

ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF WEST FRISIAN FARMING VOCABULARY

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Cover:

Painting of a farming scene on a milk churn, by my grandfather Gradus van Ooijen

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ABBREVIATIONS & SYMBOLS

LANGUAGE ABBREVIATIONS

Abruzz.	Abruzzese Italian	Gron.	Groningen Low Saxon
Achtk.	Achtkarspelen Frisian	Gm.	Germanic
AF.	Anglo-Frisian	Ha.	Halligen Frisian
Alb.	Albanian	Harl.	Harlingerland Frisian
Am.	Amrum Frisian	Helg.	Heligolandic Frisian
Ang.	Anglian Old English	Hind.	Hindeloopen Frisian
Arm.	Armenian	Hitt.	Hittite
Barr.	Barradeel Frisian	HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
BSl.	Balto-Slavic	Holl.	Hollandic Dutch
CGot.	Crimean Gothic	Hsch.	Hesychius
Cl.	Clay Frisian	Ic.	Modern Icelandic
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian	IE	Indo-European (cognates)
D.	Modern Danish	INF	Insular North Frisian
Dr.	Drenthe Low Saxon	It.	Modern Italian
Du.	Modern Dutch	Jv.	Jeverland Low German
E.	Modern English	Ka.	Karrharde Frisian
EF	East Frisian	Kl.	Klanxbüll Wiedingharder Frisian
EF.	East Föhring Frisian		
EGm.	East Germanic	Go.	Goesharde Frisian
Em.	Emmelsbüll Wiedingharder Frisian	Lat.	Latin; Latinized Frisian
		Latv.	Latvian
EOF	East Old Frisian	Lesb.	Lesbian ancient Greek
F.	Föhring Frisian	LG	Low German
FA.	Föhring-Amrum Frisian	Limb.	Limburgish
Far.	Modern Faroese	Lith.	Lithuanian
Ferwdl.	Ferwerderadiel Frisian	Lomb.	Lombardian Italian
Fl.	Flemish	LS	Low Saxon
Fr.	Modern French	Lyc.	Lycian
Fri.	Frisian	MDu.	Middle Dutch
G	Germanic (cognates)	ME	Middle English
G.	Modern High German	Mlr.	Middle Irish
Ga.	Gaasterlân Frisian	MLG	Middle Low German
Gaul.	Gaulish	MNF	Mainland North Frisian
Gld.	Guelderish	Mo.	Mooring, Bökingharde Frisian
Got.	Gothic		
Gr.	Ancient Greek	Molkw.	Molkwerum Frisian

NCl.	North Clay Frisian	Sall.	Salland Low Saxon
NF	North Frisian	Sat.	Saterland Frisian
NGm.	North Germanic	Sc.	Scots
NHoll.	North Hollandic Dutch	Sch.	Schiermonnikoog Frisian
Nk.	Neukirchen Wiedingharder Frisian	SCr.	Serbo-Croatian
NSG	North Sea Germanic	SEh.	Súdeasthoeke Frisian
Nw.	Modern Norwegian	Sh.	Súdhoeke Frisian
NWCl.	North West Clay Frisian	SHoll.	South Hollandic Dutch
NWo.	Northern Wood Frisian	Skt.	Sanskrit
OC	Old Cornish	Slav.	Slavic
ODu.	Old Dutch	Slk.	Slovak
OE	Old English	Sp.	Modern Spanish
OF	Old Frisian	Sw.	Modern Swedish
OFr.	Old French	SWh.	Súdwesthoeke Frisian
OHG	Old High German	SWo.	Southern Wood Frisian
OIr.	Old Irish	Sy.	Sylt Frisian
Old.	Oldenburg Low German	Tsch.	Eastern Terschelling Frisian
ON	Old Norse	Tytsjdl.	Tytsjerksteradiel Frisian
ONF	Old North Frisian	Tw.	Twente Low Saxon
OPr.	Old Prussian	Vel.	Veluwe Low Saxon
ORuss.	Old Russian	VLat.	Vulgar Latin
OS	Old Saxon	W.	Modern Welsh
OSw.	Old Swedish	Wang.	Wangerooge Frisian
OW	Old Welsh	WCl.	West Clay Frisian
P.	Modern Persian	WF	West Frisian (branch)
PCelt.	Proto-Celtic	WF.	West Föhring Frisian
PFri.	Proto-Frisian	WFD	West Frisian Dutch
PG, PGm.	Proto-Germanic	WFl.	West Flemish
PIE	Proto-Indo-European	WFri.	Modern West Frisian (language)
PNWGm.	Proto-North-West- Germanic	WGm.	West Germanic
Port.	Modern Portuguese	Wi.	Wiedingharde Frisian
PSlav.	Proto-Slavic	Wo.	Wood Frisian
PWGm.	Proto-West-Germanic	WOF	West Old Frisian
Ro.	Rodenäs Wiedingharder Frisian	Work.	Workum Frisian
Russ.	Russian	WS.	West Saxon Old English
Sab.	Sabellic	Wurst.	Wursten Frisian
		Za.	Zaandam Dutch
		Zeel.	Zeelandic Dutch

GRAMMATICAL AND TEXTUAL ABBREVIATIONS

abstr.	abstract(ly)	<i>N</i>	nasal
acc.	accusative	n.	neuter
arch.	archaic	nom.	nominative
<i>C</i>	consonant	north.	northern
c.	commune, common; century	northeast.	northeastern
ca.	circa, around	obl.	oblique case(s)
cf.	confer, compare	obs.	obsolete
cps.	compounds	OSL	open syllable lengthening
dat.	dative	outd.	outdated
dial.	dialect, dialectally	pl.	plural
dim.	diminutive	ppp.	past passive participle
e.g.	exempli gratia, for example	q.v.	quo vide, see there
esp.	especially	reg.	regionally
etc.	etcetera	s.v.	sub voce, at the/its lemma
f.	feminine	sg.	singular
gen.	genitive	south.	southern
hap.	hapax (legomenon), word that is attested only once	st.v.	strong verb
hybr.	hybrid	TN	toponym
id.	idem, the same	uml.	umlaut
i.e.	id est, that is	<i>V</i>	vowel
infreq.	infrequent	v.	verb
lit.	literally	var.	(regional) variant
m.	masculine	viz.	videlicet, namely
ms.	manuscript	v.l.	varia lectio, manuscript variant
		w.v.	weak verb

SYMBOLS

*	reconstructed form
**	form which is neither attested nor supposed to have existed
>	developed into (if different stages of the same language) / was borrowed as (otherwise)
<	developed from (if different stages of the same language) / was borrowed from (otherwise)
<<	is an analogical adaptation of / replaced
/	introduces the condition of a sound law
_	indicates the place of the changing sound in a conditional environment
◦	indicates the vocalic realization of a resonant
	separates forms continuing different PGm. variants
~	separates PGm. stem variants
[]	phonetic notation; intervention in citation
'	indicates that the following syllable is stressed
''	meaning
“ ”	original/literal meaning; translation of a sentence; quote

INTRODUCTION

“Wij hebben nog geen schijn van een Etymologies Fries Woordenboek, ook tot schade van de Germanistiek.”¹ (Schepers 1933: 10)

“Abschliessend mag es gestattet sein, ein Desideratum der Germanistik an die westlauwersche Forschung zu äussern: die Schaffung eines etymologischen Wörterbuches des standardfriesischen, wenn möglich unter Einschluss der abweichenden Mundarten.” (Århammar 1968a: 285)

“As de Fryske wittenskip fan i e n wurk forlet hat, dan is it wol fan in etymologysk wurdboek. Sa’n útjefte is al jierren en jierren in (fromme) winsk fan Fryske en net-Fryske taellju.”² (Buma 1969: 1)

“However much has been pleaded for an etymological dictionary of Frisian, such an indispensable linguistic tool is still wanting. This situation is to be regretted.” (Van der Veen 1993: 143)

“[...] faaks moatte der nei dizze rare pûster [= EWN 1, SN] marris serius prikken yn ’t wurk set wurde foar in *Etymologysk wurdboek fan it Frysk*.”³ (Hoekstra 2004: 158)

Although the lack of an etymological dictionary of Frisian has been lamented for decades, only few attempts at creating one have been undertaken over the years, and the contributions that have appeared all have limited scopes. The citation of Buma above is from the introduction to his *Priuwke fan in Frysk ôfliedkundich wurdboek* (“Sample of a (West) Frisian etymological dictionary”), which covers some 300 words starting with *a-*. Many of these are (international) loanwords without much Frisian history (*adres, alfabet, algebra, aluminium, ananas, apparaet, aristokrazy, artikel, asfalt, atlas, atmosfear, atoom*, etc.). The treatments normally present cognates (or equivalent borrowings) in all standard modern Gm. and some IE languages and ultimately arrive at a form from the (now outdated) PIE of Pokorny; discussion of inner-Frisian developments is lacking (cf. Galama 1970). Buma called upon his readers to encourage him to continue “dit faken fortretlike, mar breanedige wurk” (“this often depressing, but highly necessary work”, 1969: 3) but he would never return to the endeavor. The *Wurdboek fan de Fryske taal* (WFT, 1984-2011) has an etymological section, but if this is not completely absent, its contents normally only consist of an

I would like to thank Alexander Lubotsky and Arjen Versloot for their comments on earlier drafts.

¹ “We do not yet have anything which even comes close to an etymological dictionary of Frisian, a situation which also damages Germanic studies.”

² “If there is *one* thing Frisian studies are in need of, it is an etymological dictionary. For years and years such a publication has been the (pious) wish of Frisian and non-Frisian linguists alike.”

³ “After this disappointing bungle, perhaps some serious effort should be made to create an *Etymological dictionary of (West) Frisian*.”

enumeration of two or three (W)Gm. cognates or, in the case of loanwords, the donor form (and the implications are not always accurate, see Århammar 2004). The *Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands* (EWN, 2003-9) regularly gives standard West Frisian cognates, but in his review of the first volume, from which the fifth quote above was taken, Hoekstra has shown that the Frisian material has in general not been treated carefully. Also, as is to be expected of an etymological dictionary of Dutch, normally no details of inner-Frisian developments are discussed.

The last decade has seen some serious progress, with the publication of no less than three etymological dictionaries of some form of Frisian. In 2005 the *Old Frisian Etymological Dictionary* (OFED) was published, which treats some 2000 Old East Frisian words attested in the R₁ manuscript from Rüstringen. The dictionary suffers from many drawbacks regarding the Frisian part (cf. Popkema 2007), including the haphazard selection and representation of listed variants, the “relative neglect of the specific sound changes which led to Frisian forms” (Popkema 2007: 296), the lack of semantic discussion, and the near-absence of modern Frisian material. 2006 saw the publication of the *Etymologisches Handwörterbuch des Festlandnordfriesischen* (EHF). The main purpose of this dictionary is to present some of the Mainland North Frisian material and to connect it to comparative Germanic scholarship. The lemmas usually consist of a collection of the forms of five MNF dialects, the German cognate, and some references. It does not contain any discussion. Finally, in 2010 the *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der friesischen Adjektiva* (EWfA) was published, which aims to fill the Frisian gap in F. Heidermann’s *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen Primäradjektiva*, as well as to confront “dem allseits beklagten Mangel eines umfassenden etymologischen Wörterbuches des Friesischen zumindest in einem Subsystem dieser Sprache, nämlich der Adjektiva” (EWfA: 1). The lemmas are PGm. reconstructions, which are followed by a massive collection of old and modern Frisian reflexes and a useful discussion of these data and their reconstructions (although unfortunately the PIE part still leans heavily on Pokorny). The price is paid in quantity: some 250 WFri. words (naturally, almost only adjectives) are included.

It is clear that much work remains to be done. It is also clear that I, too, can only make a limited contribution with this thesis. The number of lemmas which fit in the available space turned out to be 37. Similarly to the situation in EWfA, this relatively low number is a consequence of the choice for more indepth treatments (as well as for vocabulary allowing for such treatments, cf. below), as befits an MA thesis. In the following I will elaborate on my choices and the internal structure of the lemmas.

Like Buma, I have focused on (standard) West Frisian, taking its form as found in WFT as the lemma and making it the main focus of the discussion of inner-Frisian developments. This format has several advantages, not least that apart from serving comparative linguists, it also supplies easy reference for anyone else taking an interest in the etymology and development of the vocabulary of West Frisian (by far the largest of all varieties of Frisian). That such an interest in etymology exists among non-specialists is illustrated by the fact that etymologiebank.nl, a searchable database of Dutch etymological information, has 25.000

unique visitors per month (Van der Sijs 2012: 26). Although the current thesis will not attract the same amount of attention, the conceivability that it might be an example for, or even be of service to, a more extensive dictionary is one of the reasons to stick to this format. The perspective from (not restriction to) one specific variety of Frisian also enables more detailed and focused discussion.

The lemma proper, along with an indication of standard pronunciation (as found in WFT), grammatical classification and a brief English translation, is followed by a collection of cognates and reconstructions, structured along the lines of the language tree. First presented (in WF) is the modern West Frisian branch, starting from the WFri. standard form, i.e. the lemmatized variant, of which, if applicable, the paradigmatic as well as regional variation (as found in WFT and occasionally Hof) is presented.⁴ Attestations in Reyner Bogerman (1542-51) and Gysbert Japicx (1681) follow, when available.⁵ The rest of the section is dedicated to the presentation of the forms of the three other major West Frisian dialects, those of Schiermonnikoog, (eastern) Terschelling and Hindeloopen.⁶ Next up is the East Frisian section (EF), in which the cognates of Saterland Frisian as well as of the extinct dialects of Wangerooge, Harlingerland and Land Wursten are collected.⁷ Two sections presenting North Frisian follow. One (MNF) is dedicated to Mainland North Frisian, represented by its dialects that are best described, those of Wiedingharde and Bökingharde (the latter called Mooring),⁸ and in some cases, if the etymon is included in EHF, also by Karrharder, Goesharder and Halligen Frisian. The other section (INF) contains Insular North Frisian cognates, from the closely related dialects of Föhr and Amrum, from that of Sylt and that of Heligoland.⁹ The modern Frisian data are followed by a section of Old Frisian (OF), which can often be regarded as ancestral to the modern languages, but many variants that must have existed in OF can only be, and have here been, reconstructed on the basis of the daughter languages (cf. Århammar 1989, and below). The attested forms are taken from the *Altfriesisches Handwörterbuch* (AFH, 2008), as are its practices to order the variants from linguistically older to more innovative (AFH: xxvi-vii), and to mark variants that are only found in West or East Frisian with a superscript label¹⁰.

The detailed collection of Frisian data is followed by a section with Germanic cognates (G) in their oldest stages (and a modern cognate in brackets), running from Frisian's

⁴ In order to enhance citation, I have in some cases rendered variants in Frisian spelling where WFT only has different indications of pronunciation, e.g. *rjûwe*, *rjowe* instead of [rjuuə], [rjo.uə], *rêk* instead of [rɛ:k], variants or alternative pronunciations of *riuwe* and *reak*, respectively.

⁵ Collected from RB = De Boer 1900 and Epk. = Epkema 1824, respectively.

⁶ Collected from EW = Visser, Dyk 2002 (occasionally Spenter 1968), WO = Roggen 1976 and GB = Blom 1981 (occasionally Kooy 1937), respectively.

⁷ Collected from MF = Fort 1980 (occasionally PK = Kramer 1961), MSW = Versloot 1996 (occasionally FA = Ehrentraut 1849-54), CM = König 1911 and RM = Möllencamp 1968 (occasionally WW = Bremer 1888, whose word numbering has been referenced instead of its pages), respectively.

⁸ Collected from FRU = Jensen, Petersen, Sjölin, Walker, Wilts 1994 and FU = Sjölin, Walker, Wilts 1988, respectively.

⁹ Collected from FÖW = *Fering-Öömrang Wurdenbuk* 2002, SU = Kellner 2006, and WK = Krogmann 1957-68 or otherwise HS = Siebs 1909, respectively.

¹⁰ Replacing ^{WL} (westerlauwerssch) with ^{WF} (West Frisian) and ^{OL} (osterlauwerssch) with ^{EF} (East Frisian).

closest relative, English, through the fellow WGM. languages Dutch, Old Saxon (modern stage normally represented by Low German) and (High) German, to the NGM. Old Norse (modern stage normally represented by Swedish) and the EGM. Gothic (extinct).¹¹ Typically the meaning of the etymon is the same or virtually the same in most of these languages, and therefore the cognates are not supplied with a separate meaning if this is the case; if no separate meaning is given it should therefore be inferred from the WFri. lemma. Only deviating meanings have been indicated, either individually or in a sequence (“both/all ‘...’”, valid for all preceding forms of the section except where a different meaning has been indicated).¹² Within each section, related but formally differing variants (e.g. ablaut variants or loanwords from a related language) have in most cases been separated by the sign | |. The following sections present a reconstruction of the etymon in the common ancestor of these languages, Proto-Germanic (PG),¹³ and, further back in time, in Proto-Indo-European (PIE), as well as selected cognates in other Indo-European languages (IE).¹⁴ If a PGM. or PIE reconstruction is analyzable as a derivative, the reconstruction of the root or stem from which it has been derived is added in brackets.

The attestations and reconstructions are followed by the discussion, in which I comment on the phonological, morphological and semantic developments relevant to the data presented in the previous sections, with a focus on the developments from OF to WFri. and from PGM. to OF, as well as on the ultimate etymology.¹⁵ I have regularly made use of parallels (where possible crossreferencing to other lemmas) to clarify and support my claims. The lemma is concluded with an overview of relevant literature (LIT): all references for the Frisian data collected in the first sections and to other literature related to the discussion,

¹¹ Collected from Bosworth, Toller 1898, 1921 (OE), OED = *Oxford English Dictionary* (OE, ME, E.), Louwen, Mooijaart, Pijnenburg, Quak, Schoonheim 2009 (ODu.), Verdam, Verwijs 1885-1929 (MDu.), WNT = *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* 1864-1998 (Du., Du. dial.), EWN = Philippa 2003-9 (MDu., Du.), eWND = Van der Sijs 2005- (Du. dial.), Ter Laan 1929 (Gron.), Boekenoogen 1897 (Za.), Pannekeet 1984 (WFD), zeeuwsewoordenbank.nl (Zeel., Fl.), Tiefenbach 2010 (OS), Borchling, Lasch et al. 1956- (MLG), Böning 1941 (LG), Herrmann-Winter 1985 (LG), EWAhd = Lloyd, Lühr, Springer 1988- (OHG), Schützeichel 2006 (OHG), Benecke, Müller, Zarncke 1854-66 (MHG), Kluge = Kluge, Seebold 2011 (G.), De Vries 1962 (ON), Hellquist 1922 (Sw.), Streitberg 1908 (Got.), Lehmann 1986 (Got.).

¹² Similarly, in the discussion the meaning of cognates should in the same way be inferred from the form they accompany.

¹³ Occasionally only Proto-West-Germanic (PWG) or Proto-North-West-Germanic (PNWG).

¹⁴ Reconstructable PGM. stem variants are separated with the sign ~. For a recent collection of PGM. reconstructions see EDPG = Kroonen 2013. Cf. also the other dictionaries in the Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series (see dictionaries.brillonline.com) for the PIE and IE fields. These reconstructed forms and IE cognates are always provided with a meaning. When there are no corresponding IE cognates, but the morphological elements appear to be of PIE date, the PIE section only consists of a formal projection of the PGM. form into PIE (and, if applicable, the root or stem from which it was derived in brackets). Radical IE cognates are in such cases provided in the discussion.

¹⁵ Much useful discussion of the developments from PGM. to OF and the modern dialects, with many examples, can be found in Siebs 1901 and Spenter 1968. For lack of better, specialists tend to use these works, and for North Frisian especially the studies of Löfstedt 1928, 1931, 1933, as surrogates for an etymological dictionary (cf. Hoekstra 2004: 157). For non-specialists they are largely impenetrable due to the overall PGM. perspective and, in the indexes, the perspective of Old Frisian (Siebs) and phonetic Schiermonnikoogs (Spenter). More concise, but also more tidy, discussions can further be found in Munske 2001, and for the changes from PGM. to OF also in IOF = Bremmer 2009. For our purposes another study in INF that deserves to be mentioned is TWFA = Faltings 1983.

sometimes accompanied by a brief indication of the subject, if this belongs to a specific part of the discussion.¹⁶

The 37 words were selected from a semantic category whose counterpart in reality has dominated Frisian life for centuries: farming, including both agriculture and livestock breeding.¹⁷ Specifically, the words refer to a part of the farm (*boasdoar*), livestock (*baarch, ei, goes, hin, hoanne, hynder, hynst, keal, ko, rier, skiep*), an important animal body part (*jaar*), animal placement (*finne, jister, tsjoar*), animal products (*aai, mjuks, molke, tsiis*) and the processing of one such product (*tsjerne*), agricultural land (*ikker, miede*) and its cultivation (*eide, fuorge*), products (*flaaks, ier, nôt, hea, hjouwer, strie, tsjêf*), and their processing (*fleiel, reak, riuwe, terskje, ûngetiid*). Of course these words cannot capture all of Frisian farming, but in combination they do evoke an appropriate image. More importantly, all of these words have a long history, most of them being inherited from P(W)Gm., if not PIE, and so they contain valuable information about the reconstructed prestiges and the various developments that took place between them.

The dictionary shows once again that the modern data are a valuable addition to the OF material, sometimes confirming it and sometimes complementing it, either in providing evidence for an OF form when it is not attested (e.g. *terskje*), or in pointing to a different variant from the one attested in OF (e.g. *tsjoar*). This means that a solid basis for the use of Frisian as evidence for P(W)Gm. has to include a collection of the modern forms. Conversely, most Frisian forms have received an explanation in the light of their cognates, in some cases with the emergence of new details about the developments from P(W)Gm. to OF (e.g. a more general application of $e > i$ before velar) and from OF to WFri. (e.g. the retention of $*\bar{a}e$, $*\bar{o}e$ when \bar{a} and \bar{o} were raised). Where the problems involved have not been solved, they have at least been exposed (a case in point is *kij*, pl. of *ko*, whose details remain somewhat of a mystery). Finally, 37 West Frisian words have now received a systematic etymological treatment. It is a start.

¹⁶ The overall structure of the lemmas is close to that outlined by Van der Veen 1993, although e.g. without systematic inclusion of mixed dialects such as Stadsfries and Bildts. Nevertheless, the present enterprise with its elaborate treatments would no doubt qualify as “so ambitious that it cannot be realized” (1993: 148) were it to become the extensive dictionary with some 10,000 lemmas which Van der Veen has in mind (1993: 152), as even Buma’s *Priuwke* is considered too extensive for a complete dictionary (Galama 1970: 47, 48, Van der Veen: 1993: 148).

¹⁷ The choice for this semantic field has a certain tradition in Frisian studies. The Frisian farmer has been called the “symbool, om niet te zeggen idool, van de Friese wetenschap” (“symbol, not to say idol, of Frisian research”, Heeroma 1960: 373). Frisian research is here, somewhat artificially, opposed to the research of Frisian, with the former being aimed at “ondersteuning van het Friese zelfbewustzijn, ter stoffering van het materiële en ideële huis waarin de Friezen wonen” (“supporting Frisian self-awareness, furnishing the material and mental house in which the Frisians live”), the latter at the scientific description and analysis of anything Frisian. The present study can be seen as an exponent of both branches.

DICTIONARY

aai [a:i] n. 'egg'

- WF Bog. *ay*, GJ *aey*, *ay* (Lat.); Sch. *ooi* n., Tsch. *aai* n., Hind. *aei* n.
 EF Sat. *Oai* n., Wang. *ooii* f.n., Harl. *oye*, Wurst. *eÿ(?)*
 MNF Wi. *oi* n., Mo. *oi* n.
 INF FA. *ai* f.n., Sy. *Ai* n., Helg. *Ai* n.
 OF **āi* n.
 G OE *ǣg* n. (E. *egg* < ON), MDu. *ei* n. (Du. *ei* n.), OS *ei* n. (LG *Ei* n.), OHG *ei* n. (G. *Ei* n.), ON *egg* n. (Sw. *ägg* n.), CGot. *ada* (pl.?)
 PG **ajja-* n. 'egg'
 PIE **h₂ōuio-* n. 'egg' (**h₂eu-i-* 'bird')
 IE Gr. *ῥῆον* (Lesb.), *ῥόν* n., Lat. *ōvum* n., W. *wy*, SCr. *jáje* n., P. *xāyag*, Arm. *ju*, Alb. *ve* f., all 'egg'

PGm. **ajj-* developed as *ai + j*: **aij-* > AF. **ǣi* (= OE) > OF **ēi*, which later dissimilated to OF **āi* (cf. **klajja-* 'clay' > WFri. *klaai*, and cf. s.v. *hea*). The PGm. thematic stem **ajj-a-* was remodeled into an *s*-stem **ajj-iz-* in PWGm., as is still visible in the pl.-suffix in EF and INF (Sat. *Oaiere*, Wang. *ooiiēr*, FA., Sy., Helg. *aier*). This suffix was leveled out in WF and MNF (WFri. *aaien*, Wi., Mo. *oie*). PGm. **ajja-* developed from **ojjo-* < **ojó-* < **ōwjó-* < **h₂ōuio-* "bird product" (see EDPG), which is a derivative of **h₂eu-i-* 'bird' (Lat. *avis*).

- LIT WFT (WF), RB 257 (Bog.), Epk. 12 (GJ), EW 381 (Sch.), WO 1 (Tsch.), GB 12 (Hind.), MF 140 (Sat.), MSW 229 (Wang.), CM 47 (Harl.), WW 279 (Wurst.), FRU 235-6 (Wi.), FU 166 (Mo.), FÖW 16 (FA.), SU 467-8 (Sy.), WK 70-1 (Helg.); Siebs 1231 (OF **ēi* > **āi*), Heinertz 1912: 332-6 (id.), Spenter 293, EDPG 17 (PIE > PGm.)

baarch [ba:rx] m.f. 'pig, swine'

- WF pl. *bargen*, dim. *barchje*; Var. *barch*; Bog. *baarghe*, GJ *baerge*, *bârg*; Tsch. *barg*, *barig* m.f., Hind. *barch* m.f.
 EF Sat. *Barich* m. 'castrated boar' || Harl. *borch* 'castrated boar' (< LG)
 INF FA. *barig* f.n. 'castrated boar'
 OF *barch*^{WF}, *bārch*^{WF}, *berch*^{WF} (?) m. 'castrated boar; pig'
 G OE *bearug*, *bearg*, *-borg* (in *gealt-borg* 'swine') m. (E. obs./dial. *barrow*), MDu. *barch* m. (Du. *barg*, dial. *borg*, *burg*), OS *barug* m. (MLG *borch* m., LG *Borch* m.), OHG *barug* m. (G. *Barg*, *Barch* m.), all 'castrated boar', ON *bǫrgr* m. 'boar'
 PG **baruga-* m. 'castrated boar'
 PIE ?**b^hor(H)u-(kó-)* m. 'castrated boar'
 IE ORuss. *borovъ* m. 'small livestock, hog, castrated boar', Slk. *brav* m. 'hog, castrated boar' (< **b^horu-o-*)

The cluster *-rch* caused lengthening of a preceding short vowel (cf. *fuorge* < **fūr*ch (+ **-e*) < OF *furch*, see s.v.). In most of WF, *baarch* is the normal word for ‘pig, swine’, although *swyn* may be used as well. This developed from a situation in which *swyn* was the only word for ‘pig, swine’, as still in Sch., whereas *baarch* meant ‘castrated boar’, as still in EF and NF and in the other WGM. languages. The only Fri. form with *-o-*, Harl. *borch*, is likely to be a loan from LG.

Most variants point to PGM. **baruga-*, which in view of PSlav. **bōrvъ* < **b^horu-o-* may be analyzed as **baru-ga-*, with a suffix **-ga-* < **-ko-* (cf. e.g. **h₂rt-ko-* ‘bear’ > Hitt. *ḫar-tág-ga-*, Gr. ἄρκτος). The prehistory of the variants with *-o-* is unclear; a zero grade as is often reconstructed (e.g. by EWN, EWAhd, Kluge) cannot be correct if the preform of the other variants was indeed **baruga-*, as the **-r-* would not have been syllabic before **-u-*. There is no further evidence for the presence of a laryngeal which could resolve this, although the root is sometimes tentatively, and ultimately unconvincingly, connected with a verbal root **b^her(H)-* ‘to smash, pierce’ (ON *berja*, Lat. *forō*), with reference to an old castrating technique of smashing the testicles (cf. EWN). The variants with *-o-* have also been explained as resulting from dialectal labialization (e.g. by FvW), but this is not very satisfying in the absence of more examples of the same development in these dialects. In view of the problems, EWN ultimately opts for a substrate word. The structure **CaCuC-* and the existence of an apparently *u*-mutated variant **CoCuC-* favor this scenario (cf. Beekes 2014 on the same phenomena in the possibly related Pre-Greek substrate).

Of similar form and meaning is Wang. *bos* ‘castrated boar’ (LG *Boss(e)*), but this can hardly be related in any regular way.

LIT WFT (WF), RB 258 (Bog.), Epk. 18, 19 (GJ), WO 3 (Tsch.), GB 16 (Hind.), MF 74 (Sat.), CM 43 (Harl.), FÖW 57 (FA.), AFH 28 (OF); Beekes 2014: 8, 22 (**a/o* before **u*), 27-8 (**CaC-uC-*), EDPG 54, EWAhd *barug*, EWN *barg*, FvW *barg*, Kluge *Barg*

boasdoar [bo.əzdo.ər] m.f. ‘large barn door’

WF Var. *boasder*, infreq. *boesdoar*, *boarder*

EF Wang. *burzendúrn* f. ‘(house) door’, Harl. *buhsdarr* (v.l. *bussdarr*), *buesdarr* (v.ll. *busdarr*, *buesdar*, *bussdarr*) ‘side door’

MNF Wi. *buoisdöör* f. ‘barn door’

INF F. *boosder*, *boorder*, Am. *booder* m. ‘shed door’, Sy. *Bööster* m.f. ‘shed door leading to the open air’

OF *bōsdure*^{WF}, *bōser*^{WF} f. ‘barn door’

G LS *bansdeur*, *ba(a)ns(d)er*, *ba(a)nder(deur)*, *baner* (Gron., Dr.), LG *BuUSDöör*, *Bus(s)edöör*, *Burserdöör* (Old.)

PG **bansa-* m. ‘barn, storehouse, shed’ + **durō-* f. ‘door’

OF compound of **bōs* ‘barn’ and *dure* ‘door’. The first element is only attested in this compound in OF, and it survives only in this compound in WF and EF. It may still live on in extended form in the common NF word for ‘barn, shed’ (Wi. *boosem*, Mo., Ka., Go. *bousem*, Ha. *böisem*; FA. *busem*, Sy. *Buusem*), which is usually (e.g. by Siebs, Löfstedt, IOF) regarded

as a petrified dat.pl. **bōsum*, but a change dat.pl. > nom.sg. is not self-evident. If we want to connect it, a compound with a simplified second element may also be considered (cf. below). The simplex also survives in the Frisian substrate word SHoll. *boes* m.f. ‘part of the cowshed on which cows stand with their back legs’, earlier also ‘place before the cows where the fodder is strewn’, and in the earliest attestation ‘barn’ (1662, WNT). The current meaning of SHoll. *boes* is in NHoll. expressed with *koes* m.f., which could earlier also denote other parts of the barn as well as the entire barn; the formal similarity, identity in meaning and complementary dialectal distribution could suggest that this is the same word which underwent some irregular alteration (perhaps folk etymology after *koe* ‘cow’).

The WFri. variant *boesdoar* directly continues OF *bōsdure*. The variant *boasdoar* may also show a dialectally regular WF reflex of post-PWGM. **ō* resulting from the NSG development **ans* > **ons* > **ōs* (cf. WFri. *goes*, Tsch. *goas* ‘goose’ < OF **gōs* < **gans*, see s.v. *goes*), but assimilation to *-doar* is also possible. In *boarder* (< **boardoar*) the final consonant of the first element was (also) adapted to *-doar*; the same goes for intrusive *-r-* found in Wang. *burzendúrn* (cf. LG *Burserdöör*). Such distortions are unsurprising after the loss of the simplex, i.e. when the first element was no longer understood. The second element also appears in reduced form, already in OF, and in other Gm. languages; for this process cf. s.v. *hynder*.

OF *bōs-* has cognates in OE **bōs*, *bōsig* ‘cow-stall’ (E. north. *boose*, *boosy* ‘cow-stall; upper part of the stall, where the fodder is placed’), MLG *bōs* ‘cattle shed’ (LG *Boos*, *Bans* ‘barn’), G. *Banse* ‘storage place in a barn for crops, wood, coal’, ON *báss* ‘stall in a barn’ (Sw. *bås* ‘id.’) < PGm. **bansa-*, Got. *bansts* ‘storeroom for crops’ < **bans-ti-*. PGm. **bansa-* is usually analyzed as developed from **band-sa-* < **b^hond^h-so-* or *-to-*, but the exact interpretation varies. Kroonen (EDPG) connects Lith. *bandà* ‘cattle’ and interprets the suffix as **-sta-* (cf. s.v. *jister*), but this is unattractive in view of the proposed meaning ‘cattle’ for **b^hond^h-* which is not otherwise attested in Gm. and indeed outside Lithuanian, and the fact that the PGm. structure designated with **bansa-* appears also to have had a crop storage function (cf. Got., G.). Although morphologically unclear, a root **band-* would more naturally be connected with **bindan-* ‘to bind’, commonly taken to pertain to the twined construction of the barn or to the binding of cattle. As the original sense seems to have included ‘storeroom’, another possibility would be to interpret ‘to bind’ more abstractly as ‘to keep in one place’, with **bansa-* originally meaning ‘construction/object for keeping in one place’ and from there ‘storeroom, storage place’ and ‘barn, shed’. None of the interpretations is evident, however. It is even less clear that we should further, with reference to binding in some sense, connect MDu., Du. dial. (Fl.) *banst* ‘twined basket’, Fl. also ‘piece of cloth used to light fire, wick’ (< **band-s-ta-?*) and/or OF *bōste* ‘marriage’, WFri. outd. *boast(e)* ‘betrothal, marriage’ (< **banstō-*), as per Sanders.

LIT WFT (WF), MSW 56 (Wang.), CM 52, 75 (Harl.), FRU 45 (Wi.), FÖW 91 (FA.), SU 506 (Sy.), AFH 76 (OF); EDPG 52, IOF 205, Löfstedt 1928: 87, Sanders 1969: 443-6, Siebs 1405, WaoD 22, WNT *boes* (‘barn’), *koes*

ei [ɛ.i] m.f.n. 'ewe'

- WF Var. [a.i], [ɔ.i]; GJ *ey*; Tsch. *ei-* (in *ei-lam* 'ewe lamb'), Hind. *ei* n. || Sch. *eui* f. (< Du.)
- EF Sat. *Oue* f., Wang. *ii-* (in *ii-laum* 'ewe lamb'), Harl. *oye-* (in *oye-lomm* 'ewe')
- MNF Wi. *äi-* (in *äi-skeep* 'ewe', *-lum* 'ewe lamb'), Mo. *äi-* (in *äi-schäip* 'ewe', *-löm* 'ewe lamb'), Ka. *ei-* (in *ei-loum* 'ewe lamb'), Go. *ai-* (in *ai-löm* 'ewe lamb')
- INF FA. *jua(r)-* (in *jua-lum* (EF.), *juar-lum* (WF., Am.) 'ewe lamb'), Sy. *Jaar-* (in *Jaar-lum* 'mother lamb')
- OF *ei*^{WF} f.
- G OE *ewe*, *eowu* f. (E. *ewe*), MDu. *ouw(e)*, *oo*, *ooi(e)* f. (Du. *ooi*, dial. *eui*, *eu*, *ouwe* f.), OS *ewi* f. (LG *Ewe* f., *Au-* in *Au-schaap* 'ewe', *-lamm* 'ewe lamb'), OHG *ouwi*, *ou* f. (G. dial. *Au(e)* f.), ON *ær* f. (Ic. *ær* f.), Got. *awi-* (in *awi-str* 'sheepfold', cf. *awepi* 'flock of sheep')
- PG **awi-* f. 'ewe'
- PIE **h₃eu-i-* m.f. 'sheep'
- IE HLuw. *hawī-* c., ToB *ā(u)w* f., Skt. *ávi-* m.f., Gr. *ōiç* m.f., Lat. *ovis* f.(m.), Lith. *avis* f., Mlr. *oi* m., all 'sheep'

Direct continuation of the PIE word for 'sheep', which underwent semantic narrowing to 'ewe' in PGM. (cf. s.vv. *hynst*, *hin*). In PWGm. the new hyperonym was **skēpa-* (WFri. *skiep*, q.v.; for the replacements in the other Gm. branches cf. ON *fær* < *(woolly) cattle', *sauðr* < *'boiled (offering)', Got. *lamb* < *'lamb').

The PGM. stem allomorphs **awi-/auj-* (nom. **awi-z*, gen. **auj-az* = Skt. *ávis*, *ávyas*), both continued in e.g. Du. *ouw*, *ooi*, gave two different outcomes in OF as well: the simplex *ei* continues **awi-* (with umlaut and loss of intervocalic *-w-), but the variant *ē-* found in *ē-stra* 'sheepfold' (WFri. *jister*, q.v.) and in pre-INF **ē-lōmb* 'ewe lamb' (> **īalum* > FA. *jua(r)lum*, Sy. *Jaar-lum*, with folketymological *-r-*) is based on the oblique stem **auj-* (cf. **strauja-* > OF *strē* 'straw', see *strie*). The simplex **ē* appears still to be continued as a substrate word in Za. *hie* (cf. TN *Krommen-ie* = WFri. *ie* 'watercourse' < OF *ē*). For OF *ei* > EOF **ī* > Wang. *ii-* cf. Wang. *dii* 'day', *wii* 'way' < OF *dei*, *wei*. If Sat. *Oue* is not a loan from LG, it may continue OF **ā* (+ fem. suffix *-e < *-ō, cf. OE *eowu*) < **awwj-*, a PWGm. allomorph of **auj-* (cf. OF *hā* 'hay' < **hawwj-* s.v. *hea*). A new nom.sg. **awwi* (OHG *ouwi*) created to this variant **awwj-* may be continued in Harl. *oye* < OF **āi* + *-e.

Yet another reflex has been seen in WFri. *touke* n. 'one-year-old ewe', often interpreted (e.g. by Spenter) as the result of metanalysis of *it ouke* 'the little ewe'. This is impossible, however, given Am. *seefk*, *seew* (F. *teefk*, *teew*) f.n. 'one- or two-year-old ewe', which does confirm that we are dealing with a diminutive, but also clearly points to a protoform with initial **b-* (cf. s.v. *terskje*), as does E. dial. *theave*, *thaive* 'one- or two-year-old ewe'. This is therefore a different etymon.

- LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 105 (GJ), EW 92 (Sch.), WO 20 (Tsch.), GB 43 (Hind.), MF 141 (Sat.), MSW 293 (Wang.), CM 47 (Harl.), EHF 4 (MNF), FRU 8 (Wi.), FU 3 (Mo.), FÖW 267 (FA.), SU 614 (Sy.), AFH 115 (OF); Århammar 1968b: 61 (**ē-lōmb*), Löfstedt 1928: 209

(F. *teew*, E. *theave* < **tebō*?), Siebs 1215 (**auja-*, INF *-r-*), 1232-3 (**awi* > *ei*, **auj-* > *ē-*, **auw-* > *āw*), Spenter 309 (*touke*), 332 (*eui* < Du.)

eide [ɛidə] m.f. 'harrow'

WF Var. [aɪdə], [ɔɪdə]; Sch. *eid* f., Tsch. *eid* m.f., Hind. *eide* m.f.

EF Sat. *Aide* f., Harl. *eyde*, *ihde*

OF *eide*^{WF} f.

G OE *eg(e)þe*, *eibe* f. (ME *eythe*), MDu. *eg(e)de*, *eide* (Zeel.) f. (Du. dial. *eg(e)de*, *ei(e)* (Zeel.), *eid* (Za.), *oid* (WFD), *aaide* (Gron.) f.), OS *egitha* f. (MLG *ēgede*, *eyde* f.), OHG *egida* f. (MHG *egede*, *eide* f.)

PG **ag-id-ō-* ~ **ag-iþ-ō-* f. 'harrow'

PIE **h₂ok^é-et-eh₂* f. 'harrow' (**h₂ek^é-* 'sharp')

IE Lat. *occa* f. (< **ot-ek-ā-*, with metathesis), MW *ocet* f., Lith. *akėčios* f.pl., all 'harrow', Russ. *osét'* f. 'granary, rack for drying grain' (< BSl. **eś-et-i-*)

For the NSG development **agi* > *ei*, cf. e.g. *slein* 'hit (ppp.)' < **slagin-*, *lei* 'lay, laid' < **lagida*, *fleiel* < **flagila-* (see s.v.). PGM. **agipō-* belongs to **agjan-* 'to harrow' (OE *ecgan*, MDu. *eggen*, OS *eggian*), cf. **aripō-* 'plough' (OS *erida*) to **arjan-* 'to plough' (OF *era*). The root is **ah-* ~ **ag-* < **h₂ek^é-* 'sharp' (cf. *ier*). Wang. has *ëg*, which results either from a replacement of the inherited word with that for 'sharp edge, blade', **ag-jō-* (WFri. *êch*, *ich*, *igge* 'edge, side', Du. dial. *eg*, *egge* 'edge') under the influence of the verb (a development also found in Du. (*eg(ge)*), LG (*Äch*), and G. (*Egge*)), or from borrowing from LG. NF uses cognates of E. *harrow* (e.g. Mo. *harw*, Sy. *Hārev*).

LIT WFT (WF), EW 88 (Sch.), WO 20 (Tsch.), GB 43 (Hind.), MF 71 (Sat.), CM 56 (Harl.), AFH 115 (OF); EDPG 4, Schönf. 77 (*ei* < **agi*), Siebs 1188-9 (id.), Spenter 284

finne [finə] m.f. 'pasture which is not used to make hay'

WF Var. *fonne* [-o-], *fûne* [-u-] (both in part of Sh.); GJ *finne*; Tsch. *fin* m.f. || Hind. *finne* m.f. (< WFri.)

EF Harl. *fehn* (v.l. *fenn*) n., *venn-*, *fenn-* (in *venn-lauhn* 'pasture', *fenn-ham* (v.l. *fenhamm*) 'pasture')

MNF Wi. *fjin* f., Mo. *feen* f., Ka. *feen*, Go. *feen*, Ha. *feen*

INF FA. *fään* (Am., EF.), *feen* (WF.) f.n., Sy. *Feen* m.f., Helg. *Fan* (in TN *Oawer di Fann*)

OF *fene*, *fenne*, *fonne*^{WF}, *finne*^{WF}, *fen*^{WF}, *fon*^{WF}, *fin*^{WF}, *fēn*^{WF} (?) m.f.n.

G MDu. *ven(ne)*, *vinne* f. 'swampy pasture; pasture' (coastal Du. *ven(ne)* f. 'pasture'), MLG *venne* f. 'swamp with grass or reeds, swampy pasture; pasture enclosed by channels' (LG *Fenn(e)* 'id.' f. > G. *Fenn(e)* f. 'id.') (all < Fri.)

PG (**fanjō-* f. <<) **fanja-* n. 'wetland, muddy field'

PIE **ponio-* n. 'wetland, muddy field'?

IE OPr. *pannean* 'wetland'

Denotation of a field used for pasturing animals (as opposed to **mēdwō-* 'field used for hay' > WFri. *miede*, q.v.), found in all branches of Frisian. The WF forms with a back vowel (*fonne*, *fûne*) result from a southwestern WF dialectal development of OF *e* before dental (cf. WFri.

sette ‘to set’, *tin* ‘thin’, *tredde* ‘third’, Hind. *sotte*, *trodde*, *ton*; *finne* is therefore probably a loan from WFri.). Exact counterparts in form, gender and meaning are only found in former Frisian territory, and should therefore most probably be regarded as stemming from the Frisian substrate (cf. Blok, TWFA).

The word is clearly related to WFri. *fean* n. ‘peat(land)’, Sch. *fain* n. ‘id.’, Sat. *Foan* m. ‘wetland’ < OF *fane*^{WF}, *fān*^{WF} (also *fēn*^{WF} < Du.) m.n. ‘wetland’ < PGm. **fanja-* n. ‘wetland, mud, swamp’ (OE *fen*, MDu. *ven(n)e*, OS *fen(n)i*, OHG *fenni*, ON *fen*, Got. *fani*). At face value *finne* and its equivalents point to a feminine counterpart of **fanja-*, i.e. **fanjō-*, but more probably we are dealing with a secondary split-off from the neuter which developed Frisian-internally (cf. Löfstedt, Spenter, Hofmann). The outcome of **aN* + umlaut varies between *e* and *a* in OF and the resulting variation was generalized differently in different words and areas (see Hofmann 1970: 102-3 and Hoekstra, Tigchelaar), cf. e.g. OF *fremede*, *framede* ‘unrelated; strange’ > WFri. *frjemd*, Sch. *fraimd*, Sat. *froamd* (all < -a-), but OF *hemedē*, *hamed(e)* ‘shirt, vest’ > WFri. *himd* (< -e-), Sat. *Hoamd* (< -a-); see further s.vv. *hin*, *hynst* (Sat. *Hanne*, *Hoangst*). OF *fen(e)* ‘pasture’ and *fane* ‘wetland’ may therefore both be regular outcomes of PGm. nom.acc.sg. **fani* (with *fane* further developing to *fān* by OSL, which -e- does not undergo), that later became semantically differentiated (see Hofmann). The semantic connection between *fean* and *finne* lies in the fact that wetlands can sometimes be used as pastures (cf. the meaning ‘swampy pasture’ of the WGm. equivalents). Wetlands may furthermore have been turned into more permanent pastures by draining the water into channels, which also served as boundaries of the field (cf. the meaning in (M)LG). The sense was later extended to all fields used for pasturing animals. The semantic differentiation of the variants with -a- (‘wetland’) and -e- (‘pasture’) must already have taken place in prehistory. As appears from the gender vacillation in OF and the Harl. neuter, this does not go for the change to the feminine, which may have been caused by influence of *mēde* ‘meadow’ (> WFri. *miede*, q.v.), with which it is frequently collocated (Hofmann 1970: 105-6).

PGm. **fanja-* ‘wetland’ can be mechanically reconstructed as **ponio-* or **ph₂nio-*; the same goes for OPr. *pannean* ‘wetland’. If PCelt. **feno-* ‘wetland(?)’ (Gaul. *anam* ‘swamp’, Mlr. *an*, *en* ‘water’, also *enach* ‘swamp’ < **fenākos-*) and/or Skt. *pānka-* ‘mud, dirt’ (< **pe/on-ko-*) are related, the reconstruction of PGm. **fanja-* would be **ponio-*, which would then be an *io*-derivation to a root **pen-* (‘mud?’).

LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 115 (GJ), WO 28 (Tsch.), GB 52 (Hind.), CM 38, 59, 63 (Harl.), EHF 51 (MNF), FRU 81 (Wi.), FU 65 (Mo.), FÖW 143 (FA.), SU 539 (Sy.), WK 188 (Helg.), AFH 141 (OF); Blok 1969 (Holl.), EDPG 128, Hoekstra, Tigchelaar 2015 (*aN* + *i*-uml.), Hofmann 1970, Löfstedt 1928: 202 (f. < n.), Siebs 1237 (-e), 1265 (-nn- < **-nj-*), Spenter 177-8, TWFA 79-81

flaaks [fla:ks] n. ‘flax’

WF Var. *flaachs*; Bog. *flaex*, GJ *flaegs*; Hind. *flaaks* n. || Sch. *flas* n., Tsch. *flos* n. (< Du.)

EF Sat. *Floaks* m., Wang. *flax* n.

- MNF Wi. *flaaks, flaks* (Nk.) n., Mo. *flaks* n.
 INF FA. *flaaks* f.n., Sy. *Flaaks* n., Helg. *Floaks* n.
 OF *flax*^{WF}, *flāx*^{WF} n.
 G OE *fleax* n. (E. *flax*), MDu. *vlax* n. (Du. *vlax* n.), MLG *vlax* m. (LG *Flass* n.), OHG *flahs* m. (G. *Flachs* m.)
 PG **flahsa-* n. 'flax' (**fleh-t-* 'to plait, twine')
 PIE **plókso-* n. (**plek-* 'to plait, twine')

OF *a* was lengthened in WFri. before *ks* (cf. *waakse* 'to grow' < OF *waxa* < **wahsan-*). PGM. **flahsa-* is most naturally taken as a derivation in *-*sa-* (cf. *mjuks* 'manure' < **mih-sa-*, see s.v.) from the root **fleh-* as found in **flehtan-* 'to plait, twine' (cf. WFri. *flechtsje*) < PIE **plek-* 'id.' (Gr. πλέκω). In this case **fleh-* probably referred to the main purpose of flax cultivation, viz. manufacturing linen and formerly also twining ropes. Kluge's objection that "Flachs [...] nicht geflochten [wird]" implies an opposition to weaving (PGM. **weban-*), which is probably unwarranted; the semantics of these verbs will have overlapped to a large degree, with **plek-* probably being a more basic and broader (and so in this case more appropriate) term that also included twining. EWAhd's suggestion to rather connect the verbal meaning with the "verzweigende Stengel der Pflanze" is counterintuitive. Equally unattractive is the alternative derivation suggested by EDPG, from a verb **flakk/gōn-* 'to beat'. Firstly, the reconstruction of the verb itself is hardly justified by the evidence, "E *to flack* 'to beat with a flail', G *flacken* w.v. 'to beat wool'": E. obs./dial. *flack* has this meaning only in one OED example, its normal meaning being 'to flap, flutter' (onomatopoeic?), and G. *flacken* is better compared with Du. *vlaken* 'to beat wool on a (wattled) hurdle', a derivative of *vlaak* 'flake, (wattled) hurdle'. Secondly, flax is not more typically associated with beating than other crops, and indeed undergoes several more typical procedures such as rippling and rotting. Instead, the semantics of the root **fleh-* match the typical uses of flax quite well, and I see no ground for the common hesitation (as found e.g. in EDPG, EWN, Kluge) to derive **flahsa-* from it. For similar derivations from PIE **plek-* with *o*-grade cf. e.g. Gr. πλόκος, πλοχμός 'braid, lock (of hair)' (< **plók-o-*, **plók-smo-*).

- LIT WFT (WF), RB 262 (Bog.), Epk. 117 (GJ), EW 138 (Sch.), WO 30 (Tsch.), GB 53 (Hind.), MF 101 (Sat.), MSW 238 (Wang.), FRU 81 (Wi.), FU 73 (Mo.), FÖW 167 (FA.), SU 543 (Sy.), WK 232 (Helg.), AFH 152 (OF); EDPG 143, EWAhd *flahs*, EWN *vlax*, Kluge *Flachs*, Siebs 1305 (*-*hs-* > -*ks-*), Spenter 194

fleiel [flejəl] m.f. 'flail'

- WF Var. [fla.ɪəl]; *flaai*, *flaaiie*, *flaaiel*, *flaaiier*, *flaalje*, *flalje*, *flealje*, *fleale*, *fleile*, *fleil*, *fleilje*;
 GJ *flæle* || Sch. *flegel* m., Hind. *fleagel* m.f. (< Du.)
 EF Sat. *Floaine* f., Harl. *flayel*, Wurst. *fléiel*
 MNF Wi. *floil*, *floi* (Ro.), *flöiel* (Em.) m., Mo. *floil* f.
 INF FA. *flaiel*, *flailier* m., Sy. *Flail* m.f., Helg. (19th c.) *Vlalien* m.
 OF *flaila*^{WF}, *flaile*^{WF} m. || *flēgel*^{WF} m. (< Du.)

- G OE *fligel* m. (ME *flayl(e)*, *flay* m., E. *flail*), MDu. *vlegel(e)*, *vleyl* (WFl.) (Du. *vlegel* m., dial. *vleil*, *vlei* (WFl.)), OS *flegil* m. (LG *Flägel* m.), OHG *flegil* m. (G. *Flegel* m.)
 PWG **flagila-* n. 'flail' (<(<) Lat. *flagellum* n. 'whip; flail')

The Frisian, English and coastal Flemish forms show the effects of the NSG sound law *-agi- > *-ei- (see *eide*). OF *flēgel*, Sch. *flegel* and Hind. *fleagel* are loans from Dutch. There are many variants, whose creation may have been triggered by the unusual structure of the regular outcome and existing variant *fleil* [fleil], [fla.ɪl]. Apparent changes include the introduction of a prop vowel (*fleiel*, *flaaiel*) and metathesis (*flaalje*), as well as later contamination of these variants (*fleilje*) and adaptation of the suffix (*flaaier*, *flaai*). Sat. *Floaine* shows dissimilation of the second -l-. The same may have happened in Helg. *Vlaien*; the emendation to *Flaiei* as proposed by Krogmann is therefore unnecessary.

Ultimately from Lat. *flagellum* 'whip', late also 'flail' (OFr. *flael*, *flaiei* 'flail', Fr. *fléau* 'id.'), a dim. of *flagrum* 'whip'. The word was probably borrowed from the Romans along with the very use of flails, which replaced the older technique of trampling with the feet (see *terskje*).

The PWGM. rendering of the Lat. dim. suffix *-ellum* was apparently identified with the native suffix **-ila-*, used to create instrument nouns. The same suffix is used in an alternative name for the flail, **presk-ila-* (OHG *driskil*, OE *perscel*; for the root see *terskje* 'to thresh').

- LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 118 (GJ), EW 139 (Sch.), GB 54 (Hind.), MF 101 (Sat.), CM 56 (Harl.), WW 578, RM 97 (Wurst.), FRU 83 (Wi.), FU 74 (Mo.), FÖW 165 (FA.), SU 543 (Sy.), WK 228 (Helg.), AFH 151-2 (OF); Spenter 194

fuorge [fʏorgə] m.f. 'furrow'

- WF Var. *furge*, *furch* (both Sh., SEh.), *foaring*, *foarring*, *furring*, *fuorring*, *foarde*; GJ *forge*;
 Sch. *furge*, *feurge* m., Tsch. *forge* [-o-] m.f.

EF Sat. *Fúurge* f.

MNF Wi. *fori*, *fari* (Em.), *forch* (Kl.) m., Mo. *furi* f., Ka. *forich*, Go. *fori*

INF FA. *forig* m., Sy. *Forig* m.f., Helg. *feri* f.

OF *furch*^{EF}, *furich*^{WF} f.

G OE *furh* f. (ME *forge*, *furgh* f., E. *furrow*), MDu. *vore* f. (Du. *voor* f.), MLG *vōre* f. (LG *Foor* f.), OHG *furuh*, *furh* f. (G. *Furche* f.), ON *for* f. (Sw. *fåra* c.) || Du. dial. *vurg(e)* (Gron.), *vurg* (WFD) (< Fri.)

PG **furh-* f. 'furrow'

PIE **prk-* f. 'furrow' (**perk-* 'to break up the earth, dig'?)

IE Lat. *porca* f. 'ridge between two furrows', MW *rhych* m.f. 'furrow' (< **prk-eh₂-*)

WFri. *-uo-* [ʏo] is the result of breaking of older [u.ə] (cf. *goes* 'goose', pl. *guozzen*, see s.v.), itself in this case the product of lengthening of *-u-* before the cluster *-rch* (cf. OF *barch* > WFri. *baarch*, q.v.). S(E)h. *-u-* is a further development of *-uo-* (cf. Hof). Sch. *furge* (secondarily *feurge*) is the regular outcome of WOF **-ū-* before *-rC-* (cf. *durje*, *deur(j)e* 'to last, take', WFri. *duorje* < OF *dūria*), and so also continues the lengthened variant. Short reflexes of *-u-* are still found in Tsch. *forge* and the Du. substrate word *vurg(e)* (WFD, Gron.). The variants with *-ing* are probably adaptations of the anaptyctic OF variant *furich*.

OF *fur(i)ch* straightforwardly continues PGm. **furh-*. According to EDPG, the modern Fri. variants (including WFD, Gron. *vurg(e)*) with *-g-* point to a Verner variant **furg-* (for modern Frisian deviating from the forms attested in OF cf. e.g. s.vv. *jaar, tsjoar*). This would presuppose accentual mobility within the original paradigm, which is not unexpected for a root noun (cf. also the *e*-grade in Nw. dial. *ferre* m. ‘strip of land between two furrows’, Sw. dial. *ffjäre* m. ‘id.’ < **ferh-an-*). However, it is also possible, and probably safer, to regard OF *furch, furich* as the source of the modern variants: already since OF (cf. IOF), word-internal *-g-* (in voiced environment) and word-final *-ch* are largely in complementary distribution (cf. OF *āga* ‘to owe’, 3sg. *āch*, WFri. *baarch* ‘pig’, pl. *bargen*, cf. s.v.), and it was therefore only natural for *-ch* to become *-g-* after *furch* acquired final *-e* (as in most of WGM.; cf. *finne*).

PGm. **furh-*, Lat. *porca*, MW *rhych* all point to a PIE root **prk-* ‘furrow’. The same root is probably also found in Skt. *pársāna-* ‘precipice, chasm’ (< **pe/ork-ono-*). Perhaps **pork-o-* ‘pig’ (PGm. **farha-*, Lat. *porcus*, Lith. *pařsas*) is further related, if the pig was named after its predisposition to root the earth. It is not evident that the Lith. word group *peršėti* ‘to hurt, itch as if burning (of wounds)’, *pra-perš-à* ‘hole in the ice’, *pra-parš-as* ‘ditch’ also belongs here.

LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 152 (GJ), EW 153 (Sch.), WO 33 (Tsch.), MF 104 (Sat.), EHF 56 (MNF), FRU 90 (Wi.), FU 82 (Mo.), FÖW 175 (FA.), SU 550 (Sy.), WK 207 (Helg.), AFH 180 (OF); EDPG 160, Hof 15-6 (S(E)h. *-uo-* > *-u-*), IOF 47 ($\chi \sim h \sim \gamma$), Spenter 237, 248-9 (WOF \bar{u} / $_rC$ > Sch. *iu* > *u, eu*)

goes [gu.əs] m.f. ‘goose’

WF Var. *guos*; GJ *goez*; Sch. *goos*, older *gúes* m.f., Tsch. *goas* (outd.) m.f. || Var. *gâns* (esp. Sh.); Tsch. *gôns* m.f., Hind. *gans, gaans* m.f. (< Du.) || Var. *goens, goans, gûns* (all hybr.)

EF Sat. *Gäize* f., Wang. *goos* f., Harl. *goos*, Wurst. *gôoß*

MNF Wi. *goos* f., Mo. *göis* (cps. *goose-*) f.

INF FA. *gus, ges* f.n., Sy. *Guus* m.f., Helg. *Gus* f.

OF **gōs* f., pl. *gēs*^{WF}

G OE *gōs* f. (E. *goose*), MDu. *gans* f. (Du. *gans* f.), MLG *gans, gōs* f. (LG *Goos* f.), OHG *gans* f. (G. *Gans* f.), ON *gás* f. (Sw. *gås* c.)

PG **gans-* f. ‘goose’

PIE **ǵ^hh₂ens-* m.f. ‘goose’ (**ǵ^heh₂-*, **ǵ^hh₂en-* ‘to open the mouth wide?’)

IE Skt. *hamsá-* m., Gr. $\chi\acute{\eta}\nu$ (for ***χᾱς*), $\chi\eta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ m.f., Lat. *ānser* m.(f.), Lith. *žq̄sìs* f., Russ. *gus*’ m., all ‘goose’, OIr. *géis* f. ‘swan’

PGm. **gans* was rounded to **gons* due to the nasal, and later developed to **gōs* by loss of *n* before voiceless fricative with compensatory lengthening in NSG (cf. OF *ōther* ‘other’ < **anpara-*). The resulting long vowel did not coincide with existing \bar{o} in all Frisian varieties, as is shown by its retention as *oa* in Tsch. (as apposed to the normal development of \bar{o} to *oe* as in WFri.), cf. s.v. *boasdoar*. Sch. *goos* replaces older *gúes* in analogy to the pl. *gozen*, which according to Spenter escaped the normal development of \bar{o} to *úe* because it had been

shortened (cf. *fúet* ‘foot’, pl. *fotten*), and was lengthened again only after this development. The WF variants *gâns*, *gôns*, *gaans* are loans from Dutch. Hof and WFT also mention *goens* ([*gu.əⁿs*], Hof) and *goans*, *gûns* ([*go.əⁿs*], [*gu:ːⁿs*], WFT) as WCl. variants, and WFT even appears to assume that these have preserved the nasal, with *goes* being analogical after the pl. *guozzen*. But this would still leave *guozzen* itself unexplained, and we know that compensatory lengthening before fricative did not leave any trace of the nasal (cf. again OF *ōther* ‘other’ < **anþara-*, *tōth*, pl. *tēth* ‘tooth’ < **tanþ-*, etc.). These forms must therefore be young hybrids of the inherited and borrowed forms (see also Hof). The pl. *guozzen* (with *-uo-* < *-oe-*, see *fuorge*) is itself analogical after *goes*, replacing older *gies* (also *giezen*; GJ *giez*) < OF *gēs* (cf. FA. *ges*, E. *geese*) < nom.pl. **gansiz*, with *i*-umlaut of *a* to *e* and again loss of *n* with compensatory lengthening (cf. *tēth* ‘teeth’ < **tanþiz*). The form *guos*, in turn, is analogical after *guozzen*. The sg. forms Sat. *Gäize* and FA. *ges* are based on the old pl. *gēs*.

Cf. WFri. *garre* ‘gander’ < PWGm. **ganran-* (OE *gan(d)ra*, MLG hap. *ganre*) < PGm. **ganazan-* < PIE **ǵ^hh₂en-os-on-*, and PGm. **gan-Vta(n)-*, also **gun-* ‘id.’ (OE *ganot* ‘waterfowl, gannet’, MDu. *gent* ‘gander’, OHG *gan(az)zo* ‘id.’, G. dial. *Gunz* ‘id.’) < PIE **ǵ^hh₂(e)n-*, which show that *-s- was a suffix (**ǵ^hh₂en-s-*). PIE **ǵ^hh₂en-* is also known as a verbal stem meaning ‘to open the mouth wide’ (Gr. *χανεῖν* ‘yawn, gape, open the mouth wide’, ON *gana* ‘to gape, stare’). A connection would only make sense if geese were typical beak-openers, which could perhaps be taken to refer to their gagging, but this is not obvious.

LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 180 (GJ), EW 174 (Sch.), WO 37 (Tsch.), Kooy 78, GB 60 (Hind.), MF 104 (Sat.), MSW 243 (Wang.), CM 41 (Harl.), RM 98 (Wurst.), FRU 105-6 (Wi.), FU 89-90 (Mo.), FÖW 202-3 (FA), SU 584 (Sy.), WK 279 (Helg.), AFH 187 (OF); EDPG 168, Hof 137-8, Siebs 1264-5 (NSG *-*onþ-* > *-*ōþ-*), Spenter 223

hea [hi.ə] n. ‘hay’

WF Var. *haai-*, *hai-* (in *ha(a)i-wein* ‘hay wagon’, *ha(a)i-moanne* ‘hay month, july’, *haaie* ‘to hay’); GJ *haey-* (in *haey-moanne*, ‘hay month, july’), *hea-* (in *haey-æf-hea-moanne* ‘id.’); Sch. *hai*, *haai* n., Tsch. *hea* n., Hind. *haa* n.

EF Sat. *Ho* n., Wang. *hoo* n., Harl. *haah* (v.l. *hah*), *hah-* (in *hah uhn kohrnspyker* ‘hay and grain storehouse’, v.ll. *hoy*)

OF *hā*, *hē*^{WF} n.

G OE *hīeg* n. (E. *hay*), MDu. *houw(e)*, *hooi* n. (Du. *hooi* n.), OS *hōi* n. (MLG *höu(we)*, *hou(we)*, *hoy*, *hey* n., LG *Heu*, *Hö*, *Hei* n.), OHG *hewi*, *houwi* n. (G. *Heu* n.), ON *hey* n. (Sw. *hö* n.), Got. *hawi* n.

PG **hau-ja-* n. ‘hay’ (**haww-* ‘to hew’)

PIE **koh₂u-io-* n. (**keh₂u-* ‘to hew’)

Most modern forms continue OF *hā*, next to which a form *hē* used to exist. WFri. *haai-* and perhaps Harl. v.ll. *hoy-* (but Sch. *ha(a)i* < *hā*) further point to OF **hāi*. As in other Gm. languages, the variation is caused by different syllabifications within the paradigm: PGm. nom.acc.sg. **hawi*, obl. **hauj-* (Got. *hawi*, gen. *haujis*). PGm. **hawi* would have given OF ***hej*; **hauj-* is continued in OF *hē*. OF *hā* and **hāi* stem from a paradigm based on the

PWGM. allomorph **hawwj-* (cf. OHG *houwi* next to *hewi*), which resulted from gemination before **-j-* (cf. *sette* ‘to set’ < **sattjan-* < **satjan-*; this suggests that PWGM. **-auj-* was the result of restoration). According to Siebs, **-āi* in OF **hāi* developed from **-awwi* in the same way that PWGM. **-aww-* by itself developed as **-au-* + **-w-* to *-ā(w)-* (cf. OF *dāw* ‘dew’ < **dawwa-*, OF *hāwa* ‘to hew’ < **hawwan-*), i.e. with the workings of the umlaut factor blocked by the consonant cluster. It seems more probable to me, however, that umlaut did apply, yielding first **hēwi* > **hēi*, and later **hāi* with dissimilation (see *aaī*). OF *hā* will then stem from the oblique counterpart **hawwj-* (cf. *hē*). For the variation cf. e.g. OF *gā*, *gē* ‘parish; village’ (< **gawwj-*, **gauj-*), Tsch. *strei*, OF *strē* ‘straw’ (< **strawi*, **strauj-*, see *strie*), OF *ei* ‘ewe’, *ē-stra* ‘milking place in a pasture’ (< **awi*, **auj-*, see *ei*, *jister*).

PGm. **hau-ja-* was derived from **hawwan-* ‘to hew’ (OF *hāwa* > WFri. *houwe*; PIE **keh₂u-* ‘to hew’, cf. Lith. *káuti* ‘to murder, strike, hew’, ToB *kau-* ‘to kill’), so its original meaning was ‘grass that is (to be) hewn’. For the semantic connection cf. the expression of ‘to mow’ with this verb in NF (e.g. FA. *hau*), and WFri. *miede* ‘grassland used for hay’ < PGm. **mēdwō-* to **mēan-* ‘to mow’ (see s.v.). The word for ‘hay’ was in Wurst. and NF replaced with the word originally meaning ‘fodder’ (Wurst. *fóddēr*, Mo. *fooder*, FA. *fooder*).

LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 194 (GJ), EW 184 (Sch.), WO 40 (Tsch.), GB 68 (Hind.), MF 112 (Sat.), MSW 254 (Wang.), CM 40, 75 (Harl.), AFH 198 (OF); DOE 53, 246 (**-auj-* > **-aw^hw^h-*, **-auj-*), EDPG 215, Siebs 1232-3 (**-a(u)w-* > **-āw-*), Spenter 182 (Sch. *-ai* < *-ā*)

hin [hin] f. ‘chicken; hen’

WF Sch. *hin* f.

EF Sat. *Hanne* f., Wang. *han* f., Harl. *heine*, *hen(ne)-* (in *hennen-hock* ‘henhouse’), Wurst. *hánně* ‘hen’

MNF Wi. *hoan* f., Mo. *hân* f.

INF FA. *han* f.n., Sy. *Hen* m.f.

OF **henne*, **hinne*, **hanne* f.

G OE *hæn(n)*, *hen(n)* f. (E. *hen*), MDu. *henne* f. (Du. *hen* f.), MLG *henne*, *hinne*, *hēne* f. (LG *Henn*, *Heen* f.), OHG *henna* f. (G. *Henne* f.) || ON *hæna* f. (Sw. *höna* f.) (< **-jōn-*); all ‘hen’

PG **han-(n-)jō-* f. ‘hen’ (**han-an-* ‘rooster’)

PIE **kh₂n-(n-)ieh₂-* f.

A continuation of the PGm. word for ‘hen’, which was derived from **han-an-* ‘rooster’ (WFri. *hoanne*, q.v.) with the old feminizing suffix **-jō-* < **-ieh₂-* (cf. e.g. Gr. εἰδώς m., ἰδυῖα f. ‘knowing’ < **ueid-uōs-*, **uid-us-ih₂-*). Before nasal + *i*-umlaut factor, PGm. **a* developed to Proto-Frisian **æ*, which could become either *e* or *a* in the varieties of OF. As in this case, WF usually has *e*, which before *N(C)* developed further to *i*, whereas EF typically shows the “Rückverwandlung” to **a* (cf. PGm. **manniska-* ‘human being’ > Sat. *Moanske*, WFri. *minske*; PGm. **þankis(t)* ‘you think’ > Sat. *toankst*, WFri. *tinkst*; PGm. **hamiþja-* ‘shirt’ > Sat. *Hoamd*, WFri. *himd*, see further s.vv. *finne*, *hynst*).

The PGM. hyperonym for ‘rooster’ and ‘hen’ was **hōn-iz-*, a neuter *s*-stem, continued in Tsch. *hoen*, Hind. *hoen*, Helg. *Huun*, all ‘chicken; hen’ (cf. also Harl. *huunder-aar* “chicken-eagle”, ‘harrier’). The hen being a more ordinary chicken than the rooster, the word meaning ‘hen’ could easily undergo semantic broadening to ‘chicken’, or, conversely, the word for ‘chicken’ could become restricted to ‘hen’ (cf. *ei*, *hynst*); all Frisian varieties generalized one of the two words to designate both the female in particular and the chicken in general.

LIT WFT (WF), EW 206 (Sch.), MF 109-10 (Sat.), MSW 253 (Wang.), CM 42 (Harl.), RM 101 (Wurst.), FRU 128 (Wi.), FU 100 (Mo.), FÖW 210-1 (FA.), SU 592 (Sy.); EDPG 207, Hoekstra, Tigchelaar 2015 (*aN* + *i*-uml.), Hofmann 1970: 102-3 (id.), IOF 42 (id., *i* < *e* / *_N(C)*), Siebs 1183-5 (*aN* + *i*-uml.), Spenter 86

hynder [hindər] n. ‘horse’

WF Var. *hynsder*, *hynzer* (both outd.); GJ *hijnzer*; Sch. *hynjer*, *hyngjer* n.

OF *hengstdiār*^{WF} n. ‘horse’

WOF compound of *hengst* ‘horse’ (WFri. *hynst* ‘male horse’, q.v.) and *diār* ‘animal’ (WFri. *dier*) which ended up replacing *hengst* as the general term for the species, whereas *hengst* > WFri. *hynst* became restricted to the male (but not in compounds). The consonant cluster in *hengstdiār* was simplified in various ways. When the second member of the compound lost its original semantic load and so the connection with the simplex, it, too, was phonetically reduced. For this process cf. e.g. *ark* ‘tool(s)’ (< OF *and-wirk* “toward-work”), *boasder* ‘barn door’ (< *boasdoar*, q.v.), *knibbel* ‘knee’ (< OF *knī-bolla* “knee-ball”), *skoarstjen* ‘chimney’ (< *skoar-stien* “support-stone”).

LIT WFT (W), Epk. 206 (GJ), EW 206 (Sch.), AFH 212 (OF); Spenter 254

hynst [hi.¹st] m. ‘male horse’

WF Var. *hyngst*, *hyst* (part of Wo.); GJ *hijnst* ‘horse; male horse’; Sch. *hynst*, *hyngst* m., Tsch. *hynst* m., Hind. *hyngst* m.(f.) ‘horse; male horse’

EF Sat. *Hoangst*, *Houngst* m. ‘horse’, Wang. *hingst* m. ‘horse; male horse’, Harl. *hingst* ‘horse’ || Sat. *Hingst* m. ‘male horse’ (< LG)

MNF Wi. *hängst* m., Mo. *haingst* m., both ‘horse’

INF FA. *hingst* m., Sy. *Hingst* m., Helg. *Hingst* m., all ‘horse’ || FA. *hengst* m. ‘male horse’ (< (L)G)

OF *hengst*, *henxt*^{WF}, *hinxt*^{WF}, *hinst*^{WF}, *hangst*^{EF}, *hanxt*^{EF} m. ‘horse’

G OE *heng(e)st* ‘horse; gelding’ m. (E. *hENCH-* in *hENCH-man*), MDu. *hengest*, *henxt*, *hinxt* m. ‘male horse’ (Du. *hengst* m. ‘id.’), OS *hengist* m. ‘gelding’ (LG *Hingst* m. ‘male horse’), OHG *hengist*, *hingist* m. ‘horse; gelding’ (G. *Hengst* m. ‘male horse’) || ON *hestr* n. ‘horse; male horse’ (Sw. *häst* m. ‘id.’)

PG **hangista-* ~ **hanhista-* m. ‘horse; male horse’

For the development of PGM. **a* to **æ* before *N* + uml.-factor in Proto-Frisian and further to *e* and later *i* in WOF, see s.vv. *finne*, *hin*. In the present case, the resulting *i* was further lengthened to *ī* before the consonant cluster *ngst*. The EOF variant *hangst* shows the

alternative development of PFri. **æN* to **aN* and yielded Sat. *Hoangst*, *Houngst* (cf. Sat. *Hoamd* ‘shirt’ < **hamipja-*). The other EF languages do not show the lowered reflex (cf. Wang. *minsk*, Harl. *minsck*, Wurst. *mirnsche* vs. Sat. *Moanske* ‘human being’ < **manniska-*). Sat. also has a variant *Hingst* ‘male horse’, which Siebs suggests continues a syncopated form **hængst* (> **hē₂ngst* > **hīngst*), but to my mind, form and meaning rather suggest that it is a loanword from LG (cf. FA. *hingst* ‘horse’ < OF, but *hengst* ‘male horse’ < (L)G).

The OF meaning was ‘horse’ in general, but typically a male. This could lead to the semantic narrowing to ‘male horse’ found in WF and in the other WGM. languages; for a similar development of semantic narrowing to the more common sex of the species cf. PGM. **awi-* ‘ewe’ < PIE **h₃eui-* ‘sheep’ (see *ei*), Hind. *hoen* ‘hen’ < PGM. **hōniz-* ‘chicken’ (see *hin*). The meaning ‘horse’ in general came to be expressed with a compound of OF *hengst* and *diār* ‘animal’ in WF (see *hynder*). However, in compounds *hynste-* still productively refers to the horse in general (cf. *hynstedong* ‘horse dung’, *hynstehier* ‘horse hair’, *hynstekrêft* ‘horse power’, etc.); cf. also the dim. *hynke* ‘small horse’.

The PGM. forms point to a preform **konkisto-* (with varying accent), which may be compared with OC *cassec*, W. *caseg*, Bret. *kazeg*, all ‘mare’ < PCelt. **kankst-ik-ā*. The peculiar structure and the limited distribution of the etymon make a PIE origin unlikely, however.

- LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 206 (GJ), EW 207 (Sch.), GB 74 (Hind.), MF 112 (Sat.), MSW 253, 284 (Wang.), CM 43 (Harl.), EHF 77 (MNF), FRU 118 (Wi.), FU 99 (Mo.), FÖW 226 (FA.), SU 594 (Sy.), WK 303 (Helg.), AFH 212 (OF); Hoekstra, Tigchelaar 2015 (*aN* + *i*-uml.), Hofmann 1970: 102-3 (id.), IOF 42 (*i* < *e* / *_N(C)*, *aN* + *i*-uml.), Siebs 1183-5 (*aN* + *i*-uml.), Spenter 254

hjouwer [jɔ.ɥər] m.f. ‘oats’

- WF Sch. *jeeuwer*, *jeeuwr(e)* m. (all outd.) || Sch. *haver* m., Tsch. *haver* m.f., Hind. *haiver* m.f. (< Du.)
- EF Sat. *Hoawer* f., Wang. *hüvvër*, *hüvër* n., Harl. *heffer*, Wurst. **héffáhr* (ms. *ljéffáhr*) || Wang. *haavër-* (< LG)
- MNF Wi. *hääwer* m.n., Mo. *hääwer* m.
- INF FA. *heewer* f.n., Sy. *Haawer* n., Helg. *Heewer* m.
- OF **hevar(a)*, *hiouwera*^{WF}, *hioura*^{WF}, *iouwera*^{WF}, *ioure*^{WF}
- G MDu. *haver(e)* m. (Du. *haver* f.), OS *havaro* m. (LG *Hawer(n)* m.), OHG *habaro* m. (G. *Haber*, *Hafer* m.), ON *hafri* m. (Sw. *havre* c.)
- PG **habr-an-* m. ‘oats’

WFri. *-jouw-* and Sch. *jeeuw-* < **jouw-* are regular outcomes of **-ew-* due to a sound change which has been called “Jorwert Breaking” (cf. *Jorwert* < *Everwerd*). In this case, **-e-* was the outcome of PGM. **-a-* after fronting (cf. OF *ekker* ‘field’ < **akra-*, see s.v. *ikker*), and *-w-* ([ɥ]) resulted from OF lenition of **-v-* < PGM. **-b-* (see *keal*). The WF and EF forms with *a*, *ai*, *aa* are loans from Dutch and (Low) German. Sat. *-oa-*, however, may regularly continue OF **-e-* (or rather **-[æ]-*), which was apparently lowered to *-a-* in certain environments (probably

next to *w*, cf. Sat. *Woater*, Wang. *wattër* next to WFri. *wetter*, Harl. *wetter*; see Hoekstra, Tigchelaar). Wang. shows regular consonant gemination in short open syllable with raising of the preceding vowel, and in this case subsequent rounding of *-i-* next to *-v-* (*hüvvër* < **hivver* < **hevar(a)*).

No certain etymology. Perhaps derived from PGM. **hafra-* ‘goat’, in which case it would originally have meant ‘goat food’. However, oats are also used to feed e.g. horses and cattle, so it is unclear why they would have been specifically associated with goats. EDPG uses the double meaning of Far. *havur* ‘billy goat; handful of (unthreshed) corn’ (< **hafra-*) to support the connection, but it is unclear to me what scenario is implied.

LIT WFT (WF), EW 193, 236, Spenter 313 (Sch.), WO 40 (Tsch.), GB 70 (Hind.), MF 112 (Sat.), MSW 250, 544 (Wang.), CM 41 (Harl.), RM 101 (Wurst.), FRU 115 (Wi.), FU 98 (Mo.), FÖW 217 (FA.), SU 586 (Sy.), WK 294 (Helg.), AFH 221 (OF); Dyk (Jorwert Breaking), EDPG 197-8, Hoekstra, Tigchelaar 198 ($\text{æ} > e/a$ next to *w*), IOF 29-30 ($a > e$), Löfstedt 1928: 209, Spenter 313

hoanne [ɥanə] m. ‘rooster’

WF Var. Wo. *wjanne*, Sh. *heune*, *hunne*, *hōne*, *honne*; GJ *hōne*; Sch. *hone* m., Tsch. *hōane* m., Hind. *hönne* m.

EF Sat. *Hone* m., Wang. *hunnë* m. || Harl. *hahn* m. (< LG)

MNF Wi. *hoone* [ɔ:] m., Mo. *hoone* [ɔ:] m.

INF FA. *höön* m., Sy. *Huan* m., Helg. *Heen*, *Höön* m.

OF *hona*, *hōna*^{WF}, *hōn*^{WF} m.

G OE *hana*, *hona* m., MDu. *hane* m. (Du. *haan* m.), OS *hano* m. (LG *Hahn* m.), OHG *hano* m. (G. *Hahn* m.), ON *hani* m. (Sw. *hane* m.), Got. *hana* m.

PG **han-an-* m. ‘rooster’

PIE **kh₂n-on-* m. ‘singer’ (**kh₂n-* ‘to sing, make melodious sounds’)

IE Gr. (Hsch.) ἡι-κανός ‘rooster’ (“early singer”)

The sequence [ɥa] in *hoanne* is the result of breaking of *oa* [o.ə] < late OF *ō*, still continued as such dialectally. For *hoanne* < *hōna* cf. *moanne* ‘month’ < *mōnath*. OF *hōna* developed with OSL from *hona*, itself with *o* < **a* before nasal (cf. *goes*).

OF *hona* < PGM. **han-an-* is an *n*-stem derived from the root **han-* < PIE **kh₂n-* ‘to sing, make melodious sounds’ (Lat. *canō*, W. *canu*), so the word originally meant “singer, crower” (cf. Lat. *gallus canit* “the rooster crows”). It is very common for the rooster to be called after its sound; a case in point is Wurst. *roper* ‘rooster’, lit. “caller, crower” (cf. Helg. *di Heen rapt* “the rooster crows”). A derivative of PGM. **han-an-* attested in WGM. is **han-n-jō-* ‘hen’ > WFri. *hin* (q.v.). Also related is WFri. *hoants* ‘ruff’ < OF **hon-ik-a*, originally the diminutive of *hona*.

LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 114 (GJ), EW 210 (Sch.), WO 43 (Tsch.), GB 75 (Hind.), MF 113 (Sat.), MSW 250 (Wang.), CM 42 (Harl.), RM 101 (Wurst.), FRU 131 (Wi.), FU 107 (Mo.), FÖW 232-3 (FA.), SU 599 (Sy.), HS 231, WK 292-3 (Helg.), AFH 228 (OF); EDPG 207, Siebs 1155 (**-ōn > -a*), 1181-2 ($a > oa / _n$), Spenter 215

ier [i.ər] m.f. 'ear (of cereal plants)'

- WF Var. *iere*; Bog. pl. *eren*; Sch. *ier* m., Tsch. *ier* m.f., Hind. *ier* m.f.
 EF Sat. *Íere* f., Wang. *øør* f.
 MNF Wi. *oar* f. (< LG) || Wi. *aaks* f., Go. *aaks* (< ON)
 INF FA. *aaks* f.n., Sy. *Aaks* m.f., Helg. *Q̄ks* (< ON)
 OF **ēr* f.(?); *ār*^{EF} n.(?) pl. 'harvest'
 G OE *ēar*, *eher*, *æhher* n. (E. *ear*, Sc. *icker*), ODu. *aar* f. (Du. *aar* f.), OS *ehir* n. (MLG *ār(e)* n., LG *Aar* f.), OHG *ah*, *ahar*, *ehir* n. (MHG *eher* n., G. *Ähre* f.) || ON *ax* n. (Sw. *ax* n.), Got. *ahs* n.
 PG **ahaz-* ~ **ahiz-* ~ **ahuz-* ~ **ahs-* n. 'ear (of cereal plants)'
 PIE **h₂eḱ-es-* n. 'point, awn' (**h₂eḱ-* 'sharp')
 IE ToA *āk*, ToB *āke* n. 'end', Lat. *acus*, *-eris* n. 'husk, chaff'

The modern WF and EF forms point to OF **ēr*, probably a contraction of **eher* (cf. OE *eher*). This may have developed from PGM. **ahaz-* (Du. *aar*, OHG *ah*, *ahar*) with fronting, or from **ahiz-* (OS *ehir*, OHG *ahir*) with umlaut. Wi. *oar* is presented by EHF as inherited, but it appears that no conceivable preform would have led to this form; a loan from LG is therefore more probable. The attested OF pl. *ār* may go back to **aur-* < **ahuz-* (= OE *ēar*). The variant **ahuz-* may be a secondary zero grade replacing **ahs-*, which is attested in EGm. and NGm. (Got. *ahs*, ON *ax*), and also in NF, but most probably due to borrowing from ON (so EHF).

PGm. **ahs-* is perhaps also ultimately secondary; the other stem variants **ahaz-* and **ahiz-* are straightforwardly understandable as offshoots from an originally ablauting *s*-stem nom.acc. **ahaz*, obl. **ahiz-* < **h₂eḱ-os*, **h₂eḱ-es-* (= Lat. *acus*, *acer-*; cf. *rier*). The root is **ah-* < **h₂eḱ-* 'sharp, pointy' (cf. *eide* 'harrow' < **h₂oḱ-et-eh₂*, see s.v.).

- LIT WFT (WF), RB 261 (Bog.), EW 217 (Sch.), WO 46 (Tsch.), GB 77 (Hind.), MF 115 (Sat.), MSW 211 (Wang.), EHF 1, 2 (MNF), FRU 2, 234 (Wi.), FÖW 3 (FA.), SU 465 (Sy.), HS 260 (Helg.), AFH 21 (OF); EDPG 5-6 (paradigm), IOF 36-7 (loss of *h* / *V_V*, contraction), Siebs 1304 (id.), 1347 (**ēr* < **eher*), Spenter 201

ikker [ɪkər] m.f. 'cultivated/arable field'

- WF Var. *ikker* (WCl., NCl.), *eker* (Scl., Swh., Wo.), *ekker* (SWo., SEh.); Bog. *eker*, GJ *ecir* (Lat.); Tsch. *eker* m.f., Hind. *ikker* m.f. || Sch. *akker* m. (< Du.)
 EF Sat. *Äkker* f., Harl. *ecker* (v.l. *äcker*), Wurst. *æckër* || Wang. *ácker* m. (< LG)
 MNF Wi. *eeker* m., Mo. *eeker* m.
 INF FA. *ääker* (Am., EF.), *eker* (EF.), *eeker* (WF.) m., Sy. *Eeker* m.f., Helg. *Aker* m.
 OF *ekker*, *ēker*^{WF}, *ikker*^{WF}, *akker*^{WF} m.
 G OE *æcer* m. (E. *acre*), MDu. *acker* m. (Du. *akker* m.), OS *akkar* m. (LG *Acker* m.), OHG *ackar* m. (G. *Acker* m.), ON *akr* m. (Sw. *åker* c.), Got. *akrs* m. 'field'
 PG **akra-* m. 'field'
 PIE **h₂eḡ-ro-* m. 'field, plain' (**h₂eḡ-* 'to lead, drive (cattle)')

IE Skt. *ájra-* m., Gr. *ἀγρός* m., Lat. *ager* m., all ‘field, plain’

OF *ekker* shows regular fronting of PGm. **a* through AF. **æ* (> OE *æ*) to *e* (cf. s.v. *hjouwer*).

The *i* of the variant *ikker* has to my knowledge not yet received an explanation; the condition of the development *e* > *i* may have been the following velar (apparently only assumed for **u* + *i*-uml. by Siebs), cf. *brêge*, *brigge* ‘bridge’, *êch*, *igge* ‘edge’, *ek*, *ik* ‘also’, *hekke*, *hikke* ‘fence’.

The geminate *-kk-* developed in PWGm. before *r* (but not in all forms of the paradigm, cf.

DOE and s.vv. *jaar*, *tsjoar*). The variant *eker* may show the effect of compensatory lengthening accompanying the simplification of the geminate (cf. *apel*, *appel* ‘apple’ < *appel*) or of lengthening in anlaut (cf. *iepen* ‘open’ < *ēpen* < *epen*, *ierde* ‘earth’ < *ērde* < *erthe*) with retention of *ē* before velar (cf. *eeg*, *êch* ‘eye’ next to *each*, and see *reak*), see Hoekstra. In the OF TN *Frān-eker* (“field of the *frāna* (a representative of the count)”), the *-k-* later appears in palatalized form in WFri. *Frjentsjer*.

PGm. **akra-* straightforwardly continues PIE **h₂eǵ-ro-*, a *ro-*stem derived from the root **h₂eǵ-* ‘to lead, drive (cattle)’ (ToAB *āk-*, Skt. *ájati*, Gr. *ἄγω*, Lat. *agō*, Arm. *acem*). This indicates that the word originally denoted a plain or field where cattle was driven rather than an arable field. Got. *akrs* is in one context also used to translate Gr. *ἄγρος* as a denotation of a field used first as a source of clay and later as a burial site, which (if Wulfila did not stretch the meaning in order to align the word even better with Gr. *ἄγρος*) suggests that the restriction to a field used in agriculture was not a PGm., but a PNWGM. innovation.

LIT WFT (WF), RB 261 (Bog.), Epk. 162 (GJ), EW 8 (Sch.), WO 20 (Tsch.), GB 77 (Hind.), MF 73 (Sat.), MSW 56 (Wang.), CM 38 (Harl.), RM 89 (Wurst.), FRU 69 (Wi.), FU 59 (Mo.), FÖW 3 (FA.), SU 531 (Sy.), WK 71 (Helg.), AFH 116 (OF); DOE 54 (*k* > *kk* / *_r*), EDPG 18, Hoekstra 1999: 5-6 (*ēker*), Siebs 1154 (**a* > *e*), 1208 (**u* + *i*-uml. > *e* > *i* / *_k*, *g*), 1248 (**-r* > *-er*), 1289 (*k* > *kk* / *_r*)

jaar [ja:r] n. ‘udder’

WF Tsch. *jaar* n., Hind. *jaer* n. || Sch. *jieder* m. (< LS?)

EF Sat. *Jader*, *Jadder* n., Wang. *jéddër* n.

MNF Wi. *joader* n., Mo. *jåder* n., Ka. *jåder*, Go. *jåder*, Ha. *jaoder*

INF FA. *jider* f.n., Sy. *liðer* m.f.n., Helg. *djidər*, *jidər*, *djüdər* n.

OF **iāder*, **iaddr-* n. || *-ūder* n. (in *kū-ūder*^{EF} ‘cow udder’), *-uddr-* (in *epen-uddrat*^{EF} ‘with dripping udder/teats (of cows)’)

G Du. dial. *jaar*, *jadder* n. (< Fri.), OS *geder* n. (MLG *jēder*, *jedder*, *jüdder* n., LG *Jidder*, *Judder*, *Jüdder* n.), ON *jú(g)r* n. (Sw. *juver* n.) || OE *ūder* (E. *udder*), MDu. *uder* m. (Du. *uier* m., dial. *uur* m.n.), OS *ūder* n. (LG *Üder* n.), OHG *ūtar(o)* m. (G. *Euter* n.(m.))

PG **eudra-* ~ **ūdra-* n. ‘udder’

PIE **h₁euHd^h-r/n-*, **h₁uHd^h-r/n-* n. ‘udder’

IE Skt. *údhar*, *údhnas* n. ‘udder’ (< **h₁uHd^h-r/n-*), Gr. *οὔθηρα*, *-ατος* n. ‘udder’ (< **h₁ouHd^h-r/n-*), Lat. *ūber* n. ‘teat, udder’ (**h₁uHd^h-r-*), Russ. *výmja* n. ‘udder’ (< **ūd^h-men-*), Lith. *ūdr-* in *pa-údrė* ‘underbelly (of humans), caul fat (of pigs)’, *ūdróti* ‘to be with young’, *pa-ūdróti* ‘to have a growing udder (of pigs, dogs)’

Continues the PIE word for ‘udder’, an *r/n*-stem which was leveled to an *r*-stem in pre-PGm. As the result of an originally ablauting paradigm, PGm. had two allomorphs (**eudr-*, **ūdr-* < **h₁euHd^h-r-*, **h₁uHd^h-r-*), both of which are continued in Frisian. In OF only the zero grade form *ūder* (var. *-uddr-*, with consonant gemination and vowel shortening before *r*, cf. s.v. *ikker*, *tsjoar*) is attested, but all modern varieties point to the existence of a full grade variant **iāder* (**iaddr-*).

The variants were apparently synonyms in OF. In WF they were semantically differentiated to the effect that **iāder* became the only word for ‘udder’, whereas *ūder* came to mean ‘teat’ (WFri., Tsch., Hind. *oer* n., and cf. Sch. *ieuwder* m. < pre-WFri. **ūder*). This appears to have been a shared innovation with LS, cf. Tw. *geier*, *gier* n. ‘udder’, *oer(e)* n. ‘teat’. In Gron. native *gidder* ‘udder’ (still in Westerwolde) was replaced with *joar* as a result of the Frisian substrate. In NHoll. the very presence of the same distribution (e.g. WFD *jaar* n. ‘udder’, *uur* n. ‘teat’) is probably due to the Frisian substrate, through the identification of the native word *uur* (cf. Limb. *uur* m. ‘udder’) with WFri. *oer* leading *uur* to change its gender to neuter and its meaning to ‘teat’, and the subsequent introduction of WFri. **jad(d)er*, *jaar* to express ‘udder’.

In WFri., OF *iā* (< **eu*) normally developed either as a diphthong, yielding first *iē*, later *jie* (GJ) and at the modern stage usually *ie* (cf. OF *diār* ‘animal’ > GJ *djier*, WFri. *dier*; OF *biāda* ‘to offer’ > WFri. *biede*) or as two separate segments resulting in *jea* (OF *thiāf* ‘thief’ > WFri. *tsjeaf*; OF *liāf* ‘dear’ > GJ *ljeaf*, WFri. *leaf*), depending on the environment. In WFri. *jaar* < **iāder* it developed as two separate segments, but remarkably, **ā* was not raised to *ea* as would have been expected. This seems to me to be related to the loss of *-d-*, cf. WOF *fader*, *fāder* ‘father’ > WFri. (*â(ld)*)-*faar* ‘(fore-)father’ (next to regularly raised *â-fear*), OF *mōder*, *mōr*^{WF} ‘mother’ > WFri. *moar* (next to *moer*), similarly with original *-th-*, OF *brōther*, *brōder*, *brōr* ‘brother’ > WFri. *broar* (next to *broer*), OF *ōther*, *ōder* ‘other’ > WFri. *oar*, and, with loss of *-v-*, OF *hāved* ‘head’ > WFri. *haad* (see also s.v. *tsjoar*, probably < WOF **tiōder*). Perhaps the preforms of the unraised variants were still at an intermediate stage **jāer*, **fāer*, **brōer*, **mōer*, **ōer*, **hāed*, **tiōer* when *ā* and *ō* were raised, with the sequences *āe*, *ōe* not participating in the developments of *ā*, *ō*. The sporadically attested form *jier* (e.g. *jieren* ‘udders’ in Halbertsma 1854) does show the development as a diphthong to *iē* > *jie*, with preservation of *j-* in initial position (cf. WFri. *jier* ‘year’ < OF *jēr*).

- LIT WFT (WF), EW 237 (Sch.), WO 49 (Tsch.), GB 79 (Hind.), MF 116, PK 107 (Sat.), MSW 235 (Wang.), EHF 87 (MNF), FRU 156 (Wi.), FU 120 (Mo.), FÖW 263 (FA.), SU 604 (Sy.), HS 210 (Helg.), AFH 520 (OF); EDPG 120, Halbertsma 1854: 439 (*jieren*), Kroonen 2011: 157-9 (PGm. ablaut), Siebs 1234, Spenter 212 (*jieder* < LS?), 249 (*ieuwder*)

jister [jistər] m.f. ‘fenced-in part of a pasture, used for milking’

WF Var. *juster* (infreq.); Sch. *iester*, *jester* m., Tsch. *jester* m.f., Hind. *ister* m.f.n.

OF *ēstra*^{WF}, *ēster*^{WF} m.f.

G OE *ēowestre*, *ēwestre* m.f. ‘sheepfold’, OHG *ewist*, *ouwist* m. ‘id.’ (G. dial. *Äugst* ‘shed for mountain goats’), Got. *awistr* n. ‘sheepfold’

PG **awi-st(r)-a-* n. ‘sheepfold’

PIE **h₃eui-sth₂-o-* n. ‘sheepfold’

A compound of PGm. **awi-* ‘sheep’ (see *ei*) and the element **-st-*, originally the zero grade of the verbal root **stā-* < **steh₂-* ‘to stand’. For the formation cf. Skt. *go-ṣṭhā* ‘cow-house’ < **g^weh₃u-sth₂-o-*, with **g^weh₃u-* ‘cow’ (WFri. *ko*, q.v.).

OF *ē-* is an allomorph of *ei* stemming from the differently syllabified oblique stem **auj-* (see *strie*), which apparently replaced older **awi-* > **ei-* in this compound. It is also found in the pre-INF compound **ē-lōmb* ‘ewe lamb’ (FA. *jua(r)lum*, Sy. *Jaarlum*, see *ei*), whose counterparts in most other dialects do agree with (were reshaped after?) the simplex (e.g. WFri. *eilaam*, Harl. *oyelomm*, Mo. *äilöm*). No adaptation toward *ei* took place in *ēstra*, and eventually the connection was no longer obvious. This paved the way for semantic broadening to enclosures for any kind of animal and the accompanying creation of animal-specifying compounds, such as already OF *kūnaēstra* ‘place to milk cows’. Nowadays the word *jister* is typically associated with cows rather than sheep, as also appears from the absence of a modern equivalent of *kūnaēstra*, and the modern compound *skieppejister*. The meanings of the compounds *bargejister*, *hynstejister*, *rierrejister* (and humorous *bernejister* ‘playpen’) do not include the innovative purpose of milking, but since this purpose was present in OF already, the meanings of these compounds probably result from later semantic broadening rather than from preservation of the old meaning.

LIT WFT (WF), EW 237 (Sch.), GB 79 (Hind.), AFH 128 (OF); EDPG 45, Peterson 2013, Siebs 1215 (*ē-* < **auja-*), Spenter 201

keal [ki.əl] n. ‘calf’

WF GJ *keal*, *câel* (Lat.); Sch. *kaalf*, *kalf*, *kaal* n., Tsch. *keal* n., Hind. *kael* n.

EF Sat. *Kolich* n., Wang. *kalf* n., Harl. *kalff* (v.l. *kalf*), Wurst. *káalf*

MNF Wi. *kuuliw*, *kuulew* n., Mo. *kuulew* n.

INF FA. *kualew* f.n., Sy. *Kualev* n., Helg. dim. *Kalefken* n.

OF *kalf^{WF}*, *kāl^{WF}* n.

G OE *cealf* n. (E. *calf*), ODu. *kalf* n. (Du. *kalf* n.), OS *kalf* n. (LG *Kalf* n.), OHG *kalb* n. (G. *Kalb* n.), ON *kalf* m. (Sw. *kalv* m.)

PG **kalb-iz-* n. ‘calf’

Many clusters of resonant + consonant, including *l + v* (< **b*), had a lengthening effect on preceding vowels already in OF. The resulting vowels coincided with the OF long vowels and further developed as such, in this case as OF *ā* (< PGm. **au*; cf. e.g. OF *āg-* ‘eye’ > WFri. *each*, Hind. *aich*, Sat. *Ooch*, Mo. *uug*, FA. *uug* and cf. s.v. *reak*). PGm. **-b-* was generally lenited to OF *-v-* and further to *-u-* (cf. *hjouwer*). This *-u-* was subsequently deleted in WF between a resonant and a vowel (where resonant + *f / v* had earlier caused lengthening of the preceding vowel): **kāl_u-* > *kāl-* > *keal*, cf. **hāl_u-* ‘half’ > *hāl-* > *heal*; **kōr_u-* ‘basket’ > *kōr* > *koer*. The WF forms without *v* (*f*) are, then, generalizations of the root in prevocalic position (i.e. in oblique forms); the other WF forms continue the root in word-final position (i.e. in the nom.acc.sg.). The PWGm. paradigmatic alternation of forms with and without *s*-stem suffix

(see *rier*) is continued as a sg./pl.-alternation in EF (pl. Sat. *Koolwere*, Wang. *kálver*) and INF (FA., Sy. *kualwer*, cf. also Helg. *Kalefkener*), but has been leveled in favor of the stem without suffix in WF (WFri. *keallen*, Hind. *kaelen*, Sch. *ka(a)lven*, *kale*) and MNF (Wi., Mo. *kuulwe*). A PGM. derivation is **kalb-ōn-* f. ‘female calf’ (OHG *kalba*, G. *Kalbe*, Got. *kalbo*). No probable IE etymology.

LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 71, 232 (GJ), EW 244 (Sch.), WO 52 (Tsch.), GB 8 (Hind.), MF 124 (Sat.), MSW 256 (Wang.), CM 43 (Harl.), RM 104 (Wurst.), FRU 193 (Wi.), FU 141 (Mo.), FÖW 300 (FA.), SU 643 (Sy.), WK 342 (Helg.), AFH 263 (OF); EDPG 278, Siebs 1179 (*Vlv* > *Ṽlv*), 1269 (*μ*-deletion), Spenter 164

ko [ko.ɥ] f. ‘cow’

WF pl. *kij*; Var. *kû* [ku] (east. NWo.), *kou* [kɔ.ɥ] (Barr.); GJ *kuw*, *cu* (Lat.); Sch. *kú* [kü] f. (outd., normally *beest*), Tsch. *koe* [ku] f., Hind. *koe* [ku:] f.

EF Sat. *Ku* f., Wang. *kuu* f., Harl. *ky*, Wurst. *kuh*

MNF Wi. *kü* f., Mo. *kü* f.

INF FA. *kü* f.n., Sy. *Kü* m.f., Helg. *Kü*, *Ki* f.

OF *kū*, *kō*^{WF} f. (nom.acc.pl. *kī*)

G OE *cū* f. (E. *cow*), ON *kýr*, acc. *kū* f. (Sw. *ko* f.) || ODu. *kuo* f. (Du. *koe* f.), OS *kō* f. (LG *Koh* f.), OHG *kuo* f. (G. *Kuh* f.)

PG **kō-* ~ **kū-* f. ‘cow’

PIE **g^weh₃-u-* m.f. ‘cow, head of cattle’ (**g^weh₃-* ‘to (make) graze’)

IE Lyc. *wawa-*, *uwa-* c., ToA acc. *ko* f., Skt. *gav-* m.f., Gr. *βοῦς* m.f., Lat. *bōs* m.f. (< Sab.), OIr. *bó* f., Latv. *gūovs* f., Arm. *kov*, all ‘cow, head of cattle’

The modern forms continue the OF nom.acc. sg. *kū*, pl. *kī*. WFri. *ko*, pl. *kij* shows the effect of lowering of long high vowels in word-final position (cf. e.g. WFri. nom. *do*, obl. *dy/dij* ‘you’ < OF nom. *thū*, acc.dat. *thī*). The long high vowels remain unchanged in Hind.

OF *ū* agrees with OE *ū* and ON *ý*, *ū* in pointing to PGM. **ū*; the other Gm. languages point to **ō*. These variants continue two different ablaut grades of the original paradigm, **k(w)ō-* < nom. **g^weh₃u-*, **kū-* < obl. **g^wh₃u-* (cf. EDPG), with the pre-PGM. changes **eh₃u* > **ōu* > **ō* (cf. **sōel* ‘sun’ < **seh₂uel*), **Ch₃u* > **Cuh₃* > **Cū* and **K^wu* > **Ku* (cf. **kuman-* ‘to come’ < **kwum-* < **g^wm-* next to **kweman-* < **g^wem-*), with subsequent leveling of the alternation **k^w-* / **k-* in favor of **k-*. The root is PIE **g^weh₃-* ‘to (make) graze’, cf. Gr. *βόσκω* ‘id.’ < **g^wh₃-ske/o-*.

The anomalous OF pl. *kī* is continued in almost all modern Frisian varieties (WFri. *kij*, Tsch. *ki*, Hind. *kii*, Harl. *ky(h)*, Wurst. *kiy*, Wi. *kii*, Mo. *kee*, FA. *ki*, Helg. *Koi*, in extended form Wang. *kiiër*, Sy. *Kin*). Its expected predecessor is **kū-iz* (root + nom.pl.-ending), which also appears to be the preform of the English forms (E. arch. *kine*, Sc. *kye* < OE *cȳ*). However, *ū* + umlaut normally yields OF *ē* rather than *ī*. A satisfactory explanation for this discrepancy is still lacking. Siebs assumes that the normal development to *ē*, which probably went through the stages **ȳ* (> MNF **ī*) > **ō* > *ē*, was interrupted in this case, with **ȳ* escaping lowering due to the combined influence of surrounding **k* and **i*. However, unlike palatalized **k* (**k’* in

Siebs) > OF *tz* (cf. **tzēse* > *tzīse*, see *tsiis*), unpalatalized **k* does not have a raising effect (cf. OF *kēse* ‘molar’ < **kūsĵō-*). Siebs needs **k-* to have had such an effect due to OF *bē* ‘growth, harvest, profit’, to OF *būwa* ‘to build; cultivate; dwell in’, which he compares with OE *bý, bú* ‘dwelling’ and reconstructs as **bū(w)i*. OF *bē* has however more plausibly been connected with OS *beu* ‘harvest’ < **bewwa-* (Van Helten). This enables the possibility that the adjacent **-i* on its own was responsible for the unexpected outcome of **ȳ* in *kī*, either by disturbing the lowering process, or perhaps by coalescing with **ȳ* to **ī*. Another scenario we may consider is that **ī* developed from **-iwi* < PGm. **-ewi-/euj-* (as in WFri. *nij* ‘new’ < **niwi* < **neuĵa-*). A PGm. preform **k^(w)ewiz* would come close to a hypothetical PGm. nom.pl. **k^(w)awiz* < PIE **g^wh₃eues* (Gr. βόεϛ). However, PGm. **awi* normally yields OF *ei* (see *ei*), and this ablaut variant appears to have been abolished in pre-PGm. already. An alternative to ascribing the *-ī* to the effect of **-i* is proposed by Heinertz, who adduces a tendency to raise word-final vowels, which disturbed the lowering process in **kȳ(i)* at some point between **ȳ* and *ē*. Although his only example of a higher vowel for expected *ē*, OF *nei, ni^{EF}* ‘near’ (PGm. **ē*) has a different outcome and requires a different explanation (cf. OHG *nāhi*), it is a possibility. **kȳi* may even have reached the stage **kē*, if word-final raising applied when later instances of OF *-ē* were not yet word-final, e.g. because a semivowel had not yet been lost (cf. e.g. OF **snē* ‘snow’ < **snaiwa-*). The exact development remains uncertain.

LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 72, 257 (GJ), EW 287 (Sch.), WO 57 (Tsch.), GB 89 (Hind.), MF 126 (Sat.), MSW 267 (Wang.), CM 43 (Harl.), RM 107 (Wurst.), FRU 190-1 (Wi.), FU 140 (Mo.), FÖW 300 (FA.), SU 645 (Sy.), HS 240, WK 359-60 (Helg.), AFH 284 (OF); EDPG xxv-vi (*ōu*), 299 (paradigm), Heinertz 1912: 309-10 (*kī*), Siebs 1220 (*-ī, -ū* > *-ij, -o*), 1226 (id.), 1227-8 (*ū* + uml.; *kī*), Spenter 253, Van Helten 4-5 (*bē*)

miede [mi.ədə] m.f. ‘meadow, grassland used for hay’

WF GJ *miede*; Tsch. *miede* m.f.

EF Sat. *Mäid* f., Harl. *meede* (v.ll. *meehde, mehde*), *mehde*

MNF Wi. *mäid-* (e.g. in *mäid-fĵin* ‘grassland’), Ka. *meed*, Go. *mäid*, Ha. *meed*

INF FA. *miad* m.f.n.

OF *mēde, mēd* f.

G OE *mæd, mædwe* f. (E. *mead* (outd.), *meadow*), MDu. *made* f. (Du. dial. *made* f.),

MLG *māde* f. || OHG *mato-* (in *mato-screg(h)* ‘grasshopper’) (G. *Matte* f.) || MLG coastal *mēde* f. (LG *Mede* f.) (< Fri.)

PG **mēdwō-* ~ **madwō-* f. ‘meadow’ (**mē-an-* ‘to mow’)

PIE **h₂m(e)h₁-tueh₂₋* f. (**h₂meh₁₋* ‘to mow, reap’)

An old derivation of the PIE root **h₂meh₁₋* ‘to mow, reap, harvest’ as continued in PGm. **mē-an-* > OF *miā^{EF}*, *miān^{WF}* > WFri. *meane* (and cf. *mier* ‘mower’), Tsch. *mjeane*, Sat. *mjo*, Harl. *miahdi, miahnen* (in NF replaced with *hau* ‘to hew’, see *hea*), and outside Gm. in Gr. ἀμάω ‘to reap (corn); cut, hew down’, with secondary -α- (cf. ἄμητος ‘reaping, harvesting; reaped crop/harvest’), Hitt. *hamešĵa-* ‘spring’ (< **h₂meh₁-sh₂o-*), also written with the sumerogram Ú.BAR₈ ‘harvest’. The PGm. variants **mēdwō-* (< **h₂meh₁-tueh₂₋*) and **madwō-*

(< **h₂m_h₁-tueh₂-*) point to an originally ablauting paradigm, which EDPG reconstructs as nom. **h₂meh₁-tuh₂*, gen. **h₂m_h₁-tueh₂-s*, but the suffix **-tueh₂-* (**-dwō-*) is suspect of being secondarily built on **-tu-* (for which cf. **h₃miks-tu-* s.v. *mjuks*), and the ablaut may therefore rather stem from an original *tu*-stem (cf. the Gr. hapax ἀμητύς ‘ἄμητος’ < **h₂meh₁-tu-*).

A closely related word is WFri. *mêd* n., Hind. *mod* n. ‘unit of land as long as one can mow in a day; grassland; (abstr.) area, domain’ < OF *-meth*, *med* < PGm. **maba-* (Du. dial. *mad* n. ‘unit of land as long as one can mow in a day’), and with *e*-grade **mēpa-* (OE *mæð* n. ‘mowing, hay-harvest’, OHG *māda* f. ‘mowing, mown grass’, G. *Mahd* f. ‘id.’, dial. n. ‘meadow’) < **h₂m_h₁-to-*, **h₂meh₁-to-*. The spelling vacillation in Harl. *meth-lauhn*, v.ll. *meht-*, makes it difficult to determine whether it belongs to WFri. *mêd* or *miede*.

LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 291 (GJ), WO 67 (Tsch.), MF 133 (Sat.), CM 38, 63, 64 (Harl.), EHF 129 (MNF), FRU 217 (Wi.), FÖW 356 (FA.), AFH 319 (OF); EDPG 367, Siebs 1214 (*miā*), TWFA 71-2

mjuks [mjöks] m.f. ‘manure’

WF Var. *mjoks*; Tsch. *mjoks* m.f., Hind. *moks* m.f.

EF Sat. *Mjüks* f., Wang. *miux* n., Wurst. *miuchß*

MNF Wi. *mjoks* m.n., Mo. *mjuks* m.n., Ka. *mjuks*, Go. *mjoks*, Ha. *njoks*

INF FA. *njoks* f.n., Sy. *Mjuks* n., Helg. *njoks* m.

OF **miux* n.

G OE *meox* n. (E. *mix-* in *mix-hill*), MDu. *mis(se)*, *mes(se)* m.n. (Du. dial. *mis*, *mes* m.n.), OS *mehs* n. (LG *Mess* m.)

PG **mihsa-* n. ‘manure’

PIE **h₃miḱ-so-* n. ‘animal urine’ (**h₃meiǵ^h-* ‘to urinate (of animals)’)

Old derivation from the PIE root **h₃meiǵ^h-* ‘to urinate (of animals)’ (WFri. *mige*, Gr. ὀμείχω, Lat. *meiō*, Skt. *méhati*, Lith. *mỹžti*). All Frisian forms show the effect of breaking of PGm. **i* before **hs* (**mihsa-* > **miuhsa-*). Some NF varieties assimilated *mj-* to *nj-*. According to Holthausen, a derivation of **mihsa-* is found in EOF *mēse* f. ‘urine’ (supposedly < **maihsjō-* < **h₃moik^h-s-ieh₂-*), but it is unclear why **-h-* would have been lost in this case. A clear derivation of PGm. **mihsa-* is **mihstu-* ‘manure’ (Got. *maihtus*, G. *Mist*, Du. *mist*, *mest*).

LIT WFT (WF), WO 68 (Tsch.), GB 107 (Hind.), MF 135 (Sat.), MSW 276 (Wang.), RM 124 (Wurst.), EHF 132 (MNF), FRU 220-1 (Wi.), FU 157 (Mo.), FÖW 381 (FA), SU 671 (Sy.), HS 258 (Helg.); EDPG 369, Holthausen 71 (*mēse*), Siebs 1198-9 (**-i-* > *-iu-*), 1305 (**-hs-* > *-ks-*)

molke [mɔlkə] m.f. ‘milk’

WF Var. *mólke* (esp. east.); GJ *mólcke*; Tsch. *molk* [-ɔ-, -o-] m.f., Hind. *mólken* m.f. || Sch. *mulke* m. (< WFri.)

EF Sat. *Moalk* f. || Wang. *mēlk* n., Harl. *melck*, Wurst. *mellējück*, *mel’fjúck*, *meljock*, *-miljock* (in kern *miljock* ‘buttermilk’)

MNF Wi. *muolke* n., Mo. *moolke* n., Ka. *moolke*, Go. *mulke*, Ha. *moolke*

- INF FA. *moolk* f.n., Sy. *Molk* n., Helg. *mo(l)k* n.
 OF *molke*^{EF} f. || *meloke*^{EF} f.
 G OE *meoloc* f. (E. *milk*), MDu. *melc* f.n. (Du. *melk* m.f.), OS *miluk* f. (LG *Melk* f.), OHG *miluh* f. (G. *Milch* f.), ON *mjǫlk* f. (Sw. *mjöl*k c.), Got. *miluks* f.
 PG (**mulk-ō(n)-* <<) **mel(u)k-* ‘milk’ (**mel(u)k-an-*, **mulk-ōn-* ‘to milk’)

PIE had an ablauting (verbal) root **h₂melǵ-/h₂mlǵ-* ‘to milk’ (**h₂melǵ-* > Gr. ἀμέλγω, Lith. *mélžti*, Alb. *mjel*; **h₂mlǵ-* > Lat. *mulgeō*, OIr. *mligid*), which gave rise to PGm. **mel(u)k-/mulk-* (the *u* of **meluk-* is unexplained). The PGm. verb and noun originally had *e*-grade, as still in OF *melka* ‘to milk’ and *meloke* ‘milk’ (cf. also WFri. *melk*, *melts* ‘giving milk’).

The form *meloke* survived only in Weser EF; in all other variants of Frisian it was ousted by *molke*/**molka*. In EWN this is regarded as the same word as *meloke* with analogical zero-grade after *molken* ‘amount of milk to be churned’ < **mulk(a)na-* (OE *molcen* ‘curdled milk’, MDu. *molken* ‘milk, dairy product’, OHG *molken* ‘curds’, all n.), which is probably a substantivization of the past participle of the basic verb **melk-an-* (i.e. “the milked substance”). Additional evidence for the prominence and influence of *molken* is found in the Hind. word for ‘milk’, which apart from *o*-vocalism also has final *-n* (but *n*-less forms still appear in cps., e.g. *mólkekanne*, *mólkfarder*). Alternatively, *molke*/**molka* may be taken at face value as < **mulk-ō(n)-*, an independent derivation based on the oblique stem of PGm. **mel(u)k-/mulk-* ‘to milk’ or perhaps on deverbal **mulk-ōn-* ‘id.’ (ON *molka*) >> **mulk-ōjan-* > OF *molka*.

- LIT WFT (W.), Epk. 302 (GJ), EW 346 (Sch.), WO 69 (Tsch.), GB 107 (Hind.), MF 135 (Sat.), MSW 275 (Wang.), CM 47 (Harl.), RM 110 (Wurst.), EHF 135 (MNF), FRU 223-4 (Wi.), FU 158 (Mo.), FÖW 360 (FA), SU 244 (Sy.), HS 256 (Helg.), AFH 334 (OF); EDPG 364, 374, EWfA *melka-* (*melk*, *melts*), EWN *melk* (*molke(n)*), Löfstedt 1928: 93, Spenter 317 (Sch. < WFri.)

nôt [no:t] n. ‘grain’

- WF (NWCl.); Var. *noat* (NCl., NWo.) (both outd.); GJ *nôt*
 OF *not*^{WF}, *nōt*^{WF} n. || *note*^{WF} f.(?), all ‘yield, harvest yield; grain; product of cattle breeding’
 G MDu. *not* m.n. ‘profit, advantage, yield’, ON *not* n.pl. ‘profit, advantage’ || OE *notu* f. ‘use, profit, advantage’ (E. reg. *note* ‘id.’), MDu. *noot* f. ‘profit, advantage, yield’, MLG *nōte* f. ‘profit, yield, fruit’
 PG **nuta-* n. ~ **nutō-* f. ‘profit, advantage, yield’ (**neut-an-* ‘to enjoy, profit’)

Developed from OF *not* with lengthening of *o* to *ô*, and in the northeast further to *oa*, before *t* (cf. *grôt*, *groat* ‘groats’ < OF **grot* < PGm. **gruta-*; *strôt(e)* ‘throat’ < OF *strot-* in *strot-bolla* ‘larynx’ < PGm. **strutōn-*).

OF *not* < **nuta-* is a derivative of **neutan-* ‘to make use of, profit from, enjoy’ (OF *niāta*, WFri. *geniete*). Its closest parallels are MDu. *not* m.n. ‘yield (of land, trees)’, especially in *mit alreslachter not* ‘with all kinds of yield’, outside this expression normally ‘use, profit’ (with the same division also *noot* f. and *nut* m.f(?)., cf. further *genoot* n. ‘yield’) and ON *not* n.pl.

‘profit, advantage’. The OF variant *note* agrees with OE *notu*, MLG *nōte* (< **nutō-*). Cf. further OF *net*^{WF} m.f.n(?). ‘use, profit’ (Wi., FA. *nat* m.) < **nutja-* n. (Du. *nut* > WFri. *nut*), also *nut*^{WF} (Sch. *not* n.) < **nut-* (LG *Nutt*, *Nott* m.).

Like its cognates, OF *not* originally had an abstract meaning, ‘profit, yield’, which in agricultural context referred to the yield of the land (cf. OF *notia*, *notigia* ‘to use/exploit (land), cultivate’), more concretely ‘grain’. OF still had both meanings (cf. e.g. *notlās* ‘without result, fruitless’, but also *notrāf* ‘grain robbery’, *notskatha* ‘damage done to grain’, *nottredere* ‘destroyer of grain’). As a general denotation of ‘grain’, OF *not* largely replaced *korn* > WFri. *koarn*, which restricted its meaning to ‘barley’. Currently, *nôt* is itself being replaced by the Du. loan *graan*.

LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 314 (GJ), AFH 358 (OF); Hof 146-7 (*ô*, *oa*)

reak [ri.ək] m.f. ‘rick, haystack’

WF Var. *rêk*, *rek*; Hind. *raik* m.f.

MNF Wi. *ruuke* m., Mo. *ruuke*, *ruuk* m., Ka. *ruuke*, *ruuk*, Go. *ruuk*, Ha. *ruuke*

INF FA. *ruk* (EF.), *ruuk* (WF., Am.) m., Sy. *Rook* m.f. ‘42 sheaves’

OF **hrāk* m.

G OE *hrēac* m. (E. *rick*), MDu. *rooc* f. (Du. *rook* m.f.), ON *hraukr* m. ‘conical pile’ (Sw. *rök* c. ‘rick’)

PG **hrauka-* m. ‘pile, rick’

PIE **krouk-no-* m.

IE OIr. *crúach* f. ‘stack of grain, rick’ (< **krouk-ā-*), OW *cruc* m. ‘heap of stones, hillock’ (< **krouk-o-*)

All modern Frisian forms continue OF **hrāk* < PGM. **hrauka-*. The northeastern WFri. variant *rêk* (and shortened *rek*) shows regular preservation before velar of an intermediate stage in the raising process of OF *ā* to WFri. *ea* (cf. e.g. *weak*, *wêk* < OF *wāk* ‘weak’).

The PGM. and PCelt. forms can be reconciled if **hrauka-* developed from **hraukka-* < **kroukno-* with Kluge’s law and simplification of the geminate (cf. s.v. *skiep*). The Celtic forms may then be genuine cognates or they may continue an early borrowing into PCelt. from pre-PGM. **kraukka-*. Kroonen argues for the latter option and regards PGM. **hrauk(k)a-* as a thematic derivative on the basis of one of the oblique stems (acc.pl. **krouk-n-ŋs* > **hrauk^kuns*) of an *n*-stem of the same meaning with rather heavy allomorphy (reconstructed on the basis of the various stems attested in its descendants): nom. **hrūhō*, gen. **hrukkaz*, dat. **hrugeni* (cf. e.g. ON *hró* ‘earth’, *hrúga* ‘heap’, *hroki* ‘pile’ < **hrūha-*, **hrūgō-*, **hrukan-*, MDu. *roc* ‘rick’ < **hrukk-*, OE *corn-hrycce* ‘corn rick’ < **hruk(k)ja-*).

LIT WFT (WF), GB 129 (Hind.), EHF 170 (MNF), FRU 265 (Wi.), FU 200 (Mo.), FÖW 456 (FA.), SU 729 (Sy.); EDPG 243, Hof 35-8 (OF *ā* + velar > WFri. *ea*, *ê*), Kroonen 2011: 268-70 (PGM. derivation and allomorphy)

rier [ri.ər] n. ‘heifer’

WF GJ *riere*; Sch. *rier* m.n., Hind. *rier* n.

- EF Sat. *Räier, Räir* n. ‘heifer, head of cattle’
 MNF Mo. *raader* n. ‘one year old head of cattle’, Ka. *räärer* ‘head of cattle’, Go. *räär* ‘id.’, Ha. *räär, rär* ‘id.’
 OF *hrīther*^{EF}, *rīther*^{EF} || *rēther*^{WF}, *rēder*^{WF}, *rēr*^{WF} n. ‘head of cattle’
 G OE *hrīðer, hrȳðer, hrēoðar-* n. (E. *rother*), MDu. *rint, rent* n. (Du. south. *rend* n.), OS *hrīth* n. (MLG *rint* n.), OHG *hrind* n. (G. *Rind* n.) || OE *hrūper* n., MDu. *ront, runt* n. (Du. *rund* n.), all ‘head of cattle’
 PG **hrinþ-iz-* ~ **hrunþ-iz-* n. ‘head of cattle’
 PIE **kr(e)nt-es-* n. ‘horned animal’

For the loss of intervocalic *-th-* in WFri., cf. WFri. *oar* < *ōther* < **anþara-* (in this case also after loss of preceding *n*) and s.v. *jaar*. The vowel of *rier* may in principle continue OF *ī* or *ē*, but given the geographical distribution of the forms in OF, *ē* is the more likely candidate. Conversely, Sat. *äi*, which may also continue both *ē* and *ī*, probably continues *ī* for the same reason. OF *ē, ī* are the result of compensatory lengthening of *e, i* before *n* + voiceless fricative, a NSG development also found in OE and OS (see *boasdoar, goes*). OF *hrīther* continues **hrinþ-* < PGm. **hrinþ-* < PIE **kr̥ent-* (*e*-grade), whereas OF *rēther* continues **hrenþ-* < PGm. **hrunþ-* + *i* < PIE **kr̥nt-* (zero grade).

The umlaut factor causing PGm. **hrunþ-* to develop to pre-OF **hrenþ-* was the *e*-grade in the oblique forms of the *s*-suffix nom.acc.sg. **-az*, obl. **-iz-* < PIE **-os, *-es-* (cf. e.g. Lat. *gen-us, gen-er-is*, and cf. s.v. *ier*). In WGM., the suffix was originally only retained in the oblique forms, where it was rhotacized (cf. Du. *rund*, pl. *rund-er-en*). The retained suffix was generalized throughout the paradigm of the simplex in Anglo-Frisian (but still e.g. Sat. *Räi-fai* ‘cattle’, OE *hrīð-hierde* ‘herdsman’). In most variants of Frisian it eventually coalesced with the root.

The *s*-stem **hrinþ-az, *hrunþ-iz-* < **kr̥ent-os, *kr̥nt-es-* was derived from **kr̥n-to-* ‘horned’, itself a derivative of **kr̥-no-* ‘horn’ (PGm. **hurna-* > WFri. *hoarn*).

- LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 378 (GJ), EW 442 (Sch.), GB 131 (Hind.), MF 147, PK 174 (Sat.), FU 191 (Mo.), EHF 158 (MNF), AHW 233-4 (OF); DOE 117-8 (*s*-stem inflection in WGM.), EDPG 247-8, IOF 64 (*s*-stems in OF), Siebs 1347 (id.), Spenter 268

riuwe [ri.ʊə] m.f. ‘(hay) rake’

- WF Var. *riuwe, rjûwe* (EWO.), *rjowe* (NWO., NCL.), *ruwe; riuwer* (with the same vocalic variants); Sch. *rieuw* f., Tsch. *ruw* m.f.
 EF Sat. *Rieuwe* f., Wang. *riiv* f. ‘rasp’
 MNF Wi. *riuw* f., Mo. *reew, riu* f.
 INF FA. *riiw* f.n. (Am., WF.), *riw* f.n. (EF.) ‘rake’, *riiw* f.n. ‘rasp’, Sy. *Riiv* m.f., Helg. *rīw* f.
 OF **hrīve* f.
 G ME *rīve* f., MDu. *rīve* f. (Du. dial. *rijve, rijf* f. ‘rake’ and/or ‘rasp’), LG *Rief, Riew* f. ‘rake’ or ‘rasp’, G. *Reibe* ‘rasp’ f., ON *hrifa* f. (Sw. dial. *riva* m.f.)
 PG **hrībō-* f. ‘rake’ (**hrīb-an-* st.v. ‘to catch, snatch, grapple’)

PGm. *-b-* was regularly lenited to OF *-v-* and further to *-u-*, and the resulting combination *-īu-* triggered Jorwert breaking to *-jûw-*, *-jow-* in most of WF (see *hjouwer*).

Wang. *riiv* is a formal match, but means ‘rasp’ (‘rake’ is *fónrickër*, cf. Harl. *fohnrycker* ‘id.’). Similarly, FA. *riiw* means both ‘rake’ and ‘rasp’. The meaning ‘rasp’ appears to be an innovation, probably under the influence of G. or LG. The absence of an EF. variant *riw* as with inherited ‘rake’ also points in the direction of a loan. The same is further suggested by the dialectal situation: the Wang. and FA. nouns aside, ‘rake’ is the only meaning found in NGm. and AF., ‘rasp’ the only meaning in G, and the Du. and LG dialects in between largely follow this coast-inland division (‘rake’ in Fl., Zeel., SHoll., Gron., Dr., Old., Jv.; ‘rasp’ in Vel., Sall., Tw., Limb.; also in Fl., Gron.). Cf. also Kil. *Rijf*. j. *rijue* ‘rastrum, rastellum’ (‘rake’) and *Rijue* (Sax. Sicamb.) j. *raspe*. ‘Tyrocnestis, radula’ (‘rasp (LS, Gld.)’). It is difficult to say whether we are dealing with a change of meaning / polysemy or with two separate words in origin. Synchronically, G. *Reibe* appears to be derived from *reiben* ‘to rub; to grate’, which rather belongs to WGm. **wrīban-* ‘to rub’ (WFri. *wriuwe*; for **wr-* > G. *r-* cf. e.g. *Rache* ‘revenge’ < **wrēkō-*) than to **hrīban-* ‘to rake’ (see below). However, the largely complementary distribution of the two meanings may also suggest a change of meaning. The two concepts are clearly semantically related (cf. WFri. *klauwe* ‘to scratch, snatch, rake’, also, less commonly, ‘to rasp’).

Several related verbs meaning ‘to rake’ are found in Frisian. The largest territory is covered by a derivative of the noun pointing to PGm. **hrībōjan-* (OF *hrīvia*, *rīwia*^{EF} > WFri. *riuwje*, Sat. *rieuwje*, Sy. *riiwi*). The weak verbs without suffix found in NF (Wi. *rūuwe*, Mo. *reewe*, FA. *riiw*, *riiwe*, Helg. *rīwe*) may also have been secondarily derived from the noun. Two strong verbs are also found (Wang. *riiv* ‘to rake’, Helg. *rīw* ‘to tear, snatch’), however, that match MDu. *rīven* (Du. *rijven*) ‘to rake’ as well as ON *hrīfa* ‘to catch, snatch, grapple’, and therefore probably continue the original verb from which the word for ‘rake’ was derived. The ON and Helg. verbs also plausibly show an older meaning from which the meaning ‘(to) rake’ developed (cf. again WFri. *klauwe* ‘to scratch, snatch, rake, rasp’).

LIT WFT, Hof 190-1 (WF), EW 442 (Sch.), WO 94 (Tsch.), MF 148 (Sat.), MSW 287 (Wang.), EHF 171 (MNF), FRU 265 (Wi.), FU 195 (Mo.), FÖW 444 (FA.), SU 726 (Sy.), HS 271 (Helg.); Århammar 1988: 98 (OF **hrīve*), Spenter 305

skiep [ski.əp] n. ‘sheep’

WF Var. *skiiip* (Sh.), *skeep* (Work.); Bog. pl. *scheep*; GJ *schieip*; Sch. *skieip* n.(f.), Tsch. *skieip* n., Hind. *skeep* n.

EF Sat. *Schäip* n., Wang. *schaip* n., Harl. *schaip* (v.l. *scheip*), Wurst. *schepp*, *scheep*

MNF Wi. *skeep* n., Mo. *schäip* n.

INF FA. *schap* n. (EF.), *schep* n. (WF., Am.), Sy. *Sjip* n., Helg. *skēap* n.

OF *skēp* n.

G OE *scæp* n. (E. *sheep*), MDu. *scaep* n. (Du. *schaap* n.), OS *skāp* n. (LG *Schaap* n.), OHG *skāf* n. (G. *Schaf* n.)

PG **skēpa-* n. ‘sheep’

Like in English, in Old Frisian the plural of this word was identical to the singular due to loss of the nom.acc.pl. ending *-u after a heavy stem, as still in many of its descendants (WFri., Hind., Wurst., Mo., FA., Sy., Helg.), but analogical plurals are found as well (e.g. Sch. *schiepe*, Sat. *Schäipe*, Wi. *skeepe*; Wang. *schaipër*).

Two possible origins stand out. It has been interpreted as a derivative of *skaban- ‘to shave, scrape’ (see Davis 123), which is very attractive from a semantic point of view. The alternation of PGM. *b and *p would require *skēpa- to go back to *skēppa- < *skēbna- with Kluge’s law and simplification of the geminate in over-long syllable (so Kroonen; cf. s.v. *reak*). A PGM. variant with *b may still be found in OHG *scāp(p)āri* ‘sheepskin, fleece’ (cf. EDPG; it could however also be a derivative of *skaban-). Another possibility that has been suggested (see Davis 122-3) is derivation from *skap(j)an- ‘to create’ (WFri. *skeppe*), which would imply that the meaning ‘sheep’ resulted from a semantic narrowing from the general meaning ‘creature, animal’. This is fairly common in IE societies, in which livestock are generally the most commonly encountered animals, and sheep are among the most typical embodiments of livestock (cf. Gr. πρόβατον ‘sheep’ < ‘livestock’, It. *pecora* ‘sheep’ < Lat. *pecus* ‘livestock’, and for similar narrowing to a different species cf. E. *deer* < *(wild) animal’).

The word is only attested in WGM., where its use as a general designation of ‘sheep’ must have been motivated by the gap left by PGM. *awi- (WFri. *ei*), whose scope had become restricted to the female (see s.vv. *ei*, *jister*).

- LIT WFT (WF), RB 274 (Bog.), Epk. 398 (GJ), EW 464 (Sch.), WO 95 (Tsch.), GB 142 (Hind.), MF 152 (Sat.), MSW 293 (Wang.), CM 43 (Harl.), RM 116 (Wurst.), FRU 283 (Wi.), FU 204 (Mo.), FÖW 472-3 (FA.), SU 741 (Sy.), HS 276 (Helg.), AFH 436 (OF); Davis 1991: 122-3 (*skaban-/ *skapjan-), EDPG 443, IOF 61 (pl.), Kroonen 2011: 45, Siebs 1215, Spenter 205

strie [stri.ə] n.m.f. ‘straw’

- WF GJ *strie*; Sch. *strie* n., Hind. *stree* n. || Tsch. *strei* n.
 EF Sat. *Sträi* n., Wang. *stree* n., Harl. *stree* n.
 MNF Wi. *strai* f.n., Mo. *strai* n.
 INF FA. *strä* f.n., Sy. *Stre* n., Helg. *stri* n.
 OF *strē*^{WF} n.
 G OE *strēa-* (in *strēa-berige* ‘strawberry’), *strēaw* n. (E. *straw*), ODu. *strō* n. (Du. *stro*, *strooi-* n.), OS *strō* m.n. (LG *Stroh* n.), OHG *strō* (G. *Stroh* n.), ON *strá* n. (Sw. *strå* n.)
 PG (**strau-ja-* <<) **straw-a-* n. ‘straw’ (**strau-jan-* ‘to strew’)
 PIE **strou-o-* n. (**streu-* ‘to strew’)

OF *strē* points to a preform **strau-ja-*. The same goes for Tsch. *strei*, which can however not descend from OF *strē*, but rather continues the nom.sg. **strawi* (cf. *ei* ‘ewe’ < **awi*, see s.v.).

The other Gm. languages show that the PGM. form was **straw-a-*, which must have been analogically adapted at some point between PWGM. and PFri., either after **hau-ja-* ‘hay’, or, more probably, after the verb from which it had been derived in the first place, **strau-jan-* ‘to strew’ (pre-OF **strēa* > OF **strīa* > WFri. *strije* ‘to strew; to provide with

straw', Wang. *strii* 'to strew', cf. **mēan-* > OF *miā(n)* s.v. *miede*, next to OF *strēwa* 'to tear apart' > WFri. *streauwe* 'to be scattered', with unexpected *-w-*, perhaps after a variant **strāwa* < **strawjan-*, cf. *hea*). The continued association of the verb is also illustrated by the INF forms, which appear to have been adapted to the verb once again (Löfstedt).

Straw is typically used (strewn) for animal bedding and as fodder, hence its original meaning "what is strewn". For a parallel cf. e.g. Lat. *strāmen(tum)* 'straw, litter' to *sternō* 'to spread out, strew'.

LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 460 (GJ), EW 544 (Sch.), WO 110 (Tsch.), GB 160 (Hind.), MF 166 (Sat.), MSW 310 (Wang.), CM 40 (Harl.), EHF 220 (MNF), FRU 321 (Wi.), FU 231-2 (Mo.), FÖW 575-6 (FA.), SU 776 (Sy.), HS 290 (Helg.), AFH (OF); EDPG 484, Löfstedt 1933: 34-6 (MNF), Siebs 1232-3 (**awi* > *ei*, **auj-* > *ē-*, **auw-* > *āw*, *strēwa*), Spenter 214

terskje [tɛskjə] st.w.v. 'to thresh'

WF Var. *tarskje* (Ga.); Sch. *taskje*, *tastje*, rarely *tjaskje*, *teskje*, *tjeskje* w.v., Tsch. *teske* st.v., Hind. *terskje* st.v.

EF Sat. *täärske* st.v., Wang. *thrësk* st.v., Wurst. *trescken*

MNF Wi. *tjaske*, *tjasche* (Em.) st.v., Mo. *tjarsche* st.v.

INF F. *taarsk*, *taask* st.v., Am. *saarsk*, *saask* st.v., Sy. *tērsk* st.v., Helg. *tārske* w.v.

OF **therska* st.v.

G OE *þerscan*, late *þrescan* st.v. (E. *thresh*, *thrash* w.v.), MDu. *derschen*, *darschen*, *dorschen* st.w.v. (Du. *dorsen* w.v.), MLG *dreschen*, *derschen*, *darschen*, *dorschen*, *dörschen* st.w.v. (LG *doschen*, *döschen* st.w.v.), OHG *drescan* st.v. (G. *dreschen* st.v.), Got. *þriskan* st.v. || OSw. *þryskia*, *þriskā* st.v. (Sw. *tröska* w.v.), ON *þriskja*, *þryskva* w.v. (< **preskwjan-*)

PG **preskan-* st.v. 'to thresh'

PIE **tresk-* 'to crush, stamp on' (?)

IE Lith. *trėkš-ti* (*trėšk-iu*, *trėšk-iau*) 'to press (causing squirting, bursting), crush, squeeze, milk, squirt', *trešk-ė-ti* 'to crack, crackle; to stamp on (with the feet)'

All Frisian forms show metathesis of **presk-* to **persk-*, except seemingly those of Weser EF, but these were rather metathesized again (cf. OE), conceivably due to influence from LG/G. The first metathesis appears to have been a NSG development.

The Gm. verb **presk-* was borrowed into Romance as **treskāre*, which still means 'to thresh' in some small pockets in Italy (Abruzz., Lomb. *trescà* 'to thresh'), but elsewhere shows up in the meaning 'to stamp one's feet', and meanings derived from this (Sp. *triscar* 'to stamp one's feet about', Port. *triscar* 'to quarrel', OFr. *treschier* 'to dance', It. *trescare* 'to dance; deceive'). As the agricultural sense was already PGm., this suggests a threshing technique of trampling with the feet rather than beating with flails, the use of which appears in turn to have been borrowed later from the Romans (PGm. **flagila-* 'flail' <(<) Lat. *flagellum*, see s.v. *fleiel*; a synonym was created from the verb under discussion and the same (instrumental) suffix, viz. **presk-ila-* > OE *perscel*, OHG *driskil*).

LIT WFT (WF), EW 565 (Sch.), WO xxiii, 115 (Tsch.), GB 166 (Hind.), MF 170 (Sat.), MSW 227 (Wang.), RM 95 (Wurst.), FRU 335 (Wi.), FU 242 (Mo.), FÖW 463 (FA.), SU 789 (Sy.), HS 292 (Helg.); Århammar 1989: 99 (OF **threska*), Spenter 69

tsiis [tsi:s] m.f. 'cheese'

WF Var. *siis* (southwest, SWo.), *tjiis*, *tsjiis* (outd.); Bog. *tzys*, GJ *tzijis*; Sch. *tjiis* m. || Tsch. *tsjies* m.f., Hind. *sees* m.f.

EF Sat. *Sies* m., Wang. *siiz* m.n., Harl. *tzise* (v.l. *zise*), *tzyse* m., Wurst. *zise*, *schieese*

MNF Wi. *sees* [-z] m.n., Mo. *säis* [-z] m.

INF FA. *sees* m.f.n., Helg. *sīs*, *sīz* m.

OF **tzēse*, *tzīse*^{WF} n. || ?*kās*^{WF} (< Du.)

G OE *cēse* m. (E. *cheese*), MDu. *case* m.n. (Du. *kaas* m.), OS *kāsi*, *kēsi* m. (LG *Kees* m.), OHG *kāsi* m. (G. *Käse* m.)

PNWG **kāsja-* m. < VLat. **casio* m. < Lat. *cāseus* m., *cāseum* n. 'cheese'

A PNWGM. loan from (Vulgar) Latin, which appears to reflect the introduction of cheese production with rennet by the Romans; the old PGM. word **jūsta-* (D. *ost* 'cheese' > Sy. *Aast* 'id.') probably referred to quark or sour milk cheese.

The stem vowel participated in the development PWGM. **ā* (< PGM. **ē*) (+ uml.) > AF. **æ* > OF *ē*. The resulting front vowel caused the **k* to palatalize into an affricate in both OE and OF (AF. **kæsi* > OE *cēse*, OF **tzēse*). This affricate, in turn, appears to have been the cause of a development *ē* > *ī* in part of OF (for a similar raising due to a preceding palatal cf. WFri. *jild* 'money' < OF *jeld*, *jild* < **gelda-*). The variant with *ē* is continued in Hind., Tsch., Wurst. (var.), MNF and FA.; the other WF and EF varieties, as well as Helg., continue OF *tzīse*.

LIT WFT (WF), RB 277 (Bog.), Epk. 506 (GJ), EW 579 (Sch.), WO 120 (Tsch.), GB 137 (Hind.), MF 156 (Sat.), MSW 257 (Wang.), CM 41 (Harl.), RM 104 (Wurst.), EHF 178 (MNF), FRU 275 (Wi.), FU 201 (Mo.), FÖW 479 (FA.), HS 276 (Helg.), AFH 519 (OF); EDPG 275-6, Siebs 1211 (WGM. *ā*), 1216 (OF *ē* > *ī*), Spenter 264

tsjêf [tsjɛ:f] n. 'chaff'

WF Var. *tsjef*, *sjêf* (Ga.); GJ *tzæf*; Tsch. *tsjêb* n. || Var. *kaf*; Sch. *kaf* n. (< Du.)

EF Sat. *Sääf* n., Wang. *sjêf* n., Harl. *schieff* (v.l. *schiéff*), *scheff*

INF FA. *kaf* (Am.) f.n., Sy. *Kaf* n. (< LG)

OF **tzeff* n.

G OE *ceaf*, *cef* n. (E. *chaff*, north. dial. *caff*), MDu. *caf* n. (Du. *kaf* n.), MLG *kaf* n. (LG *Kaff* n.), OHG *kaf* n. (G. *Kaff* n.)

PWG **kab-* n. 'chaff'

The root vowel was fronted in AF and triggered palatalization of the preceding *k* both in English and in Frisian (cf. *tsiis*). It was later lengthened in most of WFri. before (originally) voiced obstruent (cf. e.g. *grêf* (pl. *grêven*) 'grave' < OF *gref*, *rêch* 'back' < OF *hreg*, *bêd* 'bed' < *bed*). The WF and INF forms with intact *k* and *a* are loans (cf. Sch. native *steeuwsel*, lit. "stuff blowing in the wind").

The word is usually connected with OHG *keva* ‘pod, husk’ (< **kebōn-*), but has no cognates outside WGM., and no further etymology. A substrate word is therefore conceivable. It replaced the PGM. word for ‘chaff’, **aganō-* ~ **ahanō-* (Got. *ahana*), which according to EHF is still continued in NF (Wi. *aagene*, Mo. pl. *åågene*, FA. *aagen*, Sy. pl. *Aagen*), but these forms are probably better regarded as the result of borrowing from ON *qgn* (cf. ON *ax* > NF *aaks* s.v. *ier*).

- LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 506 (GJ), EW 245 (Sch.), WO 119 (Tsch.), MF 150 (Sat.), MSW 256 (Wang.), CM 40, 67 (Harl.), FÖW 271 (FA.), SU 621 (Sy.); EHF 1 (**aganō-* in NF), Hoekstra 2001: 724 (*ê* < *e*), Spenter 55

tsjerne [tsjɛnə] m.f. ‘churn’

- WF Var. *sjenne* (Ga.), *sarne* (Molkw.); Sch. *tjen* m., Tsch. *tsjan* (outd.), *tsjen* m.f., Hind. *serne* m.f.
 EF Sat. *Säddene* f., Wang. *sjënn* f.
 MNF Wi. *scharn* f., Mo. *scharn* f., Ka. *scharn*, Go. *seern*, Ha. *seern*
 IN FA. *saaren* f.n.
 OF **tzerne* f.
 G MDu. *kerne* f. (Du. *karn* f.), MLG *kěrne*, *karne* f. (LG *Karn(e)* f.) (< **kern-ō-*) || OE *cyrin* f. (E. *churn*, Sc. *kirn*) (< **kern-jō-*) || ON **kirna* f. (in *kirnu-askr* ‘churn-pail’) (Ic. *kirna* f.) (< **kern-jōn-*) || ON *kjarni* m. (< **kern-an-*)
 PG **kern-(j)ō-* f. ‘churn’ (**kern-(j)an-* ‘to churn’)

All modern Fri. forms point to OF **tzerne*. PGM. **k-* was palatalized before a front vowel in pre-OF (see s.vv. *tsiis*, *tsjêf*). OF **tzerne* agrees with the other WGM. forms and may continue either **kern-ō-* or **kern-jō-*. Cf. also the OF derived verb **tzernia* (< **kernōjan-*) ‘to churn’ (WFri. *tsjernje*, Sch. *tjenje*, Tsch. *tsjanje* (outd.), *tsjenje*, Hind. *sernje*, Sat. *säddenje*, Sy. *sjarni*, further Wang. *sjënn*, Wi. *scharne*, Mo. *scharne*, FA. *saarne*, which probably switched conjugation, and Helg. *karne* < LG). A slight indication that Wurst. also still had this verb is the apparent absence of an incentive to analogically prevent or restore the distortion of **kernmiljok* ‘buttermilk’ (a borrowing, given non-palatalized *k-*) to *kerl miljock* (dissimilation from *l* and/or assimilation to *m*), which would be more understandable if the verb was still the more remote inherited palatalized one.

As the churn is designed to facilitate churning, this action is semantically more basic (cf. the preservation of Sy. *sjarni* but the replacement of the noun with *Böterfat*, a calque on G. *Butterfass*). It is therefore quite possible that the noun was derived from the verb **kern-(j)an-* (ME *chirnen*, MDu. *kernen*, G. dial. *kirnen*, Sw. *kärna*) rather than the other way around. The higher prominence of the verb also helps to understand the stem variation found in the Gm. languages, which appears to result from various adaptations or renewed creations based on the verb.

It is probable that the root **kern-* is identical to that in **kern-an-*, **kurn-ōn-* ‘core, kernel’ (Du. *kern* (> WFri. *kearn*), OHG *kerno*, ON *kjarni*; Got. *kaurno*) < **ǵ(e)rh₂-n-on-*, with

to churn (“to core”) being regarded as bringing out the core or kernel of milk (or of cream), i.e. butter.

LIT WFT (WF), EW 578 (Sch.), WO 119 (Tsch.), GB 138 (Hind.), MF 150 (Sat.), MSW 221 (Wang.), EHF 175 (MNF), FRU 273 (Wi.), FU 206 (Mo.), FÖW 462 (FA.), WK (Helg.), AFH (OF); Siebs 1178 (*e* < **e* +/-uml.), Spenter 108

tsjoar [tsjo.ər] m.f.n. ‘tether; rope or chain tied to a stake used to confine animals to a spot for grazing’

WF (WCl., south.); Var. *tjoar* (Hemelum, Warns), *sjoar* (Ga.); Tsch. *tsjôr* (in *tsjôrje* v.), Hind. *tjoar* n. || Var. *tsjoer* (NWo.); Sch. *tjúer* n. || Var. *tsjur* (northeast.), *tsjurre*, *tsjudde* (both Achtk., Tytsjdl.), *tsjut* (south. Ferwdl., north. Tytsjdl.); *tsjorre* (19th c.); GJ *tiur-* (in *tiurrie* v.) (Lat.)

EF Sat. *Tjudder* n., Wang. *tjúder* (in *àn-tjúder* v.) || Harl. *tudder* (in *tuddern* v.) (< LG)

MNF Wi. *tjöder* f., Mo. *tjúder* n., Go. *tjöder*, Ha. *tjoder*

INF FA. *tjider* f.n., Sy. *Tiiðer* m.f., Helg. *t(š)jider*, *t(š)jüder* m.

OF **tiūder*, **tiuddr-*, **tiōder* || *tiāder*^{WF}, *tzāder*^{WF}, *tzār*^{WF}, *tiēder*^{WF} n.

G MDu. *tuder*, *tudder* m. (Du. *tuier* m.n.), MLG *tuder*, *tudder* m. (LG *Tüder*, *Tüdder* m.) || OHG *zeotar* m.n. ‘front shaft of a carriage’ (MHG *zieter* m.n. ‘id.’), ON *tjóðr* n. (Sw. *tjuder* n.) || ME *teder* n. (E. *tether*) (< ON), G. *Tüder* m. (< LG)

PG **teudr(j)a-* n. ‘tether’

Although OF only attests a (western) form *tiāder*, most modern forms point to a variant **tiūder* (**tiuddr-*, **tiōder*): WFri. var. *tsjoer*, Sch. *tjúer* < *-*iū-* or *-*iō-*, WFri. var. *tsjur(re)* < shortened *-*iu-* (see *jaar*). The (inherited) EF forms as well as those of MNF point in the same direction. OF *tiāder* is however continued in INF.

The history of the WF forms with *oa*, *ô* has not been clear; they do not appear to fit in with either **tiūder* (> *tsjoer*) or *tiāder* (> ***tsjaar*, ***tsjear* or ***ts(j)ier*, cf. *jaar* ‘udder’ < **iāder*, *tsjeak* ‘jaw’ < *tziāke*, *dier* ‘animal’ < *diār*, see *jaar*). The attested OF geographical situation would a priori make *tiāder* the better preform candidate, and this is the option hesitatingly preferred by Faltings (TWFA). Formally, however, this option is unparalleled, and the variant *tiēder* (an omission in AFH, but already mentioned by Siebs; attested in *Bireknade Bota* 239) shows that this variant was indeed fronted, as expected, rather than unexpectedly backed. Furthermore, the problems associated with derivation from **tiūder* can in my view be surmounted. I can think of two options. The sequence *-ju-*, in the case of *tsjur*, *tsjurre*, *tsjudde*, *tsjut* from a shortened diphthong **iu*, often varies with *-jo-* (cf. s.vv. *mjuks*, *riuwe*), and a variant with *-jo-* is indeed attested in the 19th century (Epk. *tjorre*, Halbertsma verbal *tsjorje*). It is also presupposed by Du. *sjorren* ‘to tie firmly’, later also ‘to pull forcefully’, which must have been borrowed from WFri. (note the initial cluster and the variation it displays: *sj-*, *s-* and, in its earliest attestation, *ts-*). WFri. *tsjoar* may, then, be a lengthened variant of *tsjor(re)* (cf. e.g. *snoar* ‘daughter-in-law; sister-in-law’ < OF *snōr*^{WF}, *snore*^{EF} < PGm. **snuzō-*). Another option, more attractive in my opinion, is that **tiūder* had a variant **tiōder*, cf. PGm. *(*bi-*)*peudjan-* ‘to clarify, indicate, mean’ > OF *bithiūda*, *bithiōda*^{WL} (WFri. *betsjoede*

(outd.), *betsjudde* (outd.), *betsjutte*), PGM. **leudi-* ‘people’ > OF *liūd, liōd* (WFri. *lju*, Sch. *júed*), PGM. **steurjan-* > OF *stiūra, stiōra* (WFri. *stjoere*), see IOF. A preform **tiōder* could have regularly developed into *tsjoar* with the development proposed s.v. *jaar*, i.e. through **tiōer*, with **ō* escaping raising to *oe* in the sequence **ōe*. Either way, it seems clear to me that *tsjoar* cannot descend from OF *tiāder*, but rather continues OF **tiūder*.

The OF variation **iū-* and **iā-* clearly points to PGM. **eu*, which regularly gave OF *iū* and *iā*, with and without *i*-umlaut, respectively. The OHG and NGm. forms match OF *tiāder* < PGM. **teudra-*. The MDu. form *tuder* appears to be the motivation for EDPG’s reconstruction of a PGM. variant **tūdra-*, but in view of the Frisian variant **tiūder* a preform **teudrja-* may be more likely (so TWFA), even though the creation of such a variant is hard to motivate morphologically.

The more primary form **teudra-* may be analyzed as containing the suffix **-dra-* < **-d^hro-* which was already in PIE used to create instrument nouns from verbal roots (cf. e.g. **krei-d^hro-* “sieving instrument”, ‘sieve’ > Lat. *cribrum*, OE *hrīdder*). This would suggest that PGM. **teu-* is a verbal root designating the action which is carried out by means of a tether. It seems probable that **teuhan-* ‘to pull’ (in the sense of ‘hold back’, or ‘to lead, direct’?) (WFri. *tsjen* ‘to pull; go, travel’) is either related to or to be identified with this verb. The root-final consonant must then have been lost in the cluster resulting from the suffixation, an exact parallel of which is lacking. Cf. however both for the loss of the final consonant due to suffixation and for the sense the *mo*-stem derived from the same root, **taug-ma-* > PGM. **tauma-* ‘bridle, rein’ (OF *tām* > WFri. *team*). The first element has also been connected to **tawwa-* ‘rope’ (WFri. *tou*) < **dh₁-uo-* (e.g. by FvW), but because the suffix is attached to verbal roots, this would require an unattractive ad hoc assumption of adaptation of PIE **deh₁-* ‘to bind’ (Gr. δίδημι) to **deh₁u-* (after the noun?). EDPG further alternatively proposes to analyze PGM. **teudra-* as a (*ro-*)derivation from a verb **teudan-*, of which only an iterative derivation **tudōn-* ~ **tuttōn-* ‘to pull, drag’ (e.g. Du. dial. *tooien, todden* ‘to drag’) can be reconstructed. This scenario seems a bit farfetched to me.

- LIT WFT (WF), Epk. 484 (GJ), EW 583 (Sch.), WO 120 (Tsch.), GB 167 (Hind.), MF 172 (Sat.), FA.I 83 (Wang.), CM 59 (Harl.), EHF 235 (MNF), FRU 336 (Wi.), FU 243 (Mo.), FÖW 607 (FA.), SU 790 (Sy.), HS 294-5, 298 (Helg.), AFH 496 (OF); EDPG 514-5, Epk. 484 (*tsjorre*), FvW *tuien*, Halbertsma 1858: Matth. 2, 23 & 1865: 31-2 (*tsjorje*), IOF 29 (**eu* + uml. > *iū, iō*), Nijdam 2001 (*Bireknade Bota*), Siebs 1272 (*tj* > *tsj*; OF *tiēder*), Spenter 283, TWFA 137-8

ûngetiid [ungə'ti:t] m.f. ‘period of hay harvest; busy period’

- WF Var. *ongetiid, -onge* (in *hea-onge, nô-t-onge*) [oŋe] (outd.); Sch. *eeuwngetiid* m. [ɛ.ʊŋgəti:t], Hind. *ûngetiid* m.f. [ungə'ti:t]
OF *unledich tīd* ‘harvest time’

Synchronically untransparent univerbation of *ûnledige* (*ûnliddige, ûnlege*) “un-empty, un-idle”, ‘unfree, busy’ (cf. *jin ûnliddich hâlde mei* ‘to keep oneself busy with’ and *yn it ûnleech wêze* ‘to be busy (esp. harvesting hay)’) and *tiid* ‘time, period’, so originally “busy time”. The

full phrase is still found in OF (e.g. JF V, 4: *Dyo onlege tyd dyo is set om da neetreflicheet dera lyodena, dat is, dyo haetyd ende dyo koerntyd* “The unfree time, which is set for the needs of the people, i.e. hay time and corn time”). Formations parallel to *ûngetiid* preserving more of the original adjective are attested in the early 19th century (*onleegtijd*, *onligtied*). The unexpected position of the stress on the final element may stem from the original prosody of the noun phrase (cf. *hâns'woarst* < G. *Hans Wurst*), but stress shifts are not uncommon in WF (cf. *simmer'dei*, *see'dyk*, etc.). Once unverbated, the absence of stress on the former adjective could trigger simplification in the form of syncope of the middle syllable, even though this had conveyed most of the original message before unverbation (cf. s.v. *hynder*). Even more simplified is the variant *-onge*, only attested in *heaonge* and *nôtonge*, and clearly not regarded as two separate morphemes anymore given that [g] was fully assimilated to [ŋ]. Apparently *heaongetiid* and *nôtongetiid* were reanalyzed as *heaonge* + *-tiid*, *nôtonge* + *-tiid*, with *tiid* being regarded as superfluous.

- LIT WFT (WF), EW 84 (Sch.), GB 174 (Hind.), AFH 533 (OF); Hetteema 1834: 44 (JF), Hoekstra ca. 1818 in WFT *ûnleechtiid* (*onleegtijd*), Nijdam 1825-8: 49 (*onligtied*), Nijdam 1836 in Schoustra, Nijdam 2010: 171 (*onligtied*), Van Blom 1885: 30-42

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