

[Text version of database, created 23/02/2016].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Germanic group (Indo-European family).

Languages included: Gothic [grm-got]; Old Norse [grm-ono]; Icelandic [grm-isl]; Faroese [grm-far]; Bokmål Norwegian [grm-bok]; Danish [grm-dan]; Swedish [grm-swe].

DATA SOURCES

I. Gothic.

Balg 1887 = Balg, G. H. *A Comparative Glossary of the Gothic Language, with especial reference to English and German.* Mayville, Wisconsin. // *A complete dictionary of Gothic, covering the entire text corpus and explicitly listing most of the attestations of individual words; includes extensive etymological notes.*

Ulfilas 1896 = Ulfilas oder die uns erhaltenen Denkmäler der gotischen Sprache. Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh. // *A complete edition of Ulfilas' Bible, together with a concise vocabulary and a brief grammatical sketch of Gothic.*

Costello 1973 = Costello, John R. *The Placement of Crimean Gothic by Means of Abridged Test Lists in Glottochronology.* *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 1:4, pp. 479-506. // *A small paper describing an attempt to apply Swadesh glottochronology to the Crimean variety of Gothic, based on XVIth century data. Includes the complete list of 91 words recorded for Crimean Gothic, 27 of which are on the 110-item list used for the GLD.*

II. Old Norse.

Main source

Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874 = Cleasby, Richard. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary.* Enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. // *The largest and still the most authoritative dictionary of Old Icelandic, illustrated by numerous*

examples and richly annotated as far as the semantic and distributional properties of the words are concerned, making it an excellent source for lexicostatistical list construction.

Additional sources

Zoega 1910 = Zoëga, Geir T. *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. // *This is basically just a condensed version of [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874], containing no additional data; references are provided merely for completeness' sake, and consulting the glosses is sometimes useful for determining the most basic and frequent meanings of a particular word.*

De Vries 1962 = De Vries, Jan. *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Leiden: Brill. // *An etymological dictionary of Old Norse. References are provided mainly for completeness' sake, although in a small handful of cases, etymological information is important in order to provide additional argumentation in favor of a particular meaning of the given word.*

Bergsland & Vogt 1962 = Bergsland, Knut & Vogt, Hans. *On the Validity of Glottochronology*. In: *Current Anthropology*, 3, 2, pp. 115-153. // *This "classic" paper on the intrinsic problems of the glottochronological method contains several 200-item Swadesh wordlists, relatively carefully assembled by specialists in various fields. Contains, in particular, a wordlist for Old Norse, compiled by the authors with the assistance of F. Hødnebo and E. Fjeld Halvorsen.*

III. Icelandic.

Haraldsson 1996 = Haraldsson, Helgi. *Rússnesk-Íslensk Orðabók*. Reykjavík: Nesútgáfan. // *Huge Russian-Icelandic dictionary (more than 50,000 head entries), well illustrated by examples of usage and strictly distinguishing modern from archaic usage.*

Berkov 1962 = В. П. Берков. *Исландско-русский словарь*. Москва: Государственное издательство иностранных и национальных словарей. // *Large Icelandic-Russian dictionary (more than 35,000 entries).*

IV. Faroese.

Young & Clewer 1985 = Young, G. V. C.; Clewer, Cynthia R. Faroese-English Dictionary. Mansk-Svenska Publishing Co. Ltd. // *Mid-size dictionary of the Faroese language, well illustrated with syntactic examples and useful notes on semantics.*

V. Bokmål Norwegian.

Arakin 2000 = В. Д. Аракин. Большой норвежско-русский словарь. Издание 3-е, исправленное. Т. I-II. Москва: Живой язык. // *Huge Russian-Norwegian dictionary (more than 200,000 forms), with a brief grammatical sketch of Norwegian by M. I. Steblin-Kamenskij.*

Berkov 2006 = В. П. Берков. Новый большой русско-норвежский словарь. Москва: Живой язык. // *Huge Norwegian-Russian dictionary (more than 210,000 Russian equivalents of Norwegian forms, with "traditional Bokmål" and "radical Bokmål" forms consistently indicated along with the "default" orthographic norm).*

VI. Danish.

Krugova et al. 2000 = Крымова, Н. И; Эмзина, А. Я.; Новакович, А. С. Большой датско-русский словарь с транскрипцией. Издание 5-е, исправленное. Москва: Живой язык. // *Huge Danish-Russian dictionary (around 160,000 forms), with a brief grammatical sketch of Literary Danish by A. S. Novakovich.*

Harrit & Harrit 2002 = Harrit, Jørgen; Harrit, Valentina. Russisk-Dansk Ordbog. Copenhagen: Gyldendal. // *Large Russian-Danish dictionary (around 50,000 forms), primarily designed for Danish students of the Russian language.*

VII. Swedish.

Marklund-Sharapova 2007a = Марклунд-Шарапова, Э. М. Новый большой шведско-русский словарь. Москва: Живой язык. // *Huge Swedish-Russian dictionary (around 185,000 forms) with phonetic transcription of Swedish forms.*

Marklund-Sharapova 2007b = Марклюд-Шарапова, Э. М. Новый большой русско-шведский словарь. Москва: Живой язык. // *Huge Russian-Swedish dictionary (around 185,000 forms)*.

NOTES

I. Gothic.

I.1. *General.*

All of the Gothic forms extracted from the dictionary [Balg 1887] are thoroughly checked against the actual text corpus [Ulphilas 1896]; most of the individual entries, with the exception of certain super-frequent items ('no', 'I', 'thou', etc.), are accompanied with at least one textual example to confirm their eligibility for inclusion.

Comments may also include some basic grammatical info (such as gender and type of stem for the noun entries). Where known from the XVIth century wordlist compiled by Busbecq, Crimean Gothic equivalents are also listed (although they are quite insufficient, not to mention insecure, to serve as the basis for a separate list).

I.2. *Transliteration.*

The standard transliteration of the Gothic alphabet into Latin letters is taken as the basis for further transliteration into the UTS. The main differences from the standard notation of Gothic words in most sources are as follows:

Common sources	UTS	Notes
e, ê	e:	The Gothic vowels <i>e</i> and <i>o</i> are generally assumed to have been long in most contexts. This length is reflected in the UTS.
o, ô	o:	
ei	i:	There is a general consensus that the digraph <i>ei</i>

Common sources	UTS	Notes
		transcribed a long monophthong in Gothic.
þ	θ	
q	k ^w	
h	x	It is unknown if Gothic <i>h</i> was phonetically realized as a velar (<i>x</i>) or laryngeal (<i>h</i>) fricative. Since, historically, it is the result of lenition of original <i>*k</i> , we prefer to mark it as a velar (also in order to keep things symmetrical with the other fricatives, i. e. <i>f</i> and <i>θ</i>).
hv	x ^w	
j	y	
gg, gk	ŋg, ŋk	
ai	ε	Only before <i>-r-</i> and <i>-x-</i> , <i>-x^w-</i> ; elsewhere, <i>ai</i> is retained.
au	ɔ	Only before <i>-r-</i> and <i>-x-</i> , <i>-x^w-</i> ; elsewhere, <i>au</i> is retained.

One transcriptional element that has not been introduced concerns the voiced fricatives, traditionally marked in as *b*, *ḍ*, *ɣ* (= UTS *β*, *ð*, *γ*). It is generally assumed that they were regular positional variants (intervocalic) of the corresponding voiced stops *b*, *d*, *g*, but direct evidence for this in Gothic is missing. We prefer to retain the orthographic transcription *b*, *d*, *g* in order to reduce the number of transcriptional symbols and ensure phonological unity for purposes of automatic analysis.

Only individual forms, included in the main Gothic field of the database or mentioned in the comments section, have been transliterated. Textual examples are always quoted in the standard transliteration of the Gothic alphabet, as represented in the actual data sources that were used.

II. Old Norse.

II.1. General.

The generic term "Old Norse" is here used primarily to denote "Old West Norse", or

"Old Icelandic". Monuments written in this literary language span across several centuries and several rather distinct genres (the primary difference being between poetry, written in a more archaic and/or stylized language, and prose, more closely reflecting the vernacular standard). In the construction of the wordlist, the following formal criteria were used:

(a) the age of "Old Norse" is marked as the 13th century A.D., since it is generally assumed that the largest corpus of Old Icelandic texts dates from around that period;

(b) prosaic texts are given explicit preference before poetic texts (fortunately, any words that are exclusively encountered in or much more characteristic of poetry than prose are accurately marked in Cleasby & Vigfusson's dictionary, saving the need to peruse textual corpora);

(c) in cases of "transit" synonymy, the factor of frequency of usage of a given word in texts is usually considered as the main argument; where frequencies are hard to determine or comparable, real synonymy is postulated, but such cases form a minority.

The wordlist has been created quite independently of, but later checked against the Old Norse wordlist published in [Bergsland & Vogt 1962]; only a few minor differences were discovered, most of them having to do with the slightly modified semantic standards of the GLD. I am also grateful to Dr. Ilya Sverdlov for valuable advice, drawn from his experience of working on Old Norse texts, on several dubious cases.

Paradigmatic information has not been included on a consistent basis, but gender is always indicated for nouns, different gender forms are adduced for adjectives, numerals, and pronouns when the discrepancies between them are significant, and past tense stems are given for verbs of the "strong" conjugation type.

II.2. *Transliteration.*

Since, on one hand, the generally employed Latin-based orthography for Old Icelandic is fairly straightforward, and, on the other hand, minute phonetic peculiarities of Old Icelandic pronunciation are not always established beyond doubt (and could vary

depending on the century), we prefer to make as few transliterational changes between Cleasby et al.'s notations and the UTS as possible. The main discrepancies are summarized in the following table:

Common sources	UTS	Notes
Ý	V:	Vowel length.
y	ü	
æ (ǣ)	ɛ:	This vowel is always phonetically long.
ø	ö	Spelled as æ in Cleasby's dictionary.
ø	ɔ	Spelled as ö in Cleasby's dictionary.
þ	θ	
j	y	

III. Icelandic.

III.1. *General.*

Two Russian-focused dictionaries of Icelandic, Berkov 1962 and the much more recent Haraldsson 1996, have been used as base references for the compilation of the 100-wordlist for Modern Icelandic. Besides that, dubious cases have been checked against practical usage in various Internet sources; I am also grateful to Dr. Ilya Sverdlov for occasional consultations.

III.2. *Transliteration.*

As per GLD standards, orthographic equivalents of Icelandic words are entered in curly brackets. Orthographic equivalents are also used throughout in the "notes" section. The primary entry, however, is transliterated into UTS according to the following rules:

(a) the basic phonetic form of the Icelandic word is selected from the transcription in [Berkov 1962];

(b) graphic change from the transcription in the dictionary to UTS is minimal (Berkov's $j > \text{UTS } y; p > \text{UTS } \theta; \chi > \text{UTS } x; q > \text{UTS } \gamma$);

(c) however, certain phonetic details have been omitted / changed for convenience. Most importantly, we omit the complex system of Icelandic allophones for voiced / voiceless stops, phonetically realized as semi-voiced (d, b , etc.) or voiceless aspirated (t^h, p^h) phones depending on contexts; for the sake of simplicity and readability, for these sounds we always retain their orthographic (historic) notations;

(d) on the other hand, for the vowel system, which has genuinely underwent an impressive transformation from the Old Norse period to modern times, we consistently adduce the phonetic values as per Berkov's transcription system; thus, graphic $u = \gamma, i = \iota, \acute{i} = \acute{i}, o = \upsilon \sim \varkappa, \acute{o} = ou:, e = \varepsilon \sim \varepsilon:, ei = \varepsilon\acute{i}, \acute{y} = \acute{i}, au = \ddot{o}\acute{i}, \varkappa = a\acute{i}$, etc.

IV. Faroese.

I.1. General.

Our main source for Faroese has been the mid-size dictionary [Young & Clewer 1985]; additionally, a variety of web resources have been consulted for issues of more accurate transcription, detailed semantics, contextual usage, etc.

I.2. Transliteration.

Transliteration principles mainly follow the rules specified in [Young & Clewer 1985], although, for simplicity purposes, the transcription is not purely phonetical in some points; for instance, the phoneme [r] is not transcribed phonetically as \mathfrak{r} , etc.

V. Bokmål Norwegian.

V.1. General.

Literary Norwegian ("Bokmål") is not an easy language to describe in lexicostatistical terms, since it is essentially a "hybrid" of colloquial Norwegian and Danish, with many

words either directly borrowed from Danish or "influenced" by Danish forms (i.e. probably never "replaced" as such in colloquial usage, but reformed in accordance with Danish pronunciation). Things are complicated even further by the existence of several orthographic / orthoepic norms for Bokmål, including a "traditional" variant (where there are even more Danish-like forms) and a "radical" variant (where, on the other hand, some words have been "Norwegized", thus becoming closer to their Nynorsk equivalents). In the current database, the following approach is currently suggested:

(a) "Danish-looking" forms of Bokmål are counted neither as replacements nor as borrowings, but as etymological cognates of the corresponding Germanic forms in other languages, i. e. marked with positive numbers. E.g. such forms as *dø* 'to die', *hånd* 'hand' (instead of *døy*, *hånn*), etc., are counted as "influenced" by Danish, but not "borrowed" from Danish.

(b) Borrowings from German, such as *spise* 'to eat', are definitely counted as borrowings and marked with a negative number. Some basic words have also been suggested as borrowings from Swedish, e.g. *sky* 'cloud', but evidence for that is frequently ambiguous, and most of those words could also count as Danish "borrowings" / "influences". We treat them the same way, i.e. as normal cognates.

(c) We consistently follow the information in the dictionaries of [Arakin 2000] and [Berkov 2006], choosing "default Bokmål" over "traditional Bokmål" (usually same as the ultra-conservative "Riksmål" norm) and "radical Bokmål", although from a lexicostatistical point of view this makes no difference whatsoever (cognition indexes always remain the same if "Danish-influenced" forms are treated the same way as "fully inherited" forms).

V.2. Transliteration.

As per GLD standards, orthographic equivalents of Norwegian words are entered in curly brackets. Orthographic equivalents are also used throughout in the "notes" section. The primary entry is transliterated into UTS according to the following rules:

(a) the basic phonetic form of the Norwegian word is determined by the pronunciation

rules as described in [Arakin 2000: II, 524-528] (the dictionary itself only lists phonetic transcriptions where they are not predictable through orthography; in such cases, we take over the transcribed form as well);

(b) graphic change from the transcription in the dictionary to UTS is minimal (Arakin's *f* > UTS *š*; *ç* > UTS *ʃ*; *j* > UTS *y*; *æ* > UTS *ä*; *y* > UTS *ü*); retroflex consonants (*t*, *d*, *n*, *l*), phonetically developing from clusters *rt*, *rd*, *rn*, *rl*, are transliterated as *t̚*, *d̚*, *n̚*, *l̚* respectively;

(c) for extra adequacy purposes, high and low pitch accent on root morphemes are marked wherever they are explicitly present in the dictionaries (only in the transcription, not in normative orthography).

VI. Danish.

VI.1. General.

The wordlist is based on Standard Danish (official form of the language, based on the dialect of Copenhagen). All forms have been elicited with the aid of two bilingual dictionaries (Russian-Danish and Danish-Russian), well illustrated by examples of usage; some complex cases were further checked against a variety of Internet sources reflecting literary and colloquial usage.

VI.2. Transliteration.

Since the dictionary [Krymova et al. 2000] includes complete phonetic transcription for all the listed Danish words (as an auxiliary measure to facilitate the complexity of relations between conservative Dutch orthography and actual pronunciation), we have used it as the basis for all primary slot inclusions, keeping further transliteration to UTS standards to an absolute minimum. In the primary slots, forms are adduced in phonetic transliteration and standard orthography. In the notes section, only standard orthographic variants are listed.

VII. Swedish.

VII.1. *General.*

The wordlist is based on Standard Swedish (the most common form of the language, based primarily on the dialect of Stockholm, as reflected in standard dictionaries of the language). All forms have been elicited with the aid of two bilingual dictionaries (Russian-Swedish and Swedish-Russian), well illustrated by examples of usage; some complex cases were further checked against a variety of Internet sources reflecting literary and colloquial usage.

VII.2. *Transliteration.*

As in the case of Danish, the dictionary [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a] includes complete phonetic transcription for all the listed Swedish words. This transcription was largely retained in our list, including stress and tonal marks, although a few minor vocalic allophones were merged (e. g. *E* and *ε*). The source also regularly marks consonantal length with *:*; we render this with a double consonant when it is reflected in the orthography (e. g. *fött* {kött} 'meat'), but with a length mark when this is purely a phonetic convention without any orthographic basis (e. g. *høn:d* {hund} 'dog').

In the primary slots, forms are adduced in phonetic transliteration and standard orthography. In the notes section, only standard orthographic variants are listed.

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (last update: February 2016).

1. ALL

Gothic *all-s* (1), Old Norse *all-r* (1), Icelandic *adl-yr* {*allur*} (1), Faroese *'adl-yr* {*allur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *all* {*all*} (1), Danish *a?l* {*al*} (1), Swedish *all* {*all*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 21. The word is used in Gothic both in the meaning of '*totus*, whole' (cf. Mtth. 5:29: *allata leik þein* "all of your body" [Ulfilas 1896: 4]) and '*omnis*, every(one)' (cf. Mtth. 9:35: *bitauh Iesus baurgs allos* "Jesus walked around all the towns" [Ulfilas 1896: 12]).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 16; Zoega 1910: 10; De Vries 1962: 7. Used both in the meaning of '*totus*, whole' (in the sg. form *all-r*) and in the meaning of '*omnis*, every(one)' (in the pl. form *all-ir*).

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 63; Berkov 1962: 39. Used both in the meaning of '*totus*, whole' (in the sg. form *allur*) and in the meaning of '*omnis*, every(one)' (in the pl. form *allir*).

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 10. Used both in the meaning of '*totus*, whole' (in the sg. form *allur*) and in the meaning of '*omnis*, every(one)' (in the pl. form *allir*).

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 28; Berkov 2006: 72. Distinct from *hele* 'all' = '*totus*, whole'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 29; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 40. Distinct from *hel* 'all' = '*totus*, whole' [Krymova et al. 2000: 260].

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 6; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 48.

2. ASHES

Gothic *azg-o:* (1), Old Norse *ask-a* (1), Icelandic *ask-a* {*aska*} (1), Faroese *'ösk-a* {*øska*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *às-k-ε* {*aske*} (1), Danish *'asg-ø* {*aske*} (1), Swedish *'às:k-a* {*aska*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 39. Fem. gender; stem in *-n-*. Cf. Mtth. 11:21: *airis þau in sakkau jah azgon idreigodedeina* "they would have repented long ago, in sackcloth and ashes" [Ulfilas 1896: 14].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 25; Zoega 1910: 20; De Vries 1962: 15. Feminine gender; cf. the genitive form *ask-u*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 468; Berkov 1962: 50.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 684.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 51; Berkov 2006: 591. Definite form: *ask-en*. "Radical Bokmål": *òsk-e*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 48; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 267. Definite form: *ask-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 24; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 423. Definite form: *ask-a-n*.

3. BARK

Old Norse *bark-r* (1), Icelandic *börk-yr* {*börkur*} (1), Faroese *bark* {*bark*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *bark* {*bark*} (1), Danish *ba.ik* {*bark*} (1), Swedish *bar:k* {*bark*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 92; Zoega 1910: 83; De Vries 1962: 70. Masculine gender; cf. the genitive form *bark-ar*, dative *berk-i*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 295; Berkov 1962: 108.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 31. Neuter gender. The masculine form *børk-ur* [Young & Clewer 1985: 74] is marked as "rare" in the meaning 'bark', but "common" in the meaning 'skin (on boiled milk, paint, varnish and the like)'.
Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 77; Berkov 2006: 351. Definite form: *bark-en*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 57; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 158. Definite form: *bark-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 45; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 246. Definite form: *bark-en*.

4. BELLY

Gothic *wamb-a* (1), Old Norse *kvið-r* (2), Icelandic *kvið-yr* {*kviður*} (2), Faroese *bu:k-vr* {*búkur*} (3), Bokmal Norwegian *måg-ε* {*mage*} (4), Danish *m'a:və* {*mave*} (4), Swedish *m'v:gə* {*mage*} (4).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 528. Fem. gender. Most of the contexts refer to the semantics of 'womb' (referring primarily to the Mother of God), but there are a few passages that confirm the general meaning 'belly' as well, cf. Mk. 7:19: *ni galeiþiþ imma in hairto, ak in wamba* "it does not enter in his heart, but in his belly" [Ulfilas 1896: 32], etc.

It is somewhat hard to establish the difference between *wamb-a* and its quasi-synonym *qīpus*, glossed in [Balg 1887: 229] as 'womb; stomach'. The latter, however, never translates Greek *κοιλια* 'belly', and is at least once encountered in the precise meaning 'stomach' (body organ rather than body part), cf. I Tim. 5:23: *weinis leitil brukjais in qīpaus þeimis* "take a little wine for your stomach" [Ulfilas 1896: 204]. It may, therefore, be surmised that *wamba* referred primarily to the inside part of the body (which is the required Swadesh meaning), whereas *qīpus* had the polysemous semantics of 'womb / stomach' ('organ inside the belly').

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 364; Zoega 1910: 254; De Vries 1962: 338. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'belly / womb'. Distinct from *magi* [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 408], which is predominantly 'stomach' or 'maw', and from *vomb* [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 722] which seems to be a "vulgar" equivalent of 'belly' (Cleasby: "mostly in a low sense, especially of beasts"). Overall, there is some significant contextual overlap between all the three words, but the underlying opposition of 'belly ~ womb', 'stomach', and 'belly (vulg.)' seems to suggest *kvið-r* as the most eligible candidate (*contra* [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 117], where 'belly' is still rendered as *magi*, whereas *kvið-r* is glossed as 'less inclusive; womb' - this judgement is not supported well by the data in Cleasby's dictionary, but, perhaps, a more detailed scrutiny is required).

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 191; Berkov 1962: 382. Distinct from *magi* 'stomach' [Berkov 1962: 430] (also used in contexts of 'stomach ache'); from *vömb* 'belly' (vulgar equivalent) [Berkov 1962: 875].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 67. Meaning glossed as 'abdomen, stomach, belly; waist; (ballad) body'. The partial synonym *magi* [Young & Clewer 1985: 372], glossed as 'stomach, belly', seems to be primarily referring to 'stomach' as an organ or to the interior part of the belly. Cf. also *kviður* 'abdomen, stomach' [Young & Clewer 1985: 327], although this word is never given as the default Faroese equivalent for 'belly' in any of the sources. On the whole, this seems like one of the very few Swadesh items to reflect a lexicostatistical difference between Icelandic and Faroese.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 520; Berkov 2006: 229. "Traditional Bokmål": *måve* (Danish-influenced form). Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'. Distinct from *buk* 'belly (of animal)', used also of persons in a vulgar sense [Arakin 2000: I, 146; Berkov 2006: 229].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 418; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 105. Polysemy: 'stomach / belly / bowels'. Another synonym is *bug* [Krymova et al. 2000: 103], usually seen as a more vulgar (and statistically less frequent) equivalent (see the same situation carried over to Bokmål Norwegian). The word *abdomen*, listed as another equivalent for 'belly' in [Harrit & Harrit 2002: 105], is a specialized anatomical term.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 436; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 154. Polysemy: 'stomach / belly'. Definite form: *mag-e-n*. Plural: *mag-ar*. Another synonym is *buk* [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 95], but it seems to be confined to the "vulgar" register, as in Danish.

5. BIG

Gothic *mikil-s* (1), Old Norse *mikill* (1) / *sto:rr* (2), Icelandic *stou:r {stór}* (2), Faroese *st'ður-vr {stórrur}* (2), Bokmal Norwegian *stu:r {stor}* (2), Danish *sdo?i {stor}* (2), Swedish *stu:r {stor}* (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 282. Cf. Mtth. 27:60: *jah faurwalwojands staina mikil-amma* "and, having rolled forward a big (large) stone..." [Ulfilas 1896: 18], etc. Polysemy: 'big / great (of people, etc.)'.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 427; Zoega 1910: 296; De Vries 1962: 386. Polysemy: 'great / large / tall / much'. Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 596; Zoega 1910: 411; De Vries 1962: 551. The difference between *mikill* and *sto:rr* in Old Norse texts is difficult to formalize; overall, from a historical point of view it seems that we are dealing with a case of "transit synonymy", where the original word (*mikill*) is gradually shifting to the marked ("magnificative") meaning 'great', replaced by the new word (*sto:rr*) in the basic (neutral) meaning 'big'. However, it cannot be stated with certainty at which precise chronological point the transition was already complete (or, at least, requires very detailed textual research); therefore, we include both words as "quasi-synonyms".

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 38; Berkov 1962: 709. Cf. also *mikill* 'big' [Berkov 1962: 448]. In Old Norse (cf. notes) the semantic difference between *mikill* and *storr* is still rather smudged, but in Modern Icelandic *stór* seems to have firmly stabilized as the default "neutral" equivalent, whereas *mikill* is used more generally in the abstract sense ('great', 'important', etc.). That said, this is a situation of lexical replacement from Proto-Germanic to Modern Icelandic rather than to Old Norse, where the old word is still competing with the new one.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 559. Distinct from *mikil* 'great' [Young & Clewer 1985: 20].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 260; Berkov 2006: 46. Polysemy: 'large / great / adult'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 654; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 29. Polysemy: 'large / great / adult'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 708; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 29. Polysemy: 'large / great / adult'.

6. BIRD

Gothic *fugl-s* (1), Old Norse *fugl* (1), Icelandic *fygl {fugl}* (1), Faroese *fvgl-vr {fuglur}* (1), Bokmal Norwegian *f#l {fugl}* (1), Danish *fu?l {fugl}* (1), Swedish *fo:gæl {fågel}* (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 109. Masc. gender; stem in *-a-*. Cf. Mtth. 6:26: *insaihwip du fuglam himinis* "look at the birds of the sky" [Ulfilas 1896: 7].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 177; Zoega 1910: 152; De Vries 1962: 146. Masculine gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 586; Berkov 1962: 199. Masculine gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 152. Masculine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 288; Berkov 2006: 773. Definite form: *fugl-en*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 215; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 343. Definite form: *fugl-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 197; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 557. Definite form: *fågel-n*. Plural: *fågl-ar*.

7. BITE

Gothic *at-an* (1), Old Norse *bit-a* (1), Icelandic *bit-a {bíta}* (1), Faroese *bi:t-a {bíta}* (1),

Bokmal Norwegian *bʲ:t-ε* {bite} (1), Danish *bʲ:ð-ə* {bide} (1), Swedish *bʲ:t-a* {bita} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 50. Attested in just a single context, but quite reliable, since it translates Greek δάκνω 'to bite': Galat. 5:15: *ip jabai izwis misso beitiþ jah fairinop* "and if you keep biting and accusing each other..." [Ulfilas 1896: 169].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 64; Zoega 1910: 54; De Vries 1962: 38.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 308; Berkov 1962: 74. Polysemy: 'to bite / to be sharp (of knife)'. Distinct from *sting-a* 'to sting, bite (of insects, etc.)'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 44. Polysemy: 'to bite / to ache / to be sharp (of knife)'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 108; Berkov 2006: 372. Polysemy: 'to bite / to be sharp (of knife)'. Distinct from *stikk-e* 'to sting, bite (of insects, etc.)'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 78; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 165c. Polysemy: 'to bite / to sting / to cut (of knife)'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 69; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 262. Polysemy: 'to bite / to sting'.

8. BLACK

Gothic *swart-s* (1), Old Norse *svart-r* (1), Icelandic *svart-yr* {svartur} (1), Faroese *sv'ašt-yr* {svartur} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *svaʔ* {svart} (1), Danish *soad* {sort} (1), Swedish *svaʔ* {svart} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 415. Attested only once, but in a reliable passage, Mtth. 5:36: *ni magt ain tagl hweit aiþþau swart gataujan* "you cannot make a single hair white or black". A derived noun is also attested in II Cor. 3:3: *swart-izl* 'ink (= that which is black)' [Ulfilas 1896: 415].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 607; Zoega 1910: 419; De Vries 1962: 565. This seems to have been the most basic and neutral equivalent for 'black' in Old Norse. Much less eligible for inclusion are: (a) *blakk-r* (cf. in [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 67]: "*svart-r* ... represents the Lat. *niger*; while *blakkr* corresponds to the Lat. *ater* 'dead or dusky black'"), translated as 'black, dun-coloured' in [Zoega 1910: 56] and as 'pale; yellow-brownish (of horses)' in [De Vries 1962: 42]; and (b) *blax*, translated as 'dark blue, livid' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 68] (applied to lead, among other things); 'blue, livid; black' in [Zoega 1910: 57]; 'blue, dark, black' in [De Vries 1962: 42]. Both of these adjectives seem to refer to various dark shades of color, but not to the proverbial 'black' as such.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 795; Berkov 1962: 732. Polysemy: 'black / dark'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 573.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 283; Berkov 2006: 1082. "Traditional Bokmål": *sort* (Danish-influenced form). Polysemy: 'black / dark / dirty'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 631; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 482. Polysemy: 'black / dark / dirty'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 732; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 778. Polysemy: 'black / dark'.

9. BLOOD

Gothic *blo:θ* (1), Old Norse *blo:ð* (1), Icelandic *blou:ð* {blóð} (1), Faroese *blou:* {blóð} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *blu:d* {blod} (1), Danish *bloʔð* {blod} (1), Swedish *blu:d* {blod} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 58. Neuter gender. Cf. Mtth. 27:4: *galewjands bloþ swikn* "spilling innocent blood" [Ulfilas 1896: 16]. Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *plut* 'blood' [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 69; Zoega 1910: 59; De Vries 1962: 44. Neuter gender. Distinct from the somewhat more specialized word *dreyri*, defined in [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 106] as "blood, esp. gore; properly 'blood oozing out of the wound'" (corresp. to Latin *cruor* rather than *sanguis*); as "blood, gore" in [Zoega 1910: 95].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 303; Berkov 1962: 81. Neuter gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 50. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'blood / blood relationship, kinship'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 115; Berkov 2006: 363. Definite form: *blod-et*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 85; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 163. Definite form: *blod-et*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 74; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 256. Definite form: *blod-et*.

10. BONE

Old Norse *bein* (1), Icelandic *bey:n* {*bein*} (1), Faroese *bai:n* {*bein*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *bey:n* {*bein*} ~ *bey:n* {*ben*} (1), Danish *kn'cył-a* {*knogle*} (-1), Swedish *be:n* {*ben*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested (all of the Evangelical passages in which the word 'bone' is used are missing from the existing manuscripts).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 55; Zoega 1910: 45; De Vries 1962: 30. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'bone / leg (from the knee to the foot)' (according to Cleasby, the latter meaning is very rare in Icelandic texts).

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 298; Berkov 1962: 66. Neuter gender. Distinct from *leggur* 'shank; bone (of arm or leg)' [Berkov 1962: 401].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 34. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'leg / limb / bone / dead body, corpse (pl.)'. Additional synonym: *knota* 'bone, ossicle' [Young & Clewer 1985: 309]. Various contexts and sources show that the old word *bein* is still the default equivalent for the Swadesh meaning.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 90; Berkov 2006: 355. Definite form: *be(i)n-et*. The orthographic variant *ben* is marked as "traditional Bokmål" in [Berkov 2006] (i. e. identified as a Danish-influenced form), while the "standard" form is given as *bein*, reflecting a more colloquial Norwegian pronunciation. However, [Arakin 2000] clearly identifies the "default" Bokmål variant as *ben*. Clearly a mixed situation here; we list both variants as primary.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 336; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 160. Definite form: *knogl-en*. The situation here is complex: most modern dictionaries give two equivalents for the meaning 'bone' - the German borrowing *knogle* as well as the older *ben* [Krymova et al. 2000: 67]. However, analysis of various contexts shows that the main meaning of *ben* in modern Danish is undeniably 'leg'; in the meaning 'bone' it is usually only encountered in bound expressions, compounds, as well as the secondary meaning 'bone (material)' rather than 'bone (part of skeleton)'. It seems safe to assume that *ben* is no longer truly eligible for inclusion on the Swadesh wordlist and should be replaced by *knogle*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 55; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 249. Definite form: *ben-et*. Polysemy: 'bone / leg'.

11. BREAST

Gothic *brust-s* (1), Old Norse *bryo:st* (1), Icelandic *bryoust* {*brjóst*} (1), Faroese *bröst* {*bróst*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *brüst* {*bryst*} (1), Danish *bröst* {*bryst*} (1), Swedish *brös:t* {*bröst*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 62. Attested in the literal meaning only once, but in a reliable context that clearly refers to '(male) chest': Lu. 18:13: *sa motareis... sloh in brusts seinos...* "this publican... beat his breast" [Ulfilas 1896: 86]. Several other contexts feature the figurative

meaning 'inside, inner senses, heart', e. g. Fil. 20: *anaþrafstei meinos brusts in Xristau* "refresh my bowels in the Lord" [Ulfilas 1896: 213]. Should be strictly distinguished from *barm-s* 'lap, bosom' [Ulfilas 1896: 45].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 80; Zoega 1910: 70; De Vries 1962: 57. Neuter gender. No lexical difference between 'male breast' ('chest') and 'female breast'. Polysemy: 'breast / mind, heart, feeling, disposition'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 143; Berkov 1962: 95. Neuter gender. No lexical difference between 'male breast' ('chest') and 'female breast'. Secondary synonym: *bringa* 'breast; thorax' [Berkov 1962: 94].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 62. Neuter gender. Applicable both to 'male breast' ('chest') and 'female breast'. Secondary synonym: *bringa* 'breast; chest' [Young & Clewer 1985: 61], applicable primarily to male chests. However, evidence that would suggest the lexical usage of these two terms is significantly different from Icelandic is lacking.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 143; Berkov 2006: 169. Definite form: *bryst-et*. No lexical difference between 'male breast' ('chest') and 'female breast'. Secondary synonym: *bring-e* 'large/strong chest' (dialectal or expressive) [Berkov 2006: 169].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 100; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 77. Definite form: *bryst-et*. No lexical difference between 'male breast' ('chest') and 'female breast'. Polysemy: 'breast / heart, soul (fig.)'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 94; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 113. Definite form: *bröst-et*. No lexical difference between 'male breast' ('chest') and 'female breast'.

12. BURN TR.

Gothic *brann-y-an* # (1), Old Norse *brenn-a* (1), Icelandic *brenn-a* {*brenna*} (1), Faroese *br'enn-a* {*brenna*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *brènn-ε* {*brenne*} (1), Danish *br'en-ə* {*brænde*} (1), Swedish *br'änn-a* {*bränna*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 59. This is a regular causative formation from the intransitive verb *brinn-an* [Balg 1887: 61], but it is not attested on its own without certain modifying prefixes, e. g. *ga=brann-yan* in I Cor. 13:3 (*jabai atgibau leik mein ei gabrannjaidau* "if I give away my body to be burnt" [Ulfilas 1896: 142]). Still, there is little reason to doubt that this root was the main equivalent for 'to burn (tr.)' in Gothic, given that this is the only attested candidate that, additionally, is well supported by external evidence.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 79; Zoega 1910: 69; De Vries 1962: 56. Both transitive and intransitive meanings are attested. Distinct from *svið-a* 'to burn, to singe; to smart, burn (of a wound)' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 612].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 191; Berkov 1962: 92. Used in both transitive and intransitive functions. Distinct from the quasi-synonym *sviða* 'to burn, to singe, to scorch' [Berkov 1962: 736].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 60. Used in both transitive and intransitive functions.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 135; Berkov 2006: 228. Used in both transitive and intransitive functions.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 101; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 105. Used in both transitive and intransitive functions.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 93; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 153. Used in both transitive and intransitive functions.

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Old Norse *nagl* (1), Icelandic *nögl* {*nögl*} (1), Faroese *n'agl-vr* {*naglur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *neil* {*negl*} (1), Danish *naǵl* {*negl*} (1), Swedish *n'v:gəl* {*nagel*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 445; Zoega 1910: 308; De Vries 1962: 403. Masculine gender; cf. the plural form *negl*. Cf. *nagl-i* 'nail, spike' [ibid.].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 398; Berkov 1962: 485. Feminine gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 399. Masculine gender. Plural: *negl* (feminine).

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 12; Berkov 2006: 494. Definite form: *negl-en*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 453; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 224. Definite form: *negl-en*. Polysemy: 'claw / nail'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 477; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 352. Definite form: *nagel-n*. Plural: *nagl-ar*.

14. CLOUD

Gothic *milx-ma* (1), Old Norse *skü:* (2), Icelandic *ski:* {*ský*} (2), Faroese *skvž* {*skýggj*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *šü:* {*sky*} (2), Danish *sgü?* {*sky*} (2), Swedish *mo:ln ~ mɔ:ln* {*moln*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 282. Masc. gender; stem in *-n-* (the final element *-ma(n-)* is a complex nominal suffix). Cf. Mk. 9:7: *warp milhma jah ufarskadwida ins* "there came a cloud and overshadowed them" [Ulfilas 1896: 76].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 564; Zoega 1910: 385; De Vries 1962: 508. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'cloud / cataract (on the eye)'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 406; Berkov 1962: 643. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'cloud / cataract (on the eye)'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 518. Neuter gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 202; Berkov 2006: 504. Definite form: *sky-en*. According to [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 117], this form is borrowed from Swedish (technically, it could also be of Danish origin, since both Swedish and Danish preserve original *sk-*, whereas in colloquial Norwegian *sk- > sy-*).

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 607; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 230. Definite form: *sky-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 461; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 361. Definite form: *moln-et*. In modern Swedish, this seems to be the basic equivalent for 'cloud' rather than *sky*, going back to the common Scandinavian equivalent for 'cloud': this latter term is glossed as 'thin and light cloud' in [Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 361] and, with polysemy, as 'cloud, small cloud / Heavens' in [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 651].

15. COLD

Gothic *kal-d-s* (1), Old Norse *kal-d-r* (1), Icelandic *kal-d-yr* {*kaldur*} (1), Faroese *k'ald-yr* {*kaldur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *kald* {*kald*} (1), Danish *kɔl?* {*kold*} (1), Swedish *kall* {*kall*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 213. Cf. Mtth. 10:42: *stikla kaldis watins* "with a bowl of cold water" [Ulfilas 1896: 13].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 329; Zoega 1910: 235; De Vries 1962: 298.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 784; Berkov 1962: 348.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 284. Polysemy: 'cold / insensitive / dead / skinny / unable to sing in tune'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 409; Berkov 2006: 1066.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 339; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 473.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 337; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 765.

16. COME

Gothic *k^wim-an* (1), Old Norse *kom-a* (1), Icelandic *kǫ:m-a* {*koma*} (1), Faroese *k'ò:m-a* {*koma*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *kðmm-ε* {*komme*} (1), Danish *k'ɔm-ə* {*komme*} (1), Swedish *k'ðmm-a* {*komma*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 225. Cf. Mtth. 6:10: *qimai þindinassus þeins* "let Your kingdom come" [Ulfilas 1896: 6]; used *passim* all over the text, either all by itself or in combination with various directional prefixes (*ana=k^wim-an*, etc.).

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *kommen* 'come' [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 348; Zoega 1910: 245; De Vries 1962: 325.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 555; Berkov 1962: 367.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 11, 312.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 442; Berkov 2006: 726.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 341; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 319.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 360; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 523.

17. DIE

Gothic *ga=dauθ-n-an* (1) / *swilt-an* (2), Old Norse *deiy-a* (1), Icelandic *deiy-a* {*deiya*} (1), Faroese *d'ɔʒʒ-a* {*doyggja*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *dø:* {*dø*} (1), Danish *dø?* {*dø*} (1), Swedish *dö:* {*dø*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 68. Cf. Mtth. 8:32: *jah gadauþnodedun in watnam* "and they (the pigs) perished (died) in the water" [Ulfilas 1896: 10]; Mk. 9:48: *þarei maþa ize ni gadauþniþ* "where their worm does not die" [Ulfilas 1896: 38]. A prefixal formation from the unattested simple verb **d:θ-n-an*, which is, itself, a derivative from the noun *dauθ-s* 'death' [Balg 1887: 68]. The even older and simpler verbal base *diw-* 'to die', from which *dauθ-s* was derived already in Proto-Germanic, is only preserved in Gothic in the archaic idiom *þata diw-ano* "that which is mortal, mortality" [Balg 1887: 72]. Balg 1887: 421. Without accompanying prefixes, attested only once, in Lc. 8:42: *jah so swalt* "and she was dying" [Ulfilas 1896: 73]. Much more frequently used with the prefix *ga=*, cf. Mtth. 9:24: *ni gaswalt so mawi* "this maid is not dead" [Ulfilas 1896: 11]; Mk. 12:22: *spedumista allaize gaswalt jah so qens* "last of all, the woman also died" [Ulfilas 1896: 43].

Although (*ga=*)*swilt-an* is attested in the text of Ulfilas much more frequently than *ga=dauθ-n-an*, it is impossible to establish a transparent semantic difference between the two. There are at least several instances in which both words are found in adjacent contexts, translating the same Greek equivalent. For instance, the phrase "where their worm does not die" is translated as *þarei maþa ize ni gadauþniþ* in Mtth. 9:48, but as *þarei maþa ize ni gaswiltiþ* in Mtth. 9:44 and 9:46 [Ulfilas 1896: 37]. It is highly likely that one of the words is a "regular" equivalent and the other one is a "stylistic" (euphemistic, polite, etc.) equivalent, but there is hardly any way, based on internal Gothic evidence, to determine which is which. We include both words in the list as "technical" synonyms.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 99; Zoega 1910: 88; De Vries 1962: 76. Cf. the past tense form: *dø:*. Secondary synonym: *svelt-a* [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 609], with polysemy: 'to starve, suffer hunger / to die'. According to Cleasby, "this sense (*to die*), which agrees with the use in Gothic and Anglo-Saxon, is disused in the Northern language and remains only in poetry". It seems that (probably just as in the other ancient Germanic languages) we are dealing here with a euphemistic equivalent of the original 'to die', which failed to acquire basic status in Old Norse.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 758; Berkov 1962: 114. Polysemy: 'to die / to extinguish'. Past tense: *dó:*.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 82.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 194; Berkov 2006: 1027. Polysemy: 'to die / to extinguish'. According to [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 117], influenced by Danish.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 138; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 454.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 131; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 737.

18. DOG

Gothic *xund-s* (1), Old Norse *hund-r* (1), Icelandic *hynd-yr* {*hundur*} (1), Faroese *h'vnd-vr* {*hundur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *hønn* {*hund*} (1), Danish *hun?* {*hund*} (1), Swedish *hön:d* {*hund*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 184. Masc. gender; *a*-stem. Cf. Lc. 16:21: *jah hundos atrinmandans bilaigodedun banjos is* "and the dogs ran up and licked his sores" [Ulfilas 1896: 84].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 292; Zoega 1910: 215; De Vries 1962: 267. Masculine gender. Secondary synonym: *rakk-i* [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 181] (probably "a sort of dog" rather than a generic term for dogs).

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 677; Berkov 1962: 317. Masculine gender. Secondary synonym: *rakki* [Berkov 1962: 537] (a more specialized term, closer to 'male dog' than 'dog' in general).

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 250. Masculine gender. Distinct from *rakki* '(young) dog' [Young & Clewer 1985: 445].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 364; Berkov 2006: 901. Definite form: *hund-en*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 277; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 402. Definite form: *hund-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 285; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 650. Definite form: *hund-en*. Plural: *hund-ar*.

19. DRINK

Gothic *drinþk-an* (1), Old Norse *drekk-a* (1), Icelandic *drekk-a* {*drekka*} (1), Faroese *dr'ekkk-a* {*drekka*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *drik:-ε* {*drikke*} (1), Danish *dr'eg-ə* {*drikke*} (1), Swedish *dr'ik:-a* {*dricka*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 75. Cf. Mtth. 6:31: *hwa matjam aiþþau hwa drigkam* "what shall we eat or what shall we drink?" [Ulfilas 1896: 7].

In Crimean Gothic, a very strange, unetymologized equivalent is attested instead: *kilemsch-* 'to drink' [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 104; Zoega 1910: 93; De Vries 1962: 82. Past tense: *drakk*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 486; Berkov 1962: 121.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 86.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 185; Berkov 2006: 623.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 132; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 278.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 124; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 445.

20. DRY

Old Norse *þurr* (1), Icelandic *þurr ~ þyr* {*þurr*} (1), Faroese *t'vrr-vr* {*turrur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *törr* {*törr*} (1), Danish *tæ?ɹ* {*tør*} (1), Swedish *törr* {*torr*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested properly. The best (in fact, only) candidate is probably the adjective *θars-us* [Balg 1887: 465], but its inclusion in the main wordlist is highly problematic, since both this word and the corresponding verbs *θars-y-an* and *ga=θars-n-an* [ibid.] are only attested in the text with the semantics of (a) '(to be) dried up, withered' or (b) '(to be) thirsty', cf. Mk. 11:20: *gasehwun þana smakkabagm þaursjana us waurtim* "they saw the fig tree dried up from the roots" [Ulfilas 1896: 42]. Since the meanings 'dried up, withered' and 'dry (of clothes, etc.)' are often expressed in Germanic languages with different roots, it is safer to leave the slot empty.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 750; Zoega 1910: 520; De Vries 1962: 627. This adjective is applied to 'food', 'land', 'clothes', etc.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 717; Berkov 1962: 905. Polysemy: 'dry / stale / dried up / dull'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 615. Polysemy: 'dry / dried, prepared by drying / barren'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 362; Berkov 2006: 966. Polysemy: 'dry / stale / dried up / dull'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 729; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 425. Polysemy: 'dry / stale / dried up / dull'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 782; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 692. Polysemy: 'dry / stale / dried up / dull'.

21. EAR

Gothic *aus-o:* (1), Old Norse *eir-a* (1), Icelandic *ei:r-a* {*eyra*} (1), Faroese *'i:r-a* {*oyra*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *ø:r-ε* {*øre*} (1), Danish *ö:ɹ-ə* {*øre*} (1), Swedish *ö:r-a* {*öra*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 37. Neuter gender; *n*-stem. Cf. Mk. 4:9: *saei habai ausona hausjandona, gahausjai* "he that has ears to hear, let him hear" [Ulfilas 1896: 25].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 135; Zoega 1910: 120; De Vries 1962: 107. Neuter gender. Plural form: *eir-u*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 769; Berkov 1962: 151. Neuter gender. Cf. *hlust* 'ear (applied to certain animals, e. g. bears, birds, etc.) / ear canal' [Berkov 1962: 292].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 432. Neuter gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 476; Berkov 2006: 1042. Definite form: *øre-t*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 802; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 462. Definite form: *øre-t*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 918; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 748. Definite form: *ör-at*. Plural: *ör-on*.

22. EARTH

Gothic *erθ-a* (1), Old Norse *yǫrð* (1), Icelandic *yörð* {*jörð*} (1), Faroese *yö:r* {*jørð*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *yu:ɖ* {*jjord*} (1), Danish *yoʔɹ* {*jjord*} (1), Swedish *yu:ɖ* {*jjord*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 12. Fem. gender; *o*-stem. Usually attested with the semantics of 'earth = world' (e. g. as opposed to 'Heaven'), but also in the requested meaning 'earth = soil (as substance)', cf. in particular Mk. 4:5: *þarei ni habaida airþa managa* "where it (the seed) did not have much earth" [Ulfilas 1896: 25].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 327; Zoega 1910: 234; De Vries 1962: 295. Feminine gender. Polysemy: 'earth (world) / earth (surface) / earth (soil) / pasture / land, estate'. A very close synonym in the meaning 'earth (soil)' is *mold* 'mould; earth' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 434], referring to dug-up soil; however, since *yǫrð* is still actively used in the meaning 'soil' as well, we prefer to

treat *mold* as a more specialized term for now and not include it in the calculations (*contra* [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 117], where *mold* is taken as the main equivalent).

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 234; Berkov 1962: 346. Feminine gender. Polysemy: 'earth (world) / earth (surface) / earth (soil) / pasture / land, estate'. The semantic difference between Modern Icelandic *jörð* and *mold* 'earth, soil' [Berkov 1962: 455] seems to largely remain the same as in Old Norse times.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 283. Feminine gender. Polysemy: 'earth (world) / earth (surface) / earth (soil) / land, property'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 405; Berkov 2006: 279. Definite form: *jord-a*. Polysemy: 'earth (world) / earth (surface) / earth (soil) / land, estate'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 314; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 126. Definite form: *jord-en*. Polysemy: 'earth (world) / earth (surface) / earth (soil) / land, estate'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 329; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 190. Definite form: *jord-en*. Plural: *jord-ar*. Polysemy: 'earth (world) / earth (surface) / earth (soil)'.

23. EAT

Gothic *mat-y-an* (1), Old Norse *et-a* (2), Icelandic *börð-a* {*borða*} (3), Faroese *'e:t-a* {*eta*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *spì:s-ε* {*spise*} (-1), Danish *sb'ì:s-a* {*spise*} (-1), Swedish *'è:t-a* {*äta*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 271. This is the most frequent and basic equivalent for the meaning 'eat' in Gothic, cf. Mtth. 6:31: *hwa matjam aiþþau hwa drigkam* "what shall we eat or what shall we drink?" [Ulfilas 1896: 7]; Mk. 8:9: *wesunuþ-þan þai matjandans swe fidwor þusundjos* "and they that had eaten were about four thousand" [Ulfilas 1896: 33]. Sometimes also encountered in the prefixal form *ga=mat-y-an*. The verb is formally derived from *mat-s* 'food; meat' [Balg 1887: 272].

Compared to at least two or three dozen reliable instances of *mat-y-an*, the older verb *it-an* 'to eat' is only encountered three times, in the following contexts: (a) Lu. 15:16: *jah gairnida sad itan haurne þoei matidedun sweina* [Ulfilas 1896: 81] "and he was willing to eat the husks that the swine were eating" (here the new verb *mat-y-an* actually translates the Greek form ἔσθιον 'they were eating', whereas the old verb *it-an* renders Greek χορτασθῆναι 'to feed himself, to stuff himself, usually applied to cattle); (b) Lu. 16:21 (a very similar context, translating the same Greek verb); (c) Lu. 17:27, 17:28: *etun jah drugkun* "they ate and drank" (said of sinners) [Ulfilas 1896: 85]. The obvious scarcity of these contexts; the specific reference to "vulgar" situations; and the relatively higher frequency of the complex verb *fra=it-an* 'to eat up, devour' [Balg 1887: 205] makes it highly probable that the verb *it-an* in Gothic had already fallen out of "regular" usage, and was rather employed in the "vulgar" meaning 'to stuff oneself, to devour', whereas the neutral idea of 'eating' was commonly rendered with *mat-y-an*. For this reason, we do not include *it-an* on the main list.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 134; Zoega 1910: 119; De Vries 1962: 106. Distinct from the more specialized *mat-a-sk* 'to eat, take food, take a meal' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 414] (derived from *mat-r* 'food, meat').

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 185; Berkov 1962: 87. Secondary synonym (polite usage): *snæða* [Berkov 1962: 671]. One of the few unquestionable cases of lexical replacement from Old Norse to Modern Icelandic (or, at least, its "urban" version): the old equivalent *éta* is now restricted to the markedly "vulgar" semantics of 'to eat /of animals/' [Berkov 1962: 150].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 12, 106.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 237; Berkov 2006: 222. Distinct from *et-e* 'to eat (of animals; vulg., of person)'. Borrowed from Middle Low German *spise* 'food' [Falk-Torp 1960: 1124].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 636; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 101. The old equivalent *æde* is only used as a "vulgar" equivalent [Krymova et al. 2000: 798]. Borrowed from Middle Low German *spise* 'food' [Falk-Torp 1960: 1124].

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 914; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 148.

24. EGG

Old Norse *egg* (1), Icelandic *egg* {*egg*} (1), Faroese *egg* {*egg*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *egg* {*egg*} (1), Danish *æg* {*æg*} (1), Swedish *ägg* {*ägg*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested. Cf., however, Crimean Gothic *ada* 'egg', presumably reflecting Common Germanic **ayya-* 'egg' [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 116; Zoega 1910: 103; De Vries 1962: 94. Neuter gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 818; Berkov 1962: 134. Neuter gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 19, 96.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 199; Berkov 2006: 1119. Definite form: *egg-et*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 798; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 501. Definite form: *ægget*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 910; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 807. Definite form: *ägg-et*.

25. EYE

Gothic *aug-o-* (1), Old Norse *aug-a* (1), Icelandic *öy-a* {*auga*} (1), Faroese *'ei:y-a* {*eyga*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *öy-ε* {*øye*} (1), Danish *'ɔj-ə* {*øje*} (1), Swedish *'ø:g-a* {*öga*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 35. Neuter gender; *n*-stem. Cf. Mtth. 5:29: *ip jabai augo þein þata taihswo marzjai þuk* "and if thy right eye offend thee..." [Ulphilas 1896: 4].

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *oeghe-ne* 'eye' [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 33; Zoega 1910: 26; De Vries 1962: 19. Neuter gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 125; Berkov 1962: 56. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'eye / hole'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 18, 107. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'eye / hole'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 478; Berkov 2006: 149. Definite form: *øye-t*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 801; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 70. Definite form: *øje-t*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 916; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 99. Definite form: *ög-at*. Plural: *ög-on*.

26. FAT N.

Old Norse *fit-a* (1), Icelandic *fi:t-a* {*fita*} (1), Faroese *fi:t-i* {*fiti*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *fett* {*fett*} (1), Danish *fet* {*fedt*} (1), Swedish *fett* {*fett*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested. A very weak candidate is the word *smε:rθr* 'fat(ness)' [Balg 1887: 380], attested once in Rom. 11:17, where it translates Greek *πιότης* 'fatness' as applied to olive trees. There are, however, no guarantees that the meaning 'animal fat' was expressed by the same word in Gothic.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 155; Zoega 1910: 137; De Vries 1962: 122. Feminine gender. Same root as in *feit-r* 'fat (adj.)' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 150].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 193; Berkov 1962: 168. Feminine gender. To be distinguished from *spik* (rather 'lard') [Berkov 1962: 680], *flot* (rather 'melted fat') [Berkov 1962: 179].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 125. Feminine gender. Distinct from *feitt* 'grease for lubrication / lard'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 233; Berkov 2006: 231. Definite form: *fett-et*. To be distinguished from *talǵ* 'lard' and *olje* 'vegetable fat, oil' [Berkov 2006: 231].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 164; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 105. Definite form: *fet-et*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 160; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 155.

27. FEATHER

Old Norse *fyǰǫr* (1), Icelandic *fyö:ðyr* {*ffjöður*} (1), Faroese *fy'ö:vvr* {*ffjøður*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *fyä:r* {*ffær*} (1), Danish *fye?l* {*fjer*} (1), Swedish *fy'ε:där* {*ffäder*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 158; Zoega 1910: 140; De Vries 1962: 124. Plural form: *fiðr-i* ~ *fyǰǫr-ar*. Feminine gender. Polysemy: 'feather / fin or tail of fish / blade of spear'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 481; Berkov 1962: 172. Feminine gender. Polysemy: 'feather / spring / ear-mark (on sheep or horses)'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 129. Feminine gender. Polysemy: 'feather / quill / fish fin / sheep mark / barb of harpoon'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 241; Berkov 2006: 616. Definite form: *ffær-a*. "Radical Bokmål": *fjor* id.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 171; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 275. Definite form: *fjer-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 166; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 440. Definite form: *ffäder-n*. Plural: *ffädr-ar*.

28. FIRE

Gothic *fo:n* (1), Old Norse *eld-r* (2), Icelandic *eld-yr* {*eldur*} (2), Faroese *'eld-vr* {*eldur*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *ill* {*ild*} (2), Danish *il?* {*ild*} (2), Swedish *el:d* {*eld*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 101. Neuter gender; *n*-stem (gen. *fun-in-s*, dat. *fun-in*). Cf. Mtth. 7:19: *all bagme... in fon atlagjada* "all the trees... are cast into the fire" [Ulfilas 1896: 7].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 125; Zoega 1910: 111; De Vries 1962: 99. Masculine gender. The old word *fur-r* 'fire' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 178] is only found in poetry and poetic compounds, and cannot be considered a basic term.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 418; Berkov 1962: 144. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'fire / volcano eruption / hostility'. Distinct from *logi* 'flame' [Berkov 1962: 421] and archaic *funi* 'fire, flame, fiery (temper)' [Berkov 1962: 202].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 102. Masculine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 380; Berkov 2006: 523. Definite form: *ild-en*. "Radical Bokmål": *eld* id.

There is some difficulty in determining the "basic Bokmål" equivalent in this case. In [Berkov 2006: 523], the old equivalent *ild* and the innovative equivalent *varme* (< 'warm' q.v.) are listed as almost completely interchangeable synonyms. In [Arakin 2000], the primary meaning for *ild* is given as 'fire, flame' (I, 380), and the primary meaning for *varme* is listed as 'warmth, heat', with 'fire, bonfire' listed as one of the secondary meanings (II, 426). In Bergsland & Vogt's lists the "basic" equivalent for Riksmål is listed as *varme*, with the form *ild* marked as "literary" [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 117]. Superficial analysis of various textual sources does not allow to reliably "disqualify" *ild*, and it should also be noted that plenty of non-literary Norwegian dialects still also preserve the old word in the basic meaning 'fire'. At best, the opposition between *ild* and *varme* could be regarded as a case of "transit synonymy", but there is no sufficient basis to state that an authentic "lexical replacement" of *ild* by *varme* has definitively increased the lexical distance from Bokmål to all other Germanic languages.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 292; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 238. Definite form: *ild-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 138; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 374. Definite form: *eld-en*. Plural: *eld-ar*.

29. FISH

Gothic *fisk-s* (1), Old Norse *fisk-r* (1), Icelandic *fisk-yr* {*fiskur*} (1), Faroese *fisk-vr* {*fiskur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *fisk* {*fisk*} (1), Danish *fesk* {*fisk*} (1), Swedish *fis:k* {*fisk*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 98. Masc. gender; *a*-stem. Cf. Lu. 5:6: *jah þata taujandans galukun manageins fiske filu* "and when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes" [Ulfilas 1896: 62].

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *fisc* 'fish' [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 155; Zoega 1910: 137; De Vries 1962: 121. Masculine gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 636; Berkov 1962: 168. Masculine gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 125. Masculine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 237; Berkov 2006: 839. Definite form: *fisk-en*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 170; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 373. Definite form: *fisk-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 165; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 603. Definite form: *fisk-en*. Plural: *fisk-ar*.

30. FLY V.

Old Norse *flyu:g-a* (1), Icelandic *flyu:γ-a* {*fljúga*} (1), Faroese *fl'igv-a* {*flúgva*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *flü: {fly}* (1), Danish *fl'ü:v-a* {*flyve*} (1), Swedish *fl'ü:g-a* {*flyga*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 161; Zoega 1910: 142; De Vries 1962: 132. Past tense: *flaug ~ flo*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 314; Berkov 1962: 178.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 136.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 247; Berkov 2006: 381. "Radical Bokmål": *flyge* id.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 176; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 169.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 170; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 270.

31. FOOT

Gothic *fo:t-u-s* (1), Old Norse *fo:t-r* (1), Icelandic *fou:t-yr* {*fótur*} (1), Faroese *f'out-vr* {*fótur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *fu:t* {*fot*} (1), Danish *fo?ð* {*fod*} (1), Swedish *fu:t* {*fot*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 101. Masc. gender; *u*-stem. Cf. Mk. 9:45: *jabai fotus þeins marzjai þuk* "if thy foot offends thee..." [Ulfilas 1896: 37].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 168; Zoega 1910: 146; De Vries 1962: 139. Masculine gender. Distinct from *legg-r* 'leg' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 380], although the word can be applied to the inclusive meaning 'foot and leg' as well.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 398; Berkov 1962: 188. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'foot / foundation'. Distinct from *legg-ur* 'leg' (glossed as 'shank, calf' in [Berkov 1962: 401], but the word is really the semantic equivalent of English *leg*).

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 143. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'foot / foundation'. Distinct from *leggur* 'leg' [Young & Clewer 1985: 343].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 279; Berkov 2006: 494. Definite form: *fot-en*. Distinct from *bein* 'leg', *legg* 'shin' [Berkov 2006: 494]. In [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 118], the Riksmål equivalent for 'foot' is listed as *ben* ('leg!'), indicated as a borrowing from Danish, but in reality in most forms of Norwegian, literary and colloquial alike, the lexical difference between 'foot' and 'leg' still seems to be preserved.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 178; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 224. Definite form: *fod-en*. Distinct from *ben* 'leg' (the Russian-Danish dictionary erroneously lists this as the only direct equivalent for Russian *нога*).

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 179; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 352. Definite form: *fot-en*. Plural: *fött-er*. Distinct from *ben* 'leg / bone'.

32. FULL

Gothic *full-s* (1), Old Norse *full-r* (1), Icelandic *fydl-yr* {*fullur*} (1), Faroese *fvdl-vr* {*fullur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *full* {*full*} (1), Danish *ful?* {*fuld*} (1), Swedish *föll* {*full*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 111. Cf. Jo. 12:3: *ip sa gards fulls warþ daunais þizos salbonais* "and the house was full with the odour of the ointment" [Ulfilas 1896: 109]. Cf. also the derived verbs: *full-y-an* 'to fill', *full-n-an* 'to be full, filled' [Balg 1887: 110, 111].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 178; Zoega 1910: 152; De Vries 1962: 146.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 517; Berkov 1962: 201. Polysemy: 'full / satiated / drunk'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 153. Polysemy: 'full / whole, entire / drunk'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 289; Berkov 2006: 671.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 215; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 296.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 192; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 481.

33. GIVE

Gothic *gib-an* (1), Old Norse *gef-a* (1), Icelandic *gε:v-a* {*gefa*} (1), Faroese *ǰ'e:v-a* {*geva*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *yi:* {*gi*} (1), Danish *g'i:v-ə* {*give*} (1), Swedish *ye:* {*ge*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 133. Cf. Mtth. 6: 11: *hlaiþ unsarana þana sinteinan gif uns himma daga* "our daily bread give to us this day" [Ulfilas 1896: 133]. Clearly the basic word for 'giving' in Gothic, attested quite frequently.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 193; Zoega 1910: 162; De Vries 1962: 160. Past tense: *gaf*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 148; Berkov 1962: 218.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 173.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 305; Berkov 2006: 176. Past tense: *ga*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 234; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 80.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 234; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 118. Past tense: *gav*.

34. GOOD

Gothic *go:θ-s* (1), Old Norse *go:ð-r* (1), Icelandic *gou:ð-yr* {*góður*} (1), Faroese *g'auw-vr*

{*góður*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *gu*: {*god*} (1), Danish *goð* ~ *go?* {*god*} (1), Swedish *gu:d* {*god*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 138. Genitive: *go:d-is*, etc. Cf. Matth. 7:17: *all bagme godaize akrana goda gataujiþ* "all good trees produce good fruit" [Ulfilas 1896: 7].

Completely different word attested in Crimean Gothic: *knau-en* 'good' [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 209; Zoega 1910: 169; De Vries 1962: 181.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 784; Berkov 1962: 235. Polysemy: 'good / kind / healthy'. Secondary synonym (colloquial): *finn* 'fine, good' [Berkov 1962: 166].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 184. Polysemy: 'good / honest / kind / abundant / easy, simple'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 318; Berkov 2006: 1067. Polysemy: 'good / kind / tasty'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 238; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 474.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 243; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 766. Polysemy: 'good / kind / tasty'.

34.

Swedish *brv*: {*bra*} (-1).

References and notes:

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 85; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 766. Borrowed from German *brav*, ultimately from French *brave*; attested in the language since the 17th century. In the modern spoken language, this borrowing has not completely replaced the inherited word *god*, but the latter seems to have been somewhat relocated into the sphere of 'nice, kind' (said of people), whereas *bra* is now more frequent in the "neutral-positive" meaning when applied to all sorts of objects.

35. GREEN

Old Norse *grön-n* (1), Icelandic *graydn* {*grænn*} (1), Faroese *gr'ö:nvr* {*grønur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *grönn* {*grønn*} (1), Danish *græn?* {*grøn*} (1), Swedish *grøn* {*grön*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested (all of the Evangelical passages in which the word 'green' is used are missing from the existing manuscripts).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 218; Zoega 1910: 174; De Vries 1962: 192.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 233; Berkov 1962: 246.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 201. Polysemy: 'green / unripe'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 328; Berkov 2006: 278. Polysemy: 'green / unripe'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 245; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 126. Polysemy: 'green / unripe'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 253; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 190.

36. HAIR

Gothic *tagl* (1), Old Norse *ha:r* (2), Icelandic *hau:r* {*hár*} (2), Faroese *h̄ar* {*hár*} (2), Bokmal

Norwegian *ho:r {hår}* (2), Danish *hɔʁ:ɪ {hår}* (2), Swedish *ho:r {hår}* (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 424. Neuter gender. Attested thrice: (a) two times in the meaning '(a single) hair of the head', cf. Mtth. 5:36: *ni magt ain tagl hweit aiþþau swart gataujan* "thou cannot make one hair white or black" [Ulfilas 1896: 4]; Mtth. 10:30: *apþan izwara jah tagla haubidis alla garapana sind* "but the very hairs on your head are all numbered"; (b) once in the meaning 'animal hair, fur', cf. Mk. 1:6: *wasuþ-þan Iohannes gawasipþs taglam ulbandaus* "and John was clothed with camel's hair". No other equivalents for 'hair' of any kind are attested. Since we know of no cases when a language would use the same root for 'hair (singulative)' and 'animal hair' vs. a different one for 'head hair (collective)', it is safe to assume that all of these sub-meanings were expressed in Gothic by the same word, *tagl*.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 244; Zoega 1910: 187; De Vries 1962: 210. Neuter gender. Refers both to 'hair on body' and 'hair on the head', cf. in particular the compound *hɔfuð-ha:r* 'hair of the head'. Cf. also *skɔr*, with interesting polysemy: 'rim, edge / hair' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 565] (Cleasby: "prob. from being cut so as to make a rim round the head..." "...used of men's hair only...").

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 83; Berkov 1962: 263. Neuter gender. Refers both to 'hair on body' and 'hair on the head'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 217. Neuter gender. Refers both to 'hair on body' and 'hair on the head'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 376; Berkov 2006: 99. Definite form: *hår-et*. Refers both to 'hair on body' and 'hair on the head'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 289; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 50. Definite form: *hår-et*. Refers both to 'hair on body' and 'hair on the head'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 292; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 65. Definite form: *hår-et*. Refers both to 'hair on body' and 'hair on the head'.

37. HAND

Gothic *xand-u-s* (1), Old Norse *hǫnd* (1), Icelandic *hönd {hönd}* (1), Faroese *hǫnd {hond}* (1), Bokmal Norwegian *hǫnn {hånd}* (1), Danish *hɔn? {hånd}* (1), Swedish *han:d {hand}* (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 159. Feminine gender; *u*-stem. Cf.: *gasaihwandans sumans þize siponje is gamainjaim handum... matjandans hlaibans* "when they saw some of his disciples eat bread with defiled hands" [Ulfilas 1896: 31].

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *handa* 'hand' [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 310; Zoega 1910: 225; De Vries 1962: 281. Feminine gender. Plural form: *hend-r*. Distinct from *arm-r* 'arm' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 25]. An older word for 'hand', *mund* [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 437], is only encountered sporadically in poetic texts, with polysemy: 'hand / measure'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 634; Berkov 1962: 329. Feminine gender. Distinct from *arm-ur* 'arm'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 241. Feminine gender. Distinct from *arm-ur* 'arm' [Young & Clewer 1985: 16].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 374; Berkov 2006: 836. Definite form: *hånd-en ~ hånd-a*. "Radical Bokmål": *hand* (according to [Bergsland & Vogt: 1962], the form *hånd* shows Danish influence). Distinct from *arm* 'arm'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 288; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 373. Definite form: *hånd-en*. Distinct from *arm* 'arm'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 266; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 602. Definite form: *hand-en*. Plural: *händ-er*. Distinct from *arm* 'arm'.

38. HEAD

Gothic *xaubiθ* (1), Old Norse *hɔfuð* (1), Icelandic *hö:vyð {höfuð}* (1), Faroese *hödd {høvd}* (1), Bokmal Norwegian *hù:d-ε {hode}* (1), Danish *h'o:ʁøð ~ h'o:ðə {hoved}* (1), Swedish *h'#:vøð*

{*huvud*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 162. Neuter gender. Cf. Mk. 6:24: *hwis bidjau? ... haubidis Iohannis pis daupjandins* "what shall I ask? ... the head of John the Baptist" [Ulfilas 1896: 30].

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *hoef* 'head' [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 223; Zoega 1910: 225; De Vries 1962: 279. Neuter gender. The older form, as is evident from some of Bragi's rhymes, was *haufuð* [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 223].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 130; Berkov 1962: 328. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'head / chief'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 23. Shares the same root with, but is still lexically distinct from *høvur* 'head; intellect, will, mind; head, chief' [Young & Clewer 1985: 264].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 357; Berkov 2006: 155. Definite form: *hod-et*. Polysemy: 'head / mind / chief'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 273; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 72. Definite form: *hoved-et*. Polysemy: 'head / mind / chief'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 287; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 103. Definite form: *huvud-et*. Plural: *huvud-en*. Polysemy: 'head / mind'.

39. HEAR

Gothic *xaus-y-an* (1), Old Norse *heyr-a* (1), Icelandic *heir-a* {*heyra*} (1), Faroese *h'vir-a* {*hoyra*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *hær-ε* {*høre*} (1), Danish *h'ö:ɹ-ə* {*høre*} (1), Swedish *h'ö:r-a* {*höra*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 165. Cf. Mk. 6:2: *jah managai hausjandans sildaleikidedun* "many of those who heard were astonished" [Ulfilas 1896: 29]. Most of the contexts may be ambiguously analyzed as either 'hear' or 'listen', but there is no evidence that Gothic distinguished between these two meanings lexically.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 261; Zoega 1910: 197; De Vries 1962: 226.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 672; Berkov 1962: 282.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 15, 246.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 371; Berkov 2006: 891.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 287; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 398.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 302; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 643.

40. HEART

Gothic *xert-o:* (1), Old Norse *hyart-a* (1), Icelandic *yart-a* {*hjarta*} (1), Faroese *y'art-a* {*hjarta*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *yät-ε* {*hjerte*} (1), Danish *y'ɛ:ɹ-ə* {*hjerte*} (1), Swedish *y'ät:-a* {*hjärta*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 153. Neuter gender; *n*-stem. Cf. Mtth. 6:21: *þarei auk ist huzd izwar, þaruh ist jah hairtō izwar* "where your treasure is, there will your heart be also" [Ulfilas 1896: 6]. Used only in the figurative sense, not in the anatomical one, but there is no reason

to think that the "anatomical heart" could be different.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 266; Zoega 1910: 199; De Vries 1962: 232. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'heart / mind, feeling'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 655; Berkov 1962: 286. Neuter gender. Cf. also *negg* 'heart' (poetic equivalent) [Berkov 1962: 473].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 19, 238. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'heart / hub / centre / courage, bravery'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 356; Berkov 2006: 867. Definite form: *hjert-et*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 269; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 387. Definite form: *hjert-et*. Polysemy: 'heart / middle / center'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 280; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 625. Definite form: *hjärt-at*. Plural: *hjärt-an*.

41. HORN

Gothic *xorn* # (1), Old Norse *horn* (1), Icelandic *hordn* ~ *hødn* {*horn*} (1), Faroese *hødn* {*horn*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *hu:ŋ* {*horn*} (1), Danish *ho:ŋ* {*horn*} (1), Swedish *hu:ŋ* {*horn*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 164. Slightly dubious, since textual attestations are only in figurative meanings: (a) 'horn (instrument)', Lu. 1: 69: *jah urraisida haurn naseinaiš unsis* "and he has raised up a horn of salvation for us" [Ulfilas 1896: 54]; (b) 'husk, fruit of carob-tree', Lu. 15:16. However, external evidence shows that the meanings 'horn (of animal)' and 'horn (instrument)' are rarely distinguished in Germanic languages, so it may be assumed that the same polysemy characterized the Gothic word as well.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 279; Zoega 1910: 207; De Vries 1962: 249. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'horn / drinking-horn / corner, angle'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 630; Berkov 1962: 300. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'horn / drinking-horn / corner, angle'. Cf. also *hnyfill* 'small horn; sharp edge, pin' [Berkov 1962: 297].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 22. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'horn / drinking-horn / corner, angle'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 360; Berkov 2006: 831. Definite form: *horn-et*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 273; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 370. Definite form: *horn-et*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 283; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 598. Definite form: *horn-et*.

42. I₁

Gothic *ik* (1), Old Norse *ek* (1), Icelandic *yεγ* ~ *yε:γ* ~ *yε* ~ *yε:* {*ég*} (1), Faroese *e:* {*eg*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *yεi* ~ *yε* {*jeg*} (1), Danish *yai* {*jeg*} (1), Swedish *yv:g* ~ *yv:* ~ *yv* ~ *ya* {*jag*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 198. Direct stem.

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *ich* T [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 124; Zoega 1910: 110; De Vries 1962: 98. Direct stem.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 817; Berkov 1962: 134. Direct stem.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 96. Direct stem.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 402; Berkov 2006: 1116. Direct stem.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 313; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 500. Direct stem.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 328; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 806. Direct stem.

42. I₂

Gothic *mi-* / *mi:-* (2), Old Norse *mi-* / *me:-* (2), Icelandic *mi-* / *me:-* (2), Faroese *mi-* / *me-* (2), Bokmal Norwegian *mε-* (2), Danish *mi-* (2), Swedish *mi-* (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 199. Indirect stem. The complete suppletive paradigm is: nominative *ik*, genitive *mi:-na*, dative *mi-s*, accusative *mi-k*. Cf. also *mi:-n-s* 'my' (possessive pronoun).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 124; Zoega 1910: 110; De Vries 1962: 98. Indirect stem. The complete suppletive paradigm is: dative *me:-r*, accusative *mi-k*, possessive form *mi:-n*.

Icelandic: Berkov 1962: 134. Indirect stem. The complete suppletive paradigm is: dative *mé-r*, accusative *mi-g*, possessive form *mí-n*.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 96. Indirect stem. The complete suppletive paradigm is: dative *mæ-r*, accusative *me-g*, possessive form *mi-n*.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 540. Indirect stem, present in the accusative case: *me-g* 'me'. Cf. also the possessive form *mi-n* 'my'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 427; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 500. Indirect stem, present in the accusative case: *mi-g* 'me'. Cf. also the possessive form *mi-n* 'my'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 453; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 806. Indirect stem, present in the accusative case: *mi-g* 'me'.

43. KILL

Gothic *us=k^wim-an* (1), Old Norse *drep-a* (2) / *ban-a* (4), Icelandic *drε:p-a* {*drepa*} (2), Faroese *dr'e:b-a* {*drepa*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *drε:p-ε* {*drepe*} (2), Danish *dr'ε:b-ø* {*dræbe*} (2), Swedish *d'ø:d-a* {*döda*} (3).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 226. A prefixal verb, consisting of *us=* 'out, out of' + *k^wim-an* 'to come' q.v. Although it clearly represents a recent euphemism, this is the most stylistically unmarked and frequent (encountered approximately 20 times) equivalent for the meaning 'kill' in the entire corpus. Cf. Jo. 7:98: *sokidedun ina þai Iudaeis usqiman* "the Jews sought to kill him" [Ulphilas 1896: 98] and many more.

Several close synonyms are also attested, but all of them are far less frequent, and some may be seen as stylistically marked, e. g.: (a) *mörθr-y-an* 'to kill, murder' [Balg 1887: 275], used only in those contexts that specially stress the sinful nature of the activity (as in *ni maurþrjais* "thou shalt not kill" = "thou shalt not murder", etc.); (b) *af=slah-an* 'to slay, kill', derived from *slah-an* 'to beat, strike' [Balg 1887: 376], found only three times, two of them in contexts where it alternates with *us=k^wim-an* (Mk. 12:5, Lu. 20:14), probably to reduce the level of tautology (even though the original Greek text uses the same word ἀποκτείνω in all cases).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 105; Zoega 1910: 94; De Vries 1962: 83. Polysemy: 'to beat, hit / to kill'. Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 51; Zoega 1910: 41; De Vries 1962: 25. This verb, unlike *drepa*, means exclusively 'to kill, slay', yet it is still hard to determine which one was the more basic and which one was the more stylistically marked equivalent for this meaning in Old Norse. Temporarily, we treat them as technical synonyms.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 747; Berkov 1962: 122. Distinct from *myrð-a* 'to murder' [Berkov 1962: 463]; the Old Norse verb *ban-a* is listed in [Haraldsson 1996: 747] as a literary equivalent.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 24, 86. Polysemy: 'to shoot / to stick, push, thrust / to move (of current) / to leak, drip / to kill, slaughter'. The verb *deyð-a* 'kill, slay', a causative formation from 'to die' q.v., is marked in [Young & Clewer 1985: 79] as typical for the "ballad" register.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 184; Berkov 2006: 1011.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 133; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 446. Distinct from *myrd-e* 'to murder' [Krymova et al. 2000: 441]. Additionally, cf. the idiomatic expression *slå ihjel* ~ *ihjel-slå* 'to kill' [Krymova et al. 2000: 292, 618], literally 'to beat to death'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 131; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 726. Distinct from *mörd-a* 'to murder' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 476]. Additionally, cf. the idiomatic expression *slå ihjäl* 'to kill' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 665], literally 'to beat to death'. The common Scandinavian term *dräpa* is glossed in [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 126] as 'to kill by accident'.

44. KNEE

Gothic *kniu* (1), Old Norse *kne:* (1), Icelandic *nyε:* ~ *knyε:* {*hné* ~ *kné*} (1), Faroese *kneá:* {*knæ*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *kne:* {*knē*} (1), Danish *kneε?* {*knæ*} (1), Swedish *knε:* {*knä*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 219. Neuter gender; *u*-stem. Cf. Mk. 15: 19: *lagjandans kniwa inwitun ina* "bowing their knees, they worshipped him" [Ulfilas 1896: 48].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 346; Zoega 1910: 244; De Vries 1962: 320. Neuter gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 284; Berkov 1962: 294, 365. Neuter gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 309. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'knee / joint / knot of straw'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 436; Berkov 2006: 337. Definite form: *kne-et*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 337; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 153. Definite form: *knæ-et*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 356; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 236. Definite form: *knä-et*. Plural: *knä-n*.

45. KNOW

Gothic *wit-an* (1), Old Norse *vit-a* (1), Icelandic *vi:t-a* {*vita*} (1), Faroese *v'i:t-a* {*vita*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *vi:t-ε* {*vite*} (1), Danish *v'i:ð-ə* {*vide*} (1), Swedish *v'è:t-a* {*veta*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 565. Cf. Jo. 8:14: *wait hwaþro qam* "I know whence I came" [Ulfilas 1896: 101]. This verb refers to general knowledge of the situation and is thoroughly distinct from *kunn-an* [Balg 1887: 222] 'to know = be acknowledged with (smth. or, more frequently, someone)', as in Mk. 14:71: *ni kann þana mannan þanei qipþ* "I do not know this man of whom you speak" [Ulfilas 1896: 47]. According to the semantic criteria of the GLD, only *wit-an* is eligible for inclusion.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 712; Zoega 1910: 496; De Vries 1962: 669. Polysemy: 'to be conscious / to know / to find out'. The close synonym *kenn-a* [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 335], as in the other ancient Germanic languages, generally means 'to be acquainted or familiar with, to recognize smth. / smbd.'; with the same root cf. also *kunn-a* 'to know, understand (of art, skill, knowledge); to know (a person)', etc. General knowledge of the situation in phrases such as "I know that..." seems to be regularly expressed with *vit-a* in Old Norse.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 237; Berkov 1962: 865. Polysemy: 'to know / to find out'. Out of several quasi-synonyms with the meaning 'to be acquainted / familiar with smth.', the verb *kenn-a* is marked in [Haraldsson 1996: 237] as an archaism, and the verb *þekkj-a* is a more recent innovation (< Proto-Germanic **þankian* 'to think').

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 669. Distinct from *kenn-a* 'to be able to distinguish or discern; have knowledge of, know, recognize' [Young & Clewer 1985: 293].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 458; Berkov 2006: 282. The close synonyms *kjenne* and *kunne* [Berkov 2006: 282], as in the other Germanic languages, generally mean 'to be acquainted with, to recognize, to know how to do smth.', etc.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 781; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 128. Distinct from *kunn-e* 'to be able to, to know how' [Krymova et al. 2000:

360] and from *kend-e* 'to know (be familiar with smbd. or smth.), recognize, be acquainted with' [Krymova et al. 2000: 327].

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 862; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 193. Distinct from *kunn-a* 'to be able, to know how' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 384] and from *känn-a* 'to know (be familiar with smbd. or smth.), recognize, be acquainted with; to feel, sense' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 391].

46. LEAF

Gothic *lauf-s* (1), Old Norse *blað* (2), Icelandic *bla:ð* {*blað*} (2), Faroese *blɛa:* {*blað*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *bla:d* {*blad*} (2), Danish *blað* {*blad*} (2), Swedish *blv:d* {*blad*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 237. Masc. gender; *a*-stem. Cf. Mk. 11:13: *jah gasaihwands smakkabagm fairraþro habandan lauf* "and seeing a fig tree afar off having leaves" [Ulfilas 1896: 41] (the word is used in the acc. sg. case, possibly with the collective semantics of 'foliage'); Mk. 13:28: *uskeinand laubos* "putting forth leaves (branch)" [Ulfilas 1896: 45] (here used in the acc. pl.).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 66; Zoega 1910: 56; De Vries 1962: 41. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'leaf / blade'. The difference between *blað* and the very close synonym *lauf* [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 374] is in that *blað* is predominantly applied to 'leaf, leaves' as discreet objects, whereas *lauf* has a more collective semantics ('leaves = foliage'); cf. the compound expression - *lauf-blað* 'a single leaf (of foliage)' (analogous to English *blade of grass*). In [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 118], *lauf* is given as the default equivalent for 9th century Norse; for the 13th century, *lauf* is defined as 'collective', and the meaning '(single) leaf' is rendered as *laufsblað* or simply *blað*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 316; Berkov 1962: 77. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'leaf / blade'. The difference between *blað* and *lauf* 'leaves, foliage' [Berkov 1962: 397] in Modern Icelandic seems to be largely the same as in Old Norse.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 16, 47. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'leaf / blade'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 110; Berkov 2006: 384. Definite form: *blad-et*. Distinct from *løv* 'leaves, foliage' (collective) [Berkov 2006: 384].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 82; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 170. Definite form: *blad-et*. Polysemy: 'leaf / page / blade / newspaper'. Distinct from *løv* 'leaves, foliage' (collective) [Krymova et al. 2000: 406].

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 71; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 272. Definite form: *blad-et*. Polysemy: 'leaf / page / blade'. Distinct from *löv* 'leaves, foliage' (collective) [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 435] (the source also indicates the possibility of singulative usage, but this seems rare).

47. LIE

Gothic *lig-an* (1), Old Norse *ligg-ya* (1), Icelandic *ligg-ya* {*liggja*} (1), Faroese *l'vž-a* {*liggja*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *ligg-ε* {*ligge*} (1), Danish *l'eg-a* {*ligge*} (1), Swedish *l'igg-a* {*ligga*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 10. Cf. Mtth. 9:2: *atberun du inma usliþan ana ligra ligandan* "they brought to him a gout patient, lying on a bed" [Ulfilas 1896: 10].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 388; Zoega 1910: 271; De Vries 1962: 355. Past tense: *la*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 316; Berkov 1962: 77. Past tense: *lá*.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 351. Past tense: *lá*. Polysemy: 'to lie down / to rest / to be situated'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 496; Berkov 2006: 378. Past tense: *lá*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 384; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 168. Polysemy: 'to lie / to be situated / to live, dwell'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 407; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 267.

48. LIVER

Old Norse *lifr* (1), Icelandic *l:ʋvr* {*lifur*} (1), Faroese *l'i:ʋvr* {*livur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *l'éʋʋar* {*lever*} (1), Danish *l'eʔʋaa* {*lever*} (1), Swedish *l'e:ʋar* {*lever*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 388; Zoega 1910: 271; De Vries 1962: 355. Feminine gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 316; Berkov 1962: 77. Feminine gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 357. Feminine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 494; Berkov 2006: 619. Definite form: *lever-en*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 381; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 276. Definite form: *lever-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 406; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 443. Definite form: *lever-n*. Plural: *levr-ar*.

49. LONG

Gothic *lanḡ-s* # (1), Old Norse *lang-r* (1), Icelandic *launḡ-yr* {*langur*} (1), Faroese *l'εnḡ-ʋr* {*langur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *lanḡ* {*lang*} (1), Danish *lanḡ?* {*lang*} (1), Swedish *lḡn:* {*lång*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 230. Somewhat dubious, since this adjective is only attested in an auxiliary function, i. e. as part of the temporal constructions 'as long as', 'inasmuch as', cf. Mk. 2:19: *swa lagga hweila swe miþ sis haband bruþfad* "as long as they have the bridegroom with them..." [Ulphilas 1896: 23], etc. Cf., however, also the derived noun *lanḡ-i*: 'length' [Balg 1887: 230], as well as external evidence (the meanings 'long (of time)' and 'long (of space)' are usually expressed by the same root in Germanic); with some reservations, the word can be tentatively included on the list.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 372; Zoega 1910: 260; De Vries 1962: 345. Cf. the derived adverbial form: *leng-i* 'long'. Cf. the quasi-synonymous form *si:ð-r* 'long, hanging (of clothes, hair)' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 531], sometimes translated simply as 'long' (e. g. *si:ð-ar hend-r* 'long arms'), but overall, clearly a specialized form.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 162; Berkov 1962: 395. Cf. *síður* 'long; hanging, dropping off' [Berkov 1962: 591] (same difference as in Old Norse).

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 11, 338.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 480; Berkov 2006: 194.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 376; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 88.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 423; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 129.

50. LOUSE

Old Norse *lu:s* (1), Icelandic *lu:s* {*lús*} (1), Faroese *l#s* {*lús*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *l#s* {*lus*} (1), Danish *luʔs* {*lus*} (1), Swedish *l#s* {*lus*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 400; Zoega 1910: 279; De Vries 1962: 369. Feminine gender. Plural form: *lūs-s*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 89; Berkov 1962: 424. Feminine gender. Polysemy: 'louse / small quantity (of smth.)'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 366. Feminine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 510; Berkov 2006: 107. Definite form: *lus-a*. Polysemy: 'louse / miser'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 381; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 53. Definite form: *lus-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 419; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 70. Definite form: *lus-en*. Plural: *löss*.

51. MAN

Gothic *mann-a* (1) / *wēr* (3), Old Norse *karl* (2), Icelandic *kardl* ~ *kadl* {*karl*} (2), Faroese *k'adlvor* {*kallur*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *mann* {*mann*} (1), Danish *man?* {*mand*} (1), Swedish *man*: {*man*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 267. Masc. gender; *n*-stem. Same word as 'person' q.v. None of the many contexts in which this word is attested (see examples under 'person') explicitly contrast this word with *k^wino*: ~ *k^wen-s* 'woman' q.v.; such contexts are only available for the word *aba* [Balg 1887: 1], but the latter always refers to 'husband' ('married man') rather than simply 'man', and does not qualify for inclusion. Balg 1887: 516. Masc. gender. Unlike the situation with *aba*, attested contexts do not permit to see clearly the semantic difference between *manna* and *wēr*, cf. Lu. 7:20: *qimandans þan at imma þai wairos qeþun* "when the men came to him, they said" [Ulfilas 1896: 68]. The only difference is that *wēr* has more restricted usage, being rarely, if ever, applied to 'man (= human being)' in general. Since it has a "stronger masculine" semantics, it is actually not excluded that a good option would be to equate *manna* with 'person' and *wēr* with 'man' on the Swadesh list, but there are no definitive arguments to support such a decision.

Probably preserved in Crimean Gothic: *fers* 'man' [Costello 1973: 486], although the development **w*- > *f*- is unaccounted for (cf. the word for 'wind' q.v., where the original voiced glide remains unchanged).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 331; Zoega 1910: 236; De Vries 1962: 301. This is the basic Old Norse equivalent for 'man = male human being', as opposed to *kona* 'woman' q.v., although it comes with polysemy: 'man / commoner'. Meanwhile, the older word *verr* [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 698] has generally been specialized to 'husband'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 347; Berkov 1962: 351. This term continues to serve as the main equivalent for 'male human being', cf. *konur og karlar* 'men and women', etc.; Modern Icelandic *maður* is generally employed in the meaning 'person', 'human being (in general)' q.v.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 285. Meaning glossed as 'man, male person'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 525; Berkov 2006: 427. Definite form: *mann-en*. Cf. *mann og kvinne* 'man and woman'. Same word as 'person' q.v.; also with polysemy: 'man / husband'. According to [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 118], this word, in all forms of Norwegian (literary and colloquial alike), is a re-borrowing from Swedish *man*. Cf. also *karl* (arch.) ~ *kar* 'male; young man, fellow' [Arakin 2000: I, 414-415].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 411; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 191. Definite form: *mand-en*. Same word as 'person' q.v.; also with polysemy: 'man / husband'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 438; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 301. Definite form: *mann-en*. Plural: *män*. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. The gender-neutral 'person' is usually expressed by the derived term *människa* q.v.

52. MANY

Gothic *manag-s* (1), Old Norse *marg-r* (1), Icelandic *marg-yr* {*margur*} (1), Faroese *m'ejng-vr*

{*mangur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *màn-ε* {*mange*} (1), Danish *m'an-ə* {*mange*} (1), Swedish *m'ðη:-a* {*många*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 266. Cf. Mk. 9:10: *managai motarjos jah frawaurhtai qimandans* "many publicans and sinners came" [Ulfilas 1896: 10]. The semantically similar word *filu* [Balg 1887: 96] is more generally used as an adverbial ('much', 'very').

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 412; Zoega 1910: 287; De Vries 1962: 379.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 339; Berkov 1962: 438. The semantically similar word *mikið* [Haraldsson 1996: 339] is used as an adverbial ('much', 'very').

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 21, 375.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 524; Berkov 2006: 417. Plural form (from *mang-en*). According to [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 118]: "since 14. century, maybe from Danish and/or Swedish".

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 412; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 186. This is the "countable" 'many' (as in 'many people', etc.), distinct from *meg-en* ~ *meg-et* 'much, a lot; very' [Krymova et al. 2000: 421].

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 472; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 295. This is the "countable" 'many' (as in 'many people', etc.), distinct from *myck-en* ~ *myck-et* 'much, a lot; very' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 469].

53. MEAT

Gothic *mimz* (1), Old Norse *kyt* (2), Icelandic *kyöt* ~ *kyæt* {*kjöt* ~ *ket*} (2), Faroese *çöt* {*kjöt*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *fött* {*kjøtt*} (2), Danish *kød* {*kød*} (2), Swedish *fött* {*kött*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 283. Attested only once in the entire corpus, cf. I Cor. 8:13: *jabai mats gamarzeiþ broþar, ni matja mimz aiw* "if food makes my brother offend, I will never eat any meat" [Ulfilas 1896: 138].

Some additional notes are necessary. Two much more frequent words in Ulfilas' Gothic translations that may sometimes be rendered as 'meat' or 'flesh' are *mat-s* [Balg 1887: 272] and *lik* [Balg 1887: 241]. However, *mat-s*, judging by all the attested contexts, rather refers to 'food' in general (corresponding to the old meaning of 'meat' = 'food, meal' in King James' Bible, and to Greek βρωμα or other words with the same root); cf. also the derivative *mat-y-an* 'to eat' q.v. As for *lik*, its basic meaning is 'body', '(flesh of the) body', and it is mainly found applied to the Body of Christ. Additionally, two strong arguments confirm that *mimz*, despite (accidentally) scarce attestation, was indeed the default word for 'meat' in Ulfilas' Gothic: (a) in this particular context, the word translates Greek κρέας 'meat'; (b) it has also been preserved all the way to Crimean Gothic, as *menus* 'meat, flesh' [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 341; Zoega 1910: 241; De Vries 1962: 313. Neuter gender. In [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 118], the main equivalent for 'meat' is defined as *hold*, but this word rather means '(skin and) flesh', e. g. of a human body [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 278]; GLD standards require the meaning 'meat (as food product)', which corresponds much better to *kyt*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 350; Berkov 1962: 356, 360. Neuter gender. The difference between *kjöt* 'meat (as food)' and *hold* 'flesh (of body)' [Berkov 1962: 298] is the same as in Old Norse.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 300. Neuter gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 427; Berkov 2006: 430. Definite form: *kjøtt-et*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 368; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 193. Definite form: *kød-et*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 396; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 304. Definite form: *kött-et*.

54. MOON

Gothic *me:na* (1), Old Norse *tungl* (2), Icelandic *tunl* {*tungl*} (2), Faroese *m'ðani* {*máni*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *mo:n-ε* {*måne*} (1), Danish *m'ð:n-ə* {*måne*} (1), Swedish *m'ð:n-ə* {*måne*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 278. Masc. gender; *n*-stem. Attested only once, but in a reliable context, cf. Mk. 13:24: *jaina sauil riqizeip jah mena ni gibip liuhap sein* "the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light" [Ulfilas 1896: 45]. Somewhat more frequently encountered is the derived noun *me:n-o:θ-s* 'month' [Balg 1887: 278].

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *mine* 'moon' [Costello 1973: 495].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 644; Zoega 1910: 444; De Vries 1962: 601. Neuter gender. The old word *ma:ni* is, according to [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 418], "scarcely used in prose, old or modern, but is poetical or can only be used in certain phrases, for *tungl* is the common word".

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 320; Berkov 1962: 780. Neuter gender. The word *máni* 'moon, month' [Berkov 1962: 434] remains an archaism.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 375. Masculine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 559; Berkov 2006: 391. Definite form: *måne-n*. Cf. the derived form *måne-d* 'month' [Arakin 2000: I, 559].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 445; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 174. Definite form: *måne-n*. Cf. the derived form *måne-d* 'month' [Krymova et al. 2000: 445].

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 472; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 277. Definite form: *måne-n*. Plural: *mån-ar*. Cf. the derived form *måna-d* 'month' [Krymova et al. 2000: 471].

55. MOUNTAIN

Gothic *fεrgun-i* (1), Old Norse *fyall* (2), Icelandic *fyadl* {*fyall*} (2), Faroese *fyadl* {*ffjall*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *fyell* {*ffjell*} (2), Danish *byε:ɹɣ* {*bjerg*} (3), Swedish *bär:y* {*berg*} (3).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 85. Neuter gender; *ja*-stem. Cf. Mtth. 8:1: *dalap þan atgaggandin imma af fairgunja* "when he came down from the mountain" [Ulfilas 1896: 9].

Completely different word attested in Crimean Gothic: *rintsch* 'mountain' [Costello 1973: 486].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 156; Zoega 1910: 138; De Vries 1962: 123. Neuter gender. Plural form: *fyoll*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 320; Berkov 1962: 780. Neuter gender. Distinct from *fell* '(small) mountain, hill, rock' [Berkov 1962: 162].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 20, 127. Neuter gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 239; Berkov 2006: 158. Definite form: *ffjell-et*. Alternate synonym: *berg* 'mountain' [Arakin 2000: I, 92]. The semantic difference between *ffjell* and *berg* is somewhat obscure; according to [Arakin 2000: I, 92] and [Berkov 2006: 158], the former primarily refers to 'mountainous areas / chains of mountains, etc.', whereas the latter is rather 'a small, separately standing mountain'. More precisely, *berg* may actually simply reflect a more recent re-introduction into the literary language from Danish or Swedish (the word is generally not attested in colloquial varieties of Norwegian).

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 81; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 73. Definite form: *bjerg-et*. Cf. also *bakke* 'hill, elevation; mountain' [Krymova et al. 2000: 54], which seems to refer primarily to less prominent elevations than *bjerg*. The word *fjeld*, glossed in [Krymova et al. 2000: 170] as 'mountain; hill, elevation; rock' seems to correspond better to German collective *Gebirge*, i. e. 'mountainous territory'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 56; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 105. Definite form: *berg-et*. Distinct from *ffjäll*, which is glossed in [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 166] and in [Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 105] as 'mountain' ('primarily referring to Northern Scandinavia and/or outside the forested areas'), so presumably *berg* = 'forest-covered mountain', *ffjäll* = 'bare (rocky) mountain'. Judging by available contexts, *ffjäll* is a more specialized term (e. g. it usually gets rendered with English *fell* than *mountain*).

56. MOUTH

Gothic *munθ-s* (1), Old Norse *munn-r* ~ *muð-r* (1), Icelandic *mynn-yr* {*munnur*} (1), Faroese *m'vnn-yr* {*munnur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *munn* {*mun*} (1), Danish *mon?* {*mund*} (1), Swedish *møn:* {*mun*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 290. Masc. gender; *a*-stem. Cf. Lu. 1:64: *usluknoda þan munþs is suns jah tuggo is* "his mouth was opened immediately, and his tongue loosed" [Ulfilas 1896: 54].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 438; Zoega 1910: 304; De Vries 1962: 396. Masculine gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 633; Berkov 1962: 460. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'mouth / blade'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 13, 394. Masculine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 553; Berkov 2006: 835. Definite form: *munn-en*. Polysemy: 'mouth / hole'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 439; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 372. Definite form: *mund-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 467; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 601. Definite form: *munn-en*. Plural: *munn-ar*.

57. NAME

Gothic *nam-o:* (1), Old Norse *naf-n* (1), Icelandic *nab-n* {*nafn*} (1), Faroese *nau-n* {*navn*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *nav-n* {*navn*} (1), Danish *nau?-n* {*navn*} (1), Swedish *nam:-n* {*namn*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 293. Neuter gender; *n*-stem (genitive: *namin-s*). Cf. Mtth. 6:8: *weihnai namō þein* "hallowed be thy name" [Ulfilas 1896: 6].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 445; Zoega 1910: 307; De Vries 1962: 403. Neuter gender. Frequently spelled *nam-n* in the old texts.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 633; Berkov 1962: 467. Neuter gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 402. Neuter gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 9; Berkov 2006: 298. Definite form: *navn-et*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 449; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 136. Definite form: *navn-et*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 478; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 206. Definite form: *namn-et*.

58. NECK

Gothic *xals* (1), Old Norse *ha:ls* (1), Icelandic *hau:ls* {*háls*} (1), Faroese *h'ól:s-yr* {*hálsur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *hals* {*hals*} (1), Danish *hal?s* {*hals*} (1), Swedish *hal:s* {*hals*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 157. Masc. gender; *a*-stem. Attested only once, but in a reliable context, cf. Lu. 15:20: *jah infeinoda jah pragjands draus ana hals is jah kukiða imma* "(his father) had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him" [Ulfilas 1896: 82] (translates Greek τράχηλος 'neck').

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 243; Zoega 1910: 187; De Vries 1962: 206. Masculine gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 803; Berkov 1962: 259. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'neck / throat'. Cf. *svíri* '(thick) neck; (thick) nape' [Berkov 1962: 739].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 24, 211. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'neck / throat'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 336; Berkov 2006: 1096. Definite form: *hals-en*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 253; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 489. Definite form: *hals-en*. Polysemy: 'neck / throat / collar'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 264; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 790. Definite form: *hals-en*. Plural: *hals-ar*. Polysemy: 'neck / throat / collar'.

59. NEW

Gothic *niuyi-s* (1), Old Norse *nü:-r* (1), Icelandic *nü:-r* {*nýr*} (1), Faroese *n'v33-vr* {*nýggjur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *nü:* {*ny*} (1), Danish *nü?* {*ny*} (1), Swedish *nü:* {*ny*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 304. Adjective; *ja*-stem. Cf. Mtth. 27: 18: *jah galagida ita in niujamma seinamma hlaiwa* "and he laid it in his own new tomb" [Ulfilas 1896: 18].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 459; Zoega 1910: 316; De Vries 1962: 413. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 398; Berkov 1962: 481. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 13, 411. Neuter gender: *nýtt*.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 20; Berkov 2006: 494. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 458; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 224. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 489; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 352. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'.

60. NIGHT

Gothic *naxt-s* (1), Old Norse *no:tt* (1), Icelandic *nou tt* {*nótt*} (1), Faroese *nott* {*nátt*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *natt* {*natt*} (1), Danish *nat* {*nat*} (1), Swedish *natt* {*natt*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 291. Fem. gender; *i*-stem. Cf. Jo. 9:4: *qimiþ nahts, þanei ni manna mag waurkjan* "comes the night, when no man can work" [Ulfilas 1896: 103]. Cf. *anda-naxti* 'evening' (literally 'towards night') [Balg 1887: 26].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 458; Zoega 1910: 315; De Vries 1962: 405. Feminine gender. Also spelled as *na:tt* (according to Cleasby, due to Norwegian influence).

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 400; Berkov 1962: 479. Feminine gender. The variant *nátt* is listed in [Haraldsson 1996: 400] as archaic / poetic, although it is frequently encountered in various compounds.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 23. Feminine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 6; Berkov 2006: 497. Definite form: *natt-a*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 447; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 225. Definite form: *natt-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 479; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 354. Definite form: *natt-en*. Plural: *nätt-er*.

61. NOSE

Old Norse *nas-ar* (1) / *nef* (2), Icelandic *nε:v* {*nef*} (2), Faroese *nö:s* {*nøs*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *nè:s-ε* {*nese*} (1), Danish *n'ε:s-ə* {*næse*} (1), Swedish *n'è:s-a* {*näsa*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 461; Zoega 1910: 318; De Vries 1962: 415. Formally = 'nostrils', plural form of *nös* 'nostril'. This is the original Old Norse equivalent for 'nose', and is regularly featured in texts in that meaning whenever the semantic emphasis is on 'nose' as a functional organ (e. g. in contexts that have to do with smelling, etc.). Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 450; Zoega 1910: 311; De Vries 1962: 406. Polysemy: 'nose / beak / bone of the nose'. This word is already quite prominent in Old Norse texts, usually in contexts that have to do with 'nose' as a physical object rather than a functional organ; however, there seems to be quite a bit of overlap between *nef* and *nas-ar*, so that we should probably treat them as technical (transit?) synonyms.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 399; Berkov 1962: 472. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'nose / beak'. The word *nös*, pl. *nas-ar* ~ *nas-ir* is glossed in [Berkov 1962: 485] as 'nostril; pl. nose', but this is clearly no longer the primary equivalent for 'nose' in modern usage.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 414. Feminine gender. Unlike in Icelandic, the word *nev* [Young & Clewer 1985: 404] still means 'bill or beak of bird' rather than 'human nose'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 14; Berkov 2006: 496. Definite form: *nes-a* ~ *nes-en*. The form is marked as reflecting Danish influence in [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 118]. The word *nebb* (= Icelandic *nef*) means 'beak' or 'mouth, nose (vulgar)' [Arakin 2000: II, 9].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 461; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 225. Definite form: *næse-n*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 496; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 353. Definite form: *näsa-n*. Plural: *näs-or*. Distinct from *nos* 'nose, snout (of animals)' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 488], derived from the same root. Distinct from *näbb* 'beak' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 494].

62. NOT

Gothic *ni* (1), Old Norse *eigi* ~ *egi* ~ *ei* (2), Icelandic *ekki* {*ekki*} (2), Faroese *íççí* {*ikki*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *ikke* {*ikke*} (2), Danish *egə* {*ikke*} (2), Swedish *in:tə* {*inte*} (3).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 299. This is the simplest and most frequent variant of the negative particle; complex, contracted variants also include *ni-h* 'and not, also not, etc.' [Balg 1887: 301] (contraction with the particle *-uh*) and *ni-u* 'interrogative not = Latin *nonne*' [Balg 1887: 303] (contraction with the interrogative enclitic *-u*).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 119; Zoega 1910: 105; De Vries 1962: 95. The oldest form of negation in Old Norse was *ne* or *ne*: [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 449], same as in the other branches of Germanic. However, already in the main prosaic monuments of Old Norse it seems to have been replaced in the basic function by the adverbial form *eigi* (or its contracted variants *egi*, *ei*), although *ne* ~ *ne*: still functions in various bound expressions and complex negatives (*ne: einn* 'not one, none', etc.).

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 373; Berkov 1962: 143. Used as the default negative morpheme in indicative as well as prohibitive sentences.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 12, 268.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 379; Berkov 2006: 462.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 292; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 211. Cf. also *ej* [Krymova et al. 2000: 144], etymologically related to *ikke* and also used in the same meaning in certain limited contexts, but not eligible for the "primary" slot.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 322; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 329. This is an irregularly evolved variant of *inge-t* 'nothing' [Hellquist 1922: 275]. Older equivalents include *ej* [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 137] and *icke* [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 305], but both of these forms are either archaic or limited to special idiomatic contexts in the modern language.

63. ONE

Gothic *ain-s* (1), Old Norse *ein-n* (1), Icelandic *eið-n* {*einn*} (1), Faroese *ai-n* {*ein*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *é:n* {*en*} (1), Danish *eʔn* {*en*} (1), Swedish *en*: {*en*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 10. Cf. Mtth. 5:41: *jah jabai lvas þuk ananaupjai rasta aina, gaggais miþ imma twos* "and whosoever compels thee to go one mile, go with him two" [Ulfilas 1896: 5]. Polysemy: 'one / someone' (i. e. the word is frequently used in the function of an indefinite article).

Completely different word attested in Crimean Gothic: *ita* 'one' [Costello 1973: 487].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 122; Zoega 1910: 105; De Vries 1962: 108.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 420; Berkov 1962: 140.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 98. Neuter form: *ei-tt*.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 209; Berkov 2006: 525. Neuter form: *e-tt*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 149; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 239. Neuter form: *e-t*. Polysemy: 'one / someone, somebody'. Also functions as the indefinite article.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 140; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 375. Neuter form: *e-tt*. Polysemy: 'one / someone, somebody'. Also functions as the indefinite article.

64. PERSON

Gothic *mann-a* (1), Old Norse *mað-r* (1), Icelandic *ma:ð-yr* (1), Faroese *m'εav-vr* {*maður*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *mènn-εsk-ε* {*menneske*} (1), Danish *m'εn-εsg-ε* {*menneske*} (1), Swedish *m'ènn-ιfja* {*människa*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 267. Masc. gender; *n*-stem. Same word as 'man' q.v. In the text of Ulfilas' Bible, the word is used rather indiscriminately to render both Greek ἀνὴρ 'man (male)' and ἄνθρωπος 'man (person, human)'. Cf. Mtth. 5:16: *swa liuhtjai liuhaþ izwar in andwairþja manne* "let your light so shine before men" [Ulfilas 1896: 3]; in this context the translated Greek word is ἄνθρωπος. Such examples (quite numerous in the corpus) confirm that *manna* is to be taken as the default Gothic equivalent for 'man = human being (in general)'.
The only potential competition for *manna* 'person' may be the word *guma* [Balg 1887: 143] (masc. gender; *n*-stem). It is, however, significantly less frequent, occurring only three times in the entire corpus, in exactly the same contexts where one would normally expect to see *manna*, and rendering Greek ἀνὴρ rather than ἄνθρωπος. Its surprisingly low frequency for such a basic meaning suggests that it may have been a stylistically marked term, possibly a rarely used archaism. We prefer to exclude it from calculations.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 407; Zoega 1910: 284; De Vries 1962: 374. Cleasby defines this word as the equivalent of Latin *homo*, i.e. = 'human being' in general rather than specifically 'male human being', and contexts generally oppose this word to non-human beings (giants, gods, etc.). The earlier form *mann-r* is still encountered in some of the most archaic texts.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 793; Berkov 1962: 430. Masculine gender. Oblique stem: *mann-*. Polysemy: 'person / man (male) / husband', although the specific meaning 'male human being' is more commonly expressed by *karl* q.v.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 11, 372. Genitive: *man-s*. Plural: *menn*. Polysemy: 'person / husband / grown man'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 536; Berkov 2006: 1079. Definite form: *menneske-t*. The simple stem *mann* 'man' can also be used in the meaning 'person', but generally surmises a male referent (in any case, there is no lexicostatistical difference between these two items, since *menneske* is historically derived from *mann*).

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 423; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 481. Definite form: *menneske-t*. See notes on Bokmål Norwegian.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 473; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 776. Definite form: *människa-n*. Plural: *människ-or*. More basic term than the polite/official *person* 'person, man' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 536].

65. RAIN

Gothic *riḡn* (1), Old Norse *regn* (1), Icelandic *riḡn-riḡn* {*riḡning*} (1), Faroese *regn* {*regn*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *reiḡn* {*regn*} (1), Danish *raiḡn* {*regn*} (1), Swedish *reḡ:n* {*regn*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 322. Neuter gender; *a*-stem. Attested only once, but in a reliable context, cf. Mtth. 7:25: *jah atiddja dalap riḡn jah qemun alvos* "and the rain descended, and the waters came" [Ulfilas 1896: 9].

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *reḡhen* 'rain' [Costello 1973: 487].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 489; Zoega 1910: 333; De Vries 1962: 437. Neuter gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 166; Berkov 1962: 549. Feminine gender. Same root as *regn* 'rain' [Berkov 1962: 541], which also remains in colloquial usage.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 448. Neuter gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 107; Berkov 2006: 199. Definite form: *regn-et*. Also *regn-e* id. (Riksmål form?) [Arakin 2000: II, 107].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 541; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 90. Definite form: *regn-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 577; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 132. Definite form: *regn-et*.

66. RED

Gothic *rauθ-s* (1), Old Norse *rauð-r* (1), Icelandic *rö:yð-yr* {*rauður*} (1), Faroese *r'ei:y-yr* {*reyður*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *röd* {*rød*} (1), Danish *röð* {*rød*} (1), Swedish *rød* {*röd*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 318. Genitive: *raud-is*. The forms are reconstructed according to paradigmatic expectations. The word is actually attested only once, in Skeir. III: *wullai raudai* "red hair (wool)" [Ulfilas 1896: 221].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 484; Zoega 1910: 329; De Vries 1962: 435. The adjective *ryo:ð-r* is also occasionally understood as 'red' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 500], but the more usual meaning is 'ruddy (of the face or cheek)'; in any case, both adjectives historically share the same root and are lexicostatistically indistinguishable.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 300; Berkov 1962: 539.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 453.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 137; Berkov 2006: 359. According to [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 118], borrowed from or influenced by Danish *rød*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 563; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 161.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 607; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 252.

67. ROAD

Gothic *wig-s* (1), Old Norse *veg-r* (1), Icelandic *ve:γ-yr* {*vegur*} (1), Faroese *v'e:v-vr* {*vegur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *vei* {*vei*} (1), Danish *vai?* {*vej*} (1), Swedish *ve:g* {*väg*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 549. Masc. gender; *a*-stem. Cf. Mk. 10:46: *sat faur wig du aihtron* "he was sitting on the road begging" [Ulfilas 1896: 40]. Polysemy: 'way / road' (the word is used both in the literal and figurative meaning).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 689; Zoega 1910: 478; De Vries 1962: 650. Masculine gender. Numerous partial synonyms exist, cf.: *braut* 'road (cut through rocks, forest, and the like)' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 76]; *gata* 'a thoroughfare; a way, path, road' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 192]; *leið* 'a lode; a way' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 380]. Of all these forms, *veg-r* seems to be both the most statistically frequent and semantically broad.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 172; Berkov 1962: 831. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'road / way'. As in Old Norse, the word has numerous quasi-synonyms with more specialized meanings, e. g. *braut* 'road, path' [Berkov 1962: 91], *leið* 'way, direction' [Berkov 1962: 401], etc.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 652. Polysemy: 'road / way / opportunity'. Masculine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 432; Berkov 2006: 206. Definite form: *vei-en*. "Radical Bokmål": *veg*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 775; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 93. Definite form: *vej-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 883; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 137. Definite form: *väg-en*. Plural: *väg-ar*. Polysemy: 'road / way'.

68. ROOT

Gothic *wort-s* (1), Old Norse *rot* (1), Icelandic *rou:t* {*rót*} (1), Faroese *rcut* {*rót*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *ru:t* {*rot*} (1), Danish *ro?ð* {*rod*} (1), Swedish *ru:t* {*rot*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 539. Fem. gender; *i*-stem. Cf. Mk. 11:20: *gasehwun þana smakkabagn þaursjana us waurtim* "they saw the fig tree dried up from the roots" [Ulfilas 1896: 42].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 503; Zoega 1910: 342; De Vries 1962: 452. Feminine gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 296; Berkov 1962: 555. Feminine gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 462. Feminine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 129; Berkov 2006: 351. Definite form: *rot-a ~ rot-en*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 555; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 158. Definite form: *rod-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 593; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 246. Definite form: *rot-en*. Plural: *rött-er*.

69. ROUND

Old Norse *kring-l-o:tt-r* (1), Icelandic *krinj-l-out-yr* {*kringlóttur*} (1), Faroese *r'vnd-vr* {*rundur*} (-1), Bokmal Norwegian *r#nn* {*rund*} (-1), Danish *ron?* {*rund*} (-1), Swedish *røn:d* {*rund*} (-1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 355; Zoega 1910: 249; De Vries 1962: 330. Complex adjectival form, derived from the noun *kring-la* 'disk, circle, orb' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 355].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 304; Berkov 1962: 374. See notes on Old Norse for internal structure. Cf. also *hringlaga* 'round, ring-shaped' [Berkov 1962: 307].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 467. Borrowed from German (ultimately of Romance origin). More basic term than the specialized *klíngrutur* 'circular' (= Icelandic *kringlóttur* 'round') [Young & Clewer 1985: 303].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 132; Berkov 2006: 365. Polysemy: 'round / plump (of person) / generous / curved, bent'. Borrowed from German (ultimately of Romance origin).

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 559; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 164. Polysemy: 'round / plump (of person) / generous'. Borrowed from German (ultimately of Romance origin).

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 595; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 257. Polysemy: 'round / plump (of person)'. Borrowed from German (ultimately of Romance origin).

70. SAND

Gothic *mal-ma* (1), Old Norse *sand-r* (2), Icelandic *sand-yr* {*sandur*} (2), Faroese *s'and-yr* {*sandur*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *sann* {*sand*} (2), Danish *san?* {*sand*} (2), Swedish *san:d* {*sand*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 265. Masc. gender; *n*-stem. Cf. Mtth. 7:26: *saei gatimrida razn sein ana malmin* "who built his house upon the sand" [Ulfilas 1896: 8].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 513; Zoega 1910: 349; De Vries 1962: 462. Masculine gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 482; Berkov 1962: 573. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'sand / shore'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 16, 477. Masculine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 149; Berkov 2006: 617. Definite form: *sand-en*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 575; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 276. Definite form: *sand-et*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 617; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 441. Definite form: *sand-en*.

71. SAY

Gothic *k^wiθ-an* (1), Old Norse *kveð-a* (1) / *seg-y-a* (2), Icelandic *sey-a* {*segja*} (2), Faroese *s'i:y-a* {*sigja*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *si:* {*si*} (2), Danish *s'i:-a* {*sige*} (2), Swedish *s'èy:-a* ~ *s'è:g-a* {*säga*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 227. This is the most frequent and neutral verb with the meaning 'to say', introducing direct speech, in Gothic, cf. Mtth. 5:18: *amen auk qiþa izwis* "verily I say unto you" [Ulfilas 1896: 3], etc. (encountered almost *passim*). Opposed to the durative verb *rod-y-an* 'speak, talk, narrate', etc. [Balg 1887: 325].

Completely different form attested in Crimean Gothic: *malthata* 'say' [Costello 1973: 487] (cf. Gothic *maθl-y-an* 'to speak (publicly), talk' [Balg 1887: 273]).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 360; Zoega 1910: 252; De Vries 1962: 336. Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 518; Zoega 1910: 353. The difference between *kveð-a* and *seg-y-a* in the old texts is very difficult to describe (it may include elements of stylistic

differentiation as well as elements of suppletivism, with the former more frequently used in the past tense); we treat both words as technical synonyms.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 660; Berkov 1962: 579. The verb *kveða* [Berkov 1962: 380] has a far more restricted sphere of usage in the modern spoken language than it had in Old Norse (seems to be confined to idioms, formal contexts, contexts with the semantics of 'utter', 'pronounce', etc.). In other words, *segja* and *kveða* in Modern Icelandic have essentially shifted around their frequencies and limitations, and this could be considered a genuine case of lexical replacement.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 486.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 165; Berkov 2006: 874. Past tense: *sa*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 587; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 72.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 742; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 630. Past tense: *sade* ~ *sa*.

72. SEE

Gothic *sex^w-an* (1), Old Norse *sya*: (1), Icelandic *syau*: {*sjá*} (1), Faroese *s'vʒʒ-a* {*síggja*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *se*: {*se*} (1), Danish *se?* {*se*} (1), Swedish *se*: {*se*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 334. Cf. Mk. 5:22: *jah sailvands ina gadraus du fotum Iesus* "and, seeing him, he fell at Jesus' feet" [Ulfilas 1896: 28]. Polysemy: 'see / look', cf. Mtth. 5:28: *lvazuh saei sailviþ qinon du luston izos* "whosoever looks on a woman to lust after her..." [Ulfilas 1896: 4].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 533; Zoega 1910: 363; De Vries 1962: 477. Present tense: *se*; past tense: *sa*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 69; Berkov 1962: 598.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 19, 487.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 153; Berkov 2006: 81. Past tense: *så(g)*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 578; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 43.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 620; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 53. Past tense: *såg*.

73. SEED

Gothic *fraiwo* (1), Old Norse *fryo*: ~ *fre*: (1), Icelandic *frái*: {*fræ*} (1), Faroese *fræa*: {*fræ*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *frö*: {*frø*} (1), Danish *frø?* {*frø*} (1), Swedish *frö*: {*frö*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 102. Neuter gender. Cf. Mk. 4:3: *urrann sa saians du saian fraiwo seinamma* "there went out a sower to sow his seed" [Ulfilas 1896: 25].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 174; Zoega 1910: 150; De Vries 1962: 145. Neuter gender. Cf. also *sa-ð* 'seed, corn, crop', derived from *sa*: 'to sow' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 516]; this word is relatively rare in the text corpus, and is only sporadically referring to single grains of seed.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 654; Berkov 1962: 198. Neuter gender. Cf. also *sáð* 'seed, grain (for sowing); sowing; sperm, semen' [Berkov 1962: 562].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 14, 151. Polysemy: 'seed / grain / (seed)corn'. Neuter gender. Cf. also *sáð* 'seed (corn); pollen; semen, sperm' [Young & Clewer 1985: 472].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 288; Berkov 2006: 866. Definite form: *frø-et*. Distinct from *sæd* 'seed, grain (for sowing); sowing; sperm, semen' [Arakin 2000: II, 293].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 215; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 387. Definite form: *frø-et*. Cf. also *sæd* 'seed, embryo; cereals; grain; sperm;

offspring' [Krymova et al. 2000: 680]. Semantic difference is the same as in Icelandic and Norwegian.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 192; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 624. Definite form: *frö-et*. Plural: *frö-n ~ frö-er*. Distinct from *säd* 'grain (for sowing); sperm, semen' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 742].

74. SIT

Gothic *sit-an* (1), Old Norse *sit-y-a* (1), Icelandic *sit-y-a* {*sitja*} (1), Faroese *sit^h-a* {*sita*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *sitt-ε* {*sitte*} (1), Danish *s'ēð-ə* {*sidde*} (1), Swedish *sitt-a* {*sitta*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 359. Cf. Mk. 2:6: *wesunuh þan sumai þize bokarje jainar sitandans* "there were some of the scribes sitting there" [Ulfilas 1896: 21]. The dynamic meaning 'to sit down' is usually expressed by the same root in combination with prefixes, such as *ga=sit-an*, etc.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 530; Zoega 1910: 361; De Vries 1962: 477. Past tense: *sat*. Polysemy: 'to sit / to stay, abide'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 657; Berkov 1962: 597. Past tense: *sat*. Polysemy: 'to sit / to stay, abide'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 24.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 172; Berkov 2006: 871. Past tense: *satt*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 585; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 389.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 629; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 628. Past tense: *satt*.

75. SKIN

Old Norse *hǫrund* (1) / *skin-n* (2), Icelandic *hörrynd* {*hörund*} (1) / *hu:ð* {*húð*} (3), Faroese *hūu*: {*húð*} (3), Bokmal Norwegian *hæ:d* {*hud*} (3), Danish *huð* {*hud*} (3), Swedish *hæ:d* {*hud*} (3).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 312; Zoega 1910: 361; De Vries 1962: 477. Neuter gender.

The situation here is complex, since a large variety of words with the semantics of 'skin, hide' is attested in Old Norse. The word *hǫrund* is defined by Cleasby as "'the skin of a person'; prop. 'the cuticle' or 'inner skin'". In this meaning it is allegedly opposed to *skinn* 'skin, hide, fur' (= 'outer skin?') [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 547], as is seen from the phrase *milli skinns ok hǫrunds* "between the *skinn* and the *hǫrund*". However, apart from that context, the word *skinn* is usually seen applied to animals, such as sheep. Common Germanic **xu:di-z* 'hide, skin' yields Old Norse *hu:ð* 'hide' (of cattle), although it may be also applied to human skin, but only in idiomatic expressions [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 293]. Yet another partial synonym is *hamr* [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 236], applied mostly to birds or snakes.

Overall, it seems that the basic meaning 'skin' underwent heavy fragmentation in Old Norse. Tentatively, we include *hǫrund* and *skinn* as synonyms, based on Cleasby's explanation. The word *hu:ð*, however, does not seem to be eligible for inclusion.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 283; Berkov 1962: 330. Neuter gender. Like in Old Norse, applied only to people. The form *skinn* is glossed as 'skin, hide, fur' in [Berkov 1962: 622], and does not seem to be easily applicable to people as of today. Haraldsson 1996: 283; Berkov 1962: 312. Feminine gender. Glossed as 'skin, hide' in [Berkov 1962]. Analysis of various examples of textual usage in the modern language show that the sphere of usage of this word seems to have seriously extended beyond the one of Old Norse, and the word is easily applied to human skin as well, i. e. we may be witnessing a gradual replacement of *hǫrund* by *húð*.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 247. Feminine gender. Polysemy: 'skin / hide / slough'. The form *skinn* is explained as 'skin, hide (esp. of small animal as opposed to *húð*)' [Young & Clewer 1985: 504].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 362; Berkov 2006: 336. Definite form: *hud-en*. Applied to people and animals alike. Distinct from *lær* 'leather' [Berkov 2006: 336]. The word *skinn* 'hide, fur; (human) skin' [Arakin 2000: II, 184] seems to be mostly used in bound (idiomatic) expressions and should not be included in the primary slot.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 275; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 152. Definite form: *hud-en*. Polysemy: 'skin / hide'. The quasi-synonym *skind* [Krymova et al. 2000: 598], glossed as 'skin; hide, fur; rind, peel, film', is mainly applied to 'human skin' in bound idiomatic expressions (e. g. *skind og ben* 'skin and bones', of a lean person, etc.).

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 284; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 235. Definite form: *hud-en*. Plural: *hud-ar*. Cf. also *skinn* 'skin' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 641], mainly used in the meaning 'animal skin' or in idiomatic expressions (e. g. *skinn och ben* 'skin and bones', as in Danish).

76. SLEEP

Gothic *sle:p-an* (1), Old Norse *sof-a* (2), Icelandic *sò:v-a* {*sofa*} (2), Faroese *s'ò:v-a* {*sova*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *sò:v-ε* {*sove*} (2), Danish *s'ò:v-ə ~ s'ò:u-ə* {*sove*} (2), Swedish *s'ò:v-a* {*sova*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 378. Cf. Mtth. 9:24: *ni gaswalt so mawi, ak slepib* "this maid is not dead, but sleeping" [Ulfilas 1896: 11]. Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *schlipen* 'sleep' [Costello 1973: 487].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 577; Zoega 1910: 395; De Vries 1962: 528.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 692; Berkov 1962: 672.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 539.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 230; Berkov 2006: 925.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 631; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 411.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 684; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 665.

77. SMALL

Gothic *li:til-s* (1), Old Norse *li:til-l* (1) / *sma:-r* (2), Icelandic *li:tud-l* {*lítill*} (1) / *smau:-r* {*smár*} (2), Faroese *l'vi:t^hil* {*lítill*} (1) / *sm'ò:a:v-ør* {*smáur*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *li:t-εn* {*liten*} (1), Danish *l'il-ə* {*lille*} (1), Swedish *l'ì:t-ən* {*liten*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 244. Cf. Mk. 9:42: *jah salvazuh saei gamarzjai ainana þize leitilane þize galaubjandane du mis* "and whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me" [Ulfilas 1896: 37]. The word is encountered quite frequently, but there are no contexts in which it is actually applied to an object with the meaning 'small (in size)'; hence, its inclusion is slightly dubious. Nevertheless, the only possible competition is *smals* 'small' [Balg 1887: 380], which, in comparison, is attested only once, and even then, is only found in the superlative degree: *smal-ista* 'smallest, least', cf. I Cor. 15:9: *ik auk im sa smalista apaustaule* "for I am the least of the Apostles" [Ulfilas 1896: 143]. Without additional contexts, we prefer not to include *smals* as a synonym.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 570; Zoega 1910: 275; De Vries 1962: 358. Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 570; Zoega 1910: 390; De Vries 1962: 519. The difference between *sma:-r* and *litol-l* is complex; both forms have to be included as synonyms.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 324; Berkov 1962: 415. Haraldsson 1996: 324; Berkov 1962: 659. Same situation with synonyms as in Old

Norse.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 355. Young & Clewer 1985: 528. Apparently the situation with these synonyms is more or less the same as in Old Norse and Icelandic.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 500; Berkov 2006: 396. Definite form: *lill-e*. Suppletive plural: *små*. Additional synonym: *vèsl* (applied mainly to people or animals) [Berkov 2006: 396].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 385; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 177. Suppletive plural: *små*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 411; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 281. Suppletive plural: *små* [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 671].

78. SMOKE

Old Norse *reyk-r* (2), Icelandic *rei:k-yr* {*reykur*} (2), Faroese *r'ɔik-yr* {*roykur*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *røik* {*røyk*} (2), Danish *røi?* {*røg*} (2), Swedish *røk* {*rök*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 496; Zoega 1910: 338; De Vries 1962: 443. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'steam / smoke'. Different from *eim-i* ~ *eim-r* 'reek, vapour (from fire or embers)' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 120].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 181; Berkov 1962: 547. Masculine gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 464. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'smoke / dust / smell'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 140; Berkov 2006: 217. Definite form: *røyk-en*. "Traditional Bokmål": *røk* (Danish-influenced form). Polysemy: 'smoke / fog, mist'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 564; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 98. Definite form: *røg-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 608; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 144. Definite form: *rök-en*. Plural: *rök-ar*.

79. STAND

Gothic *stand-an* (1), Old Norse *stand-a* (1), Icelandic *stand-a* {*standa*} (1), Faroese *st'and-a* {*standa*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *sto:* {*stå*} (1), Danish *sdɔ?* {*stå*} (1), Swedish *sto:* {*stå*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 393. Cf. Matth. 26:73: *afar leitil þan atgaggandans þai standandans* "after a while came unto him they that were standing (by)" [Ulphilas 1896: 15].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 587; Zoega 1910: 403; De Vries 1962: 543. Past tense: *stoð*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 709; Berkov 1962: 691.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 549.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 275; Berkov 2006: 952. Past tense: *sto(d)*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 667; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 420. Polysemy: 'to stand / to be located / to stop, stay'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 720; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 683. Past tense: *stod*.

80. STAR

Gothic *stern-o:* (1), Old Norse *styarn-a* (1), Icelandic *styardn-a* ~ *styadn-a* {*stjarna*} (1), Faroese *š'ödn-a* {*stjarna*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *styæ:rn-ε* {*stjerne*} (1), Danish *sdj'ε.m-ə*

{*stjerne*} (1), Swedish *fj'ä:ŋ-a* {*stjärna*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 390. Fem. gender; *n*-stem. Attested only once, but in a reliable context, cf. Mk. 13:25: *jah stairnons himinis wairþand driusandeins* "and the stars of heaven shall fall" [Ulfilas 1896: 45].

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *stein* 'star' [Costello 1973: 487] (with loss of *-r-*?).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 594; Zoega 1910: 408; De Vries 1962: 549. Feminine gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 231; Berkov 1962: 705. Feminine gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 23. Feminine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 258; Berkov 2006: 276. Definite form: *stjern-en*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 653; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 125. Definite form: *stjern-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 706; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 188. Definite form: *stjärna-n*. Plural: *stjärn-or*.

81. STONE

Gothic *stain-s* (1), Old Norse *stein-n* (1), Icelandic *steið-n* {*steinn*} (1), Faroese *st'ai:n-vr* {*steinur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *steiñ* {*stein*} (1), Danish *sde?n* {*sten*} (1), Swedish *ste:n* {*sten*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 390. Masc. gender; *a*-stem. Cf. Lu. 4:3: *qib þamma staina ei wairþai hlaibs* "command this stone that it be made bread" [Ulfilas 1896: 60]. Polysemy: 'stone (small) / rock (large)'. In the latter meaning cf. Mtth. 7:24: *saei gatimrida razn sein ana staina* "who built his house on a rock" [Ulfilas 1896: 8]. Cf. also the following passage where both types of meaning are present at the same time, Mtth. 27: 60: *jah galagida ita in niujamma seinamma hlaíwa þatei ushuloda ana **staina** jah faurwalwojands **staina** mikilamma daurons þis hlaíwis galaip* "and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the **rock**: and he rolled a great **stone** to the door of the sepulchre, and departed" [Ulfilas 1896: 18].

Completely different word attested in Crimean Gothic: *ael* 'stone' [Costello 1973: 487], possibly descended from Gothic *hallus* 'rock' [Balg 1887: 157].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 591; Zoega 1910: 406; De Vries 1962: 546. Masculine gender. This is the main equivalent for the neutral 'stone' (in hand), distinct from *byarg* '(very) large stone, rock, boulder' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 64].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 267; Berkov 1962: 697. Masculine gender. Secondary synonym: *grjót* 'stone, stones (coll.)' [Berkov 1962: 243] (as in Old Norse, this word seems to specifically denote small pebbles and is generally used in a collective sense).

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 553. Masculine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 250; Berkov 2006: 317. Definite form: *stein-en*. The Danish-influenced Riksmål form is *sten*, as quoted in [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 119].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 649; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 144. Definite form: *sten-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 702; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 222. Definite form: *sten-en*. Plural: *sten-ar*.

82. SUN

Gothic *sunn-o:* (1), Old Norse *so:l* (1), Icelandic *sou:l* {*sól*} (1), Faroese *soul* {*sól*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *su:l* {*sol*} (1), Danish *so?l* {*sol*} (1), Swedish *su:l* {*sol*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 408. Fem. gender; *n*-stem. Cf. Lu. 4:40: *miþþanei þan sagq sunno...* "now when the sun was setting" [Ulfilas 1896: 62]. Encountered 6 times in the corpus; another equivalent, attested only twice, is *sauil*, cf. Mk. 1:32: *þan gasaggq sauil* "when the sun did set". It may be seen that both contexts are nearly identical, meaning that *sunno* and *sauil* are essentially in a state of free variation. Since both forms allegedly go back to a pair of morphological variants of the same root, this has no lexicostatistical significance, but the nature of this variation in Gothic remains an unanswered question.

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *sune* 'sun' [Costello 1973: 487].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 579; Zoega 1910: 396; De Vries 1962: 529. Feminine gender. This form of the word 'sun' is the most frequent and basic in Old Norse texts; the alternate variant *sunna* is only used in poetic speech. Cf. in particular: *sól heitir með mönnum, en sunna með goðum* "it is called *sól* among men, *sunna* among the gods" [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 605].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 685; Berkov 1962: 673. Feminine gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 13, 537. Feminine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 227; Berkov 2006: 913. Definite form: *sol-a*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 629; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 406. Definite form: *sol-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 680; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 658. Definite form: *sol-en*. Plural: *sol-ar*.

83. SWIM

Old Norse *svim-a* ~ *svimm-a* (1), Icelandic *sind-a* {*synda*} (2), Faroese *sv'im-ya* {*svimja*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *svòmm-ε* {*svømme*} (1), Danish *sv'òm-ə* {*svømme*} (1), Swedish *s'ìmm-a* {*simma*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 611; Zoega 1910: 422; De Vries 1962: 570. According to Cleasby, "the spelling with one *m* in Editions is erroneous". This word must have begun to fall out of usage already in the Old Norse period, but it is still encountered quite frequently in the texts. One of the (less frequent) synonymous forms is *legg-y-a-sk*, literally 'to lay oneself' (reflexive form of *legg-y-a* 'to lay') [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 379]; the verb *sünd-a*, which would eventually become the Modern Icelandic equivalent for 'swim', is "very rare in old writers" [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 614]. A very frequent set of equivalents for 'swim', however, consists of various compound formations of semi-auxiliary verbs with the noun *sund* 'swimming' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 604]; the overall statistical frequency of these compounds is actually higher in old texts than that of *svima*, but the latter is still encountered too frequently to be considered an "archaism".

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 491; Berkov 1962: 742. Secondary synonym: *svaml-a* 'to swim / to splash around' [Berkov 1962: 731] (this word is listed in [Haraldsson 1966] with the note 'slowly or in an inexperienced manner'). This is one of the very few reliable cases of genuine lexical replacement from the Old Norse period to Modern Icelandic.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 575.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 289; Berkov 2006: 623.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 676; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 278.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 627; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 446.

84. TAIL

Old Norse *hali* (1), Icelandic *ha:lɪ* {*hali*} (1), Faroese *h'ɛa:lɪ* {*hali*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *hà:lɛ* {*hale*} (1), Danish *h'a:lə* {*hale*} (1), Swedish *svan:s* {*svans*} (-1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 234; Zoega 1910: 182; De Vries 1962: 204. Masculine gender. Cleasby: "Icel. use *hali* properly of cattle, and lions, wolves, bears; *tagl* of horses (of the hair, but *stertr* of a caudal vertebra); *rofa* of cats, dogs; *skott* of a fox; *sporður* of a fish; *ste:l* or *ve:li* of birds; *dündill* of seals. The old writers do not make these nice distinctions, and use *hali* of a horse and *tagl* of a cow, which a mod. Icel. would not do". Judging by the contexts, *hali* is not only applied to the largest variety of tailed animals, but is also more frequent than any other equivalent, and amply used in idiomatic expressions: it is quite clearly the most "generic" term for 'tail' in Old Norse.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 780; Berkov 1962: 258. Masculine gender. According to [Haraldsson 1996], applied to cows, rats, mice, comets. Secondary synonyms [ibid.]: *skott*, *rófa* ("of dogs, foxes, cats, squirrels etc."), *stýri* ("of cats"), *dindill* ("of sheep and goats"), *stél* ("of birds and airplanes"), *sporður* ("of fish and whales"). Of all these words, *hali* has the most diverse applicability, as in Old Norse, so there would be no reason to think of a lexical replacement.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 210. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'tail (of cattle, sheep or the like) / top of the shaft of a scythe / last in the row / penis (children's speech)'. Secondary synonyms: *stertur* 'fish-tail' [Young & Clewer 1985: 554], *vel* 'bird's tail' [Young & Clewer 1985: 654], etc.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 335; Berkov 2006: 1060. Definite form: *hal-en*. As in the other Scandinavian languages, various specialized synonyms also exist, e. g. *rumpe* "tail of animal (vulg.)", *svans*, *stjert* "tail of bird", *spord* "tail of fish, lizard, snake" [Berkov 2006: 1060].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 252; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 471. Definite form: *hal-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 731; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 760. Definite form: *svans-en*. Plural: *svans-ar*. Different from *stjärt* "tail of bird / fish" [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 706]. Borrowed from German *Schwanz*.

85. THAT

Gothic *yain-s* (1), Old Norse *hin-n* (1), Icelandic *hin-n* {*hinn*} (1), Faroese *h'a-sin* {*hasin*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *de:-n* {*den*} (2), Danish *dε-n* {*den*} (2), Swedish *dε-n*: {*den*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 209. Masc. *yain-s*, fem. *yain-a*, neuter *yain*. Numerous examples in the corpus, cf. Mtth. 7:22: *managai qipand mis in jainamma daga* "many will say to me on that day" [Ulfilas 1896: 8], etc. This seems to be the default Gothic demonstrative pronoun to express faraway deixis.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 263; Zoega 1910: 198; De Vries 1962: 228. Masculine form; cf. also feminine *hin*, neuter *hitt*. This pronoun also serves as the basis for the definite article *hinn* ~ *inn* ~ *enn*, frequently, but not always, spelled without the initial *h*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 736; Berkov 1962: 283. As in Old Norse, this pronoun also serves as the basis for the definite article.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 219. Masculine gender. The feminine gender equivalent is *ha-nda* and the neuter form is *ha-tta*.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 169; Berkov 2006: 993. Masculine/feminine form; cf. also neuter *det*, plural *de*. This pronoun may be translated as either 'this' or 'that', depending on the context, but generally denotes objects that are more distant than the ones denoted by *denne* 'this' q.v.; in colloquial language, the opposition between 'this' and 'that' may also be expressed by the complex forms *den her* 'this (one)' (literally 'that-here') and *den der* 'that (one)' (literally 'that-there'), respectively. The archaic form *hin* 'that', cognate with Old Norse *hin-n*, etc., is no longer in basic usage in modern forms of the language [Arakin 2000: I, 352].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 860; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 437. Common form; cf. also neuter *det*, plural *de*. This pronoun may be translated as either 'this' or 'that', depending on the context, but generally denotes objects that are more distant than the ones denoted by *denne* 'this' q.v.; in colloquial language, the opposition between 'this' and 'that' may also be expressed by the complex forms *den her* 'this (one)' (literally 'that-here') and *den der* 'that (one)' (literally 'that-there'), respectively. The archaic form *hin* 'that', cognate with Old Norse *hin-n*, etc., is no longer in basic usage in modern forms of the language [Krymova et al. 2000: 267].

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 114; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 711. Common form; cf. also neuter *det*, plural *de*. See notes on Danish; usage in Swedish is more or less the same, including the preference to denote the opposition between 'this' and 'that'

with the complex forms *den här* 'this (one)' and *den där* 'that (one)' (literally 'that-here' and 'that-there').

86. THIS

Gothic *sa* (1) / *θa-ta* (2), Old Norse *θe-ssi* (2), Icelandic *θε:-ssi* {*þessi*} (2), Faroese *h'ε-sin* {*hesin*} (3), Bokmal Norwegian *dε-nne* {*denne*} (2), Danish *d'ε-nə* {*denne*} (2), Swedish *d'ε-nnə* {*denne*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 328. Suppletive paradigm: masc. *sa*, fem. *so*; but neuter *θa-ta*; cf. also the declination paradigm - nom. *sa*, gen. *θ-is*, dat. *θ-amma*, acc. *θ-ana*, etc. Also attested in a more complex form: *sa-h* '(and) this, he' (contracted with the enclitic particle *-uh*). Examples are attested *passim* throughout the corpus, where it often behaves in the function of the definite article. However, unlike modern Germanic languages, Gothic does not seem to have ever developed a strict opposition between the demonstrative pronoun (*this, dieser*, etc.) and the definite article (*the, der*, etc.). Suppletive stem (neuter gender).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 734; Zoega 1910: 198; De Vries 1962: 609. This is the masculine and feminine form; cf. also neuter *θe-tta*. The pronoun consists of the basic demonstrative stem (masc. *sa*, fem. *su*, neuter *θat* 'this; that', with a general rather than distance-specific deixis) and the suffixed particle *-si* (some old Runic inscriptions from the IXth - Xth centuries still show the earlier forms: masc. *sa-si*, fem. *su-si*, neuter *θat-si*).

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 815; Berkov 1962: 886. See notes on Old Norse.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 232. Masculine gender. The feminine gender equivalent is *he-nda* and the neuter form is *he-tta*.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 169; Berkov 2006: 1114. Also *denne her* 'this (one)', literally 'this-here' [Arakin 2000: II, 542]. Masculine/feminine form; cf. also neuter *dette*, plural *disse*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 860; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 498. Also *denne her* 'this (one)', literally 'this-here'. Common form; cf. also neuter *dette*, plural *disse*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 114; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 804. Same as in Danish, but the complex formation *den här* 'that-here' (= 'this'; see notes on 'that') is actually more common in general usage.

87. THOU

Gothic *θu* (1), Old Norse *θu*: (1), Icelandic *θu*: {*þú*} (1), Faroese *tʰu*: {*tú*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *dʰu*: {*du*} (1), Danish *du* {*du*} (1), Swedish *dʰu*: {*du*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 478. The complete paradigm is: nominative *θu*, genitive *θi-na*, dative *θu-s*, accusative *θu-k*. Cf. also *θi-n-s* 'thy' (possessive pronoun).

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *tzo* 'thou' [Costello 1973: 487].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 750; Zoega 1910: 521; De Vries 1962: 625. Cf. the rest of the paradigm: dative *θe-r*, accusative *θi-k*, possessive form *θi-n*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 744; Berkov 1962: 903. Cf. the rest of the paradigm: dative *þé-r*, accusative *þi-g*, possessive form *þi-n*.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 613. Cf. the accusative case: *te-g*, and the possessive form *tí-n*.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 188; Berkov 2006: 1009. Cf. the accusative case: *de-g*, and the possessive form *dí-n*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 134; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 444. Cf. the accusative case: *dí-g*, and the possessive form *dí-n*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 127; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 722. Cf. the accusative case: *dí-g*, and the possessive form *dí-n*.

88. TONGUE

Gothic *tunġ-o:* (1), Old Norse *tunġ-a* (1), Icelandic *tunġ-a* {*tunġa*} (1), Faroese *t'vunġ-a* {*tunġa*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *tunġ-ε* {*tunġe*} (1), Danish *t'vunġ-ə* {*tunġe*} (1), Swedish *t'vunġ:-a* {*tunġa*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 444. Fem. gender; *n*-stem. Cf. Lu. 1:64: *usluknoda þan munþs is suns jah tuggo is* "his mouth was opened immediately, and his tongue loosed" [Ulfilas 1896: 54].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 643; Zoega 1910: 444; De Vries 1962: 600. Feminine gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 818; Berkov 1962: 780. Feminine gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 614.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 353; Berkov 2006: 1118. Definite form: *tunġ-a* ~ *tunġ-en*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 722; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 444.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 798; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 807. Definite form: *tunġ-a-n*. Plural: *tunġ-or*.

89. TOOTH

Gothic *tunθ-u-s* (1), Old Norse *tunn* (1), Icelandic *tönn* {*tönn*} (1), Faroese *tönn* {*tonn*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *tann* {*tann*} (1), Danish *tan?* {*tand*} (1), Swedish *tan:d* {*tand*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 445. Masc. gender; *u*-stem. Cf. Matth. 5:38: *augo und augin, jah tunþu und tunþau* "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" [Ulfilas 1896: 4].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 643; Zoega 1910: 446; De Vries 1962: 604. Feminine gender. Plural form: *teð-r*. The more archaic form of this root is preserved in some proper names, e. g. *Hildi-tann-r*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 239; Berkov 1962: 787. Feminine gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 601. Feminine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 304; Berkov 2006: 284. Definite form: *tann-a*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 690; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 128. Definite form: *tand-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 756; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 194. Definite form: *tand-en*. Plural: *tänd-er*.

90. TREE

Gothic *bagm-s* (1), Old Norse *tre:* (2), Icelandic *tryε:* {*tré*} (2), Faroese *trεa:* {*træ*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *tre:* {*tre*} (2), Danish *trε?* {*træ*} (2), Swedish *trε:-d* {*trä*d} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 39. Masc. gender; *a*-stem. Cf. Matth. 7:17: *all bagme godaize akrana goda gataujip* "all good trees produce good fruit" [Ulfilas 1896: 7]. The older word for 'tree', *triu*, is only encountered once [Mk. 14: 43; repeated in Mk. 14: 48], and not in the meaning 'tree', but 'staff'; the word is therefore ineligible for inclusion.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 639; Zoega 1910: 441; De Vries 1962: 597. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'tree / ship-mast'. Close synonym: *við-r* 'tree, wood, forest' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 703]. Both *tre*: and *við-r* may be used to designate a growing tree. The differences are as follows: (a) only *tre*: is used to designate 'wood (material)' and objects made of wood, e. g. 'ship-mast'; (b) only *við-r*, on the other hand, may be used in the collective meaning 'forest', as well as 'wood (for burning), felled trees'. Therefore, the few instances where *við-r* should be translated as '(a single) growing tree' are better regarded as occasional exceptions, and the opposition *tre*: *við-r* is best interpreted as 'tree (single)' : 'trees, forest (collective)'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 156; Berkov 1962: 775. Neuter gender. Polysemy: 'tree / beam'. Secondary synonym: *viður* 'tree; forest' [Berkov 1962: 852], with more or less the same semantic difference as in Old Norse.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 611. Polysemy: 'tree / wood'. Neuter gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 338; Berkov 2006: 187. Definite form: *tre-et*. Polysemy: 'tree / wood (material)'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 719; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 85. Definite form: *træ-et*. Polysemy: 'tree / wood (material)'.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 793; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 124. Definite form: *trä-d-et*. The original pure stem is still preserved as *trä* 'wood' (material); *trä-d* is the result of old fusion with the definite article (< Old Swedish *tr æt*; modern definite *trä-d-et* is a new formation).

91. TWO

Gothic *twai* (1), Old Norse *tveir* (1), Icelandic *tvęi:r* {*tveir*} (1), Faroese *tvęi:r* {*tveir*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *tu: {to}* (1), Danish *to? {to}* (1), Swedish *tvo: {två}* (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 445. Full paradigm is: masc. *twai*, fem. *twos*, neuter *twa* ~ *two*:. Cf. Mtth. 6:24: *ni manna mag twaim frauþam skalkinon* "no man can serve two masters" [Ulfilas 1896: 6].

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *tua* 'two' [Costello 1973: 487].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 645; Zoega 1910: 444; De Vries 1962: 601. Feminine form: *tve:r*, neuter form: *tva-u*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 149; Berkov 1962: 782. Feminine form: *tvę:r*, neuter form: *tvö*.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 617. Feminine form: *tvę:r*, neuter form: *tvey*.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 327; Berkov 2006: 177.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 708; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 80.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 801; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 118.

92. WALK (GO)

Gothic *ga=li:θ-an* (1), Old Norse *far-a* (2), Icelandic *fa:r-a* {*fara*} (2), Faroese *fa:r-a* {*fara*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *go: {gå}* (3), Danish *gø? {gå}* (3), Swedish *go: {gå}* (3).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 245. There is quite a large number of different verbal roots and stems expressing the directional meaning 'go' in Ulfilas' Bible. Out of all of them, however, *ga=li:θ-an* seems to be at the same time the most frequent and the least cumbered with additional semantic nuances. Cf. Mtth. 8:21: *uslaubei mis frumist galeiþan jah gafilhan attan meinana* "allow me first to go and bury my father" [Ulfilas 1896: 9]; Mk. 1:20: *galipun afar imma* "they went after him" [Ulfilas 1896: 20], etc.

The verb *gang-an* [Balg 1887: 116], whose original meaning must have also been 'go', is generally used with the derived meaning 'to go to (do smth.)' in Gothic (i. e. with a semi-grammaticalized function of expressing intentionality or near future), cf. Lu. 14:19: *juka auhsne usbauhta fimf jah gagga kausjan þans* "I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them" [Ulfilas 1896: 80].

The verb *iddy-a* [Balg 1887: 197], paritally suppletive with *gang-an* (used only in the past tense), is not very frequent, and more often denotes the very idea of 'walking', 'moving', rather than the direction-specific 'going (somewhere)', cf. Mk. 5:42: *jah suns urrais so mawi jah iddja* "and immediately the maid arose, and walked" [Ulfilas 1896: 29].

The complex verb *at=gang-an* [Balg 1887: 116] (suppletive past tense *at=iddy-a*, etc.) may, however, frequently used in a directional sense, translated as 'come' or 'go' depending on the context. Its behaviour is rather unpredictable and deserves a long, complex study. Since its meaning is not as easily decipherable as that of *ga=li:θ-an*, we prefer not to include it as a synonym until the issue has been resolved.

It should be noted that for Crimean Gothic the verb 'to go' is rendered as *geen*, cognate with *gangen* [Costello 1973: 494]. This could indicate an early dialectal split between Ostrogothic varieties.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 142; Zoega 1910: 159; De Vries 1962: 156. There is some competition in Old Norse between *fara* and the older verb *gang-a* [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 188], e. g. both *ganga heim* and *fara heim* 'to go home' are possible. However, perusal of attested contexts seems to indicate that *fara-a* is more eligible for the status of basic verb of movement, whereas *gang-a* has more restricted usage (closer to specific 'go on foot').

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 241; Berkov 1962: 156. Cf.: *hvert ert þú að fara?* "where are you going?". Analysis of various contexts shows that in Modern Icelandic, *fara* is the default equivalent of the Swadesh meaning in most cases. The old verb *ganga* [Berkov 1962: 212] is rather used in such adjacent meanings as 'to move', 'to proceed', 'to follow', etc.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 113. Polysemy: 'to move / to go / to travel'. As in Icelandic, the old verb *ganga* [Young & Clewer 1985: 163] is no longer the default equivalent for the meaning 'to go somewhere' (as in "where are you going?"), although it is still widely used in various adjacent meanings.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 332; Berkov 2006: 287. Past tense: *gikk*. Unlike in Icelandic, the verb *fare* is only used in the old meaning 'to fare, to travel' [Arakin 2000: I, 225].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 250; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 130.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 256; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 196. Past tense: *gick*.

93. WARM (HOT)

Old Norse *heit-r* (1), Icelandic *h'ei:t-yr* {*heitur*} (1), Faroese *h'a'i:t-vr* {*heitur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *varn* {*varn*} (2), Danish *va:ʁm* {*varn*} (2), Swedish *var:m* {*varn*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 253; Zoega 1910: 193; De Vries 1962: 220. Distinct from *varn-r* 'warm' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 680].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 135; Berkov 1962: 275. Distinct from *hlýr* 'warm' [Berkov 1962: 293], the latter largely replacing the older word *varmur* (mostly confined to idiomatic expressions).

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 227. Polysemy: 'warm / hot / hot-tempered, vehement'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 425; Berkov 2006: 982. Distinct from *het* [Arakin 2000: I, 351; Berkov 2006: 161], which, as in Danish, seems to be more restricted to various figurative meanings (e. g. 'hot' as 'having a high fever', 'sexually aroused', etc.).

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 772; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 74. In modern Danish, the English meaning 'hot' generally corresponds to the equivalent *varn* (e. g. *varn mad* 'hot food', *meget varmt* 'it's hot', etc.). The old word *hed* [Krymova et al. 2000: 259] is used less frequently, being restricted to specific weather-related contexts and certain bound expressions.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 854; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 107. The difference between *varn* 'warm, hot' and *het* 'hot' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 277] in modern Swedish seems to be more or less along the same lines as in Danish, i. e. *varn* is the general term for all sorts of temperatures from 'tepid' to 'hot' and *het* is more restricted to 'superhot' (e. g. 'hot fire') or idiomatic contexts ('hot debates', etc.).

94. WATER

Gothic *wat-o-* (1), Old Norse *vat-n* (1), Icelandic *vat-n* {*vatn*} (1), Faroese *vat-n* {*vatn*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *vann* {*vann*} (1), Danish *van?* {*vand*} (1), Swedish *v'att-ən* {*vatten*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 535. Neuter gender; *n*-stem. Cf. Mtth. 10:42: *stikla kaldis watins* "with a bowl of cold water" [Ulfilas 1896: 13].
The word *ah^{wa}* ([Balg 1887: 7]; fem., gender, *o*-stem), frequently translated as 'water', refers exclusively to 'running water', i. e. = 'river', 'stream', 'flood', and is therefore ineligible for inclusion.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 681; Zoega 1910: 473; De Vries 1962: 648. Neuter gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 76; Berkov 1962: 826. Neuter gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 21, 649. Neuter gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 420; Berkov 2006: 91. Definite form: *vann-et*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 769; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 47. Definite form: *vand-et*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 856; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 59. Definite form: *vattn-et*.

95. WE₁

Gothic *wi:-s* (1), Old Norse *ve:-r* (1), Icelandic *vi:-ð* (1), Faroese *vit:* ~ *vi:t* {*vit*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *vi:* {*vi*} (1), Danish *vi* {*vi*} (1), Swedish *vi:* {*vi*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 543. Direct stem.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 694; Zoega 1910: 502; De Vries 1962: 654. Direct stem. Cf. also the possessive form: *va:r* 'our'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 349; Berkov 1962: 847. Direct stem. The old variant *vér* [Berkov 1962: 838] is reserved for official speech.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 669. Originally a dual form, but nowadays mostly used in all contexts; the old form *vær* 'we (pl.)' is considered obsolete [Young & Clewer 1985: 673].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 446, 540; Berkov 2006: 429.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 781; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 192.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 863; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 303.

95. WE₂

Gothic *uns-* (2), Old Norse *oss* (2), Icelandic *oss* {*oss*} (2), Faroese *o-kk-* (2), Bokmal Norwegian *oss* {*oss*} (2), Danish *os* {*os*} (2), Swedish *oss* {*oss*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 543. Indirect stem. The complete paradigm is: nominative *wis*, genitive *uns-ara*, dative/accusative *uns* ~ *uns-is*. Cf. also *uns-ar* 'our' (possessive pronoun).

Old Norse: De Vries 1962: 6421. Indirect (dative - accusative) stem.

Icelandic: Berkov 1962: 514. Indirect (dative - accusative) stem.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 669. Indirect stem (acc. *okk-um*, gen. *okk-ars*, etc.). Formerly dual; replacing the obsolete formerly plural stem *os(s)-* [Young & Clewer 1985: 673].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 540; Berkov 2006: 429. Suppletive accusative case.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 487; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 192. Suppletive accusative case.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 522. Suppletive accusative case.

96. WHAT

Gothic *x^wa* (1), Old Norse *hva-t* (1), Icelandic *xa:-ð {hvadð}* (1), Faroese *kvea:t {hvat}* (1), Bokmal Norwegian *va: {hva}* (1), Danish *vað ~ va {hvad}* (1), Swedish *vv:d ~ va {vad}* (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 189. Formally = neuter gender from *x^wa-s* 'who?' q.v. The paradigm is: nom., acc. *x^wa*, gen. *x^w-is*, dat. *x^w-amma*, instr. *x^w-e*.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 297; Zoega 1910: 217; De Vries 1962: 269. The paradigm is: nom., acc. *hva-t*, gen. *hv-es*, dat. *hv-i*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 798; Berkov 1962: 318. The paradigm is: nom., acc. *hv-að*, gen. *hv-ers*, dat. *hv-erju*.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 19, 254.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 366; Berkov 2006: 1088. Traditional Riksmål orthography still preserves the final consonant: *hva-d* [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 119].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 279; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 485.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 843; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 783.

97. WHITE

Gothic *x^wi:t-s* (1), Old Norse *hvi:t-r* (1), Icelandic *xi:t-yr {hvítur}* (1), Faroese *kv'vi:t-vr {hvítur}* (1), Bokmal Norwegian *vi:t {hvit}* (1), Danish *vi?ð {hvid}* (1), Swedish *vit {vit}* (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 193. Cf. Mtth. 5:36: *ni magt ain tagl hweit aiþþau swart gataujan* "you cannot make a single hair white or black". Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *wicht-gata* 'white' [Costello 1973: 487].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 302; Zoega 1910: 220; De Vries 1962: 273.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 23; Berkov 1962: 318.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 256.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 368; Berkov 2006: 30. "Radical Bokmål": *kvit*. Polysemy: 'white / pale / shiny'.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 280; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 23.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 874; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 19.

98. WHO

Gothic *x^wa-s* (1), Old Norse *hver-r* (1), Icelandic *xε:r ~ xy:r {hver}* (1), Faroese *kvö:r {hvør}* (1), Bokmal Norwegian *vemm {hvem}* (1), Danish *vem? {hvem}* (1), Swedish *vem: {vem}* (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 189. Masc. gender; the corresponding fem. form is *x^w-o*, the neuter form is *x^wa* 'what?' q.v.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 300; Zoega 1910: 219; De Vries 1962: 272.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 305; Berkov 1962: 320.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 27, 257.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 367; Berkov 2006: 367.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 279; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 165a. This formerly oblique form replaces the archaic direct stem *hvo* [Krymova et al. 2000: 281].

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 859; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 259.

99. WOMAN

Gothic *k^win-o:* (1), Old Norse *kon-a* (1), Icelandic *kɔ:n-a* {*kona*} (1), Faroese *kʋ'inn-a* {*kvinna*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *kʋinn-ε* {*kvinne*} (1), Danish *kʋ'en-ə* {*kvinde*} (1), Swedish *kʋ'inn-a* {*kvinna*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 227. Fem. gender; *n*-stem. Cf. Mtth. 5:28: *lvazuh saei sailviþ qinon du luston izos* "whosoever looks on a woman to lust after her..." [Ulfilas 1896: 4]. This word is used throughout exclusively in the meaning 'woman' = 'female human being', without reference to social status. The simpler stem *k^we:n-s* [Balg 1887: 225], in contrast, is more generally used in the meaning 'married woman', 'wife', cf. Mtth. 5:31: *lvazuh saei aſletai qen...* "whosoever puts away his wife..." [Ulfilas 1896: 4]. (This does not have any lexicostatistical importance, though, since both words share the same root).

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 350; Zoega 1910: 246; De Vries 1962: 325. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. This is the main term for 'woman' (= 'female human being') as opposed to 'man' (= 'male human being'), cf. *karl ok kona* 'man and woman'. Secondary synonym: *vi:f* 'woman, wife' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 714], according to Cleasby, encountered "only in poetry".

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 190; Berkov 1962: 320. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Cf. also *kven-maður*, lit. 'woman-person' id. [Berkov 1962: 381].

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 328. A more rare (formal) variant of the same word is *kon-a* [Young & Clewer 1985: 13, 314].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 472; Berkov 2006: 227. Colloquial variant: *kòne* [Arakin 2000: I, 444; Berkov 2006: 227]. The recent borrowing *dame* is also used in the meaning 'woman': cf. in [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 119]: "*kvinne* = somewhat official or literary, as in 'men and women', 'portrait of a woman'; *dame* = as in 'who is the woman coming there?', but also some social implication". Although this description implies that *dame* should probably be preferred over *kvinne* on the Swadesh list, the real situation is more complicated, since *dame* seems to really be a markedly "polite" term of reference, and its usage in modern Norwegian is more limited than, e.g., that of German *Frau*. Because of this, we believe that the old word *kvinne* should be left on the list.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 364; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 104. Cf. the etymologically related *kone* 'wife; woman' [Krymova et al. 2000: 344].

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 388; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 153. Definite form: *kvinna-n*. Plural: *kvinno-r*.

100. YELLOW

Old Norse *gul-r* (1), Icelandic *gy:l-yr* {*gulur*} (1), Faroese *g'u:l-vr* {*gulur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *gʉ:l* {*gul*} (1), Danish *guʔl* {*gul*} (1), Swedish *gʉ:l* {*gul*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 221; Zoega 1910: 175; De Vries 1962: 194.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 189; Berkov 1962: 248.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 17, 202.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 330; Berkov 2006: 227.
Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 246; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 104.
Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 254; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 152.

101. FAR

Gothic *ferr-a* (1), Old Norse *fyarr-i* (1), Icelandic *fyar-laiy-yr* {*fjarlægur*} (1), Faroese *fyar-vr* {*fjarur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *fyä:η* {*fjern*} (1), Danish *fyε.ɪʔn* {*fjern*} (1), Swedish *fy`ärr-an* {*fjärran*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 86. Adverbial form. Cf. Mk. 12:34: *ni fairra is þiudangardjai guþs* "not far art thou from the kingdom of God" [Ulfilas 1896: 44].
Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 156; Zoega 1910: 138; De Vries 1962: 123. Adverbial form, derived from the obsolete adjective *fyarr*.
Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 147; Berkov 1962: 170. Literally: 'far-lying'; also *fjar-liggjandi* id. Usage of the simple adverbial form *fjarri* [Berkov 1962: 171] is somewhat restricted in the modern language.
Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 128.
Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 240; Berkov 2006: 174. Adjectival form. The default adverbial form is *langt* [Arakin 2000: I, 481]. The Riksmål equivalent, according to [Bergsland & Vogt 1962: 117], is the idiomatic expression *langt borte*.
Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 171; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 79. Adjectival form. The default adverbial form is *langt* [Krymova et al. 2000: 374].
Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 166; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 117. Adjectival form. The default adverbial form is *långt* [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 424].

102. HEAVY

Gothic *k̅ar-u-s* # (1), Old Norse *þung-r* (2), Icelandic *þung-yr* {*þungur*} (2), Faroese *t'vng-vr* {*tungur*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *tun* {*tung*} (2), Danish *ton?* {*tung*} (2), Swedish *tøn:* {*tung*} (2).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 217. Adjective; *u*-stem. Very dubious. The word is attested only once, and in a figurative meaning at that (= 'weighty, ponderous'), cf. II Cor. 10:10: *unte þos raihtis bokos, qiþand, kaurjos sind jah swinþos* "for his letters, they say, are weighty (heavy) and powerful" [Ulfilas 1896: 158]. Some indirect confirmation of its real frequency comes from derivatives, such as *k̅ar-y-an* 'to burden, press, trouble' and *k̅ar-iθ-a* 'weight, burden' [Balg 1887: 216], but all of them are also used in figurative meanings. We include this word on the list tentatively, since its etymological meaning is unquestionably 'heavy' as such, and no alternate candidates are attested.
Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 749; Zoega 1910: 519; De Vries 1962: 626.
Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 745; Berkov 1962: 904. Polysemy: 'heavy / hard, difficult'.
Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 614. Polysemy: 'heavy / hard, difficult'.
Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 352; Berkov 2006: 1009. Polysemy: 'heavy / hard, difficult / pregnant'.
Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 722; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 445. Polysemy: 'heavy / hard, difficult'.
Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 797; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 724.

103. NEAR

Gothic *ne:x^w-a* (1), Old Norse *ne:r* (1), Icelandic *nau:-laǵ-yr {nálægur}* (1), Faroese *near* {*nær*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *när* {*nær*} (1), Danish *ne?a* {*nær*} (1), Swedish *n^ä:r-a* (*nära*) (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 298. Cf. Mc. 13:28: *nelva ist asans* "summer is near" [Ulfilas 1896: 45]; *jah sunsei nelva was* "and when he came near" [Ulfilas 1896: 90]. Used either as an adverb or as a preposition; in the latter function, the variant *ne:h^w* is also attested once, cf. Lu. 15:25: *jah qimands atiddja nelv razn* "and as he came and walked near the house" [Ulfilas 1896: 82].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 460; Zoega 1910: 316; De Vries 1962: 413. Adverbial form. The bound form of this stem is *na:-*, frequently employed in various compound forms [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 447].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 32; Berkov 1962: 468. Literally: 'near-lying'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 413.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 22; Berkov 2006: 40. Adverbial/adjectival form. Also *nær-liggende*, *nær-stående* id. [Berkov 2006: 40].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 461; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 27. Adverbial/adjectival form.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 495; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 25. Adverbial/adjectival form. Also *när-belägen*, *när-liggande* id.

104. SALT

Gothic *salt* (1), Old Norse *salt* (1), Icelandic *salt* {*salt*} (1), Faroese *salt* {*salt*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *salt* {*salt*} (1), Danish *sal?t* {*salt*} (1), Swedish *sal:t* {*salt*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 340. Neuter gender; *a*-stem. Cf. Mc. 9:50: *gop salt, ip jabai salt unsaltan wairpiþ, lve supuda* "salt is good, but if the salt has become unsalted, with what will you season it?" [Ulfilas 1896: 38].

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *salt* 'salt' [Costello 1973: 487].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 510; Zoega 1910: 346; De Vries 1962: 461. Neuter gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 685; Berkov 1962: 565.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 474. Neuter gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 145; Berkov 2006: 915. Definite form: *salt-et*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 570; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 406. Definite form: *salt-et*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 613; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 658. Definite form: *salt-et*.

105. SHORT

Old Norse *skam-r* ~ *skamm-r* (1) / *stutt-r* (2), Icelandic *skamm-yr* {*skammur*} (1) / *stytt-yr* {*stuttur*} (2), Faroese *sk'amm-yr* {*skammur*} (1) / *st'vtt-yr* {*stuttur*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *ku? {kort}* (-1), Danish *køt* {*kort*} (-1), Swedish *kø? {kort}* (-1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested. The word *li:til-s* 'small' q.v. is sometimes also translated as 'short', but only in the temporal meaning (in idiomatic expressions such as 'a short while', etc.), so it is clearly ineligible. It is far more likely that the adjective 'short' in Gothic was formed from the same root as *ga=moꝛg-y-an* 'to shorten, cut short' [Balg 1887: 274], reliably attested in two contexts. However, the corresponding adjective is not found in the texts, and the slot has to remain empty.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 537; Zoega 1910: 367; De Vries 1962: 482. Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 600; Zoega 1910: 414; De Vries 1962: 556. This word is translated by Cleasby as 'stunted, scant', i. e. its basic semantics might originally have been 'shortened' rather than '(naturally) short', making it less eligible for inclusion. Nevertheless, it is consistently applied to simply "short" objects (such as 'short coat of mail', 'short skirt', etc.), and it is therefore hard to determine which of the two words, *skamm-r* or *stutt-r*, was more "basic" in the required meaning in Old Norse. We include both as technical synonyms.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 296; Berkov 1962: 610. Haraldsson 1996: 296; Berkov 1962: 720. This word seems to be more frequent when applied to objects than *skammur*, but we still include both items as technical synonyms.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 496. Young & Clewer 1985: 566.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 451; Berkov 2006: 353. Borrowed from German (ultimately from Romance). The inherited form *stutt* 'short' is generally marked as "dialectal", e. g. in [Arakin 2000: II, 271].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 350; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 159. Borrowed from German (ultimately from Romance).

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 372; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 247.

106. SNAKE

Gothic *worm-s* (1), Old Norse *orm-r* (1), Icelandic *slauṅ-a* {*slanga*} (2), Faroese *sl'auṅ-a* {*slanga*} (2), Bokmal Norwegian *sl'auṅ-ε* {*slange*} (2), Danish *sl'auṅ-ə* {*slange*} (2), Swedish *vr:m* {*orm*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 538. Masc. gender; *a*-stem. Cf. Lu. 10:19: *atgaf izwis waldufni trudan ufaro waurme jah skaurþjono* "I gave you the power to tread upon snakes (serpents) and scorpions" [Ulfilas 1896: 78]. Translates Greek ὄφις 'serpent, snake'.

Another word with similar semantics is *nadr-s* [Balg 1887: 291]. However, it is not eligible for inclusion, since its meaning is 'viper, adder, poisonous snake' rather than 'snake (in general)'; in the only context where it is attested (Lu. 3:7), it translates Greek ἐχιδνα 'poisonous snake'.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 468; Zoega 1910: 323; De Vries 1962: 420. Masculine gender. Generic term for 'snake' that also incorporates 'worms' and even 'dragons'. Secondary synonyms include: (a) *nað-r*, glossed by Cleasby as 'viper, adder, snake' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 445], most likely a generic term for 'poisonous snake', as in Gothic; (b) *snak-r* 'snake (only in poetry)' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 573], a special poetic term; (c) *slangi* 'a serpent' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 566], attested only sporadically. None of these words are as frequent or semantically all-encompassing as *orm-r*.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 236; Berkov 1962: 650. Feminine gender. Secondary synonym: *naðra* [Berkov 1962: 467] (specifically 'adder' rather than generic 'snake'). Cf. also *ormur* 'worm; snake' [Berkov 1962: 509]; the word *snákur* is glossed as 'grass-snake' (ϣ) in [Berkov 1962: 663]. Altogether, it is not easy to determine the most appropriate synonym here, largely due to the absence of snakes in Iceland as a native species. In general, it seems that the old word *ormr*, due to its all-encompassing range of 'worms / snakes / dragons' and archaic nature, is no longer eligible for inclusion, but further research may be necessary.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 521. Feminine gender. The synonymous form *orm-ur* is glossed in [Young & Clewer 1985: 426] as 'snake; (bibl.) serpent; worm' and seems to be a less neutral equivalent of *slanga*.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 207; Berkov 2006: 281. Definite form: *slang-en*. The word *orm* can also be employed in the meaning 'snake', but this mostly reflects archaic or dialectal usage [Berkov 2006: 281].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 613; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 127. Definite form: *slang-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 520; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 192. Definite form: *orm-en*. Plural: *orm-ar*.

107. THIN

Old Norse *θunn-r* (1), Icelandic *θynn-yr* {*þunnur*} (1), Faroese *t'vnn-vr* {*tunnur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *tünn* {*tynn*} (1), Danish *tön?* {*tynd*} (1), Swedish *tönn* {*tunn*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Not attested.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 749; Zoega 1910: 520; De Vries 1962: 627. Applied mainly to objects; distinct from *mag-r* 'meagre, lean' (of person) [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 408].

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 734; Berkov 1962: 905. Applied to objects as well as people.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 615. Polysemy: 'thin (in section) / thin, sparse, not thick or dense / thin, weak (of liquid)'. Distinct from *klæn-ur* 'thin and slender, slight' [Young & Clewer 1985: 306]; from *mjá-ur* 'slender, slim, narrow' [Young & Clewer 1985: 388].

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 359; Berkov 2006: 990. Applied to objects as well as people.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 725; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 436. Applied to objects as well as people.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 798; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 708. Polysemy: 'thin / fine / lean / weak (tea, etc.)'. Applied to objects as well as people.

108. WIND

Gothic *wind-s* (1), Old Norse *vind-r* (1), Icelandic *vind-yr* {*vindur*} (1), Faroese *v'int-vr* {*vindur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *vinn* {*vind*} (1), Danish *ven?* {*vind*} (1), Swedish *vin:d* {*vind*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 553. Masc. gender; *a*-stem. Cf. Mtth. 8:27: *windos jah marei ufhausjand imma* "the winds and the sea obey him" [Ulfilas 1896: 10].

Preserved in Crimean Gothic: *wintch* 'wind' [Costello 1973: 487].

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 708; Zoega 1910: 492; De Vries 1962: 665. Masculine gender. The word *veðr* 'weather' [Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 687] may also be used in the meaning 'wind' (usually 'gale, storm'), but this is not its primary semantics.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 63; Berkov 1962: 859. Masculine gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 667. Masculine gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 450; Berkov 2006: 75. Definite form: *vind-en*. The word *blåst* is also translated as 'wind' in [Berkov 2006: 75], but its more precise meaning is 'strong wind, storm, bluster' [Arakin 2000: I, 122].

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 784; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 40. Definite form: *vind-en*. Alternate synonym: *blæst* [Krymova et al. 2000: 88] (derived from the verb *blæse* 'to blow'; seems to be less basic, referring rather to strong gusts of wind than wind in general).

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 870; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 48. Definite form: *vind-en*. Plural: *vind-ar*. Distinct from *blåst* 'strong wind' [Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 77].

109. WORM

Gothic *maþa* (1), Old Norse *mað-k-r* (1), Icelandic *maþk-yr* {*maðkur*} (1), Faroese *m'akk-yr* {*maðkur*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *mark* ~ *makk* {*mark* ~ *makk*} (1), Danish *orm* {*orm*} (2), Swedish *mas:k* {*mask*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 272. Masc. gender; *n*-stem. Cf. Mk. 9:48: *þarei maþa ize ni gadauþniþ* "where their worm does not die" [Ulfilas 1896: 38]. Attested only once, but in a reliable context (translating Greek σκόληξ 'worm').

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 407; Zoega 1910: 284; De Vries 1962: 374. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'maggot / grub / worm'.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 794; Berkov 1962: 430. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'worm / grub / caterpillar'.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 372. Masculine gender. Polysemy: 'worm / maggot'.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: I, 521, 527; Berkov 2006: 1081. Definite form: *mark-en* ~ *makk-en*. Cf. *mèite-mark* 'earthworm' [ibid.] (a compound formation with *meite* 'to fish' as the first component). The word *orm*, also sometimes translated as 'worm' [Arakin 2000: II, 47], is a more generic term, also including grubs, tapeworms, etc.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 487; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 482. Definite form: *orm-en*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 441; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 777. Definite form: *mask-en*. Plural: *mask-ar*. Applied to earthworms as well as tapeworms.

110. YEAR

Gothic *ye:r* (1), Old Norse *a:r* (1), Icelandic *au:r* {*ár*} (1), Faroese *ǰa:r* {*ár*} (1), Bokmal Norwegian *o:r* {*år*} (1), Danish *ǰa* {*år*} (1), Swedish *o:r* {*år*} (1).

References and notes:

Gothic: Balg 1887: 210. Neuter gender; *a*-stem. Cf. Mc. 5:25: *jah qinono suma wisandei in runa bloþis jera twalif* "and a certain woman, which had an issue of blood twelve years" [Ulfilas 1896: 28]; Lu. 2:41: *jah wratodedun þai birusjos is jera hvammeh in Iairusalem at dulþ paska* "now his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover" [Ulfilas 1896: 57].

Of certain interest is also the word *aþn* [Balg 1887: 34] (neuter gender), attested once in Gal. 4:10: *dagam witaip jah menopum jah melam jah aþnam* "you observe days, and months, and times, and years" [Ulfilas 1896: 167]; however, the actual translated Greek word here is ἐνιαυτός rather than the more general ἔτος. It may be suggested that the meaning of *aþn* is less basic (the concept of a 'year' as a 'time cycle' or 'anniversary'), whereas in the regular function of counting out time it is the word *ye:r* that functions as the common equivalent.

Old Norse: Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874: 44; Zoega 1910: 35; De Vries 1962: 12. Neuter gender.

Icelandic: Haraldsson 1996: 130; Berkov 1962: 46. Neuter gender.

Faroese: Young & Clewer 1985: 15. Neuter gender.

Bokmal Norwegian: Arakin 2000: II, 482; Berkov 2006: 154. Definite form: *år-et*.

Danish: Krymova et al. 2000: 806; Harrit & Harrit 2002: 72. Definite form: *år-et*.

Swedish: Marklund-Sharapova 2007a: 903; Marklund-Sharapova 2007b: 103. Definite form: *år-et*.