

The Etymology of the Old High German Weak Verb

Volume II

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***rahhanen** “erbeuten, plündern, rauben”. The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *ræna* I, with loss of medial ‘h’ (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957: 506) “to rob, plunder”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rahanijanan* “to rob, plunder”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OE *rān* loan word from ON? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 273) “open robbery, rapine”; ON *rán* with loss of medial ‘h’ (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1957: 506) “robbery, any unlawful seizure of holding or property”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rahanan* “(open) robbery, plunder”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

(h)rāhhisōn “speien, heftig spucken, (sich räuspern)” (Raven II 1967: 115). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **hrāhisōjan* “to spit”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may be an s-extension from an earlier guttural extension, deriving ultimately from the IE $\sqrt{*ker-}$, **kor-*, **kr-* (Pokorny I 1959: 567) “Schallnachahmung für heisere, rauhe Töne, solche Tierstimmen und die sie ausstoßenden Tiere”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *rahho* guttural extension (Pokorny I 1959: 567) “Rachen, Schlund, Kehle”; OE *hrace* guttural extension (Pokorny I 1959: 567) “throat, gorge”; OE *hræcan* guttural extension (Pokorny I 1959: 567) “to reach, retch, bring up blood or phlegm”; OE *hraca* guttural extension (Pokorny I 1959: 567) “clearing of the throat; mucus”; ON *hráka* guttural extension (Pokorny I 1959: 567) “Speichel”; ON *hrækja* guttural extension (Pokorny I 1959: 567) “spucken”. This analysis is somewhat contorted, and there are no suitable data to allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb. Therefore an OHG verb (formed with s-extension), the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

rahhōn “berichten, sagen, erörtern, erzählen, erwähnen, sprechen, lobsingeln” (Raven II 1967: 115). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rahha* (Starck and Wells 1990: 470) “Sache, Angelegenheit, Erzählung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*, *untar-*, *zuo-*

rāmōn “(+gen. rei) streben oder trachten nach, neigen zu, sich bezeichnen auf, zu gewinnen suchen, (vom Skorpion) drohen, zielen auf” (Raven II 1967: 246). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rām* (Schade I 1882: 699) “Ziel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

rammilōn “(vom Vieh) zum Begatten brünstig werden, bespringen, sich begatten, rammeln, Sündenbock” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ram*, *rammo* (Kluge 1989: 580) “Widder, Schafbock”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with l-extension).

rānen “wüten” (Raven I 1963: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

rangisōn “Zorn, Jähzorn, Feindseligkeit” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **rang* in *rangleih* (Seebold 1970: 472) “Ringkampf”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with s-extension).

rapfen, **rafen** “verkrusten, verharschen, wieder blutig machen” (Raven I 1963: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **rapfa* “Krätze, Räude, Schorf”, which can be reconstructed from MHG *rappe*, *rapfe* (Lexer II 1876: 343) “Krätze, Räude”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *widar-*

rāsen “wahnsinnig sein, rasen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 472). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *rāsen* (Kluge 1989: 582) “rasen”; MDu. *rasen* (Kluge 1989: 582) “rasen”; OE *rāsan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 277) “to rush, hasten; enter on rashly; rush upon, attack”; ON *rāsa* (Kluge 1989: 582) “rasen, stürzen” allowing us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rāsijan* “rasen, toben”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MLG *rās* (Kluge 1989: 582) “heftige Strömung”; OE *rāś* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 277) “rush, leap, jump, running; onrush, storm, attack”; ON *rās* (Kluge 1989: 582) “Lauf, Fahrt, Sturz; Öffnung”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rāsan* “rush”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

(*h*)*raskezzan* “Funken sprühen, fahren lassen, von sich geben, ausröcheln, mit glühendem Eisen brandmarken” (Raven I 1963: 148). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **hraskatjan* “to spit (of fire), emit sparks”, intensive deverbative from OHG class II weak verb *rascōn* “sich räuspern, ausspucken” (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

(*h*)*rascōn*, (*h*)*rescōn* “sich räuspern, speien” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **raskōjan*. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may be an ‘sk-present’ formation which derives ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*ker-}$, **kor-*, **kr-* (Pokorny I 1959: 567) “Schallnachahmung für heisere, rauhe Töne, solche Tierstimmen und die sie ausstoßenden Tiere”, from which base the following may also be derived: Dan. *skrade* initial ‘s’ mobile and dental extension (Pokorny I 1959: 567) “rasseln, röcheln” (see under *rāhhiscōn* for guttural extensions to this root). Despite the archaic nature of ‘sk-present’ formations there are no suitable data to allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

(*h*)*raspōn* “eilig zusammenraffen, eilfertig sammeln, scharren” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **hraspōjan* (Seebold 1970: 274) class II deverbative from strong verb **hrespanan* (Seebold 1970: 274) “reißen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *respan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 274) “reißen, rupfen”; OFs. *hrespa* strong? (Seebold 1970: 274). OE *ge-hrespan* pres only (Seebold 1970: 274) “to strip, spoil”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zīsamene-*

rastōn “ruhen, schlafen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 481). cf. OHG *resten* I (Raven I 1963: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rasta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 472) “Ruhe, Rast, Wegmaß von drei Wegstunden”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

rāfrāganōn “sprechen, reden” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rāfrāga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 473) “Anfrage, Bitte um Rat”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with n-extension).

rāfrāgōn “befragen, ersuchen, um Rat fragen, Beratung halten” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rāfrāga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 473) “Anfrage, Bitte um Rat”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

rāiscōn “raten, träumen, durchstechen, eine schwierige Frage nach Vermutung zu beantworten suchen” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rāisca*, *rāiskī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 473) “Rätsel, Aufgabe zum Raten”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

rāiſsōn “raten, vermuten, prophetische Redegabe haben” (Raven II 1967: 117). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rādisōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 473) “vermuten, mutmaßen, erraten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **rēdisjōjan* “vermuten, erraten”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rāiſsa* (Starck and Wells 1990: 473) “Rätsel, aufgabe zum Raten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **rēdisjō* (Seebold 1970: 366). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

rāt-slagōn “beraten, erwägen” (Raven II 1967: 117). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *rāt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 472) “Beratung, Rat, Vorrat”; cf. OHG *slagōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 554) “zusammenschlagen, klatschen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

rāwēn “ruhen, Ruhe haben oder finden, sich aufhalten, an sich halten, stillstehen, im angezettelten Ausgangszustand verweilen” (Raven II 1967: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rāwa*, *rāwi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 474) “Ruhe, Rast, Erholung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

redinōn “darlegen, (be)sprechen, (aus)sagen, erzählen, reden, vortragen, einen Wortwechsel führen” (Raven II 1967: 117). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rethinōn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 475) “reden, erörtern, besprechen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **rapinōjan* “zählen; erzählen; reden”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *redōn*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb (formed with n-extension).
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*

redōn, *rediōn* “reden, sagen, einreden, den Gottesspruch richten, erörtern, darlegen, erzählen” (Raven II 1967: 118). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rethiōn* II (Kluge 1989: 587) “reden”; OFs. *rethia* (Kluge 1989: 587) “reden”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **rapjōjan* “zählen; erzählen; reden”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *reda*, *redī*, *redia*, *radia* (Kluge 1989: 587) “Rede, Rechenschaft”; OS *rethi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 475) “Rede”; OFs. *rethe* (Kluge 1989: 587). Gothic *rapjo* (Kluge 1989: 587) “Rechenschaft, Abrechnung, Zahl”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **rapjō* (Kluge 1989: 587) “Rechenschaft”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *folla-*, *gi-fora-*, *gi-*

refsen “(aus)schelten, tadeln, (mit Worten), strafen, schuldig machen, verhöhnen, beschimpfen, züchtigen, strafen, zurechtweisen, packen” (Raven I 1963: 147). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *respian* I with metathesis of 'p' and 's' (Pokorny I 1956: 865) “schelten, scharf tadeln, bezichtigen”; OE *repsan*, *refsan*, *ræpsan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 280) “to reprove, blame”; ON *refsa* (Pokorny I 1956: 865) “züchtigen, strafen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rafisjanan* (Pokorny I 1956: 865) “to reprove, blame, punish (physically)”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to be an 's'-extension (possibly originally a denominative from an '-es' stem noun, e.g. Skt *rapas-*) from IE *√*rep-* (Pokorny I 1956: 865) “an sich reißen, raffén”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *rapsa-* (Pokorny I 1956: 865) “Gebrechen, körperlicher Schaden, Verletzung”; Greek *ἐρέπτομαι* (Pokorny I 1956: 865) “ich rupfe, reiße ab, fresse”; Alb. *rjep* (Pokorny I 1956: 865) “ziehe aus oder ab, beraube”; Latin *rapīre* (Pokorny I 1956: 865) “raffen, an sich reißen, hastig ergreifen, rauben”; Mlr. *recht* (Pokorny I 1956: 865) “Zorn, Wut”; Lith. *ap-répti* (Pokorny I 1956: 865) “fassen, ergreifen, begreifen”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb. Indeed, as stated above, it may represent a pre-Gmc denominative. A denominative status is, however, by no means certain.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *widar-*

***reganen** “regnen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *rignan* I (Bosworth and Toller 1898: 795) “to rain”; Gothic *rignjan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1394) “to rain”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **regnijanan* “to rain”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *reganōn*). Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

reganōn “regnen” (Raven II 1967: 118). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *rēgenen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1394) “regnen”; OE *regnian* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1394) “to rain”; ON *regna*, *rigna* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1394) “regnen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **regnōjanan* “to rain”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *regan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 476) “Regen”; OS *regan*, *regin* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1394) “Regen”; OFs. *rein* (Kluge 1989: 588) “Regen”; OE *regn*, *rēn* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 279) “rain”; ON *regn* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1394) “Regen”; Gothic *rign* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1394) “rain”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **regnan* (Kluge 1989: 588) “rain”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

(h)regilōn “ausrüsten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 476). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *regil*, *hregil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 476) “Rüstung, Gewand, Bekleidung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-*

rehhanōn “rechnen” (Kluge 1989: 586). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *reken(en)* (Kluge 1989: 586) “rechnen”; OFs. *rek(e)nia* (Kluge 1989: 586) “rechnen”; OE *recenian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 279) “to pay”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **reknōjan* “to reckon up, pay, settle”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MLG *rekenu* (Kluge 1989: 586) “gerichtet”; OFs. *rekon* (Kluge 1989: 586) “gerichtet”; OE *recen* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 279) “ready, prompt, quick; rapid, violent”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **reknaz* (Kluge 1989: 586) “gerichtet”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

(h)rehhsen “sich räuspern” (Raven I 1963: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. Probably a class I deverbative from class II weak verb *(h)rāhhisōn* (Raven II 1967: 115) “sich räuspern, speien”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

reht-festigōn “sich rechtfertigen, sich als gerecht hinstellen, einer Sache nachkommen” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *reht* adj (Starck and Wells 1990: 477) “recht, gerade, richtig”; cf. OHG *-festigōn* II independantly unattested, but cf. OHG *festinōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 149). Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

rehtkundlihhōn “rechtgläuboig sein; orthodoxus esse” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: Probably from an otherwise unattested OHG **rehtkundlihhī* “rechtgläubig”, which is probably a monastic innovation, used to gloss Latin *orthodoxus* “orthodox, having the correct belief”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

rehtōn “Recht widerfahren lassen” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *reht* subst (Starck and Wells 1990: 477) “Gesetz, Gerechtigkeit, Rechtsspruch”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *folla-*

rechtsprāhhōn “sich rechtfertigen, (ein freundliches Wort) gönnen” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG

rechtsprāhhī (Starck and Wells 1990: 478) “Redekunst, Rhetorik”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

reibōn “ausbessern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 478). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

reiden “kräuseln, schwingen, in zitternde Bewegung setzen, (mit heißem Eisen) die Haare wellig oder lockig machen” (Raven I 1963: 149). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *reid* (Starck and Wells 1990: 478) “kraus, lockig, grimmig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

**reifen* “einschnüren, einwickeln”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *rāpan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 277) “to bind, fetter, capture, enslave; yoke together”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **raipijan* “to bind, fetter, tie with a rope”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *reif* (Starck and Wells 1990: 478) “Reif, Seil, Strick”; MLG *rēp* (Kluge 1989: 590) “Reif”; OFs. *rāp* (Kluge 1989: 590) “Reif”; OE *rāp* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 278) “rope, cord, cable”; ON *reip* (Kluge 1989: 590) “Reif”; Gothic *skauda-raip* (Kluge 1989: 590) “thong”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **raipaz*, **raipan* (Kluge 1989: 590) “Band, Reif, Seil”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

reihhen “reichen, sich erstrecken, (an)fassen, bringen” (Raven I 1963: 149). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *rēken* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1399) “reichen”; MDu *reiken* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1399) “reichen”; OFs. *rēka*, *retza* I (Kluge 1989: 590) “reichen”; OE *rācan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 276) “to reach out, stretch out; offer, present, give, grant; extend”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **raikjanan* “reichen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*reig-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 862) “recken, ausstrecken, mit ausgestreckter Hand langen oder darreichen”, from which base the following may also be derived: ON *reik* (Pokorny I 1956: 862) “Scheitel am Haar”; OIr. *riag* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1399) “Tortur (durch Recken der Glieder)”; OIr. *ringid* nasal-infix present (Pfeifer III 1989: 1399) “foltert, peinigt”; MWelsh *dir-rwgn* (Pokorny I 1956: 862) “Tortur, Leid”; Lith. *réizti* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1399) “(Körperteile) recken, straffen, stolzieren, stolz einhergehen”; Latin *rigēre* (Kluge 1989: 590) “starren, strotzen”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fram-*, *gi-*, *hina-ūf-gi-*, *ir-*, *ubar-*, *zuo-gi-*

reihhōn “sich erstrecken, beziehen oder zurückführen auf” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **raikōjan* “reichen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*reig-}$ (see under *reihhen*). Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined OHG, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*, *zuo-gi-*

(h)reinen “reinigen, läutern, säubern, züchtigen, sorgen, kümmern, putzen, verbessern, purgieren” (Raven I 1963: 149). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hrēnian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1403) “reinigen”; Gothic *hrainjan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1403) “to purify”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hrainijanan* “to clean”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hreini* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1403) “sauber, rein, unschuldig”; OS *hrēni* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1403) “rein, sauber”; OFs. *hrēne* (Kluge 1989: 591) “rein, sauber”; ON *hreinn* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1403) “rein, sauber”; Gothic *hrains* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1403) “clean, honourable, pure”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hrainiz* “clean”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

(*h*)*reinisōn* “sühnen, entsündigen; piāre” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. ON *hreinsa* II (de Vries 1962: 253) “reinigen (poet.)”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hreinsōjanan* “to clean, cleanse, purify”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under (*h*)*reinen*). Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

(*h*)*reinōn* “reinigen, künstlich bereiten; baptizāre, medicāre” (Raven II 1967: 119). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hrēnōn* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1403) “reinigen”; ON *hreina* II (de Vries 1962: 253) “reinigen (poet.)”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hrainōjanan* “to clean”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under (*h*)*reinen*). Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

reisōn “(intrans.) aufbrechen, (trans.) vorbereiten, rüsten, fördern, vollenden” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **raisōjan* (Seebold 1970: 371) class II deverbative from strong verb **reisanan* (Seebold 1970: 371) “aufgehen, untergehen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *rīsan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 371) “fallen, niederfallen”; OS *rīsan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 371) “sich erheben”; OFs. *rīsa* st vb (Seebold 1970: 371) “entstehen”; OE *rīsan* st vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 283) “to rise, stand up; to be fit, be proper”; ON *rīsa* st vb (Seebold 1970: 371) “sich erheben, entstehen, aufbrechen”; Gothic *us-reisan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 371) “sich erheben, aufstehen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furi-*

**reiten* “ordnen, anordnen, bereiten”; MHG *reiten* (Kluge 1989: 75) “ordnen, anordnen, bereiten”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu *reiden*, *re(e)den* (Kluge 1989: 75) “to arrange”; OE *rādan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 276) “to arrange, direct, resolve, determine, decide; put in order” (This verb became mixed in OE with the strong verb *rādan* (Seebold 1970: 365) “to advise, council, persuade; consult, discuss, deliberate, plot, design; decree, decide; rule, guide”); ON *reiða* I (Lehmann 1986: 280) “schwingen; schieben, darreichen; fahren; treiben”; Gothic *raidjan* I (Kluge 1989: 75) “to establish, correctly determine, interpret”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **raiðijanan* “to make ready (for riding), prepare (for a journey), arrange, order, settle”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gi-reiti* (Pfeifer I 1989: 153) “bereit”; MLG *rēde*, *reide* (Pfeifer I 1989: 153) “bereit, fertig”; OFs. *rēd(e)* (Kluge 1989: 75) “fertig”; OE *rāde* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 276) “prepared, ready, ready for riding (horse); skilled, simple”; ON *reiðr* (Lehmann 1986: 280) “durchreitbar”; Gothic *ga-raiþs* (Kluge 1989: 75) “angeordnet”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **raiðaz*, **raiðjaz* (Pfeifer I 1989: 153) “gerüstet zur Fahrt, passierbar, zur Hand”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

reizen “reizen, anregen, erregen, bewegen, beunruhigen, auffordern, verletzen, versehren, beschädigen, sich quälen, aufstacheln, erzürnen, (ver)locken” (Raven I 1963: 150). cf. OHG *rizzen* I (Raven I 1963: 158). cf. OHG *rizzōn* II (Raven II 1967: 122). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *rei(t)zen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1406) “reizzen”; ON *reita* I (Seebold 1970: 567) “reizen, aufhetzen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wraitejanan* (Seebold 1970: 567) “reizen (vom Ritzen mit dem Sporn)”, deverbative formation from strong verb **wreitanan* (Seebold 1970: 566) “ritzen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *rīzan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 567) “einritzen, schreiben, reißen”; OS *wrītan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 567) “zerreißen, schreiben”; OFs. -*writen* pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 566) “-geschrieben”; OE *wrītan* st vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 422) “to incise, engrave, write, draw, bestow by writing”; ON *rīta* st vb (Seebold 1970: 566) “einritzen, schreiben”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

reizōn “schreiben, kratzen, ritzen, mit der Folterklaue zerfleischen” (Raven II 1967: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *reiz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 480) “Linie, Ritz, Schramme”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

recken “erzählen, erörtern, mündlich oder schriftlich erklären, zitieren, auslegen, vorsagen, diktieren, beanspruchen, strecken, erweitern, üben, ausbilden, festsetzen, erforschern, ausbreiten, deuten, erdenken, auf etwas sinnen” (Raven I 1963: 150). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rekkian* I (Kluge 1989: 587) “erzählen”; OFs. *reka*, *reiza* I (de Vries 1962: 440) “erzählen”; OE *reccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 278) “to stretch, tend, go; extend, hold out to, give; instruct, explain, interpret; tell, narrate; quote, correct, reprove; to wield (to authority), give judgement, decide, direct, control; prove; count, reckon”; ON *rekja* I (Kluge 1989: 587) “recken, ausbreiten, erklären”; Gothic *uf-rakjan* I (Kluge 1989: 587) “to reach out, stretch out, stretch (the skin) back over, remove the marks of circumcision”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **rakejanan* (Kluge 1989: 587) “ausstrecken, ausdehnen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **rekanan* (Seebold 1970: 373) “zusammenscharren, recken”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *rehhan* st vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 477) “zusammenscharren, rechnen”; MLG *reken* st vb/wk vb (Lehmann 1986: 284) “(Feuer) rechnen”; OFs. *reka* st vb (Lehmann 1986: 284) “zusammenscharren”; Mid Engl *reken* st vb (Lehmann 1986: 284) “to stoke or rake (a fire)”; Gothic *rikan* st vb (Lehmann 1986: 284) “to heap up”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *fir-*, *folla-*, *gi-*, *hina-*, *(in-)*, *ir-*, *ūf-ir-*, *ūf-*, *ūz-*

(h)rempfen “runzeln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 481). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **hrampejan* “to wrinkle”, class I deverbative from strong verb **hrempanan* (Seebold 1970: 272) “einschrumpfen, rumpfen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *rimpfan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 272) “einschrumpfen”; MLG *rimpen* st vb (Seebold 1970: 272) “runzeln”; MDu *rempen* st vb (Seebold 1970: 272) “runzeln”; OE **hrimpan* st vb attested in preterite participle *ge-hrumpan* (Seebold 1970: 272) “to twist, coil”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

renfen “verzehren, schwächen” (Raven I 1963: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably an orthographic variant of the verb *rempfen* (which see). Or possibly an OHG denominative formation from an a source similar to that attested in MHG *ramph*, *ramp* (Lexer II 1876: 340) “Unglück, Niederlage”.

rengōn “den Mund aufsperrn, grollen, die Zähne fletschen” (Raven II 1967: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *ringāri* deponant (Lewis and Short 1966: 1596) “to open the mouth wide, show the teeth”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

***renken** “drehend hin- und herbewegen, renken”. MHG *renken* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1411) “drehend ziehen, hin- und herbewegen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wrencan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1411) “to twist; spin intrigues, deceive, devise plots”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wrankjan* “renken”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE **wreng-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) from which are also derived: Lith. *reñgtis* (Kluge 1957: 596) “sich schwerfällig bücken, krümmen”; Lith. *rangýti* (Kluge 1957: 596) “krümmen”; OCS *regnati* (Kluge 1957: 596) “klaffen, den Mund auf tun”; Latin *ringor* (Kluge 1957: 596) “den Mund aufsperrn und die Zähne fletschen, sich ärgern”. This is a nasal-infix form of IE **werg-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “drehen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Mod.Du. *werken* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “sich werfen, krummziehen”; Welsh *gwraint* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “Würmer”; OCS *vr̥bgo*, *vr̥šti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “werfen”; Latvian *sa-vergt* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “einschrumpfen”; Latin *vergere* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “sich neigen”; Skt *vr̥nakti*, *varjati* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “wendet, dreht”. The above represent guttural extensions from IE **wer-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1152) “drehen, biegen”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

rennen “(Honig) sammeln, umhereilen, -schwärmen, (von Pferden) herumrennen oder galoppieren, den Mut aufrichten, mutig oder trotzig werden, abmatten, erschöpfen, abhetzen, (vom Wasser) reißend oder brausend” (Raven I 1963: 152). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rennian* I (Kluge 1989: 594) “zusammenlaufen lassen, leimen”; OFs. *renna*, *rinna* I (Kluge 1989: 594) “rennen”; OE *ærnan* I, with metathesis of ‘r’ (Pfeifer III 1989: 1412) “to run, ride, gallop; run to, reach, gain by running or riding”; ON *renna* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1412) “laufen machen, eingießen; verschlingen, bewegen, rennen”; Gothic *ur-rannjan* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1412) “aufgehen lassen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **rannejanan* (Kluge 1989: 594), causative deverbative from strong verb **rennanan* (Kluge 1989: 601) “rennen, laufen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *rinnan* st vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 486) fließen, rinnen, laufen”; OS *rinnan* st vb (Kluge 1989: 601) fließen, rinnen”; OFs. *rinna*, *renna* st vb (Kluge 1989: 601) “rinnen, laufen, fahren”; OE *rinnan* st vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 283) “to run, flow; run together, blend, coagulate”; ON *rinna*, *renna* st vb (Kluge 601) “fließen, laufen; schwimmen, überströmen, berinnen”; Gothic *rinnan* st vb (Kluge 1989: 601) “rennen, laufen”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *gi-*, *ūz-*, *zi-*, *zi-gi-*, *zisamene-gi-*

rentōn “aufzählen, Rechenschaft ablegen” (Raven II 1967: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *rente* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1412) “Einkünfte, Ertrag, Vorteil, Gewinn”. < OF *rente* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1412) “Rückgabe”, regelmäßige Lieferung, Tribut, regelmäßige Einkünfte”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

(h)rēōn “bestatten, beerdigen” (Raven II 1967: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rēo*, *hrēo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 481) “Leiche, Tod, Begräbnis”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

rēren “blöken, brüllen, röhren, laut schreien (von Tieren und Menschen)” (Raven I 1963: 152). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *rēren*, *rāren* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1436) “brüllen, blöken”; MDu *re(e)ren* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1436) “brüllen, blöken”; cf. OE *rārian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 278) “to roar, bellow, cry, lament, mourn”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **raizjan*, **rairjan* “to roar, bellow”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to be an extended form which ultimately derives from IE √**rei-*, **rē(i)-* (Pokorny I 1956: 859) “(Schallwurzel) schreien, brüllen, bellen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *rāyati* (Pokorny I 1956: 859) “bellt”; Latin *ravus* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1436) “heiser”; Russ. *rājatb* (Pokorny I 1956: 859) “klingen, schallen”; Lith. *rieti*, *rieju* (Pokorny I 1956: 859) “losschreien, schelten”; Latvian *reju*, *rēju*, *riēt* (Pokorny I 1956: 859) “bellen”. The extension found in this verb is not attested outside Gmc and must consequently be regarded as a WGmc formation. The verb cannot therefore be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *umbi-bi-*

rerten “einrichten, anordnen, ablenken, mischen, (von Gebärden) = harmonieren, anwenden, sprechen” (Raven I 1963: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rarta* (Schützeichel 1969: 147) “Ton, Stimme, Klang, Harmonie”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *hina-*, *int-*, *zisamene-*

resken “plötzlich auffangen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 481). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *reski* (Starck and Wells 1990: 481) “hitzig, rasch”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

resten “ruhen, schläfrig oder gedankenlos sein, rasten, Mittagsruhe halten, aufleben, sich erholen, ruhe geben, schlafen, verweilen, pausen, einlullen, sich schlafen, legen” (Raven I 1963:

154). cf. OHG *rastōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 481). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *restian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1374) “(aus)ruhen”; OFs. *resta* I (Onions 1966: 760) “to rest”; OE *restan*, *ræstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 280) “to rest, repose, give rest to, lodge; rest from, remain, lie”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **rastijan* “to rest, repose; give rest to, lodge”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rasta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 472) “Ruhe, Rast, Wegmaß von drei Wegstunden”; OS *rasta*, *resta* (Kluge 1989: 583) “Ruhelager, Totenlager”; OFs. *rastelik* (Onions 1966: 760) “restful”; OE *ræst*, *rest* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 280) “rest, quiet, repose, sleep; resting place, bed, couch, grave”; ON *rost* u-umlaut (Onions 1966: 760) “Rast, Meile”; Swed *rast* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1374) “Rast, Ruhe, Pause”; Gothic *rasta* (Onions 1966: 760) “stretch of the way, mile (as a distance after which one rests)”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **rastaz*, **rastiz*, **rastuz* “rest, repose”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

(*h*)*retten* “erretten, entziehen, bewegen, treiben” (Raven 1963: 315). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *hredda* I (Kluge 1989: 597). OE *hreddan* I (Kluge 1989: 597) “to free from, recover, rescue, save, take away”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hradjan* “retten, von der Gefahr treiben, von der Gefahr wegstoßen”. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. It perhaps has an ultimate origin in IE $\sqrt{*kret-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 620) “schütteln, stoßen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG (*h*)*rad* (Pokorny I 1956: 620) “rasch, schnell”; OHG (*h*)*redan* st vb (Pokorny I 1956: 620) “sieben”; Mlr. *crothaim* (Pokorny I 1956: 620) “schütteln”; Lith. *krečiù*, *krešti* (Pokorny I 1956: 620) “schütteln, schüttelnd streuen”. This etymology is not, however, satisfactory on semantic grounds. It is also insufficient to allow for this verb to be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

rezzōn “scharlachrot färben, färben, einritzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 482). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rezza*, *reiza* (Starck and Wells 1990: 482) “scharlachrote Farbe, purpurrote Farbe, Färberöte”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ridēn “fiebern, im Fieber liegen, in fieberhaftem Zustand sein” (Raven II 1967: 247). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hriðian* II, originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 194) “to shake, be feverish, have a fever”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hriþējan* “to shake, be in fever”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is a t-extension taking the zero-grade of ablaut and deriving ultimately from IE **(s)krei-* (Pokorny I 1959: 936) “drehen, biegen” (see under *ridōn*). These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

ridilōn “die Haare binden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 483). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ridil*, *ridila* (Starck and Wells 1990: 482) “Haarnadel, Haarband”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ridōn “zittern” (Raven II 1967: 120). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hriðian* II, originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 194) “to shake, be feverish, have a fever”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hriþōjan* “to shake, be in fever”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is a t'-extension taking the zero-grade of ablaut and deriving ultimately from IE **(s)krei-* (Pokorny I 1959: 936) “drehen, biegen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG (*h*)*rit(i)o* (Pokorny I 1959: 937) “Zittern, Fieber”; OE *hrið(u)* postverbal? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 194) “fever”; OE *hrīð* postverbal? (Pokorny I 1959: 937) “snow, storm, tempest”; ON *hrið* postverbal? (Pokorny I 1959: 937) “Sturm, Unwetter; Angriff, Streit; Zeit, Zwischenraum”; Mlr. *crith* postverbal? (Pokorny I 1959: 937) “Zittern, Fieber”; Welsh *cryd* postverbal? (Pokorny I 1959: 937) “Wiege, Fieber”; Breton *skrija*

(Pokorny I 1959: 937) “vor Furcht zittern”; Latin *cr̥sāre* < **creitsāre* (Pokorny I 1959: 937) “to move the haunches, as in coitus (of women)”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

rīfen “vollreif werden, reifen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 483). No cognate verbs are attested. Probably a class I deverbative from class III weak verb *rīfēn* “reif werden”, as the meaning is durative (a typical feature of class III verbs). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

rīfēn “reif, dürr (= vollreif) werden, reifen, ausdörren” (Raven II 1967: 247). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *rīpian* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 283) “to become ripe, ripen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **reipjējan* “to be or become ripe”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rīf*, *rīfi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 483) “reif”; OS *rīpi* (Kluge 1989: 590) “reif”; OE *rīpe* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 283) “ripe, mature”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **reipjaz* (Kluge 1989: 590) “ripe”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

rigilōn “hegen und pflegen, sich abschließen gegen, verriegeln, sich schützen vor, erwärmen, geschlechtlich begünstigen, fest machen, verriegeln” (Raven II 1967: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rigil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 483) “Riegel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

rigōn “(wie eine Perlenschnur) zusammenbinden beziehungsweise -nähen” (Raven II 1967: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *riga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 483) “Windung, Linie”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

rīhhen “bereichern, reich machen” (Raven I 1963: 157). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rīhi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 484) “reich, wohlhabend, mächtig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

rīhhen “reich oder mächtig werden” (Raven II 1967: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *rīhhen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

rīhisōn “herrschen, vorhanden sein, Tyrann” (Raven II 1967: 121). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *rīcsian*, *rīhsian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 281) “to bear rule, reign, govern, tyrannize; dominate, prevail”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **rīkisōjan* “to rule, reign, govern, dominate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rīhi* (Kluge 1989: 590) “Herrschaft, Reich, Königreich”; OS *rīki* (Kluge 1989: 590) “Königreich, Reich”; OE *rīce* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 281) “rule, reign, power, might, authority, empire; kingdom, nation, diocese”; Mod Swed *rike* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1397) “Reich, Herrschaft”; Gothic *reiki* (Kluge 1989: 590) “Reich, Herrschaft, Obrigkeit”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **rīkjan* (Kluge 1989: 590) “Königreich, Reich, Herrschaft”. This represents a loan word from primitive Celtic **rīgjom* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1397), which in turn derives from an IE **rēgjom* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1397) “Herrschaft”, which can be seen in: Mlr *rige* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1397) “Königsherrschaft”; Celtic PN *Icorigium* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1397). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

rīhten “richten, bereiten, lenken, regieren, anweisen, erklären, zusammenstürzen, entstellen, verunstalten, verschlechtern, ausbessern, herstellen, den Krieg leiten, urteilen, rüsten, bezahlen, bestrafen, berichten, dichterisch gestalten, Fangarn aufstellen, aufstellen, wenden, rechtlich

vergüten, einem etwas zu Recht (durch Eidschwur) beweisen, sich zurecht finden, den Tisch decken, sich überlegen, die Richtung geben, untertan machen, zähmen, das Wort richten” (Raven I 1963: 154). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rihtian* I (Kluge 1989: 599) “aufrichten, berichtigen”; OE *rihtan* I (Kluge 1989: 599) “to make straight; set right, amend, correct, rebuke; guide, govern, direct, rule; set up, assign, restore, replace, erect”; ON *rétta* I (Kluge 1989: 599) “gerade machen, ausstrecken; einrichten, ordnen, büßen”; Gothic *ga-raihtjan* I (Kluge 1989: 599) “richten”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **rehtijanan* (Kluge 1989: 599) “richten, bereiten, lenken”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *reht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 477) “recht, gerade, richtig”; OS *reht* (Kluge 1989: 586) “recht”; OE *riht* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 281) “straight, erect, direct; right, proper, fair, just, equitable, lawful, permissible; upright, righteous; true, correct; fitting, appropriate; real, genuine”; ON *réttr* (Kluge 1989: 586) “recht, gerade; gerecht”; Gothic *raihts* (Kluge 1989: 586) “right”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **rehtaz* (Kluge 1989: 586) “recht, gerade, richtig”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *dara-*, *furi-ūf-*, *gi-*, *in-*, *int-*, *ir-*, *ūf-*, *ūf-gi-*, *ūf-ir-*

rāmen “zählen” (Raven I 1963: 157). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *rāman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 283) “to count, number, reckon, tell, enumerate, relate; account, esteem”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **rāmijan* “to count, number”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rām* (Kluge 1989: 591) “Reihe, Reihenfolge, Zahl”; OS *rām* (Kluge 1989: 591) “Zahl, Reihenfolger”; OFs. *rām* (de Vries 1962: 446) “Zahl, Zählung”; OE *rām* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 283) “number, counting, reckoning”; ON *rím* (Kluge 1989: 591) “Rechnung, Kalender”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rāmaz*, **rāman* (Kluge 1989: 591) “Zahl, Reihenfolger”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

(*h*)*ringen* “zu einem Kreis formen” (Schützeichel 1969: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. OHG (*h*)*ring* (Starck and Wells 1990: 485) “das Kreisförmige, Kreis, Ring”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *umbi-*

ringilōn, *gi-ringilōn* “Ring- oder Schuppenpanzer, mit Haken versehen” (Raven II 1967: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ringilī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 486) “Ringel, Ring am Panzerhemd, Ringelblume”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

(*h*)*ringōn* “sich im Kreise aufstellen, einen Kreis bilden” (Raven II 1967: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under (*h*)*ringen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

(*h*)*riobēn*, (*h*)*riubēn* “schorf bilden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 487). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *riubī*, (*h*)*riubī* subst (Starck and Wells 1990: 489) “Räude”; OHG *riob* adj (Starck and Wells 1990: 487) “schorfig, räudig, aussätzig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival / denominative verb.

(*h*)*rīterōn* “sieben, im Siebe schütteln, reitern, dreschen” (Raven II 1967: 122). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hrīdrōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 489) “durchsieben, durchbeuteln”; OE *hrīdrīan* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 193) “to sift, winnow”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hrīdrōjan* “to sift, seive”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rītera* (Starck and Wells 1990: 489) “Sieb”; OS *hrīdra* (Starck

and Wells 1990: 489) “Sieb”; OE *hriddre*, *hrīðre* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 193) “seive”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hrīðrō* “seive”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

riuten “reuten, ausroden, ausrotten, urbar machen, zerstören” (Raven I 1963: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **reudjanan* “reuten, roden”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It stands in ablaut relation to **ruðōjanan*. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*reudh-}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 869) “reuten, roden; Jätung setzen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *rod* (Kluge 1989: 603) “Rodeland”; OHG *riuti* (Kluge 1989: 597) “urbar gemachtes Land”; OFs. *tō-rotha* (Pokorny I 1959: 869) “ausrotten”; OE *ā-ryddan* I (Pokorny I 1959: 869) “berauben, plündern”; OE *rod* (Kluge 1989: 603) “Rodung”; ON *ryðja* I (Pokorny I 1959: 869) “roden; aufräumen, plündern”; ON *rjóðr* (Pokorny I 1959: 869) “Lichtung, offene Stelle im Walde”; ON *ruð* (Pokorny I 1959: 869) “gerodete Stelle im Walde”; Avest. *raoiðya* (Pokorny I 1959: 869) “urbar zu machen”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to OHG, the IE parallel attested in Avestan is probably sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

(*h*)*riuwēn* “beklagen” (Raven II 1967: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under (*h*)*riuwōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

(*h*)*riuwisōn* “bereuen, Reue empfinden” (Raven II 1967: 122). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hrēowsian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 193) “to feel sorrow or penitence; to do penance”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hreuwisōjan* “reuen, bereuen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under (*h*)*riuwōn*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb (formed with s-extension).

(*h*)*riuwōn* “(intrans. reflex. +gēn.) reuen, büßen, Buße tun, Gewissensbisse haben, klagen, (trans.) bereuen, beklagen” (Raven II 1967: 122). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hriuwōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 489) “reuen, bereuen”; OE *hrēowian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 193) “to repent”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hreuwōjan* “reuen, bereuen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG (*h*)*riuwa* (Starck and Wells 1990: 489) “Reue, Buße”; MLG *r(o)uwe* (Kluge 1989: 597) “Reue”; MDu *rouw(e)*, *rauwe* (Kluge 1989: 597) “Reue”; OE *hrēow* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 192) “sorrow, regret, penitence, repentance, penance”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hreuwō* (Kluge 1989: 597) “Reue, seelischer Schmerz”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

rizzen “ritzen, schreiben, skizzieren, flüchtig aufzeichnen, reißen, stechen, (leicht) verletzen, kratzen, schneiden, brandmarken” (Raven I 1963: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **writtjan* intensive gemination “ritzen”, zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **wreitanan* (Seebold 1970: 566) “ritzen” (see under *reizen*). Alternatively, this verb may be a class I deverbative from the class II weak verb *rizzōn*. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

rizzōn “ritzen, stechen, schreiben, (zur Folter) zerschneiden, (mit der Folterzange) zerfleischen” (Raven II 1967: 122). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **writtōjan* intensive gemination (Seebold 1970: 567) zero-grade class II intensive deverbative from strong verb **wreitanan* (Seebold 1970: 566) “ritzen” (see under *reizen*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

rodōn “(vom Acker) nach der Ernte brach liegen lassen” (Raven II 1967: 123). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *roden, raden* (Kluge 1989: 603) “roden”; OFs. *rothia* II (Kluge 1989: 603) “roden”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **rudōjan* “roden”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It stands in ablaut relation to **reudōjan*, but whether it represents a zero-grade deverbative (possibly intensive) is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut zero-grade of IE *√*reudh-* (Pokorny I 1959: 869) “reuten, roden; Jätung setzen” (see under *riuten*). Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, the IE parallel attested in Avestan is probably sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-ir-*

roffezen, ropfezen “verkünden, rülpsen, ausstoßen, hervorbringen, sprudeln lassen, Worte herausstoßen” (Raven I 1963: 158). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *rypta* I (Pokorny I 1956: 871) “sich erbrechen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rup(p)atjanan* intensive gemination? “sich erbrechen, rülpsen, hervorbrechen”, intensive deverbative from a weak verb represented by ON *ropa* II (Pokorny I 1956: 871) “to belch”. Therefore a NWGmc intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-, ūz-*

rohōn “brüllen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 490). We can reconstruct an earlier form **ruhōjan* “to roar”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut zero-grade of IE *√*reuk-* (Pokorny I 1959: 867) “brüllen, heisere Laute ausstoßen” (see under *ruhen*). These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

romēn “bauschig sein, zu eng sein, spannen (von einem Kleide)” (Raven II 1967: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

ropfōn “zerfetzen” (Raven II 1967: 123). cf. OHG *roufen* I (Raven I 1963: 159). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *roppen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1457) “ausreißen, zupfen, plücken, zausen”; ON *ruppa* II (Seebold 1970: 379) “ausrupfen, plündern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **ruppōjanan* intensive gemination “to pluck, pull violently, seize”, class II intensive deverbative from Gmc class I weak verb **raupjanan* “to pick, pluck, pull violently” (see under *roufen*). Therefore a NWGmc intensive deverbative.

rospōn “(von Raben) schnattern, hin und her rufen, rauschen” (Raven II 1967: 123). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

rostagēn “vom Rost angefressen werden, rostig werden” (Raven II 1967: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rostag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 492) “rostig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

rostagōn “rosten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 492). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *rostagēn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

rosten “rosten, rostig werden, vom Rost angefressen sein” (Raven I 1963: 159). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *rosten* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1442) “rosten”; MDu *roesten* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1442) “rosten”; Swed *rosta* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1442) “rosten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rustijanan* “to rust”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rost* (Starck and Wells 1990: 492) “Rost, Meltau, Grünspan”; OS *rost* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1442) “Rost”; Swed *rost* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1442) “Rost”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rustaz* (Kluge 1989: 606) “Rost”, from an earlier form **rud-staz* (Seebold 1970: 378) “rust, the red colour of rust”, from zero grade of strong verb **reudanan* (Seebold 1970: 378)

“röten”; cf. OE *rūst* with long medial 'u' (Pfeifer III 1989: 1442) “rust; moral canker”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

rāsten “rösten, braten, schmoren, dörren, kochen, reiben” (Raven I 1963: 159). The following cognate verbs are attested: MHG *rāsten* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1442) “rösten, auf dem Rost braten”; MDu *roosten* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1442) “rösten, auf dem Rost braten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **raustijan* “rösten, auf dem Rost braten”. cf. OFr *rostir* loan verb from an unattested Frankish source (Onions 1966: 770) “to roast”. cf. Provençal *raustir* loan verb from a German source (Onions 1966: 770) “to roast”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rōst(a)* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1442) “Rost, Scheiterhaufen”; OS *rāst* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1442) “Rost”; MDu *roost* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1442) “Rost”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **raustaz* “Rost, Gitter, Scheiterhaufen”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

rōtagōn, rōtigōn “ärgern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 493). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rōtag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 493) “rot, rötlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

rōtēn “rot sein oder werden, erröten, rötlich schimmern, Röte, Schamröte, rote Schminke, der Brombeerstrauch” (Raven II 1967: 248). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *rēadian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 278) “to be or become red”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **raudējan* “to be or become red”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rōt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 492) “rot, scharlachrot, braunrot”; OS *rōd* (Kluge 1989: 606) “rot”; OFs. *rād* (Kluge 1989: 606) “rot”; OE *rēad* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 278) “red”; ON *rauðr* (Kluge 1989: 606) “rot”; Gothic *rauþs* (Kluge 1989: 606) “red”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **raudaz* (Kluge 1989: 606) “rot”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

(h)rottōn “auf der (h)rotta, d.h. einem harfenähnlichen Saiteninstrument spielen” (Raven II 1967: 123). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *(h)rotta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 494) “Rotte (harfenartiges Saiteninstrument)”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

roubōn “rauben, berauben, ausplündern, verwüsten, Frauen schänden, entehren” (Raven II 1967: 123). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rōbōn* II (Seebold 1970: 379) “rauben”; OFs. *rāvia* II (Seebold 1970: 379) “rauben”; OE *rēafian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 278) “to rob, plunder, take by force, waste, ravage”; ON *raufa* II (Seebold 1970: 379) “zerbrechen, durchbohren, rauben”; Gothic *bi-raubōn* II (Seebold 1970: 379) “ausziehen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **raubōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 379) “rauben”, class II deverbative formation from strong verb **reufanan* (Kluge 1989: 584) “reißen, rupfen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *rofen* pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 379) “zerbrochen”; ON *rjúfa* st vb (Seebold 1970: 378) “reißen, brechen, zerstören”. Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

roufen “Haare und desgleichen ausreißen, zerfleischen, zerreißen, zerfetzen, ausrupfen, enthaaren, heftig ergreifen oder ziehen, zerstreuen = ein Volk nach allen Richtungen vertreiben, pflücken” (Raven I 1963: 159). cf. OHG *ropfōn* II (Raven II 1967: 123). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rōpian* I (Holthausen 1967: 61) “raufen, verfilzen”; OE *rēpan* I (Lehmann 1986: 282) “to pluck, spoil, plunder”; Gothic *raupjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 282) “to pluck, pick (ears of grain to eat)”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **raupjanan* “to pick, pluck, pull violently”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may possibly ultimately derive from an IE $\sqrt{*reub-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 869) “reissen”, from which base the following may

also be derived: Latin *rubus* (Pokorny I 1956: 869) “Brombeerstaude, Brombeere”; Latin *rūbidus* (Pokorny I 1956: 869) “roh, rauhrissig”; Mlr. *robb* (Pokorny I 1956: 869) “Tier?”. Outside Gmc, there are no attested verbal forms to allow for the reconstruction of a primary verb. The IE parallels given above are also too diffuse semantically to allow clear and definite connections to be seen. This verb is, therefore, best left unclassified. Therefore a Gmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *dana-*, *ir-*, *ūz-*, *ūz-ir-*

rouhhen “räuchern, Weihrauch opfern, beten, beehren (in bezug auf Göttern)” (Raven I 1963: 160). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *rōken* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1380) “räuchern”; OFs. *rēka*, *rēza* I (de Vries 1962: 443) “räuchern”; OE *rēcan*, *riecan* I (de Vries 1962: 443) “to smoke; fumigate; burn incense”; ON *reykja* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1380) “rauchen, räuchern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **raukijanan* “rauchen, räuchern”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rouh* (Kluge 1989: 584) “Rauch”; OS *rōk* (Kluge 1989: 584) “Rauch”; OFs. *rēk* (Kluge 1989: 584) “Rauch”; OE *rēc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 278) “smoke”; ON *reykr* (Kluge 1989: 584) “Rauch”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **raukiz* (Kluge 1989: 584) “Rauch”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

roupen “rösten, braten, kochen” (Raven I 1963: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

rozzēn “faulen, in Fäulnis übergehen, sich zersetzen, verwesen, Düngung” (Raven II 1967: 248). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rotōn* II (Kluge 1989: 606) “faulen”; OFs. *rotia* II (Kluge 1989: 606) “faulen”; OE *rotian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 284) “to rot, putrefy”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **rutējan* (Seebold 1970: 381) “faulen”, class III durative deverbative from strong verb **reutanan* (Seebold 1970: 381) “faulen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: ON *rotinn* past part. (Seebold 1970: 381) “verfault”; OSwed. *rutin* past part. (Seebold 1970: 381) “verfault”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

ruhen “brüllen, das Brüllen” (Raven 1963: 316). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *rȳn* I, with loss of medial 'h' (Pokorny I 1959: 867) “to roar”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ruhjan* “to roar”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to be an ablaut zero-grade formation deriving ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*reuk-}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 867) “brüllen, heisere Laute ausstoßen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OCS *rykajo*, *rykati* (Pokorny I 1959: 867) “brüllen”; Lith. *rūkti* (Pokorny I 1959: 867) “brüllen”; Latvian *rūcu*, *rūkt* (Pokorny I 1959: 867) “brausen, brüllen”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

***rūhen** “rauh machen”; MHG *riuhen* (Lexer II 1876: 469) “rauh machen”. No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rūh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 496) “rauh, struppig, stottig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

rucken “den Platz verändern, sich abwenden von, sich wenden oder bewegen, fortrücken” (Raven I 1963: 160). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *rucken*, *rocken* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1447) “rücken”; ON *rykkja* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1447) “rücken, werfen”; cf. OE *roccian* II (Kluge 1989: 607) “to rock (a child)”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rukjjanan* intensive gemination “rücken”. Further etymology unclear. That the verb is derived from an IE $\sqrt{*rek-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 863) “emporrigen” is unconvincing semantically.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-, folla-, fora-, fram-, furdīr-, furi-, gi-, ir-, nidar-, ubar-, ūf-, widar-, zuo-*

rūmen “räumen, einen Ort räumen, Raum machen, einlösen, sich entfernen, sich zurückziehen, sich ergeben, weichen, zurückweichen (reflex.) = im Stiche lassen, abweichen, verlassen, einer Sache freien Lauf lassen, weggehen” (Raven I 1963: 161). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rūmian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1382) “räumen”; OFs. *rēma* I (de Vries 1962: 455) “räumen”; OE *rȳman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 285) “to clear, open up; widen, extend, prolong, enlarge; make room, retire, yield”; ON *rýma* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1382) “freimachen, räumen; fliehen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rūmijanan* “to clear, make room, make spacious”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rūmi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 496) “geräumig, weit, breit”; MLG *rūm* (Kluge 1989: 585) “geräumig”; OFs. *rūm* (Kluge 1989: 585) “geräumig”; OE *rūm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 284) “roomy, wide, long, spacious, ample, large, liberal, unoccupied; unfettered, open, unrestricted, loose; noble, august”; ON *rúmr* (Kluge 1989: 585) “geräumig”; Gothic *rūms* (Kluge 1989: 585) “spacious, roomy”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **rūmaz* (Kluge 1989: 585) “geräumig”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-, ir-*

rūnen “murmeln, raunen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 497). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the related Gmc languages belong with the class II verb, this verb is best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class II verb *rūnōn* or the class III verb *rūnēn* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-ūf-*

rūnēn “heimlich flüstern, in den Bart brummen, mucksen, murren, murmeln, raunen, zischeln” (Raven II 1967: 248). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *rūnōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

rūnezzēn “flüstern, murmeln, murren, in den Bart brummeln, leise vor sich hinsprechen” (Raven I 1963: 162). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **rūnatjan* “to whisper, murmur, tell secrets”, intensive deverbative from the following complex of weak verbs: OHG *rūnen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 497) “murmeln, raunen”; OHG *rūnōn* II (Raven II 1967: 123) “flüstern, raunen”; OHG *rūnēn* III (Raven II 1967: 248) “heimlich und leise reden, flüstern”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

rūnezzōn, rūnizzōn “murren, raunen, flüstern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 497). cf. OHG *rūnezzēn* I (Raven I 1963: 162). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **rūnatjōjan* “to whisper, murmur, tell secrets”, intensive deverbative from the complex of weak verbs cited under *rūnezzēn*. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

rūnōn “flüstern, raunen” (Raven II 1967: 123). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rūnōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 497) “raunen, murren, flüstern”; OE *rūnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 285) “to whisper, murmur, talk secrets, conspire”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **rūnōjan* “to whisper, murmur, talk secrets”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rūna* (Starck and Wells 1990: 496) “Geheimnis, Geflüster”; OS *rūna* (Kluge 1989: 610) “Geheimnis”; OE *rūn* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 285) “mystery, secrecy, secret; counsel, consultation; runic character, letter”; ON *rún* (Kluge 1989: 610) “secret, magic sign, rune”; Gothic *rūna* (Kluge 1989: 610) “mystery, secret”; Run (Istaby) *runaR* (Lehmann

1986: 287) “mystery, secret, rune”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **rūnō*, **rūnaz* “secrecy, mystery, secret sign, rune”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

runsen “ableiten, weggleiten (Wasser aus dem Fluß), entziehen, wegnehmen, entfernen, verleiten, abführen” (Raven I 1963: 162). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *runs*, *runsa* (Starck and Wells 1990: 497) “Flußbett, Strömung, Wasserlauf, Wassergang, Fluß, Flut”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

runzōn “(die Stirne) runzeln” (Raven II 1967: 123). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *runza* (Starck and Wells 1990: 497) “Runzel, Falte”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ruobōn “zählen, rechnen” (Raven II 1967: 123). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ruoba* (Starck and Wells 1990: 497) “Zahl”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ruodarōn “rudern” (Raven II 1967: 124). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ruodar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 497) “Ruder, Steuerruder”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

(h)ruofen “rufen, anrufen, hochachten, Ehrfurcht empfinden, laut schreien, dringend fordern, eine Einrede vorbringen, anklagen, erlehen, ausrufen” (Raven I 1963: 162). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *hræpa* I (Seebold 1970: 279) “verleumden, schmähen, rufen”; Gothic *hrōþjan* I (Seebold 1970: 279) “rufen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hrōþjanan* (Seebold 1970: 279) “rufen”, class I weak deverbative from strong verb **hrōþpanan* (Seebold 1970: 279) “rufen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *ruofan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 279) “rufen”; OS *hrōþan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 279) “rufen”; OFs. *hrōpa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 279) “rufen”; OE *hrōpan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 194) “to shout, proclaim; cry out, howl, scream”. Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aftar-*, *ana-*, *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *saman-*

(w)ruogen “an-, verklagen, mit einer Klage auftreten, eine Sache miteinander abmachen = rechten, beschuldigen, tadeln, preisgeben” (Raven I 1963: 163). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wrōgian* I (Kluge 1989: 608) “rügen, anklagen”; OFs. *wrōgia* I (Kluge 1989: 608) “rügen, anklagen”; OE *wrēgan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 422) “to accuse, impeach”; ON *rægja* I (Kluge 1989: 608), older *vrægja* (de Vries 1962: 457) “anklagen, verleumden”; Gothic *wrōhjan* I (Kluge 1989: 608) “to accuse”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wrōgijanan* “to accuse”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *rüege* (Kluge 1989: 608) “Anklage, Tadel”; OS *wrōht* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1449) “Streit, Aufruhr”; OE *wrōht* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 423) “blame, reproach, accusation, slander; fault, crime, sin, injustice; strife, enmity”; ON *róg* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1449), older *vróg* (de Vries 1962: 450) “Streit, Zank, Verleumdung”; Gothic *wrōhs* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1449) “Klage, Anklage”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wrōgjō* “Anklage, Tadel”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*

ruohhalōsōn “vernachlässigen” (Raven II 1967: 124). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **ruohhalōs* “nachlässig, ohne Fürsorge”, which can be reconstructed from MHG *ruochelōs* (Lexer II 1876: 544) “unbekümmert, sorglos”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

ruohhen “sich kümmern, sorgen, verachten, fürchten, beachten, berücksichtigen lassen, Rücksicht nehmen auf, Verlangen nach etwas haben, verschmähen, geruhen” (Raven I 1963: 164). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *rōkian* I (Seebold 1970: 374) “sorgen”; OE *reccan* I (< **rēcan*) pret. sg. *rōhte* (Seebold 1970: 374) “to take care of, be interested in; care for; desire (to do something)”; ON *røkja* I (Seebold 1970: 374) “sorgen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **rōkjanan* “to care for, take an interest in, help, put right”. The etymology and derivational pattern of this verb are unclear. It appears to be an ablaut \bar{o} -grade formation (with development of meaning) from IE $\sqrt{*reg-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 854) “gerade, gerade richten, lenken, recken, strecken, aufrichten; Richtung, Linie”, from which base the following may be derived: OHG *reht* (Pokorny I 1956: 856) “recht, gerade”; OE *racu* (Pokorny I 1956: 856) “Flußbett, Lauf”; Gothic *raihts* (Pokorny I 1956: 856) “recht, gerade”; OIr *reg-*, *rig-* (Pokorny I 1956: 855) “ausstrecken”; Latin *regere* (Pokorny I 1956: 855) “gerade richten, lenken, herrschen”; Greek $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ (Pokorny I 1956: 855) “ich strecke mich, lange, reiche”; Avest. *raz-* (Pokorny I 1956: 855) “richten, gerade richten, ordnen”; Skt *rjyati*, nasalized *rnjati* (Pokorny I 1956: 854) “streckt sich, eilt (von Pferden)”; Skt *raji-* (Pokorny I 1956: 855) “sich aufrichtend”; Toch.A *rāk-*, *rak-* (Pokorny I 1956: 857) “hinbreiten, bedecken”; Toch.B *rāk-* (Pokorny I 1956: 857) “hinbreiten, bedecken”. OHG *ruoh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 498) “Acht, Beachtung” and OHG *ruohha* (Starck and Wells 1990: 499) “Fürsorge, Bemühung” are most likely post verbal. As stated above, the etymology of this verb is uncertain. If indeed, it does derive from the root $\sqrt{*reg-}$, the semantic divergence exhibited by it, together with its \bar{o} -grade of ablaut, point to this verb being a post-Gmc derivation. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

(h)ruomen “(sich) rühmen, prahlen, hochmütig sein, aufschneiden, preisen, loben, verherrlichen” (Raven I 1963: 164). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hrōmian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1451) “sich rühmen”; OE *hrēman*, *hryman*, *hrēman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 193) “to cry out; shout, rave; bewail, lament; boast”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hraumijan* “to boast, cry out, exclaim”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *(h)ruom* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1450) “Lob, Ehre, Prahlerei”; OS *hrōm* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1451) “Ruhm, Ehre”; OE *hrēmig*, *hrēamig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 192) “boasting, vaunting, exulting; clamorous, loud”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hraumaz* “Ruhm”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fīr-*, *gi-*

(h)ruoren “(an-)rühren, berühren, (leicht) betasten, (gemütlich) bewegen, dahinrasen, zusammenschlagen, erschlagen, Trankopfer spenden, an Gewissensbisse leiden, spielen, erreichen, betreffen, wehen, nahekommen, antreiben, einen Anstoß geben, Saiten in Bewegung setzen” (Raven I 1963: 165). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hrōrian* I (Kluge 1989: 609) “rühren, berühren”; OFs. *hrēra* I (Kluge 1989: 609) “rühren, berühren”; OE *hrēran* I (Kluge 1989: 609) “to move, shake, agitate”; ON *hræra* I (Kluge 1989: 609) “bewegen, rühren”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hrōrjanan* “rühren, bewegen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE $\sqrt{*kerə-}$, **krā-* (Pokorny I 1956: 582) “mischen, durcheinanderrühren, kochen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *śrāyati* (Pokorny I 1956: 582) “kocht, brät”; Skt *śrīnāti* (Pokorny I 1956: 582) “mischt, kocht, brät”; Avest. *sar-* (Pokorny I 1956: 582) “sich vereinigen mit, sich anschließen an, es halten mit”; Greek $\kappa\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$, $\kappa\rho\nu\eta\mu\iota$, $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\mu\iota$ (Pokorny I 1956: 582) “ich mische, verbinde, gleiche aus”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

ruotezzan “hervorstürzen” (Raven I 1963: 166). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably an intensive deverbative from an unattested source.

(h)ruozzen “pflügen, bearbeiten, aufwühlen” (Raven I 1963: 166). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *(h)ruoz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 500) “Ruß”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

(h)rusten “(sich) rüsten, ordnen, aufstellen, bereiten, schmücken” (Raven I 1963: 166). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *rusten* (Kluge 1989: 610) “(zu)rüsten”; MDu *rusten*, *rosten* (Kluge 1989: 610) “(zu)rüsten”; OE *hyrstan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1457) “to decorate, adorn, ornament, equip”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hrustijan* “ausrüsten, schmücken”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *(h)rust* (Kluge 1989: 610) “Pferdeschmuck, Rüstung”; OE *hyrst* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 202) “ornament, decoration, jewel, treasure; accoutrements, trappings, armour”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hrustiz* fem. (Seebold 1970: 275) “Rüstung”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

rutihhōn “rötlich schimmern, prachtvoll glänzen” (Raven II 1967: 124). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **rutig* “rötlich”, which can be reconstructed from OE *rudig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 284) “rubicund, ruddy”; cf. OHG *rutemhaft* (Seebold 1970: 378) “rötlich schimmernd”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

rūtōn “verwüsten, vom wütenden Nordwind (= Sturm) verödet werden” (Raven II 1967: 124). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Possibly a Low German variant of the OHG class II weak verb *(h)rūzzōn* (which see).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-gi-*

(h)ruzzen, riuzen “schnarchen, stöhnen, rauschen, mit Gesang widerhallen, schwirren (d.h. von Bogensehnen), schnarren (übtr.) schlafen, ruhen, müßig sein” (Raven I 1963: 166). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier **hreutejan* (Seebold 1970: 277) class I deverbative formation from strong verb **hrūtan* (Seebold 1970: 277) “schnarchen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *rūzan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 277) “schnarchen”; OS *hrūtan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 277) “schnarchen”; OFs. *hrūta* pres only (Seebold 1970: 277) “röcheln”; OE *hrūtan* st vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 194) “to make a noise, whiz, snore”; ON *hrjóta* st vb (Seebold 1970: 277) “schnarchen, brüllen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *widar-*

(h)rūzzōn “knarren, kreischen, sausen, schnarchen, schwirren, zischen, überhaupt = Geräusch machen” (Raven II 1967: 124). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier **hrūōjan* (Seebold 1970: 277) class II deverbative from strong verb **hrūtan* (Seebold 1970: 277) “schnarchen” (see under **(h)ruzzen**). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

S

sāen “säen, einpflanzen, zeugen” strong preterite participle (Raven I 1963: 167). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *saian* I (Seebold 1970: 386) “säen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGMc **sējan* (Seebold 1970: 386) “säen”, class I weak deverbative from reduplicating strong verb **sēanan* (Seebold 1970: 386) “säen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *in-sāniu* strong preterite participle (Seebold 1970: 386) “incultu”; OS *obar-seu* strong preterite (Seebold 1970: 386) “säte darüber”; OE *sāwan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 290) “to sow, strew seed, implant; disseminate”; ON *sá* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 386) “säen, bestreuen”; Gothic *saian* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 613) “säen”. Therefore a WGMc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *gi-*, *in-*, *ubar-*, *zi-*

sagen “sagen, in Worten ausdrücken, erzählen, nennen, epische Gedichte sprechend vortragen, vorlesen, vorführen, erklären, bezeugen, segnen” (Raven I 1963: 316). No cognate verbs are attested. As this form lacks umlaut and gemination and as the cognate forms in the remaining Gmc languages are either class III, show vestiges of class III inflexion, or can be shown to derive from a class III verb, this verb is best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class III weak verb. For a full etymology and treatment of the class III weak verb see under *sagēn*. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *fir-*, *fora-*, *fram-*, *furi-*, *gi-*, *hina-*, *int-*, *ubar-*, *untar-*, *widar-*

sagēn “(+dat pers. et acc. rei vel acc.+infin.) sagen, aussagen, deuten, ankündigen, anvertrauen, verkünden, berichten, beweisen, behaupten, bejahen, erzählen, bekannt machen, erwähnen, an etwas erinnern, erklären, mitteilen, vortragen, vorlesen, predigen, bezeugen, preisen, mündlich überliefern, sprechen. unterbreiten, versichern, verfolgen, der Zeuge, gleichwohl, geschichtlich” (Raven II 1967: 249). The precise phonology of the NWGMc parent verb from which the various cognate forms in the individual languages are derived, is unclear in its details. There appears to have been a form **sagējanan* “to say”, from which can be derived: OHG *sagēn* III “sagen”; MDu. *sāghen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1464) “sagen”. Beside this, there appears to have been a variant formed with a j-suffix **sagjējanan* “to say”, from which are derived: OE *seggian* (Kluge 1989: 613) “to say, speak; inform, utter, declare, tell, recite”; OS *seggian* (Kluge 1989: 613) “sagen, sprechen”; OFs. *sedza*, *sidza* (Kluge 1989: 613) “sagen, sprechen”; ON *segja* (Kluge 1989: 613) “sagen, mitteilen”. From this it appears that the original form was **sagjējanan*, this being subject to a loss of the j-suffix in certain dialects, giving the OHG and MDu. forms. Alternatively however, the j-suffix may be secondary, on analogy with class I. The history and development of this verb is further complicated by the instability of class III verbs and their tendency to become levelled to class I or class II in the individual daughter languages (excepting OHG). This, nevertheless, allows us to reconstruct a NWGMc **sag(j)ējanan* “to say, tell”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ‘o’ ablaut grade of IE $\sqrt{*sek\omega-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 897) “bemerken, sehen; zeigen; (ursprünglich) wittern, spüren; (jünger) sagen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Greek $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\pi\omega$, $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\pi\omega$ (Pokorny I 1956: 897) “ich sage an, erzähle, verkünde”; Latin *inseque* (Pokorny I 1956: 897) “sag an”; Latin *inquit* (Pokorny I 1956: 897) “er sagt(e)”; OIr. *in-coisig* (Pokorny I 1956: 897) “bezeichnet”; OIr. *insce* (Pokorny I 1956: 898) “Rede”; OWelsh *hepp* (Pokorny I 1956: 897) “sprechen”; Lith. *sekù*, *sèkti* (Pokorny I 1956: 898) “erzählen”; Lith. *sakau*, *sakýti* (Pokorny I 1956: 898) “sagen”; OCS *sociti* (Pokorny I 1956: 898) “anzeigen”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: (*abur-*), *ana-*, *bi-*, *fīlo-*, *fīr-*, *fora-*, *furi-*, *gi-*, *in(t)-*, *ubar-*

salawen “beschmutzen, trüben, färben, verdunkeln, schminken” (Raven I 1963: 167). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *salawi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 504) “dunkel, schwarz”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

salbōn “salben, würzen, bestreichen” (Raven II 1967: 124). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *salbōn* II (Kluge 1989: 615) “salben”; OFs. *salvia* II (Holthausen 1925: 89) “salben”; OE *sealfian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 299) “to salve, annoint”; Gothic *salbon* II (Lehmann 1986: 293) “to annoint”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **salbōjanan* “salben”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG, OS *salba* (Kluge 1989: 615) “Salbe”; OE *sealf*, *salf* (Onions 1966: 785) “salve, healing, ointment”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **salbō* “Salbe”. Despite the fact that the attested forms of the noun are confined to WGmc, which might suggest a post-verbal noun, the IE $\sqrt{*selp-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 901) “Fett (Butter, Schmalz)” is clearly nominal, as can be seen from the following attestations: Skt *sarpi-* (Kluge 1989: 615) “zerlassene Butter, Schmalz”; Greek ἔλπος (Kluge 1989: 615) “Öl, Fett”; Toch.A *sālyp* (Kluge 1989: 615) “Salbe, Fett”; Toch.B *salype* (Kluge 1989: 615) “Salbe, Fett”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *duruh-*, *gi-*, *ubar-*

sālīgōn “selig preisen, segnen” (Raven II 1967: 125). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sālīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 504) “glücklich, selig, günstig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

salmo-sangōn “(+dat pers.) lobsingen, lobpreisen, Psalmen singen” (Raven II 1967: 125). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *salmo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 505) “Psalm” < Latin *psalmus* (Kluge 1989: 568) “Psalm” < Greek ψαλμός (Kluge 1989: 568) “Psalm, Lied, Gesang, Harfenspiel”. cf. OHG *-sangōn* II occurring also in the compounds *hugi-sangōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 289) “lobsingen” and *wunni-sangōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 747) “jauchzen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

salzōn “tanzen, hüpfen” (Raven II 1967: 125). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sealtian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 300) “to dance”. < Latin *saltāre* (Schade I 1882: 740) “tanzen”. Therefore a WGmc loan verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

sama-bringen “zusammenfügen” (Raven I 1963: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

sama-mahhōn “selbst ausführen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 395). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

samane-brengen “bereiten, rüsten, an-, be-, verschaffen, erwerben” (Raven I 1963: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

samanōn “sammeln, (sich) versammeln, (Feldfrüchte) einbringen, das Pferd in stolzem Trabe gehen lassen” (Raven II 1967: 125). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *samnōn* II (Kluge 1989: 616) “vereinigen, sammeln”; OE *samnian* II (Kluge 1989: 616) “to assemble, meet, collect, unite, join, gather together”; ON *safna*, *samna* II (Kluge 1989: 616) “sammeln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **samenōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 616) “sammeln”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zi samane* adv. (Lehmann 1986: 295) “zusammen”; OS *saman* adv. (Kluge 1989: 616) “zusammen, zugleich, miteinander”; OFs. *samin* (Lehmann 1986: 295). ON *saman* adv. (Kluge 1989: 616) “zusammen, zugleich, miteinander”; Gothic *samana* adv. (Kluge 1989: 616) “in common”, which allows us to

reconstruct a Gmc **samana-* (Kluge 1989: 616) “zusammen, zugleich, miteinander”. Therefore a NWGmc deadverbial formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *zuo-gi-*

saman-(h)ruofen “herrufen, appellieren, zusammenrufen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 498). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

saman-sindōn “mitreisen, begleiten, Geleit geben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 526). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

saman-stōzōn “zusammenstoßen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 598). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

samant-haben “haben” (Raven I 1963: 303). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

samant-lobōn “beloben, rühmen” (Raven II 1967: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

samant-stōzōn “zusammenstoßen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 598). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

samant-wercōn “zusammenwirken” (Raven II 1967: 181). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

samant-wonēn “verharren, zusammenbleiben” (Raven II 1967: 276). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

sama-stocken “(Kräuter) zerstoßen, zermalmen” (Raven I 1963: 206). No cognate verbs are attested. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. It is probably a prefix formation from an earlier, unattested simplex **stokkjan*, this ultimately deriving from the zero-grade of IE $\sqrt{*(s)teug-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “stoßen, schlagen”, from which base the following may be derived: Skt *tujati*, *tuñjati*, *tunakti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “drängt, stößt”; Mlr. *túag* (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “Axt, Bogen”; Mlr. *stúag*, *túagaim* (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “schlage mit der Axt”; Mlr. *tócht* (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “Stück, Teil”; Lith. *stúngis* (Pokorny I 1956: 1033) “Messerstumpf”; Swed. *stuka* (Pokorny I 1956: 1033) “überwältigen”; Norw. *stauka* (Pokorny I 1956: 1033) “stoßen, verletzen, stottern”; MLG *stoken* (Pokorny I 1956: 1033) “stechen, stocken”; OHG *stoc*, gen. *stockes* (Pokorny I 1956: 1033) “Stab, Baumstamm (<*abgeschlagener Ast oder Stamm)”; OE *stocc* (Pokorny I 1956: 1033) “stock, stump, stake, post, log; stocks”; ON *stokkr* (Pokorny I 1956: 1033) “Baumstamm, Pfahl, Block”; OHG *stucki* (Pokorny I 1956: 1033) “Brocken, Stückchen”; OE *stycce* (Pokorny I 1956: 1033) “piece, portion, bit, fragment”. These represent guttural extensions from IE $\sqrt{*(s)teu-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “stoßen, schlagen”, this root occurring only in extended form. Therefore, it is perhaps best to classify the unattested simplex as an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

sarpfisōn, *sarfisōn* “wüten, grausam sein” (Raven II 1967: 127). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sarpf*, *sarf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 509) “rauh, hart, grausam”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

sarrockōn, *gi-sarockōt-* “mit dem Feldherrnmantel (oder Kriegsmantel) angetan” (Raven II 1967: 127). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sarroc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 509) “Kriegsmantel, Feldmantel”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle formation.

satulōn, satalōn “satteln, (vom Streitroß) mit Brustschmuck geziert” (Raven II 1967: 127). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sadelian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 286) “to saddle”; ON *söðla* II (Schade II 1882: 745) “satteln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **saðulōjanan* “to saddle, equip with a saddle”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *satul, satil* (Kluge 1989: 618) “Sattel”; MLG, MDu. *sadel* (Kluge 1989: 618) “Sattel”; OFs. *sadel* (Kluge 1989: 618) “Sattel”; OE *sadol* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 286) “saddle”; ON *söðull* (Kluge 1989: 618) “Sattel”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **saðulaz* (Onions 1966: 781) “Sattel”. Probably ablaut variant loan word from Slavic **sedulo* “saddle” (OCS *sedlo* “saddle”), as, according to both Caesar and Tacitus the ancient Germans did not have saddles when riding. Furthermore, archeological evidence points to the saddle having been invented by South Eastern horsemen (Kluge 1989: 618).

Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-*

satōn “sättigen (acc. pers. et gen. rei)” (Raven II 1967: 127). cf. MHG *setten* I (Lehmann 1986: 296). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sadian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 286) “to be sated, get wearied”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **saðōjan* “sättigen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sat* (Kluge 1989: 618) “satt, voll, mit vollem Magen”; OS *sad* (Kluge 1989: 618) “satt, voll”; OE *sæd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 286) “sated with, weary of, satiated, filled, full”; ON *saðr* (Kluge 1989: 618) “satt”; Gothic *saps* (Kluge 1989: 618) “full, satisfied”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **saðaz* (Onions 1966: 781) “full, satisfied”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

seganōn “segnen, sich besegen, einweihen, ein Dankgebet sprechen, bekreuzen und dabei den Segensspruch oder Wunsch sprechen” (Raven II 1967: 128). cf. OS *segnōn* II (Kluge 1989: 663) “segnen”; cf. OE *segnian* II (Kluge 1989: 663) “to make the sign of the cross, cross oneself, consecrate, bless”; cf. ON *signa* II loan verb from WGmc? (Kluge 1989: 663) “segnen, weihen”. These are all probably independent developments. < Vulg. Latin *segnāre* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1604) “das Zeichen des Kreuzes machen”. < Latin *signāre* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1604) “mit einem Zeichen versehen, (be)zeichnen”. < Latin *signum* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1604) “Zeichen, Abzeichen, Kennzeichen, Siegel”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, fir-, gi-*

seġōn “sägen, absägen, schneiden” (Raven II 1967: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *saga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 510) “Säge”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-, zi-*

seigen “sinken lassen, übersetzen, hinüberführen” (Raven I 1963: 168). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sēgian* I (Seebold 1970: 389). OFs. *wold-sēge* (Seebold 1970: 389) “Mord auf dem Feld”; OE *sæġan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 287) “to cause to sink, settle, cause to fall”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **saigejan* (Seebold 1970: 389) “sinken lassen”, causative of strong verb **seiganan* (Seebold 1970: 388) “to sink, fall, drop”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sīgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 389) “sinken, fallen, tropfen, wanken”; OS *sīgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 389) “sinken, sich vorwärts bewegen”; OFs. *sīga* st. vb only present forms attested (Seebold 1970: 389) “untergehen, sinken”; OE *sīgan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 305) “to sink, set (of the sun), decline; descend, fall, fall down, move, advance, go, go to, approach”; ON *sīga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 388) “sinken, fallen, herabgleiten; zurückweichen; zustandekommen, zusammenkommen”. Therefore a WGmc causative deverbative.

seihhen “harnen, durchseihen, schmelzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 513). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *seychen* loan word from OHG? (Pfeifer III 1989: 1606)

“seichen”; MDu. *sēken*, *seiken* loan word from OHG? (Pfeifer III 1989: 1606) “seichen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **saihwejan* (Seebold 1970: 390) class I deverbative from strong verb **seihwanan* (Seebold 1970: 389) “seihen, tröpfeln”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sīhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 389) “seihen, herausseihen, durchseihen”; MDu. *sien* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 389) “tropfen lassen, rinnen lassen, seihen”; OFs. *sīa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 389) “seihen, tröpfeln”; OE *sēon* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 303) “to strain, filter; run, ooze, trickle, drop, drip”; ON *sía* wk.vb but probably originally strong (Kluge 1989: 664) “seihen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

seiten-sprengen “springen machen oder lassen (zum Beispiel Wasser, Steine, ein Pferd - daher galoppieren - das Pferd = obj. wird ausgelassen, (be-)spritzen, herabtriefen” (Raven I 1963: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

selidōn “einen beherbergen, ihm eine Wohnung anweisen oder bereiten” (Raven II 1967: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *selida* (Starck and Wells 1990: 515) “Wohnung, Herberge, Unterkunft”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

selkenēn “aufhören, sich beruhigen oder legen” (Raven II 1967: 252). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **selknējan* (Seebold 1970: 392), class III deverbative from strong verb **selkanan* (Seebold 1970: 392) “erschlaffen” (see under *gi-selkēn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with n-extension).

sellen “geben, hin-, übergeben, zu eigen geben, überantworten (von Sachen und Personen), herbei-, darbringen, überliefern, berichten, erwägen, urteilen, verraten” (Raven I 1963: 319). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sellian* I (Barnhardt 1988: 981) “geben”; OFs. *sella* I (Barnhardt 1988: 981) “geben”; OE *sellan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 302) “to give, supply, lend; entrust; surrender; appoint; sell”; ON *selja* I (Barnhardt 1988: 981) “überlegen, leisten; verkaufen”; Gothic *saljan* I (Lehmann 1986: 294) “to sacrifice, offer sacrifice”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **sal(e)janan* “to give, hand over”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is possibly a causative deverbative “to cause to take” (which would allow us to reconstruct a form **salejanan*) from a pre-Gmc (or extinct Gmc) verb which derives ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*sel-}$ (Pokorny I 1957: 899) “nehmen, ergreifen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Greek $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ aorist 2nd infinitive (Pokorny I 1957: 899) “to take”; Latin *consulere senātum* (Pokorny I 1957: 899) “den Senat versammeln”; OIr. *ad-selb* (Pokorny I 1957: 899) “bezeugen”; OIr. *selb* (Pokorny I 1957: 899) “Besitz”; Welsh *helw* (Pokorny I 1957: 899) “Besitz”. The Gmc nominal forms such as: OHG *sala* (Pokorny I 1957: 899) “Übergabe eines Gutes”; ON *sal* (Pokorny I 1957: 899) “Bezahlung”, are best regarded as post-verbal. The IE parallels given above provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-, in-, int-, umbi-, umbi-bi-*

senēn “entkräftet, matt oder träge sein” (Raven II 1967: 252). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sēonian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 303) “to languish”, which allows us to reconstruct a **sinwējan* “to be sinewy, weak, languish”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *senā(w)a* (Kluge 1989: 663) “Sehne”, Bogensehne, Riemen, Darmsaiten als Feseln”; OS *sinewa* (Kluge 1989: 663) “Sehne”; OFs. *sine*, *sin(i)* (Kluge 1989: 663). OE *seono* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 303) “sinew”; ON *sin* (Kluge 1989: 663) “Sehne”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **sinwō* (Kluge 1989: 663) “Sehne”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

sengen “sengen, versengen” (Kluge 1989: 668). The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu. *sengen* I (Kluge 1989: 668). OFs. *sendza*, *sandza* I (Kluge 1989: 668). OE *sengan* I (Kluge

1989: 668) “to singe, burn slightly”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sangjan* “versengen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably a causative deverbative “to cause to burn” (which would allow us to reconstruct a form **sangejan*) from an earlier verb which derives ultimately from IE. **senk-*. This is a nasalized form of IE $\sqrt{*sek}$ (Pfeifer III 1989: 1617) “versiegen lassen; trocknen, austrocknen; (Gmc) verbrennen”, from which base the following may be derived: Du. *sengel* (Pokorny I 1959: 907) “Funke”; Mod.Ice. *sangur, sangt* (Pokorny I 1959: 907) “versengt, angebrannt”; MHG *sungen, sunken* (Pokorny I 1959: 907) “anbrennen”; Norw. (dial.) *sengra, sengla* (Pokorny I 1959: 907) “brenzlich riechen”; OCS *presociti* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1617) “versiegen lassen, austrocknen”; OCS *socilo* (Pokorny I 1959: 907) “Ofen”. The nasalized form of this root does not appear to have any parallels outside Gmc. In addition to this, the Gmc verbs signify “burning” as opposed to “drying”, which is clearly a Gmc innovation. It is therefore better not to assign this verb to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

senken “sinken lassen, senken, versenken” (Raven I 1963: 168). OS *bi-senkian* I (Seebold 1970: 394). OFs. *sanza, senza* I (Seebold 1970: 394) “versenken”; OE *sencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 302) “to sink, plunge (in water), submerge, drown”; ON *sökkva* I (Seebold 1970: 394) “versenken”; Gothic *sagqjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 303) “to cause to sink”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **sankwejanan* (Seebold 1970: 394) “senken”, causative deverbative from strong verb **senkwanan* (Seebold 1970: 394) “sinken”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sincan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 394) “sinken, sich niederlassen, versinken”; OS *sinkan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 394) “sinken”; OFs. *sinka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 393) “sinken”; OE *sincan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 307) “to sink, become submerged; subside”; ON *sökkva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 393) “sinken”; Gothic *sigqan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 393) “to sink”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-, nidar-*

senten “senden, schicken, bringen, werfen, schießen, schütten, legen, aussenden gegen” (Raven I 1963: 169). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sendian* I (Seebold 1970: 395) “senden”; OFs. *senda* I (Seebold 1970: 395) “senden”; OE *sendan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 302) “to send, send forth, despatch; throw”; ON *senda* I (Zoëga 1910: 355) “senden; töten”; Gothic *sandjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 295) “to send”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **sandējanan* (Seebold 1970: 395) “senden”, causative of strong verb **senþnanan* (Seebold 1970: 394) “gehen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sinnan* st. vb, with assimilation of ‘p’ to ‘n’ (Seebold 1970: 394) “reisen, sich begeben, trachten nach”; OFs. *sinna* st. vb present only, with assimilation of ‘p’ to ‘n’ (Seebold 1970: 394) “sinnen, beabsichtigen”; OE *sinnan* st. vb, with assimilation of ‘p’ to ‘n’ (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 307) “to meditate upon, think of, care about; cease?”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, dara-, fir-, furi-, gi-, hera-, (herasun-), (hina-), nidar-, untar-, ūz-, widar-, zi-*

sēragōn “Schmerz machen wegen etwas, verwunden, Schmerz verursachen, verletzen, versehren” (Raven II 1967: 129). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sārgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 290) “to cause pain, afflict, wound, grieve”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sairagōjan, *sairigōjan* “versehren”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sērag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 518) “zerknirscht, erbittert, betrübt”; OS *sērag* (Onions 1966: 847). OE *sārig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 290) “sorry, grieved, sorrowful”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sairagaz, *sairigaz* “sore, grieved, sorrowful”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

sērawēn “sich abhärten, sich abzehren, innerlich abnehmen, dahinsiechen, entkräftet werden, hinwelken, absterben, (vor Furcht) den Geist aufgeben” (Raven II 1967: 252). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sērag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 518) “zerknirscht, erbittert, betrübt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (with interchange of intervocalic glide w for g).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

sēren “verletzen, versehren, verwunden, bekümmern, (reflex.) sich härmen, einem wie ein Stich durchs Herz gehen” (Raven I 1963: 171). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sērian* I (de Vries 1962: 576) “versehren; bedrängen”; ON *sēra* I (de Vries 1962: 576) “werwunden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **sairijanan* “to wound, afflict, make sore or painful”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sēr* (Starck and Wells 1990: 518) “bitter, peinlich”; OS *sēr* (Onions 1966: 847) “schmerzlich, traurig, leidend”; OE *sār* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 290) “sore, sad, grievous, painful, wounding”; ON *sárr* (Onions 1966: 847) “verwundet, schmerzlich”; cf. Gothic *sair* (Kluge 1989: 664) “Wunde, Schmerz”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **sairaz* (Onions 1966: 847) “sore”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

sērēn “Trauer oder Schmerz empfinden” (Raven II 1967: 252). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sārian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 290) “to become painful; grieve, be sad, feel sorry for”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sairōjan* “to be or become sore, painful, to grieve”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *sēren*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

sērezzen “Wehe empfinden, gebären wollen, schmerzen, sich beängstigen, sich in Wehen winden” (Raven I 1963: 171). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sārettan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 290) “to grieve, lament, complain”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sairatjan*, intensive deverbative from NWGmc weak verb **sairijanan* (see under *sēren*). Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

sērōn “verletzen, bekümmern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 518). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sārian* II originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 290) “to become painful; grieve, be sad, feel sorry for”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sairōjan* “to wound, inflict pain”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *sēren*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

serten, serden “widernatürliche Unzucht treiben; futuere” (Schützeichel 1969: 163). No cognate verbs are attested. We can tentatively reconstruct an earlier form **sardejan* class I deverbative formation from strong verb **serdanan* (Seebold 1970: 395) “(widernatürliche) Unzucht treiben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sertan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 518) “Beischlaf ausüben, Unzucht treiben; futuo, vitio”; OE *seorðan* st. vb, loan verb from Nordic? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 303) “to lie with, have sexual intercourse with, go whoring”; ON *serða* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 395) “(widernatürliche) Unzucht treiben”; OSwed. *sarp* st. vb pret. sg. (de Vries 1962: 470) “stupravit”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

sestōn “aufstellen, anordnen, befestigen, stehen machen” (Raven II 1967: 129). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *sistere* (Schade II 1882: 757) “feststellen, festsetzen, bestimmen”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

**setten* “sättigen”. MHG *setten* (Lehmann 1986: 296). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *seðja* (de Vries 1962: 466) “sättigen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **saðijanan* “sättigen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *satōn*). Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

sēwazzen “einen See erzeugen, überschwemmen” (Raven I 1963: 171). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sēo*, *sē* (Starck and Wells 1990: 417) “See, Meer”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with intensive suffix).

sewēn “einen See bilden, zum See werden” (Raven II 1967: 253). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sē(o)* (Kluge 1989: 663) “See”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

sewenōn “keltern, seihen, durchseihen, läutern, im Rhythmus des Keltertretens” (Raven II 1967: 129). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **saigwenōjan* (Seebold 1970: 390) class II deverbative formation from strong verb **seihwanan* (Seebold 1970: 389) “seihen, tröpfeln”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sīhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 389) “seihen, herausseihen, durchseihen”; MDu. *sien* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 389) “tropfen lassen, rinnen lassen, seihen”; OFs. *sīa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 389) “seihen, tröpfeln”; OE *sēon* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 303) “to strain, filter; run, ooze, trickle, drop, drip”; ON *sía* wk.vb but probably originally strong (Kluge 1989: 664) “seihen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (with n-extension).

sezzen “(ein-)setzen, legen, (auf-)stellen, hingeben, pflanzen, stiften, begründen, errichten, Gesetze geben oder vorschreiben, büssen” (Raven I 1963: 171). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *settian* I (Seebold 1970: 397) “setzen”; OFs. *setta* I (Seebold 1970: 397) “setzen”; OE *settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 304) “to make to sit, set, lay, put, deposit, place, fix; appoint, assign, institute, prepare, form, make, found, build”; ON *setja* I (Zoëga 1910: 296) “setzen, stellen; bauen; machen”; Gothic *satjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 296) “to set, lay, place”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **satejanan* (Seebold 1970: 397) “to set”, causative of strong verb **setjanan* (Seebold 1970: 396) “to sit”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sizzen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 396) “sitzen, wohnen”; OS *sittian* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 396) “sitzen, verweilen, sich setzen”; OFs. *sitta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 396) “sitzen, wohnen, sich befinden”; OE *sittan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 308) “to sit (down), recline, rest; remain, continue; be situated, settle, encamp, dwell, occupy, possess, abide, reside; lie in wait; besiege”; ON *sitja* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 396) “sitzen, weilen; besitzen, bewohnen”; Gothic *sitan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 396) “sitzen, sich setzen”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *ana-gi-*, *bi-*, *fir-*, *folla-*, *fora-*, *fora-gi-*, *fram-*, *furdir-*, *furi-*, *furi-gi-*, *gagan-*, *in-*, *ingagan-*, *ingagan-gi-*, *in-gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*, *missi-*, *nidar-*, *nidar-gi-*, *niu-*, *ubar-*, *ubar-gi-*, *ūf-*, *umbi-*, *untar-*, *widar-*, *zi-*, *zisamene-*, *zuo-*

sidalen “siedeln, verbreiten, (hin)einströmen” (Raven I 1963: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sidil*, *sidila* (Starck and Wells 1990: 521) “Sitz, Stuhl, Wohnsitz”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

sigilen “besiegeln” (Raven I 1963: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. OS *siglian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 521) “mit einem Siegel versehen”, is probably best regarded as a loan verb from High German.

The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **sigil* “Siegel”, can be reconstructed from MHG *sigel* (Kluge 1989: 671) “Siegel”. < Latin *sigillum* (Kluge 1989: 671) “Siegelabdruck”. < Latin *signum* (Pfeifer 1989: 1631) “Zeichen, Abzeichen, Bild, Siegel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *bi-in-*, *fir-*, *in-*, *int-*

**sigirōn* “siegen, besiegen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sigorian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 306) “to be victorious, triumph over”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **segurōjan*, **segirōjan* “to be victorious, triumph”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OE *sigor* postverbal? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 306) “victory,

triumph”; cf. OHG *sigu* (Starck and Wells 1990: 521) “Sieg”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb (formed with r-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ubar-*

sigu-faginōn “in Siegesfreude sein” (Raven II 1967: 129). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *sigu* (Starck and Wells 1990: 521) “Sieg”; cf. OHG *faginōn* II (Raven II 1967: 36) “erfreuen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

sihhurōn “schützen, einen oder etwas sicher stellen, einem etwas fest versprechen” (Raven II 1967: 129). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sikorōn* II (Schade II 1882: 763) “einen sicher stellen vor”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sikurōjan* “to make sure, certain or secure”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sihhur* (Starck and Wells 1990: 522) “sicher, sorgenfrei; gefahrlos”; OS *sikor* (Kluge 1989: 671) “sicher”; OFs. *sikur* (Kluge 1989: 671) “sicher”; OE *sicor* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 305) “secure; sure, certain, trustworthy”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sikuruz* “sicher”. < Vulgar Latin *sicūrus* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1626). < Latin *sēcūrus* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1626) “ohne Sorge, unbekümmert, furchtlos”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

siconden “folgen, gehorchen, sich fügen” (Raven I 1963: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. See under *sicondōn*. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

sicondōn “gehorchen, sich fügen” (Raven II 1967: 130). No cognate verbs are attested. Loan verb from Latin *-secundāre* in *obsecundāre* (Raven II 1967: 130) “to favour, assist, second”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

silabaren “mit Silber überziehen, gesilbert” (Raven I 1963: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *silabar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 523) “Silber”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ubar-*

sindōn “gehen, reisen, reiten, trachten, verlangen, entfliehen, der Wanderer” (Raven II 1967: 130). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sīhōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 526) “den Weg richten, reisen”; OE *sīdian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 308) “to go, depart, travel, wander”; ON *sinna* II (de Vries 1962: 477) “reisen, folgen; helfen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **senþōjanan* “to go, travel, journey, follow a path or route”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sind* (Starck and Wells 1990: 526) “Weg, Richtung”; OS *sīh* (Seebold 1970: 394) “Weg, Schicksal, Reise, Mal”; OE *sīð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 308) “going, motion, journey; departure, death; undertaking, enterprise; road, way; time, turn, occasion; fate, destiny, fortune”; ON *sinn* (de Vries 1962: 477) “Mal, Gang”; Gothic *sinþs* (Seebold 1970: 394) “Mal”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **senþaz* (Seebold 1970: 394) “Weg, Gang, Mal”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *miti-*, *saman-*

siohhalōn “schwach sein, siechen, kränkeln” (Raven II 1967: 129). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sēclician*, *sēclian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 305) “to sicken, become ill or weak”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **seuklōjan* “to be sick, sicken”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sioh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 527) “krank, schwach”; OS *sioh* (Kluge 1989: 671) “krank”; OFs. *siāk* (Kluge 1989: 671) “krank”; OE *sēc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 303) “sick, ill, diseased, feeble; wounded; morally sick, corrupt; sad, troubled”; ON *sjúkr* (Kluge 1989: 671) “krank”; Gothic *siuks* (Kluge 1989: 671) “krank”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **seukaz* (Kluge 1989: 671) “krank”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb (formed with l-extension).

siohhēn “ermatten, erschlaffen,, krank oder gebrechlich werden oder sein, lästig werden, liebeskrank sein, siechen” (Raven II 1967: 253). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *siohhālōn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

sippōn, sibbōn “verbünden, (ehelich) verbinden” (Raven II 1967: 130). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sibbian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 304) “to bring together, conciliate, reconcile”; ON **sifja* in *siffaðr* preterite participle (de Vries 1962: 473) “verwandt”; Gothic *ga-sibōn* II (de Vries 1962: 473) “to be reconciled”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **sibjōjanan* “to bind, bind in blood, reconcile”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sibba* (Starck and Wells 1990: 520) “Bündnis, Verwandtschaft, Blutsverwandtschaft”; OS *sibbia* (Kluge 1989: 674); OFs. *sibbe* (Kluge 1989: 674); OE *sibb* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 304) “relationship; love, friendship; peace, happiness”; ON *sif* sg. (de Vries 1962: 473) “Göttin, Thors Weib”; ON *siffar* pl. (Kluge 1989: 674) “Sippe, Verwandtschaft”; Gothic *sibja* (Kluge 1989: 674) “Verwandtschaft”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **sibjō* (Kluge 1989: 674) “Sippe, Verwandtschaft”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

sitōn “aus-, ein-, verrichten, anordnen, (der Sitte gemäß) vermählen, tun, bewirken, im Sinne haben, planen” (Raven II 1967: 130). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-sidōn* II (Schade II 1882: 769) “machen, tun, ausführen, in Stand setzen”; OE *ge-sidian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 305) “to arrange, set right, order”; ON *siða* II (Lehmann 1986: 301) “to reform”; Gothic *sidon* II (Lehmann 1986: 305) “to practise”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **seðōjanan* “to arrange, set right, order, practice, do”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *situ* (Starck and Wells 1990: 528) “Sitte, Gebrauch, Art und Weise”; OS *sidu* (Kluge 1989: 674) “Sitte”; OFs. *side* (Kluge 1989: 674) “Sitte”; OE *sidu* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 305) “custom, practice, manner, habit, rule, right; manner, morality”; ON *siðr* (Kluge 1989: 674) “Sitte”; Gothic *sidus* (Kluge 1989: 674) “custom”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **seðuz* (Kluge 1989: 674) “Sitte”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *umbi-*

situ-fangōn “erzählen, schildern” (Raven II 1967: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *situ* (Kluge 1989: 674) “Sitte, Gebrauch, Art und Weise”; cf. OHG *fangōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 139) “antreiben”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

siuwen “(an)nähen, ausbessern, flicken” (Raven I 1963: 320). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *siuwian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 529) “ausbessern”; OFs. *sā* I (Barnhardt 1988: 989) “nähen”; OE *siwan, siowan* I (Barnhardt 1988: 989) “to sew, mend, patch”; ON *syja* I (Barnhardt 1988: 989) “nähen; Planken eines Schiffes zusammenbinden”; Gothic *siujan* I (Barnhardt 1988: 989) “to sew on”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **siujanan* “to sew, mend, patch”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE $\sqrt{*siu-}$ (vor Kons. und im Präs. *siūuō*), *sū-* (im Präs. *sūiō*) “nähen” (Pokorny I 1957: 915), from which base the following may be derived: OHG *soum* (Pokorny I 1957: 916) “Besatz, Saum, Rand”; OE *sēam* (Pokorny I 1957: 916) “seam, suture, junction”; ON *saumr* (Pokorny I 1957: 916) “Saum, Naht”; Latin *suō, suere* (Pokorny I 1957: 916) “nähen, zusammenziehen”; OCS *šijo, šiti* (Pokorny I 1957: 916) “nähen”; Lith. *siuvù, siúti* (Pokorny I 1957: 916) “nähen”; Skt *sāyati* (Pokorny I 1957: 916) “näht”; Skt *syūnan-* (Pokorny I 1956: 916) “Band, Riemen, Zügel, Naht”; Hittite *sumanza* (Barnhardt 1988: 989) “cord, rope”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *ir-*, *widar-*, *zuo-gi-*

scadōn “schaden, Schaden tun oder verursachen, schmähen, lästern, verdammen, straffällig oder untertan” (Raven II 1967: 131). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *skathōn* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1487) “schaden”; OFs. *skathia* II (Schade I 1882: 771) “schaden”; ON *skaða* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1487) “schaden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skapōjanan* “schaden”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scado* (Kluge 1989: 622) “Schaden, Nachteil”; OS *skatho* (Kluge 1989: 622) “Schaden”; OFs. *skatha* (Kluge 1989: 622) “Schaden”; OE *sceape* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 293) “injury”; ON *skaði* (de Vries 1962: 480) “Schaden, Verlust”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skapōn* masc. (Kluge 1989: 622) “Schaden, Nachteil”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

scaffōn “bilden, formen, anordnen, schaffen, gestalten, einrichten, festsetzen, besorgen, bestellen, bestimmen, tun, zustande bringen, testamentarisch vermachen” (Raven II 1967: 131). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *skapa* II (Seebold 1970: 407) “schaffen, einrichten, ordnen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skapōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 407) class II deverbative from strong verb **skapjanan* j-present (Seebold 1970: 406) “schaffen” (see under *skepfen*). Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fora-*, *gi-*

scaften “schaften, mit einem Schaft versehen” (Raven I 1963: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 531) “Schaft, Wurfspieß, Speer”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

scāhhen “landstreichen” (Raven I 1963: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *scāhhōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

scāhhōn “landstreichen” (Raven I 1963: 177).

No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scāh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 531) “Räuberei, Raub”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

scal “sollen, müssen, schulden” (Seebold 1970: 405). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *scal* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 405) “sollen, müssen, bestimmt sein”; OFs. *skel* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 405) “sollen”; OE *sceal* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 405) “should, ought to”; ON *skal* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 405) “sollen, müssen, werden”; Gothic *skal* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 405) “schuldig sein, sollen”. These allow us to reconstruct a preterite-present verb **skal* (Seebold 1970: 405) “schuldet”. This verb can be traced back to an IE *√*skel* (Seebold 1970: 405) “schulden”, from which base the following may also be derived: Lith. *skeliù*, *skelėti* (Seebold 1970: 406) “schulden”. Therefore a Pre-Gmc primary verb (preterite-present).

scalken “versklaven, zum Knecht machen” (Raven I 1963: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scalc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 531) “Diener, Knecht, Lohndiener”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

scamēn “(+gen. pers. vel. rei) sich schämen, scheuen, verschmähen, Scham empfinden über, bereuen, Reue empfinden, eingestehen, zu Schande werden” (Raven II 1967: 253). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *skamia* II originally class III? (Lehmann 1986: 309) “sich schämen”; OE *scamian*, *sceamian* II originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 291) “(intrans.) to be ashamed, blush”; Gothic *skaman* III (Lehmann 1986: 309) “to be ashamed, despair of”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **skamējanan* “to be ashamed, feel shame, regret”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scama* (Starck and Wells 1990: 532) “Scham, Sittsamkeit, Scheu”; OS *skama* (Kluge 1989: 623) “Scham”; OFs. *skame*, *skome* (Kluge 1989: 623) “Scham”; OE *sc(e)amu* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 291) “shame, confusion; disgrace, dishonour; insult; modesty; private parts”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **skamō* (Kluge 1989: 623) “Scham”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

scamōn “sich schämen, Scham empfinden über, scheuen, bereuen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 532). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *skamia* II originally class III? (Lehmann 1986: 309) “sich schämen”; OE *scamian*, *sceamian* II originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 291) “(intrans.) to be ashamed, blush”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skamōjanan* “to feel shame, blush, regret”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *scamēn*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

scarbōn “in kleine Stücke schneiden, zerschneiden” (Raven II 1967: 132). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *scearfian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 292) “to cut off, scrape, shred”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skarbōjan* (Seebold 1970: 415), class II intensive deverbative from strong verb **skerfanan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 414) “abnagen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *sceorfan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 294) “to scarify, gnaw”. Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

scarōn “scharen, in Scharen abteilen, in Schlachttordnung aufstellen” (Raven II 1967: 132). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *scearian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 292) “to allot”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skarōjan* “to divide”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *skerien*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

scatawen “beschatten, schützen, decken, schattenhaft andeuten” (Raven I 1963: 178). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *skadowan* I (Lehmann 1986: 307) “beschatten”; OE *scēadwian* probably class II by levelling from class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 291) “to shadow, protect”; Gothic *ufar-skadwjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 307) “to overshadow”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **skapwījanan* “to shadow, shade, protect”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scato* (Kluge 1989: 626) “Schatten”; OS *skado* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1498) “Schatten”; OE *sceadu* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 291) “shade, shadow, darkness; shady place; arbour; shelter”; Gothic *skadus* (Lehmann 1986: 307) “shadow”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **skapwaz* (Kluge 1989: 626) “shadow”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

scazzōn “schätzen, Geld ansammeln, handeln, Geschäfte machen, einen Schatz anhäufen, sein Vermögen vergrößern, Geld verdienen” (Raven II 1967: 132). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scaz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 534) “Münze, Geldsumme, Reichtum”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

skeidōn “absondern, trennen, (unter)scheiden” (Raven II 1967: 132). cf. OHG *skidōn* II (Raven II 1967: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **skaiðōjan* (Seebold 1970: 403) class II deverbative from strong verb **skaiðanan* (Seebold 1970: 402) “scheiden”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *skeidan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 402) “scheiden, unterscheiden”; OS *skēdan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 402) “scheiden, ausscheiden”; OFs. *skētha* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 402) “scheiden”; OE *scādan*, *scēadan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 291) “to divide, separate, part, Soul; discriminate, decide, determine, appoint; differ, scatter, shed, expound; decree, write down”; Gothic *skaidan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 402) “scheiden, trennen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

skeinen “zeigen, erscheinen machen, zu erkennen geben, bekunden, Gnade erweisen” (Raven I 1963: 178). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *scēnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 290) “to render brilliant, cause to shine; explain”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skainejan* “to cause to shine, light up, illuminate”, causative of strong verb **skeinanan* (Seebold 1970: 409) “scheinen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *skīnan* st.

vb (Seebold 1970: 409) “scheinen, leuchten”; OS *skīnan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 409) “scheinen”; OFs. *skīna* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 409) “scheinen, leuchten”; OE *scīnan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 295) “to shine, flash, be resplendent; shine upon, illuminate”; ON *skina* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 409) “scheinen, leuchten, glänzen; verblichen”; Gothic *skeinan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 409) “to shine”. Therefore a WGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

**skeiṭilōn* “scheiteln”. MHG *skeitelen* (Schade II 1882: 786) “scheiteln”. No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skeitila* (Kluge 1989: 628) “Scheitel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zi-*

skellen “schallen, tönen machen, zerschmettern, erschallen machen” (Raven I 1963: 179). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sciellan* I (Seebold 1970: 413) “erschallen lassen”; ON *skella* I (Seebold 1970: 413) “schütteln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skallejanan* (Seebold 1970: 413) “to cause to resound”, causative deverbative from strong verb **skellanan* (Seebold 1970: 412) “schallen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *skellan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 537) “tönen, schallen, schellen”; OE *sciellan* attested in present only (Seebold 1970: 413) “to resound”; ON *skjalla* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 412) “erklingen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

skemmen “ab-, verkürzen, kurz machen oder fassen” (Raven I 1963: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scam* (Starck and Wells 1990: 532) “kurz”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

skenken “einschenken, schenken, bewässern, trinken lassen, mischen, vorsetzen, reichen, gießen, servieren” (Raven I 1963: 179). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *skenkian* I (Kluge 1989: 629) “einschenken, zu trinken geben”; OFs. *skenka* I (Kluge 1989: 629) “einschenken, zu trinken geben”; OE *scencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 293) “to pour out, to give to drink”. The normally accepted etymology for this verb is WGmc **skankijan* (Kluge 1989: 629) “einschenken, zu trinken geben, (eigentlich) das Gefäß schief halten (damit der Inhalt ausläuft)”, a factitive deadjectival formation from a NWGmc adjective which we can reconstruct as **skankaz* (Kluge 1989: 629) “schräg, schief”, despite its being attested only in ON *skakk* (Kluge 1989: 629) “schräg, hinkend”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

skenten “schänden” (Raven I 1963: 180). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scanta* (Kluge 1989: 624) “Schande”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *gi-*

skepfen, *skeffen* “auf kunstvolle Weise herstellen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 538). No cognate verbs are attested. We can tentatively reconstruct an earlier form **skapjan* “schaffen”, class I weak deverbative from strong verb **skapjanan* (Seebold 1970: 406) “schaffen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *skepfen* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 538) “schaffen, erschaffen, gestalten, schöpfen”; OS *skeppian* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 407) “schaffen, schöpfen, bestimmen”; OFs. *skeppa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 406) “erschaffen, bestimmen”; OE *scieppan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 294) “to create, form, shape, make; order, destine, arrange, adjudge, assign”; ON *skepja* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 406) “schaffen, bewirken, bestimmen”; Gothic *ga-skapjan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 406) “erschaffen, hervorbringen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

skepfōn “singen” (Raven II 1967: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. Possibly connected with OHG *scopf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 545) “Dichter, Gedicht”. Further etymology unclear.

skerien “wohin weisen oder schaffen, einstellen, einordnen, aufzählen, zuteilen, zuweisen, einreihen, bestimmen, scharen, [sich beschäftigen]” (Raven I 1963: 321). cf. OHG *scarōn* II (Raven II 1967: 132). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *skarian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 539) “zuteilen, bestimmen, durchzählen”; cf. OE *scearian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 292) “to allot”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skarijan* “to divide”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scar(a)* (Starck and Wells 1990: 533) “Schar, Heer, Trupp”; OS *scara* (Barnhardt 1988: 993) “share in a common field, division, troop”; OFs. *hermskere* (Barnhardt 1988: 993) “share of penalty”; OE *scearu* (Barnhardt 1988: 993) “cutting, shearing, tonsure, division”; ON *skor* (Kluge 1989: 624) “Trupp”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skarō* (Barnhardt 1988: 993) “cutting, sharing, division, share”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

skernōn “Spott treiben, verspotten” (Raven II 1967: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skern* (Starck and Wells 1990: 539) “Aushöhlung, Scherz, Schauspiel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

skerōn “jauchzen, mutwillig sein, vor Mutwillen schreien, müßig sein oder ruhen” (Raven II 1967: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **skerōjan* “jauchzen”. The etymology and derivational pattern of this verb are unclear. It may possibly ultimately derive from the IE $\sqrt{*(s)ker-}$, **(s)kerā-*, **(s)krē-* (Pokorny I 1959: 933) “springen, herumspringen; (sich) drehend bewegen, schwingen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *secge-scāre* (Kluge 1989: 630) “Heuschrecke”; MLG *scheren* (Pokorny I 1959: 933) “spotten, höhnen; laufen, eilen”; ON *skári* (Pokorny I 1959: 933) “junge Möwe”; OCS *skoru* (Kluge 1989: 630) “schnell, flink”; Lith. *skerys* (Kluge 1989: 630) “Heuschrecke”; Greek *σκαίρω* (Kluge 1989: 630) “ich hüpfte, springe, tanze”; Skt *kirati* (Pokorny I 1959: 933) “streut, vergießt, wirft, schleudert”. Despite the semantic development of this verb and the confinement of attested forms to OHG, the IE parallels given above provide sufficient evidence to suggest a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

***skerpfen, skerfen** “schärfen, scharf machen”. MHG *skerpfen, skerfen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1495) “schärfen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-skerpian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1495) “schärfen”; OE *scierpan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 292) “to sharpen; rouse, invigorate, strengthen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skarpijan* “to sharpen, make sharp”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scarpf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 533) “scharf, herb, rauh”; OS *skarp* (Kluge 1989: 625) “scharf”; OFs. *skerp, skarp* (Kluge 1989: 625) “scharf”; OE *scearp* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 292) “sharp, pointed, prickly; acute, keen, active, shrewd; severe, rough, harsh; biting, bitter, acid; brave”; ON *skarpr* (Kluge 1989: 625) “eingeschrumpft, dürr; scharf, rauh, hart”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skarpaz* (Kluge 1989: 625) “scharf”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

skerten “bedecken, verunstalten, verletzen, scharten, häßlich machen, bedrängen, verstümmeln, zerfleischen” (Raven I 1963: 181). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *scyrdan, scierdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 299) “to harm, injure, destroy”; ON *skerða* I (de Vries 1962: 490) “eine Scharte machen; vermindern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skarðijanan* “to injure, harm, destroy, cut up, mutilate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **scart* “zerhauen, schartig, verwundet”, can be reconstructed from OHG *scart-lidi* (Seebold 1970: 414) “Beschnittenheit” and MHG *schart(e)* (Kluge 1989: 625) “zerhauen, schartig, verletzt, verwundet”; OS *skard* (Kluge 1989: 625) “zerhauen, verwundet”; OFs. *skerd* (Kluge 1989: 625) “zerhauen, schartig”; OE *sceard* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 292) “mutilated, gashed, notched, hacked”; ON *skarðr* (de Vries 1962: 484) “schartig, beschädigt, verstümmelt”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skarðaz* (Kluge 1989: 625) “zerhauen, beschädigt, schartig”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

skessōn “behauen” (Raven II 1967: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skesso* (Starck and Wells 1990: 540) “Fels, Gestein”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

skiben gi-skibit- “(preterite participle) wie Kunstgewebe geartet, mit kleinen Scheiben verzieht” (Starck and Wells 1990: 540). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *schiven* (Pfeifer I 1989: 1503) “in Scheiben schneiden”; MDu. *schiven* (Pfeifer I 1989: 1503) “in Scheiben schneiden”; ON *skifa* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 1503) “in Scheiben schneiden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skibijanan* “to cut into slices, slice”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skiba* (Starck and Wells 1990: 540) “Scheibe, Kugel, Plättchen”; OS *skīva* (Kluge 1989: 627) “Scheibe”; OFs. *skīve* (Kluge 1989: 627) “Scheibe”; ON *skifa* (Kluge 1989: 627) “Scheibe, Schnitte”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skibō(n)* (Kluge 1989: 627) “Scheibe (ursprünglich wohl eine von einem Baum abgeschnittene Scheibe)”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

skidōn “scheiden, trennen, (richterlich) entscheiden, unterscheiden; (Holz) spalten oder hauen” (Raven II 1967: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **skiðōjan* class II ablaut zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **skaiðanan* (Seebold 1970: 402) “scheiden” (see under *skeidōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *gi-untar-*, *untar-*

skifsangōn “Preis- und Danklieder der Schiffer für die glückliche Fahrt” (Raven II 1967: 132). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skifsang*, *skefsang* (Starck and Wells 1990: 541) “Gesang der Seeleute”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

skilihen “schielen, blinzen” (Raven I 1963: 181). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-scylan*, *be-scīelan* I, with loss of medial ‘h’ (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 44) “to look askance”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skelhwijan* “to look askance”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skelah* (Starck and Wells 1990: 536) “schief, schräg, schielend, scheel”; OE *scēol* with loss of final ‘h’ (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 293) “squinting awry”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skelhwaz* (Kluge 1989: 627) “schief, schräg”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

skimpfen “scherzen, spielen, verspotten, schimpfen” (Raven I 1963: 181). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skimpf* (Kluge 1989: 633) “Scherz, Spaß, Kampspiel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

skinden “schinden, die Haut oder die Rinde abziehen, Raub und Gewalt antun” (Raven I 1963: 181). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-skindian* I (Kluge 1989: 633) “sich abschälen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skendōjan* “to skin, flay”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **skint* “Haut, Fell, Rinde” can be reconstructed from: MHG *schint* (Kluge 1989: 633) “Obstschale”; MLG *schinne* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1520) “Kopfschuppe”; OFs. *skene* (de Vries 1962: 493) “Rinde”; ON *skinn* (de Vries 1962: 493) “abgezogene Haut, besonders von kleinen Tieren”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **skendaz* “skin, hide”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*, *bi-*

skirmen “(be)schirmen, entgegenstellen, beschützen, verteidigen” (Raven I 1963: 182). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skirm* (Kluge 1989: 634) “Schirm”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

skiuhen “(zurück-)scheuen, ermahnen, scheuchen, verschmähen, erschrecken, aus dem Wege gehen, ausweichen, unterlassen, (ver)meiden” (Raven I 1963: 183). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **skiuhi* “scheu” can be reconstructed from: MHG *schiech*, *schiehe*, *schie* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1511) “verzagt, abschreckend”; OE *scēoh* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 293) “shy, timid”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

scōnen “schmücken” (Raven I 1963: 183). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scōni* (Starck and Wells 1990: 545) “schön, anmutig, fröhlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

scopfezen, *scoffezen* “Possen treiben, Ausflüchte machen, dichten, lügen” (Raven I 1963: 183). No cognate verbs are attested. The precise derivation of this verb is uncertain. It is possibly from an unattested OHG weak verb **skopfōn* “dichten” (Compare OHG *scopfunga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 546) “Gedicht”, which is formed with the suffix *-unga*, a suffix regularly added to deverbal substantives, and which may imply the existence of a weak verb such as **skopfōn*). Or, alternatively, the verb may have been formed with an intensive suffix, directly from the noun *scopf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 545) “Dichter; Gedicht”. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

scopfōn, *scoppōn* “beladen, stopfen, mit einer Kruste überziehen, schoppen” (Raven II 1967: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **skuppōjan* intensive gemination “schoppen”, class II deverbative from strong verb **skeubanan* (Seebold 1970: 416) “schieben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *skioban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 417) “schieben”; OFs. *skūva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 417) “schieben”; OE *scūfan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 298) “to shove, thrust, push; push with violence, urge, impel; push out, expel, deliver up”; OSwed. *skiuva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 417) “schieben”; Gothic *af-skiuban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 417) “schieben”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*

scorrēn “(von Felsen und Klippen) hinaus-, (her)vorragen, schroff emporragen, hervorstehen, vortreten, (von Gegenständen) herrühren d.h. hergestellt oder gefertigt sein, steif sein, abschüssig, jäh, steil, schroff” (Raven II 1967: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scorre* (Pokorny I 1956: 939) “schroffer Fels, Klippe”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fram-*, *furi-*, *ubar-*, *ūf-*, *ūz-*

scouwōn “schauen, spähen nach, zu sehen suchen (forschend) betrachten, ansehen, erblicken, erforschen, bedenken, berücksichtigen, überlegen, Rücksicht nehmen auf, (reflex. +gen.) sich in acht nehmen” (Raven II 1967: 134). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *skawōn*, *skawoian* II (Kluge 1989: 626) “schauen”; OFs. *skāwia*, *skō(w)ia* II (Kluge 1989: 626) “schauen”; OE *scēawian* II (Kluge 1989: 626) “to look, gaze, see, behold, observe; inspect, examine; decree, grant, exhibit, display, show”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skau(w)ōjan* (Kluge 1989: 626) “schauen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*(s)keu-}$ (Pfeifer III 1989: 1500) “worauf achten, beobachten, schauen; hören, fühlen, merken”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *skōni* (Pokorny I 1959: 587) “schön, glänzend”; ON *skynja* (Pokorny I 1959: 587) “untersuchen, verstehen”; ON *skygn* (Pokorny I 1959: 587) “sehend”; Gothic *skauns* (Pokorny I 1959: 587) “schön”; OE *hāwian* II (Pokorny I 1959: 587) “schauen”; Gothic *hausjan* I (Pokorny I 1959: 587) “hören”; Latin *cavēre* (Kluge 1989: 626) “sich in acht nehmen, sich

vorsehen”; Greek θυοσ-κόος (Kluge 1989: 626) “Opferschauer”; Greek κοέω (Kluge 1989: 626) “ich bemerke, fasse auf”; Skt *kavi-* (Pokorny I 1959: 587) “klug, weise; Seher, Dichter”; Skt *ā-kuvate* (Pokorny I 1959: 587) “beabsichtigt”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *duruh-*, *fir-*, *fram-*, *furi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *nidar-*, *ūf-*, *umbi-*, *widar-*

scozzōn “auf-, er-, schnell dahinschießen (letztere Bedeutung von Sternschnuppen), (wachsen und) Frucht ansetzen, sprießen” (Raven II 1967: 136). cf. OHG *scuzzen* I (Raven I 1963: 189). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *skotōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 547) “schleudern, werfen, sprießen”; OE *scotian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 297) “to move rapidly, shoot, hurl a javelin”; ON *skota* II (Seebold 1970: 418) “schieben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skutōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 418) class II intensive deverbative from strong verb **skeutanan* (Seebold 1970: 417) “schießen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *skiozan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 418) “schießen, schleudern”; OS *skietan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 417) “schießen”; OFs. *skiata* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 417) “schießen”; OE *scēotan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 294) “to shoot, hurl missiles, cast; strike, hit, push, thrust; run, rush, dart, press forward; contribute, pay; allot, assign; befall, fall to, happen”; ON *skjóta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 417) “schießen, schieben, erschießen”. Therefore a NWGmc intensive deverbative.

**scrafōn* “kratzen, schröpfen”. MHG *schraffen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1574) “schröpfen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *scrapian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 297) “to scrape”; ON *skrapa* II (Seebold 1970: 425) “kratzen”, which allows us to reconstruct a **skrapōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 425), class II deverbative from strong verb **skrepanan* (Seebold 1970: 425) “schaben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: MHG *schreven*, *schreffen* st. vb (Pfeifer III 1989: 1579) “reißen, ritzen, kratzen”; MDu. *schrepen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 425) “schaben, abschaben”; OE *screpān* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 297) “to scrape, scratch; prepare”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

scrancolōn “schwach werden, straucheln, schwanken, wanken” (Raven II 1967: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **skrankilōjan* class II deverbative from WGmc weak verb **skrankijan*, **skrankōjan* “verschränken”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with l-extension).

scrancōn “in verschränkter Stellung sein, mit sich verschränkenden Beinen unsicher umhergehen, die Beine weit auseinanderspreizen, taumeln, wanken, gekreuzt” (Raven II 1967: 136). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *skrankōn* II (Pfeifer II 1989: 1568) “ausspreizen, verschränken”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skrank(w)ōjan* “verschränken”, class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from strong verb **skrenk(w)anan* (Seebold 1970: 424) “schrumpfen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: MDu. *schrinken* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 424) “sich zusammenziehen”; OE *scrincan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 298) “to shrink, contract, whither, pine away”; OSwed. *skrunken* st. vb preterite participle (Seebold 1970: 424) “geschrumpft”; Norw. *skrækka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 424) “einschrumpfen”. Therefore a NWGmc frequentative/continuative deverbative.

screvōn “(ein)schneiden, abscheren” (Pokorny I 1956: 944). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **skrepōjan* “reißen, ritzen, kratzen, schneiden, einschneiden”, class II deverbative from strong verb **skrepanan* (Seebold 1970: 425) “schaben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: MHG *schreven*, *schreffen* st. vb (Pfeifer III 1989: 1579) “reißen, ritzen, kratzen”; MDu. *schrepen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 425) “schaben, abschaben”; OE *screpan*

st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 297) “to scrape, scratch; prepare”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

**screiōn* “schreien, jammern”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *skraja* II (Seebold 1970: 419) “schreien”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skraiōjan* (Seebold 1970: 419) class II deverbative from strong verb **skreianan* (Seebold 1970: 419) “schreien”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *scriān* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 419) “schreien”; OS *scriun* st. vb preterite sg. (Seebold 1970: 419) “schreien”; OFs. *skrīa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 419) “schreien”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

screiten “auseinanderspreizen” (Raven I 1963: 183). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *skreidast* II, reflexive development secondary (Seebold 1970: 421) “kriechen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skraiðejanan* (Seebold 1970: 421) deverbative formation from strong verb **skreipanan* (Seebold 1970: 421) “schreiten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *scriān* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 421) “gleiten, schreiten, vergehen”; OS *skrīdan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 421) “schreiten, gehen, vergehen”; OFs. *scrīda* st. vb attested in present forms only (Seebold 1970: 421) “schreiten”; OE *scrīðan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 298) “to go, move, glide”; ON *skriða* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 421) “schreiten, vorwärtsgehen (von Schiffen, Schlangen); begehen, beschreiten”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

screcken “treiben, schrecken, sprengen, (das Pferd) antreiben, verscheuchen, erschrecken” (Raven I 1963: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **skrekkijan* intensive gemination? “schrecken”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may represent an intensive deverbative deriving from an earlier unattested base. The Gmc complex to which it belongs has its ultimate origin in IE **skreg-* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1570). This is a g-extension from the IE $\sqrt{*(s)ker-}$, $*(s)kerā$, $*(s)krē$ (Pokorny I 1959: 933) “springen, herumspringen; (sich) drehend bewegen, schwingen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *secge-scāre* (Kluge 1989: 630) “Heuschrecke”; MLG *scheren* (Pokorny I 1959: 933) “spotten, höhnen; laufen, eilen”; ON *skári* (Pokorny I 1959: 933) “junge Möwe”; OCS *skoru* (Kluge 1989: 630) “schnell, flink”; Lith. *skerys* (Kluge 1989: 630) “Heuschrecke”; Greek *σκαίρω* (Kluge 1989: 630) “ich hüpfte, springe, tanze”; Skt *kirati* (Pokorny I 1959: 933) “streut, vergießt, wirft, schleudert”. There are a number of factors which show that this verb cannot be primary: (1) attested forms of this verb are confined to OHG; (2) the verb has a class II variant from which it may be a class change deverbative; (3) the intensive gemination exhibited by the verb may indicate that the verb is an intensive deverbative; (4) the guttural extension with which it is formed is a Gmc or OHG innovation, as the IE forms given above are not formed with any such guttural extension. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *ir-*, *nidar-*

screckōn “umherspringen, (vom Hagel) vom Dach zurückprallen, (vom Roß) galoppieren, (von siedenden Gewässern) aufwallen, hervorblitzen (auch von Personen), ausgleiten oder rennen (von Tieren)” (Raven II 1967: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **skrekkōjan* intensive gemination? “hüpfen, springen, aufspringen”. For the derivational profile of this verb see under *screcken*. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *widar-*

screnken “schräg stellen, hintergehen, (intr.) seitwärts abweichen, be-, verschränken, schränken, zu Fall bringen, überlisten, fangen, auseinanderspreizen, die Arme kreuzen oder übers Kreuz legen” (Raven I 1963: 184). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *schrenken* (Kluge 1989: 652) “verschränken, beschränken, verhindern, quer, kreuzweise übereinanderlegen”; MDu. *sc(h)renken* (Kluge 1989: 652) “zu fall bringen”; OE *screncan* I (Kluge 1989: 652) “to

cause to stumble, ensnare, deceive; cause to shrink or shrivel”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skrank(w)ējan* “to cause to shrink, make shrunk” causative deverbative from strong verb **skrenk(w)anan* (Seebold 1970: 424) “to shrink”. This strong verb is attested in the following: MDu. *schrinken* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 424) “sich zusammenziehen”; OE *scrincan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1959: 936) “to shrink, contract, wither, pine away”; OSwed. *skrunken* (Seebold 1970: 424) “geschrumpft”; Norw. *skrækka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 424) “einschrumpfen”. Therefore a WGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, fir-, gi-, zi-*

scribilōn “fortwährend schreiben, verfassen” (Raven II 1967: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **scribilōjan* class II (ablaut zero-grade?) frequentative / continuative deverbative from strong verb **skrībanan* “schreiben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *scriban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 420) “schreiben”; OS *skrīban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 420) “schreiben”; OFs. *skrīva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 420) “schreiben”; OE *scrīfan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 297) “to prescribe, ordain, allot, assign, impose”; OSwed. *skrīva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 420) “schreiben”. Probably a loan verb from the Latin verb *scribere* (Kluge 1989: 653) “schreiben”, in which case the strong inflexion may be a secondary development. Alternatively, **skrībanan* may be an inherited Gmc word with the original meaning “to arrange, prescribe, order, allot” (compare the OE meaning) with secondary influence from Latin *scribere*. Whatever the case, influence from Latin is certain. Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (with l-extension).

scricken “springen, aufspringen, aufblitzen, aufschrecken, erschrecken” (Raven I 1963: 184). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *schrecken* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1570) “hände oder Füße rasch bewegen, klatschen, springen, tanzen”; MDu. *scricken* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1570) “große Schritte machen, sich entsetzen, erschrecken”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skrikkijan* intensive gemination? “to jump, spring; jump (through fright), take fright, start”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may represent an intensive deverbative deriving from an earlier unattested base. The Gmc complex to which it belongs has its ultimate origin in the IE $\sqrt{*skreg-}$ (Pfeifer III 1989: 1570) guttural extension of IE $\sqrt{*(s)ker(ə)-}$ (Pfeifer III 1989: 1570) “springen, herumspringen”. This verb is clearly a variant form of **skrek(k)jan* formed with expressive variation of ‘e’ to ‘i’ (for an etymology of which see under *screcken*). Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-gi-, dana-, dana-gi-, fir-, furi-, gi-, ir-, ūf-ir-, nidar-, ubar-, ūf-, ūz-, ūz-gi-, zuo-gi-*

scripfen “(Tier, Wild) ausweiden, zerfleischen” (Raven I 1963: 186). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Possibly a deverbative formation **skrepjan* “to scrape off, shred, scarify, gnaw” formed from the strong verb **skrepanan* (Seebold 1970: 425) “schaben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: MDu. *schrepen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 425) “schaben, ausschaben”; OE *screpan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 297) “to scrape, scratch”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

scrodōn, scrutōn “erforschen, untersuchen, emsig prüfen” (Raven II 1967: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *scrūtārī* deponent verb (Schade II 1882: 808) “to turn over carefully, search through, investigate, examine, inspect”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*

scrōtōn “schneiden, schnitzeln, kratzen” (Raven II 1967: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. OE *scrēadian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 297) “to shred, peel, prune, cut off”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skraudōjan* class II deverbative from strong verb **skraudanan* (Seebold 1970: 418) “schneiden”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *scrōtan* st.

vb (Seebold 1970: 418) “schneiden”; MLG *schroden* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 418) “schneiden”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

scrouwezzen “ertönen, klingen, winseln, schwatzen, plaudern, zwitschern, kläffen, belfern” (Raven I 1963: 186). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Possibly an intensive deverbative from an unattested source.

scrudilōn “untersuchen” (Raven II 1967: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **skrudilōjan*, **skrutilōjan* class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from OHG weak verb *scrodōn*, *srutōn* “untersuchen”. Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

sculden “schulden, verschulden, beschuldigen, schmähen, verfolgen, verunglimpfen, verurteilen, eine Geldstrafe auferlegen, schelten, Vorwürfe machen, verdienen” (Raven I 1963: 186). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *skuldian* I (Holthausen 1967: 67) “schulden”; OFs. *ur-skelda* I (de Vries 1962: 509) “einbüßen”; OE *ge-scyldan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 298) “to accuse”; ON *skylda* II, probably originally class I as indicated by ablaut (Fritzner II 1954: 410) “zwingen, verschulden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skuldijanan* “schulden, verschulden”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sculd* (Starck and Wells 1990: 551) “Anklage, Schuld, Vergehen, Pflicht”; OS *skuld* (Kluge 1989: 655) “Schuld”; OFs. *skelde* (Kluge 1989: 655) “Schuld”; OE *scyld* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 298) “offence, fault, crime, guilt, sin; obligation, liability, due, debt”; ON *skyld* (Kluge 1989: 655) “Schuld”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skuldiz* fem. (Kluge 1989: 655) “Schuld”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*

sculdigēn “schulden” (Raven II 1967: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *sculdigōn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

sculdigōn “(+acc. pers. et gen rei) an-, beschuldigen, angeklagt” (Raven II 1967: 137). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *scyldigian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 299) “to sin; place in the position of a criminal, render liable to punishment”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skuldigōjan* “schuldigen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sculdīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 551) “straffällig, schuldig”; OS *skuldig* (Starck and Wells 1990: 551) “straffällig, schuldig”; OFs. *skeldech*, *skeldich* (Schade II 1882: 811) “schuldig”; OE *scyldig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 299) “guilty, criminal, sinful; liable, responsible, in debt to”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skuldigaz* “straffällig, schuldig”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

sculdōn “verschulden, verpflichtet sein, sich einer Sache schuldig machen” (Raven II 1967: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *sculden*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*

scūmen “schäumen, (den schäumenden Wein) ausgießen” (Raven I 1963: 187). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scūm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 551) “Schaum”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

scunten “reizen, antreiben, anfeuern, schünden” (Raven I 1963: 186). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-skundian* I (de Vries 1962: 507) “antreiben, aufhetzen”; OE *scyndan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 299) “to hurry, hasten, drive forward, impel, excite, exhort”; ON *skynda* I (de Vries 1962: 507) “schnell forwards treiben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skundjanan*. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. It is possibly a nasal-infix formation deriving from IE √*(s)kut- (Pokorny I 1956: 957) “rütteln” (see under *scutten*). Nasal infix forms from this root are only attested within Gmc and the verb cannot therefore be

regarded as a pre-Gmc formation. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *fir-*

scuohen “beschuhēn, Schuhe tragen” (Raven I 1963: 187). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *schōien*, *schōgen* (de Vries 1962: 506) “beschuhēn”; MDu. *schoeyen* (de Vries 1962: 506) “beschuhēn”; OE *scōgan* I, II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 296) “to shoe”; ON *skúa* II, with loss of medial 'h'. Originally class I? (de Vries 1962: 506) “beschuhēn”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **skōhijanan*, **skōhōjanan* “to shoe, provide with shoes”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scuo(h)* (Kluge 1989: 655) “Schuh”; OS *skōh* (Kluge 1989: 655) “Schuh”; OFs. *skōch* (Kluge 1989: 655) “Schuh”; OE *scōh* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 296) “shoe”; ON *skór* (Kluge 1989: 655) “Schuh”; Gothic *skohs* (Kluge 1989: 655) “shoe”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **skōhaz* (Kluge 1989: 655) “Schuh”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

scurgen “(an)stoßen, Stöße versetzen, schürgen, schirken, schüren, lösen, hinab-, hinunterstürzen, sich abmühen, erweitern, steife Körperteile wieder schmiegsam machen” (Raven I 1963: 187). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology obscure. Derivation from IE **skēu-* (Pokorny I 1956: 954) “schneiden, trennen, kratzen, scharren, stochern, stöbern”, an extension of IE *√*sek-* (Pokorny I 1956: 895) “schneiden”, is unconvincing.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *fir-*, *nidar-fir-*, *ūz-*, *widar-*

scurpfen, *scurfen* “schürfen, (Bair. schürpfen), (Tier, Wild) ausweiden, aufbrechen, zerfleischen, aufschneiden, ritzen, (aus Feuerstein) Feuer oder Funken schlagen” (Raven I 1963: 188). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *skurpian* I (Holthausen 1967: 67) “schürfen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skurpjan* class I zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **skerpanan* (Seebold 1970: 415) “schaben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *sceorpan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 294) “to scrape, gnaw”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *ūz-*

scutilōn “schwingen, erschüttern, schütteln” (Raven II 1967: 138). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **skut(t)ilōjan* class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from OHG weak verb *scutten* I (Raven I 1963: 188). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

scutisōn “erschrecken” (Raven II 1967: 138). We can therefore reconstruct a **skut(t)isōjan* class II deverbative from OHG weak verb *scutten* I (Raven I 1963: 188). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with s-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

scutten “schütten, schütteln, erschüttern, stoßen, schwingen, (reflex.) in Erschütterung geraten, ängstigen” (Raven I 1963: 188). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *skuddian* I (Kluge 1989: 656) “stoßen, mit einem Schwung ausgießen oder ausschüttern”; OFs. *skedda* I (Kluge 1989: 656) “schütten, erschüttern”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **skud(d)janan* intensive gemination? “schütten, schütteln”. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are uncertain. It may possibly derive from IE *√*(s)kut-* (Pokorny I 1956: 957) “rütteln”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *scūdan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 957) “to run, hurry”; OHG *scunten* I, nasal-infix (Pokorny I 1956: 957) “abtreiben, reizen”; OS *far-skundian* I, nasal-infix (de Vries 1962: 507) “antreiben, aufhetzen”; OE *scyndan* I, nasal-infix (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 299) “to hurry, hasten, drive forward, impel, excite, exhort”; ON *skynda* I, nasal-infix (Pokorny I 1956: 957) “schnell forwards treiben”; ON *skunda* II, nasal-infix (Pokorny I 1956: 957) “beschleunigen”; OCS *skytati se* (Pokorny I 1956: 957)

“umherstreichen, umherirren”; Lith. *kutù, kutėti* (Pokorny I 1956: 957) “aufrütteln”; Lith. *kutrùs* (Pokorny I 1956: 957) “beweglich, rührig, hurtig”. Despite the confinement of attested forms of this verb to WGmc, the Baltic and Slavonic parallels seen above provide sufficient evidence for a pre-Gmc origin.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*, *aba-fir-*, *ana-gi-*, *bi-*, *fir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *ūz-*

scūwen “von etwas einen Schattenriß machen, etwas skizzieren, schildern, nachahmen” (Raven I 1963: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *scūwo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 553) “Anblick”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

scuzzen “schwingend oder stoßend in schnelle Bewegung setzen, blitzen” (Raven I 1963: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate forms in the related Gmc languages belong with the class II, this verb is best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class II weak verb *scoz(z)ōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *fram-*

slaffēn “schlaff oder erschöpft werden, (vom Beil oder vom Menschen geistig) abgestumpft werden, (von den Armen) schlaff herabhängen, vergehen” (Raven II 1967: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *slaf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 554) “schlaff, lässig, träge”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*, *gi-*

slaffōn “erschlaffen, Muße haben, unbeschäftigt sein” (Raven II 1967: 138). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *slaffēn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

slagezzēn “klatschen, häufig schlagen, zittern, pochen” (Raven I 1963: 190). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **slagatjan* (Seebold 1970: 426) “intensive deverbative with grammatical change from strong verb **slahanan* (Seebold 1970: 425) “schlagen” (see under *slugōn*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

slagōn “zerschlagen, zusammenschlagen, klatschen” (Raven II 1967: 138). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **slagōjan* (Seebold 1970: 426) class II deverbative from strong verb **slaganan* (Seebold 1970: 425) “schlagen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *slahan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 426) “schlagen, erschlagen, schlachten”; OS *slahan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 426) “schlagen, töten”; OFs. *slā* st. vb, with loss of medial 'h' (Seebold 1970: 426) “schlagen, töten, prägen”; OE *slān* st. vb, with loss of medial 'h' (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 309) “to strike, beat, stamp, coin (money); forge (weapons); throw, cast; sting (snake); pitch (tent); strike across (country), dash, break, rush, come quickly; slay, kill; slaughter; cast into chains”; ON *slá* st. vb, with loss of medial 'h' (Seebold 1970: 426) “schlagen, töten, schmieden, treffen; ausschlagen”; Gothic *slahan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 425) “schlagen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-ūf-*, *ūf-*, *zisamene-*

slahtōn “zum Opfer, d.h. zu kultischen Zwecken schlachten” (Raven II 1967: 139). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *slahta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 556) “Gemetzelt, Blutbad, Ermordung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

slapfen “schlagen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 556). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Possibly of imitative origin.

slapfōn “(impers. +acc. reflex.) schläfern, schläfrig sein” (Raven II 1967: 139). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **slēpjōjan* (Seebold 1970: 434) class II deverbative from strong verb **slēpanan* (Seebold 1970: 434) “schlafen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *slāfan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 434) “schlafen”; OS *slāpan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 434) “schlafen”; OFs. *slēpa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 434) “schlafen”; OE *slāpan*, *slāpan*, *slēpan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 309) “to sleep; be benumbed, motionless, inactive; lie with; rest in the grave, die”; Gothic *slepan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 434) “schlafen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

**sleh-sprahhōn*, *sleh-sprahhonto* “schmeichlerisch” (Raven II 1967: 138). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *sleht*, *sliht* with loss of final -t in compounded form (Starck and Wells 1990: 557) “glatt, eben, sanft”; cf. OHG *sprahhōn* II (Raven II 1967: 143) “sprechen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (occurring only in adverbial present participle form).

sleifen “gleiten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 557). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *slēpa* I (Seebold 1970: 429) “schleifen, schleppen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **slaipejan* “to cause to slide, drag”, causative deverbative from strong verb **sleipanan* (Seebold 1970: 429) “schleifen” (see under *slipfen*). Therefore a WGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

sleizzen “züchten, zerreißen, spalten, rupfen” (Raven I 1963: 190). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *slætan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 309) “to bait (a boar), hunt with dogs”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **slaitējan* (Seebold 1970: 430) class I deverbative formation from strong verb **sleitanan* (Seebold 1970: 430) “zerreißen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *slīzan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 560) “aufschneiden, zerfleischen, zerreißen”; OS *slīan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 430) “schleifen, spalten”; OFs. *slīa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 430) “abtragen, ungültig erklären, einreißen, ausreißen”; OE *slīan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 310) “to slit, tear, split, shiver, rend to pieces, divide; bite, sting, wound; backbite”; ON *slíta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 430) “reißen, brechen, vernichten, zerreißen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *zi-*

slengen “schleudern” (Raven I 1963: 190). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *slongva* I (Seebold 1970: 433) “fortschleudern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **slangwejanan* (Seebold 1970: 433) “to sling”, causative deverbative formation from strong verb **slengwanan* (Seebold 1970: 432) “gleiten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *slingan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 432) “verfallen, vergehen”; MLG *slingen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 432) “sich wenden, kriechen”; OE *slingan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 310) “to worm, twist oneself, creep into”; ON *slyngva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 432) “schwingen, schleudern, verschlingen; bespritzen, umsprühen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*

slewēn “sich abhärten, (von Schneiden und vom menschlichen Verstand) sich abstumpfen, (von Antlitz) sich entfärben d.h. erblassen, ermatten, erschlaffen, lau, kraftlos, welk, matt oder stumpf werden, hinsiechen” (Raven II 1967: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *slēo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 557) “stumpf, welk, lau”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *īr-*

slihtalōn “(kriechend) schmeicheln, Schmeichelei immer beipflichten” (Raven II 1967: 139). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *slihten*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with l-extension).

slihten “ebnen, glätten, ausgleichen, polieren, gerade machen, schlichten, besänftigen, (streicheld) beruhigen, durch List gewinnen” (Raven I 1963: 191). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sleht*, *sliht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 557) “glatt, eben, sanft”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, (*ingagan-*), *zisamene-gi-*

slīnen “schleimen, schärfen” (Raven I 1963: 191). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *slīm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 559) “Schleim”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

slipfen “gleiten, fallen, sich neigen” (Raven I 1963: 191). cf. OHG *sleifen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 557). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *slippen* (Barnhardt 1988: 1016) “to glide, slip”; MidEngl *slippen* (Barnhardt 1988: 1016) “to slip past lightly, quickly or quietly, get away, escape”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **slippjan* intensive gemination “schlüpfen”, zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **sleipanan* (Seebold 1970: 429) “schleifen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *slījan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 558) “schleifen, gleiten, schlüpfen”; MDu. *slipen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 429) “schleifen”; OFs. *slīpa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 429) “schleifen”. Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *int-*

sloufen “hineinfügen, hineinbringen, schlüpfen machen oder lassen, (einhüllen)” (Raven I 1963: 192). cf. OHG *in-slipfen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 561). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *slōpian* I (Seebold 1970: 436) “losmachen”; OFs. *slēpa* I (Seebold 1970: 436) “umlegen”; OE *slȳpan*, *slēpan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 310) “to slip (on or off)”; Gothic *af-slaupjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 315) “abstreifen, ablegen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **sleupejanan* (Seebold 1970: 436) causative deverbative from strong verb **sleupanan* (Seebold 1970: 435) “schleichen, schlüpfen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *untar-sliofan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 559) “sich einschleichen”; MLG *slūpen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 436) “schleichen”; OE *slūpan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 310) “to slip, glide, move softly”; Gothic *sliupan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 435) “schleichen, schlüpfen”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-gi-*, *int-*

slūnigen “beschleunigen, eilen, sich beeilen” (Raven I 1963: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **sliunig*, **slūnig* “eilig, schleunig” can be reconstructed from: MHG *sliunec*, *sliunic* (Kluge 1989: 638) “eilig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

smāhen “im Wert gemindert, wertlos werden” (Pfeifer III 1989: 1542). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *smāhi* (Kluge 1989: 641) “klein, gering, verächtlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *gi-*

smāhlīhēn “gemein, verächtlich oder wertlos werden” (Raven II 1967: 256). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *smāhlīh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 561) “verächtlich, gering, unbedeutend”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

**smāhtōn* “hungern, vor Entbehrung dahinsiechen”. MHG *ver-smachten* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1542) “Hunger und Durst leiden”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *smachten* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1542) “hungern, hunger leiden, vor Entbehrung dahinsiechen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **smāhtōjan* “hungern, vergehen, dahinschwinden”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **smāht* “Entbehrung, Hunger”; MHG *smacht* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1542) “Geruch, das Schmachten, Versmachten, hoher Grad von Hunger und Durst”; MLG *smacht* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1542) “Entbehrung, entkräftender Hunger”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **smāhta* “Entbehrung, entkräftender Hunger”; cf. OHG *smāh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 561) “unbeträchtlich, klein”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

smakēn “schmecken” (Kluge 1989: 642). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *smac* (Starck and Wells 1990: 561) “Geschmack”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

smeckarōn “verfeinern, elegant einrichten, ausbilden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 562). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *smeckar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 562) “geschmackvoll, elegant, fein”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

smecken “kosten, schmecken, den Geschmack wovon empfinden” (Raven I 1963: 192). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *smekka*, *smetza* I (Kluge 1989: 642) “schmecken, kosten”; OE *smæccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 310) “to taste”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **smakkijan* intensive gemination? “to taste”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *smac* (Kluge 1989: 642) “Geschmack”; OE *smæc* (Clark Hall

and Meritt 1969: 310) “smack, taste; scent, odour”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **smakkaz* intensive gemination? (Kluge 1989: 642) “Geschmack”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

smelzen “schmelzen, zerlassen, ausläutern, ‘Wein verdauen’ = nüchtern werden” (Raven I 1963: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. We can tentatively reconstruct an earlier form **smaltjan* class I deverbative from strong verb **smeltanan* (Seebold 1970: 438) “schmelzen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *smelzan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 562) “flüssig machen, schmelzen, zerlassen, ausläutern, liebkosend beschwichtigen”; OS *smelzan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 438) “schmelzen”; Modern West Fs. *smelte* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 438) “schmelzen”; OSwed. *smelta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 438) “schmelzen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *üz-*, *zi-*

smidōn “anfertigen, bauen, schmieden” (Raven II 1967: 139). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *smithōn* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1547) “schmieden”; OE *smiðian* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1547) “to forge, fabricate, design”; Gothic *ga-smiþon* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1547) “(durch Schmieden) bewirken”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **smiþōjanan* “schmieden”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *smid* (Kluge 1989: 643) “Schmied”; OS *smith* (Kluge 1989: 643) “Schmied”; OFs. *smith* (Kluge 1989: 643) “Schmied”; OE *smið* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 312) “handicraftsman, smith, blacksmith, armourer”; ON *smiðr* (Kluge 1989: 643) “smith, handworker, artist dealing with wood and metal”; Gothic *aiza-smiþa* (Kluge 1989: 643) “coppersmith”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **smiþaz* “smith”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *gi-*

smielēn “lächeln” (Raven II 1967: 256). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. Swed. *smila* different ablaut grade (Barnhart 1988: 1023) “to smile”. cf. NE *to smile* probably loan word from Scandinavian (Barnhart 1988: 1023). We can therefore reconstruct a **smeulējan* “to smile”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is best seen as an 'l'-extension, deriving ultimately from the IE √*(s)mi-, *(s)mei- (Barnhart 1988: 1023), √*(s)meu- (Pfeifer III 1989: 1549) “to smile”, from which base the following may be also derived: Skt *smayate* (Barnhart 1988: 1023) “he smiles”; Greek μεῖδω, μεῖδιόω (Barnhart 1988: 1023) “I smile”; Latin *mīrārī* (Barnhart 1988: 1023) “to wonder, be surprised”; OCS *smijati se* (Barnhart 1988: 1023) “to laugh”; Latvian *smiēt* (Barnhart 1988: 1023) “to ridicule”; Toch.A *smi-* (Barnhart 1988: 1023) “to smile”. As none of the forms attested in the above IE languages are formed with a liquid extension, such an extension must be a later formation. The verb cannot, therefore, be regarded as pre-Gmc. Therefore an OHG verb (formed with 'l'-extension), the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

smierēn “fröhlich sein, lächeln” (Raven II 1967: 256). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **smeurējan* “to smile”. For the derivational profile of this verb see under *smielēn*. Therefore an OHG verb (formed with 'r'-extension), the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

smierōn “fröhlich sein, lächeln” (Raven II 1967: 139). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **smeurōjan* “to smile”. For the derivational profile of this verb see under *smielēn*. Therefore an OHG verb (formed with 'r'-extension), the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

smirwen “schmieren, einfetten, salben” (Raven I 1963: 322). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *smeren* (de Vries 1962: 521) “schmieren”; OE *smieran*, *smirwan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 311) “to smear, anoint, salve”; ON *smyrja* I (de Vries 1962: 521)

“schmieren, salben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **smerwījanan* (Kluge 1989: 643) “schmieren”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *smero*, *smer* (Starck and Wells 1990: 562) “Schmiere, Schmalz, Schmer”; OS *smero* (Kluge 1989: 643) “Schmiere, Schmalz, Schmer”; OFs. *smere* (Kluge 1989: 643) “Eiter, Schmiere”; OE *smeoru*, *smeru* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 311) “anointment, fat, grease; lard, tallow, suet”; ON *smjor* (Kluge 1989: 643) “Butter, Fett”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **smerwaz* (Kluge 1989: 643) “Fett”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

**smizzen* “schmitzen”. MHG *smitzen* (Lexer II 1876: 1016) “schmitzen”. No cognate verbs are attested. We can tentatively reconstruct an earlier form **smitjan* intensive gemination, intensive deverbative formation from strong verb **smeitanan* (Seebold 1970: 437) “schmeißen”. This strong verb attested in the following: OHG *smāzan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 437) “bestreichen; beflecken, besudeln, entweihen, anstecken”; OS *bi-smittan* st. vb preterite participle (Seebold 1970: 437); OFs. *smāta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 437) “schmeißen, werfen”; OE *smātan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 437) “to besmut, defile, dirty, contaminate”; Gothic *bi-smait* st. vb preterite sg. (Seebold 1970: 437) “beschmieren, bestreichen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

snabulōn, *snabalōn* “das Futtersuchen von Vögeln = durchstöbern” (Raven II 1967: 139). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *snabul* (Starck and Wells 1990: 564) “Schnabel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

**snarhōn* “schnarchen”. MHG *snarchen* (Kluge 1989: 645) “schnarchen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *snarken* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1553) “schnarchen”; Swed. *snarka* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1553) “schnarchen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **snarkōjanan* “schnarchen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to derive ultimately from IE **(s)nerg-* (Pokorny I 1959: 975) g-extension to IE *√*(s)ner-* **(s)nur-* (Pokorny I 1959: 975) “murren, knurren (schallnachahmend)”, from which base the following may be derived: MHG *snarren* (Pokorny I 1959: 975) “schnarren; schwatzen”; Lith. *niurniu*, *niurnėti* (Pokorny I 1959: 975) “brummen, knurren”; Greek *ἐνυπεν* (Pokorny I 1959: 975). The guttural extension of this verb is not attested in the IE forms given above and thus represents a Gmc or NWGmc innovation. The verb cannot, therefore, be considered pre-Gmc. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

sneiten “beschneiden” (Seebold 1970: 443). cf. OHG **snizzen* I; OHG *snitōn* II; The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *snādan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 312) “to cut, slice, lop off, hew”; ON *snāða* I (Seebold 1970: 443) “schneiden, spalten; sticheln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **snaidejanan* (Seebold 1970: 443) “schneiden”, class I deverbative formation from strong verb **sneiþanan* (Seebold 1970: 443) “schneiden”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *snīdan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 443) “schneiden, mähen, ernten, fällen”; OS *snīðan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 443) “schneiden”; OFs. *snītha* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 443) “schneiden”; OE *snīðan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 312) “to cut, lance; cut off, amputate; hew down, slay, kill; mow, reap”; ON *snīða* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 443) “abschneiden, berauben”; Gothic *sneiþan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 443) “ernten”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

snellēn “stark oder kräftig sein, lebendig sich regen, leben” (Raven II 1967: 256). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *snel* (Starck and Wells 1990: 564) “schnell, hitzig, flink, behend”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

snepflizzen “schlucksen, schluchzen” (Raven I 1963: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. This verb appears to be an intensive deverbative from an earlier verb belonging to the Gmc onomatopoeic complex based on an initial ‘sn-’ consonant cluster. The

essential meaning centered on this complex was that of noises produced by the nose, sneezing, sniffing, snot etc. Compare the similar onomatopoeic complex with initial *fn-* (see under *fnattōn*). This onomatopoeic base served as the highly productive root for a large number of derivations. The vocalism of these derivations was varied frequently according to quantity or quality for an expressive or onomatopoeic effect. These derivations also employed numerous consonant extensions, often with expressive or intensive gemination or devoicing. The fluidity and expressive nature of this complex makes identifying precise phonological relations difficult. The derivations based on this root should therefore be seen as belonging together only loosely. The following are examples of derivations, showing the productivity of this complex: MHG *snūben* (Kluge 1989: 646) “schnarchen, schnauben”; MHG *snūfen* (Kluge 1989: 646) “schnaufen, keuchend atmen”; Mid.Engl. *sniffen* (Barnhardt 1988: 1026) “to sniff”; Mid.Engl. *snyvelen* (Barnhardt 1988: 1026) “to sniffle, run at the nose”; OE *snofl* (Barnhardt 1988: 1026) “nasal mucus”; MHG *snupfe* (Barnhardt 1988: 1026) “head cold”; ON *snoppa* (Barnhardt 1988: 1026) “snout”; MLG *snoppe* (Barnhardt 1988: 1026) “nasal mucus”; OE *ge-snot* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 313) “nasal mucus”; Swed. *snyta* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1551) “Rotz, Nasenschleim”; OHG *snuz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 567) “Rotz, Nasenschleim”; OHG *snūzen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 567) “(aus)schneuzen, schnaufen, schnarchen, sich die Nase putzen”; OHG *snabul* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1551) “Schnabel, Rüssel”. This Gmc complex may possibly have its ultimate origin in IE $\sqrt{*snā-}$, $*snā-(t-)$, $*snāu-$, $*sn-eu$, $*sn-et$ (Pokorny I 1956: 971) “fließen, Feuchtigkeit”, but this is by no means certain. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

snitōn “abschneiden (?)” (Raven II 1967: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form $*sniðōjan$ (Seebold 1970: 443) ablaut zero-grade class II deverbative from strong verb $*sneiþanan$ (Seebold 1970: 443) “schneiden” (see under *sneiten*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

sniumen “(?) beschleunigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 566). The following cognate verbs are attested: OLF *gi-sniūmian* I (Heyne 1867: 164) “eilen”; Gothic *sniumjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 317) “to hurry”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc $*sneumijanan$ “to hurry, hasten”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sniumi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 566) “schnell, rasch, schlau”; OS *sniumo* adv. (Heyne 1905: 326) “fast”; OE *snēome* adv. (Sweet 1911: 157) “fast, quick”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc $*sneumaz$ adj., adv. “fast, quick”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

sniumōn “beschleunigen, eilen” (Raven II 1967: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *sniumen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

$*snizzen$ “schnitzen”. MHG *snizzen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1558) “schnitzen”. No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form $*snittjan$ intensive gemination (Seebold 1970: 444) ablaut zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb $*sneiþanan$ (Seebold 1970: 443) “schneiden” (see under *sneiten*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-*

snopfizzen “aufseufzen, schluchzen” (Raven I 1963: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Probably an ablaut zero-grade intensive deverbative from the Gmc complex centered on ‘*sn-*’ (see under *snepflizzen*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

snūden “schnauben, über den Sturz oder das Unglück eines Menschen frohlocken, d.h. ihn spotten oder verachten, verhöhnen” (Raven I 1963: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are uncertain. It probably derives from the Gmc complex centered on ‘*sn-*’ (see under *snepflizzen*). Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

snupflizzen “schluchzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 567). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Probably an abalut zero-grade intensive deverbative from the Gmc complex centered on 'sn-' (see under **snepflietzen**). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

snūzen “(aus)schneuzen, schnaufen, schnarchen, sich die Nase putzen” (Raven I 1963: 194). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *snuten* (Kluge 1989: 648) “schneuzen”; OE *snȳtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 3130 “to blow the nose”; ON *snýta* I (de Vries 1962: 527) “sich schneuzen; betrügen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **snūjanan* “(aus)schneuzen”. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are uncertain. It probably derives from the Gmc complex centered on 'sn-' (see under **snepflietzen**). Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

soffōn, sofōn “einbalsamieren, würgen” (Raven II 1967: 140). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *supon* II (Lehmann 1986: 331) “to salt, season”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **supōjanan* “in gewürzte Brühe eintauchen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It derives from a Gmc group which has its ultimate origin in IE **seup-*, **seub-* (Pokorny I 1959: 913) “saufen, trinken”. This Gmc group to which the verb belongs is extremely complex, and the relationship of some of the words to the others unclear. Perhaps the most convincing etymology is to view **supōjanan* as a Gmc denominative from a Gmc noun **supō* (Lehmann 1986: 331) “seasoned brew, soup”. This is, however, by no means certain, as evidence to allow for the reconstruction of such a noun is limited and unclear. The noun might be attested in OHG *ga-sofo* (Lehmann 1986: 331) “drink”; OE *sopa* (Robert 1989: 1844) “draught, sup”; ON *sopi* (Zoëga 1910: 395) “small draught, mouthful”. Compare also the following: OE *soppe* with gemination (Lehmann 1986: 331) “softened morsel”; ON *soppa* with gemination (Lehmann 1986: 331) “wine, soup”; Norw.(dial.) *soppa* with gemination (Lehmann 1986: 331) “milk with softened morsels”. The verb may, however, be pre-Gmc and derive from an IE **seup-*, **seub-* (Pokorny I 1959: 913) which base is attested in the following: OHG *sūfan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1959: 913) “schlürfen, trinken, saufen”; Skt *sūpa-* (Pokorny I 1959: 913) “Brühe, Suppe”. Evidence to allow for a primary status for this verb is, however, insufficient. Therefore a Gmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

solagōn “besudeln, sich in der Suhle wälzen” (Raven II 1967: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *solag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 568) “kotig, schmutzig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

solōn “sich im Kote (des Schweinsieles) wälzen, (be)sudeln, besudelt werden” (Raven II 1967: 140). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *solian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 313) “to soil, become defiled”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sulōjan* “sudeln, besudeln”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sol*, *sul* (Starck and Wells 1990: 568) “Suhle”; OE *sol* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 313) “mud, wet sand, wallowing-place, slough”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sula* “Suhle”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

sorgēn “(+gen. rei) in Unruhe um die Zukunft sein, in ängstlicher Besorgnis sein, in Sorge sein, sorgen, sich kümmern, seufzen, besorgt oder bekümmert sein (um), ängstlich, angstvoll, verdächtig, Achtsamkeit” (Raven II 1967: 256). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sorgōn* II, originally class III? (Pfeifer III 1989: 1655). OE *sorgian* II, originally class III? (Pfeifer III 1989: 1655) “to sorrow, care, grieve, be sorry for, be anxious about”; ON *syrgja* I, originally class III? (Pfeifer III 1989: 1655) “sorgen”; Gothic *saurgan* III (Pfeifer III 1989: 1655) “to be worried, care”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **surgējanan* “to sorrow, be worried, have cares”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sorga* (Starck

and Wells 1990: 568) “Sorge, Besorgnis, Unruhe”; OS *sor(a)ga* (Kluge 1989: 680) “Sorge”; OE *sorh, sorg* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 313) “sorrow, pain, grief, trouble, care, distress, anxiety”; ON *sorg* (Kluge 1989: 680) “Sorge, Trauer”; Gothic *saurga* (Kluge 1989: 680) “care, sorrow”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **surgō* “sorrow, care”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fora-*

soufen “(er)säufen, versenken, ertränken” (Raven I 1963: 194). cf. OHG *supfen* I (Raven I 1963: 218). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **saupejan* (Seebold 1970: 400) “ersäufen, versinken”, causative deverbative from strong verb **sūpanan* (Seebold 1970: 399) “saufen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sūfan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 605) “saufen, schlürfen, schöpfen”; MLG *supen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 400) “saufen, schlürfen, trinken, ertrinken”; OFs. *sūpa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 400) “saufen”; OE *sūpan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 327) “to swallow, sip, taste, sup, drink”; ON *sūpa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 399) “saufen”. Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fīr-*, (*nāht-*)*bi-*, *umbi-*

sougen “säugen, nähren” (Raven I 1963: 194). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sōgian* (Kluge 1989: 619), which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **saugejan* (Seebold 1970: 398) “säugen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **sūgan* (Seebold 1970: 398) “saugen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sūgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 398) “saugen”; OS *sūgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 398) “saugen”; OE *sūgan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 325) “to suck, suck in”; ON *súga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 398) “säugen”. Therefore a WGmc causative deverbative.

**soumen* “belasten, mit einem Saum versehen, als Saum auf Saumtiere legen”. MHG *soumen* (Lexer II 1876: 1061) “als Saum auf Saumtiere legen und fortschaffen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *and-sōmian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 570) “den Saumsattel abnehmen”; OE *sīeman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 305) “to load, burden”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc *saumijan* “to load, burden, put a pack or harness on a beast of burden”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *soum* (Starck and Wells 1990: 569) “Bürde, Last”; OS *sōm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 569) “Bürde, Last”; OE *sēam* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 569) “load, burden; bag; harness of a beast of burden”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sauma* “harness of a beast of burden, load, burden” < Vulgar Latin *sauma* (Kluge 1989: 620) “Packsattel” < Latin *sauma* (Kluge 1989: 620) “Packsattel”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-*

spanōn “anlocken” (Seebold 1970: 449). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **spanōjan* (Seebold 1970: 449) class II deverbative formation from strong verb **spananan* (Seebold 1970: 449) “locken” (see under *spennen*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

sparēn “(+acc. pers. vel rei, +acc. rei et dat. pers.) aufrecht oder lebendig erhalten, aufschieben (bis zu), aufsparen (bis), versparen, verschonen, hinhalten, überlassen” (Raven II 1967: 257). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sparōn* II (Kluge 1989: 682) “sparen, schonen”; OFs. *sparia* II (Kluge 1989: 682) “sparen, schonen”; OE *sparian* II (Kluge 1989: 682) “to spare, be indulgent or merciful to, save; to use sparingly, not to use; forbear, abstain from”; ON *spara* (Kluge 1989: 682) “sparen, schonen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **sparējan* (Kluge 1989: 682) “sparen, schonen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *spar* (Barnhart 1988: 1041) “sparsam”; OE *spær* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 314) “sparing, frugal”; ON *sparr* (Barnhart 1988: 1041) “sparsam, karg”, which allows us to

reconstruct a NWGmc **sparaz* (Barnhart 1988: 1041) “sparing, frugal”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

spehōn, *spiohōn* “aufpassen, (er)spähen, (aus)kundschaften” (Raven II 1967: 141). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *speen*, *spei(g)en* (Kluge 1989: 681) “spähen”; MDu. *spien* (Kluge 1989: 681) “spähen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **spehōjan* “spähen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*spek-}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 984) “spähen, scharf hinsehen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Latin *specere* (Pokorny I 1959: 984) “sehen”; Greek σκέπτομαι with metathesis (Pokorny I 1959: 984) “ich schaue”; Skt *paśyati* with loss of initial ‘s-’ (Pokorny I 1959: 984) “sieht”; Avestan *spasyeiti* (Pokorny I 1959: 984) “späht”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

spennen “reizen, (ver)locken, verführen, betrügen, überreden” (Raven I 1963: 322). cf. OHG *spanōn* II (Seebold 1970: 449). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *spenen*, *spennen* (de Vries 1962: 533) “ziehen, leiten, verlocken, überreden”; OE **for-spennan* “to entice, seduce, lead astray” can be reconstructed from the nomen post verbalum *for-spennen*, *for-spennig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 132) “enticement, seduction, evil attraction”; ON *spenja* I (de Vries 1962: 533) “ziehen, leiten, verlocken, überreden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **spanejanan* (Seebold 1970: 449) class I deverbative formation from strong verb **spananan* (Seebold 1970: 449) “locken”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *spanan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 570) “verlocken, anraten, zureden”; OS *spanan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 449) “antreiben, locken”; OFs. *spōna* present only (Seebold 1970: 449) “verleiten, verlocken”; OE *spanan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 314) “to draw on, allure, seduce, mislead, persuade, instigate”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *int-*

spentōn “(+acc rei et dat pers.) (als Geschenk) austeilen, aufwenden, (hin)geben, schenken, bekanntmachen, spenden” (Raven II 1967: 141). No cognate verbs are attested, but cf. OE *ā-spendan* I (Kluge 1989: 685). Loan verb < Medieval Latin *spendere* (Kluge 1989: 685) “ausgeben, verausgeben” < Latin *expendere* (Kluge 1989: 685) “abwägen, ausgeben”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *fora-gi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

sperōn, *gi-sperōt-* “mit Lanzen bewaffnet, Lanzknecht oder lanzenträger” (Raven II 1967: 142). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sperod* preterite participle (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 315) “armed with a spear”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sperōdaz* “armed or equipped with a spear”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sper* (Kluge 1989: 684) “Speer, Wurfspieß, Lanze”; OS *sper* (Kluge 1989: 684) “Speer”; OFs. *sper(e)*, *spiri* (Kluge 1989: 684) “Speer”; OE *spere*, *spe(o)ru* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 315) “spear, javelin, lance”; ON *spjor* pl. (Kluge 1989: 684) “Speer”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **sperun* (Kluge 1989: 684) “Speer”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

sperren “sperren, schließen” (Pfeifer III 1989: 1669). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *spēren*, *sperren* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1669) “verschließen, ausdehnen”; MDu. *sperren* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1669) “verschließen, ausdehnen”; ON *sperra* I (de Vries 1962: 534) “mit Sparren versehen; Balken aufrichten; spreizen, Beine spreizen (wie die Sparren auf dem Dach); verhindern”; Swed. *sperra* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1669) “verschließen”; cf. OE *gesparrian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 315) “to shut, bar”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **spar(r)ijanan* “sperren, verhindern, schließen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sparro* (Kluge 1989: 683) “Sparren”; OS *sparro* (Kluge 1989: 683) “Sparren”; Mid.Engl *sparre* (de Vries 1962: 532) “Balken”; ON *sparri* (de Vries 1962: 532)

“Sparren, Balken, Pflock”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **spar(r)ōn* (Kluge 1989: 683) “Sparren, Balken”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *in-bi-*, *int-*, *ir-*, *widar-*

sperzibeinōn “die Beine spreizen (von Vögeln), austreten (von Gewässern)” (Raven II 1967: 142). No cognate verbs are attested. Probably a derivative from an unattested compound adjective **sperzibeina* “spread-legged, with spread legs, bandy-legged”, this form see in: Swiss (dial.) *sperzen* (Schade II 1882: 851) “zappeln”; LG *sparteln* (Schade II 1882: 851) “zappeln”; OHG *bein* (Starck and Wells 1990: 44) “Bein, Knochen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

spilawortōn “(vor Freude) viel reden” (Raven II 1967: 142). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *spilawort* (Starck and Wells 1990: 575) “törichtes Reden”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

spilden “verderben, veröden, töten, verbrauchen, verschwenderisch” (Raven I 1963: 195). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *spildian* I (de Vries 1962: 535) “töten”; OE *spildan* I, *spillan* I, with assimilation of 'd' to 'l' (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 315) “to destroy, waste, ruin, mutilate, kill, waste; spill (blood)”; ON *spilla*, *spella* I, with assimilation of 'd' to 'l' (de Vries 1962: 535) “vernichten, verderben, entweihen, töten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **spelþijanan* “to destroy, ruin, waste”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OE *spild* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 315) “annihilation, ruin”; ON *spjall*, *spell* with assimilation of 'd' to 'l' (de Vries 1962: 536) “Vernichtung, Schaden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **spelþjaz*, **spelþjan* “annihilation, ruin, destruction”. cf. OHG *spild* (Starck and Wells 1990: 575) “verschwenderisch, freigebig”; cf. OS *spildi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 575) “verschwenderisch, freigebig”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

spilōn “(vor Freude) hüpfen, zappeln, (vom Lichte) glitzern oder funkeln, Scherz treiben, (auf einem Instrument) spielen, Zeit vergeuden, frohlocken” (Raven II 1967: 142). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *spilōn* II (Kluge 1989: 687). OE *spilian* II probably loan verb (Pfeifer III 1989: 1672) “to play”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **spilōjan*, **spelōjan* “spielen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *spil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 574) “Schau, Schauspiel, Instrumentenspiel”; OS *spil* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1672). OFs. *spil*, *spel*, *spilia* (Kluge 1989: 687), which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **spilan*, **spelan* “Tanz, Zeitvertreib”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *miti-*, *zuo-*

spirdaren “stemmen, stützen, emporsteigen, sich zu etwas anmachen” (Raven I 1963: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology obscure. It is possibly an extended form which derives from an unattested Gmc or pre-Gmc base which in turn has its origin in IE $\sqrt{*}(s)per-$ (Pokorny I 1956: 990) “Sparren; Stange, Speer; mit Sparren verspreizen, stützen, stemmen, sich sperren”, from which base the following may also be derived: Latin *sparus*, *sparum* (Pokorny I 1956: 990) “kurzer Speer des Landvolkes als Jagd- und dürftige Kriegswaffe”; OHG *sper* (Pokorny I 1956: 991) “Speer”; OHG *sparro* (Pokorny I 1956: 990) “Sparren, Balken”; Latin *paries* (Pokorny I 1956: 991) “Wand”; OCS *podŕpŕo* (Pokorny I 1956: 991) “stützen”; OCS *zapreti* (Pokorny I 1956: 991) “schließen”. This etymology is not, however, entirely convincing. There are no data to allow this verb to belong to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *ingagan-*, *widar-*, *zuo-*

spñwizzen “(aus)speien” (Raven I 1963: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I intensive deverbative from strong verb **speiwanan* (Seebold 1970: 450) “speien”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *spñwan*, *spñan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 577) “sich erbrechen, speien”; OS *spiwun* preterite participle (Seebold 1970: 451) “speien”; OFs. *spñā* st. vb

(Seebold 1970: 451) “speien”; OE *spēwan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 316) “to spit, spit out, spew, vomit”; ON *spýja* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 450) “speien”; Gothic *speiwan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 450) “speien, anspeien”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

spēwizzōn “wiederholt spuken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 577). No cognate verbs are attested. Class II intensive deverbative from strong verb **speiwanan* (Seebold 1970: 450) “speien” (see under *spēwizzen*). The verb may alternatively, however, be a class II deverbative from the class I verb, having undergone a straightforward change of class. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

spizzen “schärfen, spitzen, spitz machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 577). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *spizzi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 577) “spitz, zugespitzt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zi-*

spizzōn “zuspitzen, spitz machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 557). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *spizzen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

spolken “herauspressen oder -stürzen” (Raven I 1963: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

spornōn, *spurnōn* “spornen, mit Füßen treten oder stoßen, betreten, mit der Ferse ausschlagen, mit den Beinen strampeln, sich sträuben gegen” (Raven II 1967: 143). cf. OHG *spurnen* I (Raven I 1963: 199). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong with the class I verb, this verb is best regarded as a class II deverbative from the earlier class I verb. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

sporōn “mit Füßen (zer)treten, schütteln, machen” (Raven II 1967: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **spurōjan* with loss of nasal suffix (Seebold 1970: 454) class II deverbative from strong verb **spurnan* with nasal suffix (Seebold 1970: 453) “treten” (see under *spurnen*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *widar-*

spottōn, *spotōn* “Hohn oder Gespött treiben, auslachen, verhöhnen, verspotten, sich freuen, guter Dinge sein, (= gen.) Spaß machen oder scherzen” (Raven II 1967: 143). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *spotten* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1680). OFs. *spottia* II (de Vries 1962: 537). ON *spotta* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1680) “verhöhnen”; Swed. *spotta* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1680) “speien, spucken”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **spuþþōjanan* intensive gemination “spotten, verhöhnen; jemandem ansucken als Zeichen der Verachtung”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *spot* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1680) “Spott”; OS *spott* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1680) “Spott”; OFs. *spott* (Kluge 1989: 690) “Spott, Hohn”; ON *spott*, *spottr* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1680) “Spott, Hohn”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **spuþþaz* intensive gemination (Kluge 1989: 690) “Spott”. Possibly an intensive formation from the strong verb **speiwanan* (Seebold 1970: 448) “speien” (see under *spēwizzen*). Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

sprāhhōn “beraten, Gespräch haben” (Raven II 1967: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sprāhha* (Starck and Wells 1990: 578) “Sprache, Rede, das Sprechen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fora-*

sprangōn “(auf)springen, dauernd springen oder hüpfen, vor Freude Sprünge machen, quellen, pulsieren” (Raven II 1967: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible

earlier form **sprangōjan* (Seebold 1970: 457) class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from strong verb **sprenganan* (Seebold 1970: 457) “springen” (see under *sprengen*). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ubar-*, *ūz-*

spratalōn “zappeln, lebendig sein, (vom Herz und den Eingeweiden) schlagen, pulsieren, zittern, (übtr.) (vom Haupthaar) wohlriechend” (Raven II 1967: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **spratalōjan* “zappeln, zittern”, probably a class II deverbative formed with l-extension from an earlier non-extended verb (which is otherwise unattested) which derives ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*}(s)p(h)erd(h)$, $*(s)p(h)red(h)$ - (Pokorny I 1959: 995) “zucken, springen”, from which base the following may be derived: ON *spraðka* II (Pokorny I 1959: 995) “zappeln”; Greek $\sigma\upsilon\rho\theta\iota\zeta\omega$ (Pokorny I 1959: 995) “ich springe auf, zapple, bin heftig bewegt”; Skt *spardhate*, *spurdhati* (Pokorny I 1959: 995) “wetteifern, kämpfen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with l-extension).

sprehhōn “(mit Wortern) anfachen” (Raven II 1967: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **sprekōjan* (Seebold 1970: 456) class II deverbative from strong verb **sprekanan* (Seebold 1970: 455) “sprechen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sprehhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 456) “sprechen, reden, sagen”; OS *sprekan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 456) “sprechen, reden”; OFs. *spreka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 456) “sprechen, behaupten, klagen”; OE *spreka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 456) “to speak, say, make a speech”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *hintar-*

spreiten “ausbreiten, auseinanderbreiten, ausstreuen, entfalten, unordentlich wachsen, lose und lockig herabhängen (des Haares), offen, Vorhang” (Raven I 1963: 196). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *spreiden* (Kluge 1989: 691) “ausbreiten”; OE *sprædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 316) “to spread; stretch forth, extend”; OSwed. *spréda* I (Kluge 1989: 691) “ausbreiten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **spraidejanan* (Kluge 1989: 691) “to spread, spread out, make stretched”, causative of strong verb **spreidanan* “to stretch forth, spread, extend”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sprīan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 581) “ausbreiten, umherschweifen, ausspannen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *nidar-*, *ingagan-*, *zi(r)-*,

sprengen “springen machen oder lasssen (zum Beispiel) Wasser, Steine, ein Pferd - daher galoppieren - das Pferd (= obj.) wird ausgelassen, (be-)spritzen, herabtriefen” (Raven I 1963: 197). cf. OHG *sprangōn* II; OHG *sprungezzen* I; The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG MDu. *sprengen* (Kluge 1989: 691) “sprengen, springen machen oder lasssen”; OFs. *sprendza* I (Kluge 1989: 691) “sprengen, springen machen oder lasssen”; OE *sprengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 316) “to scatter, strew, sprinkle, sow; spring, break, burst, split”; ON *sprengja* I (Kluge 1989: 691) “sprengen, laufen machen, springen lassen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **sprangejanan* (Seebold 1970: 457) “sprengen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **sprenganan* (Seebold 1970: 457) “springen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *springan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 580) “aufspringen, springen, aufspringen, emporrichten”; OS *springan* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 691) “springen, aufspringen, emporrichten”; OFs. *springa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 457) “springen”; OE *springan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 317) “to jump, leap, spring, burst forth, rise; spread, be diffused, grow; want, lack”; ON *springa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 457) “springen, rennen, bersten”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*, *seiten-*, *ūz-*, *zi-*

sprengen “stützen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 580). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

springōn “hervorschießen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 581). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **spring* attested in *urspring* (Seebold 1970: 457) “Quelle”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

spriuzeigen “spreizen, sich stemmen oder stützen, unterstützen, sich fest daran klammern, aufrecht oder emporhalten, strotzen, saftig werden, sprießen, stopfen, geschwollen sein” (Raven I 1963: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *spriuza* (Starck and Wells 1990: 581) “Stange”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

sprizzalōn “(Brennholz) spalten oder splintern” (Raven II 1967: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. This verb possibly has dissimilation of 'l' to 'r', which would enable us to reconstruct an earlier form **splittalōjan* intensive gemination “spalten”. This, in turn, a class II ablaut zero-grade deverbative (formed with l-extension) from strong verb **spleitanan* (Seebold 1970: 454) “spalten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: MHG *splizen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 454) “spalten, bersten”; MLG, MDu. *spliten* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 454) “spalten”; OFs. *splāa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 454) “spalten, spießen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with l-extension).

sprungezen “(vor Freude) dauernd springen, jubeln, sich rasch hin und her bewegen, zittern, hüpfen” (Raven I 1963: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. We can tentatively reconstruct an earlier form **sprungatjan* (Seebold 1970: 458) class I zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **sprenganan* (Seebold 1970: 457) “springen” (see under *sprengen*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

spulgen “gewohnt sein, beschließen, beabsichtigen, wollen, pflegen, genießen” (Raven I 1963: 199). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

spunnen “locken; lactare” (Raven I 1963: 199). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *spunna* (Starck and Wells 1990: 581) “fette Milch, Muttermilch”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

spūnōn “deuten, erklärend sprechen” (Raven II 1967: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

spuoen “von Statten gehen, gediehen, gelingen, glücken” (Raven I 1963: 199). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **spōjan* class I weak deverbative formation from strong verb **spōanan* (Seebold 1970: 455) “gelingen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *spōwan* st. vb, w-glide a secondary formation (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 316) “to succeed, thrive; (impers.) to profit, avail, help”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

**spuoten* “gelingen, Erfolg haben”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *spōdian* I (Kluge 1989: 693) “fördern”; OE *spēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 315) “to speed, prosper, succeed”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **spōdijan* “to succeed, prosper”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *spuot* (Starck and Wells 1990: 582) “Erfolg, Fortgang, Wesen”; OS *spōd* (Kluge 1989: 693) “Gelingen”; OE *spēd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 315) “luck, success, prosperity; richness, wealth, abundance; opportunity, power, faculty; speed, quickness”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **spōdiz*, **spōdjaz* fem. “to success, prosperity”, abstract formation from strong verb **spōanan* (Seebold 1970: 455) “gelingen”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

spuriēn “spüren, nachspüren, die Spur aufsuchen bzw. verfolgen, sich erkundigen, erforschen” (Raven I 1963: 322). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *spyrian* II by levelling as umlaut indicates origin in class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 317) “to make a track, go, pursue, travel, journey; follow out, ask about, investigate”; ON *spyrja* I (Kluge 1989: 692) “fragen, erfahren”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **spurijanan* (Kluge 1989: 692) “nachspüren”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *spur* (Kluge 1989: 692) “Spur”; MLG, MDu. *spor* (Kluge 1989: 692) “Spur”; OE *spor* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 316) “spoor, track, trail, footprint, trace, vestige”; ON *spor* (Kluge 1989: 692) “Spur”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **spuran* (Kluge 1989: 692) “Spur”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

spurilōn “auf-, aus-, nachspüren, (mit den Augen) durchsuchen” (Raven II 1967: 145). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *spur* (Starck and Wells 1990: 582) “Spur”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with l-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

spurnen “mit dem Fuße stoßen, (ver)stoßen, spornen, (zer)treten” (Raven I 1963: 199). cf. OHG *spornōn* II (Raven II 1967: 143). cf. OHG *spornōn* II (Raven II 1967: 143). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *spyrnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 317) “to stumble”; ON *spyrna* I (de Vries 1962: 539) “mit dem Fuße stoßen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **spurnjanan*, class I deverbative from strong verb **spurnanan* formed with nasal suffix (Seebold 1970: 453) “spornen, treten (mit Füßen)”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *fir-spurnan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 582) “anstoßen, zertreten”; OS *spurnan* present only (Seebold 1970: 453) “zu Boden treten”; OFs. *spurna* present only (Seebold 1970: 453) “treten”; OE *spornan*, *spurnan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 317) “to strike against, kick; spurn, reject”; ON *sporna* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 453) “treten, fortstoßen”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-fir-*, *bi-*, *fir-*

stabarōn “(von Kräutern) im Winde flattern oder zucken, vom Winde hin und hergeweht werden” (Raven II 1967: 145). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

stabēn “steif sein oder werden, (vor Kälte) erstarren, mit Härte” (Raven II 1967: 257). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stab* (Starck and Wells 1990: 583) “Stab, Stock”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

stabōn “(unter Berührung des richterlichen Stabes oder nach Anleitung eines schriftlichen Formulars) zu eigen übergeben, den *Eit* versprechen, dringlich auffordern, (beschwören), in ein Amt einsetzen” (Raven II 1967: 145). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *stabēn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

stamalōn, *stammalōn* “stammeln, Stämmeler, sprachlos” (Raven II 1967: 146). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *stamelen* (Kluge 1989: 694) “stammeln”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **stam(m)(a)lōjan* “stammeln”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stam* (Starck and Wells 1990: 584) “stammelnd”; OE *stam* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 318) “stammering”; ON *stamr* (Kluge 1989: 694) “stammelnd”; Gothic *stamms* (Kluge 1989: 694) “stammelnd”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **stam(m)az* “stammelnd”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb (formed with l-extension).

stamēn “stammeln” (Raven II 1967: 258). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *stamalōn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

stammarōn “stammeln” (Raven II 1967: 146). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *stamarōn* II (Kluge 1989: 694). OE *stamerian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 318) “to stammer”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **stam(m)rōjan* “stammeln”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *stammalōn*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb (formed with r-extension).

stampfōn “stampfen, kleinstoßen, (das Korn) zermalmen” (Raven II 1967: 146). cf. MHG *stempfen* I (Kluge 1989: 695). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *stampen* II (Kluge 1989: 695). ON *stappa* (<**stampa*) II, with NGmc loss of labial in consonant cluster (de Vries 1962: 543) “stampfen, zusammenpacken”; Swed. *stampa* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1694) “stampfen, treten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **stampōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 695) “stampfen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stampf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 584) “Keule, Stampfer”; OS *stamp* (Starck and Wells 1990: 584) “Keule, Stampfer”; OE *pīlstanpe* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 272) “pestle”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **stampaz* (Onions 1966: 862) “pestle, mortar”. Alternatively, the verb may be pre-Gmc, deriving ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*(s)temb-}$ (Pfeifer III 1989: 1694) “(auf-)stampfen, treten, beschimpfen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Latin *temnere* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1694) “verachten, verschmähen”; Greek *στέμνω* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1694) “schüttle unaufhörlich, mißhandle, schmähe”; Skt *stamba-* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1694) “(Gras)bündel”. The denominative derivation is, however, to be preferred on semantic grounds. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

stapfōn “schreiten, (im Schlußverfahren) weiterschreiten, treten” (Raven II 1967: 146). cf. OHG *stepfen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 591). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stapf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 586) “Fußstapfe, Schritt”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

starēn “starren, stieren, erblicken, ansichtig oder gewahr werden, ansehen, auf jemandem auflauern” (Raven II 1967: 258). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *starian* II (Kluge 1989: 696) “to stare, gaze”; ON *stara* (Kluge 1989: 696) “stieren, starren”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **starējanan* “to stare”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *starablint* (Pokorny I 1956: 1022) “starblind”; OE *stærblind* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 318) “stone-blind”; cf. MLG *star* (Pokorny I 1956: 1022) “Starrheit des Auges”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **staraz* (Pokorny I 1956: 1022) “star, besonders vom Auge”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *nidar-*

starkēn “erstarken, stark oder lebenskräftig werden, widerstandsfähig sein oder werden, (von Krankheiten) ärger werden, erstarken, steif sein, sich härten, wachsen oder gedeihen” (Raven II 1967: 258). cf. OHG *sterken* I (Raven I 1963: 203). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *stearcian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 320) “to stiffen, become hard”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **starkējan* “to be or become hard”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *starc*, *starah* (Starck and Wells 1990: 586) “stark, kräftig, starr”; OS *stark* (Kluge 1989: 696) “stark”; OFs. *sterk* (Kluge 1989: 696) “stark”; OE *stearc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 320) “stiff, rigid, obstinate; stern, severe, hard; harsh, rough, strong, violent, impetuous”; ON *sterkr*, *starkr* (Kluge 1989: 696) “stark, gesund”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **starkuz* (Kluge 1989: 696) “starr, unbeugsam”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

stāen “aufstellen, errichten, an seinen Ort bringen, aufhören machen” (Raven I 1963: 200). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stāi* (Pokorny I 1956: 1005) “fest, dauerhaft, stet, unbeweglich, unveränderlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *furi-gi-*, *gi-*

stāigōn “befestigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 587). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stāig* (Starck and Wells 1990: 587) “fest, standhaft”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

statōn “sich niederlassen, in Sicherheit bringen, stillstehen, (ver)weilen” (Raven II 1967: 146). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stata* (Starck and Wells 1990: 587) “Gelegenheit, Möglichkeit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *int-*

steden “landen, anlanden, anlegen, Schiffe ans Land ziehen oder bringen, festmachen” (Raven I 1963: 323). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stad* (Starck and Wells 1990: 583) “Uferplatz zum Aufstellen der Schiffe, Ufer, Gestade”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *zuo-*, *zuo-gi-*

stegōn “betreten, emporsteigen” (Raven II 1967: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stega* (Starck and Wells 1990: 588) “Stiege, Treppe”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

steinen “mit Edelsteinen verzieren oder schmücken, mit Steinen besetzen, mit Perlen versehen” (Raven I 1963: 201). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *stēnen* (Lehmann 1986: 321). OE *stēnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 317) “to stone; adorn with precious stones”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **stainijan* “to adorn or set with precious stones”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stein* (Starck and Wells 1990: 588) “Stein, Fels”; OS *stēn* (Kluge 1989: 699) “Stein”; OFs. *stēn* (Kluge 1989: 699) “Stein, Fels”; OE *stān* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 318) “stone, rock”; ON *steinn* (Kluge 1989: 699) “Stein, Edelstein, Steinhaus; Farbe”; Gothic *stains* (Kluge 1989: 699) “stone, rock”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **stainaz* (Kluge 1989: 699) “stone, rock”. The OE meaning of “to stone, throw stones at” is probably a later development used to translate or gloss Latin *lapidibus obruere* “to throw stones at, stone (to death)”. Compare the OHG class II *steinōn* “to stone (to death)”. Likewise, Gothic *stainjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 321) “to stone (to death)”, is also probably an independent formation used to translate the New Testament Greek λιθάζω “I stone to (death)”. We can therefore reconstruct a *lithos* “stone”. Although a common punishment in the Middle East of the Biblical period, there is no evidence to suggest that stoning to death was a common punishment among the ancient Germans. There is also an ON class I *steina* I (de Vries 1962: 546) “malen”, but this differs too widely in meaning to be included here. Instead it is to be considered as a denominative from *steinn* in the sense of “colour”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

steinōn “steinigen” (Raven II 1967: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *steinen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

stecken “stechend befestigen, fest heften, kreuzigen, an das Kreuz schlagen” (Raven I 1963: 201). cf. OHG *sticken* I; cf. OHG *stucken* I. The following cognate verbs are attested: OLF *stekkan* weak verb? (Heyne 1867: 166) “fest heften, wohin stecken”; Gothic **stakjan* “to stake down, fasten”, class I, can be reconstructed from *hleprastakeins* (Lehmann 1986: 322) “Zeltaufschlagen, Laubhüttenfest”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **stakejanan* (Seebold 1970: 468) causative deverbative from strong verb **stekanan*, **stikanan* (Seebold 1970: 467) “stechen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *stehhan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 588) “stechen, stecken, stoßen”; OS *stekan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 467) “stechen”; OFs. *steka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 467) “stecken”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *furi-*, *gi-*, *in-*, *in-gi-*, *ubar-*, *umbi-*

steckōn, *stehhōn* “abtun, beseitigen, stoßen, stupfen, stechen, martern, quälen” (Raven II 1967: 146). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **stekōjan*, **stekhōjan* intensive gemination? (Seebold 1970: 468) class II intensive deverbative from strong verb **stekanan*, **stikanan* (Seebold 1970: 467) “stechen” (see under *stecken*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

stellen “stellen, auf-, feststellen, zum Stehen bringen” (Raven I 1963: 202). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *stellian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1710) “hinstellen”; OE *stellan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 320) “to place, put, set”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **stallijan* “an einem Standort aufstellen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base:

OHG *stal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 584) “Stallung, Stelle, Stand, Standort; Gebäude zum Einstellen von Vieh”; MLG, MDu. *stal* (Kluge 1989: 694) “Stand, Stelle, Stellung”; OFs. *stal* (Barnhardt 1988: 1058) “stall”; OE *steall* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 319) “standing place, position, state; stall (for cattle), stable”; ON *stallr* (Kluge 1989: 694) “Sockel, Krippe, Gerüst, Altar; Stall”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **stallaz* (Kluge 1989: 694) “Standort, Platz”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *furi-*, *gagan-*, *gi-*, *ingagan-*, *umbi-*

**stemēn* “jemandem oder einer Sache Einhalt tun”. MHG *stemen* (Pokorny I 1956: 1021) “Einhalt tun”. No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **stemējan* “Einhalt tun”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*stem-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 1021) “stoßen, anstoßen; stottern, stammeln; hemmen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *ungistuomi* (Pokorny I 1956: 1021) “ungestüm”; ON *stamr* (Pokorny I 1956: 1021) “behindert, beraubt”; Latvian *stuomīti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1021) “stammeln, stolpern, stehen bleiben, sich bäumen, zaudern”; Lith. *stumiù, stúmiau, stūmti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1021) “stoßen, schieben”. Despite the fact that the verb is not attested in the Gmc languages outside OHG, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a possible pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

**stemōn* “jemandem oder einer Sache Einhalt tun”. MHG *stemen* (Pokorny I 1956: 1021) “Einhalt tun”. No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **stemōjan* “Einhalt tun”. For the derivational profile of this verb see under **stemēn*. This verb can therefore be reckoned as a possible pre-Gmc verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

stempfen “mahlen, stampfen, zisilieren” (Raven I 1963: 202). The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu. *stempen* (Kluge 1989: 695) “stampfen”; OE *stempian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 320) “to pound, pound in a mortar”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **stampijan* “stampfen”. For the derivational pattern of this verb see under *stampfōn*. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

stenken “räuchern, süß duften, Wohlgeruch machen, die Götter mit Feuer ehren, ehrenvolle Brandopfer darbringen” (Raven I 1963: 202). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *stencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 320) “to stink; to scatter”; ON *stökkva* I (de Vries 1962: 558) “forttreiben, sprengen”; Gothic *ga-stagqan* I (Lehmann 1986: 325) “to strike against”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **stankwejanan* (Seebold 1970: 471) “to make a stench, cause to stink; cause to spring, hit, drive away, bescatter”, causative deverbative strong verb **stenkwanan* (Kluge 1989: 704) “stinken, stoßen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *stincan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 471) “Geruch von sich geben, riechen, nach Fäulnis riechen, stinken”; MLG, MDu. *stinken* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 471) “Geruch von sich geben, stinken”; OFs. *stiunka* st. vb (de Vries 1962: 558) “Geruch von sich geben, stinken”; OE *stincan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 322) “to emit a smell, stink, exhale; rise (of dust, vapour)”; ON *stökkva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 471) “springen, bersten, spritzen, fliehen”; Gothic *stiggan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 471) “to clash, do battle”. On the semantic development of this verb see Pfeifer: “Die Bedeutungsentwicklung dürfte dann ausgehen von ‘stoßen’; woraus über ‘spritzen’, im Westgerm. ‘ausdünsten, Geruch verbreiten’” (Pfeifer III 1989: 1723). Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ūz-*

stepfen “schreiten, ausschreiten, verlassen, aufgeben” (Raven I 1963: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. We can tentatively reconstruct an earlier form **stapejan*, **stapjan* “stapfen”, class I deverbative formation from strong verb **stapjanan* (Seebold 1970: 462) “stapfen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *stōptun* st. vb preterite plural (Seebold 1970: 462) “schreiten, stapfen”; OS *stōp* st. vb preterite singular (Seebold 1970: 462) “schreiten, stapfen”;

OFs. *stapa*, *steppa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 462) “schreiten, treten”; OE *stæppan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 318) “to step, go, advance”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *ana-gi-*, *in-*, *ubar-*, *ūf-gi-*, *ūz-*

sterken “(be)stärken, stark machen, stützen, unterstützen, befestigen, zeigen, beweisen” (Raven I 1963: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *starkēn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

sternōn, *gi-sternōt-* “mit Sternen besetzen” (Raven II 1967: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sterno* (Starck and Wells 1990: 592) “Stern, Gestirn”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

stetihaften “befestigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 592). No cognate verbs are attested. This verb is probably best regarded as a deadjectival verb from an unattested OHG **stetihaft* “fest, feststehend”. However, it may also be possible that it represents a compound verb, formed from an initial element OHG **steti-*. This is independently unattested but is possibly a compound form of OHG *stetīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 592) “feststehend”. The second element is OHG class III weak verb *haftēn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 247) “kleben, hängen bleiben, festhalten”. The compound verb was probably originally class III, but would have undergone a class change (in accordance with the later OHG tendency to level to class I). Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

stiften “hin und feststellen, bauen, gründen, dauernd unterhalten = pflegen und befördern, (bild.) veranlassen, anstiften, ersinnen” (Raven I 1963: 204). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *stiften* (Kluge 1989: 703) “stiften”; OFs. *stifta* (Kluge 1989: 703) “stiften”. Of uncertain etymology. It is perhaps from IE $\sqrt{*steip-}$, **stip-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1015) “Stange; stecken; steif; zusammendrängen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *stiff* (Pokorny I 1956: 1016) “rigid, stiff”; ON *stifla* (Pokorny I 1956: 1016) “dämmen”; Lith. *stimpù*, *stipti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1016) “erstarren, verenden”; Latin *stīpes* (Pokorny I 1956: 1015) “Stamm, Stange”. This etymology is not, however, entirely convincing and does not allow for this verb to be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

stivulen “stützen, sich fest anklammern, festhalten, verwahren” (Starck and Wells 1990: 565). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **stivul* “Stütze”, can be reconstructed from: MHG *stivel* (Starck and Wells 1990: 595) “Stütze”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*, *ūf-*

stīgōn “im Stall unterbringen, in den Stall sperren, einstellen” (Raven II 1967: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stīga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 592) “kleiner Viehstall, Schweinestall”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

sticken “stopfen, ganz anfüllen” (Raven I 1963: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **stekljan* intensive gemination? (Seebold 1970: 468) class I intensive deverbative from strong verb **stekanan*, **stikanan* (Seebold 1970: 467) “stechen” (see under *stecken*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

stillen “beruhigen, besänftigen, bändigen, zur Ruhe oder zum Schwiegen bringen, kurieren, abhelfen, etwas versäumen” (Raven I 1963: 205). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-stillian* I (Kluge 1989: 703) “beruhigen”; OE *stillan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 322) “to be still, have rest, to still, quiet, calm, appease, hush; to stop, restrain, abate, relieve”; ON *stilla* I

(Kluge 1989: 703) “stillen, mäßigen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **stellijanan* “to still, make still, calm, pacify”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stilli* (Starck and Wells 1990: 493) “still, ruhig”; OS *stilli* (Kluge 1989: 703) “still, ruhig”; OFs. *stille* (Kluge 1989: 703) “still”; OE *stille* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 322) “still, quiet, calm, stable, fixed; gentle; silent; secret”; Icelandic *stille* (de Vries 1962: 548) “still”; cf. ON *stilli* (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 593) “resting place”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **stelljaz* “still, quiet, calm”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

stillēn “ablassen, nachlassen, aufhören, ruhig oder regungslos sein oder werden, sich beruhigen, an Stärke verlieren” (Raven II 1967: 258). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *stillōn* II (Kluge 1989: 703) “ruhig werden”. Although OE *stillan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 322) “to be still, have rest” is class I, it preserves an additional durative meaning which suggests that it has fallen together with an otherwise unattested OE class III verb. This class III durative verb would have existed alongside the class I factitive verb at an earlier, pre-attested period. We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **stellējan* “to be or become still or quiet”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *stillen*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

stirnen gi-stirnō- “Sterne tragend, gestirnt” (Raven I 1963: 205). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sterno* (Starck and Wells 1990: 592) “Stern, Gestirn”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

stiufen “verwaist machen, der Eltern, der Kinder berauben” (Raven I 1963: 205). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-stýpan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 27) “to deprive, bereave”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **steupijan* “to deprive, deprive of a son or daughter, bereave”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stiof-*, *stiuf-* (Kluge 1989: 702) “stief-”; MLG *stēf-* (Kluge 1989: 702) Probably influenced by High German forms; MDu. *stief* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1718) Probably influenced by High German forms; OFs. *stiāp-* (Barnhardt 1988: 1065) “stief-”; OE *stēop-* (Barnhardt 1988: 1065) “step-”; ON *stjúp-* (Barnhardt 1988: 1065) “step-”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **steup-* “step- (prefixed to terms of relationship to designate a degree of affinity resulting from the marriage of a widowed parent)”, probably originally an adjective **steupaz* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1718) with the meaning “abgestutzt, abgestumpft”, which helps explain the meaning of the derived verbs. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

stiuren “steuern, lenken, (unter)stützen, stemmen, umgeben” (Raven I 1963: 206). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *stüren* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1715) “in eine Richtung bringen, lenken”; MDu. *stūren*, *stieren* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1715) “steuern, richten”; OFs. *stiōra*, *stiūra* I (de Vries 1962: 557) “steuern”; OE *stīeran*, *stýran*, *stēoran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 321) “to steer, guide, direct, govern, rule; restrain, correct, reprove, punish”; ON *stýra* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1715) “steuern, regieren; besitzen”; Gothic *stiurjan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1715) “aufstellen, geltend machen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **steurijanan* “(originally) to steer, direct > to rule, govern, support”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stiura* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1715) “Stütze, stützender Pfahl, stützendes Fundament, Steuerruder; (übtr.) Unterstützung, Hilfe, Beistand, rechtlich begründete, regelmäßige Geldabgabe an die Obrigkeit”; OS *heristiuria* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1715) “Heersteuer, Sold”; OE *stēor* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 320) “steering, direction, guidance; rule, regulation; restraint, discipline, correction; penalty, fine, punishment”; OFs. *stiūwe* (de Vries 1962: 557) “Stütze, Unterstützung, Steuer”; ON *stýri* (de Vries 1962: 557) “Steuerruder”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **steurō*, **steuriz* “(originally) steering ruder > steering, direction > support, rule > regulation”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *in-*, *untar-*

stiuwen “schröpfen; phlebotomäre” (Raven I 1963: 206). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

stollōn “gründen, stehen machen” (Raven II 1967: 148). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stollo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 596) “Fußgestell, Sockel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

stopfōn “stechen, die Haut durch winzige Stiche durchbrechen, stupfen” (Raven II 1967: 148). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *stoppen* (Onions 1966: 872). OFs. *stoppia* II (Onions 1966: 872). OE *stoppian* II (Onions 1966: 872) “to stop up, close”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **stoppōjan* “stopfen” < Late Latin *stuppāre* (Onions 1966: 872) “to plug, stop up (with cork)” < Latin *stuppa* (Onions 1966: 872) “tow, oakum (Late Latin “cork”)” < Greek στύπη (Kluge 1989: 705) “cork”. Therefore a WGmc loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *furi-*

stören “umstürzen, umwerfen, zerstören, zerstreuen, töten, vernichten, stören, verwüsten” (Raven I 1963: 206). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *te-stōrian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1730) “zerstören”; OFs. *stēra* I (de Vries 1962: 558). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **staurjanan* “stören, zerstören, vernichten”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It stands in ablaut relation to **sturjanan* (see under *sturen*) and can be traced back to a Gmc complex based on the root $\sqrt{*staur-}$ and indicating storm, disturbance, destruction: OHG *sturen* (Starck and Wells 1990: 604) “vernichten”; ON *sturla* (Pokorny I 1956: 1101) “in Unordnung bringen, stören”; OHG *sturm* with m-suffix (Pokorny I 1956: 1101) “Aufruhr, Tumult, Sturm”; ON *stormr* with m-suffix (Pokorny I 1956: 1101) “Sturm, Unruhe, Kampfessturm”. This Gmc complex can, in turn, be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*tuer-}$, **tur-*, **tru-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1100) “drehen, quirlen, wirbeln, (auch von lebhafter Bewegung überhaupt)”, from which base the following may be derived: OHG *dweran* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 1100) “schnell herumgehen, durcheinander rühren, mischen”; OE *pweran* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 1100) “to stir, churn”; Latin *amptuāre* (Pokorny I 1956: 1100) “bei den salarischen Religionsfeiern tanzen und hüpfen”; Greek ὀτρύνω (Pokorny I 1956: 1100) “ich treibe an, eile”; Avestan *θwāša-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1100) “eilig”. The s-mobile form of this root is confined to Gmc, where it becomes extremely productive. The verb is therefore best regarded as a WGmc formation only. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*, *zi(r)-*

stornēn “stutzen, erschrecken” (Pokorny I 1956: 1022). The following cognate verbs are attested: Swed *sturna* (Pokorny I 1956: 1022) “stützen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **sturnējanan* “stützen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to represent a zero-grade 'n'-extension (possibly from a preterite participle) and which ultimately derives from an IE $\sqrt{*ster-}$, **sterā-*, **stēr-* (Pokorny I 1959: 1022) “starr, steif sein, starrer, fester Gegenstand, besonders Pflanzenstamm oder -Stengel; steif gehen, stolpern, fallen, stolzieren”. See under *storrēn* but compare the following 'n'-extensions which are closely related: OHG *sturni* (Pokorny I 1959: 1022) “stupor”; OE *stierne*, *styrne* (Pokorny I 1959: 1022) “stern, grave, strict, hard, severe, cruel”. As the above have no parallels outside NWGmc, this verb cannot be considered a pre-Gmc verb. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

storrēn “(vom Turm) hoch emporragen” (Raven II 1967: 259). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can possibly ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*ster-}$, **sterā-*, **stēr-* (Pokorny I 1959: 1022) “starr, steif sein, starrer, fester Gegenstand, (besonders) Pflanzenstamm oder -Stengel; steif gehen, stolpern, fallen, stolzieren”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *storro* intensive gemination (Pokorny I 1956: 1022) “Baumstumpf, Klotz”; Gothic *and-staurran* intensive gemination (Pokorny I 1956: 1022) “unmutig sein”; Greek στερεός (Barnhart 1988: 1060) “solid, stiff”; Latin *consternāre* (Pokorny

I 1956: 1022) “bestürzen, aus der Fassung bringen”; Lith. *starinti* (Barnhart 1988: 1060) “to make stiff”; Lith. *stér̃ti* (Kluge 1989: 696) “erstarren, den Mund aufspere”. The semantic connections are nevertheless dubious, and do not present sufficient evidence for the verb to be pre-Gmc. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

stouben “aus-, umher-, zerstreuen, stäuben, verseuchen, schrecken, verwirren, in Ordnung bringen, an-, fortreiben, verjagen, anfachen, aufstacheln, beben, zittern machen” (Raven I 1963: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **staubejan* (Seebold 1970: 474) causative deverbative from strong verb **steubanan* (Seebold 1970: 474) “stieben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *stioban* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 594) “stieben, stäuben”; MLG, MDu. *stoven* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 474) “stieben”. Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *ūz-*, *zi(r)-*

stouwen “sich beklagen, sich beschweren, schelten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 597). No cognate verbs are attested. As this verb lacks umlaut and as cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong with the class II verb, this verb is best regarded as an OHG class I deverbative from the earlier class II verb *stouwōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

stouwōn “anklagen, sich beklagen, (einen Grund) angeben, jemandem wegen etwas Vorhalt machen, einwenden, tadeln, kämpfen, angreifen” (Raven II 1967: 148). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG MDu. *stouwen* (Kluge 1989: 697) “Einhalt gebieten”. Loan verbs from High German?; OE *stōwian* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1702) “to retain, restrain”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **stō(w)ōjan* w-glide is a secondary development “to hold back, restrain, judge, punish, attack” < IE (Baltic, Slavonic and Gmc only) **st(h)āu-*, **st(h)ū-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1008), from which base the following may be derived: OHG *stouwen* I (Pokorny I 1956: 1008) “(an)klagen”; OCS *staviti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1008) “stellen”; OCS *staua* (Pokorny I 1956: 1008) “Gericht”; Lith. *stóviu*, *stovėti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1008) “stehen”; Latvian *stāvu*, *stāvet* (Pokorny I 1956: 1008) “stehen”. These represent an extended form of IE $\sqrt{*stā}$, **stā* (Pokorny I 1956: 1004) “stehen, stellen”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

stōzōn, *stōzzōn* “(trans.) stoßen, (reflex.) sich beunruhigen” (Raven II 1967: 149). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *stauta* (Seebold 1970: 463) “stoßen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **stautōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 463) “stoßen”, class II deverbative from strong verb **stautanan* (Seebold 1970: 463) “stoßen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *stōzan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 463) “stoßen, stürzen, berühren”; OS *stōtan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 463) “stoßen”; OFs. *stāa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 463) “stoßen”; Gothic *stautan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 463) “schlagen”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *saman-*, *samant-*, *zir-*

strackēn “straff, ausgestreckt. gespannt, gerade, strack sein” (Raven II 1967: 259). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *strac* (Schade II 1882: 877) “ausgestreckt; gerade, straff”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

strālen “kämmen, strahlen, wieder-, herabkämmen” (Raven I 1963: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *strāl* (Starck and Wells 1990: 598) “Kamm”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

strangēn “kräftig oder stark werden” (Raven II 1967: 259). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *strangian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “to be strong, prevail”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **strangējan* “to be or become strong”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base (see under *strengen*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

strangōn “sich abzweigen von, durch Teilung entstehen, (eigentlich) einen Strang bilden” (Raven II 1967: 149). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *strangian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “to strengthen, confirm”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **strangōjan* “to strengthen, make strong”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *strengen*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

strēben “streben, eilen, trachten, eine Lichtung nehmen, sich heftig regen, sich bemühen” (Raven I 1963: 323). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *strēven* (Kluge 1989: 707) “ragen”; MDu. *strēven* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1737) “nach etwas trachten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **strēbijan* “straff stehen, und sich vorwärts bewegen > auf eine körperliche oder geistige Vorwärtsbewegung gerichtet sein > seine Bemühungen auf etwas richten, wonach trachten”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **strēba* “straff, streif”, can be reconstructed from: MLG *strēf* (Kluge 1989: 707) “straff, streif”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

strēbōn “sich regen, bewegen” (Pfeifer III 1989: 1737). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *strēven* (Kluge 1989: 707) “ragen”; MDu. *strēven* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1737) “nach etwas trachten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **strēbōjan* “straff stehen, und sich vorwärts bewegen > auf eine körperliche oder geistige Vorwärtsbewegung gerichtet sein > seine Bemühungen auf etwas richten, wonach trachten”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *streben*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

streden “stehen machen, zum Stehen bringen, befestigen, zurückbringen, beengen, hemmen” (Raven I 1963: 323). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **strapejan* (Seebold 1970: 477) causative deverbative from strong verb **streðanan* (Seebold 1970: 477) “wallen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *stredan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 477) “wallen”. Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

***streifen** “streichen, gleiten”. This verb can be reconstructed from: MHG *streifen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1739) “gleitend berühren, gleiten, ziehen, marschieren, abhäuten”. No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **straipjan* “streichen, gleiten, umherstreifen, (ab)ziehen, schinden”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE **streib-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029), from which base the following may also be derived: MLG, MDu. *strīpen* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “(ab)streifen”; MHG *strīfe* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “Streifen”; Norw. *strīpa* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “Streifen”; Swed. *stripa* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “herabhängender Haarbüschel”; OIr. *sriab* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “Streifen, Strahl”. These represent a b-extension from IE *√*ster* “Streifen, Strich, Strähne, Strahl”; **sterā-*, **strē-*, **strei-*, **streu-*; (mit 'g', 'b', 'dh' (oder 't') erweitert): “über etwas hinwegstreifen, -streichen” (Pokorny I 1956: 1028). There is insubstantial evidence here to allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb and the verb should consequently be regarded as a later formation. It possibly represents a denominative formation, but the phonology involved is uncertain. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*

streihhōn “wiederholt zarte, kleine streichelnde oder greifähnliche Bewegungen machen, streicheln, liebkosten” (Raven II 1967: 149). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *strācian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “to stroke”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **straikōjan* (Seebold 1970: 476) “streicheln”, class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from strong verb **streikanan* (Seebold 1970: 476) “streichen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *strihhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 476) “streichen”; MLG, MDu. *striken* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 476). OFs. *strika* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 476) “streichen”; OE

strīcan st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 324) “to pass lightly over the surface, stroke, rub, wipe; move, go, run”; ON *strýkva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 476) “streichen”. Therefore a WGmc frequentative / continuative deverbative.

strecken “strecken, ausstrecken” (Raven I 1963: 208). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *strekken* (Kluge 1989: 707) “strecken, ausstrecken”; OFs. *strekka* I (Kluge 1989: 707) “strecken, ausstrecken”; OE *streccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “to stretch, spread out, prostrate; reach, extend”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **strakkijan* intensive gemination? “to make tense or taut > to stretch”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *framstrac* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1732) “starr”; MHG *strac* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1732) “gerade, straff, steif, unmittelbar”; MLG *strak* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1732) “straff, starr”; MDu. *strac* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1732) “straff, starr”; OE *stræc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “firm, strict, severe, stern, rigid, obstinate, hard; strenuous, vehement, violent”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **strakkaz* intensive gemination? “tense, taut”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *fora-*, *nidar-*, *untar-*

strengen “drängen, treiben” (Raven I 1963: 209). cf. OHG *strangōn* II (Raven II 1967: 149). cf. OHG *strangēn* III (Raven II 1967: 259). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *strengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “to strengthen”; OFs. *strenza* I (de Vries 1962: 552) “befestigen”; ON *strengja* I (de Vries 1962: 552) “fest anziehen, drücken, festbinden, schließen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **strangijanan* “to make strong or firm”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *strang* (Starck and Wells 1990: 598) “stark”; OS *strang* (Starck and Wells 1990: 598) “stark”; OE *strang*, *strong* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “strong, powerful, able, firm, bold, brave; constant, resolute, strenuous; strict, severe; arduous, violent”; ON *strangr* (de Vries 1962: 552) “heftig, hart, streng”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **strangaz* (Barnhart 1988: 1078) “strong, hard, powerful”, with variant form **strangjaz* in: OHG *strengi* (Kluge 1989: 708) “stark, tapfer, unfreundlich”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

strengisōn “kräftigen, stärken” (Raven II 1967: 149). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *strengi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 599) “stark, kräftig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

strewen, *strouwen* “streuen, aus-, bestreuen, bereiten, vereinzelt und breit hinwerfen, ausbreiten, ausschütten, niederwerfen, Betten und Bettzeug” (Raven I 1963: 324). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *streuwian*, *strōian* I (Kluge 1989: 708) “streuen”; OFs. *strēwa* I (de Vries 1962: 552) “streuen”; OE *streowian*, *strewian* levelling to class II? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 324) “to strew, scatter”; ON *strá* Neubildung zum schwach gebildeten Prät. *stráða* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1742) “streuen”; Gothic *straujan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1742) “to spread out”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **straujanan* “to spread or scatter (straw)”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. Lehmann (Lehmann 1986: 327) regards this verbs as a denominative formation from the Gmc substantive **strawan* “straw, hay”, which is attested in: OHG *strō*, *strou* (Kluge 1989: 709) “Stroh”; OS *strō* (Lehmann 1986: 327) “Stroh”; OFs. *strē* (Lehmann 1986: 327) “Stroh”; OE *strēaw* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “straw, hay”; ON *strá* (Lehmann 1986: 327) “Stroh”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **strawan* (Lehmann 1986: 327) “straw, hay”. This is, however, not entirely convincing and the noun is better regarded as postverbal (i.e. “that which is strewn or spread > straw”) from Gmc **straujanan*. In which case, the verb can be shown to derive from IE **streu-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1030) “streuen, ausbreiten”, from which base the following are derived: OBret *strouis* (Pokorny I 1956: 1031) “stravi”; Breton *streuein* (Pokorny I 1956: 1031) “streuen”; Latin *struere* (Pokorny I 1956: 1030) “übereinander breiten, schichten, aufbauen”; Latin *struēs*, *struē* (Pokorny I 1956: 1030) “Haufe, Menge”. This is an extended form of IE √**ster-*, **sterə* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “ausbreiten, ausstreuen”, from which base the following may be derived: OIr. *sernim* (Pokorny I

1956: 1030) “breite aus”; OCS *pro-staro*, *strěti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1030) “ausbreiten”; Lith. *strāja* (Pokorny I 1956: 1030) “mit Stroh ausgelegter Stall”; Latin *sternere* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “hinstreuen, ausbreiten; niederstrecken”; Albanian *shtrinj* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “breite aus”; Greek στóρνυμι, σtoρνένυμι (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “ich bestreue, strecke hin”; Avestan *star* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “streuen”; Skt *strnati*, *strnoti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “streut (hin), bestreut”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*, *ūz-*

stricken “umstricken, zusammenschnüren, eine Schlinge setzen” (Raven I 1963: 209). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *strician* II (Kluge 1989: 708) “to knit together, mend”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **strikijan*, **strickōjan* “stricken”. The WGmc verb was probably class II, as indicated by the OE class II verb. The OHG class I verb thus probably represents a class I deverbative (in accordance with the later OHG tendency to reduce to class I) from class II, replacing the earlier (OHG unattested) class II verb. The WGmc verb is itself ultimately a The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stric* (Starck and Wells 1990: 599) “Strick, Schlinge, Fallstrick”; MLG *striik* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1743) “derbe Schnur, Fangnetz, Falle”; MDu. *stric*, *strec*, *stricke* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1743). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **strikkaz* intensive gemination? “Strick”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

stripalēn “wild lärmern, laut rufen oder schreien, der Schall” (Raven II 1967: 260). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

striunen “streuen, sich beunruhigen oder Sorge machen, gewinnen, Fügsamkeit oder Gehorsam” (Raven I 1963: 209). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *striunian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1742) “schmücken”; OE *strīenen* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 324) “to acquire, gain, amass; beget”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **streunjan* “streuen”. Further etymology uncertain. There is a related substantive, attested in the following: MHG *striun* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1742) “Hundenname (vor 1300), (eigentlich) der schnuppernd Suchende, Umherstreichende”; NLG *strūn(e)* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1742) “liederliches Frauenzimmer, Dirne, (eigentlich) die sich herumtreibende”; OS *gi-striunni* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1742) “Gewinn”; OE *strēon* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 324) “gain, acquisition, property, treasure; traffic, usury; procreation”. This noun is, however, best regarded as postverbal. The most convincing etymology is an 'n-present' formation from IE **streu-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1030) “streuen, ausbreiten” (see under *strewen*). Evidence for an 'n-present' formation from IE **streu-* seems to be confined to WGmc, and this verb must therefore be regarded as a WGmc innovation. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

stroufen “(Weinranken oder Reben) sammeln oder pflücken, (von Bäumen) Seide abstreifen” (Raven I 1963: 210). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *strōpen* (Barnhardt 1988: 1077) “to plunder, strip”; OE *be-strīēpan*, *be-strīpan*, *be-strīpan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 45) “to strip, plunder”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **straupjan* “to plunder, strip”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE **streub-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029), from which base may also be derived: MHG *strupfen* (Pokorny I 1956: 1029) “streifen, abrupfen”. This represents a 'b'-extension from IE *√*ster* (Pokorny I 1956: 1028) (see under *streifen*). There is insubstantial evidence here to allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb and the verb should consequently be regarded as a later formation. It possibly represents a denominative formation, but the phonology involved is uncertain. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

strūben “struppig, zerfetzt sein oder machen, sträuben, rauh emporstehen, (ungekämmte Haare)” (Raven I 1963: 210). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *strūbian* I (Pfeifer

III 1989: 1735) “starr emporrichten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **strūbijan* “struppig machen, rauh emporstehen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *strūb* (Starck and Wells 1990: 601) “sich kräuselnd, starrend, rauh, emporstehend (von Haaren, Federn), struppig, krauskopfig”; OS *strūf* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1735) “rauh, uneben, holperig, struppig, wirr”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **strūbaz* “rauh, uneben, struppig”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

strūbēn “in zitternder Bewegung aufschauern, struppig oder rauh sein oder werden, sich sträuben, (von den Haaren) ungekämmt” (Raven II 1967: 260). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *strūben*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

strūhhōn “straucheln, stolpern, stürzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 601). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **strūkōjan* (Seebold 1970: 478) class II deverbative (with irregular ablaut) from strong verb **streukanan* (Seebold 1970: 478) “streichen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: ON *strjúka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 478) “streichen, abwischen, dahineilen, entkommen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

strūten “berauben, verjagen, mit Gewalt wegnehmen, verbreiten” (Raven I 1963: 210). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-strȳdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 324) “to rob, deprive”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **strūdejan* (Seebold 1970: 478) “to rob, deprive”, class I deverbative formation from strong verb **strūdanan* (Seebold 1970: 478) “plündern”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *strūdan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 324) “to ravage, spoil, plunder, carry off”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zi-*

studen “fest machen, festsetzen” (Schade II 1882: 886). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *stýðja* (de Vries 1962: 557) “stützen”; ODan. *stýde* (de Vries 1962: 557) “stützen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **studijanan* “to support”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **studa* “Stütze, Pfosten” can be reconstructed from: MHG *stud* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1754) “Stütze, Pfosten”; OE *studu* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 324) “column, pillar, post, buttress”; ON *stoð* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1754) “Stütze, Säule, Pfeilen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **studō* “support, pillar”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

stūhhōn, *gi-stūhhōt-* “(von der Tunika) mit Ärmeln versehen, geärmelt oder langärmelig” (Raven II 1967: 150). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stūhha* (Starck and Wells 1990: 602) “langer, weiter Ärmel”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

stucken “(neckend) angreifen, überfallen, erzürnen” (Raven I 1963: 210). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **stukkjan* intensive gemination zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **stekanan*, **stikanan* (Seebold 1970: 467) “stechen” (see under *stecken*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

stullen “stillstehen, aufhalten, lähmen” (Raven I 1963: 210). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stulla* (Starck and Wells 1990: 602) “Zeitpunkt, Augenblick”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *gi-*

stumbalen “stümmeln” (Raven I 1963: 211). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stumbal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 602) “verstümmelt, stumpfsinnig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

stumbalōn “mit dem Schwerte niedermetzeln, (ver)stümmeln” (Raven II 1967: 150). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *stumbalen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

stungen “stupfen, antreiben” (Raven I 1963: 211). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **stungjan* (Seebold 1970: 470) class I zero-grade deverbative (possibly a class I deverbative from an earlier class II zero-grade deverbative **stungōn*) from strong verb **stenganan* (Seebold 1970: 470) “stechen” (see under *stungōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-, in-, ir-*

stungōn “(voll)stopfen, dicht zusammendrängen, festdrücken” (Raven II 1967: 150). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **stungōjan* class II deverbative (with irregular ablaut) from strong verb **stenganan* (Seebold 1970: 470) “to sting”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *stingan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 593) “schröpfen”; OE *stingan* st. vb? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 322) “to sting, stab, pierce, push through, thrust”; ON *stinga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 470) “stechen”; Gothic *us-stagg* st. vb preterite singular (Seebold 1970: 470) “stich aus”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *in-*

stuoēn “büßen, Strafe leiden, anklagen, schelten, hemmen” (Raven I 1963: 210). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *stojan* I (Lehmann 1986: 327) “to judge”; cf. OE *stōwian* II w-glide secondary, originally class I? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “to retain, restrain”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **stōjanan* “to judge, administer justice; stand trial, do penance”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE (Baltic, Slavonic and Gmc only) **st(h)āu-*, **st(h)ā-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1008), from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *stouwen* I (Pokorny I 1956: 1008) “(an)klagen”; OCS *staviti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1008) “stellen”; OCS *staua* (Pokorny I 1956: 1008) “Gericht”; Lith. *stóviu*, *stovėti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1008) “stehen”; Latvian *stāvu*, *stāvet* (Pokorny I 1956: 1008) “stehen”. These represent an extended form of IE $\sqrt{*stā-}$, **stā-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1004) “stehen, stellen”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-, ir-*

stupfen “stoßen, stechen” (Raven I 1963: 212). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stupf*, *stopf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 604) “Stich, Stachel, Tüpfelchen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

sturen “zerstören, plagen” (Raven I 1963: 212). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-sturian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 604) “to subvert”; OE *styrrian* II by levelling, as umlaut indicates origin in class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 325) “to stir, move, rouse, agitate, excite, urge”; Middle Swed. *styr(i)a* (Onions 1966: 870) “to make a disturbance”; Norw. *styrja* (Onions 1966: 870) “to make a disturbance”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **sturjanan* “stören, zerstören”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It stands in ablaut relation to **staurjanan* (see under *stören*) and can be traced back to Gmc $\sqrt{*stur-}$ which is the ablaut zero-grade of Gmc $\sqrt{*staur-}$, on which is based a complex denoting storm, disturbance, destruction (see under *stören*). The s-mobile form of this root is confined to Gmc, in which group it becomes extremely productive. The verb is therefore best regarded as a NWGmc formation. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, fir-, ir-, zi-*

sturmen “stürmen, lärmern, toben” (Raven I 1963: 212). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *styrman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 325) “to storm, roar, rage, cry out, shout”; ON *styrma* I (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 601) “to blow up a storm, to storm”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **sturmijanan* “to storm, make a storm, blow up a storm, rage”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sturm*, *storm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 325) “Sturm, Tumult, Aufruhr”; OS *storm* (Kluge 1989: 711) “Sturm”; OE *storm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “tempest, storm; rush, onrush, attack, tumult, disturbance”; ON *stormr* (Kluge 1989: 711) “Sturm, Unruhe, Kampfessturm”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **sturmaz* (Kluge 1989: 711) “storm”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

sturzen “stürzen, in Verzagtheit versetzen, zurückhalten, ermorden” (Raven I 1963: 212). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG MDu. *storten* (Kluge 1989: 712) “stürzen”; OFs. *sterta* I (Kluge 1989: 712) “stürzen”; OE *styrtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 325) “to start, leap up”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sturtijan* (Kluge 1989: 712) “stürzen, steif sein, starren”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may possibly derive from the ablaut zero-grade of IE **(s)terd-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1023). From which base the following may also be derived: MHG *stürzel* (Pokorny I 1956: 1023) “Stengel”; OHG *sterz* (Kluge 1989: 701) “Schwanz”; OE *steort* (Pokorny I 1956: 1023) “tail, i.e. that which stands upright”; ON *stertr* (Pokorny I 1956: 1023) “Schwanz”; ON *sterta* (Pokorny I 1956: 1023) “spannen”; ON *stirtla* II (Pokorny I 1956: 1023) “aufrichten”; OE *stearthian* II (Pokorny I 1956: 1023) “to kick, struggle”; Norw. *tart* (Pokorny I 1956: 1024) “Stießbein”; Welsh *tarddu* (Pokorny I 1956: 1024) “to break out, spring, issue”; Greek *τόρδυλον* (Pokorny I 1956: 1024) “eine Doldenpflanze”. These represent a dental extension from IE $\sqrt{*(s)ter-}$, **(s)terā-*, **(s)trē-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1022) “starr, steif sein, starrer, fester Gegenstand, besonders Pflanzenstamm oder -stengel; steif gehen, stolpern, fallen, stolzieren”. There is insubstantial evidence here to allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb and the verb should consequently be regarded as a later formation. It possibly represents a denominative formation, but the phonology involved is uncertain. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *in-*, *ir-*

***stuzzen** “stützen, untersützen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu. *stutten* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1754) “von unten etwas mit einer Stütze halten”; MLG *stütten* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1754) “von unten etwas mit einer Stütze halten, dagegenhalten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **stuttjan* intensive gemination? “stützen”. Possibly an intensive deverbative (with expressive devoicing ‘d’ > ‘t’) from NGmc weak verb **stuðijanan* “stützen” (see under *studen*). Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *untar-*

sūbaren “säubern, sieben (d.h. sichten)” (Raven I 1963: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sūbar*, *sūbiri* (Kluge 1989: 619) “sauber, rein”; OS *sūbri*, *sūbar* (Kluge 1989: 619) “sauber, rein”; OE *sýfre* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 334) “clean, pure, chaste, sober, abstinent, temperate”. These represent a WGmc loan word, via Vulgar Latin *sūber* “mäßig, besonnen”, from Latin *sōbrius* (Kluge 1989: 619) “mäßig, besonnen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

sūftōn, sūfteōn “seufzen, aufseufzen, aufstöhnen, aufächzen” (Raven II 1967: 150). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *suft* (Kluge 1989: 670) “Seufzer < das Einschlürfen des Atems”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

sūlen, gi-sūlit- “mit Brettern, Tafeln, Säulen, Balken versehen (pret. part.)” (Raven I 1963: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. Gothic *ga-suljan* I (Lehmann 1986: 297) “to found”. This is best regarded as an independant formation. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sūl* (Starck and Wells 1990: 213) “Säule”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

***sulen** “besudeln”. MHG *suln*, *sūln* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1761) “besudeln”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sulwian* I (Lehmann 1986: 72) “to make dirty”; OE *sylan* II by levelling, as umlaut indicates origin in class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 334) “to sully, soil, pollute”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sul(w)ijan* “to dirty, make dirty, soil”; cf. with variant ablaut grade Swed. (dial.) *saula* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1761) “beschmutzen”; cf. with variant ablaut grade Gothic *bi-sauljan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1761) “beflecken”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sol*, *sul* (Starck and Wells 1990: 568) “Kotlache, Schmutz, Schlamm, Suhle”; MLG *söle* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1761) “Schlamm, Schmutz, Dreck”; OE *sol* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 313) “mud, wet sand, wallowing place, slough”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sul(w)an* “mud, puddle, dirt, wallowing place”; cf. Norw. (dial.) *saula*, *søyla* (Lehmann 1986: 72) “dirt”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **bi-**

sulzen “sülzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 606). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sulza* (Starck and Wells 1990: 606) “Sülze, Salzlake, salzwasser”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

sulzōn “sülzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 606). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under **sulzen**. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

sūmen “zum Eigentum werden” (Raven I 1963: 213). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *sumen* (Kluge 1989: 620) “zögern, verzögern, säumen, hindern”. Loan verb from OHG? Further etymology obscure.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **fir-**

(suntar-)gi-leggen “abliefern, beiseite-, niederlegen, überweisen” (Raven I 1963: 311). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

suntarōn “sondern, trennen” (Raven II 1967: 151). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *sunderen* (Kluge 1989: 679) “sondern”; MDu. *soderen* (Kluge 1989: 679) “sondern”; OE *ge-sundrian* II (Kluge 1989: 679) “to sunder, separate, divide”; ON *sundra* II (Kluge 1989: 679) “sondern, zerschneiden, vernichten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **sundrōjanan* “sondern”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *suntar* adv. (Kluge 1989: 679) “besonders, abseits, alleine stehend”; OS *sundar* adv. (Kluge 1989: 679). OFs. *sunder* adv. (Kluge 1989: 679). OE *sundor* adv. (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 326) “asunder, apart; severally; differently”; ON *sundr* adv. (Kluge 1989: 679) “entzwei, gesondert”; Gothic *sundro* adv. (Kluge 1989: 679) “alone, apart”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **sundr-* “alone, apart”. Therefore a NWGmc deadverbial formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **gi-**

suntōn, sunteōn “sündigen; peccāri” (Raven II 1967: 151). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sundiōn*, *sundeōn* II (Schade II 1882: 896) “sündigen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sundjōjan* “sündigen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sunta*, *suntea* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1764) “Sünde, Vergehen, Schandtat”; OS *sundia* (Starck and Wells 1990: 608). OFs. *sende*, *sonde* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1764). OE *synn*, *sin(n)* with assimilation and loss of ‘d’ (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 335) “injury, mischief, enmity, feud; sin, guilt, crime”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sundjō* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1764) “Sünde (gegen Gott); peccatum”. This noun is only attested with an ecclesiastical context. It was used to translate Latin *peccatum*, and represents a semantic loan from a Gmc legal term for “guilty of a punishable offence”, literally: “the one it is”. The adjective is an abstract derivative from Gmc present participle **sanþ-*, **sund-* (Kluge 1989: 714) “wahr, seiend”. (Compare Gothic *sunjis* (Lehmann 1986: 329) “truthful”). This derives ultimately from IE **es-*, **s-* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1764) “to be”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **fir-, gi-**

suohhen “suchen, begehren, ersuchen, einladen, versuchen, bitten, verlangen, aufsuchen, (oft) besuchen, verfolgen, aufzufinden trachten, erstreben, untersuchen, durchstöbern, forschen, verhandeln, trachten nach” (Raven I 1963: 213). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *sōkian* I (Seebold 1970: 384) “suchen”; OFs. *sēka*, *sēza* I (Seebold 1970: 384) “suchen”; OE *sēcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 301) “to search for, seek, inquire, ask for, look for; strive after, long for, wish, desire; expect from; visit, go to; approach; pursue, follow”; ON *sækja* I (Seebold 1970: 384) “suchen, besuchen; angreifen; vor Gericht bringen”; Gothic *sokjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 318) “to seek, look for”. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are uncertain. It is possibly a deverbative formation, in which case we may reconstruct a Gmc **sōkejanan* (Seebold 1970: 384) “suchen”. This would thus represent a class I deverbative from the strong verb **sakanan* (Seebold 1970: 383) “rechten, streiten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sahhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 383) “Vorwürfe machen, schelten, Rechtsstreit führen”; OS *sakan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 383) “tadeln”; OFs. *seka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 383) “streiten”; OE *sacan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 286) “to struggle, dispute, disagree, wrangle, fight; accuse, blame, bring a criminal or civil action against anyone, lay claim to”; Gothic *sakan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 383) “streiten, schelten, Vorwürfe machen”. This is not, however, convincing semantically. Alternatively, and more plausibly, the verb may be primary, deriving ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*sāg-}$, *sāg-* (Pokorny I 1959: 876) “(witternd) nachspüren; (altes Jägerwort)”, from which base the following may be derived: Latin *sagire* (Pokorny I 1959: 876) “spüren, wittern, ahnen”; OIr. *saigid* (Kluge 1989: 713) “sucht, erstrebt, geht einer Sache nach”; Welsh *haeddu* (Pokorny I 1959: 876) “verdienen”; Welsh *cy-r-haedd* (Pokorny I 1959: 876) “erreichen”; Greek *ἡγεομαι* (Pokorny I 1959: 876) “ich gehe voran, führe; (post Homeric) glaube, meine”; Hittite *šak(k)-*, *šek(k)-* (Kluge 1989: 713) “wissen, erfahren, merken”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-gi-*, *avur-*, *bi-*, *duruh-*, *fir-*, *fram-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *ubar-*, *untar-*, *widar-*, *zuo-*, *zuo-gi-*

suonen “sühnen, versöhnen, entscheiden, richten, schlichtend bestimmen, zum Frieden bringen” (Raven I 1963: 217). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-sōnian* I (Kluge 1989: 714) “aussöhnen”; MLG *sōnen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1761) “versöhnen”; MDu. *soenen*, *suenen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1761) “versöhnen; küssen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sōnijan* “versöhnen, sühnen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *suona* (Starck and Wells 1990: 610) “Urteil, Gericht, Gerichtsverhandlung, Versöhnung, Sühne”; OS *sōna* (Kluge 1989: 714) “Gericht”; OFs. *sōna*, *sēna* (Kluge 1989: 714) “Sühne”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc *sōnō* “Versöhnung, Genugtuung, Sühne”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *fora-*, *fora-gi-*, *gi-*, *zi-*

suozen “süßen, süß machen” (Raven I 1963: 218). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *swēan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 331) “to make sweet, sweeten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **swōt(i)jan* “to sweeten, make sweet”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *suozi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 611) “süß, lieblich, angenehm, reizend”; OS *swōti* (Kluge 1989: 716) “süß”; OFs. *swēte* (de Vries 1962: 577) “süß”; OE *swōt* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 334) “sweet”; ON *sætr* (Kluge 1989: 716) “süß”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **swōtjaz* “sweet”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

supfen “(ein)schlürfen, austrinken” (Raven I 1963: 218). cf. OHG *soufen* I (Raven II 1967: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. However, compare OE *soppian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 313) “to soak, sop”, which points to there having been a WGmc class II zero-grade deverbative **suppōjan* intensive gemination “schlürfen”. Important to note here is the productivity of zero-grade intensive deverbatives in class II. The WGmc verb **suppōjan* derives

from the strong verb **sūpanan* (Seebold 1970: 399) “saufen” (see under *soufen*). OHG *supfen* is consequently to be regarded as a class I deverbative from this earlier WGmc intensive deverbative. Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

supfezen “den Wein beim kosten ausspeien” (Raven I 1963: 218). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I intensive deverbative from OHG class I weak verb *supfen* “(ein)schlürfen” (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

sūren “säuren” (Pfeifer III 1989: 1480). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *sūrēn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

sūrēn “sauer, scharf sein oder werden, sauer sehen, unglücklich beziehungsweise unmutig sein” (Raven II 1967: 260). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-sūrian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 27) “to be or become sour”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **sūrējan* “to be or become sour”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sūr* (Starck and Wells 1990: 611) “sauer, bitter, scharf”; MLG *sūr* (Kluge 1989: 619) “sauer”; MDu. *suur* (Kluge 1989: 619) “sauer”; OE *sūr* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 327) “sour, tart, acid”; ON *súrr* (Kluge 1989: 619) “sauer, bitter”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **sūraz* (Kluge 1989: 619) “sauer”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

sūsen “sausen, zischen, summen, knirschen, (vom Feuer) sich löschen” (Raven I 1963: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the related Gmc languages belong with the class II verb, this verb is best regarded as an OHG class I deverbative from the earlier class II verb *sūsōn*. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

sūsōn “sausen” (Raven II 1967: 152). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *susen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1483) “sausen”; Swed. *susa* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1483) “sausen”; Dan. *suse* (Pokorny I 1959: 1039) “sausen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE (Balto-Slavonic and Gmc only) $\sqrt{*sūs-}$ (Pfeifer III 1989: 1483). This is an onomatopoeic root indicating a whistling, whizzing, rustling noise. From which base the following may also be derived: OCS *sysati* (Pokorny I 1959: 1039) “sausen, pfeifen, zischen”; ORuss. *susol* (Pokorny I 1959: 1039) “Zieselmaus, Hausratte”. The forms attested outside Gmc are too limited for this verb to belong to a pre-Gmc stratum, and probably represent independent onomatopoeic formations. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

swahhezen “schwingend durch die Luft sausen, (vom Speer) kreiseln, in der Bewegung schwingen; zittern, schwanken” (Raven I 1963: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I intensive deverbative from OHG class II weak verb *swahhōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

swahhōn “gering, kraftlos oder schwach werden oder machen” (Raven II 1967: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **swah* “schwach, kraftlos” can be reconstructed from: MHG *swach* (Kluge 1989: 657) “schwach”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

swangaren “vermählen, ehelich verbinden, schwängern” (Raven I 1963: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *swangar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 613) “schwanger, trüchtig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

swāren “beschweren, unterdrücken” (Raven I 1963: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *swār* (Starck and Wells 1990: 613) “schwer, lästig, voll”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

swārēn “(+dat. pers.) schwer drückend aufliegen (von der Hand), d.h. schwer oder lästig sein” (Raven II 1967: 260). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *swāren*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-ir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

swarzēn “dunkelfarbig beziehungsweise schwarz sein oder werden” (Raven II 1967: 261). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *sweartian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 329) “to become black”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **swartējan* “to be or become black”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *swerzen*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

swebarōn “schwimmen, schweben” (Raven II 1967: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **swib(a)rōjan* class II ablaut zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **sweifanan* (Seebold 1970: 484) “schweifen” (see under *sweibōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with r-extension).

swebben “einschläfern, ersticken, d.h. 'schwefelig’” (Raven I 1963: 324). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *swebbian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 614) “einschläfern, ersticken”; OE *swebben* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 329) “to put to sleep, lull; kill”; ON *sveffa* I (Seebold 1970: 483) “einschläfern, beruhigen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **swabejanan* (Seebold 1970: 483) “to cause to sleep, put to sleep”, causative of strong verb **sweifanan* (Seebold 1970: 482). This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *swefan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 329) “to sleep, slumber, rest; sleep in death; cease”; ON *sofa* (Seebold 1970: 482) “schlafen; entschlafen, einschlafen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-*, *ir-*

swebēn “(von Flüssigkeiten, vom Wasser) schweben, branden, sich fließend hin und her bewegen, schwimmen, ebben und fluten, anhängen, treu bleiben, vertrauend, Unvollkommenheit, Schnitzer” (Raven II 1967: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **swibējan* (Seebold 1970: 484) class III durative deverbative from strong verb **sweifanan* (Seebold 1970: 484) “schweifen” (see under *sweibōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

sweden “wärmen” (Seebold 1970: 496). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **swadejan* (Seebold 1970: 496) class I deverbative formation from strong verb **swebanan* (Seebold 1970: 496) “schwelen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *swedan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 496) “verbrennen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

swegalōn “flöten” (Raven II 1967: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *swegala*, *swegel* (Starck and Wells 1990: 614) “Rohr, Pfeife, Schwegel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

sweibōn, *swebōn* “sich drehen, sich bewegen, schweifen, rollen, (neg.) stillstehen, in der Luft, (im Boot sitzend) schweben, wogen, schlecht riechen, stinken” (Raven II 1967: 152). cf. OHG *swebēn* III (Raven II 1967: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **swaibōjan* (Seebold 1970: 485) class II deverbative from strong verb **sweifanan* (Seebold

1970: 484) “schweifen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: MHG *sweif* st. vb preterite singular (Seebold 1970: 485) “schwang sich (vom Pferd, auf die Mauer”; OFs. *swāva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 484) “unsicher sein, schwanken”; OE *swifan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 332) “to revolve, sweep, wend; intervene”; ON *svífa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 484) “herum-schweifen, sich herumtreiben, lose sein, sich enthalten, fernhalten”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

sweifen “umstürzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 615). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I deverbative formation from strong verb **swaipanan* (Seebold 1970: 479) “schwingen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *sweifan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 615) “kämpfen, ringen”; OS *for-swēp* st. vb preterite singular (Seebold 1970: 479) “vertrieb”; OFs. **swēpa* can be reconstructed from *mith-swēpene* (Seebold 1970: 479) “mit Fegen”; OE *swāpan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 329) “to sweep, drive, swing, rush (of wind); sweep up, take possession of”; ON *sweipa* st. vb present only (Seebold 1970: 479) “werfen, umhüllen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

sweigen “(ver)schweigen” (Raven I 1963: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **swaigejan* “to make silent”, causative deverbative formation from WGmc class III durative weak verb **swīgējan* “to be silent” (see under OHG *swīgēn*). Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

sweinen “schwächen, verringern” (Raven I 1963: 220). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **swainejan* (Seebold 1970: 483) “schwinden machen, verringern, schwächen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **sweinanan* (Seebold 1970: 483) “schwinden” (see under *swinōn*). Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

sweizen “rösten, braten, flüssig machen, schmelzen (in der Opferschale)” (Raven I 1963: 220). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *swēten* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1593) “schwitzen”; OE *swātan* I Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 328) “to sweat, exude; labour, toil; weld”; ON *sveitask* reflexive development secondary (Pfeifer III 1989: 1593) “schwitzen, bluten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **swaitijanan* “to sweat, make sweat, cause to sweat”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sweiz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 220) “Schweiß”; OS *swēt* (Kluge 1989: 660) “Schweiß”; OFs. *swā* (Kluge 1989: 660) “Schweiß”; OE *swāt* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 329) “sweat, perspiration”; ON *sveiti* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1593) “Schweiß, Blut”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **swaitaz*, **swaitjaz* “sweat, perspiration”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

swelkēn “verwelken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 616). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **swelc* “welk, dürr”, which can be reconstructed from: MHG *swelk* (Schade II 1882: 911) “welk, dürr”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

swellen “aufschwellen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 616). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *svella* I (Seebold 1970: 490) “schwellen machen, vermehren”; Gothic **swalljan* can be reconstructed from the post verbal substantive *uf-swalleins* (Lehmann 1986: 373) “vanity, being puffed up”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **swallejanan* (Seebold 1970: 490) “to cause to swell, make swollen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **swellanan* (Seebold 1970: 489) “to swell, swell up”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *swellan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 616) “schwellen, aufgeschwollen sein, strotzen”; OS *swellan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 490) “schwellen”; OFs. *swella* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 490) “schwellen, sich

erheben"; OE *swellan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 330) "to swell"; ON *swella* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 490) "anschwellen". Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *widar-*

swenken "schlagen, schwingen, peitschen; verberäre" (Raven I 1963: 220). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *svenga* I (Seebold 1970: 493) "begießen"; OE *swengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 330) "to shake, shatter; swing, rush, fly out"; Gothic *af-swaggwjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 7) "to cause to waver", which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **swangwejanan* (Seebold 1970: 493) "to cause to swing or waver", causative deverbative from strong verb **swengwanan* (Seebold 1970: 493) "schwingen". This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *swingan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 620) "schwingen, peitschen, geißeln"; OS *swang* preterite singular (Seebold 1970: 493) "sich schwingen, stürzen"; OFs. *swinga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 493) "begießen"; OE *swingan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 333) "to beat, strike, smack, whip, scourge, flog, chastise, afflict; swing oneself, fly". Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

swenten "schwenden, schwinden machen, vernichten, vergehen" (Raven I 1963: 220). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **swandegan* (Seebold 1970: 492) "schwindenmmachen", causative deverbative from strong verb **swendanan* (Seebold 1970: 492) "schwinden". This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *swintan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 620) "schwinden, vergehen, verwesen"; OS *far-swindan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 620) "verschwinden, schmelzen, vergehen"; OE *swindan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 333) "to vanish, consume, pine away, languish". Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *ir-*

swermen "hinausführen (von Bienen), schwärmen" (Raven I 1963: 220). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *swierman*. *swirman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 333) "to swarm", which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **swarmijanan* "to swarm, swarm together". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *swarm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 613) "Schwarm, Schar, Bienenschwarm, Taumel"; OS *swarm* (Kluge 1989: 658) "(Bienen)schwarm"; OE *swearm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 329) "swarm, multitude"; ON *svarmr* (de Vries 1962: 565) "Unruhe, Lärm", which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **swarmaz* "swarm, swarm of bees, multitude". Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zisamene-*

swerzen "schwärzen, schwarz machen" (Raven I 1963: 220). cf. OHG *swarzēn* III (Raven II 1967: 261). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *swerzen* (de Vries 1962: 565) "schwärzen"; Norw. *sverta* I (de Vries 1962: 565) "schwärzen"; Icelandic *sverta* I (de Vries 1962: 565) "schwärzen", which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **swartijanan* "to make black, blacken". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *swarz* (Kluge 1989: 659) "schwarz"; OS *swart* (Kluge 1989: 659) "schwarz"; OE *sweart* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 329) "swarthy, black, dark; gloomy; evil, infamous"; ON *svartr* (Kluge 1989: 659) "schwarz"; Gothic *swarts* (Lehmann 1986: 333) "black", which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **swartaz* (Kluge 1989: 659) "black". Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

swīgēn "schweigen, sich schweigend fügen, nicht reden, still sein, sich ruhig verhalten, verschweigen, Schweigsamkeit" (Raven II 1967: 261). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *swīgōn* II (Kluge 1989: 659) "schweigen"; OE *swigian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 332) "to be or become silent, keep silence, be quiet or still", which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **swīgējan* (Kluge 1989: 659) "schweigen". The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It represents a guttural extension, ultimately deriving from an IE√**sw̥* (Pokorny I 1959: 1052) "schwinden, nachlassen, schweigsam werden", from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *swīnan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1959: 1052) "schwinden, abnehmen"; Greek σιγᾶω (<**swigáō*) (Pfeifer III 1989: 1591) "ich schweige"; Skt *svā* (Pokorny I 1959: 1052)

“nachlassen”. As the forms attested above differ too widely from the WGmc verb in terms of extensions, it cannot, therefore, be regarded as pre-Gmc. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*, *untar-*

swihhōn “(ab)schweifen, umherschweifen, unster” (Raven II 1967: 153). cf. OHG *gi-sweihhen* I (Raven I 1963: 220). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *swician* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 332) “to wander, be treacherous, deceive, cheat; blaspheme; cause to offend”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **swikōjan* (Seebold 1970: 486) class II zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **sweikanan* (Seebold 1970: 486) “ausweichen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *swihhan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 618) “sich abwenden, schwinden, abweichen, vergehen, im Stich lassen, betrügen, hintergehen, verführen”; OS *swīkan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 486) “im Stich lassen, untreu werden”; OFs. *swīka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 486) “entfernen, im Stich lassen”; OE *swīcan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 332) “to wander, depart; cease from, yield, give way; fail, fall short, be wanting, abandon, desert, turn traitor; deceive”; ON *svikva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 486) “täuschen, betrügen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furi-*

swilizzōn “(intrs.) (langsam und ohne Flamme) verbrennen, schwelen, geröstet werden, seggen, verglühen, durchglühen” (Raven II 1967: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **swelattōjan* intensive gemination class II intensive deverbative from strong verb **swelanan* (Seebold 1970: 488) “schwelen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *erswilit* present only (Seebold 1970: 488). OE *swelan* present only (Seebold 1970: 488) “to burn, be burnt up; inflame (of wound)”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

swillēn “die Schwielenbildung vor sich gehen lassen (an der Haut), Schwielen haben, schwielig werden” (Raven II 1967: 262). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *swil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 619) “Schwiele”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*, *int-*

swinōn “schwinden” (Seebold 1970: 484). cf. OHG *sweinen* I (Raven I 1963: 220). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *svina*, *svena*, *svina* II (Seebold 1970: 484) “schwinden, verschwinden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **swinōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 484) class II zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **sweinanan* (Seebold 1970: 483) “schwinden”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *swīnan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 618) “abnehmen, schwinden, matt sein”; Modern West Frisian *swine* loan verb? (Seebold 1970: 483) “schwinden”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

swintilōn “(impers. +dat. pers.) schwindeln, sich verwundern, in Ratlosigkeit versetzen” (Raven II 1967: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **swintil* “Schwindel” can be reconstructed from: MHG *swindel* (Starck and Wells 1990: 620) “Schwindel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *in-*

swirōn “(den Besitz eines Grundstücks) bestätigen (vom Verkäufer gegenüber dem Käufer, durch einen symbolischen Akt als Wiederholung und Vollendung der Tradition), bepfählen” (Raven II 1967: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *swir* (Pokorny I 1956: 1050) “Uferpfahl, Pfahl”; OE *swear* (Pokorny I 1956: 1050) “pillar, column, prop; bolt, bar”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

swizzen “schwitzen, Samen durchtränken” (Raven I 1963: 221). No cognate verbs are attested. We can tentatively reconstruct an earlier form **switjanan* “to sweat”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut zero-grade of IE $\sqrt{*sweid-}$ “schwitzen”; **sweides-*, **sw(e)id-ro-*, **swoido-* “Schweiß” (Pokorny I 1956: 1043), from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *svdyati*, *svedate* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “schwitzt”; Skt *svedah* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “Schweiß”; Armenian *kirt-n* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “Schweiß”; Greek *ἰδρώς* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “Schweiß”; Greek *ἰδρώω* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “ich schwitze”; Albanian *dirsë*, *djersë* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “Schweiß”; Albanian *djers* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “schwitze”; Latin *sūdor* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “Schweiß”; Latin *sūdāre* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “schwitzen”; Welsh *chwys* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “Schweiß”; Latvian *sviédri* pl. (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “Schweiß”; Latvian *svīstu*, *svīst* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “schwitzen”; Latvian *svīdēt* (Pokorny I 1959: 1043) “schwitzen machen”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to OHG, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb. Indeed, the verb may represent a pre-Gmc denominative from the substantive **swoidos* “Schweiß” which substantive is well-attested in IE. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *ir-*, *ūz-*

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tāen “säugen” (Raven I 1963: 221). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **dējanan* “to suck, suckle”, ‘Hochstufe’ grade of ablaut from IE $\sqrt{*dhē(i)}$ - (Pokorny I 1956: 241) “saugen, säugen”, from which base the following may also be derived: MHG *tīen, dīen* (Pokorny I 1959: 242) “säugen, die Brust geben”; Gothic *daddjan* < **dajjanan* (Pokorny I 1959: 242) “to suckle”; OSwed. *dægga* < **dajjanan* (Pokorny I 1959: 242) “to suckle”; OSwed. *dīa* (Pokorny I 1959: 242) “saugen”; Norw., Dan. *die* (Pokorny I 1959: 242) “saugen”; OCS *dojo* ‘Hochstufe’ (Pokorny I 1959: 242) “säuge”; Lith. *dēju, dā* (Pokorny I 1959: 242) “saugen”; OIr. *denaid* (Pokorny I 1959: 241) “er saugt”; Latin *femina* (Pokorny I 1959: 241) “Frau” (< “die Säugende”); Latin *felix* (Pokorny I 1959: 241) “fertile, happy < the fertility of the mother’s breast”; Greek $\theta\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ‘Hochstufe’ present passive infinitive (Pokorny I 1959: 241) “säugen, melken”; Arm. *diem* ‘Hochstufe’ (Pokorny I 1959: 241) “saugt”; Skt *dhayati* ‘Hochstufe’ (Pokorny I 1959: 241) “saugt”; Skt *dhāyah* ‘Hochstufe’ (Pokorny I 1959: 241) “ernährend, pflegend”. Despite the fact that the ‘Hochstufe’ form of the verb are confined to OHG, the ‘Hochstufe’ ablaut grade attested in the IE forms given above provides sufficient evidence to point to a primary origin for this verb.

***tagadingōn** “zeitlich verschieben, einen Tag bestimmen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *dagbinga* II (Fritzner I 1954: 234) “to discuss something at a meeting arranged beforehand”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **dagapengōjanan* “einen Tag bestimmen (für eine Volksversammlung)”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tagading, tagoding* (Starck and Wells 1990: 621) “Frist, Volksversammlung”; OS *dagathing* (Starck and Wells 1990: 621) “Frist, Volksversammlung”; ON *dagbing* (Fritzner I 1954: 234) “a meeting arranged beforehand”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **dagapengan* “Frist, Volksversammlung”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

tagaltōn “sich erfreuen, sich vergnügen, sich die Zeit vertreiben, Scherz und Spiel treiben, guter Dinge sein” (Raven II 1967: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tagaltī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 621) “Spiel, Belustigung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

tagēn “tagen, Tag werden, verbleiben, taghell leuchten, einen Tag bestimmen” (Raven II 1967: 263). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 620) “Tag”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

tallazzen “(den Pferden den Hals) klopfen, streicheln” (Raven I 1963: 221). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology obscure. Probably an intensive deverbative from a base similar to that attested in: OHG *tollōn* (Raven II 1967: 156) “(den Pferden den Hals) klopfen, das Pferd tätscheln, streicheln”; NHG *tolle* (Grimm dWb XXI 1935: 637) “Schlag, Streich”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

talōn “ummauern” (Raven II 1967: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

tantarōn “faseln, wahnwitzig oder wahnsinnig sein” (Raven II 1967: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

tarkanen, terkenen “verdecken, verhehlen, verschleiern, sich verstellen, verbergen, verhüllen” (Raven I 1963: 221). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *terkī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 625) “Färbung, Verhüllung(?)”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with n-extension). Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*

tarnen “verbergen, unsicher machen” (Raven I 1963: 222). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *dernian* I (Kluge 1989: 721) “verbergen”; OE *diernan*, *dyrnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 85) “to keep secret, hide, restrain, repress; hide oneself”; We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **darnijan* “verbergen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tarni* (Starck and Wells 1990: 622) “unsichtbar, verborgen, verhüllt”; OS *darno* (Kluge 1989: 721) “verborgen”; OE *dierne*, *dyrne* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 85) “hidden, secret, obscure, remote: deceitful, evil, magical”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **darnjaz* (Kluge 1989: 721) “verborgen”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

tarōn “(intrans.) schaden, (trans.) beschädigen, verspotten, Eintrag tun, ein Leid zufügen, hintergehen, Missetäter”. No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under **terien**. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

tavalōn, *gi-tavalōn* “mit Brettern versehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 623). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tavala*, *tabela* (Starck and Wells 1990: 623) “Tafel, Schreibtabel, Spielbrett”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

teilen “teilen, unter sich teilen, sich teilen in, verteilen, in Teile zerlegen, unterscheiden, auszahlen” (Raven I 1963: 222). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *dēlian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1794) “teilen, verteilen”; OFs. *dēla* I (de Vries 1962: 222) “teilen, verteilen”; OE *dælan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 82) “to divide, part, separate, share; bestow, distribute, dispense, spend, hand over to; take part in, share with”; ON *deila* I (de Vries 1962: 75) “teilen”; Runic *dalipun* (for **dailipun*) I, 3rd pers. pl. pret. indic. (Lehmann 1986: 87) “divided”; Gothic *dailjan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1794) “to divide, distribute”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **dailijanan* “to divide”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *teil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 623) “Teil, Anteil”; OS *dēl* (Kluge 1989: 725) “Teil”; OFs. *dēl* (Kluge 1989: 725) “Teil”; OE *dæl* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 82) “portion, part, share, lot; division, separation, quantity, amount”; Gothic *dails* (Kluge 1989: 725) “portion”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **dailiz* masc (Kluge 1989: 725) “Teil”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *fora-ir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *ubar-*, *untar-*, *zi(r)-*

teilōn “teilen (d.h. die guten von den schlechten Sitten trennen), verteilen, Sparsamkeit” (Raven II 1967: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate forms in related Gmc languages belong to class I this verb is probably best regarded as a class II deverbative from the class I weak verb *teilen* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zi-*

***temmen** “dämmen, mit einem Damm umgeben, stauen, hemmen, Gränze setzen, hindern, endigen”. MHG *temmen* (Pfeifer I 1989: 253) “mit einem Damm umgeben, stauen, hemmen, Grenzen setzen, hindern, endigen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *dammen*, *demmen* (Pfeifer I 1989: 253) “dämmen”; OFs. *damma*, *demma* I (Kluge 1989: 127) “dämmen”; OE *for-demman* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 253) “to damn up, block up”; ON *demma* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 253) “to dam”; Gothic *faur-dammjan* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 253) “to fence in, hinder”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **dammijanan* “to damn, damn up”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *tam(m)* (Pfeifer I 1989: 253) “Damm”; MLG, MDu. *dam* (Pfeifer I 1989: 253) “Damm”; OFs. *damm*, *domm* (Kluge 1989: 126) “Damm”; Mid.Engl. *dam*, *dam(m)e* (Pfeifer I 1989: 253) “dam”; ON *damm* (Kluge 1989: 126) “dam”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **dammaz* “dam”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*

temparōn “mäßigen, mischen, verbinden mit, einteilen, wägen, (pass.) sich zurückhalten, (den Samen) in Schlangengift eintauchen, d.h. vergiften, (den Samen) mit Salpeter behandeln, (übtr.)

schmeicheln" (Raven II 1967: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *temperāre* (Schade I 1882: 925) "to temper". Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *zisamene-*

terien "schaden, verletzen, hinderlich oder nachteilig sein, Schaden zufügen, etwas zuleide tun, schuldig" (Raven I 1963: 325). cf. OHG *tarōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *derian* I (Schade II 1882: 926) "to damage, injure, hurt"; OFs. *dera* I (Schade II 1882: 926) "to damage, injure, hurt"; OE *derian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 84) "to damage, injure, hurt", which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **darijan* "to injure, hurt, damage". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tara* (Starck and Wells 1990: 622) "Verletzung"; OE *daru* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 82) "hurt, injury, damage, calamity", which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **darō* "hurt, injury". Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *miti-*

tīligōn "(ver)tilgen, vernichten, abschaffen, entfernen" (Raven II 1967: 155). Also appears in variant form *dilōn*. < OE *dīlegian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 86) "to destroy, blot out; perish". Monastic loan verb particularly with meaning "to blot out". < Latin *delēre* (Kluge 1989: 730) "to destroy". Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

timbarēn "dunkeln, dunkel oder trübe werden, an Helligkeit abnehmen" (Raven II 1967: 263). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *timbar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 626) "dunkel, trübe". Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

titulōn "betiteln, mit einem Titel versehen, bezeichnen" (Raven II 1967: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *titulo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 627) "Aufschrift, Titel". Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

tiuren "teuer machen oder sein, Gott preisen oder loben, verherrlichen" (Raven I 1963: 225). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *dēorran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 84) "to hold dear, glorify, endear", which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **deurjjan* "teuer machen, loben". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tiuri* (Starck and Wells 1990: 627) "teuer, wertvoll, kostbar"; OS *diuri* (Kluge 1989: 727) "teuer"; OFs. *diōre*, *diūre* (Kluge 1989: 727) "teuer"; OE *dēore* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 84) "dear, beloved; precious, costly, valuable; noble excellent"; ON *dýrr* (Kluge 1989: 727) "teuer, kostbar", which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **deurjaz* (Kluge 1989: 727) "teuer". Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

tiurisōn "verherrlichen, verklären" (Raven II 1967: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *tiuren*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

tobēn "toll sein, toben, lärmend herumschwärmen" (Starck and Wells 1990: 627). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *dobōn* II originally class III? (Kluge 1989: 731) "to be insane"; OE *dofian* II originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 86) "to be dotting", which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **dubējan* (Kluge 1989: 731) "toben, verwirrt sein", class III durative deverbative from strong verb **deubanan* (Seebold 1970: 155) "erlahmen" (see under *tobōn*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

tobōn “wüten, toben, rasen, nicht bei Verstand sein, tobsüchtig sein, Wein mit Wasser mischen, wahnsinnig, heillos, abgelebt, der Herumstreicher, der Wütende” (Raven II 1967: 156). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *dobōn* II originally class III? (Kluge 1989: 731) “to be insane”; OE *dofian* II originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 86) “to be doting”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **dubōjan* (Seebold 1970: 155) “toben”, class II zero-grade durative deverbative from strong verb **deubanan* (Seebold 1970: 155) “erlahmen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: ON *dofenn* pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 155) “erlahmt, stumpf, schlaff, halbtot”; OSwed. *duven* pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 155) “schal, schlaff”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

tōden “töten, ums Leben bringen” (Raven I 1963: 226). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-dōdian* I (de Vries 1962: 76) “töten”; OFs. *dēda* I (de Vries 1962: 76) “töten”; OE *dȳdan*, *dȳdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 91) “to kill”; ON *deyða* I (de Vries 1962: 76) “töten”; Gothic *daupjan* I (de Vries 1962: 76) “to kill”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **daudijanan* “to kill, render dead”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tōt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 629) “tot, gestorben”; OS *dōd* (Kluge 1989: 734) “tot”; OFs. *dād* (Kluge 1989: 734) “tot”; OE *dēad* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 82) “dead; torpid, dull; still”; ON *dauðr* (Kluge 1989: 734) “tot”; Runic *weladAde* (de Vries 1962: 74) “tot”; Gothic *daups* (Kluge 1989: 734) “dead”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **daudaz* “tot, gestorben”, preterite participle adjective from strong verb **daujanan* (Seebold 1970: 147) “sterben”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

tōdēn “sterben” (Raven II 1967: 263). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *dēadian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 82) “to die”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **daudējan* “to be dying, to die”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *tōden*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

tobazzen, topazzen “abtrünnig sein” (Raven I 1963: 226). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **tobatjan* intensive deverbative from OHG class II *tobōn* or class III *tobēn* “toben” (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

tockōn “auf-, niedertauchen, fließend sich hin und her bewegen, aneinander schlagen” (Raven II 1967: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **dukkōjan* intensive gemination (Seebold 1970: 157) class II intensive deverbative from strong verb **dūkanan* (Seebold 1970: 156) “tauchen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *tuhhun* pret. sg. (Seebold 1970: 156) “tauchten”; MLG *dūken* st vb (Seebold 1970: 156) “tauchen”; MDu. *duiken* st vb (Seebold 1970: 156) “tauchen”; OFs. *dūka* st vb (Seebold 1970: 156) “untertauchen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

tollōn “(den Pferden den Hals) klopfen, das Pferd tätscheln, streicheln” (Raven II 1967: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology obscure. Compare NHG *tolle* (Grimm dWb XXI 1935: 637) “Schlag, Streich”.

topfōn “betupfen, mit Pünktchen versehen” (Raven II 1967: 157). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *topfo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 629) “Stich, Zeichen, Mal”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

torrazzen “niederschlagen, ver-, vor-, stoßen, anstürmen; das Burgtor durch wiederholte Schläge zerschmettern” (Raven I 1963: 226). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably an intensive deverbative, but a derivational base that is convincing semantically and phonologically cannot be found.

touben “vermindern, schwächen” (Pfeifer III 1989: 1787). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *deyfa* I (Lehmann 1986: 88) “to make blunt”; Gothic *ga-daubjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 88) “to harden”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **daubijanan* “to make deaf, stupify, render senseless > to harden, make blunt, render worthless”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *toub* (Starck and Wells 1990: 630) “taub, gehörlos, stumpf, unempfindlich, unsinnig”; MHG *toub*, *toup* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1787) “taub, gehörlos, leer, wertlos, abgestorben”; MLG *dōf* (Kluge 1989: 723) “taub, gehörlos”; MDu. *doof* (Kluge 1989: 723) “taub, gehörlos”; OFs. *dāf* (Kluge 1989: 723) “taub, gehörlos”; OE *dēaf* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 82) “deaf; empty, barren”; ON *dauf*r (Kluge 1989: 723) “taub”; Gothic *daufs* (Kluge 1989: 723) “deaf”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **daubaz* (Kluge 1989: 723) “taub, gehörlos”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

toubēn “taub werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 630). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-dēafian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 3) “to become deaf”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **daubējan* “to be or become deaf”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *touben*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

toubōn “zähmen, bezwingen” (Pfeifer III 1989: 1787). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate forms in related Gmc languages belong to class I this verb is probably best regarded as a class II deverbative from the class I weak verb *touben* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

toufen “taufen, (reflex.) Christ werden” (Raven I 1963: 226). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *dōpian* I (Kluge 1989: 723) “taufen”; OFs. *dēpa*, *deppa* I (Holthausen 1925: 15) “taufen”; OE *dýpan*, *dēpan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 91) “to dip, baptize”; ON *deypa* I (Kluge 1989: 723) “tauchen”; Gothic *daupjan* I (Kluge 1989: 723) “to baptize”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **daupijanan* Originally “to make deep”. The later meaning “to baptize” in the individual languages is an ecclesiastical loan translation of Greek βαπτίζω (Pfeifer III 1989: 1788) “I (repeatedly) dip in or under water”, and Late Latin *baptizāre* (< Greek) (Pfeifer III 1989: 1788) “taufen, betäufeln”. The verb is ultimately a derivation, with altered ablaut grade, from the nominal base attested in the following: OHG *tiof* (Starck and Wells 1990: 626) “tief, unterst, untergründlich”; OS *diop* (Kluge 1989: 729) “tief”; OFs. *diāp* (Kluge 1989: 729) “tief”; OE *dēop* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 84) “deep, profound; awful, mysterious; heinous; serious, solemn, earnest”; ON *djúpr* (Kluge 1989: 729) “tief”; Gothic *diups* (Kluge 1989: 729) “deep”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **deupaz* (Kluge 1989: 729) “tief”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb (with altered ablaut grade).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

toug attested in OHG only with prefix *gi-* “taugen, geziemend sein” (Seebold 1970: 149). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *dōg* pret. pres. (Seebold 1970: 149) “taugen”; OFs. *dā(e)ch* pret. pres. (Seebold 1970: 149) “taugen”; OE *dēah* pret. pres. (Seebold 1970: 149) “to be suitable”; Gothic *daug* pret. pres. (Seebold 1970: 149) “taugen, frommen”. These allow us to reconstruct a preterite-present verb **daug* (Seebold 1970: 149) “taugt”. This verb can be traced back to an IE *√*dheugh-* (Pokorny I 1956: 271) “berühren (sich gut treffen), drücken, ausdrücken, melken, reichlich spenden”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *duhati*, *dogdhi-* (Pokorny I 1956: 271) “melkt, milcht”; Greek τυγχάνω (Pokorny I 1956: 271) “I hit, hit a mark, hit upon, meet, meet with, suffer”; Greek τεύχω (Pokorny I 1956: 271) “I make ready, build, work”; Ir. *dúan* < **dhughnā-* (Pokorny I 1956: 271) “Gedicht”; Ir. *dúal* < **dhughlo-* (Pokorny I 1956: 271) “passend”; Lith. *daug-* (Pokorny I 1956: 271) “viel”; Lith. *dauginti* (Pokorny I 1956: 271) “mehren”. Therefore a Pre-Gmc primary verb (preterite-present).

tougalen “verbergen” (Raven I 1963: 227). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *dīeglan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 91) “to hide, cover, conceal”; We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **dauglijan* “to hide, conceal”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tougal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 630) “dunkel, verborgen”; OE *dīegol* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 85) “secret, hidden, obscure, unknown, deep”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **dauglaz* “hidden, secret, obscure”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

touganen “besorgen, verwalten, verheimlichen, verbergen” (Raven I 1963: 227). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tougan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 630) “heimlich, dunkel, verborgen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

touwōn “Tau geben, tauen, benetzen” (Raven II 1967: 157). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *dēawian* II (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 198) “to dew, bedew”; ON *doggva* II (de Vries 1962: 92) “tauen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **dauwōjanan* “tauen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tou* (Starck and Wells 1990: 630) “Tau”; OS *milidou* (Kluge 1989: 723) “Mehltau”; OFs. *dāw* (Kluge 1989: 723) “Tau”; OE *dēaw* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 83) “dew”; ON *dogg* (Kluge 1989: 723) “Tau”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **dauwan* (Kluge 1989: 723) “Tau”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

tōwen, touwen “(eines blutigen Todes) sterben, töten, bestrafen” (Raven I 1963: 325). cf. OHG *dawalōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *dōjan* I (Seebold 1970: 148) “sterben”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **daujan* “sterben”, class I deverbative from strong verb **daujanan* (Seebold 1970: 147) “sterben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: ON *deyja* st vb (Seebold 1970: 148) “sterben, versterben”; Gothic *diwan* st vb (Lehmann 1986: 93) “to die”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

trāgōn “träge, verdrossen, langsam werden, launisch oder verdrießlich sein, säumen, tändeln, verzögern, sich benehmen oder betragen, in Verlegenheit geraten” (Raven II 1967: 263). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *trāgōn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

trāgōn “träge oder langsam werden, stumpf sein” (Raven II 1967: 157). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *trāgōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 631) “stumpf sein, untätig sein, verdrossen sein”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **trāg(j)ōjan* “träge sein, verdrossen sein”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *trāgi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 631) “träge, lässig, verdrossen”; OS *trāg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 630) “träge”; OE *trāg* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 348) “evil, mean, bad”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **trāgjaz* “träge, lässig, unwillig”. cf. with ablaut ON *tregr* (Kluge 1989: 734) “unwillig, langsam”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

trahtōn “(+gen.) trachten, streben, betrachten, überlegen, woran denken, erörtern, nachdenken, erwägen, behandeln, über etwas abhandeln, wahrnehmen” (Raven II 1967: 157). The following cognate verbs are attested: cf. OS *gi-trahtōn* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1822) “erwägen”; cf. OFs. *trachtia* II (Kluge 1989: 734) “trachten”; cf. OE *trahtian* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1822) “to treat, comment on, expound, consider; interpret, translate”. < Latin *tractāre* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1822) “behandeln, betreiben, sich mit etwas beschäftigen, bearbeiten, untersuchen, überdenken”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *zuo-*

trānen “tränen, Tränen vergießen” (Raven I 1963: 227). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *trahen* (contracted form = *trān*) (Kluge 1989: 736) “Träne”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

trebanōn “drängen, quälen, plagen” (Raven II 1967: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *triban*, preterite participle of OHG strong verb *triban* (Starck and Wells 1990: 634) “treiben, antreiben, fortreiben”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (from preterite participle).

trehhanēn “unter der Asche glühen oder glimmend (vom Feuer), erlöschen, (von der Glut) nicht zu warm sein” (Raven II 1967: 264). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **trehhanējan* class III deverbative formed with n-extension from strong verb **trekanan* (Seebold 1970: 506) “ziehen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bi-trehhan* st vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 633) “die Glut mit Asche verdecken”; MHG *trechen* st vb (Seebold 1970: 507) “ziehen”; MHG *be-trechen* st vb (Seebold 1970: 507) “bedecken (Feuer)”; MLG *treken* st vb (Seebold 1970: 507) “schaudern (?)”; OFs. *treka* st vb pres only (Seebold 1970: 506) “zücken”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with n-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

treiben “treiben” (Raven I 1963: 227). cf. OHG *tribōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *drāfan* I (Seebold 1970: 163) “to drive, drive out”; ON *dreifa* I (Seebold 1970: 163) “bespritzen”; Gothic *draibjan* I (Seebold 1970: 163) “plagen”, which allows us to reconstruct a **draibejanan* (Seebold 1970: 163) “treiben, vertreiben”, class I deverbative formation from strong verb **dreibanan* (Seebold 1970: 162) “treiben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *triban* st vb (Seebold 1970: 163) “treiben, sich beschäftigen mit”; OS *drīban* st vb (Seebold 1970: 163) “triben, vor sich her treiben, vertreiben”; OFs. *drīva* st vb (Seebold 1970: 163) “treiben, drängen”; OE *drīfan* st vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 88) “to drive, force, hunt, follow up, pursue; drive away, expel; practise, carry on; rush against, impel, drive forwards or backwards; undergo”; ON *drifa* st vb (Seebold 1970: 163) “treiben (Wind, Wetter), treiben lassen, hindrängen (Menschenmasse); bedecken”; Gothic *dreiban* st vb (Seebold 1970: 163) “verbannen”. Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

trenken “tränken, zur Tränke bringen, laben” (Raven I 1963: 227). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *drenkian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1827) “tränken”; OFs. *drentza* I (Seebold 1970: 165) “ertränken”; OE *drencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 88) “to give to drink, to ply with drink, make drunk; soak saturate; submerge, drown”; ON *drekkja* I (Seebold 1970: 165) “tränken, ertränken”; Gothic *dragkjan* I (Seebold 1970: 165) “to give to drink”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **drankejanan* (Seebold 1970: 165) “tränken”, causative of strong verb **drenkanan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 165) “trinken”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *trincan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 165) “trinken”; OS *drinkan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 165) “trinken”; OFs. *drinka* st vb (Seebold 1970: 165) “trinken”; OE *drincan* st vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 88) “to drink; be entertained; swallow up, engulf”; ON *drekkja* st vb (Seebold 1970: 165) “trinken”; Gothic *drigkan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 165) “trinken, sich betrinken”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-, ir-, ubar-*

trennen “auftrennen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 633). No cognate verbs are attested. MDu. *trennen* (Kluge 1989: 737) is probably a loan from High German as there are no cognates in any of the remaining Gmc languages. We can reconstruct an earlier form **trannejan* (Seebold 1970: 507) “auftrennen, auflösen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **trennanan* (Seebold 1970: 507) “entrinnen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *in(t)-trinnan* st vb (Pfeifer III 1989: 1836) “fliehend entkommen, sich flüchten, abtrünnig sein”. Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-, zi-, zi-in-*

trepezzan “im schallenden Trabe galoppierend” (Raven I 1963: 228). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **trapatjan* “to tread nosily, galop”, intensive deverbative from a weak verb attested in: OE *treppan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 349) “to tread”; cf. with ablaut NHG (dial) *trappen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1830) “stampfen, hart treten”; cf. with ablaut MLG, MDu. *trappen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1830) “stampfen, hart treten”; cf. with ablaut Mod.Ice, Swed. (dial.) *trappa* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1830) “stampfen, hart treten”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

tretanōn “(von den Rindern) mit Füßen ausschlagen, (übtr.) störrisch sein, sich sträuben” (Raven II 1967: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tretan*, preterite participle of OHG strong verb *tretan* (Kluge 1989: 739) “treten, zertreten, zerstampfen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (from preterite participle).

tretten “(einen Weg) oft betreten, zertreten, zerquetschen” (Raven I 1963: 229). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *tredden* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1838) “niedertreten, stampfen, nachspüren”; OE *treddan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 348) “to tread on, trample; investigate”; ON *treðja* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1838) “niedertreten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **tradejanan* (Kluge 1989: 739) intensive deverbative formation from strong verb **tredanan* (Kluge 1989: 739) “treten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *tretan* st vb (Kluge 1989: 739) “treten, zertreten, stampfen”; OFs. *treda* st vb (Kluge 1989: 739) “treten”; OE *tredan* st vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 348) “to tread, step on, trample”. The strong verb **tredanan* (Kluge 1989: 739) is a new ablaut formation from the earlier strong verb **trudanan* (Kluge 1989: 739) “treten”, this latter attested in: ON *troða* st vb (Kluge 1989: 739) “treten, beschreiten, stopfen; zertreten”; Gothic *trudan* st vb (Kluge 1989: 739) “to tread (on)”. Therefore a NWGmc intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

trettōn “treten auf, niedertreten” (Raven II 1967: 158). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *treddian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 348) “to tread, step, walk”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **treddōjan* intensive gemination? (Seebold 1970: 506) class II intensive deverbative from strong verb **tredanan* (Kluge 1989: 739) “treten” (see under *tretten*). Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

tribōn “betreiben, sich mit etwas beschäftigen” (Raven II 1967: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **dribōjan* (Seebold 1970: 163) class II zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **dreibanan* (Seebold 1970: 162) “treiben” (see under *treiben*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *folla-*

trinsōn “stöhnen; thrēnus” (Starck and Wells 1990: 635). No cognate verbs are attested. Loan formation from Latin *thrēnus* (Lewis and Short 1966 :1869) “song of mourning, lamentation, dirge, elegy” < Greek θρῆνος (Lewis and Short 1966 :1869) “song of mourning, lamentation, dirge, elegy”. Therefore an OHG loan formation.

trisewōn “Schätze aufhäufen” (Schützeichel 1969: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *trisiwen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

trisiwen “Geld anhäufen” (Raven I 1963: 229). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *triso*, *treso* (Starck and Wells 1990: 633) “Schatz, Schatzkammer”. The ‘w’ in the verbal derivative is possibly by analogy with OHG *triuwen* “to trust”, and the semantic connections of entrusting money etc. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

triuten, trūten “lieb machen, lieblosen; sich einschmeicheln; beschlafen” (Schützeichel 1969: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *trūt* (Schützeichel 1969: 198) “vertraut, lieb”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

triuwen, trūwen “treuen, gedeihen, hervorragen, wachsen” (Raven I 1963: 229). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *triuwian* I (de Vries 1962: 599) “treuen”; OFs. *triūwa* I (de Vries 1962: 599) “treuen”; OE *trēowan, trīewan, trywan, trīwan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 348) “to believe, trust in, hope, be confident, rely (on); trust”; ON *tryggja, tryggva* I (de Vries 1962: 599) “zusichern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **treww(j)ijanan* “to trust, rely on”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gi-triuwi* (Barnhardt 1988: 1172) “treu, getreu, zuverlässig”; OS *triuwi* (Barnhardt 1988: 1172) “treu”; OFs. *triuwe* (Barnhardt 1988: 1172) “treu”; OE *trīewe, trēowe, trūwe, trywe* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 348) “true, honest, faithful, trustworthy; genuine”; ON *tryggr* (Barnhardt 1988: 1172) “treu, vertrauensvoll, sicher”; Gothic *triggws* (Barnhardt 1988: 1172) “trustworthy, faithful”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **treww(j)az* “true, trustworthy, faithful, honest”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

tropfezen “tröpfeln, (herab-) träufeln” (Raven I 1963: 229). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **druppatjan* intensive gemination (Seebold 1970: 170) zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **dreupanan* (Seebold 1970: 169) “tropfen, triefen” (see under *troufen*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

tropfōn “tropfen, (vom Opferblut) ausdrücken, d.h. auslaufen lassen, herabträufeln” (Raven II 1967: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **druppōjan* intensive gemination (Seebold 1970: 170) class II intensive deverbative from strong verb **dreupanan* (Seebold 1970: 169) “tropfen, triefen” (see under *troufen*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

trōren “Regen hinabgießen, regnen” (Raven I 1963: 229). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *dreyra* I (Seebold 1970: 171) “bluten, (eigentlich) fallen lassen”; Gothic *ga-drausjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 95) “to plunge down”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **drauzejanan* (Seebold 1970: 171) “to cause to fall, drop”, causative deverbative from strong verb **dreusanan* (Seebold 1970: 170) “fallen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OS *driosan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 170) “to fall”; OE *drēosan* st vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 88) “to fall, perish”; Norw (dial.) *drjósa* st vb (Lehmann 1986: 95) “to fall”; Gothic *driusan* st vb (Lehmann 1986: 95) “fallen, niederfallen”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

trōsten “(sich) trösten” (Raven I 1963: 229). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *trōstian* I (de Vries 1962: 598) “trösten”; ON *treysta* I (de Vries 1962: 598) “trösten, stärken”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **traustijanan* “to console”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *trōst* (Starck and Wells 1990: 637) “Trost, Hilfe, Hoffnung”; OS *trōst* (Pfeifer III 1989: 742) “Trost”; OFs. *trāst* (Kluge 1989: 742) “Trost”; ON *traust* (Kluge 1989: 742) “Trost, Stärke, Hilfe”; cf. Gothic *trausti* (Kluge 1989: 742) “Vertrag, Bündnis”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **traustan* “Trost”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-, folla-, gi-*

trotōn “keltern, Trauben mit den Füßen zertreten, (übtr.) = martern” (Raven II 1967: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **trudōjan* (Seebold 1970: 506) class II deverbative from strong verb **trudanan* st vb (Kluge 1989: 739) “treten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: ON *troða* st vb (Kluge 1989: 739) “treten, beschreiten, stopfen; zertreten”; Gothic *trudan* st vb (Kluge 1989: 739) “to tread (on)” Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

troufen “träufeln, herabträufeln” (Raven I 1963: 230). cf. OHG *tropfōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *drīpan*, *drȳpan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 90) “to let drop, cause to fall in drops; moisten”; ON *dreyfa* I (Seebold 1970: 169) “tropfen lassen”, which allows us to reconstruct a **draupejanan* (Seebold 1970: 169) “tropfen lassen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **dreupanan* (Seebold 1970: 169) “tropfen, triefen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *triofan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 169) “triefen, träufeln, fließen”; OS *driopan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 169) “triefen, träufeln, fließen”; OFs. *driapa* st vb (Seebold 1970: 169) “triefen, herabhängen”; OE *drēopan* st vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 88) “to drop, drip”; ON *drjúpa* st vb (Seebold 1970: 169) “tropfen”; OSwed. *drýpa* st vb (Seebold 1970: 169) “tropfen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

troumen “träumen” (Raven I 1963: 230). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *drōmian* I (de Vries 1962: 83) “singen, jubeln”; OE *drīeman*, *drȳman*, *drēman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 90) “to sing aloud, rejoice”; ON *dreyfa* I (de Vries 1962: 830) “träumen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **draumijanan* “to dream; be in ecstasy, rejoice, sing”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *troum* (Starck and Wells 1990: 637) “Traum”; OS *drōm* (Kluge 1989: 737) “Traum; Jubel, Freude”; OFs. *drām* (Kluge 1989: 737) “Traum”; OE *drēam* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 87) “joy, gladness, delight, ecstasy, mirth, rejoicing; melody, music, song, singing”; Mid.Engl *dream* (Stratmann and Bradley 1971: 174) “sound, music, dream”; ON *draumr* (Kluge 1989: 737) “Traum”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **draumaz* (Kluge 1989: 737) “dream; ecstasy, delight, mirth, singing, sound”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

trūān, *trūwēn* “(+gen. rei) glauben, trauen, zutrauen, Zuversicht haben, sich getrauen, (trans.) anvertrauen, hoffen, sich verlassen oder vertrauen auf, für möglich halten, vermuten” (Raven II 1967: 264). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *trūōn* II (Kluge 1989: 737) “(ver)trauen”; OE *trūwian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 349) “to trust; inspire with trust; persuade”; ON *trúa* (de Vries 1962: 599) “vertrauen, glauben”; Gothic *trauan* (‘au’ < earlier ‘ūw’?) (Lehmann 1986: 346) “to trust”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **trūwējanan* “to trust”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *trūwa* (Lehmann 1986: 346) “belief, trust”; MLG *trūwe* (Lehmann 1986: 346) “belief, trust”; OE *trūwa* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 349) “fidelity, faith, confidence, trust, belief; pledge, promise, agreement, covenant; protection”; ON *trú* (de Vries 1962: 599) “Treue, Gelöbniß; Glaube, Religion”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **trūwō* (Lehmann 1986: 346) “faith, trust; belief”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-gi-*, *fīr-*, *gi-*, *missi-*

trufteren “trüftern, hin- und herwerfen, Weizen ausklopfen und das Getreide reinigen” (Raven I 1963: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **druftrijan* “triftern, hin- und herbewegen, Korn sieben”, class I interative or frequentative / continuative deverbative formed with r-extension from NWGmc weak verb **druftijanan* “triften, Korn sieben”, seen in: NHG *triften* < **trüften* (Grimm dWb XI (ii): 502) “das Getreide schütteln oder sieben”; Norw *dryfta* (Grimm dWb XI (ii): 502) “worfeln, schwingen”; Swed (dial) *dröfta* (Grimm dWb XI (ii): 502) “Korn sieben”; Dan *drøfte* (Grimm dWb XI (ii): 502) “Getreide schwingen, sieben”. Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with r-extension).

truginōn, *truganōn* “heucheln, abbilden, trügen, verfälschen, Verdacht schöpfen” (Raven II 1967: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *trugina* (Starck and Wells 1990: 638) “Betrug, List”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

trugi-kōsōn “Trug reden” (Raven II 1967: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG **trugi* in *trugilihho* (Seebold 1970: 168) “ränkevoll”, cf. also OS *drugi-thing* (Seebold 1970: 168) “trügerisches Ding”; cf. OHG *kōsōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 342) “sich besprechen, reden, aussagen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

truckanen “trocknen, trocken machen” (Raven I 1963: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *truckan* (Kluge 1989: 741) “trocken”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

trunkanēn “trunken werden oder sein” (Raven II 1967: 264). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *druncnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 89) “to be drunk”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **drunkējan* “to be or become drunk”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *truncan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 638) “betrunken”; OS *druncan* (Onions 1966: 291) “betrunken”; OFs. *drunken* (Onions 1966: 291) “betrunken”; OE *druncen* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 89) “drunken, drunk”; ON *drukkinn* (Onions 1966: 291) “betrunken”; Gothic **drugkans* which can be reconstructed from *drugkanei* (Onions 1966: 291) “drunkenness”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **drunkanaz* preterite participle adjective from strong verb **drenkanan* (Seebold 1970: 165) “trinken”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

truoben “betrüben, (reflex.) betrübt werden, aufregen, trüben” (Raven I 1963: 230). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *drōbian* I (Heyne 1905: 200) “to afflict”; OE *drēfan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1851) “to stir up, excite, disturb, trouble, vex, afflict”; Gothic *drobjan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1851) “trüben, irre machen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **drōbijanan* “betrüben”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *truobi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 639) “trübe, aufgewühlt”; OS *drōbi* (Kluge 1989: 742) “confused, cloudy”; OFs. *drēve* (Kluge 1989: 742) “trübe”; OE *drōf* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 88) “dirty, muddy, swampy, turbid, troubled, confused, gloomy”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **drōbaz*, **drōbjaz* (Kluge 1989: 742) “trübe”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *duruh-*, *gi-*

truobēn “sich betrüben, betrübt werden, (trübe) oder düster gestimmt werden” (Raven II 1967: 264). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *truoben*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

trūrēn “traurig oder betrübt sein, den Blick (schicklich) niederschlagen” (Raven II 1967: 264). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **drūzējan* “den Kopf sinken lassen, die Augen niederschlagen (als Bezeichnung einer Trauergebärde?)”. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. It may be considered a durative deverbative from the strong verb **dreusanan* (Seebold 1970: 170) “fallen” (see under *trōren*), but this has obvious drawbacks semantically. Alternatively, it may derive (having undergone a development of meaning) from the ablaut zero-grade of the IE $\sqrt{*dhreus-}$, **dhrēs* (Pokorny I 1956: 274) “herabfallen, herabtröpfeln, zerbrechen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *trōr* (Seebold 1970: 171) “Blut, tropfende Flüssigkeit”; OHG *trōren* (Seebold 1970: 171) “regnen”; OS *driosan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 170) “fallen, hinfallen”; OE *drūsian* II (Pokorny I 1956: 275) “to droop, become sluggish, stagnant, turbid”; OE *drēosan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 170) “to fall, perish; become weak, frail”; OE *drēor* (Seebold 1970: 170) “blood”; OE *dēawdrīas* (Seebold 1970: 170) “full of dew”; Norw. (dial.) *drysia* (Pokorny I 1956: 274) “herabrieseln”; Gothic *driusan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 170) “fallen, niederfallen”. There is no evidence here, however, to allow for this verb to belong to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

tugōn “verändern, Abwechslung in etwas bringen, verschieden auslegen” (Raven II 1967: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are unclear. It may possibly ultimately derive from the ablaut zero-grade of IE **dhuēk-*, **dhuk*, **dhūk*, **dheuk-* (Pokorny I 1959: 265), k-extension to IE *√*dheu-*, **dheuā-* (Pokorny I 1959: 261) “stieben, wirbeln, besonders von Staub, Rauch, Dampf; wehen, blasen, Hauch, Atem; dampfen, ausdünsten, riechen, stinken; stürmen, in heftiger, wallender Bewegung sein, auch seelisch; in heftige, wirbelnde Bewegung versetzen, schütteln”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *tougan* k-extension (Pokorny I 1959: 265) “dunkel, verborgen, geheimnisvoll, wunderbar”; OE *dæg* k-extension (Pokorny I 1959: 265) “Farbe; fucus”; Lith. *dvekti*, *dvekioti* k-extension (Pokorny I 1959: 265) “atmen, keuchen”; OHG *toum* (Pokorny I 1959: 261) “Dampf, Dunst, Duft”; Skt *dhūma-* (Pokorny I 1959: 2651) “Rauch, Dampf”; ON *dýja* (Pokorny I 1959: 263) “schütteln”; Greek *θύω* (Pokorny I 1959: 262) “ich stürme einher, brause, tobe, rauche”. The semantic divergence of this verb and its confinement to OHG do not allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb. The verb cannot therefore be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

tuhhalen “jemandem etwas antun, einwirken” (Raven I 1963: 231). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

tulden “feiern” (Raven I 1963: 231). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *dulþjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 97) “to celebrate”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **dulþijanan* “to celebrate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tult*, *dult* (Lehmann 1986: 97) “festival, fair”; Gothic *dulþs* (Lehmann 1986: 97) “festival”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **dulþiz* fem. “festival, fair, celebration”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*

tumbēn “unverständlich sein oder werden” (Raven II 1967: 265). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *dumben* (Starck and Wells 1990: 641) “sich albern benehmen”; OE *ā-dumbian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 4) “to become dumb, keep silence”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **dumbējan* “to be or become dumb”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *tumbōn*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

tumbezzen “unsinnig oder töricht sein” (Raven I 1963: 232). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **tumbatjan* intensive deverbative from OHG class II *tumbōn* or class III *tumbēn* (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

tumbōn “sich albern benehmen, unsinnig handeln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 641). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *dumben* (Starck and Wells 1990: 641) “sich albern benehmen”; OE *ā-dumbian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 4) “to become dumb, keep silence”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **dumbōjan* “to be or become dumb”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tumb* (Starck and Wells 1990: 641) “dumm, einfältig, stumpf”; OS *dumb* (Kluge 1989: 159); OFs. *dumb* (Kluge 1989: 159) “dumm”; OE *dumb* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 90) “dumb, silent”; ON *dumbr* (Kluge 1989: 159) “stumm, dumm”; Gothic *dumbs* (Kluge 1989: 159) “dumb”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **dumbaz* (Kluge 1989: 159) “stumm, unerfahren, töricht”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

tummen “klopfen, schlagen, zucken” (Raven I 1963: 232). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably onomatopoeic for a dull, heavy sound or thud. Compare Modern English “thump”. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bī-*

tūmilōn “sich drehen, taumeln, umtosen, (vom Feuer) aufbrausen, wirbeln” (Raven II 1967: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. Frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension) from OHG class II weak verb *tūmōn* (Raven II 1967: 159) “taumeln”. Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

tūmōn “taumeln, umherziehen, teilnehmen, sich wild oder ungestüm herumdrehen, sich wild im Kreise bewegen” (Raven II 1967: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably an ‘m-extension’, deriving ultimately from the IE $\sqrt{*dheu-}$, **dheu-* (Pokorny I 1959: 261) “stieben, wirbeln, besonders von Staub, Rauch, Dampf; wehen, blasen, Hauch, Atem; dampfen, ausdünsten, riechen, stinken; stürmen, in heftiger, wallender Bewegung sein, auch seelisch; in heftige, wirbelnde Bewegung versetzen, schütteln”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *toum* (Pokorny I 1959: 261) “Dampf, Dunst, Duft”; Skt *dhūma-* (Pokorny I 1959: 2651) “Rauch, Dampf”; ON *dyja* (Pokorny I 1959: 263) “schütteln”; Greek *θύω* (Pokorny I 1959: 262) “ich stürme einher, brause, tobe, rauche”; Skt *dhūnoti* (Pokorny I 1959: 262) “schüttelt, bewegt hin und her, facht an”; Arm. *de-dev-im* (Pokorny I 1959: 262) “schwanke, schaukle”. The confinement of this verb to OHG, together with the divergent use of extensions in the IE forms given above, does not allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb. The verb cannot therefore be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. The ‘m-extension’ found in this verb may be due to influence from the nominal form preserved in OHG *toum*, or the verb itself may be a denominative verb from a nominal source with \bar{u} -vocalism similar to that attested in Skt *dhūma-*. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

tungen “Düngung” (Starck and Wells 1990: 641). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-dyngan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 91) “to dung”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **dungijan* “to dung, spread manure”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tunga* (Barnhardt 1988: 306) “Düngung”; OS *dung* (Barnhardt 1988: 306) “Dung”; OFs. *dung* (Barnhardt 1988: 306) “Dung”; Mod.Ice. *dyngja* (Barnhardt 1988: 306) “manure, dung”; Swed. *dynga* (Barnhardt 1988: 306) “dung, manure”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **dungaz*, **dungjaz* “dung, manure, muck”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

tunihhōn “betünchen, mit kalk bestreichen, (Mauerwerk) wiederherstellen, überziehen, bekleiden” (Raven II 1967: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tunihha* (Starck and Wells 1990: 641) “Tünche, Gewand”. <Latin *tunica* (Kluge 1989: 745) “Gewand”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

tuncalen “dunkel oder trübe machen, verdunkeln, verschmachten lassen, die Sehkraft verlieren” (Raven I 1963: 232). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tuncal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 641) “dunkel, verborgen, unverständlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fīr-*

tuncalēn “dunkeln, dunkel oder trübe werden” (Raven II 1967: 266). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *tuncalen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

**tuohhen* “Tuch weben, das Tuch verfertigen”. MHG *tüchen* (Lexer II 1876: 15720 “Tuch weben, das Tuch verfertigen”. No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tuoh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 642) “Tuch, Hülle, Lappen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

tuomen “urteilen, richten, vor Gericht stellen, rühmen, ehren” (Raven I 1963: 233). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *dōmian* I (de Vries 1962: 92) “urteilen, richten, vor

Gericht stellen”; OFs. *dēma* I (de Vries 1962: 92) “urteilen, richten, vor Gericht stellen”; OE *dēman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 84) “to judge, determine, decide, decree, sentence, condemn; assign; deem, consider, think, estimate; praise, glorify”; ON *dæma* I (de Vries 1962: 92) “urteilen, richten”; Gothic *domjan* I (de Vries 1962: 92) “to judge, distinguish, justify”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **dōmijanan* “to judge, consider”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tuom* (Starck and Wells 1990: 642) “Urteil, Gericht”; OS *dōm* (Lehmann 1986: 93) “Urteil, Gericht”; OFs. *dōm* (Lehmann 1986: 93) “Urteil, Gericht”; OE *dōm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 86) “doom, judgement, ordeal, sentence; decree, law, custom; justice; opinion, advice; choice, authority, power, praise”; ON *dómr* (Lehmann 1986: 93) “Urteil, Gericht”; Gothic *doms* (Lehmann 1986: 93) “discernment, distinction”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **dōmaz* “judgment, discernment”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

tupfen “benetzen, betupfen” (Raven I 1963: 233). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *dyppan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 91) “to dip, immerse; baptize”; Mod.Swed *doppa* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1861) “eintauchen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **duppan* intensive gemination (Seebold 1970: 156) zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **dūbanan* (Seebold 1970: 155) “tauchen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: MLG *be-duven* st vb (Seebold 1970: 155) “bedeckt sein (meist vom wasser)”; OE *dūfan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 155) “to duck, dive”; ON *dūfa* st vb (Seebold 1970: 155) “(ins Wasser) drücken”. Therefore a NWGmc intensive deverbative.

turnalōn “zerstören, vernichten, fallen, untergehen” (Raven II 1967: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

turnen “lenken, steuern, wenden” (Raven I 1963: 233). No cognate verbs are attested. Loan verb < Latin *tornāre* (Kluge 1989: 745) “to turn, revolve”. OE *tyrnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 358) “to turn, move round, revolve”, is probably best seen as an independant borrowing from Latin. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

turren “niederschlagen, anstürmen” (Raven I 1963: 233). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **durjan* “to attack, show courage, dare, defeat”, class I zero-grade deverbative from preterite-present verb **dars* (Seebold 1970: 147) “wagt”. This verb is attested in the following: OHG *-tar*, *-turrin*, *-torran*, *-torsta* pret. pres. (Seebold 1970: 147) “wagen, sich herausnehmen”; OS *dar*, *dorsta* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 147) “wagen”; OFs. *dur* pret. pres. (Seebold 1970: 147) “wagen”; OE *dear*, *durron*, *dorste* pret. pres. (Seebold 1970: 147) “to dare, venture, presume”; Gothic *-dars*, *-daursun*, *-daursta* pret. pres. (Seebold 1970: 147) “wagen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

turrōn, *gi-turrōt* “mit Türmen versehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 645). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *turra* (Starck and Wells 1990: 645) “Turm”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

tūzzēn “schaukeln, schüttelnd bewegen, stillen, beschwichtigen” (Raven I 1963: 233). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **tūz* “still, verstockt”, can be reconstructed from: MHG *tūz* (Lexer II 1876: 1592) “stille, verstockt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

twalisōn “zögern” (Raven II 1967: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Class II deverbative (formed with s-extension) from OHG class II weak verb *twalōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with s-extension).

twalōn “sich aufhalten, sich verzögern, zögern, verweilen, säumen, verziehen, träge sein” (Raven II 1967: 160). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *dwalōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 646) “zögern, säumen, verweilen”; OFs. *dwalia* II (Seebold 1970: 172) “irren”; OE *dwalian* II (Seebold 1970: 172) “to go astray; lead astray, deceive”; ON *dvala* II (Seebold 1970: 172) “verzögern, aufschieben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **dwalōjanan* class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from strong verb **dwelanan* (Seebold 1970: 172) “verharren” (see under *twellen*). Therefore a NWGmc frequentative / continuative deverbative. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*

twarōn “sich durcheinander bewegen, durcheinander wogen, in unruhiger Bewegung sein, regellos herumwirbeln” (Raven II 1967: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE **dheuer-*, (**dhuer-*, **dheur-*) (Pokorny I 1959: 266) “wirbeln, stürmen, eilen; Wirbel = Schwindel, Torheit”. This is an r-extension from IE *√*dheu-*, **dheu-* (Pokorny I 1959: 261) “stieben, wirbeln, besonders von Staub, Rauch, Dampf; wehen, blasen, Hauch, Atem; dampfen, ausdünsten, riechen, stinken; stürmen, in heftiger, wallender Bewegung sein, auch seelisch; in heftige, wirbelnde Bewegung versetzen, schütteln”, from which base the following may also be derived: Lith *padūrmai* r-extension (Pokorny I 1959: 267) “mit Ungestüm, stürmisch”; Skt *dhorati* r-extension (Pokorny I 1959: 266) “trabt”; Skt *dhura-* r-extension (Pokorny I 1959: 266) “gewaltsam”; OHG *toum* (Pokorny I 1959: 261) “Dampf, Dunst, Duft”; Skt *dhūma-* (Pokorny I 1959: 2651) “Rauch, Dampf”; ON *dyja* (Pokorny I 1959: 263) “schütteln”; Greek *θύω* (Pokorny I 1959: 262) “ich stürme einher, brause, tobe, rauche”. Despite attested forms of this verb being confined to OHG, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

twellen “(ver)zögern, träge oder säumig sein” (Raven I 1963: 233). cf. OHG *twalōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-dwelian* I (Seebold 1970: 172) “(ver)zögern”; OELF *dwellan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 646) “zurückhalten, verweilen, säumen”; OFs. *dwelia* I (Seebold 1970: 172) “irren, verweilen”; OE *dwellan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 91) “to lead astray, hinder, prevent, deceive; to be lead astray, wander, err”; ON *dvelja* I (Seebold 1970: 172) “verzögern, sich aufhalten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **dwalejanan* class I deverbative from strong verb **dwelanan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 172) “verharren”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *twelan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 172) “sich säumig sein, einschlafen”; OS *far-dwolan* pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 172). OE *ge-dwolen* pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 172) “beirrt, verirrt”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*

U

ubar-bolōn “hervor-, überragen” (Raven II 1967: 21). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-burren, ubar-burien “zur Schau stellen, prunkend zeigen, sich einer Sache überlegen erweisen, d.h. triumphieren über, übergehen, unterlassen, nachtragen” (Raven 1963: 287). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-dennen “überspannen” (Raven I 1963: 289). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-dingen “harren, hoffen” (Raven I 1963: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-fangalōn “die Pflicht überschreiten, unrecht handeln” (Raven II 1967: 37). We can therefore reconstruct an **uberi-fang(a)lōjan* (Seebold 1970: 186) class II deverbative from strong verb **fanhanan* (Seebold 1970: 185) “fangen” (see under *fangōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with l-extension and prefix *ubar-*).

ubar-fangōn “ab-, ausschweifen? überschreiten?” (Raven II 1967: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-ferren “über das Meer setzen oder hinüberfahren, überschiffen” (Raven I 1963: 293). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-fuoren “hinüberführen, überführen” (Raven I 1963: 50). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ofer-fēran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 255) “to traverse, cross, pass along, over, by or through; come upon, meet with”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ubar-ginuhtsamōn “hervorragend, sich auszeichnen” (Raven II 1967: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-gi-sezzan “versetzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 520). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-gulden “vergolden” (Raven I 1963: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *guld, gold* (Starck and Wells 1990: 243) “Gold”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *uber-*).

ubar-guzōn “in Überfluß zuströmen” (Raven II 1967: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. As the simplex was probably originally class II (see under *guzan*), this verb is probably best regarded as a straightforward OHG prefix formation.

ubar-habēn “größere Teile offen lassen, d.h. größere Lücken in der Herausgabe einer Schrift lassen” (Raven II 1967: 222). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-hengen “hinüberschreiten, hinübergelien, etwas überschreiten” (Raven I 1963: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-huggen “verachten, übermütig sein” (Raven I 1963: 307). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ofer-hycgean* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 257) “to despise”; Gothic *ufar-hugjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 192) “to be elated”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ubar-ilen “vorübereilen; stillstehen, zurückbleiben” (Raven I 1963: 80). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ovir-ilian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 299) “vorübereilen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ubar-kēren “drehen, wenden, winden, lenken” (Raven I 1963: 90). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-koborōn “mit jemandem rechten, übertreffen, überwinden” (Raven II 1967: 78). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-lebēn “noch am Leben sein, noch leben, überleben” (Raven II 1967: 235). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ofer-libban* III (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 257) “to survive”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ubar-leggen “rügen, vorwerfen” (Raven I 1963: 312). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ofer-lecgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 257) “to place over, overburden, surfeit”; Gothic *ufar-lagjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 373) “to lay upon”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ubar-leiten “überleiten, hinüberführen” (Raven I 1963: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ofer-lædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 257) “to oppress; translate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ubar-(h)linēn “hervorragend, sich auszeichnen, gedeihen, glänzen” (Raven II 1967: 237). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-maganōn “schwer liegen, drückend sein, überhandnehmen, herrschen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 398). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-mahhōn “ausreichen, überziehen” (Raven II 1967: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-meginōn “schwer liegen, drückend sein, überhandnehmen, herrschen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 398). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubarmuotigōn “stolz oder übermütig werden” (Raven II 1967: 160). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ofermōd(i)gian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 257) “to be proud, arrogant”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ubarmōðag(j)ōjan* “to be or become proud or arrogant”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ubarmuotīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 649) “hochfahrend, dunkelhaft, hochmütig”; OS *ovarmōdig* (Starck and Wells 1990: 649) “hochfahrend, dunkelhaft, hochmütig”; OE *ofermōdig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 257) “proud, arrogant”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ubarmōðagaz*, **ubarmōðagjaz* “proud, arrogant”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

ubarmuotisōn “übermütig sein, sich überheben” (Raven II 1967: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *ubarmuotōn*). Therefore an OHG deadjectival / denominative verb (formed with s-extension).

ubarmuotōn “stolz werden” (Raven II 1967: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ubarmuot* subst (Starck and Wells 1990: 649) “Überheblichkeit, Hochmut”; OHG *ubarmuoti* adj (Starck and Wells 1990: 649) “hochmütig, stolz, hochfahrend”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival / denominative verb.

ubar-nahtēn “schlafen gehen (mit dem Pfand)” (Raven II 1967: 245). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-reihhen “übertragen, übertreffen” (Raven I 1963: 149). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-rucken “überschreiten” (Raven I 1963: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-sāen “übersäen” (Raven I 1963: 167). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-sagen “überführen” (Raven I 1963: 319). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-sagēn “einen einer Unwahrheit oder eines Unrechtes überführen” (Raven II 1967: 252). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-salbōn “übersalben” (Raven II 1967: 125). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-sezzēn “hinüber-, darübersetzen” (Raven I 1963: 176). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ofer-settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 176) “to set over, overcome”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ubar-sigirōn “(be)siegen” (Raven II 1967: 129). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-silabaren “mit Silber überziehen, übersilbert” (Raven I 1963: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-scorrēn “übertagen” (Raven II 1967: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-scricken “überströmen, sich ereifern, herumtanzen, hervorquellen” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-sprangōn “(vor Freude) aufspringen” (Raven II 1967: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-stecken “durchstechen, -bohren” (Raven I 1963: 202). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-stepfen “überspringen, übertreffen, überschreiten, überwallen” (Raven I 1963: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-suohhen “übersuchen, zu viel suchen” (Raven I 1963: 217). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ofer-sēcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 258) “to overtax”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ubar-teilen “urteilen, verurteilen, Recht sprechen über” (Raven I 1963: 224). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-trenken “(die Erde) tränken; betrunken machen” (Raven I 1963: 228). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ofer-drencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 255) “to make drunk; give copiously to drink”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ubartruncanōn “betrunken sein” (Raven II 1967: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ubartruncan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 635) “betrunken, trunken, berauscht” preterite participle of OHG *ubar-trincan* st vb III (Starck and Wells 1990: 635) “sich betrinken”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

ubar-undōn “überströmen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 656). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-wartēn “überschauen” (Raven II 1967: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-wenten “überwinden” (Raven I 1963: 258). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

*ubar-werēn*¹ “(+acc. rei) überdauern” (Raven II 1967: 272). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-zetten “hervor-, überragen” (Raven 1963: 333). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubar-zimbarōn “darüber bauen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 763). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ubbōn, uppōn “vereiteln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 650). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ubbi, uppi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 650) “Nichtiges; inane”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ūf-beiten “fortschreiten” (Raven I 1963: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-burren, ūf-burien “aufhelfen, (von Sachen) überragen, feststellen, aufrichten, hinblicken = die Augen aufrichten” (Raven 1963: 288). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūfen, ūffen “hervorbringen, emporheben, erhöhen, hinauftun, erkennen, erproben” (Raven I 1963: 234). cf. OHG *ūfōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 651) “aufhäufen”; The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *yppan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 431) “to bring out, open, manifest, disclose, display, reveal, betray, come forth, be disclosed”; ON *yppa* I (de Vries 1962: 679) “aufheben, öffnen; erheben, loben”; < NWGmc **uppijanan* “to reveal, make open”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ūf* adv. (Starck and Wells 1990: 651) “oben, obenauf”; OS *upp* adv (Holthausen 1967: 81) “auf, hinauf”; OFs. *up, op* adv (de Vries 1962: 635) “auf”; OE *ūp, upp* adv (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 388) “up, up stream, up country (inland); upwards”; ON *upp* adv (de Vries 1962: 635) “auf”; < NWGmc **up(p)a* adv “auf” (beside Gothic *iup* < **eupa* (Kluge 1989: 47) “auf”). Therefore a NWGmc deadverbial formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ūf-folgēn “(+dat. pers.) hinauffolgen, bzw. begleiten” (Raven II 1967: 215). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-fuoren “erhöhen” (Raven I 1963: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-gi-kēren “(heben) wechseln, auf dem Rücken liegend” (Raven I 1963: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-gi-rihten “zusammenstellen, zurechtlegen” (Raven I 1963: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-gi-stepfen “aufwärts gehen” (Raven I 1963: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-gneisten “funkeln, flackern, Funken sprühen” (Raven I 1963: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-haben “auf-, empor-, festhalten” (Raven I 1963: 303). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-habēn “tragen, d.h. da die Kammern im Oberen Teil des Gebäudes die Galerien trugen, waren sie kleiner (oder kürzer) als die der unteren und mittleren Stockwerke” (Raven II 1967: 223). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-hōhen “aufheben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 281). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūfinōn “durch deutliche Auslegung verkünden” (Raven II 1967: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ūf* adv. (Starck and Wells 1990: 651) “oben, obenauf”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial formation (formed with n-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ūf-ir-burren, ūf-ir-burien “auf-, erheben, in die Höhe heben” (Raven 1963: 287). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-ir-(h)leinen “steil, überaus schwierig, schwer zu unternehmen, zu bewältigen, zu ertragen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 367). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-ir-recken “rege machen, erregen, wachrufen” (Raven I 1963: 151). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-ir-rihten “aufrichten, in die Höhe richten, auferrichten” (Raven I 1963: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-ir-scricken “aufspringen” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-ir-wānen “sich bekümmern, entmutigen, verzweifeln, sich einstellen von Verachtung, selbstgefällig” (Raven I 1963: 250). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-kapfēn “hinaufschauen, in die Höhe sehen, den Kopf zurückwerfen, mit dem Kopfe (aus dem Wasser) emporragen und herumgucken” (Raven II 1967: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-kēren “nach oben kehren” (Raven I 1963: 90). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-ladōn “zurufen” (Raven II 1967: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-leggen “auflegen” (Raven I 1963: 312). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-leiten “errichten, emporführen, hoch bauen” (Raven I 1963: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-ōn “an-, aufhäufen” (Raven II 1967: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *ūfen* I (Raven I 1963: 234). OE *ypþian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 389) “to rise up, swell”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **uppōjan* “to reveal, make open”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *ūfen*). Therefore a WGmc deadverbial formation.

ūf-recken “(von Kriegsfahnen) prunkend zeigen, (nach einem Ziel) hinrichten, hinwenden” (Raven I 1963: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-rihten “aufrichten, emporrecken, aufstehen, füllen, herauskommen” (Raven I 1963: 157). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furi-*

ūf-rucken “sich nach oben bewegen” (Raven I 1963: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-sezzēn “aufsetzen” (Raven I 1963: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-scorrēn “hervortreten” (Raven II 1967: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-scorzōn “aufschürzen” (Raven II 1967: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **scurz* “Schurz, Schürze”, can be reconstructed from: MHG *schurz* (Kluge 1989: 656) “Schurz, Schürze”; OE *scyrte* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 299) “skirt”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *ūf-*).

ūf-scouwōn “sich aufrichten” (Raven II 1967: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-scricken “aufstehen, aufspringen, sich schnell aufraffen” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-slagōn “aufschieben, verzögern, Zeit gewinnen” (Raven II 1967: 138). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ūf-stifulen “stärken, laben, ein heftiges Verlangen befriedigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 595). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-wārezzen “erwägen (?)” (Raven I 1963: 250). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-wenten “in die Höhe wenden, aufreißen” (Raven I 1963: 258). No cognate verbs are attested. OS *upp-wendian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 710) “aufrichten, aufwärts wenden”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ūf-wimmen, *ūf-wiumen* “aufwallen, sich aufwärts oder in die Höhe bewegen” (Raven I 1963: 267). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-zillen “sich nach oben richten” (Raven I 1963: 278). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-zimbarōn “(gute Werke) stiften” (Raven II 1967: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūf-zucken “aufzücken” (Raven I 1963: 281). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

uhhezzen “trauernd” (Starck and Wells 1990: 652). No cognate verbs attested. Etymology obscure. The verb is probably best regarded as a derivative from an interjection (OHG unattested) **uh*, **oh*, formed with the intensive suffix *-atjan*.

umbi-bi-gurten “umgürten” (Raven I 1963: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-bi-habēn “umgeben” (Raven II 1967: 222). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-bi-halsen “umhalsen” (Raven I 1963: 64). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-bi-heggen “umzäunen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-bi-rēren “(mit Pfeilen) anfallen oder angreifen” (Raven I 1963: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-bi-sellen “umgeben” (Raven I 1963: 320). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(umbi-)bi-wenten “verändern” (Raven I 1963: 257). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-bi-zūnen “umzäunen, versperren, vermauern” (Raven I 1963: 281). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-bougen “umbeugen” (Raven I 1963: 11). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE **ymb-bīegan* I, attested in verbal noun *ymb-bīgnes* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 429) “bending round, bend, circuit, sweep (of a river)”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

umbi-breiten “(unten) sich ergießen oder verbreiten” (Raven I 1963: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-bringen “herumtragen, herumreichen, verbreiten” (Raven I 1963: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-decken “rings herum bedecken” (Raven I 1963: 25). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-denken “wieder an etwas denken, überlegen” (Raven I 1963: 27). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ymb-bencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 431) “to think about, consider, ponder”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

umbi-drangōn “umdrängen, dicht umringen” (Raven II 1967: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-festinōn “ummauern, verschanzen, befestigen” (Raven II 1967: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-fizusōn “betrügen” (Raven II 1967: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-fuoren “herumtragen, verbreiten” (Raven I 1963: 50). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ymb-fēan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 429) “to go about, journey round”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-gangarōn “umherstreifen, herumschleichen” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-grummōn “zernagen, übr.¹ geringschätzen, verleumden” (Raven II 1967: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. Probably a prefix formation from an earlier unattested simplex, which may in turn derive from the zero grade of IE $\sqrt{*ghrem-}$ (Lehmann 1986: 159) “to resound loudly, be angry”, from which base the following may also be derived: Avestan *granta-* preterite participle (Lehmann 1986: 159) “angered”; Greek *χρόμος* (Lehmann 1986: 159) “noise, neighing”; OCS *gromu*, *-grbmeti* (Lehmann 1986: 159) “thunder”; OPruss. *grumins* (Lehmann 1986: 159) “thunder”; Lith. *gramėti* (Lehmann 1986: 159) “to fall with a crash”; Lith. *grumėti* (Lehmann 1986: 159) “to thunder dully, threaten”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-gurten “umgürten” (Raven I 1963: 63). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ymb-gyrden* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 430) “to gird about (of clothing), to put a girdle round; to surround, encircle, encompass, enclose”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

umbi-haben “umringen, umgeben, umstellen, umstellt halten” (Raven I 1963: 304). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-habēn “umgeben, umringen, umstellen, umstellt halten” (Raven II 1967: 223). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-halbōn “umgeben, umringen, umzingeln” (Raven II 1967: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *halba* adj (Starck and Wells 1990: 249) “halb”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *umbi-*).

umbi-halsen “umhalsen” (Raven I 1963: 64). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-hellen “umhüllen” (Raven I 1963: 304). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-hullen “umwerfen, sich umhüllen, bekleiden” (Raven I 1963: 77). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-huohōn “verspotten” (Raven II 1967: 70). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-kēren “wenden, drehen, kehren, lenken, (sich) wälzen, (sich) umdrehen, rollen, umwenden, (im Kreise) herumführen, -drehen, hin und her drehen” (Raven I 1963: 90). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-leggen “erquicken, umlegen” (Raven I 1963: 312). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-leiten “herumführen, umherführen” (Raven I 1963: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ymb-lædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 430) “to lead round”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

umbi-luogēn “schauen, umsehen” (Raven II 1967: 241). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OE *ymb-lōcian* II mit Verschärfung oder Variation des Auslauts (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 430) “to look round”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-(h)lūstaren “von allen Seiten oder hell erleuchten, erhellen, hell kalorieren, (übtr.) genau besichtigen oder betrachten” (Raven I 1963: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-marcōn “(Einfachheit durch keine Grenzen) einschließen” (Raven II 1967: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-(h)ringen¹ “umringen, umherstehen, umgeben, herumführen, umhergehen, umzäunen” (Raven I 1963: 157). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-sellen “umschwirren” (Raven I 1963: 320). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-sezzan “umsetzen, jagen” (Raven I 1963: 176). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ymb-settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 430) “to set round, surround, beset, encompass”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

umbi-sitōn “bedrängen, überlisten, umringen” (Raven II 1967: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-scouwōn “umherschauen” (Raven II 1967: 136). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ymb-scēawian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 430) “to look round or around”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

umbi-soufen “untergehen, versinken, verschlungen werden” (Raven I 1963: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-stecken “(mit Lilien) umgeben” (Raven I 1963: 202). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-stellen “umstellen, (mit Knechten zur Seite) umgeben” (Raven I 1963: 202). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-warōn “umfassen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 698). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-welzen “unter etwas hineintun (die Schlange in den Busen)” (Raven I 1963: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-(h)werben “rings herumtragen, -drehen oder -fahren, (sich) umdrehen” (Raven I 1963: 259). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

umbi-zerben “sich umdrehen” (Raven I 1963: 277). The following cognate verbs are attested: Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

unbliden “sich betrüben, traurig sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 655). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unblīdi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 655) “traurig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

unblīdēn “traurig sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 655). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *unbliden*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

undalōn “wanken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 655). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *unden*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with l-extension).

unden “wogen, Wellen schlagen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 656). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ūhian* I (Holthausen 1967: 82) “fluten, rauschen”; OE *ȝðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 432) “to fluctuate, flow, surge; roar, rage”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unþ(j)ijan* “to fluctuate, flow, surge”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unda* (Starck and Wells 1990: 655) “Welle, Woge, Flut”; OS *ūhia* (Holthausen 1967: 82) “Woge, Welle”; OE *ȝð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 432) “wave, billow, flood; sea, liquid, water”; ON *unnr*, *uðr* (de Vries 1962: 635) “Welle”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **unþ(j)ō* “wave, billow, flood”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

***undi-scahhōn, undi-scahhōnti** “auf den Wellen schweifend; fluctivagus” (Starck and Wells 1990: 656). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *unda* (Starck and Wells 1990: 655) “Welle, Woge, Flut”. The OHG verb **scahhōn* II, attested only in this compound, can be regarded as a class II deverbative from the strong verb **skakanan* (Seebold 1970: 404) “schütteln”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OS *skōk* preterite sg. only (Seebold 1970: 404) “weggehen”; OFs. *skeka* present only (Seebold 1970: 404) “fortlaufen”; OE *sceacan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 291) “to shake, move quickly to and fro, brandish; go, glide, hasten, flee, depart; pass from, proceed”; ON *skaka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 404) “schütteln”. The whole compound is certainly a loan translation. This opens up the possibility that **scahhōn* itself never existed as an independent verb, rather the (itself unattested) OHG strong verb may have been given a class II ending here, by analogy with the general tendency for OHG to make the second element of verbal compounds class II. OHG **undiscahhōn* occurs only as an adjectival present participle and is used to gloss the Latin *fluctivagus* (Lewis and Short 1966: 761) “driven about by the waves”, compound of *fluctus* subst. (Lewis and Short 1966: 762) “flowing, waving; flow, flood, wave, billow, surge” and *vagus* (Lewis and Short 1966: 1952) “strolling about, rambling, roving, roaming, wandering, unfixed, unsettled, vagrant”, this in turn from the deponent verb *vāri* (Lewis and Short 1966: 1952) “to stroll about, go to and fro, ramble, wander, roam, range, rove”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (occurring only in present participle form).

undōn, undeōn “wogen, Wellen schlagen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 656). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ȝōdian, ȝōgian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 432) “to fluctuate, flow, surge”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unþ(j)ōjan* “to fluctuate, flow, surge”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under **unden**). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **ubar-**

undulten “hitzig sein, leidenschaftlich sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 656). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *undult* (Starck and Wells 1990: 656) “Ungedult”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

unēren “herunterreißen, entehren” (Starck and Wells 1990: 657). No cognate verbs attested. As cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong with the class II verb *unēron*, this verb is best regarded as a class I deverbative formation from the class II weak verb.

Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **gi-**

unēron “die Ehre schmähen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 657). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-unērian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 370) “to dishonour”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unaizōjan* “to dishonour”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unēra* (Starck and Wells 1990: 657) “Sittenverletzung, Unehre, Unverschämtheit”; OHG *unēri* (Starck and Wells 1990: 657) “Unverschämtheit”; OE *unā* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 370) “dishonour”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unaizō* “dishonour”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **gi-**

unfesten “gefährden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 657). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unfesti* (Starck and Wells 1990: 657) “schwach, unbefestigt, beweglich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

unfrewen, unfrouwen “traurig sein, trauern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 658). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unfrō* (Starck and Wells 1990: 658) “traurig, schwermütig, unerfreulich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **gi-**

unfruotēn “gefühllos werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 658). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unfruot* (Starck and Wells 1990: 658) “gefühllos, unsinnig, unverständlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

ungifrēhtīgōn “verunreinigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 660). No cognate verbs are attested. Probably derived from an unattested OHG adjective **ungifrēhtīg* “unrein”. Compare the morphologically less complex OHG *ungifrēht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 660) “unrein”, from which **ungifrēhtīg* is probably derived.

Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

ungihirmigōn “sich übermütig benehmen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 660). No cognate verbs are attested. Probably derived from an unattested OHG adjective **ungihirmig* “übermütig, rastlos, unaufhörllich”. Compare MHG *ungehirm* subst (Lexer II 1876: 1836) “Ungestüm, Rohheit, Gewalt, Unheil”. Compare also Old East Low Franconian *ungehirmelic* (Starck and Wells 1990: 660) “unaufhörlich”; MHG *ungehirme* adj (Lexer II 1876: 1836) “rastlos, nicht ablassend von”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

ungilīhōn “sich unterscheiden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 661). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ungelīcian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 377) “to dislike”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ungaleikōjan* “to be different or dissimilar, to have a difference of opinion, dislike”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ungilīh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 661) “ungleich, unähnlich, ungleichartig”; OS *ungilīko* (Holthausen 1967: 80) “unähnlich”; OE *ungelīc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 377) “unlike, different, dissimilar, diverse”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ungaleikaz* “unlike, different, dissimilar, diverse”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

ungimagēn “entkräftet sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 661). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear in its details, but probably ultimately from OHG *unmag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 668) “nicht vermögend, machtlos”. The *gi-* is probably thus best regarded as intrusive, on analogy with the large number of adjectival formations constructed with *un-gi-* attached to an adjectival preterite participle. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

ungizumften “in Widerspruch stehen, in Zwiespalt leben, nicht übereinstimmen” (Raven I 1963: 241). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ungizumft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 665) “Mißhelligkeit, Uneinigkeit, Zwietracht, Streit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

unheilēn “toll sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 665). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *unhālian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 380) “to pine away”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unhailējan* “to be ill, mentally ill or mad; to be weak, pine away”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unheil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 665) “seelenkrank, wahnsinnig, krank”; OE *unhāl* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 380) “sick, ill, weak”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unhailaz* “sick, ill, weak, mentally ill, mad”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

unkūsen “verunreinigen, schänden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 667). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unkūsc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 667) “unverschämt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

unliumunthaftōn “zum Vorwurf machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 668). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unliumunthaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 668) “schmachvoll”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

unliumuntōn “berüchtigt machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 668). No cognate verbs are attested. OHG *unliumunt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 668) “böser Leumund, Verleumdung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

unmagēn “ermatten, entkräftet werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 668). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unmag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 668) “nicht vermögend, machtlos”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

unmahten “in Ohnmacht oder Schwachheit versinken” (Raven I 1963: 242). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-unmihtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 382) “to deprive of strength”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unmahtijan* “to deprive of strength”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unmaht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 668) “Schwäche, Machtlosigkeit, Unvermögen”; OE *unmiht*, *unmeaht*, *unmieht* (Clark Hall and Meritt

1969: 382) “weakness”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unmahtiz* fem. “weakness, powerlessness”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

unreinen, unhreinen “unrein machen, verunreinigen, entweißen, schänden, beflecken, besudeln” (Raven I 1963: 242). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unhreini, unreini* (Starck and Wells 1990: 670) “unrein, unkeusch, ungeheilig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

unrihten “ein Unrecht begehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 671). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **unreht* “Unrecht”, can be reconstructed from: MHG *unrecht* (Lexer II 1876: 1925) “Unrecht”; OE *unriht* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 383) “wrong, sin, vice, wickedness, evil, injustice, oppression; wrong act”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

unstillēn “übermütig werden, sich unangemessen benehmen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 673). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-unstillian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 385) “to disturb, disquiet, agitate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unstelliġjan* “to be restless, disturb”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unstilli* (Starck and Wells 1990: 673) “unruhig, schwankend, mutwillig”; OE *unstille* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 385) “moving, changeable, restless, unquiet, uneasy”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unstelliġaz* “unquiet, restless, uneasy, disturbing”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

unsūbaren “unsauber sein oder machen, verunreinigen, beschmutzen, entstellen, verunstalten, vernichten, wüst liegen, sündigen oder in Verworfenheit übel handeln” (Raven I 1963: 242). As cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong with the class II verb *unsūbarōn*, this verb is best regarded as a class I deverbative formation from the class II weak verb.

Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

unsūbarōn “unsauber machen, schmutzig sein, entstellen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 673). cf. OHG *sūbarōn* I (Raven I 1963: 242). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *unsūvrōn* II (Holthausen 1967: 81) “verunreinigen, beflecken”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unsūbrōjan* “to make unclean”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unsūbar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 673); OE *unsyfre* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 385) “impure, unclean, filthy”; cf. OS *unsūvarnussi* (Holthausen 1967: 81) “Unsauberkeit”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unsūbraz* “unclean, dirty”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

untar-ambahten “bewirken” (Raven I 1963: 2). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-auhhōn “knechten, unterjochen” (Raven II 1967: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-bringen “subinferre (nur stark belegt)” (Raven I 1963: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-brortōn “durchsticken, durchziehen” (Raven II 1967: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-dempfen “mit ekelhaftem Rauch umhüllen (= blenden)” (Raven I 1963: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-dionōn “unterwerfen” (Raven II 1967: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-diuten “unterjochen, -werfen” (Raven I 1963: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-doubōn “bezwingen, sich überheben?” (Raven II 1967: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-falzen “entrinden, schnitzeln, meißeln, mitten herausreißen, unnötige Äste abschneiden” (Raven I 1963: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-fellen “zerstören, unterwühlen, untergraben, niederreißen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 39). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-fālōn “arbeiten, ausgestalten, ringsum glatt polieren oder glätten” (Raven II 1967: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-folgēn “nachfolgen, (mit der Rede) fortfahren” (Raven II 1967: 215). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *under-fylgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 373) “to follow, follow after, succeed”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

untar-gripfen, untar-kripfen “(heimlich) wegnehmen, -entziehen, -entwenden” (Raven I 1963: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-habēn “aufrecht halten, (unter-)stützen” (Raven II 1967: 223). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-hahsenen “die Fußsehne durchschneiden” (Raven I 1963: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-heggen “einzäunen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-hūfōn “hinzufragen, hinaufbringen, erhöhen” (Raven II 1967: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-jouhhen “unterjochen, unterwerfen, knechten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 317). No cognate verbs are attested. Compare, however, ON *undir-oka* II (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1872: 653) “to yoke under, subjugate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *joh, juh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 316) “Joch”. “Joch”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *untar-*).

untar-kirnen “neu herrichten, abgetragene Kleider auffrischen, künstlich oder betrügerisch ausstaffieren, (ver)fälschen, einschieben, durch Einschieben verballhornen” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-knupfen “unten anknüpfen oder anbinden, unterbinden” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-leggen “unterlegen, unterwerfen, stärken, beugen unter” (Raven I 1963: 312). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *under-lecgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 373) “to underlay, prop, support”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

untar-(h)linēn “niedersinken, unterliegen” (Raven II 1967: 238). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-mahhōn “anschließen” (Raven II 1967: 98). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-marcōn “ab-, begrenzen, darstellen, schildern” (Raven II 1967: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

untar-miskēn “untermischen, hineintun, einfügen, einschieben” (Raven I 1963: 130). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-rahhōn “dazwischen sprechen” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-sagen “(be)sprechen, vortragen, besingen” (Raven I 1963: 319). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-senten “untersenden, unterbrechen, senken, sinken lassen” (Raven I 1963: 1700). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-sezzēn “untersetzen, absteigen, sich unterscheiden” (Raven I 1963: 176). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *under-settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 373) “to place beneath, set under”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

untarskeitōn “unterscheiden, sich unterscheiden, abgrenzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 676). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *untarskeit* (Starck and Wells 1990: 675) “Unterschied, Unterscheidung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

untar-skidōn “trennen, unterscheiden” (Raven II 1967: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

untar-skipfen “sperren, verzäunen, (übtr.) abschließen”; No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

untar-sleihhen “erübrigt [sein]” (Raven I 1963: 190). No cognate verbs are attested. (see under *in-sleihhen*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with prefix *untar-*).

untar-stiuren “auf einem Kissen von Hyazinthen ruhen (= sich stützen lassen)” (Raven I 1963: 206). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-strecken “unterbreiten, darbieten” (Raven I 1963: 209). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-stuzzēn “(von unten) stützen, unterstützen” (Raven I 1963: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-suohhen “versuchen, prüfen” (Raven I 1963: 217). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *undar-sokian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 610) “prüfen”; OE *under-sēcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 378) “to examine, investigate, scrutinize”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

untar-swīgēn “eine Zwischenpause machen, eine Zeitlang aufhören, unterbrechen” (Raven II 1967: 262). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-teilen “unterscheiden, voneinander teilen, aufschieben, spalten” (Raven I 1963: 224). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-zellen “anraten, zureden” (Raven I 1963: 276). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-zimbarōn “unterbauen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 763). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

untar-zūnen “absperren, verzäunen” (Raven I 1963: 281). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

unwāllīhen “vernichten, entstellen, häßlich machen” (Raven I 1963: 243). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unwāllīh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 677) “häßlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

unwerdēn “unwürdig werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 677). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *unweorðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 3870 “to slight, treat with contempt, dishonour; become worthless, vile, dishonour oneself”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unwerþējan* “to become worthless”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unwerd* (Starck and Wells 1990: 677) “unwürdig, wertlos, verächtlich”; OE *unweorð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 387) “unworthy, dishonourable, unimportant, humble”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **unwerþaz* “unworthy, worthless”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

unwillōn “sich erbrechen wollen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 678). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unwillo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 678) “Ekel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

unwirden “geringschätzen, verachten, verachtet machen, widerstreben, verwerfen, spotten” (Raven I 1963: 243). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unwerd* (Starck and Wells 1990: 677) “unwürdig, wertlos, verächtlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

uobarōn “prüfen, üben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 679). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **ōbarōjan* class II frequentative, continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension) from NWGmc class I weak verb **ōbjanan* “üben, arbeiten, zustande bringen” (see under OHG *uoben*). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

uoben “(aus)üben, hegen, pflegen, gebrauchen, verehren, bearbeiten, verrichten, zu Ansehen bringen, behandeln, umgehen mit, sich beschäftigen, einreiben” (Raven I 1963: 244). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ōbian* I (Kluge 1989: 747) “einen Festtag begehen”; ON *æfa* I (Jóhannesson 1959: 86) “üben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **ōbjanan* “üben, arbeiten, zustande bringen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can, however, ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*op}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 780) “arbeiten, zustande bringen; Ertrag der Arbeit, Reichtum”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *apas-* (Pokorny I 1959: 780) “Werk”; Avestan *hv-apah-* (Pokorny I 1959: 780) “gutes Werk”; Greek *ὄμηνη* (Pokorny I 1959: 780) “Nahrung, Brotfrucht”; Latin *opus, operis* (Pokorny I 1959: 780) “Arbeit, Beschäftigung, Handlung, Werk”; Hittite *happinakh-* (Pokorny I 1959: 780) “reich machen”; OE *efnan, æfnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 5) “to carry out, do, perform, fulfil;

cause, endure, suffer”; ON *øfr* (Pokorny I 1959: 780) “gewaltig, heftig”; ON *efna* II (Pokorny I 1959: 780) “ausführen”; ON *efna* I (Pokorny I 1959: 780) “wirken, tun”; OHG *uoba* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1866) “Feier” (this noun is probably postverbal as there are no cognate forms outside OHG); OHG *uobo* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1866) “Landbebauer” (this noun is probably postverbal as there are no cognate forms outside OHG). As the substantive is better attested for the pre-Gmc, IE period, this verb is possibly an extended ablaut-grade denominative verb (which would allow us to reconstruct a form **ōbijanan*), formed in the pre-Gmc period from an IE substantive **opos* (Pokorny I 1959: 780) “Werk”. The verb can accordingly be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

uozurnen “verachten” (Raven I 1963: 244). No cognate verbs attested. Etymology uncertain. Probably best regarded as a denominative formation from an unattested OHG **uozorn* “Verachtung”, as the rare OHG prefix *uo-* (cognate with OS *ō-* (Holthausen 1967: 56) and OE *ō-* (Holthausen AEW 1934: 239)) appears only together with adjectives and sunstatives (with the sole exception of this verb). Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

urdanken “erfinden, Unwahres erdichten oder ersinnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 681). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *urdanc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 681) “Erdichtung, Mutmaßung, List”. Therefore OHG denominative verb.

urgouwisōn “Ekel empfinden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 681). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably formed with s-extension from an unattested OHG nominal source **urgouwi* “ekelig”. Compare OHG *urgawida* (Schützeichel 1969: 217) “Widerwille”, which is probably derived from this or a similar unattested source. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

urheizzen “herausfordern” (Raven I 1963: 245). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *urhētian* I (Holthausen 1967: 81) “herausfordern”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **urhaitijan* “herausfordern”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *urheiz* (Schade II 1882: 1061) “Aufforderung, Herausforderung; aufrührerische Rede, Aufruhr”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **urhaitaz* “Aufforderung, Herausforderung”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

urkunden “bezeugen, bekunden, beweisen, zum Zeugen nehmen, anrufen” (Raven I 1963: 245). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *urkunda* (Starck and Wells 1990: 682) “Bezeugung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

urkundōn “bezeugen, bekunden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 682). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under **urkunden**. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

urkusten “verderben, umbringen” (Raven I 1963: 246). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *urkust* (Starck and Wells 1990: 682) “List, Ränke”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

urlouben “erlauben” (Raven I 1963: 246). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *urloub* (Starck and Wells 1990: 682) “Erlaubnis”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

urlusten “verleiden, ekeln, verdrießen” (Raven I 1963: 246). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *urlust* (Starck and Wells 1990: 682) “Unlust, Widerwille, Ausschweifung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

urlustisōn “ekeln, verdrießen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 682). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *urlusten*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with s-extension).

ūrōn “aufseuchen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 683). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

ursagēn “Entschuldigungsgründe anführen, Ausrede machen, sich rechtfertigen” (Raven II 1967: 252). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ursaga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 683) “Ausrede, Aussage”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ursinnēn “unsinnig sein, aberwitzig sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 683). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ursinni* (Starck and Wells 1990: 683) “wahnsinnig, unsinnig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

urteilen “entscheiden, beurteilen, Richter” (Raven I 1963: 224). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *urteil* (Kluge 1989: 753) “Urteil”; This verb is best regarded as denominative as OHG *ur-* represents the stressed form used in nominal constructions of OHG verbal prefix *ir-*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ustinōn “verrichten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 685). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology obscure. Possibly formed with n-extension from an unattested nominal source with the meaning “Fleiß”. Compare OHG *ustar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 685) “begierig”; OHG *ustarī*, *ustrī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 685) “Fleiß, Regsamkeit”.

ūzarōn “durchbohren” (Starck and Wells 1990: 686). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Possibly derives from OHG *ūzaro* (Starck and Wells 1990: 686) “äußer”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

ūz-beiten “aus-, fortschreiten” (Raven I 1963: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: (*dara-*)

ūz-brengen “wegtragen, verleiten” (Raven I 1963: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-bringen “wegtragen, vertreiben, herausführen, emporführen” (Raven I 1963: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-buosumen “ausbuchten” (Raven I 1963: 21). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ūt-bōsmian* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1508). Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ūz-buosumōn “ausbuchten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūzen “ausschließen, überliefern, vermindern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 687). cf. OHG *ūzōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 687). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ȳtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 432) “to drive out, banish; squander, dissipate”; ON *ýta* I (de Vries 1962: 680) “aussetzen, ausstoßen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **ūijanan* “to drive out, expel, banish”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ūz* adv (Starck and Wells 1990: 685) “heraus”; OS *ūt* adv (Holthausen 1967: 82) “heraus, hinaus”; OFs. *ūt* adv (Kluge 1989: 49) “heraus”; OE *ūt* adv (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 389) “out; without,

outside”; ON *út* adv (de Vries 1962: 636) “hinaus”; Gothic *ut* adv (Lehmann 1986: 49) “aus”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **ūt* adv “out, outwards”. Therefore a NWGmc deadverbial formation.

ūz-feimen “schäumen, Schaum machen” (Raven I 1963: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-feimōn “schäumen” (Raven II 1967: 40). cf. OHG *feimen* I “schäumen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

ūz-fieren “sich seitlings hinausbegeben, verstohlen hinausgehen” (Raven I 1963: 40). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-fir-dewen, *ūz-fir-douwen* “ausgraben” (Raven I 1963: 291). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-flōzzēn “seihen, abschwitzen, veredeln, ausläutern” (Raven I 1963: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-frummen “aussenden” (Raven I 1963: 298). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-fuoren “ausführen” (Raven I 1963: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-gi-dennen “ausrotten, zugrunde richten” (Raven I 1963: 289). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-gi-halōn “ausrufen, erwecken” (Raven II 1967: 61). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-gi-hangēn “zurückgekrümmt” (Raven II 1967: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-gi-leiten “hinausführen, hervorstürzen, Tränen fließen” (Raven I 1963: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-gi-scricken “aufspringen, hervorspringen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 549). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-gi-zucken “(Schiffe) ans Land ziehen” (Raven I 1963: 281). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

*ūz-holōn*¹ “aushöhlen” (Raven II 1967: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-ir-drewen, *ūz-ir-drouwen* “aufdrängen, gebieten” (Raven I 1963: 292). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-ir-kwicken “jemanden aus seiner ruhigen Lage oder Stellung heraus-, hervor-, fortbewegen, lebende Wesen im allgemein auf-, forttreiben, aufrufen, reizen” (Raven I 1963: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-ir-rodōn “ausrotten, reuten” (Raven II 1967: 123). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-ir-roufen “zerstreuen, (ein Volk) vertreiben, abreißen” (Raven I 1963: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-ir-wegen “aus den Angeln heben” (Raven I 1963: 329). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-ir-welzen “herausreißen, aus-, herausbrechen” (Raven I 1963: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-ir-wurzalōn “völlig ausrotten, vertilgen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 752). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-ir-wurzōn “vertilgen, ausrotten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 752). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-kēren “sich hinaus begeben” (Raven I 1963: 90). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-leiten “herausführen, Tränen fließen lassen” (Raven I 1963: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ūt-lædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 390) “to lead out, bring out”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ūz-lenken “entschnallen, die Gürtenschnalle lösen, den Gürtel abziehen” (Raven I 1963: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG (*h*)*lanc* “Hüfte, Gelenk” (Kluge 1989: 438). Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *ūz-*).

ūz-lösen “auslösen, herausreißen” (Raven I 1963: 117). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-lougezzen “ausspeien, aussprühen, von sich geben, ausgießen, sich erbrechen” (Raven I 1963: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-luogēn “hervorragend, hervorstehen (wie kreisförmige Traghenkel)” (Raven II 1967: 241). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-ōn “ausschließen, überliefern, vermindern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 687). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ūtian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 390) “to put out, expel; alienate (property)”; OFs. *ūtia* II (de Vries 1962: 680) “ausschließen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ūtōjan* “to put out, drive out, expel, banish”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *ūzen*). Therefore a WGmc deadverbial formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ūz-rascōn “sich ausräuspern” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-recken “ausführen, lösen, erleidigen, freimachen, darlegen, ausfindig machen” (Raven I 1963: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-rennen “herausfließen, hervorgehen, entstehen, zutage oder unter die Leute kommen” (Raven I 1963: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-roffezzen “Worte sprudeln lassen” (Raven I 1963: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-roufen “ausreißen, ausraufen, vertreiben” (Raven I 1963: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-(h)rūzzōn “sumsen oder summen (von Bienen)” (Raven II 1967: 124). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-senten “aussenden, fortwerfen” (Raven I 1963: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-scorrēn “abreißen, abschüssig, schroff, steil” (Raven II 1967: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-scricken “hervorspringen” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-scurgen “vorschieben” (Raven I 1963: 188). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-scurpfen “ausweiden, zerfleischen” (Raven I 1963: 188). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-scutzen “verscheuchen, vertreiben, ausschütten” (Raven I 1963: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-smelzen, *ūz-smelzit-* “in Wasser oder in einer Brühe gesotten” pret. part. (Raven I 1963: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-snūden “ausblasen, ausatmen” (Raven I 1963: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-snūzen “(aus)schneuzen” (Raven I 1963: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-sprangōn “entstehen?, entspringen” (Raven II 1967: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-sprengen “hervorsprudeln lassen, aussenden” (Raven I 1963: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-stenken “duften, (Blumenduft) einhauchen” (Raven I 1963: 202). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-stepfen “herabspringen” (Raven I 1963: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-stouben “zerstreuen, aufscheuchen, vertreiben” (Raven I 1963: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-strewen “ausstreuen” (Raven I 1963: 324). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-swizzen “ausschwitzten” (Raven I 1963: 221). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-wartēn “(durch die Zinnen) ausschauen” (Raven II 1967: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-wāzen “hervorsprudeln, herausblasen, herausstürmen” (Raven I 1963: 251). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

ūz-welzen “vom Grunde aus zerstören, herausreißen” (Raven I 1963: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-wāsen “herausrufen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 738). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-wisken “weggehen” (Raven I 1963: 267). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-wurzalōn “vertilgen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 751). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-wurzōn “vertilgen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 752). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ūz-zessōn “emporbrausen, (von ¹Wasserwellen) aufwallen” (Raven II 1967: 195). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

W

wadalōn “umherschweifen, wandern, wandeln, unruhig sein, sich heftig bewegen, wallen, brausen, (vom Gerücht) sich verbreiten, am Wege begehrend (= bettelnd)” (Raven II 1967: 169). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is most likely a dental extension from IE $\sqrt{*aw(e)-}$, $*awē(i)-$, $*wē-$ (Pokorny I 1959: 81) “wehen, blasen, hauchen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *wadal* (Pokorny I 1959: 81) “Wedel, Schweif, Mondwechsel, Fächer”; OHG *wallōn* (Pokorny I 1959: 81) “wandern, umherziehen, wallfahrten”; OCS *vetrŭ* (Pokorny I 1959: 81) “Luft, Wind”; Lith. *vetra* (Pokorny I 1959: 81) “Sturm, Unwetter”; Greek ἀήτης (Pokorny I 1959: 81) “Weher”; Skt *vātaḥ* (Pokorny I 1959: 81) “Wind”. These data are insufficient to allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

wāen “wehen, windig sein” (Raven I 1963: 246). The following cognate verbs are attested: OSwed. *via* wk vb (Seebold 1970: 539) “wehen”; MLG *wei(g)en* wk vb (Pfeifer III 1989: 1947) “wehen”; MDu. *waeyen* wk vb (Pfeifer III 1989: 1947) “wehen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc $*wējanan$ class I weak deverbative from the reduplicating strong verb $*wējanan$ (Seebold 1970: 539) “wehen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OFs. *waia* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 539) “wehen”; OE *wāwan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 398) “to blow (of wind)”; Gothic *waian* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 539) “to blow”. Therefore a NWGmc weak deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *duruh-*, *fīr-*, *zi-*

wāfanen “waffnen, rüsten, mit Angriffs- und Schutzwaffen versehen, bewaffnet” (Raven I 1963: 247). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *wēpenen* (de Vries 1962: 671) “bewaffnen”; ON *vāpna* I (de Vries 1962: 671) “bewaffnen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc $*wēpnijanan$ “to arm, 'equip with weapons”; cf. OE *wāpnian* II, originally class I? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 394) “to arm”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wāfan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 688) “Waffe, Schwert”; OS *wāpan* (Kluge 1989: 772) “Waffe”; OFs. *wēpen*, *wāpen* (Kluge 1989: 772) “Waffe”; OE *wāpen* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 394) “weapon, sword; pl. arms; membrum virile”; ON *vāpn* (Kluge 1989: 772) “Waffe”; Gothic *wepna* pl. (Kluge 1989: 772) “weapons”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc $*wēpnan$ (Kluge 1989: 772) “weapon”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

wagōn “wanken, sich wiegen, hin und her schwanken, schwingen, sich hin und her bewegen, in Bewegung sein, sich neigen, wogen, brausen, zittern oder zucken, drohen” (Raven II 1967: 170). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wagian* I, probably originally class II due to lack of umlaut (Seebold 1970: 543) “bewegen”; OE *wagian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 396) “to move, shake, swing, totter”; ON *vaga* II (Pokorny I 1959: 1120) “hin und her bewegen, schaukeln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc $*wagōjanan$ “hin und her bewegen, schaukeln”, class II o-grade frequentative / continuative deverbative from strong verb $*weganan$ (Seebold 1970: 542) “bewegen” (see under *wegen*). Therefore a NWGmc frequentative / continuative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*, *nidar-*

wahharōn, wakarōn “sich wach halten, (reflex.) wach sein, wachen über” (Raven II 1967: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wahhar*, *wakar* (Seebold 1970: 535) “wach, munter”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

wahhēn “wach sein oder bleiben, überwachen, (vom Löwen) die Augen im Schlafe offen halten, Wache halten, munter oder lebendig sein, auf der Hut sein” (Raven II 1967: 268). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wakōn* II (Seebold 1970: 535) “wach sein, erwachen”; OFs. *wakia* II (Seebold 1970: 535) “wach sein, erwachen”; OE *wacian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 391) “to be awake or active, keep awake, watch”; ON *vaka* (Seebold 1970: 535) “wach sein, erwachen; sich bewegen, zeigen”; Gothic *wakan* III (Seebold 1970: 535) “to wake, be awake”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wakējanan* (Seebold 1970: 535) “wachen, wach sein”, class III durative deverbative (with loss of nasal infix) from strong verb **waknanan* (Seebold 1970: 535) “erwachen” (see under *wecken*). Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *furi-*, *ir-*

wahhsen “mit Wachs bedecken, wichen, wächsen” (Raven I 1963: 247). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wachsian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 690) “mit Wachs überziehen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wahsijan* “to wax, cover with wax”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wahs* (Kluge 1989: 771) “Wachs”; OS *wahs* (Kluge 1989: 771) “Wachs”; OFs. *wax* (Kluge 1989: 771) “Wachs”; OE *weax* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 400) “wax”; ON *vax* (Kluge 1989: 771) “Wachs”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wahsan* (Kluge 1989: 771) “wax”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wahtēn “tätig sein, Dienst oder Arbeit verrichten, besorgen, Wacht halten” (Raven II 1967: 268). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wahta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 691) “das Wachen, Wache”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

(h)walbōn “drehen, drehbar sein” (Raven II 1967: 170). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *hvalfa* II (Seebold 1970: 281) “umwenden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hwalbōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 281) “wölben”, class II deverbative formation from strong verb **hwelbanan* (Seebold 1970: 281) “(sich) wölben” (see under **(h)welben*). Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zisamene-gi-*

walgōn, walagōn “wandeln, (von Sterbenden) sich am Boden wälzen, erwägen, planen” (Raven II 1967: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. This verb probably derives (with voicing of final guttural) from a strong verb **walkanan* “hin und her bewegen”, which is attested in the following: OE *wealcan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1959: 1144) “rollen, sich hin und her bewegen, preisen, ausdrücken, kneten”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

wallōn “wallen, wallfahrten, wandern, pilgern, im Exil leben, gehen, umherstreifen, von Ort zu Ort ziehen, hin und her ziehen, wandeln, (von Sternen =) Wandelsterne, (von Tieren =) beweglich, als besitzloser Wanderer die Lebensbahn betreten, das Fließen, mit *nider* und *ūf* bezeichnet die Stufenfolge der Töne in der Musik” (Raven II 1967: 171). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *walla* (Seebold 1970: 538) “wallen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wallōjan* (Seebold 1970: 538) “wallen”, class II deverbative from strong verb **wallanan* (Seebold 1970: 538) “wallen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *wallan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 538) “aufbrausen, aufwallen”; OS *wallan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 538) “wallen, hervorströmen”; OFs. *walla* st. vb present only (Seebold 1970: 538) “wallen, sieden”; OE *weallan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 399) “to be agitated, rage, toss, well, bubble, seethe, foam, be hot, boil; swarm; flow; rise (of a river)”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *ir-*, *widar-*

waltinōn “walten, die Oberaufsicht haben, vorstehen” (Raven II 1967: 171). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **waltinōjan* class II deverbative (formed with n-extension) from strong verb **waldanan* (Seebold 1970: 536) “walten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *waltan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 536) “walten, herrschen über, beschützen”; OS *waldan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 536) “herrschen über”; OFs. *walda* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 536) “walten, regieren, sorgen für”; OE *wealdian* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 398) “to rule, control, determine, direct, command, govern, possess; wield (a weapon), exercise”; ON *valda* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 536) “herrschen, gebieten, verschulden”; Gothic *waldan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 536) “herrschen über, walten”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with n-extension).

waltisōn “herrschen, Gewalt haben, mächtig, berühmt, reichlich versehen sein, regieren” (Raven II 1967: 171). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **waltisōjan* class II deverbative (formed with s-extension) from strong verb **waldanan* (Seebold 1970: 536) “walten” (see under *waltinōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with s-extension).

walzōn “sich (im Kot, am Boden, wie ein Rasender) wälzen, Tränen vergießen, d.h. an den Wangen herunterrollen, (vom Schiff: schlingern, stampfen, gieren) d.h. heftig hin und her bewegen” (Raven II 1967: 171). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **waltōjan* (Seebold 1970: 554) class II deverbative from strong verb **weltanan* (Seebold 1970: 554) “wälzen” (see under *welzen*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

wamezzen, wimezzen “wimmeln, hervorquellen (von Worten), wimmern, quäken, schreien, (übtr.) tönen” (Raven I 1963: 247). cf. OHG *wamizzōn* II “hervorquellen, weinen”. No cognate verbs are attested. Probably an intensive deverbative from a weak verb attested in the following: OHG *wemōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 709) “wogen”; OS *wemmian* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 694) “hervorsprudeln”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

wanaheilen “krank oder gebrechlich machen, schwächen, lähmen” (Raven I 1963: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wanaheil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 694) “schwächlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

wanawizzen “sich betören oder verblenden” (Raven I 1963: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wanawizzi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 694) “unsinnig, töricht”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

wānen “denken, erwarten, glauben, hoffen, meinen, vermuten, wāhnen, [verderben, vermindern]” (Raven I 1963: 247). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wānian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 694) “abschätzen, meinen, vermuten”; OFs. *wēna* I (de Vries 1962: 671) “abschätzen, meinen”; OE *wēnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 402) “to ween, fancy, imagine, believe, think; expect, hope; fear (for), despair (of); esteem; wonder”; ON *vāna* I (de Vries 1962: 671) “hoffen, wāhnen, versprechen”; Gothic *wenjan* I (de Vries 1962: 671) “to hope for”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wēnijanan* “to hope, expect; think, imagine”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wān* (Starck and Wells 1990: 694) “Mutmaßung, Hoffnung, Erwartung, Vermutung”; OS *wān* (Kluge 1989: 773) “Hoffnung, Erwartung”; OFs. *wēn* (Kluge 1989: 773) “opinion”; OE *wēn* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 402) “belief, hope, fancy, opinion, expectation, supposition; probability; estimation”; ON *vān* (Kluge 1989: 773) “Erwartung, Hoffnung; Tierfalle”; Gothic *wens* (Kluge 1989: 773) “hope”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wēnō* (Kluge 1989: 773) “Hoffnung, Erwartung”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bī-*, *fīr-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*, *ūf-ir-*

wancolōn “wanken, in Verirrung sein” (Raven II 1967: 172). No cognate verbs are attested. Class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from OHG weak verb *wancōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

wancōn “ausweichen, (aus)schweifen, entgehen, hinken, schwanken, wackeln, wanken, zweifeln, das Augenzwinkern” (Raven II 1967: 172). cf. OHG *wenken* I. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wankōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 695) “schwanken, wanken”; ON *vakka* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1938) “umhertreiben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wankōjanan* “schwanken, wanken”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*weng-}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 1148) “gebogen sein”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *wincan* st. vb, but probably originally weak (Pokorny I 1959: 1148) “winken, schwanken”; Lith. *vengiu, vengti* (Pokorny I 1959: 1148) “meiden, vermeiden; ausbiegen”; Albanian *vank, vangu* (Pokorny I 1959: 1148) “Felge”; Skt *vangati* (Pokorny I 1959: 1148) “geht, hinkt”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, gi-, widar-*

wannōn “zittern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 695). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *hina-, ir-*

wanōn “sich vermindern, schwinden, verderben, ab-, wegnehmen” (Raven II 1967: 173). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wanōn* II (Onions 1966: 991). OFs. *wonia* II (Onions 1966: 991). OE *wanian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 397) “to diminish, lessen, curtail, injure, impair, take from; infringe, annul; dwindle, decline, fade, decay; wane (moon)”; ON *vana* II (de Vries 1962: 643) “verringern; zerstören”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wanōjanan* “to diminish, wane, become wanting”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 694) “mangelnd, fehlend”; OS *wan* (Lehmann 1986: 394) “mangelnd, fehlend”; OFs. *wan* (Lehmann 1986: 394) “mangelnd, fehlend”; OE *wan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 396) “wanting, deficient, lacking, lacking, absent”; ON *vanr* (de Vries 1962: 644) “ermangelnd”; Gothic *wans* (Lehmann 1986: 394) “lacking, deficient”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wanaz* “lacking, wanting, deficient”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

wantalōn “sich ändern, sich bewegen, ausbeuten, handeln, hantieren, sich beschäftigen, betreiben, verfahren, sich etwas zu Ende reden, Gespräch führen, borgen, vergehen (von der Zeit), befreien, vergüten, hinderlich sein, widerstreben, rückgängig machen, verschlechtern, (ver)wandeln, wechseln, umgestalten, umgekehrt” (Raven II 1967: 173). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wandlōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 696) “verändern, zurückrufen, handeln”; OE *wandlung* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 397) “changeableness”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wand(a)lōjan* “to change”, class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from WGmc class II weak verb **wandōjan* (see under *wantōn*). Therefore a WGmc frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, fir-, gi-, ir-*

**wantarōn* “wandern”. MHG *wandern* (Kluge 1989: 776) “wandern”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *wandria* II (Kluge 1989: 776). OE *wandrian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 397) “to wander, roam, fly round, hover; change; stray, err”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wand(a)rōjan* “to wander”, class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from WGmc class II weak verb **wandōjan* (see under *wantōn*). Therefore a WGmc frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with r-extension).

wantōn “abwechseln, sich wandeln, verwandeln, wenden” (Raven II 1967: 174). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wandian* II (Seebold 1970: 555) “to hesitate, desist, omit, neglect; fear, stand in awe; have regard to, care for”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wandōjan* (Seebold 1970: 554) “winden”, class II deverbative from strong verb **wendanan* (Seebold 1970: 554) “winden, drehen” (see under *wenten*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

(*h*)*warbalōn* “Sich (im Kreise) drehen, umherwandern, umherschweifen, sich (einem Ziele nach) bewegen, (von Gedanken oder Sorgen) rasch und wiederholt zurückkehren, (die Arme) hin und herwerfen oder schwingen, (das Ruder in der Welle) biegen, (von den Jahren) kreisen” (Raven II 1967: 174). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hwarbalōjan* class II frequentative / continuative deverbative formed with l-extension from Gmc weak verb **hwarbōjan* (Seebold 1970: 283) “hin und her gehen” (see under (*h*)*warbōn*). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

(*h*)*warbōn* “sich aufhalten oder verweilen, verkehren, (von Ränken und Tücken) ersinnen, prellen, (Worte der Trauer und Sorge) zurückkehren” (Raven II 1967: 174). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hwarbōn* II (Seebold 1970: 283) “wandeln, gehen”; OE *hwearfian* II (Seebold 1970: 283) “to turn, roll or toss about; revolve; wave; change; wander, move, pass by”; ON *hvarfa* II (Seebold 1970: 283) “umherstreifen, wandern, sich hin und her bewegen”; Gothic *hwarbon* II (Seebold 1970: 283) “hin und her gehen, bewegen”, which allows us to reconstruct a **hwarbōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 283) class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from strong verb **hwerbanan* (Seebold 1970: 283) “sich wenden” (see under (*h*)*werben*). Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

wāren “beweisen” (Raven I 1963: 250). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wār* (Kluge 1989: 773) “wahr”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

wārezzen “als wahr versichern oder darlegen, zustimmen” (Raven I 1963: 250). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I intensive deverbative from OHG class I weak verb *wāren* (Raven I 1963: 250) “beweisen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *īf-*

warmen, *wermen* “sich wärmen, warm machen, dörren, rösten” (Raven I 1963: 251). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wermian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1940) “wärmen”; OE *werman*, *wierman*, *wyrman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 427) “to warm, warm oneself”; ON *verma* I (de Vries 1962: 656) “wärmen”; Gothic *warmjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 394) “to warm”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **warmijanan* “to warm, make warm”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *warm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 697) “warm, eifrig”; OS *warm* (Kluge 1989: 777) “warm”; OFs. *warm* (Kluge 1989: 777) “warm”; OE *wearm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 400) “warm”; ON *varmr* (Kluge 1989: 777) “warm”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **warmaz* (Kluge 1989: 777) “warm”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

warmēn “warm sein oder werden, erwärmen” (Raven II 1967: 269). No cognate verbs are attested. OE *wearmian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 400) “to become warm”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **warmējan* “to be or become warm”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *warmen*). Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

warnōn “(+gen. et acc. reflex.) ablehnen, beschützen, ausrüsten, sich versehen mit, ordnen, durch Beredsamkeit befestigen, unterrichten, sich hüten, sich in Acht nehmen, Vorkehrungen

treffen, freundlich warnen, kammtragend = (übtr.) mit einem Federbusch geschmückt oder mit einem Helmbusch versehen, bewaffnen, sich (mit der gleichen gesinnung) wappnen, sich überlegen, begabt" (Raven II 1967: 174). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wearnian*, *warnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 397) "to warn, caution; to take warning, take heed, guard oneself against"; MLG *warnen* (Onions: 993) "to warn", which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **warnōjan* (Kluge 1989: 777) "sich voraussehen, warnen", class II *nō*-formation deverbative from NWGmc weak verb **warōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 773) "beachten, bewahren" (see under **warōn*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation (formed with *n*-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

**warōn* "währen, bewahren, beachten". MHG *warn* (Lexer III 1878: 693) "beachten, behüten". The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *warnōn* II (Kluge 1989: 773) "währen"; OFs. *waria* II (Kluge 1989: 773). OE *warian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 397) "to be wary, beware; guard, protect, defend; warn"; ON *vara* II (Kluge 1989: 773) "warnen, waren, gedenken", which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **warōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 773) "beachten, bewahren". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wara* (Starck and Wells 1990: 696) "Achten auf, Ansehen"; OS *wara* (Kluge 1989: 773) "Achtsamkeit, Sorge"; OFs. *ware* (Kluge 1989: 773) "Achtsamkeit, Sorge"; OE *waru* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 397) "shelter, protection, care, custody, guard, defence, vindication"; ON *vari* (Kluge 1989: 773) "Achtsamkeit, Sorge", which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **warō* (Kluge 1989: 773) "Aufmerksamkeit". Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *umbi-*

wār-rahhōn "die Wahrheit logisch oder disputierend (d.h. durch Vernunftschluß) beweisen, syllogisieren" (Raven II 1967: 175). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *wār* (Starck and Wells 1990: 696) "wahr, wahrhaftig"; cf. OHG *rahhōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 471) "sich worüber aussprechen, worauf hinweisen, auseinandersetzen". Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wartēn "(+gen. pers. vel rei, +dat.) achten auf, beobachten, behüten, sich hüten vor, auf der Hut sein, anschauen, den Blick richten auf, hinblicken auf, schauen auf, denken an, sorgen für, überblicken, erspähen, fasten, betrachten, in Angst geraten, erwarten, wahrnehmen, rechnen auf, sich enthalten von, warten auf" (Raven II 1967: 269). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wardōn* II, originally class III? (Kluge 1956: 840) "behüten, ausschauen, bewachen, versorgen, sich hüten"; OFs. *wardia* II, originally class III? (Kluge 1956: 840) "besorgen"; OE *weardian* II, originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 399) "to watch, guard, keep, protect, preserve; hold, possess, occupy, inhabit"; ON *varða* II, originally class III? (Kluge 1989: 777) "abgrenzen, schützen, warten, verantworten; bewachen", which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wardējanan* (Kluge 1989: 777) "ausschauen, bewachen". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *warta* (Kluge 1956: 840) "spähendes Ausschauen; Ort von dem aus gelauert wird"; OS *warda* (Kluge 1956: 840) "Warte(n), Wache"; OE *wearde* (Kluge 1956: 840) "watch, keeping watch, protection"; ON *varði*, *varða* (Kluge 1956: 840) "Steinwarte", which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wardō* "Warte, spähendes Ausschauen". Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *duruh-*, *fir-*, *furi-*, *gi-*, *hera-nidar-*, *hina-*, *ir-*, *ubar-*, *ūz-*, *widar-*, *zuo-*

(*h*)*wassēn* "(von Disteln) borstig oder stachelig emporsträuben" (Raven II 1967: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG (*h*)*was* (Starck and Wells 1990: 699) "scharf, rauh, stachelig". Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

wataren “jauchzen, jubeln” (Raven I 1963: 251). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

wāten “(be)kleiden, umgeben, etwas um sich wickeln” (Raven I 1963: 251). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wādian* I (de Vries 1962: 671) “(be)kleiden”; ON *væða* I (de Vries 1962: 671) “bekleiden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wæðijanan* “to clothe, dress, equip”; cf. OE *wædian* II, originally class I? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 392) “to clothe, dress, equip, furnish”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wāt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 700) “Kleidung, Gewand”; OS *wād* (Starck and Wells 1990: 700) “Kleidung, Gewand”; OFs. *wēd* (de Vries 1962: 637) “Kleidung”; OE *wæd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 392) “robe, dress, apparel, clothing, garment, covering; sail”; ON *váð* (de Vries 1962: 637) “Gewebe, Zeug, Stück; Zugnetz; pl. Kleider”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wædō* (Kluge 1989: 778) “Gewebe, pl. Kleid”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*

wāðon “(sich) kleiden, bekleiden, Kleidung tragen” (Raven II 1967: 176). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wædian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 392) “to clothe, dress, equip, furnish”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wæðōjan* “to clothe, dress”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *wāten*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*

wegen “bewegen”, zittern, schütteln, steif oder borstig stehen (vom Wachsen des Getreides), emporsträuben, erbeben, kreisen, zucken, pendeln” (Raven I 1963: 328). cf. OHG *wagōn* II (Raven II 1967: 170). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *weggian* I (Seebold 1970: 543) “bewegen, rütteln”; OE *wecgan* I (Seebold 1970: 543) “to move, agitate, drive hither and thither; be moved”; Gothic *wagjan* I (Seebold 1970: 543) “schütteln”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wagejanan* (Seebold 1970: 543) “to set in motion, move”, causative deverbative from strong verb **weganan* (Seebold 1970: 542) “to move”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *wegan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 543) “wägen, wiegen, bewegen”; OS *wegan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 543) “wägen”; OFs. *wega* st. vb pres. only (Seebold 1970: 543) “wiegen, bringen”; OE *wegan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 542) “to carry; support, sustain, bear, bring; move; wear; weigh, measure”; ON *vega* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 542) “in Bewegung setzen, aufheben, wiegen, wägen”; Gothic *ga-wigana* pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 542) “gerüttelt”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fora-ir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *nidar-*, *ūz-ir-*, *widar-*

wegōn¹ “vermitteln, inständig bitten, helfen, sich verwenden, Fürbitte einlegen für jemanden, jemanden mit Bitten bestürmen oder behelligen” (Raven II 1967: 176). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *wegia* II (Seebold 1970: 543) “beistehen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wegōjan* (Seebold 1970: 543) class II deverbative from strong verb **weganan* (Seebold 1970: 542) “bewegen” (see under *wegen*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

wegōn² “wandern” (Raven II 1967: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *weg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 703) “Weg, Pfad”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

wehsalōn “ändern, verändern, Veränderungen unterwerfen, um-, verwandeln, vertauschen mit, wechseln, Wortwechsel führen, verschieden sein, (übtr.) zerfallen, der andere (von zweien), abwechselnd, unverzogene Miene” (Raven II 1967: 176). cf. OHG *wihsalen*, *wehsalen* I (Raven I 1963: 262). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wehslōn* II with shortening of first

vowel (de Vries 1962: 671) “wechseln”; OFs. *wixlia* (de Vries NEW 1963: 843) “wechseln”; ON *vixla* II (de Vries 1962: 671) “wechseln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **weihsalōjanan* “wechseln”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wehsal* with WGmc shortening of first vowel (Kluge 1989: 779) “Wechsel, Tauschhandel, Wechselseitigkeit”; OS *wehsal* with WGmc shortening of first vowel (Kluge 1989: 779). OFs. *wixle* with WGmc shortening of first vowel (Kluge 1989: 779) “Tausch, Handel”; ON *vixla* (Kluge 1989: 779) “Wechsel, Austausch”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **weihsalan* “Wechsel”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

weibōn “schwanken, schweben, hin und her treiben, (von der Kleidung) wellenartig hängen, (vom Haar) lockig sein, (vom Zügel) schlaff herabhängen, unstet sein” (Raven II 1967: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **waibōjan* “schwanken, schweben”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE √**weip-*, **weib-* (Pokorny I 1959: 1131) “drehen, sich drehend, schwingend bewegen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *wāfian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 396) “to be agitated, astonished, amazed, gaze at, wonder at, admire; hesitate”; OE *wāfan* I (Pokorny I 1959: 1132) “to clothe”; ON *veifa* I (Pokorny I 1959: 1132) “schwingen, werfen, umwickeln”; ON *vifa* II (Pokorny I 1959: 1132) “umhüllen”; Gothic *bi-waibjan* I (Pokorny I 1959: 1132) “to surround, clothe”; Skt *vepate* (Pokorny I 1959: 1132) “regt sich, zittert”; Avestan *vip-* (Pokorny I 1959: 1132) “werfen, entsenden (Samen)”. As the Gmc complex based on this IE root is represented by a large number of verbs, **waibōn* probably derives from one of these. It is, therefore, best not considered pre-Gmc, despite Indo-Iranian parallels. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

weidinōn “weiden, abweiden, (vom Rind beim Weiden) umherstreifen, jagen, der Vogelsteller, das Mutterschaf (mit geborenem, d.h. folgendem Lamm), der Weideplatz” (Raven II 1967: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *weidōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with n-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

weidōn “weiden, auf die Weide führen oder auf der Weide sein, (im Wald weidend) herumstreifen, ernähren, jagen” (Raven II 1967: 178). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *weida* (Starck and Wells 1990: 705) “Weide, Futter, Jagd”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furi-*

weigarōn “widerstreben, sich (einer Tätigkeit) widersetzen, (sie) zu verhindern suchen” (Raven II 1967: 178). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *weigar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 706) “verwegen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

weigen “ängstigen, quälen, belästigen, peinigen” (Raven I 1963: 252). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wēgian* I (Schade II 1882: 1114) “quälen, peinigen”; OE *wāgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 392) “to trouble, afflict; deceive, falsify; frustrate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **waigejan* “to cause to become weak, afflicted, troubled; to trouble, afflict”, causative deverbative from strong verb **wiganan* (Seebold 1970: 544) “kämpfen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *ubar-wehan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 544) “überwinden”; OS *wigand* substantivized present participle (Seebold 1970: 544) “Kämpfer”; OFs. *wigandlike* (Seebold 1970: 544) “wie ein Kämpfer”; OE *ge-wegan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 401) “to fight”; ON *vega* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 544) “kämpfen, töten, rächen; gewinnen”; Gothic *weihe* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 544) “to fight”. Therefore a WGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

weihhen “weich machen, erweichen, schwächen, lenken, biegsam machen” (Raven I 1963: 252). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *wēken* (de Vries 1962: 651) “weich machen”; OE *wēcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 391) “to weaken, oppress, trouble”; ON *veikja* I (de Vries 1962: 651) “beugen”; Mod.Icel *veikja* I (de Vries 1962: 651) “schwächen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **waikijanan* “to weaken, make weak”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *weih* (Starck and Wells 1990: 706) “weich, schwach, krank”; OS *wēk* (Kluge 1989: 782) “weich”; OE *wāc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 391) “weak, soft, feeble, effeminate, cowardly, timid, pliant; slender, frail”; ON *veikr* (Kluge 1989: 782) “weich, schwach”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **waikaz* (Kluge 1989: 782) “weich”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

weihhēn “weich werden, schlaff werden (vom Bogen), d.h. versagen oder zerbrechen, erschlaffen” (Raven II 1967: 271). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wācian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 391) “to become weak, languish; be cowardly”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **waikējan* “to be or become weak”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under **weihhen**). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

weihhōn “weich machen, erweichen, schwächen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 706). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under **weihhen**. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

weinōn “(intrans.) weinen, wimmern, (von kleinen Kindern) quäken, jammern, klagen, wehklagen, heulen, (trans.) beweinen, beklagen” (Raven II 1967: 178). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *we(i)nen* (Kluge 1989: 784) “weinen”; MDu. *wenen* (Kluge 1989: 784) “weinen”; OFs. *wainia*, *weinia*, *wēnia* II (Kluge 1989: 784) “weinen”; OE *wānian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 397) “to complain, bewail, lament, bemoan”; ON *veina* II (Kluge 1989: 784) “jammern”; Gothic **wainon* can be reconstructed from the adjective *wainahs* (Kluge 1989: 784) “elend”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wainōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 784) “weinen”. The precise derivational pattern and development of this verb is unclear in its details. It is probably best regarded as a derivation from the Gmc interjection **wai* (Kluge 1989: 781) “weh!” and formed with a nasal suffix *nō-*. This interjection is attested in: OHG *wah*, *wē* (Kluge 1989: 781) “weh!”; OS *wē* (Kluge 1989: 781) “weh!”; OE *wā* (Kluge 1989: 781) “ah! oh! alas!”; ON *vei* (Kluge 1989: 781) “weh!”; Gothic *wai* (Kluge 1989: 781) “woe!”.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

(h)weiōn, **(h)weigōn** “(vom Pferde) wiehern, (von Menschen) aufschreien, (Mädchen) geil anlocken, jauchzen (Luther), (er)klingen, ertönen” (Raven II 1967: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to belong to a Gmc onomatopoeic complex which represents hissing, whizzing, whining, neighing or sounds. Examples of derivations from this complex include the following: OHG *(h)wispalōn* (Pokorny 1956: 628) “zischen, wispern”; OE *hwīnan* I (Kluge 1989: 791) “jammern”; OE *hwīnian* II (Pokorny 1956: 628) “to hiss, whizz, whistle, whine”; OE *hwiscettan* I (Pokorny 1956: 628) “to squeak (of mice)”; OE *hwisprian* II (Pokorny 1956: 628) “to whisper, murmur”; ON *hvína* (Pokorny 1956: 628) “sausen”; ON *hvískra* (Pokorny 1956: 628) “flüstern”; ON *hvísla* (Pokorny 1956: 628) “pfeifen, flüstern”; Modern Icelandic *hvía* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1974) “wiehern”; Modern Swed. *hvija* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1974) “laut oder heftig schreien”. This complex appears to be a Gmc innovation with no relations in the other IE branches. The verb cannot, therefore, be considered pre-Gmc. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*, *ir-*

weiz “wissen” (Seebold 1970: 533). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wǣ* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 533) “wissen, verstehen”; OFs. *wǣ* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 533) “wissen”; OE *wāt* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 533) “to know”; ON *veit* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 533) “wissen, deuten auf”; Gothic *wait* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 533) “wissen”. These allow us to reconstruct a preterite-present verb **wait* (Seebold 1970: 533) “weiß”. This verb can be traced back to an IE $\sqrt{*weid-}$ (Seebold 1970: 534) “sehen, erblicken”, from which base the following may also be derived: Latin *videre* (Seebold 1970: 535) “to see”; OIr. *ro-fetar* (Seebold 1970: 534) “to know”; OIr. *ro-finnedar* (Seebold 1970: 535) “finds out, discovers”; Greek $\rho\omicron\iota\delta\alpha$ (Seebold 1970: 534) “I know (I have seen)”; Greek $\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ 2nd aorist (Seebold 1970: 535) “erblickte, erkannte”; Skt *veda* (Seebold 1970: 535) “to know”; OCS *vede* (Seebold 1970: 534) “to know”; OCS *vizdo, videti* (Seebold 1970: 535) “to see, perceive”; Lith. *veizdati* (Seebold 1970: 534) “scauen, sehen, nach etwas sehen”; Lith. *pavydėti, pa-výdziu* (Seebold 1970: 535) “beneiden”; OPruss. *waist* Umbildung (Seebold 1970: 534) “wissen”. Therefore a Pre-Gmc primary verb (preterite-present).

weizen “zeigen, erkennen lassen, hinweisen auf” (Raven I 1963: 253). cf. OHG *wizzēn* III (Raven II 1967: 274). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *wāa* I (Seebold 1970: 534) “bezeugen, beurteilen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **waitejanan* (Seebold 1970: 534) “to cause to see or know, to show”, causative deverbative from preterite-present verb **wait* (see under *weiz*). Therefore a WGmc causative deverbative. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wecken “wecken, erwecken, aufwecken, wach machen” (Raven I 1963: 253). cf. OHG *wahhēn* II (Raven II 1967: 268). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wekkian* I (Kluge 1989: 780) “wecken”; OE *weccan* I (Kluge 1989: 780) “to awaken, arouse; call up, bring forth”; ON *vekja* I (Kluge 1989: 780) “erwecken, reizen; beginnen”; Gothic *us-wackjan* I (Kluge 1989: 780) “to awaken”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wakejanan* (Kluge 1989: 780) “to wake up, cause to wake”, causative deverbative (with loss of nasal infix) from strong verb **waknanan* (Seebold 1970: 535) “erwachen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *wæcnan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 535) “to come into being, awake, come forth, spring from, arise, be born”; ON *vakinn* st. vb past part. (Seebold 1970: 535) “wach”; OSwed. *vaken* st. vb past part. (Kluge 1989: 771) “wach”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-, ir-, widar-*

**(h)welben* “wölben”. MHG *welben* (Lexer III 1878: 749) “bogenförmig gestatten, wölben”. cf. OHG *(h)walbōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-welbian* I (Kluge 1989: 798) “überwölben, bedecken”; MLG *welven* (Jóhannesson 1956: 263). OE *be-hwylfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 39) “to cover, vault over”; ON *hvelfa* I (Kluge 1989: 798) “wölbern, kentern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hwalbejanan* (Seebold 1970: 281) “wölben”, deverbative formation from strong verb **hwelbanan* (Seebold 1970: 281) “(sich) wölben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: MHG *walb* preterite sg. (de Vries 1962: 247) “dehnte sich aus (?)”; OFs. *bewlven* preterite participle hapax legomen (Seebold 1970: 281) “obrutus” (although possibly a secondary formation from causative); ON *holfinn* preterite part. (de Vries 1962: 247) “gewölbt”; Norw. *kvelva* st. vb (de Vries 1962: 247) “sich wölben”; Swed. (dial) st. vb *hvälva* (de Vries 1962: 247) “sich wölben”. Compare also Gothic *hwilftrjos* pl. (Pfeifer III 1989: 1988) “Sarg (ursprünglich vielleicht zwei ausgehöhlte, übereinandergelegte Einbäume)”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

welkēn, welhēn “welk, lauwarm, weich, trüge, schlaff sein oder werden, welken” (Raven II 1967: 271). cf. OHG *wilken, welken* I (Raven I 1963: 263). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *welc, welh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 708) “welk, weich, feucht”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

wellen “wählen, auswählen, auf Grund einer getroffenen Wahl schenken, darreichen” (Raven I 1963: 329). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *velja* I (Seebold 1970: 441) “wählen”; Gothic *waljan* I (Seebold 1970: 551) “to select”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **walejanan* (Seebold 1970: 551) “wählen”, class I deverbative from strong verb **welanan* (Seebold 1970: 551) “wollen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *wili* irreg. pres. sing. (Seebold 1970: 551). OS *wili* irregular pres. (Seebold 1970: 551). OFs. *wel(i)* irreg. pres. (Seebold 1970: 551). OE *wile* irreg. pres. (Seebold 1970: 551) “wants”; ON *vill*, *vilia* usually j-present (Seebold 1970: 551). Gothic *wili* pret. optative with function of present (Seebold 1970: 551). Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

wellōn “wallen, wogen, Wellen schlagen” (Raven II 1967: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wella* (Starck and Wells 1990: 708) “Welle, Woge, Flut”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

welzen “wälzen, drehen, rollen” (Raven I 1963: 254). cf. OHG *walzōn* II (Raven II 1967: 171). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wæltan*, *wieltan*, *wyltan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 426) “to roll”; ON *velta* I (de Vries 1962: 653) “wälzen”; Gothic *waltjan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1936) “to beat into”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **waltejanan* “to cause to roll”, causative deverbative from strong verb **weltanan* (Seebold 1970: 554) “wälzen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: ON *velta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 554) “sich wälzen (vom Wasser, von miteinander Ringenden)”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *dana-*, *gi-*, *in-*, *ir-*, *nidar-gi-*, *ir-*, *umbi-*, *ūz-*, *ūz-ir-*, *zuo-*, *zuo-gi-*

***wemmen** “beflecken, verderben. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wemman* I (Lehmann 1986: 393) “to defile, besmirch, profane, injure, ill-treat, destroy; abuse, revile”; Gothic *ana-wammjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 393) “to stain”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wammijanan* “to stain, defile, disgrace, desiccate, destroy”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **wam* “Fleck, Schande” can be reconstructed from: OS *wam* (Lehmann 1986: 393) “evil, crime”; OFs. *wam* (Lehmann 1986: 393) “spot, blot”; OE *wamm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 396) “stain, spot, scar; disgrace, defect, defilement, sin, evil, crime; injury, loss, hurt, misfortune”; ON *vamm* (Lehmann 1986: 393) “Schaden, Gebrechen; Flecken”; Gothic *wamm* (Lehmann 1986: 393) “spot”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wammaz* “crime, disgrace, defilement, shame”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

wemōn “wogen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 709). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OS *wemian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 709) “hervorsprudeln”; OHG *wimidōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 730) “hervorsprudeln, wimmeln, schaudern”; OHG *wimmeren* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 731) “wimmeln”. Further etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *folla-*

wenescaftōn “den Schaft, das ist den Speer schwingen, wie ein geschwungener Speer im Lichte flimmern” (Raven II 1967: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Probably derives from an unattested OHG **wenescaft* “a type of spear”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

wenken “(ab)weichen, wanken, fehlen, ablassen von, unzuverlässig oder unsicher sein, sich wenden” (Raven I 1963: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong with the class II verb, this verb is best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class II weak verb (see under *wancōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *widar-*

(h)wennen “schwingen, schärfen, wezen, zitternd bewegen” (Raven I 1963: 330). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wennen “(sich) gewöhnen” (Raven I 1963: 331). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wennian* I (Onions 1966: 996). OFs. *wenna*, *wennia* I (de Vries 1962: 654). OE *wenian*, *wennan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 403) “to accustom, habituate, inure, train; entertain; tame, wean”; ON *venja* I (de Vries 1962: 654) “gewöhnen, zähmen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wanjanan* “sich gewöhnen an < befriedigt sein mit, lieben”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE $\sqrt{*wen-}$, **wenā* (Pokorny I 1956: 1146) “(er)streben; wünschen, lieben, befriedigt sein; erarbeiten, Mühe haben; erreichen, gewinnen, siegen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *wine* (Pokorny I 1956: 1147) “friend, protector, lord; retainer”; OE *wynn* (Pokorny I 1956: 1147) “joy, rapture, pleasure, delight, gladness”; OIr. *fine* (Pokorny I 1956: 1147) “Verwandtschaft, Stamm, Familie”; Gaulish PN *veni-carus* (Pokorny I 1956: 1147). Latin *venus* (Kluge 1989: 265) “Liebe, Reiz, Liebesgenuß”; OCS *uniti* (Kluge 1989: 265) “wollen”; Skt *vanati*, *vanoti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1146) “wünscht, verlangt, gewinnt”; Hittite *wen-*, *went-* with specialized development of meaning (Kluge 1989: 799) “beschlafen, kopulieren”; OHG *gi-won* (de Vries 1962: 644) “gewöhnnt” is probably best regarded as postverbal; OE *ge-wun* (de Vries 1962: 644) “wonted, customary, usual” is probably best regarded as postverbal; ON *vanr* (de Vries 1962: 644) “gewöhnnt” is probably best regarded as postverbal. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*

wenten “wenden, von einer Absicht abwenden oder zurückhalten, richten, führen, hin- oder wegleiten, rückgängig machen, verwenden” (Raven I 1963: 256). cf. OHG *wantōn* II (Raven II 1967: 174). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wendian* I (Seebold 1970: 555) “wenden, drehen”; OFs. *wenda* I (Seebold 1970: 555) “wenden, drehen”; OE *wendan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 402) “to turn, direct; wend one's way, go; happen; change, alter”; ON *venda* I (Seebold 1970: 555) “wenden, drehen, verändern”; Gothic *wandjan* I (Seebold 1970: 555) “to turn”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wandejanan* (Seebold 1970: 555) “wenden, winden machen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **wendanan* (Seebold 1970: 554) “winden, drehen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *wintan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 555) “winden, drehen, schlängeln, wickeln, wenden”; OFs. *winda* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 555) “winden”; OE *windan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 410) “to wind, plait, curl, twist; turn, start, go, roll”; ON *vinda* st. vb (de Vries 1962: 665) “winden, wenden, drehen, flechten, schwingen”; Gothic *bi-windan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 555) “umwinden”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *dana-*, *dara-*, (*dara-*)*bi-*, *fir-*, *gi-*, (*hera-*), *ir-*, *missi-*, *ubar-*, *ūf-*, (*umbi-*)*bi-*, *widar-*, *zuo-*

(*h*)**werben** “(um)wenden, kehren, (sich) umdrehen, bewegen, schwingen, kreisförmig herumdrehen” (Raven I 1963: 258). cf. OHG (*h*)*warbōn* II (Raven II 1967: 174). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hwervian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 712) “umdrehen, herumschwingen, kehren”; OE *hwierfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 199) “to turn, revolve, change, transfer, convert, return; wander”; ON *hverfa* I (de Vries 1962: 271) “wenden, kehren”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hwarbejanan* (Seebold 1970: 283) “to cause to turn”, causative deverbative from strong verb **hwerbanan* (Seebold 1970: 282) “sich wenden”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG (*h*)*werban* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 711) “werben, wirbeln, sich drehen, wenden, verkehren; (Leben) verbringen, (Zeit) verfließen lassen, handeln, in ein Kloster eintreten”; OS *hwerban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 282) “hin und her gehen, wandeln, sich hinwenden”; OFs. *hwerfa* st. vb present only (Seebold 1970: 282) “wenden, wandeln”; OE *hweorfan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 198) “to turn, change; move, go, come; wander about, roam; return, turn back, turn from, depart; die; be converted”; ON *hverfa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 282) “sich wenden, sich bewegen, begeben; umgeben, umkreisen”; Gothic *hwairban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 282) “wandeln; einen Lebenswandel führen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *umbi-*, *widar-*, *zuo-*

werderen “vergleichen” (Raven I 1963: 259). No cognate verbs are attested. Probably a frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with r-extension) from OHG class II weak verb *werdōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with an r-extension).

werdlīhōn “gewürdigt werden, würdigen, wert halten” (Raven II 1967: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *werdlīh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 714) “würdig, wert, beliebt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

werdōn “verehhren, schätzen, für wert erachten, geruhen, gewerten” (Raven II 1967: 179). cf. OHG *wirden* I. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-werthōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 391). OE *weorðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 404) “to esteem, honour, worship, distinguish, celebrate, exalt, praise; adorn, deck; enrich, reward”; ON *verða* II (de Vries 1962: 655) “wert machen”; Gothic *wairþon* II (Lehmann 1986: 391) “to value”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **werþōjanan* “to value, esteem, honour”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *wirden*). Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*

werdsamōn “auf seinen Wert prüfen, würdig befinden” (Raven II 1967: 180). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *werdsam* (Starck and Wells 1990: 714) “wert”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

werēn¹ “bleiben, bestehen, fort dauern, wahren, auf ewig, die Ewigkeit, lebenskräftig” (Raven II 1967: 272). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *werōn* II (Seebold 1970: 561) “bleiben”; OE *werian* II (Seebold 1970: 561) “bleiben”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wezējan* (Seebold 1970: 561), class III durative deverbative from strong verb **wesanan* (Seebold 1970: 561) “sein, bleiben”. This strong verb attested in the following: OHG *wesan* irreg. vb (Seebold 1970: 561) “sein, geschehen”; OS *wesan* irregular vb (Seebold 1970: 561) “sein, da sein, geschehen”; OFs. *wesa* irreg. vb (Seebold 1970: 561) “sein”; OE *wesan* irreg. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 405) “to be; to happen”; ON *vesa, vera* irreg. vb (Seebold 1970: 561) “sein, sich aufhalten, sich ereignen, bedeuten”; Gothic *wisan* irreg. vb (Seebold 1970: 561) “sein, weilen, bleiben”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *durh-*, *folla-*, *ubar-*

werēn² “(+acc. pers. et gen. rei, c. dat. pers. et acc. rei) ausreichen, aufrecht erhalten, befolgen, beobachten, beschenken, geben, einem etwas gewähren, genügen, erfüllen, gehorchen, hinlänglich sein, hüten, befriedigen, leisten, überwachen, verwahren, vollziehen, zahlen, bezahlen, angemessen oder tauglich” (Raven II 1967: 272). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *int-*

werfōn “schleudern, hin und her werfen, umhertreiben, entsagen oder verzichten müssen, anfangen = (eigentlich) ein Gewebe anlegen” (Raven II 1967: 180). cf. OHG *worfōn* II (Raven II 1967: 188). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **werpōjan* (Seebold 1970: 558) class II deverbative from strong verb **werpanan* (Seebold 1970: 558) “werfen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *werfan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 558) “werfen, zufügen”; OS *werpan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 558) “werfen”; OFs. *werpa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 558) “werfen, aufwerfen”; OE *weorpan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 404) “to throw, cast; throw off, out, expel; open; drive away; sprinkle; hit”; ON *verpa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 557) “werfen, bewerfen; von sich werfen, aufgeben”; Gothic *wairpan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 557) “werfen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

***wergen** “verfluchen, verdammen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-waragian* I (Lehmann 1986: 153) “to punish as a criminal”; OE *wiergan*, *wærgan*, *wyrgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 408) “to abuse, outlaw, condemn, curse, proscribe, blaspheme; do evil”; Gothic *ga-wargjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 153) “to outlaw, condemn”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wargijanan* “to outlaw, condemn, to make into an outlaw or **wargaz*”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *warg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 697) “Übeltäter; geächteter Verbrecher”; OS *warag* (Lehmann 1986: 153) “criminal”; OE *wearg* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 399) “(wolf), accursed one, outlaw, felon, criminal”; ON *vargr* (Lehmann 1986: 153) “Wolf, Übeltäter, Verächteter”; cf. Gothic *launa-wargs* adj. (Lehmann 1986: 153) “unthankful”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wargaz* “wolf, criminal, destroyer, one expelled from the tribe because of a serious crime and left to fend for himself, outcast”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furi-*

werien¹ “schützen, wehren, verteidigen, verbieten, hindern, vermindern, nachteilig sein, sich sträuben” (Raven I 1963: 331). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *werian* I (Kluge 1989: 781). OFs. *vera* I (de Vries 1962: 656). OE *werian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 405) “to guard, keep, defend, ward off, hinder, prevent, forbid; restrain”; ON *verja* I (de Vries 1962: 656) “wehren, schützen, verteidigen”; Gothic *warjan* (Kluge 1989: 781) “to hinder, forbid”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **warjanan* (Kluge 1989: 781) “wehren”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE $\sqrt{*wer-}$, **weru-*, **urū-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1160) “verschließen, bedecken, schützen, retten, abwehren”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *wer* (Pokorny I 1956: 1162) “weir, dam, fish-trap”; ON *ver* (Lehmann 1986: 394) “cover”; ON *vor* (Lehmann 1986: 394) “fenced-in landing place”; Run.Nordic *waru* (Pokorny I 1956: 1161) “der umschließende Steinkreis um ein Grab”; OIr. *ferenn* (Pokorny I 1956: 1161) “Gürtel”; Mid.Welsh *gwerthyr* (Pokorny I 1956: 1161) “Festung”; Greek ἐρύομαι (Pokorny I 1956: 1161) “ich schirme, errette; halte fest, halte zurück”; Greek ἐρυσθαι (Pokorny I 1956: 1161) “abwehren, beschützen, bewahren, retten”; Skt *vrnóti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1160) “to surround, ward off”; Avestan *-varānav-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1160) “bedecken, hüllen”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *int-*, *ir-*

werien² “(sich) kleiden, bekleiden, umhüllen” (Raven I 1963: 332). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *werian* I (Lehmann 1986: 395). OE *werian* I, II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 405) “to clothe, cover over, put on, wear, use”; ON *verja* I (Lehmann 1986: 395) “umhüllen, bekleiden”; Gothic *wasjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 395) “to dress, be dressed”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wazjanan*. The derives from an IE $\sqrt{*wes-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 1172) “kleiden”, from which base the following may be derived: Skt *vaste* (Pokorny I 1956: 1172) “kleidet sich, zieht an”; Skt *vāśáyati* (Lehmann 1986: 395) “dresses”; Avestan *vaste* (Pokorny I 1956: 1172) “kleidet sich, zieht an”; Greek ἐννύω, ἐννύμι, 2nd aorist ἔσσα (Pokorny I 1956: 1172) “I dress, clothe (someone), (Middle) I put on clothes”; Arm. *z-genum* (Pokorny I 1956: 1172) “ziehe mich an”; Albanian *vesh* (Pokorny I 1956: 1172) “ich kleide an”; Latin *vestīre* (Pokorny I 1956: 1172) “kleiden”; Latin *vestis* (Pokorny I 1956: 1172) “Kleidung” is best regarded as post-verbal; Hittite *waš-*, *weš-*, Luvian *waš(š)-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1172) “bekleiden, anziehen”; Toch.B *wastsi*, *wātsi* (Pokorny I 1956: 1172) “garment”; Gothic *wasti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1172) “Kleidung” is best regarded as post-verbal. Therefore a Gmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wercōn “arbeiten, handeln, tätig sein, wirken, bearbeiten, behandeln, machen, tun, verfertigen, ins Werk setzen” (Raven II 1967: 181). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-werkōn* II (Schade II 1882: 1128). ON *verka* II (Schade II 1882: 1128) “to work”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **werkōjanan* “arbeiten, werken”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *werc*, *werah*, *werh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 717) “Werk, Arbeit, Werg”; OS *werk* (Kluge 1989: 788) “Werk, Arbeit”; OE *weorc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 403) “work,

labour, action, deed; exercise; affliction, suffering, pain, trouble, distress”; ON *verk* (Kluge 1989: 788) “Werk, Arbeit”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **werken* (Kluge 1989: 788) “Werk, Arbeit”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *samant-*

wernēn “sich quälen, sich plagen, sich kümmern, Mühe haben, bedrängt sein, an einer quälenden Hungersnot leiden, abmagern, in üble Nachrede bringen, verdächtigen, zermalmt werden” (Raven II 1967: 273). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *weornian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 404) “to pine away, become weak, fade, wither, destroy”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wernējan* “sich quälen, sich plagen, an einer Hungersnot leiden”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *werna* (Starck and Wells 1990: 717) “Heißhunger quälende Not, Qual, Sorge”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **werna* “Qual, Not, Hunger”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

werten “verletzen, schwären, verderben, beschädigen” (Raven I 1963: 259). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *a-wardjan* I (Seebold 1970: 560) “verderben”; OE *wierdan*, *wyrdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 408) “to spoil, injure, destroy, violate, obstruct”; ON *verða* I (de Vries 1962: 655) “vernichten”; Gothic *fra-wardjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 127) “to destroy”, which allows us to reconstruct a (NW)Gmc **warðejanan* “to spoil, destroy” back formation simplex from the prefixed causative deverbative **fra-warðejanan* “to destroy, cause to spoil” (see under *fir-werten*). This verb has to be a back formation rather than a simplex on semantic grounds: the simplex strong verb **werþanan* (Seebold 1970: 559) has the meaning “to become” and a straightforward deverbative formation from this is unlikely to possess a meaning as radically different as “to spoil, destroy” without the aid of a prefix.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *folla-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

wesanēn “abmagern, verdorren, verwelken, vertrocknen, welk, gekocht oder gesotten sein, unbeständig” (Raven II 1967: 273). The following cognate verbs are attested: The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wesan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 718) “matt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *ir-*

wettiskeffōn “wetten, sich vereiden” (Raven II 1967: 181). No cognate verbs are attested. Precise etymology uncertain. This verb probably represents a denominative formation from an otherwise unattested OHG **wettiscap*, which is best regarded as a compound formation from OHG *wetti* (Kluge 1989: 789) “Pfand” and OHG *scap* (Seebold: 407) “Beschaffenheit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

wettōn “wetten, sich vereiden oder verbürgen, verpfänden, als Kampfpfeil einsetzen, dringend verlangen, nach strengem Recht fordern” (Raven II 1967: 181). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *wedden* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1968) “Strafgeld zahlen, Pfandbesitz nehmen, einen Vertrag eingehen, einen Einsatz geben”; OE *weddian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 400) “to engage, pledge oneself, covenant, promise, vow; give to wife, betroth; wed, marry”; ON *veðja* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1968) “zum Pfand setzen, wetten”; Gothic *ga-wadjon* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1968) “verloben (durch Bürgerschaft)”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **waðjōjanan* “zum Pfand setzen, wetten”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wetti* (Starck and Wells 1990: 720) “Pfand”; OS *weddi* (Kluge 1989: 789) “Pfand”; OFs. *wedd* (Kluge 1989: 789) “Pfand”; OE *wed(d)* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 400) “pledge, agreement, covenant, security; dowry”; ON *veð* (Kluge 1989: 789) “pledge, surety”; Gothic *wadi* (Kluge 1989: 789) “Pfand”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **waðjan* (Kluge 1989: 789) “Einsatz”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

(h)*wezzen* “schärfen, wetzen, reizen, bearbeiten, schwenken, anfeuern, brüchig werden” (Raven I 1963: 260). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *wetten* (Kluge 1989: 789). OE *hwettan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 198) “to whet, sharpen, incite, encourage”; ON

hvetja I (Kluge 1989: 789) “wetzen, anreizen”; Gothic *ga-hwatjan* I (Kluge 1989: 789) “to entice, mislead”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hwatijanan* (Kluge 1989: 789) “to whet, sharpen, make sharp”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG (*h*)*was* (Starck and Wells 1990: 699) “scharf, rauh, stachelig”; OS *hwat* (de Vries 1962: 270) “scharf, rauh, stachelig”; OE *hwæt* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 197) “sharp, brisk, quick, active; bold, brave”; ON *hvatr* (Kluge 1989: 789) “rasch, feurig; tapfer, rüstig, flink”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hwataz* (Kluge 1989: 789) “sharp”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

widamen “widmen, ausstatten, dotieren” (Raven I 1963: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *widamo* (Kluge 1989: 790) “Aussteuer, Wittum, Mitgift”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

widar-ahitōn “auf-, abwägen, zwei Gegenstände abwägend vergleichen, gegenüber halten” (Raven II 1967: 5). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-antworten “anführen, anzeigen” (Raven I 1963: 4). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-bi-kēren “zurückkehren, zurückkommen” (Raven I 1963: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-bilidōn “umgestalten, ein Abbild von etwas darstellen, erneuern” (Raven II 1967: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-bougen “rückwärts gekrümmt” (Raven I 1963: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-brahten “hineinschlagen, anstoßen, zerschlagen, zerschellen” (Raven I 1963: 13). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-bringen “zurücktragen, zurückbringen, zurückführen, erwidern, beurteilen” (Raven I 1963: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-brutten “halsstarrig, hartnäckig” (Raven I 1963: 21). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-dewen, widar-douwen “(von den Eingeweiden) heraustreten” (Raven I 1963: 291). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-drucken “nieder- oder zurückdrücken” (Raven I 1963: 31). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-eiscōn “eine Geldschuld drängend zurückfordern” (Raven II 1967: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widaren “zurückweisen, verschmähen, dawider sein” (Raven I 1963: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *widar* adv. (Starck and Wells 1990: 722) “entgegen, zurück, wiederum”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *ir-*

widar-funden “zurückkehren” (Raven I 1963: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-fuoren “wiederführen” (Raven I 1963: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-gi-antworten “melden, überbringen” (Raven I 1963: 4). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-gi-brittilōn “verunstalten, verstümmeln, zügeln, bändigen” (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-gi-halōn “ein Abbild von etwas darstellen, erneuern oder wiederholen” (Raven II 1967: 61). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-gi-kēren “zurückrufen, zur Rückkehr auffordern, (mit sachlichen Objekten) = zurückziehen, -wenden” (Raven I 1963: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-gi-ladōn “wieder einladen, d.h. sich revanchieren” (Raven II 1967: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-habēn “bestehen bleiben, überwinden, obsiegen, widerstreben, zurückstrahlen, zurückhalten, den Zorn mildern, nach dem Höchsten streben” (Raven II 1967: 223). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-huggen “wieder gedenken” (Raven I 1963: 307). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-īlen “zurücklaufen, zurückeilen, eilig zurückkommen, -kehren, wiederkehren” (Raven I 1963: 80). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *withar-īlian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 299) “zurückkehren”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

widar-kēren “widerkehren, zurückdrehen, umdrehen, zurücktragen, -bringen, umwenden, umkehren, rückwärts biegen oder drehen, zurückfahren, -führen, -bringen, abwenden, ablenken” (Raven I 1963: 90). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-kōsōn “dagegen sprechen, widerreden, in der Meinung abweichen” (Raven II 1967: 81). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-krazzōn “abkratzen” (Raven II 1967: 82). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-kunden “zurückberichten, -verkünden, -melden, -anzeigen, verkündigen” (Raven I 1963: 99). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-ladōn “wieder einladen” (Raven II 1967: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-lebēn “wieder zu Verstand kommen, sich erholen, (durch Buße) wieder zu sich kommen, büßen” (Raven II 1967: 235). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-leggen “(den Segen auf etwas) ruhen lassen” (Raven I 1963: 312). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-leiten “zurückführen, zurückbringen” (Raven I 1963: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-lobōn “vereiteln” (Raven II 1967: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-mezzōn “ausgleichen, vergleichen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 412). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-muoten “schelten, streiten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 426). No cognate verbs are attested. The OHG substantive *widarmuot* (Starck and Wells 1990: 724) “Widarwärtigkeit, Ärgernis” is probably postverbal, rather than that the verb is denominative.

Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-nāen “wiedernähen, -flicken, -herstellen” (Raven I 1963: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-niuwōn “erfrischen, erneuern” (Raven II 1967: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widarōn “entgegen sein, entgegen treten, sich widersetzen, (ver-)weigern, verachten, verschmähen, ab-, zurückweisen, zuwider sein, ablehnen, sich sträuben (gegen), widerstreben, nicht wollen, in jemanden dringen” (Raven II 1967: 181). cf. OHG *witaren* I. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wīðerian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 415) “to resist, oppose, struggle against; irritate, provoke”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wīprōjan* “to resist, oppose, be contrary”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *widar* prep./adv. (Kluge 1989: 790) “gegen, wider”; OS *withar* prep./adv. (Kluge 1989: 790). OE *wīðer* prep./adv. (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 414) “against”; ON *viðr* prep./adv. (Kluge 1989: 790) “gegen, wider”; Gothic *wīpra* prep./adv. (Kluge 1989: 790) “against, opposite”; OFs. *wither* (Lehmann 1986: 408), which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wīpra-* prep./adv. (Kluge 1989: 790) “gegen, wider”. Therefore a WGmc deadverbial formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **fīr-**, **gi-**, **ir-**

widar-rapfen “wieder blutig werden oder machen” (Raven I 1963: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-refsen “als nicht stichhaltig zurückweisen, widerlegen, der Lüge zeihen” (Raven I 1963: 148). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-rucken “zurück-, rückwärts-, nach hinten fallen” (Raven I 1963: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-(h)rutzen “zurückschrecken, verschmähen, Widerwillen gegen etwas haben, losstürzen, entsetzlich oder struppig sein” (Raven I 1963: 167). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-sagen “widersprechen, widerrufen, abschlagen, verneinen” (Raven I 1963: 319). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-senten “zurücksenden” (Raven I 1963: 171). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-sezzen “wider-, dagegen-, ersetzen” (Raven I 1963: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-siuwen “wiedernähen, wiederflicken” (Raven I 1963: 321). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-scouwōn “zurückschauen” (Raven II 1967: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-screckōn “(vom Glanz) zurückprallen” (Raven II 1967: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-scurgen “zurückstoßen, sich entgegenstemmen, zurückschlagen bzw. -weisen, verbergen” (Raven I 1963: 188). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-sperren “wiederaufschließen, (er)öffnen” (Raven I 1963: 195). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-spirdaren “stützen, stemmen, widerstreben, Widerstand leisten, sich weigern” (Raven I 1963: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-sporōn “ausschlagen” (Raven II 1967: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-spurnen “mit dem Fuße treten = ausschlagen” (Raven I 1963: 200). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-suohhen “wiederholen” (Raven I 1963: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-swellen “mit Wirbeln winden und wandern (des Jordanflusses)” (Raven I 1963: 220). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-wallōn “entgegengesetzt sein” (Raven II 1967: 171). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-wancōn “vorher benachrichtigen, d.h. mahnen oder warnen, (die Flucht) ergreifen” (Raven II 1967: 172). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-wartēn “(die Fußstapfen) beobachten beziehungsweise befolgen” (Raven II 1967: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widarwartōn “sich voneinander entziehen, sich widersetzen, sich sträuben gegen etwas” (Raven II 1967: 182). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wīðerweardian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 415) “to oppose”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wīparwarðōjan* “to oppose”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *widarwart* (Starck and Wells 1990: 725) “ungünstig, entgegengesetzt, widerwärtig”; OE *wīðerweard* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 415) “contrary, perverse, adverse; rebellious, hostile; inconsistent; unfavourable, noxious, bad”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wīparwarðaz* “contrary, adverse, unfavourable”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

widar-wegen “sich zurückziehen oder -wenden, zur Rückkehr auffordern” (Raven I 1963: 329). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-wecken “wecken” (Raven I 1963: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-wenken (Raven I 1963: 256). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-wenten “abwenden, hinwegraffen” (Raven I 1963: 258). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-(h)werben “in entgegengesetzter Richtung verfolgen” (Raven I 1963: 259). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-wiften “erneuern, umgestalten” (Raven I 1963: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-zeihhanen “(wieder) lesen und nachahmen” (Raven I 1963: 273). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-zellen “wiederzählen, wiederholen” (Raven I 1963: 277). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

widar-zucken “zurückziehen” (Raven I 1963: 281). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

wieren “mit Feingold arbeiten, d.h. mit Gold- bzw. Silberdraht Schmuck herstellen” (Raven I 1963:261). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wiera* (Starck and Wells 1990: 725) “Schmuck aus Gold- oder Silberdraht”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

**wiffen* MHG *wifen* (Lexer III 1878: 879) “waz, ob si der schuolemeister wifte?”. No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Possibly a denominative (with development of meaning) from OHG *wiffa* “Hacke, Haue; *Lex Bajuvariorum* 9, 12: signum, quod propter defensionem ponitur aut iniustum iter excludendum vel pascendum vel campum defendendum vel applicandum secundum morem antiquum, quod signum 'wifam' vocamus: ein Merkzeichen, das einen, verbotenen Weg anzeigt oder ein Grundstück zu betreten oder zu beweiden warnt, was noch heute zu geschehen pflegt durch bogenförmig in die Erde gesteckte Gerten oder durch einen Strohwisch auf einer Stange, ein Hegewisch” (Schade II 1882: 1148).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

wiften “weben, Gewebe” (Raven I 1963: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **wift* “Gewebe”, can be reconstructed from: OHG *giwift* (Seebold 1970: 541) “Gewebe”; MHG *wift* (Schade II 1882: 1149) “feiner Faden, feiner Zwirn, Honigwabe”; OE *wift*, *weft*, *wefra* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 401) “weft”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furi-*, *widar-*

**wigilen* “unterweisen, schirmen, warnen”. MHG *wigellen* (Lexer III 1878: 880) “einen geträulich schirmen oder warnen”. No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *vigilāre* (Lewis and Short 1966: 1990) “to watch, be or keep awake, not to sleep, be wakeful; to be vigilant”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

wīhen “heiligen, weihen, einweihen, einsegnen, Christus” (Raven I 1963: 261). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wīhian* I (Kluge 1989: 783) “weihen, segnen, ordinieren”; OFs. *vī(g)a* I (Kluge 1989: 783) “weihen”; ON *vīgja* I (de Vries 1962: 661) “weihen”; Gothic *weihan* I (Lehmann 1986: 398) “to consecrate”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **weihijanan* (Kluge 1989: 783) “weihen, numinos machen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wīh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 726) “heilig”; OS *wīh* (Kluge 1989: 783) “heilig”; Gothic *weihs* (Kluge 1989: 783) “holy”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **weihaz* (Kluge 1989: 783) “heilig, geweiht, numinos”; Compare also OE *wēoh*, *wīg* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 408) “idol, image”; Compare also ON *vé* (de Vries 1962: 648) “Tempel, heiliger Ort; Gerichtsstätte”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wīhhōn “sich (schnell) bewegen, tanzend darstellen, mimisch oder pantomimisch aufführen” (Raven II 1967: 182). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **weikōjan* (Seebold 1970: 546) class II deverbative from strong verb **weikanan* (Seebold 1970: 545) “weichen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *wīhhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 546) “weichen, körperlich nicht fest sein, sich unterwerfen, nachgeben”; OS *wēk* preterite sg. (Seebold 1970: 545) “wich”; OFs. *wīka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 545) “weichen”; OE *wīcan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 406) “to yield, give way, fall down”; ON *víkva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 545) “weichen, wenden, vorwärtsbewegen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

wihsalen, wehsalen “ändern, wechseln, (um)tauschen” (Raven I 1963: 262). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wehslīan* I (de Vries NEW 1963: 843) “wechseln”; MDu. *wisselen* (de Vries NEW 1963: 843) “wechseln”; OE (Northumbrian) *wixlan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 416) “to change, barter, exchange, reciprocate, lend”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wihslijanan* with WGmc shortening of first vowel “to change, exchange”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *wehsalōn*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *int-*

wilken, welken “weich machen, erweichen” (Raven I 1963: 263). cf. OHG *welkēn* III. No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *welc*, *welh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 708) “feucht, welk, weich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

willikōsōn “schmeicheln, zu Gefallen reden, (subst.) = gefälliges Reden” (Raven II 1967: 182). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *willi-* compound-form variant of OHG *willo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 730) “Wille, Wunsch, Vorhaben”; cf. OHG *kāsōn* II (Raven II 1967: 80) “sprechen, besprechen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

williwurten “ein freundliches Wort gönnen” (Raven I 1963: 263). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *willwyrdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 410) “to be complaisant”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **weljōwurdijan* “to give a friendly word”. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are uncertain. The verb is probably derived from an unattested WGmc substantive **weljōwurdan* “friendly word, word of good will”. Alternatively, the verb may be a compound formation, in which the first element is the stem form of Gmc *weljōn* “Wille” (OHG *will(i)o* (Starck and Wells 1990: 730) “Wille”). The second element may be formed on analogy with Gmc **andawurdijanan* “antworten” (for the etymology of which see under OHG *antworten*).

willōn, wullōn “sich erbrechen wollen, Übelkeit empfinden, Übelsein oder Erbrechen haben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 730, 747). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **wulljōjan* (Seebold 1970: 553) class II (zero-grade?) deverbative (formed with j-extension?) from strong verb **wellanan* (Seebold 1970: 553) “wallen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bi-wellan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 553) “beflecken”; OS *bi-wellan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 553) “beflecken”; OFs. *bi-wella* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 553) “beflecken”; OE *wollen-tear* (Seebold 1970: 553) “strömende Träne”; ON *vella* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 553) “wallen, brodeln”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

willōn “zu Willen sein, nach jemandes Willen handeln, +dat pers jemandem in Gunst geneigt sein, durch die Dornen der Leidenschaft, befriedigen, bewilligen, wollen oder begehren, Erscheinung oder Vision” (Raven II 1967: 182). cf. OHG *wellen* I (Seebold 1970: 551). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *willian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 410) “to wish, desire”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **weljōjan* “to wish, desire”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *willo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 730) “Wille, Wunsch, Verlangen”; OS *willio* (Seebold 1970: 551) “Wille”; OFs. *willa* (Seebold 1970: 551) “Wille”; OE *willa* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 410) “mind, will, determination, purpose; desire, wish, request; joy, delight, pleasure; desirable thing, valuable”; ON *vili* (Seebold 1970: 551) “Wille”; Gothic *wilja* (Seebold 1970: 551) “will, pleasure”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **weljōn* (Seebold 1970: 551) “Wille”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

(h)wīlōn “bleiben, weilen, feststehen” (Raven II 1967: 183). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *(h)wīla* (Starck and Wells 1990: 728) “Zeitpunkt, Zeit, Weile”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

wīlōn “verschleiern, mit dem griechischen Mantel (oder dem Palium) bekleidet” (Raven II 1967: 183). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wīl* (Starck and Wells 1990: 728) “Schleier”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

(*h*)*wīl-wantōn* “ändern, wechseln” (Raven II 1967: 183). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG (*h*)*wīl* (Starck and Wells 1990: 728) “Zeitpunkt, Zeit, Weile”; cf. OHG *wantōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 696) “wechseln”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

wimidōn “wimmeln (von Würmen in der Nahrung), wehen (vom Getreide in der leichten Brise), zusammenschauern (vom Mensch), hervorquellen (von Wörtern), grausam sein” (Raven II 1967: 183). No cognate verbs are attested. Probably a class II deverbative formed with a dental extension from an earlier weak verb represented by the following: OHG *wimmen*, *wiumen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 741) “hervorsprudeln, -quellen, wimmeln”; OS *wemian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 709) “hervorsprudeln”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with dental extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wimmen, *wiumen* “hervorsprudeln, -quellen (von Flüssigkeiten), wimmeln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 741). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *wimidōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 730) “hervorsprudeln, wimmeln”. Etymology unclear. Probably onomatopoeic, of imitative origin.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūf-*

wimezzen, *wiumezzen* “hervorsprudeln, wimmeln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 730). No cognate verbs are attested. Intensive deverbative from OHG class I weak verb *wimmen*, *wiumen* (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

*wimmeren*¹ “(mit Würmern) wimmeln, (von der Seele) überdrüssig werden” (Raven I 1963: 263). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with r-extension) from OHG class I weak verb *wimmen*, *wiumen* (which see). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with an r-extension).

*wimmeren*² “zusammenziehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 731). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Possibly a frequentative deverbative from an unattested source.

windemōn “Wein lesen, Weinlese halten” (Raven II 1967: 183). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *windema* (Starck and Wells 1990: 731) “Weinlese”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

winiscaffen “Freundschaft schließen” (Raven I 1963: 263). cf. OHG *gi-winniscaffōn* II. No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *winiscaf*, *winischaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 732) “Bündnis, Friedensverhältnis”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

(*h*)*winisōn* “jammern, winseln, (von Tieren) knurren oder murren, mucksen, die Zunge spitzen, d.h. ein Knurren hören lassen” (Raven II 1967: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. The etymology and derivational pattern of this verb are unclear. It may be an ablaut zero-grade 's'-extension deverbative from an earlier simplex belonging to a Gmc onomatopoeic complex representing the sounds “zischen, pfeifen” (see under OHG (*h*)*weiōn*). This is, however, by no means certain. The derivation and etymology of this verb are perhaps, then, best left unclear. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

winken “mit den Augen winken, ein Zeichen machen, blinzeln, wanken oder dem Verfall neigen, beengend” (Raven I 1963: 263). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *winken* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1978) “die Augen schließen”; OE *wincan*, *wincian* I, II (Clark Hall

and Meritt 1969: 410) “to close one's eyes, blink”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wenkjanan* “to wink, wave, give a sign, nod < (earlier) to move sideways, stagger, totter”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*we-n-g-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 1148) “gebogen sein”, from which base the following may also be derived: ON *vakka* with ablaut (Pokorny I 1956: 1148) “umhertreiben, schlendern”; OHG *wankōn* with ablaut (Pokorny I 1956: 1148) “schwanken, wanken”; Lith. *vėgiu, vėngti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1148) “meiden, vermeiden, eigentlich: ausbiegen”; Albanian *vank, vangu* (Pokorny I 1956: 1148) “Felge”; Skt *vangati* (Pokorny I 1956: 1148) “geht, hinkt”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a primary origin for this verb.

winkezen “winken” (Raven I 1963: 263). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wincettan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 410) “to close one's eyes, blink”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wenkatjan* “to wink”, class I intensive deverbative from WGmc class I weak verb **wenkjan* (see under *winken*). Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

winnen “abweiden” (Raven I 1963: 263). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *winne* (Starck and Wells 1990: 733) “Weide”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

winnēn “weiden, abweiden, Riedgras fressen, verzehren” (Raven II 1967: 274). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *winnen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

wintaren “überwintern, den Winter wo zubringen” (Raven I 1963: 263). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *winteren* (Onions 1966: 1008). OE **winteren* I, attested in preterite participle *ge-wintred* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 412) “grown up, adult, aged”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wentrijanan* “to become winter; (over)winter; live to see many winters”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wintar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 734) “Winter”; OS *wintar* (Kluge 1989: 794) “Winter”; OFs. *wintar* (Kluge 1989: 794) “Winter”; OE *winter* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 411) “winter; pl. (in computing time) years”; ON *vetr* (Kluge 1989: 794) “Winter”; Gothic *wintrus* (Kluge 1989: 794) “winter”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wintruz* (Kluge 1989: 794) “Winter”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wintōn “mit der Wurfschaukel und der Gabel worfeln, schwenken, jagen, das Wehen des Windes” (Raven II 1967: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *winta* (Seebold 1970: 555) “Wurfschaukel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-, ir-*

wint-werfōn “(die Feinde) niederstoßen, (ein erbarmliches Lied) ableiern” (Raven II 1967: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *wint* (Starck and Wells 1990: 733) “Wind, Lufthauch”; cf. OHG *werfōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 716) “werfen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

wiohen “(Lupinenstiele) entfernen, d.h. jäten” (Raven I 1963: 263). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wiohha, wihha, wih* (Starck and Wells 1990: 730) “Docht; lucinia, lucubrum, scirpus”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

wipfilōn “Schlößlinge oder Weinranken abschneiden” (Raven II 1967: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wipfel* (Starck and Wells 1990: 736) “Wipfel, oberster Trieb am Weinstock”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

wipfōn “dahineilen, flüchtig und wiederholt vorüberziehen” (Raven II 1967: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a *wippōjan intensive gemination (Seebold 1970: 547) class II zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb *weipanan (Seebold 1970: 546) “winden”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bi-wifen* preterite participle (Seebold 1970: 546) “unglücklich, verdammt”; Gothic *weipan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 546) “kränzen, kronen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

wirden “würdigen, ehren, wert machen, schätzen, auszeichnen, verherrlichen, liebmachen” (Raven I 1963: 264). cf. OHG *werdōn* II (Raven II 1967: 179). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *wirtha* I (de Vries 1962: 667). OE *ge-wyrðan*, *ge-wierðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 428) “to value, appraise”; ON *virða* I (de Vries 1962: 667) “abschätzen, würdigen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **werþijanan* “to value, render valuable, esteem”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *werd* (Starck and Wells 1990: 712) “wer, würdig, ehrenswert”; OS *werth* (Lehmann 1986: 391) “wert, würdig”; OFs. *werth* (Lehmann 1986: 391) “wert, würdig”; OE *weorð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 404) “worth; worthy, honoured, noble, honourable, of high rank; valued, dear, precious; fit, capable”; ON *verðr* (Lehmann 1986: 391) “wert, würdig”; Gothic *wairþs* (Lehmann 1986: 391) “worth, worthy”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **werþaz* (Kluge 1989: 788) “wert, würdig”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*

wirken “arbeiten, tätig sein, schaffen, handeln, etwas ins Werk setzen, machen, tun, bewirken, erfüllen, verrichten, ausüben, weben, vollbringen, bereiten, anfertigen, ausgraben” (Raven I 1963: 264). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wirkian* I (Holthausen 1967: 88) “wirken, tun, machen, bereiten, erwerben”; cf. OFs. *wirkia* II, originally class I? (Kluge 1989: 795) “wirken”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **werkijanan* (Kluge 1989: 795) “wirken; schmerzen; für etwas sorgen”. Precise etymology unclear. Possibly primary, the verb being a normal ablaut grade variant of Gmc **wurkjanan* “to work”, and deriving ultimately from IE √**werg-* (see under *wurken*). That the verb has normal grade ablaut may possibly also be due to influence from the normal grade ablaut in the substantive **werken* “work”. More probable, however, is that this verb is a straightforward denominative formation from the following nominal base: OHG *wer*, *werah*, *werh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 717) “Werk, Arbeit, Werg”; OS *werk* (Kluge 1989: 788). OE *weorc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 403) “work, labour, action, deed, pain, trouble, distress; fortification”; ON *verk* (Kluge 1989: 788) “Werk, Arbeit”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **werken* (Kluge 1989: 788) “Werk”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *eban-*, *fir-*, *folla-*, *furi-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*, *missi-*

wirsirōn “schlechter machen, verschlechtern” (Raven II 1967: 185). cf. OHG *ir-wirsēn* III (Starck and Wells 1990: 737). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wirsiro* comparative adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 737) “schlimmer, ärger, schlechter”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wirtōn “schmausen” (Raven II 1967: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wirt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 737) “Wirt, Gastfreund”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

wirtskeften “wirtschaften, schmausen, ein Gastmahl ausrichten oder abhalten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 737). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wirtscaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 737) “Gastfreundschaft, Gastmahl, Schmaus”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

wīsen “(zum Gerichte) weisen, an-, unter-, zurechtweisen, belehren, unterrichten, zeigen, anzeigen, kundtun, leiten, führen, begleiten, berufen, Anweisung geben” (Raven I 1963: 266). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wīsian* I (Kluge 1989: 785) “berufen, kundtun,

belehren”; OFs. *wīsa* I (Kluge 1989: 785) “weisen”; OE *wīsan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 412) “to direct, instruct, guide, lead; point out, show”; ON *vīsa* I (Kluge 1989: 785) “weisen, hinzeigen”; Gothic *fulla-weisjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 130) “to persuade”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **weisjanan* “wissend machen, unterrichten, zeigen, weisen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wīs* (Starck and Wells 1990: 738) “weise, kundig, verständig, klug”; OS *wīs* (Kluge 1989: 785) “weise”; OFs. *wīs* (de Vries 1962: 668) “weise”; OE *wīs* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 412) “wise, learned; sagacious, cunning, experienced, sane; prudent”; ON *vīss* (Kluge 1989: 785) “weise”; Gothic *unweis* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1955) “nicht wissend”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **weisaz* (Kluge 1989: 785) “wissend, klug, weise”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-*, *dara-gi-*, *folla-*, *fram-gi-*, *gi-*, *ūz-*, *zisamene-*

wisken “(ab)trocknen, (ab)wischen, Staub kehren” (Raven I 1963: 267). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *wischen* (Kluge 1989: 796) “wischen”. Loan verb from High German? MDu. *wisschen* (Kluge 1989: 796) “wischen”. Loan verb from High German? We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **wiskijan* “wischen, mit einem Wisch reinigen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **wisc* “Wisch” attested in: OHG *arswisc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 35) “Arschwisch; podiscus, cacatergito”; OHG *ovanwisc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 457) “Ofenlappen”; MHG *wisch* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1983) “Strohbandel, Wisch”; MLG, MDu. *wisch* (Kluge 1989: 796) “Wisch”; ON *visk* (de Vries 1962: 668) “Wisch, Strohbandel”; OSwed. *visk* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1983) “Besen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wiskaz* (Kluge 1989: 796) “Wisch, Strohbandel, Besen”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*, *int-*, *ūz-*

wīson “(+gen. vel acc.) sich in der Richtung nach etwas hin begeben, aufsuchen, heimsuchen (kirchlich), gnädig ansehen, nach jemandem sehen, sich einer Sache oder einer Person annehmen, nicht wissen, sich mit einem Geschenk bei festlicher Gelegenheit bei jemandem einfinden, die Heimsuchung” (Raven II 1967: 185). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wīsian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 412) “to direct, instruct, guide, lead; point out, show”; ON *vīsa* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1956) “weisen, hinzeigen”; Gothic *ga-weisōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 153) “to persuade”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **weisōjanan* “to show, direct, instruct, make wise or knowledgeable”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *wīsen*). Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-*, *gi-*

(h)wispalōn “lispeln, flüstern, fein zischen oder pfeifen, wispern, knarren” (Raven II 1967: 186). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are obscure. It possibly represents an l-extension deverbative from an earlier simplex belonging to a Gmc onomatopoeic complex representing hissing, whizzing, whining, neighing or sounds. (see under *(h)weiōn*). There an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

wīs-rahhōn “disputieren, mit jemandem einen gelehrten Streit führen, (die Stoiker)” (Raven II 1967: 186). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *wīs* (Starck and Wells 1990: 738) “weise, kundig, verständig, klug”; cf. OHG *rahhōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 471) “sich worüber aussprechen, worauf hinweisen, auseinandersetzen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

wīs-sprāhhōn “gelehrt disputieren, wissenschaftlich streiten” (Raven II 1967: 186). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *wīs* (Starck and Wells 1990: 738) “weise, kundig, verständig, klug”; cf. OHG *-sprāhhōn* II occurs only in compounded form “sprechen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

wīlbreitōn “(Ruhm) verbreiten” (Raven II 1967: 186). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wīlbreitī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 740) “Weite, Umfang”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wīlen “erweitern, fortpflanzen” (Raven I 1963: 267). The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu. *wīden* (de Vries 1962: 659) “weit machen, erweitern”; ON *viða* I (de Vries 1962: 659) “weit machen, erweitern”; Swed. (dial) *vida* (de Vries 1962: 659) “weit machen, erweitern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **weidijanan* “to make wide, widen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wīl* (Starck and Wells 1990: 740) “weit, geräumig, umfangreich”; OS *wīd* (Kluge 1989: 786) “weit”; OFs. *wīd* (Kluge 1989: 786) “weit”; OE *wīd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 407) “wide, broad, vast”, long”; ON *viðr* (de Vries 1962: 660) “weit, geräumig”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **weidaz* (Kluge 1989: 786) “wide”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wīl-gangōn “(von der Krähe) stolz und mit gemessenem Schritte dahinschreiten” (Raven II 1967: 187). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *wīl* (Starck and Wells 1990: 740) “weit, geräumig, umfangreich”; cf. OHG *-gangōn* II occurs only in compounded form “gehen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

wīl-sehōn “die Augen weit öffnen” (Raven II 1967: 187). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *wīl* (Starck and Wells 1990: 740) “weit, geräumig, umfangreich”; cf. OHG *-sehōn* II occurs only in compounded form “sehen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

wittōn das Haupthaar ordnen, (von Priestern) eine Kopfbinde tragen” (Raven II 1967: 187). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *witta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 740) “Kopfbinde”. < Latin *vitta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 740) “Kopfbinde”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wituwēn “des Gatten beraubt oder verwitwet sein” (Raven II 1967: 274). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wituwa* (Starck and Wells 1990: 741) “Witwe”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-, ir-*

wīzagōn, wīsagōn, wīssagōn “wahrsagen, weissagen, prophezeien, das Weissagen, Prophezeien” (Raven II 1967: 187). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *wīgia* II (Seebold 1970: 533) “weissagen”; OE *wīregian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 413) “to prophesy, predict”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **weitagōjan* “to prophesy, predict”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wīsago, wīssago* (Starck and Wells 1990: 741) “Prophet, Wahrsager, Weissager”; OE *wīrega* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 413) “wise man, lawyer; prophet, soothsayer; prophecy”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **weitagaz* “prophet”. This is probably a substantivization of an adjectival form, itself not attested. Ultimately from Gmc **wait* (Seebold 1970: 533) “weiß”. The OHG variant forms *wīsagōn, wīssagōn* are probably due to popular etymology and analogy with compounds formed with the verb *sagōn*. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

(*h*)*wīzen* “weißen, weiß machen, (die Augenränder mit Schminke) umzeichnen” (Raven I 1963: 267). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hwīlan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 199) “to whiten; brighten, polish”; Gothic *ga-hweitan* I (Lehmann 1986: 200) “to whiten”, which

allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hweitijanan* “to whiten, make white”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG (*h*)*wz̄* (Starck and Wells 1990: 741) “weiß, glänzend”; OS *hwāl* (Kluge 1989: 785) “weiß”; OFs. *hwāl* (Kluge 1989: 785) “weiß”; OE *hwāl* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 199) “white, bright, radiant, glistening, clear, fair”; ON *hvítr* (Kluge 1989: 785) “weiß”; Gothic *hweits* (Kluge 1989: 785) “white”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hweitaz* (Kluge 1989: 785) “weiß”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

(*h*)*wz̄ēn* “weiß sein oder werden, grau oder weißgrau sein, glänzen” (Raven II 1967: 274). OE *hwālian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 199) “to whiten (intrs.), become white, be white”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hweitējan* “to be or become white”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under (*h*)*wz̄en*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

wz̄inōn “strafen, quälen, foltern, peinigen, zerfleischen, verstümmeln, Leiden durchmachen, verurteilen” (Raven II 1967: 187). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wānōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 742) “plagen, strafen, verurteilen”; OE *wānian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 414) “to punish, chastise, torture, afflict”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **weitinōjan* “to punish, afflict, torture”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wzi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 742) “Strafe, Bestrafung, Verurteilung”; OS *wāi* (Lehmann 1986: 127). OFs. *wāe* (Lehmann 1986: 127). OE *wāe* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 413) “punishment, torture, contribution in money and food to sustenances of king or his officers; woe, misery, distress”; ON *wíti* (Lehmann 1986: 127) “Strafe”; Gothic *fra-weit* (Lehmann 1986: 127) “revenge, vengeance”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **weitiz* “punishment”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

wz̄ōn “(+dat. pers.) wahrsagen, weissagen, prophezeien” (Raven II 1967: 188). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are unclear. It possibly represents a deadjectival formation from OHG *wz̄* “weise, klug”, formed with medial ‘z’ due to confusion with *wz̄ago* “Prophet”. This is, however, by no means certain. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

wizzēn “klug, verständig werden” (Raven II 1967: 274). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *witan* III (Seebold 1970: 534) “sehen, beobachten, bewachen” (formale und bedeutungsmäßige Zuordnung nicht sehr sicher) (Seebold 1970: 534). We can therefore reconstruct a Gmc **witējanan* (Seebold 1970: 534) “to know, be knowledgeable”, class III zero-grade durative deverbative from preterite-present verb **wait* (see under *weiz*). Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

wolakwetten “(sich) heiligen”, weihen, segnen, bestätigen, bekräftigen, anerkennen” (Raven I 1963: 268). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wolaquetī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 744) “Begrüßung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

wolcanōn “wolkig werden, voll Wolken, wolkenbringend” (Raven II 1967: 188). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wolcan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 745) “Wolke”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

wonēn “einem angehören, bleiben, ausharren, bei einem sein, dauern, gewohnt sein oder werden, grübeln, nachdenken, lernen, vertraut werden, verharren, wohnen, (+gen.) (zu tun) pflegen” (Raven II 1967: 274). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wonōn*, *wunōn* II

(Kluge 1989: 797) “wohnen”; OFs. *wonia* II (Kluge 1989: 797) “wohnen”; OE *wunian* II (Kluge 1989: 797) “to inhabit, dwell, abide, exist; remain, continue, stand; be used to, be want to”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wunējan* (Kluge 1989: 797) “wohnen, (früher) lieben, schätzen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an the ablaut zero grade of IE $\sqrt{*wen-}$, **wenā* (Pokorny I 1956: 1146) “(er)streben; wünschen, lieben, befriedigt sein; erarbeiten, Mühe haben; erreichen, gewinnen, siegen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *wine* (Pokorny I 1956: 1147) “friend, protector, lord; retainer”; OE *wynn* (Pokorny I 1956: 1147) “joy, rapture, pleasure, delight, gladness”; OIr. *fine* (Pokorny I 1956: 1147) “Verwandtschaft, Stamm, Familie”; Gaulish PN *veni-carus* (Pokorny I 1956: 1147); Latin *venus* (Kluge 1989: 265) “Liebe, Reiz, Liebesgenuß”; OCS *uniti* (Kluge 1989: 265) “wollen”; Skt *vanati*, *vanoti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1146) “wünscht, verlangt, gewinnt”; Hittite *wen-*, *went-* with specialized development of meaning (Kluge 1989: 799) “beschlafen, kopulieren”. Despite the fact that attested forms of this verb are restricted to WGmc, the IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *folla-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *missi-*, *samant-*

worfezen, *worpezen* “hin- und herwerfen, schleudern” (Raven I 1963: 268). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **wurpatjan* (Seebold 1970: 558) intensive deverbative from the zero-grade of strong verb **werpanan* (Seebold 1970: 558) “werfen” (see under *werfōn*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

worfōn “etwas nicht besitzen, etwas sich versagen, fernbleiben, etwas meiden, makellos” (Raven II 1967: 188). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *worþian* II (Seebold 1970: 558) “to cast, throw, pelt”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wurpōjan* (Seebold 1970: 558) class II zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **werpanan* (Seebold 1970: 558) “werfen” (see under *werfōn*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

wortalōn “schwätzen, geschwätzig sein, viel Worte machen” (Raven II 1967: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wortal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 746) “wortreich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

wunnisamōn “frohlocken” (Raven II 1967: 189). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wynsumian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 426) “to rejoice, exalt; make glad, make pleasing”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wunnisamōjan* “to rejoice, be merry”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wunnisam* (Starck and Wells 1990: 747) “wonnig, ergötlich”; OS *wunsam* (Holthausen 1967: 91). OE *wynsum* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 426) “winsome, pleasant, delightful, joyful, merry; kindly”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wunnisamaz* “winsome, joyful”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

wunnisangōn “jauchzen, frohlocken, vor Freude singen” (Raven II 1967: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **wunnisang* “joyful song”, can be reconstructed from: OE *wynsang* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 426) “joyful song”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

wunsken “wünschen, erwünschen, ersehnen; (+acc.) etwas durch Zauberei schaffen” (Raven I 1963: 268). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *wonscen*, *wunscen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1995). OE *wýscan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 428) “to wish”; ON *ýskja* I (de Vries 1962: 680) “wünschen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wunskijanan* “to wish”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wunsc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 747) “Wunsch, Wille”; MLG *wunsch* (Kluge 1989: 800) “Wunsch”; MDu. *wonsch* (Kluge 1989: 800) “Wunsch”; OE **wūsc* attested in *wūscharn* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 426) “(dear) little child”; ON *ósk* (Kluge 1989: 800) “Wunsch”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wunskaz*, **wunskō* (Kluge 1989: 800) “Wunsch”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*, *zuo-*, *zuo-gi-*

wuntarōn “(+acc. reflex. et gen. rei) sich wundern über, bewundern, an-, bestaunen, Wunder tun, auf wunderbare Weise tun, sich verwundern über” (Raven II 1967: 189). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wondrōn* II (Holthausen 1967: 91) “wundern”; OE *wundrian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 425) “to wonder, be astonished; admire; make wonderful, magnify”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wundrōjan* “to wonder, marvel”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wuntar* (Kluge 1989: 800) “Wunder, Wunderzeichen, das Staunen”; OS *wundar* (Kluge 1989: 800) “Wunder”; OE *wundor* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 425) “wonder, miracle, marvel, portent, horror”; ON *undr* (Kluge 1989: 800) “Wunder”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wundran* (Kluge 1989: 800) “Wunder”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

wuntōn “verwunden, verletzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 748). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wundian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 425) “to wound”; ON *unda* II (de Vries 1962: 634) “verwunden”; Gothic *ga-wundon* II (Lehmann 1986: 413) “to wound”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wundōjanan* “to wound”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wunt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 747) “verwundet, wund”; OS *wund* (Kluge 1989: 800) “wund”; OE *wund* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 425) “wounded, sore”; Gothic *wunds* (Kluge 1989: 800) “wounded”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wundaz* (Kluge 1989: 800) “wund, verwundet”; cf. ON *und* (Kluge 1989: 800) “Wunde”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

wuofen “trauern, heulen, jammern, schreien, weinen, (weh)klagen” (Raven I 1963: 269). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *æpa* I (Lehmann 1986: 409) “rufen, schreien”; OSwed. *ōpa* (de Vries 1962: 684) “rufen, schreien”; Gothic *wopjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 409) “to call loudly, call out”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wōpjanan* (Seebold 1970: 564) “to call out cry”, class I weak deverbative from strong verb **wōpjanan* (Seebold 1970: 564) “weinen, rufen, schreien”. This 'strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *wuofan* st. vb “weinen” (But according to Seebold (Seebold 1970: 564) the strong present endings are probably secondary). OS *wōpian* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 564) “wehklagen, jammern, beklagen”; OFs. *wēpa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 564) “schreien, beschreien”; OE *wēpan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 404) “to weep, complain, bewail, mourn over”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wōpjanan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 564) “to call out, cry, weep”. Therefore a Gmc weak deverbative (North Sea Gmc being the only branch to preserve the strong verb). However, according to Wissmann (Nomina Postverbalia 184, 46f) the strong preterite is a secondary formation on analogy with the strong verb **hrōpanan* (Seebold 1970: 279) “rufen” (see under *ruofen*).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

wuof-karōn “trauern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 748). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *wuof* (Starck and Wells 1990: 748) “das Weinen, Jammer, Trauer”; cf. OHG *karōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 322) “aufseufzen, beweinen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

**wuoftmahhen, wuoft-mahhenti* “trauerbringend” (Raven I 1963: 269). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *wuoft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 748) “das Weinen, Jammer, Trauer”. cf. OHG *mahhōn* II. This verb (if indeed it was ever a verb rather than simply a present participle adjective) was probably originally class II **wuofmahhōn*, but became class I in accordance with the later OHG tendency to reduce to class I (class I endings carrying less stress than class II endings). Therefore an OHG prefix formation (occurring only in present participle form and involving a change of verbal class to class I for the verb *mahhōn*).

wuoft-screiōn “heulen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 748). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *wuoft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 748) “das Weinen, Jammer, Trauer”; cf. OHG *-screiōn* II independently unattested, occurring only in compound form “schreien”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

wuohharhaften “fruchtbar machen, befruchten” (Raven I 1963: 269). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wuohharhaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 749) “fruchtbar”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

wuolen “(auf)wühlen, verstellen” (Raven I 1963: 296). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wōlian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 749) “aufwühlen, zugrunde richten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wōljan* “wühlen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is formed with the extended *ō*-grade of ablaut and derives ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*wel-}$, **welā*, **wlā* (Pokorny I 1956: 1140) “drehen, winden, wälzen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *wallan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 1142) “aufbrausen, aufwallen”; ON *vella* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 1142) “wallen, brodeln”; Gothic *wulan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 552) “wallen, um sich greifen”; OE *wealwian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 399) “to roll, wallow”; Gothic *walwjan* I (Pokorny I 1956: 1142) “wälzen”; OCS *valiti se* (Pokorny I 1956: 1143) “sich welzen”; OCS *vlbna* (Pokorny I 1956: 1143) “Welle, Woge”; Lith. *veliù*, *vėlti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1143) “walken, walzen”; OIr. *fillid* gemination from original n-present (Pokorny I 1956: 1142) “biegt”; Latin *vola* (Pokorny I 1956: 1142) “Rundung, Höhlung der Hand”; Albanian *vjel* (Pokorny I 1956: 1142) “übergebe mich, erbreche”; Armenian *gelum* (Pokorny I 1956: 1141) “drehen, umdrehen, winden”; Greek *εἰλέω*, *ἑλλω* (Pokorny I 1956: 1141) “ich drehe, winde, rolle, wälze”; Skt *valati* (Pokorny I 1956: 1140) “wendet sich, dreht sich, rollt, bewegt”. There is no evidence in the forms given above for the existence of an extended ablaut grade outside Gmc, and such must be regarded as a WGmc formation. The verb probably represents a deverbative formation, but the phonology involved is uncertain. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *īr-*

wuosten “verwüsten, verheeren, ausplündern, verlassen” (Raven I 1963: 270). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wāstian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1999) “verwüsten, verheeren, plündern”; OE *wāstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 406) “to lay waste, ravage”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wāstijan* “to lay waste, make barren”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wuosti* (Kluge 1989: 801) “leer, öde, einsam”; OS *wāsti* (Kluge 1989: 801) “leer, öde”; OE *wāste* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 406) “waste, barren, desolate, deserted, uninhabited, empty”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wāstiz* (Kluge 1989: 801) “unbebaut, leer, öde, unschön”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *īr-*

wuoten “wüten, rasen, toben, sich abtoben, stürmen, angreifen, betäubt oder in leidenschaftlicher Aufregung sein, wahnsinnig” (Raven I 1963: 270). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *wōdian* I (de Vries 1962: 684) “wüten”; OE *wēdan*, *wādan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 400) “to be or become mad, rage”; ON *æða* I (de Vries 1962: 684) “wütend machen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wōðijanan* “to make mad, insense, to rage”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ferwuot* (Lehmann 1986: 409) “raging”; OE *wōd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 417) “senseless, mad, raging; blasphemous”; ON *óðr* (Kluge 1989: 801) “wütend, rasend”; Gothic *wopþs* (Lehmann 1989: 409) “possessed by demons”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wōðaz* “besessen, erregt”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *īr-*

wurgen “(er)würgen, durch Würgen töten, ersticken, umbringen, (reflex.) sich anstrengen aus der Kehle oder dem Schlunde etwas hwerauszubringen, (bildlich) sich abquälen oder abmühen”

(Raven I 1963: 270). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS **wurgan* can be reconstructed from the agent-noun *wurgarin* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1996) “Würgerin”; MDu. *wroegen*, *wrugen* (Kluge 1989: 800) “würgen”; OE *wyrgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 427) “to strangle”; ON *yrgja* I (de Vries 1962: 679) “würgen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **wurgjanan* “würgen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is an ablaut zero-grade formation which can ultimately be derived from IE $\sqrt{*wer-gh-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “drehen, einengen, würgen, pressen”, from which base the following may also be derived: MHG *er-wergen* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “erwürgen” (The strong form here is probably secondary); OFs. *wergia* II (Onions 1966: 1013) “to kill”; OHG *war(a)g* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “Räuber, Verbrecher”; OS *wurgil* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “Strick”; ON *vargr* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “Wolf, geächteter Verbrecher”; Gothic *launa-wargs* adj. (Lehmann 1986: 153) “unthankful”; Lith. *verziù*, *vėrztì* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “einengen, schnüren, pressen”; Albanian *z-vjerth* (Pokorny I 1956: 1154) “entwöhne”. The forms given above can allow us to reconstruct an IE ablaut e-grade primary verb **werghati*, from which **wurgjanan* may be a zero-grade deverbative formation during the NWGmc period. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

wurken “wirken, tun, machen, erzeugen” (Raven I 1963: 271). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *workian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 750) “arbeiten, bewirken, schaffen”; OFs. *werka* I (Kluge 1989: 795) “wirken, tun, machen”; OE *wyrcan* I, preterite *worhte* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 427) “to prepare, perform, do, make, work, effect, produce”; ON *yrkja* I (Kluge 1989: 795) “wirken, arbeiten, machen”; Run. *worahto* 1 pers sg. preterite indicative *worahto* (Lehmann 1986: 397). Gothic *waurkjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 397) “to do, work; accuse, blame”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wurkjanan* “wirken”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*wrg-}$. This is the ablaut zero-grade of IE $\sqrt{*werg-}$, **wreg-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1168) “wirken, tun”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *werc*, *werah*, *werh* (Pokorny I 1956: 1168) “Werk”; OIr. *do-áirci* (Kluge 1989: 795) “macht, bringt hervor”; Albanian *rregj* (Pokorny I 1956: 1168) “reinigen”; Greek $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega$ (Pokorny I 1956: 1168) “ich tue, wirke, mache”; Avestan *varəz* (Pokorny I 1956: 1168) “Werk”; Avestan *varəziieiti* (Pokorny I 1956: 1168) “arbeitet”; OHG *ga-wurht* zero-grade (Pokorny I 1956: 1168) “Tat, Handlung” is probably post-verbal. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a primary origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *folla-*, *furi-*, *gi-*, *int-*

wurmōn, **wormōn** “wurmsichtig, mit eingelegter Arbeit” (Starck and Wells 1990: 751). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wurmo*, *wormo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 751). Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

wurzalōn “wurzeln, verwurzeln” (Schützeichel 1969: 243). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wurzala* (Starck and Wells 1990: 751). Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*, *ūz-*, *ūz-ir-*

wurzen “würzen, mit wohlschmeckenden und wohlriechenden Kräutern bereiten” (Raven I 1963: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong with the class II verb, this verb is best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class II weak verb (for an etymology of which, see under **wurzōn**). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

wurzōn “würzen” (Raven II 1967: 190). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *wyrtian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 428) “to season, spice, perfume”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wurtōjan* “würzen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wurz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 751) “Wurz, Wurzel, Pflanze, Kraut”; OS *wurt* (Kluge 1989: 801) “Wurz”; OE *wyrt* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 428) “herb, vegetable, plant, spice; crop, root”; ON *urt* (Kluge 1989: 801) “Wurz, Kraut”; OSwed. *yrt* (Lehmann 1986: 397) “plant”; Gothic

waurts (Kluge 1989: 801) “root”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **wurtiz* (Kluge 1989: 801) “plant, root”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*, *ūz-*, *ūz-ir-*

Z

zabalōn “zappeln, zucken, im Todeskampfe liegen, keuchen, in den letzten Zügen liegen, in Zuckungen versetzen, der Eingang, freie Bewegung” (Raven II 1967: 191). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

zādalōn “Mangel leiden, darben, dürftig sein” (Raven II 1967:191). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zādal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 752) “Dürftigkeit, Mangel, Hungersnot”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

zagēn “(+dat. pers.) verzagt sein, nicht an eine Sache heran wollen, unentschlossen sein, ängstliche Bedenken haben, sich abschwächen, den Glanz verlieren” (Raven II 1967: 276). No cognate verbs are attested. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. It probably represents a merger formation with a reduced form of the prefix *at-*, from an earlier **at-agējan*. This may, in turn, be a prefix formation from an otherwise unattested simplex **agējan*. This is then best regarded as a class III durative deverbative from the preterite-present verb **og* (Seebold 1970: 362) “fürchten”. This verb is attested in the following: Gothic *og* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 362) “fürchten”. Compare the Gothic class I deverbative *us-agjan* I (Seebold 1970: 362) “erschrecken”. Compare also the prefixed OIr. *ad-ágathar* (Seebold 1970: 362) “fürchtet” - this too ultimately deriving from IE $\sqrt{*agh-}$ (Kluge 1989: 804) “fürchten”. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

zalōn “aufzählen, rechnen, ab-, be-, nachrechnen, sich mit Zahlen abgeben, eine Rechnung aufmachen mit, erwägen, über etwas nachdenken, (den Weberkamm) durchfahren oder durchschießen” (Raven II 1967: 191). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *talōn* II (Kluge 1989: 804) “aufzählen”; OFs. *talia* II (de Vries 1962: 581) “aufzählen”; OE *talian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 337) “to count, calculate, reckon, account, consider, think, esteem, value; argue; tell, relate; impute, assign”; ON *tala* II (de Vries 1962: 581) “reden, sprechen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **talōjanan* “to number, count, reckon, relate, recount, tell, talk of”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *zellen*). Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

zālōn “rauben, wegreißen, retten, hinschlachten, schrecklich morden” (Raven II 1967: 191). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zāla* (Starck and Wells 1990: 753) “Gefahr, Schaden, Nachstellung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zamōn “zähmen, Pferde zureiten, züchtigen” (Raven II 1967: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *zemma*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

zanden “einbeißen, kosten” (Raven I 1963: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zand*, *zant*, *zan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 753) “Zahn”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zanigōn “mit den Zähnen packen und zernagen, mit dem Griffel durchfurchen, d.h. aufzeichnen, Schrift hinzeichnen, schreiben” (Raven II 1967: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is probably derived an otherwise unattested adjective **zanig*, **zanag* “having teeth, of or relating to teeth, dental”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zi-*

zannēn “den Mund weit öffnen, (wie Hunde) die Zähne fletschen” (Raven II 1967: 276). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *zennen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zanōn “zerfleischen, zerfetzen, zernagen” (Raven II 1967: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *zennen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

zartōn “(+dat pers.) lieblosen, schmeicheln, (von der Stimme) matt oder gleichgültig, verzärtelt, wollüstig” (Raven II 1967: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *zerten*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

zascōn “(Häuser) an sich raffen” (Raven II 1967: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **taskōjan*. The etymology of this verb is unclear. It may possibly derive from a Gmc complex represented by the following: Swed (dial) *tasa* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “Wolle zupfen, Heu ausbreiten”; NLG *tasen* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “pflücken, rupfen”; NHG *zaser* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “Faser”; Norw *tasma* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “langsam arbeiten”; Norw *taspa* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “langsam und schleppend gehen”; MHG *zaspen* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “scharren, schleppend gehen”; Dan *taesa* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “entwirren, auffasern, aufzupfen”. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

zēhhōn “ausrüsten, in Ordnung bringen, ausbessern, instand setzen, (wieder) herstellen, beflecken, besudeln, mit Trug färben, verfälschen, schminken, in Kunstweberarbeit anfertigen, tränken, färben, zeichnen, eine Schnur oder ein Kopfband von blauem Purpur, der Stirnreif, die Klammer oder Verbindung beziehungsweise Fuge” (Raven II 1967: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OE *teohhian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 339) “to determine, intend, propose; consider, think, judge, estimate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zehha* (Starck and Wells 1990: 755) “gemeinsamer Beitrag”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, gi-*

*zeigōn*¹ “zeigen, anzeigen, andeuten, bedeuten, dartun, bezeichnen, angeben, beweisen, erweisen, hinweisen, aufdecken, entdecken, offenbaren, heißen, verordnen” (Raven II 1967: 193). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *in-tāja* (Seebold 1970: 500) “klagen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **taigōjan* (Seebold 1970: 500) class II deverbative from strong verb **teihan* (Seebold 1970: 500) “zeihen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *zīhan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 500) “zeihen, behaupten”; OS *af-tīhan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 500) “versagen”; OFs. *ur-ti(g)a* st vb (Seebold 1970: 500) “verweigern”; OE *tēon* st vb (Seebold 1970: 500) “to accuse, censure; proceed against successfully”; ON *tígenn* st. vb pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 500) “angesehen”; Gothic *ga-teihan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 500) “anzeigen, verkündigen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-, ir-*

*zeigōn*² “anstacheln, stoßen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 756). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Compare *zeckōn* II “anstacheln” (which see).

zeihhanen zeihhnen “zeichnen, kennzeichnen, bezeichnen, mit einem Merkmale versehen, bildlich andeuten, Zeichen oder Wunder tun, anzeigen, versiegeln” (Raven I 1963: 271). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *tēcnian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 2011) “zeichnen”; OE *tācnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 336) “to mark by a token, denote, designate, mark out”;

Gothic *taiknjan* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 2011) “to show, manifest”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **taiknijanan* “zeigen, bezeichnen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zeihhan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 756) “Zeichen, Wunderzeichen, Aufschrift”; OS *tēkan* (Kluge 1989: 807) “Zeichen”; OFs. *tēken* (Kluge 1989: 807) “Zeichen”; OE *tācen* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 336) “token, symbol, sign, signal, mark, indication, suggestion; portent, marvel, wonder, miracle; evidence, proof; standard, banner”; ON *teikn* (Kluge 1989: 807) “Zeichen”; Gothic *taikn* (Kluge 1989: 807) “Zeichen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **taiknan* (Kluge 1989: 807) “Zeichen, Erscheinung”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *avur-gi-*, *fora-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *widar-*, *zuo-*

zeihhanōn “zeigen” (Raven II 1967: 194). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *tēknia* II (de Vries 1962: 585) “zeichnen”; OE *tācnian* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 336) “to mark, indicate; betoken, denote, signify, represent; symbolize; portend; demonstrate, express”; ON *teikna* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 2011) “Zeichen geben, bezeichnen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **taiknōjanan* “zeichnen, bezeichnen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *zeihhanen*). Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

*zeinen*¹ “(mit einem Stäbchen) zeigen oder weisen, zeigend etwas deuten” (Raven I 1963: 273). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zein* (Starck and Wells 1990: 756) “Pfeilschaft, Rohr, Stab”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

*zeinnen*² “zainen, Metallfäden schmieden, Metall zu Stäben strecken, zu Fäden schmieden, Draht ziehen” (Raven I 1963: 273). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *teina* (Schade I 1882: 1241) “in fila ducere”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **tainijanan* “zainen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zein* (Starck and Wells 1990: 756) “Pfeilschrift, Rohr, Stab”; OS *tēn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 756) “Pfeilschrift, Rohr, Stab”; OE *tān* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 338) “twig, rod, switch, branch; rod of divination”; ON *teinn* (de Vries 1962: 585) “Zweig, Stab”; Gothic *tains* (Lehmann 1986: 340) “twig, branch, rod”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **tainaz* “twig, branch, rod”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

zeinōn “(mit einem Stabe) zeigen, zeichnen, ein Zeichen machen, andeuten” (Raven II 1967: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *zeinen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

zeisalōn “(durch)hecheln, kardätschen” (Raven II 1967: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zeisala*, *zeisalo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 757) “Schutt-Karde”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zeisen “(Wolle) zupfen, zausen” (Raven I 1963: 274). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tāsan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 337) “to pull, tear, comb, card, tease”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **taisejan* (Seebold 1970: 498) “zupfen”, deverbative formation from strong verb **taisanan* (Seebold 1970: 498) “zupfen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *zeisan* st vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 757) “zupfen, krempeln, zausen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

zeckōn “antreiben, (an)stacheln, (Unter Verfolgung) abziehen, gießeln” (Raven II 1967: 194). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **tekkōjan* intensive gemination “stechen, anstacheln”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may possibly ultimately derive from an IE $\sqrt{*deigh-}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 187) “prickeln, kitzeln? zwickendes Insekt”, from which base the following may be derived: OE *tinclian* II nasal infix (Pokorny I 1959: 187) “to tickle”; Norw (dial) *tikka* (Pokorny I 1959: 187) “leicht anstoßen”; OHG *zecko*, *zehho* (Starck

and Wells 1990: 755) “Zecke, Holzblock”; Mlr. *dega* (Pokorny I 1959: 187) “Hirschkäfer”; Arm. *tiz* (Pokorny I 1959: 187) “Zecke”. These data are, however, insufficient to allow this verb to be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

zelgen “gebrochene Knochen einrichten, ausbessern, wiederherstellen; das Feld bestellen nachdem es zur Brache gelegen ist, was gewöhnlich um das dritte Jahr geschieht, die sogenannte Dreifelderwirtschaft treiben” (Raven I 1963: 274). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zelga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 757) “Flurabteilung unter Dreifelderwirtschaft, bestelltes Feld”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zellen “(er)zählen, an-, berechnen, mustern, sagen, nennen, auswählen, bevorzugen, ausschließen, bestimmen, betrachten als, halten für, vergleichen mit, zuzählen, zuteilen, in ein Verhältnis setzen, als Anteil geben, mündlich oder schriftlich mitteilen” (Raven I 1963: 274). cf. OHG *zalōn* II (Raven II 1967: 191). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *tellian* I (Kluge 1989: 804) “(er)zählen”; OFs. *tella* I (de Vries 1962: 586) “(er)zählen”; OE *tellan* I (Kluge 1989: 804) “to tell, reckon, count, number, compute, calculate; estimate, consider, think, esteem”; ON *telja* I (Kluge 1989: 804) “zählen, rechnen; erzählen, sprechen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **talijanan* “to number, count, reckon; tell”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zala* f. *zal* n. (Starck and Wells 1990: 753) “Zahl, Menge, Berechnung”; OS *tala* f. (Kluge 1989: 804) “Zahl”; OS *tal* n. (Pfeifer III 1989: 2002) “Zahl, Reihe”; OE *talū* f. (Kluge 1989: 804) “tale; series, calculation, list; narrative”; OE *tæl* n. (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 337) “number, series; opinion; tribe”; ON *tala* f. (Kluge 1989: 804) “Zahl, Berechnung; Unterredung”; ON *tal* n. (de Vries 1962: 581) “Zahl, Zählung; Rechnung, Rede, Unterhaltung”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **talō* f. **talan* n. (Kluge 1989: 804) “Zahl”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, bi-, dara-, gi-, int-, ir-, untar-, widar-, zisamene-*

zelten “im Paß gehen oder im sanften (wackelnden) Schritt das Pferd gehen lassen, auf dieser Art reiten” (Raven I 1963: 277). No cognate verbs are attested. MLG *telden* (Kluge 1989: 809) “im Paßgang schreiten”, is a loan word from High German. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **zelt* “Paßgang”, which can be reconstructed from MHG *zelt* (Kluge 1989: 809) “Paßgang, das ist wiegender Gang eines Reittiers, wobei es abwechselnd die beiden rechten und die beiden linken Beine je zugleich aufhebt”; MLG *telde* (Kluge 1989: 809) “Paßgang”. < Old Spanish *thieldō* (Pliny: *thieldōnes* pl.) “= Bezeichnung einer Art im Paßschritt gehender asturischer Pferde”. Loan word into OHG area first, then to LG area, probably spreading from south to north before OHG sound shift. cf. OHG *zeltāri* (Kluge 1989: 809) “Zelter, Paßgänger”; OS *telderi* (Kluge 1989: 809) “Zelter, Paßgänger”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zemmen “zähmen” (Raven 1963: 333). OHG *zamōn* II (Raven II 1967: 192). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *tem(m)en* (Kluge 1989: 804). OFs. *temia* II, umlaut indicates origin in class I (Kluge 1989: 804) “zähmen”; OE *temian* II, umlaut indicates origin in class I (Kluge 1989: 804) “to tame, subdue”; ON *temja* (Kluge 1989: 804) “zähmen, gewöhnen”; Gothic *ga-tamjan* I (Kluge 1989: 804) “to tame”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **tamijanan* (Kluge 1989: 804) “to tame, make tame”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zam* (Starck and Wells 1990: 753) “zahn, ans Joch gewöhnt”; MLG, MDu *tam* (Kluge 1989: 804) “zahn”; OFs. *tam, tom* (Kluge 1989: 804) “zahn”; OE *tam* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 337) “tame; tractable, gentle, mild”; ON *tamr* (Kluge 1989: 804) “zahn”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **tamaz* (Kluge 1989: 804) “zahn”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

zennen “zum zweitenmal Zähne bekommen, zähnen” (Raven I 1963: 277). cf. OHG *zanōn* III (Raven II 1967: 192). cf. OHG *zannēn* III (Raven II 1967: 276). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zand, zant, zan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 753) “Zahn”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

zerben “sich (um)drehen, wälzen” (Raven I 1963: 277). No cognate verbs are attested as such. However, OE *tearflīan* II < **tarbalōjan* (Pokorny I 1956: 212) “to turn, roll, wallow”, is probably a continuative, frequentative deverbative (formed with l-extension) from a verb cognate with OHG *zerben*, but which is otherwise unattested in OE. We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **tarbjanan* “to turn, roll”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*derbh-}$, **dorbho-* (Pokorny I 1956: 211) “winden, zusammendrehen; zusammengedrehtes Grasbündel, Rasen”, from which base the following may also be derived: MHG *zirben* (Pokorny I 1956: 212) “sich im Kreise drehen, wirbeln”; OHG *zurba, zurf* (Pokorny I 1956: 212) “Rasen”; OE *torf* (Pokorny I 1956: 212) “Torf, Rasen”; ON *tyrfa* (Pokorny I 1956: 212) “mit Rasen bedecken”; Skt *drbhāti* (Pokorny I 1956: 211) “verknüpft, flicht zusammen, windet”; Avest. *dərəwōda* (Pokorny I 1956: 211) “Muskelbündel”; Arm. *toin* (Pokorny I 1956: 212) “funiculus, laqueus”; Russ. *derbováť* (Pokorny I 1956: 212) “vom Moos, vom Rasen säubern; den Anwuchs ausroden”; Russ. *derbítʹ* (Pokorny I 1956: 212) “rupfen, zupfen, raufen”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a primary origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *umbi-*

zerren “reißen, zer-, abreißen” (Raven I 1963: 277). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *terren* (Kluge 1989: 810) “zanken, plagen”; OS *far-terian* (Seebold 1970: 503) “vernichten, zerstören”; OE *ge-teran* (Seebold 1970: 503) “unterscheiden”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **tarejan* (Seebold 1970: 503), class I deverbative from strong verb **teranan* (Seebold 1970: 502) “reißen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *zeran* st vb (Seebold 1970: 503) “ein Ende machen (einem Kampf), zerstören”; OE *teran* st vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 340) “to tear, lacerate”; Gothic *ga-tairan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 503) “zerreißen, zerstören”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *nidar-bi-*

zerten “liebkoosen, (+acc.) zärtlich behandeln” (Raven I 1963: 277). cf. OHG *zartōn* II (Raven II 1967: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zart* (Kluge 1989: 805) “zart; Liebling”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*

zessōn “wallen, schäumend wogen, (vom Wasser) brausen, branden: das Brausen des Meeres” (Raven II 1967: 195). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zessa* (Starck and Wells 1990: 758) “Woge, Brandung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-, ūz-*

zetten “(verteilend) streuen, zerstreuen, zerstreut fallen lassen, ausbreiten, auseinanderbreiten” (Raven 1963: 333). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *teðja* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “Mist ausbreiten, düngen, misten, über den Acker zetteln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **taðjanan* “(verteilend) streuen, ausbreiten”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably best regarded as a dental extension from an IE $\sqrt{*dā-}$, **dā-*, **dāi-* (Pokorny I 1959: 175) “teilen, zerschneiden, zerreißn”, from which base the following may also be derived: Gothic *ungatass* (Pokorny I 1959: 177) “ungeregelt”; OHG *zetten* (Pokorny I 1959: 177) “(verteilend) streuen, ausbreiten”; ON *tað* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “(ausgebreiteter) Mist”. Probably postverbal = “that which is spread”; OHG *zota, zata* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “Zotte, zusammen herabhängende Haare, Fäden oder Wolle”; MHG *zoten* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “langsam gehen”; Engl. *tottle, toddle, totter* (Kluge 1989: 816); East Fs. *todden* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “ziehen, schleppen”; Greek *δατέομαι* (Pokorny I 1959: 177) “ich teile, zerreiße,

verzehre”. Apart from the Greek verb given above, the Gmc verbal complex from this IE root has few parallels outside the Gmc group. This verb is therefore best not considered as primary. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ubar-*

zi-beiten “zwingen” (Raven I 1963: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-blāen “aufblasen, aufblähen” (Raven I 1963: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-bolōn “hin-, zerstreuen, zerschellen” (Raven II 1967: 21). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-breiten “ausbreiten” (Raven I 1963: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. OE *tō-brēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 343) “to make broad, enlarge, extend, make great (in size or number); expand, diffuse, open wide, spread abroad”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zi-dansōn “von Gewissensbissen gepeinigt werden” (Raven II 1967: 25). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-dennen “auswerfen, (Segel) ausdehnen, (den Körper) aufblähen oder spannen, zerschmettern” (Raven I 1963: 289). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-dicken “verdichten, dicht machen” (Raven I 1963: 28). cf. OHG *dickōn* II (Raven II 1967: 25). cf. OHG *dickēn* III (Raven II 1967: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class I).

zieren “zieren, schmücken, schminken, schön oder prächtig machen, verherrlichen, rühmen, preisen” (Raven I 1963: 277). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zieri* (Starck and Wells 1990: 761) “geschmückt, geziert, zierlich, schön, anmutig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

zi-fellen zir-fellen “zerfallen, zerstören” (Raven I 1963: 39). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-fillan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 728) “to cause to fall in different directions, demolish, destroy, break to pieces”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zi-flōzzēn “zerspülen” (Raven I 1963: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-fuogen “auseinanderbrechen, trennen” (Raven I 1963: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-fuoren zir-fuoren “niederreißen, vernichten, entkräften, zerstreuen, verjagen, auseinanderlaufen, zerfließen, sich auflösen” (Raven I 1963: 51). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-fēran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 344) “to go in different directions, separate, disperse; deal out, distribute”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zi-gengen “zergehen machen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 56). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-gengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 344) “to separate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zi-gi-rennen “tempern, härten, ausglühen, umschmelzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 481). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-in-trennen “vernichten, zunichte werden” (Raven I 1963: 228). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-klecken “zerbersten, zerplatzen” (Raven I 1963: 308). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-knussen, zir-knussen “zerschlagen, werfen, niederschlagen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 339). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-cnyssan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 343) “to crush to pieces, smash, shatter”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zi-kwellen “angeschwollen, aufgeblasen sein, überschwellen” (Raven I 1963: 308). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-leggen zir-leggen “absondern, trennen, aufschrecken, auseinandertreiben, absterben, hinschwinden” (Raven I 1963: 312). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zilōn “(reflex. +gen.) sich bemühen, befehligen, bestrebt sein, sich beeifern, eifrig streben nach, ein Ziel stecken. anfallen, (von Truppen) eine Schwenkung machen lassen, (Träume) deuten, Kundschafter oder Spitzel sein, sich verlassen auf, heranzukommen suchen, berühren” (Raven II 1967: 276). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under **zilōn**. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

zi-lidōn “ausgräten, die Knochen abnagen oder zerbrechen” (Raven II 1967: 88). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-liðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 345) “to dismember, separate; relax, cancel”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zillen “an-, berühren” (Raven I 1963: 278). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 762) “Ziel, Ende, Grenze”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūf-*

zilōn “(gen. reflex.) sich beeifern, sich beeilen, sich schnell auf ein Ziel hinwenden” (Raven II 1967: 195). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *tilōn* II (Holthausen 1967: 74) “erlangen”; OLF *tilōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 344). OFs. *tilia* II (Lehmann 1986: 344) “to cultivate”; OE *tilian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 341) “to aim at, aspire to, strive after, try, endeavour; procure, obtain, gain, provide; exert oneself, work, make, generate; tend, cherish, cultivate, till, plough; trade, traffic; treat, care”; Gothic *ga-tilōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 344) “to achieve”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **tilōjanan* “to make good or suitable, achieve, aim, strive for, till, cultivate, work, labour”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OS *til* (Holthausen 1967: 74) “passend”; OFs. *til* (Lehmann 1986: 344) “good”; OE *til* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 341) “good, apt, suitable, useful, profitable; excellent; brave; abounding”; ON *tilr* (Lehmann 1986: 344) “gut, passend, zweckmäßig”; Gothic *ga-tils* (Lehmann 1986: 344) “fitting”. cf. OHG *zil* subst (Starck and Wells 1990: 762) “Ziel, Ende, Grenze”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **tilaz* “good, apt, fitting, suitable, right”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *[hera-]*

zi-lōsen zir-lōsen “lösen, erlösen, auflösen, zerlösen, losmachen, entbinden, hierhin und dorthin wenden (= sich spröde gebärden), herumgehen, den Mut ausleeren, (= lähmen), brechen, zerbrechen, trennen, zerteilen, zerlegen” (Raven I 1963: 117). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zimbaren “zimmern, (er)bauen” (Raven I 1963: 278). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *timbrian* I (Holthausen 1967: 75) “zimmern, erbauen”; OE *timbran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 341) “to build, construct, erect; cut timber; edify; do”; Gothic *tim(b)rjan* I (Kluge 1989: 813) “to build (up), strengthen, benefit, edify”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **temrijanan* “to build, construct (from timber)”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zimbar* (Kluge 1989: 813) “Wohnraum, Wohnung; Holzbau, Bauholz”; OS *timbar* (Kluge 1989: 813) “Zimmerwerk”; OFs. *timber* (Kluge 1989: 813) “Zimmerwerk”; OE *timber* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 341) “timber, building material; building, structure; trees, woods”; ON *timbr* (Kluge 1989: 813) “Bauholz; Gebäude”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **temran* (Kluge 1989: 813) “timber, construction material, (timber) structure”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *furi-*, *gi-*

zimbarōn “errichten, zimmern, bauen, aufbauen, erbauen, von neuem schaffen, den Wohnsitz aufschlagen, Belagerungswerke oder ein Gebäude aufführen, mit einem Hau- oder Schneidewerk bearbeiten, errichten” (Raven II 1967: 195). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *timbrōn* II (Holthausen 1967: 75) “zimmern”; OFs. *timbria*, *timmeria* II (Kluge 1989: 813) “zimmern”; OE *timbrian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 341) “to build, construct, erect; cut timber; edify; do”; ON *timbra* II (Kluge 1989: 813) “zimmern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **temrōjanan* “to build, construct (from timber)”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under **zimbaren**). Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ubar-*, *ūf*, *untar-*, *zi-*

zi-musken “zerquetschen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 428). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-nezzen “befeuchten, benetzen, bespritzen, besprengen, (ein)tauchen, tränken, ausgießen, überfluten, überspülen” (Raven I 1963: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zinsen “mit Abgaben oder Tribut belegen” (Raven I 1963: 279). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zins*, *zens* (Kluge 1989: 814) “Abgabe, Tribut”. < Latin *cēnsus* (Kluge 1989: 814) “Schätzung, Steuer”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

zinsilōn “arglistig anstiften, heimlich Böses ersinnen oder schmieden” (Raven II 1967: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zinsilo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 764) “Zündstoff”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zircōn “umgehen, umgeben, umringen, umkreisen; circumire” (Raven II 1967: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. < Med Latin *circāre* (Niermeyer 1976: 180) “to make the round of the diocese; to make the round of inspection in a monastery; to inspect, search, detect transgressions; to surround; besiege”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

zi-rennen “frischen, schmelzen, flüssig machen, kochen” (Raven I 1963: 153). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-iernan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 345) “to run to, run together; flow away, be dispersed; run hither and thither, wander about”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zi-sāen “zerstreuen” (Raven I 1963: 167). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-beiten “verbinden, vereinigen” (Raven I 1963: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-bringen “vergleichen, zusammenbringen” (Raven I 1963: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-drucken “zusammenheften, durchstechen, umschlingen, umarmen” (Raven I 1963: 31). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-folla-haben “zusammenhalten” (Raven I 1963: 303). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-fuogen “zusammenfügen” (Raven I 1963: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-gi-auhhōn “zusammenfügen, unmittelbar verbinden” (Raven II 1967: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-gi-fuogen “zusammenfügen” (Raven I 1963: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-gi-heften “zusammenheften” (Raven I 1963: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamine-gi-hūfōn “zusammentragen” (Raven II 1967: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-gi-līmen “zusammenleimen” (Raven I 1963: 111). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamane-gi-mahhōn “Ehe, ehelich verbinden” (Raven II 1967: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-gi-rennen “zum Gefrieren bringen, starr machen, erstarren, härten, untätig werden, (Gold- und Silber) zusammenschmelzen” (Raven I 1963: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-gi-slihten “be-, umkränzen” (Raven I 1963: 191). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-gi-walbōn “zusammenkommen, d.h. zurückkommen” (Raven II 1967: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-gi-zuckōn “zusammenziehen, (das augenlicht) erlösen” (Raven II 1967: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-haben “mischen, zusammenhalten” (Raven I 1963: 304). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-haftēn “zusammenhaften, -hängen, eng verbunden oder ungetrennt sein, ununterbrochen fortlaufen” (Raven II 1967: 224). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-halsen “umschlingen, umarmen” (Raven I 1963: 64). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-heften “verbinden, zusammenheften” (Raven I 1963: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-klebēn “zusammenhaften beziehungsweise -kleben” (Raven II 1967: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-knupfen “zusammenknüpfen” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-leggen “zusammenlegen, Worte logisch zusammenknüpfen, zusammenfassen” (Raven I 1963: 312). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamane-miskelōn “vermengen, zusammenmischen” (Raven II 1967: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-misken “mischen, mengen, mischend trüben” (Raven I 1963: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-raspōn “zusammenhäufen, -bringen” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-rerten “passend zusammenbringen” (Raven I 1963: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-sezzēn “zusammensetzen, zesammenfügen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 520). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-slagōn “zerschlagen” (Raven II 1967: 139). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-swermen “(von Bienen) zusammenströmen, schwärmen” (Raven I 1963: 220). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-temparōn “mischen, zurechtmischen, d.h. das wort fest verwachsen sein, (das Wort mit dem Glauben) vereinigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 624). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-wāsen “zusammenrufen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 738). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-zellen “zusammenzählen” (Raven I 1963: 277). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-zī-heften “zusammenheften” (Raven I 1963: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zisamene-zūnen “umzäunen” (Raven I 1963: 281). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zī-segōn “sägen” (Raven II 1967: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zī-senten “hinüberbringen” (Raven I 1963: 171). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-sendan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 346) “to send to; send apart, send out, disperse”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zi-sezzen “öffentlich bekanntmachen, zersetzen” (Raven I 1963: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-skeitilōn “(vom Haupthaar) scheiteln, ordnen oder flechten” (Raven II 1967: 132). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-screnken “auseinanderspreizen” (Raven I 1963: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-sleizzen “verschmähen, verachten, zerschleißeln, zerreißen, zerfleischen, zersetzen” (Raven I 1963: 190). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-smelzen “zerschmelzen, tauen, verflüssigen” (Raven I 1963: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zispēn¹ “zispēn, mucken, mucksēn, munkeln, die Zunge gegen jemanden spitzen” (Raven I 1963: 279). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Probably an onomatopoeic verb of imitative origin.

***zispēn²** “schleifend gehen; treten auf” (Lexer III 1878: 1135). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **tespjan*, **tispjan* (i-vocalism?) “schleifend gehen, treten auf”. The etymology of this verb is unclear. It is possibly a p-extension which derives from a Gmc complex represented by the following verbs: MHG *zispēn* (Lexer III 1878: 1135) “schleifend gehen; treten auf”; ON *tispla* (Torp 1963: 788) “in Streifen zerreißen”; Norw *taspa* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “langsam und schleppend gehen”; OHG *zeisan* st vb (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “rupfen, sammeln”; NLG *tasen* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “pflücken, rupfen”; Swed (dial) *tasa* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “Wolle zupfen, Heu ausbreiten”; OHG *zir-zūsōn* II u-vocalism (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “zerzausen”. This Gmc complex does not appear to have any connections outside Gmc. The verb cannot therefore be regarded as primary. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *ir-*

zispilōn “lispeln, (von kleinen Kindern) quäken” (Raven II 1967: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Probably a frequentative / continuative deverbative from the OHG weak verb *zispēn* I (Raven I 1963: 279) “zispēn, mucken”. Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-gi-*

zi-spizzēn “zertreten” (Raven I 1963: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-spreiten, **zir-spreiten** “aus-, verbreiten, herumstreuen, auseinandertun, auseinanderbreiten, zerstreuen, (Segel) ausspannen, beredsam oder überzeugend sprechen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 580). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-sprædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 347) “to spread out”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zi-sprengen “vernichten, absondern, in Unordnung bringen, zerstreuen” (Raven I 1963: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-stōren **zir-stōren** “zerstören, zerstreuen, ausrotten, vernichten, verwüsten, unterdrücken, unterjochen, vertilgen, niederwerfen, niederreißen, niederstoßen, abhelfen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 596). OS *tō-stōrian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1730) “zerstören”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zi-stouben zir-stouben “erschrecken, Unruhe stiften (passiv), zerstäuben, vertreiben, wegtreiben, wegstoßen, verwirren, in Verwirrung setzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 596). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-stōzōn zir-stōzōn “gegen etwas anschlagen, heraus-, zerschlagen, herausstoßen” (Raven II 1967: 149). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-strūen “zerstören, zur Sicherheit beseitelegen oder absondern” (Raven I 1963: 210). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-sturen “sich unterwerfen” (Raven I 1963: 212). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-suonen “entscheiden, aburteilen, unterscheiden” (Raven I 1963: 218). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-teilen zir-teilen “zerteilen, umher-, zerstreuen, gewaltsam trennen, vertreiben, verderben, die Tage auf die Hälfte bringen, die Lebensmittel erreichen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 624). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-dælan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 343) “to divide, separate, scatter, disperse; dismember, cut off, destroy; distribute; discriminate, distinguish; be divided; express, utter”; Gothic *dis-dailjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 87) “to distribute”. The phonological relationship of the Gothic prefix *dis-* to the WGmc forms of the preverb is complex and uncertain. The semantic connections are, nevertheless, obvious enough to assume a relation between the two prefixes, in which case it may be possible to postulate a Gmc form **tiz-* (compare Latin *dis-*). Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

zi-teilōn “verteilen, zerteilen” (Raven II 1967: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-trennen “auftrennen, zerreißen” (Raven I 1963: 228). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

**zīen* “zeitig eintreffen”. MHG *zīen* (Lexer III 1878: 1138) “reif werden”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tīdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 340) “to betide, happen; to fall to one’s lot”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **tīdijan* “to become ripe; betide”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zī* (Kluge 1989: 808) “Zeit”; OS *tīd* (Kluge 1989: 808) “Zeit”; OE *tīd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 340) “time, period, season, while; hour; feastday, festal tide”; ON *tíð* (Kluge 1989: 808) “Zeit, Stunde”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **tīdiz* f. (Kluge 1989: 808) “Zeit”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

zittarōn “(vom Schritt) wanken oder ausgleiten, trunken dahintaumeln” (Raven II 1967: 196). The following cognate verbs are attested: Eng *titter* (Pfeifer III 1989: 2039). ON *titra* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 2039) “beben, zittern, zwinkern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **tit(t)rōjanan* (Pfeifer III 1989: 2039) “zittern”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to be an onomatopoeic or intensive reduplicating present formation, deriving ultimately from the IE **drā-* (Pfeifer III 1989: 2039), extension of IE *√*der(ə)-* (Pfeifer III 1989: 2039) “laufen, treten, trippeln”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *daridrāti* reduplicating present (Pfeifer III 1989: 2039) “läuft hin und her, schweift herum, ist arm”; Skt *drāti* (Pfeifer III 1989: 2039) “läuft, eilt”; Greek ἀπο-διδράσκω reduplicating present (Pfeifer III 1989: 2039) “ich laufe weg, entlaufe, entrinne”; Greek δρασμός (Pfeifer III 1989: 2039) “das Ausreißen, Flucht”. The IE parallels given above provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

ziugōn “zustande bringen” (Pfeifer III 1989: 2022). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ziug* (Kluge 1989: 810) “Stoff, Ausrüstung, Gerät”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

zi-wāen “verwehen, zerwehen, zerstreuen” (Raven I 1963: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-weiben “zerstreuen, austreuen, zerhauen, versprengen, verteilen” (Raven I 1963: 251). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *weibōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 705) “schwanken, wellen, herabgleiten”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class I).

zi-zanihhōn “zerfleischen” (Raven II 1967: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with variation of medial *g* / *hh*).

zi-zimbarōn “das Erbaute auseinandernehmen, zerstören” (Starck and Wells 1990: 763). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-zuckōn, zi-zockōn “berauben, plündern” (Raven II 1967: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-zurnen zir-zurnen “disputieren, leidenschaftlich hin und her reden beim schmausen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 773). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zi-zūsōn zir-zūsōn “(von der Kleidung) frei herabwallen, (vom Mieder oder der Brustbinde) losgurten, zugrunde richten, losmachen, zerstören” (Raven II 1967: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. MEngl *tō-touse* (Pfeifer III 1989: 2008) “zerzausen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zogōn, zoggōn “annehmen, sich auswählen, schwanken, entziehen” (Raven II 1967: 196). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *togia* II (Seebold 1970: 504) “gewaltsam ziehen”; OE *togian* II (Seebold 1970: 504) “to draw, drag”; ON *toga* II (Seebold 1970: 504) “ziehen, reißen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **tugōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 504) class II frequentative / continuative deverbative formation from strong verb **teuhanan* (Seebold 1970: 503) “ziehen” (see under *zucken*). Therefore a NWGmc frequentative / continuative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dana-*

zohen “ziehen machen, treiben, locken” (Raven I 1963: 279). No cognate verbs are attested. This verb is probably best regarded as a class I deverbative from earlier **tuhējan* (Seebold 1970: 504) a class III durative deverbative from the strong verb **teuhanan* (Seebold 1970: 503) “ziehen” (see under *zucken*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

zorften “hell machen, erhellen” (Raven I 1963: 279). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zorft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 768) “hell, hervorstechend, glänzend”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

zorcalōn “hinschwinden, krank darnieder liegen” (Raven II 1967: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

zornōn “über etwas aufgeregt, entrüstet oder zornig sein, daran zweifeln”. No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *zurnen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zotaren, zataren “(vom Haare) herabhängen, zotteliges Haar haben” (Raven I 1963: 279). No cognate verbs are attested. Continuative / frequentative deverbative formed with r-extension from OHG **zotōn*, **zatōn* extant in MHG *zoten* (Lexer III 1878: 1154) “in Zotten niederhängen” (see under **zotōn*). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with r-extension).

**zotōn, *zatōn* “in Zotten niederhängen”. MHG *zoten* (Lexer III 1878: 1154) “in Zotten niederhängen”. cf. OHG *zotaren, zataren* I (Raven I 1963: 279) “(vom Haare) herabhängen, zotteliges Haar haben”. No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zata, zota, zato* (Kluge 1989: 816) “Mähne, Zotte, zottiges Haar, zusammen herabhängende Haare Fäden oder Wolle”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

**zottōn* “zotteln”. No cognate verbs are attested. The etymology of this verb is complex. It is probably best regarded as an intensive deverbative, formed with intensive gemination, from the OHG weak verb **zotōn* which verb is attested in MHG *zoten* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “in Zotten niederhängen, langsam gehen”. Compare the following verbs which are loosely related to this verb: NHG *zotteln* (Pfeifer III 1989: 2043) “in Fetzen hängen, mit schmutzigen, herunterhängenden Kleidern gehen, langsam, nachlässig, ohne Ziel daherschlendern”; MLG *toddelen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 2043) “in Zotten, in einzelnen Teilen herabfallen”; Engl *tottle, toddle, totter* (Kluge 1989: 816). EastFs *todden* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “ziehen, schleppen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *nāh-*

zoubarōn “zaubern, Zauberei treiben, bezaubern” (Raven II 1967: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zoubar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 768) “Behexung, Gaukelei, Zauberei”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, fir-*

zougen “zeigen, zum Vorschein bringen” (Raven I 1963: 279). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *tōgian* (Schade II 1882: 1297) “erzeigen, beweisen”. These verbs probably represent a WGmc merged compound of earlier prefix form which can be seen in Gothic *at- augjan* (Lehmann 1986: 48) “to show”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **at-augijanan* “to show, reveal, bring before the eyes”. This WGmc merger is possibly due to a confused boundary division between the prefix and the verb. This is probably on analogy with forms deriving from the Gmc *√*teih-, *taih-* “zeigen, weisen”, for example: OHG *zeigōn* (Pokorny I 1956: 188) “zeigen”; OHG *zīhan* st vb (Pokorny I 1956: 188) “anschuldigen”; OE *tēon* st vb (Pokorny I 1956: 188) “anzeigen, verkündigen”; Gothic *ga-teiħan* st vb (Pokorny I 1956: 188) “anzeigen, verkündigen”; Gothic *taikns* (Pokorny I 1956: 189) “Zeichen, Wunder”; ON *teikna* (Pokorny I 1956: 189) “zeigen, bedeuten, bezeichnen”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*

zowen, zouwen, zewen “Eisen schmieden, bearbeiten, machen, verfertigen, färben” (Raven 1963: 333). cf. OHG *zawēn, zowēn* III (Kluge 1989: 806). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *touwen* (Lehmann 1986: 342) “zurichten”; OS *tōgian* I (Kluge 1989: 806). ON *tæja* I (Kluge 1989: 806) “helfen”; Run. *tawido* 1st sg. pret. (Lehmann 1986: 342) “I did, made”; Gothic *taujan* I (Lehmann 1986: 342) “to do, make”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **tawjanan* “to do, make”. cf. OE *tāwian* II, originally class I? Lengthening of ‘a’ secondary? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 338) “to prepare, make ready, make; till, cultivate; harass, afflict, insult”. The further etymology of this verb is unclear.

zugidōn “nähren, ernähren” (Raven II 1967: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **zugida* attested in *follazugida* (Starck and Wells 1990: 169) “Unterstützung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zugil-brehhōn “Zügel zerreißen” (Raven II 1967: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *zugil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 769) “Zügel”; OHG *brehhōn* II “brechen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuhten “aufziehen, züchten” (Raven I 1963: 280). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zuht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 769) “Zucht, Nahrung, Nachkommenschaft”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

zuhtīgēn “Junge säugen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 770). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zuhtīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 769) “säugend, sittsam”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

zuhtōn “züchten, nähren, (auf Purpurkissen) sich hegen lassen” (Raven II 1967: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *zuhten*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zucken, zuhhen “an sich reißen, sich bemächtigen, zücken, rauben, zucken, führen, ergreifen, raffen, gewaltsam wegziehen oder entreißen” (Raven I 1963: 280). cf. OHG *zog(g)ōn* II (Raven II 1967: 196). cf. OHG *zockōn, zuhhōn, zuhhōn* II (Raven II 1967: 196, 197). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *tucken* (Kluge 1989: 817) “zucken”; OFs. *tetzia* (Seebold 1970: 504) “sich zueignen”; OFs. *und-tetzia* (Seebold 1970: 504) “entreißen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **tukkjan* intensive gemination (Seebold 1970: 504) “zücken”, zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **teuhanan* (Seebold 1970: 503) “ziehen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *ziohan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 504) “ziehen, ernähren”; OS *tiohan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 504) “ziehen, erziehen”; OFs. *tia* st vb (Seebold 1970: 503) “ziehen, aufkommen für, sich wenden an”; OE *tēon* st vb (Seebold 1970: 503) “to pull, tug, draw, drag, row (boat); draw together; withdraw, take; entice, allure, induce, lead, bring; bring up, educate; bring to, attract; arrogate; bring forth, produce; restrain; betake oneself to, roam”; ON *togenn* st. vb pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 503) “gezogen”; Gothic *tiuhan* st vb (Seebold 1970: 503) “ziehen, wegführen”. Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, fir-, fora-, gi-, ir-, ūf, ūz-gi-, widar-*

zuckōn, zockōn, zuhhōn “rauben, rupfen, an sich reißen, fortreißen, sich zusammenziehen, wanken, wegstehlen, plündern, zerren, raffen, erraffen, [drängen], ein Jammergeschrei erheben, runzelig oder traurig” (Raven II 1967: 197). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **tukkōjan* intensive gemination (Seebold 1970: 504) “raffen, plündern”, intensive formation from strong verb **teuhanan* (Seebold 1970: 503) “ziehen” (see under *zucken*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, gi-, ir-, zi-, zisamene-gi-, zi-*

zumften “passend ausstaffieren” (Raven I 1963: 281). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zumft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 770) “Vertrag”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

zundēn “brennen, entbrennen, funkeln, glühen” (Raven II 1967: 277). cf. OHG *zunten* I (Raven I 1963: 281). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **tundēnan* (Seebold 1970: 502), zero grade class III durative deverbative from strong verb **tenþnanan* (Seebold 1970: 502) “brennen” (see under *zunten*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

zūnen “(ver)zäunen, zaunartig flechten, umgeben” (Raven I 1963: 281). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tyñan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 353) “to hedge in, fence, enclose, shut”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **tūnijan* “to enclose (with a fence or protective

defence)". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zūn* (Kluge 1989: 806) "Zaun"; OS *tūn* (Kluge 1989: 806) "Zaun"; OFs. *tūn* (Kluge 1989: 806) "Zaun"; OE *tūn* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 350) "enclosure, garden, field, yard; farm, manor; homestead, dwelling, house, mansion; group of houses, village, town"; ON *tún* (Kluge 1989: 806) "Eingehegter Grasplatz vor dem Hause; Hofplatz; Stadt", which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **tūnaz* (Kluge 1989: 806) "Zaun". Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fīr-*, *int-*, *umbi-bi-*, *untar-*, *zīsamene-*

zunten "in Brand setzen, entzünden" (Raven I 1963: 281). cf. OHG *zundēn* III (Raven II 1967: 277). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **tundējan* (Seebold 1970: 502) "zünden, entflammen", causative deverbative from the zero-grade of strong verb **tenþanan* (Seebold 1970: 502) "brennen". This strong verb is attested in the following: MHG *zinde*, *zinne* st. vb übertragene Bedeutung (Seebold 1970: 502) "ich entbrenne"; OE *tinneð* st. vb übertragene Bedeutung (Seebold 1970: 502) "entbrennt". Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*

zuo-ambahten "verwalten, bedienen" (Raven I 1963: 2). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-auhhōn "hinzufügen, weiter oder künftig antun" (Raven II 1967: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-betōn "anbeten, verehren, erflehen" (Raven II 1967: 16). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-bi-meinen "zuschreiben" (Raven I 1963: 126). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-bouhnen, *zuo-bouhhanen* "zustimmen" (Raven I 1963: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-brennen "ringsum anbrennen oder versengen, hart mitgenommen oder verletzt werden" (Starck and Wells 1990: 76). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-bringen "herbeibringen, treiben, führen, herzuführen, hetzen, jagen, vertreiben" (Raven I 1963: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-denken "zudenken" (Raven I 1963: 27). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-dingen "etwas (gerichtlich) durchsetzen, Gericht halten, eine Entscheidung herbeiführen, suchen, hoffen, danach streben" (Raven I 1963: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-festinōn "befestigen" (Raven II 1967: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-fleiscōn "zerfleischen, mit Haken zur Folter den Körper zerreißen" (Raven II 1967: 45). cf. OHG *fleisken* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 163). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change to class II).

zuo-fuogen "hinzufügen" (Raven I 1963: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-fuoren “zuführen, erschüttern, beunruhigen, herbeilocken” (Raven I 1963: 51). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-fēran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 344) “to go in different directions, separate, disperse; deal out, distribute”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zuo-gi-auhhōn “zusetzen” (Raven II 1967: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-felgen “mit der Hand ergreifen, zu eigen geben, verkaufen, hingeben” (Raven I 1963: 36). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-festinōn “befestigen” (Raven II 1967: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-fuogen “hineinfügen, anfügen, zufügen, anschließen, verbinden, vereinigen” (Raven I 1963: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-halōn “annehmen” (Raven II 1967: 61). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-heften “an etwas anfügen oder anlegen, anlehnen, eng anschließen, nahebringen, hinzufügen, hinsteuern oder anlaufen von Schiffen” (Raven I 1963: 65). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-hengen “beistimmen, bejahen” (Raven I 1963: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-knupfen “zusammenknüpfen, -fügen, verbinden, vereinigen, anknüpfen, anbinden” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-knussen “(minderwertige Gedanken gegen Christum) anschlagen” (Raven I 1963: 309). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-leiten “mieten, dingen, zusammenführen, heran-, herbeiführen oder -ziehen” (Raven I 1963: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-lenten “entziehen, vorenthalten, heimlich entfernen, unten wegziehen, erwägen” (Raven I 1963: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-lōmen “zusammenleimen” (Raven I 1963: 111). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-lōsen “rollen oder zwinkern der Augen” (Raven I 1963: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-(h)lōsēn “rollen oder zwinkern (der Augen)” (Raven II 1967: 240). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-mahhōn “überweisen, beimessen, anknüpfen, hinstreben” (Raven II 1967: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-meinen “zuschreiben” (Raven I 1963: 126). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-neizzen “zertrümmen, zerrütten, antun” (Raven I 1963: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-reihhōn “aufstellen” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-reichen “erreichen, (hin)gelangen” (Raven I 1963: 149). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-samanōn “zu-, beigesellen” (Raven II 1967: 127). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-siuwen “annähen” (Raven I 1963: 321). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-scricken “sich beeilen” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-steden “anlegen” (Raven I 1963: 323). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-suohhen “erwerben” (Raven I 1963: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-welzen “(vor)wälzen” (Raven I 1963: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-wunsken “durch Adoption annehmen, an Kindesstatt annehmen, adoptieren” (Raven I 1963: 268). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-gi-zispilōn “zuflüstern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 766). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-haftēn “anhafte, anhängen, fest zusammenhaften, hinzufügen” (Raven II 1967: 224). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-haldēn “anlehnen, hinneigen, geneigt” (Raven II 1967: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-halōn “herbeirufen” (Raven II 1967: 61). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-heften “unten anknüpfen, anbinden, unterbinden, verbinden, vereinigen, hinzufügen” (Raven I 1963: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-hengen “erwägen” (Raven I 1963: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-ilen “nach etwas trachten, zu etwas hinstreben, hineinstürzen, auf etwas losstürzen oder stürmen, rennen, stürzen, beschleunigen, (sich) beeilen, eilen” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-ir-fullen “noch dazu anfüllen” (Raven I 1963: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-ir-weiōn “(Mädchen) geil anlocken” (Raven II 1967: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-kēren “anfügen, anschließen, heran-, nahebringen, wenden, kehren, hinwenden, -lenken” (Raven I 1963: 90). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-klebēn “(am Weibe) hangen, sich zur Verfügung stellen, anhaften, ankleben” (Raven II 1967: 231). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-clifian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 343) “to cleave to, adhere, stick to”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zuo-kunden “ankündigen, verkündigen, berichten” (Raven I 1963: 99). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-ladōn “annehmen, herbeirufen” (Raven II 1967: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-(h)lahhēn “(+dat. pers.) zulächeln” (Raven II 1967: 232). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-leggen “zulegen, etwas an etwas anlegen bzw. -halten, umlegen” (Raven I 1963: 312). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: (*dara-*), (*hera-*).

zuo-leiten “zuleiten, hinzufügen, hinleiten” (Raven I 1963: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-(h)linēn “sich anklammern an, festhalten an, sich lehnen an” (Raven II 1967: 238). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-(h)losēn “aufmerksam anhören, (vom Ohr) aufmerken, achtgeben, horchen, auf-, zuhorchen” (Raven II 1967: 238). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-(h)lūstaren “begeistern, aufmerksam sein” (Raven I 1963: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-manōn “ermahnen” (Raven II 1967: 99). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-merken “begrenzen, geradeaus richten” (Raven I 1963: 128). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-mearcian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 345) “to distinguish, describe, note down, enrol”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zuo-nāhen “näher-, herankommen, durchsetzen, vollziehen, vom Fleck eilen, eilen, sich beeilen, sich tummeln, beschleunigen, lagern, belagern” (Raven I 1963: 135). The following cognate verbs are attested: None. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-rahhōn “zusprechen, zueignen” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-rucken “vorrücken, vorschreiten, vorwärtsschreiten” (Raven I 1963: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-rūnōn “zuflüstern, (im Ohr) flüstern, hören” (Raven II 1967: 123). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-sezzen “zusetzen” (Raven I 1963: 176). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 346) “to dispose”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zuo-spilōn “mit jemandem sein Spiel treiben” (Raven II 1967: 142). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-spirdaren “sich anstrengen oder bemühen” (Raven I 1963: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-steden “landen, anlegen” (Raven I 1963: 323). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-suohhen “nachfragen” (Raven I 1963: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-trahtōn “betrachten, trachten”. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-wartēn “achten auf, hinabschauen, überblicken, betrachten, (einen Platz)einnehmen” (Raven II 1967: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-welzen “(vor) wälzen” (Raven I 1963: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-wenten “hinwenden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 710). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *tō-wendian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 710) “hinwenden”; OE *tō-wendan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 347) “to overthrow, subvert, destroy”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zuo-(h)werben “(von Schiffen) seitwärts steuern, aufachten oder wahrnehmen” (Raven I 1963: 259). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *tō-hwyrfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 345) “to overturn”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

zuo-wunsken “an Kindesstatt annehmen” (Raven I 1963: 269). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-zeihhanen “zuschreiben, bestimmt zuweisen, beimessen” (Raven I 1963: 273). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zuo-zeckōn “(in Scherz oder Spiel) verwandeln, sich spielend befassen” (Raven II 1967: 195). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zurheilēn “gebrechlich (werden)” (Starck and Wells 1990: 772). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: This must be derived from a nominal source as *zur-* is a nominal prefix and the equivalent of the verbal prefix *zir-*. Although no such nominal source is attested, an OHG adjective **zurheili* “gebrechlich” can be attested on this evidence. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

zurheilōn “gebrechlich werden” (Raven II 1967: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *zurheilēn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

zurlustisōn “ekeln, Übelkeit oder Ekel empfinden” (Raven II 1967: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *zurlustōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with s-extension).

zurlustōn “Widerwillen haben, Überdruß haben, kleinmütig sein, sich gegen etwas sträuben” (Raven II 1967: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zurlust* (Starck and Wells 1990: 773) “Überdruß, Verdrossenheit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zurnen “zürnen über, sich erzürnen, zornig oder böse sein auf bzw. über etwas, die Zähne knirschen” (Raven I 1963: 282). cf. OHG *zornōn* II (Raven II 1967: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zorn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 768) “Zorn, Eifer, Entrüstung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*, *zi(r)-*.

zurwānen “verzweifeln, nicht zurückerwarten” (Raven I 1963: 282). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zurwāni* (Starck and Wells 1990: 773) “argwöhnisch”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

zusken “brennen” (Raven I 1963: 282). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **tuskjan* “brennen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is best regarded as an ablaut zero-grade ‘sk-present’ verb, deriving ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*dāu}$, **dau*, **du-* (Pokorny I 1956: 179) “brennen; verletzen, quälen, vernichten, feindselig”, from which base the following may also be derived: ON *tjón* (Pokorny I 1956: 180) “Schaden, Unrecht, Verhöhnung”; Lith. *dziáuti* (Pokorny I 1956: 180) “zum Trocknen hinlegen”; OIr. *dóin* (Pokorny I 1956: 180) “senge, brenne”; Welsh *cynneu* (Pokorny I 1956: 180) “anzünden”; Latin *duellum*, *bellum* unclear suffix (Pokorny I 1956: 180) “Krieg”; Alb *dhunë* (Pokorny I 1956: 180) “Leid, Schmerz, Gewalt, üble Tat; Schmach, Beleidigung”; Greek δαίω (Pokorny I 1956: 180) “ich zünde an”; Greek ὀδυνάω (Pokorny I 1956: 180) “ich verursache Schmerz, betrübe”; Arm *erkn* (Pokorny I 1956: 180) “Geburtswehen”; Skt *dunoti* (Pokorny I 1956: 179) “brennt, quält”. Despite the archaic nature of ‘sk-present’ formations, there are no other attested ‘sk-present’ verbs from the root **dāu*, either in the other Gmc languages or in the IE group as a whole. The verb must therefore be a post-Gmc innovation and cannot be regarded as primary. Instead, it may possibly represent a zero-grade deverbative formed with the ‘sk-present’ suffix. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

***zūsōn** “zausen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *tūsen* (Kluge 1989: 806) “zausen”; Middle Engl. *tō-touse* (Pfeifer III 1989: 2008) “zerzausen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **tūsōjan* “zausen”. The etymology of this verb is unclear. It probably derives from a Gmc complex represented by the following: Norw. (dial.) *tosa* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “zerfasern, zupfen; pfuschen, langsam arbeiten”; Norw. (dial.) *tossa* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “streuen, ausbreiten”; MLG *tōsen* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “reißen, zerren, zausen”; Norw. *tasma* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “langsam arbeiten”; Norw. *taspa* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “langsam und schleppend gehen”; MHG *zaspēn* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “scharren, schleppend gehen”; Dan. *taesa* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “entwirren, auffasern, aufzupfen”; MHG *zūse* (Pokorny I 1959: 178) “Gestrüpp”. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zir-*

zwangōn “quälen, kneifen, kneipen” (Raven II 1967: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *zwengen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zwehōn, zweōn “zweifeln, schwanken, unentschieden sein” (Raven II 1967: 198). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *twēon* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 351) “to doubt, hesitate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **twehōjan* “to doubt, hesitate, be uncertain”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zweho*, *zweo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 773) “Zweifel, Zweideutigkeit”; OE *twēo* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 351) “doubt, ambiguity”,

which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **twehō* “doubt, uncertainty”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

zweiōn “sich entzweien” (Raven II 1967: 199). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zwei* cardinal num neut (Kluge 1989: 820) “zwei”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

zweckōn “sich entzweien, rupfen, zupfen” (Raven II 1967: 199). cf. OHG *zwicken* I (Raven I 1963: 283). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *twiccian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 352) “to pluck, gather; catch hold of”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **twikkōjan* intensive gemination and devoicing “to pick, pluck”, intensive deverbative from a verb similar to that attested in OHG *zwigōn* (Raven II 1967: 200) “pflücken, rupfen, abweiden, entzweien”. Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

zwengen “zupfen, kneifen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 774). cf. OHG *zwangōn* II (Raven II 1967: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zwanga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 773) “Zange”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zwīfalen “ungewiß oderr zweifelhaft machen (+acc. pers.)” (Raven I 1963: 283). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *twīflīan* I (Kluge 1989: 820) “zweifeln”; Gothic *twēifljan* I (Kluge 1989: 820) “to cause to doubt”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **twīflījanan* “to cause to doubt, make doubtful”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zwīval* (Starck and Wells 1990: 776) “Zweifel”; MLG, MDu *twīvel* (Kluge 1989: 820) “Zweifel”; OFs. *twīfil* (Lehmann 1986: 351) “Zweifel”; Gothic *twēifls* (Kluge 1989: 820) “doubt”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **twīflaz* (Kluge 1989: 820) “Zweifel”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*

zwīfal-kāōn “doppelsinnig oder zweideutig reden; fari ambiguus” (Raven II 1967: 200). No cognate verbs are attested.

cf. OHG *zwīval* (Kluge 1989: 820) “Zweifel”. cf. OHG *kāōn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 342) “sich besprechen, reden, aussagen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zwīfalōn “zweifeln, anzweifeln, mißtrauen, kein Zutrauen zu etwas haben, Bedenken tragen, im Urteil wanken, ungleich sein” (Raven II 1967: 199). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *twīflīan* II (Holthausen 1967: 76) “zweifeln”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **twīf(a)lōjan* “to doubt, be doubtful”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *zwīfalen*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

zwīfaltōn “vermehrten, verdoppeln, um das Doppelte vergrößern” (Raven II 1967: 199). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *twīfeald(i)an* I, II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 352) “to double”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **twīfalðōjan* “to increase twofold, double”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zwīfalt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 774) “doppelt, zweifach, zweiseitig”; OE *twīfeald* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 352) “two-fold, double, ambiguous”; ON *tvīfaldr* (Lehmann 1986: 351) “twofold, double”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **twīfalðaz* “twofold, double”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

zwigōn “entzweien, zugrunde richten, weiden, (bis an die Graswurzeln) abweiden oder abfressen, pflücken” (Raven II 1967: 200). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **zwīg* “Zweig”, can be reconstructed from OE *twig*

(Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 352) “twig, branch, shoot, small tree”. cf. OHG *zwīg* (Pfeifer III 1989: 2051) “Zweig”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. (Note: If the WGmc verb **twikkōjan* is an intensive deverbative from it (see under *zweckōn*), then this verb has to be a WGmc formation - and we have to assume that potential cognates have not survived in the other WGmc languages. However, as it is not fully certain whether **twikkōjan* is indeed an intensive deverbative from this verb or another source, this verb is probably best left classified as an OHG denominative).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

zwicken “zwicken, zupfen” (Raven I 1963: 283). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **twikkjan* intensive gemination and devoicing “to pick, pluck” (see under *zweckōn*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

zwīōn “abrupfen, abfressen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 775). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zwī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 774) “Zweig”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

zwirnēn “zusammendrehen, zwirnen” (Kluge 1989: 822). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *zwirn* (Kluge 1989: 822) “Zwirn”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

**zwiro-gi-hīwen, zwiro-gi-hīwit-* “zweifach verheiratet” (Raven I 1963: 283). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *zwiro* (Starck and Wells 1990: 775) “zweimal”. cf. OHG *hīwen* (Starck and Wells 1990: 279) “heiraten”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (occurring only in preterite participle form).

zwiror-gi-farawen “zweimal färben, -benetzen, -bestreichen, eintauchen” (Raven I 1963: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *zwiro* (Starck and Wells 1990: 775) “zweimal”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

zwizzirōn “piepen, zwitschern, ertönen” (Raven II 1967: 200). The following cognate verbs are attested: ME *twiteren* (Kluge 1989: 822) “to twitter”; Mod Engl *to twitter*. We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **twit(t)irōjan* intensive gemination? “to twitter”. Further etymology unclear. Probably an expressive, onomatopoeic verb, of imitative origin.

3.3. Summary

Now that the data have been presented and an etymological profile been established for each individual verb, it is possible to further analyse the OHG weak verbs on the basis of their stratum (or relative age), conjugational class and derivational pattern. This analysis constitutes the next chapter, Chapter Four.

4.1. Preliminary

In the previous chapter the OHG weak verbs were presented and an etymological profile established which defined the relative age and pattern of derivation of each individual verb. It is now possible to analyse further the OHG weak verbs on the basis of these results. This will be achieved by categorising the OHG weak verbs according to their stratum (or relative age), conjugational class and derivational pattern. Accordingly, this will allow us to draw conclusions about the growth of the weak verbs as a class. It may indicate which class or classes emerged first and which was most productive at what period. It may also point to possible connections between the derivational pattern of a given weak verb and the conjugational class to which it is assigned. Following on from this, it may therefore be possible to indicate significant roles played by the derivational pattern of a given weak verb in determining the conjugational class to which it is assigned.

The argument will be recalled that it is possible to reveal the relative age of a verb from the presence or absence of cognate verbs (see 2.3.). On this principle the verbs are assigned firstly to one of five strata: OHG, WGmc, NWGmc, Gmc, or pre-Gmc (Indo-European).

Those verbs which have been shown to belong to the four younger strata, namely OHG, WGmc, NWGmc and Gmc, are then further classified according to their method of derivation (or what in 2.4. has been termed “derivational profile”). This is not possible, however, for the oldest stratum, IE, as a derivational base cannot always be reconstructed. As detailed in Chapter Two, the derivational profile comprises the following categories: verbs derived from a verb base (deverbatives); verbs derived from an adjective base (deadjectives); verbs derived from a substantive base (denominatives); verbs derived by means of a prefixed element (prefix formations); and verbs borrowed from another language (loan verbs). In a number of cases, however, it has proved impossible to assign a verb to one of these derivational categories, and these verbs are classified under the section heading “Derivational Pattern Unclear”. For a complete list of those verbs which have been classed as derivational pattern unclear, the reader is asked to refer to Appendix 1.

There are also a number of instances where there are no morphologically related forms attested either in OHG, the related Gmc languages or in the IE

language group as a whole. This means that it is impossible to trace an etymology for such a verb - or at least to propose any convincing etymology. These verbs are listed in Appendix 2.

In addition to being classified according to their derivational profile, the verbs have also been divided on the basis of their conjugational class, i.e. whether they belong to conjugational class I, II or III.

Finally, morphological and semantic factors involved in a particular derivational process are examined, where they are considered to be of relevance or importance to such a process. In this respect we can indicate key roles which these factors play in the derivational process. We can also point to possible connections between such morphological and semantic factors and conjugational class.

Before beginning the analysis proper, a word should be said about the chronological order in which the five historical strata will shortly be presented. Having read through the previous chapter, the reader will be aware that the etymological reconstructions comprising the data have begun with the OHG period, which represents the most recent stratum chronologically. This is because OHG is the only period for which historically attested forms are extant. Comparison with cognate forms attested in the related languages thus allows us to work backwards so as to arrive at a reconstructed proto-form dating from one of the chronologically older strata (the methods of this historical reconstruction are outlined in more detail in Chapter Two). However, this chapter will present the data in the reverse chronological progression, i.e. it will begin with the oldest stratum and progress forwards to the youngest stratum. An analysis of the data which begins with the oldest historical stratum and work forwards chronologically has been chosen, as this will enable us to trace more clearly the origin and development of certain key trends. It may enable us to establish formal semantic oppositions which become significant for later analogical processes. I will now illustrate what I mean by this by taking a pertinent example: an examination of sections 4.4.2.3. and 4.5.2.3. will show that the majority of class III deadjectival formations belonging to the Gmc and NWGmc strata exist in a stative semantic relation to their derivational base. However, a similar examination of section 4.6.2.3. will reveal that in the following WGmc stratum class III not only contains stative deadjectives but also a large number of inchoative ones. The phenomenon whereby certain class III deadjectival formations adopt an inchoative semantic function can therefore clearly be seen as a development which characterizes the WGmc period.

Finally, before individually examining each historical stratum in detail it will be advantageous to give the reader an overall picture showing the entire diachronic development of the OHG weak verbs from their origins in the pre-Gmc stratum through to their historical attestations in the OHG period. Such an overview will consequently allow the reader to see the percentage of weak verbs attested in one historical stratum in relation to each of the other strata and thus chart chronologically the overall pattern of growth of the OHG weak verbs. This overview comprises the next section of this chapter.

4.2. General Overview

The data contain a total of 4685 OHG weak verbs. This figure includes 81 verbs which have been reconstructed as OHG verbs. These are not actually attested as such, but may be assumed to have existed in OHG on the principles laid out in 2.2. This total can be divided into the five strata outlined in 4.1. above: The OHG stratum comprises 3312 verbs (70.69% of the total); the WGmc stratum contains 826 verbs (17.63%); the NWGmc stratum 209 verbs (4.46%); the Gmc stratum 238 verbs (5.08%) and the pre-Gmc or Indo-European stratum 100 verbs (2.13%). The pie chart shown in Figure 1 illustrates the percentage of new weak verb formations in each stratum:

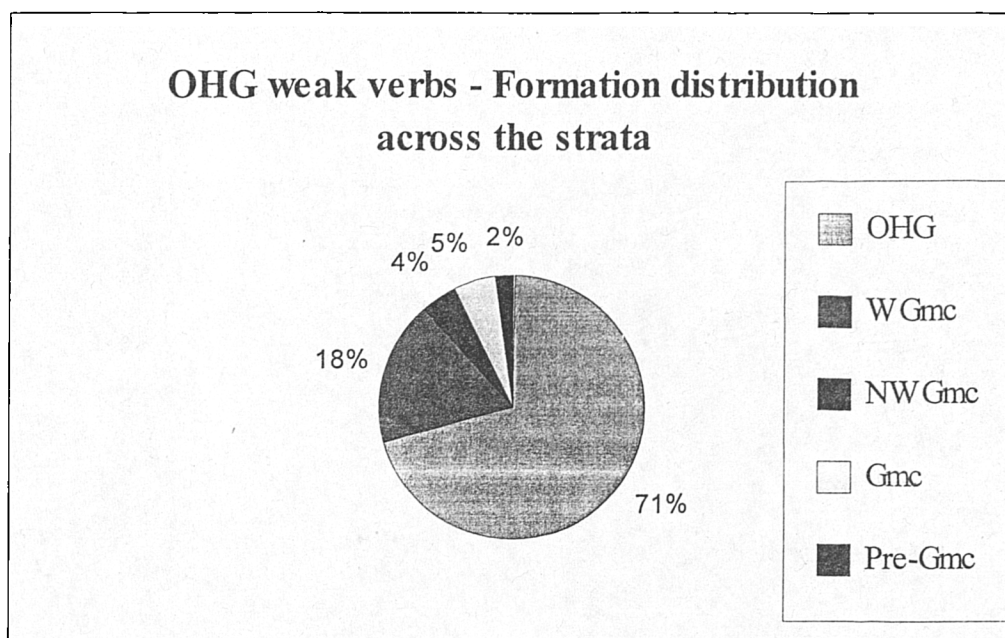


Figure 1: OHG Weak Verbs - Formation distribution across the strata.

If prefix formations are ignored (since these are modifications of verbs already extant, it is not significant whether they derive from strong or weak verbs) the data yield the following results: Out of a total of 2054 unprefixated OHG weak verbs, 1224 (59.59% of all OHG unprefixated weak verbs) belong to the OHG stratum, 369 (17.96% of all OHG unprefixated weak verbs) belong to the WGmc stratum, 209 (10.18% of all OHG unprefixated weak verbs) belong to the NWGmc stratum, 152 (7.4% of all OHG unprefixated weak verbs) belong to the Gmc stratum, 100 (4.87% of all OHG unprefixated weak verbs) belong to the pre-Gmc, IE stratum.

The above figures allow us to draw a number of important conclusions concerning the general, overall development and growth pattern of the OHG weak verbs across the historical strata.

The pre-Gmc or IE stratum represents the oldest stratum to which reconstructed weak verbs can be assigned. This stratum comprises primary verbs, that is verbs which cannot be shown to be derivations formed in any of the respective historical Gmc strata and which correspond to related verbs in certain of the other IE languages outside the Gmc group - It should be noted here, however, that although the verbs themselves may be pre-Gmc, their adoption of the dental preterite must be considered an early Gmc, and not pre-Gmc development, since the dental preterite itself is confined to Gmc. The pre-Gmc or IE stratum represents the smallest of the five strata containing, as we have already seen, 100 verbs (2.13% of all OHG weak verbs). Although

small, this stratum is, however, extremely important to our research as it contains a core group of weak verbs which represent the first verbs to take the weak inflection. This figure of 100 weak verbs whose origin is pre-Gmc is relatively low if we compare it with corresponding figures for the strong verbs. The majority of strong verbs are semantically very basic¹, possessing a primary status with clear IE parallels². Indeed, according to Keller approximately 330 strong verbs (this figure includes forms found only fragmentarily or dialectally) were extant in Gmc³, and if we bear in mind that the vast majority of these Gmc strong verbs have pre-Gmc, IE origins we can easily see how the strong verbs outnumber their weak counterparts at this period. In summary then, the weak verbs can be seen to have originated in a relatively small group which, at this time, represented a fairly minor and unimportant verbal inflection.

The pre-Gmc stratum was followed by the Gmc period which, as the above figure of 238 (152 if prefix formations are ignored) weak verbs which can be reconstructed for this stratum shows, witnessed a significant increase in the number of new weak verbs created.

The NWGmc period represents the next historical stratum. As can be seen from the above figure of 209 weak verbs dating back to this stratum, NWGmc also witnesses a significant number of new weak verb formations. Indeed, if it is borne in mind that the NWGmc period represents a far shorter period chronologically than the earlier Gmc period (see 2.3.), then the weak verbs can be seen to have increased significantly in productivity during the NWGmc era.

Following the NWGmc stratum is the WGmc period. The above figures show that 826 (369 if prefix formations are ignored) weak verbs were formed during this period. This clearly indicates that, in comparison with the previous NWGmc period, the weak verbs underwent a dramatic increase in productivity during the WGmc period.

This increase in productivity enjoyed by the weak verbs is, however, even more dramatic during the OHG stratum in which an unprecedented 3312 (1224 if prefix formations are ignored) new weak verbs were formed. At the same time however, the number of strong verbs extant in OHG numbers only 288⁴. Furthermore, if we compare the number of strong verbs extant in OHG with the number that can be reconstructed for the Gmc or Pre-Gmc strata (see

¹ Keller (1978: 94).

² Seebold (1970).

³ Keller (1978: 94-96).

⁴ I have based this figure on the OHG strong verbs listed in Braune & Mitzke (1967) and Armitage (1911).

above), it is clear that the strong verbs have ceased to be productive and now represent a group significantly smaller in number than that of the weak verbs. Moreover, the strong verbs attested in the Gmc languages are, as previously stated, semantically very basic, a further indication of the fact that they do not comprise later and more complex derivations but represent survivals of a basic, primary IE stock. It should, however, be noted that a small number of strong verbs were nevertheless newly created during the OHG period, a typical example of which is given by Braune: “aus dem schwachen Verbum I althochdeutsch *scricken* “aufspringen” pret. *scricta* hat sich seit dem elften Jahrhundert ein starkes Verbum *scrëckan* entwickelt, daß das pert. praet. nach Klasse IV bildet: *erscrockeno* “obstupefacti”⁵.

In summary, then, this section has charted the growth of the weak verb from its origin in a relatively small number of reconstructed pre-Gmc primary verbs through to the OHG period and historically attested forms. It has been seen that each succeeding stratum was more productive than the previous. This expansion in the productivity of weak verb formation occurred at an ever increasing rate, each new stratum yielding a greater number of new formations than the previous stratum. The growth in the number of weak verb formations was particularly dramatic in the later strata, with the result that by the OHG period, the final stratum of our data, the weak verb inflection accounted for the overwhelming majority of verbal forms attested, and constituted the only productive method of deriving new verbs. The growth of the weak verbs is summarized in the following graph, in which the five historical strata through which the OHG weak verb evolved are presented on the horizontal x-axis and the number of new formations per stratum are given on the vertical y-axis:

⁵ Braune & Mitzka (1967: 281).

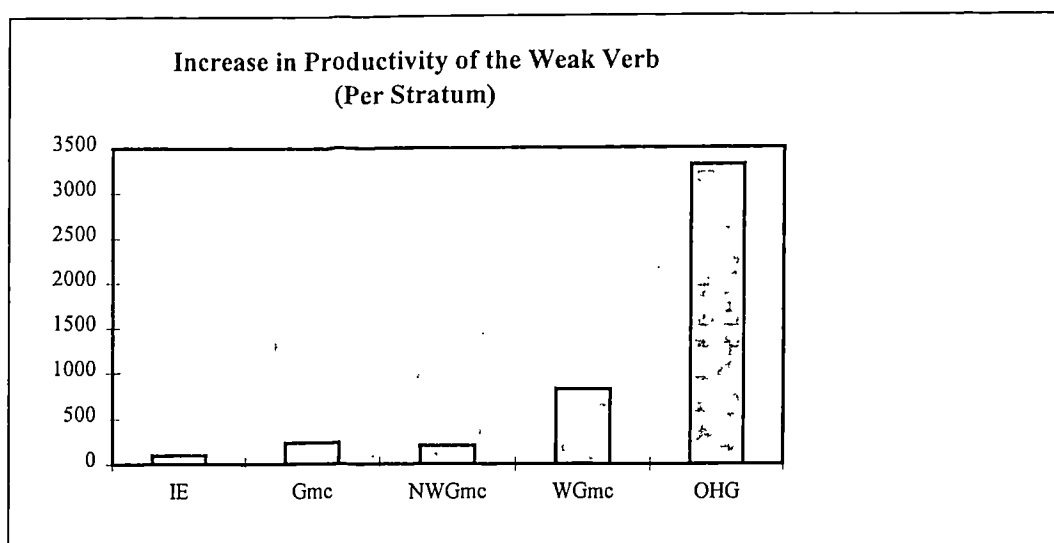


Figure 2: Increase in productivity of the weak verb (per stratum).

Now that we have seen the growth pattern of the OHG weak verbs across the five historical strata and, in particular, how the weak inflection began with a relatively small number of pre-Gmc primary verbs and became increasingly productive with each successive stratum, we can now turn our attention to examining in more detail the weak verb formations within each of these strata. It is hoped that a detailed examination, stratum by stratum, of the OHG weak verbs will cast light on which morphological or semantic types of formation were productive at which period. It is also hoped that such an analysis will provide accurate and detailed information pin-pointing the historical period or periods over which certain key developments concerning these morpho-semantic formations took place. A complete and reliable set of data detailing the main morpho-semantic patterns or trends might therefore enable us to suggest possible explanations concerning why such developments should have occurred.

4.3. Pre-Germanic Weak Verb Formations

There are 100 weak verbs (2.13% of all the weak verbs attested in OHG) which may be considered as belonging to the pre-Gmc stratum. This figure includes the eleven preterite-present verbs attested in OHG. In the following analysis of the pre-Gmc weak verb formations no attempt has been made to classify them according to IE present types, as IE present stem markers are often generalized in the daughter languages, rendering any attempt to derive firm conclusions about a given reconstructed verb's conjugational class extremely difficult.

Consequently, I have employed traditional root etymologies, rather than reconstruct a verb's IE conjugational type based on equations with cognate verb forms attested in the other IE languages.

I shall begin my analysis of the pre-Gmc weak verb formations with the preterite-present verbs, as these verbs exhibit a number of idiosyncratic and archaic features, and may therefore provide important information concerning the origin, or at least the early stages, of the dental suffix and the weak verbs as an inflectional class.

4.3.1. Preterite-Presents

There are eleven preterite-present verbs attested in OHG, all of which can be shown to originate in the pre-Gmc or IE stratum. This sum comprises 11.00% of all pre-Gmc, primary weak verbs. These verbs are listed in the first column of the following table. The second column contains the reconstructed Gmc form of the verb while the third cites the reconstructed Gmc form of the verb's preterite participle. Column four gives the ablaut grade which the verb takes in the singular forms of its present tense. Column five gives the ablaut grade taken by the verb in the plural forms of its present tense and throughout its preterite tense. Finally, the IE root to which the verb may be traced back etymologically is given in column six.

OHG Weak Verb	Reconstructed Gmc Form	Reconstructed Preterite Participle	Ablaut Grade in Singular	Ablaut Grade in Plural/ Preterite	Proposed IE Root
an	*ann	*anþaz	o-grade	zero-grade	√*(o)nā-, *onə-
darf	*þarf	*þurftaz	o-grade	zero-grade	√*terp-, *trep-
eig	*aih	*ihþaz	o-grade	zero-grade	√*aik-, *ai-
gi-nah	*-nah	*nuhþaz	o-grade	zero-grade	√*enek-, *nek-, *enk-, *nk-
gi-tar	*dars	*durstaz	o-grade	zero-grade	√*dhers-
kann	*kann	*kunnþaz	o-grade	zero-grade	√*gen-, *genə-, *gnē-, *gnō-
mag	*mag	*muhtaz	o-grade	zero-grade	√*magh-, *māgh-
muoz	*mōt	*mōs(s)az	ō (extended)	ō (extended)	√*med-
scal	*skal	*skulþaz	o-grade	zero-grade	√*skel-
toug	*daug	*duhtaz	o-grade	zero-grade	√*dheugh-
weiz	*wait	*wissaz	o-grade	zero-grade	√*weid-

Table 1: Preterite-Present Verbs

The preterite-present verbs are of great importance to the study of the Gmc weak verb. They form a very small group, but one which can be clearly traced back to the pre-Gmc IE stratum, representing vestiges of an unreduplicated IE perfect⁶. What makes these verbs interesting, however, is that this unreduplicated perfect form is used as the present tense in Gmc. Hence the Gmc preterite-present verb **wait* “I know” corresponds to an IE form **woida* “I have seen” (compare Greek $\varphi\omicron\iota\delta\alpha$, Skt *veda* “I have seen > I know”). As they are based on IE unreduplicated perfect forms they are subject to an ablaut change from o-grade in the singular to zero-grade in the plural. An exception to this is provided by the verb **mōt* “I can, I may” which possesses an ablaut grade of \bar{o} (the extended grade of *o*) in both singular and plural forms, this ablaut pattern corresponding exactly to that occurring in the preterite of the strong verbs class VI. Likewise, the verb **mag* “I can, am able to” does not show the characteristic zero grade of ablaut in the root vowel of the preterite participle in its attested forms, e.g. OHG *mahta*, Gothic *mahta*. The presence here of the o-grade of ablaut in the root syllable is probably best explained as the result of analogical levelling.

The preterite-presents can thus be seen to have key similarities with the strong verbs, the latter themselves making use of ablaut. The similarity ends, however, when we recall that these o-grade singular and zero-grade plural ablaut forms were used, as their name suggests, within the present tense. This, of course, means that the preterite-present verbs could not employ the usual system of ablaut changes to indicate inflectional changes between present and preterite. An alternative means of marking the past, or to be more precise, preterite tense was therefore necessary. As will be discussed in greater detail below, this problem appears to have been solved by the formation a new type of preterite, which employed a dental suffix attached directly to the stem without any intermediate thematic, or linking, vowel.

This dental suffix appearing in the preterite tense of the preterite-present verbs corresponds in form and function to the dental suffix of the weak verbs proper, and we must therefore regard the preterite-present verbs as weak verbs, albeit as a special category. The problem of the origin of the dental suffix of the weak verbs is therefore one which involves the preterite-present verbs and, as we shall discuss in more detail later, the archaic and idiosyncratic features outlined above which characterize the preterite-present verbs, offer convincing grounds for us to assume that the preterite-presents may represent the original group of verbs to have adopted the dental suffix of the weak preterite.

⁶ Krahe (II 1962: 82). On the problems associated with this IE unreduplicated perfect, see Szemerényi (1990: 314) and Meid (1971: 18ff.).

Nevertheless, the origin of the dental suffix and thus of the weak verb inflectional type is an area of Gmc philology beset by difficulties and, as I have already pointed out in my introduction (see 1.2.), no satisfactory explanation has yet been found which can explain the precise details as to how and why such a dental suffix came to be used to mark the preterite tense. Neither has it been possible to successfully relate this dental suffix to or derive it from other morphological features or structures which characterize Gmc or which are extant in the IE languages outside Gmc.

As we shall shortly see, theories which relate the dental suffix of the weak preterite to the dental suffix of the preterite participle, the latter clearly deriving from an IE formation in **-to-*⁷, are particularly attractive in relation to the preterite-present verbs⁸, although it is clear that they cannot satisfactorily explain every detail concerning the formation of the Gmc dental preterite. However, if we are to justify the adoption of the dental suffix present in the preterite participle by a non-finite tense system, we must examine how such a suffix could have been adopted by or spread to the preterite tense of certain verb forms in Gmc, creating a completely new inflectional category, that of the weak verbs. We must also try to discover key reasons which may have motivated Gmc to develop this new and innovative tense.

As has already been emphasized in Chapter One, in order to understand how the dental suffix came to form the preterite tense of the weak verbs it is important to attempt to isolate a distinct group of verbs which can be shown to represent the first verbs to have innovated in this manner. This key group of verbs represents, as it were, the historical core of the weak inflection, forming the base from which all subsequent weak verb derivations spread out.

I have already shown in the data section, Chapter Three, that the preterite-present verbs are not derivations but represent primary verbs, with definite IE cognates and thus clearly belong to the pre-Gmc, IE stratum. I have also shown that the preterite-presents comprise a unique and archaic group, using IE unreduplicated perfect forms to express the present tense and that, as they have their origin in IE unreduplicated perfect forms, they consequently possess the same ablaut change from o-grade in the singular to zero-grade in the plural as that occurring in the preterite forms of the strong verbs of class I-V. I shall now discuss the importance of the ablaut grades realized in the root vowel

⁷ The reader will recall that the nature and function of the **-to-* suffix as it appears in the various daughter languages of IE has previously been discussed in detail at 1.2.

⁸ See in particular Ball (1968) and Meid (1971) which, as I have already pointed out in 1.2., present convincing arguments for the **-to-* theory, and which establish the preterite-present verbs as among the most archaic weak verb formations, mirroring the findings of the present work.

of the preterite-presents in more detail, and the possible motivation which these ablaut grades may have provided for the adoption of a dental suffix in the preterite forms of the preterite-presents.

The ablaut grade taken in the new dental preterite used by the preterite-present verbs is the zero grade (with the exception of **mōt* "I can, I may" which will be discussed further below). The fact that the preterite-present verbs take the zero grade of ablaut in the plural of their present tense is of great importance to our analysis of the problem of the origin of the dental suffix. Firstly, the zero grade of ablaut occurring in the plural present tense forms of the preterite-present verbs corresponds to the ablaut grade occurring in the preterite participle of these same verbs. (It will be recalled that the zero grade of ablaut appearing in these preterite participles stems from their origin in IE verbal adjectives and/or participles formed with the suffix **-to-* attached to the root of the verb, the suffix carrying the accent and thus causing zero grade ablaut in the root syllable). A spread, or perhaps we can say intrusion, of the dental suffix used to form the preterite participle to the forms marking the preterite tense can thus be supported by the evidence of the vocalism of the root syllable. Indeed, the very fact that the preterite-present verbs exhibited an ablaut alteration from o-grade in the singular to zero-grade in the plural of their present tense forms in effect excluded them from following any of the strong verb ablaut grade patterns distinguishing the preterite from the present tense⁹. The vocalism of their root vowel also eliminated the preterite-presents from belonging to the other Gmc inflectional category used to mark the preterite tense, reduplication¹⁰. This exclusion must surely be reckoned as the major motivating factor behind the adoption of the dental suffix¹¹.

At this point it should be mentioned that the preterite participle and preterite tense forms not only correspond to each other in regard to the ablaut grade of their root vowel but also in the form taken by the dental suffix (e.g. Gothic *kunþa* 1st/3rd sg. pret. indic. beside *kunþs* pret. part., or OS *wissa* 1st/3rd sg. pret. indic. beside *wissa* pret. part.). This fact that the stem and dental suffix of the weak verb are the same in the preterite and past participle must also be seen as a further indication that the one was derived from the other and, as the preterite participle can be shown to be an IE formation, the dental preterite must therefore be derived from the preterite participle¹².

⁹ Meid (1971: 107).

¹⁰ Meid (1971: 107).

¹¹ Meid (1971: 107).

¹² Ball (1968: 186).

Remaining with the issue of ablaut grades and the vocalism of the root vowel, it should be noted that the verb **mōt* “I can, I may”, however, takes *ō* (the extended form of the ablaut o-grade) and not the usual zero grade of ablaut in its preterite participle and preterite tense. The preterite participle based on **-to-* of this verb may have been formed under the influence of the regular zero-grade preterite participles in **-to-* of the other preterite-present verbs, but there is also abundant evidence that the suffix **-to-* was often used in IE in combination with ablaut grades other than the zero grade when forming substantives from verbal roots (the accent often falling on the root syllable of the derivation). For example the o-grade is extant in Greek φόρτος “load, burden”, formed from φέρω “I carry”¹³, while the IE verb base seen in the Gmc strong verb *flōjanan* and Greek (Ionic) πλώω “I swim” yields Gmc *flōðaz* “flood” (cf. Greek πλωτός “swimming”), the derived adjective preserving the *ō*-grade of ablaut present in the derivational base¹⁴. Such *ō*-grade postverbal substantives in **-to-* could easily have become confused with zero-grade verbal adjectives or participles in **-to-* leading to the formation of *ō*-grade adjectives or participles such as **mōssaz* pret. part. (for an explanation of the *s* occurring here see below) from **mōt*. More important to our present analysis, however, is the fact that **mōt*, like its counterparts with a zero-grade preterite participle, was unable to fit any of the ablaut patterns of the strong verbs used to distinguish between the present and the preterite tense. An alternative means of marking the preterite tense was therefore also required for this verb.

It is important to note in regard to the preterite-present verbs (and also a small number of class I and class III primary verbs which I shall discuss later) that there is no intervening thematic vowel separating the root from the dental suffix of the preterite participle or preterite tense forms. This is in contrast to the remainder of the weak verbs which are regularly formed with the aid of a thematic vowel, *-i/-e-*, *-ō-* and *-ē-* in classes I, II and III respectively.

Furthermore, the absence of an intervening thematic vowel has caused a number of assimilatory changes in respect to the consonant combinations appearing in the following preterite participles: **wissaz* (Gothic *wissa*, ON *vissa*, OE *wisse*, OS *wissa*, OHG *wissa*); **mōssaz* (OHG *mōsa*, OS *mōsta*, OE *mōste*, Gothic *ga-mosta*, the forms with *-st-* present in the latter three participles are easily explained as arising through analogy with forms where the *t* was regular, e.g. Gothic *qīpan/qast* 2nd sg. pret. indic. which in turn is on analogy with forms such as *lisan/last*¹⁵); **duhtaz* (OE *dohte*, OHG *tohta*); **muhtaz* (Gothic

¹³ Meillet (1912: 250).

¹⁴ Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 143).

¹⁵ Ball (1968: 168).

mahta, ON *mátta*, OE *meahte*, OS *mahta*, OHG *mahta/mohta*). The consonant combinations of these preterite participles can be shown to have developed along the following lines **widtós* > **wittós* with assimilation of **-d-* to **-t-* in the cluster **-dt-* (see the next paragraph) > **wissaz* with change of medial **-tt-* to **-ss-* (see the next paragraph); **mōttós* > **mōssaz* with change of medial **-tt-* to **-ss-* (see the next paragraph); **dugtós* > **duktós* with assimilation of **-g-* to **-k-* in the cluster **-gt-* (see the next paragraph) > **duhtaz* with the Gmc development of *k* to *h*; **mugtós* > **muktós* with assimilation of **-g-* to **-k-* in the cluster **-gt-* (see the next paragraph) > **muhtaz* with the Gmc development of **-k-* to **-h-*.

These consonant combinations present in the above preterite participles are the result of very early and most likely IE assimilatory sound changes. The change of **-dt-* to **-tt-* and **-gt-* to **-kt-* is almost certainly IE, e.g. Latin *regere* “to guide, direct” beside *rectus*, Greek ὀρέγω “I reach, stretch (out)” beside ὀρεκτός¹⁶, while the subsequent change of **-tt-* to **-ss-* is a development common to the western-most languages of the IE speech area, i.e. Gmc, Celtic and Italic¹⁷, and which must therefore be seen to have occurred prior to the Gmc period when the Gmc, Celtic and Italic groups would still have been in close contact. In contrast, **-tt-* regularly developed into **-st-* in central and eastern areas (i.e. in Slavonic, Baltic, Greek, Avestan) but resisted change and remained as **-tt-* in the dialect or dialects of Indo-Aryan which gave rise to Sanskrit¹⁸. Hence the IE verbal adjective and preterite participle **widtós*¹⁹ can be seen to have developed (via an intermediate form **wittós* which exhibits the IE assimilatory devoicing of the initial consonant in the cluster **-dt-* to give **-tt-*) along the following lines: a change of **-tt-* to **-ss-* gave rise to Gmc **wissaz* “known, seen”, Latin *vīsus* (this in place of the expected form **vissus* through the influence of *vīdī*) and Celtic *fēss* “scita”; a change of **-tt-* to **-st-* gave rise to Greek ἄ-γνωστος “unknown, unrecognized” and Avestan *vista-*; finally, the participle resisted change in Sanskrit, leading to *vittah* “seen”²⁰.

The preterite participles of the preterite-presents are therefore clearly archaic, exhibiting IE assimilatory sound changes involving the consonant combinations which would have arisen after the suffixation of **-to-*. As stated, this archaic pattern of verb root plus dental suffix without an intermediate thematic vowel also occurs in the inflected preterite tense forms of the

¹⁶ Krahe (II 1969: 109).

¹⁷ Szemerényi (1990: 108).

¹⁸ Szemerényi (1990: 108).

¹⁹ Szemerényi (1990: 108).

²⁰ Szemerényi (1990: 108).

preterite-presents. Furthermore, the assimilatory sound changes characterising the preterite participle of the verbs discussed above also occur in the preterite tense forms of these same verbs. If our analysis that the dental suffix present in the preterite participle based on IE **-to-* found its way into the weak preterite is correct, then these assimilatory changes can consequently be seen to have been carried over analogically from the preterite participle to the preterite stem form. The dental preterite tense forms without thematic vowel must consequently belong to an early stage in the development of the dental preterite of the weak verb and one which antedates the later weak verb forms with thematic vowels²¹.

It can thus be seen that there is strong evidence to indicate that the dental of the preterite participle based on IE **-to-* provided a key starting point for the Gmc dental preterite. However, as I have already pointed out, it is clear that the dental of the preterite participle cannot provide a complete explanation for all details or aspects of the Gmc weak preterite. Most importantly, we are still left with the problem of how this dental suffix present in the preterite participle came to be incorporated into a finite tense system thus forming a new, suffixed preterite tense, quite distinct from that of the strong verbs which, as we are aware, were subject to ablaut or reduplication.

A possible solution to this problem might lie in the fact that a dental element was already present in certain preterite forms within the pre-existing Gmc system of strong verb conjugation, as for example Gothic *bart*, ON *bart* 2nd sing. pret. indic. (< Gmc **bar-ta* “carried”), Gothic *bērup* 2nd plural pret. indic. (< Gmc **bēr-up* < **bēr-te*²²), Gothic *nemeiþ* 2nd sing. pret. optative (< Gmc **nēmīþ*). These pre-existing dental elements might hence have provided a model which gave the motivation for the dental element of the preterite participle to become extended into a finite tense formation. It will of course be remembered that a number of existing theories have attempted to derive the Gmc dental preterite from the endings of certain finite verb forms, whether IE or Gmc. Thus Must (1951) saw the second person singular ending of the strong inflection as a convincing starting point for the weak preterite, while Bammesberger (1986) believed that the second person plural ending formed the basis of the dental preterite of the preterite-present and primary j-present verbs. This was owing to the fact that the endings of the IE perfect (having lost its reduplication²³) and athematic root aorist paradigms were originally identical in this person (e.g. **wid-te* > **wisse*), but after the ending of the perfect stem became restructured to **wit-up* on the basis of the third person plural ending (e.g. **wit-un*) an

²¹ Meid (1971: 107).

²² Compare Bammesberger (1986: 75).

²³ See Szemerényi (1990: 312-315).

opportunity was created for the unaffected aorist form (e.g. **wiss-e* < **wid-te*) to form the basis of a new preterite paradigm and thus take on the personal endings characterizing the weak preterite, e.g. **wiss-ō(m)*, **wiss-ēs*, **wiss-ē(h)* etc.²⁴.

Nevertheless, it has clearly been seen in 1.2. that theories which attempt to derive the dental preterite from an individual finite verb form or forms encounter considerable problems, and it must consequently be seen that such theories cannot, on their own, provide a full or complete explanation for the derivation of the dental preterite. It must therefore be stressed that the dental element present in pre-existing strong verb preterite forms should only be regarded as providing the impetus for the dental of the preterite participle to spread to finite tense forms and form the basis of new preterite tense, possibly as a result of confusion between it and these finite forms already containing a dental element.

It is also apparent that similarities with the dental element in the already extant finite verb “to do” may have helped in the formation of certain personal endings of the dental preterite, or at least exercised an important influence on their subsequent development, those most convincingly affected being the Gothic plural endings which are distinct from the corresponding forms in NWGmc and which have most likely been reformed on analogy with the reduplicated perfect endings of **đōn* (see 1.2. for a detailed discussion of the composition theory and the verb **đōn*). However, the dental preterite should not be seen as deriving from a compound or periphrastic construction formed with the verb “to do”, as the composition theory encounters a number of serious problems (see 1.2.) which render it unsuitable as a means to satisfactorily explain the origin of the Gmc dental preterite. Rather, as already stated, the importance of the verb **đōn* lies in the fact that it almost certainly asserted a significant influence on the developing dental preterit, playing a key role in shaping certain of its personal endings. ✓

In this section, then, I hope to have shown that the **-to-* theory provides the most convincing starting point for the formation of the dental preterite, but that it must, nevertheless, not be viewed as offering a panacea to explain all

²⁴ Bammesberger is discussed in more detail at 1.2. The reader should compare also the Behagel-Wackernagel theory which attempted to derive the dental preterite from the second person singular secondary ending of the IE medial aorist in **-thēs*, and the hypothesis of Collitz (1912) which equated the Gothic passive paradigm in *-da* (e.g. *bairada* “am, is carried”) with the first and third person singular of the weak preterite, also in *-da*, and consequently traced the origin of the dental preterite back to the IE ending of the third person singular medio-passive perfect. Both the Bahegel-Wackernagel theory and Collitz also receive more detailed treatment in 1.2.

factors at play within the overall development of the dental preterite. Instead, the weak preterite as a whole is probably best regarded as a mixed formation which has been subject to various influences and analogical reformations, all of which have helped shape it to varying degrees. The present work therefore corroborates

much of the research more recently carried out on the Gmc weak preterite which, as the reader will recall from 1.2.²⁵, emphasizes the limitations of theories which attempt to explain the dental preterite in terms of a single origin or influence, and which consequently stresses the importance of an approach which analyzes or tries to understand the weak preterite in terms of various factors or influences.

I also hope to have revealed that the archaic and unique structure (i.e. perfect forms with present meaning, present tense forms exhibiting ablaut) of the preterite-present verbs offers important evidence to suggest that these verbs might comprise the earliest group to have adopted this new type of inflection employing a dental suffix. The present work thus reinforces the findings of Ball (1968), Meid (1971) and Bammesberger (1986) which also assign the preterite-present verbs to the earliest groups of weak verbs. Having thus analysed the primary verbs belonging to the preterite-present group, I shall now turn my attention to the primary verbs comprising the weak verb inflectional classes I, II and III.

Although the preterite-presents are important on account of their form and archaic nature, this same archaic structure did not afford them the opportunity to expand as a group and become a productive morphological type. They thus represent a closed set represented by only eleven examples in this survey. The weak verbs of the inflectional classes I, II and III, on the other hand, represent an open set which, as we shall see as we examine each historical stratum, becomes increasingly productive through each successive stratum, providing a clear inflectional category to which the vast majority of new verbal derivations came to be assigned.

The weak verbs of classes I, II and III differ radically from the preterite-presents in other important ways. Their present tense does not correspond to an IE perfect form with present meaning and, consequently, they do not exhibit the ablaut alteration in their present tense which characterizes the preterite-presents. Furthermore, the majority are also formed with the aid of an intervening or thematic vowel separating the verb root from the dental suffix, in the case of class I this thematic vowel being *-i-*, in class II *-ō-*, and in class III

²⁵ Thus Birkhan (1978), Bammesberger (1986).

verbs -ē-. Nevertheless, key links between the preterite-presents and the primary verbs of classes I, II and III can be seen in the value of the root vowel. As stated earlier in this section, it can quite convincingly be argued that the quality of the vowel appearing in the root syllable of the preterite-presents, i.e. ablaut zero grade or in the case of **mōt* to *ō* (the extended grade of *o*), would have effectively excluded them from following any of the strong verb ablaut grade patterns distinguishing the preterite from the present tense. It therefore follows that, if the majority of the primary weak verbs of classes I, II and III possessed vowels in their root syllable which also excluded them from inflecting according to any of the existing strong verb ablaut patterns, they too would have had the same motivation for adopting the dental suffix and its corresponding set of endings to mark the preterite tense as the preterite-presents had. The quality of this root vowel, and the implications of this with respect to existing the ablaut patterns of the strong verbs will thus constitute an important part of my investigation into the primary verbs of classes I, II and III.

4.3.2. Class I Primary Verbs

There are forty-two class I weak verbs which can be shown to belong to the pre-Gmc stratum. This sum comprises 42.00% of all pre-Gmc, primary weak verbs. These verbs are listed in the following table, together with the ablaut grade appearing in their root syllable and the IE root to which they may be traced back etymologically.

OHG Weak Verb	Reconstructed Form	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel	Proposed IE Root
berren	*barjanan	o-grade	√*bher-
bringen	*brenganan	e-grade	√*bhrenk-, *bhronk-
denken	*þankjanan	o-grade	√*teng-, *tong-
dennen	*þanejanan	o-grade	√*ten-, *tan-
dōsen			√*dheues-, *dhuēs-, *dheus-, *dhūs-
dewen	*þaujanan	o-grade	√*tā-, *tə-, *tāi-, *təi-, *ti-, [*tāu-], *tāu-, *tu-
drewen	*þrawjanan	o-grade	√*treu-, *trū-
fowen	*fujan	zero-grade	√*peu-, *peuə-, *pu-
fuogen	*fōgjanan	root vowel = <i>ō</i>	√*pāk-
fuolen	*fōljanan	root vowel = <i>ō</i>	√*pol-, *pōl-
fuoten	*fōdjanan	root vowel = <i>ō</i>	√*pā(-t)-
hōren	*hauzjanan	o-grade	√*keu(-s)-
īlen	*īljan	root vowel = <i>ī</i>	√*iəlos

(h)leinen	*hlainjanan	o-grade	√*klei-, *kloi-
meinen	*mainjanan	o-grade	√*mein-, *moin-
menden	*mandjanan	o-grade	√*mendh-
mengen ¹	*mangjanan	o-grade	√*men-
mengen ²	*mangjanan	o-grade	√*menənk-, *menk-
merren	*marzjanan	o-grade	√*mer-, *mer-s-
muoen	*mōjanan	root vowel = ǫ	√*mǫ-, *mo-lo-
muzzen	*mutjanan	zero-grade	√*meu-, *meuə-, *mu-
nāen	*nējanan	root vowel = ē	√*(s)nē-, *(s)nēi-
neizzen	*naitjanan	o-grade	√*neid-
niusen	*neusjanan	e-grade	√*neu-s-
refsen	*rafisjanan	o-grade	√*rep(-s)-, *rap(-s)-
reihhen	*raikjanan	o-grade	√*reig-
renken	*wrankjanan	o-grade	√*wreng-, *wrong-
riuten	*reuōjanan	e-grade	√*reudh-
(h)ruoren	*hrōrjanan	root vowel = ǫ	√*kerə-, *krā-
sellen	*saljanan	o-grade	√*sel-
siuwen	*siujanan	root diphthong = iu	√*siū-, *sīu
scutten	*skud(d)janan	zero-grade	√*(s)kut-
strewen	*straujanan	o-grade	√*streu-
stuoen	*stōjanan	root vowel = ǫ	√*st(h)āu-, *st(h)ū-
suohhen	*sōkjanan	root vowel = ǫ	√*sāg-, *sæg-
swizzen	*switjanan	zero-grade	√*sweid-, *sweides-, *swoido-
tāen	*dējanan	root vowel = ē	√*dhē(i)-
uoben	*ōbjanan	root vowel = ǫ	√*op-
wennen	*wanjanan	o-grade	√*wen-, *wenə-
werien	*warjanan	o-grade	√*wer-, *weru-, *urū-
winken	*wenkjanan	e-grade	√*we-n-g-
wurken	*wurkjanan	zero-grade	√*wrg-, *werg-, *wreg-
zerben	*tarbjanan	o-grade	√*derbh-, *dorbh-

Table 2: Class I Primary Verbs

As stated earlier, the class I verbs belonging to this stratum may well represent secondary formations derived during the pre-Gmc period, and are therefore to be seen as primary only in respect to the Gmc group. However, owing to the historical remoteness of the period, it is impossible to arrive at any firm conclusions concerning the derivational profile of each verb. They are consequently best examined individually, and the reader should therefore refer to the entry for each respective verb in the data section (Chapter Three) for further etymological information. Nevertheless, the above verbs can be examined in respect to the ablaut grade or vocalism appearing in the root syllable of their present stem. As mentioned previously, the ablaut grade taken by a particular verb may have provided a key motivating factor for that verb's adoption of the dental suffix, as we shall now explore.

From the above table it can be seen that twenty-one verbs (50.00% of all class I primary verbs) take the o-grade of ablaut in the root vowel of their present stem; eight verbs (19.05% of all class I primary verbs) take \bar{o} , the extended ablaut grade of *o*, in the vowel of their root syllable; five verbs (11.90% of all class I primary verbs) take the zero grade of ablaut in their root vowel; four verbs (9.52% of all class I primary verbs) take the e-grade of ablaut in their root vowel; two verbs (4.76% of all class I primary verbs) take \bar{e} , the extended ablaut grade of *e*, in the vowel of their root syllable; one verb (2.38% of all class I primary verbs) takes the vowel \bar{i} in its root syllable; and one verb (2.38% of all class I primary verbs) is formed with the diphthong *iu* in its root syllable.

As can clearly be seen from these figures, verbs with *a*-vocalism corresponding to the IE o-grade of ablaut comprise the largest group within the class I primary verbs. The fact that these verbs took the o-grade of ablaut in their present stem would therefore effectively have excluded them from inflecting as strong verbs of classes I-V, as verbs belonging to the ablaut series of these strong verb classes required an interchange between the e-grade of ablaut in the present stem, o-grade in the preterite singular stem, and zero-grade in the preterite plural stem. Nevertheless, verbs with the o-grade of ablaut in their present tense could inflect as strong verbs belonging to the sixth ablaut series. Strong verbs of this class had *a* vocalism in their present stem (Gmc *a* < IE *o* or *a*) and \bar{o} vocalism through the preterite, e.g. Gothic *faran* “to lead”, *fōr* 3rd pret. sg. “he led”, *fōrum* 1st pret. pl. “we led”. However, the above data appear to show that a significant number of verbs with o-vocalism in their present stem rejected this ablaut orientated inflection in favour of the dental suffix, although precisely why this happened is unclear.

The adoption of the dental preterite by verbs with Gmc *a*-vocalism in their present stem would have had important implications for the extension of the weak verb formation, as will now be discussed. As will be examined in greater detail in 4.4.1.1., the o-grade of ablaut (> Gmc **a*) was a typical characteristic of causative deverbatives in IE²⁶. Therefore, the association of the dental suffix with verbs formed with *a*-vocalism in their present stem may have created a situation for the dental suffix to spread analogically in the formation of causative deverbatives, as these latter were formed with the o-grade of ablaut.

In view of this, many of the above primary verbs formed with the IE o-grade of ablaut may, in reality, represent IE causative deverbatives, or at least o-grade deverbative formations not necessarily causative in meaning but based

²⁶ Brugmann (IV 1895: 318).

on the pattern of causatives. Indeed, a number of the above verbs with o-grade ablaut can be analysed as deverbatives with a typically causative or factitive meaning. Thus: **hlain(e)janan* (OHG *(h)leinen*) “to lean, cause to lean”, which may represent a pre-Gmc o-grade causative deverbative from an e-grade IE verb seen in Latin *clīnāre* (Latin *ī* from IE **ei*²⁷) “to bend, lean, bow” (compare the zero-grade verbs: Greek κλίνω “I lean, incline, cause to lean”, Lith. *šlinù* “I lean, bend down”, these probably zero-grade deverbatives from the same e-grade verb base); **sal(e)janan* (OHG *sellen*) “to give < cause to take”, which may represent a pre-Gmc o-grade causative deverbative from an IE e-grade verb seen in Greek ἔλεῖν (aorist infinitive) “to take” and OIr. *ad-selb* (b-extension) “attests”; **wrankjanan* (OHG *bi-renken*) “to move backwards and forwards”, which may represent a pre-Gmc o-grade causative deverbative from an IE e-grade verb seen in Lith. *reñgtis* “to stoop, bend or bow in a clumsy manner” (compare the Lith. o-grade causative deverbative *rangýti* “to bend”), OCS *regnati* (with metathesis of *n* and *g*) “gapes, yawns, opens the mouth”, Latin *ringor* “I open wide the mouth, show the teeth, vex, perplex”; **þan(e)janan* (OHG *dennen*) “to stretch, make tight”, which may represent a pre-Gmc o-grade causative deverbative from an e-grade IE verb seen in Sanskrit *tanóti* “stretch” (Sanskrit *a* from IE **e*²⁸. Compare also the Sanskrit causative deverbative *tānáyati* “to make taut”, Albanian *n-dënj* “I stretch, extend, pull”, Latin *tendere* (d-extension) “to stretch, extend”. Likewise, the verb **mangjanan* (OHG *mengen*²) “to mix” can be seen to represent an o-grade deverbative (although not inherently causative in meaning) from an e-grade IE verb seen in Sanskrit *macate*, *mañcate* “to grind to a pulp” (Sanskrit *a* from IE **e*²⁹), Lith. *mìnkyti* “to knead (dough)”, Albanian *mekem* “I make damp, become faint or rigid” (compare also with a-vocalism Greek μᾶσσω “I press, squeeze, knead, stroke, wipe”). Causative deverbatives are examined in more detail in 4.4.1.1.

Similarly, there are a significant number of verbs taking the *ō*-grade and zero-grade of ablaut in the root vowel of their present stem, as well as two verbs formed with *ī* and *iu* in their present stem. These too would have been excluded from inflecting as strong verbs of classes I-V or class VI, and would therefore have had the same motivation for adopting the dental preterite as the verbs with o-vocalism discussed above. Primary verbs which are characterized by the zero-grade of ablaut will be discussed in 4.3.4.

It is interesting to note that there are four class I primary verbs which belong to a sub-group traditionally referred to as the “verba pura”. The term

²⁷ Sihler (1995: 52).

²⁸ Brugmann (I 1888: 49).

²⁹ Brugmann (I 1888: 49).

verba pura designates “those verbs which can be derived from monosyllabic roots and end in the long vowels Proto-Germanic **-ē-* and **-ō-*”³⁰. Those taking the *ō*-grade of ablaut are **mōjanan* (OHG *muoen*) “to tire, trouble” and **stōjanan* (OHG *stuoēn*) “to punish, restrain”, while those taking the *ē*-grade of ablaut are **nējanan* (OHG *nāēn*) “to sew” and **dējanan* (OHG *tāēn*) “to suckle”. There are also six verbs which belong to the sub-group traditionally referred to as “verba impura”, i.e. verbs “in which the long root vowels Proto-Germanic **-ē-* and **-ō-* are followed by a consonant”³¹. These all take the *ō*-grade of ablaut: **fōgjanan* (OHG *fuogen*) “to join, bind”, **fōljanan* (OHG *fuolen*) “to feel”, **fōdjanan* (OHG *fuoten*) “to feed”, **hrōrjanan* (OHG *(h)ruoren*) “to touch, move”, **sōkjanan* (OHG *suohhen*) “to seek, look for”, **ōbjanan* (OHG *uoben*) “to work, practise”. As Matzel points out, a number of strong verbs of class VII, i.e. verbs which are subject to reduplication and ablaut-gradation, also belong to the category of “verbum purum” and “verbum impurum” on the basis of their root structure. For example, Gothic *saian* (< Gmc **sēanan*), pret. *sai-sō* “to sow” (verbum purum), Gothic *hwōpan* (< Gmc *hwōpanan*), pret. *hwai-hwōp* “to boast” (verbum impurum). The pre-Gmc class I verba pura and verba impura were probably also subject to reduplication at one stage, but adopted the dental preterite on the model of the preterite-present and class I primary verbs at a very early period in the development of Gmc³². This assumption can be supported by the fact that six WGmc class I deverbatives (e.g. WGmc **glōjan* (OHG *gluoen*), WGmc **krējan* (OHG *krāēn*): see 4.6.1.1.) and five class I OHG deverbatives (e.g. *blāēn*, *māēn*, *spuoēn*: see 4.7.1.1.) which have the root structure of verba pura represent derivations from earlier reduplicating verbs.

4.3.3. Class II Primary Verbs

There are thirty class II weak verbs which can be shown to belong to the pre-Gmc stratum. This sum comprises 30.00% of all pre-Gmc weak verbs. These verbs are listed in the following table, together with the IE root to which they may be traced back etymologically and the ablaut grade of their root vowel.

³⁰ Matzel (1988: 30).

³¹ Matzel (1988: 30).

³² Matzel (1988: 31). Matzel’s analysis of the verba pura convincingly shows that the dental element of their preterite derives from the dental of the preterite participle (1988: 35-41). His findings thus correspond closely to the analysis of the present work (see 4.3.1.).

OHG Weak Verb	Reconstructed Form	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel	Proposed IE Root
borōn	*burōjanan	zero-grade	√*bher-, *bhar-
dōsōn	*dausōjanan	root diphthong = 'au'	√*dheues-, *dhuēs-, *dheus-, *dhūs-
duncōn	*þunkōjanan	zero-grade	√*teng-
eiscōn	*aiskōjanan	root diphthong = 'ai'	√*ais-
fegōn	*fegōjanan	e-grade	√*pek-
forscōn	*forskōjanan	o-grade	√*perk-, *prek-, *prk-
gatōn	*gadōjanan	root vowel = 'a'	√*ghadh-
gescōn	*giskōjanan	zero-grade	√*ghē-, *ghə-, *ghēi-, *ghī-
gewōn	*gjōjanan	zero-grade	√*ghē-, *ghə-, *ghēi-, *ghī-
halōn	*halōjanan	root vowel = 'a'	√*klā-, *kalə-
holōn	*hulōjanan	zero-grade	√*klā-, *kalə-
kallōn	*kallōjanan	root vowel = 'a'	√*gal(sō)-
lallōn	*lallōjanan	root vowel = 'a'	√*lā-
leckōn	*liknōjanan	zero-grade	√*leigh-
lobōn	*lubōjanan	zero-grade	√*leubh-
mahhōn	*makōjanan	root vowel = 'a'	√*mag-
mangōn	*mangōjanan	root vowel = 'a'	√*men-
murmurōn	*murmurōjanan	zero-grade	√*murmur-, *mormor-
reihhōn	*raikōjanan	o-grade	√*reig-
(h)ridōn	*hriþōjanan	zero-grade	√*(s)krei-
rodōn	*ruðōjanan	zero-grade	√*reudh-
rohōn	*ruhōjanan	zero-grade	√*reuk-
skerōn	*skerōjanan	e-grade	√*(s)ker-, *(s)kerə-, *(s)krē-
scouwōn	*skauōjanan	o-grade	√*(s)keu-
spehōn	*spehōjanan	e-grade	√*spek-
stemōn	*stemōjanan	e-grade	√*stem-
stouwōn	*stōjanan	root vowel = ō	√*stā-, *stə-
twarōn	*twarōjanan	o-grade	√*dheuer-, *dhuer-, *dheur-
wancōn	*wankōjanan	o-grade	√*weng-, *wong-
zittarōn	*titrōjanan	root vowel = ō	√*drā-

Table 3: Class II Primary Verbs

As with the class I primary verbs, the above class II verbs belonging to this stratum may well represent secondary formations derived during the pre-Gmc period, and are therefore to be seen as primary only in respect to the Gmc group. However, owing to the historical remoteness of the period, it is impossible to

arrive at any firm conclusions concerning the derivational profile of each verb. They are consequently best examined individually, and the reader should therefore refer to the entry for each respective verb in the data section (Chapter Three) for further etymological information. Nevertheless, as with the class I primary verbs, an examination of the ablaut grade or vocalism taken in the root syllable of the above verbs will yield significant results.

From the above table it can be seen that eleven verbs (36.67% of all class II primary verbs) take the zero-grade of ablaut in their root vowel; five verbs (16.67% of all class II primary verbs) take the o-grade of ablaut in the vowel of their root syllable; six verbs (20.00% of all class II primary verbs) take the vowel *a* in their root syllable (this *a* not corresponding to the IE o-grade of ablaut); four verbs (13.33% of all class II primary verbs) take the e-grade of ablaut in their root vowel; two verbs (6.67% of all class II primary verbs) have *ō*, the extended ablaut grade of *o*, as the vowel of their root syllable; one verb (3.33% of all class II primary verbs) has the diphthong *ai* in its root syllable; and one verb (3.33% of all class II primary verbs) has the diphthong *au* in its root syllable.

As can clearly be seen from these figures, verbs taking the zero-grade of ablaut comprise the largest group within the class II primary verbs. The fact that these verbs took the zero-grade of ablaut in their present stem would therefore effectively have excluded them from inflecting as strong verbs of classes I-V, as verbs belonging to the ablaut series of these strong verb classes required an interchange between the e-grade of ablaut in the present and zero-grade in the preterite plural stem. For a more detailed discussion concerning the significance of primary verbs with the zero-grade of ablaut, see 4.3.4. below.

Similarly, there are a significant number of verbs with *a*-vocalism (this *a*-vocalism either stemming from IE *o* and thus corresponding to the o-grade of ablaut in IE, or stemming from IE *a* and thus quite distinct from the o-grade of ablaut), as well as one verb with the diphthong *ai* and two verbs with *ō* (extended ablaut grade of *o*) in the root vowel of their present stem. These too would have been excluded from inflecting as strong verbs of classes I-V, and would therefore have had the same motivation for adopting the dental preterite as the class I primary verbs with *a*-vocalism resulting from the IE o-grade of ablaut (see 4.3.2.).

4.3.4. Class III Primary Verbs

There are fourteen class III weak verbs which can be shown to belong to the pre-Gmc stratum. This sum comprises 14.00% of all pre-Gmc, primary verbs. These verbs are listed in the following table, together with the IE root to which they may be traced back etymologically.

OHG Weak Verb	Reconstructed Gmc Form	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel	Proposed IE Root
bibēn	*bibējanan	e-grade (extended)	√*bhōi-, *bhəi-
dagēn	*ḡagējanan	o-grade	√*tak-
dolēn	*ḡulējanan	zero-grade	√*tel-, *telə-, *tlē(i)-, *tlā-
fiēn	*fijējanan	zero-grade	√*pē(i)-, *pī-
folgēn	*fulgējanan	zero-grade	√*pelgh-, *polgh-?
giwēn	*gijējanan	zero-grade	√*ghēi-, *ghī-
grūēn	*grūējanan	root vowel = ɪ	√*ghrēu-, *ghrū-
(h)linēn	*hlinējanan	zero-grade	√*klei-, *kloi-
lobēn	*lubējanan	zero-grade	√*luebh-
(h)losēn	*hlausējanan	o-grade	√*kleu-, *kleuə-, *klū-
ridēn	*hriḡējanan	zero-grade	√*(s)krei-
sagēn	*sagijējanan	o-grade	√*sekw-, *sokw-
stemēn	*stemējanan	e-grade	√*stem-, *stom-
wonēn	*wunējanan	zero-grade	√*wen-, *wenə-

Table 4: Class III Primary Verbs

As with the class I and II primary verbs, the above class III verbs belonging to this stratum may well represent secondary formations derived during the pre-Gmc period, and are therefore to be seen as primary only in respect to the Gmc group. However, owing to the historical remoteness of the period, it is impossible to arrive at any firm conclusions concerning the derivational profile of each verb. They are consequently best examined individually, and the reader should therefore refer to the entry for each respective verb in the data section (Chapter Three) for further etymological information. Nevertheless, as with the class I and II primary verbs, an examination of the ablaut grade or vocalism taken in the root syllable of the above verbs will yield important results.

From the above table it can be seen that eight verbs (57.14% of all class III primary verbs) take the zero grade of ablaut in the root vowel of their present stem; three verbs (21.43% of all class III primary verbs) take the o-grade of ablaut in the vowel of their root syllable; one verb (7.14% of all class III primary verbs) takes the e-grade of ablaut in its root vowel; one verb (7.14% of

all class III primary verbs) takes \bar{e} , the extended ablaut grade of e , in the vowel of its root syllable; and one verb (7.14% of all class III primary verbs) takes the vowel \bar{u} in its root syllable.

It is interesting to note from the above table that the majority of class III primary verbs take the zero-grade of ablaut. This is an important feature to note, as verbs taking the zero-grade of ablaut in their present stem would have been unable to conform to any of the strong verb ablaut series. Such verbs would require an alternative means of marking the preterite tense, and this would have provided an important motivating factor for them to adopt the dental suffix and hence the weak inflection. Moreover, the zero-grade of ablaut in the present stem of these class III primary verbs (a significant number of class II, and five class I primary verbs are also zero-grade, see 4.3.2. and 4.3.3.) corresponds to the ablaut grade present in the preterite participle and preterite plural of the preterite-present verbs. We may therefore have an analogical extension in operation whereby zero-grade verbs of classes II and III (and to a lesser extent class I) have adopted the dental suffix through their similarity in form with the zero-grade dental-suffixed preterite forms of the preterite-present verbs (see 4.3.1).

These zero-grade primary verbs may be old durative or stative deverbatives which were traditionally derived in IE from aorist stems and took the zero-grade of ablaut in their root vowel³³. Thus the above class III verb **hlinējanan* (OHG *(h)linēn*) “to lean, be leaning” is typically durative in meaning and exists beside two other zero-grade verbs seen in Greek κλίνω “I lean, incline, cause to lean”, Lith. *šlinù* “I lean, bend down” (the Greek and Lith. verbs in question are, however, not overtly durative in meaning, but this may be the result of restructuring within these languages). This may therefore point to an IE zero-grade (durative) deverbative deriving from an e-grade IE verb seen in Latin *clīnāre* (Latin \bar{i} from IE $*ei$ ³⁴) “to bend, lean, bow”. The verb **bulējanan* (OHG *dolēn*) “to suffer, endure” is also typically durative in meaning and exists beside ablaut zero-grade verbs seen in Sanskrit *tulayati* “raises, lifts” and OLatin *tulere* “to bring, bear”. The source verb for these zero-grade durative deverbatives is unclear but probably has reflexes in Latin *tolerāre* “to suffer, endure, bear, converse”, Greek τολάσσω, aorist τλήναι “bear, endure, take responsibility for” and OIr. *tlenaid* < **tlnāti* (n-present) “removes, carries off, steals”. Likewise, the verb **wunējanan* (OHG *wonēn*) originally “to love, cherish” then later “be accustomed to” and eventually “to live”, is typically

³³ Meillet & Vendryes (1927: 269), Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 249).

³⁴ Sihler (1995: 52).

durative in meaning and exists beside an OCS zero-grade verb *uniti* “to want”. This may therefore point to an IE zero-grade durative deverbative deriving from an IE verb base seen in Sanskrit *vanati*, *vanoti* “wishes for, desires, wins”; Hittite *wen-*, *went-* (with specialized development of meaning) “to sleep with, copulate” (compare Latin *venus* “love, attraction, sexual pleasure”, Gaulish PN *veni-carus*, OIr. *fine* “tribe, relation, family”, OE *wine* “friend, protector, lord; retainer”, OE *wynn* “joy, rapture, pleasure, delight, gladness” all of which probably ultimately derive from this same IE verb base). Similarly, the verb **pagējanan* (OHG *dagēn*) “to be silent”, although not zero-grade in its morphology, is typically durative in meaning and exists beside a Latin verb, *tacēre* “to be silent” (compare Umbrian *tases*, *taçez* preterite participle “silent(ly), in a murmur”), which shares the same vocalism and is correspondingly durative in meaning. The reader should also note that the verb *tacēre* belongs to class II (i.e. verbs in *-ēre*) in Latin, a typical feature of this verbal class in Latin being the formation of verbs with a stative/durative meaning³⁵. Indeed, the derivational suffix *-ē-* present in Latin class II verbs in *-ēre* has been shown to correspond phonologically and morpho-semantically to the derivational suffix *-ē-* in Gmc class III verbs in *-ēn*³⁶. This therefore suggests that the Gmc *-ē-* suffix became clearly defined semantically at a period prior to the separation of the Gmc group, and probably arose in a Gmc-Italic complex of mutual influence.

As argued in 4.3.1., the preterite-present verbs may represent the proto-types for the weak inflection, possessing an ablaut variation in their present forms akin to the strong inflectional type but, at the same time, a preterite participle in IE **-to-* as well as a dental suffix throughout the preterite tense, these latter characteristics making them typical of the weak verb inflectional type. A further distinguishing feature of the preterite-present verbs is the fact that they are inherently durative in meaning³⁷ and take the zero-grade of ablaut throughout their preterite forms. An analogical process whereby the weak inflection became extended from the preterite-present verbs to zero-grade stative deverbatives can therefore be envisaged in view of this similarity between these class III zero-grade durative deverbatives and the preterite-present verbs. A further discussion of durative deverbatives is to be found in 4.4.1.3.

In addition to zero-grade durative deverbatives belonging to class III, many zero-grade primary verbs belonging to class II (see 4.3.3.) may originally

³⁵ Sihler (1995: 531).

³⁶ Szemerényi (1990: 257), Wagner (1956: 161-173), Bennett (1962: 135-141).

³⁷ Sihler (1995: 566).

represent frequentative and/or intensive deverbatives. Thus the verb **þunkōjan* (OHG *duncōn*) “to immerse in water, dip, wet, dampen” may represent a zero-grade frequentative or intensive deverbative from an IE e-grade verb seen in Greek τέγω “I make soft, wet, dampen” and Latin *ting(u)ere* “to wet, moisten, dye, colour”. Similarly, the verb **wankōjanan* (OHG *wancōn*) “to wobble, waggle, totter, stagger” may represent a zero-grade frequentative or intensive deverbative from an IE e-grade verb seen in Sanskrit *vangati* “goes, limps”, Lith. *vengiu, vengti* “to bend away from, avoid” (compare also Albanian *vank, vangu* “carriage wheel rim” which probably represents a post verbal substantive from an otherwise unattested Albanian verb). Class II frequentative and/or intensive deverbatives are subject to a fuller examination in 4.5.1.2..

4.4. Germanic Weak Verb Formations

This stratum comprises 238 verbs and accounts for 5.08% of the total number of weak verbs attested in OHG. Of these 238 verbs, 186 (78.15%) belong to class I; 33 (13.87%) belong to class II; and 19 (7.98%) belong to class III.

4.4.1. Germanic Deverbatives

There are forty-seven deverbatives which can be traced back to the Gmc period. These verbs account for 19.75% (30.13% if prefix formations are ignored) of all Gmc derivational formations.

4.4.1.1. Class I Germanic Deverbatives

There are thirty-seven Gmc class I deverbatives. This sum comprises 78.72% of all Gmc deverbative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Gmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel
beiten	*baiðejanan	*beiðanan stv I	unclear	o-grade
beizen	*baitejanan	*beitanan stv I	causative	o-grade
brennen	*brannejanan	*brennanan stv III	causative	o-grade
ezzen	*atejanan	*etanan stv V	causative	o-grade

fellen	*fallejanan	*fallanan redpl	causative	unchanged
ferren	*farejanan	*faranan stv VI	causative	o-grade
*gengen	*gangejanan	*ganganan redpl	no change	unchanged
hullen	*huljanan	*helanan stv IV	no change	zero-grade
*kennen	*kannejanan	*kann pret pres	causative	unchanged
leggen	*lagejanan	*legjanan stv V	causative	o-grade
leiben	*laibejanan	*-leibanan stv I	causative	o-grade
lëren	*laizejanan	*lais pret pres	causative	unchanged
(h)lîben	*hleibejanan	*hleibanan stv I	no change	unchanged
(h)neigen	*hnaigwejanan	*hneigwanan stv I	causative	o-grade
nenden	*nanpejanan	*nenpanan stv III	no change	o-grade
nerien	*nazejanan	*nesanan stv V	causative	o-grade
recken	*rakejanan	*rekanan stv V	causative	o-grade
rennen	*rannejanan	*rennanan stv III	causative	o-grade
(h)ruofen	*hrōpjanan	*hrōpanan redpl	no change	unchanged
senken	*sankwejanan	*senkwanan stv III	causative	o-grade
sezzen	*satejanan	*setjanan stv V	causative	o-grade
sloufen	*slaupejanan	*sleupanan stv II	causative	o-grade
stecken	*stakejanan	*stekanan stv IV	causative	o-grade
stenken	*stankwejanan	*stenkwanan stv III	causative	o-grade
swellen	*swallejanan	*swellanan stv IV	causative	o-grade
swenken	*swangwejanan	*swengwanan stv III	causative	o-grade
treiben	*draibejanan	*dreibanan stv I	no change	o-grade
trenken	*drankejanan	*drenkanan stv III	causative	o-grade
trören	*drauzejanan	*dreusanan stv II	causative	o-grade
wegen	*wagejanan	*weganan stv V	causative	o-grade
wecken	wakejanan	*waknanan stv VI	causative	unchanged
wellen	*walejanan	*welanan stv IV	unclear	o-grade
welzen	*waltejanan	*weltanan stv III	causative	o-grade
wenten	*wandejanan	*wendanan stv III	causative	o-grade
werten	*warðejanan	*fra-warðejanan prefixed wkv	unclear	unchanged
fir-werten	*fra-warðejanan	*fra-werpanan stv III	causative	o-grade
wuofen	*wōpjanan	*wōpjanan redpl	no change	unchanged

Table 5: Gmc Class I Deverbatives

The vast majority of the above verbs (twenty-seven verbs or 72.97% of all Gmc class I deverbatives) have a causative relationship to their derivational base. We can therefore conclude that the basic or original function of class I in the Gmc period was the formation of causative deverbatives.

The operation of Verner's Law, or grammatical change, is clearly discernible in many of these Class I deverbatives. This law states that voiceless fricatives became voiced in voiced surroundings if the preceeding syllable was unstressed in IE times³⁸. The derivational suffix, IE **-éyo-*, with which class I deverbatives were formed, bore the accent in the IE period, while the primary,

³⁸ For greater discussion concerning the operation and chronology of Verner's Law, the reader should refer to Bennet (1968: 219-223).

strong verbs from which they are derived bore the accent on the root syllable, a system of accentuation which must have been characteristic of the early stages of Gmc, before the shift in the stress accent of Gmc to the initial syllable had been fully completed. Thus we have forms such as **nazejanan* (OHG *nerien*) “to cause to escape, save, rescue” in which the original accent would have been on the derivational suffix. This derives from the strong verb **nesanan* (OHG *gi-nesan*) “to escape” the original accent of which would have been on the root syllable. On account of grammatical change, the derived verb has then undergone voicing of the palatal-alveolar fricative *s* to *z*.

The root vowel in the majority of the above verbs (twenty-eight verbs or 75.68% of all class I deverbatives) stands in an ablaut relation to its strong verb derivational base. Thus, the derived weak verb was normally formed with the o-grade of ablaut, while the strong verb had the e-grade of ablaut. As a result, derivations from strong verbs of classes I to V (these classes belonging to the e/o-ablaut series) take the same root vowel as that in the preterite singular of their derivational base.

A notable exception to the above e/o-ablaut interchange is provided by the verb **huljanan* (OHG *hullen*) which derives from the class IV strong verb **helanan* and takes the zero or weak grade of ablaut. It does not differ in meaning from its derivational source. A class I deverbative from the same strong verb etymon, **halejan(an)* (OHG *hellen*), and taking the expected o-grade of ablaut can be reconstructed, however, for the WGmc stratum, where it exists alongside the older derivative **huljanan* with no difference in meaning from the latter. Another exception is furnished by **hleibejanan* (OHG *(h)liben*) which preserves the e-grade of its strong verb derivational base rather than taking the expected o-grade of ablaut.

It should also be noted that derivations from strong verbs of class VI, preterite-present verbs or reduplicating verbs do not take ablaut, the root vowel remaining the same as that of the verb functioning as its derivational base: thus **wōpjanan* (OHG *wuofen*) “to cry” from the reduplicating verb **wōpanan* “to cry”. This is due to the fact that strong verbs of class VI, preterite-present verbs and reduplicating verbs take root vowels other than *e* in their present forms. They cannot, therefore, belong to the e/o-grade ablaut series, thus ruling out the possibility for an e/o-grade ablaut relationship to derivations such as that exhibited by verbs derived from strong verbs of classes I to V. Nevertheless, derivations from strong verbs of class VI, preterite-present verbs or reduplicating verbs are subject, like all class I derivations, to grammatical change. For example, **laizejanan* (OHG *lēren*) “to cause to know, teach”

derives from the preterite-present verb **lais* “to know”, remaining unaffected by ablaut but undergoing grammatical change, i.e. voicing of the palatal-alveolar fricative *s* to *z*.

Causative deverbatives taking the o-grade of ablaut in their root vowel and carrying the accent on the derivational suffix (IE **-eyo-*) have clear IE parallels. However, in attested forms it is only in Sanskrit that this suffix remains distinct. In the other languages of the IE group IE **-eyo-* became fused with other present suffixes without possibility of distinction by the time of the first written records³⁹. These causative deverbatives can now be examined as they occur in the individual language groups within the IE family.

Causative deverbatives with ablaut alteration are well preserved in Sanskrit where they remain highly productive. Typical examples include the following: *tarsáyati* “makes thirsty, makes to thirst” from the verb *trsýati* “is thirsty, thirsts”; *bodháyati* “to awaken, cause to be aware” from the verb *budhati* “to be aware or awake”; *rocáyati* “to illuminate” from the verb *rucáyati* “to shine”.

Although the formation of causative deverbatives is relatively restricted in Greek⁴⁰, the ablaut alternation between IE e-grade in the base verb and o-grade in the causative derivative can still clearly be observed, as can be seen from the following examples: φοβέω “I frighten, make afraid” from the verb φόβομαι “I am afraid” (this might, however, be a denominative from the substantive base φόβος “fear, flight, panic”⁴¹); σοβέω “I excite, agitate” from the verb σέβομαι “I am in awe, feel awe”.

Although o-grade causative deverbatives represent a relic class in Latin, a number of o-grade causatives are found inflecting as class II verbs in *-ēre*⁴². Typical examples include the following: *docēre* “to teach” from the verb base *decere* “to be fitting, suitable”; *torrēre* “to make dry, dry” from the verb base seen in Sanskrit *trsýati* “is thirsty, thirsts” (see above) and Greek τέρσομαι “I become dry”.

OIr. also preserves a few examples of o-grade causative deverbatives⁴³. Thus: *ro(i)thid* “sets in motion” from the verb *rethid* “runs”; *fu-lug(a)i* “conceals” from the verb *la(i)gid* “lies”; *ad-su(i)di* “holds fast” from the verb *sa(i)did* “sits”; *im-lúadi* “agitates” from the verb *luid* “he went”.

³⁹ Brugmann (IV 1895: 318).

⁴⁰ Buck (1933: 260).

⁴¹ Sihler (1995: 504).

⁴² Sihler (1995: 531-532).

⁴³ Thurneysen (1946: 336).

The derivation of o-grade causative deverbatives by means of the IE suffix **-eyo-* therefore represents a method of derivation which Gmc has clearly inherited from IE. Indeed, as discussed in 4.3.2., many of the pre-Gmc primary verbs with ablaut o-grade may actually represent IE causative deverbatives. Moreover, in 4.3.2., 4.3.3. and 4.3.4. it was hypothesized that the dental preterite of the preterite-present verbs became extended at an earlier date to two main morphological types, these being verbs which had the ablaut o-grade in the root syllable of their present stem (= Gmc *a*), and verbs which had the ablaut zero-grade in the root syllable of their present stem. Therefore, the association of the dental suffix with verbs formed with the o-grade of ablaut or, in Gmc terms *a*-vocalism, in their present stem may have created a situation for the dental suffix to spread analogically in the formation of causative deverbatives, as these latter were formed with the o-grade of ablaut (= Gmc **a*). In the Gmc period this appears to be precisely what is happening - that is a significant number of new weak verbs are created which represent causative deverbatives.

Although the majority of class I deverbatives stand in a causative relation to their derivational base, a gradual erosion of this function is, however, already discernible during the Gmc period, a process which increases with each subsequent stratum (see 4.5.1.1., 4.6.1.1., 4.7.1.1.). Thus, seven (18.92%) of the thirty-seven class I Gmc deverbatives are formed with no obvious change in meaning from that of their derivational base.

Three of these non-causative deverbatives, namely **gangejanan* (OHG *gengen*) “to go”, **hrōpjanan* (OHG *(h)ruofen*) “to shout, call”, and **wōpjanan* (OHG *wuofen*) “to cry”, are derived from reduplicating strong verbs. Reduplicating verbs represent an archaic method of verbal inflexion which became ever more marginalized throughout the development of Gmc, and their replacement by class I weak derivations (or perhaps it is more accurate to say their transition into verbs inflecting as class I weak verbs) clearly shows the productivity enjoyed by the weak verbs at the expense of other methods of verbal inflexion. It should further be noted that in two of these derivations from reduplicating verbs, **hrōpjanan* and **wōpjanan*, the ablaut grade of the root vowel also remains unchanged. If we examine these latter two verbs more closely we can see that they, and their reduplicating verb counterparts, are formed with the extended ablaut grade, *ō*, together with a *j*-suffix. As has been stated above, reduplicating verbs became increasingly uncommon. This would appear to be particularly so in the case of those formed with the *ō* grade of ablaut together with a *j*-suffix. A *j*-suffix was, on the other hand, an essential element in the formation of the weak verbs. The *j*-suffix present in the

reduplicating verb bases may therefore have been a key analogical factor behind the transition of the above reduplicating verbs into weak verbs.

The remaining weak derivations involving no obvious change in meaning are: **draibejanan* (OHG *treiben*) “to drive” from **dreibanan* “to drive”; **huljanan* (OHG *hullen*) from **helanan* “to hide conceal”; **hleibejanan* “to save, protect, help” (OHG *(h)lîben*) from **hleibanan* “to save, protect, help”; **nanþejanan* (OHG *nenden*) from **nenþanan* “to take courage, dare”. It is interesting to note that **draibejanan* and **huljanan* involve an alteration in the ablaut grade of the root vowel. These may represent some of the earliest examples of derived weak verbs that remain unchanged in meaning, but which are formed on analogy with regular patterns for weak verb derivations. Thus, **draibejanan* may have been formed on analogy with the regular o-grade ablaut pattern used when deriving weak verbs which exist in a causative relation to their strong verb counterpart.

Furthermore, the verbs **baiðejanan* (OHG *beiten*), **walejanan* (OHG *wellen*) and **warðejanan* (OHG *werten*), although exhibiting a change in meaning from that of their derivational base, do not show any clear morpho-semantic process in their derivation. These and the above deverbatives formed with no discernible change in meaning clearly point therefore to a loosening, during the Gmc period, in the causative relationship between class I derivatives and their strong verb derivational bases.

The verb **warðejanan* (OHG *werten*) presents an interesting example of derivation. We would expect this to be a straightforward deverbative from the simplex strong verb **werþanan*. However, this is unlikely on semantic grounds, as the verb **warðejanan* has the meaning “to spoil, destroy” while **werþanan* has the meaning “to become”. A change in meaning as radical as this is highly unlikely without the aid of a verbal prefix. A more convincing solution is to view **fra-warðejanan* “to spoil, destroy” as a deverbative from **fra-werþanan* “to spoil, destroy”, the prefixed form of the strong verb. The unprefixed form **warðejanan* can then be seen as a back formation from **fra-warðejanan* with loss of the prefix **fra-* but retention of the prefixed verb’s meaning.

4.4.1.2. Class II Germanic Deverbatives

There are three Gmc class II deverbatives, which comprise 6.38% of all Gmc deverbative formations. With only three verbs, class II is the smallest and least productive class used in forming deverbatives during this period. With so little

evidence it is extremely difficult to draw any firm conclusions concerning the morphology or semantics of class II Gmc deverbatives.

Two of the Gmc class II deverbative derivations involve a definite alteration in meaning, although the semantic relation between source and derived verb is not easy to classify: **metōjanan* (OHG *mezzōn*) “to moderate, control” which derives from the class V strong verb **metanan* “to measure, mete out, estimate”; **raubōjanan* (OHG *roubōn*) “to rob, plunder, lay waste to” which derives from the class II strong verb **reufanan* “to pluck, pull, tear”. The verb **hwarbōjanan* (OHG *(h)warbōn*), on the other hand, appears to be frequentative or continuative in meaning. Both **raubōjanan* and **hwarbōjanan* are formed with the o-grade of ablaut, while **metōjanan* preserves the e-grade of its strong verb derivational base.

A more detailed discussion concerning the nature and function of class II deverbatives is given in the section dealing with NWGmc class II deverbatives (4.5.1.2.).

4.4.1.3. Class III Germanic Deverbatives

There are seven Gmc class III deverbatives, which comprise 14.89% of all Gmc deverbative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Gmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel
habēn	*habējanan	*hafjanan stv VI	durative	o-grade
hangēn	*hangējanan	*hanhanan redpl	durative	o-grade
kunnēn	*kunnējanan	*kann pret pres	durative	zero-grade
lebēn	*libējanan	*-leibanan stv I	durative	zero-grade
mornēn	*murnējanan	*murnanan stv III	durative	zero-grade
wahhēn	*wakējanan	*waknanan stv VI	durative	o-grade
wizzēn	*witējanan	*wait pret pres	durative	zero-grade

Table 6: Gmc Class III Deverbatives

As can be seen from the above table, the majority (57.14%) of these verbs are formed with the zero-grade of ablaut in their root vowel, while the remainder (42.86%) are formed with the o-grade of ablaut. It is therefore evident that, in terms of morphology, class III was used to derive predominantly zero-grade, as well as a significant number of o-grade, deverbatives during the Gmc period.

In terms of semantics, all of the above verbs stand in a durative relation

to their derivational base. This durative meaning exhibited by the Gmc class III deverbatives corresponds to the stative function shown by the Gmc class III deadjectival and denominative formations (see 4.4.2.3. and 4.4.3.3.), pointing to class III having an overall function in forming derivations with a stative/durative meaning during the Gmc period.

As was shown in 4.3.4., durative deverbatives represent a method of derivation which can clearly be seen to be inherited from IE, such verbs being derived from aorist stems in IE and usually, but not inevitably, formed with the zero-grade of ablaut in their root vowel, as in Gmc⁴⁴. Thus Latin *placēre* “to please, be agreeable or acceptable to” which may originally represent a zero-grade durative deverbative from a verb base similar to or represented by the verb *plācāre* “to soothe, calm, quiet, appease, reconcile”; *candēre* “to be of a shining white, to shine, glitter” which may originally represent a durative deverbative (with unchanged vocalism) from a verb base similar to or represented by the verb *ac-cendere* “to kindle, set on fire”; *pendēre* “to be hanging, to hang suspended” which may originally represent a durative deverbative (with unchanged vocalism) from a verb base similar to or represented by the verb *pendere* “to cause to hang down, to weigh”. For the significance of the -ē- suffix in these Latin verbs and its connection to Gmc verbs of class III, see 4.3.4. A number of such zero-grade durative deverbatives are also attested in Balto-Slavonic, hence Lith. *šviteti* “to shine brightly” which may originally represent a zero-grade durative deverbative from a verb base similar to that seen in the verb *šveisti* “to clean”.

In 4.3.4. it was shown that a significant number of class III primary verbs took the zero-grade of ablaut in the root syllable of their present stem, and it was consequently hypothesized that the dental preterite of the preterite-present verbs became extended at an early date to verbs which had the ablaut zero-grade in the root syllable of their present stem. Following on from this, it can therefore be seen that the association of the dental suffix with verbs formed with the zero-grade of ablaut in their present stem may have created a situation for the dental suffix to spread analogically in the formation of durative deverbatives, as these latter were formed with the zero-grade of ablaut. In the Gmc period this appears to be precisely what is happening - that is a number of new weak verbs are created which represent zero-grade durative deverbatives. However, class III durative deverbatives do not undergo the significant rise in productivity in the Gmc stratum which class I causative deverbatives enjoy during this same period (see 4.4.1.1.).

⁴⁴ Meillet & Vendryes (1927: 269), Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 249).

4.4.2. Germanic Deadjectives

There are forty-nine deadjectival verbs which can be traced back to the Gmc stratum. These account for 20.59% (31.41% if prefix formations are ignored) of all Gmc derivational formations.

4.4.2.1. Class I Germanic Deadjectives

There are forty class I Gmc deadjectives. These represent 81.63% of all Gmc deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Gmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
balden	*balþijanan	*balþaz	factitive
berahten	*berhtijanan	*berhtaz	factitive
blīden	*blīþ(j)ijanan	*blīþ(j)az	stative
blōden	*blauþijanan	*blauþaz	factitive
breiten	*braiðijanan	*braiðaz	factitive
egilen	*aglijanan	*agluz	stative
engen	*ang(w)ijanan	*ang(w)uz	factitive
fremiden	*framapþijanan	*framapþaz	factitive
frīten	*frīðijanan	*frīðaz	factitive
fullen	*fullijanan	*fullaz	factitive
furhten, forahen	*furhtijanan	*furhtaz	stative
*geilen	*gailijanan	*gailaz	factitive
ginuogen	*ganōgijanan	*ganōgaz	stative
gremmen	*gramijanan	*gramaz	factitive
heften	*haftijanan	*haftaz	factitive
heilen	*hailijanan	*hailaz	factitive
herten	*harðijanan	*harðuz	factitive
hōhen	*hauhijanan	*hauhaz	factitive
hōnen	*haunijanan	*hauniz	factitive
irren	*erzjijanan	*erzjaz	stative
lezzen	*latijanan	*lataz	factitive
liuhten	*leuhtijanan	*leuhtaz	stative
lōsen	*lausijanan	*lausaz	factitive
māren	*mērijanan	*mēriz	factitive
nāhen	*nēhwijanan	*nēhwaz	inchoative
nezzen	*natijanan	*nataz	factitive
(h)reinen	*hrainijanan	*hrainiz	factitive
*reiten	*raiðijanan	*raiðaz, *raiðjaz	factitive
rihten	*rehtijanan	*rehtaz	factitive
sniumen	*sneumijanan	*sneumaz	stative

tōden	*dauðijanan	*dauðaz	factitive
touben	*daubijanan	*daubaz	factitive
toufen	*daupijanan	*deupaz	factitive
truoben	*drōbijanan	*drōbaz, *drōbjaz	factitive
warmen	*warmijanan	*warmaz	factitive
(h)wezen	*hwatijanan	*hwataz	factitive
wīhen	*weihijanan	*weihaz	factitive
wīsen	*weisijanan	*weisaz	factitive
(h)wīzen	*hweitijanan	*hweitaz	factitive
zemmen	*tamijanan	*tamaz	factitive

Table 7: Gmc Class I Deadjectives

As can be seen from the above table, the vast majority (80.00%) of these deadjectives are factitive in meaning. The remainder of class I Gmc deadjectives are made up of stative (17.50%) and inchoative formations (2.50%). However, these stative and inchoative formations are insignificant in comparison to the factitives. This predominantly factitive nature of class I deadjectives mirrors precisely the causative sense held by class I deverbatives (see 4.4.1.1.), and corresponds to the tendency of class I to form denominatives exhibiting a factive meaning during the Gmc period (see 4.4.3.1.), from which it may be concluded that the overall function of class I lay in forming factitive/causative derivations⁴⁵. For the close connection between factitive deadjectives and causative deverbatives, the reader should refer to 4.4.2.1.

In comparison to classes II and III, class I is extremely productive, producing 80.63% of all Gmc deadjectival formations, and it is therefore clearly evident that class I formations represented the main method in Gmc of deriving verbs from adjectives (the majority of these being factitive in sense). Indeed, class II deadjectival formations may be a relatively late innovation, and as such cannot be distinguished from class I semantically, owing to the fact that the former are also primarily factive in meaning (4.4.2.2.). Furthermore, although class III has a clear function in producing stative or inchoative derivations (4.4.2.3.), these are small in number, suggesting that deadjective formations exhibiting a stative meaning were relatively unimportant in Gmc in comparison to the class I type with factitive meaning.

Deadjectival formations making use of the IE **-yo-* present tense forming suffix and exhibiting a factitive semantic relation to their derivational base have numerous IE parallels.

⁴⁵ These are the findings of traditional research, see in particular Willmanns (II 1930: 70ff.), Krämer (1971).

The derivation of factitive deadjectivals was important in Latin, where it primarily occurred in class I verbs in *-āre* and, to a lesser extent, class IV verbs in *-īre*, as can be seen from the following: Class I *foedāre* “to make foul, defile” from *foedus* “foul, dirty, filthy”; *laxāre* “to make spacious, widen, loosen” from *laxus* “wide, loose, spacious”; *sānāre* “to heal, cure, make well” from *sānus* “sound, healthy”; *saturāre* “to satisfy, make satisfied” from *satur* “full, sated”; *solāre* “to make solitary” from *solus* “alone, solitary”. Class IV *lenīre* “to make soft, soften” from *lenis* “soft”; *mollīre* “to soften” from *mollis* “soft”.

Factitive deadjectivals are also a characteristic feature of Old Irish. These declined in OIr. according to the *a*-conjugation⁴⁶, as can be seen from the following examples: *mára*, *móra* “makes great, magnifies” from *már*, *mór* “great, large”; *soíra* “frees, sets free” from *soír* “free”; *marba* “kills” from *marb* “dead”; *glana* “purifies, makes pure” from *glan* “pure, clean”.

A large number of factitive deadjectival formations are attested in Greek, and are particularly prominent in verbs in *-όω*⁴⁷. Typical examples include the following: *νεόω* “I make new” from *νεός* “new”; *ὕγιόω* “I make well” from *ὕγιής* “well”; *πλατόω* “I broaden, make broad” from *πλατύς* “broad”; *ἰσόω* “I make equal” from *ἴσος* “equal”.

Deadjectival verbs standing in a factitive relation to their derivational base and formed with the suffix *-ya-* commonly occurred in Sanskrit. These conjugated in the *Parasmaipada* or active voice and normally took the accent on the *-yá-* suffix. However, the accent could also fall on the final syllable of the adjective’s stem (the ending was thus *-áya-*), in which case such verbs were categorized by Sanskrit grammarians as belonging to the tenth class which, it is important to note, was the class used to derive causatives in Sanskrit. Typical examples of factitive deadjectivals include the following: *jñáyati*; *śīthilayati* “to slacken, make slack” from *śīthilah* “slack”; *śīḷalayáti* “makes cool, cools” from *śīḷalah* “cool”; *sukhayáti* “to gladden, delight, refresh, give pleasure to” from *sukham* “happy, glad, pleasant, mild”.

The formation of factitive deadjectivals was also important in Balto-Slavonic, as can be seen from the following: OCS *beliti* “to make white” from *belu* “while”; *celiti* “to make well, heal” from *celu* “whole, unharmed, well”; *pluniti* “to fill, make full” from *plunu* “full”.

Nevertheless, caution must be exercised when attempting to establish an etymological relationship between these deadjectival formations appearing in the IE groups discussed above and the Gmc forms. After the break-up of IE (and

⁴⁶ Thurneysen (1946: 338).

⁴⁷ Brugmann (IV 1895: 297).

probably also prior to that period), it appears there was considerable restructuring and analogical levelling, especially among the various thematic vowels accompanying the present tense forming suffix **-yo-*, with the result that it is difficult to discern any firm connections between Gmc factitive deadjectivals in **-ijan* and the deadjectives present in the other IE branches. However, the very fact that factitive formations are present in several of the IE branches, suggests that the derivation of factitive deadjectives was a feature of IE.

4.4.2.2. Class II Germanic Deadjectives

There are six class II Gmc deadjectives. These represent 12.24% of all Gmc deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Gmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
eiginōn	*aiganōjanan	*aiganaz	factitive
faginōn	*fagenōjanan	*fagenaz	stative
werdōn	*werþōjanan	*werþaz	factitive
wīson	*weisōjanan	*weisaz	factitive
wuntōn	*wundōjanan	*wundaz	factitive
zilōn	*tilōjanan	*tilaz	factitive

Table 8: Gmc Class II Deadjectives

These deadjectives are primarily factitive, with the exception of *fagenōjanan* (OHG *faginōn*) which exhibits a stative meaning. There is therefore no real semantic distinction between classes I and II in respect to deadjectival formations, both classes being used to form factitive verbs. However, in comparison to class I, class II is still relatively small and unproductive as a means of creating deadjectival formations. This is in contrast to denominative formations where class II plays a far more prominent role, producing 27.45% of all Gmc denominative formations (see 4.4.3.2.). It is therefore likely that class II deadjectival formations represent a later innovation, possibly resulting from an analogical spread from the older deverbative derivational type which can be explained by the similarity between adjectives and preterite participles (see below), or alternatively arising under the influence of class II denominative formations, these latter representing a well-established and productive derivational pattern in Gmc. Furthermore, class II deadjectivals have no clear

semantic function to distinguish them from the larger and more productive class I deadjectival group, both classes being primarily factitive in nature. This fact might also therefore point to class II deadjectives having been a later innovation which adopted a morpho-semantic feature already well established in class I.

It is interesting to note that two of these verbs (33.33% of all Gmc class II deadjectivals) derive from preterite participles functioning as adjectives. Thus, **aiganōjanan* (OHG *eiginōn*) “to make one’s own, claim, possess” derives from **aiganaz*, the preterite participle of the preterite-present verb **aih* (OHG *eig*) “to have, possess”, while **fagenōjanan* (OHG *faginōn*) “to rejoice, be glad” derives from **fagenaz* the preterite participle of the class V strong verb **fehanan* “to be glad, rejoice”. As stated above, class I causative deverbatives were relatively productive during the Gmc period and clearly represent an ancient method of verbal derivation, as can be seen from parallel formations in the other IE groups outside Gmc (4.4.1.1.). Such deadjectival formations from preterite participles functioning as adjectives may, on account of this close link between preterite participles and adjectives, have provided a means by which the older deverbative method of derivation could have been extended so as to be used regularly in the formation of deadjectives.

4.4.2.3. Class III Germanic Deadjectives

There are three class III Gmc deadjectives. These represent 6.12% of all Gmc deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Gmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
<i>armēn</i>	<i>*armējanan</i>	<i>*armaz</i>	stative, inchoative
<i>fastēn</i>	<i>*fastējanan</i>	<i>*fastuz</i>	stative
<i>gilīhhēn</i>	<i>*galeikējanan</i>	<i>*galeikaz</i>	stative

Table 9: Gmc Class III Deadjectives

These verbs are exclusively intransitive and stative (except *armēn* which also shows an inchoative meaning beside a stative one). In respect to the formation of deadjectival verbs, it therefore appears that the function of class III was to form derivations with a stative (and closely related inchoative) meaning. The largely stative function is also shared by Gmc class III denominative formations (4.4.3.3.), and corresponds to the durative nature of class III deverbatives

(4.4.1.3.), clearly showing that the overall function of class III lay in forming derivations with a stative (durative) meaning⁴⁸.

The limited size, however, of this group shows that, during the Gmc period, little importance was actually attached to the formation of deadjectival verbs with a stative meaning. A reason for this may be that Gmc preferred the more analytical construction whereby a state or condition was simply expressed by means of the auxiliaries “to be” or “to become” coupled with the relevant adjective.

However, deadjectival formations making use of the IE present tense forming suffix **-yo-* and standing in a stative and/or inchoative relation to their derivational base have a number of IE parallels.

The formation of inchoative deadjectivals was particularly important in Balto-Slavonic, as can be seen from the following examples: OCS *celteti* “becomes well, heals” from *celu* “whole, unharmed, well”; OCS *o-slabeti* “becomes weak, weakens” from *slabu* “weak”; OCS *rudeti se* “becomes red, blushes” from *rudu* “red”; Latvian *rudēt* “becomes reddish” from Latvian *rudš* “reddish” (cf. Lith. *rudas* “red-brown”); Lith. *senėti* “becomes old” from *senas* “old”.

Stative deadjectival formations occur, to a limited extent, in Latin class II verbs in *-ēre*: *rubēre* “to be red” from *ruber* “red, ruddy”; *albēre* “to be white” from *albus* “white”; *senēre* “to be old” from *senex* “old”. However, inchoative deadjectival formations in *-esc-* (the origin of this suffix being quite distinct from **-yo-* presents) represent a more numerous and productive type in Latin, many examples of which stand in a formal semantic opposition to statives in *-ēre*: *albescere* “to become white” from *albus* “white”; *nigrescere* “to become black, grow dark” from *niger* “black”; *senescere* “to grow old” from *senex* “old”. It should be noted that the derivation of inchoative verbs by means of the suffix *-esc-* (< IE present tense forming suffix **-sk-*, cf. OHG *forscōn* “to search”; OIr. *arco* “I ask”; Latin *poscere* “to demand”; Skt *prcchāmi* “I ask”) represents a secondary development which is confined to Latin⁴⁹.

Stative and/or inchoative deadjectivals are a feature of Old Irish. These were usually formed by adding the suffix *-agⁱ-* (after palatals (*-igⁱ-*), the resulting verb being inflected as a deponent of the *i*-class in OIr.⁵⁰. Typical examples include the following: *úr(a)igedar* “is green” from *úr* “green”;

⁴⁸ These are the findings of traditional research, see in particular Willmanns (II 1930: 70ff.), Krämer (1971).

⁴⁹ Szemerényi (1990: 293).

⁵⁰ Thurneysen (1946: 337).

lobr(a)igedar “is weak or ill” from *lobur* “weak, ill”; *imd(a)igedar* “is numerous” from *imd(a)e* “numerous”.

A number of stative deadjectival formations are attested in Greek, and are particularly prominent in verbs in -έω⁵¹. Typical examples include the following: ἄ-δυνατέω “I am weak, unable” from ἄ-δύνατος “weak, unable”; ἄ-πειθέω “I am disobedient” from ἄ-πειθής “disobedient”; ἐν-θαρσέω “I am in good courage” from ἐν-θαρσής “of good courage”.

Deadjectivals standing in a stative semantic relation to their derivational base and formed with the suffix -ya- also occur in Sanskrit. These conjugated in the *Atmanepada* or middle voice and regularly lengthened the *a* of the stem to *ā*. Typical examples include the following: *śithilāyati* “to slacken, make slack” from *śithilah* “slack”; *sukhāyati* “to feel pleasure, be agreeable” from *sukham* “happy, glad, pleasant, mild”.

However, as has been mentioned in 4.2.2.1., establishing an etymological relationship between the Gmc forms and these IE deadjectival formations is extremely tenuous, although an exception to this may be the Latin class II verbs in -ēre⁵². It is therefore safest to regard the Gmc class III stative deadjectival formations as later, independent formations.

Worthy of note is the verb **armējanan* (OHG *armēn*). This is best considered a Gmc deadjectival formation from the adjective **armaz* “poor, in need”. Its original Gmc meaning would consequently have been “to be or become poor, to be in need”, which meaning is preserved in OHG and OS. However, in Gothic and OE the verb has taken on the Christian meaning of “to have pity on” at the expense of the primary Gmc meaning. This new meaning represents a semantic loan from the christianized Latin verb *miserēre* “to feel pity, have compassion, pity, compassionate, commiserate”. In OHG this Christian sense was only attached to the prefixed form of the verb **bi-armēn*. The form **bi-armēn* is itself unattested due to the fact that it became contracted to the form *barmēn* at an early stage in OHG.

Likewise, the verb **fastējanan* (OHG *fastēn*) is best considered as a Gmc deadjectival formation from the adjective **fastuz* “fast, firm, steadfast”. Its original meaning would consequently have been “to hold fast”. However, in a number of the Gmc languages it has the additional meaning of “to fast, abstain from food”. This latter meaning obviously derives from the former, on the basis that someone who fasts stands *firm* or *steadfast* in his abstention from food. The verb may already have developed this additional meaning of “to fast” in the

⁵¹ Brugmann (IV 1895: 296).

⁵² See Szemerényi (1990: 297-298).

Gmc period. Alternatively, however, the idea of fasting may be a semantic loan from the Christian Latin verb *iēi ūnāre* “to fast, abstain from food”. In the case of Gothic, the source verb would, of course, have been the Greek νηστεύω “I fast, abstain from food”.

4.4.3. Germanic Denominatives

There are fifty-one denominative verbs which originate in the Gmc period, this sum accounting for 21.43% (32.69% if prefix formations are ignored) of all Gmc derivational formations.

4.4.3.1. Class I Germanic Denominatives

A total of thirty-two Gmc denominative verbs belong to class I. These represent 62.75% of all Gmc denominative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Gmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
ambahten	*ambahtijanan	*ambahtaz (m. a-stem)	agentive
antwurten	*andawurðijanan	*andawurðjan (n. ja-stem)	factitive
arbeiten	*arbaiþijanan	*arbaiþiz (f. i-stem)	objective
buozzen	*bōtijanan	*bōtō (f. ō-stem)	factitive
goumen	*gaumijanan	*gaumō (f. ō-stem)	factitive
*hezzen	*hatijanan	*hatiz (n. cons.stem)	stative
huggen	*hugijanan	*hugiz, *huguz (m. i/u-stem)	instrumental
hungaren	*hungrijanan	*hungruz (m. u-stem)	stative
*lāen	*lēwijanan	*lēwan (n. a-stem)	factitive
leisten	*laistijanan	*laistaz (m. a-stem)	factitive
louben	*laubijanan	*laubaz, *lauban (m/n. a-stem)	factitive
lougenen	*laugnijanan	*laugnō (f. ō-stem)	factitive
mahalen	*maþlijanan	*maþlan (n. a-stem)	objective
murdiren	*murþrijanan	*murþran (n. a-stem)	factitive
nagalen	*naglijanan	*naglaz (m. a-stem)	instrumental
nemnen	*namnijanan	*namōn (m. n-stem)	factitive
nōten	*nauðijanan	*nauðiz (f. i-stem)	stative
ougen	*augijanan	*augōn (n. n-stem)	instrumental
*regenen	*regnijanan	*regnān (n. a-stem)	factitive/stative
ruogen	*wrōgijanan	*wrōgjō (f. jō-stem)	factitive

scatawen	*skapwījanan	*skapwaz (m. a-stem)	factitive
stiuren	*steuriĵanan	*steurō (f. ō-stem)	factitive
teilen	*dailiĵanan	*dailiz (m. i-stem)	factitive
*temmen	*dammiĵanan	*dammaz (m. a-stem)	factitive
tulden	*dulpiĵanan	*dulpiz (f. i-stem)	factitive
tuomen	*dōmiĵanan	*dōmaz (m. a-stem)	factitive
wānen	*wēniĵanan	*wēnō (f. ō-stem)	stative
*wemmen	*wammījanan	*wammaz (m. a-stem)	factitive
*wergen	*wargiĵanan	*wargaz (m. a-stem)	agentive
zeihhanen	*taikniĵanan	*taiknan (n. a-stem)	factitive
zimbaren	*temriĵanan	*temran (n. a-stem)	instrumental
zwīvalen	*twīfliĵanan	*twīflaz (m. a-stem)	factitive

Table 10: Gmc Class I Denominatives

The above figures clearly show that class I represented the largest and most productive method of deriving denominative verbs during the Gmc period, class I, as stated above, accounting for 62.75% of all Gmc denominative formations.

Out of the thirty-two class I Gmc denominatives listed in the above table, twenty (62.50%) stand in a factitive semantic relation to their derivational base, four (12.50%) are stative, four (12.50%) instrumental, two (6.25%) agentive, and two (6.25%) objective. These figures show that the overwhelming majority of class I denominatives formed during the Gmc period were factitive in nature. The predominantly factitive nature of Gmc class I denominatives corresponds to the primarily factitive character of Gmc class I deadjectival formations (4.4.2.1.), as well as the chiefly causative function of Gmc class I deverbatives (4.4.1.1.), and thus provides further evidence showing that the main function of class I during the Gmc period was to form causative/factitive derivations. For the close connection between factitive denominatives and causative deverbatives, the reader should refer to 4.4.2.1.

Denominative formations making use of the IE **-yo-* present tense forming suffix and exhibiting a factitive semantic relation to their derivational base have numerous IE parallels.

Denominative verbs standing in a factitive relation to their derivational base were regularly formed in Latin. These derivations were normally class I verbs in *-āre* or class IV verbs in *-īre*, as can be seen from the following typical examples: *finīre* “to bound, limit, border, put to an end, conclude, finish” from *finis* “boundary, limit, border, end”; *gelāre* “to make frosty, cause to freeze” from *gelu* “frost, icy cold”; *partīre* “to share out, distribute, divide” from *pars*, *partis* “part, portion, share”.

Similarly, factitive denominatives may be found in Greek where they typically take the ending *-όω*, as can be seen from the following examples:

γεφῶρω “I make into a bridge” from γέφυρα “bridge”; ῥακόω “I make into rags, tear into rags” from ῥάκος “rag”; ὀρνιθόω “I turn into a bird” from ὄρνις, ὀρνιθος “bird”.

Denominative verbs standing in a factitive relation to their derivational base and formed with the suffix *-ya-* commonly occurred in Sanskrit. These conjugated in the *Parasmaipada* or active voice and normally took the accent on the *-yá-* suffix. Typical examples include the following: *adhvaryāti* “performs a sacrifice” from *advarah* “sacrifice”; *ghatayāti* “makes a jar” from *ghatah* “jar”; *vājāyati* “hastens, conquers, spurs on, makes something use its power” from *vājah* “speed, power, prize, booty”; *vasnayāti* “haggles, sets a price” from *vasnah* “price”.

Factitive denominatives formed in Balto-Slavonic include the following: OCS *znamenaja* “I mark, term” from *zname, znamen-* “mark”; *branja* “I strive” from *brany* “strife”; *mišta* “I take vengeance” from *mišti* “vengeance”. Lith. *kruvyju* “I heap (up) from *kruvà* “heap”; *gińczyjus* “I strive” *gińczias* “strife”; Latvian *gudiju* “I make myself decorous or agreeable” from *guds* “demeanour, honour”; *skāustīju* “I tighten, wedge tight” from *skāusts* “wedge”.

Factitive denominatives are also a characteristic feature of Old Irish. These were declined in OIr. according to the *a-* or *i-*conjugations⁵³: *nerta* “strengthens” from *nert* “strength”; *ranna* “divides” from *rann* “part, portion”; *for-cenna* “ends, terminates” from *cenn* or *for-cenn* “end”; *rádi* “speaks” from *rád* “speech”; *ad-rími* “counts, enumerates” from *rím* “number”; *sluindi* “indicates, names” from *slond* “indication”.

However, as has been mentioned in 4.2.2.1., establishing an etymological relationship between the Gmc forms and these IE denominative formations is difficult, and it is therefore safest to regard the Gmc class I factitive denominative formations as having been derived independently. However, as in 4.2.2.1., the existence of factitive formations in several of the IE branches, suggests that the derivation of factitive denominatives was a feature of IE.

4.4.3.2. Class II Germanic Denominatives

There are fourteen Gmc denominative verbs which belong to class II. These represent 27.45% of all Gmc denominative formations. The following table

⁵³ Thurneysen (1946: 338).

presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Gmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
ellinōn	*aljanōjanan	*aljanan (n. n-stem)	stative
fiscōn	*fiskōjanan	*fiskaz (m. a-stem)	objective
fridōn	*friþōjanan	*friþuz (m. u-stem)	factitive
karōn	*karōjanan	*karō (f. ō-stem)	stative
koufōn	*kaupōjanan	*kaupan (n. n-stem)	factitive
ladōn	*laþōjanan	*laþō (f. ō-stem)	factitive
lāhhinōn	*lēkinōjanan	*lēkjaz (m. ja-stem)	agentive
liudōn	*leuþōjanan	*leuþan (n. n-stem)	factitive
lustōn	*lustōjanan	*lustuz (m. u-stem)	stative
salbōn	*salbōjanan	*salbō (f. ō-stem)	instrumental
sippōn	*sibjōjanan	*sibjō (f. jō-stem)	factitive
sitōn	*seðōjanan	*seðuz (m. u-stem)	objective
smidōn	*smiþōjanan	*smiþaz (m. a-stem)	agentive
wettōn	*waðjōjanan	*waðjan (n. n-stem)	objective

Table 11: Gmc Class II Denominatives

Out of the fourteen class II Gmc denominatives listed in the above table, five verbs (35.71%) stand in a factitive relation to their derivational base, three (21.43%) are objective, three (21.43%) stative, two (14.29%) agentive, and one (7.14%) instrumental. These figures show that class II has no clear semantic function at this time. This is in contrast to classes I and III which derive a majority of factitive and stative denominatives respectively. For a further discussion of class II denominatives, see 4.5.3.2. Furthermore, in comparison with class I which accounts for 62.75% of all Gmc denominative formations, class II clearly represents a less important or productive means of deriving denominatives, the latter comprising a significantly lower 27.45% of all Gmc denominatives.

Although we might expect a significant number of Gmc class II denominatives to derive from feminine *ō*-stem nouns in light of the traditional theory which sees denominatives formed with the thematic vowel **-ō-* before the present tense forming suffix **-je-/jo-* as having its motivation in feminine *ō*-stem nouns⁵⁴, this does not appear to be the case in the above table. Indeed, the above results indicate that class II was formed from substantive bases belonging to a variety of inflectional classes: masculine and neuter *a*-stem nouns, feminine *ō*-stem nouns, *u*-stem nouns and consonantal *n*-stem nouns. As

⁵⁴ Thus typically, Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 238-239).

a result of these diverse substantive bases, it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions in regard to morphological factors which may have influenced the derivational process of the above verbs.

Nevertheless, there are numerous instances in the other IE languages of denominative verbs which have the linking or strengthening vowel **-ā-* (= Gmc **-ō-*) before the present tense forming suffix **-je-/jo-* and which are formed from feminine *ā*-stem nouns (= Gmc *ō*-stem nouns).

Thus, Latin class I verbs in *-āre* regularly derived verbs from feminine *ā*-stem nominal bases (Latin final *-a* < Primitive Italic final **-ā*⁵⁵), as can be seen from the following typical examples: *curāre* “to take care of” from *cara* “care”; *lacrimāre* “to cry” from *lacrima* “tear”; *plantāre* “to plant” from *planta* “plant”.

Likewise, the majority of Greek denominative verbs in *-άω/-όμαι* are derived from feminine *η*-stem substantives⁵⁶ (Attic and Ionic *η* from **ā* = Doric *ā*⁵⁷), as can be seen from the following examples: *νικάω* “I win” from *νίκη* “victory”; *τιμάω* “I honour” from *τιμή* “honour”.

Denominatives from feminine *ā*-stem substantives can also be found in Sanskrit: *pṛtanāyati* “he fights, battles” from *pṛtanā* “battle”; *manāyati* “he is attached, well disposed” from *manā* “attachment”; *ducchunāyati* “he desires mischief, misfortune” from *ducchunā* “misfortune”.

Balto-Slavonic examples of denominatives from feminine *ā*-stem nouns include the following: OCS *kotoraja se* “I fight” from *katora* “fight” (OCS final *-a* < IE final **-ā*⁵⁸); Lith. *byŋju* “I speak” from *byŋa* “speech” (Lith. final *-a* < IE final **-ā*⁵⁹); *dovanóyu* “I give” from *dovanà* “gift”; *pāsakoju* “I recount” from *pāsaka* “tale”.

Denominative verbs were also formed in OIr. from feminine substantive bases in *-ā*. The situation in OIr. is, however, obscured by the fact that all final vowels, whether originally long, short or derived from diphthongs, disappeared in every position except after *i*. Thus, Primitive Celtic **teutā* > OIr. *túath* “people”⁶⁰. Typical examples of denominatives from what were originally feminine *ā*-stem substantives include the following: *rannaim* “I divide” from *rann* “part”; *iccaim* “I heal” from *icc* “health”.

⁵⁵ Sihler (1995: 78).

⁵⁶ Sihler (1995: 521).

⁵⁷ Sihler (1995: 49).

⁵⁸ Brugmann (I 1888: 465).

⁵⁹ Brugmann (I 1888: 465).

⁶⁰ Thurneysen (1946: 59). For more details of these *ā*-stem nouns in OIr., see the same author (1946: 183).

The widespread occurrence in the various IE daughter languages of denominative verbs deriving from feminine \bar{a} -stem nouns and formed with the present tense forming suffix $*-\bar{a}-$ points to a close correlation between this suffix and feminine \bar{a} -stem substantives. This close correlation has, as stated above, been taken as an indication that derivative verbs formed with $*-\bar{a}-$ are an ancient IE type and that, as a verbal suffix, this $*-\bar{a}-$ developed out of the final $-\bar{a}$ of feminine \bar{a} -stem substantives⁶¹. However, as the above Gmc class II denominatives show, this close relation between denominative verbs formed with $*-\bar{a}-$ and feminine \bar{a} -stem nouns broke down at an early period prior to the full separation of Gmc, with the result that the suffix $*-\bar{a}-$ (Gmc $*-\bar{o}-$) came to be used to derive verbs from any type of substantive. A parallel development can be seen in Latin, where class I verbs in $*-\bar{a}-$ have also become generalized and, as a result, immensely productive, as can be seen from the following examples of derivations from non- \bar{a} -stem nouns: *generāre* “to beget from *genus*, *-eris* “birth, descent, origin” (beside older *gignere* with reduplication in the present); *laudāre* “to praise” from *laus*, *laudis* “praise”; *nōmināre* “to name” from *nōmen*, *-inis* “name”.

4.4.3.3. Class III Germanic Denominatives

The five denominatives which belong to class III account for 9.80% of all Gmc denominative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Gmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
darbēn	*þarbējanan	*þarbō (f. \bar{o} -stem)	stative
hazzēn	*hatējanan	*hatiz (n. cons.stem)	stative
scamēn	*skamējanan	*skamō (f. \bar{o} -stem)	stative
sorgēn	*surgējanan	*surgō (f. \bar{o} -stem)	stative
trūēn	*trūwējanan	*trūwō (f. \bar{o} -stem)	stative

Table 12: Gmc Class III Denominatives

All of the above verbs stand in a stative semantic relation to their derivational base. This mirrors precisely the stative function of class III deadjectives and the durative function of class III deverbatives. However, like the Gmc class III deadjectival and deverbative formations (4.4.1.3. and 4.4.2.3.), denominatives

⁶¹ Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 238-239).

belonging to class III represent a small and relatively unproductive group during the Gmc period.

It is interesting to note that the majority of these formations are from feminine *ō*-stem substantives. A possible reason for this may lie in the fact that stative denominatives are usually derived from abstract nouns, these abstract substantives normally following the feminine *ō*-declension⁶². Accordingly, the derived verb will denote that its subject is in, or is characterized by, the abstract state or condition signified by the substantive base, for example **hatējanan* (OHG *hazzēn*) “to be in a state of hate, to be characterized by hatred” from **hatiz* “hate, hatred”; **skamējanan* (OHG *scamēn*) “to be in a state of shame, to be characterized by shame” from **skamō* “shame”; **surgējanan* (OHG *sorgēn*) “to be in the state of worrying, to be characterized by worry” from **surgō* “care, worry”. Indeed, all of the above class III denominatives have as their derivational base substantives expressing an abstract state or condition.

Denominative formations making use of the IE present tense forming suffix **-yo-* and standing in a stative relation to their derivational base have a number of IE parallels.

Denominatives standing in a stative relation to their derivational base can be found in Greek. Typical examples include the following: ἄλγέω “I feel pain” from ἄλγος “pain”; φιλέω “I love, feel love” from φίλος “love”; σιγάω “I am silent” from σιγή “silence”; ῥιγέω “I am cold” from ῥίγος “frost”.

A number of denominatives standing in a stative relation to their derivational base can also be found in Latin, where they are typical of class II verbs in *-ēre*. Thus: *callēre* “to be thick-skinned” from *callum* “hard skin or flesh”; *flōrēre* “to bloom, flower, flourish, prosper” from *flōs* “flower, blossom”; *frīgēre* “to be cold” from *frīgus* “cold, coolness, cold”. As with the Latin stative deadjectival formations (4.4.2.3.), these denominative formations are often paired with inchoatives formed with the suffix *-escere* and deriving from the same nominal base. Thus *frīgescere* “to become cold” from *frīgus* “cold, coolness, coldness”; *flōrescere* “to begin to blossom, come into flower” from *flōs* “flower, blossom”. This should be compared with the later OHG development where class III comes to form a large number of denominatives which are both stative and inchoative in nature (4.7.3.3.).

Stative denominatives formed with the suffix *-ya-* also occur in Sanskrit. These were usually conjugated in the *Atmanepada* or middle voice and regularly lengthened the *a* of the stem to *ā*. Typical examples include the following:

⁶² For a discussion of the suffix *-ō-* in the derivation of substantives, see Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 62-65).

šabdāyate “is noisy” from *šabdah* “noise”; *manāyati* “he is attached, well disposed” from *manā* “attachment”.

Stative and/or inchoative denominative formations appear in Balto-Slavonic, as can be seen from the following examples: OCS *gnevaja se* “I am angry” from *gnevu* “anger”; *su-vraskaja* “I am wrinkled” from *vraska* “wrinkle”; *zelaja* “I understand” from *zelja* “wish, longing”; *o-syreti* “turns to cheese” from *syru* “cheese”; Lith. *akmenyjus* “I turn to stone from *akmu* “stone”

Closely related to stative verbs are agentive formations, i.e. derivations in which the substantive base is the (implied) subject of the verb (see 4.4.3.1. for examples of agentive denominatives in Gmc). These are prominent in Balto-Slavonic: OCS *besovati* “is frenzied, is (like) a demon” from *besu* “demon”; *kralyevati* “is a king” from *kralji* “king”; *vracevati* “is a physician” from *vraci* “physician”; *vuz-ma-zaja* “I make a man of myself, take courage” from *mazi* “man”. Likewise in Sanskrit: *pitṛīyati* “is fatherly” from *pitar-* “father”; *rājīyate* “is kingly” from *rājā* “king”; *śatruyati* “acts like an enemy” from *śatruh* “enemy”. Examples of agentive denominatives can also be found in Greek (poetical) *κοιπᾶνέω* “I rule” from *κοίπᾶνος* “ruler”, and in Latin *servīre* “to be a servant or slave” from *servus* “servant, slave”; *mīlitāre* “to serve as a soldier, be a soldier” from *mīles*, *-itis* “soldier”.

However, as with the deadjectives, it is extremely difficult to establish any firm etymological relationship between Gmc class III denominatives and the denominative formations appearing in the IE groups discussed above. After the break up of IE (and probably also prior to), it appears there was considerable restructuring and analogical levelling, especially among the various linking or strengthening vowels accompanying the present tense forming suffix **-yo-*, with the result that it is difficult to discern any firm connections between Gmc stative denominatives in *-ēn* and the those present in the other IE branches, except perhaps between the Latin class II verbs in *-ēre*⁶³. It is therefore safest to regard the Gmc class III stative denominative formations as later, independent formations. However, the very fact that stative formations are present in several of the IE branches, may suggest that the derivation of stative and/or inchoative denominative verbs was IE motivated.

However, as has been mentioned in 4.2.2.1., establishing an etymological relationship between the Gmc forms and these IE deadjectival formations is problematic, the most convincing link being with Latin class II

⁶³ See Szemerényi (1990: 297-298).

deadjectives in *-ēre*⁶⁴. The safest analysis, therefore, is probably to regard Gmc class III stative deadjectival formations as later, independent formations.

4.4.4. Germanic Prefix Formations

There are eighty-two Gmc prefix formations. This figure represents 34.45% of all Gmc derivational formations. Gmc had a wide range of prefixes at its disposal for forming new verbs from simplexes, and these prefixes possessed a large and complex semantic range. They could therefore provide Gmc with an elaborate system of derivation whereby various prefixed verbs could be formed which were able to modify the meaning of their simplex verbs in a large number of ways. Such prefix formations, depending on the prefix used in the derivational process, could involve anything from no obvious change to a complete reversal in the meaning of the simplex verb.

The majority of the prefixes used in Gmc derivational morphology have their ultimate origin in IE or Gmc directional and locational adverbs or prepositions. These locational or directional particles probably started out only in a loose connection with certain verbs, prior to their becoming verbal prefixes in the strict sense of the word. This process, whereby such particles become verbal prefixes, is usually referred to as univibration. The majority of these prefixes have retained their basic meaning in many Gmc prefix formations, expressing concrete, spatial or temporal relationships. However, their semantic range often became extended beyond the spatial or temporal, enabling them to modify verbs in more abstract and complex ways. Furthermore, the close semantic relationship between prefix and verb often results in instances where the meaning of the formation is non-transparent and cannot be deduced by an analysis of the constituent morphemes. Consequently, it is impossible to assign any one meaning to each of the prefixes used in Gmc derivational morphology.

The ultimate origin of the Gmc prefixes in IE or Gmc directional and locational adverbs or prepositions is clearly evident from the fact that the majority of them may still occur as independent adverbs or prepositions: thus **ana-* occurs independently as an adverb or preposition with the basic meaning “on” in all of the Gmc languages (OHG *ana-*, OS *ana-*, OFs., OE *on-*, ON *á-*, Gothic *ana-*) and as a verbal prefix in formations such as **ana-lagejanan* in these same languages (with the exception of ON). Nevertheless, a number of the prefixes used in Gmc differ in their form from that taken by the related adverb

⁶⁴ See Szemerényi (1990: 297-298).

or preposition, e.g. the corresponding adverbial or prepositional form of the prefix **fra-* (OHG *fir-*) occurs as **frama* (Gothic *fram*, OE *from*). Furthermore, the prefix **ga-* cannot be used independently as an adverb or preposition, either in Gmc or the later strata. According to Skinner⁶⁵, two strata of prefix formation can therefore be distinguished: an earlier one utilizing those Gmc prefixes which, by becoming attached to the verb at such an earlier stage, have completely or partially lost an independent identity, in other words are bound morphemes; and a later one in which the prefixes used still maintain an independent adverbial or prepositional identity, in other words are still free morphemes.

The process of forming derivations with the aid of prefixes also occurs in the other IE languages and many of the IE adverbs or prepositions used in Gmc as verbal prefixes are also utilized as verbal prefixes in parallel IE languages. However, whether the Gmc verbal prefixes actually had the status of verbal prefixes in IE, or whether the process of univerbation occurred independently in the various cognate IE languages, is uncertain. Certainly, the process of forming derivations with the aid of prefixes has its motivation in the pre-Gmc period, and many of the IE locational or directional adverbs and prepositions would have acquired at an early stage a close connection with the verbs which they served to modify.

It should be noted here, however, that many prefix formations which have been reconstructed for the Gmc period in the data section (Chapter Three) may not, in fact, derive from a common Gmc ancestor but may rather represent parallel but independent formations. The above figure of eighty-two Gmc prefix formations must accordingly be treated with some degree of caution.

As the number of Gmc prefix formations given here is fairly numerous, the same approach has been followed in regard to examining these derivations as that outlined for the OHG stratum (4.7.4.). The relative productivity of the various verbal prefixes employed during the Gmc stratum, together with their main derivational functions and semantic significance, is therefore summarized in Table 13 below. The first column lists the Gmc prefix (the OHG form is cited immediately afterwards in brackets). The number of Gmc formations made with this prefix is entered in the second column. The third column indicates the number of formations made with this prefix in terms of their percentage of the total number (82) of prefix formations created in Gmc. The fourth column summarizes each function or semantic role signalled by the prefix. The semantic

⁶⁵ Skinner (1994: 165).

definitions which follow are based on those used by Kühnhold⁶⁶, Marchand⁶⁷ and Wilmanns⁶⁸:

⁶⁶ Kühnhold (1973: 142-286).

⁶⁷ Marchand (1969: 127-208).

⁶⁸ Wilmanns (II 1930: 115-175).

Prefix	Number of Formations	% of Total	Prefix Signals:
*ana- (ana-)	2	2.44%	approach, contact no semantic distinction
*at- (az-)	1	1.22%	direction or movement towards, contact
*bi- (bi-)	4	4.88%	encirclement, surrounding privation no semantic distinction
*en(i)- (in-/int-)	2	2.44%	commencement, beginning
*fur- (far-/fir-)	3	3.66%	location or direction in front of, before action, event or circumstance referring to the future antecedent action, event or circumstance
*fra- (far-/fir-)	5	6.10%	motion away from action performed deviates from the correct manner, is wrong, bad or erroneous action performed is reversed or negated action performed is destructive, ruinous intensity
*ga- (gi-)	46	56.10%	perfective action no semantic distinction
*tiz?- (zir-)	1	1.22%	action which results in separation of whole into its parts, usually to destruction or ruin
*uber- (ubar-)	2	2.44%	location or direction above, over or beyond excess, action which has gone beyond an agreed or desirable limit or standard superiority
*uz- (ir-)	12	14.63%	direction out of or away from, removal direction upwards commencement, beginning intensity

Table 13: Gmc Prefix Formations

For specific examples illustrating the various semantic functions denoted by the Gmc verbal prefixes in the above table, the reader is asked to refer to the data section (Chapter Three).

4.4.5. Germanic Loan Verbs

The Gmc verb **kaupōjanan* (OHG *koufōn*) “to buy” may represent a Gmc loan verb, but this is far from certain. It may alternatively represent a denominative formation from the loan substantive **kaupōn* (OHG *koufo*) “small tradesman, innkeeper”. For a more detailed description of the verb *koufōn*, the reader should refer to its entry in the data section, Chapter Three.

4.4.6. Germanic Weak Verbs - Derivational Pattern Unclear

Those weak verbs which have been analysed in the data section, Chapter Three, as originating during the Gmc stratum but which cannot be assigned satisfactorily to any of the five derivational categories discussed above (i.e. deverbative, deadjectival or denominative verbs, prefix formations and loan verbs) belong to this grouping. A total of five Gmc weak verbs are thus classifiable. This figure represents 2.10% (3.21% if prefix formations are ignored) of all Gmc weak verb formations. Of these four Gmc weak verbs with no clear derivational pattern, two belong to class I, two belong to class II, and no verbs inflect according to class III.

A complete list of the OHG weak verbs formed in the Gmc stratum but with no clear derivational pattern can be found in Appendix One. However, as these weak verbs with no clear derivational pattern form a diverse set and do not therefore lend themselves easily to any satisfactory method of classification, they are best referred under their entries in the data section (Chapter Three). A general description of certain groups belonging to this category, such as onomatopoeic, expressive or sound symbolic formations, is given in section 4.5.6.

4.4.7. Pre-Germanic and Germanic Weak Verbs - Summary

In the above analysis it has been argued that the preterite-present verbs may represent the earliest verbal types to have adopted the weak inflection. A number of factors have been shown to support this view. Firstly, the preterite-present verbs are characterized by an ablaut alternation between o-grade in the singular and zero-grade in the plural, this ablaut alternation corresponding to that exhibited by the strong verbs of classes I-V. However, in contrast to the strong verbs, the preterite-present verbs utilize their ablaut alternation between o-grade and zero-grade in their present tense and not, as would be expected, in their preterite. This is owing to the fact that the preterite-present verbs represent archaic vestiges of an IE unreduplicated perfect, these perfect forms being used as present tense forms in Gmc. As a result of the ablaut alternation pervading their present tense in Gmc, the preterite-present verbs could not therefore employ this same ablaut alternation to indicate inflectional changes between present and preterite forms. To rectify this situation it seems most likely that the dental suffix used to form their preterite

participle (= IE *-tó- suffix) came to be used in conjunction with personal endings, the result being the formation of a completely new preterite tense, the main distinguishing characteristic of which was the dental suffix. However, how this actually came about remains unclear and highly controversial, no satisfactory explanation having yet been advanced which can successfully explain the process by which the dental suffix spread from the preterite participle to the preterite tense forms. As discussed, a number of authorities see the endings of the verbs “to do” as having played a key role in this spread of the dental suffix. However, the alternative theory which rejects the central role of the preterite participle and states that the dental preterite developed as a result of a periphrastic construction involving the verb “to do” whereby the latter came to be fused with the verb stem, is difficult to justify and should be treated with caution. A further explanation attempts to explain the personal endings of the Gmc dental preterite as deriving ultimately from IE preterite forms based on stems formed with IE -*ǵ*- and -*ǵ*- suffixes together with the secondary personal endings. The same hypothesis sees these preterite tense endings in IE -*ǵ*- and -*ǵ*- as having become weakened as a result of the shift in the stress accent to the initial syllable in Gmc, to the extent that they became ineffective as a means of marking the preterite. To compensate for this weakening and reinforce the distinction between present and preterite tense, a new preterite based on the stem of the preterite participle was thus formed.

Having become established in the preterite-present verbs, it appears that the dental preterite was then able to spread analogically to other distinctive groups of verbs. A crucial factor behind the spread of the weak preterite appears to have been the ablaut grade or vocalism in the present tense forms of the verb adopting the dental preterite. Thus, verbs whose present stem vocalism effectively excluded them from conforming to the existing ablaut grades of the strong verbs would have had a strong motivation for seeking an alternative method of marking the preterite tense. The dental suffix would have consequently provided such an alternative means preterite inflection.

The two largest and most important morphological types to have first adopted the dental preterite after the preterite-present verbs have been shown to be verbs formed with the zero-grade of ablaut (= Gmc *u* vocalism) and verbs formed with the o-grade of ablaut (= Gmc *a* vocalism). However, other important types included verbs with *ō*-vocalism and verbs formed with a diphthong other than early *ei* (= late Gmc *ī*).

It is interesting to note that the majority of class I and a significant number of class II primary verbs are formed with the o-grade of ablaut. It has

been suggested that the class I o-grade primary verbs may in fact originally have represented IE o-grade causative deverbatives, a phenomenon which can be justified by the fact that the derivation of o-grade causatives from e-grade primary verbs has clear parallels in the IE languages outside Gmc and thus represents an ancient method of derivation inherited by Gmc from IE. The fact that the dental suffix came to be used in the preterite of o-grade causative deverbatives had important implications for the growth and extension of the weak inflectional category. As the majority of deverbatives created during the Gmc period belong to class I and are causative in relation to their derivational base, it can therefore be seen that the derivation of such causatives afforded the weak inflection the opportunity to increase greatly in size and importance. Indeed, in comparison to class I, very few deverbatives are created in classes II and III during the Gmc stratum, these same classes consequently remaining largely unproductive and marginal.

It is also interesting to note that the majority of primary verbs belonging to classes II and III, as well as an important number of class I primary verbs, are formed with the zero-grade of ablaut. It has been suggested that the class III zero-grade primary verbs may in fact originally have represented IE zero-grade durative deverbatives from IE aorist stems, while class II zero-grade primary may be earlier IE frequentative and/or intensive deverbatives. The extension of the dental suffix to these zero-grade verbs, probably the result of association with the zero-grade of ablaut characterising the preterite participle and preterite tense forms of the preterite-present verbs, would also have had important implications for the growth and spread of the weak verb as a derivational category. A small, but important number of class III zero-grade durative deverbatives have been seen to have been created during the Gmc period, and these may consequently have allowed the weak verb inflection to spread analogically. They may also have helped to ensure that the dental suffix did not become restricted to class I causative deverbatives during its ensuing development, class I causatives comprising a far larger and more productive derivational type during the Gmc stratum.

As well as deverbatives, deadjectival formations also account for a large percentage of Gmc weak verb derivations. As with the deverbatives, class I accounts for the most productive means of forming deadjectives during the Gmc stratum, the majority of these class I deadjectivals standing in a factitive relation to their derivational base and thus corresponding to the causative nature of the Gmc class I deverbatives. In comparison to class I, classes II and III are

extremely restricted and remain relatively unproductive as a means of forming deadjectival verbs.

It is interesting to note that a number of class II deadjectives can be shown to derive from preterite participles functioning as adjectives. Such derivations from adjectival preterite participles may thus have enabled the weak inflection to have spread analogically. In other words, the dental suffix may have regularly come to be used in conjunction with deadjectival verbs in addition to its well-established link with deverbatives, these latter, as has been shown, clearly representing an ancient derivational type with firm IE parallels. This analogical extension can probably best be explained as resulting from a confusion in form between verbal and adjectival derivational bases.

In contrast to classes I and II which are predominantly factitive in nature, it has been shown that class III was used in the formation of stative, and to a lesser extent, inchoative deadjectival verbs during the Gmc period, although, as stated, class III remains extremely marginal at this time.

The above findings have also indicated that denominative verbs represented an important derivational category in Gmc. As with the deverbative and deadjectival formations, class I accounts for the largest and most productive method by which denominative verbs were formed in the Gmc stratum. Nevertheless, class II also represents a sizeable and important means of denominative derivation at this time. Class III, however, remains highly restricted and marginalized throughout the Gmc era, the number of new denominatives created in this class being extremely small. In terms of semantics, the majority of class I and II denominatives stand in a factitive relation to their derivational base. However, objective and, to a lesser extent, stative formations also play a prominent role among the Gmc denominatives of classes I and II. As with deverbative and deadjectival formations, class III is used exclusively to derive denominatives exhibiting a stative semantic function.

It is interesting to note that denominative verbs were formed from a wide variety of substantive bases during the Gmc period and that the morphological make-up of each base seems to not have played a decisive role as regards which weak verb conjugational class a particular denominative would be assigned to.

The above analysis has also revealed that the formation of new verbs by prefixing a directional or locational particle to a simplex verb base constituted an extremely important method of verbal derivation during the Gmc period. As a result, the Gmc stratum can be seen to contain a large number of prefix formations employing various affixed particles, all of which could be used to modify the basic meaning of the simplex verb in a wide range of ways, so as to

express more exact concrete spatial or temporal relations, or to enable the resulting formation to denote a more abstract and complex meaning than that of its simplex base.

4.5. Northwest Germanic Weak Verb Formations

This stratum comprises 209 verbs and accounts for 4.46% of the total number of weak verbs attested in OHG. Of these 209 verbs, 122 (58.37%) belong to class I; 77 (36.84%) belong to class II; and 10 (4.78%) belong to class III.

4.5.1. Northwest Germanic Deverbatives

There are sixty-one deverbatives which can be traced back to the NWGmc period. These verbs account for 29.19% of all NWGmc derivational formations.

4.5.1.1. Class I Northwest Germanic Deverbatives

There are thirty-nine NWGmc deverbatives which belong to class I. This sum comprises 63.93% of all NWGmc deverbative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	NWGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel
belgen	*balgejanan	*belganan stv III	unclear	o-grade
bougen	*baugejanan	*beuganan stv II	no change	o-grade
burren	*burejanan	*beranan stv IV	unclear	zero-grade
derren	*þarzejanan	*þersanan stv III	no change	o-grade
drengen	*þrangejanan	*þrenhanan stv III	causative	o-grade
drözzen	*þrautejanan	*þreutanan stv II	causative	o-grade
erren	*arjanan	*arjanan redpl	no change	unchanged
*flougen	*flaugejanan *þluagejanan	*fleuhanan stv III *þleuhanan stv III	causative	o-grade
flözzen	*flautejanan	*fleutanan stv III	causative	o-grade
fuoren	*förejanan	*faranan stv VI	causative	dehnstufe of 'o'
grunzen	*grunnatjanan	*grunnjanan wk	intensive	unchanged
gruozzen	*grötejanan	*grētanan redpl	causative	dehnstufe of 'o'
gurtzen	*gurdjanan	*gerdanan stv III	no change	zero-grade
hengen	*hangejanan	*hanhanan redpl	causative	o-grade
klāwen	*klaujan	*klaujan redpl	no change	unchanged
kwellen	*kwalejanan	*kwelanan stv IV	causative	o-grade
kwetten	*kwaðejanan	*kweþanan stv V	causative	o-grade
leiten	*laiðejanan	*leiþanan stv I	causative	o-grade
lecken	*lakejanan	*lekanan stv V	causative	o-grade
gi-lepfen	*lapejanan	*lapanan stv VI	unclear	unchanged
*meizen	*maitejanan	*maitanan redpl	no change	unchanged
mullen	*muljanan	*malanan stv VI	intensive	zero-grade

reizen	*wraitejanaan	*wreitanan stv I	unclear	o-grade
roffezen	*rup(p)atjan	*rupōjanaan wkv	intensive	unchanged
skellen	*skallejanaan	*skellanan stv III	causative	o-grade
screiten	*skraiðejanaan	*skreiþanan stv I	unclear	o-grade
slengen	*slangwejanaan	*slengwanan stv III	causative	o-grade
sneiten	*snaiðejanaan	*sneiþanan stv I	no change	o-grade
spennen	*spanejanaan	*spananan stv VI	no change	unchanged
spreiten	*spraidejanaan	*spreidanán stv I	causative	o-grade
sprengen	*sprangejanaan	*sprenganan stv III	causative	o-grade
spurnen	*spurnjanaan	*spurnanan stv III	unclear	unchanged
swebben	*swabejanaan	*swefanan stv V	causative	o-grade
tretten	*tradejanaan	*tredanan stv V	intensive	o-grade
troufen	*draupejanaan	*dreupanan stv II	causative	o-grade
twellen	*dwalejanaan	*dwelanan stv IV	unclear	o-grade
wäen	*wējanaan	*wējanaan redpl	no change	unchanged
*(h)welben	*hwalbejanaan	*hwelbanan stv III	no change	o-grade
(h)werben	*hwarbejanaan	*hwerbanan stv III	causative	o-grade

Table 14: NWGmc Class I Deverbatives

From the above table it can be seen that of the class I deverbatives derived during the NWGmc stratum, eighteen (46.15%) are causative in sense, while ten (25.64%) involve no obvious change in meaning, seven (17.95%) show a definite change of meaning but one which cannot adequately be classified, and four (10.26%) denote intensity. The predominantly causative nature of NWGmc class I derivations represents a continuation of the causative function which class I already possessed in Gmc (4.4.1.1.). In addition to this, practically all the causative deverbatives belonging here are formed with the o-grade of ablaut, this too representing a straightforward NWGmc continuation of the Gmc pattern.

Nevertheless, the formation of causative deverbatives has become less important in NWGmc than in the previous Gmc stratum, where causatives accounted for 72.97% of all class I deverbatives. Parallel to the demise of causatives is the significant increase in the number of weak deverbatives formed in NWGmc with no obvious change in meaning from that of the derivational base. The percentage of NWGmc verbs thus formed is considerably higher than the corresponding number derived in the Gmc stratum. This points to a gradual breaking down of the pattern strictly adhered to in Gmc in which class I was predominantly used to form causative deverbatives, in favour of forming weak variants with no overall change in meaning, or other derivational types such as intensives.

As mentioned above, four class I intensive deverbatives can be reconstructed for the NWGmc stratum. Two of these are formed with the intensive suffix *-atjanan*: **grunnatjanan* (OHG *grunzen*) “to grunt, grumble, moan” which derives from the weak verb **grunnjanan* “to grunt” and **ruppatjanan* (OHG *ropfen*) “to belch, spew out” which derives from the weak verb **rupōjanan* “to vomit, belch”. Although weak verbs formed with the intensive suffix *-atjanan* are comparatively rare in NWGmc, they witness a significant increase in productivity during the WGmc period. The reader should therefore refer to 4.6.1.1. for further discussion concerning the intensive suffix *-atjanan*.

An important sub-group within the NWGmc class I deverbatives is represented by verbs derived from the relatively small and gradually diminishing reduplicating class of strong verb, the stem of many reduplicating verbs being composed of a j-suffix. This derivational sub-group comprises three weak verbs: **arjanan* (OHG *erren*) “to plough” deriving from the reduplicating verb **arjanan* “to plough”; **klaujanan* (OHG *klāwen*) “to claw, scratch” deriving from the reduplicating verb **klaujanan* “to claw, scratch”; and **wējanan* (OHG *wāen*) “to plough” deriving from the reduplicating verb **wējanan* “to blow, be windy”. In both instances the derived verb is formed with no ablaut modification and no obvious change in meaning. It is therefore probable that the j-suffix present in the stem of the reduplicating verb became re-interpreted as the j-suffix which marked class I weak verbs. A further factor contributing to the replacement of the above reduplicating verbs with weak verb variants would have been the increasingly marginal status which such reduplicating verbs occupied during the development of Gmc to OHG. These examples thus represent an important instance of an older and less productive verbal type being analogically replaced by the younger and more productive weak verb inflexional type. This replacement of reduplicating verbs with weak verb variants continues further throughout the WGmc stratum (4.6.1.1.).

4.5.1.2. Class II Northwest Germanic Deverbatives

There are twenty-one NWGmc class II deverbatives, which comprise 34.43% of all NWGmc deverbative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	NWGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel
auhhōn	*aukōjanan	*aukanan redpl	no change	unchanged
bahhōn	*bakōjanan	*bakanan stv VI	no change	unchanged
bannōn	*bannōjanan	*bannanan redpl	unclear	unchanged
brastōn	*brastōjanan	*brestanan stv III	frequentative	o-grade
faltōn	*falōōjanan	*falpanan redpl	no change	unchanged
*farzōn	*fartōjanan	*fertanan stv III	no change	o-grade
fazzōn	*fatōjanan	*fetanan stv V	unclear	o-grade
grennōn	*granjōjanan	*grennanan stv III	unclear	o-grade
lockōn	*lukkōjanan	*leuganan stv II	intensive	zero-grade
nascōn	*gnagskōjanan	*gnaganan stv VI	unclear	unchanged
ropfōn	*ruppōjanan	*raupjanan wkv	intensive	zero-grade
scaffōn	*skapōjanan	*skapjanan stv IV	no change	unchanged
scozzōn	*skuttōjanan	*skeutanan stv II	intensive	zero-grade
*scrafōn	*skrapōjanan	*skrepanan stv V	no change	o-grade
scrancōn	* skrankwōjanan	*skrenkwanan stv III	frequentative	o-grade
stōzōn	*stautōjanan	*stautanan redpl	no change	unchanged
swinōn	*swinōjanan	*sweinanan stv I	no change	zero-grade
twalōn	*dwalōjanan	*dwelanan stv IV	frequentative	o-grade
wagōn	*wagōjanan	*weganan stv V	frequentative	o-grade
(h)walbōn	*hwalbōjanan	*hwelbanan stv III	unclear	o-grade
zogōn	*tugōjanan	*teuhanan stv II	frequentative	zero-grade

Table 15: NWGmc Class II Deverbatives

A significant number (38.10%) of NWGmc class II deverbatives are formed with no obvious change in meaning, while a further 19.05% of deverbatives in this group exhibit a difference in meaning from that of their derivational base but one which does not conform to any of the normal semantic patterns. From these figures it therefore appears that class II represents, in contrast to classes I and III, which both had predominantly factitive and stative functions respectively, the least determined or fixed class in semantic terms. This view was also taken by Wilmanns who summarized the semantic significance of the weak verb inflexional classes as follows: “... in der ersten (Conjugation) treten die Factitiva oder Causativa, in der dritten die Durativa und Inchoativa, doch finden sich Verba von gleicher Bedeutung auch in der anderen Klassen. Am unbestimmtesten ist die zweite”¹. This lack of any definite, fixed semantic function may consequently have established itself as a regular pattern, allowing

¹ Wilmanns (1930: 49).

class II to take on the general role of creating deverbatives outside the usual semantic categories of causative or durative and inchoative.

The semantically diffuse nature of class II is also evident in the NWGmc class II denominatives, which show no particular preference as regards the type of semantic relation held to their derivational base (see 4.5.3.2.). A convincing argument attempting to explain this lack of any definite semantic function in regard to class II was put forward by Pollard², who saw the ambiguity as resulting from the fact: “daß die *-ōn* Verba nicht mehr eine einzige Bedeutung besitzen, sondern daß mehrere Bedeutungen sich mit diesem Suffix verknüpft haben”.

Five verbs belonging here (23.81% of all NWGmc class II deverbatives) appear to display a frequentative meaning (frequentative may also be referred to by the terms as ‘continuative’ or ‘iterative’, the latter favoured by German philologists). In contrast to the later WGmc and OHG strata which generally form frequentative deverbatives with the aid of *l* or *r* extensions (see 4.7.1.2.), no such liquid extensions were employed in NWGmc. As the above table shows, the normal pattern for forming frequentative deverbatives during NWGmc is for them to take the o-grade of ablaut. The zero grade of ablaut could also occur in frequentative formations during NWGmc, e.g. **tugōjanan* (OHG *zogōn*) “to drag, keep pulling at”, but was not as productive.

The frequentative nature of class II deverbatives will now be the subject of more detailed discussion as there is a strong body of opinion that one of the earliest specific functions of class II among the Gmc weak verbs was to convey a frequentative aspect.

The most thorough investigation into the Gmc class II weak verbs is probably Wissmann’s *Nomina Postverbalia* (1932). In this Wissmann classified the majority of class II o-grade and zero-grade deverbatives as frequentative³. His findings have influenced a great deal of subsequent research concerning the class II weak verbs, most notably that of Krämer⁴ and Meid⁵. Furthermore, clear comparisons can be drawn with forms outside Gmc, allowing us to conclude that deverbatives with a frequentative meaning were employed as a derivational method in IE, particularly those taking the o-grade of ablaut in their root syllable⁶. However, in addition to the o-grade, frequentative deverbatives could

² Pollard (1935: 13).

³ Wissmann (1932: 10-26).

⁴ Krämer (1971: 39).

⁵ Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 240-241).

⁶ Szemerényi (1990: 255), Hiersche (1963: 149-159).

also take the \bar{o} - and \bar{e} -grades of ablaut and also, as stated above, the zero-grade in IE⁷.

Typical examples of frequentative deverbatives in the IE languages outside Gmc include: Greek ποτάομαι (o-grade) “I fly, flutter” and πωτάομαι (\bar{o} -grade) “I fly frequently” from πέτομαι “I fly”; τρωπάω (\bar{o} -grade) “I turn hither and thither, turn constantly” from τρέπω “I turn”; πηδάω “I hop” (\bar{e} -grade); Latvian *vadāju* (o-grade) “I lead back and forth” from *vedu* “I lead”; *lēkāju* (\bar{e} -grade) “I hop”; Latin *cēlāre* (\bar{e} -grade) “I hide, conceal, keep secret” from **kelāre* in *occulāre* “to hide”; *sēdāre* (\bar{e} -grade) “to calm, keep placid” from *sedēre* “to sit”; *educāre* (zero-grade) “I teach” from *dūcere* “I lead”; *labāre* (zero-grade) “to wobble, stagger” from *lābi* “to glide”.

The $-\bar{a}$ (Gmc $-\bar{o}$) element in the above Gmc and IE deverbative formations has been analysed by Meid as simply a suffix used to express frequentative or intensive meaning⁸. In support of this theory it can be argued that the iterative/intensive nature of the suffix may have arisen from its similarity to the $-\bar{a}$ of various aorist forms⁹. Thus Meid makes a fundamental distinction in respect to origin between denominative and deverbative class II verbs, the former having their origin in denominative derivations from feminine \bar{o} -stem nouns (this is discussed in more detail in 4.4.3.2.), the latter representing originally derivations formed with a frequentative/intensive suffix¹⁰.

Although a completely satisfactory explanation concerning their origin is perhaps impossible to achieve, it is nevertheless beyond doubt that the formation of o-grade deverbatives denoting a frequentative aspect represent an extremely archaic feature. This was also the opinion reached by Pollard who, in his dissertation on classes I and II of the Gmc weak verb, also came to the opinion that the older and more predominant identifying characteristic of the class II weak verbs was their indication of a frequentative or intensive meaning: “Älter und ausgeprägter ist... die Gruppe der intensiva und iterativa”¹¹.

Despite their archaic nature, however, frequentative formations still represent a relatively small group in Gmc (4.4.1.2.) and NWGmc. The fact that frequentatives are limited in scope in these strata somewhat contradicts, however, the findings reached by Wissmann (see above), but as will now be explained there are a number of criticisms to Wissmann’s analysis.

⁷ Szemerényi (1990: 255).

⁸ Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 240-241).

⁹ Kuryłowicz (II 1968: 222).

¹⁰ Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 238-239).

¹¹ Pollard (1935: 14).

If the individual meanings of the o-grade and zero-grade class II derivations are subject to close scrutiny, many of Wissmann's so-called frequentative classifications are dubious, the actual meaning denoted by the weak verb derivation showing no obvious or implicit frequentative aspect. Indeed, in a large number of cases the meaning remains unchanged from that of its derivational base (see Table 15 above). Consequently, this thesis has followed Wilmanns' standpoint outlined above, i.e. that the class II deverbatives are largely diffuse semantically rather than predominantly frequentative in nature. Nevertheless, frequentative deverbatives do play an important role among the class II deverbative formations derived during the NWGmc stratum, and their significance should in no way be underestimated.

It is perhaps noteworthy in respect to the above theory concerning the original frequentative function of class II deverbatives, that frequentative deverbatives are confined entirely to class II during the two earliest strata, Gmc and NWGmc, there being no evidence for class I or class III frequentative formations in these periods (see 4.4.1.1., 4.4.1.3., 4.5.1.1., 4.5.1.3.).

Finally, an important, though limited, method of forming class II deverbatives in the NWGmc period was by means of intensive gemination coupled with zero-grade ablaut modification, the resulting derivation possessing an intensive meaning. Three such NWGmc verbs are attested: **lukkōjanan* (OHG *lockōn*) "to attract, entice (through lies), seduce" from the strong verb **leuganan* (OHG *liogan*) "to lie, deceive"; **ruppōjanan* (OHG *ropfōn*) "to pull violently, pluck" from the weak verb **raupjanan* (OHG *roufen*) "to pull, pick"; **skuttōjanan* (OHG *scozzōn*) "to move rapidly, shoot, shoot off quickly" from the strong verb **skeutanan* (OHG *skiozan*) "to shoot". Intensive gemination occurring in deverbative formations is discussed in more detail in 4.6.1.2.

4.5.1.3. Class III Northwest Germanic Deverbatives

The one NWGmc deverbative which belongs to class III represents 1.64% of all NWGmc deverbative formations. This verb, **bēgējanan* (OHG *bāgēn*), represents a NWGmc deverbative from the strong verb **bēganan*. It has not undergone any clear change in meaning from that of its strong verb etymon, nor is it formed with any alteration of ablaut grade, but retains the *dehnstufe* e-grade of ablaut held by the strong verb. The fact that there is only 1 NWGmc deverbative belonging to this class clearly shows that class III was unproductive and insignificant as a means of forming deverbatives in the NWGmc period.

4.5.2. Northwest Germanic Deadjectives

There are forty-six deadjectival verbs which can be traced back to the NWGmc stratum. These account for 22.01% of all NWGmc derivational formations.

4.5.2.1. Class I Northwest Germanic Deadjectives

There are thirty NWGmc class I deadjectives. This sum comprises 65.22% of all NWGmc deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	NWGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
dunnen	*þunnijanan	*þunnuz	factitive
elten	*alðijanan	*alðaz	factitive
*ergen	*argijanan	*argaz	factitive
fēhen	*fai hijanan	*fai haz	factitive
festen	*fastijanan	*fastuz, *fastjaz	factitive
garawen	*garwijanan	*garwaz	factitive
grimmen	*gremmijanan	*gremmaz	stative
heizen	*haitijanan	*haitaz	factitive
helden	*halþijanan	*halþaz	factitive
helzen	*haltijanan	*haltaz	factitive
kunden	*kunþijanan	*kunþaz	factitive
leiden	*laiþijanan	*laiþaz	factitive
lemmen	*lamijanan	*lamaz, *lamōn	factitive
lengen	*langijanan	*langaz	factitive
līhten	*lenhtijanan	*lenhtaz	factitive
magaren	*magrijanan	*magraz	factitive
missen	*missijanan	*missaz	stative
ōden	*auþijanan	*auþjaz	factitive
rūmen	*rūmijanan	*rūmaz	factitive
sēren	*sairijanan	*sairaz	factitive
*setten	*saðijanan	*saðaz	factitive
skerten	*skarðijanan	*skarðaz	factitive
stillen	*stellijanan	*stelljaz	factitive
strengen	*strang(j)ijanan	*strang(j)az	factitive
swerzen	*swartijanan	*swartaz	factitive
triuwen	*treww(j)ijanan	*treww(j)az	stative
weihhen	*waikijanan	*waikaz	factitive
wirden	*werþijanan	*werþaz	factitive
wīten	*weidijanan	*weidaz	factitive
wuoten	*wōðijanan	*wōðaz	stative

Table 16: NWGmc Class I Deadjectives

As can be seen from the above table, the vast majority (86.67%) of NWGmc class I deadjectives are factitive in sense. This continues the function of creating deadjectival formations with a factitive or causal value which class I already clearly possessed in the Gmc stratum (4.4.2.1.). There are, however, a number of stative verbs in this group, but these play a minor role in the derivation of NWGmc class I deadjectives, accounting for only 13.33% of all such formations.

In comparison to the earlier Gmc stratum, class I witnesses a decline in productivity during the NWGmc period, accounting for 65.22% of all NWGmc deadjectival formations as opposed to 81.63% of all Gmc deadjectival formations. The lack of any clear semantic distinction between class I and class II (see 4.5.2.2.) may have been a significant factor contributing towards this increase in productivity, class II forming factitives at the expense of class I.

It is perhaps noteworthy that no class I NWGmc deadjectival verbs are formed with an extension, the use of extensions being restricted to class II weak verbs. For more detailed discussions regarding the various extensions and their possible semantic functions, the reader should refer to 4.5.2.2., 4.6.2.2., 4.7.1.2., and 4.7.2.2.

4.5.2.2. Class II Northwest Germanic Deadjectives

There are thirteen NWGmc class II deadjectives. These account for 28.26% of all NWGmc deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	NWGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Extension
bluotigōn	*blōð(a)gōjanan	*blōð(a)gaz	factitive	
haldōn	*halþōjanan	*halþaz	factitive	
heilagōn	*hailagōjanan	*hailagaz	factitive	
heilisōn	*hailsōjanan	*hailaz	unclear	s-extension
*kaltōn	*kaldōjanan	*kaldaz	inchoative	
lazōn	*latōjanan	*lataz	stative	
mihhilōn	*mikilōjanan	*mikilaz	factitive	
missilthhōn	*missaleikōjanan	*missaleikaz	factitive	
offanōn	*upenōjanan	*upenaz	factitive	

*ōtagōn	*auðagōjanan	*auðagaz	factitive	
(h)reinisōn	*hrainsōjanan	*hrainiz	factitive	s-extension
(h)reinōn	*hrainōjanan	*hrainiz	factitive	
wanōn	*wanōjanan	*wanaz	inchoative	

Table 17: NWGmc Class II Deadjectives

Factitive formations comprise the majority of verbs in the above table, accounting for 69.23% of class II NWGmc deadjectives. If these figures are compared with class I, we can see that there is no discernible semantic distinction between class I and class II in the formation of deadjectival verbs in NWGmc, both classes producing predominantly factitive formations. As has been seen in 4.4.2.2., no discernible distinction between classes I and II existed in the Gmc stratum as regards deadjectival formations.

However, whereas class II formations represented a relatively small group among the Gmc deadjectives (accounting for only 12.24% of all Gmc deadjectival derivations), this same group has witnessed a significant growth in productivity in the NWGmc period, class II deadjectives comprising 28.26% of all NWGmc deadjectival formations. The lack of any clear semantic distinction between class I and class II outlined above may have been a significant factor contributing towards this increase in productivity, class II forming factitives at the expense of class I.

Nevertheless, an obvious difference between classes I and II exists in the use of extensions. Whereas no class I NWGmc deadjectives employ extensions, two class II deadjectival verbs are formed with an s-extension: **hailisōjanan* (OHG *heilisōn*) “to adjure, prophesy, greet” and **hreinisōjanan* (OHG *(h)reinisōn*) “to clean, make clean”, the former deriving from an a-stem adjective, the latter from an i-stem adjective base. However, it is impossible to prove whether the stem of the adjective played any morphological role in motivating these s-extension deadjectives, owing to the paucity of relevant data. Similarly, no firm conclusions can be drawn in respect to the semantic role played by these s-extensions in the derivation of deadjectival verbs. Nevertheless, the limited occurrence of such extensions does point to the fact that they did not seem to play a very significant or productive role in NWGmc. For a more detailed discussion concerning weak verb derivations formed with an extension, see 4.7.1.2.

4.5.2.3. Class III Northwest Germanic Deadjectives

The three NWGmc deadjectives belonging to class III account for 6.52% of all NWGmc deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	NWGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
langēn	*langējanan	*langaz	stative
sparēn	*sparējanan	*sparaz	stative
starēn	*starējanan	*staraz	stative

Table 18: NWGmc Class III Deadjectives

As can be seen from the above table, class III deadjectival verbs formed during the NWGmc stratum are exclusively intransitive and stative. Thus, the class III function of forming stative verbs already established in the Gmc period (see 4.4.2.3.) can be seen to continue into the NWGmc stratum. Accounting for only 6.52% of all NWGmc deadjectival formations, class III maintains, however, a marginal status, the NWGmc period seeing no real increase on the small-scale and relatively unproductive status of Gmc class III deadjectives.

4.5.3. Northwest Germanic Denominatives

There are seventy-seven denominative verbs which belong to the NWGmc stratum, this sum accounting for 36.84% of all NWGmc derivational formations.

4.5.3.1. Class I Northwest Germanic Denominatives

A total of thirty-eight NWGmc denominative verbs belong to class I. These represent 49.35% of all NWGmc denominative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	NWGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
bluoten	*blōðijanan	*blōðan (n. a-stem)	factitive
decken	*pakijanan	*pakan (n. a-stem)	factitive
diuten	*þeudijanan	*þeudō (f. ō-stem)	unclear

dursten	*purstijanan	*purstuz/*purstiz (m. u/i-stem)	stative
erben	*arbijanan	*arbijan (n. a-stem)	factitive
fadimen	*faþmijanan	*faþmaz (m. a-stem)	objective
fären	*fërijanan	*fëraz/*feran/*fëro (?)	factitive
fulken	*fulkijanan	*fulkan (n. a-stem)	objective
giften	*geftijanan	*geftiz (f. i-stem)	objective
harmen	*harmijanan	*harmaz (m. a-stem)	factitive
kampfen	*kampijanan	*kampaz/*kampuz (m. a/u-stem)	objective?
kempen	*kambijanan	*kambaz (m. a-stem)	instrumental
kleimen	*klaimijanan	*klaimaz (m. a-stem)	instrumental
lenten	*landijanan	*landan (n. a-stem)	objective
lîmen	*leimijanan	*leimaz (m. a-stem)	instrumental
lusten	*lustijanan	*lustuz/*lustiz (m. u/i-stem)	factitive
merken	*markijanan	*markan (n. a-stem)	factitive
murden	*murþijanan	*murþaz (m. a-stem)	factitive
rahhnen	*rahanijanan	*rahanan (n. a-stem)	factitive
râsen	*rësjanan	*rësan (n. a-stem)	factitive
rosten	*rustijanan	*rustaz (m. a-stem)	stative
rouhhen	*raukijanan	*raukiz (m. i-stem)	factitive
skîben	*skîbijanan	*skîbō (f. ō/n-stem)	factitive
sculden	*skuldijanan	*skuldiz (f. i-stem)	stative
scuohen	*skōhijanan	*skōhaz (m. a-stem)	objective
smirwen	*smerwijanan	*smerwaz (m. a-stem)	instrumental
sperren	*spar(r)ijanan	*spar(r)ōn (f. n-stem)	instrumental
spilden	*spelþijanan	*spelþjaz/*spelþjan (m/n. j-stem)	factitive
spurien	*spurijanan	*spuran (n. a-stem)	instrumental
studen	*stuðijanan	*stuðō (f. ō-stem)	instrumental
sturmen	*sturmijanan	*sturmaz (m. a-stem)	factitive
sweizen	*swait(j)ijanan	*swait(j)az (m. a/j-stem)	factitive
trōsten	*traustijanan	*traustan (n. a-stem)	factitive
troumen	*draumijanan	*draumaz (m. a-stem)	stative
wāfanen	*wēpnijanan	*wēpnan (n. a-stem)	objective
wāten	*wēdijanan	*wēdō (f. ō-stem)	objective
wunsknen	*wunskijanan	*wunskaz/*wunskō (?)	stative
zeinnen	*tainijanan	*tainaz (m. a-stem)	factitive
zellen	*talijanan	*talō/*talan (?)	objective

Table 19: NWGmc Class I Denominatives

The above table indicates that of the thirty-eight class I denominatives derived during the NWGmc period, seventeen (44.74%) express a factitive meaning in relation to their derivational base, while nine (23.68%) can be classified as objective, seven (18.42%) as instrumental, and five (13.16%) as stative. These figures provide a clear indication that class I was primarily used to form denominative verbs possessing a factitive meaning during the NWGmc stratum.

If we compare the above figures with those of the Gmc stratum, we can see that class I denominatives formed then were also predominantly factitive (4.4.3.1.). However, whereas 62.75% of class I Gmc denominatives were factitive in meaning, this figure has fallen to 44.74% for the corresponding NWGmc denominative formations. This points to a gradual weakening during the NWGmc period of the pattern established in Gmc for forming class I denominatives with a factitive sense. This weakening may perhaps be explained on the grounds that the semantic relationship between denominative verbs and their substantive base is often not as clear-cut or transparent as that between deverbative formations and their corresponding verb base or deadjectives and their adjective base. This is borne out by the fact that an overwhelming 86.67% of NWGmc class I deadjectival formations stand in a factitive relation to their derivational base, as opposed to the significantly lower percentage (44.74%) of class I NWGmc denominative formations which exist in such a factitive relation to their derivational base.

In terms of morphology there appears to be no significant factor determining whether a substantive with a particular inflexional stem will form a class I denominative verb or not. The majority (twenty-eight verb or 73.68% of all class I denominatives) have derivational bases in masculine or neuter *a*-stem nouns, but this figure may not be of any great relevance as *a*-stem nouns represent the largest inflectional group among substantives in the historical Gmc languages.

4.5.3.2. Class II Northwest Germanic Denominatives

A total of thirty-six NWGmc denominative verbs belong to class II. These represent 46.75% of all NWGmc denominative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	NWGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
avalōn	*abalōjanan	*abalan (n. a-stem)	objective
badōn	*baþōjanan	*baþaz (m. a-stem)	objective
bluomōn	*blōmōjanan	*blōmōn (f. n-stem)	factitive
dingōn	*þengōjanan	*þengan (n. a-stem)	instrumental/ objective
dionōn	*þewanōjanan	*þewaz (m. a-stem)	agentive
entōn	*andijōjanan	*andijaz (m. j-stem)	factitive

ērōn	*aizōjanan	*aizō (f. ō-stem)	stative
fezzarōn	*feturōjanan	*feturaz (m. a-stem)	instrumental
fizzōn	*fitjōjanan	*firjō (f. j-stem)	instrumental
fleckōn	*flekkōjanan	*flekkaz/*flekkōn (m. a/n-stem)	factitive
hantalōn	*handlōjanan	*handuz (f. u-stem)	instrumental
heriōn	*harjōjanan	*harjaz (m. j-stem)	objective
huorōn	*hōrōjanan	*hōrōn (f. n-stem)	stative
huostōn	*hwōstōjanan	*hwōstōn (m. n-stem)	stative
hūsōn	*hūsōjanan	*hūsan (n. a-stem)	objective/factitive
īsarōn	*īsarōjanan	*īsarnan (n. a-stem)	instrumental
kostōn	*kustōjanan	*kustuz/*kustiz (?)	objective
lēhanōn	*laihwnōjanan	*laihwnan (n. a-stem)	factitive
lidōn	*lipōjanan	*lipuz (m. u-stem)	objective
lōnōn	*launōjanan	*launan (n. a-stem)	factitive
maganōn	*magnōjanan	*magnan (n. a-stem)	stative
marcōn	*markōjanan	*markan (n. a-stem)	factitive
meginōn	*maginōjanan	*magnan (n. a-stem)	stative
reganōn	*regnōjanan	*regnan (n. a-stem)	factitive/stative
satulōn	*saðulōjanan	*saðulaz (m. a-stem)	objective
sindōn	*senþōjanan	*senþaz (m. a-stem)	instrumental
scadōn	*skapōjanan	*skapōn (m. n-stem)	factitive
stampfōn	*stampōjanan	*stampaz (m. a-stem)	instrumental
tagadingōn	*dagapengōjanan	*dagapengan (n. a-stem)	factitive
touwōn	*dauwōjanan	*dauwan (n. a-stem)	factitive
warōn	*warōjanan	*warō (f. ō-stem)	factitive
wehsalōn	*weihsalōjanan	*weihsalan (n. a-stem)	factitive
wercōn	*werkōjanan	*werken (n. a-stem)	objective
zalōn	*talōjanan	*talō/*talan (?)	objective
zeihhanōn	*taiknōjanan	*taiknan (n. a-stem)	factitive
zimbarōn	*temrōjanan	*temran (n. a-stem)	instrumental

Table 20: NWGmc Class II Denominatives

The above table indicates that of the thirty-five class II denominatives derived during the NWGmc period, thirteen (36.11%) express a factitive meaning in relation to their derivational base, while nine (25.00%) can be classified as objective, eight (22.22%) as instrumental, and five (13.89%) as stative.

The above figures are very similar to those found among the class I NWGmc denominative verbs, there being no major difference in terms of semantic function between the two classes. Furthermore, as the number of class II denominatives formed during the NWGmc period is roughly equal to the corresponding number formed in class I, we can conclude that there was no real

distinction, in terms of semantic function, productivity or importance, between classes I and II in respect to denominative verbs in NWGmc.

Nevertheless, in comparison to the earlier Gmc stratum which produced only fourteen class II denominative verbs (27.45% of the total number of denominatives formed in Gmc), class II has clearly witnessed a significant growth in productivity during the NWGmc era.

Seven of the above verbs exhibit an instrumental meaning. This corresponds to the view set forth by Jacobi¹² that the main function of class II was to form verbs that were instrumental in meaning. However, as instrumental formations only account for 22.22% of all NWGmc class II denominative formations and a mere 7.14% of all Gmc class II denominatives, there is no substantial evidence to support Jacobi's view. The standpoint taken by Wilmanns¹³ that, of all the Gmc weak verb classes, class II represents the class which is the least determined or fixed in any formal-semantic respect, is a more convincing assertion, and one reinforced by the data collected here. This is also true in respect to the NWGmc class II deverbatives which show a wide variety of semantic relations to their derivational base, many of which cannot adequately be classified (see 4.5.1.2.).

In terms of morphology there appears to be no significant factor determining whether a substantive with a particular inflexional stem will form a class II denominative verb or not. The majority (twenty-five verbs or 62.85% of all class II denominatives) have derivational bases in masculine or neuter *a*-stem nouns but, as previously stated, this figure may not be of any great relevance, as *a*-stem nouns represent the largest inflectional group among substantives in the historical Gmc languages.

4.5.3.3. Class III Northwest Germanic Denominatives

A total of three NWGmc denominative verbs belong to class III. These represent 3.90% of all NWGmc denominative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	NWGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
ērēn	*aizējanan	*aizō (f. <i>ō</i> -stem)	stative

¹² Jacobi (1843: 156ff.).

¹³ Wilmanns (II 1930: 49).

hogēn	*hugējanan	*hugiz, *huguz (m. i/u-stem)	instrumental
wartēn	*wardējanan	*wardō (f. ō-stem)	stative

Table 21: NWGmc Class III Denominatives

The majority of these NWGmc class III denominatives stand in a stative relation to the substantive from which they derive. Although **hugējanan* (OHG *hogēn*) “to think” has been classified here as instrumental, it is also possible to analyse this verb as being stative in sense, i.e. the subject is *in the process of* using his or her mind. This stative nature of NWGmc class III denominatives corresponds to the stative function which class III clearly had in the production of NWGmc deverbative and deadjectival formations. Moreover, when the NWGmc class III denominatives are compared with their counterparts formed in preceding Gmc stratum, it can clearly be seen that NWGmc, in using class III to derive largely stative denominative verbs, is simply continuing a function already established in Gmc.

As with the Gmc stratum, class III represents a small and relatively unimportant way of forming denominative verbs. In fact, in comparison to the Gmc period where five denominative formations are attested, class III shows a decrease in productivity during NWGmc.

The denominatives belonging here are chiefly from feminine *ō*-stems, with a masculine *u*-stem (existing alongside a variant *i*-stem) also providing a derivational base. This preponderance of *ō*-stem substantive bases in NWGmc class III denominatives reflects a similar preponderance found in Gmc class III denominatives (see 4.4.3.3.), and may represent a NWGmc extension of a pattern already established in Gmc.

4.5.4. Northwest Germanic Prefix Formations

There is no certain evidence that compound verbs were formed during the NWGmc period by means of prefixing an adjective or substantive. Any potential formations of this sort would represent too small and unproductive a means of derivation to be of importance or merit to this study.

Verbal derivation by means of prefixes presents a number of problems when we deal with the NWGmc stratum. While 82 prefix formations can be reconstructed for the Gmc stratum which figure rises to a massive 457 for the WGmc stratum, very few prefix formations can be reconstructed for NWGmc

stratum. This low proportion of NWGmc prefix formations in comparison to the Gmc and WGmc strata can be explained by the following factors.

In Gmc verbal prefixes were unstressed, the accent falling on the initial syllable of the root morpheme. This unstressed nature meant that verbal prefixes in the North Gmc group (i.e. ON, OSwed., ODan.) underwent considerable phonetic reduction, a process leading to the loss of the majority of verbal prefixes in this group¹⁴. This phonetic reduction of verbal prefixes is not only confined to the North Gmc group - in comparison to Gothic, the WGmc languages all exhibit reduced forms of their verbal prefixes.

In addition to this factor, it is important to note that the North Gmc group makes extensive use of phrasal verbs. Phrasal verbs are verbs coupled with an adverbial or prepositional particle which, as in true prefix formations, exists in a close semantic relationship with the verb which it modifies. A typical ON phrasal verb would be *telja up* "to add up", formed with the adverbial or prepositional particle *up* and based on the simplex *telja* "to count". However, whereas in true prefix formations the adverbial or prepositional particle has become compounded with the verb it serves to modify (often losing an independent identity and thus free morpheme status), it remains in a looser, non-morphological relationship with the verb in phrasal verbs. It would appear, then, that North Gmc. has undergone considerable restructuring, abandoning true prefix formations in which the relationship between adverbial or prepositional particle and verb is expressed morphologically, in favour of formations where the relationship is expressed syntactically.

This reduction and loss of verbal prefixes in the North Gmc group combined with a tendency towards phrasal rather than prefixed verbs may have deprived us of potential North Gmc cognates - cognates which might have enabled us to reconstruct prefix formations which date back to the NWGmc stratum. Consequently, many of the prefix formations which have been dated to the WGmc stratum may, in fact, have an earlier origin in the NWGmc era. If this is indeed the case, then our data in respect to WGmc prefix formations may be somewhat distorted.

In summary then, the problem of prefix formation during the NWGmc stratum is somewhat complex and involved. It is certainly an issue which merits further research but, as such, is probably better examined from an ON starting point rather than an OHG or WGmc one, and I have considered it beyond the scope of this work. I have consequently made detailed examinations of prefix formation for the Gmc, WGmc and OHG periods only.

¹⁴ Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 42).

4.5.5. Northwest Germanic Loan Verbs

There are no weak verbs attested in OHG which can be shown with any degree of certainty to be loan words dating from the NWGmc stratum. This is in marked contrast to the later WGmc and OHG strata where a sizeable number of loan verbs, for the most part from Latin, are extant. This evidence would therefore seem to point to the fact that significant cultural and material borrowing by the Germans did not occur to any major extent until the WGmc stratum, when the expanding WGmc tribes inevitably came into increased contact with the Romans and Roman culture in general.

4.5.6. Northwest Germanic Weak Verbs - Derivational Pattern Unclear

Those weak verbs which have been analysed in the data section (Chapter 4) as originating during the NWGmc stratum but which cannot be assigned satisfactorily to any of the five derivational categories discussed above (i.e. deverbative, deadjectival or denominative verbs, prefix formations and loan verbs) belong to this grouping.

A total of sixteen NWGmc weak verbs are thus classifiable. This figure represents 7.66% of all NWGmc weak verb formations. Of these sixteen NWGmc weak verbs with no clear derivational pattern, nine belong to class I, six belong to class II, and one verb inflects as a class III weak verb.

Although this category contains weak verbs which are largely unclassifiable, there are nevertheless a number of formations which provide us with interesting examples of onomatopoeic and sound symbolic formations.

The principle of phonetic symbolism needs to be discussed here in relation to the etymology of the OHG weak verbs, as it may explain a number of cases where certain verbs found in the data section (Chapter Three) are clearly related in some way structurally and semantically, yet cannot be analysed as derivations from each other by the normal rules of derivational morphology.

Moreover, as many sound-symbolic and onomatopoeic formations are common to the North Gmc and WGmc languages, or indeed can even be shown to derive from the NWGmc stratum, it has been decided to discuss such word formation processes in this section. For a more detailed account of phonetic

symbolism in general, together with a review of the main theories concerning the origin and development of sound symbolic processes, the reader should refer to Marchand¹⁵, on whose approach to the subject much of this section is based.

The following types of phonetic symbolism are used in word formation processes in Gmc:

1. Onomatopoeia. This involves the creation of words whose sound is imitative or expressive of the sound of the noise or action designated. Typical examples of weak verbs formed in this manner include: NWGmc **klappōjanan* (OHG *klapfōn*) beside WGmc **kloppōjanan* (OHG *klopfōn*) “to clap, pound, tap (imitative of either explosive or low, dull sounds)”, - it is interesting to note that both verbs have a geminated final *p* consonant, the gemination probably being expressive or intensive; NWGmc **sūsōjanan* (OHG *sūsōn*) “to buzz, fizz, sizzle, whistle, hiss” - this verb has counterparts in the Slavic languages, compare OCS *sysati* “to buzz, fizz, whistle”, which might suggest a possible origin in an onomatopoeic root common to Gmc and Slavic, $\sqrt{*sūs-}$ “to buzz, hiss, whistle (imitative of frictional noises in air)”; WGmc **twittirōjanan* (OHG *zwizzirōn*) “to twitter (imitative of birdsong)” - this verb too exhibits gemination of the consonant *t*, the gemination probably serving an expressive or imitative function. The medial *r* in this same verb may serve to “imitate or symbolize continuously vibrating sounds”¹⁶ similar to those heard in birdsong. Such interpretations are, however, highly speculative and impossible to prove with any degree of satisfaction.

2. Initial symbols and word families. This term is used to describe lexemes formed around an initial consonant or consonant cluster and denoting similar or closely related concepts or ideas - In other words associative fields have been built up around certain consonants or consonant clusters. This will now be discussed in more detail.

Over the course of time certain initial consonants, or more usually consonant clusters, may develop a particular sound-symbolic character, denoting various types of movement, noise, sounds etc.¹⁷. Although a large number of sound symbolic word families may have developed out of forms that were originally imitative or onomatopoeic, many may represent a secondary development resulting from association with the meaning already possessed by a particular word. For example, the initial consonant cluster *gl-* has no convincing onomatopoeic value, but has produced in the Gmc languages an extremely large group centred around it with sound-symbolic significance and

¹⁵ Marchand (1969: 397-428).

¹⁶ Marchand (1969: 399).

¹⁷ Marchand (1969: 398).

denoting “light, shining”. Such a group or complex is therefore probably best analysed as developing as a result of semantic association with a certain lexeme or lexemes, such as the Gmc strong verb **gleitanan* (OHG *glēzan*) “to glitter, gleam, shine” or similar. In other words, lexemes such as **gleitanan* may have created, as it were, a pattern for new formations based on their initial consonant cluster and denoting similar semantic concepts or ideas.

Although many lexemes belonging to such word families or complexes are straightforward deverbative, deadjectival or denominative derivations involving the normal rules of derivational morphology, a significant number exist in a relationship to each other not clearly analysable by such rules. This latter type frequently contains formations which are derived by means of modifying the vowel of the root syllable. This process will now be outlined in more detail.

3. Word-formation through internal vowel modification. In formations of this type the sound symbolism is expressed by the root vowel, which is modified, usually according to an already established and fixed pattern, for expressive or derivational purposes. This frequently results in the existence of numerous lexemes related in form and meaning, and differing only in the value of their root vowel. Although the semantic relationship between lexemes derived in this way is usually fairly transparent, the operation of this process may sometimes result in formations radically different from each other in terms of meaning.

Word families centred on an initial consonant or consonant clusters frequently alter the vowel of the root syllable for expressive or derivational purposes. A pertinent example can be seen in the NWGmc weak verb **klappōjanan* (OHG *klapfōn*) which exists beside a WGmc variant form **kloppōjanan* (OHG *klopfōn*) “to clap, pound, tap”, these verbs belonging to an onomatopoeic complex denoting sound and based on the initial consonants *kl-*. Compare the strong verb **klenganan* (OHG *klingan*) “to sound, resound” as a typical representative of this complex.

The following initial consonant clusters provide important examples of word families or complexes possessing sound symbolic significance. They are especially responsible for producing a significant number verbs formed through modification of the root vowel:

fn-. The essential meaning centred on this complex was that of “panting, gasping for breath, sneezing, sniffing and, in general, noises produced by the nose, mouth or air-passage”. It served as a productive base for a large number of derivations, including: OHG *fnattōn* “to snort”; OHG *fnehan* “to snort, pant,

gasp for, desire”; OE *fnesan* “to pant, gasp”; OE *fnēosan* “to sneeze”; ON *fnýsa* “to snort, pant”. The complex as a whole probably derives from an earlier IE base probably onomatopoeic in origin $\sqrt{*pneu-}$ “to pant, breathe”. Compare the Greek $\piνέω$ “I breathe, smell”.

gl-. The essential idea expressed by this initial consonant cluster was, as mentioned previously, that of “light, movement of light, effect of light on water, shining etc.” The complex is represented by the following lexemes, among numerous others: ON *glóa* “to shine, gleam”; OE *glōwan* “to glow”; OS *glītan* “to gleam, glisten, sparkle”; OHG *glosten* “to glow, gleam”; *glenzen* “to shine, sparkle”.

sn-. This consonant cluster acquired the expressive meaning of “noises produced by the nose, sneezing, sniffing, snot etc.”. It served as a productive root for a large number of derivations, including: OE *snofl* “nasal mucus”; ON *snoppa* “snout”; OHG *snūzen* “to blow one’s nose, wheeze, puff, pant, snore”. The complex as a whole may have its ultimate origin in an IE root possibly onomatopoeic in origin $\sqrt{*snā-}$, $\sqrt{*snə-}$ (*i-*), $\sqrt{*snāu-}$, $\sqrt{*sn-eu}$, $\sqrt{*sn-et}$ “to flow, damp, wetness”, but this is by no means certain.

In conclusion, then, the Gmc languages have made extensive use of phonetic symbolism in the derivation of certain related lexemes. The derivational processes involved in creating lexemes with sound symbolic value are frequently very different from the normal methods of word formation and derivational morphology, consideration often being paid to the sound-symbolic value of the initial consonant cluster or to derivation based on internal vowel modification. This frequently results in the existence of entire word families or complexes centred on a sound-symbolic initial consonant cluster, these complexes containing numerous derivations formed by altering the root vowel for sound symbolic or expressive purposes. The fluidity and expressive nature of such complexes consequently makes identifying precise phonological relations between the various individual members extremely difficult.

As a result, the Gmc linguistic group contains a large number of lexemes, many of them weak verbs, which are clearly related in some way structurally and semantically, but which cannot, however, adequately be classified as normal deverbative, deadjectival or denominative derivations on account of the fact that processes quite different from these latter are involved in the derivation of such lexemes.

A complete list of the OHG weak verbs formed in the NWGmc stratum can be found in Appendix One. However, as has been shown, these weak verbs with no clear derivational pattern form a diverse set which cannot easily be

categorized, and the reader should therefore refer to the data section (Chapter Three) for a more detailed discussion of each individual verb.

4.5.7. Northwest Germanic Weak Verbs - Etymology Unclear

Verbs dating back to the NWGmc stratum for which no convincing etymology can be ascertained, are to be found listed in Appendix Two.

4.5.8. Northwest Germanic Weak Verbs - Summary

From the above findings a number of general conclusions can be drawn in respect to the derivation of weak verbs in the NWGmc stratum.

Class II plays a more prominent role in NWGmc than in Gmc, having become significantly more productive, its portion of weak verb derivations rising from 13.87% in Gmc to 36.84% in NWGmc. This increase is largely at the expense of class I, this latter class sees a corresponding fall in its share of new weak verb formations from 78.15% in Gmc to 58.37% in NWGmc. As in Gmc, however, Class III remains marginal and unproductive in all derivational categories during this period, its share of new derivations decreasing slightly in comparison to the Gmc stratum. It would thus appear that class III is somewhat in decline as a means of weak verb derivation during the NWGmc era.

The NWGmc stratum has also been seen to witness the following developments or trends in terms of semantics.

Class I largely maintains its function of forming causative or factitive verbs. Nevertheless, the formation of causative deverbatives has become less important in NWGmc than in the previous Gmc stratum. Parallel to this fall in the number of causative derivations is a significant increase in the number of NWGmc class I weak verb derivations which exhibit no change in meaning from that of their derivational base. This clearly points to a gradual erosion in NWGmc of the more strictly causative nature possessed by class I deverbatives in the Gmc stratum. Class I deverbatives denoting intensity occur in NWGmc but remain relatively restricted and unproductive.

In contrast to the class I deverbative formations, however, the majority of class I deadjectival derivations retain in NWGmc the predominantly factitive nature which characterized their Gmc counterparts.

NWGmc class I denominative formations, on the other hand, are more diverse semantically, a significant number of derivations having been created in NWGmc which exist in an objective or instrumental relation to their derivational base. Nevertheless, factitive derivations still account for the majority of NWGmc class I denominatives.

Class II remains diffuse semantically during the NWGmc era, this reflecting the semantically diffuse status which class II had in the previous Gmc stratum. In respect to deverbative formations class II yields for the most part derivations which show no obvious change in meaning from that of their derivational base, together with a smaller number of frequentative and intensive deverbatives. These class II NWGmc intensive deverbatives were regularly marked by the zero-grade of ablaut and intensive gemination, while the main distinguishing feature of class II NWGmc frequentatives was the o-grade of ablaut.

As regards deadjectival formations class II shows no real distinction from deadjectives belonging to class I, both classes forming a majority of factitive verbs. An important feature characterising NWGmc class II deadjectives has been seen to be the use of verbal extensions. However, these extensions do not appear to possess any distinctive semantic significance and, as previously stated, no firm conclusions can therefore be drawn in respect to their nature and function.

In relation to denominative formations class II also remains fairly diverse semantically, forming verbs which show a wide variety of semantic relations to their derivational base, objective and instrumental formations playing an important role but the majority exhibiting, like class I NWGmc denominatives, a factitive meaning.

Class III, although still marginal and relatively unproductive, derives predominantly stative deadjectival and denominative verbs in NWGmc, thus preserving the durative/stative semantic status characterising class III during the Gmc stratum. Nevertheless, as only one class III deverbative can be dated to the NWGmc stratum, this verb showing no obvious change in meaning from that of its derivational base, no firm conclusions can be drawn concerning the semantic function or status of class III deverbatives during NWGmc.

4.6. West Germanic Weak Verb Formations

This stratum comprises 826 verbs and accounts for 17.63% of the total number of weak verbs attested in OHG. Of these 826 verbs, 472 (57.14%) belong to class I; 228 (27.60%) belong to class II; and 126 (15.25%) belong to class III.

4.6.1. West Germanic Deverbatives

There are eighty-six deverbatives which can be traced back to the WGmc period. These verbs account for 10.41% (23.31% if prefix formations are ignored) of all WGmc derivations.

4.6.1.1. Class I West Germanic Deverbatives

There are forty-seven WGmc deverbatives which belong to class I. This sum comprises 54.65% of all WGmc deverbative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	WGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel
backen	*bakkan	*bakanan stv VI	intensive	unchanged
bleckezen	*blikkatjan	*bleikanan stv I	intensive	zero-grade
bluoēn	*blōjan	*blōanan redpl	no change	unchanged
bremen	*bramejan	*bremanan stv IV	no change	o-grade
brengen	*brangejan	*brenganan stv/wkv	no change	o-grade
bruoten	*brōdejan	*brēdanan redpl	unclear	dehnstufe of 'o'
brutten	*brugdjan	*bregdanan stv III	unclear	zero-grade
būēn	*bōwwjan	*bōwwanan redpl	no change	unchanged
diggen	*pegjan	*pegjanan stv V	no change	unchanged
drāēn	*prējan	*prēanan redpl	no change	unchanged
drucken	*prukkjan	*prūgōjanan wkv	intensive	zero-grade
fallezen	*fallatjan	*fallanan redpl	intensive	unchanged
felgen	*falgejan	*felhanan stv III	unclear	o-grade
gluoēn	*glōjan	*glōanan redpl	no change	unchanged
*grimmezzenn	*gremmatjan	*gremmijanan wkv	intensive	unchanged
gruen	*grōjan	*grōanan redpl	no change	unchanged
hellen	*halejan	*helanan stv IV	no change	o-grade
hoppezen	*huppatjan	*huppōjanan? wkv	intensive	unchanged
kahhezen	*kahhatjan	*kahhjan wkv	intensive	unchanged
klenken	*klankjan	*klenganan stv III	unclear	o-grade

krāen	*krējan	*krēanan redpl	no change	unchanged
leidezzen	*laiðatjan	*laiðijanan wkv	intensive	unchanged
lesken	laskejan	*leskanan stv III	causative	o-grade
murnen	*murnjan	*murnanan stv III	no change	unchanged
sāen	*sējan	*sēanan redpl	no change	unchanged
seigen	*saigejan	*seiganan stv I	causative	o-grade
seihhen	*saihwejan	*seihwanan stv I	unclear	o-grade
sērezzen	*sairatjan	*sairijanan wkv	intensive	unchanged
skeinen	*skainejan	*skeinanan stv I	causative	o-grade
screnken	*skrank(w)jan	*skrenk(w)anan stv III	causative	o-grade
scurpfen	*skurpjan	*skerpanan stv III	no change	zero-grade
sleifen	*slaipejan	*sleipanan stv I	causative	o-grade
sleizzen	*slaitejan	*sleitanan stv I	unclear	o-grade
slipfen	*slippjan	*sleipanan stv I	intensive	zero-grade
sougen	*saugējan	*sūganān stv II	no change	o-grade
strūten	*strūdejan	*strūdanan redpl	no change	unchanged
stuzzen	*stuttjan?	*stuðijanan? wkv	intensive	unchanged
tōwen	*daujan	*daujanān redpl	no change	unchanged
bi-tumbalen	*bi-dumb(a)ljan	*dumējan? wkv III	frequentative	unchanged
tupfen	*duppjan	*dūbanān redpl	intensive	zero-grade
gi-unstillen	*ga-unstellijjan	*ga-unstelljējan wkv III	unchanged	unchanged
weigen	*waigejan	*wiganan stv V	causative	o-grade
weizen	*waitejan	*wait pret pres	causative	unchanged
winkezzzen	*wenkatjan	*wenkjan wkv	intensive	unchanged
zeisen	*taisejan	*taisanān redpl	no change	unchanged
zerren	*tarejan	*teranan stv IV	no change	o-grade
zucken	*tukkjan	*teuhanān stv II	intensive	zero-grade

Table 22: WGmc Class I Deverbatives

Deverbatives formed with no obvious change in meaning from that of their derivational base form the largest semantic group among the WGmc deverbatives, totalling nineteen (40.43% of all WGmc class I deverbatives). Of these eighteen verbs involving no obvious change in meaning, eleven are formed with no change in the ablaut grade of their root vowel. Indeed, ablaut as an instrument of derivational morphology has become significantly less important in WGmc, with twenty-four verbs (51.06% of all WGmc class I deverbatives) being formed without ablaut modification. This figure of 51.06% should be compared with the preceding NWGmc and Gmc strata in which only 23.08% and 24.32% of all class I deverbatives were formed without ablaut respectively.

Deverbative formations involving no change in the ablaut grade of their root vowel derive from both strong and weak verb derivational bases. Important among the strong verbs giving rise to weak verbs of this nature are a number

belonging to the small and increasingly marginalized reduplicating class and which were composed of an extended grade ablaut vowel which was not followed by a syllable-closing consonant (the most important of these extended grade ablaut vowels being **-ē-* and **-ō-* which characterize the so-called “verba pura”, for a discussion of which see 4.3.2.¹). Typical examples include: **krēanan* “to crow” which pairs with a weak verb **krējanan* (OHG *krāen*) “to crow”. In such instances the *j*-suffix may have started out as an intervocalic glide, but then became interpreted as a marker for the weak inflection. Additionally, earlier verba pura already belonging to the weak inflectional category such as **mōjanan* (OHG *muoen*) “to tire, trouble” and **nējanan* (OHG *nāen*) “to sew” may have acted as a model for an increasing number of reduplicating verbs to form weak deverbatives in WGmc. However, other reduplicating verbs, the root syllable of which comprised a syllable-closing consonant (the so-called “verba impura”: see 4.3.2), have produced weak deverbatives with normal ablaut variation in this stratum, e.g. **brēdanan* “to roast, warm” which pairs with a weak verb **brōdejanan* (OHG *bruoten*) “to brood, warm”.

The majority of deverbatives which are derived from weak verbs and which involve no change in the ablaut grade of their root vowel are intensive. Intensives formed without ablaut take, in particular, the intensive suffix **-atjanan*. It appears then, that as the process of suffixing **-atjanan* to a strong verb stem gave the derived verb a weak inflection and an intensive meaning, there was therefore no need for recourse to other morphological devices such as ablaut modification.

The above figures show that intensive deverbatives form a large and important derivational type among the WGmc class I deverbatives. Fourteen class I deverbatives exhibit an intensive meaning (29.79% of all WGmc class I deverbatives, this group composing the second largest semantic type after the WGmc class I deverbatives which were formed with no obvious change in meaning). WGmc class I deverbatives can be divided into two groups: The first of these groups comprises intensives taking the intensive suffix **-atjanan*, for example, **laiðatjanan* (OHG *leidezzen*) “to hurt, injure” from **laiðijanan* (OHG *leiden*) “to hurt, harm”. It is interesting to note that a large number of WGmc deverbatives formed with the intensive suffix **-atjanan* derive from weak verbs. The second group comprises intensive deverbatives formed with intensive gemination (these are discussed in more detail in 4.6.1.2). Examples of class I intensive deverbatives taking gemination include the following:

¹ See also Matzel (1988: 29-44).

**prukkjanan* (OHG *drucken*) “to press, squeeze, oppress” from **prugōjanan* “to threaten, oppress”; **tukkjanan* (OHG *zucken*) “to pull violently, snatch, rob” from **teuhanan* (OHG *ziohan*) “to pull, draw”.

In comparison to NWGmc, the number of intensive deverbatives found in WGmc is considerably larger (this statement applies to classes II and III as well as class I). This is particularly the case as regards intensive deverbatives taking the suffix **-atjanan* which only occurs in one class I NWGmc deverbative, **rupatjanan* (OHG *roffezzen*) “to belch”. We can therefore conclude that the intensive suffix **-atjanan* only became a productive morphological device for forming intensive deverbatives during the WGmc period, before which its role was extremely marginal.

As has been seen in the earlier strata (4.4.1.1., 4.5.1.1.), the o-grade of ablaut was typical of class I deverbatives which were causal in sense, and this pattern continues in WGmc, e.g. **waitejanan* (OHG *weizen*) “to cause to know, show, indicate” from the preterite-present verb **wait* (OHG *weiz*) “I know”. Nevertheless, there are a growing number of WGmc class I o-grade deverbatives which, instead of the expected causal sense, exhibit no obvious change in meaning. There is thus a gradual movement away from using the existing pattern referred to above to form causatives, with the result that the morpho-semantic role of o-grade deverbatives became extended to produce deverbatives with no obvious or implicit causative sense, a tendency already well established in NWGmc (4.5.1.1.). These remarks concerning the decline of o-grade causative deverbatives, also apply to all verbs expressing a causal semantic relation to their derivational base, the causatives attested in WGmc comprising 14.89% of all WGmc class I deverbatives, this figure being considerably lower than the corresponding figures for the earlier strata (4.4.1.1., 4.5.1.1.). This therefore clearly shows that causatives have diminished considerably in importance in the WGmc period.

It can therefore be said in summary that, although the use of ablaut still remains very much a part of weak verb derivational morphology in WGmc, its semantic significance has become less transparent, the o-grade of ablaut increasingly becoming a tool in the formation of non-causative class I verbs.

4.6.1.2. Class II West Germanic Deverbatives

The thirty-one WGmc deverbatives which belong to class II represent 36.05% of all WGmc deverbative formations. The following table presents these verbs

together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	WGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel
bizzōn	*bitōjan	*beitanan stv I	unclear	zero-grade
brohhōn	*brukōjan	*brekanan stv IV	intensive	zero-grade
fangōn	*fangōjan	*fanhanan redpl	unclear	unchanged
fantōn	*fanðōjan	*fenpanan stv III	unclear	o-grade
fehōn	*fehōjan	*fehanan stv V	unclear	unchanged
fergōn	*fergōjan	*fregnanan stv V	intensive	irregular
fundōn	*funðōjan	*fenpanan stv III	unclear	zero-grade
geinōn	*gainōjan	*geinanan stv I	no change	o-grade
glizzinōn	*glitnōjan	*gleitanan stv I	unclear	zero-grade
greifōn	*graipōjan	*greipanan stv I	unclear	o-grade
klubōn	*klubōjan	*kleubanan stv II	unclear	zero-grade
manōn	*manōjan	*man pret pres	unclear	unchanged
(h)nigōn	*hnigwōjan	*hneigwanan stv I	no change	zero-grade
(h)nopfōn	*hnuppjan	*hneupanan stv II	intensive	zero-grade
scarbōn	*skarbōjan	*skerfanan stv III	intensive	o-grade
screiōn	*skraiōjan	*skreianan stv I	no change	o-grade
scrōtōn	*skraudōjan	*skraudanan redpl	no change	unchanged
streichhōn	*straikōjan	*steikanan stv I	frequentative	o-grade
supfen	*suppōjan	*sūpanan stv II	intensive	zero-grade
swihhōn	*swikōjan	*sweikanan stv I	unclear	zero-grade
tobōn	*dubōjan	*deubanan stv II	durative	zero-grade
trettōn	*treddōjan	*tredanan stv V	intensive	unchanged
wallōn	*wallōjan	*wallanan redpl	unclear	unchanged
wantalōn	*wand(a)lōjan	*wandōjan wkv	frequentative	unchanged
wantarōn	*wand(a)rōjan	*wandōjan wkv	frequentative	unchanged
wantōn	*wandōjan	*wendanan stv III	unclear	o-grade
warnōn	*warnōjan	*warōjanan wkv	unclear	unchanged
wegōn	*wegōjan	*weganan stv V	unclear	unchanged
worfōn	wurpōjan	*werpanan stv III	no change	zero-grade
zeigōn	*taigōjan	*teihanan stv I	unclear	o-grade
zweckōn	*twikkōjan	*twigōjan? wkv	intensive	zero-grade

Table 23: WGmc Class II Deverbatives

The majority (45.16%) of WGmc class II deverbatives involve no real change in meaning or do not stand in any clear semantic relation to their derivational base, a situation which has already been observed for the earlier strata (4.4.1.2., 4.5.1.2). The WGmc period can therefore be seen to maintain this semantic indefiniteness among class II formations, and with it the important role which

class II had in creating deverbatives outside the usual semantic categories of caustive (the role predominately taken by class I) or durative/inchoative (the primary function of class III), a situation already well-established in NWGmc (4.5.1.2.). Although class II is to be seen as fairly mixed semantically, it does nevertheless have a number of important and specific functions which WGmc inherited from the previous strata and consequently systematically expanded upon.

The first of these was the creation of intensive deverbatives, such formations accounting for 22.58% of all class II WGmc deverbatives. These more often than not took the zero-grade of ablaut (see 4.5.1.2.) and were formed with what has traditionally been referred to as intensive gemination, e.g. **hnuppōjan* (OHG *(h)nopfōn*) “to break off, pluck off” from the strong verb **hneupanan* “to break, tear”, or **treddōjan* (OHG *trettōn*) “to stamp on, trample, trample down” from the strong verb **tredanan* “to tread, step, walk”. Intensive gemination is extremely widespread as a morpho-semantic process in Gmc verbal derivation, and consequently deserves some attention in this study of the OHG weak verbs.

The traditional view, first put forward by Osthoff² but dealt with extensively by Kluge (1884), regards deverbatives formed with intensive gemination as originating in *-nō-* verbs, which received their gemination as a result of progressive assimilation. A typical example used to illustrate this process is represented by Gmc **huppōjan* (OHG *hopfōn*) “to hop” which can be derived, via an intermediate form **hupnō-*, from an IE base **kubnā-* “to bend”. The intensive nature of such geminated consonants is then to be seen as a secondary development³, which established itself as a pattern for the formation of predominantly zero-grade deverbatives. However, this theory has a number of drawbacks. Firstly, there are virtually no cases in which a Gmc verb formed with intensive gemination has a correspondence with an *n*-present in another Indo-European language⁴. Secondly, it does not adequately explain the existence of unassimilated *n*-verbs with inchoative meaning (e.g. Gmc **waknōjanan* “to wake up, awake” which can be reconstructed from the Gothic class IV weak verb *ga-waknan* “to awake” and the ON class II weak verb *wakna* “to awake”), alongside the intensive group where the original *-n-* element underwent progressive assimilation to produce gemination. Most importantly, however, this theory does not fit in with the normal Gmc sound laws in which a fricative

² Osthoff (1882: 297).

³ Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 243).

⁴ Krämer (1971: 40).

+ *n* does not normally undergo assimilation, as can be seen from numerous examples such as ON *svefn* “sleep, dream”⁵.

The theory of expressive gemination sees the gemination of consonants as originally being a spontaneous, expressive process, which Krahe summarizes as: “mehr oder minder an innere Bedingungen (Schattierungen in der Wortbedeutung usw.) gebunden... Diese Doppelkonsonanten sind rein dynamischer Natur; sie dienen der Lautmalerei oder Lautsymbolik”⁶. Proponents of this theory stress the importance of gemination in such areas as personal or nicknames, speech directed at babies, onomatopoeia and, of course, verbs expressing an action performed intensively, all of which are discussed in more detail by Wissmann⁷ and Krahe⁸. However, this theory has the significant disadvantage that it requires from the potential advocate a considerable amount of belief in and bias towards the importance and dynamism of sound symbolism. Although sound symbolism and onomatopoeia are indeed important in Gmc (see in particular 4.5.5.6.) they are probably not, in themselves, enough to provide an adequate explanation concerning the origin of geminated intensive deverbatives in Gmc. Furthermore, according to Fagan, theories which rely on expressive gemination cannot adequately explain the motivation for the use of geminates in intensive or frequentative verbs: “Why were these geminate obstruents perceived as capable of expressing intensity and iterativity? How did they acquire their special expressive characteristics?”⁹.

A more convincing theory aimed at explaining the origin of the expressive geminates in Gmc is that put forward by Kuryłowicz¹⁰. Kuryłowicz’ theory of morphological gemination takes as its starting point the fact that Gmc also possessed geminated consonants in verbal forms outside the weak classes, above all in the class III strong verbs, e.g. OHG *skerran* “to sound”, *kerran* “to creak, groan”, OE *hlimman* “to resound, roar”, Gothic *brinnan* “to burn”¹¹. Although these geminated consonants were originally restricted to the present paradigm, they soon found their way into non-present and, more importantly, derived forms where they would have existed beside forms derived without gemination, e.g. **kurōn* beside **kurrōn* (attested in ON *kurra* “to creak”)¹². Many such derived forms would have been zero-grade or o-grade class II

⁵ Krämer (1971: 40).

⁶ Krahe (I 1969: 122).

⁷ Wissmann (II 1932: 162-170).

⁸ Krahe (I 1969: 122).

⁹ Fagan (1989: 42).

¹⁰ Kuryłowicz (1957: 131-144).

¹¹ Kuryłowicz (1957: 133).

¹² See Kuryłowicz (1957: 133-135), Krämer (1971: 41), Fagan (1989: 44-45).

deverbatives with iterative-intensive meaning where the *-ō-* of the ending originally carried the main functional load (this is discussed in more detail in 4.5.1.2.). The iterative-intensive functional load can then be analysed as having shifted from the ending to the geminated consonants (possibly helped by interference from the class II denominative and deadjectival formations which also carried the ending *-ō-* but did not denote any intensive meaning, originating from *ō*-stem nouns rather than deriving from an intensive IE **-ā-* suffix, as has been discussed in 4.4.3.2., 4.5.1.2.). The process, according to Kuryłowicz, then spread analogically: “This ... called forth the creation of geminated forms outside the narrowly circumscribed, etymologically justified, original domain, e.g.: *kurōn* (< *kerran*) = *tugōn* (< *tiuhan*). Outside the original domain the gemination invaded derivatives with pregnant semantic value of the derivational suffix. Where this value had been weakened by the root, the doubling of the final root-consonant did not take place. This fact is to be held responsible for the incomplete extension of the gemination ...”¹³. Nevertheless, Kuryłowicz’ theory weakened considerably, according to Fagan, “because of the scarcity of evidence for the existence of a period in which forms such as **kurōn* and **kurrōn* coexisted, a period that provides the crucial stage for the introduction of gemination as a morphological device in Germanic”¹⁴.

In addition to intensives, class II also formed a limited number of frequentative deverbatives during the WGmc period, these verbs accounting for 9.68% of all class II WGmc deverbatives. Two of these frequentatives, **wand(a)lōjan* (OHG *wantalōn*) “to wander” and **wand(a)rōjan* (OHG *wantarōn*) “to wander”, are formed with *l* and *r* extensions respectively, which appears to be a WGmc innovation replacing the older type particularly productive in NWGmc and involving zero or o-ablaut grade combined with intensive gemination (4.5.1.2.). This latter frequentative type survives in WGmc only in the verb **straikōjan* (OHG *streihhōn*) “to stroke in gentle and repeated movements, to continuously stroke” which is derived from the strong verb **streikanan* “to stroke”. Frequentative deverbatives formed with *l* and *r* extensions became far more important and productive as morphological features in the OHG period and will consequently be discussed in the sections of the analysis dealing with the OHG stratum (4.7.1.2.).

The OHG class I verb *supfen* has been included here under class II, as it most likely represents a later class change deverbative from an earlier, but OHG unattested, class II verb cognate with an OE verb *soppian* “to sop, soak”. This

¹³ Kuryłowicz (1957: 138).

¹⁴ Fagan (1989: 46).

justifies the reconstruction of a WGmc class II zero-grade intensive deverbative **suppōjanan* “to soak sop”, which is the verb included in this list. For a more detailed analysis of this verb see the data section (Chapter Three).

4.6.1.3. Class III West Germanic Deverbatives

The eight WGmc deverbatives which belongs to class III represent 9.30% of all WGmc deverbative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	WGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel
borgēn	*burgējan	*berganan stv III	durative?	zero-grade
klebēn	*klibējan	*kleibanan stv I	durative	zero-grade
lernēn	*liznējan	*lais pret pres	durative/inceptive	zero-grade
lūzēn	*lūtējan	*lūtanān stv II	durative	unchanged
(h)negēn	*hnigwējan	*hneigwanan stv I	durative	zero-grade
rozzēn	*rutējan	*reutanān stv II	durative	zero-grade
tobēn	*dubējan	*deubanān stv II	durative	zero-grade
werēn	*wezējan	*wesanan stv V	durative	unchanged

Table 24: WGmc Class III Deverbatives

These verbs are exclusively durative in meaning, the majority taking the zero ablaut grade. Class III deverbatives shows no real increase in productivity during the WGmc period, forming only eight new verbs (compare this with the Gmc stratum where class III formed seven new deverbatives). This low rate of productivity is in marked contrast to the WGmc class III deadjectival formations which formed forty-two new formations during the WGmc period (see 4.6.2.3.). The verb **liznējan* (OHG *lernēn*) “to learn (= to start to know)” may be a rare example of a deverbative exhibiting an inceptive meaning during this period.

4.6.2. West Germanic Deadjectives

There are 104 deadjectival verbs in OHG which can be traced back to the WGmc stratum. These account for 12.59% (28.18% if prefix formations are ignored) of all WGmc derivational formations.

4.6.2.1. Class I West Germanic Deadjectives

There are twenty-three WGmc deadjectives belonging to class I. These represent 22.11% of all WGmc deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	WGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
blenden	*blandijan	*blendaz	factitive
ermen	*armijan	*armaz	factitive
fēhen	*faihijan	*faihaz	factitive
frewen	*frawijan	*frawaz	factitive / stative
giltihhen	*galeikijan	*galeikaz	unclear
italen	*īdlījan	*īdlaz	factitive
kuolen	*kōl(j)ijan	*kōlaz, *kōljaz	factitive
liuben	*leubijan	*leubaz	factitive
(h)liūtaren	*hlūtrījan	*hlūtraz	factitive
(h)liuten	*hlūdījan	*hlūdaz	factitive
skenken	*skankījan	*skankaz	factitive
skerpfen	*skarpījan	*skarpaz	factitive
skilihen	*skelhwījan	*skelhwaz	stative
stiufen	*steupījan	*steupaz	factitive
strēben	*strēbījan	*strēbaz	inchoative
strecken	*strakkījan	*strakkaz	factitive
strūben	*strūbījan	*strūbaz	factitive / stative
suozen	*swōt(j)ijan	*swōtjaz	factitive
tarnen	*darnjījan	*darnjaz	factitive
tiuren	*deurjījan	*deurjaz	factitive
tougalen	*dauglījan	*dauglaz	factitive
gi-urwānen	*urwēn(j)ijan	*urwēnjaz, *urwēnaz	stative
wuosten	*wōstījan	*wōstiz	factitive

Table 25: WGmc Class I Deadjectives

The class I deadjectival verbs formed in WGmc are almost entirely factitive in meaning, for example *kōljījanan (OHG *kuolen*) “to cool, make cool” from the adjective *kōljaz “cool, cold”; *swōt(j)ījan (OHG *suozen*) “to sweeten, make sweet” from the adjective *swōtjaz “sweet”. This continues the function of creating deadjectival formations with a factitive or causative value which class I already clearly possessed in the NWGmc and Gmc strata (see 4.4.2.1. and 4.5.2.1.).

However, in contrast to the earlier strata, class I has become less productive in relation to classes II and III as a means of forming deadjectives,

accounting for only 22.11% of all WGmc deadjectival formations. If we compare this figure with the older strata we can see that class I formed 65.22% of all NWGmc deadjectives and 81.63% of all Gmc deadjectival formations. This trend is reversed slightly during the OHG period, with class I producing 29.90% of all OHG deadjectival verbs. Nevertheless, and despite its renewed productivity in the OHG stratum, class I does not regain the important role which it played in the formation of deadjectives during the NWGmc and particularly Gmc periods.

It is perhaps interesting to note that, in contrast to class II, no class I WGmc deadjectival verbs are formed with an extension (this will be referred to in more detail in the discussion on WGmc class II deadjectives (4.6.2.2.)).

The verb **blandijanan* (OHG *blenten*) “to make blind” is somewhat problematic. It forms a semantic pair with the adjective **blendaz* (OHG *blind*) “blind”, but differs from the latter in having the o-grade of ablaut in its root syllable rather than the e-grade which would normally be expected. There are two possibly ways of interpreting this apparent anomaly in the data series. Firstly, the verb may be regarded as having derived from an otherwise unattested adjective with the o-grade of ablaut in its root syllable. This is unconvincing, however, as it is unlikely that two similar adjectives, one with o-grade and one with e-grade and both meaning “blind”, would have existed alongside each other. The verb **blandijanan* is therefore best regarded as a deadjectival formation from the lexeme **blendaz*, but with exceptional ablaut. The reasons for this ablaut alteration are unclear, as deadjectival or denominative formations of this kind do not occur elsewhere in the Gmc linguistic group. It may perhaps represent an instance of expressive ablaut, but this is impossible to prove given the rarity of such a formation.

4.6.2.2. Class II West Germanic Deadjectives

There are thirty-nine class II WGmc deadjectives. These represent 37.50% of all WGmc deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	WGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Extension
abanstigōn	*ēfanstigōjan	*ēfanstigaz	stative	
bezzirōn	*batizōjan	*batizōn, *batistaz	factitive	

dickōn	*pekōjan	*pekuz	factitive	
durhilōn	*purhilōjan	*purhilaz	factitive	
ebanlīhhōn	*ebanleikōjan	*ebanleikaz	factitive	
ebanōn	*ebnōjan	*ebnaz	factitive	
einōn	*ainōjan	*ainaz	factitive	
follōn	*fullōjan	*fullaz	factitive	
fūhtōn	*fūhtōjan	*fūhtiz	stative	
gimuntigōn	*gamundigōjan	*gamundig	stative	
grimmisōn	*gremmisōjan	*gremmaz	stative	s-extension
itaniuwōn	*edneujōjan	*edneujaz	factitive	
kundōn	*kunþōjan	*kunþaz	factitive	
kwickōn	*kwikwōjan	*kwikuz/* kwikwaz	factitive/stative	
leidōn	*laiþōjan	*laiþaz	factitive	
liubōn	*leubōjan	*leubaz	stative	
managfaltōn	*managfalðōjan	*managfalðaz	factitive	
mērōn	*maizōjan	*maizōn	factitive	
nackotōn	*nakwaðōjan	*nakwaðaz	factitive	
niuwōn	*neujōjan	*neujaz	factitive	
rehhanōn	*reknōjan	*reknaz	factitive	
satōn	*saðōjan	*saðaz	factitive	
seragōn	*sairagōjan	*sairagaz	factitive	
sērōn	*sairōjan	*sairaz	factitive	
sihhurōn	*sikurōjan	*sikuruz	factitive	
siohhalōn	*seuklōjan	*seukaz	stative/ frequentative	l-extension
sculdigōn	*skuldigōjan	*skuldigaz	factitive	
stammalōn	*stam(m)lōjan	*stam(m)az	stative/ frequentative	l-extension
stammarōn	*stam(m)rōjan	*stam(m)az	stative/ frequentative	r-extension
strangōn	*strangōjan	*strangaz	factitive	
strebōn	*strēbōjan	*strēbaz	inchoative	
trāgōn	*trāgjōjan	*trāgjaz	stative/inchoative	
tumbōn	*dumbōjan	*dumbaz	stative	
ubarmuotigōn	*ubarmōðagōjan	*ubarmōðagaz	stative/inchoative	
ungilīhhōn	*ungaleikōjan	*ungaleikaz	stative	
unsūbarōn	*unsūbrōjan	*unsūbraz	factitive	
widarwartōn	*wīparwarðōjan	*wīparwarðaz	stative	
wunnisamōn	*wunnisamōjan	*wunnisamaz	stative	
zwīfaltōn	*twīfalðōjan	*twīfalðaz	factitive	

Table 26: WGmc Class II Deadjectives

The majority (61.54%) of WGmc class II deadjectival formations are factitive in meaning. As class II yields deadjectival formations during this stratum which

are predominantly factitive in nature, there is consequently no real semantic distinction in WGmc between class I and class II in the formation of deadjectival verbs. This lack of any fundamental semantic distinction between classes I and II in respect to deadjectival formations is not, however, a WGmc development, but dates back to the late Gmc and NWGmc strata, as has previously been seen (4.4.2.2. and 4.5.2.2.).

In comparison with the older strata there are, however, an increased number of formations to be found in this class which possess a stative or inchoative sense - these stative and inchoative verbs representing 35.90% of all WGmc class II deadjectival verbs. This increase in the number of stative or inchoative deadjectival verbs in class II is mirrored by a corresponding increase in the productivity of class III during the WGmc period, the function of this latter class also being the creation of stative or inchoative formations. However, whereas class II produces a mixture of factitive and stative verbs, with factitive verbs forming the majority of innovations, class III remains exclusively stative or inchoative in nature, producing no factitive formations whatsoever during this or any other stratum.

Four of the WGmc class II deadjectives are formed with an extension: **gremmisōjanan* (OHG *grimmisōn*) “to rage” from **gremmaz* “wild, grim” is formed with an *s* extension which does not appear to have any particular semantic function; **seuklōjanan* (OHG *siohhalōn*) “to be sick” from **seukaz* “sick” is formed with an *l* extension which may possibly have a frequentative, or perhaps a diminutive function “to be sickly, i.e. not mortally ill”, but this is far from certain; **stammlōjanan* (OHG *stammalōn*) and **stammrōjanan* (OHG *stammārōn*) from **stammaz* “stuttering” are formed with *l* and *r* extensions respectively which may have a frequentative function. If the reader refers to 4.5.2.2. it can be seen that two deadjectival formations with *s* extensions can be traced back to the NWGmc stratum. As in the WGmc period, however, these extended deadjectives are small in number with no obvious semantic function. It is therefore extremely difficult to draw any firm conclusions concerning WGmc deadjectives formed with extensions, except that *l* and *r* extensions seem to be an independent WGmc innovation, as there is no evidence for their occurrence in any of the earlier strata. Extensions play a much more prominent role during the OHG period, and the reader should refer to 4.7. for a more detailed discussion concerning the semantic function and uses of the various extensions employed in weak verb derivational morphology.

4.6.2.3. Class III West Germanic Deadjectives

The forty-two WGmc deadjectives belonging to class III account for 40.38% of all WGmc deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	WGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
altēn	*alðējan	*alðaz	inchoative
berahtēn	*berhtijan	*berhtaz	stative
bleihhēn	*blaikējan	*blaikaz	stative / inchoative
blintēn	*blendējan	*blendaz	inchoative
dickēn	*þekōjan	*þekuz	inchoative
dunnēn	*þunnējan	*þunnuz	inchoative
falawēn	*falwējan	*falwaz	stative / inchoative
fūlēn	*fūlējan	*fūlaz	stative / inchoative
geilēn	*gailējan	*gailaz	stative / inchoative
grōzzēn	*grautējan	*grautaz	inchoative
gruonēn	*grōnējan	*grōniz	inchoative
haftēn	*haftējan	*haftaz	inchoative
hartēn	*harðējan	*harðuz	stative / inchoative
heilēn	*hailejan ₁	*hailaz	inchoative
heisēn	*haisējan	*haisaz	stative / inchoative
heizēn	*haitējan	*haitaz	stative / inchoative
kaltēn	*kaldējan	*kaldaz	inchoative
kweekēn	*kwikwējan	*kwikuz, *kwikwaz	stative / inchoative
kuolēn	*kōl(j)ējan	*kōlaz, *kōljaz	stative / inchoative
lazzēn	*latējan	*lataz	stative
leidēn	*laiþējan	*laiþaz	stative
liubēn	*leubējan	*leubaz	stative / inchoative
mihhilēn	*mikilējan	*mikilaz	stative / inchoative
muodēn	*mōðējan	*mōðjaz	inchoative
rīfēn	*reipjējan	*reipjaz	inchoative
rōtēn	*rauðējan	*rauðaz	stative / inchoative
sērēn	*sairējan	*sairaz	stative / inchoative
starkēn	*starkējan	*starkuz	inchoative
stillēn	*stelljējan	*stelljaz	stative / inchoative
strangēn	*strangējan	*strangaz	inchoative
sūrēn	*sūrējan	*sūraz	stative / inchoative
tōdēn	*dauðējan	*dauðaz	inchoative
toubēn	*daubējan	*daubaz	inchoative
trunkanēn	*drunkanējan	*drunkanaz	stative / inchoative
tumbēn	*dumbējan	*dumbaz	stative / inchoative

unheilēn	*unhailējan	*unhailaz	stative
unstillēn	*unstellējan	*unstelljaz	inchoative
unwerdēn	*unwerpējan	*unwerpaz	inchoative
warmēn	*warmējan	*warmaz	stative / inchoative
weihhēn	*waikējan	*waikaz	inchoative
(h)wīzēn	*hweitējan	*hweitaz	inchoative

Table 27: WGmc Class III Deadjectives

The most remarkable fact concerning the class III deadjectival formations during the WGmc period is the huge increase in productivity which they experience. Whereas class III produced only 6.12% of all Gmc deadjectival verbs and only 6.52% of all NWGmc deadjectives, class III accounts for an outstanding 40.38% of all WGmc deadjectival formations. Another major distinguishing feature exhibited by the WGmc class III deadjectives is the large number of verbs derived during this period which may exhibit at times a stative at others an inchoative function, or which are exclusively inchoative in nature. As has been seen (4.4.2.3., 4.5.2.3.), class III deadjectives formed during the Gmc and NWGmc periods were almost exclusively stative in nature. The WGmc period has therefore clearly made an important innovation, whereby inchoative formations have achieved a prominence among the class III deadjectival formations which is uncharacteristic of the earlier strata. Inchoative formations are not restricted to WGmc, however. In Gothic inchoative formations formed the majority of the so-called class IV weak verbs¹⁵, e.g. *fullnan* “to become full”, *swinþnan* “to become strong”, while in ON an important group of verbs ending in *-na* and exhibiting an inchoative meaning is extant within the class II weak verbs, e.g. *harðna* “to become hard”, *sofna* “to fall asleep, become sleepy”¹⁶. Except for a few isolated verbs, e.g. the class III weak verb *gi-storkanēn* “to become stiff, numb or paralysed (through cold or fear)” which corresponds to the ON class II verb *storkna* “to coagulate, congeal” and the Gothic class IV verb *ga-staurknan* “to wither”, formations corresponding to Gothic verbs in *-nan* and ON verbs in *-na* are not extant in the WGmc dialects. It is therefore plausible to conclude that inchoative verbs containing a nasal element either died out during the WGmc stratum or never occurred to any major extent in the WGmc branch of Gmc, with the result that class III took on an additional inchoative function in an innovation unique to WGmc.

¹⁵ See Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 253).

¹⁶ Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 253).

Nevertheless, the above table and its relevant statistics may be inaccurate on account of the fact that the majority of the OE cognates collected in the data section actually belong to class II. It has been assumed in this thesis that, as there are an enormous number of class II OE verbs identical in meaning to, and thus sharing a stative and/or inchoative function with, their OHG counterparts belonging to class III, the sheer weight of numbers and identical meaning must point to the fact that the OE and OHG verbs are cognate. The fact that the OE verbs belong to class II can then be explained as the result of analogical levelling from the smaller and less productive class III to the larger and more productive class II. However, due to the problems and uncertainties outlined above, these results should be treated with some degree of caution.

4.6.3. West Germanic Denominatives

There are 132 denominative verbs in OHG which were formed in the WGmc stratum. This sum accounts for 15.98% (35.77% if prefix formations are ignored) of all WGmc derivational formations.

4.6.3.1. Class I West Germanic Denominatives

The sixty-four WGmc denominatives belonging to class I account for 48.48% of all WGmc denominative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	WGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
āhten	*āhtijan	*āhtō	factitive
angusten	*angustijan	*angusti	stative
ārunten	*ērundjijan	*ērundjan	objective
bi-rinden	*bi-rendijan	*rendōn	objective
bouhnen	*bauknijan	*bauknan	factitive
bruogen	*brōgijan	*brōgan	factitive
*brurten	*brurdijan	*brurdaz	instrumental
brūten	*brūðijan	*brūðiz	objective
buosumen	*bōsmijan	*bōsmaz	unclear
dingen	*þengijan	*þengan	instrumental/objective
doumen	*daumijan	*daumaz	factitive
dulten	*þuldijan	*þuldiz	factitive
ebben	*abjijan	*abjōn	factitive

eggen	*agijan	*ageþō	instrumental
eiden	*aiþijan	*aiþaz	factitive
feimen	*faimijan	*faimaz	factitive
fillen	*felliĵan	*fellan	objective
furhen	*furhijan	*furhō	factitive
grunden	*grundijan	*grunduz	objective
halsen	*halsijan	*halsaz	objective
heggen	*hagijan	*hagaz, *hagōn	instrumental
hecken	*hakkijan	*hakōn, *hakkōn	instrumental
hersten	*harstijan	*harstaz	instrumental
huosten	*hwōstijan	*hwōstōn	stative
huoten	*hōdijan	*hōdaz	instrumental
itarucken	*edrokijan	*edrokan	instrumental
kerien	*karijan	*karō?	factitive
kreften	*kraftijan	*kraftiz	factitive
kusten	*kustijan	*kustuz, *kustiz	objective
lubben	*lubĵijan	*lubjan	instrumental
mesten	*mastijan	*mastō	objective
mieten	*mizdijan	*mizdō	factitive
muosen	*mōsijan	*mōsan	objective
gi-musit-	*ga-musiðaz	*musaz, *musan, *musōn	factitive
nisten	*nistijan	*nistan	factitive
reifen	*raipijan	*raipaz, *raipan	instrumental
resten	*rastijan	*rastaz, *rastiz, *rastuz	factitive
rīmen	*rīmijan	*rīmaz, *rīman	objective
rōsten	*raustijan	*raustaz	instrumental
(h)ruomen	*hraumijan	*hraumaz	factitive
(h)rusten	*hrustijan	*hrustiz	objective
skerien	*skarijan	*skarō	factitive
skinden	*skinþijan	*skinþaz	objective
smecken	*smakkijan	*smakkaz	factitive
spuoten	*spōdijan	*spōdiz, *spōdjaz	factitive
steinen	*stainijan	*stainaz	instrumental
stellen	*stallijan	*stallaz	objective
stempfen	*stampijan	*stampaz	instrumental
stricken	*strikkijan	*strikkaz	instrumental
suonen	*sōnijan	*sōnō	factitive
swermen	*swarmijan	*swarmaz	factitive
terien	*darijan	*darō	factitive
tungen	*dungijan	*dungaz, *dungjaz	instrumental
unden	*unþ(j)ijan	*unþō, *unþjō	factitive
unmahten	*unmahtijan	*unmahtiz	factitive
urheizzen	*urhaitijan	*urhaitaz	factitive
wahhsen	*wahsijan	*wahsan	instrumental
wihsalen	*wihslijan	*weihsalan	factitive
williwurten	*weljōwurdijan	*weljōwurdan	objective
winteren	*wintrijan	*wintruz	objective
wirken	*werkijan	*werken	objective

wisken	*wiskijan	*wiskaz	instrumental
zīten	*tīðijan	*tīðiz	objective
zūnen	*tūnijan	*tūnaz	instrumental

Table 28: WGmc Class I Denominatives

The above table indicates that of the sixty-four class I denominatives derived during the WGmc period, twenty-seven (42.19%) express a factitive meaning in relation to their derivational base, while eighteen (28.13%) can be classified as instrumental, seventeen (26.56%) as objective, and two (3.13%) as stative. These figures indicate that class I was primarily used to form denominative verbs possessing a factitive meaning during the WGmc stratum, although instrumental formations are also very important (see below).

If these figures are compared with the previous NWGmc and Gmc strata, it can be seen that the majority of denominatives formed during these periods were also factitive in meaning (4.4.3.1., 4.5.3.1.), 62.75% of class I Gmc denominatives and 44.75% of class I NWGmc denominatives exhibiting a factitive meaning. Thus class I sees no fundamental change during the WGmc era in terms of the largely factitive role inherited from the previous strata.

The number of class I denominatives formed in WGmc which show an instrumental relation to their derivational base is considerably higher than the corresponding figure formed in NWGmc. This is in marked contrast to class II, which forms only seven such instrumental formations (11.48% of all class II WGmc denominatives) during the WGmc period. Thus, it appears that class I has taken on a greater instrumental capacity, besides its factitive role, although it should not be forgotten that factitive formations are still of far greater productivity during the WGmc period.

In terms of morphology there appears to be no significant factor determining whether a substantive with a particular inflexional stem will form a class I denominative verb or not. The majority (thirty-nine verbs or 60.94% of all class I denominatives) have derivational bases in masculine or neuter a-stem nouns, but this figure may not be of any great relevance as a-stem nouns represent the largest inflectional group among substantives in the historical Gmc languages.

4.6.3.2. Class II West Germanic Denominatives

The sixty-one WGmc denominatives belonging to class II account for 46.21% of all WGmc denominative formations. The following table presents these verbs

together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	WGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
ahtōn	*ahtōjan	*ahtō	objective
ambahtōn	*ambahtōjan	*ambahtaz	objective
anafangōn	*anafangōjan	*anafangaz	factitive
antōn	*andōjan	*andan	stative
arbeitōn	*arbaiþōjan	*arbaiþiz	objective
artōn	*arðōjan	*arðuz	objective
āruntōn	*ērundjōjan	*ērundjan	objective
āswihhōn	*ēswikōjan	*ēswikaz	factitive
ātamōn	*ēðmōjan	*ēðmaz	instrumental
betōn	*bedōjan	*bedō	objective
brāhhōn	*brēkōjan	*brēkō	factitive
bruckōn	*brugjōjan	*brugjō	factitive
dancōn	*þankōjan	*þankaz	objective
*dillōn	*þel(l)ōjan	*þel(l)ō, *þel(l)iz	instrumental
donarōn	*þunrōjan	*þunraz	factitive
egisōn	*agesōjan	*agez	factitive
fīlōn	*fīlōjan	*fīlō	instrumental
fnastōn	*fnastōjan	*fnastan	factitive
gebōn	*gebōjan ¹	*gebō	objective
grasōn	*grasōjan	*grasan	objective
hackōn	*hakkōjan	*hakōn, *hakkōn	instrumental
hazzōn	*hatōjan	*hatiz	stative
helmōn	*helmōjan	*helmaz	instrumental
heribergōn	*harjabergōjan	*harjabergō	objective
houbitōn	*haubuðōjan	*haubuðaz	objective
houfōn	*haupōjan	*haupaz	factitive
itawīzōn	*edwītōjan	*edwītaz	factitive
itlōnōn	*edlaunōjan	*edlaunan	factitive
klagōn	*klagōjan	*klagō	stative
kossōn	*kussōjan	*kussuz	objective
mahalōn	*maþlōjan	*maþlan	objective
minnōn	*minnjōjan	*minnjō	stative
munizōn	*munetōjan	*munetō	factitive
muntōn	*mundōjan	*mundō	objective
muotōn	*mōðōjan	*mōðaz	stative
namōn	*namōjan	*namōn	objective
niotōn	*neudōjan	*neudaz	stative
nuzzōn	*nutjōjan	*nutjō	objective
pīnōn	*pīnōjan	*pīnō	factitive

pflanzōn	*plantōjan	*plantō	objective
redinōn	*raþinōjan	*raþjō	objective
redōn	*raþjōjan	*raþjō	objective
rīhhisōn	*rīkisōjan	*rīkjan	stative
(h)rītarōn	*hrīdrōjan	*hrīdrō	instrumental
(h)riuwisōn	*hreuwisōjan	*hreuwō	stative
(h)riuwōn	*hreuwōjan	*hreuwō	stative
rūnōn	*rūnōjan	*rūnō, *rūnaz	objective
sigirōn	*segurōjan	*segurō?	stative
scamōn	*skamōjan	*skamō	stative
spilōn	*spilōjan, *spelōjan	*spilan, *spelan	objective
suntōn	*sundjōjan	*sundjō	objective/stative
undōn	*unþ(j)ōjan	*unþō, *unþjō	factitive
unērōn	*unaizōjan	*unaizō	factitive
wātōn	*wēdōjan	*wēdō	objective
willōn	*weljōjan	*weljōn	stative
wīzagōn	*weitagōjan	*weitagaz	agentive
wīzinōn	*weitinōjan	*weitiz	factitive
wuntarōn	*wundrōjan	*wundran	stative
wurzōn	*wurtōjan	*wurtiz	instrumental
zwehōn	*twehōjan	*twehō	stative
zwīvalōn	*twīflōjan	*twīflaz	stative

Table 29: WGmc Class II Denominatives

The above table indicates that of the sixty-one class II denominatives derived during the WGmc period, twenty-two verbs (36.07%) exist in an objective relation to their derivational base, while fifteen (24.59%) can be classified as factitive, a further fifteen (24.59%) as stative, seven (11.48%) as instrumental, and two verbs (3.28%) as agentive.

The above figures clearly show that class II was extremely diffuse semantically during this period in respect to denominative formations, exhibiting no clear morpho-semantic function and thus producing fairly similar numbers of objective, factitive and stative verbs, as well as a small number of instrumental derivations and one agentive verb. Except for the fact that class I has a more marked factitive and instrumental role than class II, there is also comparatively little semantic distinction between classes I and II in WGmc. Moreover, in terms of size, classes I and II are very similar in the WGmc stratum, each accounting for roughly half of all WGmc denominative formations. It should be noted in relation to the above points that class III retains

a marginal status at this time as regards denominative formations, the number of such derivations being negligible in comparison to classes I and II (4.6.3.3.).

It will be recalled from our discussion of the Gmc and NWGmc denominative verbs (4.4.3.2., 4.5.3.2.) that a similar semantic indefiniteness existed within class II, and that classes I and II were largely undifferentiated in semantic significance during these periods. It will also be recalled that classes I and II were also roughly equal in terms of productivity in NWGmc. Thus, WGmc can be seen to continue a development already firmly established in the earlier strata.

Three of the above verbs are formed with an extension: **raþinōjan* (OHG *redinōn*) “to count, recount, talk about” is formed with an n-extension, while **rīkisōjan* (OHG *rīhhisōn*) “to rule, reign, govern” and **hreuwisōjan* (OHG *(h)riuwōn*) “to rue, regret, feel sorrow” are formed with an s-extension. In all three cases the extension appears to have no obvious semantic function. Indeed, both **raþinōjan* and **hreuwisōjan* exist beside parallel variants formed without the aid of an extension: **raþōjan* (OHG *redōn*) “to speak, recount, tell” and **hreuwōjan* (OHG *(h)riuwōn*) “to rue, regret, feel sorrow”, both of these latter unextended verbs being identical in meaning to their extended variants. The limited extent of such verbal extensions in the above data, together with the lack of any clear semantic function means that it is extremely difficult to draw any firm conclusions concerning the morpho-semantics of verbal extensions in respect to the WGmc denominative formations. However, the limited occurrence of such extensions does point to the fact that they did not seem to play a very significant or productive role in WGmc. For a more detailed discussion concerning weak verb derivations formed with an extension, see 4.7.1.2.

In terms of morphology there appears to be no significant factor determining whether a substantive with a particular inflexional stem will form a class I denominative verb or not. The majority (twenty-seven verbs or 44.26% of all class II denominatives) have derivational bases in feminine *ō*-stem nouns, while a significant further twenty-two verbs (36.07% of all WGmc class II denominatives) have bases in masculine or neuter *a*-stem nouns, but these figures may not be of any great relevance as *ō*- or *a*-stem nouns represent the largest inflectional group among substantives in the historical Gmc languages.

4.6.3.3. Class III West Germanic Denominatives

The seven WGmc denominatives belonging to class III account for 5.30% of all WGmc denominative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	WGmc Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
druoēn	*þrōējan	*þrōaz	stative
fārēn	*fārējan	*fāran	stative
frāgēn	*frāgējan	*frāgō	objective
harmēn	*harmējan	*harmaz	stative
nahtēn	*nahtējan	*nahts	stative
senēn	*sinwējan	*sinwō	stative
wernēn	*wernējan	*wernaz	stative

Table 30: WGmc Class III Denominatives

The overwhelming majority of these formations are stative. This represents a continuation of the stative function already possessed by class III in the earlier strata (4.4.3.3., 4.5.3.3.).

As with the NWGmc and Gmc strata, class III represents a small and relatively unimportant method of forming denominative verbs in WGmc, its share of denominative formations amounting to only 5.30%. If this figure is compared to the previous NWGmc stratum where class III accounted for 3.90% of all denominatives, it can be seen that class III does not undergo any significant increase in productivity during the WGmc era. This is in marked contrast to the class III deadjectives which witness a massive rise in productivity in WGmc (see 4.6.2.3.).

Finally, in terms of morphology there is appears to be no significant factor in WGmc determining whether a substantive with a particular inflexional stem will form a class III denominative or not.

4.6.4. West Germanic Prefix Formations

There are 457 WGmc prefix formations. This sum represents 55.33% of all WGmc derivational formations. These statistics clearly show the important role played by verbal prefixes in the derivational morphology of the WGmc period. This increase in importance and productivity exhibited by prefix formations in

WGmc becomes even more evident if we compare the WGmc figures with the corresponding Gmc figures. During the Gmc stratum prefix formations, although still extremely important, accounted for 34.45% of all weak verb derivations, a sum significantly lower than that found in WGmc period. (On the problems faced for the NWGmc stratum in respect to prefix formations, see 4.5.4.).

General discussions of and more detailed information concerning prefix formations are given in sections 4.4.4. and 4.7.4. and, to avoid unnecessary repetition, will not be discussed here.

As the number of prefix formations shown to derive from the WGmc stratum is extremely large, the same approach has been followed in regard to examining these derivations as that outlined for the OHG stratum (4.7.4.). The relative productivity of the various verbal prefixes employed during the WGmc stratum, together with their main derivational functions and semantic significance, is therefore summarized in Table 31 below. The first column lists the WGmc prefix (the OHG form is cited immediately afterwards in brackets). The number of WGmc formations made with this prefix is entered in the second column. The third column indicates the number of formations made with this prefix in terms of their % of the total number (457) of prefix formations created in WGmc. The fourth column summarizes each function or semantic role signalled by the prefix. The semantic definitions which follow are based on those used by Kühnhold¹⁷, Marchand¹⁸ and Wilmanns¹⁹:

¹⁷ Kühnhold (1973: 142-286).

¹⁸ Marchand (1969: 127-208).

¹⁹ Wilmanns (II 1930: 115-175).

Prefix	Number of Formations	% of Total	Prefix signals:
*ana- (ana-)	9	1.97%	approach, contact
			commencement, beginning
			change of state
			intensity
*anda-, *en- (int-, in-)	16	3.50%	separation, removal, deprivation
			direction or movement into
			change of state, transition into a new state
			commencement, beginning
			intensity
*bi- (bi-)	52	11.38%	reversal
			formation of transitive verbs from intransitive verb bases
			formation of ornative verbs from substantive bases
			formation of factitive verbs from adjectival bases
			privation
			intensity
			encirclement, surrounding
			direction or movement past, by or over (spatial or temporal)
*fer- (fir-)	30	6.56%	change of state, transition into a new state
			thoroughness, completion
			intensity
			excess, action which has gone beyond an agreed or desirable limit or standard
			prohibition, prevention
			action performed causes obstruction, hindrance, concealment
			removal, separation, loss
			destruction, ruin
			action performed is wrong, bad or erroneous
*fulla- (folla-)	2	0.44%	thoroughness, completion
			fullness, abundance, capacity
*fura-, *furi- (fora-, furi-)	8	1.75%	action performed in reference to the future, action, event or circumstance takes place or is carried out before another
			location or movement before or in front of
*furpa- (fort-)	1	0.22%	movement or direction forwards
*ga- (gi-)	188	41.14%	no semantic distinction
			thoroughness, completion (perfective aspect)
*missa- (missi-)	5	1.09%	action performed is wrong, bad or erroneous
			negation, lack of
*nipra- (nidar-)	1	0.22%	direction or movement downwards
*ti(z)?-, *tō- (zi(r)-, zuo-)	17	3.72%	separation, loss, privation
			action results in dissolution, breaking up of a whole into its constituent parts, movement asunder, disintegration
			destruction, ruin, chaos
			contact, direction towards (especially when contact is desired or endeavoured for)

*uber- (ubar-)	7	1.53%	location or direction above, over or beyond
			action continues beyond a period of time
			excess, action which has gone beyond an agreed or desirable limit or standard
			superiority
*umbi- (umbi-)	7	1.53%	encirclement, surrounding
			turning round, reversal
*under- (untar-)	4	0.88%	location, direction under, beneath
			intensity
			succession, following (spatial or temporal)
*ut(a)- (ūz-)	2	0.44%	location or direction out of or from, removal
*uz- (ir-)	85	18.60%	change of state, transition into a new state
			thoroughness, completion (perfective aspect)
			intensity
			commencement, beginning
*purh- (duruh-)	4	0.88%	extraction, removal, privation
			direction through
			thoroughness, completion
*wipra- (widar)	1	0.22%	action performed is uninterrupted or continuous
			reverse direction, movement backwards
			direction against

Table 31: WGmc Prefix Formations

For specific examples illustrating the various semantic functions denoted by the WGmc verbal prefixes in the above table, the reader is asked to refer to the data section (Chapter Three).

4.6.5. West Germanic Loan Verbs

There are 4 WGmc weak verbs which can be shown to be loan verbs. This sum accounts for 0.48% (1.08% if prefix formations are ignored) of all WGmc weak verb derivational formations.

The donor language for all of these verbs is Latin. As loan verbs, they would have entered WGmc as a result of trade and contact with the neighbouring Roman garrisons, or through Romanized peasants living in the territories of the Roman Empire bordering the area occupied by the WGmc tribes²⁰. As can be expected, these loans from Latin have been made in cultural spheres in which the Romans and the provinces of their empire were more advanced, both materially and culturally. The cultural spheres which have yielded WGmc loan verbs are as follows:

²⁰ For a further discussion of this see Eggers (1986: 100-106).

1. Bathing and personal hygiene, as shown by the verb **labōjanan* (OHG *labōn*) from Latin *lavāre* “to wash, bathe”.

2. Music and entertainment, as indicated by the verbs **pīpōjanan* (OHG *pfīfōn*) from Latin *pīpāre* “to pipe, blow an instrument”, **saltōjanan* (OHG *salzōn*) from *saltāre* “to dance”.

3. The preservation and storage of materials, most probably drinks and foodstuffs such as wine, as can be seen from the verb **stoppōjanan* (OHG *stopfōn*) from Latin *stuppāre* “to stop, plug with a cork”.

As can be seen from the above, not only have these WGmc loans from Latin been made in cultural domains in which the WGmc tribes had learnt a great deal from the Romans, they are also extremely practical in nature, serving everyday, down-to-earth needs and purposes.

In addition to the above, the WGmc weak verb **plantōjanan* (OHG *pflanzōn*) “to plant” may represent a WGmc loan verb in the field of agriculture or horticulture from the Latin verb *plantāre* “to plant”. Alternatively, the verb **plantōjanan* may represent a denominative formation from a WGmc substantive **plantō* “plant”, which itself is a loan word from Latin *planta* “plant”. Whatever the case, there has been lexical borrowing from Latin, if not both the verb and substantive, at least the substantive itself.

All of the above verbs belong to class II in WGmc, reflecting the fact that the Latin source verbs belong to class II in Latin (see 4.7.5.).

4.6.6. West Germanic Weak Verbs - Derivational Pattern Unclear

Those weak verbs which have been analysed in the data section (Chapter Three) as originating during the WGmc stratum but which cannot be assigned satisfactorily to any of the five derivational categories discussed above (i.e. deverbative, deadjectival or denominative verbs, prefix formations and loan verbs) belong to this grouping.

A total of twenty WGmc weak verbs are thus classifiable. This figure represents 2.42% (5.42% if prefix formations are ignored) of all WGmc weak verb formations. Of these twenty-one WGmc weak verbs with no clear derivational pattern, fifteen belong to class I, five belong to class II, and one verb inflects as a class III weak verb.

A complete list of the OHG weak verbs formed in the WGmc stratum but which do not have a clear derivational pattern can be found in Appendix

One. However, as these weak verbs with no clear derivational pattern form a diverse set and do not therefore lend themselves easily to any satisfactory method of classification, they are best referred under their entries in the data section (Chapter Three). A general description of certain groups belonging to this category, such as onomatopoeic, expressive or sound symbolic formations, is given in section 4.5.6.

4.6.7. West Germanic Weak Verbs - Etymology Unclear

Verbs dating back to the WGmc stratum for which no convincing etymology can be ascertained, are to be found listed in Appendix Two.

4.6.8. West Germanic Weak Verbs - Summary

From the above findings a number of general conclusions can be drawn in respect to the derivation of weak verbs in the WGmc stratum.

A notable feature in respect to the development of the weak verb classes during the WGmc stratum is the substantial increase in productivity witnessed by class III, its share of weak verb formations rising from 4.78% in the NWGmc stratum to 15.25% in the WGmc stratum. This increase in productivity is largely at the expense of class II which undergoes a corresponding contraction in its yield of new formations during the WGmc period, falling from 36.84% of all NWGmc weak verb formations to 27.60% of all WGmc weak verb formations. The WGmc growth in class III is also confined to deadjectival formations, class III deverbative and denominative derivations undergoing very little increase in productivity during this same period. Nevertheless, these figures concerning the growth of class III in WGmc at the expense of class II must be treated with some degree of caution, as the majority of the OE cognates collected in the data section actually belong to class II. As stated previously, it has been assumed in this thesis that, as there are a significant number of class II OE verbs identical in meaning to, and thus sharing a stative and/or inchoative function with, their OHG counterparts belonging to class III, the sheer weight of numbers and identical meaning must point to the fact that the OE and OHG verbs are cognate. The fact that the OE verbs belong to class II can then be explained as the result of restructuring in North Sea Gmc or OE, in other words the smaller and less productive class III underwent analogical levelling to fuse with the larger and

more productive class II. This can further be reinforced by the fact that a number of Gmc weak verbs which have been reconstructed as class III on the basis of OHG and Gothic (these two languages preserving class III intact), have also become class II in North Sea Gmc and OE. However, as stated above, this is far from certain and it is quite plausible that the opposite development may have occurred, i.e. a significant number of WGmc class II weak verbs may have converted to class III in OHG. Finally, a further explanation can also be argued for, which regards the OHG class III weak verbs and their class II counterparts in North Sea Gmc (i.e. OE, OFs. and OS) as representing parallel but independent formations and not cognate forms sharing a common origin. Nevertheless, on the evidence presented in the above findings, the most satisfactory explanation would be to assume a common class III WGmc ancestor, which preserved its class III inflexion in OHG but which underwent restructuring in OE, OFs. and OS to fall together with class II.

Class I, on the other hand, remains essentially unchanged in WGmc from its NWGmc status in terms of productivity and importance, representing 58.37% of all NWGmc and 57.14% of all WGmc weak verb derivations. As was the case in the previous Gmc and NWGmc strata, class I consequently retains throughout the WGmc period its status of representing the largest and most productive weak verb class.

The above findings have also revealed the following semantic developments or trends during the WGmc stratum.

Class I largely maintains its function of forming causative or factitive verbs. Nevertheless, the formation of causative deverbatives, already considerably weakened during the NWGmc stratum, has become even less important in WGmc with the result that deverbatives formed with no obvious change in meaning from that of their derivational base account for the largest semantic group among the WGmc deverbatives. Class I deverbatives denoting intensity have become considerably more important in WGmc than in the previous NWGmc stratum.

As in the earlier strata, class I deadjectival verbs formed during the WGmc period are almost entirely factitive in semantic significance, although a small number of stative formations also occur. Nevertheless, in comparison to factitives, statives play an extremely minor and insignificant role in the derivation of WGmc class I deadjectives.

Similarly, the majority of WGmc class I denominative formations express a factitive meaning in relation to their derivational base. Nevertheless, the WGmc era does witness a significant increase in the percentage of

denominatives standing in an instrumental relation to their derivational base. An important group within the WGmc class I denominatives is also provided by denominatives which are objective in relation to their derivational base.

As in the earlier strata, class II as a whole remains largely diffuse semantically during the WGmc period. In respect to deverbative formations class II yields for the most part derivations which show no obvious change in meaning from that of their derivational base. Nevertheless, the above analysis has shown that intensive deverbatives considerably increased in productivity during the WGmc period, with the result that they now comprise an important method of derivation within the class II deverbatives. These class II intensive deverbatives were typically characterized by the zero-grade of ablaut and intensive gemination, morphological features which WGmc had clearly inherited from the previous strata, but which were systematically exploited as a derivational morphological device in WGmc. In addition to intensives, class II also formed a limited number of frequentative deverbatives during the WGmc period and, from the above findings, it appears that *l* and *r* extensions played an important morpho-semantic role in the derivation of these frequentative deverbatives.

As regards deadjectival formations class II shows no real distinction from deadjectives belonging to class I, both classes forming a majority of factitive verbs. An important feature characterising WGmc class II deadjectives has been seen to be the use of verbal extensions, the most important of which are *s*, *l* and *r* extensions. *S* extensions do not appear to have any particular semantic function in the above examples, and no firm conclusions can therefore be drawn in respect to their nature and function in WGmc. However, the above analysis has indicated that *l* and *r* extensions appear to have had a frequentative or diminutive significance in the derivation of deadjectival verbs.

In relation to denominative formations class II also remains fairly diverse semantically during the WGmc period, forming verbs which show a wide variety of semantic relations to their derivational base. Although factitive, stative and instrumental formations played an important role, the majority of WGmc class II denominatives, however, have been seen to stand in an objective relation to the substantive forming their derivational base.

It will be recalled that in the previous Gmc and NWGmc strata class III was used to derive primarily stative/durative verbs. However, the above analysis of the WGmc weak verb derivations has shown that class III has undergone an important development in WGmc with the result that it now regularly forms deadjectival verbs which exhibit an inchoative meaning in addition to a stative

one. In respect to denominative formations, however, class III retains its function of deriving stative verbs, while the WGmc class III deverbatives are exclusively durative in semantic significance, as in the previous Gmc and NWGmc strata, although one WGmc class III deverbative may be inceptive in nature.

The above findings have also revealed that an important feature distinguishing the WGmc stratum is the large number of prefix formations derived during this period. Although important in Gmc (prefix formations account for 34.45% of all weak verbs derived during the Gmc period), the rise in importance of this method of derivation is particularly marked in WGmc where prefix formations comprise 55.33% of all weak verb derivational formations. In comparison to the Gmc stratum, WGmc also extended the range of locational and directional particles which could be used as verbal prefixes. As a result, the basic meaning of a given simplex verb could be modified through prefixation in a wider and more elaborate range of ways in WGmc than in Gmc. This clearly shows, therefore, that prefix formation had become an extremely important and sophisticated method of derivation by the end of the WGmc era.

4.7. Old High German Weak Verb Formations

This stratum contains 3312 verbs, which represents 70.69% of the total number of weak verbs attested in OHG. Of these 3312 verbs, 1694 (51.15%) belong to class I; 1269 (38.32%) belong to class II; and 349 (10.54%) belong to class III.

4.7.1. Old High German Deverbatives

There are 269 deverbatives which can be shown to have been formed in the OHG stratum, which accounts for 8.12% (21.98% if prefix formations are ignored) of all OHG weak verb derivations.

4.7.1.1. Class I Old High German Deverbatives

There are 148 OHG deverbatives which belong to class I, which sum comprises 55.02% of all OHG deverbative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel	Extension
abanstigen	abanstigōn wkv	no change	unchanged	
anazzen	*ananan stv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
ātmezzzen	ātamōn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
bennen	bannan redpl	unclear	unchanged	
bi-ligizzen	bi-liggan stv V	intensive	unchanged	intensive
bi-rebezzen	source verb unclear	intensive	unclear	intensive
bi-screnkilen	screnken wkv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
bi-smeizen	bi-smītan stv I	no change	o-grade	
blabbezzen	*blab(b)jan(an) wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
blāen	*blēanan redpl	no change	unchanged	
blecken	*bleikanan stv I	intensive	zero-grade	
blicken	*bleikanan stv I	intensive	zero-grade	
blinterezzzen	source verb unclear	intensive	unclear	intensive
bluozen	bluozan redpl	no change	unchanged	
bōzen	bōzan redpl	no change	unchanged	
brāhhen	brehhan stv IV	unclear	irregular	
bresten	brestan stv III	unclear	o-grade	
brūhhen	*brūkanan stv II	no change	unchanged	
dahhezzen	*pahjan(an) wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
dempfen	*dempanan stv III	causative	o-grade	
dwengen	dwingan stv III	causative	o-grade	

eiginen	eiginðn wkv	no change	unchanged	
falsken	falscðn wkv	no change	unchanged	
falzen	faldan redupl	intensive	unchanged	
fegen	fegðn wkv	no change	unchanged	
fir-hunden	*fra-henþanan stv III	no change	zero-grade	
fir-lören	fir-liosan stv II	unclear	o-grade	
fir-niozen	fir-niozan stv II	no change	unchanged	
fir-scupfen	skioban stv II	intensive	zero-grade	
fir-smucken	smiogan stv II	intensive	zero-grade	
flehezzzen	flēhen, flēhðn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
flewen	*flōwanan redpl	unclear	irregular	
flīden	flīdan stv I	unclear	unchanged	
flogarezzzen	fliogan stv II	intensive	zero-grade	intensive
flogezzzen	fliogan stv II	intensive	zero-grade	intensive
flucken	fliogan stv II	intensive	zero-grade	
fluohhen	fluohhðn wkv	no change	unchanged	
fneskezzen	*fnesanan stv V	intensive	unchanged	intensive
funden	findan stv III	unclear	zero-grade	
gackezzen	source verb unclear	intensive	unclear	intensive
geskizzen	gescðn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
gi-lindezzzen	linden wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
girezzzen	giren wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
gi-sweihhen	swīhhan stv I	no change	o-grade	
glien	glian redpl	no change	unchanged	
gripfen	grīfan stv I	intensive	zero-grade	
guzen	giozan stv II	no change	zero-grade	
haben	habēn wkv	no change	unchanged	
hazzen	hazzðn, hazzēn wkv	no change	unchanged	
heilezzzen	heilen wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
heskezzen	*heskjan(an) wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
hogezzzen	huggen, hugēn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
hörehhen	*hauzijanan wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
in-sleihhen	slīhhan stv I	unclear	o-grade	
int-frören	friosan stv II	causative	o-grade	
int-gelten	int-geltan stv III	no change	unchanged	
int-laden	ladan stv VI	no change	unchanged	
int-slupfen	*sleupanan stv II	intensive	zero-grade	
ir-sterben	ir-sterban stv III	no change	unchanged	
itawīzen	itawīzðn wkv	o change	unchanged	
jerien	jesan, gesan stv V	causative	o-grade	
klahezzzen	precise verb unclear	intensive	unclear	intensive
klapfen	klaffðn, klapfðn wkv	no change	unchanged	
kleiben	*kleibanan stv I	causative	o-grade	
knāen	knēanan redpl	causative	unchanged	
koufen	koufðn wkv	no change	unchanged	
krahhen	krahhðn wkv	no change	unchanged	
krockezzen	krahhðn wkv	intensive	zero-grade	intensive
leihhen	laikan redpl	no change	unchanged	
leckezzen	*lekjan(an) wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive

lihazzen	lihhisōn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
lōhezzzen	lōhen wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
loubezzen	loubēn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
lucken	lockōn wkv	no change	unchanged	
(h)luoen	*hlōanan redpl	no change	unchanged	
luzzen	*lūtanan stv II	unclear	zero-grade	
māen	*mēanani redpl	no change	unchanged	
mālezzzen	mālōn, mālēn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
muckazzen	*mukkan(an) wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
muoten	muotōn wkv	no change	unchanged	
muotezzzen	muoten, muotōn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
(h)nafezzzen	*hnappōjan(an) wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
narrezzzen	ir-narrēn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
necken	gnaganan stv VI	intensive	unchanged	
(h)nicken	(h)nīgan stv I	intensive	zero-grade	
(h)nutten	*hneudanan stv II	unclear	zero-grade	
(h)raskezzzen	rascōn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
(h)rehhsen	precise verb unclear	no change	unclear	
(h)rempfen	(h)rimpfan stv III	no change	o-grade	
rīfen	rīfēn wkv	no change	unchanged	
rīzen	rīzan stv I	intensive	zero-grade	
rūnen	rūnōn wkv	no change	unchanged	
rūnezzzen	rūnen, rūnōn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
(h)rūzen	(h)rūzan stv II ¹	no change	zero-grade	
sagen	sagēn wkv	no change	unchanged	
serten	sertan stv III	no change	o-grade	
skepfen	skepfen stv VI	no change	unchanged	
scripfen	*skrepanan stv V	no change	unchanged	
scuzzzen	scoz(z)ōn wkv	no change	unchanged	
slagezzzen	slahan stv VI	intensive	unchanged	intensive
smelzen	smelzan stv III	no change	o-grade	
smizzen	smīzan stv I	intensive	zero-grade	
snepflizzen	source verb unclear	intensive	unclear	intensive
snizzen	snīdan stv I	intensive	zero-grade	
snopfizzen	source verb unclear	intensive	unclear	intensive
snupfezzzen	source verb unclear	intensive	unclear	intensive
soufen	sūfan stv II	causative	irregular	
spīwizzen	spīwan stv I	intensive	unchanged	intensive
sprungezzzen	springan stv III	intensive	zero-grade	intensive
spuoen	spōanan redpl	no change	unchanged	
stepfen	stapfan stv VI	no change	unchanged	
sticken	stehhan stv IV	intensive	unchanged	
stouben	stioban stv II	causative	o-grade	
stouwen	*stouwōn wkv	no change	unchanged	
streden	stredan stv V	causative	o-grade	
stucken	stehhan stv IV	intensive	zero-grade	
stungen	stingan stv III	unclear	zero-grade	
supfezzzen	supfen wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive

sūsen	sūsōn wkv	no change	unchanged	
swahhezzen	swahhōn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
sweden	swedan stv V	unclear	o-grade	
sweifen	sweifan redpl	unclear	unchanged	
sweigen	swīgēn wkv	causative	o-grade	
sweinen	swīnan stv I	causative	o-grade	
swenten	swintan stv III	causative	o-grade	
tallazzen	source verb unclear	intensive	unclear	intensive
tobazzen	tobōn, tobēn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
trennen	*trennanan stv III	causative	o-grade	
trepezzen	*trapjanan wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
tropfezzzen	triofan stv II	intensive	zero-grade	intensive
trufteren	*druftjanan wkv	frequentative	unchanged	r-extension
tumbezzzen	tumbōn, tumbēn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
turren	*dars pret pres	unclear	zero-grade	
unēren	unērōn wkv	no change	unchanged	
untar-sleihhen	slīhhan stv I	unclear	o-grade	
wamezzzen	wemōn wkv	intensive	o-grade	intensive
wārezzen	wāren wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
wenken	wancōn wkv	no change	unchanged	
werderen	werdōn wkv	frequentative	unchanged	r-extension
wimezzzen	wimmen wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
wimmeren	wimmen wkv	frequentative	unchanged	r-extension
worfezzzen	werfan stv III	intensive	zero-grade	intensive
wurzen	wurzōn wkv	no change	unchanged	
gi-zalezzen	zalōn wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
zohen	*tuhējan wkv	no change	unchanged	
zotaren	zotōn wkv	frequentative	unchanged	r-extension
zunten	*tenḡanan stv III	causative	zero-grade	
zwicken	Precise verb unclear	intensive	unchanged?	

Table 32: OHG Class I Deverbatives

The above table yields the following results: sixty-six verbs (44.59% of all OHG class I deverbatives) stand in an intensive relation to their derivational base, forty-eight verbs (32.43% of all OHG class I deverbatives) exhibit no obvious change in meaning from that of their derivational base, fifteen verbs (10.14% of all OHG class I deverbatives) cannot be adequately classified semantically, fourteen verbs (9.46% of all OHG class I deverbatives) are causative in nature, and five verbs (3.38% of all OHG class I deverbatives) express a frequentative semantic relation to their derivational base.

It is thus evident that intensives played an extremely important role among the OHG class I deverbatives. The majority of these intensives (57.58% of all OHG class I intensive deverbatives) are formed with no ablaut modification in the root vowel, these figures indicating that the intensive -ezz-

ending has, by the OHG period, all but usurped modification in the ablaut grade of the root vowel as a morpho-semantic device used to denote intensity. This shift away from ablaut in the derivational pattern of the weak verb is not only restricted to intensive deverbatives, but is characteristic of OHG deverbative formations as a whole. However, as we have seen, this shift away from the use of ablaut in the derivational morphology of the weak verb is not an OHG innovation, but was a trend already well established in the WGmc era (see 4.6.1.1.). The OHG stratum merely continues this development, affording it greater precedence. Thus, whereas ablaut modification is absent in 51.06% of all class I deverbatives formed during the WGmc stratum, this figure rises to 59.50% of corresponding class I deverbatives formed during the OHG period.

Although intensive deverbatives formed with the verbal extension *-ezz-* comprise the majority of OHG class I deverbative formations, there do exist, however, a small number of derivations from verbs which evince an intensive semantic relation to their derivational base, but which employ ablaut modification rather than the intensive *-ezz-* extension in their derivational process. The resultant ablaut grade taken in these intensive derivations is more often than not the zero-grade, e.g. *gripfen* “to tear, seize, destroy, ravage” which derives from the strong verb base *grīfan* “to grasp, seize” and displays intensive gemination; *(h)nicken* “to nod” which derives from the strong verb base *(h)nīgan* “to lean, incline” and displays intensive gemination and devoicing; *rīzen* “to scratch, carve, engrave” which derives from the strong verb base *rīzan* “to scratch, carve, write” and exhibits intensive gemination. However, the majority of intensive deverbatives formed with the zero-grade of ablaut employ the intensive extension *-ezz-* in addition to such ablaut modification, a further indication of the importance ascribed to the ending *-ezz-* in the deverbal derivational system of OHG. Typical examples include the following: *flogezzen* “to float, hover, waver” from the strong verb base *fliogan* “to fly”; *worfezzzen* “to throw about, throw hither and thither” from the strong verb base *werfan* “to throw”.

In addition to class I zero-grade intensive deverbatives formed with the *-ezz-* extension, an *-ezz-* extended intensive taking the o-grade of ablaut in its root vowel is also attested in the above table of OHG class I deverbatives: *wamezzzen* “to bubble or gush out, teem or swarm with” which derives from the weak verb base *wemōn* “to surge, wave, undulate”.

It will be recalled from 2.4., that a large number of weak verbs have double forms, that is they may appear in more than one inflectional class. The problems surrounding these class pair verbs and the strategies used to analysis

such verbs have already been discussed in 2.4. and need not be elaborated on here. Instead, we shall now examine typical examples of class pairs in which one verb in the pair can convincingly be analysed as representing a ‘class change’ deverbative from the other member of the pair.

A number of OHG class I weak verbs can be analysed as deverbatives deriving from a weak verb belonging to another inflectional class. Typical examples of what may conveniently be termed ‘class change’ deverbatives include the following: *abanstigen* “to be envious” which may derive from the class II weak verb *abanstigōn* “to be envious” this latter verb dating back to the WGmc stratum; *koufen* “to buy” which may derive from the class II weak verb *koufōn* “to buy” this latter verb dating back to the Gmc stratum; *sagen* “to say, tell” which may derive from the class III weak verb *sagēn* “to say, tell”, this latter verb probably representing a pre-Gmc primary verb; *wenken* “to sway, wobble, rock, shake” which may derive from the class II weak verb *wancōn* “to sway, wobble, rock, shake”, this latter verb probably representing a pre-Gmc primary verb.

The reader will recall that the WGmc stratum witnessed a significant decline in the productivity enjoyed by causative deverbatives (4.6.1.1.), a trend which, as the above table indicates, is continued in the OHG period. A comparison with the preceding strata will serve to illustrate this more clearly: whereas causative deverbatives accounted for 72.97% of all class I deverbatives formed during the Gmc period and 46.15% of all class I deverbatives formed within the NWGmc period, the number of causatives created during the WGmc stratum decreases dramatically, with the result that such formations account for only 14.89% of all WGmc class I deverbatives. This decline increases yet further during the OHG era, causatives accounting for a mere 9.46% of all OHG class I deverbatives.

Finally, it should be noted that, in contrast to the OHG class II deverbatives (4.7.1.2.), frequentatives play a minor role in the morpho-semantics of deverbatives belonging to class I. In all five frequentative deverbatives which belong to class I the frequentative meaning of the verb is expressed by means of a verbal extension. The frequentative deverbative *bi-screnkilen* “to furnish with nails, spikes or thorns, to nail” is formed with the aid of an *l*-extension, while *trufteren* “to sieve (corn etc.)”, *werdenen* “to compare”, *wimmeren* “to be overrun or teeming with worms”, and *zotaren* “(of hair), to hang loose, be shaggy” are formed with an *l*-extension. As both *l* and *r* extensions belong more clearly to class II deverbatives (see 4.7.1.2.), it is

therefore no surprise to find that frequentative verbs formed with these same extensions are relatively restricted among the class I deverbatives.

4.7.1.2. Class II Old High German Deverbatives

The 110 OHG deverbatives which belong to class II represent 40.89% of all OHG deverbative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel	Extension
ana-fallōn	fallan redpl	unclear	unchanged	
ana-gangōn	gangan redpl	unclear	unchanged	
beitōn	bītan stv I	no change	o-grade	
bellōn	bellan stv III	unclear	unchanged	
betalōn	bitten stv V	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
bi-fangalōn	fāhen redpl	unclear	unchanged	l-extension
bi-galōn	galan stv VI	no change	unchanged	
blabizōn	*blabjan(an) wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
brehhōn	brehhan stv IV	unclear	unchanged	
brohhisōn	brehhan stv IV i	unclear	zero-grade	s-extension
bullōn	bellan stv III	unclear	zero-grade	
dansōn	dinsan stv III	no change	o-grade	
dawalōn	*daujanan stv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
dōzōn	diozan stv II	no change	o-grade	
drangōn	dringan stv III	no change	o-grade	
eihhōn	eihhan stv I	unclear	unchanged	
fīr-galōn	galan stv VI	no change	unchanged	
fligilōn	*flēhōn wkv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
gackizzōn	precise verb unclear	intensive	unclear	intensive
gangarōn	gangan redpl	frequentative	unchanged	r-extension
gelbōn	*gelpanan? stv III	unclear	unchanged?	
gelzōn	gellan stv III	unclear	unchanged	intensive
gi-kawarōn	kiuwan stv II	frequentative	o-grade	r-extension
gi-langōn	gi-lingan stv III	unclear	o-grade	
gilōn	gellan stv III	no change	unchanged	
gi-risirōn	rīsan stv I	frequentative	zero-grade	r-extension
gi-tragōn	tragan stv VI	unclear	unchanged	
gi-zockarōn	zockōn wkv	frequentative	unchanged	r-extension
gnitisōn	gnītan stv I	unclear	zero-grade	s-extension
grabōn	graban stv VI	unclear	unchanged	
granōn	*grennanan stv III	unclear	o-grade	

gremizzōn	gremmen wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
grubilōn	graban stv VI	frequentative	irregular	l-extension
grunnizōn	*grunnatjanan wkv	intensive	unchanged	intensive
habalōn	habēn wkv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
hebinōn	heffen stv VI	unclear	unchanged	n-extension
houwōn	houwan redpl	no change	unchanged	
ir-grūwisōn	grūēn wkv	unclear	unchanged	s-extension
juckilōn	jucken wkv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
kahhizōn	kahhezzen wkv	class change	unchanged	intensive
karrōn	kerran stv III	no change	o-grade	
klengilōn	klingan stv III	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
klengisōn	klingan stv III	unclear	unchanged	s-extension
klengōn	klingan stv III	no change	unchanged	
korōn	kiosan stv II	unclear	zero-grade	
kragilōn	*krakōjan wkv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
krāwōn	*krēanan redpl	no change	unchanged	
kwitilōn	kwedan stv V	unclear	unchanged	l-extension
leitōn	līdan stv I	no change	o-grade	
lihhōn	lihhēn wkv	class change	unchanged	
lizzitōn	lizzōn wkv	intensive	unchanged	t-extension
lohhōn	liogan stv II	unclear	zero-grade	
(h)loufōn	(h)loufan redpl	unclear	unchanged	
mangalōn	mangōn wkv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
(h)notōn	*hneudanan stv II	intensive	zero-grade	
(h)raspōn	(h)respan stv III	unclear	o-grade	
reisōn	rīsan stv I	unclear	o-grade	
rizzōn	rīzan stv I	intensive	zero-grade	
rūnezzōn	precise verb unclear	intensive	unchanged	intensive
(h)rūzzōn	(h)rūzan stv II	no change	unchanged	
skeidōn	skeidan redpl	no change	unchanged	
skidōn	skeidan redpl	no change	zero-grade	
scopfōn	skioban stv II	unclear	zero-grade	
scrancolōn	screnken/scrankōn wkv	unclear	unchanged	l-extension
screvōn	*skrepanan stv V	unclear	unchanged	
scribilōn	skrīban stv I	frequentative	zero-grade	l-extension
scrudilōn	scrodōn/scrutōn wkv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
scutilōn	scutten wkv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
scutisōn	scutten wkv	unclear	unchanged	s-extension
slagōn	slahan stv VI	unclear	unchanged	
slapfōn	slāfan redpl	unclear	unchanged	
snitōn	snīdan stv I	no change	zero-grade	
spanōn	spanan stv VI	no change	unchanged	
spīwizzōn	spīwan stv I	intensive	unchanged	intensive

spornōn	spurnen wkv	class change	unchanged	
sporōn	*spurnanan stv III	unclear	unchanged	
sprangōn	springan stv III	frequentative	o-grade	
spratalōn	source verb unclear	unclear	unclear	l-extension
sprehhōn	sprehhan stv IV	unclear	unchanged	
sprizzalōn	*spleitanan stv I	unclear	zero-grade	l-extension
steckōn	stehhan stv IV	intensive	unchanged	
strūhhōn	*streukanan stv II	unclear	irregular	
stungōn	stingan stv III	unclear	zero-grade	
swebarōn	*sweifanan stv I	unclear	zero-grade	r-extension
sweibōn	*sweifanan stv I	no change	o-grade	
swillizzōn	*swelanan stv IV	intensive	unchanged	intensive
teilōn	teilen wkv	class change	unchanged	
tockōn	tūhhan stv II	intensive	irregular	
toubōn	touben wkv	class change	unchanged	
tribōn	trīban stv I	unclear	unchanged	
tropfōn	triofan stv II	intensive	zero-grade	
trotōn	*trudanan redpl	unclear	unchanged	
tūmilōn	tūmōn wkv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
twalisōn	twalōn wkv	no change	unchanged	s-extension
ubar-fangalōn	fāhen redpl	unclear	unchanged	l-extension
uobarōn	uoben wkv	frequentative	unchanged	r-extension
walgōn	*walkanan stv VI	unclear	unchanged	
waltinōn	waltan redpl	no change	unchanged	n-extension
waltisōn	waltan redpl	no change	unchanged	s-extension
walzōn	*weltanan stv III	no change	o-grade	
wancolōn	wincan stv III	frequentative	o-grade	l-extension
(h)warbalōn	(h)warbōn wkv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
werfōn	werfan stv III	unclear	unchanged	
wīhhōn	wīhhan stv I	unclear	unchanged	
willōn	*wellanan stv III	unclear	unchanged	
wimidōn	wimmen wkv	unclear	unchanged	d-extension
wipfōn	*weipanan stv I	intensive	zero-grade	
zispilōn	zispen wkv	frequentative	unchanged	l-extension
zottōn	*todōjan wkv	intensive	unchanged	
zuckōn	ziohan stv II	intensive	zero-grade	

Table 33: OHG Class II Deverbatives

The above table furnishes the following results: forty-four verbs (40.00% of all OHG class II deverbatives) were unable to be adequately classified semantically, twenty-seven verbs (24.55% of all OHG class II deverbatives) exhibit no obvious change in meaning from that of their derivational base, twenty-two verbs (20.00% of all OHG class II deverbatives) express a

frequentative semantic relation to their derivational base, sixteen verbs (14.55% of all OHG class II deverbatives) stand in an intensive relation to their derivational base.

The same table also shows that the majority of OHG class II weak verbs are formed with no ablaut modification to the root vowel of their derivational base. There are, however, a number of derivations formed with the ablaut zero-grade, a few of which carry an intensive meaning: *(h)notōn* “to beat to a pulp, thrash, smash” from *(bi-)hniotan* “to hit, strike”; *rizzōn* “to scratch, carve” from *rīzan* “to inscribe, write”; *tropfen* “to drip, run” from *triofan* “to trickle, dribble”; *zuckōn* “to rob, snatch, grab” from *ziohan* “to pull, draw”. This is a clear continuation of a pattern of intensive verb derivation which occupied an extremely important place in the derivational morphology of the WGmc and NWGmc strata (see 4.6.1.2.).

Probably the most important characteristic of class II weak verbs in OHG is the predominance of what have been termed extensions, that is suffixed elements which have a purely semantic function rather than a derivational one, and which cannot therefore form verbs on their own, i.e. cannot do so without the three weak verb inflexional suffixes *-en*, *-ōn*, *-ēn*. A total of forty-eight class II weak verbs (43.64% of all OHG class II weak verbs) are formed with one of a distinct set of extensions. Of the above-mentioned extensions the most predominant are l-extensions, these forming twenty-two OHG class II weak verbs. In addition to these, there are nine OHG class II weak verbs formed with the intensive extension *-ezz-*, seven formed with an s-extension, six with an r-extension and two with an n-extension. Dental extensions are extremely rare and have no clear semantic function whatsoever. A significant point to note concerning verbal extensions is the fact that (with the exception of the intensive extension *-ezz-*) they are only productive among class II weak verbs - class I weak verbs formed with a verbal extension other than *-ezz-* do exist but are relatively few in number, while class III manifests even fewer such extended verbs. This concentration of verbal extensions within class II and virtual absence from classes I and III has also been observed for the WGmc period (4.6.2.1.).

As is the case with the OHG class I deverbatives (4.7.1.1.), class II weak verbs which take the intensive extension *-ezz-* do not, in the majority of cases, involve any alteration to the root vowel of the derivational base. Furthermore, in contrast to class I, where the intensive *-ezz-* extension is highly productive, class II intensive deverbatives formed with *-ezz-* are relatively small in number. Moreover, the intensive *-ezz-* extension does not occur in class II weak verbs formed in the strata antedating OHG (see 4.7.1.2.). From this, and the fact that

the extension is formed with umlaut, we can therefore conclude that the intensive extension *-ezz-* was originally restricted to class I verbs, thus allowing the reconstruction of an original Gmc morpheme **-at-* which was realized in class I formations as **-atjanan*. It can consequently be seen as having spread later to class II where it formed verbs ending with the morphological structure *-ezzōn*. Indeed, in a number of cases we have a class II verb formed with the intensive extension existing alongside a class I counterpart, e.g. *rūnezzōn* opposite *rūnezzen*.

Among the most important discussions concerning l-extension verbs in the Gmc language group are those to be found in Wilmanns¹, Meid² and Marchand³. According to both Wilmanns⁴ and Meid⁵ verbs derived with an l-extension have their ultimate origin in nominal bases formed with an l-extension and having a typically diminutive or iterative meaning, the l-element then spreading to other derivations by analogy. From the WGmc data (see 4.6.1.2.) it is evident that such a process had already firmly taken hold by the WGmc period, enabling l-extension derivatives to become widespread in OHG. Thus forms such as *wortalōn* “to talk a lot, chatter” deriving from an adjectival base *wortal* “talkative” and *nagalen* “to nail” from *nagal* “nail” would have formed the basis for a large number of formations in both OE and OHG. Marchand, on the other hand dismisses looking for sources of derivation in nominal forms such as those mentioned above as erroneous. Instead he sees the phoneme [l] as “a primitive linguistic symbol expressive of duration or continuation”⁶.

Class II OHG deverbatives taking an l-extension typically have a frequentative or continuative meaning. Pertinent examples include: *betalōn* “to beg” from *bitten* “to ask, request”; *juckilōn* “to itch” from *juckōn* “to itch”; *klegilōn* “to ring, resound” from either *klengōn* or *klingan* “to sound”; *wancolōn* “to be wobbly, wobble, sway, shake” from either *wancōn* “to sway, shake, wobble” or *wincan* “to sway”.

Class II OHG deverbatives formed with an l-extension frequently involve no modification during the derivational process to the root vowel of their verb base, notable exceptions being *grubilōn*, *scribilōn* and *spizzalōn* which take the zero grade of ablaut in the root vowel.

¹ Wilmanns (II 1930: 96-101).

² Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 263-264).

³ Marchand (1969: 322-324).

⁴ Wilmanns (II 1930: 96).

⁵ Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 263).

⁶ Marchand (1969: 322).

Similar to the verbs formed with *l*-extensions are those taking an *r*-extension. Meid⁷ takes the same view as that for *l*-extensions, i.e. that the ultimate origin of *r*-extension verbs lies in derivations from nominal bases themselves formed with an *r*-extension. Marchand, on the other hand states that [r] “in the middle or end of a word imitates and symbolizes continuously vibrating sounds”⁸.

Deverbative formations taking an *r*-extension also signal frequentative or continuative verbal action, as can be seen from: *gangarōn* “to wander around, go about” from *gangan* “to go, move”; *gi-kawarōn* “to chew (away at), devour” from *kiuwan* “to chew”. Extensions formed with an *r* element are therefore to be seen as synonymous with those in *l*, both equally functioning as markers of frequentative or continuative verbal action, but with *l* being the more widespread of the two extensions. Marchand, however, takes the view when analysing present-day English word formation (but still relevant to this study), that “words in *-er* denote continuous duration, uninterrupted succession of sounds or movement, whereas *-le* is more or less suggestive of repeated small acts”⁹. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the same author goes on to qualify this by saying that the choice is very often dictated by phonetic reasons¹⁰. Whatever the case, it should be bourn in mind that such assumptions are extremely difficult to prove with any degree of certainty.

Verbal derivations formed with *s*-extensions have been examined most extensively by Wilmanns¹¹ and also by Meid¹². Both take the view that verbs taking an *s*-extension (in OHG all take the form *-isōn*) were originally formed from *s*-stem nominal forms. Thus we have verbs such as WGmc **agesōjan(an)* “to fear, be afraid” from a WGmc noun base **ages* (earlier **agez*) “fear, horror”, or Gothic *hatizōn* “to hate” from the substantival base attested in Gothic as *hatis* “hate, hatred”. This then led to new derivations being formed from adjectival and verbal bases on analogy with such denominative verbs. As a result, the OHG stratum contains numerous instances of *s*-extension deverbatives, for example: *twalisōn* “to delay, hesitate” from *twalōn* “to stay, reside, tally, pause, hesitate, delay”; *waltisōn* “to rule, wield power” from *waltōn* “to reign, rule, prevail”. The data presented in the above table, however, presents us with no clear semantic function which can be ascribed to *s*-extensions in respect to the

⁷ Meid (III 1969: 264).

⁸ Marchand (1969: 399).

⁹ Marchand (1969: 273).

¹⁰ Marchand (1969: 273).

¹¹ Wilmanns (II 1922: 104-106).

¹² Krahe & Meid (III 1967: 255-256).

formation of deverbatives. Indeed, in the majority of cases the meaning of the derived verb remains unchanged from that of its derivational base.

4.7.1.3. Class III Old High German Deverbatives

The eleven OHG deverbatives which belongs to class III represent 4.09% of all OHG deverbative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Ablaut Grade of Root Vowel	Extension
dorrēn	*þersanan stv III	durative/inceptive	zero-grade	
fagēn	*fehanan stv V	unclear	o-grade	
ginēn	*geinanan stv I	durative	zero-grade	
gi-selkēn	*selkanan stv III	unclear	unchanged	
(h)lahhēn	(h)lahan stv VI	durative	unchanged	
magēn	*mag pret pres	inceptive	unchanged	
manēn	*man pret pres	unclear	unchanged	
selkenēn	*selkanan stv III	unclear	unchanged	n-extension
swebēn	*sweifanan stv I	durative	zero-grade	
trehhanēn	*trekanan stv IV	unclear	unchanged	n-extension
zundēn	*tenþanan stv III	durative/inceptive	zero-grade	

Table 34: OHG Class III Deverbatives

Whereas for the WGmc stratum (4.6.1.3.) class III deverbatives were almost exclusively durative in nature, many of those formed in the OHG stratum now have an inceptive or inchoative function in addition to a durative one¹³, for example: *dorrēn* “to start to dry, become dry, withered or barren, be withered” from a strong verb not actually attested in OHG though reconstructable as *þersanan “to dry, make dry”; *zundēn* “to start burning, catch on fire, be on fire, be alight” from a strong verb not actually attested in OHG though reconstructable as *tenþanan “to burn”.

Although a high percentage of class III OHG deverbatives are either durative or ingressive in nature, a large number have no clear semantic relationship to their derivational base. This seems to reinforce the evidence seen elsewhere in this thesis which points to a gradual breaking down of the morpho-semantic categories exhibited by the verbal classes of the weak verb, a process which greatly accelerates in the OHG period. Krämer summarizes the situation

¹³ Krämer (1971: 57).

as follows: “Zum ersten läßt sich daraus ablesen, daß die Aktionsarten nicht annähernd mehr in jener Verteilung an bestimmte Morpheme gebunden erscheinen, wie wir dies fürs Urgermanische wahrscheinlich zu machen bemüht waren: Das Althochdeutsche erweist sich durch diese charakteristische ‘Unfestigkeit’ der schwachen Verbalklassen in morphosemantischer Hinsicht als ein typisch ‘westgermanischer Dialekt’”¹⁴. Although it is, in general, true that WGmc exhibits a characteristic breaking down of the morpho-semantic categories of the weak verb classes, WGmc weak verbs belonging to class III do not fit such a pattern. The evidence for class III verbs belonging to the WGmc stratum collected in this thesis (see 4.6.1.3.) shows that, far from losing a distinct morpho-semantic identity, class III WGmc formations strengthened the role of class III as a marker of durative verbs.

Two verbs are formed with an n-extension: *selkenēn* “to slacken, become calm or weak”; *trehhanēn* “to glow (of ashes, a fire)”. In both cases the n-extension has no clear semantic function. Furthermore, as both verbs take the root vowel appearing in the present form of their derivational base, they cannot be seen to derive from the preterite participle, which might have helped to explain the presence of such n-extensions. Instead, they are probably better regarded as having arisen through analogy with those verbs which are formed from the preterite participle of their derivational base.

Finally, the reader will recall from the observations made for the earlier strata (4.4.1.3., 4.5.1.3., 4.6.1.3.) that the majority of class III deverbatives took the zero-grade of ablaut in their root vowel. In the OHG period, however, the majority of class III deverbative formations do not change the ablaut grade present in the root vowel of their derivational base. This OHG departure away from weak verb derivation by means of ablaut modification seems therefore to point to a decline in the importance attached to ablaut as a morpho-semantic process in the derivation of new verbal lexemes during this period.

4.7.2. Old High German Deadjectives

There are 313 deadjectival verbs which belong to the OHG stratum, which figure accounts for 9.45% (25.57% if prefix formations are ignored) of all OHG derivational formations.

¹⁴ Krämer (1971: 55).

4.7.2.1. Class I Old High German Deadjectives

There are ninety-six OHG deadjectives which belong to class I. These account for 30.67% of all OHG deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Extension
abuhhen	abuh	factitive	
agaleizzen	agaleizi	stative	
bittaren	bittar	factative / stative	
bi-tullen	*tul	unclear	
brūnen	brūn	factitive	
diomuoten	diomuoti	factitive	
feiziten	feizit, feizt	factitive	
finstaren	fīnstar	factitive	
firgihten	firgiht	stative	
fir-wāzenen	fir-wāzan	factitive	
fravalen	fravali	factitive	
frōnen	frōno	factitive	
fruoten	fruot	factitive	
fūhten	fūht	factitive	
gāhen	gāhi	stative	
gastluomen	gastluomi	stative	
genzen	ganz	inchoative	
gi-arinden	arendi	factitive	
gi-einigen	einig, einag	factitive	
gi-fruoen	fruo	stative	
gi-gleifit-	gleif	stative	
gi-guoten	guot	unclear	
gi-inwerten	inwert, inwertī	factitive	
gi-krumben	krumb	factitive	
gi-muozigen	muozīg	stative	
gi-muruwen	murui	factitive	
giren	giri	stative	
gi-ringen	ringi	factitive	
gi-rōten	rōt	factitive	
gi-sēlhaften	sēlhaft	factitive	
gi-tapfaren	tapfar	factitive	
gi-untiuren	untiuri	factitive	
gi-urougen	urougi	inchoative	
glanzen	glanz	stative	
grimmigen	grimmig	stative	
heitaren	heitar	factitive	
hintaren	hintaro	factitive	
hulden	hold	factitive	
huldigen	*huldig	factitive	
hursken	horsc	factitive	
int-adalen	adal	factitive	

ir-lären	läri	factitive	
jungen	jung	factitive	
kalawen	kalo	factitive	
kurzen	kurz	factitive	
kwicken	kwic, kwec	factitive	
lemsen	lam	factitive	s-extension
lidigen	*lidig	factitive	
linden	lindi	factitive	
(gi-)liutbären	liutbäri	stative	
mammunten	mammunti	factitive	
managluomen	*managluomi	factitive	
miltēn	milti	stative	
muntaren	muntar	factitive	
ōdmuoten	ōdmuot, ōdmuoti	factitive	
reiden	reid	factitive	
resken	reski	factitive	
rīhhen	rīhhi	factitive	
rūhen	rūh	factitive	
salawen	salawi	factitive	
skemmen	scam	factitive	
skiuhen	*skiuhi	inchoative	
scōnen	scōni	factitive	
slihten	sleht, sliht	factitive	
slūnigen	*slūnig, *slūnig	stative	
smāhen	smāhi	inchoative	
spizzen	spizzi	factitive	
stāten	stāti	factitive	
sterken	starc, starah	factitive	
stetihaften	*stetihaft	factitive	
stumbalen	stumbal	stative	
sūbaren	sūbar	factitive	
sūren	sūr	factitive	
swangaren	swangar	unclear	
swāren	swār	factitive	
touganen	tougan	factitive	
triuten, trūten	triut, trūt	factitive	
truckanen	truckan	factitive	
tuncalen	tuncal	factitive	
tūzzen	*tūz	stative	
unblīden	unblīdi	stative	
unfesten	unfesti	factitive	
unfrewen	unfrō	stative	
unkūsken	unkūsc	factitive	
unreinen	unreini	factitive	
unwātliḥhen	unwātliḥ	factitive	
unwirden	unwerd	factitive	
wanaheilen	wanaheil	factitive	
wanawizzen	wanawizzi	inchoative	
wāren	wār	factitive	
wilken	welc, welh	factitive	

wuohharhaften	wuohharhaft	factitive	
zerten	zart	factitive	
zieren	zieri	factitive	
zorften	zorft	factitive	
zurwānen	zurwāni	stative	

Table 35: OHG Class I Deadjectives

Of the above class I OHG deadjectival formations, seventy (72.92%) stand in a factitive relation to the adjective which comprises their derivational base, while a further twenty-three are stative and/or inchoative (33.33%) in nature. Three of the above verbs (3.13%) resist any attempt at a satisfactory semantic classification. Obviously, then, the formation of verbs expressing a factitive relation to their derivational base was the main morpho-semantic function of class I in respect to the deadjectival verbs derived during the OHG period. This marks a distinct continuation in OHG of the factitive character of class I deadjectivals formed during the earlier strata (see 4.4.2.1., 4.5.2.1., 4.6.2.1.). Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that formations standing in a stative and/or inchoative relation to the adjective representing their derivational base form a significant portion of the above OHG class I deadjectives. We would normally expect these stative and/or inchoative formations to belong to class III, as indeed the main function of class III was the derivation of stative and/or inchoative verbs. The sizeable number of stative and/or inchoative formations within class I may therefore point to an incipient breaking down of the morpho-semantic distinctions exhibited by the weak verb classes in OHG and the earlier strata.

A small number of class I deadjectives are formed with a prefix. As these verbs only occur in prefixed form, there being no attested simplex verb, it can be concluded that the verb was derived directly from an adjectival base, without having gone through the intermediate stage of forming a simplex verb. The prefix *bi-* occurring in the derivation *bi-tullen* “to devote oneself to pleasure, lead a life of debauchery” is probably best analysed as having a factitive function, but may also be somewhat intensive or expressive in character. In the formation *fir-wāzenen* “to damn, curse” the prefix *fir-* is used to signal separation, loss or privation. In *int-adalen* “to deprive of one’s noble rank, lose dignity, degenerate” the prefix *int-* is also used to denote deprivation, loss or removal. In *ir-lāren* “to free (from), loosen, untie, save, empty” the prefix *ir-* also has the function of signalling separation, removal or deprivation.

4.7.2.2. Class II Old High German Deadjectives

There are 146 class II OHG deadjectives. These represent 46.65% of all OHG deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Extension
abuhōn	abuh	factitive	
agaleizōn	agaleizi	stative	
agawissōn	agawis, agiwis	factitive	
altinōn	alt	unclear	n-extension
altisōn	alt	unclear	s-extension
altōn	alt	unclear	
antarōn	antar, anter	unclear	
argirōn	argiro	factitive	
argkustigōn	argkustig	stative	
barōn	bar	factitive	
berahaftōn	berahaft	factitive	
bi-halbōn	halba	factitive	
birīgōn	birīg	factitive	
bittarōn	bittar	stative / inchoative	
bluhisōn	*bluc, *bluh, *blug	stative	s-extension
bōsōn	bōsi	stative	
burlīhhōn	burlīh	factitive	
drīfaltōn	drīfalt	factitive	
durftīgōn	durftīg	stative	
ēhtīgōn	ēhtīg	inchoative	
einsamōn	einsam	factitive	
ellentōn	ellenti	stative	
emezōn	emiz	stative	
emizzigōn	emizzig	stative	
fagōn	(gi-)fag	unclear	
feilōn	feili	factitive	
feimigōn	*feimig	factitive	
festinōn	festi	factitive	n-extension
filosprehhōn	filusprähhi	unclear	
fioreggōn	fioreggi	factitive	
fiorfaltōn	fiorfalt	factitive	
fiorōn	fīor	factitive	
fīr-meinsamōn	*meinsam	factitive	
fizusōn	fizuz	stative	
fordarōn	fordaro	factitive	
fratōn	frat	factitive	

freissamōn	freissam	stative	
frōðn	frō	stative	
geilisōn	geil	stative	s-extension
gerōn	ger	stative	
gi-dunnirōn	dunniro	factitive	
gi-duruhnohtīgōn	duruhnhtīg, duruhnahtīg	factitive	
gi-duruhnohtōn	duruhnoht, duruhnaht	factitive	
gi-einidōn	ein	factitive	d-extension
gi-folliglīhhōn	*folliglīh	factitive	
gi-frēhtīgōn	frēhtīg	factitive	
gi-frōniscōn	frōnisc	factitive	
gi-furirōn	furiro	factitive	
gi-grasagōn	grasag	factitive	
gi-hevīgōn	hevīg	factitive	
gihtīgōn	gihtīg	stative	
gi-inzihtīgōn	inzihtīg	stative	
gi-kreftīgōn	kreftīg	stative	
gi-lībhaftōn	lībhaft	stative	
gilīhhinōn	gilīh	unclear	n-extension
gilīhhisōn	gilīh	unclear	s-extension
gi-lioblīhhōn	lioblīh, liublīh	factitive/stative	
gi-mahtīgōn	mahtīg, mahtīg	factitive	
gi-meinsamōn	*meinsam	factitive	
ginādigōn	ginādig	stative	
ginuhtsamōn	ginuhtsam	stative	
gi-rehthafīgōn	rehthafīg	factitive	
gi-rehthafōn	rehthaf	factitive/stative	
gi-rehtsamōn	*rehtsam	inchoative	
gi-samahafōn	samahaf	factitive	
gi-sibunōn	sibun	factitive	
gi-tolōn	tol	stative	
gi-trūrigōn	trūrag, trūrig	inchoative	
giturstīgōn	giturstīg	stative	
gi-unwirsirōn	unwirsiro	factitive	
giwissōn	giwis, giwissi	factitive	
gi-wītirōn	wītiro	factitive	
gi-wuntarlīhhōn	wuntarlīh	unclear	
gi-zumftīgōn	zumftīg	factitive	
grāwōn	grāo	stative	
guollīhhōn, guotlīhhōn	guollīh, guotlīh	factitive	
guotisōn	guot	unclear	s-extension
hamalōn	hamal	factitive	
hasanōn	hasan	factitive	
hērisōn	hēriro	stative	

hōrsamōn	hōrsam	stative	
houbithaftōn	houbithaft	factitive	
ir-entiscōn	entisc	inchoative	
irrōn	irri	stative	
ir-strobalōn	strobal	stative	
kalawōn	kalo	factitive	
langsamōn	langsam	factitive	
leidigōn	leidīg	factitive	
lībhaftigōn	lībhaftīg	unclear	
līhhisōn	(gi-)līh	unclear	s-extension
līhtirōn	līhtiro	factitive	
mammuntōn	mammunti	factitive	
mammuntsamōn	mammuntsam	factitive	
meitisōn	(gi-)meit	stative	s-extension
mezhaftigōn	mezhaftīg	factitive	
mezhaftōn	mezhaft	factitive	
mezsamōn	*mezsam	stative	
mihhillīhhōn	mihhillīh	factitive	
mihhilisōn	mihhil	factitive	s-extension
minnirōn	minnīro	factitive	
niunōn	niun	factitive	
nōtagōn	nōtag, nōtīg	factitive	
nōthaftōn	nōthaft	factitive	
obarōn	obaro	stative	
odmuotīgōn	odmuotīg	factitive	
ougazorahtōn	ougazoraht	factitive	
rehtkundlīhhōn	*rehtkundlīh, * rehtkundlīhhī	stative	
rostagōn	rostag	inchoative	
rōtagōn	rōtag	stative/inchoative	
ruohhalōsōn	*ruohhalōs	factitive	
rutihhōn	*rutig, *rutīh	stative	
sālīgōn	sālīg	factitive	
sarpfisōn	sarpf, sarf	stative	s-extension
slaffōn	slaf	inchoative	
slihtalōn	sleht, sliht	stative	l-extension
smeckarōn	smeckar	factitive	
sniumōn	sniumi	stative	
solagōn	solag	factitive	
sperzibeinōn	*sperzibeino	stative	
spizzōn	spizzi	factitive	
stātīgōn	stātīg	factitive	
strengisōn	strengi	factitive	s-extension
stumbalōn	stumbal	factitive	

swahhōn	*swah	factitive	
tiurisōn	tiuri	factitive	s-extension
trebanōn	triban	factitive	
tretanōn	tretan	factitive	
ubartruncanōn	ubartruncan	stative	
umbi-halbōn	halba	factitive	
ungifrēhtīgōn	*ungifrēhtīg	factitive	
ungihirmigōn	*ungihirmīg	stative	
unliumunthafōn	unliumunthaft	factitive	
urgouwison	*urgouwi	unclear	s-extension
ūzarōn	ūzaro	unclear	
wahharōn, wackarōn	wahhar, wackar	stative	
weigarōn	weigar	stative	
weihhōn	weih	factitive	
werdlīhōn	werdlīh	inchoative	
werdsamōn	werdsam	unclear	
wirsirōn	wirsiro	factitive	
wortalōn	wortal	stative	
zamōn	zam	factitive	
zanigōn	*zanig, *zanag	unclear	
zartōn	zart	stative	
zurheilōn	*zurheili	factitive	
zweiōn	zwei	factitive	

Table 36: OHG Class II Deadjectives

Of the above class II OHG deadjectival formations, eighty (54.79%) stand in a factitive relation to the adjective which comprises their derivational base, while a further forty-nine are stative and/or inchoative (33.56%) in nature. Sixteen of the above verbs (10.96%) resist any attempt at a satisfactory semantic classification. These statistics allow us to view class II, in respect to the deadjectival verbs which it formed during the OHG period, as somewhat loose and undefined semantically. As we have already seen, this state of affairs is not unique to OHG but was already characteristic of the previous strata (see 4.5.2.2., 4.6.2.2.).

Verbal extensions play a prominent role among the OHG class II deadjectival formations. *S* extensions comprise the commonest verbal extensions in the above table, twelve verbs (8.22% of all OHG class II deadjectives) being formed in this manner. It is, however, impossible to satisfactorily assign any clear-cut semantic function to these *s*-extensions. Likewise, three of the above OHG class II deadjectival verbs are formed with an *n*-extension, but have no clear semantic significance attached to their extension.

The verb *gi-einidōn* “to unite, settle something together” seems to be formed with a d-extension. Extensions involving voiced dental consonants are extremely rare in the OHG weak verb system and, like the above verb, have no obvious morpho-semantic function. However, in the verb *slihtalōn* “to flatter in a sychophantic way”, which is formed with an l-extension, the verbal extension has a recognisable diminutive function (in this case a pejorative or unfavorable attitude is expressed by the diminutive). For a more detailed discussion concerning the semantic significance and role played by verbal extensions in the OHG weak verb system the reader is asked to refer to 4.7.1.2.

4.7.2.3. Class III Old High German Deadjectives

The seventy-one OHG deadjectives belonging to class III account for 22.68% of all OHG deadjectival formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation	Extension
angēn	engi	stative	
baldēn	bald	inchoative	
barrēn	bar	stative	
bi-smāhēn	smāhi	stative / inchoative	
blōdēn	blōdī	stative	
bogēn	(gi-)bōgēn	stative	
breitēn	breit	stative	
diomuotēn	diomuoti	inchoative	
feiztēn	feizit, feizt	inchoative	
feselēn	*fesil	inchoative	
finstarēn	fīnstar	inchoative	
firnēn	fīrni	inchoative	
fīr-untriuwēn	untriuwa	inchoative	
fōhēn	fō, fōher	inchoative	
freidēn	freidi	inchoative	
frōēn	frō	stative	
ganzēn	ganz	inchoative	
gerēn	ger	factitive	
gi-storkanēn	storkan	stative	
gisuntēn	gisunt, gisunti	stative	
gi-swiftēn	swifti	stative	
grāwēn	grāo	stative / inchoative	

haldēn	hald	stative	
hērēn	hēr	unclear	
int-edilēn	edili	inchoative	
ir-argēn	arg	stative / inchoative	
ir-egislīhhēn	egislīh	stative	
ir-mattēn	*mat	inchoative	
ir-rōtagēn	rōtag	inchoative	
ir-seigarēn	*seigar	inchoative	
ir-skimbalgēn	skimbalag	inchoative	
ir-skimbalēn	skimbal	inchoative	
ir-smāhēn	smāhi	stative / inchoative	
ir-storkanēn	storkan	stative	
ir-stummēn	stum, stumb	stative / inchoative	
ir-tofsēn	toub	inchoative	s-extension
ir-unganzēn	unganz	inchoative	
ir-wirsēn	wirsiro	inchoative	
jungēn	jung	inchoative	
kūmīgēn	kūmīg	stative / inchoative	
leidlīhhēn	leidlīh	factitive	
mērēn	mēr	stative / inchoative	
nazzēn	naz	stative / inchoative	
rīhhēn	rīhhi	inchoative	
rotagēn	rotag	inchoative	
sērawēn	sērag?	inchoative	
siohhēn	sioh	stative / inchoative	
sculdīgēn	sculdīg	stative	
slaffēn	slaf	inchoative	
slewēn	slēo	inchoative	
smāhlīhhēn	smāhlīh	inchoative	
snellēn	snel	stative	
stamēn	stam	stative	
strackēn	strac	stative	
strübēn	strüb	stative / inchoative	
swārēn	swār	stative	
swelkēn	*swelc	inchoative	
timbarēn	timbar	inchoative	
trāgēn	trāgt	inchoative	
truobēn	truobi	inchoative	
tuncalēn	tuncal	inchoative	
unblīdēn	unblīdi	stative	
unfruotēn	unfruot	stative	
ungimagēn	unmag?	stative	
unmagēn	unmag	stative	
ursinnēn	ursinni	inchoative	

(h)wassēn	(h)was	inchoative	
welkēn	welc, welh	stative / inchoative	
wesanēn	wesan	stative / inchoative	
zuhtīgēn	zuhtīg	stative	
zurheilēn	zurheili	inchoative	

Table 37: OHG Class III Deadjectives

As was the case during the WGmc stratum, class III enjoyed a considerable degree of productivity during the OHG period in respect to deadjectives, formations of this kind accounting for almost a quarter (22.68%) of all OHG deadjectival formations.

The above table shows that verbs exhibiting a stative meaning form a large and important group within the OHG class III deadjectival formations. As has already been seen (4.4.2.3., 4.5.2.3, 4.6.2.3.), this was the main semantic function possessed by class III throughout the earlier strata in respect to deadjectival formations, and a distinct continuation of this function is therefore to be seen in OHG. However, verbs exhibiting at times a stative at others an inchoative function, or which are exclusively inchoative in nature have come to form the majority of OHG class III deadjectival formations. Although this inchoative function was inherited from the WGmc period of the development of OHG (4.6.2.3.) it has clearly¹ been accorded greater significance during the OHG era.

A sizeable number of class III deadjectives are formed with a prefix (see 4.7.2.1.), the prefix *ir-* being clearly the most significant and productive prefix in this group. According to Aumann, the close relation between class III weak verbs and the prefix *ir-* is to be explained as the result of “Analogiebildungen”, and states that “Das Vorbild war die Zusammensetzung der ursprünglichen Richtungsadverbien mit echten intransitiven Bewegungsverben, z.B. got. *usgaggan*, *urrinnan*. Die Konstruktionsweise dieser Verben wurde von den nachgebildeten oder analogischen Zusammensetzungen übernommen...”¹⁵. Thirteen verbs (18.31% of all OHG class III deadjectival verbs) are formed with the prefix *ir-*: *ir-argēn* “to be or become angry”; *ir-egislīhhēn* “to become paralysed with fear”; *ir-mattēn* “to become dull, weak, or without energy”; *ir-rōtagōn* “to become rusty, to redden with rust”; *ir-seigarēn* “to dry up, wither, become parched”; *ir-skimbalgēn* “to go moldy, become covered with mildew”; *ir-skimbalēn* “to go moldy, become covered with mildew”; *ir-smāhēn* “to fall out of favour, become despised”; *ir-storkanēn*; “to become stiff or numb,

¹⁵ Aumann (1934: 32).

freeze”; *ir-stummēn* “to fall silent, become mute, cease to talk”; *ir-tofsēn* “to become deaf”; *ir-unganzēn* “to wither away, become sick”; *ir-wirsēn* “to become worse, worsen”. In all these formations the prefix *ir-* has an inchoative function, the verbal action expressed by the prefixed verb effecting a change of state into the state or condition denoted by the adjectival base. It is important to note here that whereas a considerable number of OHG class III simplex deadjectivals fluctuate between a stative meaning and an inchoative meaning, those class III deadjectives prefixed with *ir-* are exclusively inchoative in nature. An important development can thus be observed in OHG whereby the main functional load expressing inchoativeness appears to have shifted from the class III ending *-ēn* to the prefix *ir-*.

One OHG class III deadjectival verb is formed with the prefix *fir-*: *fir-untriuwēn* “to deceive, be unfaithful to”. In this formation the prefix may be analysed as indicating a change of state into the state or condition denoted by the adjectival base, *untriuwa* “deception, unfaithfulness”. The change of state involved is one which produces a negative result. The prefix *fir-* can also be seen here in its function of signalling an action which leads to obstruction, concealment and secrecy (see the table in section 4.7.4.).

4.7.3. Old High German Denominative Verbs

There are 490 denominative verbs which belong to the OHG stratum, which sum comprises 14.79% (or 40.03% if prefix formations are ignored) of all OHG derivational formations.

4.7.3.1. Class I Old High German Denominatives

A total of 155 OHG denominative verbs belong to class I. These represent 31.63% of all OHG denominative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
ābandmuosen	ābandmuos	objective
aharen	ahar	objective
antlingen	lingua (Latin)	objective
argwanen	argwān	factitive

āzen	āz	objective
balsamen	balsam	instrumental
besten	bast	instrumental
bi-durnen	dorn	instrumental
bi-klemmen	klam, klamm	instrumental
biliden	bilidi	factitive
bi-nezzen	nezzi	instrumental
bi-renten	rant	objective
bi-runnen	run	factitive
bīsen	bīsa	stative
bi-skilben	*skilbi?	unclear
bismerien	bismer, bismar	factitive
bluomen	bluomo	stative
bören	bor	factitive
brahten	braht	factitive
brieven	brief	factitive
deismen	deismo	instrumental
diuben	diob	agentive
drähhen	drähhi	factitive
eiten	eit	instrumental
ēren	ēra	stative
ēwen	ēwa	stative
fackalen	fackala	factitive
farawen	farawa	factitive
fideren	fedara	stative
fieren	fiera	unclear
fir-ihsilen	ihsilr	stative
fir-snuoren	snuor	instrumental
fiuren	fiur	factitive
fleisken	fleisc	objective
fluhten	fluht	factitive
fluobiren	fluobara	factitive
fristen	frist	unclear
frummen	fruma	factitive
fuotaren	fuotar	instrumental
gerten	gart	instrumental
gi-friuntschaften	friuntschaft	factitive
gi-fullimenten	fullimunt	factitive
gi-hērtuomen	hērtuom	stative
gi-hirzen	herza	unclear
gimunden	gimunt	stative
ginōzscaffen	ginōzscaf	factitive
ginuhten	ginuht	stative
gi-nusken	nusca	instrumental
gi-runnen	run	unclear
gi-sēlen	sēla	unclear
gi-stimnen	stimna	objective
gi-unslihten	unsliht	unclear
gi-wurten	wort	unclear
gnaneisten	gnaneista	stative
gotten	gott	unclear
graden	grad	unclear

hahsenen	hahsina, hahsna	objective
heien	*heie, *hei	unclear
hīwen	hīwun	objective
houbiten	houbit	objective
int-beiten	bein	objective
int-bermen	*berm, *barm	objective
int-hirnen	hirn(i)	objective
ir-hirnen	hirn(i)	objective
ir-lenken	(h)lanca	unclear
ir-truosanen	truosana	objective
gi-Isarnit-	Isarn	instrumental
jihten	jiht	factitive
kirnen	kern(o)	unclear
kniwen	knio	instrumental
knupfen	knopf	instrumental
krademen	kradam	stative
kūmen	kūma	factitive
leisanen	-leisa	unclear
lisimen	lisina	instrumental
listen	list	stative
liutmāren	liutmāri	factitive
lōhen	lōha	stative
lōten	*lōt	instrumental
loubenen	loub	stative
lougezzen	loug, louc, laug	stative
missizumften	missizumft	stative
mittiferahen	mittiferahī	stative
multen	multa	unclear
munden	mund	factitive
nibulen	nebul	stative
(h)nuoen	(h)nuoa, nuoha	instrumental
nuzzen	nuz, nuzzi	factitive
ōsen	ōsi	factitive
rapfen	*rapfa	factitive
rerten	rarta	factitive
(h)ringen	(h)ring	factitive
runsen	runs, runsa	factitive/instrumental
(h)ruozzen	(h)ruoz	factitive
sēwazzen	sēo, sē	factitive
sidalen	sidal, sidila	unclear
sigilen	*sigil	instrumental
silabaren	silabar	instrumental
scaften	scaft	instrumental
scāhhen	scāh	unclear
scalken	scalc	factitive
skenten	scanta	factitive
skimpfen	skimpf	stative
skirmen	skirm	instrumental
scūmen	scūm	factitive
slīmen	slīm	factitive
soumen	soum	factitive

spriuzzen	spriuza	instrumental
spunnen	spunna	objective
steden	stad	objective
stivulen	*stivul	instrumental
stirnen	sterno	objective
strälen	sträl	instrumental
stullen	stulla	stative
stupfen	stupf, stopf	factitive
gi-sülit-	sül	objective
sulzen	sulza	instrumental
tarkanen	terkī	factitive
tränen	trahan, trān	objective
trisiwen	triso, treso	objective
tuohhen	tuoh	factitive
ubar-gulden	gold	instrumental
undulten	undult	stative
ungizumften	ungizumft	stative
unrihten	unriht	factitive
untar-jouhhen	joh, juh	instrumental
uozurnen	*uozorn	stative
urdanken	urdanc	factitive
urkunden	urkunda	factitive
urkusten	urkust	instrumental
urlouben	urloub	objective
urlusten	urlust	factitive
urteilen	urteil	factitive
ūz-lenken	(h)lanc	unclear
widamen	widamo	objective
widarmuoten	widarmuot	stative
wieren	wiera	instrumental
wiffen	wiffa	instrumental
wiften	*wift, giwift	instrumental
winiscaffen	winiscaf, winiscaff	factitive
winnen	winne	objective
wiohen	wiohha	objective
wirtskeften	wirtscaff	unclear
wolakwetten	wolakwetī	factitive
zanden	zand, zant, zan	instrumental
zeinen	zein	instrumental
zelgen	zelga	factitive
zelten	*zelt	stative
zennen	zand, zant, zan	factitive
zillen	zil	factitive
zinsen	zins	instrumental
zuhten	zuht	objective
zumften	zumft	stative
zurnen	zorn	stative
zwengen	zwanga	instrumental

Table 38: OHG Class I Denominatives

The above table shows that of the 155 class I denominatives formed during the OHG period, forty-seven (30.32%) exist in a factitive relation to their substantive base, twenty-seven (17.42%) are instrumental in nature, twenty-six (16.77%) exist in an objective relation to their derivational base, while nineteen (12.26%) are unclear in their relationship, and one verb (0.65%) can be classified as agentive. Thus, it is evident that class I denominative formations are somewhat diverse semantically, as are the class II OHG denominative formation (4.7.3.2.). Nevertheless, although the formal semantic relationship of verb to substantive-base has now become less fixed in the OHG period, there is nevertheless a marked continuation of trends firmly established in the earlier strata. As a consequence, the core of class I OHG denominatives is formed by factitive verbs, with instrumental formations also playing a sizeable and significant role (it should be noted here that instrumental formations compose the majority of class II OHG denominatives, as can be seen in 4.7.3.2.). However, the formation of factitive denominatives has become less important in Gmc in contrast to the earlier strata where the primary morpho-semantic role of class I has clearly been seen to be the formation of such factitive denominatives (4.4.3.1., 4.5.3.1., 4.6.3.1.). As in all the other Gmc periods, the number of denominative verbs denoting an agentive meaning formed in OHG is extremely small. This can probably be explained by the fact that an agentive verbal relation would normally have been expressed syntactically, i.e. by means of an agentive substantive together with the copula verb ‘to be’, e.g. the OHG syntactic formula *ih bim, du bist* (etc.) *fiscāri* would have been used to express that the subject is a fisherman, rather than an agentive denominative verb, in this case a hypothetical verb such as **fiscārōn* “to be a fisherman”.

A sizeable number of the verbs belonging here are formed with a prefix. As these verbs only occur in prefixed form, there being no attested simplex verb, it can be concluded that the verb was derived directly from a substantive base, without having gone through the intermediate stage of forming a simplex verb. The more important of these prefixes employed in the derivation of denominative verbs will now be examined (examples will be taken from all conjugational classes).

The prefix *bi-* occurs attached to a number of OHG denominative verbs of all classes. It can be used to form denominative verbs in which the accusative object is fitted out, equipped or furnished by the verbal activity. Although classified in the above table as objective, such formations may alternatively be termed ‘ornative’ verbs¹⁶, for example: *bi-renten* “to provide with a border or

¹⁶ Wilmanns (II 1930: 138).

edge” from *rant* “edge, border”. The same prefix can also be used to form denominative verbs in which the substantive base represents the instrument by or with which the verbal action is carried out, in other words it is used to form instrumental verbs¹⁷: *bi-durnen* “to crown with thorns”; *bi-listinōn* “to hinder, disparage, slander” from *list* “craft, guile”; *bi-nezzen* “to catch in or with a net, entangle” from *nezzi* “net”; *bi-swertōn* “to vow to, conspire to” from *swert* “oath, vow”.

The prefix *fir-* is attested in a number of OHG denominative formations where it has a variety of semantic functions. In *fir-goumalōsōn* “to neglect, fail to pay attention to” and *fir-ruohhalōn* “to neglect, fail to pay attention to” the verbal action produces a state which represents the reversal or opposite of the state or condition implied by the substantive base. In both verbs this reversal is wrong, bad or erroneous. In *fir-ihsalen* “to exile, expel” it expresses separation, removal or deprivation. It is interesting to note that the substantive base for this verb, OHG *ihsilī*, represents a loan word from the Latin substantive *exilium* “exile” which is formed with the prefix *ex-*. The prefix *ex-* had a number of important derivational and semantic functions in Latin, its use in *exilium* being to denote separation, removal or privation, this function corresponding to the privational function of the prefix *fir-* in OHG. The OHG prefix *fir-* appearing in this verb is therefore to be regarded as redundant or pleonastic. It was probably attached either to intensify the meaning derived from the substantive base, or through a failure to recognize the status or function of the prefix *ex-* in the phonetically altered form *ih-*. In *fir-grintilōn* “to bolt” and *fir-snuoren* “to bind, tie up” it has a perfective function, signalling thoroughness, that the verbal action has been completed or fulfilled. This latter verb may also be analysed semantically as denoting prevention or obstruction, in which case it serves more to intensify the meaning already possessed by the simplex verb. Finally, in *fir-skirbinōn* it signals that the verbal action is performed badly or erroneously.

The prefix *int-* also occurs attached to a number of OHG denominative verbs. It is used to form verbs which signal that the substantive base from which they are derived has become separated, removed or released in some way: *int-beinen* “to cut off someone’s legs”; *int-bermen* “to remove the yeast from, purify (beer)”; *int-brittilōn* “to unbridle, unharness > to gallop, run without restraint”; *int-hirnen* “to remove the brains from, beat to death”.

The prefix *ir-* is used in the formation of a number of OHG denominative verbs. It is used to forms class III deverbatives where it has an inchoative function, the verbal action expressed by the prefixed verb effecting a

¹⁷ Wilmanns (II 1930: 138).

change of state into the state or condition denoted by the substantive base: *ir-frostēn* “to become frosty, freeze up” from *frost* “frost”; *ir-narrēn* “to become a fool or foolish” from *narro* “fool, idiot”. The prefix *ir-* can also be used to form denominative verbs which signal that the substantive base from which they are derived has become separated, removed or released in some way, in which function it is synonymous with the prefix *int-*: *ir-hirnen* “to remove the brains from, beat to death”; *ir-lenken* “to dislocate, put out of joint”; *ir-truosanen* “to purify, remove the sediment or dregs from”.

The prefix *ubar-* is used in the formation of one OHG class I denominative verb: *ubar-gulden* “to gild”. Here the verbal action signals that the substantive from which it is derived is, in some way, spatially located or directed on or over something.

The prefix *untar-* appears in the OHG class I denominative: *untar-jouhhen* “to put under a yoke, > subjugate, oppress, control, enslave”. Here the verbal action basically signals that the substantive from which it is derived is spatially located or directed under or beneath something. However, in this verb the physical sense of direction or location downwards or beneath has also been extended metaphorically to the semantic field of social relations and hierarchies, the verb implying a lower social status, slavery, bondage, defeat etc.

The prefix *īz-* is found in the OHG class I deverbative where it is used to signal that the substantive base from which the verb is derived has become removed away from or out of something: *īz-lenken* “to dislocate, put out of joint”.

4.7.3.2. Class II Old High German Denominatives

A total of 290 OHG denominative verbs belong to class II. These represent 59.18% of all OHG denominative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
ābandmuosōn	ābandmuos	objective
abanstōn	abanst	stative
āgezōn	āgez	stative
āmarōn	āmar	stative
anadōn	anado	stative
ana-fartōn	fart	unclear

ana-geltōn	gelt	unclear
anderlīhhōn	anderlīhhī	stative
antfrāgōn	antfrāga	objective
antfristōn	antfrist	agentive
antheizzōn	antheiz, antheiza	objective
antlāzzōn	antlāz	objective
antlingōn	lingua	unclear
antreitōn	antreit, antreita	objective
antseidōn	antseida	factitive
arahōn	*arah (< arahlahhan)	factitive
armeinsamōn	armeinsamī	factitive
āwerfōn	āwerf	factitive
āwiggōn	āwiggī	objective
āzōn	āz	objective
banōn	ban	objective
barmōn	barm	objective
bartōn	bart	stative
bettōn	beti	instrumental/factitive
bi-grintilōn	grintil	instrumental
biheizōn	biheiz	factitive
bi-kimbōt-	-kimbi	unclear
bilidōn	bilidi	factitive
bi-listinōn	list	instrumental
billōn	billi	instrumental
bilōn	bil	instrumental
bi-seidōn	seid	instrumental
bismarōn	bismar	factitive
bismerōn	bismer	factitive
bi-swertōn	swert	factitive
blahmālōn	blahmāl	instrumental
bolōn	bolla?	unclear
brehtisōn	braht?	unclear
brortōn	brort	unclear
brusbintalōn	brustbinta	instrumental
buhhilōn	buhil	unclear
buosumōn	buosum	unclear
burdinōn	burdin, burdī	objective
burgōn	burg	factitive
deganōn	degan	agentive
dezemōn	dezemo	objective
doubōn	doub	unclear
drittehantōn	*drittehant	unclear
drūmōn	drum	unclear
duruh-trennilōn	trennila	stative

ebanbilidōn	ebanbilidi	objective
egōn	egī	stative
eidōn	eid	unclear
eiħhilōn	eiħhila	objective
fadamōn	fadum, fadam	instrumental
falawiscōn	falawisca	stative
fascōn	faski, fasca	instrumental
fasōn	fasa, faso	unclear
fedelgoldōn	fedelgold	instrumental
fettāhhōn	fettāh	objective
fīantscaffōn	fīantscaf	stative
fīr-goumalōsōn	goumalōsī	factitive
fīr-grintilōn	grintil	instrumental
fīrinōn	fīrina	factitive
fīr-meinisōn	mein	stative
fīrōn	fīra	stative
fīr-ruohhalōn	ruohha	unclear
fīr-skirbinōn	skirbi	unclear
fīrstōn	fīrst	stative
fīrwāzōn	fīrwāz	factitive
fogalōn	fogal	objective
fogalrartōn	fogalrarta	instrumental
forabotōn	foraboto	agentive
framspuotisōn	framspuot	stative
freisōn	freisa, freisī	stative
fristōn	fīrst	unclear
fundamentōn	fundament	unclear
fuorōn	fuora	objective
fuozfallōn	*fuozfall	objective
furistisōn	furisto, furist	agentive
fūstōn	fūst	instrumental
galstarōn	galstar	instrumental
gartōn	gart	instrumental
gi-arzātōn	arzāt	agentive
gi-arzinōn	arzāt	agentive
gi-brittilōn	brittil	instrumental
gi-drūhōn	drūh	instrumental
gi-frēhtōn	frēht	factitive
gi-honagōn	honag	instrumental
gi-lesōn	lesa	factitive
gilthhamōn	līthhamo	objective
gi-meitōn	meito	instrumental
ginādōn	gināda	stative
ginōzōn	ginōz	unclear

ginðzsaðon	ginðzsamI	factitive
ginðzscaffon	ginðzscaf	factitive
gi-pflastarðon	pflastar	instrumental
girdinðon	girida	stative
giturstðon	giturst	stative
gi-urdriozðon	urdrioz	unclear
gizumftidðon	gizumftida	factitive
gnaneistðon	gnaneista	stative
gougalðon	gougal	instrumental
goumðon	gouma	objective
gurgilðon	gurgula	instrumental
hāhsinðon	hāhsina, hāhsna	objective
halsslegilðon	*halsslegil	objective
harmisðon	harm	factitive
harmquetðon	harmquiti	factitive
harmscarðon	harmscara	factitive
hertðon	herta	factitive/stative
gi-himilöt-	himil	unclear
hizzðon	hizza	stative
höhsangðon	höhsang	stative
houbitbantðon	houbitbant	instrumental
hūfðon	hūfo	factitive
huohðon	huoh	factitive
hūwilðon	hūwila	unclear
ibbihhðon, ippihhðon	*ippih	unclear
imbizðon	imbiz	objective
in-botðon	boto	instrumental
int-brittilðon	brittil	objective
inzihtðon	inziht	factitive
ir-spreckilðon	*spreckil	stative
kapitulðon	kapitul, kapital	unclear
kastðon	kasto	instrumental
kebisðon	kebis	agentive
gi-kelisonöt-	kelisa	instrumental
kestigðon	kestiga, kestigI	factitive
ketinðon	ketina	instrumental
kindðon	kind	objective
korðonðon	korðona	instrumental
kösðon	kösa	stative
gi-krapföt-	krapfo, kraffo	instrumental
gi-kresamöt-	kresamo, krisamo	instrumental
gi-krinnöt-	krinna	factitive
kruohhðon	*kruohha	factitive
krüzðon	krüzi, krüze	instrumental

kūmōn	kūma	factitive
kutōn	kute, kūte	unclear
lāgōn	lāga	stative
lastarōn	lastar	objective
leisanōn	leisa	unclear
lizzōn	liz	unclear
lockōn	loc	objective
lōsungōn	-lōsunga	unclear
loubirōn	loub	objective
loubōn	loub	objective
lubbōn	lubbi	instrumental
lustidōn	lustida	stative
lustisōn	lust	stative
mālōn	māl	factitive
mammalōn	mamma	unclear
manahoubitōn	manahoubit	unclear
mantalōn	mantal	instrumental
martirōn	martira, martyra, martara	factitive
māzzōn	māz(a)	objective
meistarōn	meistar	agentive
mendilōn	mendi	stative
gi-mirrōt-	mirra	instrumental
missizumftōn	missizumft	stative
mistōn	mist	instrumental
mūhhōn	mūhho	agentive
mundilōn	mund	instrumental
muotfagōn	muotfaga	factitive
muozzōn	muozza	stative
nestōn	nest	factitive
nīdōn	nīd	stative
niumōn	niumo	objective
ortōn	orta	factitive
orzōn	see data section	unclear
pfadōn	pfad	instrumental
pfantōn	pfant	objective
pimentōn	pigmentum	instrumental
gi-plumōt-	*pluma	instrumental
pfropfōn	pfropfa	factitive
proventōn	proventa	objective
prugilōn	*prugil	instrumental
gi-purpurōt-	purpura, purpur	instrumental
rahhōn	rahha	objective
rammilōn	ram, rammo	agentive
rangisōn	rang-	stative

rastōn	rasta	factitive
rātfrāganōn	rātfrāga	objective
rātfrāgōn	rātfrāga	objective
rātiscōn	rātisca, rātiskī	objective
rātissōn	rātissa	objective
(h)regilōn	hregil, regil	instrumental
rehtōn	reht	unclear
rechtsprāhhōn	rechtsprāhhī	instrumental
reizōn	reiz	factitive
rentōn	*renta	factitive
(h)rēōn	hrēo, rēo	objective
rezzōn	rezza, reiza	instrumental
ridilōn	ridil, ridila	instrumental
rigilōn	rigil	instrumental
rigōn	riga	unclear
ringilōt-	ringilī	instrumental
ringōn	ring	factitive
(h)rottōn	hrotta, rotta	instrumental
runzōn	runza (200)	factitive
ruobōn	ruoba	objective
ruodarōn	ruodar	instrumental
gi-sarockōt-	sarroc	instrumental
segōn	saga	instrumental
selidōn	selida	instrumental
scāhhōn	scāh	stative/factitive
scazzōn	scaz	objective
skifsangōn	skifsang	factitive
skeitolōn	skeitila	factitive
skernōn	skern	objective
skessōn	skesso	instrumental
sculdōn	sculd	stative
slahtōn	slahta	factitive
smāhtōn	*smaht	stative
snabulōn	snabul	instrumental
solōn	sol, sul	objective
gi-sperōt-	sper	instrumental
spilawortōn	spilawort	factitive
spottōn	spot	objective
sprāhhōn	sprāhha	instrumental?
springōn	*spring	unclear
spurilōn	spur	instrumental
stabōn	stab	instrumental
stapfōn	stapf	factitive
statōn	statōn	unclear

stegōn	stega	instrumental
steinōn	stein	instrumental
gi-sternōt-	sterno	instrumental
stīgōn	stīga	instrumental?
stollōn	stollo	instrumental
gi-stūhhōt-	stūhha	instrumental
sūftōn	suft	factitive
sulzōn	sulza	instrumental
swegalōn	swegala, swegel	instrumental
swintilōn	*swintil	objective
swirōn	*swir	instrumental
tagaltōn	tagaltī	objective
tarōn	tara	factitive
tavalōt-	tavala, tabela	instrumental
titulōn	titul	factitive
topfōn	topfo	instrumental
trisewōn	triso, treso	objective
truginōn	trugina	instrumental
tunihhōn	tunihha	instrumental
gi-turrōt-	turra	instrumental
ubbōn	ubbi, uppi	factitive
ūf-scorzōn	*scurz	objective
undalōn	unda	stative
unliumuntōn	unliumunt	factitive
untarskeitōn	untarskeit	objective
unwillōn	unwillo	objective
urkundōn	urkunda	factitive
urlustisōn	urlust	factitive
wegōn	weg	instrumental
weidinōn	weida	instrumental
weidōn	weida	instrumental
wellōn	wella	stative
wenescaftōn	wenescaft	instrumental
wettiskeffōn	*wettiscaf	factitive
(h)wīlōn	(h)wīl	unclear
wīlōn	wīl	instrumental
windemōn	windema	objective
wintōn	winta	instrumental
wipfilōn	wipfel	instrumental
wirtōn	wirt	agentive
wītbreitōn	wītbreitī	factitive
wittōn	witta	instrumental
wolcanōn	wolcan	stative
wunnisangōn	*wunnisang	factitive

wurmōn	wurmo, wormo	stative?
wurzalōn	wurzala	stative/instrumental?
zādalōn	zādal	instrumental
zālōn	zāla	objective
zanōn	zand, zant, zan	instrumental
zehhōn	zehha	unclear
zeinōn	zein	instrumental
zeisalōn	zeisala, zeisalo	instrumental
zessōn	zessa	stative
zinsilōn	zinsilo	instrumental
ziugōn	ziug	instrumental
zornōn	zorn	stative
zotōn	zota, zata, zato	stative
zoubarōn	zoubar	factitive
zugidōn	*zugida	unclear
zuhtōn	zuht	factitive
zurlustisōn	zurlust	stative
zurlustōn	zurlust	stative
zwangōn	zwanga	factitive
zwigōn	*zwig	stative
zwīōn	zwī	unclear

Table 39: OHG Class II Denominatives

With 290 weak verbs either directly attested in OHG or reconstructable from MHG sources (together with cognate verbs if the reconstructed OHG verb in question predates the OHG stratum), class II accounts for the largest and most productive means of forming denominative verbs during the OHG period.

Of the above class II OHG denominatives, eighty-five (29.31%) stand in an instrumental relationship to their derivational base, while fifty-eight (20.00%) are factitive in nature, a further fifty (17.24%) being objective, forty-two (14.48%) stative and eleven (3.79%) agentive. These figures show that, like class I, class II was fairly ‘mixed’ semantically, there being no one clear semantic function ascribed to this class, but rather a number of competing semantic functions. Furthermore, it is interesting to note the high percentage of instrumental formations created in class II during the OHG period, these formations comprising the majority of OHG class II denominative verbs. Although instrumental formations formed a large and significant portion of WGmc class II denominatives (4.6.3.2.), they did not achieve the status and productivity which they now have in the OHG stratum.

As in the earlier strata, both objective and factitive formations form a large portion of class II denominative formations. Deverbatives which have an

agentive relation to the substantive representing their derivational base, however, remain small in number, this reflecting their marginal status throughout the earlier strata.

A number of the above verbs are formed with an extension. Typical such extensions are s-extensions, e.g. *harmisōn* from the substantive base *harm*; l-extensions, e.g. n-extensions, e.g. *leisanōn* from the substantive base *leisa*; and l-extensions, e.g. *mammalōn* from the substantive base *mamma*. However, in all cases no single, clear semantic function can be attributed to the verbal extension. Furthermore, in comparison to the OHG deverbative and deadjectival formations, extensions play an extremely minor role in the derivational morphology of OHG denominative verbs.

4.7.3.3. Class III Old High German Denominatives

A total of forty-five OHG denominative verbs belong to class III. These represent 9.18% of all OHG denominative formations. The following table presents these verbs together with their derivational base and the morpho-semantic pattern of their formation:

OHG Weak Verb	Derivational Base	Semantic Relation
ābandēn	āband	inchoative
ambahtēn	ambaht	agentive
angustēn	angust	stative
arnēn	arn	factitive
bartēn	bart	stative
bismerēn	bismer	factitive
donēn	dona	stative
fiurēn	fiur	stative/inchoative
gansēn	gans	inchoative
ginadēn	gināde	objective
gingēn	gingo	stative
halsēn	hals	objective
heiēn	hei	stative
horgēn	horo, hor	stative
hornēn	horn	stative/inchoative
ir-frostēn	frost	inchoative
ir-narrēn	narro	inchoative
ir-waldēt-	wald	stative
Isēn	Is	stative
kraftēn	kraft	inchoative

kregēn	*kreg, *krega	stative
lewēn	*lew	objective
loubēn	loub	stative
mālēn	māl	factitive
masarēn	masar	stative/inchoative
meldēn	melda	factitive
metamēn	metamo	objective
molawēn	*molawi	inchoative
rāmēn	rām	factitive
rāwēn	rāwa, rāwi	stative
(h)riuwēn	(h)riuwa	stative
rūnēn	rūna	objective
sewēn	sē(o)	factitive
scorrēn	scorre	stative
smakēn	smac	objective
stabēn	stab	stative/inchoative
swillēn	swil	objective
tagēn	tag	inchoative
ursagēn	ursaga	objective
wahtēn	wahta	stative/inchoative
winnēn	winne	objective
wituwēn	wituwa	stative
zannēn	zand, zant, zan	unclear
zilēn	zil	factitive
zwirnēn	zwirn	objective

Table 40: OHG Class III Denominatives

The majority (55.56%) of the above denominatives exist in a stative and/or inchoative semantic relation to their derivational base. This marks a clear continuation of the stative role possessed by class III in the formation of denominatives throughout the earlier strata (see 4.4.5.6., 4.5.5.6., 4.6.5.6.). It should also be noted that, in comparison to the WGmc period where class III accounted for only 5.30% of all denominative formations, class III has undergone a noticeable increase in productivity with the result that class III in OHG comprises 8.84% of all denominative formations. However, this figure of 8.84% is still small when compared with classes I and II which account for 31.63% and 59.18% of all OHG denominative formations respectively.

Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that the OHG class III denominatives are not exclusively stative (and inchoative) - ten (22.22%) verbs exist in an objective relation to their derivational base while a further seven (15.56%) are factitive in character. A further two are exclusively inchoative

(4.44%, these being formed with the prefix *ir-*, see 4.7.3.1.) and one (2.22%) verb is agentive. One class III denominative cannot adequately be classified into the above, or any other, semantic groups. This may point to the gradual beginnings of a break down in the functional semantic load carried by the weak verb classes during this same period.

4.7.4. Old High German Prefix Formations

There are 2088 OHG weak verbs which are formed with a verbal prefix or prefixes. This figure represents 63.04% of all OHG weak verb derivational formations.

Before beginning a proper discussion of prefix formations in OHG, it should be noted, however, that there are also a number of prefixed verbs which derive directly from substantive or adjectival bases, without having gone through the intermediate stage of forming a simplex verb. Such verbs are both deadjectival or denominative derivations and prefix formations at the same time, but will be examined in the sections dealing with deadjectival or denominative verbs respectively.

The above figure is a clear illustration of the sheer number of prefix formations created during the OHG period, indicating that verbal prefixing played a key role in derivational morphology during this same period. Nevertheless, we should not let the sheer weight of numbers concerning the OHG prefix formations distort the overall picture which this thesis aims to provide in respect to the derivational morphology of the OHG weak verbs. Prefix formations per se should be treated with caution in respect to the derivational morphology of the OHG weak verb, as the following reasons will make clear:

Firstly, although the addition of a verbal prefix serves to create a new lexical item, such a process merely changes the meaning of the base to which the relevant prefix is attached. It does not change the word-class that a base belongs to. Thus, when analysing the OHG weak verbs, the derivational function of a verbal prefix should only be regarded as enabling an existing simplex weak verb to develop a new and modified meaning. It does not in itself form a weak verb from a strong verb or, similarly, from an adjective or substantive.

Secondly, the derivation of new lexical units by means of prefixing distinct elements is not a phenomenon specific to the domain of weak verb

derivational morphology. Thus, when dealing with the Gmc languages, the process can equally be employed in the derivation of prefixed strong verbs from existing simplex strong verbs. Prefixing also occurs with substantive bases in the Gmc languages, though to a significantly lesser extent than with verb bases, the vast majority of prefixed substantives probably representing post-verbal nouns from prefixed verb bases, e.g. OHG *ūf-gang* “going up, rising” which derives from the prefixed reduplicating verb, OHG *ūf-gangan* “to go up, rise”.

Furthermore, many verbal prefixes in Gmc are the direct result of syntactic collocations which have combined to form a morphological compound, rather than as a result of derivation per se, as can be witnessed from the phenomenon of separable prefixes in OHG. (The term ‘compound’ has been used here, as prefix formations may be regarded as a specific type of compounding involving bound morphemes, as opposed to the ‘normal’ definition of a compound which consists of free morphemes combining to form a morphological unit).

To explain what is meant by verbal prefixes arising from syntactic collocations more clearly: Many prefixes derive from adverbial or prepositional complements, which formerly existed in a loose connection with the verb in question, losing their independent existence to become attached to the relevant verb as a verbal prefix.

Most OHG verbal prefixes may also exist independently as locative particles, i.e. adverbs or prepositions, but a number (e.g. *bi-*, *fir-*, *gi-*, *zir-*) are true bound morphemes only existing as prefixes. However, as can be seen from 4.4.4., the majority of these prefixes with a bound morpheme status have their origins in extinct locative particles which once existed independently as free morphemes, but which died out as independent lexemes at an earlier historical period.

In a limited number of cases an adjective or substantive may be prefixed to a verb but in practice such instances, especially those involving substantives, are extremely rare - *eban* and *folla* being the only adjectives sufficiently productive as verbal prefixes to merit inclusion in the following table.

For a general description of prefix formation the reader is asked to refer to 4.4.4. A detailed examination of the OHG prefix formations is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis owing to the vast number of formations created during this period. It has therefore been thought best to summarize by means of a table the relative productivity of the various verbal prefixes employed during the OHG stratum together with their main derivational functions and semantic significance.

The following table is intended to provide such a summary of the OHG prefixes. The first column lists the relevant OHG prefix. The number of OHG formations made with this prefix is entered in the second column. The third column indicates the number of formations made with this prefix in terms of their % of the total number (2088) of prefix formations created in OHG. Finally, the fourth column summarizes each function or semantic role signalled by the prefix. The semantic definitions which follow are based on those used by Kühnhold¹⁸, Marchand¹⁹ and Wilmanns²⁰:

Prefix	Number of Formations	% of Total	Prefix signals:
aba-	16	0.77%	separation, removal
after-, after-	2	0.10%	aim or progression towards a moving or changing goal situated away from or beyond subject of verb
ana-	109	5.22%	approach, contact
			commencement, beginning
			change of state
			intensity
avur-, abur-	5	0.24%	repetition
			reverse direction, movement backwards
az-	2	0.10%	direction or movement towards, contact
bi-	195	9.34%	formation of transitive verbs from intransitive verb bases
			formation of ornative verbs from substantive bases
			formation of factitive verbs from adjectival bases
			privation
			intensity
			encirclement, surrounding
			direction or movement past, by or over (spatial or temporal)
dana-	9	0.43%	direction or movement away from
dara-	21	1.01%	direction or movement towards
duruh-, durh-	33	1.58%	direction through
			thoroughness, completion
			action performed is uninterrupted or continuous
eban-	10	0.48%	mutual or joint action, co-operation
			action is performed to the same or a similar degree as another, equality
fir-	209	10.00%	change of state, transition into a new state
			thoroughness, completion
			successful completion, result
			intensity

¹⁸ Kühnhold (1973: 142-286).

¹⁹ Marchand (1969: 127-208).

²⁰ Wilmanns (II 1930: 115-175).

			excess, action which has gone beyond an agreed or desirable limit or standard
			cessation, conclusion, termination of activity performed
			reversal, action performed is the reverse of that expressed by the simplex base
			prohibition, prevention
			action performed causes obstruction, hindrance, concealment, secrecy
			removal, separation, loss
			destruction, ruin
			action performed is wrong, bad or erroneous
folla-	17	0.81%	thoroughness, completion
			fullness, abundance, capacity
fora-	40	1.92%	action performed in reference to the future, action, event or circumstance takes place or is carried out before another
			location or movement before or in front of
fort-	1	0.05%	movement or direction forwards
fram-	18	0.86%	direction out from a source, movement forwards or forth
			movement away from
furi-	40	1.92%	action performed in reference to the future, action, event or circumstance takes place or is carried out before another
			location or movement before or in front of
			thoroughness, completion
			change of state, transition into a new state
			intensity
			action performed causes obstruction, hindrance, concealment
			prohibition, prevention
			removal, separation, loss
gagan-	7	0.34%	reverse direction, movement backwards
			direction against
			opposition, contrariness
gi-	468	22.41%	no semantic distinction
			thoroughness, completion (perfective aspect)
hera-	9	0.43%	direction or movement towards
hina-	13	0.62%	direction or movement away from
īn-			direction or movement into, entry
ingagan-	10	0.48%	direction against
			opposition, contrariness
			direction or movement towards, contact
int-, in-	102	4.89%	commencement, beginning
			change of state, transition into a new state
			separation, removal, privation
			direction or movement away from
			action results in dissolution, breaking up of a whole into its constituent parts, movement asunder, disintegration
			action is performed in an incorrect or abnormal manner

			opposition, contrariness
			reversal
ir-	243	11.64%	change of state, transition into a new state
			thoroughness, completion (perfective aspect)
			successful completion, result
			intensity
			opening up, revealing
			commencement, beginning
			extraction, removal, privation
ita-	1	0.05%	repetition, continuation
missi-	17	0.81%	action performed is wrong, bad or erroneous
			negation, lack of
miti-	4	0.19%	accompaniment, co-operation
nāh-	4	0.19%	aim or progression towards a moving or changing goal situated away from or beyond subject of verb
nidar-, nidere-	22	1.05%	direction or movement downwards
oba-	1	0.05%	direction or movement upwards
sama-	3	0.14%	bringing together, making close or unified
			accompaniment, co-operation
samant-, saman-	7	0.34%	bringing together, making close or unified
			accompaniment, co-operation
			intensity
ubar-	40	1.92%	location or direction above, over, on top of, beyond (temporal or spatial)
			action continues throughout or beyond a period of time
			excess, action which has gone beyond an agreed or desirable limit or standard
			superiority, success
ūf-	28	1.34%	direction or movement upwards
			direction or movement towards
			intensity (with positive meaning)
umbi-	28	1.34%	encirclement, surrounding
			turning round, reversal
			change of state, transition into a new state
			intensity (with verbs denoting deception or mockery)
untar-	36	1.72%	location, direction under, beneath or downwards
			relation between one amount and another
			intensity
ūz-	46	2.20%	location or direction out of or from, removal
			movement upwards (and outwards)
			thoroughness, completion, intensity
widar-, widere-	54	2.59%	reverse direction, movement backwards
			direction against
			repetition
zi-, zir-	36	1.72%	separation, loss, privation
			action results in dissolution, breaking up of a whole into its constituent parts, movement asunder, disintegration

			destruction, ruin, chaos
zisamane-	20	0.96%	bringing together, making close or unified
			encirclement, surrounding
zuo-	39	1.87%	contact, direction towards (especially when contact is desired or endeavoured for)
OTHER PREFIXES	124	5.94%	Miscellaneous, or minor uses

Table 41: OHG Prefix Formations

For specific examples illustrating the various semantic functions denoted by the OHG verbal prefixes in the above table, the reader is asked to refer to the data section (Chapter 4).

4.7.5. Old High German Loan Verbs

There are thirty-eight OHG weak verbs which can be shown to be loan verbs. This sum accounts for 1.15% (or 3.10% if prefix formations are ignored) of all OHG weak verb derivational formations.

The OHG loan verbs are listed in table below. The first column lists the OHG loan verb. The second column then indicates the inflectional class of weak verb to which this loan verb belongs in OHG. The third column gives the source verb, from which the OHG loan verb cited in column one has been borrowed. The fourth column indicates the inflexion class to which this source verb belongs in the donor language. Finally, the fifth column indicates the donor language, i.e. the language which has loaned the source verb in question.

OHG Loan Verb	Class	Source Verb	Class	Donor Language
bredigōn	II	praedicāre	I	Latin
dihtōn	II	dictāre	I	Latin
dilōn, tligōn	II	dīlegian	II	OE
falscōn	II	*fals(i)cāre	I	Vulgar Latin
fir-damnōn	II	damnāre	I	Latin
fir-dilōn	II	for-dīlegian	II	OE
firmōn	II	fīrmāre	I	Latin
fir-spumen	I	de-spumāre	I	Latin
genren	I	generāre	I	Latin
germinōn	II	carmināre	I	Latin
gi-ginnen	I	genere	III	Latin
guotspellōn	II	godspellian	II	OE
impitōn, impfōn	II	imputāre	I	Latin
koborōn	II	(re)cobrar	I	Provençal
kohhōn	II	coquere, cocere	III	Latin

krūzigōn	II	cruciāre	I	Latin
kuppulōn	II	cōpulāre	I	Latin
mennen	I	mināre, mannīre	I, IV	Latin
miskelōn	II	misculāre	I	Latin
misken	I	miscēre	IV	Latin
muzōn	II	mutāre	I	Latin
offrōn	II	offere (>OE offrian)	III	Latin, OE
opfarōn	II	operāri	I	Latin
ordinōn	II	ordināre	I	Latin
pelzōn	II	im-pellitāre	I	Latin
pressōn	II	pressāre	I	Latin
rengōn	II	ringāri	I	Latin
seganōn	II	segnāre, signāre	I	(Vulgar) Latin
sestōn	II	sistere	III	Latin
siconden	I	ob-secundāre	II	Latin
sicondōn	II	ob-secundāre	II	Latin
scrodōn, scrutōn	II	scrūtāri	I	Latin
spentōn	II	spendere	III	Latin
temparōn	II	temperāre	I	Latin
trahtōn	II	tractāre	I	Latin
turnen	I	tornāre	I	Latin
*wigilen, gi-wigilen	I	vigilāre	I	Latin
zircōn	II	circāre	I	Latin

Table 42: OHG Loan Verbs

The majority of these loan verbs are in the semantic field of Christianity and Christian terminology, also monastic life and ecclesiastical learning. This is to be expected, as the texts in which OHG has been recorded are almost entirely ecclesiastical, owing to the exclusivity of writing to monks and clerics during this period (see sections 3.3. and 3.4.).

Ecclesiastical Latin loan words are also to be expected in OHG owing to the fact that the German tribes had been pagan before the OHG period. They therefore lacked the Christian terms and concepts, many philosophical and abstract, which the Church and its missionaries and preachers brought with them. The Church, furthermore, shared the heritage of the late Roman Empire, a civilization more advanced in learning, culture and material standards than the pagan German tribes. With the importation of new ideas would obviously come the importation of new words to denote these new ideas and concepts.

Furthermore, being the language of the Church and the Bible, Latin possessed a sacred, exclusive status, which was not shared by OHG. As the text of the Vulgate was sacred, it was therefore important that a monk should not

alter or digress from the meaning of the original Latin text when rendering it into a language such as OHG. This, however, presented a number of problems, as OHG frequently had no native word corresponding to the Latin original. The solution, therefore, in many cases was simply to import the verb of the original Latin text as a loan verb, thus avoiding the danger of altering the original text's meaning. It should also be mentioned in relation to this, that many corresponding native OHG words may have possessed too many pagan connotations for them to have been considered as suitable glosses for ecclesiastical Latin texts.

OHG loan verbs denoting Christian terms include: *bredigōn* "to preach"; *fir-damnōn* "to damn, condemn to hell"; *krūzigōn* "to crucify"; *opfarōn* "to offer, sacrifice, bring an oblation"; *seگانōn* "to bless"; *spentōn* "to give (a present or alms), donate"; *gi-wigilen* "to hold vigil (night spent in fasting or prayer on the eve of a religious festival)". OHG loan verbs pertaining to monastic life and learning in general include: *dihtōn* "to write, versify, compose, dictate, arrange, order"; *ordinōn* "to order, arrange"; *sestōn* "to ascertain, find out"; *scrodōn* "to scrutinize"; *trahtōn* "to treat, comment on, expound, consider, interpret, translate".

There are a small number of loan verbs not directly connected with Christianity or Christian terminology. These have been taken from cultural domains in which the Romans themselves, or more precisely the Romanized territories in immediate contact with the Germans such as Frankish Gaul, were more advanced. The most important of these cultural spheres are food, cooking and horticulture, as can be seen from: *impitōn* "to implant, imp, graft"; *kohhōn* "to cook, prepare food"; *miskēn, miskelōn* "to mix" (these latter are also found in the context of herbal lore and medicinal recipes in texts dating from the early MHG period). The verb *germinōn* "to sing, enchant, bewitch" possibly belongs here as well, if we consider that it may have been borrowed in the context of Roman medicine and healing practices which, although more advanced than native German practices, still usually involved the recitation of charms and blessings as a fundamental part of the treatment process²¹.

Loan verbs connected with the above cultural spheres of cooking, horticulture etc. are more likely to be the result of everyday contact between OHG speaking peasants or craftsmen and their Romanized neighbours, rather than the deliberate borrowing of a monk or cleric²². They can thus be seen as having entered the language as a result of lexical diffusion.

²¹ See Bonser (1963: 34-41) and Payne (1904: 29-30) which, although studies of Anglo-Saxon medicine, contain information equally applicable to the OHG linguistic area.

²² Eggers (1986: 104-105).

The vast majority of loan verbs from Latin (78.95% of all OHG loan verbs are from Latin) belong to class II in OHG, as this was probably regarded as the nearest equivalent in OHG to the Latin class II conjugation.

There are also a small number of loan verbs from OE, all of which are connected with Christianity or the monastic life, and which are therefore to be seen as examples of the influence of Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the OHG speaking area. They are represented by: *dilōn* (variant form *tīligōn*) “to delete, erase”, *for-dilōn* “to delete, erase”, *guotspillōn* “to evangelize, spread the gospel”, and possibly, though by no means certainly, *offrōn* “to offer (in sacrifice)”. All of the aforementioned belong to class II in both OHG and OE, class II being seen as the most favourable and authentic way of rendering the historically cognate OE second class of weak verb into OHG.

The verb *guotspellōn* presents us with an interesting example. Its OE source *godspellian* is a denominative formation from the noun *godspel* “gospel, literally good news” which itself is a loan translation of the Greek (via Latin *evangelium*) εὐαγγέλιον “gospel, literally good news”. A calque was obviously regarded by the missionaries involved in converting the pagan Anglo-Saxons as a more effective means of conveying the Christian concept of the gospel than the foreign *evangelium*, which would have been meaningless to the non-speaker of Latin or Greek. In view of this, it is noteworthy that the OE initial element of this verb, *god* “good”, has been replaced in OHG by its semantically more transparent OHG equivalent *guot*. The second element, *spillōn*, would also have been semantically transparent to the speaker of OHG, as this language possessed the native substantive *spel* “story, sermon”.

With the exception of the loan translation *guotspellōn*, these OHG loan verbs from OE are in turn OE borrowings from Latin.

In addition to the above verbs, the OHG (Bavarian) verb *tulden* “to celebrate, hold a festival” may represent a loan verb from the Gothic class I weak verb *dulþjan* “to celebrate”. If the verb itself is not a loan word, then the noun with which it is paired, OHG (Bavarian) *tult* “festival, fair”, may be a loan from the Gothic substantive *dulþs* “festival, fair, celebration”²³. Alternatively, the above verbs *tulden* and *dulþjan* may quite probably represent cognate inherited forms deriving from a Gmc verb **dulþijanan* “to celebrate, hold a festival”, which would itself most likely represent a denominative formation from a Gmc substantive **dulþaz* “festival, fair”, reconstructable from OHG *tult* and Gothic *dulþs*. Nevertheless, there is a conspicuous absence of attested

²³ Eggers (1986: 149).

cognates in the other Gmc languages, most notable OE or ON, which speaks in favour of a loan verb or substantive from Gothic.

According to Eggers²⁴, a number of potential OHG loan words from Gothic, such as *dulps* or *dulþjan*, may not have entered OHG directly from Gothic missionaries or preachers themselves. They are, he states, rather to be regarded as having spread from Gothic as a result of contact between bordering peoples, in other words through lexical diffusion.

A loaned lexeme from Gothic is also perfectly plausible, given the influence of the Gothic Church on the south of the OHG speaking area, and the fact that at this time many of the Goths were still settled in Pannonia, an area roughly corresponding to present-day Hungary²⁵.

It is perhaps surprising that we have no evidence for any weak verb borrowed from an OIr. source, considering the great zeal and tremendous influence of Irish missionary activity during this period, for a discussion of which see Eggers²⁶.

Finally, it should be noted, as an indication of the productivity of weak verbs and non-productivity of strong verbs in OHG, that all loan verbs taken into the language in this stratum are assigned to one of the weak verb classes (see Table 42 above). I have found no evidence of any loan verb inflecting as a strong verb in the OHG period.

4.7.6. Old High German Weak Verbs - Derivational Pattern Unclear

Those weak verbs which have been analysed in the data section (Chapter Three) as originating during the OHG stratum but which cannot be assigned satisfactorily to any of the five derivational categories discussed above (i.e. deverbative, deadjectival or denominative verbs, prefix formations and loan verbs) belong to this grouping. A total of fifty-five OHG weak verbs are thus classifiable. This figure represents 1.66% (4.49% if prefix formations are ignored) of all OHG weak verb formations. Of these fifty-three OHG weak verbs with no clear derivational pattern, nineteen belong to class I, twenty-seven belong to class II, and seven verbs inflect as a class III weak verbs.

²⁴ Eggers (1986: 148-149).

²⁵ Eggers (1986: 148-149). Further evidence of late Gothic-OHG contact can be found in Kuffner (1972: 91).

²⁶ Eggers (1986: 154-163).

A complete list of the weak verbs formed in the OHG stratum but which do not have a clear derivational pattern can be found in Appendix One. However, as these weak verbs with no clear derivational pattern form a diverse set and do not therefore lend themselves easily to any satisfactory method of classification, they are best referred under their entries in the data section (Chapter Three). A general description of certain groups belonging to this category, such as onomatopoeic, expressive or sound symbolic formations, is given in section 4.5.6.

4.7.7. Old High German Weak Verbs - Etymology Unclear

OHG verbs for which no convincing etymology can be ascertained are to be found listed in Appendix Two.

4.7.8. Old High German Weak Verbs - Summary

From the above findings a number of general conclusions can be drawn in respect to the derivation of weak verbs in the OHG stratum.

As in all of the previous strata, class I remained the largest class for forming weak verbs in OHG, accounting for 51.15% of all OHG weak verb derivations. Although class I still represented the largest weak verb class in OHG, in comparison with the WGmc period where 57.14% of all weak verb derivations belonged to class I, this same class can be seen to have actually undergone a relative fall in productivity during the OHG era. This decline in productivity was largely as a result of a corresponding increase in productivity enjoyed by class II during the OHG period. Thus, whereas class II comprised 27.60% of all WGmc weak verb derivations, this same class now accounts for 38.32% of all OHG weak verb formations. It will be recalled from the WGmc stratum that class III underwent a dramatic increase in productivity and importance during this period, with the result that it formed 15.25% of all WGmc weak verb derivations. During the OHG period, the productivity of class III actually falls slightly, 10.54% of all OHG weak verbs subsequently taking this inflection. Nevertheless, class III still maintains an important place within the derivational morphology of the weak verb in OHG, far in excess of the marginal and insignificant place which it occupied during the Gmc and NWGmc strata. Moreover, it will be remembered from the analysis of the WGmc stratum

that many of the OHG class III weak verbs were reconstructed as having been formed during the WGmc stratum on the assumption that their OE class II counterparts were also originally class III but underwent an analogical conversion to the larger and more productive second weak verb class in the North Sea Gmc dialects. However, as was also discussed, this analysis is somewhat uncertain. As a result of this, the OHG verbs belonging to class III may either represent parallel but independent formations, or may constitute a specifically OHG development whereby large numbers of originally WGmc class II weak verbs underwent a change of class to become class III in OHG, possibly through a stronger identification of class III with stative and inchoative formations in OHG. If this is indeed the case, then class III must be viewed as having undergone a dramatic increase in productivity in OHG alone and not during the previous WGmc stratum. However, as previously stated, the firm correspondence in meaning between large numbers of OE class II weak verbs and their OHG class III equivalents speaks strongly in favour of a common WGmc origin for such verbs

The above findings have also revealed the following semantic developments or trends during the OHG stratum.

The majority of OHG class I deverbatives have been seen in the above analysis to be intensive in semantic significance, verbs derived with no obvious change in meaning from that of their derivational base comprising another important and productive means of derivation within the class I deverbatives. In contrast to the previous strata, however, causative deverbatives now play a somewhat marginal role in the OHG weak verb derivational system, a trend which, as we have seen, began in the NWGmc period and continued through WGmc. The vast majority of class I intensives were formed with the intensive suffix *-ezz-* in OHG, a minority, however, being formed with the zero-grade of ablaut and intensive gemination, this a typical characteristic of class II intensive deverbatives. Frequentative deverbatives also occur in class I in OHG, but these are small in number and represent an insignificant means of derivation.

As in the earlier strata, class I deadjectival verbs formed during the OHG period are almost entirely factitive in semantic significance, although a significant number of stative formations also occur. However, these stative formations play a much smaller role than factitives in the derivation of OHG class I deadjectives.

Similarly, the majority of OHG class I denominative formations express a factitive meaning in relation to their derivational base. Nevertheless,

instrumental and objective formations also comprise important groups within the OHG class I denominatives.

As in the earlier strata, class II as a whole remains largely diffuse semantically during the OHG period. In respect to deverbative formations class II yields for the most part derivations which show no obvious change in meaning from that of their derivational base. However, frequentative and intensive deverbatives also comprise important methods of derivation within class II. As previously discussed, the usual features distinguishing class II intensive deverbatives were the zero-grade of ablaut and intensive gemination, although in comparison with the earlier strata, these morphological features have become considerably less important in OHG. The most striking feature of OHG class II deverbatives is the use of verbal extensions, 43.64% of all OHG class II deverbatives employing an extension, the most important of these being *l*, *r* and *s* extensions. As in the previous strata, *s* extensions appear to have had no obvious semantic function or significance. However, *l* and *r* extensions clearly played an extremely important role in the formation of frequentative deverbatives within class II during the OHG era, a development which, as we have seen, had already begun during the WGmc period.

As regards deadjectival formations class II shows no real distinction from deadjectives belonging to class I, both classes forming a majority of factitive verbs, although stative and/or inchoative formations also play a significant role. As in the WGmc stratum, *s* extensions form an important morphological characteristic within the OHG class II deadjectival verbs. The most important of these extensions are *s* extensions, a smaller number of *n* extensions also occurring. As in the previous stratum, however, these *s* and *n* extensions do not appear to have any particular semantic function in the above examples, and no firm conclusions can therefore be drawn in respect to their nature and function in OHG.

In relation to denominative formations class II also remains fairly diverse semantically during the OHG period, forming verbs which show a wide variety of semantic relations to their derivational base. The most productive method of OHG class II denominative derivation, however, has been seen to be the formation of verbs standing in an instrumental relation to their derivational base. In addition to instrumental formations, factitive and objective formations also played a significant role within the OHG class II denominatives.

As in the previous WGmc stratum, the main role of class III in OHG was the formation of durative and/or inceptive deverbatives, and stative and/or inchoative deadjectival and denominative formations. The above analysis has

also shown that a significant number of OHG class III deadjectival and denominative verbs involved the prefix *ir-* in their derivational process. This clearly shows that prefixes had increased in importance as a means of indicating morpho-semantic relationships. Indeed, the use of prefixes to express morpho-semantic functions such as an inchoative or inceptive aspect probably helped diminish the functional load carried by the class endings of the weak verbs with the result that the three classes of weak verbs had become merged in most dialects by the MHG period. In contrast to the preceding strata where the zero-grade of ablaut was a typical characteristic of class III deverbatives, the use of ablaut has clearly become less important in OHG, the majority of OHG class III deverbatives involving no change in the ablaut-grade of their root vowel. Nevertheless, the OHG period still forms a small number of zero-grade deverbatives, showing that ablaut as a morphological process was still active to a certain extent in OHG.

As we have already observed, the use of verbal prefixes to derive new verbs was an important feature characterising the WGmc period. The derivation of verbs by means of prefixes not only continues during the OHG stratum but becomes yet more productive and important. Consequently, prefix formations account for 63.04% of all OHG weak verb formations as opposed to 55.33% of all WGmc weak verb derivations. The range of locational and directional particles which could be used as verbal prefixes was also further extended during OHG, with the result that prefix formation continued to become more elaborate and sophisticated as a derivational process during this time.

5.

FURTHER RESEARCH

As has already been stated in the Introduction, the work for the thesis has been carried out in the context of a much larger research project, an etymological dictionary of the Gmc weak verbs as a whole, which will involve cognate studies made in each of the earliest historically attested forms of the languages of the Germanic group, i.e. OHG, OS, OLF, OFs., OE, ON and Gothic. Such a unified pan-Gmc study of the weak verb will, by providing a comprehensive and accurate data-set, compensate for the limitations of the present work - for this thesis is restricted in scope and extent by being confined to OHG weak verb data. Indeed, a full understanding of the origin and growth of the weak verb in Gmc and its subsequent development in each of the daughter languages of Gmc can only be achieved by examining the etymology of the weak verbs in each of the older Gmc languages.

As has also been mentioned in the Introduction, corresponding research has already been carried out in the field of Gothic weak verb etymology by Skinner (1994), and the same author is also currently working on a similar project looking at the etymology of the ON weak verbs. Research projects involving OS and OE are expected to follow in the very near future, thus bringing the realization of a Gmc etymological dictionary a step closer.

An etymological dictionary of the Gmc weak verbs such as this should thus enable us to distinguish between later developments characterising the derivational patterns of the weak verbs in the individual languages, and formation types which are common Gmc and therefore clearly more ancient. By showing which derivational types characterize the earliest stages of the Gmc weak verb, we can therefore provide considerable scope for further analysis of such morpho-semantic types and the role which they may have played in the origin and growth of the weak verb in subsequent research.

However, the present work and the pan-Gmc etymological dictionary which it and its cognate studies are intended to spawn will, it is hoped, not simply provide a firm basis for future research into Gmc philology, but also for Indo-European studies as a whole. As a result of the chronological stratification which, the reader will recall, has been established for OHG weak verbs collected here, a key group of verbs were isolated, the so-called primary verbs, which were shown to pre-date the separation of the Gmc language group, and which thus comprised the earliest set of verbs to have adopted the weak inflection. Further research carried out on these primary verbs may therefore not only

contribute to our understanding of the early history of the Gmc dental suffix but, by relating the verbal system of Gmc to that of its predecessor, IE, may also lead to a greater knowledge of the IE verb system as a whole. Indeed, the merger or confusion of the IE perfect with the aorist tense, as well as the loss of ablaut and the adoption of regular endings in the perfect is a process which has occurred in IE languages outside the Gmc group. Comparative studies indicating these developments and showing how they may have occurred in each of the separate language groups, may consequently bring to light key factors influencing the development of the IE verbal system, from Proto-IE to its separation into its various daughter languages.

A pan-Gmc etymological dictionary of this kind will also complement Seebold's (1970) etymological study made into the Germanic strong verbs, and thus enable us to gain a more comprehensive picture than has hitherto been achieved of the entire verbal system of Gmc, taking into account both the strong and weak inflections. A more complete understanding of the entire Gmc verb system will have obvious rewards and should stimulate further research into all aspects of verbal derivation and morphology in Gmc and its daughter languages. Indeed, a comparative study made between the weak and strong verb inflectional types may help explain further how and why the weak verbs gradually came to replace the strong verbs during the history of the Gmc languages as the only productive category for deriving new verbs.

Finally, this thesis, by providing important data on the derivational patterns of the weak verbs from Gmc to OHG, will not only contribute to our understanding of the etymology of the Gmc and IE verbal systems as a whole, but may also provide a firm base for future research into word-formation in OHG and Gmc in general. Moreover, a greater understanding of Gmc derivational morphology may, in turn, have wider implications for future studies carried out on Gmc semantics and syntax.

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APPENDIX 1

The following is a complete list of the OHG weak verbs occurring in the data section which are unclear in their derivational pattern. The verbs are listed in alphabetical order and an indication of the historical stratum in which each verb was derived is given in brackets after the verb:

<i>amarōn</i> (NWGmc)	<i>krazzōn</i> (NWGmc)	<i>spirdaren</i> (OHG)
<i>bāen</i> (OHG)	<i>krizzōn</i> (OHG)	<i>stiften</i> (WGmc)
<i>bi-deppen</i> (OHG)	<i>krouwōn</i> (WGmc)	<i>stōren</i> (WGmc)
<i>bi-tussen</i> (OHG)	<i>lohōn</i> (OHG)	<i>stornēn</i> (NWGmc)
<i>blāzen</i> (WGmc)	<i>loskēn</i> (OHG)	<i>storrēn</i> (OHG)
<i>bluhhen</i> (OHG)	<i>luhhen, liuhhen</i> (OHG)	<i>*streifen</i> (OHG)
<i>*bruoen</i> (WGmc)	<i>marawen</i> (OHG)	<i>striunen</i> (WGmc)
<i>diuwen</i> (OHG)	<i>māwen</i> (OHG)	<i>stroufen</i> (WGmc)
<i>drūsten</i> (NWGmc)	<i>*mucken</i> (WGmc)	<i>sturen</i> (NWGmc)
<i>dūhen</i> (WGmc)	<i>murmulōn</i> (OHG)	<i>sturzen</i> (WGmc)
<i>dunken</i> (Gmc)	<i>mutilōn</i> (OHG)	<i>sūsōn</i> (NWGmc)
<i>figidōn, fiadōn</i> (OHG)	<i>prūsten</i> (OHG)	<i>swīgēn</i> (WGmc)
<i>fitafuhhōn</i> (OHG)	<i>(h)rāhhisōn</i> (OHG)	<i>trūrēn</i> (OHG)
<i>flogarōn</i> (OHG)	<i>(h)rascōn, (h)rescōn</i> (OHG)	<i>tugōn</i> (OHG)
<i>fnattōn</i> (OHG)	<i>rēren</i> (WGmc)	<i>tūmōn</i> (OHG)
<i>folgōn</i> (WGmc)	<i>(h)retten</i> (WGmc)	<i>wadalōn</i> (OHG)
<i>folōn</i> (OHG)	<i>roufen</i> (Gmc)	<i>weibōn</i> (OHG)
<i>furben</i> (OHG)	<i>ruohhen</i> (NWGmc)	<i>(h)weiōn, (h)weigōn</i> (OHG)
<i>gris-gramōn</i> (OHG)	<i>sama-stocken</i> (OHG)	<i>werien²</i> (Gmc)
<i>gris-grimmen</i> (OHG)	<i>sengen</i> (WGmc)	<i>(h)winisōn</i> (OHG)
<i>gris-grimmōn, grist-grimmōn</i> (OHG)	<i>scopfezzēn, scoffezzēn</i> (OHG)	<i>(h)wispalōn</i> (OHG)
<i>guckōn</i> (OHG)	<i>screcken</i> (OHG)	<i>wȝōn</i> (OHG)
<i>*hopfōn</i> (NWGmc)	<i>sreckōn</i> (OHG)	<i>wuolen</i> (WGmc)
<i>*hupfen</i> (WGmc)	<i>scricken</i> (WGmc)	<i>wurgen</i> (NWGmc)
<i>kapfēn</i> (OHG)	<i>scunten</i> (NWGmc)	<i>zagēn</i> (OHG)
<i>kēren</i> (NWGmc)	<i>smielēn</i> (OHG)	<i>zascōn</i> (OHG)
<i>kizzilōn, kuzzilōn</i> (NWGmc)	<i>smierēn</i> (OHG)	<i>zeckōn</i> (OHG)
<i>klecken</i> (OHG)	<i>smierōn</i> (OHG)	<i>zetten</i> (NWGmc)
<i>klockōn</i> (OHG)	<i>snarhōn</i> (NWGmc)	<i>zispēn²</i> (OHG)
<i>knussen</i> (NWGmc)	<i>snūden</i> (OHG)	<i>zusken</i> (OHG)
<i>krahhōn</i> (WGmc)	<i>snūzen</i> (NWGmc)	<i>*zīsōn</i> (WGmc)
	<i>soffōn, sofōn</i> (Gmc)	

APPENDIX 2

The following is a complete list of the OHG weak verbs occurring in the data section for which no convincing etymology can be found. The verbs are listed in alphabetical order and an indication of the historical stratum to which each verb may at least be traced is given in brackets after the verb:

<i>ana-bi-truzzen</i> (OHG)	<i>hintar-skipfen</i> (OHG)	<i>rucken</i> (NWGmc)
<i>asōn</i> (OHG)	<i>huolen</i> (OHG)	<i>ruotezzen</i> (OHG)
<i>banihhōn</i> (OHG)	<i>in-blumfen</i> (OHG)	<i>rūtōn</i> (OHG)
<i>birnen</i> (OHG)	<i>in(t)-keinen</i> (OHG)	<i>skepfōn</i> (OHG)
<i>bi-seiten</i> (OHG)	<i>ir-dilēn</i> (OHG)	<i>scrouwezzen</i> (OHG)
<i>bi-scrimen</i> (OHG)	<i>ir-reimen</i> (OHG)	<i>slapfen</i> (OHG)
<i>bi-trohsilen</i> (OHG)	<i>ir-scatarōn</i> (OHG)	<i>spolken</i> (OHG)
<i>bi-tuhhen</i> (OHG)	<i>ir-spuolen</i> (WGmc)	<i>sprezen</i> (OHG)
<i>blesten</i> (OHG)	<i>ir-zibōn</i> (OHG)	<i>spulgen</i> (OHG)
<i>blitihhen</i> (OHG)	<i>iternōn</i> (OHG)	<i>spūnōn</i> (OHG)
<i>blunkezzen</i> (OHG)	<i>jagōn</i> (WGmc)	<i>stabarōn</i> (OHG)
<i>bolezzen</i> (OHG)	<i>jufen, juven</i> (OHG)	<i>stiuwen</i> (OHG)
<i>bretōn</i> (WGmc)	<i>jucken</i> (WGmc)	<i>stripalēn</i> (OHG)
<i>druozen</i> (OHG)	<i>jupezzen</i> (OHG)	<i>talōn</i> (OHG)
<i>dwāden</i> (OHG)	<i>klammezzen</i> (OHG)	<i>tantarōn</i> (OHG)
<i>dwesben</i> (OHG)	<i>knisten</i> (OHG)	<i>torrazzen</i> (OHG)
<i>fatōn</i> (OHG)	<i>kotezzen</i> (OHG)	<i>tuhhalen</i> (OHG)
<i>fir-brāsen</i> (OHG)	<i>lerken</i> (OHG)	<i>tummen</i> (OHG)
<i>fir-wesen</i> (OHG)	<i>liluhhen</i> (OHG)	<i>turnalōn</i> (OHG)
<i>fledirōn</i> (OHG)	<i>luogēn</i> (OHG)	<i>untar-skipfen</i> (OHG)
<i>flimmen</i> (OHG)	<i>lustrihhōn</i> (OHG)	<i>ūrōn</i> (OHG)
<i>flisteren</i> (OHG)	<i>mezzalōn</i> (OHG)	<i>ūz-wāzen</i> (OHG)
<i>fnotōn</i> (OHG)	<i>motezzen</i> (OHG)	<i>wannōn</i> (OHG)
<i>formōn</i> (WGmc)	<i>*musken</i> (WGmc)	<i>wataren</i> (OHG)
<i>frehten</i> (OHG)	<i>muzzen</i> (OHG)	<i>wemōn</i> (OHG)
<i>fūren</i> (WGmc)	<i>neckinzen</i> (OHG)	<i>(h)wennen</i> (OHG)
<i>gi-helwen</i> (OHG)	<i>nidar-snipfen</i> (OHG)	<i>werēn</i> ² (OHG)
<i>gi-hugilīhhōn</i> (OHG)	<i>nidar-sucken</i> (OHG)	<i>wimmen, wiumen</i> (OHG)
<i>gi-rūspen</i> (OHG)	<i>pfriemen</i> (OHG)	<i>wimmeren</i> ² (OHG)
<i>(gi-)sarawen</i> (OHG)	<i>rānen</i> (OHG)	<i>zorcalōn</i> (OHG)
<i>gi-semōn</i> (OHG)	<i>reibōn</i> (OHG)	<i>zwizzirōn</i> (WGmc)
<i>gi-streihhen</i> (OHG)	<i>renfen</i> (OHG)	
<i>gniffen</i> (OHG)	<i>romēn</i> (OHG)	
<i>gougarōn</i> (OHG)	<i>rospōn</i> (OHG)	
<i>grunt-sellōn</i> (OHG)	<i>roupōn</i> (OHG)	