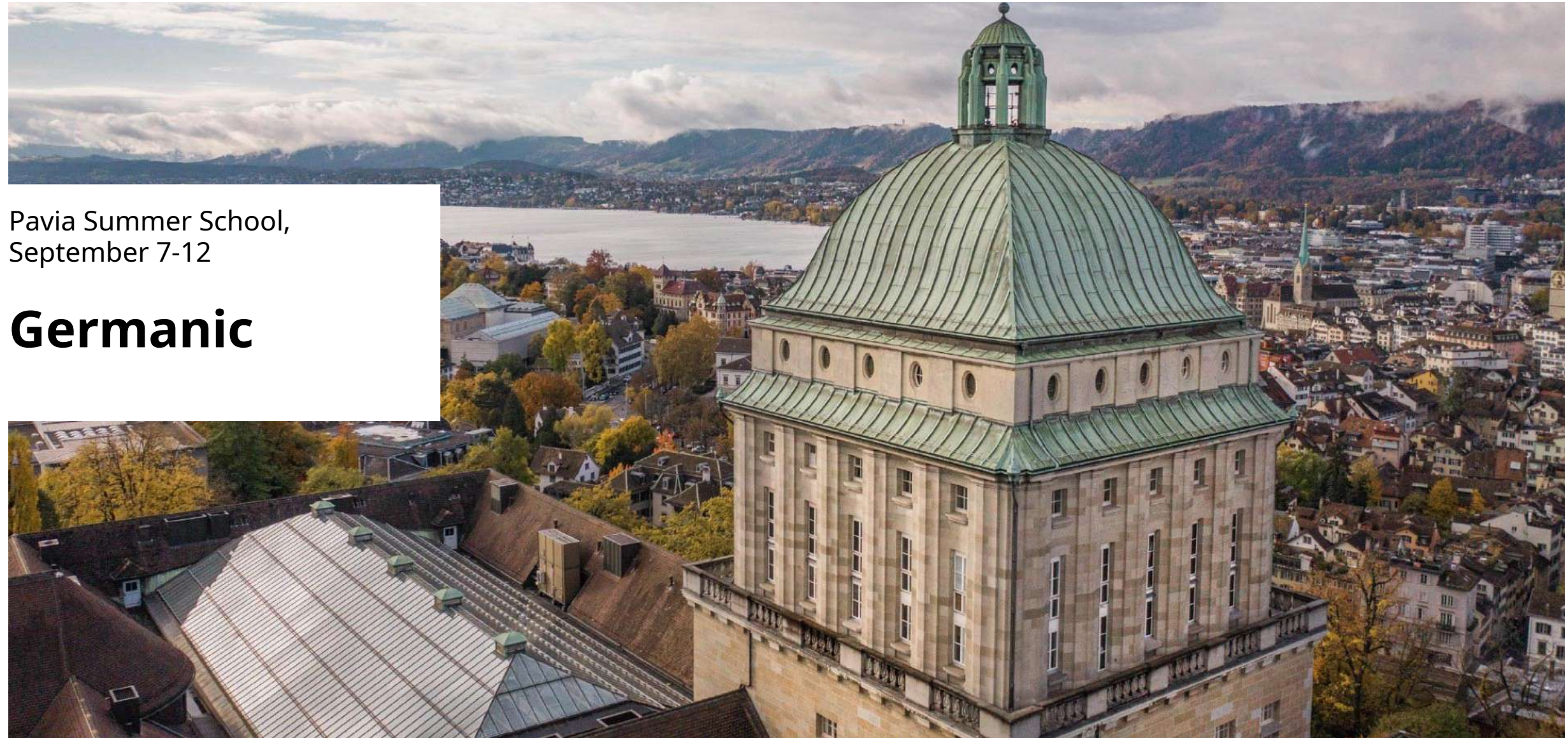




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Pavia Summer School,
September 7-12

Germanic

Zurich

Thematic outline

Zotero bibliography: www.zotero.org → Groups → Search for Groups → Pavia
→ *Pavia 2026 - Germanic*

1. Pre-History and History of Germanic and its early speakers

Proto Indo-European and Proto Germanic – Prehistoric contacts with Finnic, Celtic etc. – The first accounts on Germanic people, their names and some lexical items

2. Reconstruction of the Proto-Germanic macro system

The phonological and morphological system of Proto-Germanic – How does Proto Gmc compare to Pre Gmc – Morphological categories and tendencies characteristic for Germanic

3. Attestation and dialectal diversification of early Germanic

Early dialectology of Germanic – Runic inscriptions as evidence for the dialectal split

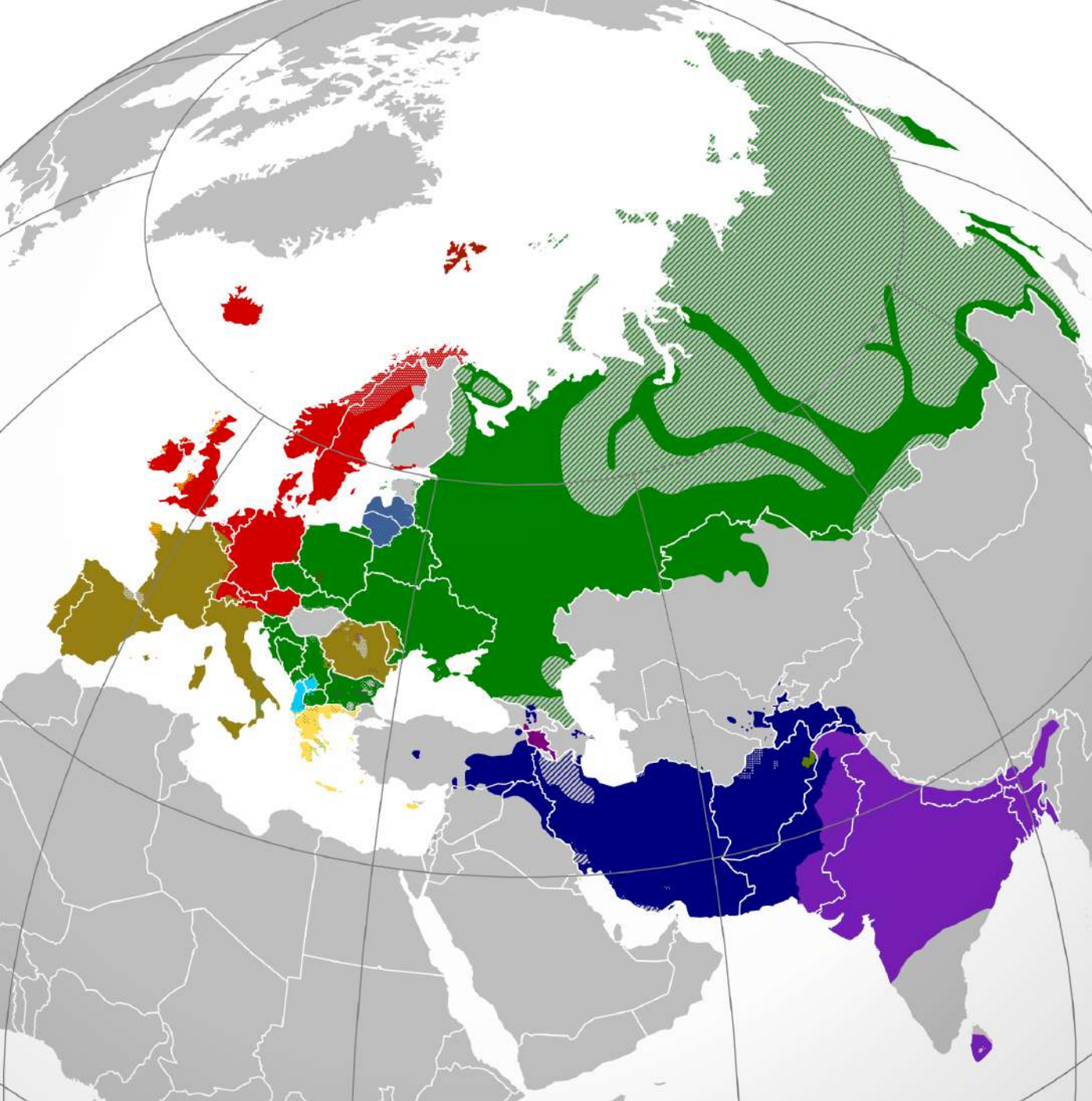
4. The Germanic language family

Branches and stages: the Germanic family tree – Germanic onomasticon in classical literacy – Runic inscriptions – The Germanic corpus languages

1. Pre-history and history

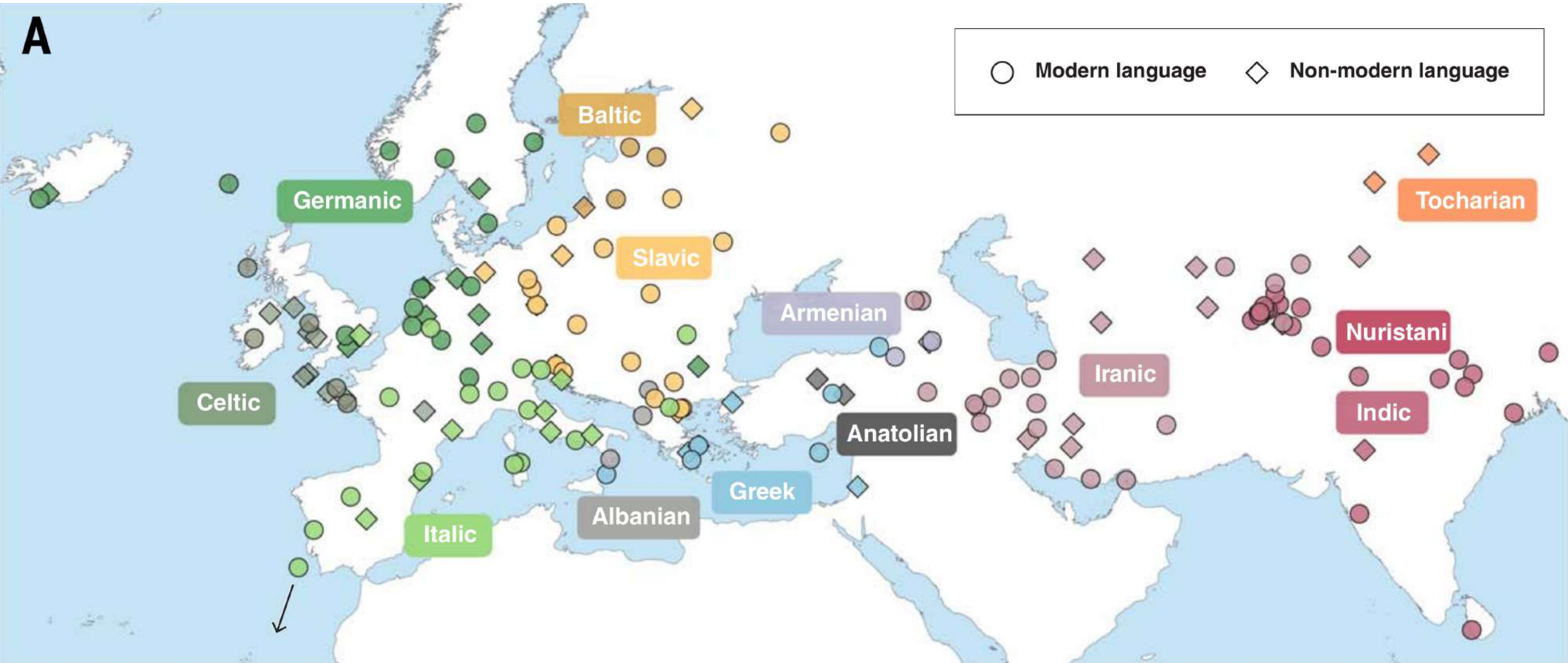
a) Indo-European and Germanic

IE language families and languages in Eurasia, focus on today (Wikipedia)

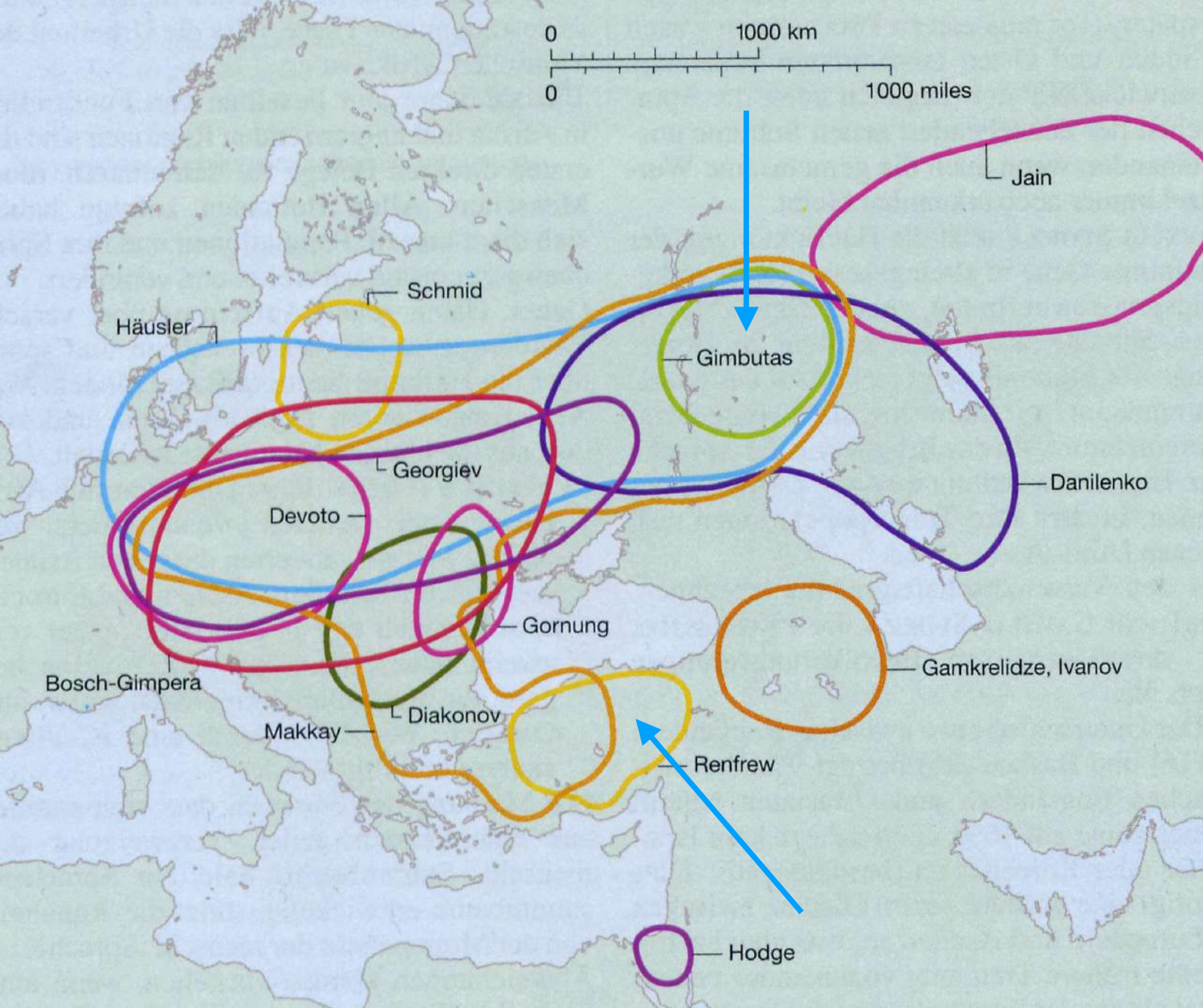


- Germanic
- Celtic
- Romance (Italic)
- Slavic
- Baltic
- Albanian
- Greek
- Armenian
- Iranian
- Indian
- (Mostly) non-IE languages

Indo-European languages (focus: today)



Heggarty et al. 2023



Where do the IE languages originate? A selection of theories

Viereck et al., DTV-Atlas zur
englischen Sprache

Linguistic palaeontology and biogeography: the beech argument

The logic of the „beech argument“:

- Multiple IE languages have cognates of Gmc **bōkō* (ME *beech*, NHG *Buche*), like Lat. *fāgus*, Gr. *φηγός*
- These words are very frequent in place names
- The speakers of PIE were therefore believed to originate in the natural habitat of the beech, which is west of the Dnjepr

Transfer:

- Similar arguments held for the words für ‘birch’, ‘salmon’, ‘oak’ and others

Einwand:

- Semantic change: A language-specific denotation such as 'beech' need not have been the original one; hence, the argument is not convincing
⇒ The beech argument fails to provide a viable method for establishing the proto-homeland
- However, this objection does not apply to all words...

Cultural core vocabulary provides a better basis for interdisciplinary correlation

Comparative linguistics reveals a cultural vocabulary that aligns with the archaeology of the Pontic steppe (Yamna culture):

- Most IE languages continued a PIE word **h₁ékʷos* 'horse'
- Most IE languages continued old terms in the field of (horse-drawn) chariots:
→ 'wagon', 'axle', 'wheel', etc.
- The horse was originally a source of food, but after domestication, it was also used as a draught animal and for riding
→ Speed of movement as the motivation for naming?
- The same applies to other semantic domains (e.g., 'wool', 'to spin', etc.)

Proto-Indo-European was presumably spoken in a culture that:

- had domesticated the horse
- was familiar with horse-drawn wagons equipped with axles and wheels
- was already acquainted with certain cultural techniques, such as the production of sheep's wool
- Postulated early on (Marija Gimbutas: Kurgan culture)

The two main theories of IE origins

«The dominance of the Indo-European languages in Europe is a striking fact of history and immediately raises the question of how an entire continent could have become ‘Indo-Europeanized’ in an age without mass communication (...) There are currently only two prehistoric events that, in the present academic debate, are considered plausible vectors for the dispersal of Indo-European speech: the Neolithization process (the Anatolian hypothesis) and the somewhat later migration from the Pontic-Caspian steppe into central Europe (the steppe hypothesis)»

(Iversen & Kroonen 2017)

The theory of Yamna origins as a modern variant of the Kurgan theory

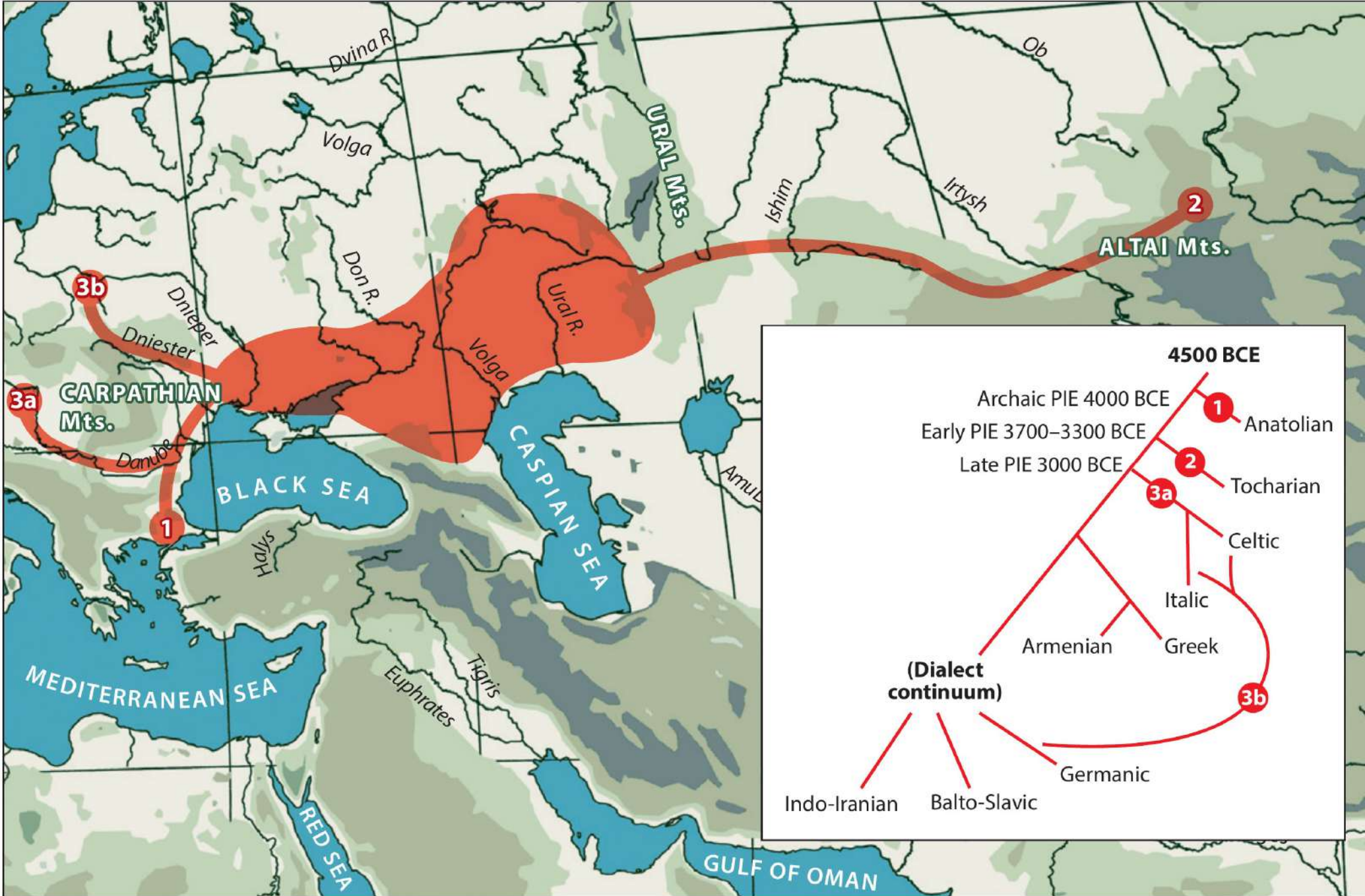


Anthony 2007:
Archaeology ~ Linguistic Palaeontology

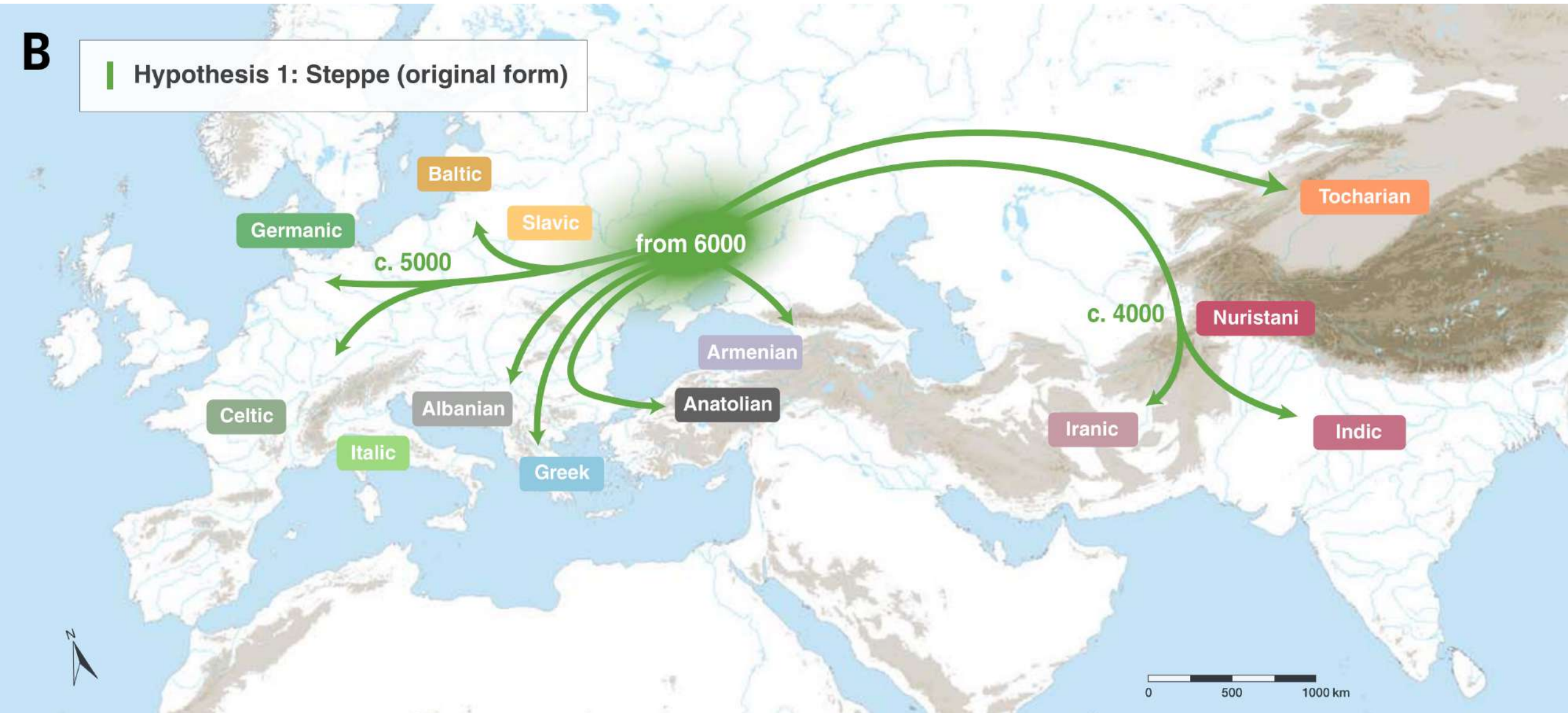
The semantic field ‘carriage’, ‘axle’, ‘wheel’ and the locomotion (Anthony & Ringe 2015)

Indo-European language branches	* <i>k^wé-k^wl-o-s</i> ‘wheel,’ collective * <i>k^we-k^wl-é-h₂</i>	* <i>Hrot-ó-s</i> ‘wheel,’ collective * <i>Hrót-e-h₂</i>	* <i>h_{2/3}éyH-os</i> ‘thill,’ collective * <i>h_{2/3}iH-s-éh₂</i>	* <i>h₂éks-</i> ‘axle’	* <i>wég^h-e-ti</i> ‘(s)he transports (it) in a vehicle’
Anatolian	—	—	Hittite <i>hissas</i>	—	—
Tocharian	B <i>kokale</i> , A <i>kukäl</i> , ‘chariot’	—	—	—	Derivative B <i>yakne</i> , A <i>wkäṃ</i> ‘way’
Celtic	—	Old Irish <i>roth</i> , Welsh <i>rhod</i>	—	Middle Welsh <i>echel</i>	Old Irish derivative <i>fén</i> ‘wagon’
Italic	—	Latin <i>rota</i>	—	Latin <i>axis</i>	Latin <i>vehit</i>
Greek	κύκλος /kúklos/, pl. κύκλα /kúkla/	—	—	ἄξων /áksɔːn/	Pamphylian imperative 3SG <i>ἔχετο</i> /wek ^h etoː/
Germanic	Old English <i>hwēol</i> , Old Norse <i>hvél</i>	Old High German <i>rad</i> , Old Frisian <i>reth</i>	—	Old English <i>eax</i> , Old High German <i>ahsa</i> , Old Norse <i>qxull</i>	Inf. Old English, Old High German <i>wegan</i> , Old Norse <i>vega</i> , all ‘move’
Balto-Slavic	—	Lithuanian <i>rātas</i>	Slovene <i>ojê</i> , pl. <i>ojêsa</i>	Lithuanian <i>ašis</i> , Old Church Slavonic <i>osī</i>	Lithuanian <i>vėž̃a</i> , Old Church Slavonic <i>vezetŭ</i>
Indo-Iranian	Sanskrit <i>cakrám</i> , Avestan <i>caxrō</i>	Sanskrit derivative <i>rāthas</i> ‘chariot’	Sanskrit <i>īṣā</i>	Sanskrit <i>ākṣas</i>	Sanskrit <i>vāhati</i> , Avestan <i>vazaiti</i>

Yamna culture and PIE language (Anthony & Ringe 2015)



The Steppe or Yamna hypothesis

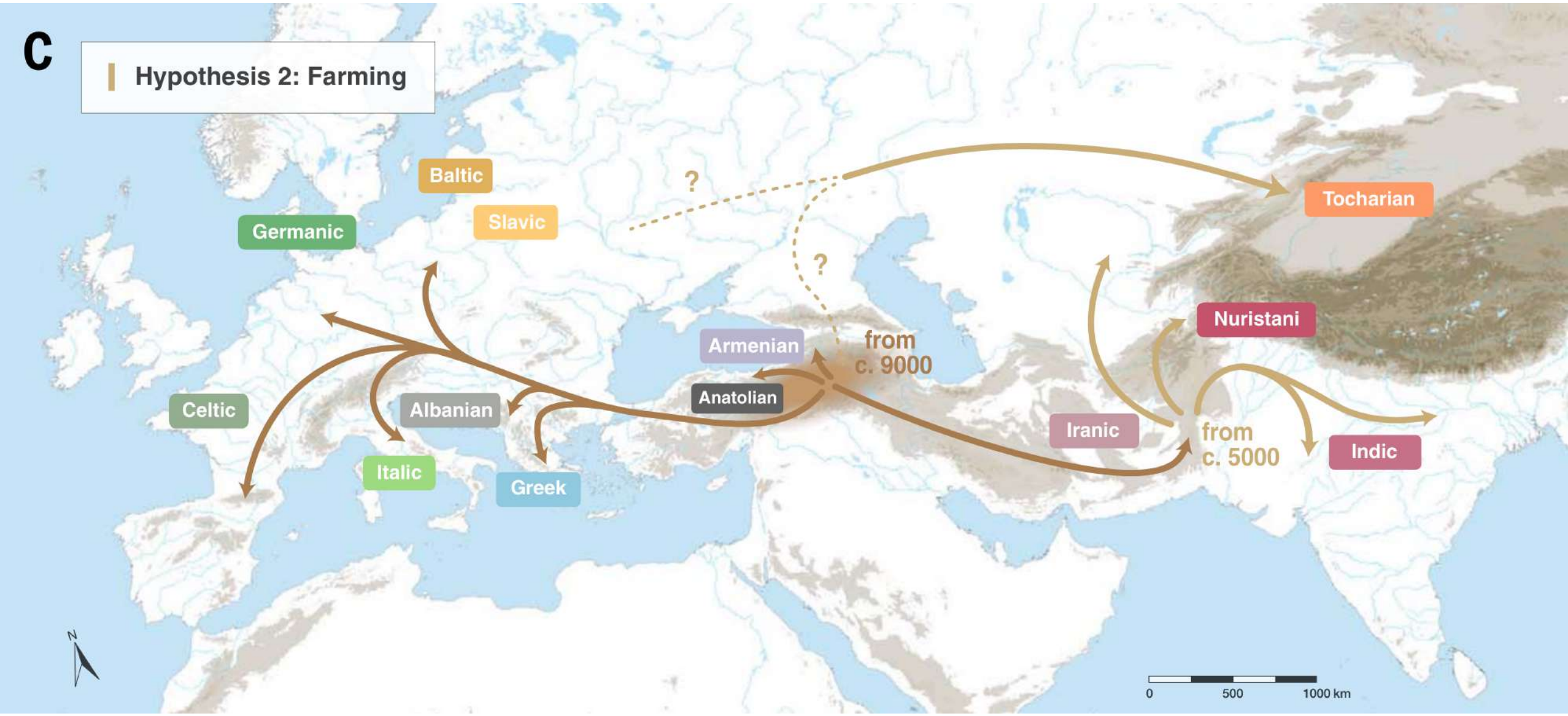


Heggarty et al. 2023

Indo-European: Anatolia- or Farming hypothesis

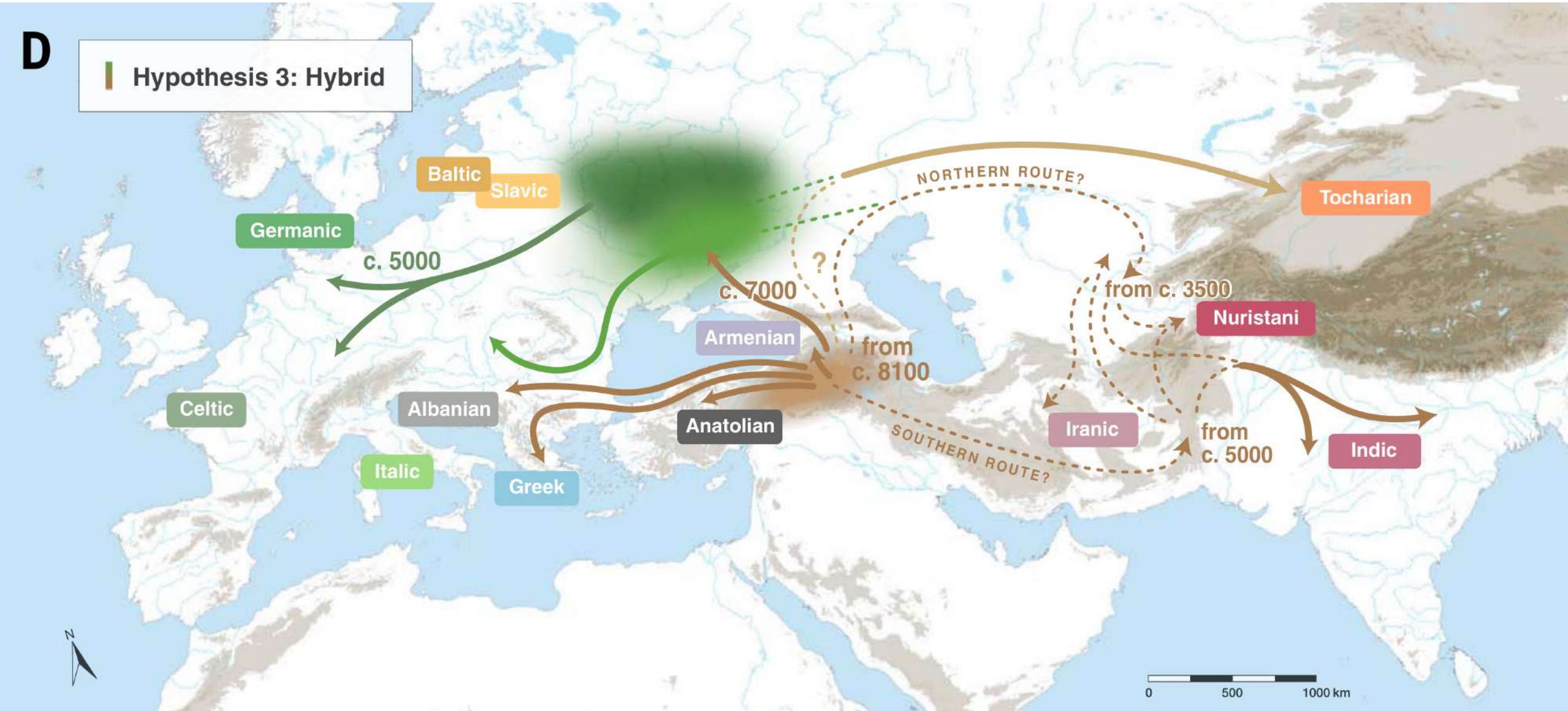
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Hypothesis 2: Farming

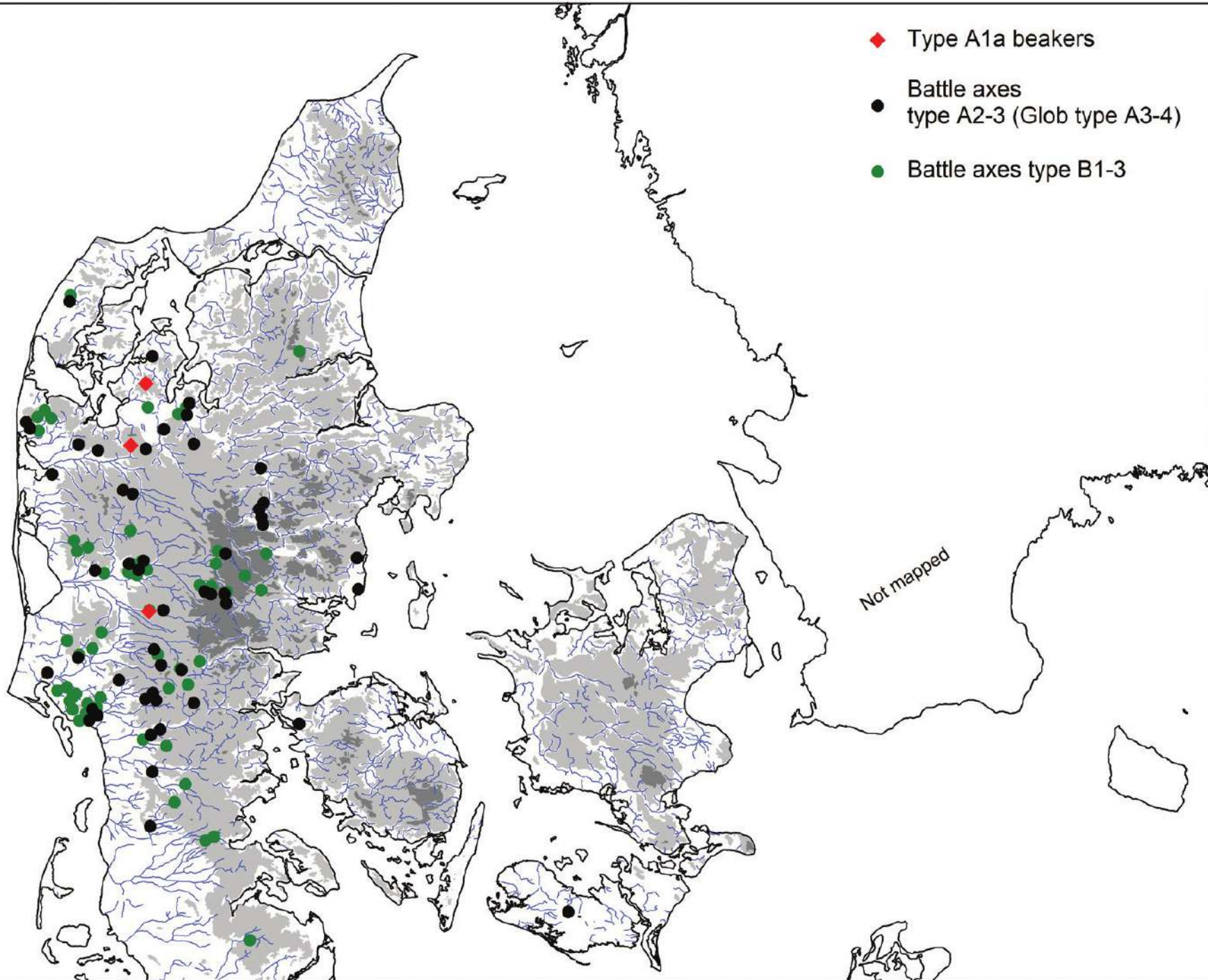


Heggarty et al. 2023

Hybrid theory (mainly based on phylogenetic analysis)

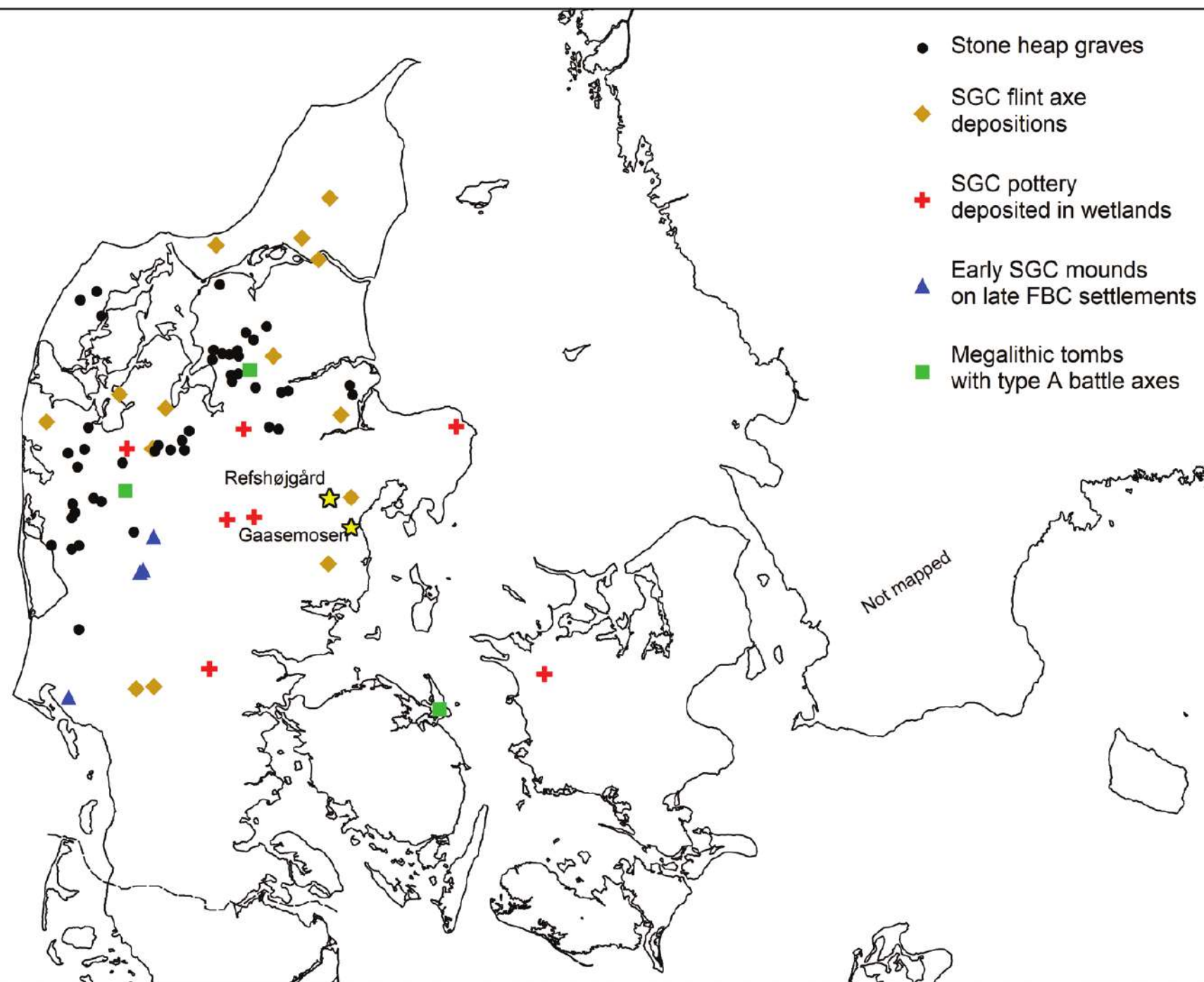


Early single grave, bell beaker and battle axe finds



Iversen in Olsen et al. 2019

Early single grave culture in Jutland



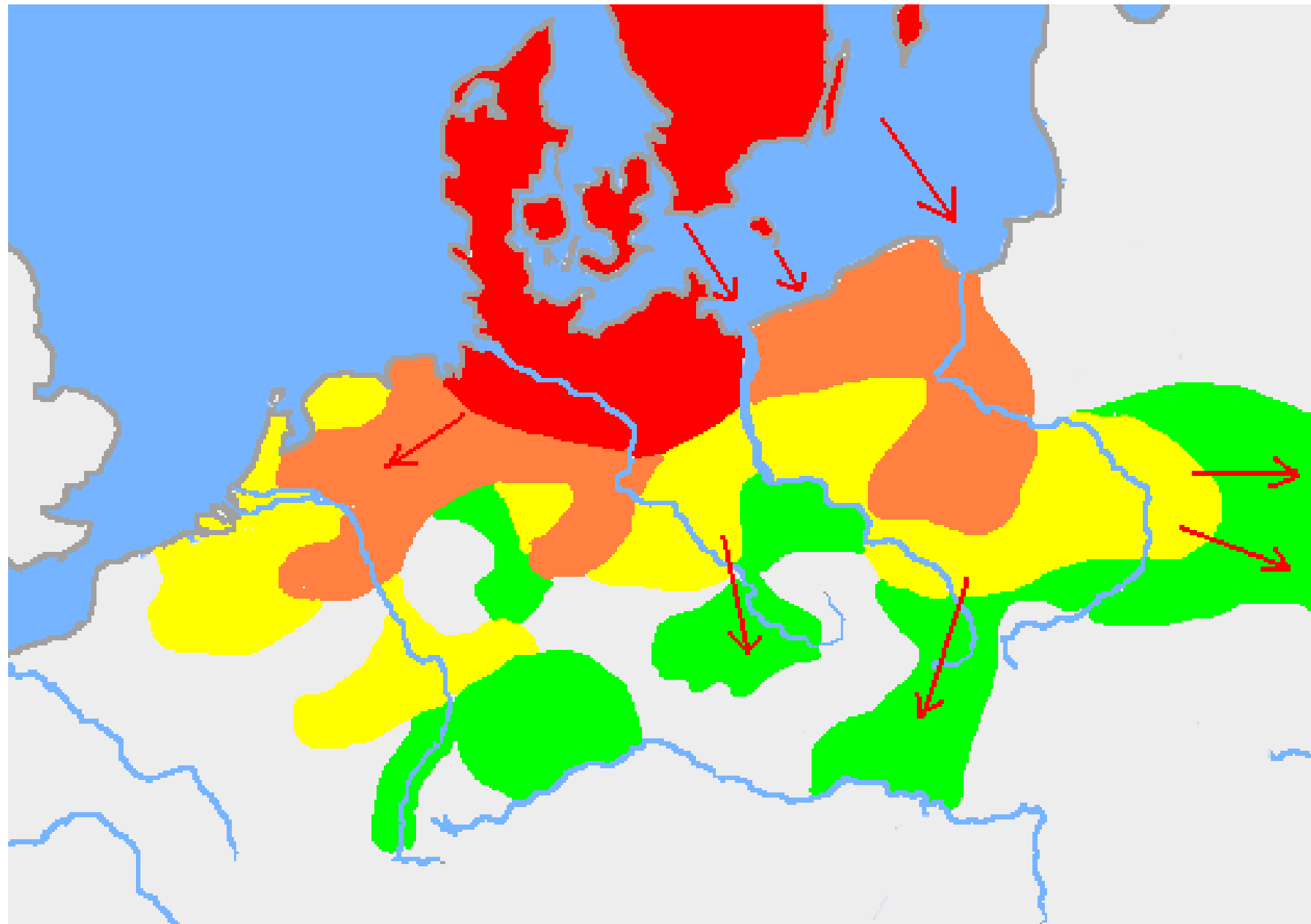
Iversen in Olsen et al. 2019

b) People, language and contact in Pre- and Proto Germanic

What does «Germanic» designate?

- 1) Since the adjective *Germanic* is used in many scholarly disciplines and in many different extensions, there is no narrowly agreed-on definition of the term
- 2) The historical disciplines (esp. archaeology, history) either use the term very carefully and virtually or even try to avoid it
- 3) Linguistics has probably the clearest definition of what Germanic is, but even its criteria shift in diachrony, therefore:
 - a) Germanic is a branch within the Indo European languages
 - b) Germanic is itself a language family with branches and twigs
 - c) The development of Germanic begins with the dissolution of Proto Indo-European
 - d) Germanic has split off the Indo European languages in a certain time span
 - e) Since *split off* refers to a quite abstract model, the date from which a term *Germanic* may be given, differs dependent on the criteria

Traditional and (very) hypothetical approach to the spread of the Germanic languages



Assumed timeframe: approx.

±750 BCE

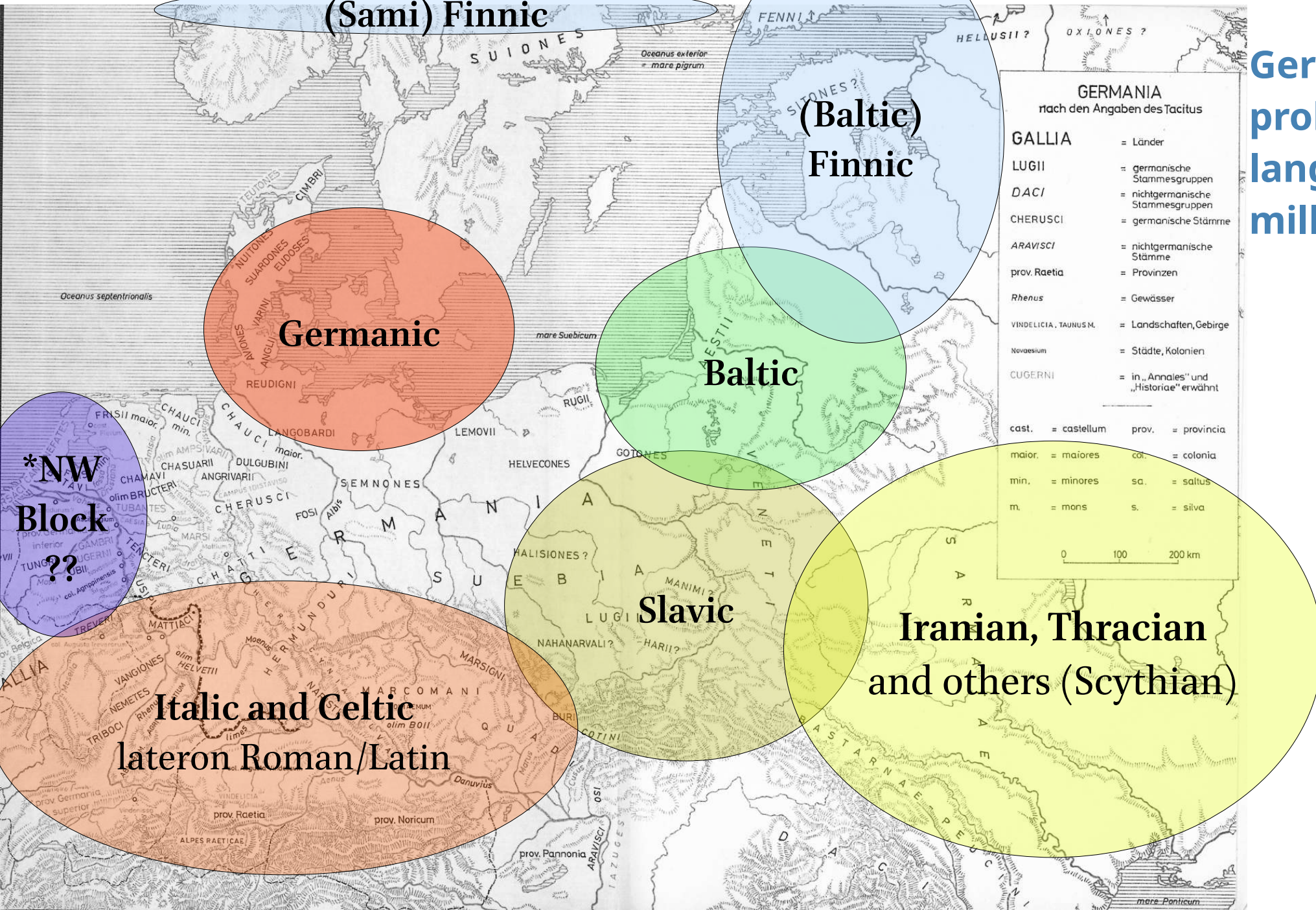
±500 BCE

±250 BCE

±0 CE

The early chronology in particular remains obscure and is therefore highly uncertain

(Penguin Atlas of World History 1988)



Germanic and its probable neighbour languages in the 1st millenium BCE

Early borrowings and reconstructed word forms: Finnish

The Finnic languages preserve several old loanwords from Germanic. Since most Finnic languages are quite conservative, many loanwords confirm the reconstructed Proto-Germanic word forms:

finn.	<i>kuningas</i>	←	Gmc * <i>kuning-a-z</i>	(ME <i>king</i> , NHG <i>König</i>)
finn.	<i>rengas</i>	←	Gmc * <i>hrenc-a-z</i>	(ME NHG <i>ring</i>)
finn.	<i>kulta</i>	←	Gmc * <i>guld-aⁿ</i>	(ME NHG <i>gold</i>)
finn.	<i>saipio</i>	←	Gmc * <i>saip-(j)ō-</i>	(ME <i>soap</i> , NHG <i>Seife</i>)
kar.	<i>agja</i>	←	Gmc * <i>ag-jō-</i>	(ME <i>edge</i> , NHG <i>Ecke</i>)
finn.	<i>armas</i>	←	Gmc * <i>arm-a-z</i>	(ME, NHG <i>arm</i>)
finn.	<i>kernas</i>	←	Gmc * <i>gern-a-z</i>	(NHG <i>gern</i>)
finn.	<i>sairas</i>	←	Gmc * <i>sair-a-z</i>	(NHG <i>sehr</i>)
finn.	<i>lantio</i>	←	Gmc * <i>land-jō-</i>	(NHG <i>Lende</i>)
finn.	<i>lammas</i>	←	Gmc * <i>lamb-az-</i>	(ME <i>lamb</i> , NHG <i>Lamm</i>)
finn.	<i>kaunis</i>	←	Gmc * <i>skaun-i-z</i>	(NHG <i>schön</i>)
finn.	<i>teljo</i>	←	Gmc * <i>pel-jō-</i>	(NHG <i>Diele</i>)



The ancient Hercynia silva and its linguistic reality in Celtic and Germanic

The ancient *Hercynia silva* in Celtic and Germanic

IE **perk^uus* ‘oak’:

- Lat. *quercus* < **querquus*, Gmc. **ferhuz* ,oak‘, OHG *fereh-eih* (perhaps also zero-grade **furhō* ,conifer‘, NHG *Föhre*?)

Derivate **perk^uu-n̥jo/(e)h₂*- ‘oak forest’(?):

- Celt. **erkun̥iā* vs. Gmc. **fergunjō* (cf. Goth. *faírguni* ,mountains‘)
- Medieval transmission: *Fergunna*, *Virgunna*, *Vircunnia*, *Virgundia*, *Vir(i)gunda*, *Virgunt* etc.

The Celtic tribal name *Volcae* in Germanic

Celt. **uolko-* → Gmc. **walχa-*, Pl. **walχōz* (before Grimm's law)

- OHG group name *Wal(a)ha* 'Romance-speaking peoples', OE *Weal(h)as* 'Britons', ON *Valir* 'Franks, Celts'
- Runic DSg. *walha-kurnē* 'Romance-grain = gold' (Gold bracteate)
- Adj. **walh-iska-* 'Celtic' → 'Romance' > NHG *welsch* (foreign/Romance-speaking)
- Toponym / Place name: *Walensee* (CH), *Walchensee* (D), *Walcheren* (NL), *Valachia* (RO)



The ancient Hercynia silva and its linguistic reality in Celtic and Germanic

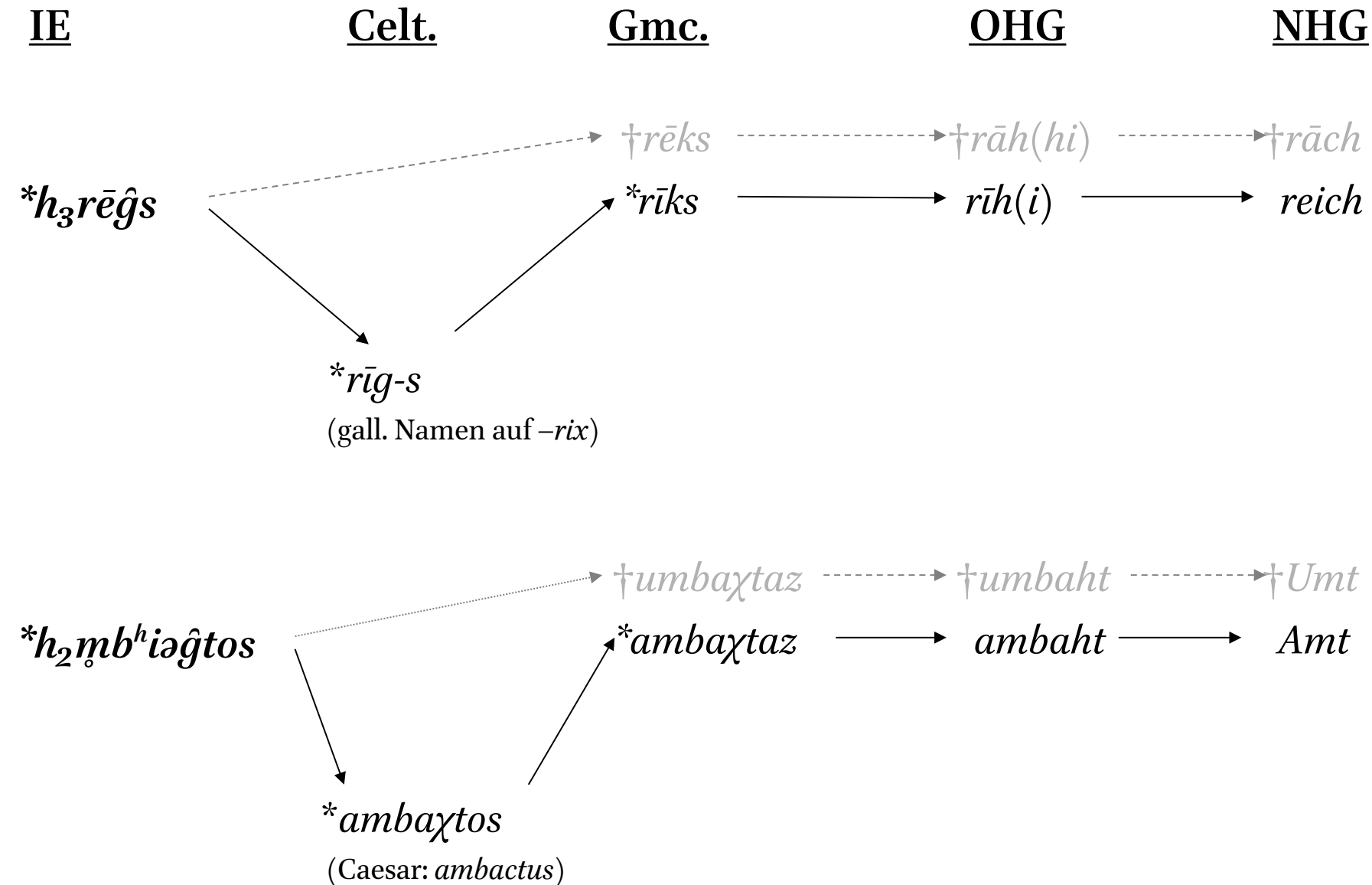
Gmc. **rīk-* ← kelt. **rīg-* ‘König’:

- IE **(h₃)rēǵ-s* > Celt. **rīg-s* ‘König’ → Gmc. **rīks*
> got. *reiks*, ON *ríkr*, NHG *Reich* (*reich*) etc.
- An inherited IE word would lead to Gmc. †*rēks*
> WGmc. †*rāk* > OHG †*rāh*(*hi*)

Gmc. **ambahta-* ← Celt. **amb(i)axto-* ‘slave’:

- **h₂m̥b^hi-h₂ǵto-s* > gall. **amb(i)axtos* ‘Diener’ → Gmc. *ambaxta*
> Goth. *andbahts*, OHG *ambaht* > NHG *Amt*
- An inherited IE word would lead to Gmc. †*umb(i)axta*
> OHG †*umbaht* > NHG †*Umt*

Loanwords from Celtic: IE **h₃rēĝs* 'ruler' and **h₂m̥bh(i)əĝtos* 'slave'



Words with possibly Celtic origin

For other Gmc. words, Celtic loans have likewise been posited (though remains disputed), e.g.:

Gmc * <i>aipa</i> - ‘oath’	← Celtic * <i>oito</i> - (vgl. OIr <i>oeth</i> < * <i>h₁oi-to</i> - ‘walk’?)
Gmc * <i>geisla</i> - ‘hostage’	← Celtic * <i>g^heis(t)lo</i> - (cf. OIr <i>gíall</i> , MW <i>gwystl</i> ‘hostage’)
Gmc * <i>halip</i> - ‘hero’	← Celtic * <i>kalet</i> - (perhaps to Gaul tribal name <i>Caletes</i>)
Gmc * <i>īsarna</i> - ‘iron’	← Celtic * <i>īsarno</i> - (OIr <i>iarn</i> , Gaul. PN <i>Isarnus</i>)
Gmc * <i>lauda</i> - ‘lead’	← Celtic * <i>loudo</i> - (OIr <i>lúaide</i> ‘Blei’ to * <i>pleu</i> - ‘flow’)
Gmc * <i>tūna</i> - ‘enclosure’	← Celtic * <i>dūno</i> - (- <i>dunum</i> in Celt placenames like <i>Lugdunum</i>)
Gmc * <i>arbjan</i> - ‘heritage’	← Celtic * <i>orbġo</i> - (OIr <i>orbe</i> ‘heritage’, cf. lat. <i>orbis</i> ‘deprived’)
got. <i>siponeis</i> ‘Jünger’, OHG <i>seffo</i> ‘pupil’	← Celtic * <i>sepānios</i> - (related to Lat. <i>sequor</i> ‘follow’) ? cf. PGmc. * <i>sehwan</i> ‘to see (to follow with the eyes)’

for further examples, see Sluis et al. 2023

c) Contact with Rome and the onomastic evidence

The entry of the *Germani* into history remains completely obscure

Historical contexts of early history in which Germanic presence was presumed:

- The name *Germani* is allegedly attested across a vast geographic expanse, ranging from Spain to Iran.
- Early references to "Alpine Germanic peoples" emerge in connection with the Insubrian Wars in Northern Italy (3rd century BCE).

The early attestations of supposed Germanic groups far removed from Northern Europe are attributable to:

- Linguistic coincidences
- Confusion with the Latin adjective *germanus* ('sibling, genuine')

Early historical sources in which Germani is securely attested as a ethnonym:

- Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (1st century BCE)
- The Germanic Campaigns under Augustus (early 1st century CE)

Plinius Nat. 3, 25: Germanen in Spanien?

Mentesani, qui et Oretani, Mentesani, qui et Bastuli, Oretani, qui et Germani cognominantur

Mentesani, die auch *Oretani* (heissen),
Mentesani, die auch *Bastuli* (heissen),
Oretani, die auch *Germani* heissen

Mentesani = *Oretani*

Mentesani = *Bastuli*

Oretani = *Germani*

This passage was previously interpreted as evidence of prehistoric Germanic migration to Spain. In fact, it is based on the Latin adjective *germanus* ‘genuine, real’, which Pliny misinterpreted as a proper name:

The context involves an ethnonymic dispute regarding who was legitimately entitled to the name *Oretani* ‘inhabitants of Oretum’. Apparently, the Mentesani sought to adopt this designation as well, but other Oretani resisted by referring to themselves as *Oretani germani* ‘genuine Oretani’ while designating the Mentesani as *Bastuli*.



Sculpture of a Gaesat from Northern Italy (± 3rd c. BC)

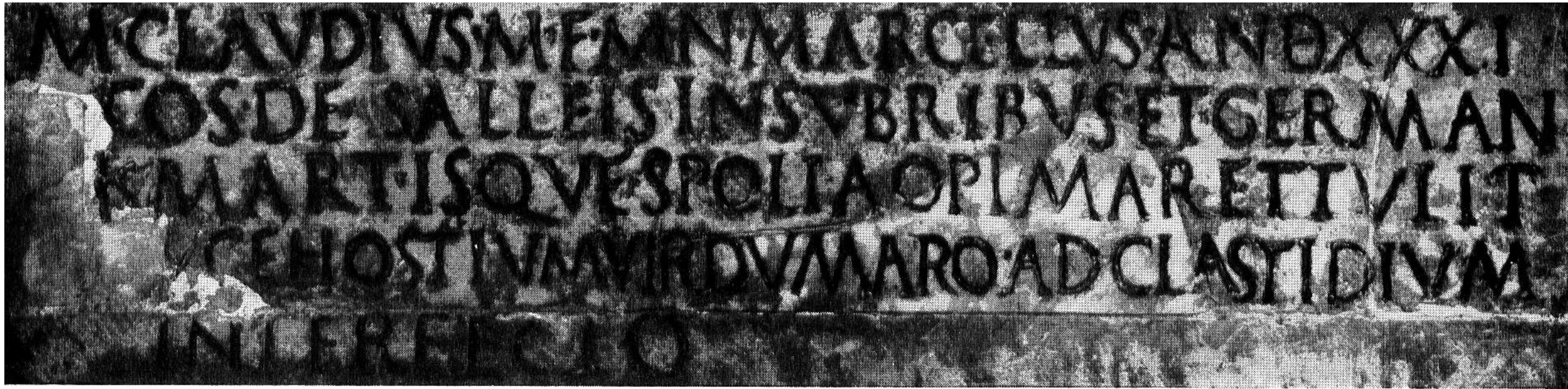
Polybios Hist. 2,28,8:

«The Insubres and Boii wore their trousers and light cloaks. The Gaesatae, however, driven by their love of glory and reckless daring, threw off these garments and positioned themselves in the front rank of the army, naked and wearing only their weapons.»

Polybios Hist. 2,29,9:

«Terrifying, too, were the appearance and movement of the naked men standing in the front rank; indeed, they were distinguished by their youthful strength and stature. Those who formed the first line were adorned with golden torcs and armlets. When the Romans saw this, they were struck with fear...»

Acta triumphorum Capitolina of 222 BC



*M. Claudius M. f(ilius) M. n(epos)
Marcellus an(no) DXX[XI] co(n)s(ul) de
Galleis Insubribus et German(eis)
K(alendis) Mart(iis) isque spolia opima
rettu[lit] duce hostium Viridumaro ad
Clastidium interfecto*

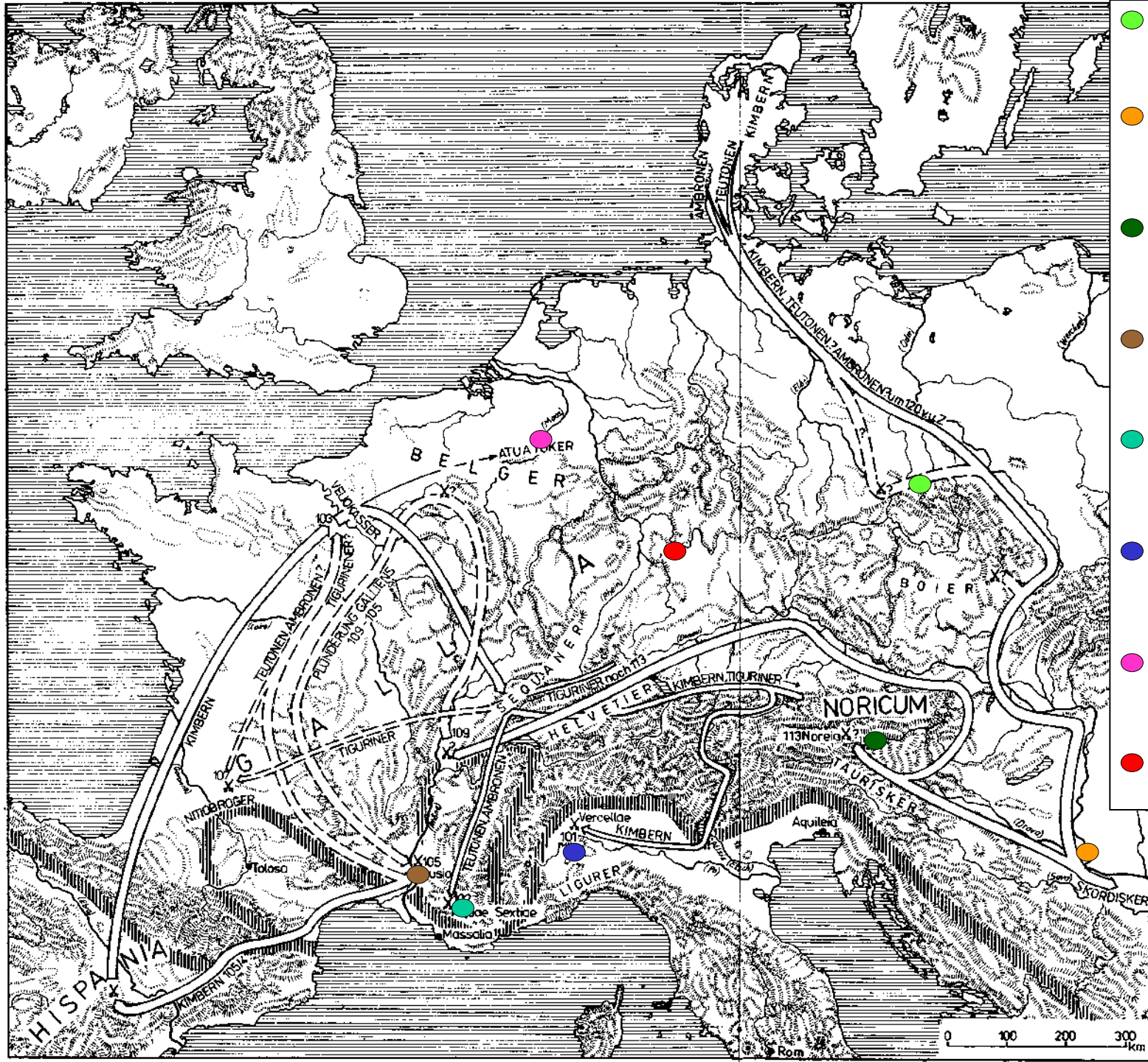
„Marcus Claudius Marcellus celebrated a triumph in the year 531 [after the founding of Rome] over the Gallic Insubres and Germani on the Kalends of March, and won the spolia opima [armor] from Viridomarus, the leader of the enemy, whom he killed at Clastidium“

Strabo 7,1,2

[In the preceding sentences, Strabo asserts that the Germanic peoples on the right bank of the Rhine differ little from the Gauls on the left bank. They are merely fiercer, taller, and fairer-haired, but otherwise comparable]

...διὸ δὴ καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτο
αὐτοῖς θέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ὡς ἂν γνησίους
Γαλάτας φράζειν βουλόμενοι. γνήσιοι γὰρ οἱ
Γερμανοὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον

Therefore, it seems to me that the Romans bestowed this name upon them, wishing to indicate that they are ‘genuine’ Gauls. For in the language of the Romans, *germani* means ‘genuine’



- Niederlage gegen die Boier ±119
- Kampf gegen die Skordisker ±115
- Noreia 113: Sieg über die Römer
- Arausio 105: Sieg über die Römer
- Aquae Sextiae 104: Vernichtung der Teutonen
- Vercelli 103: Vernichtung der Kimbern
- Aduatuci bei Caesar BG
- Toutonenstein von Miltenberg

Karte 3:
Züge der
Kimbern und Teutonen

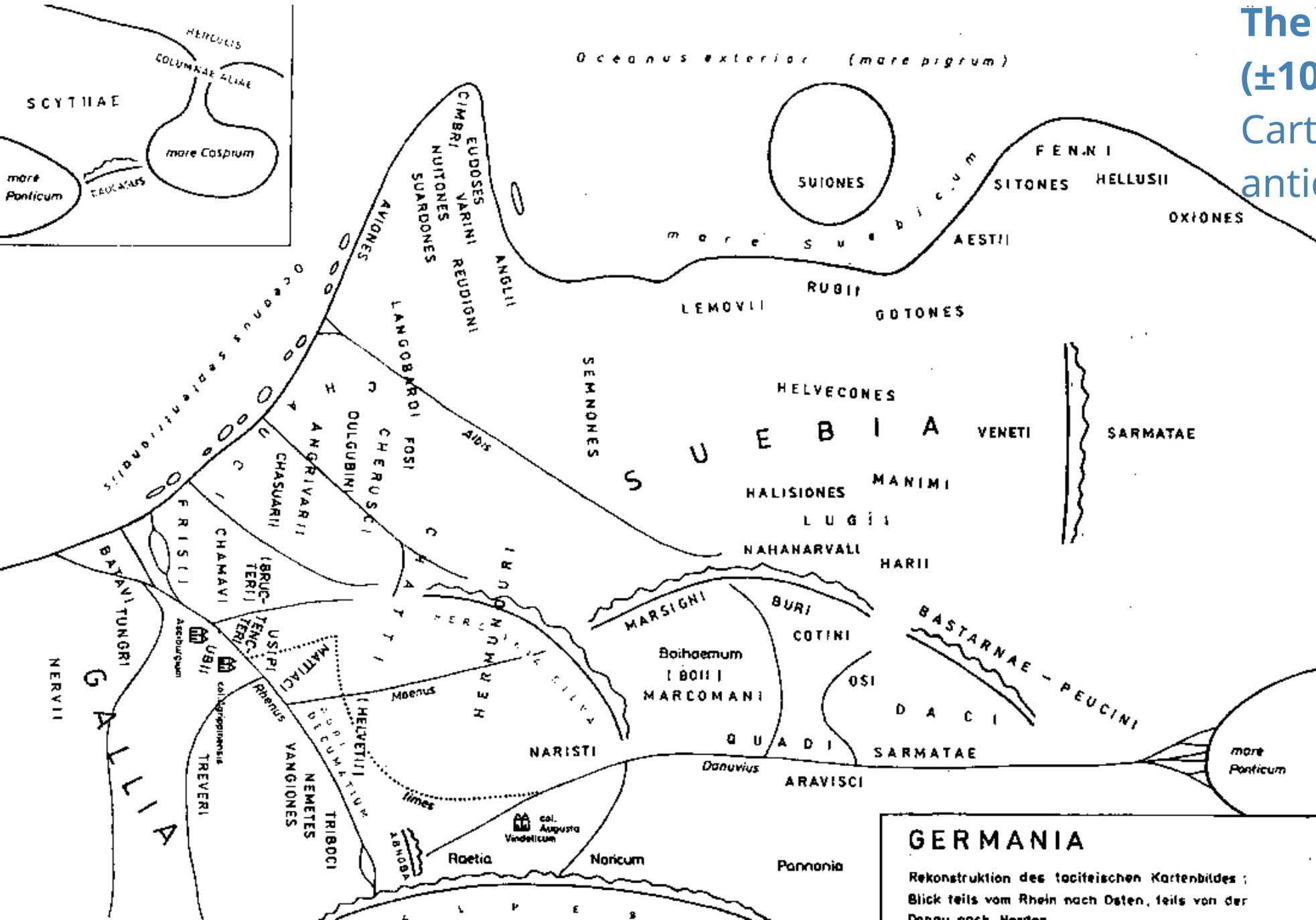


Gallia after Caesar's Gaulic war (58-51 BC)



Gold coin of Vercingetorix

The Germania of Tacitus (±100 n.) Cartographic notion in antiquity





The Germania of Tacitus (±100 n.)

Modern relations

Tacitus Germania 2,1 vs archaeology

I consider the Germans themselves to be indigenous, and not at all mixed through the arrivals and hospitality of other nations...

They celebrate in ancient songs – their only form of history and annals – the earth-born god *Tuisto*. To him they assign a son, *Mannus*, the origin and founder of their race, and to *Mannus* three sons, after whose names those closest to the Ocean are called *Ingaevones*, those in the middle *Herminones*, and the rest *Istaevones*. Some, taking advantage of the freedom granted by antiquity, assert that the god had more offspring and that there are more tribal names – the *Marsi*, *Gambrivii*, *Suebi*, and *Vandilii* – and that these are authentic and ancient names.

Names:

Tuisto – *Mannus*

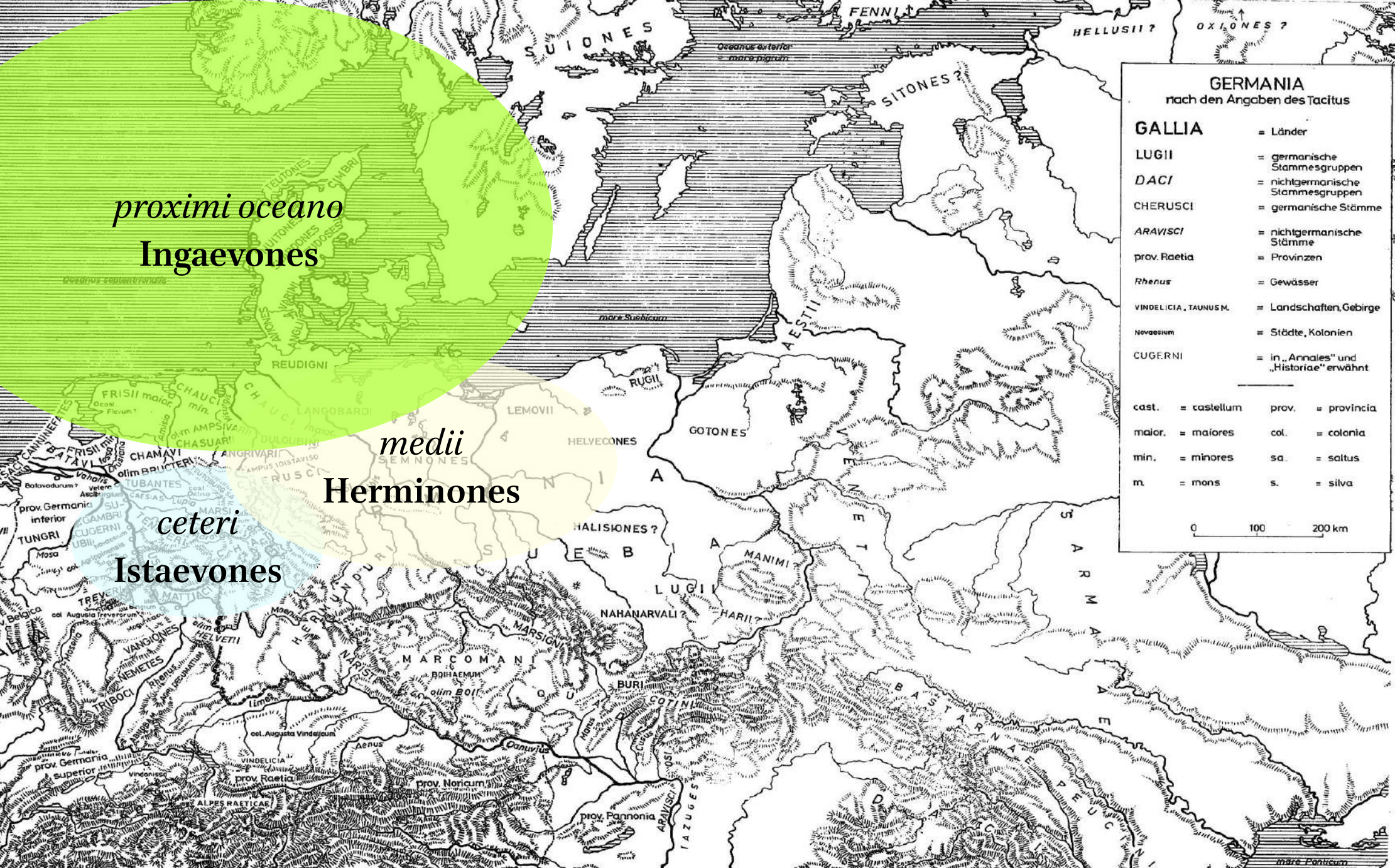
Ingaevones – *Herminones* – *Istaevones*

Marsi – *Gambrivii* – *Suebi* – *Vandilii*

Tacitus Germ. 2,3 about the name *Germani(a)*

For the rest, the name *Germania* is modern and only recently added, since those who first crossed the Rhine and drove out the Gauls – now called *Tungri*, but then *Germani* – were the first to bear it. Thus, what was originally the name of a specific tribe, not an entire race, gradually prevailed: first, everyone was called *Germani* by the conquered out of fear, and soon after, they adopted the newly coined name for themselves as well.

- (1) The name *Germania* is recent
- (2) *Germani* originally were those who first crossed the Rhine and drove out the Gauls
- (3) These very people are now called *Tungri*
- (4) The (previously unused) name prevailed in one way or another.

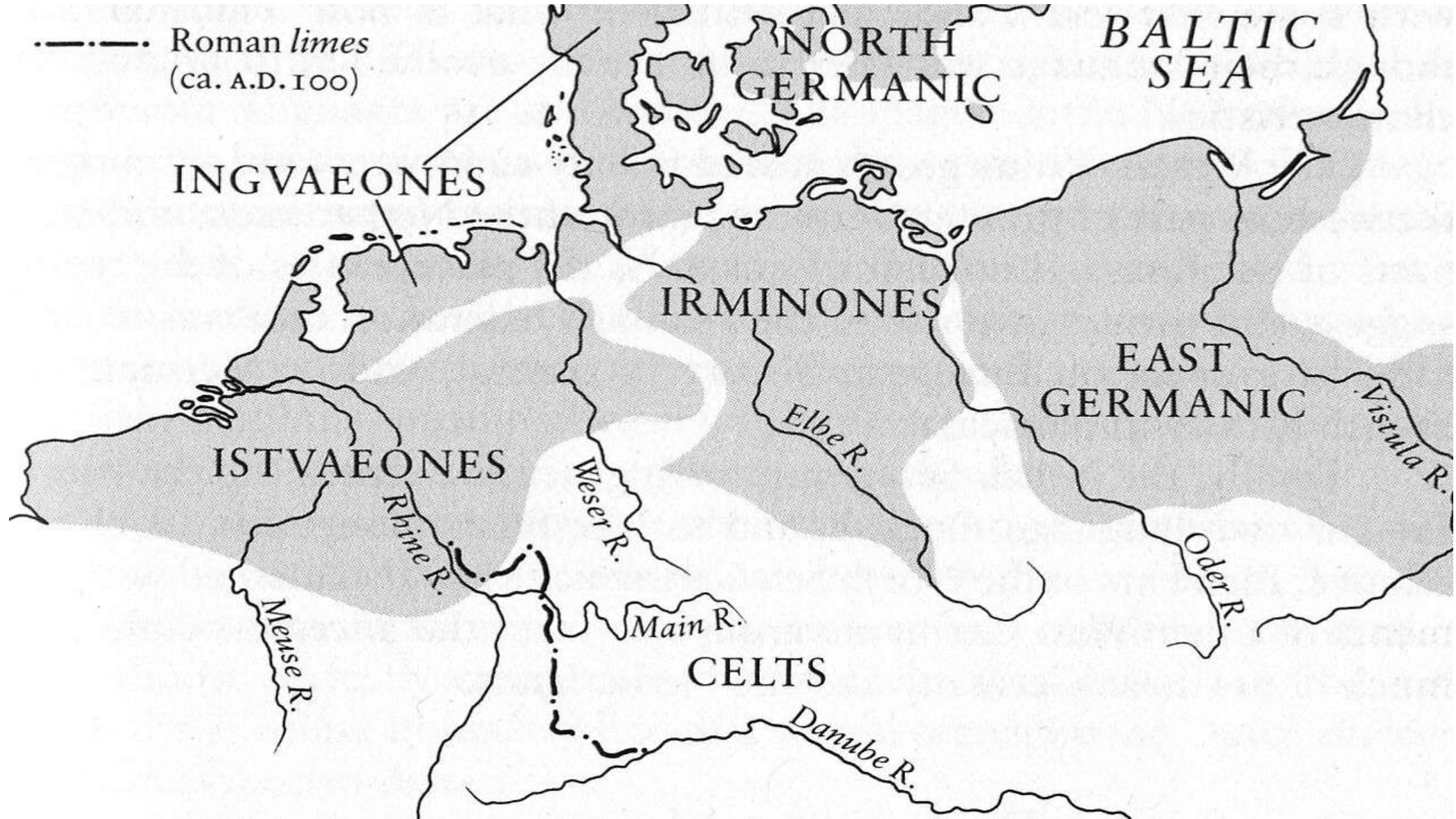


?

?

?

(Problematic) projection of Germ. 2,2 on language history (Robinson 1992)



?

?

?



Proper names
(simplicia): *Bacenis*,
Chauci, *Harrii*
and *Salii*

GERMANIA
nach den Angaben des Tacitus

GALLIA	= Länder
LUGII	= germanische Stammesgruppen
DACI	= nichtgermanische Stammesgruppen
CHERUSCI	= germanische Stämme
ARAVISCI	= nichtgermanische Stämme
prov. Raetia	= Provinzen
Rhenus	= Gewässer
VINDELICIA, TAUNUS M.	= Landschaften, Gebirge
Novaesium	= Städte, Kolonien
CUGERNI	= in „Annales“ und „Historiae“ erwähnt

cast.	= castellum	prov.	= provincia
maior.	= maiores	col.	= colonia
min.	= minores	sa.	= saltus
m.	= mans	s.	= silva

0 100 200 km

Proper names: Simplicia

- ***Bacenis* silva 'Bacenis Forest' (Caesar, b.G. 6.10):**
The forest bore the name *Boconia* in the Middle Ages (Pre-Gmc. * $\bar{a}$ > PGmc. * $\bar{o}$) and later *Buochunna* (PGmc. * $\bar{o}$ > OHG *uo*) → NHG *Buche* 'beech' (forest named after the predominant tree species, cf. *Hercynia*)
- ***Chauci* (Northern Germany):**
PGmc. **hauha-* > Goth. *hauhs*, OHG *hōh* → NHG *hoch* 'high / tall'
- ***Harii* (Southern Poland):**
PGmc. **harja-* (cf. Tacitus, *Germania* 43) → NHG *Heer* 'army / host'
- ***Salii* (Netherlands, 4th century):**
PGmc. **sala-* 'hall / house' + *-*ja*-suffix → NHG (Ge)*selle* 'companion / fellow' < OHG (gi)*sello*



Proper names
(compounds):
Angrivarii, Alamanni,
Asciburgium,
Boiohaemum,
Marcomanni

Proper names: Compounds

- *Asciburgium* (1st / 2nd century)
Gmc. **aski*- ‘ask’ + **burg*- ‘elevated or fortified place’ (+ *ja*-suffix?)
→ NHG *Esche* und *Burg*
- *Boiohaemum* (Tschechien, ab ±0):
Celt. ethnonym *Boii* (‘strikers’?) + Gmc. **haima*- ‘world, land’
→ ME *Bohemia*, MHG *Bêheim* > NHG *Böhmen*
- *Marcomanni* (from 1st century), *Alamanni* (from 3rd century):
Gmc. **marka*- ‘border’, **ala*- ‘full’ + **man(n)*- ‘human’
→ NHG *Mark*, *all*, *Mann*, also *Mannus* Tacitus Germ. 2,2
- *Chariovalda* (Netherlands, 1st century):
Gmc. **harja*- ‘army’ + **walda(n)*- ‘ruler’
→ NHG *Heer* and *walten*, for another spelling see *Harii*
- *Angrivarii* (N-Germany, 1st century):
Gmc. **anгр(i)ja*- ‘meadows’ + **warja*- ‘defender’
→ NHG *Anger* and *wehren*

Matching cases: *i-* + *n*-stems (IE **g^host-i-s* 'stranger', **d^hǵm-on-* 'man')

Gmc. **gastiz*

Singular

**gast-iz*

**gast-īz, -aiz*

**gast-ī, -ai*

**gast-iⁿ*

Plural

**gast-īz*

**gast-ijōⁿ*

**gast-imiz*

**gast-inz*

Lat. *hostis*

Singular

**host-is*

**host-is*

**host-ī*

**host-em, -im*

Plural

**host-ēs*

**host-ium*

**host-ibus*

**host-ēs, -īs*

Germ. **gumō*

Singular

**gum-ō*

**gum-in-iz*

**gum-in-ī*

**gum-an-uⁿ*

Plural

**gum-an-iz*

**gum-an-ōⁿ*

**gum-an-miz*

**gum-an-unz*

Lat. *homō*

Singular

**hom-ō*

**hom-in-is*

**hom-in-ī*

**hom-in-em*

Plural

**hom-in-ēs*

**hom-in-um*

**hom-in-ibus*

**hom-in-ēs*

The Latin reception of Germanic onomastics: A Short digest

saec. 2 BC	Cimbri and Teutons (regarded as Celts)
±50 BC	Cesar is confronted with Gmc tribes, most importantly the Suebi
±60 AD	Pliny the Elder writes about Germania
±100 AD	Tacitus writes about Germania
saec. 2	War against Suebic tribes around the middle Danube
saec. 3	War against Gothic tribes around the middle and lower Danube
saec. 4-6	Migration period, Germanic kingdoms established on former Roman territory

Phonology (PGmc → Lat):

- *f, þ, χ* → ⟨f, p⟩, ⟨t, th⟩, ⟨c, ch, h⟩
- *b, w* → ⟨b, v⟩, ⟨v, b⟩
- *ai, au* → ⟨ae, ai⟩, ⟨au⟩
- *i, q* → ⟨en, in⟩, ⟨an⟩

Inflectional stems, e. g. (PGmc → Lat):

- a-stem: **Hauhōz* → *Cauci, Chauci*
- ja-stem: **Harjōz* → *Harii*
- n-stem: **Gutaniz* → *Gutones*
- u-stem: **Hadu-^o* → *Catu-^o*

Strong vs. weak adjectives (e.g. -ja- vs. -jan-):

- **Lugjōz* → *Lugii* / **Lugjaniz* → *Lugiones*

d) Appellatives in Roman literature

Examples for early Gmc. loanwords in Latin

- *alcis, achlis* 'kind of stag' (Caesar, Pliny etc.):
= PGmc. *alhiz (cf. the name of a priestly caste *Alcis*)
- *urus* 'aurochs' (Caesar, etc.):
= PGmc. *ūran- or *ūraz – ON *úrr*, OE *úr*, OHG *ūro*
- *brutes* 'bride' (predominantly epigraphic):
= PGmc. *brūđiz – Goth. *brūþs*, ON *brúðr*, OE *brýd*, OHG *brūt*
- *glaesum, glesum* 'amber' (Pliny, Tacitus):
= PGmc. *glēzan : *glas*an – ON *gler*, OE *glæs* : *glær*, OHG *glas*
- *sualiternicum* 'amber' (Pliny, presumably corrupt for **sualitervium*):
= PGmc. *swali-terwjan 'burning-resin' – (cf. NHG *schwelen* 'to smolder' and *Teer* 'tar')
- *sapo* 'hair dye' (Pliny):
= PGmc. *saip(j)ō – OE *sápe*, OHG *sei(p)fa*
- *ganta* 'goose' (Pliny):
= PGmc. *gantān- (: *gans*-) – ON *gás*, OE *gós*, OFris. *gōs*, OHG *gans*
- *framea* 'spear' (Tacitus, etc.):
= PGmc. *fram-ja- or rather *fram-ijjan- – ON *fremja*, OE *framian*, OS *fremmian*, OHG *fremmen* 'to advance; to promote, execute'

Frühe Wortbelege: Die Wortfamilie um nhd. *Glas*

Evidence from the corpus languages:

- OHG *glas*, OS *glas*, OE *glæs* ‘glass’ (a-stems)
- ON *gler* ‘glass’, MLG *glar* ‘resin’, Old English *glær* ‘amber’ (a-stems)
⇒ Proto-Gmc word forms *glas-a-**, **glēza-* (ablaut and Verner's law)

Pliny, Nat. Hist. 4,103:

- In the Germanic Sea, there is a group of islands called *Gl(a)esiae*, which the Greeks call *Electrides* (Greek ἤλεκτρον ‘amber’).

Pliny, Nat. Hist. 37,42:

- Amber comes from the northern islands, and the Germanic peoples call it *glaesum*. For this reason, that island which is called *Austeravia* (‘East Island’) by the Germanic peoples is called *Glaesaria* by the Roman soldiers.

Tacitus, Germ. 45,4:

- The Aestii (eastern Baltic Sea) collect amber in the sea, which is called *glesum* among the Germanic peoples.

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Urgermanische <i>a</i> -Stämme (n)	
Singular	Plural
<i>*glēz-aⁿ</i>	<i>*glēz-ō</i>
<i>*glēz-as^a, -is^a</i>	<i>*glēz-ōⁿ</i>
<i>*glēz-ai</i>	<i>*glēz-amiz</i>
<i>*glēz-aⁿ</i>	<i>*glēz-ō</i>

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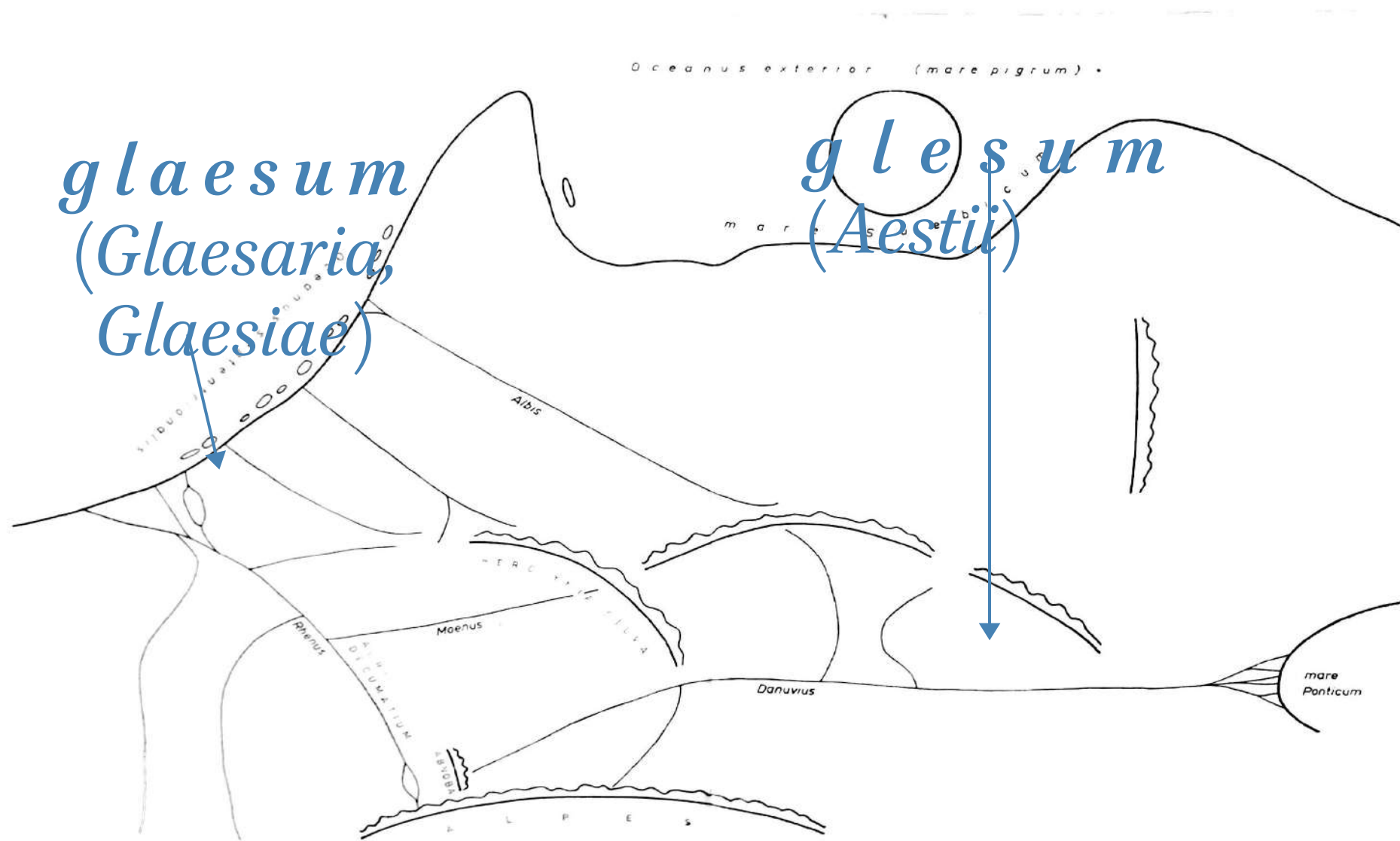
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Two pathways of transmission for **glēzaⁿ/glǣzaⁿ*





Gmc. **glēzaⁿ* / **glasasⁿ*: the dialectology

Gmc. **glasasⁿ/glazasⁿ*: OHG OS *glas*, OE *glæs* ‘glass’, ON *gler*

Gmc. **glē₁zasⁿ*: OE *glær* ‘amber’, OS *glār*, *glēr* ‘resin, gum’

Gmc. *ē₁* > EGmc. *ē* (later > *ī*)
> NWGmc. *ē₁* > *ǣ* > *ā* (±200 at latest)

NWGmc. **glāsasⁿ/glāzasⁿ* → lat. *glāsum* → ⟨*glaesum*⟩

EGmc. **glēsasⁿ/glēzasⁿ* → lat. *glēsum* → ⟨*glesum*⟩

Tacitus Germania on *framea*

6,1 on weaponry

- most use a javelin with a short iron head, which in their own words is called *framea*

11,2 on the popular assembly:

- The assembly signals its ratification of current business by clashing their *frameae*.

14,1 on the retinue:

- Retainers expect their chieftain to furnish them with a warhorse 'and a victorious *framea*' (*victricemque frameam*).

18,1 on marriage:

- Shield, *framea*, and sword served as marital gifts (from the groom to the bride—presumably a misinterpretation by Tacitus or his sources).

24,1 on spectacles and martial games:

- The most prevalent game among the Germanic people is a weapon dance, wherein young men leap naked amidst *frameae* and swords (potentially denoting an initiation rite).

Rekonstruktion des germ. Ausgangswortes

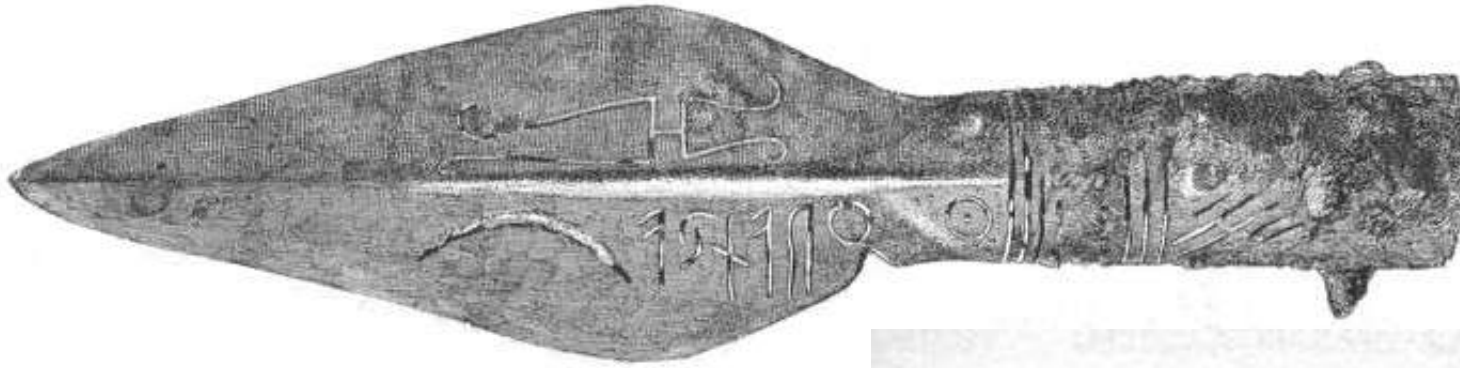
Germ. **fram-eja-* ‘Speer’:

Kompositum aus:

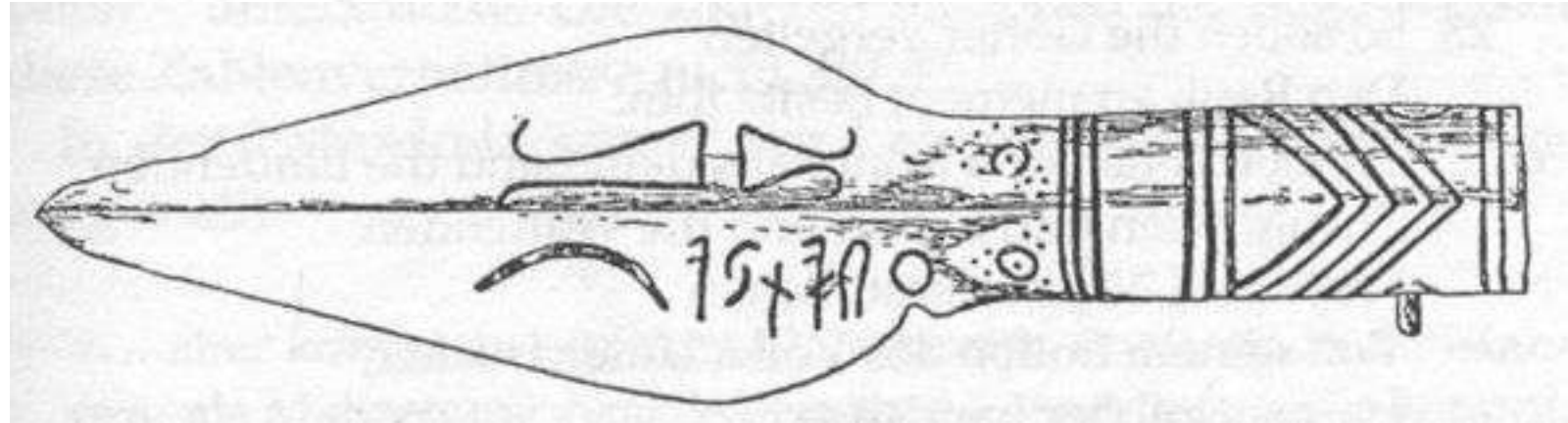
germ. *fram* ‘vorwärts’ + germ. **ī(j)-* < idg. **h₁ei-* ‘gehen’

(vgl. ne. *from* ‘von’ + got. *iddja*, ae. *eode* ‘ging’, lat. *īre*, *eō*, *i(ν)ī* ‘gehen’)

Nomina agentis in runic spear inscriptions



Dahmsdorf (± 200):
ranja 'runner'



Other examples:

- Kowel *tilarids* 'target rider'
- Øvre Stabu *raunija(z)* 'tester'