).

17) Goth. **bristan* “bersten”; cf. Gmc. **brestan-* > ON. *bresta*, OEng. *berstan*, OFris. *bersta*, OHG. *brestan* “bersten” (EWD 100);

Rom.: H. pyr. *bréstá*, *brastá* “aufspringen der Hände vom Frost” (ML 1311).

18) Goth. **bruts* “Knospe”; cf. Gmc.: OHG. *broz*;

Rom.: Prov. gen. *brotu* (> Piem. *bro*t), Kat. *bro*t “Knospe” (> Sp. *bro*te); derivatives: Prov. (> Sp.) *bro*ton, Prov., Sp. *bro*ta “Knospfen”; Lomb. *sbrodá*, *sbruá* “Bäume putzen”, Sp. *abrotoñar* “Knospfen treiben” (ML 1347: Bemerkenswert ist, dass alle Ableitungen sowohl im Provenzalischen als auch im Südostfranzösischen ein *t* aufweisen, während in anderen Fällen das gotische, wie auch das lateinische *t* als *d* vorkommt und allmählich schwindet).

19) Goth. **burstia* “Bürste”; Gmc.: MHG. *bürste* (EWD 147);

Rom.: Sp. *bruza*, Pg. *broça* “Striegel”; Obw. *barschun*, Comel. *zborsu*, Fass. *bors*, Grödn. *bous* (ML 1417).

20) Goth. **būska* “Scheit”; WGmc. **buski-* > OSax. (*brāmal-*)*busc*, OHG. *busc*, *bosc*, MHG. *busch* and **buskōn* > MHG. *bosche* “Busch” (EWD 147);

Rom.: Lomb., Piem. *būska*, Sic. *vuska*, Engad. *būska* “Losholz”, Fr. *bûche*, Prov., Kat. *buska* “Scheit”; derivatives: Sic. *vuskaggyu*, Mail. *būskay*, Val.-Anz. *biskaya*, Trient. *bruska* “Hobelspäne”, Fr. *bûcher* “Holz hauen”, Prov. *buscalha* “Reisig”, *buscalhar* “Holz lesen”, Sp., Pg. *buscar* “suchen”, Sp. *busca* “Spürhund”; Sp. *rebuscar* “Ähren lesen”, Pg. *rebuscar*, *rabiscar* “Nachlese halten bei Oliven u. a.” (ML 1420).

21) Goth. *daufs* “deaf, stobborn”, only acc. sg. n. *daubata* (L 88); cf. Gmc. Gmc. **dauba-* > ON. *dauf*r “deaf, lazy”, OEng. *dēaf*, OFris. *dāf*, MLG. *dōf*, OHG. *toub* “unfeeling, deaf, senseless” (EWD 817);

Rom.: Prov. *dauf* “taub” (ML 2486 a).

22) Goth. **drūps* “traut, lieb”; cf. WGmc.: OEng. *drūt*, MDutch *druut*, OHG. *trūt*, *drūt* “traut, lieb” (EWD 834);

Rom.: It. *drudo* “Liebesbrünstig”, OFr., Prov. *drut* “Geliebter” (ML 2780).

23) Goth. *fani* “clay, mud”; cf. Gmc. **fanja-* > ON. *fen*, OEng. *fen(n)* “Sumpf”, OFris. *fen(n)e* “Weide”, OSax. *fen(n)i*, LG. *vēn(ne)* > G. *Fenn* “Sumpfland”, OHG. *fenna*, *fennī* “Sumpf”, (EWD 258);

Rom.: SWFr. *fañ*, Prov. *fanh*, *fanha* “Schlamm” (ML 3184).

- 24) Goth. **fanþja* “Fußgänger”; cf. Gmc.: OHG. *fendo*
Rom.: It. *fante* “Fußsoldat” and the derivative *fantoccino* “Marionette” > Fr. *fan-*
tassin (ML 3185 a).
- 25) Goth. **flusa* “Speck”;
Rom.: Fr. dial. *feusa*, Prov. *foza* “Speck” (ML p. 807, additional #9662).
- 26) Goth. *flodus* “stream”; cf. Gmc. **flōdu-* m. > ON. *flōð*, OEng. Runic (Cler-
mont) *flodu*, OEng. n./m. *flōd*, OFris., OSax. f./m. *flōd*, OHG. *flōt*, *fluot* “Flut” (L
118–19; EWD 277);
Rom.: OFr. *fluēt* “Flut, fließen” (ML 3377; EWGS, S. 116).
- 27) Goth. *fon* “fire”; cf. Gmc.: ON. *funi* “fire”, while in the WGmc. only the velar
extension of the *n*-stem **fun-k-ōn* is known: MEng. *fonke* “spark”, MLG. *vunke*,
OHG. *funcho* “Funke” (L 120; EWD 291);
Rom.: Pg. *fona* “fire” (ML 3423).
- 28) Goth. *friks* in *faihu-friks* “greedy for money”, *faihu-frikei* “cupidity”; cf.
Gmc. **freka-* > ON. *frekr* “greedy, hard, stern”, OEng. *frecc* “desirous”, MLG.
vrek, OHG *freh* “frech” (L 103; EWD 283);
Rom.: OFr. *frique*, Prov. *friçon* “munter” (ML 3491). Only in Gothic the root
vowel *-i-* is attested.
- 29) WGoht. **frūmjan* “fördern, vollbringen”; cf. Goth. *fruma* “first”, *fram fruma*
“from the beginning”, *frumei* “beginning”, *fruma-baur* “first-born”; further Gmc.:
ON. *frum-burðr* “first-born”, OEng. *fruma* “beginning, origin”, *frum* “first”, *for-*
ma, OFris. *forma*, OSax. *formo* “first one” MHG. *frum* “capable” (L 129);
Rom.: OIt. *frummiare*, Prov. *formir*, *fromir* “fördern” (ML 3541).
- 30) Goth. **gabilāne* “Sperber” (Gothic origin should be indicated by the extensi-
on in **-ila*, typical for the Gothic names from Hispania);
Rom.: Mail., Veron., Emil. *gavinel*, Bergell. *ganivel*, Puschl. *gavinel*, Neap. *ga-*
navielle, Sp. *gavilán*, Pg. *gavião* “Sperber; gekrümmter Teil der Sichel”, Galic.
gabilan “Sichel”, also in Basque *gavirain* (ML 3628).
- 31) Goth. **gabula* “Gabel”; cf. WGmc. **gablō* > OSax. *gaþala*, *gaþlia*, OHG. *ga-*
bala, MHG. *gabel(e)* “Gabel”, also OEng. *gafol* “Gabel”; regarding the hypotheti-
cal Gothic form, interesting is OIr. *gabul* “Gabel, Schenkelspreize” (EWD 294);
Rom.: Minh. *galho* “Gabel mit zwei Zinken”, Sanabr. *galhos* “Zinken der Ga-
bel”, Galic. *galho* “Ast”, Pg. *galhudo* “ästig” (ML 3629 a).
- 32) Goth. **gainon* “gähnen”; cf. Gmc.: ON. *gína*, OEng. *gīnan* (stark verbs), be-
sides *gānian* (weak verb), and further OSax. *ginon*, OHG. *ginēn*, *ginōn* “gähnen”
(EWD 295);

Rom.: Sp. *ganar*, OPg. *gāar* “erwerben” and derivatives: Sp. *ganado*, Pg. *gado* “Vieh”, Sp. (> pg.) *gana* “Begierde, Appetit” (ML 3637 a).

33) Goth. **ga-laubei* “costliness”, attested only as dat. sg. *un-ga-l(a)ubamma* “of no value” of from the adj. **galaufs* “valuable, costly”; cf. Gmc. **ga-lauba-* > OHG. *ga-loub* “encouraging confidence, agreeable” (L 142), while in EWD 326 OHG *giloub* “vertraut” is quoted;

Rom.: Prov. *galaubia* “Aufwand” (ML 3644; EWGS, S. 138).

34) Goth. **gans* “Gans”; cf. NWGmc. **gans-* f. > ON. *gás*, OEng. *gōs*, MDutch *gans*, MLG. *gōs*, *gūs*, OHG. *gans* “Gans” (EWD 298);

Rom.: Sp., Pg. *ganso*, -a, “Gans”, *ganso* “dumm” (ML 3677).

35) Goth. **gasalja* “Genosse”, attested are the verbs *saljan* “to stay, be a guest of”, *us-saljan* “to take up quarters, lodge” (L 293); cf. OHG. *gisello*, MHG. *geselle* “Geselle”, i.e. “jemand, der im gleichen Saal wohnt”, from Gmc. **sali-/*salaz* “Saal” (EWD 319, 698; L 293–94);

Rom.: Prov. *gazalha* “Gesellschaft”, and derivatives: Prov. *agazalhar* “sich gesellen”, Sp. (*a*)*gasajar* (> Log. *akkazadzare*), Pg. *agasalhar* “freundlich aufnehmen”, OPg. “heiraten”; Sp. *agasajo* “Bewirtung”; Prov. *gazalhan* “Viehpächter” (ML 3697).

36) Goth. **glōba* “gegabelte Stange”; cf. WGmc.: OHG. *klob(o)* m. “Falle, Schlinge, gespaltenes Holz”, Upper Italian G. *glove* “Astgabel” (EWD 329);

Rom.: Nit. *gō(v)a* “Stock zum Obstabpflücken”; Romagn. *čova*, Friaul. *glove* “Gabelung der Äste”, Prov. *glovo* “Holzzange”, Gask. *gleve*, Poitev. *lioube* “Einschnitt in einem abgebrochenen Maste, um ein anderes Stück darauf zu setzen” (ML 3790).

37) Goth. **glōva* “Handschuh”; cf. Eng. *glove*

Rom.: Sp. *lúa*, Pg. *luva* “Hand” (ML 3803).

38) Goth. **goma* “Gaumen”; cf. Gmc.: ON. *gómr*, OEng. *gōma*, OHG. *giumo* & *goumo/guomo* “Gaumen” (EWD 302: IE **g^hāumōn*);

Rom.: SFr. *gomo*, *gomun* “Kropf” (ML 3818 e).

39) Goth. **grīsi* “grau”; cf. Gmc.: OSax., MLG. *grīs*, OHG. *grīs-* “grau”, MHG. *grīse* “alter Mann” (EWD 337);

Rom.: Fr., Prov., Kat. *gris* “grau” > It. *grigio*, Engad. *grīš*, Sp., Port. *gris* (ML 3873).

40) Goth. **grima* “zornig” (a), **grimmīþa* “Grimm” (b); cf. NWGmc. **gremma-* “grimmig” > ON. *grimmr*, OEng. *grim*, OFris. *grimm*, OSax. *grim*, OHG. *grim(mi)* (EWD 338);

Rom.: (a) Prov. *grima* “Betäubnis”, Kat., Sp. *grima* “Grausen, Schaudern”, Sp., Pg. *grimazo* “Verzerrung”; (b) Lomb. *grinta* “unfreundliches Gesicht”, Bologn., Parm. *grenta* “Schnauze”, *grinta* “Grimm” (ML 3867, 3869).

41) Goth. **hagja* “Wärter”; cf. WGmc. **hagjō(n)* f. “Hecke, Umzäunung” > OEng. *hecg*, MDutch *hegge*, OHG. *hegga* (EWD 362);

Rom.: Sp. (> Basque) *ayo* “Hofmeister”, *aya* “Kinderfrau” (> It. *ajo*, *aja*), Pg. *aio*, *aia* (ML 3985: Es ist anzunehmen, dass das gotische Wort im Nominativ als ein Vorbild gedient hat und das *-a* im Maskulinum durch ein *-* ersetzt sein dürfte.).

42) Goth. **haigiro* “Reiher”; cf. NWGmc.: ON. *hegri* “Reiher”, OEng. *higera*, *higora* “Häher”, MLG. *he(i)ger*, *hegger*, OHG. *hehara*, *hēra*, MHG. *heher* “Häher” (EWD 348);

Rom.: It. *a(gh)irone*, Fr. *héron* > Sp. *airón* & Pg. *airão*, SFr. *aigrú*, Kat. *agró*; with the suffixal extension Pis. *aghella*, Sic. *aretta*, Prov. *aigreta* “Silberreiherr” > Fr. *aigrette* (ML 3991).

43) Goth. **haribergo* “Herberge”; cf. WGmc.: OFris. *hereberge*, OSax., OHG. *heriberga*, consists of the predecessors of the G. words *Heer* & *bergen* (EWD 370);

Rom.: It. *albergo* (> OEngad. *arviert* “Wohnung, Behausung”), Prov. *auberc*, *auberga* (> Fr. *auberge*, Kat. *alberc.*, Mallorca *auberga* “Abort”, Sp. *albergo*, Sp., Pg. *albergue*), Arcev. *aribergo*, Cors. *olubargu* “Schaffstall”, while OFr. *herberge*, *herberc*, Fr. *hérberge*, Lütt. *habier* “ländlicher Besitz” reflect Franc. **heriberga* with umlaut (ML 4045).

44) Goth. **haspa* “Garnwinde”; NGmc. **haspjōn-* > ON. *hespa*, WGmc. **haspō(n)* > MDutch., MLG. *haspe* “Haspe”, the derivative in OHG. *haspil* “Haspel” < **haspilō* with the instrumental suffix **-ilō?* (EWD 359);

Rom.: It. *aspo*, Ladino *dašp*; Friaul. *daspe*, Sp., Pg. *aspa* “Flügel, Winde”; derivatives: It. *annaspere* “haspeln”, OSp. *enaspar*, Valenc. *naspar*, It. *naspo*, Astur., Valenc. *naspa* > Log. *naspa* (ML 4069).

45) Goth. *hilms* “helmet”; cf. NWGmc. **helma-* m. > ON. *hjalmr*, OEng., OFris., OSax., OHG. *helm* “helmet” (L 183; EWD 369);

Rom.: It., Sp., Pg. *elmo* “Helm” (ML 4130).

46) Goth. **hrings* “ring”, known only from Crimean Goth. *rinck* “annulus” (L 285); cf. NWGmc. **hrenga-* > ON. *hringr*, OEng., OFris., OSax. *hring*, OHG. (*h*)*ring* “ring” (EWD 687).

Rom.: Frz. *rang*, Prov., Kat. *renc* “Reihe”; derivatives: Fr. *renguiller* “arbeiten”, Vallon. *regyó* “Furche” (ML 4209).

47) Goth. **hvetjan* “stossen”, attested with another vocalisation: in gen. sg. *hvotos*

“threat” from **hvota*, *ga-hvotja* “to threaten”; cf. Gmc.: ON. *hót* n. pl. “threat”, *hóta*, *hæta* “to threaten”, *hvata* “to urge on”, OSax. *for-hwātan*, OHG. *hwāzan* “to curse” (L 201);

Rom.: OKat. *guitza* “Fußtritt”, Sp. *enguizgar* “antreiben”, further OKat. *reguitzar* “ausschlagen”. (ML, 1935, 4248 a: Für das gotische *-tj-* wird in diesem Falle eine andere Entwicklung vorausgesetzt, als für lateinische *-tj-* und *-cj-*).

48) Goth. *kausjan* “to experience”, *ga-kausjan* “to test”, *kiusan* id.; cf. Gmc. **keusanan* > ON. *kjósa*, OEng. *cēosan*, OFris. *kiāsa*, OSax., OHG. *kiosan* “to choose, test”, **kusī-* > OEng. *cyre*, OHG. *kurī* “selection” (L 219);

Rom.: OFr. *choisir* “blicken, unterscheiden” (> OIt. *ciausire*), Fr. *choisir* “wählen”, Prov. *causir* “blicken” (> OSp. *cosir*, OPg. *cousir*), *causimen* “Wahl, Nachsicht” (> OSp. *cosimente* “Gunst”), OGalic. *cousimento*; derivatives: Fr. *choix* “Wahl”; with prefix *ex-*: Prov. *escausir* “blicken” > Abergam. *askusir*, Romagn. *zguzé* (ML 4685).

49) Goth. **kramjan* “drücken”, cf. Gmc.: ON. *kremija*

Rom.: It. *ghermire* “packen”, while *gremire* “füllen” represents a loan from Langobardic **krammjan* “vollstopfen”, cf. OEng. *crammian* (ML 4752 a, b).

50) Goth. **krampa* “Eisenhaken”; cf. WGmc.: OSax. *krampo*, OHG. *krampf(o)* “Haken”, from NWGmc. **krampa-* “gekrümmt”, **krimpa-* “zusammenkrampfen” (EWD 482);

Rom.: It. (*g*)*rapma* “Klaue”, Sp. *grampa* “Krämpfe”, Pg. *grampa* “Haken”, *grampo* “Klammer”; derivative: Piver. *grampá* “packen” (ML 4754).

51) Goth. **kundjan* “das Geschlecht fortpflanzen”;

Rom.: Kat., Sp. *cundir* “sich vermehren, sich ausbreiten” (ML 4792).

52) Goth. *laigon* in *bi-laigon* “to lick”; cf. WGmc. **likk-ō-* > OSax. *likkon*, OHG. *leckōn*, *lec(h)ōn* “lecken”, and **likk-ja-* > OEng. *liccian* id., where **-kk-* can be of expressive origin or it reflexes the older cluster **-gn-* according to Lex Kluge (EWD 509; L 70);

Rom.: Derivatives: Prov. *lagot* “Schmeichelei”, Sp. *lagotear* “schmeicheln” (ML 4857).

53) Goth. *laistjan* “to follow”, besides *laists* “tack, trace”; cf. Gmc.: ON. *leistr* “stocking-foot, sock”, OEng. *lāest*, *lāst* “sole, track of foot”, OHG. *leist* “trace”, and the verbs in OEng. *lāestan* “to follow, carry out, last”, OFris. *lāsta*, *lēsta* “to fulfill”, OSax. *lēstian* “to pursue, carry out”, OHG. *leisten* “to follow, carry out, perform” (L 226);

Rom.: Sp., Pg. *lastar* “bezahlen” (M 4858).

54) Goth. **laska* “Fetzen, Lappen”; cf. WGmc.: MDutch *lassce*, *lasch*, MLG. *las(che)*, MHG. *lasche* “Lappen, Fetzen, Lasche”, from NWGmc. **lak^w-sk-a-*

> **lask^wa-* > ON. *lōskr*, *laskr* “schlaff”, MDutch, MLG. *lasch* > G. *lasch*, all from the verb **lesk^w-a-* “erlöschen” (EWD 503; Seebold also mentions Fr. *lâche* “schlaff, feige”).

Rom.: Sp. *lasca* “Platte, flacher Stein”, Pg. *lasca* “Splitter” (ML 4919).

55) Goth. **laubjo* “Laube”; WGmc. **laubjōn* “Laubwerk”, originally “Schutzdach aus Laub” > MDutch *loive*, *loyfe(n)*, MLG. *love(ne)*, OHG. *louba*, all from Gmc. **lauba-* “Laub” > Goth. *laufs* m., *lauf* n. “leaf”, ON. *lauf*, OEng. *lēaf*, OFr. *lāf*, OSax. *lōf*, OHG. *loub* “foliage, leaf” (EWD 505; L 227–28);

Rom.: Lomb., Piem. *lobia*, It. *lubbione*, Engad. *lobğa*, Fr. *loge* (> It. *loggia*, Prov. *lotja*, Kat. *llojja*, Sp. *lonja*, Pg. *loja*), Prov. *laupia*, Vionn. *lubyo*, Galic. *lobios* “Weinlaube”, Nb. *luye* “Galerie an den alten Holzhäusern”; derivatives: Fr. *loger* “wohnen”, *logis* “Wohnung” (ML 4936; Schmidt 1980, 54).

56) Goth. *laus* “free from, empty”, also in *andi-laus* “endless” and with the **eu-* diphthong *fra-liusan* “to lose”; cf. Gmc. ON. *lauss*, OE. *lēas*, OFris. *lās*, OSax., OHG. *lōs* “free, empty of, -less” (L 229);

Rom.: Béarn. *laus* “leer” (ML 4945).

57) Goth. *lists* “cunning”, *listeigs* “crafty”; cf. Gmc. **listi-* > ON., OEng., OFris., OSax., OHG. *list* “skill, cleverness, cunning” (L 234; EWD, 522);

Rom.: It. *lesto* “geschickt, flink” (> Log. *lest(r)u*, Fr. *leste*), Sp. *listo* “emsig”, Pg. *lesto*; derivatives: It. *allestire* “fertig machen”, Bitt. *illirtire* “gebären” (ML 5083).

58) Goth. **lona* “Lache”; cf. Gmc.: ON. *lón*;

Rom.: Lyon., Marseill. *lona* “toter Arm in der Rhône” (ML 5114).

59) Goth. *malwjan* in *ga-malwjan* “to grind up, crush”; cf. Gmc.: ON. *mōlva* “to crush”, OHG. *mol(a)wēn* “to waste away”; the same *w-* extension appears in ON. *mjōl*, gen. pl. *mjōlva*, OEng. *melu*, gen. *melwes*, OFris. *mele*, OSax. *molo*, OHG. *melo*, gen. *melawes* flour, meal”, *mel(i)wa* “mite”, G. *Mehl* < **melwa-* (L 144; EWD, 550);

Rom.: Emil. *smalvir* “zerknittern” (ML 5275 a).

60) Goth. *manna* “person, man”, *ga-man* “partner, fellowship”, *mana-seps* “world, mankind”, lit. “seed of man”, *mana-maurþrja* “murderer”, *un-mana-riggws* “wild, cruel”; cf. Gmc.: ON. *maðr*, *mannr*, OEng., OFris., OSax. *mann*, OHG. *man(n)* “man, person”, and their derivatives or compounds, e.g. ON. *man(n)-æli* “cripple, bungler”, OHG. *mano-houbit* “bondsman”, *mana-heit* “mankind”, MHG. *unman* “evildoer”, OEng. *unmann* “evil man, demon” (L 244, 277);

Rom.: Béarn. *mane*, besides Basque *mana* “unfruchtbar (von Frauen und Tieren)”; derivatives: Pg. *maninho* “brach” (ML 5307 a). In spite of the different semantics the etymology is acceptable, regarding the wide spectrum of derivatives and compounds with a rich semantic dispersion in the Germanic languages.

61) Goth. *manwjan* “to prepare”, *manwus* “ready, at hand”; related are probably NWGmc. designations of “hand”: ON. *mund* “hand”, *mundr* “dowry”, OEng. *mund* “hand”, *mundian* “to protect”, OFris., OSax. *mund*, OHG. *munt* “hand, protection” etc. (L 245);

Rom.: It. *ammannare* “zubereiten, vorbereiten”, Ferr. *manvar* “herrichten”, OFr. *amenevir*, Prov. *amanoir* (> Log. *maunire*), *amanavir*, (*a*)*marvir*, Kat. *amanir*, Sp. *manir* “zubereiten, würzen”; derivatives Prov. *marves* “unverzüglich”, SFr. *amarví* “eifrig, fleißig” (ML 5341).

62) Goth. *maþl* “assembly, marketplace”, *maþleins* “speech, dialect”, *faura-maþleis* “chief, governor, ruler”, *maþljan* “to talk, hold formal discussions”, Crimean Gothic *ich malthada* “ego dico”, better **maþlida* “dixi”; Gmc.: ON. *mál* “speech”, OEng. *mæpel* “advice, advisory body, speech”, OSax. *mathal* “law-court, assembly”, OHG. *mahal*, *māl* “law-court” (L 248)

Rom.: OPg. *malado* “Knecht im Vertragsverhältnis”, while Fr. *mal* in *mal public* “öffentliche Gerichtsverhandlung” was borrowed through MLat. *mallus* “law-court, summons”, *mallāre* “to sue, take to court”, known from *Lex Salica* (ML 5268 a, 5411 a; L 248).

63) Got. **maþwa* “Wiese”; cf. WGmc. **madwō* > OSax. *matte*, Dutch. (*vloer*) *mat*, MHG. *matte* “Bergwiese, Matte”, OHG. *matoscreg(h)* “Heuschrecke”, besides the forms with the long vowel: OEng. *mæd*, *mædwe* “meadow”, OFris. *mēde* (EWD, 546);

Rom.: Pg. *mouta*, *moita* “kleines, dichtes Gebüsch” (ML 5435).

64) Goth. **mauko* “Bauch”; Gmc.: Dutch *moocke*;

Rom.: Prov. *mauca*, Kat. *moca* “Gedärm, Geschlinge”, Fr. also “ein Fisch (Phoxinus laevis)”; derivatives: Kat. *mocada*, Id. *mocader* “Wurstmacher” (ML 5436).

65) Goth./Burg. **milti* “Milz” → **miltja*; cf. NWGmc. **meltja*- n. “Milz, Milch der Fische” > ON. *milti* n./m., *milta* n., *mjalti* m., OEng. *milte* m., OFris. *milte*, MDutch, MLG. *milte*, OHG. *milz(i)*, *milza* “Milz” (EWD 560);

Rom.: Jur. *amers*, Prov. *meusa*, Kat., Arag. *melsa* (> Sic. *meusa*), Gir. *meusa* “Rückenmark”; besides It. *milza*, Tosk. *minza*, Gen., Nizz. *minsa*, Lomb. *nilsa*; Lothr., Fr.comt. *mis*, Vallon. *nis*; Venez. *zmitlsa*, Obwald. *šnielutse*, Friaul. *znilse* “Milz” (ML 5579). At least the forms from South France and Iberian Peninsula cannot be derived from OHG.

66) Got. **nastilō* “Schnur, Nestel”; cf. WGmc.: OSax. *nestila* f. “Band”, OHG. *nestila* “Nestel, Schuhband”, with ablaut OEng. *nos(t)le* “Band”, OFris. *nēstla* id.; without the *l*-extension OHG. *nast-eid* “Eid, den die Frau auf ihren Zopf schwört” (Lex Alam.), ON. *nist(i)* n. “Schnalle, Brosche”, OGutn. *nast* “Nestel”, cf. also Gmc. loan in Finnish *nasta* “Stift, Zwecke” (EWD 586);

Rom.: It. *nastro* (> Rum. *nastur*), Veltl. *nástola*, Pav. *nástol*, OFr. *nasle* (> Prov.

nala) “Nestel, Band”, Vallon. *nal*; derivatives: OFr. *nasliere* “Schnürband, Nestel” (ML 5840).

67) Goth. *rikan* “to heap up”, caus. *uf-rakjan* “to reach out, extend”; cf. Gmc: MEng. *reken*, OFris. *reka*, MLG. *reken*, MHG. *rechen* “to stoke (rake) a fire”, further ON., OSax. *reka* f., MLG. *reke*, OHG. *rehho* m. “rake”, besides OEng. *recan* “to go, move, bring” etc. (L 284; EWD 671–72); Rom.: It. *recare* “darbringen” (ML 7316).

68) Goth. **rukka* “Spinnrocken”; ON. *rokkr*, MDutch, MLG. *rock(en)*, OHG. *roc(ko)* “Spinnstab, Rocken” (EWD 690: Gmc. < Rom. **rotica*, from Lat. *rotāre* “drehen, schwinden”); Rom.: It. *roca*, Obwald., Nonsb. *ruka*, Engad., Puschl. *roká*, Siz. *rokka*, Pg. *roca*; cf. also Basque *arroka*; derivatives: It. *rocchetto* “Spule, Spindel” > Fr. *rochet* (ML 7433).

69) Goth. **sagio* “Steuereintreiber”; cf. NWGmc. **sagja-* > ON. *seggr* “Mann, Krieger”, OEng. *secg* id. (Falk-Torp 1909, 424: Gmc. **sehw-a-* “sehen”) Rom.: OKat. *saig*, Sp. *sayón*, Pg. *saião* “Scharfrichter” (ML 7507).

70) Goth. **sahrja* “Korb”; Gmc.: OHG. *sahar* “Binse”; Rom.: Sp. *sera* “Kohlenkorb”, Pg. *seira* “Feigenkorb” (ML 7518).

71) Got. **sala*, attested in *saljan* “to stay, be a guest of”, *salipwos* pl. “inn, dwelling”; cf. NWGmc.: OHG. *sal* “building, room”, Langob. *sala* “court, house”, further OEng. *sæl* n., *sele* m., *salor*, ON. *salr* “building” (L 293–94); Rom.: Fr. *salle*, Prov. (> It., Sp., Pg.) *sala* “der Hauptraum in der Burg, im städtischen Wohnhaus”, while It. *sala* “Haus” is more probably of Langobardic origin (ML 7522).

72) Goth. **skafils* “Scheffel”; cf. WGmc.: OSax. *skepil*, OHG. *skeffil* “Hohlmaß”, arch. “Scheffel”, originally dim. from **skap-* “Schaff”, i.e. “Gefäß” (EWD 715, 709); Rom.: OIt. *scafilo* (ML 7966).

73) Goth. **skafts* “Schaft” (cf. Isidore of Sevilla 18, 8.3: *scaptus*); cf. NWGmc. **skafta-* “Schaft, Stange, Speer, Pfeil” > ON. *skapt* n., OEng. *sceaft*, OFris. *skeft*, OSax. *skaft*, OHG. *scaft* (EWD 710; L 148); Rom.: OTrevis. *scat* “Stock”, OBellun. *scatto* “Pfeil”, Grödn. *škat* “Federkiel”, Bellun. *skats* “Flaumfedern”; derivatives: OTrevis. *scatoná* “verwundet”, Friaul. *skaton* “Flaumfedern der Vögel”, Venez. *skataron* “Strunk” (ML 7968).

74) Goth. *skalja* “tile”, originally perhaps “Schuppe”, only acc. pl. *skaljos*; the other Gmc. relatives are too far in semantics: ON. *skel*, OEng. *sciell*, *scyll* “shell,

mussel”, *scealu* “shell, hull”, MLG. *schelle* “shell, scale”, OHG. *scala* “shell, hull” < WGmc. **skalō(n)* (L 308; EWD 710);

Rom.: It. *scaglia*, Engad. *skal'a*, Fr. *écaille*; Mirand. *skaya* “Feuerstein”, lütt. *hay* “Schiefer”, (ML 7971).

75) Goth. **skankja* “Schenk”; cf. Franc. *scanco* (*Lex Salica*; from here Fr. *échan-son*), further OEng. *scencan*, OFris. *skenka* and OSax. *skenkian*, OHG. *skenzen* “schenken” (EWD 717);

Rom.: Sp. *escanciano*, Pg. *escanção* “den Wein einschenken” (ML 7973).

76) Got. **skarja* “Hauptmann”; cf. OHG. *scario*, *scerio* “Scharmeister, Hauptmann”, G. arch. *Scherge* “Gerichtsperson, Henker”, from NWGmc. **skarō* f. > ON. *skǫr* “Trupp”, OHG. *scar(a)* “Heeresteil, Menge”, MDutch *sc(h)are* (EWD 718);

Rom.: Prov. *escara* “Hauptmann” > It. *scherano*, while It. *sgherro* id. should be borrowed from OHG. (ML 7980).

77) Got. *skatts* “money”; cf. Gmc.: ON. *skattr* “tax”, OEng. *sceatt* “tax, money, small coin, wealth”, OFris. *sket* “money, cattle”, OSax. *skatt* “piece of money, wealth, cattle”, OHG. *skaz* “denarius, (piece of) money, wealth”, G. *Schatz* (L 309; EWD 713);

Rom.: Prov. *escat* (ML, 1935, 7985).

78) Goth. dat. sg. *skauta* “edge, hem”; cf. Gmc.: ON. *skaut*, OEng. *scēat* “edge, tip”, OFris. *skāt*, MLG. *schōt*, OHG. *scōz* “coattail, skirt”, besides OEng. *scēata*, MLG. *schōte*, OHG. *scōzo* “hem of dress, edge, skirt” (L 311; EWD 741);

Rom.: Sp. *escote* “runder Ausschnitt am Kleide”; derivatives: Kat. *escotar* “einen Baum an der Erde abschneiden, damit er besser wächst”, Sp. *escotar* “ausschneiden”, Kat., Sp. *acotar*, Gask. *akutá* “einem Baume Äste abschneiden, damit er neue Schösslinge treibt” (ML 7986).

79) Goth. **skilla* “Schelle, Glocke”; cf. Gmc.: OHG. *skella* “Schelle”, from the verb in OHG. *skellan* “schallen, klingen”, OEng. *scillan*, ON. *skjalla* (EWD 716).

Rom.: OMail., Puschl., Engad. *skella*, OFr. *eschele*, Prov. *esquilla*, *esquilla* (> Sp. *esquila*, It. *squilla*), Kat. *esquilla* (> Log. *iskil'a*); cf. Basque *eskila* “Schelle, Glocke”; derivatives: Galic. *eskilón* “kleine Glocke” (ML 7992).

80) Goth. **skrapa* “Stütze”; cf. Gmc.: EFr. *schrapp*, MHG. *schroffe* “schneider Stein”, from the verb in OHG. *giscrevōn* “einschneiden” (EWD 743);

Rom.: It. *scarpa* “Böschung” > Fr. *escarpe*, Kat., Sp., Pg. *escarpa* (ML 8009 a).

81) Goth. *slahan* “to strike”, *af-slahan* “to kill, cut off”, *slahs* “blow”; Gmc.: ORunic *slaginaz* “struck down, killed”, ON. *slá*, OEng. *slēan*, OFris. *slā*, OSax.,

OHG. *slahan* “to strike” and ON. *slag* “blow”, OSax. *slegi* “murder”, OHG. *slago*, *slaho* “murderer” (L 314; EWD 723);
Rom.: OFr. *esclou*, Prov. *esclau* “Spur” (ML 8018).

82) Goth. **smaltjan* “verdauen”;
Rom.: It. *smaltire* “verdauen” (ML 8039).

83) Goth. *sparra* “Sparren”; cf. NWGmc. **spar(r)ōn* m. “Sparren, Balken” > ON. *spar(r)i*, OSax., OHG. *sparro* “Sparen” (EWD 774);
Rom.: OFr. *esparre*, Fr. *éparre* (till the 17th cent. written as *épart*), Prov. *esparra*; Obwald. *sparun* “Pfahl”, Verzasca (Lombardia) *sparon* “gegabelter Rebstock”, Montbél. *eporō*, Prov. *esparron*; NB. *eparō* “Weinpfahl”, while Lothr. *špar* should be borrowed from OHG. (ML 8121).

84) Goth. *sparwa* “sparrow”; Gmc. **sparwa-/ōn* > ON. *sporr*, OEng. *spearwa*, MHG. *sparwe*, OHG. *sparo* “sparrow” (L 318–19; EWD 777)
Rom.: Sp. *esparaván* “Nachtrabe, Schildreiher”, OIt. *spar(a)guano*, *spagano*, *sparavagno*, *sparaguenio*, *sparaguagnolo*, *sparaguagno*, OFr. *espa(r)vain* (> It. *spavenio*), Fr. *éparvin*, Vallon. *spavé*, Kat. *esparverenc*, valenc. *esparvall*, Sp. *esparaván*, Pg. *esparavão* “Spat” (ML 8125).
Such forms as OFr. *esprevier*, Fr. *épervier*, Prov. *esparvier* (> It. *sparaviere*, Sic. *spruveri*, *spriveri*, Engad. *spler*), Kat. *esparver* (> OSp. *esparvel*) “Sperber”; Grödn. *špurvel* “habgieriger Mensch”; Fr. *épervier* “Wurfgarn”, Kat. *esparver*, Sp., Pg. *esparavel* “Stoßgarn zum Sperberfang” and derivatives in Béarn. *esparbulat* “aufgeschreckt” (von Vögeln), Kat. *esparverar* “in Schrecken setzen”, represent a borrowing from an unattested Gothic compound **sparwareis* “sparrow-hawk, Sperber” (ML 8126), cf. OHG. *sparwāri*, MLG. *sparwer*, MDutch *sperware* “Sperber”, besides analogous compounds in OHG. *mūs-aro* or OEng. *spear-hafoc* “Sperlingshabicht” (EWD 777).

85) Goth. **spaura* “Sporn”; cf. NWGmc. **spurōn* > ON. *spori*, OEng. *spora*, *spura*, MDutch, MLG. *spore*, OHG. *spor(o)* “Sporn” (EWD 782);
Rom.: Sp. *espuera*, *espuela*, *esporón*, *espolón*, Pg. *espora*, *esporão* “Sporn” (ML 8130 a).

86) Goth. **speha* “Späher”; cf. Gmc.: OHG. *spehōn*, *spiohōn*, MLG. *speen* “spähen”, besides ON. *spá* “wahrsagen” (EWD 773)
Rom.: It. *spia*, *spione* (> Fr. *espion*), OFr. *espie*, Prov., Kat. (> Sp., Pg.) *espia* (ML 8136), while It. *spiare*, Fr. *épier*, Prov., Kat. (> Sp., Pg.) *espiar* “spähen” represent an adaptation of the Gmc. (OHG.?) verb **spehōn* (ML 8137).

87) Goth. **spiuts* “Spieß”; cf. Gmc. **speuta-* > ON. *spjót*, OLFranc. *spiet*, OHG. *spioz* “Jagdspiess” (EWD 779);
Rom.: Neap. *spitē*, Röm. *speto*, Bergam. *spet*, *spit*, OVenez. *speuto*, Venez. *spe(d)*

o “Bratspieß”, Log. *ispidu*, LEngad. *spait* “Nadel”, Sp., Pg. *espeto* “Spieß”, while OFr. *espieu*, *espriet* (> It. *spiedo*, Sp. *espiedo*), Fr. *épieu*, Prov. *espeut* LEngad. *spi-out* “Holzpflock”, reflect an adaptation of the Franc. **speut-* (ML 8163).

88) Goth. **stakka* “Pfahl”, attested only as acc. pl. *stakins* “mark”; cf. Gmc.: ON. -*staki*, OEng. *staca*, OFris. *staka* “pole”, OHG. *stehho* id., *stache* dat. “young deer, stag in first head” (L 322);

Rom.: OFr. *estache*, MFr. *attache*, Lütt. *steč* “Rebpfahl”, Schöneb. *hteč* “hölzerner Pfeiler in der Scheune”, Prov., Kat., Sp., Pg. *estaca* “Pflock” (ML 8218).

89) Got. **stikils* “Stachel”, attested is only *stikls* “beaker, chalice”, but the cognates in other Gmc. languages confirm the original meaning: ON. *stikill* “tip” (esp. of a drinking horn), OEng. *sticel*, OHG. *stichil* “point, tip” (L 325);

Rom.: It. *steccolo* “spitzes Holzstäbchen” (ML, 1935, 8255).

90) Goth. **stikka* “Stecken”, attested is only the form without gemination: *stika melis* “in a moment”, i.e. dat. sg. from unattested **stiks*; Gmc.: ON. *stikka*, OEng. *sticca*, MLG. *sticke(n)*, OHG. *stecko*, *stehho* “Stecken”, where *-*kk-* reflects older *-*kn-* in the zero-grade (EWD 790);

Rom.: It. *stecca* “Span, Holzscheit”, *stecco* “Dorn, trockener Zweig”, Mail. *stek* “Schienbein”, *steccone* “Zaunpfahl, Gehege” (ML 8256).

91) Goth. **stingils* “Stengel”; cf. WGmc.: OEng. *stengil*, OHG. *stengil*, *stingil* “Stengel”, dim. from NWGmc. **stangō* f. “Stange” > ON. *stǫng*, OSax. *stanga*, OHG. *stanga* (EWD 793, 787)

Rom.: Rum. *stinghe* “dünne Stange” (ML 8261 a).

92) Goth. **strappan* “straffen”; Gmc.: G. *straffen* (EWD 800);

Rom.: It. *strappare* “herausreißen” (ML 8290 b).

93) Goth. **straupon* “streifen”; Gmc.: OHG. *stroufen* “streifen” (EWD 801);

Rom.: It. *stropicciare* “abreiben” (ML 8294).

94) Goth. **sturiliggs* “junger Krieger”; cf. MDutch *stuur*, MLG. *stūr* “störig, grimmig” (EWD 805);

Rom.: Prov. *esturlenc* “Krieger” (ML 8335).

95) Goth. **stupian* “an einen Stock anbinden”; ON. *stoð* “Stab, Stütze”, OEng. *studu* “Pfosten”, further OHG. (gi)*studen* “errichten”, ON. *styðja* “feststellen, stützen” (EWD 806);

Rom.: (with a prefix) Sp. *atudir* “anbinden” (ML 8339 a).

96) Goth. **taheins*, attested with the prefix *dis-taheins* “dispersion”, *dis-tahjan* “to scatter, disperse”, from the verb *tahjan* “to tear apart”, cf. Gmc.: Ic. *tæja* “to

card, comb (wool)”, Nor. dial. *tæja* “to fray”, besides ON. *tág* “fiber”, MHG. *zāch*, *zāhe* “to wick” (L 338).

Rom.: Prov. *taïna* “Zögern, Aufschub, Sorge, Klage”, *tainar* “verzögern”, *atainar* “verzögern, beunruhigen” > OFr. *atainer* “reizen, kränken” (ML 8529 a).

97) Goth. **tahu* “zäh”; WGmc. **tanhu-* > **tāhu-* > OEng. *tōh*, MLG. *tē(ge)*, MDutch *taey*, OHG. *zāh* “zäh”, besides OSax. *bitengi* “drückend”, OEng. *getenge* “nahe befindlich, verwandt” (EWD 902);

Rom.: derivatives: It. *taccagno* (> Friul. *takañ*, Kat. *tacany*, Sp. *tacaño*, Pg. *talmanho*, Fr. *taquin*) “knickerig, geizig”, Castell. *takañús* “klebrig”; It. *taccagnare*, Emil. *takañar*, Piem. *takiné*, Fr. *taquiner* “um Kleinigkeiten zanken”, Obwald. *takunar*, *tukanar*, *stakanar*, *stangunar* “sticheln, necken” (ML 8531).

98) Goth. **taikka* “Zeichen”, attested only *taikn* “token”; Gmc. **taikna-* > ON. *teikn*, OEng. *tācn-*, OFris. *tēken*, OSax. *tēkan*, OHG. *zeihhan* “Zeichen, Erscheinung” (EWD 905; L 340), while the expected form **taikka-* can be reflected as an early Gmc. loan in Finnish *taika* “divination, portent”;

Rom.: It. *tacca* “Fleck, Fehler, Beschaffenheit”, Log. *takka* “Kerbe, Fleck”, Friul. *tak'e*, Fr. *tache* “Fleck” (> Sp., Pg. *tacha* “Nagel”), Sp. *tachuela* “kleiner Nagel”, Pg. *tachão* “grosser Nagel”, Minh. *tachola*, Port. *chatola* “Schuhnagel”), Prov., Kat. *taca*, It. *taccone* “Fleck, Flicker, Schuhflecken”, Sp. *tacón*, Pg. *tacão*, Prov. *tacó*, Kat. *tacó* “Absatz” (ML 8534).

99) Goth. *tairan* in *dis-tairan* “to tear apart”, *ga-tairan* “to tear down, remove”; cf. WGmc.: OEng. *teran*, OFris. *tera*, OSax. *terian*, OHG. *zeran* “to tear apart” (L 91);

Rom.: It., Log. *tirare*, Engad. *tirer*, Friaul. *tirá* “zerren, ziehen”, Fr. *tirer*, Prov., Kat., Sp., Pg. *tirar* – in Fr. “melken”, in Sp. “ähnlich sein” (ML 8755).

100) Goth. *tappa* “Spund, Zapfen”; cf. WGmc. **tappōn* > OEng. *tæppa*, MDutch, MLG. *tappe*, OHG. *zapfo* “Zapfen” (EWD 903);

Rom.: Rum. *tapă* “Spund”, Kat., Sp. *tapa*, Pg. *tampa* “Deckel, Klappe”; derivatives: Kat., Sp., Pg. *tapar* “verstopfen, zudecken”, Pg. *tapadura* “Einfriedigung”, Baros. *atupir* “das Feuer mit Erde oder Steinen ersticken” (ML 8565).

101) Goth. **taturō* “Haarzotte”;

Rom.: OIt. *tattera* “Lappalie, Kleinigkeit”, in Emil. “Trödel”, Valsass. *táto* “Flocke, Schafwolle”, while It. *zazzera* “herabwallendes Haupthaar, Mähne”, LEngad. *zaza* “Schopf”, Grödn. *tsásara* “Perücke”, Romagn. *tsisarera* “Mähne” reflect a loan from Langob. **zazera* (ML 8598).

102) Goth. *taujan* “to do, make”, *ga-taujan* “to do, bring about, accomplish”; Gmc. **tawijan* > ORun. 1sg. pret. *tawido*, 3sg. pret. *tawide*, OEng. *tawian*, Eng. *taw* “to prepare, dress (skins)”, MDutch *touwen* “to prepare, dress (skins)”, OSax.

tōgian “machen”, OHG. *zawjan, zowjan*, MHG. *zouwen, zōuwen* “to hasten”, G. *zauen* “vonstatten gehen”; and numerous derivatives: ON. pl. *gōtvar*, OEng. *getawu*, OHG. *gizawa*, G. *Gezäh(e)* “tool(s), instrument(s)”, further OEng. *tow-cræft* “spinning”, *tow-līc* “pertaining to weaving”, OHG. *zāwa* “dyeing” (L 342; EWD 904);

Rom.: OKat., Sp., Pg. *ataviar* “schmücken” (ML 8601)

103) Goth. **paksus*; NWGmc. **pahsu-* > Nor. *svintoks* “Schweindachs”, OSax. *Thahs-* in place names, MDutch. *das*, MLG. *das(se)*, OHG. *dahs* “Dachs” (EWD 159: Lat. *taxus* < Gmc.);

Rom.: Sp. *tasujo*, Pg. *teixugo*, perhaps also It. *tasso*, Prov. *tais* “Dachs”, if Late Latin *taxo* (4th cent. AD) is of Gothic origin too (ML 8606).

104) Goth. **bihian* “gedeihen”, attested as *beihan* “to thrive, succeed, cooperate”, *ga-beihan* “to surpass”; Gmc.: OEng. *þēon* : *þāh* : *þigen* ~ *þungon*, OFris. *thigia*, OSax. *thīhan*, pret. *thigun*, OHG. *dīhan*, pret. sg. *dēh*, pl. *digun* “to thrive”, cf. G. *gedeihen* (L 359; EWD 304);

Rom.: It. *attecchire*, OFr. *tehir* “wachsen”; derivatives: Vallon. *tahã* “zweites und drittes Mondviertel”, Lucc. *teghio*, Aret. *tecchio* “Merkzeichen” (ML 8707, 8761).

105) Goth. *þreihan* “to press, throng, crush, pass”, *ga-þreihan* “to distress, trouble” < **þrenh-a-* (L 365), besides **þreng-a-* attested in other Gmc. languages: ON. *þryngva, þryngja*, OEng. *þringan* “dringen, drängen”, OFris. *ur-thringa* “verdrängen”, OSax. *thringan*, OHG. *dringan* “dringen” (EWD 194);

Rom.: OPg. *trigar* “antreiben”; derivatives: OPg. *trigança*, Pg. *triga* “Eile” (ML 8713).

106) Goth. **þrimman* “hin und her laufen”, the root is attested only in *þramstei* “grasshopper”; Gmc. **þremm-a-* > ON. *þramma* “to tramp, walk heavily”, OSax. *thrimman* “to swell”, MLG. *drammen* “to make a noise”, *dram* “noise, turmoil” (L 364);

Rom.: Fr. *trimer*, SFr. *trimá* “hin und her gehen”, Pik. *trimé* “eifrig gehen”, Vallon., Rouch., Berrich. *trimé* “sich abmüden”, Prov. *trimar* “davon laufen” (ML 8714 a).

107) Goth. **traufa* “Traufe”; cf. WGmc.: OHG. *trouf m./n.* “Traufe”, from *triofan* “triefen”, OSax. *driopan*, OFris. *driapa*, OEng. *drēopan*, ON. *drjúpa* < **dreu-p-a-* (EWD 833, 836);

Rom.: Pg. *trofa* “Regenmantel” (ML 8864 a).

108) Goth. *triggwo* “covenant”, *triggws* “trustworthy, faithful”, *triggwaba* “surely, firmly”; cf. Gmc. **trewwa-/i-/ja-* adj. “faithful” > ON. *triggr* “trustworthy, faithful”, OEng. *trēow*, OEFris. *triūwi*, OWFris. *trouwe*, OSax. *triuwi*, OHG. *gi-*

triuwi; **trewwō* f. “faithfulness” > OFris. *trūwe*, *triōwe*, OSax. *treuwa*, OHG. *triuwa* (L 347; EWD 835);

Rom.: OPis. *treugua*, It. *tregua*, Fr. *tréve*, Prov. *tregua*, Kat. *treva*, Sp. *tregua*, Pg. *tregoa* “Waffenstillstand” (ML 8927).

109) Goth. *us-bruknan* “to be broken off”, *ga-bruka* “crumb”, (L 80); cf. WGmc. **bruki-* > OEng. *bryce*, OFris. *breke*, OSax. *bruki*, OHG. *bruh* “Bruch”, from the verb **brek-a-*, attested in Goth. *brikan* “to break, destroy”, OEng. *breccan*, OFris. *breka*, OSax. *brekan*, OHG. *brehhan* “brechen” (EWD 138, 133).

Rom.: SFr. *eigruiná*, *eibrená*, *embriná*, *ebrausiná* “zerbröckeln” (ML 9093 a).

110) Goth. *wadi* “gaurantee”, *wadja-bokos* “bond”, *ga-wadjon* “to promise”; cf. Gmc. **wadja-* n. “Einsatz” > ON. *veð*, OEng. *wedd*, OFris. *wed*, OSax. *weddi*, OHG. *wetti* “pledge, surety, bail”, G. *Wette* (L 386; EWD 887: semantic development – “Einsatz, Pfand” → Garantie, Ersatz” → “Bezahlung, Vergütung, Busse” → “zum Pfand Setzen, Wette”

Rom.: Fr. *gage* (> OPis. *guaggio*, OIt. *gaggio*), Prov., Kat. *gatge* (> Sp., Pg. *gage*) “Handgeld” (ML 9474). MLat. *vadium* “bail, security” is also probably of Gmc. origin, in contrary to Lat. *vas*, gen. *vadis*, which is a cognate (L 386).

111) Goth. *wahsjan* “to grow”; NWGmc. **wahs-a-* > ON. *vaxa*, *vexa*, OEng. *weaxan*, OFris. *waxa*, OSax., OHG. *wahsan* “to grow” (L 387);

Rom.: SFr. *gueissá* “Schösslinge treiben”, Tortos. *goixar* “Wurzel fassen”, Mallork. *gosár* “Sprossen treiben”, Arag. *gujar* “viele Ähren haben”; derivatives: Kat. *gaixives* “Stachelbeeren” (ML 9477 b).

112) Goth. **waida* “Weide”; cf. WGmc.: OSax. *weiða*, OHG. *weida* “Weide, Grasland” (EWD 881);

Rom.: OFr. *gain* “Herbst, Herbsternte”; derivatives: Rouch. *wenyó* “Grummet”, Fr. *pré guimaud* “Grummetwiese”; further with prefixes Fr. *regain* “Grummet”, OFr. *regaimer*, Morv. *regamé* “wieder treiben” (ML 9481).

113) Goth. **walda* “Wau” (*Reseda luteola*); MEng. *wolde*, MDutch *wouw* > G. *Wau* “Färbepflanze” (EWD 877);

Rom.: It. *gualda*, Fr. *gaude* “Maisbrei”, Sp. *gualda*, *gualdón* “Maisbrei”; derivatives: OIt. *guadarella* “Wau”; Sp., Pg. *gualdo* “gelb”, WFr. *godré* “beschmutzen”, Morv. *godé* “beschlammern” (ML 9490).

114) Goth. *walus* “staff”; cf. Gmc. **walu-* > ON. *vǫlr* “round staff”, OEng. *walu* “wale, stripe after a blow”, OFris. *walu-bera* “pilgrim”, i.e. “staff-bearer”, MLG. *wal* “staff”; also OEng. *wyrt-weala*, OHG. *wurzala* “root” < **wurt-walō* (L 393);

Rom.: Fr. *gaule* “Rute”; derivatives: Norm. *vâlié* “unsicher gehen” (ML 9496).

115) Goth. *wandjan* “to turn”, *af-wandjan* “to turn away”, *at-wandjan* “to return”, *us-wandjan* “to withdraw, deviate”; Gmc. **wand-eja-* > ON. *venda*, OEng. *wendan*, OFris. *wenda*, OSax. *wendian*, OHG. *wenten* “to turn” (L 393, EWD 393). Rom.: OFr., Prov. *gandir* “wenden”; derivatives: OFr. *wandie* “Ausflucht”, Malméd. *wādh* “Laune” (ML 9498).

116) Goth. **wango* “Wange”, attested only in **waggareis* or **waggari* “cushion, pillow”, reconstructed on the basis of dat. sg. *waggarja* – similar formations appear in OEng. *wangere*, OHG. *wangāri* “pillow”; NWGmc. **wangōn* “cheek” > ON. *vangi* m., OEng. *wange* n., OSax. *wanga*, OHG. *wanga* “Wange”, besides ON. *vengi* n. “pillow” (EWD 874; L 386); Rom.: Prov. *ganga* “Kiemen”, Béarn. *gange* “Berggrat” (ML 9499).

117) Goth. **werjands* “gewährleistend”; cf. Fris. *wārjan*, G. *bewähren*, all from WGmc.: **wēra-* “wahr” > OFris. *wēr*, OSax., OHG. *wār* (EWD 871); Rom.: Prov. *guiren* “gewährleisten”, while Fr. *garant* > Prov. *garen*, It. *garante*, Sp., Pg. *garante* reflect Franc. **wārand* (ML 9523).

118) Goth. **wida* “Führer, der einen Fremden geleitet”; perhaps in *kuna-wida* “fetter”, derived from *ga-widan* “to bind”, *ga-wiss* “bond”; WGmc.: OHG. (*gi-*) *wetan* “to bind, yoke” (L 153–54); Rom.: It. *guida* (> Fr. *guide*), OFr. *guie*, Prov. *guiza*, Kat., Sp., Pg. *guía* (> Log. *gia*) “Leiter, Führer”; derivatives: It. *guidare* (> Fr. *guider*), OFr. *guier*, Prov. *guizar*, Kat., Sp., Pg. *guiar* “Leiter” (ML 9528).

119) Goth. **windaugo*; this compound is attested in ON. *windauga* “window”, lit. “wind-eye” and MEng. *windowe* id. (L 48); Rom.: Sp. *ventana* “Fenster” (ML 9212; Meringer, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 16, 126), while Fr. *ventail* can be ascribed to influence of Normans.

120) Goth. **wīsa* “Weise”; NWGmc. **weis-ōn* > ON. *vīs*, OEng. *wīs(e)*, OFris. *wīs*, OSax., OHG. *wīsa* “Weise” (EWD 883); Rom.: It. *guisa*, Fr. *guise*, Prov. *guiza*, Sp. (> Kat.), Pg. *guisa* (ML 9555). The distribution of the Romance forms allows to think about their Gothic origin.

Summary of Gothic forms which are probable sources of borrowings in Romance languages

1) <i>*af-dojan</i> “be troubled”	41) <i>*hagja</i> “Wärter”	81) <i>slahan</i> “to strike”, <i>af-slahan</i> “to kill, cut off”, <i>slahs</i> “blow”
2) <i>*ahsila</i> “Achsel”	42) <i>*haigiro</i> “Reiher”	82) <i>*smaltjan</i> “verdauen”
3) <i>*aiskōn</i> “heischen”	43) <i>*haribergo</i> “Herberge”	83) <i>sparra</i> “Sparren”
4) <i>*aliza</i> “alder”	44) <i>*haspa</i> “Garnwinde”	84) <i>sparwa</i> “sparrow”
5) <i>*alrūn</i> “Alraune”	45) <i>hilms</i> “helmet”	85) <i>*spaura</i> “Sporn”

6) * <i>amaitja</i> “ant”	46) * <i>hrings</i> “ring”, only from CGoth. <i>rinck</i> “annulus”	86) * <i>speha</i> “Späher”
7) * <i>ambrs</i> “Eimer”	47) * <i>hvetjan</i> “stossen”	87) * <i>spiuts</i> “Spieß
8) <i>azgo</i> “ashes”	48) <i>kausjan</i> “to experience”, <i>ga-kausjan</i> “to test”, <i>kusan</i> id.	88) * <i>stakka</i> “Pfahl”, attested only as acc. pl. <i>stakins</i> “mark”
9) <i>ga-bandwjan</i> “give a sign”	49) * <i>kramjan</i> “drücken”	89) * <i>stikils</i> “Stachel”, attested is only <i>stiks</i> “beaker, chalice”, but cognates in other Gmc. languages confirm the original meaning
10) * <i>barsiks</i> “Barsch”	50) * <i>krampa</i> “Eisenhaken”	90) * <i>stikka</i> “Stecken”
11) * <i>bega</i> “streit”	51) * <i>kundjan</i> “das Geschlecht fortpflanzen”	91) * <i>stingils</i> “Stengel”
12) * <i>bisunja</i> “Fürsorge”	52) <i>laigon</i> in <i>bi-laigon</i> “to lick”	92) * <i>strappan</i> “straffen”
13) * <i>blēs-</i> “Fackel, Flamme”	53) <i>laistjan</i> “to follow”, besides <i>laists</i> “tack, trace”	93) * <i>straupon</i> “streifen”
14) * <i>blauts</i> “naked”	54) * <i>laska</i> “Fetzen, Lappen”	94) * <i>sturiliggs</i> “junger Krieger”
15) * <i>brauþ</i> “bread” / CGoth <i>broe</i>	55) * <i>laubjo</i> “Laube”	95) * <i>stupian</i> “an einen Stock anbinden”
16) * <i>brid-</i> “Brett” 16a) * <i>bridila</i> “Brettchen”	56) <i>laus</i> “free from, empty”, also in <i>andi-laus</i> “endless” and with the * <i>eu</i> -diphthong <i>fra-liusan</i> “to lose”	96) * <i>taheins</i> , attested with the prefix <i>dis-taheins</i> “dispersion”, <i>dis-tahjan</i> “to scatter, disperse”, from the verb <i>tahjan</i> “to tear apart”
17) * <i>bristan</i> “bersten”	57) <i>lists</i> “cunning”, <i>listeigs</i> “crafty”	97) * <i>tahu</i> “zäh”
18) * <i>bruts</i> “Knospe”	58) * <i>lōna</i> “Lache”	98) * <i>taikka</i> “Zeichen”, attested is only <i>taikn</i> “token”
19) * <i>burstia</i> “Bürste”	59) <i>malwjan</i> in <i>ga-malwjan</i> “to grind up, crush”	99) <i>tairan</i> in <i>dis-tairan</i> “to tear apart”, <i>ga-tairan</i> “to tear down, remove”
20) * <i>būska</i> “Scheit”	60) <i>manna</i> “person, man”, <i>ga-man</i> “partner, fellowship”, <i>mana-seps</i> “world, mankind”, lit. “seed of man”, <i>mana-maurþrja</i> “murderer”, <i>un-mana-riggws</i> “wild, cruel”	100) <i>tappa</i> “Spund, Zapfen”
21) <i>daufs</i> “deaf, stobborn”	61) <i>manwjan</i> “to prepare”, <i>manwus</i> “ready, at hand”	101) * <i>taturō</i> “Haarzotte”
22) * <i>drūps</i> “traut, lieb”	62) * <i>maþl</i> “assembly, marketplace”, <i>maþleins</i> “speech, dialect”, <i>faura-maþleis</i> “chief, governor, ruler”, <i>maþljan</i> “to talk, hold formal discussions”, CGoth. <i>ich malthada</i> “ego dico”, better * <i>maþlida</i> “dixi”	102) <i>taujan</i> “to do, make”, <i>ga-taujan</i> “to do, bring about, accomplish”
23) <i>fani</i> “clay, mud”	63) * <i>maþwa</i> “Wiese”	103) * <i>paksus</i> “Dachs”

24) * <i>fanþja</i> “Fußgänger”	64) * <i>mauko</i> “Bauch”	104) * <i>þihian</i> “gedeihen”, attested as <i>þeihan</i> “to thrive, succeed, cooperate”, <i>ga-þeihan</i> “to surpass”
25) * <i>flusa</i> “Speck”	65) Goth./Burg. * <i>milti</i> “Milz” → * <i>miltja</i>	105) <i>þreihan</i> “to press, throng, pass”, <i>ga-þreihan</i> “to distress”
26) <i>floðus</i> “stream”	66) * <i>nastilō</i> “Schnur, Nestel”	106) * <i>þrimman</i> “hin und her laufen”
27) <i>fon</i> “fire”	67) <i>rikan</i> “to heap up”, caus. <i>uf-rakjan</i> “to reach out, extend”	107) * <i>traufa</i> “Traufe”
28) <i>friks</i> in <i>faihu-friks</i> “greedy for money”, <i>faihu-frikei</i> “cupidity”	68) * <i>rukka</i> “Spinrocken”	108) <i>triggwo</i> “covenant”, <i>triggws</i> “trustworthy, faithful”, <i>triggwaba</i> “surely, firmly”
29) WGoth. * <i>frūmjan</i> “fördern, vollbringen”; cf. Goth. <i>fruma</i> “first”, <i>fram fruma</i> “from the beginning”, <i>frumei</i> “beginning”, <i>fruma-baur</i> “first-born”	69) * <i>sagio</i> “Steuereintreiber”	109) <i>us-bruknan</i> “to be broken off”, <i>ga-bruka</i> “crumb”
30) * <i>gabilāne</i> “Sperber”	70) * <i>sahrja</i> “Korb”	110) <i>wadi</i> “gaurantee”, <i>wadja-bokos</i> “bond”, <i>ga-wadjon</i> “to promise”
31) * <i>gabula</i> “Gabel”	71) * <i>sala</i> , attested in <i>saljan</i> “to stay, be a guest of”, <i>salþwos</i> pl. “inn, dwelling”	111) <i>wahsjan</i> “to grow”
32) * <i>gainon</i> “gähnen”	72) * <i>skaþils</i> “Scheffel”	112) * <i>waida</i> “Weide”
33) * <i>ga-laubei</i> “costliness”, only as dat. sg. <i>un-ga-laubamma</i> “of no value”	73) * <i>skafts</i> “Schaft”	113) * <i>walda</i> “Wau” (Reseda luteola)
34) * <i>gans</i> “Gans”	74) <i>skalja</i> “tile”, originally perhaps “Schuppe”, only acc. pl. <i>skaljos</i>	114) <i>walus</i> “staff”
35) * <i>gasalja</i> “Genosse”, attested are the verbs <i>saljan</i> “to stay, be a guest of”, <i>us-saljan</i> “to take up quarters, lodge”	75) * <i>skankja</i> “Schenk”	115) <i>wandjan</i> “to turn”, <i>af-wandjan</i> “to turn away”, <i>at-wandjan</i> “to return”, <i>us-wandjan</i> “to withdraw, deviate”
36) * <i>glōba</i> “gegabelte Stange”	76) * <i>skarja</i> “Hauptmann”	116) * <i>wango</i> “Wange”, attested in * <i>waggareis</i> or * <i>waggari</i> “cushion, pillow”
37) * <i>glōva</i> “Handschuh”	77) <i>skatts</i> “money”	117) * <i>werjands</i> “gewährleistend”
38) * <i>goma</i> “Gaumen”	78) dat. sg. <i>skauta</i> “edge, hem”	118) * <i>wida</i> “Führer, Leiter”
39) ? * <i>gr̥si</i> “grau”	79) * <i>skilla</i> “Schelle, Glocke”	119) * <i>windaugo</i> “window”
40a) * <i>grima</i> “zornig”	80) * <i>skrapa</i> “Stütze”	120) * <i>wīsa</i> “Weise”
40b) * <i>grimmīþa</i> “Grimm”		

Conclusion

The present results may be evaluated from various points of view. One is statistical. If the corpus of Biblical Gothic is *c.* 2.500 lexical units, our lexical set consisting of 120 units is not neglectable. From them in ± 37 cases the Gothic material is attested in the textual corpus. The remaining 83 lexical units are reconstructible only on the basis of the Romance data. It is *c.* 3.3%. Gothic represents a language with a limited lexical corpus, where a discovery of every new word is an event. From this point of view the addition of 83 new words means an important enrichment of our knowledge of the Gothic lexicon. Another point of view is semantic. In all countries, where Goths settled, they came as conquerors. One expects a predominance of a military lexicon. Really, there are several words of this contents, e.g. ## 24 “pedestrian”, 41 “guard”, 45 “helmet”, 73 “handle, buttend”, 76 “captain”, 86 “spy”, 94 “young warrior”, 118 “leader”. Interesting is, how many of them are specializations in the military organization and not e.g. weapons. But most of the loans are words reflecting a current civil life, e.g. ## 15 “bread”, 37 “glove”, 70 “basket”, 119 “window”. Remarkable are animal names as ## 6 “ant”, 34 “goose”, 42 “heron”, 84 “sparrow”, 103 “badger”, but only one tree, #4 “alder”; also other natural objects, ## 8 “ashes”, 23 “clay, mud”, 26 “stream”, 27 “fire”, 63 “meadow”, 112 “pasture”. Several body parts also appear: ## 2 “shoulder”, 38 “palate”, 64 “belly”, 65 “spleen”, 101 “flock of hair, tuft”. From these examples it is possible to conclude that both communities, Romance and Gothic, coexisted more probably together than besides themselves, and rather for longer than shorter time. The lexical borrowings are not the only example of this influence. There are also several proper names which are also of Gothic origin. Well-known names of such countries as *Andalusia*, *Bourgogne* or *Lombardia* indicate the presence of Vandals, Burgundians and Langobardians respectively. In the case of Goths some scholars seek their ethnonym in the name of *Catalania* (**Goti* & **Alani*), but it is rather problematic. More promising as a reflex of their ethnonym are place names *Godos* etc. (Toporov 1983, 138). On the other hand, the suffix *-e(n)go* in such place names as *Godego*, *Marengo* from Italy has been interpreted as Gothic **-ingōs*. More unambiguous is situation in the case of personal names. Some of them are popular till the present day: Sp. *Fernando* < WGoth. **Fripunanþ*, *Rodrigo* < WGoth. **Hrôþriks* = *Roderich*; It. *Garibaldi*, *Garibaldo* < *Garibald* (Ger +*kühn*), *Rinaldo* < *Reinwald* < **Regin-wald-* (cf. Goth. *ragin* “Rat”) – see Schmidt et al., 1980, 54. But a systematic analysis of the Romance anthroponyms of Gothic or Germanic origin is a task for a special monograph.

Abbreviations of the names of languages and dialects

- Arag. – Aragonese (Spanish d.)
 Arcev. – d. from Arcevia (Marche)
 Aret. – Aretinisch
 Astur. – Asturish (Spanish d.)
 Bair. – Bavarian
 Barros. – d. from Barros (Portugal)
 Bask. – Basque
 Bellun. – Bellunish (Friulish d.)
 Bearn. – d. from Arthes de Beárn
 Bergam. – Bergamaskish
 Bergell. – d. from Bergell (Graubünden, Swiss)
 Berrich. – d. from Berry
 Bible Goth. – Biblical Gothic
 Bitt. – d. from Bitti (Sardinia)
 Bologn. – Bolognese (Italian d.)
 Besc. – Brescianish
 Burg. – Burgundian
 C Crimean (Gothic)
 Campid. – Campidanese (Sardinia)
 Canav. – d. from Canavese (Piemont)
 Castell. – d. from Castellinado (Piemont)
 Chian. – Chianaiofish (Arezzo, Italia)
 Comask. – Comaskish
 Comel. – Comelish
 Cors. – Corsish
 d. – dialect
 E – East
 Emil. – Emilianish
 Eng. – English
 Engad. – Engadinisch (Graubünden, Swiss)
 Est. – Estnisch
 Fass. – d. of Fassatal
 Ferr. – Ferrarish (Italian d.)
 Fr. – French
 Franc. – Franconian
 Fr.comt. – d. from Franche-Comté
 Fris. – Frisian
 Friul. – Friulish
 G. – German
 Gaul. – Gaulish
 Galic. – Galician
 Gasc. – Gascognish
 Gen. – Genuese (Italian d.)
 Germ. – Germanish
 Gir. – d. from Gironde
 Gmc. – Germanic
 Goth. – Gothic
 Gr. – Greek
 Grödn. – Grödnerish
 H. pyr. – d. from the department Hautes-Pyrénées
 Ic. – Icelandic
 Id. – Idem
 It. – Italian
 Jur. – Jurasish
 Kat. – Katalonian
 Kors. – Korsish
 CrimGot. – Crimean Gothic
 L – Low(er)
 Ladin. – Ladinish
 Langob. – Langobardish
 Lat. – Latin
 Log. – Logudoresish (Sardinia)
 Lomb. – Lombardish
 Lothr. – Lothringish
 Lucc. – d. from Lucca
 Lütt. – d. from Lüttich
 Lyon. – Lyonesish
 M – Middle
 Mail. – Mailandish (d. from Milano, Italia)
 Mallork. – d. from Mallorca
 Malmed. – d. from Malmedy
 Mant. – Mantuanish
 Marseill. – d. from Marseille
 Mazed. – Macedonish
 MDutch – Middle Dutch
 MHG. – Middle High German
 Minh. – Minhotish (d. of Portuguese)
 Mirand. – d. from Miranda (Portugal)
 MLG – Middle Low German
 Montan. – d. from Montana (Wallis)
 Montbél. – d. from Montbéliard
 Morv. – d. from Morvand
 N – North
 NB. – New Burgish
 Neap. – Neapolitanish
 NHG. – New High German
 Nizz. – d. from Nizza
 Nonsberg. – Nonsbergish (Venetian)
 Nor. – Nordic
 Norm. – Norman d. of French
 O – Old
 Obw. – Obwaldish
 OEng. – Old English
 OFr. – OFrench
 OFris. – Old Frisian
 OGutn. – Old Gutnic
 OHG. – Old High German
 OIr. – Old Irish

ON. – Old Nordic	S – South
ORun. – Old Runic	Salm. – d. of Salamanca
OSax. – Old Saxon	Sanabr. – d. from Sanabria (Spanien)
OTrevis. – Old Trevisanish	Schöneb.- d. from Schönenburg (Lothringia)
Pad. – Paduanish	Sic. – Sicilianish
Parm. – Parmigianish	Sp. – Spanish
Pav. – d. from Pavia	Tirol. – Tirolish
Pg. – Portuguese	Tortos. – d. from Tortosa (Katalonia)
Piac. – Piacentinish	Tosk. – Toskanish
Piem. – d. from Piemontese valleys from Alps	Trient. – Trientinish
Pik. – Picardish	Val.-Anz. – d. from Val Anzasca
Pis. – Pisanish	Valenc. – Valencianish
Pistoj. – Pistojesish	Vallon. – Vallonish
Piver. – d. from Piverone (Piemont)	Valsass. – d. from Val Sassina (Tessin)
Poitev. – Poitevinish	Vegl. – Vegliotish (Island Krk in Dalmatia)
Prov. – Provençal	Velfl. – Veltlinish
Puschl. – d. from Puschlav (Graubünden, Swiss)	Ven. – Venezianish
Reat. – d. from Rieti, Italia	Veron. – Veronese
Rom. – Romance	Verzas. – d. from Verzasca (Lombardia)
Romagn. – Romagnolish	Viar. – d. from Viareggio
Rouch. -d. from Rouchi	Vionn. – d. from Vionnaz
Rum. – Rumanian	W – West

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GÓTSKÉ PŘEJÍMKY V ROMÁNSKÝCH JAZYCÍCH

Článek dokumentuje možnosti, které skýtá studium slovní zásoby románských jazyků pro zmapování gótského lexika, známého pouze z neúplného překladu Nového zákona. Gótský slovník tak lze rozšířit o ca. 3.3 % nových lexikálních jednotek. Poněkud překvapivá je jejich převážně ‚mírumilovná‘ sémantika zaměřená na civilní život.

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