

Blažek, Václav

Appendices

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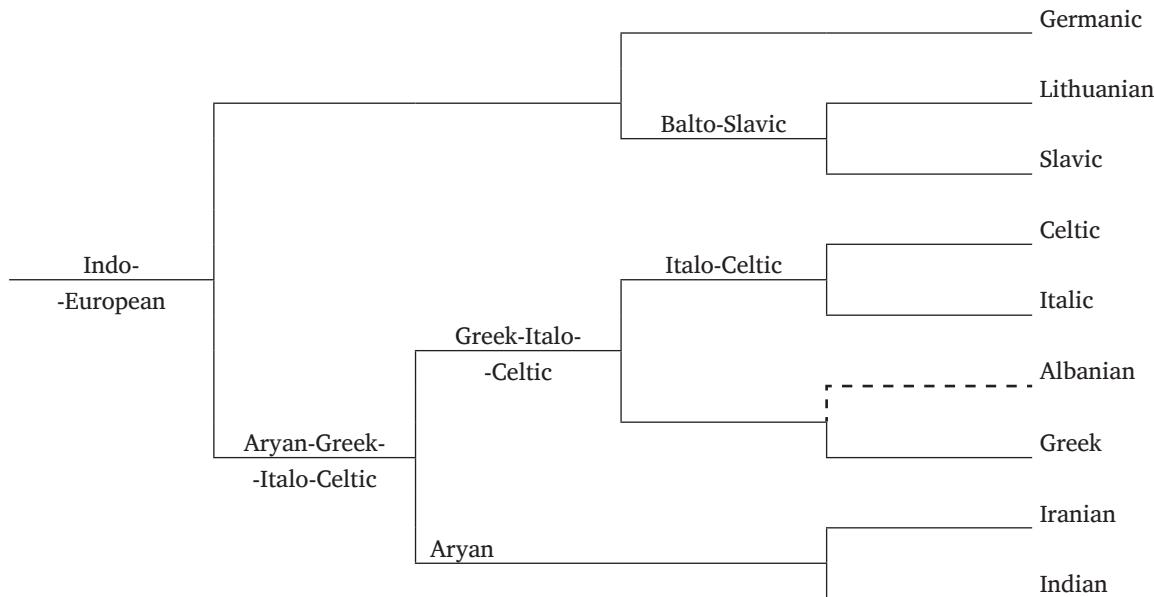
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APPENDICES

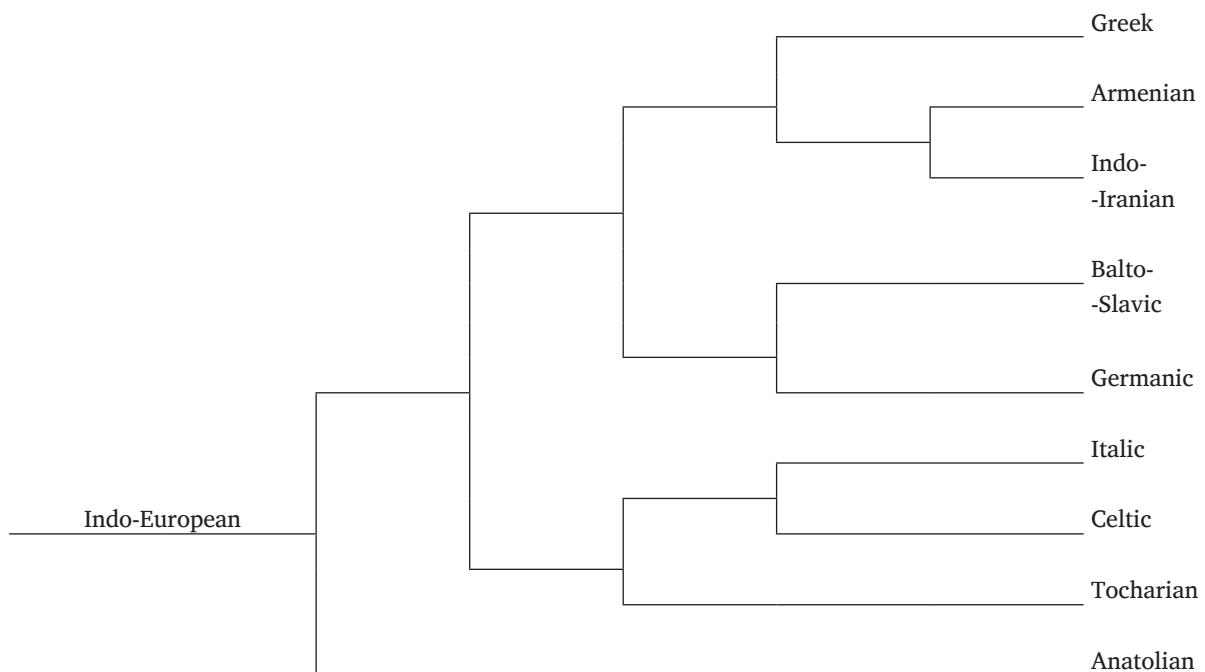
I THE PLACE OF THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES AMONG THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

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 20th century finding that the Tocharian and Anatolian languages are of Indo-European origin.



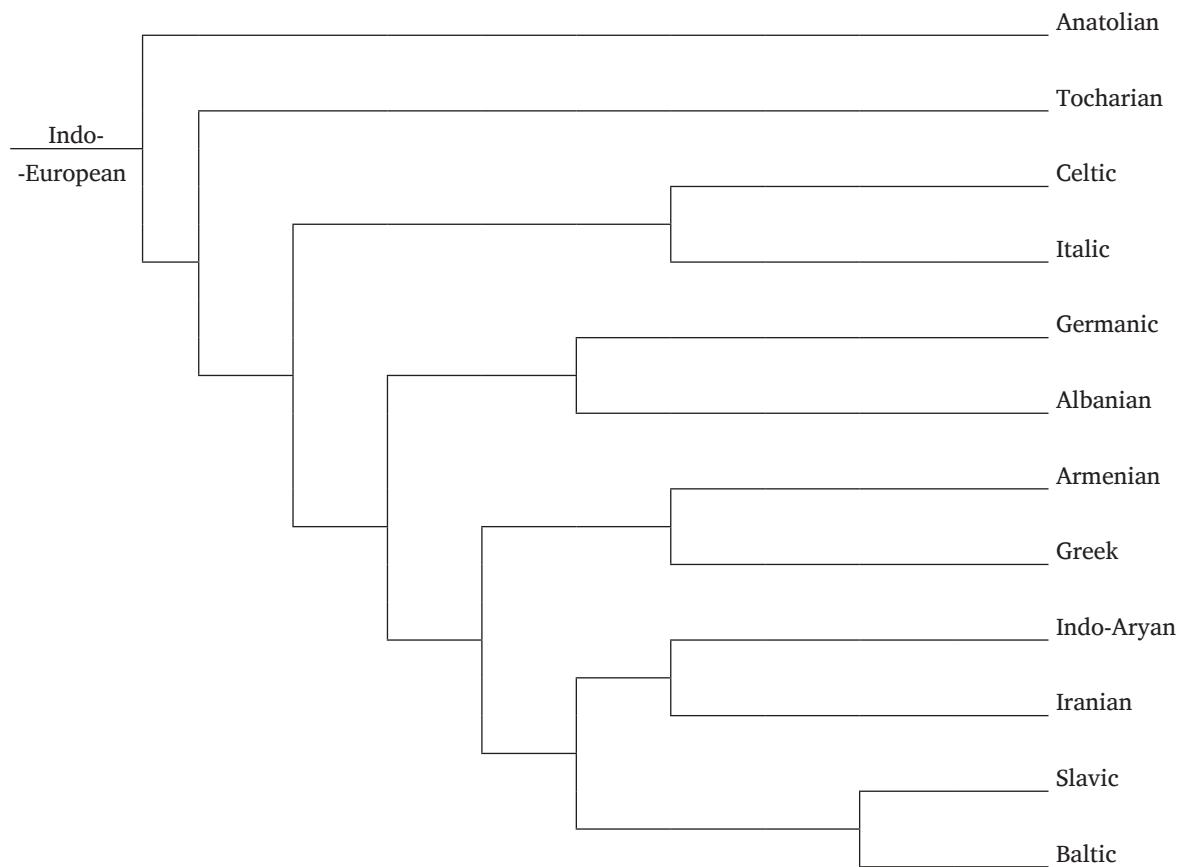
Scheme 4: Classification of the Indo-European languages by Schleicher 1860

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):



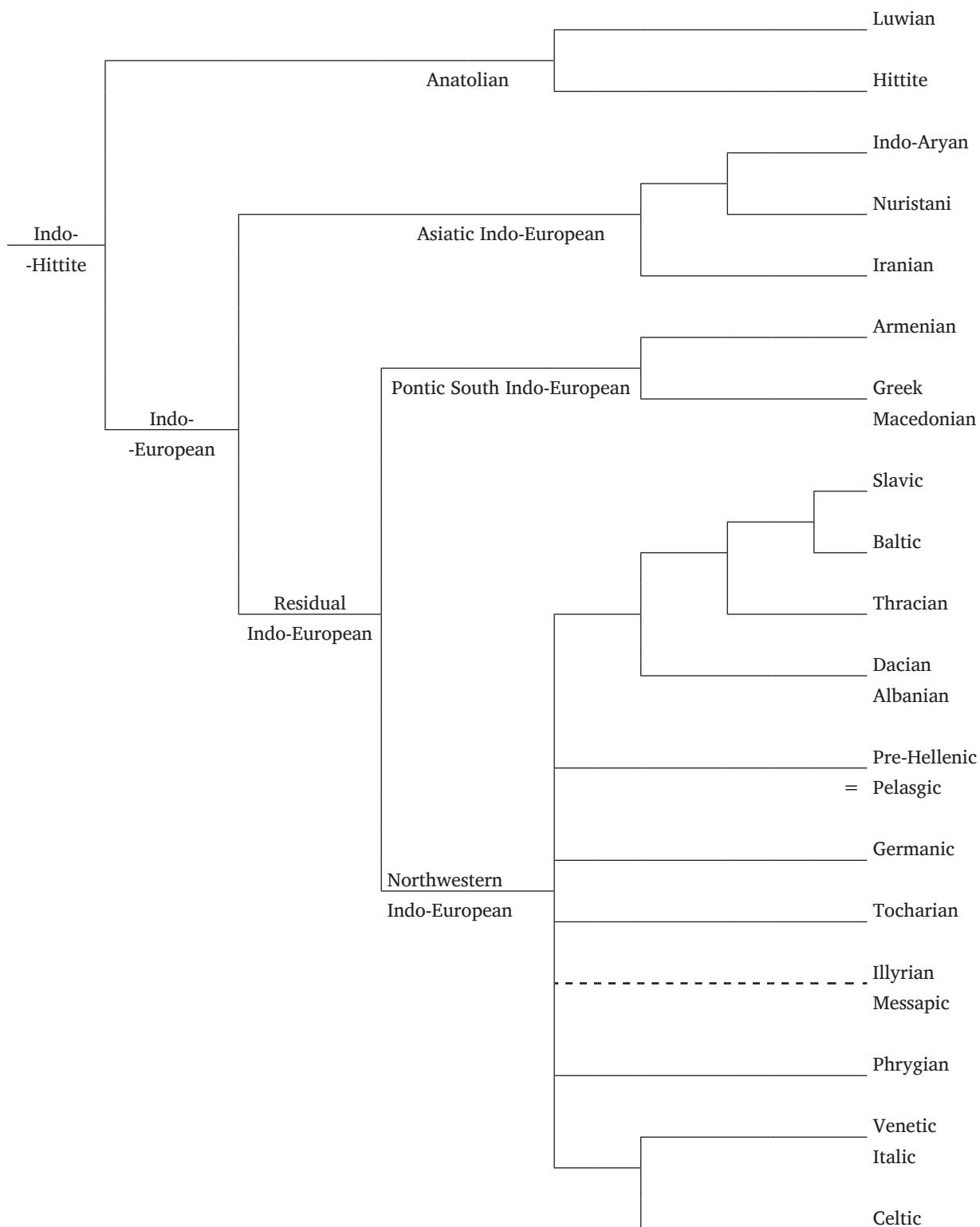
Scheme 5: Classification of the Indo-European languages by Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984

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



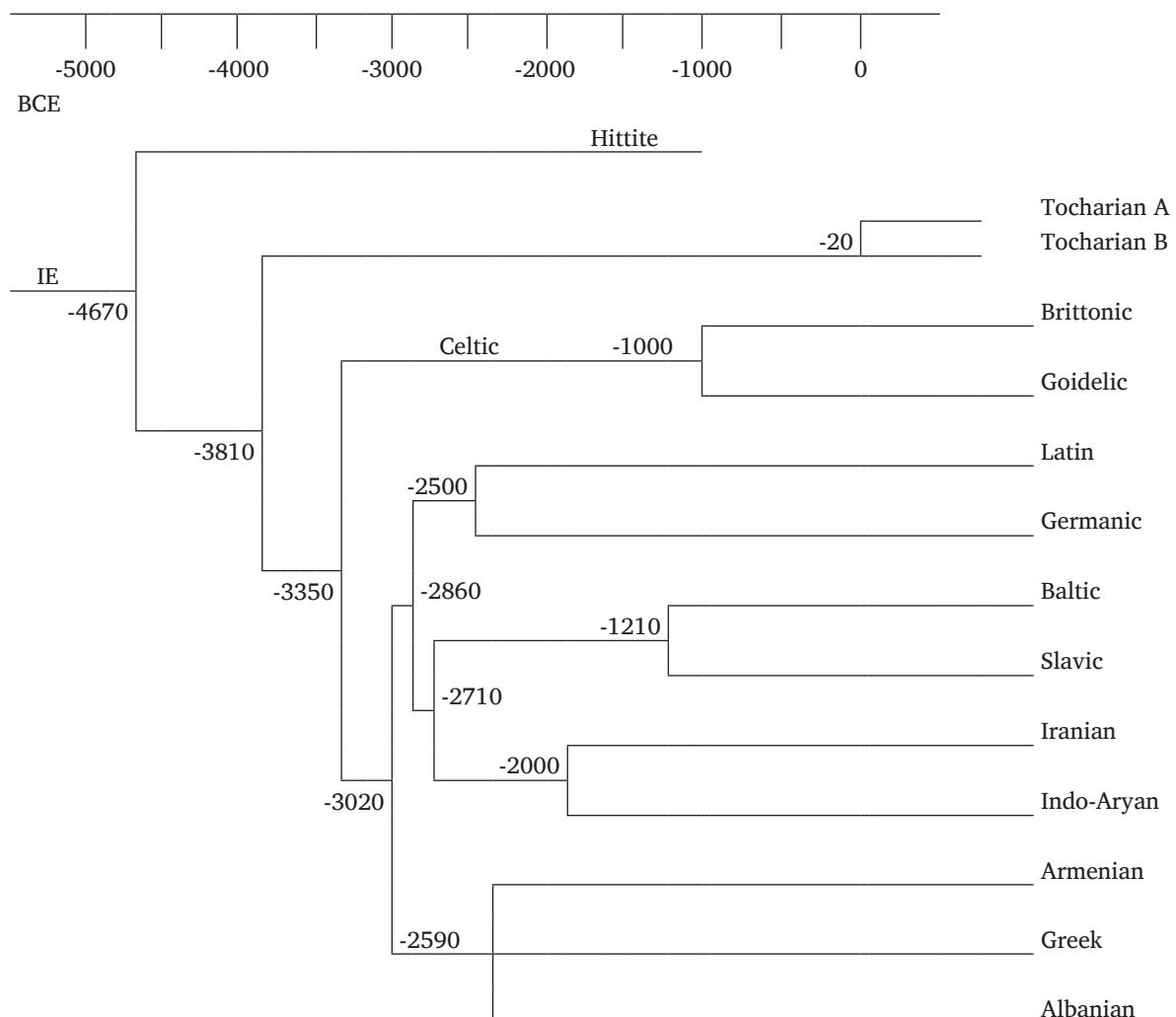
Scheme 6: Classification of the Indo-European languages by Ringe, Warnow & Taylor 2002

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:



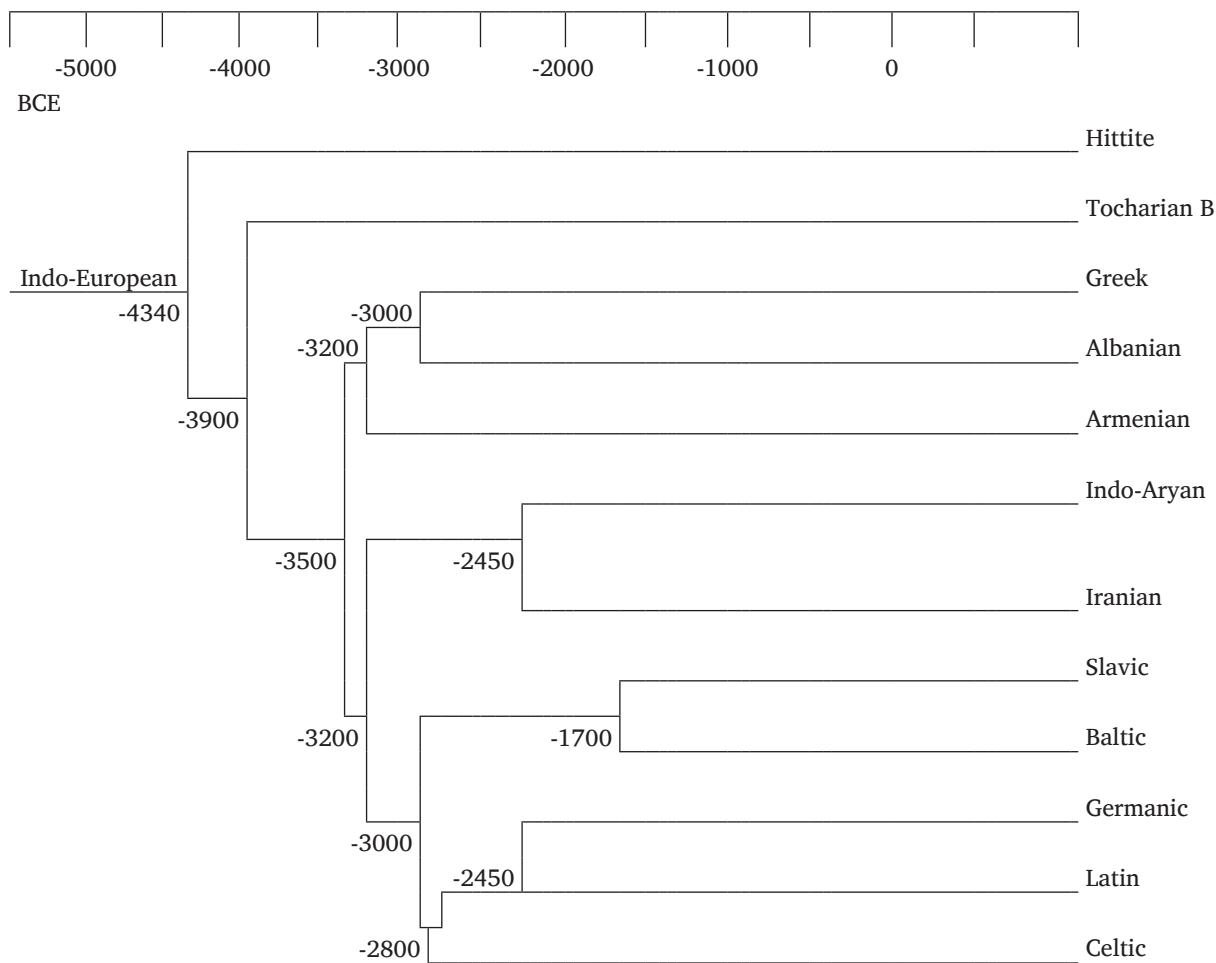
Scheme 7: Classification of the Indo-European languages by Hamp 1990

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

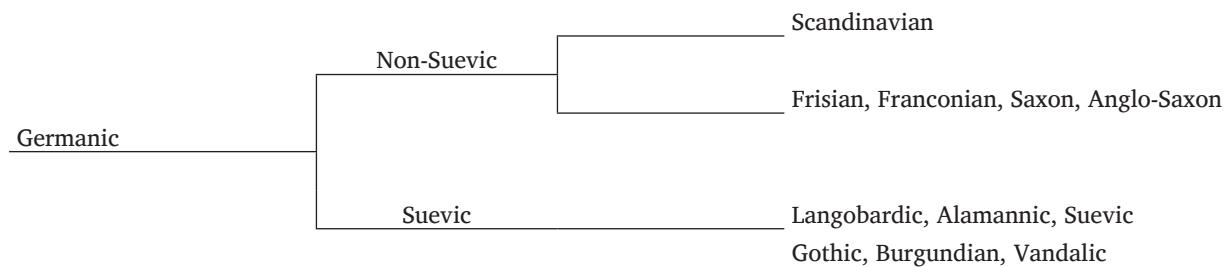
Indo-European classification according to the model of George Starostin (2015, 568–69).



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.

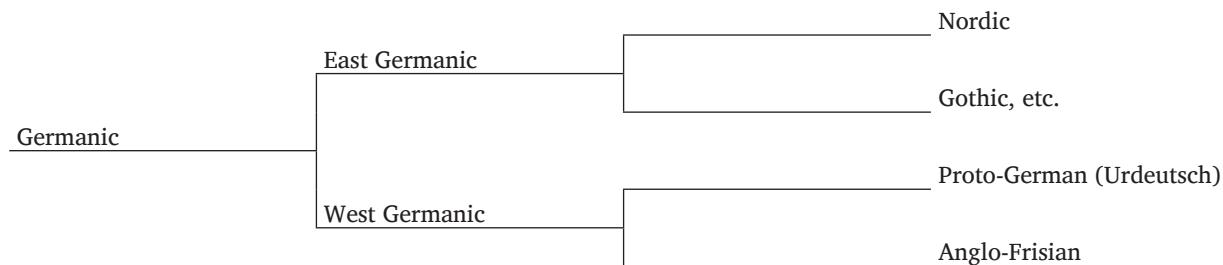


Scheme 11: Classification of the Germanic languages by Grimm 1819

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.

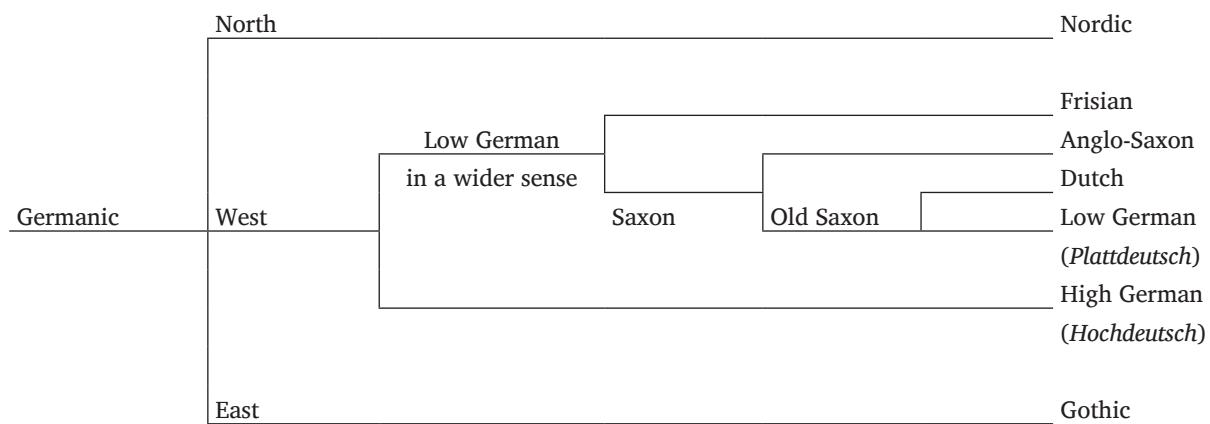
Similarly, Witold Mańczak (1992) gained very similar results with the help of his original classification model based on lexicostatistical analysis of parallel texts. He organized the individual varieties according to their decreasing similarity to Gothic. Old High German was to have been the most similar,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

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



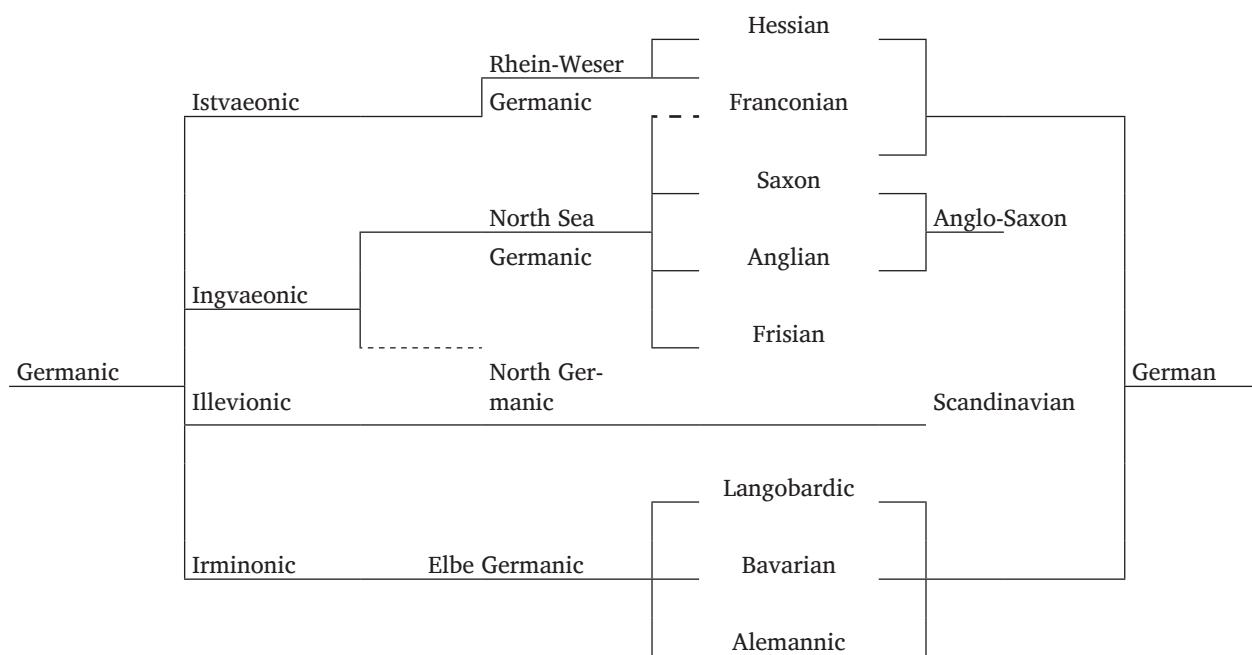
Scheme 12: Classification of the Germanic languages by Müllenhoff 1898

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):



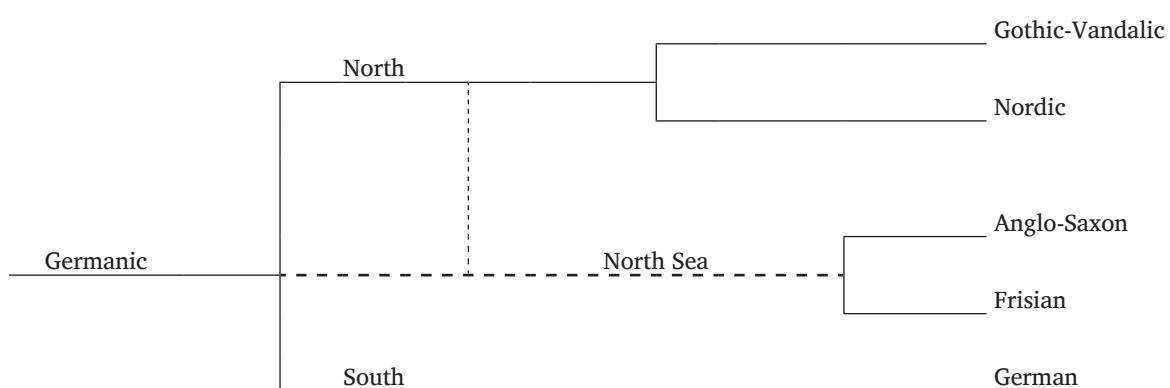
Scheme 13: Classification of the Germanic languages by Schmidt 1860

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:



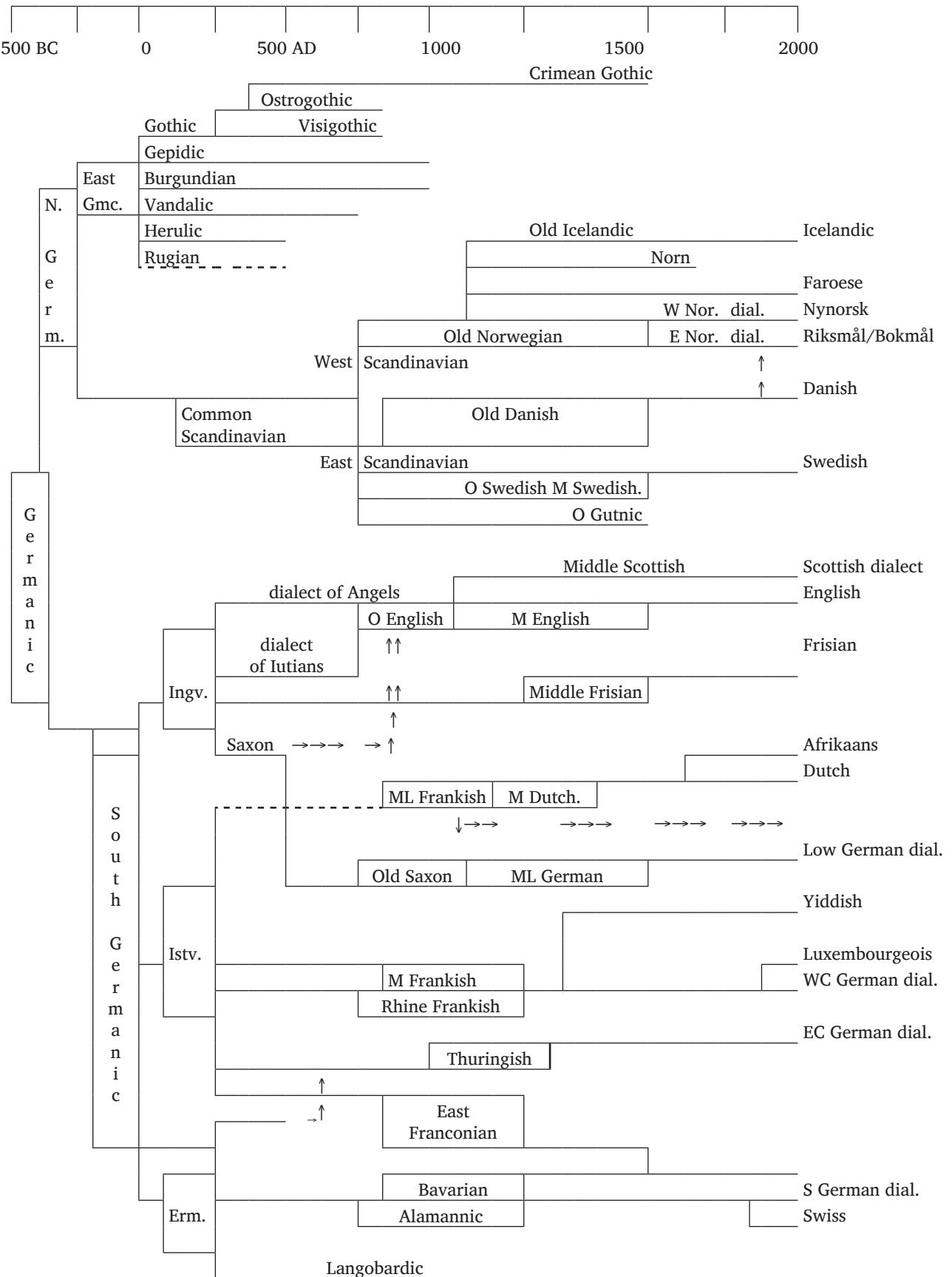
Scheme 14: Classification of the Germanic languages by Maurer 1943

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

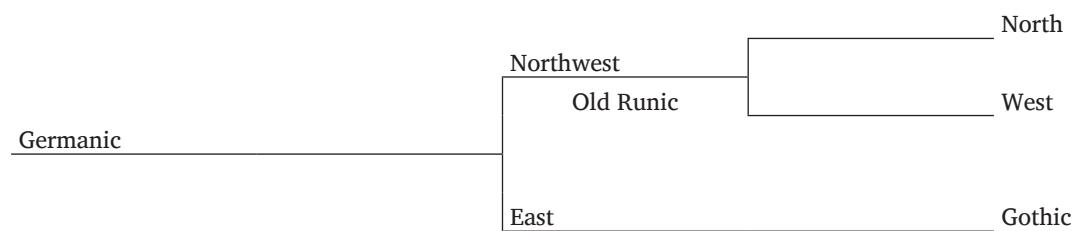
The most detailed model of the development of the Germanic languages was presented by Tatjana V. Toporova (2000). Her theory is largely based on the models by Maurer and Schwarz.



Scheme 16: Classification of the Germanic languages by Toporova 2000

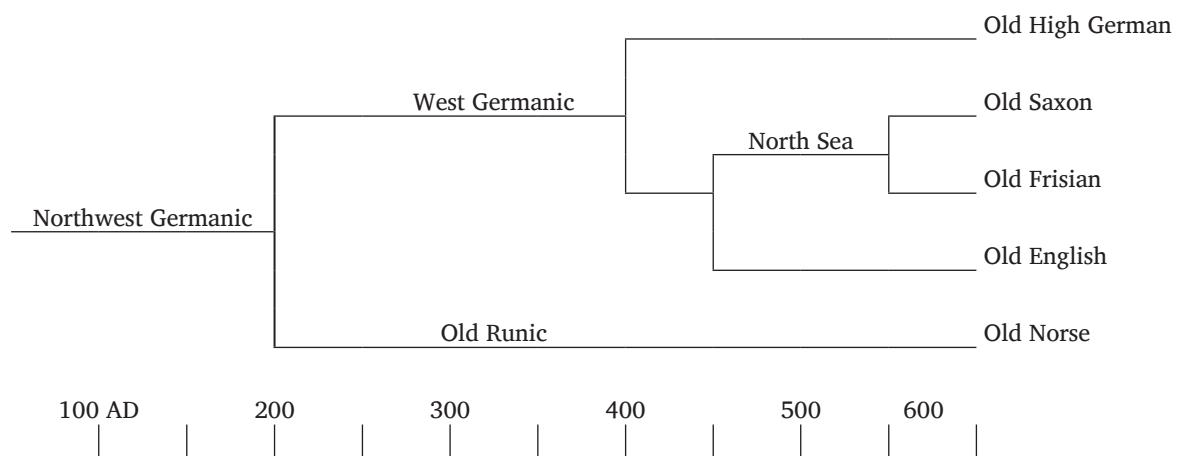
Abbreviations: C Central, dial. dialect, E East, Erm. Erminonic, Gmc. Germanic, Ingv. Ingvaeanic, Istv. Istvaeonic, L low, O Old, M middle, N North, Nor. Norwegian, S South, W West.

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



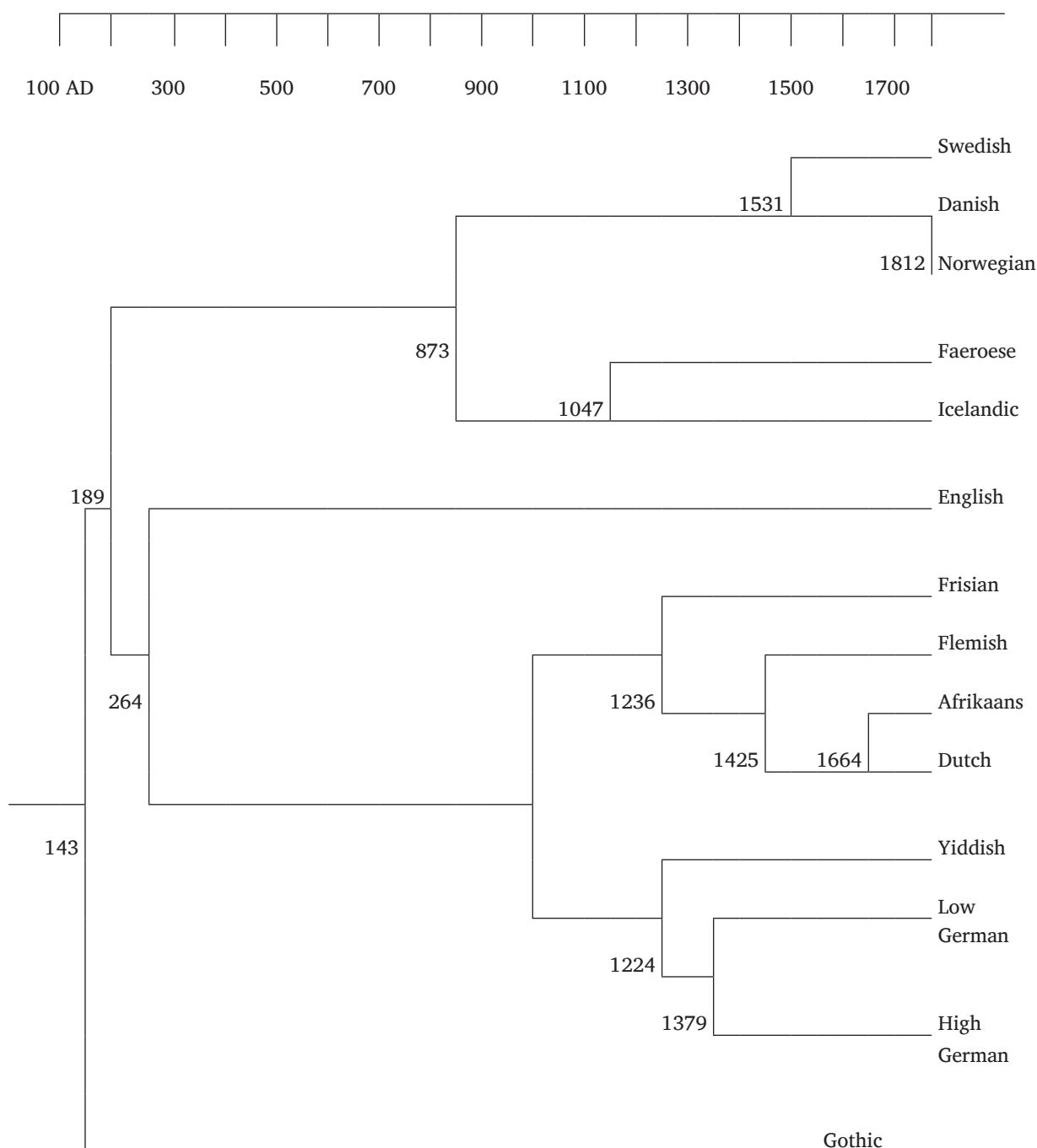
Scheme 17: Classification of the Germanic languages by Antonsen 1975

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.



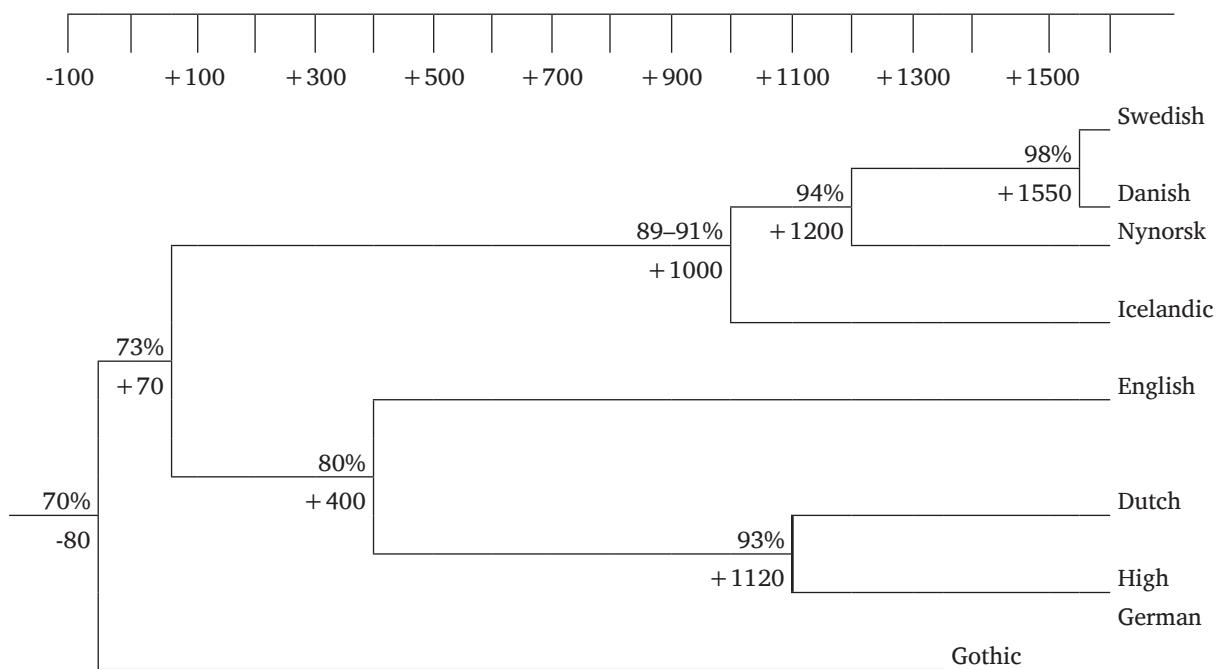
Scheme 18: Classification of the Germanic languages by Nielsen 2000

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.



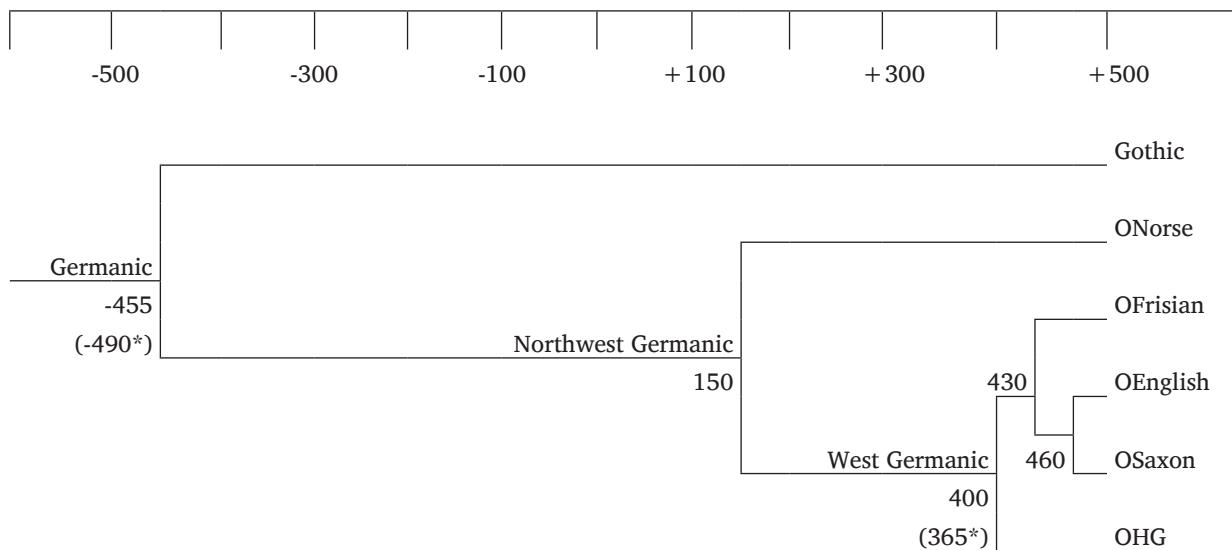
Scheme 19: Classification of the Germanic languages by Embleton 1986

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 *	
P-	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” < * peku-
-P-	Got. <i>hafjan</i> , OHG <i>heffen</i> , OI <i>hefia</i> “to lift, raise” < ** kH₂p-ie-o-
b-	OHG <i>pful</i> , OFr, MLG, OE <i>pōl</i> , Norwegian dial. <i>pōla</i> “swamp” < * bōl- ; Got. <i>peika-bagms</i> “palm tree”, OE <i>pēc</i> “tip, apex”, OI <i>pīk</i> id. < * bigó-
-b-	Got. <i>baúrp</i> “field”, OHG <i>dorf</i> , OS <i>thorp</i> “village”, OE <i>þorp</i> “farm, homestead”, OI <i>þorp</i> “farm; unit” < * trbo-
b^h-	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” < * b^hergho-
-b^h-	Got. <i>liufs</i> , gen. <i>liubis</i> “dear, beloved”, OHG <i>liup</i> , <i>liub</i> , <i>liob</i> , OS <i>lioſ</i> , gen. <i>lioþes</i> , OE <i>léof</i> , OR <i>leubaz</i> , f. <i>leubu</i> (* <i>leubō</i>), OI <i>ljúf-r</i> < * leubhō-
t-	Got. <i>þreis</i> , OHG <i>driē</i> , OS <i>thria</i> , OE <i>þrie</i> , OI <i>þrír</i> “three” < * treies (m.); cf. OR f. <i>þrijoz</i> < * trejās
-t-	Got. <i>hwafar</i> , OHG <i>hwedar</i> , OS <i>hwethar</i> , OE <i>hwæper</i> , OI <i>hvaðarr</i> “which” < * k^uótero-
-t-'	Got. <i>fadar</i> , OHG <i>fatar</i> , OS <i>fadar</i> , OE <i>fæder</i> , OI <i>faðir</i> “father” < ** pH₂tér-
d-	Got. <i>taíhun</i> , OHG <i>zehan</i> , OS <i>tehan</i> , OE <i>tíen</i> , OI <i>tíu</i> “ten” < * dékmt
-d-	Got. <i>fotus</i> , OHG <i>fuoz</i> , OS, OE <i>fōt</i> , OI <i>fótr</i> “foot” < * pōd-
d^h-	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> < ** d^hugH₂ter-
-d^h-	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” < * b^heudh-
k-	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” < * korio-
-k-	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” < * deuk-
-k-'	Got. <i>rign</i> , OHG <i>rigan</i> , <i>regin</i> , OE <i>reg(e)n</i> , E <i>rain</i> , OI <i>regn</i> “rain” < * rekno-
g-	Got. <i>kalds</i> , OHG <i>c(h)alt</i> , OS <i>cald</i> , OE <i>ceald</i> , OI <i>kaldr</i> “cold” < * goltó-
-g-	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” < ** Hiugo-
g^h-	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” < * g^hosti- , cf. OR <i>gastiz</i> (English guest is of Scandinavian origin)
-g^h-	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” < * leugh-
ḱ	Got. <i>haírto</i> , OHG <i>herza</i> , OS <i>herta</i> , OE <i>heorte</i> , OI <i>hjarta</i> “heart” < * kerd-
-ḱ-'	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” < * deik-
-ḱ-	Got. <i>fagrs</i> “suitable”, OHG, OS <i>fagar</i> “beautiful”, OE <i>fæger</i> , English <i>fair</i> , OI <i>fagr</i> id. < ** pH₂kró-
ǵ-	Got. <i>kunþs</i> , OHG <i>c(h)und</i> , OS <i>kûd</i> , OE <i>cûd</i> , OI <i>kunnr</i> , <i>kuðr</i> “known, familiar” < ** gnH₂tó-
-ǵ-	Got. <i>waúrkjan</i> , OHG <i>wurchan</i> , OE <i>wyrcan</i> , OI <i>yrkja</i> “to work, do” < * urǵ- , next to OS <i>wirkian</i> id. (* uerǵ-)
ǵ^h-	Got. <i>gulþ</i> , OHG <i>cold / gold</i> , OS, OE <i>gold</i> , OI <i>gull</i> , <i>goll</i> “gold” < ** ǵ^hIH₂tó-
-ǵ^h-	Got. <i>ga-wigan</i> , OHG <i>wekan / wegan</i> , OF <i>wega</i> , OE <i>wegan</i> , OI <i>vega</i> “to move” < * ueǵh-
k^u-	Got. <i>hvas</i> , OE <i>hwā</i> , Old Swedish <i>hvar</i> “who” m. < * k^uo-s , next to OHG <i>(h)wer</i> , OS <i>hwe</i> < * k^ue-s
-k^u-	Got. <i>saihan</i> , OHG, OS <i>sehan</i> , OE <i>sēon</i> , E <i>see</i> , OI <i>sjá</i> < * sek^u-
-k^u-'	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>ðēowu</i> , OI f. <i>þý</i> , <i>þír</i> “servant/female servant”, cf. OR <i>þewaz</i> “servant” < * tek^uú-, -uó- / * tekui-
g^u-	Got. <i>qens</i> , <i>qino</i> “woman”, OHG <i>quena</i> “id., lady, madam”, OS <i>quān</i> , <i>quena</i> id., OE <i>cwēn</i> id. (> English <i>queen</i>), <i>cwēne</i> “woman (prostitute)”, OI <i>kván</i> , <i>kvæn</i> “wife”, <i>kona</i> “woman” < Germanic * <i>k^uenī</i> & * <i>k^uenōn</i> < * g^uenā
-g^u-	Got. <i>riqis</i> , <i>-izis</i> , OI <i>røkkvr</i> “darkness” < ** H_₂reg^u-os-
g^{uh}-	OHG <i>war(a)m</i> , OS <i>warm</i> , OE <i>wearm</i> , English <i>warm</i> , OI <i>varmr</i> < * g^{uh}ormo- , 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” < * g^{uh}ntiā , cf. OHG <i>gundfano</i> “banner of arms”
-g^{uh}-	Got. <i>snaıws</i> , OHG <i>snēo</i> , gen. <i>snēwes</i> , OS <i>snēo</i> , OE <i>snâw</i> , English <i>snow</i> , OI <i>snær</i> , gen. <i>snévar</i> < * snoig^{uh}o-
s-	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> < * sed-(ie/o-)

<i>-s-</i>	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)” < * <u>ues</u> -
<i>-s-</i> '	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” < * <u>aies</u> -
<i>r</i>	Got. <i>ga-redan</i> “to be level-headed”, OHG <i>râtan</i> , OS <i>râdan</i> , OE * <i>rēdan</i> , OI <i>râða</i> “to advise” < * <i>rēd^h</i> -
<i>l</i>	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>liggja</i> < * <i>leg^h-</i> (<i>ie/o-</i>)
<i>m</i>	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^hio</i> -
<i>n</i>	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> -
<i>r</i>	Got. <i>þaúrnus</i> , OHG <i>dorn</i> , OS, E <i>thorn</i> , OE, OI <i>þorn</i> < * <i>trnu</i> -
<i>l</i>	Got. <i>hulþs</i> “merciful”, OHG, OS, OE <i>hold</i> , OI <i>hollr</i> “inclined, favourable” < * <i>kltó</i> -
<i>m</i>	Got. <i>ga-qumþs</i> , OHG <i>qhumft</i> , <i>cumft</i> , <i>cunft</i> , OI <i>sam-kund</i> “meeting” < * <i>g^um-ti</i> -
<i>n</i>	Got. <i>undar</i> , OHG <i>untar</i> , <i>undar</i> , OS <i>undar</i> , OE <i>under</i> , OI <i>undir</i> “under” < **H ₂ ?n-d ^h er-
<i>i</i>	Got. <i>jer</i> , OHG <i>jâr</i> , OS <i>jâr</i> , <i>gér</i> , OE <i>gēar</i> , E <i>year</i> , OI <i>ár</i> < **(H ₁)iēro-
<i>u</i>	Got. <i>vato</i> , pl. <i>vatna</i> , OHG <i>waž(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>i</i>	Got. <i>fisks</i> , OHG <i>fisc</i> , OS <i>fish</i> , OE <i>fisc</i> , E <i>fish</i> , OI <i>fiskr</i> < * <i>pisko</i> -
<i>u</i>	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> -
<i>ī</i>	Got. <i>skeirs</i> , MHG. <i>schîr</i> , OS <i>skîr</i> , OE <i>scîr</i> , E <i>sheer</i> , OI <i>skírr</i> “clear” < * <i>skîr(i)o</i> -
<i>ū</i>	Got. <i>rums</i> , OHG, OS, OE <i>rûm</i> , E <i>room</i> , OI <i>rúmr</i> “spacious, roomy” < * <i>rûmo</i> -
<i>e</i>	Got. <i>baíran</i> , OHG <i>peran / 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^her</i> -
<i>a</i>	Got. <i>hana</i> , OHG, OS <i>hano</i> , OE <i>hana</i> , OI <i>hani</i> “rooster” < **kH ₂ ,n-on-
<i>o</i>	Got. <i>dal</i> , OHG <i>tal</i> , OS <i>dal</i> , OE <i>dæl</i> , OI <i>dalr</i> “valley” < * <i>d^holo</i> -
<i>ē</i>	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> -
<i>ā</i>	Got. <i>broþar</i> , OHG <i>pruodar/ bruoder</i> , OS <i>brôthar</i> , OE <i>brôþor</i> , E <i>brother</i> , OI <i>bróðir</i> < * <i>b^hrâter</i> -
<i>ō</i>	Got. <i>flodus</i> , OHG <i>fluot</i> , OS, OE <i>flôd</i> , E <i>flood</i> , OI <i>flóð</i> < * <i>plötó/ú</i> -
<i>CHC</i>	Got. <i>fadár</i> , OHG <i>fatar</i> , OS <i>fadár</i> , OE <i>fæder</i> , E <i>father</i> , OI <i>faðir</i> < **pH ₂ ,téř-
<i>ei</i>	Got. <i>steigan</i> , OHG, OS, OE <i>stîgan</i> , OI <i>stíga</i> “to raise, ascend” < * <i>steig^h</i> -
<i>ai</i>	Got. <i>gaits</i> , OHG <i>keiȝ</i> , <i>geiȝ</i> , OS <i>gêt</i> , OE <i>gât</i> , E <i>goat</i> , OI <i>geit</i> < * <i>g^haidi</i> -
<i>oi</i>	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> - Got. <i>filu-faihs</i> , OHG, OS <i>fêh</i> , OE <i>fág</i> , OI <i>fáinn</i> “varied, manifold” < * <i>poikō</i> -, cf. OR <i>faihido</i> “I paitned” (in OHG ê before <i>h, r, w</i>)
<i>eu</i>	Got. <i>þiuda</i> , OHG <i>diota</i> , OS <i>thioda</i> , OE <i>þeod</i> , OI <i>þjóð</i> “people, folk” < * <i>teutá</i> -
<i>au</i>	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> -
<i>ou</i>	Got. <i>rauþs</i> , OHG <i>rôt</i> , OS <i>rôd</i> , OE <i>réad</i> , E <i>red</i> , OI <i>rauðr</i> < **H ₂ <i>reud^ho</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/*kʷ* to the Proto-Germanic voiceless fricatives **ɸ/*þ/*χ/*χʷ* > Gothic *f/b/h/hv*; the Indo-European voiced stops **b/*d/*g/*gʷ* to the Proto-Germanic voiceless stops **p/*t/*k/*kʷ* > Gothic *p/t/k/q*, and the Indo-European voiced aspirated stops **b^h/d^h/g^h* to the Proto-Germanic voiced stops or fricatives **b/*d/*g/*gʷ* > 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 **tl(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 aborigines of this territory: Θηρίων τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλων ζῷων μέγα τι χρῆμα αἱ τε ὑλαι αὐτοῖς φέρουσι, μεγάλαι οὔπερφυῶς οὖσαι, καὶ τὰ ὅρη, ἡ 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 **φ*, **b*, **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 **θ*, **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*, *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 **b/*d* > *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>dæges/</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^{*instr.}</i>	<i>dagai</i>	- <i>ōi</i> < - <i>o-ei</i>
acc.	<i>dæg</i>	<i>dag</i>	<i>tac</i>	<i>dag</i>	<i>staina</i>	<i>dag</i>	<i>dagaⁿ</i>	- <i>om</i>
instr.	<i>dægi/e^{*loc.}</i>	<i>dagu</i>	<i>tagu</i>			(<i>daga</i>) [·]	<i>dagō</i>	- <i>ō</i> < - <i>o-H₁</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)</i> < - <i>o-es</i>
gen.	<i>daga</i>	<i>dago</i>	<i>tago</i>	<i>daga</i>	<i>flAinA?</i>	<i>dage</i>	<i>dagōⁿ</i>	- <i>ō-m</i>
dat.	<i>dagum</i>	<i>dagum</i>	<i>tagum</i>	<i>dogom</i>	<i>-borumz</i>	<i>dagam</i>	<i>dagamiz</i>	- <i>o-mis</i>
acc.	<i>dagas</i>	<i>dagos</i>	<i>taga</i>	<i>daga</i>	<i>stAbA</i>	<i>dagans</i>	<i>daganz</i>	- <i>ons</i> < - <i>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>-i̥-os</i>
gen.	<i>hirdes</i>	<i>hirdies</i>	<i>hirtes</i>	<i>hirðes</i>		<i>hairdeis</i>	<i>herdijisa</i>	<i>-i̥-eso</i>
dat.	<i>hirde</i>	<i>hirdie</i>	<i>hirtē</i>	<i>hirðe</i>		<i>hairdja</i>	<i>herdijai</i>	<i>-i̥-oi</i>
acc.	<i>hirde</i>	<i>hirdi</i>	<i>hirtie</i>	<i>hirðe</i>	<i>makija</i>	<i>hairdi</i>	<i>herdijaⁿ</i>	<i>-i̥-om</i>
instr.	<i>hirde</i>	<i>hirdiu</i>	<i>hirt(i)u</i>				<i>herdijō</i>	<i>-i̥-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>-i̥-ōs</i>
gen.	<i>hirda</i>	<i>hirda</i>	<i>hirteo</i>	<i>hirða</i>	<i>Wiwio</i>	<i>hairdje</i>	<i>herdijōⁿ</i>	<i>-i̥-ōm</i>
dat.	<i>hirdum</i>	<i>hirdio, °ium</i>	<i>hirtum, -im</i>	<i>hirðom</i>		<i>hairdjam</i>	<i>herdijamiz</i>	<i>-i̥-omis</i>
acc.	<i>hirdas</i>	<i>hirdios, °da</i>	<i>hirte</i>	<i>hirða</i>		<i>hairdjans</i>	<i>herdijanz</i>	<i>-i̥-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>gifu</i>	<i>geba</i>	<i>geba</i>	<i>gjof</i>	<i>laþu</i>	<i>giba</i>	<i>gebō</i>	<i>-ā < -eH₂</i>
gen.	<i>gife</i>	<i>geba</i>	<i>geba</i>	<i>gjafar</i>		<i>gibo</i>	<i>gebōz</i>	<i>-ās < -eH₂-os</i>
dat.	<i>gife</i>	<i>gebu</i>	<i>gebu</i>	<i>gjof</i>	<i>solu</i>	<i>gibai</i>	<i>gebai</i>	<i>-āj < -H₂-ej</i>
acc.	<i>gife</i>	<i>geba</i>	<i>geba</i>	<i>gjof</i>		<i>giba</i>	<i>gebōⁿ</i>	<i>-ām < -eH₂-m</i>
nom. pl.	<i>gifa, -e</i>	<i>geba</i>	<i>gebâ</i>	<i>gjafar</i>		<i>gibos</i>	<i>gebōz</i>	<i>-ās < -eH₂-es</i>
gen.	<i>gifa, -ena</i>	<i>gebo(no)</i>	<i>gebôno</i>	<i>gjafa</i>	<i>runo</i>	<i>gibo</i>	<i>gebōⁿ</i>	<i>-(ā)-ōm < -(e)H₂-ōm</i>
dat.	<i>gifum</i>	<i>gebum</i>	<i>gebôm</i>	<i>giofom</i>		<i>gibom</i>	<i>gebōmi/uz</i>	<i>-āmi/us < -eH₂-mi/us</i>
acc.	<i>gifa, -e</i>	<i>geba</i>	<i>gebâ</i>	<i>gjafar</i>	<i>runez</i>	<i>gibos</i>	<i>gebōz</i>	<i>-āns < -eH₂-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>giest</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>giestes</i>	<i>gastes</i>	<i>gastes</i>	<i>gests</i>	<i>urjwinaz -gandiz</i>	<i>gastis</i>	= o-stem <i>-iza</i>	<i>-ei-eso</i>
dat.	<i>gieste</i>	<i>gaste</i>	<i>gaste</i>	<i>gest</i>	<i>fapai</i>	<i>gasta</i>	= o-stem <i>-ai</i>	<i>-ei-ei</i>
acc.	<i>giest</i>	<i>gast</i>	<i>gast</i>	<i>gest</i>	<i>hal(l)i</i>	<i>gast</i>	<i>gastiⁿ</i>	<i>-i-m</i>
instr.	<i>gieste</i>	<i>gasti(u)</i>	<i>gastiū</i>				<i>gasti</i>	<i>-i (*loc.)</i>
nom. pl.	<i>giestas</i>	<i>gesti</i>	<i>gesti</i>	<i>gester</i>		<i>gasteis</i>	<i>gasti^z</i>	<i>-ei-es</i>
gen.	<i>giesta</i>	<i>gestio</i>	<i>gestio, -eo</i>	<i>gesta</i>		<i>gaste</i>	<i>gastiōⁿ</i>	<i>-ei-ōm</i>
dat.	<i>giestum</i>	<i>gestium</i>	<i>gestim</i>	<i>gestom</i>	<i>-gestumz</i>	<i>gastim</i>	<i>gastimiz</i>	<i>-i-mis o-stem</i>
acc.	<i>giestas</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.	ést	anst	anst	brúðr		ansts	anstiz	-i-s
gen.	éste	ensti	ensti	brúðar		anstaís	anstaiž	-oi̯-s
dat.	éste	ensti	ensti	brúð	winai	anstai	anstēi	-ei̯-ei
acc.	ést	anst	anst	brúð	fahi	anst	insti ⁿ	-i-m
nom. pl.	ésta	ensti	ensti	brúðir		ansteis	anstiz	-ei̯-es
gen.	ésta	enstio	enstio, -eo	brúða		anste	anstiō ⁿ	-ei̯-ōm
dat.	éstum	enstium	enstim	brúðom		anstim	anstimiz	-i-mis
acc.	ésta	ensti	ensti	brúðir		anstins	anstinz	-i-ns

Indo-European *u*-stems

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

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

	Old English	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Old Runic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Germanic
nom. sg.	bróðor	brôðer	bruoder	bróðer	swestar	broþar	brōþěr	-ér
gen.	bróðor	brôðer	bruoder	bróðor		broþrs	brōþriz/-az	-r-ós/-r-s
dat.	breðr	brôðer	bruoder	brøðr		broþr	brōþri	-r-i (loc.)
acc.	brôðer	brôðer	bruoder	bróðor		broþar	brōþ(e)ru ⁿ	-ér-m
nom. pl.	bróðor, -ru	brôðer	bruoder	bræðr	dohtriz	broþrjus	brōþriz	-ér-es
gen.	bróðra		bruodero	braeðra		broþre	brōþrō ⁿ	-r-ōm
dat.	bróðrum	brôðarum	bruoderum	braeðrom		broþrum	brōþrumiz < -ur-miz	-r-mis
acc.	bróðor, -ru	brôðer	bruodera	braeðr		broþruns	brōþrunz	-ér-ns

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

	Old English	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Old Runic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Germanic
nom. sg.	<i>håna</i>	<i>hano</i>	<i>hano</i>	<i>hane</i>	<i>gudija</i>	<i>hana</i>	<i>hanō⁽ⁿ⁾/-ēⁿ</i>	<i>-ōn</i>
gen.	<i>hånan</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>hånan</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>hånan</i>	<i>hanon, -an</i>	<i>hanon, -un</i>	<i>hana</i>		<i>hanan</i>	<i>hananuⁿ</i>	<i>-on-η</i>
nom. pl.	<i>hånan</i>	<i>hanon</i>	<i>hanon, -un</i>	<i>hanar</i>		<i>hanans</i>	<i>hananiz</i>	<i>-on-es</i>
gen.	<i>hånen</i>	<i>hanono</i>	<i>hanôno</i>	<i>hana</i>	<i>arbijano</i>	<i>hanane</i>	<i>hananō⁽ⁿ⁾</i>	<i>-on-om</i>
dat.	<i>hånum</i>	<i>hanon, -un</i>	<i>hanôm</i>	<i>hönom</i>		<i>hanam</i>	<i>hanunmiz</i>	<i>-η-mis</i>
acc.	<i>hånan</i>	<i>hanon</i>	<i>hanon, -un</i>	<i>hana</i>		<i>hanans</i>	<i>hananunz</i>	<i>-on-ηs</i>

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

	Old English	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Old Runic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Germanic
nom. sg.	<i>tunge</i>	<i>tunga</i>	<i>zunga</i>	<i>tunga</i>	<i>Aluko</i>	<i>tuggo</i>	<i>tungōⁿ</i>	<i>-ōn</i>
gen.	<i>tungān</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>tungān</i>	<i>tungun</i>	<i>zungūn</i>	<i>tungo</i>		<i>tuggon</i>	<i>tungōni</i>	<i>-ōn-i</i>
acc.	<i>tungān</i>	<i>tungun</i>	<i>zungūn</i>	<i>tungo</i>		<i>tuggon</i>	<i>tungōnuⁿ</i>	<i>-ōn-η</i>
nom. pl.	<i>tungān</i>	<i>tungun</i>	<i>zungūn</i>	<i>tungor</i>		<i>tuggons</i>	<i>tungōniz</i>	<i>-ōn-es</i>
gen.	<i>tungēna</i>	<i>tungono</i>	<i>zungôno</i>	<i>tungna</i>		<i>tuggono</i>	<i>tungōnōⁿ</i>	<i>-ōn-ōm</i>
dat.	<i>tungūm</i>	<i>tungon</i>	<i>zungôm</i>	<i>tungom</i>		<i>tuggom</i>	<i>tungōnmiz</i>	<i>-ōn-mis</i>
acc.	<i>tungān</i>	<i>tungun</i>	<i>zungūn</i>	<i>tungor</i>		<i>tuggons</i>	<i>tungōnunz</i>	<i>-ōn-ηs</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>frénde</i>		<i>frijonds</i>	<i>frijōnd-s/-z</i>	= cons. stem
gen.	<i>fréondes</i>	<i>friundes</i>	<i>friuntes</i>	<i>frénda</i>		<i>frijondis</i>	<i>frijōndiza/aza</i>	= o-stem
dat.	<i>fríend</i>	<i>friunde</i>	<i>friunte</i>	<i>frénda</i>		<i>frijond</i>	<i>frijōndi</i>	= cons. stem
acc.	<i>fréond</i>	<i>friund</i>	<i>friunt</i>	<i>frénda</i>		<i>frijond</i>	<i>frijōnduⁿ</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>frijōndōⁿ</i>	= cons. stem
dat.	<i>fréondum</i>	<i>friundum</i>	<i>friuntum</i>	<i>gefondom</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>burg</i>	<i>burg</i>	<i>burg</i>	<i>mǫrk</i>		<i>baurgs</i>	<i>burg-s/-z</i>	-s
gen.	<i>byrg</i>	<i>burges</i>	<i>burg(i)</i>	<i>merkr</i>		<i>baurgs</i>	<i>burg-iz/-is</i>	-es
dat.	<i>byrg</i>	<i>burg(i)</i>	<i>burg(i)</i>	<i>mǫrk</i>		<i>baurg</i>	<i>burgi</i>	-i (loc.)
acc.	<i>burg</i>	<i>burg</i>	<i>burg</i>	<i>mǫrk</i>		<i>baurg</i>	<i>burguⁿ</i>	-m
nom. pl.	<i>byrg</i>	<i>burgi</i>	<i>burgi</i>	<i>merkr</i>		<i>baurgs</i>	<i>burgiz</i>	-es
gen.	<i>burga</i>	<i>burgo</i>	<i>burgo</i>	<i>marka</i>		<i>baurge</i>	<i>burgōⁿ</i>	-ōm
dat.	<i>burgum</i>	<i>burgum</i>	<i>burgum</i>	<i>mǫrkom</i>		<i>fotum</i> <i>baurgim</i>	<i>burgumiz</i> i-stem	-mis
acc.	<i>byrg</i>	<i>burgi</i>	<i>burgi</i>	<i>merkr</i>		<i>baurgs</i>	<i>burgiz</i>	= nom. pl.

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>eĝH</i>
gen.	<i>mín</i>	<i>mîn</i>	<i>mân</i>	<i>mín</i>		<i>meina</i>	<i>mīnē</i>	<i>mei-nē</i>
dat.	<i>mě</i>	<i>mî</i>	<i>mir</i>	<i>mér</i>	<i>mez</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>mes / Miz</i>	<i>meso</i>
acc.	<i>mě, mec</i>	<i>mî, mî, mik</i>	<i>mih</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>mék / mik</i>	<i>meĝe</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>ue-duo</i>
gen.	<i>uncer</i>	<i>uncero</i>	<i>unkēr</i>	<i>okkar</i>		<i>*ugkara</i>	<i>ujkara</i>	<i>ŋgerē?</i>
dat.	<i>unc</i>	<i>unc</i>		<i>ok(k)r</i>		<i>ugkis</i>	<i>ujkiz</i>	<i>ŋgeso</i>
acc.	<i>unc, uncit</i>	<i>unc</i>		<i>ok(k)r</i>		<i>ugkis</i>	<i>ujk</i>	<i>ŋge?</i>

1st person plural personal pronoun

	Old English	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Old Runic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Germanic
nom.	<i>wě</i>	<i>wî, wê</i>	<i>wir</i>	<i>vér</i>	<i>wiz</i>	<i>weis</i>	<i>wís / wiz</i>	<i>uejes</i>
gen.	<i>úser, úre</i>	<i>úser</i>	<i>unsēr</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, öss</i>		<i>uns, unsis</i>	<i>unsiz</i>	<i>ŋseso</i>
acc.	<i>ús(ic)</i>	<i>ús</i>	<i>unsih</i>	<i>óss, öss</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>bū</i>	<i>thū</i>	<i>dû, du</i>	<i>bú</i>		<i>bu</i>	<i>bū</i>	<i>tū</i>
gen.	<i>bín</i>	<i>thîn</i>	<i>dîn</i>	<i>bín</i>	<i>bina</i>	<i>beina</i>	<i>bînē</i>	<i>tei-nē</i>
dat.	<i>bě</i>	<i>thê</i>	<i>dîr</i>	<i>bér</i>		<i>bus</i>	<i>pes / piz</i>	<i>teso</i>
acc.	<i>bic, bě</i>	<i>thic, thî</i>	<i>dih</i>	<i>bik</i>		<i>buk</i>	<i>bék / bik</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>git</i>	<i>git</i>		<i>it, bit</i>		<i>jut</i>	<i>jūt</i>	<i>jūduo</i>
gen.	<i>incer</i>			<i>ykkar</i>		<i>igqara</i>	<i>ijkware</i>	<i>nguerē?</i>
dat.	<i>inc</i>	<i>inc</i>		<i>yk(k)r</i>		<i>igqis</i>	<i>ijkwiz</i>	<i>ngueso?</i>
acc.	<i>inc, incit</i>	<i>inc</i>		<i>yk(k)r</i>		<i>igqis</i>	<i>ijkw</i>	<i>ngue?</i>

2nd person plural personal pronoun

	Old English	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Old Runic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Germanic
nom.	<i>gě</i>	<i>gâ, ge</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>ér, bér</i>		<i>jus</i>	<i>jūz</i>	<i>jūs</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>hě</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>imma</i>	<i>ezmē/ō</i>	<i>e-sm-ōi</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>ei-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>ei-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>bat</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>bess</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>bat</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>id</i>
nom. pl.	= m. pl.	= m. pl.	= m. pl.	<i>pau</i>		<i>ija</i>	<i>ijō</i>	
gen.				<i>beira</i>		<i>ize</i>	<i>izō</i>	= m.
dat.				<i>beim</i>		<i>im</i>	<i>imiz</i>	= m.
acc.				<i>pau</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>sī</i>	<i>sī < siH₂</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 < es-eH₂-s</i>
dat.	<i>hi(e)re, hýre</i>	<i>iru, iro</i>	<i>iru, iro</i>	<i>hennar</i>		<i>izai</i>	<i>ezāt</i>	<i>esjāi < esjeH₂ei</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 < ej-eH₂-m</i>
nom. pl.	= m. pl.	= m. pl.	<i>sio</i>	<i>þær</i>		<i>ijos</i>	<i>ijō</i>	<i>ijās < iH₂-es</i>
gen.			<i>iro</i>	<i>peira</i>		<i>izo</i>	<i>izō</i>	<i>esām < e-s-eH₂-m</i>
dat.			<i>im</i>	<i>peim</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>	?iH₂-ns

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>mân</i>	<i>mân</i>	<i>minn</i>	<i>minas</i> (gen.)	<i>meins</i>	<i>mīnaz</i>	<i>meiños</i>
2. sg.	<i>pín</i>	<i>thân</i>	<i>dân</i>	<i>pinn</i>		<i>þeins</i>	<i>pīnaz</i>	<i>teiños</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>inkʷera</i>	
1. pl.	<i>úre</i>	<i>ûsa</i>	<i>unsér</i>	<i>várr</i>		<i>unsar</i>	<i>unzeraz</i>	<i>nseros</i>
2. pl.	<i>íower, eower</i>	<i>iuwar, eowar</i>	<i>iuwêr</i>	<i>yþvarr</i>		<i>izwar</i>	<i>izweraz</i>	<i>usueros</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>sîn</i>	<i>sîn</i>	<i>sinn</i>	<i>sin(n)</i>	<i>seins</i>	<i>sīnaz</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>pě</i>	<i>thē, thie</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>sá</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>so</i>
gen.	<i>pæs</i>	<i>thes</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>bess</i>		<i>bis</i>	<i>besa</i>	<i>te-so</i>
dat.	<i>pém, pám</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-ō̄ī</i> <i>toī-mi</i>
acc.	<i>bone</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>pý, pon</i>	<i>thiu</i>	(diu only in neutr.)				<i>þiō</i>	<i>tjō < tjo-H₁</i>
nom. pl.	<i>pá</i>	<i>thē, thea, thie</i>	<i>dē, dea, dia, die</i>	<i>þeir</i>		<i>þai</i>	<i>þai</i>	<i>toī</i>
gen.	<i>para, pára</i>	<i>thero</i>	<i>dero</i>	<i>þeira</i>		<i>þize</i>	<i>þaizōn</i>	<i>toī-s-ōm</i>
dat.	<i>pém, pám</i>	<i>them, then</i>	<i>dēm, dēn</i>	<i>þeim</i>		<i>þaim</i>	<i>þaimiz</i>	<i>toī-mis (instr.)</i>
acc.	<i>pá</i>	<i>thē, thea, thie</i>	<i>dē, 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>pæt</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>daz</i>	<i>þat</i>	<i>þat</i>	<i>þata</i>	<i>þat</i>	<i>tod</i>
gen.	<i>pæs</i>	<i>thes</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>bess</i>		<i>bis</i>	<i>þesa</i>	= m.
dat.	<i>pém, pám</i>	<i>them(o/u)</i>	<i>demu, demo</i>	<i>þ(v)í (-v- according to hvī)</i>		<i>þamma</i> (<i>þei that</i>)	<i>þazmō/ē</i> <i>þei</i>	= m. <i>toī-mi</i> <i>teī (loc.)</i>
acc.	<i>pæt</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>daz</i>	<i>þat</i>	<i>þat</i>	<i>þata</i>	<i>þat</i>	<i>tod</i>
instr.	<i>pý < *þi</i> <i>pon = 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 < teH₂</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 < teH₂</i>

demonstrative pronouns (fem.)

	Old English	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Old Runic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Germanic
nom. sg.	<i>sío, séo</i>	<i>thiu</i>	<i>diu</i>	<i>sú</i>		<i>so</i>	<i>sō</i>	<i>sā < seH₂</i>
gen.	<i>pére</i>	<i>thera/o</i>	<i>dera/u/o</i>	<i>þeirar</i>		<i>þizos</i>	<i>þaiz(j)ōz, þezjōz</i>	<i>te-sī-eH₂-s</i>
dat.	<i>pére</i>	<i>theru/o/a</i>	<i>deru/o</i>	<i>þeire</i>		<i>þizai</i>	<i>þezōi, þaizōi</i>	<i>te-sī-eH₂-eī</i>
acc.	<i>pá</i>	<i>thiu</i>	<i>dea, dia</i>	<i>þá</i>		<i>þo</i>	<i>þōn</i>	<i>teH₂-m</i>
nom. pl.	= m. pl.	<i>thē, tha</i>	<i>deo, dio</i>	<i>þér</i>		<i>þos</i>	<i>þōz</i>	<i>tās < teH₂-s</i>
gen.		<i>thero</i>	<i>dero</i>	<i>þeira</i>		<i>þizo</i>	<i>þezōn</i>	= m.
dat.		<i>thēm, thēn</i>	<i>dēm, dēn</i>	<i>þeim</i>		<i>þaim</i>	<i>þaimiz</i>	= m.
acc.		<i>thē, tha</i>	<i>deo, dio</i>	<i>þér</i>	<i>þaiaz, þaz</i>	<i>þos</i>	<i>þōz</i>	<i>tās < teH₂-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/gender	Old English	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Gothic	*Germanic
nom. sg. m.	blind	blind	blint, <i>blintēr</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>	<i>-azmō</i>
acc.	<i>blindne</i>	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blintan</i> (blint)	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindana</i>	<i>-an-aⁿ</i>
instr.	blinde	blindu, -o	blintu			
nom. sg. neut.	blind	blind	blint	<i>blint</i> (* <i>blind-t</i>)	blind	-a ⁿ
			<i>blintaz</i>	(spakt)	<i>blindata</i>	-at
gen.	<i>blinds</i>	blindes, -as	blindes	<i>blinds</i>	blindis	-esa
dat.	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blindum, -omu</i>	<i>blintemu</i>	blindo, -u	<i>blindamma</i>	<i>-azmō</i>
acc.	blind	blind	blint	<i>blint</i> (* <i>blind-t</i>)	blind	-a ⁿ
			<i>blintaz</i>	(spakt)	<i>blindata</i>	-at
nom. sg. f.	blind	blind	blint	blind	blinda	-ō
	(hwatu)		<i>blintiu</i>	(spqk)		
gen.	<i>blindre</i>	<i>blindara, -era</i>	<i>blintera</i>	<i>blindrar</i>	<i>blindairos</i>	<i>-aizōz</i>
dat.	<i>blindre</i>	<i>blindaru, -eru</i>	<i>blinteru</i>	<i>blindri</i>	blindai	<i>-aizōi / -ōi</i>
acc.	blinde	blinda	blinta	blinda	blinda	-ō ⁿ
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>	<i>-aizōn</i>
dat.	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blintēm</i>	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blindaim</i>	<i>-amz / -aimiz</i>
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>	<i>-aizōn</i>
dat.	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blintēm</i>	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blindaim</i>	<i>-amz / -aimiz</i>
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 *-in- 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 *yo- 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.	góda	<i>blindo</i> , -a	blinto	spaki	blinda	-an-ē / -an-ō
gen.	gódan	<i>blinden</i> , -an, -on	blinten, -in	spaka	blindins	-in-iz / -in-az
dat.	gódan	<i>blindon</i> , -en, -an	blinten, -in	spaka	blindin	-in-i
acc.	gódan	<i>blindon</i> , -an	blinton, -un	spaka	blindan	-an-u ⁿ
nom. sg. neutr.	góde	<i>blinda</i> , -e	blinta	spaka	blindo	-ō ⁿ
gen.	gódan	<i>blinde</i> , -an, -on	blinten, -in	spaka	blindins	-en-iz / -en-az
dat.	gódan	<i>blindon</i> , -en, -an	blinten, -in	spaka	blindin	-en-i
acc.	góde	<i>blinda</i> , -e	blinta	spaka	blindo	-ō ⁿ
nom. sg. f.	góde	<i>blinda</i> , -e	blinta	spaka	blindo	-ō ⁿ
gen.	gódan	blindun	blintūn	spōku	blindons	-ōn-iz
dat.	gódan	<i>blindun</i> , -on, -an	blintūn	spōku	blindon	-ōn-i
acc.	gódan	<i>blindun</i> , -on, -an	blintūn	spōku	blindon	-ōn-u ⁿ
nom. pl. m.	gódan	<i>blindun</i> , -on, -an	blinton, -un	spōku	blindans	-an-iz
gen.	gódra, -ena	blindono	blintōno	spōku	blindane	-an-ō ⁿ
dat.	gódum	<i>blindum</i> , -un	blintōm, -ōn	spōkum	blindam	-an-m(u)z
acc.	gódan	<i>blindun</i> , -on, -an	blinton, -un	spōku	blindans	-an-unz
nom. pl. neutr.	gódan	<i>blindun</i> , -on, -an	blintun	spōku	blindona	-ōn-ā
gen.	gódra, -ena	blindono	blintōno	spōku	blindane	-an-ō ⁿ
dat.	gódum	<i>blindum</i> , -un	blintōm, -ōn	spōkum	blindam	-an-m(u)z
acc.	gódan	<i>blindun</i> , -on, -an	blinton, -un	spōku	blindona	-ōn-ā
nom. pl. f.	góde	<i>blindun</i> , -on, -an	blintūn	spōku	blindons	-ōn-iz
gen.	gódra, -ena	blindono	blintōno	spōku	blindono	-ōn-ō ⁿ
dat.	gódum	<i>blindum</i> , -un	blintōm, -ōn	spōkum	blindom	-ōn-m(u)z
acc.	gódan	<i>blindun</i> , -on, -an	blintūn	spōku	blindons	-ōn-unz

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* : *hōhiro* / *hōhōro* : *hōhisto* / *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	án	en	ên	ein	einn	ains	aina-	(<i>H₁</i>)ojno-
1 st	forma	forma	formo			fruma	furma-	pr <i>H₂</i> -mo-
	fyr(m)esta	ferost	furisto	furisto	fyrstr		furista-	pr <i>H₂</i> -isto-
	éresta	er(i/o)st	êrista	êristo			airista-	
2 m.	twégen	twen(e)	twêne	zwêne	tveir	twai	twai	duoi(<i>H₁</i>)
2 f.	twá	twa	twâ, twô	zwâ, zwô	tvér	twos	twô	duō
2 n.	twá, tú	twa	twê	zwei	tvau	twa	twau	duou
2 nd	óðer	other	ôthar	ander	annar	anþar	anþeraz	antero-
	æfterra							aftero-
3 m.	þrí(e), þry	thre, treje	thria	drî	þrír	þreis	þrijiz	treies
3 f.	þró, þréo	thria	threa	drîo	þrjár	þreis	þrijōz	trijās
3 n.	þró, þréo	thriu, thria	thriu	drîu	þrjú	þrija	þrijō	tri(j)ā
3 rd	þridda	thredda	thriddio	drîr(i)o	þriþi	þridja	þridja-	tritio-
4						fidwor	fedwôr	k ^u etwôr(<i>H₂</i>)
4 m.	féower	flower	fiuwar, fior	fior, feor	fjórir		feðu(o)ris	k ^u etures
4 f.					fjórar		feðurōz	k ^u eturās
4 n.					fjögur		feðurō	k ^u eturā
4 th	féo(we)rða	fiarda	fiordo	fiordo	fiorði		feðurða-	k ^u eturto-
5	ff	fif	fif	fimf, finf	fim(m)	fimf	fimf	penk ^u e
5 th	fifto	fifta	fifto	fimfto, finfto	fimm)ti	fimfta	fimfta-	penk ^u to-
6	sex, siex	sex	sehs, ses	sehs	sex	saihs	seχs	s(y)eks
6 th	si(e)xta	sexta	sehsto, sesta	sehsto	sétti	saihsta	seχsta-	s(y)eksto-
7	siofon, -un	sigun, sogen	sibun	sibun	sjau	sibun	sebun	sept्रnt
7 th	seofoða	si(u)gunda	sibunda	sibunto	si(a)undi		sebundā-	septmto-
8	éhta	acht(a/e)	ahto	ahto, -u	átta	ahtau	aχtau	oktōu
8 th	eahtoða	achtunda	ahtodo	ahtodo	átti, attandi	ahtuda	aχtōðan-	oktōtō-
9	ni góñ	niugun	nigun	niun	níu	niun	newun	(<i>H₁</i>)neum
9 th	nigoða	niugunda	nigundo	niunto	níundi	niunda	newunda-	(<i>H₁</i>)neumtó-
10					tíu	taihun	teχun	dékmt
	tien, téñ	tian	tehan	zehan			teχan	dékomp
10 th	téoða				tíundi	taihunda	teχundā-	dekm̥tó-
		tegotha	tegôtho				tegunþa-	dekn̥to-
		tianda	tehando	zehanto			teχanda-	dékomto-

	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, elleba</i>	<i>elleban</i>	<i>einlif</i>	<i>ellifū</i>	<i>ainlif</i>	<i>ain-lib/fa-</i>	
12	<i>twelf</i>	<i>twel(e)f</i>	<i>twelif</i>	<i>zwelif</i>	<i>tolf</i>	<i>twalif</i>	<i>twa-lib/fa</i>	
13	<i>þrótténe, -týne</i>	<i>þretine</i>	<i>þritein</i>	<i>drízehan</i>	<i>þrettán</i>			
14	<i>féoworténe,</i>	<i>fiorwetine</i>	<i>fiertein</i>	<i>fiorzehan</i>	<i>flogortán</i>	<i>fidwortaihun</i>		
15	<i>fifténe, -týne</i>	<i>fiftine</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>nitián</i>			
20	<i>twéntiġ</i>	<i>twintich</i>	<i>twēntig</i>	<i>zweinzug</i>	<i>tottogo, tuttugu</i>	<i>twai tigjus</i>	<i>twai tegu-</i>	<i>duoī dekr̄n</i>
30	<i>bri(t)tig</i>	<i>thrítich</i>	<i>thrítig</i>	<i>drîz(z)ug</i>	<i>þrír tigir</i>	<i>þreis tigjus</i>	<i>brijis tegu-</i>	etc.
40	<i>féowertig</i>	<i>fiuwertich</i>	<i>fiwartig</i>	<i>fiorzug</i>	<i>fjórir tigir</i>	<i>fidwor tigjus</i>	<i>feðwōr tegu-</i>	
50	<i>fiftig</i>	<i>fistich</i>	<i>fiftig</i>	<i>finfzug</i>	<i>fimm tigir</i>	<i>fimf tigjus</i>	<i>fimf tegu-</i>	
60	<i>si(e)xtiġ</i>	<i>sextich</i>	<i>se(h)stig</i>	<i>sêh zug</i>	<i>sex tigir</i>	<i>saihs tigjus</i>	<i>sexs tegu-</i>	
70	<i>hundseofontiġ</i>	<i>si(u)gentich</i>	<i>ahsibunta</i>	<i>sibunzo, -zug</i>	<i>sjau tigir</i>		<i>sebun tegu-</i>	
						<i>sibunehund</i>	<i>sebunetxund-</i>	
80	<i>hundeahattig</i>	<i>achta(n)tich, tachtig</i>	<i>(ant)ahtoda</i>	<i>ahtozo, -zug</i>	<i>áttā tigir</i>		<i>axta tegu-</i>	
						<i>ahtautehund</i>	<i>axtauteχund-</i>	
90	<i>hundniġontiġ</i>	<i>niuguntich, tniogentich</i>	<i>nigonda</i>	<i>niunzo, -zug</i>	<i>níu tigir</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>χundāⁿ</i>	<i>km̄tóm</i>
	<i>hundtéontiġ</i>			<i>zéhanzo, -zug</i>	<i>tíu tigir</i>	<i>taihunehund</i>		
120	<i>hundtwelftiġ</i>				<i>hundrad</i>			
1000	<i>búsend</i>	<i>thusend</i>	<i>thûsundig</i>	<i>dûsunt</i>	<i>bús(h)und 1200</i>	<i>büsundi</i>	<i>būs(a)χundī-</i>	<i>tūso-(d)km̄ti-</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>-baup / 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 / wauprum</i>	<i>bundans / wauprans</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 / saihvan</i>	<i>gaf / sahv</i>	<i>gebum / sehvum</i>	<i>gibans / saihvans</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 / huopan</i>	<i>saislep / huaihop</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>þendō</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>þendis(i), -z(i)</i>	<i>-é-si/-sí</i>
3.	<i>bindeð/b</i>	<i>bindith</i>	<i>bindið/d/t</i>	<i>bintit</i>	<i>bindr</i>	<i>bAriutib</i>	<i>bindib</i>	<i>þendi(i), -ð(i)</i>	<i>-é-ti/-tí</i>
1. du.							<i>bindos</i>	<i>þendōw(i)z</i>	<i>-ō-ues</i>
2.							<i>bindats</i>	<i>þendaps</i>	<i>-o-tes</i>
1. pl.	<i>bindab</i>	<i>bindat(h)</i>	<i>bindath/d</i>	<i>bintamēs</i>	<i>bindum</i>		<i>bindam</i>	<i>þendam(i)z, -me(s)</i>	<i>-o-mes</i>
2.	<i>bindab</i>	<i>bindat(h)</i>	<i>bindath/d</i>	<i>binte/i/at</i>	<i>bindið</i>		<i>bindib</i>	<i>þendib(i), -ð(i)</i>	<i>-é-te/-té</i>
3.	<i>bindab</i>	<i>bindat(h)</i>	<i>bindath/d</i>	<i>binta/ent</i>	<i>binda</i>		<i>bindand</i>	<i>þendanb(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.	bindē	bintē	binda	bindau	þendaiun	-o [‡] H ₁ -i
2.	= 3. sg.	= 3. sg.	bindes	bintēs	bindir	bundais	þendāiz, -s	-o [‡] H ₁ -s
3.	bindē	bindē	bindē	bintē	bindi	bindai	þendai(p, -ð)	-o [‡] H ₁ -t
1. du.						bindaiwa	þendaiw(e)	-o [‡] H ₁ -ue
2.						bindait	þendaiþs	-o [‡] H ₁ -tes
1. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	bintēm	bindim	bindaima	þendaim»	-o [‡] H ₁ -me
2.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	bintēt	bindið	bindaiþ	þendaiþ(i), -ð(i)	-o [‡] H ₁ -te
3.	binden	binde(n)	binden	bintēn	bindi	bindaina	þendain(p, -ð)	-o [‡] H ₁ -ent

mediopassive indicative forms

	Old English	Old Icelandic	Old Runic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Germanic
1. sg.	hátte	heite	haite	bindada	þendai	-H ₂ e [‡] i
2.				bindaza	þendaza(i)	-o-só [‡] i
3.	hátte			bindada	þendada(i)	-o-tó [‡] i
1. pl.	= 3. pl.			= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	
2.	= 3. pl.			= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	
3.	hátton			bindanda	þendandā(i)	-o-ntó [‡] i

preterite indicative forms

	Old English	Old Frisian	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Old Runic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Germanic
1. sg.	band	band	band	bant	batt	un-nam	band	þand(a)	-H ₂
2.	bunde	band(e)st	bundi	bunti	bazt		banst	þanðt(e)	-t(e)?
3.	band	band	band	bant	batt	gA [‡] f	band	þand(e)	-e
1. du.							bundu	þundw(e)	-ue
2.							bunduts	þundþs	-tes
1. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	buntum	bundum		bundum	þundum(i)	-m ^o (e)
2.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	buntut	bunduð		bunduþ	þundþ(i)	-te
3.	bundon	bundun	bundun	buntun	bundu		bundu	þundun(p)	-nt

preterite optative forms

	Old English	Old Frisian	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Old Runic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Germanic
1. sg.	= 3. sg.		bundi	bunti	bynda		bundjau	þundjaun	-jeH ₁ -m
2.	= 3. sg.		bundis	buntis	byndir		bundeis	þundis	-jeH ₁ -s
3.	bunde	bunde, -i	bundi	bunti	byndi	wate	bundi	þundi(p)	-jeH ₁ -t
1. pl.	= 3. pl.			buntim(es)	byndim		bundeima	þundimě	-iH ₁ -mē
2.	= 3. pl.			buntit	byndið		bundeip	þundiþ(i?)	-iH ₁ -té
3.	bunde/o/an	bunde, -i	bundin	buntin	byndi		bundeina	þundin(p)	-iH ₁ -ent

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.	fremme	fremme	fremmiu	frummiu	tel fóri	talijo fahi	lagja sokja	lagijō sōkijō	-e̥-ō
2.	fremes(t)	frem(e)st	fremis(t)	frumis(t)	telr fórir		lagjis sokeis	lagi(ji)s(i), -z(i) sōkī(s)i, -z(i)	-é̥e-si / -e̥e-sí
3.	fremeð	frem(e)th	fremið	frumit	telr fórir		lagjip sokeip	lagi(ji)p(i), -d(i) sōkīp(i), -d(i)	-é̥e-ti / -e̥e-tí
1. pl.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	frummemēs	teljum		lagjam sokjam	lagijam sōkijam	-e̥o-me
2.	fremmað	fremmath	fremmiað	frummet	telið		lagjip sokeip	lagi(ji)p(i) sōkīp(i)	-é̥e-te / -e̥e-té
3.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	frument	telja		lagjand sokjand	lagjanp(i), -d(i) sōkijanp(i), -d(i)	-e̥o-nti -e̥o-ntí

present indicative of weak verbs: Class II

	Old English	Old Frisian	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Germanic
1. sg.	sealfiȝe	klagie	makon	salbōm	kalla	salbo	salbōm(i)	-ā-mi < -eH₂- -ā-iō
2.	sealfas(t)	klagast	makos(t)	albōs(t)	kallar	salbos	salbō(ji)s(i)	-ā-(ie)-si
3.	sealfað	klagath, -eth	makod/t/ð	salbōt	kallar	salbop	salbō(ji)p(i)	-ā-(ie)-ti
1. pl.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	salbōmēs	kōllum	salbom	salbō(ja)m(i)z	-ā-(ie)-mes
2.	sealfiað	klagiath, -ieth	mako(ia)d/ð/t	salbōt	kallið	salbop	salbō(ji)p(i)	-ā-(ie)-te
3.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	salbōnt	kalla	salbond	salbō(ja)nþ(i)	-ā-(io)-nti

present indicative of weak verbs: Class III

	Old English	Old Frisian	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Germanic
1. sg.	hæbbe	hebbe, hab	hebbiu	habēm	hef(i)	haba	χabjō	-H₁-iō
2.	hafas, hæfst	he(f)st, hast	habes	habēs(t)	hef(i)r	habais	χabējs(i), -z(i)	-eH₁-ie-si
3.	hafað, hæfð	hefti, hevet, hat, havit	habed	habēt	hef(i)r	habaiþ	χabējþ(i), -d(i)	-eH₁-ie-ti
1. pl.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	habēmēs	hofum	habam	χabjam(i)z	-H₁-io-mes
2.	habbað	habbeth	he/abbiad	habēt	hafið	habaiþ	χabējþi, -di	-eH₁-ie-te
3.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	= 2. pl.	habēnt	hafa	haband	χabjanþi, -di	-H₁-io-nti

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.	-de, -te	-de, -t(e)	-da, -ta	-ta	-ð/p/ta	-do, -to	-da, -ta
2.	-des(t), -tes(t)	-dest, -test	-des(t), -tes(t)	-tōs(t)	-ð/p/tir		-des, -tes
3.	-de, te	-de, -t(e)	-da, -ta	-ta	-ð/p/ti	-te, -ti	-da, -ta

	Old English	Old Frisian	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Icelandic	Old Runic	Gothic
2. du.							-d/teduts
1. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	-tum, -tōm/n	-ð/p/tum		-d/tedum
2.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	-tut, -tōt	-ð/p/tuð		-d/tedum
3.	-don, -ton	-don(en), -te	-dun, -tun	-tun, -tōn	-ð/p/tu		-d/teduþ

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	wát	witon	wisse, wiste	wisson
Old Frisian	wēt	witon	wiste	wisten
Old Saxon	wēt	witun	wissa	wissun
Old High German	weiz	wizzun	wissa, wista	wissun
Old Icelandic	veit	vitu	vissa	vissu
Gothic	wait	witun	wissa	wissedun
*Germanic	wait(e)	witun(b)		
*Pre-Germanic	ȝoid-e	ȝid-nt		

“to be useful”	present		preterite	
	3. sg.	3. pl.	3. sg.	3. pl.
Old English	déág	du góñ	dohte	dohton
Old Frisian	dāch	daged	dege	
Old Saxon	dōg	dugun		
Old High German	toug	tugun	tohta	tuhtun
Gothic	daug			
*Germanic	ðaug(e)	ðaugun(b)		
*Pre-Germanic	d ^h ug ^h -e	d ^h ug ^h -nt		

“to know how, to be able to”	present		preterite	
	3. sg.	3. pl.	3. sg.	3. pl.
Old English	can(n)	cunnon	cúðe	cúðon
Old Frisian	kan	kunnon	kūthe, kūde	
Old Saxon	kan	kunnun	konsta	konstun
Old High German	kan	kunnun	konda	kondun
Old Icelandic	kann	kunnu	kunna	kunnu
Gothic	kann	kunnun	kunþa	kunþedun
*Germanic	kann(e)	kunnun(b)		
*Pre-Germanic	(analogical innovation)	*ȝgnH ₃ -nt		

“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 < *undē</i> <i>gi-onsto</i>	<i>úðon < *undun</i>
Old Saxon	<i>an</i>	<i>unnun</i>		<i>onda, onsta</i>	<i>ondun</i>
Old High German	<i>ann</i>	<i>unnu</i>		<i>unna < *unþa</i>	<i>unnu</i>
Old Icelandic	<i>ann(e)</i>	<i>unnun</i>			
*Germanic					
*Pre-Germanic	(analogic innovation)	<i>*H₃NNH₂-nt</i>			

“to suffer from poverty”		present		preterite	
		3. sg.	3. pl.	3. sg.	3. pl.
Old English	<i>bearf</i>	<i>burfon</i>	<i>borfte</i>	<i>borfton</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>thorfta</i>	<i>thorftun</i>	
Old High German	<i>darf</i>	<i>durfun</i>	<i>dorfta</i>	<i>dorf tun</i>	
Old Icelandic	<i>parf</i>	<i>purfu</i>	<i>purfta</i>	<i>purftu</i>	
Gothic	<i>parf</i>	<i>paurbun</i>	<i>paurfta</i>		
*Germanic	<i>parf(e)</i>	<i>purbun(p)</i>			
*Pre-Germanic	<i>tórp-e</i>	<i>trp-ńt</i>			

“to must, be obliged to”		present		preterite	
		3. sg.	3. pl.	3. sg.	3. pl.
Old English	<i>sceal(l)</i>	<i>sculan, 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>scoldun</i>
Old High German	<i>scal</i>	<i>sculun</i>		<i>scolta</i>	<i>scoltun</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(p)</i>			
*Pre-Germanic	<i>skol-e</i>	<i>skll-nt</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(p)</i>			
*Pre-Germanic	<i>mon-e</i>	<i>mn-nt</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>mōt, muot</i>	<i>mōtun</i>		<i>mōsta</i>	<i>mōstun</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(b)</i>			
*Pre-Germanic	<i>mōd-e</i>	<i>mōd-nt</i>			

“to be able to, may”		present		preterite	
		3. sg.	3. pl.	3. sg.	3. pl.
Old English	<i>mæg</i>	<i>magón, mægón</i>		<i>mæhte, meahthe</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 < 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(b)</i>			
*Pre-Germanic	<i>mag^h-e</i>	<i>mag^h-nt</i>			

IV.5.4 Other irregular verbs

“to be”: present indicative forms

	Old English	Old Fri-sian	Old Saxon	Old High German	Old Ice-landic	Old Runic	Gothic	*Germanic	*Pre-Ger-manic
1. sg.	<i>eom, eam 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 b(u)- + izm</i>	<i>H_ies-mi</i>
2.	<i>eart bis(t)</i>		<i>bist, bis</i>	<i>bis(t)</i>	<i>est</i>		<i>is</i>	<i>is / iz b(u)- + is</i>	<i>H_ies-si</i>
3.	<i>is bið</i>	<i>is(t)</i>	<i>ist, is</i>	<i>ist</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>Az (accord-ing to 2 sg.)</i>	<i>ist</i>	<i>ist</i>	<i>H_ies-ti</i>
1. du.							<i>siju</i>	(according to opt.)	
1. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.		<i>erum birum</i>		<i>sijum</i>	=	<i>H_is-mos</i>
2.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.		<i>eruð birut</i>		<i>sijup</i>	=	<i>H_is-tHe</i>
3.	<i>sind(on) beoð</i>	<i>send, sind</i>	<i>sind(un)</i>	<i>sint</i>	<i>eru</i>		<i>sind</i>	=	<i>H_is-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.	sî	sî	siá		sijau	sjē + -un	<i>H₁s-jeH₁-m</i>
2.	= 3. sg.	= 3. pl.	sîs	sîs(t)	sér	siz	sijais	sjēs(i), -zi	<i>H₁s-jeH₁-s</i>
3.	sí(e), s» bío	sē (sie)	sî	sî	sé		sijai	sjē(b)	<i>H₁s-jeH₁-t</i>
1. pl.		= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	sîm	sém		(sijaima)	sîme	<i>H₁s-iH₁-me</i>
2.		= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	sît	séð		(sijaiþ)	sîþ(e)	<i>H₁s-iH₁-te</i>
3.	sí(e)n, s» bíon	sē (sie)	sîn	sîn	sé		sijaina	sijen(b)	<i>H₁s-iH₁-ent</i>

“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	<i>uelH₁-iH₁-ō + -m</i>
2.	wilt	wilt	wili, wilt	wili	vilt, vill	wileis	wilts	<i>-iH₁-s</i>
3.	wile	wili	wili	wili	vil(l)	wili	wili(b)	<i>-iH₁-t</i>
2. du.						wileits	wiliðes	<i>-iH₁-tes</i>
1. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	wellemēs	viljum	wileima	wilimē(s)	<i>-iH₁-me</i>
2.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3 pl.	wellet	vilið	wileiþ	wiliþ(e)	<i>-iH₁-te</i>
3.	willað	willat(h)	williad	wellent	vilja	wileina	wilin(b)	<i>-iH₁-nt</i>

“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	đōmi	d ^h oH ₁ -mi
2.	dést, dést	dést	dôs	tôs, tuost	đōsi	-si
3.	déð, dæð	dêth	dôt	tôt, tuost	đōbi	-ti
1. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	tômôs, tuomês	đōmes(i)	-mesi
2.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	tôt, tuot	đōþ(e)	-te
3.	dóð	dwâth	dôd	tônt, tuont	đōnþ(i), -đ(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	*đō + un	d ^h oH ₁ -m
2.	= 3. sg.	= 3. sg.	dôas	tôs, tues	*đos(i)	-s
3.	dó, döe	dwē	dôe	tô, tuo	*đō	-ø
1. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	tôm	*đōme	-me
2.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	tôt, tuot	*đöde	-té
3.	dón, döe	dwē	dôen	tô, tuon	*đön(b)	-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>đedā</i>
2.	<i>dydes(t)</i>	= 3. sg.	<i>dedos, dâdi</i>	<i>tâti</i>		<i>đedēs(i)</i>
3.	<i>dyde, dede</i>	<i>dēde</i>	<i>deda, dede</i>	<i>teta</i>	<i>dede</i>	<i>đedēp(i)</i>
1. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	<i>tâtum, -un</i>		<i>đedōm(e)</i>
2.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	<i>tâtut</i>		<i>đedō[?]b(e)</i>
3.	<i>dydon, dédun</i>	<i>dēdun</i>	<i>dedun, dâdun</i>	<i>tâtun</i>	<i>dedun</i>	<i>đedun(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>	-ð/p/ta	-d/tedjau
2.	= 3. sg.	= 3. sg.	<i>dedis, dâdis</i>	<i>tâtis, tetis</i>	-ð/p/tir	-d/tedeis
3.	<i>dyde</i>	<i>dēde(n)</i>	<i>dedi, dadi</i>	<i>tâti</i>	-ð/p/ti	-d/tedi
1. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	<i>tâtîm</i>	-ð/p/tim	-d/tedeima
2.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	= 3. pl.	<i>tâtît</i>	-ð/p/tið	-d/tedeip
3.	<i>dyden</i>	<i>dēde(n)</i>	<i>dâdin</i>	<i>tâtîn</i>	-ð/p/ti	-d/tedeina

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 tempore Constantius consulatu suo septies et Caesaris ter egressus Arelate Valentiam petit, in Gundomadum et Vodomarium 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 Vodomarius, 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 ineunes altius anhelabunt velut quodam furoris affectu 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 cruento ad audiendum 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 ad cursu, inde navigiis vectorum militum impetu repentina perterfacti evadendi subsidium velox locorum invenerunt prudentes, quorum digressu miles liberus gradiens opulentas pecore villas et frugibus rapiebat nulli parcendo. extractisque captivis domicilia cuncta curatus ritu Romano constructa flammis subditis exurebat.*

[XVII 1.8] *emersaque 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, illicibus incisis et fraxinis roboreque abietum magno semitas invenerunt constratas. ideoque gradientes cautius retro non nisi per anfractus longos et asperos ultra progredi posse vix indignationem capientibus animis advertebant.*

[XVII 1.10] *et quoniam aeris urente saevitia cum discriminibus ultimis laboratur in cassum – aequinoctio quippe autumnali exacto per eos tractus superfusae nives opplevere 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 excitate 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 praedorii 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 Lentensis 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 Lentenses, 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, primusfuit 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 Hisarnis: 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 Thiudemer et Valamir et Vidimir: Thiudimir 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 Eutharicu, qui coniunctus Amalasuintha genuit Athalaricum et Mathesuentham, 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 fratuelis 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 **Thiudimer** (?–?) 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 Beteric 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 Wandalorum, 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 Wandalorum, rogaverunt Godan, ut daret eis super Winniles victoriam. Respondit Godan dicens: "Quos sol surgente antea video, 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] *Illi tempore exivit rex Audoachari de Ravenna cum exercitu Alanorum, et venit in Rugiland et inpugnavit Rugos, et occidit Theuvane regem Rugorum, secumque multis captivos duxit in Italiam. Tunc exierunt Langobardi de suis regionibus, et habitaverunt in Rugiland 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 *Winniles*. 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 alditionates 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 barbam suum cum Zuchilone. Et pugnavit Wacho, et pugnavit Ildichis, filius Tatoni, 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 Gippidi. 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 inductione prima. Secunda vero inductione coeperunt praedare in italia. Tertia autem inductione 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 Constantiopolim 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 *Fisud* 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 *Rosemunda*, whom he had captured as booty, since his wife *Flutsuinda*, who was the daughter of *Flothar*, kind 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 induction. In the second induction, indeed, they began to plunder in *Italy*, but in the third induction 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 Gundoald, et ordinavit eum autari rex ducem in civitatem Astense. Et regnavit Autari annos septem. Et exivit Acquo dux Turingus de Thaurinis, et iunxit se Theudelenda 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 *Gundoald*, 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 Valentianino XLVI ab Augusto regnum adeptus, VII annis tenuit. Tunc Anglorum siue Saxonum gens, inuitata a rege praefato, Brittaniam 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 Brettonum; mittitur confestim illo classis prolixior, armatorum ferens manum fortiorum, quae praemissae adiuncta cohorti inuincibilem fecit exercitum. Suscepunt 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 Brettonibus, hactenus in orientalibus Cantiae partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne. Erant autem filii Uictgilsi, cuius pater Uitta, cuius pater Uecta, cuius pater Uoden, de cuius stirpe multarum prouinciarum regium 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 Turcicæ Epistolæ 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 accepi, quae etiamnum incolit Tauricam Chersonesum, quam saepe audi- veram 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 interpres in eos incidissent, memores quid eis mandasssem si id usu veniret, ad prandium illos ad me adduxerunt.

Alter erat procerior, toto ore ingenuam quandam simplicitatem praferens, 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 disrespectful 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 reperi memorabat. Nam de rebus gravissimis interrogatos, breviter atque apposite responderem.

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

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

<i>Knauen tag</i> erat illi Bonus dies: <i>Knauen</i> bonum dicebat et pleaque alia cum nostra lingua non satis congruentia usurpabat, ut	“Knauen tag” was for him ‘Good day’; <i>Knauen</i> meant ‘good’, and he would use many other terms not agreeing well enough with our language, such as
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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 vbut</i>	<i>sit sanum</i>	may it be well	<i>menu</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, sevēne, 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.
Prosequebatur 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:

“When asked he counted thus: *Ita, tua, tria, fyuf, seis, sevēne*, 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:”

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 hodie que 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 erraturum 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.

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.

“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.”

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/; ♀ /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
ᚠ	f	*fexu	“wealth; cattle”
ᚢ	u	? *ūruz	“aurochs”
ᚦ	p	? *purisaz	“the god Thor, giant”
ᚩ	a	*ansuz	“one of the <i>Æsir</i> (gods)”
ᚱ	r	*raidō	“ride, journey”
ᚲ	k	? *kaunaz	“ulcer” (or *kenaz “torch”?)
ᚫ	g	*gebō	“gift”
ᚦ	w	*wunjō	“joy”
ᚪ ᚩ	h	*xagalaz	“hail” (the precipitation)
ᚾ	n	*naudiz	“need”
ᛁ	i	*īsaz	“ice”
ᛗ	j	*jēra-	“year”
ᛚ	ī (or œ)	*ī(x)waz / *ei(x)waz	“yew-tree”
ᚽ	p	? *perb-	“pear-tree”?
ᛵ	z	? *algiz	“elk”
ᛮ	s	*sōwilō	“Sun”
ᛏ	t	*tīwaz / *teiwaz	“the god Tyr”
ᛒ ᛑ	b	*berkanan	“birch”
ᛘ	e	*exwaz	“horse”
ᛘ	m	*mannaz	“Man”
ᛚ	l	*laguz	“water, lake” (or *laukaz “leek”?)
ᛟ	ŋ	*engwaz	“the god Yngvi”
ᛟ	o	*ōpila http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Othalan- / *ōpala-	“heritage, estate, possession”
ᛘ	d	*dagaz	“day”

Table 12: Runic script – Elder Futhark

Old fufark	Old English fuforc		Younger fufark		Gothic	
	character	name	character	Old Danish name	name	transliteration
ᚠ	ᚠ	feoh	ᚠ	fiu	fe	f
ᚢ	ᚢ	úr	ᚢ	urR “drizzling”	uraz	u
ᚦ	ᚦ	þorn “thorn”	ᚦ	þurs	thyth “good”	þ
ᚩ	ᚩ “o”	ós “mouth”	ᚩ “a”	qus	aza	a
ᚱ	ᚱ	rád	ᚱ	reið	reda	r
ᚲ	ᚲ “c”	cén “torch”	ᚲ	kqun	chozma “ulcer”	k
ᚫ	ᚫ “g”	gyfu			geuua	g
ᚦ	ᚦ	wen, wynn			uuinne	w
ᚪ	ᚪ	hægl	*	hqkql	haal	h
ᚾ	ᚾ	nyd	†	nquþR	noicz	n

Old fufark	Old English fuforc		Younger fufark		Gothic	
	character	name	character	Old Danish name	name	transliteration
I	I	is	I	is	iiz	i
ᛚ	ɸ	gér			gaar	j
			†	qr		a
ᚢ	ᚢ “eo”	éoh, th		ir		í
ᚦ	ᚦ	peorð			pertra	p
ᚧ	ᚧ “x”	eolhx	ᚨ “R”	ælgR	ezec?	z
ᚫ	ᚫ	sigel	ᚫ	sulu	sugil	s
ᛏ	ᛏ	Tí(w), tir	ᛏ	tiuR	tyz	t
ᛒ	ᛒ	beorc	ᛒ	biarkan	bercna	b
ᛘ	ᛘ	eoh		eor	eyz	e
ᛘ	ᛘ	man	ᛘ	magnR	manna	m
ᛚ	ᛚ	lagu	ᛚ	logr “water” lauk “leek”	laaz	l
ᛞ	ᛞ	Ing			enguz	ŋ
ᛮ	ᛮ	dæg			daaz	d
ᛟ	ᛟ “œ”	œðel, éðel			utal	o
ᚠ “a”	ᚠ “a”	ác “oak”				
ᚠ “æ”	ᚠ “æ”	æsc “ash tree”				
ᚠ “y”	ᚠ “y”	yr “bow”				
	* “ia, io”	ior “eel”				
ᛏ “ea”	ᛏ “ea”	ear “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
ᚨ	a	A	aza < *ans “god”	*ansuz
ᛒ	b	B	bercna < *bairka “birch”	*berkanan
ᚳ	g	Γ	geuua < giba “gift”	*gebō
ᛞ	d	Δ	daaz < dags “day”	*dagaz
ᚦ	e	E	eyz < *aihus “horse”, cf. aiha-tundi “blackberry bush” = *“horse bush”	*eihwaz
ᚩ	q	ᚲ	qertra < *qairþra “fruit-tree” (cf. Old Irish ceirt “apple tree” = character q) or qaírnus “millstone”	cf. Old English cweorþ, name of the rune q (see *perþro)
ᛖ	z	Z	ezec < ?	(see *algiz)

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
h	h	H	haal < *hagal or *hagls “hail”	*haglaz
Ψ	p	Θ	thyth < piup “good”	*thurisaz
l	i	I	iiz < *eis “ice”	*isaz
R	k	K	chozma < *kusma, cf. Finnish <i>kusma</i> “ulcer”	*kaunan
λ	l	Λ	laaz < *lagus “sea”	*laguz
Μ	m	M	manna < manna “man”	*mannaz
Ν	n	N	noicz < naups “need”	*naudiz
Ҫ	j	Lat. G, Run. ȝ	gaar < jēr “year”	*jēran
Ƞ	u	Run. Ƞ	uraz < *ūrus “aurochs”	*ūruz
Ƞ	p	Ƞ	pertra < *pairþa ?	*perþō
Ȑ	“90”	Q		
Ȓ	r	Lat. R, Run. Ȓ	reda < *raida “wagon”	*raidō
S	s	Lat. S, Run. Ȣ	sugil < sauil or *sōgil “Sun”	*sōwilō
T	t	T	tyz < *tius “the god Týr”	*tiwaz
Ƴ	w	Ƴ	uuinne < winja “field, pasture” or winna “pain”	*wunjō
Ƒ	f	Lat. F, Run. Ƒ	fe < faīhu “cattle, wealth”	*fehu
X	x	X	Serves for transcription of adopted Greek words and proper nouns with χ	
Ө	h		uuaer < * ¹ air “kettle”	-
Ӯ	o	Ω, Ӯ	utal < *ōpal “ancestral land”	*ōbala
߱	“900”	߱		

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

VII LEXICOSTATISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE OLD GERMANIC LANGUAGES¹

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% ~ 1030	75.5/84 = 89.88% ~ 1060	69.5/83 = 83.73% ~ 1390	75/84 = 89.29% ~ 1090	75.5/84 = 89.88% ~ 1060
Old Norse		95/100 = 95.00% ~ 730	86.5/96 = 90.10% ~ 1050	93/99 = 93.94% ~ 800	92.5/100 = 92.50% ~ 900
Old English			92.5/96 = 96.35% ~ 620	97.5/99 = 98.48% ~ 390	98/100 = 98.00% ~ 450
Old Frisian				91/95 = 95.79% ~ 670	92/96 = 95.83% ~ 670
Old Saxon					97.5/99 = 98.48% ~ 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 asynchronically 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 Δ (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	$(t_1 + t_2)/2$	Δ	$(t_1 + t_2)/2 - \Delta = t_0$
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	$(t_1 + t_2)/2$	Δ	$(t_1 + t_2)/2 - \Delta = t_0$
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:

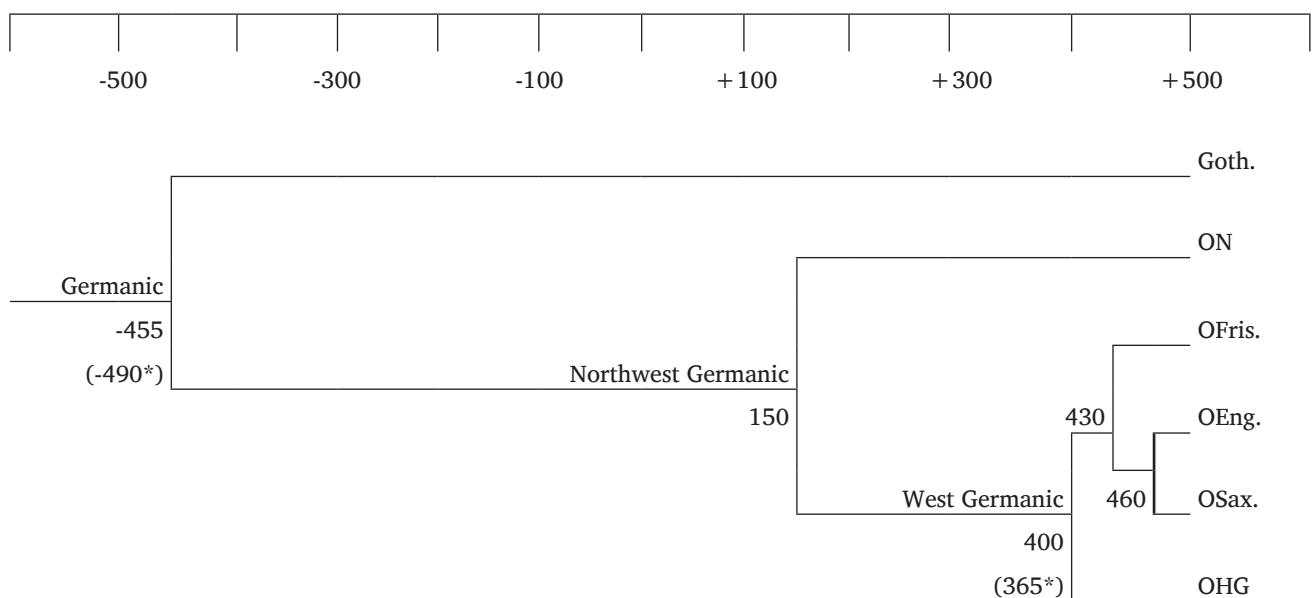
(i) A simple average $(350 + 380 + 460)/3 = 1190/3 = 396.66 \approx 400$ CE;

(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 *fif* vs. Old High German *fimf* ‘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	$(t_1 + t_2)/2$	Δ	$(t_1 + t_2)/2 - \Delta = t_0$
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.

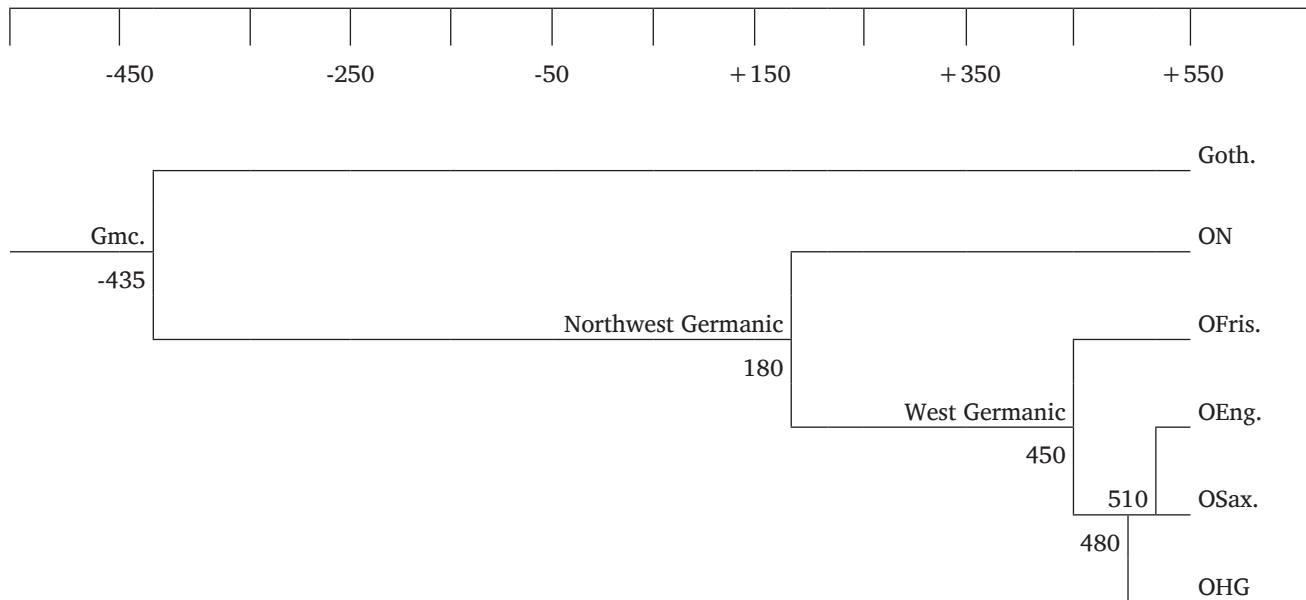
2. The later date of the Gothic–Nordic disintegration resulting from the above calculation was probably caused by a secondary neighbourhood of ancestors of Goths (East Germans) and newly incoming ancestors of North Germanic populations to southern Scandinavia. Abstracting from this value, the average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

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

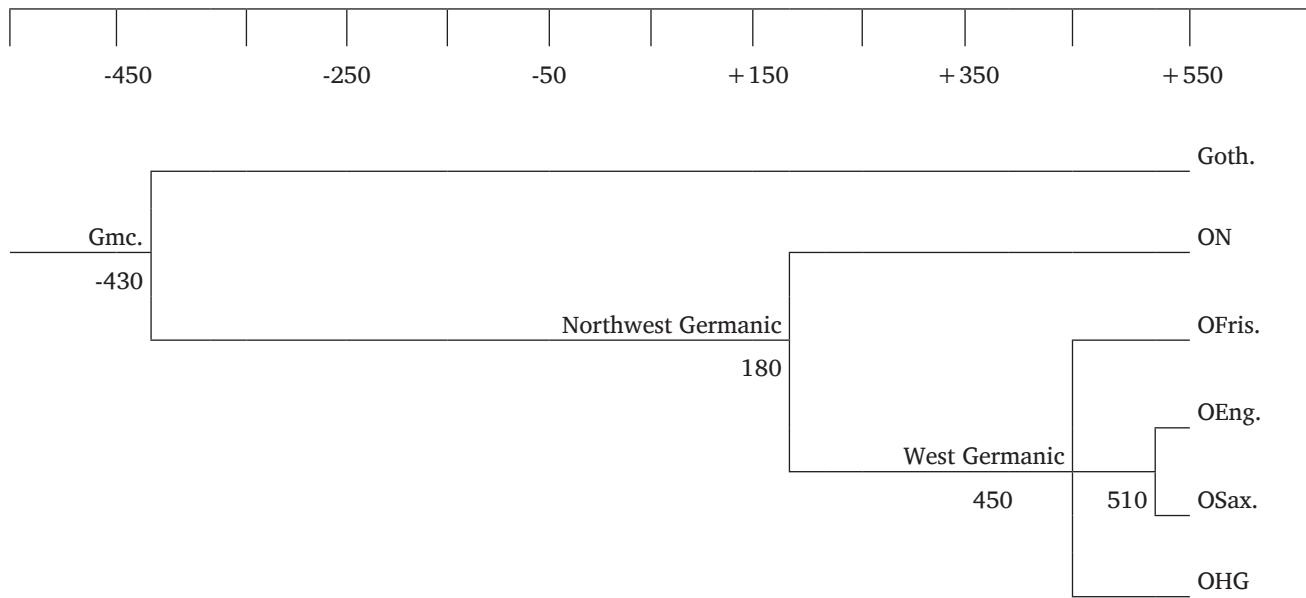
The average $(270 + 150 + 200 + 100)/4 = 720/4 = 180 = 180$ CE determines a probable date for the disintegration of the common Northwest Germanic protolanguage.

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 ($\Sigma\Sigma$), 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; $\Sigma\Sigma$ 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. Σ 6; $\Sigma\Sigma$ 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; $\Sigma\Sigma$ 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; $\Sigma\Sigma$ 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; $\Sigma\Sigma$ 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; $\Sigma\Sigma$ 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; $\Sigma\Sigma$ 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; $\Sigma\Sigma$ 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; $\Sigma\Sigma$ 7.5; σ 92.5/100.

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

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

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

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

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

Old Saxon + Old High German: 11/2 breast, 52 many. σ 1; $\sigma\Sigma$ 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	* <i>allaz</i>	<i>alls</i>	<i>allo</i>	<i>eal</i>	<i>alle, al</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>all</i>
2	ashes	a	* <i>askōn</i>	<i>azgo</i>	<i>aska</i>	<i>asce/æsce</i>	<i>eska</i>	^M <i>asche</i>	<i>aska</i>
3	bark	a	* <i>barkuz</i>		<i>børkr</i>			^M <i>borke</i> f.	
		b	* <i>rendōn</i>			<i>rind(e)</i>		<i>rinda</i>	<i>rinta</i>
4	belly	a	* <i>kwipuz/-az/-iz</i>	<i>qibus</i>	<i>kviðr</i>	(<i>cwid(a)</i> womb)			(<i>quiti</i> vulva)
		b	* <i>wambō</i>	<i>wamba</i>	<i>womb</i>	<i>wamb</i> womb	<i>wamme</i>	^M <i>wamme</i>	<i>wamba</i> <i>wampa</i>
		c	* <i>būkaz</i>		(<i>búkr</i> body)	<i>būc</i>	<i>būk/būch</i> belly, trunk		<i>būh</i> belly, body, stomach
		d	* <i>xrefaz</i>			<i>hrif</i> b., womb	<i>hrif, href</i>		<i>href</i>
5	big	a	* <i>mekilaz</i>	<i>mikils</i>	<i>mikill mykill</i>	<i>micel mycel</i>		(<i>mikil</i> great, much)	<i>mihhil</i>
		b	* <i>graутaz</i>		(<i>graутr</i> porrid-ge)	<i>grēat</i>	<i>grāt</i>	<i>grōt</i> big, mighty	(<i>grōz</i> big, strong)
		c	* <i>stōr(j)az</i>		<i>stórr</i>	(> <i>stōr</i> great)	<i>stōr</i> big, high	(<i>stōri</i> famous)	(<i>stuori</i> big, strong)
		d	* <i>braidaz</i>	(<i>braips</i> broad)	(<i>breið</i> broad)	(<i>brād</i> broad)	<i>bred</i> big, bread	(<i>brēd</i> broad)	(<i>breit</i> broad)
6	bird	a	* <i>fuglaz</i>	<i>fugls</i>	<i>fugl</i>	<i>fugol</i>	<i>fugel</i>	<i>fugal</i>	<i>fogal</i>

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

	English		Proto-Germanic	Gothic	Old Norse	Old English	Old Frisian	Old Saxon (M = MLG)	Old High German (MHG)
24	egg	a	* <i>ajaz</i>	* <i>addi</i>	egg	œg̊		<i>ei</i>	<i>ei</i>
25	eye	a	* <i>augōn</i>	<i>augo</i>	<i>auga</i>	ēaġe	āge	ōga	<i>ouga</i>
26	fat	a	* <i>faitaz</i>		<i>feitr</i>	<i>fæt(t)</i>			^M <i>veiz</i>
		<i>a</i> ₁	* <i>faitiða</i>			<i>fæt(t)</i>	<i>fatt, fet</i>	^M <i>veet</i>	<i>feizzit</i>
		b	* <i>smerwan/-ōn</i>		<i>smør smjor</i>	<i>smeoru</i>	(<i>smere</i> tallow)	<i>smero</i>	<i>smero</i>
		<i>b</i> ₁	* <i>smer-þra-</i>	<i>smairþr</i>					
27	feather	a	* <i>feþrō</i>		<i>fjǫðr</i>	<i>feðer</i>	<i>fethere</i>	<i>feðara</i>	<i>federa</i>
28	fire	a	* <i>ailiðaz</i>		<i>eldr</i>	<i>ael(e)d</i>		<i>ēld</i>	
		b	* <i>bēlan</i>		<i>bál</i>	<i>bæl</i>			
		c	* <i>funōn</i>	<i>fon</i>	<i>funi</i>				
		<i>c</i> ₁	* <i>fuwer : fūr</i>		<i>fúrr/ fýrr</i>	<i>fýr / fiur</i>	<i>fiðr / fiur</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>fish</i>	<i>fisk</i>	<i>fisc</i>
30	fly (v.)	a	* <i>fleuganan</i>		<i>fljúga</i>	<i>fleōgan</i>	<i>fliāga</i>	^M <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>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>gōps</i>	<i>góðr</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>guot</i>
35	green	a	* <i>grōniz</i>		<i>grøenn</i>	<i>græne</i>	<i>grēne</i>	<i>grōni</i>	<i>gruoni</i>
36	hair	a	* <i>xēran</i>		<i>hár</i>	<i>hær</i>	<i>hér</i>	<i>här</i>	<i>här</i>
		b	* <i>taglan/-az</i>	<i>tagl</i>	(<i>tagl</i> hair, tail)				(<i>zagal</i> tail)
37	hand	a	* <i>xandūz</i>	<i>handus</i>	<i>hond</i>	<i>hond</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>hant</i>
		b	* <i>mundō</i>		<i>mund</i>	<i>mund</i>			<i>munt</i>
38	head	a	* <i>xauþuðan</i> * <i>xauþeðan</i>	<i>haubip</i>	<i>haufuð</i>	<i>hāfod</i>	<i>hā(ve)d</i>	<i>hōbid</i>	<i>houbit</i>
		<i>a</i> ₁	* <i>xabuðan</i>		<i>hofuð</i>	<i>hafod</i>			
39	hear	a	* <i>xausjanan</i> * <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>haírto</i>	<i>hjarta</i>	<i>heorte</i>	<i>herte/hirte</i>	<i>herta</i>	<i>herza</i>
41	horn	a	* <i>xurnan</i>	<i>haúrn</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>ðaudjanan</i>	<i>daubjan</i>	<i>deyða</i>	<i>dýdan</i>	<i>dēda</i>	<i>bi-dōdian</i>	<i>tōten</i>
		b	* <i>kwaljanan</i>			<i>cwellan</i>		<i>quellian</i>	<i>quellen</i>
		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>	<i>kunnan</i>	<i>kunna</i>	<i>cunnan</i>	<i>kunna</i>	<i>kunnan</i>	<i>kunnan</i>
		b	* <i>witanan</i>	<i>witan</i>	<i>vita</i>	<i>witan</i>	<i>wita</i>	<i>witan</i>	<i>wizzan</i>
		<i>b</i> ₁	* <i>waita</i> 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>þlaðan</i>		<i>blað</i>	<i>blaed</i>	<i>bled</i>	<i>blad</i>	<i>blat</i>
			* <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>lidz(i)a</i>	<i>liggian</i>	<i>ligan/ liggen</i>
48	liver	a	* <i>librō(n)</i>		<i>lifr</i>	<i>lifer</i>	<i>livere</i>	^M <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>lūs</i>	<i>lūs</i>		^M <i>lūs</i>	<i>lūs</i>
51	man (vir)	a	* <i>ferxwjaz</i>		pl. <i>firar</i>	pl. <i>firas</i>		pl. <i>firihos</i>	g.pl. <i>fireo</i>
		b	* <i>karlaz</i> * <i>kerlaz</i>		<i>karl</i>	<u><i>carl</i></u> < ON <i>ceorl</i>	(<i>zerl</i> servant)	^M <i>kerle</i>	<i>karl</i>
		c	* <i>mannōn ~ mannz</i>	<i>manna</i>	<i>mannr</i> <i>maðr</i>	<i>mann</i> <i>monn</i> <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>ǵuma</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>fjol-</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)
		<i>b₁</i>			<i>margr</i>				
		c	* <i>mekuz</i>		<i>mjǫk</i>				
53	meat	a	* <i>fleiskan</i>			<i>flæsc</i>	<i>flēsk</i>	<i>flēsk</i>	<i>fleisc</i>
		b	* <i>xulđan</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>lih</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>þergan/-az</i>	(<i>bairga-hei</i> hill-country)	(<i>bjarg</i> rock)	<i>beorġ</i>	<i>berch</i>	<i>berg</i>	<i>berg</i>
		b	* <i>ferg(w)un-jan/jō</i>	<i>faírguni</i>	(<i>fjørg-yñ</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>múli</i> snout)		<i>mūla</i>	(^M <i>mūl</i> n. snout)	(<i>mūla</i> snout)
		c	* <i>snaþbōn</i>				<i>snabba</i>	(<i>snabbe</i> beak)	
57	name	a	* <i>namōn</i> * <i>namnan</i>	<i>namo</i> 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	hals	háls	heals	hals	hals	hals
		b	*swirhjan-		svíri	swēora			
59	new	a	*neujaz	niujis	nýr	nīewe	nīe	niwi/nigi	niuwi
60	night	a	*naxtz	nahts	nátt / nótt	neahht / niht	nacht	naht	naht
61	nose	a	*nasō		nōs			(nasa-druppo cold)	nasa
		a ₁	*nusō			nosu	nose		
62	not	a	*ne	ne / ni	né	ne	ni / ne	ni / ne	ni / ne
					eigi, ekki				
63	one	a	*ainaz	ains	einn	án	ān/ēn/on	ēn	ein
64	person (homo)	a	*mannōn ~ *mannz	manna	mannr maðr	mann	mann / monn	man(n)	man(n)
		a ₁	*manniska- n. adj.	mann- isks	men- skr	menn-isc	mann- iska	menn- isko	men(n)- isko
		b	*gumōn	guma	gumi	ǵuma	(breid-gomo groom)	gumo	gomo
65	rain	a	*regnān / -az	rign	regn	regn	rein	regin / regan	regan
66	red	a	*rauðaz	raups	rauðr	rēad	rād	rōd	rōt
67	road	c	*wegaz	wigs	vegr	weǵ	wei	weg	weg
68	root	a	*wurtiz	waúrts	(urt plant)	wyrt		wurt	wurz
		a ₁	*wurti-waluz				wortele		
		a ₂	*wrōt-		rót	rōt < ON			
69	round	a	*sena-walaz		(sí-) valr			sinuwel	sin(a)wel
		a ₁	*sena-waltaz			sine-wealt		^M sine-wolt	
		b	cf. ON kringla circle		kringl-ótrr				
		c	*trendaz				trind		
70	sand	a	*malmōn/-az *melmaz	malma	(malmr ore)	(mealm-iht sandy)		melm sand, dust	(melm dust)
		b	*sandaz / -an		sandr	sand	sand / sond	sand	sant
71	say	a	*kweþanan	qibān	kveða	cweðan	quette	quenthan	quedan
		b	*sagjanan *sagēnan		segja	secǵan	sedza / sega	seggian	sagēn
		c	*maþliða dixi	(maþlja I talk)	(mál speech)	(mæþlan to speak)		(mathal lawcourt)	
72	see	a	*sexwanan	saiwan	sjá	sēon	sia	sehan	sehan

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

	English		Proto-Germanic	Gothic	Old Norse	Old English	Old Frisian	Old Saxon (M = MLG)	Old High German (MHG)
87	thou	a	* <i>pū</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>pú</i>	<i>ðū</i>	<i>thū</i>	<i>thū</i>	<i>dū</i>
88	tongue	a	* <i>tungōn</i>	<i>tuggo</i>	<i>tunga</i>	<i>tunge</i>	<i>tunge / tongue</i>	<i>tunga</i>	<i>zunga</i>
89	teeth	a	* <i>tanþuz</i>		<i>tønn</i>	<i>tōð</i>	<i>tōth</i>	<i>tand</i>	<i>zan(t)</i>
		a ₁	* <i>tunþuz</i>	<i>tunþus</i>					
90	tree	a	* <i>þaumaz</i>			<i>beām</i>	<i>bām</i>	<i>bōm</i>	<i>boum</i>
		a ₁	* <i>bagmaz < *bawwmaz</i> (EWAhd II: 266)	<i>bagms</i>	<i>baðmr</i>				
		b	* <i>trewan</i>	<i>triu</i>	<i>tré</i>	<i>trēow</i>	<i>trē</i>	<i>trio/treο</i>	
91	two	a	* <i>twō(u)</i>	<i>twai</i>	<i>tveir</i>	<i>twēgen</i>	<i>twēn</i>	<i>twēne, twō</i>	<i>zwēne, zwō</i>
92	walk/go	a	* <i>libanan</i>	<i>ga-leibān</i>	<i>līða</i>	<i>līðan</i>	(<i>līða</i> to suffer)	<i>līthan</i>	(<i>lidan</i> to leave)
		b	* <i>gangan</i>	(at-) <i>gaggan</i>	<i>ganga</i>	<i>gangan</i>	<i>gonga / gunga</i>	<i>gangan</i>	<i>gangan</i>
		c	* <i>gainan</i>			<i>gān</i>	<i>gān</i>	<i>gān</i>	<i>gēn</i>
		d	* <i>ejjōn</i>	<i>iddja -jedum</i> we went		<i>éode</i> went			
93	warm	a	* <i>xaitaz</i>		<i>heitr</i>	<i>hāt</i>	<i>hēt</i>	<i>hēt</i>	<i>heiz</i>
		b	* <i>warmaz</i>		<i>varmr</i>	<i>wēarm</i>	<i>warm</i>	<i>warm</i>	<i>warm</i>
94	water	a	* <i>watar</i> * <i>watōn</i> * <i>watnan</i>	<i>wato</i>	<i>vatn</i>	<i>wōter</i>	<i>water / wetr</i>	<i>watar</i>	<i>wazzar</i>
		b	* <i>axwō</i>	<i>ahā</i>	(á river)	(ēa stream)	(ā/ē id.)	(aha id.)	(aha id.)
95	we	a	* <i>wīz ~ wez</i>	<i>weis</i>	<i>vér</i>	<i>wē</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>wi / we</i>	<i>wir</i>
96	what?	a	* <i>xwat</i>	<i>hvata</i>	<i>hvat</i>	<i>hwōet</i>	<i>hwet</i>	<i>hwat</i>	<i>hwaz</i>
97	white	a	* <i>xwitaz</i>	<i>hweits</i>	<i>hvítr</i>	<i>hwit</i>	<i>hwit</i>	<i>hwit</i>	<i>hwit</i>
98	who?	a ₁	* <i>xwaz</i>	<i>hwas</i>	<i>hver</i> (RSw <i>hwaR</i>)	<i>hwá</i>	<i>hwā</i>		
		a ₂	* <i>xwiz</i>					<i>hwē</i>	<i>hwer</i>
		a ₃	* <i>xwar-jis</i> (where-he)	(<i>hvarjis</i> which)	<i>hverr</i>				
99	woman	a	* <i>kwenōn</i>	<i>qino</i>	<i>kona</i>	<i>cwene</i>		<i>quena</i>	<i>quena</i>
		a ₁	* <i>kwēniz</i>	(<i>qens</i> wife)	(<i>kván</i> wife)	<i>cwēn</i>		<i>quān</i>	
		b	* <i>wiþan</i>		<i>víf</i>	<i>wif</i>	<i>wif</i>	<i>wif</i>	<i>wib</i>
100	yellow	a	* <i>gelwaz</i>			<i>ȝeolu</i>		<i>gelu/-o</i>	<i>gel(o)</i>
		a ₁	* <i>gulwaz</i>		<i>gulr</i>				

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^hog^h-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^hh₂g^h-mo-*, deriving it from **bōgu-* „shoulder, arm“ < **b^heh₂g^hu-*.

VIII LEXICOSTATISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE FRISIAN DIALECTS²

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 – Öomrang*]; 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, Karrharde, North Goesharde [*Hoornig*], Middle Goesharde [*Hoolm*] and South Goesharde.

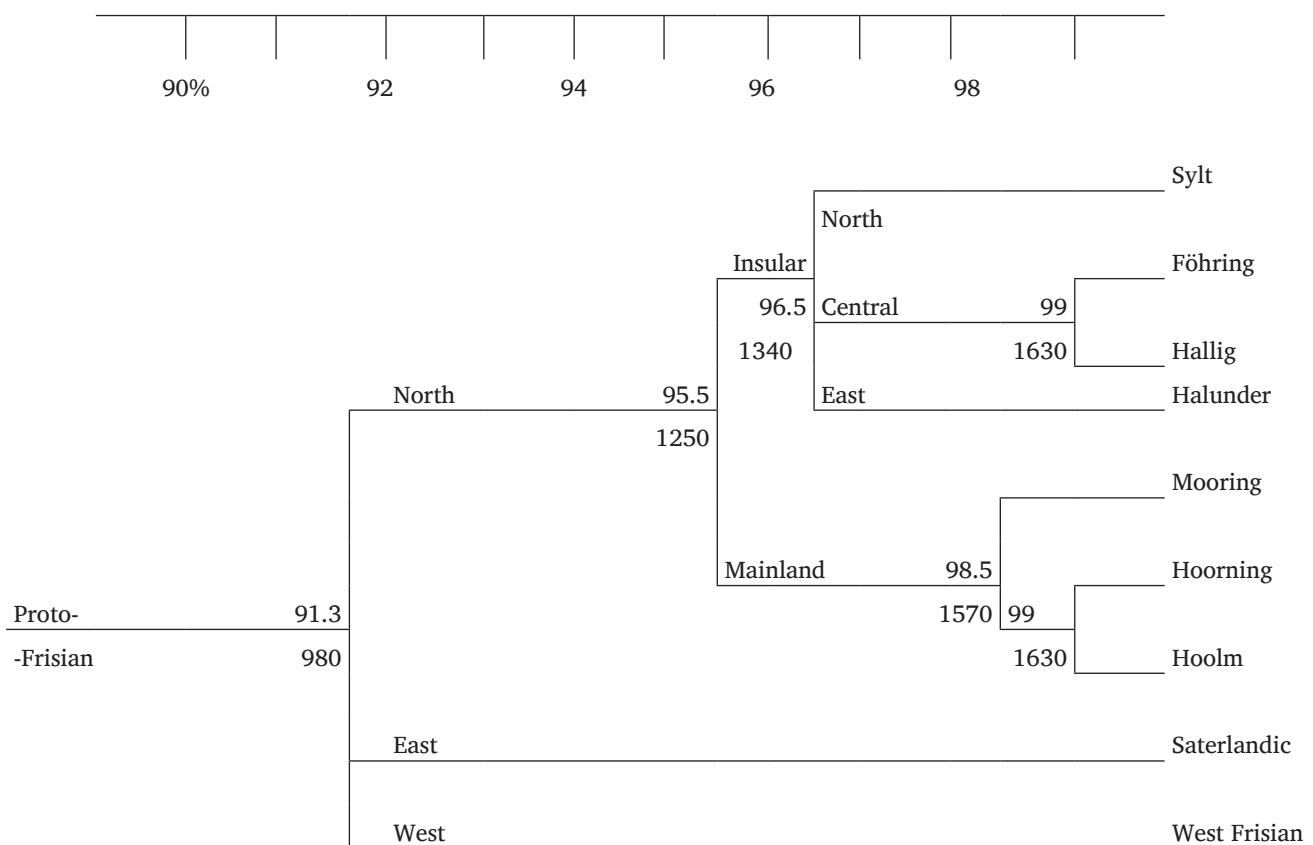
The present analysis is based on comparison of Standard West Frisian, Saterlandic as the only living representative of East Frisian, and seven North Frisian idioms: Mooring, Hoolm, and Hoornig from the mainland, Hallig, Föhring and Sylt from the islands located along the coast, and Heligolandic from 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	Hoornig	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
Hoornig					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>barkuz</i>
3c. bark		<i>bast</i>		* <i>bastaz</i>
4a. belly	<i>būk / būch</i>		<i>buk</i>	* <i>būkaz</i>
4b. belly		<i>liif</i>		* <i>liban</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>braidaz</i>
5d. big		<i>foarsk</i>		
5e. big		<i>mânsk</i>		cf. OFr <i>manich</i> many
6. bird	<i>fugel</i>	<i>fūgel</i>	<i>fugel</i>	* <i>f(l)uglaz</i>
7. bite	<i>bita</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>bite</i>	* <i>bitanan</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>bainan</i>
10b. bone			<i>knooke</i>	* <i>knukōn</i>
11. breast	<i>brust / burst & briast</i>	<i>boarst</i>	<i>brüst</i>	* <i>brustiz</i> & * <i>breustan</i>
12a. burn	<i>berna</i>	<i>brânne</i>	<i>baa(de)nje</i>	* <i>brennanan</i>
12b. burn	<i>swela</i>			* <i>swelanan</i>
12c. burn			<i>tùnderje</i>	* <i>tundrajanan</i>
13a. claw	<i>klawe / klē</i>	<i>klau / kloer</i>	<i>klaue</i>	* <i>klēwō / klōwō</i>
13b. claw	<i>neil / nil</i>			* <i>naglaz</i>
14a. cloud	<i>wolken</i>	<i>wolk(en)</i>	<i>wùlke</i>	* <i>wulk(a)nan</i>
15a. cold	<i>kald</i>		<i>koold</i>	* <i>kalðaz</i>
15b. cold		<i>koel</i>		* <i>kōluz</i>
15c. cold	(is 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>drìnke</i>	* <i>đrenkanan</i>
20a. dry		<i>droech</i>		* <i>đraugiz</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 / ìdde</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 _{s.}	(<i>smere</i> tallow)	<i>swier</i>	<i>smeer</i>	* <i>smerwan/-ōn</i>
26b. fat _{s.}	<i>fât</i>		<i>fat</i>	* <i>faitaz</i>
26c. fat _{s.}		<i>tsjok</i>		* <i>pekwiaz</i> : * <i>pekwuz</i> thick
27a. feather	<i>fethere</i>	<i>fear</i>		* <i>febrō</i>
27b. feather			<i>függe</i>	< G <i>Flügel</i> ?
28a. fire	<i>fiôr / fiûr</i>	<i>fjûre</i>	<i>fjuur</i>	* <i>für</i> ~ * <i>fuwer</i>
29. fish	<i>fisk</i>	<i>fisk</i>	<i>fisk</i>	* <i>fiskaz</i>
30. fly _{v.}	<i>fliäga</i>	<i>fleane</i>	<i>fljooge</i>	* <i>fleuganan</i>
31. foot	<i>föt</i>	<i>foet</i>	<i>fout</i>	* <i>fôtz</i> ~ * <i>fôtuz</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>gebanan</i>
33b. give			<i>dwoo</i>	* <i>đönan</i>
34. good	<i>gôd</i>	<i>goed</i>	<i>goud</i>	* <i>gôđaz</i>
35. green	<i>grêne</i>	<i>grien</i>	<i>gräin</i>	* <i>grōniz</i>
36. hair	<i>hêr</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>hâ(ve)d</i>			* <i>xabuđan</i>
38b. head		<i>holle</i>		* <i>xulniz</i>
38c. head		<i>heila</i>		* <i>xawilô</i>
38d. head	<i>kopp</i>		<i>kop</i>	< G. <i>Kopf</i> < L. <i>cuppa</i> cup
39. hear	<i>hêra / hôra</i>	<i>hearre</i>	<i>heere</i>	* <i>xauzjanan</i>
40. heart	<i>herte / hirte</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>dêda</i>	<i>deadzje</i> <i>deamejtsje</i>	<i>doodmoakje</i> <i>dooddwoo</i>	* <i>đaudaz maga</i>
44. knee	<i>kniu / knē / knî</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 : wita</i>	<i>witte</i>	<i>wiete</i>	* <i>waita</i>
46a. leaf	<i>bled</i>	<i>blêd</i>	<i>blääd</i>	* <i>đlađan</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>käärel</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>gâns</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 & bärch</i>	* <i>bergaz/-an</i>
56a. mouth	<i>mūth</i>		<i>mündelk</i> mündlich	* <i>munþaz</i>
56b. mouth	<i>mūla</i>	<i>mûle</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>ni / ne</i>	<i>né</i>	<i>nì</i>	* <i>nīl(t)</i>
63. one m. f. & n.	<i>ān / ēn / on</i>	<i>ien</i>	<i>aan 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>rauðō</i>
67a. road	<i>wei</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>wai / pl. weege</i>	* <i>wegaz</i>
67c. road			<i>stig</i>	* <i>staigō</i>
67d. road	(<i>forda</i> <i>ford</i>)	<i>fuort</i>		* <i>furdōn</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> cf. OE <i>trendel</i> circle
69b. round		<i>roun</i>	<i>ründ</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	(<i>skene</i> bark)			* <i>skinþ-</i>
75c. skin	<i>fell</i>	<i>fel</i>	<i>fäl</i>	* <i>fellan</i>
75cd. skin	<i>filmene</i>			* <i>felmaz</i>
76. sleep	<i>slepa</i>	<i>sliepe</i>	<i>släipe</i>	* <i>slépanan</i>
77a. small	<i>lítik / littich</i>	<i>lyts</i>	<i>lítje</i>	* <i>luttjaz / *luttiz</i>
77b. small	<i>kléne</i>		(<i>kleen fein</i>)	* <i>klainiz</i>
77c. small	<i>smel</i>			* <i>smalaz</i>
77d. small			<i>mìnnelk</i>	* <i>minniz</i> less
77e. small		<i>bihindlich</i>		
78a. smoke _s	<i>rék</i>	<i>reek</i>	<i>rook</i>	* <i>raukiz</i>
79. stand	<i>stonda</i>	<i>steat</i>	<i>steen</i>	* <i>stainaz</i>
80. star	<i>stéra</i>	<i>stjer</i>	<i>stiern</i>	* <i>sternōn</i>
81. stone	<i>stēn</i>	<i>stainaz</i>	<i>steen</i>	* <i>stēnan</i>
82. sun	<i>sunne</i>	<i>sinne</i>	<i>sünne</i>	* <i>sunnōn</i>
83a. swim	<i>swimma</i>	<i>swimme</i>	<i>swimme</i>	* <i>swemmanan</i>
84. tail	<i>stert</i>	<i>sturt</i>	<i>stääit</i>	* <i>stertaz</i>
85. that m. n.	<i>jen(e) thet</i>	<i>dy</i>	<i>jüns</i>	* <i>jainaz / *jenaz</i> * <i>pat</i>
86. this m. n.	<i>this / thius</i>	<i>dizze</i>	<i>dísse / düsse dit / diüt</i>	* <i>pai</i> * <i>pat</i>
87. thou	<i>thū</i>	<i>dou / dû</i>	<i>du</i>	* <i>pū</i>
88. tongue	<i>tunge / tonge</i>	<i>tonge</i>	<i>tünge</i>	* <i>tungōn</i>
89a. tooth	<i>tōth</i>			* <i>tanþuz</i>
89ab. tooth		<i>tosk</i>	<i>tusk</i>	* <i>tunþskaz</i>
90a. tree	<i>bām</i>	<i>beam</i>	<i>boom</i>	* <i>þaumaz</i>
90b. tree	<i>trē</i>			* <i>trewan</i>
91. two m. f. & n.	<i>twēne</i>	<i>twa</i>	<i>twäin two</i>	* <i>twajina</i> * <i>twō(u)</i>
92a. walk	<i>gunga / gonga</i>		<i>günge</i>	* <i>ganganan</i>
92a. walk	<i>gān</i>			* <i>gēnan</i>
92c. walk			<i>loope</i>	* <i>hlaupanan</i>
92d. walk		<i>rinne</i>		* <i>rennanan</i>
93a. warm	<i>warm</i>	<i>waerm</i>	<i>woorm</i>	* <i>warmaz</i>
93b. warm	<i>hēt</i>	<i>hjit</i>		* <i>xaitaz</i>
94a. water	<i>water / weter /-ir</i>	<i>wetter</i>	<i>woater</i>	* <i>watar</i>
94b. water	<i>ā / ē</i> (stream, river, water)			* <i>axwō</i>
95. we	<i>wi</i>	<i>wy</i>	<i>wi</i>	* <i>wiž</i>
96. what	<i>hwet</i>	<i>hwat</i>	<i>wät</i>	* <i>xwat</i>
97. white	<i>hwīt</i>	<i>wyt</i>	<i>wit</i>	* <i>xwitaz</i>
98a. who	<i>hwā</i>	<i>hwa / hwát</i>		* <i>xwaz</i>
98ac. who			<i>wäl</i>	
99a. woman	<i>wif</i>		<i>wiu</i>	* <i>wiðan</i>
99b. woman		<i>frou</i>		* <i>frawjōn</i>
100. yellow		<i>giel</i>	<i>jeel</i>	* <i>gelwaz</i>

NORTH FRISIAN DIALECTS

English	Mooring	Hallig	Föhring	Hoolm	Hoornung	Sylte	Halunder	Proto-Germanic
1. all	åål	altomaole	ale	al(e)	aal(e)	al	al	*allaz
2. ashes	eesch	eesk	eesk	eesch	eesch	eesken	ēskən	*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)	*būkaz
4b. belly	lif		lif		lif		(lif Leib)	*liban
4c. belly	bale							*balgiz
5. big	grut	grot	grat	gråt	grot	gurt	grōt	*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	suart		*swartaz
9. blood	blödj	blööd	blud	bloud	bloud	blör	blud	*blōðan
10a. bone	biinj	bian	bian	biin	biin	biin	bēan, biān	*bainan
10b. bone	knooke	knaake	knook	knooke	knådke	knaak	knōk	*knukōn
11. breast	burst	borst	brast	burst	borst	brest	bors(t)	*brustiz
12a. burn	bråne	boorne	braan	bårne	barne	bren	bārnə	*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	küll	*kalðaz
15c. cold			ias					*isaz
16. come	kaame	kame	kem	kååme	kaame	kum	kēm	*kwemanan
17a. die	stärwe	steerwe	sterew	steerwe	steerwe	sterev	steru	*sterbanan
17b. die	düiidj bliwe							
18. dog	hün	hun	hünj	hün	hün'	hün	hin	*hundaz
19. drink	drainke	drinke	drank	dränke	dränke	drink	dringk	*đrenkanan
20a. dry		druch	driig	driige	driige	drügi	drig	*đraugiz
20b. dry	dur		dör					*purzúz
21. ear	uur	uur	uar	uur	uur	uar	ōar	*auzōn
22. earth	jard	eerde	eerd	eerde	eerde	öört	īr	*erþō
23. eat	ääse	ää'se	iidj	ääe	äity	iit	īt	*etanan
24. egg	oi	oi	ai	oi	ai	ai	ai	*ajjaz
25. eye	uug	uuch	uug	uug	uuch	oog	ōg	*augōn
26a. fat _s	smeer			smeer	smeer	smöör		*smerwan/-ōn
26b. fat _s	(fåt adj.)	faot	feet	(fåt adj.)	(faat adj.)	fat	fat	*faitaz
27a. feather	fääder	feere	feeler	feer	fääär	feðer	fedər	*feþrō
28b. fire	iilj	ial	ial	iil	iil	jö'l	jäl	*ailiðaz
							fir	*fewur

English	Mooring	Hallig	Föhring	Hoolm	Hoornig	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 _{v.}	<i>fliinj</i>	<i>fliine</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>düünj</i>	<i>düüne</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>duun</i>	<i>duun</i>	<i>dö</i>	<i>du</i>	* <i>đōnan</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>gōđaz</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>hiär</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>xađuđan</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>hiär</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>hart</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>düüidjmååge</i>	<i>duadmaage</i>	<i>duadmmage</i>	<i>duudmååge</i>	<i>duudmaagge</i>	<i>duar maaki</i>	<i>dōád mōkə</i>	* <i>đaudaz maga</i>
44. knee	<i>knäïi</i>	<i>kneeboole</i>	<i>knöbian</i>	<i>knäiboole</i>	<i>knäiboole</i>	<i>kneebiin</i>	<i>knēbiān</i>	* <i>knewan bainan</i>
45a. know	<i>kåne</i>	<i>kaone</i>	<i>keen</i>	<i>kåne</i>	<i>kaane</i>	<i>kääñ</i>	<i>kan</i>	* <i>kanna</i>
45b. know	<i>waase</i>	<i>wee'ē</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>blađan</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'ē</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</i> husband)	<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>kärmung</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</i> grease)	<i>flesk</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>bārig</i>	<i>béri(ch)</i>	* <i>bergaz/-an</i>
56a. mouth	<i>müs</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>müs</i> dim. <i>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	Hoornig	Sylte	Halunder	Proto-Germanic
60. night	nächt	naacht	naacht	nächt	naacht	nacht	nōcht	*naxtz
61. nose	noos	nääs	nöös	noos	nåås	nöös	nēš	*nasō
62b. not	ai	ee	ei	äi	äi	ek		
							ni	
63. one m. f. & n.	årn iinj	ian	ian	åårn iin	aan iin	jen	jān	*ainaz
64. person	mansche	mänske	mensk	mänsche	mänsche	mensk	mensk	*manniskaz
65. rain n.	rin	rin	rin	rin	rin	riin	rain	*regnaz/-an
66. red	rüüdj	ruad	ruad	ruud	ruud	ruar	rōad	*rauđō
67a. road/ pl.	wäi/weege	wai	wai	woi/weege	wai/weege	wai	wai	*wegaz
67b. road			doom					*đōmaz
68a. root	rötj		rut tree-root	rout	rout	röt	rut	*wrōtiz
68ab. root		wodel	wortel				wetel (wortel)	*wurti-waluz (< LG)
69a. round	trin	trin	trinj	trin	trin	trinj		*trendaz; cf. OE trendel circle
69b. round							riin, rün	< G rund < F
70. sand	sönj	söön	sun	san	san	sön'	sun	*sandaz/-an
71a. say	seede	seede	sai	säie	säie	sii	sqoī	*sagjanan
72. see	siinj	siine	sä	siin	siin	se	si	*sexwanan
							luke	*lökōjanan
73a. seed	sädj	seed	siad	säid	säid	siit	sēad	*sēdiz
73b. seed			saamen					*sēmōn
74. sit	sate	sate	sat	sate	sate		set	*setjanan
75a. skin	hüd	hut	-	häid	häid	hir	hid	*xūđiz
75b. skin	schan	skan	skan	schan	schan			*skinb-
75c. skin	fal						fal	*fellan
75d. skin	bäle							
76. sleep	slaipe	sleepe	sliap	släipe	släipe	sliip	slēap	*slēpanan
77a. small	latj	lidj	letj	läitj	läitj	litj	letj	*luttjaz/*luttiz
77b. small			klian					*klainiz
77f. small			hen					
77g. small						sneerig		
78a. smoke _s	riik	riak	riak	riik	riik	rook	rēak	*raukiz
78b. smoke _s		kwalm						< LG.
79. stand	stönje	stööne	stun	stoune	stoune	stuun	stun	*stainaz
80. star	stäär	steer	stäär	steer	stäär	stiar	stēr	*sternōn
81. stone	stiinj	stian	stian	stiin	stiin	stiin	stēan	*stēnan
82. sun	san	son	san	san	san	sen	sen	*sunnōn
83a. swim	swume	swome	sweem	swume	swome	swume	suumə	*swemmanan
83b. swim	sile							

English	Mooring	Hallig	Föhring	Hoolm	Hoornig	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>ster̥t</i>	*stertaz
85. that m. f. n.	<i>jüdeer</i> <i>dideere</i> <i>di</i>	<i>ju dir</i> <i>di dire</i> <i>dat dir</i>	<i>jüdiar</i> <i>dedar</i> <i>detdiar</i>	<i>jü</i> <i>dideere</i> <i>datdeer</i>	<i>jü</i> <i>didääre</i> <i>datdär</i>	<i>didiar</i>	<i>di dēar</i>	*jainaz / *jenaz *bai par *pat par
86. this m. f. n.	<i>diheere</i> <i>jüheer</i> <i>datheer</i>	<i>diidire</i> <i>judir</i> <i>datdir</i>	<i>deheerr</i> <i>jühir</i> <i>detheer</i>	<i>diheere</i> <i>jüheer</i> <i>datheer</i>	<i>dihääre</i> <i>jühär</i> <i>dathär</i>	<i>des/det</i>	<i>di hir</i>	*bai xēr *jainaz xēr *pat xēr
87. thou	<i>dü</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>dü</i>	<i>di</i>	*pū
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>twääär</i> <i>tou</i>	<i>tweer</i> <i>taue</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>tweer</i> <i>tou</i>	<i>twääär</i> <i>tou</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>tau</i>	*twajina *twō(u)
92a. walk	<i>unge</i>	<i>gonge</i>	<i>gung</i>	<i>unge</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>wååder</i>	<i>woor</i>	<i>weeder</i>	<i>wåår</i>	<i>waar</i>	<i>weeter</i>	<i>wētar</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>	*wiz
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>	*xwītaz
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>wüf/wüset</i>	<i>wufsit</i>	<i>wüf</i>	<i>wüst</i>		<i>wüf</i>	<i>wif</i>	*wīban
99c. woman					<i>mårj</i>			
100. yellow	<i>gööl</i>	<i>gul</i>	<i>güül</i>	<i>gööl</i>	<i>gööl</i>	<i>güül</i>	<i>gil</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.

