The Method Works

Studies on Language Change in Honor of Don Ringe

Edited by
Joseph F. Eska · Olav Hackstein · Ronald I. Kim · Jean-François Mondon

palgrave
macmillan

Joseph F. Eska • Olav Hackstein
Ronald I. Kim • Jean-François Mondon
Editors

The Method Works

Studies on Language Change in Honor of Don Ringe

palgrave
macmillan

Editors
Joseph F. Eska
Department of English
Virginia Tech
Blacksburg, VA, USA

Ronald I. Kim
Faculty of English
Adam Mickiewicz University
Poznań, Poland

Olav Hackstein
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
Munich, Germany

Jean-François Mondon
Global Studies
Muskingum University
New Concord, OH, USA

ISBN 978-3-031-48958-7 ISBN 978-3-031-48959-4 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-48959-4

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive licence to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2024
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG.
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Paper in this product is recyclable.

Contents

Part I Subgrouping and Phylogeny 1

1 The Continental Celtic Dialect Continuum 3
Joseph F. Eska

2 On the Phylogenetic Status of East Germanic 21
Ronald I. Kim

3 Progress on Constructing Phylogenetic Networks for Languages 45
Tandy Warnow, Steven N. Evans, and Luay Nakhleh

Part II Linguistic Reconstruction 63

4 Rethinking Stang's Law, with a Note on Gk. πότνια 65
Jay H. Jasanoff

5 The Sources of the *-*ono*- 'god' Suffix 79
Lionel S. Joseph

6 **The Final Glottal Stop of the Kuṛux Verb Bases** 99
Masato Kobayashi

7 **Very Old Latin** 113
Michael Weiss

Part III Theoretical Approaches to Language Change 141

8 **Iceberg Phenomena and Synchronic Rules** 143
Olav Hackstein

9 **Forced to FORCE? Remarks on the Architecture of the Left Periphery of Early Irish and Absolute/Conjunct Morphology** 179
Jean-François Mondon and Joseph F. Eska

10 **On the Functional Superstructure of the Noun Phrase in Indo-European** 195
Augustin Speyer

11 **Understanding Translation Effects: Lessons from the Old English Heptateuch** 217
Ann Taylor

12 **Phonological Regularity and Breakdown. An Account of Vowel Length Leveling in Middle English** 237
Charles Yang

Part IV Indo-European Philology and Etymology 261

13 **Guests. Welcome or not** 263
Sara Kimball

14 Asyndetic Verbal Pairs in the Classical Armenian Gospels and Their Treatment in the Other Five First Millennium CE Indo-European Versions 279
Jared S. Klein

15 Celt. *meh_2-*ró*- 'large, great' versus Gmc. *meh_1-*ró*- 'made known, spoken of' 297
H. Craig Melchert

16 'Between uneducated and educated, or hot and cold, or bitter and sweet … there's a middle point': Varro and the Middle Accent 307
Philomen Probert

17 Obscured figurae etymologicae and Word Origins. Two Examples Involving Gothic 327
Patrick Stiles

18 South Oscan κλοπουστ (with an Appendix on [Osco-?]Lat. BVRVS) 351
Brent Vine

Index 369

6 **The Final Glottal Stop of the Kuṛux Verb Bases** 99
Masato Kobayashi

7 **Very Old Latin** 113
Michael Weiss

Part III Theoretical Approaches to Language Change 141

8 **Iceberg Phenomena and Synchronic Rules** 143
Olav Hackstein

9 **Forced to FORCE? Remarks on the Architecture of the Left Periphery of Early Irish and Absolute/Conjunct Morphology** 179
Jean-François Mondon and Joseph F. Eska

10 **On the Functional Superstructure of the Noun Phrase in Indo-European** 195
Augustin Speyer

11 **Understanding Translation Effects: Lessons from the Old English Heptateuch** 217
Ann Taylor

12 **Phonological Regularity and Breakdown. An Account of Vowel Length Leveling in Middle English** 237
Charles Yang

Part IV Indo-European Philology and Etymology 261

13 **Guests. Welcome or not** 263
Sara Kimball

15

Celt. *meh_2-ró- ‘large, great’ versus Gmc. *meh_1-ró- ‘made known, spoken of’

H. Craig Melchert

It is a singular pleasure to be invited to contribute to this well-deserved tribute to Don Ringe, a friend and colleague of 40 years’ standing. We learned together in the early East Coast Conferences how to become historical linguists and Indo-Europeanists. Germanic has remained an enduring focus of Don’s research and teaching, while I left Germanic for the green pastures of Ancient Anatolia. By a stroke of good luck I am able to offer Don a paper whose core lies in Germanic, but no one will be

I am indebted to José Luis García Ramón for advice on the Greek compounds in -μωρος, to Harald Bichlmeier for the reference to the study by Wenzel, to Norbert Oettinger for reading a draft and sparing me from one glaring error, and to Joe Eska for help with the Old English citations. Responsibility for remaining infelicities is mine.

H. C. Melchert (✉)
University of California, Los Angeles, CA, USA
e-mail: melchert@humnet.ucla.edu

© The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2024

J. F. Eska et al. (eds.), *The Method Works*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-48959-4_15

surprised that it began with a Celto-Hittite etymology and will end with a Germano-Hittite one.[1]

1 Celtic **māro-* 'large, great'

Yakubovich (2010) adduces evidence from Iranian, Hittite, and Latin for a root **mā-* = **meh₂-* 'grow': first, Iranian reflexes with the sense 'become' from a proto-Iranian root **maH(i)-* (2010: 479–483); second, Hitt. *mai-* ~ *mi-ḫḫi* 'grow' and derivatives.[2] As he indicates, these two sources cannot establish the identity of the laryngeal, but he argues convincingly that Lat. *mātūrus* in its predominant sense 'ripe, full-grown', once separated from false cognates, certainly reflects **meh₂-* 'grow'. Slavic cognates reflecting a **matorŭ* 'full-grown, old' suggest that the vocalism of the Latin suffix *-tūrus* has been altered by association with the future active participle, which the secondary sense 'precocious, early' testifies is real.[3] Kloekhorst (2008: 541) had already justifiably criticized the standard etymology of Hitt. *mai-* ~ *mi-* 'grow' < **meiH-* 'soft' on semantic grounds and suggested that the verb is cognate rather with Celt. **māro-*. Yakubovich (2010: 484) rejects this solely on the basis of the received opinion that Celt. **māro-* and Gmc. **mēro-* must be cognate, though he concedes (2010: 484[8]) that the latter is morphologically problematic. It is, in fact,

[1] New evidence shows that the sense of Hitt. ^{UZU}*muḫr(a)i-* is 'ham, flesh of the thigh', thus confirming, with due revision, the etymology of Weitenberg (1979: 303): see Melchert, forthcoming. Confirmation that it is derived from **meh₂-* 'grow (large)' is found in Hitt. ^{GIŠ}*māḫla-*, which has nothing to do with any word for 'apple', but means '(branch, slip of a) grapevine' (Puhvel, 2004: 4–5). See already for its tentative derivation < **móh₂-lo-* 'growth' Kloekhorst (2008: 539–540). Inter alia, these together finally answer the long-debated question of the fate of **-Vh₂l/rV-* in Hittite.

[2] He cites (2010: 484) as parallels for the semantic change 'grow' > 'become' the common use of English 'grow tired, irritated, more beautiful', etc. and the various reflexes of PIE **bhuh₂-*, including Gk. φύομαι 'grow; become'.

[3] For Lat. *māne* 'early, in the morning', *Mātūta* 'goddess of the dawn', and *mātūtīnus* 'of early morning' as all related to Lat. *mānus* 'good' and Celt. **māti-* 'good', see Yakubovich (2010: 485). I reject only his dismissal of the derivation of Hitt. *mēḫur* 'time' from the same root (2010: 485–486). Since the latter clearly means in some contexts inherently 'the right, proper time', it also reflects the root **meh₂-* 'good, proper'. One need only adjust the sense of the root versus Eichner (1973: 65) by deleting any original restriction to 'time'.

patently impossible, based on facts conceded in every Germanic handbook.

Schmidt (1957), in a magisterial two-part paper on Gaulish personal names, demonstrates beyond all doubt that the basic sense of the Celtic adjective **māro-* is 'large, great'. He shows that Gaulish personal names with a second member *-maro-* are in origin determinative compounds: *Nerto-maro-* 'great in strength', *Sego-maro-* 'great in victories', etc. (1957: 69–73). However, he strongly agrees with Vendryes (1950/1951: 238), that *-maro-* had very early been reduced to a suffix meaning 'having the quality of', as it surely has in OIr. *nert-mar* and W *nerth-mawr* 'strong'. Schmidt cites in support of this the unique productivity of *-maro-* in personal names and hybrid examples with a foreign first member: *Aucto-marus*, *Iulio-marus*, etc. Also noteworthy is the number of pairs where *-maro-* and *-rix* share the same first member (1957: 77). Nevertheless, after this indisputable analysis of Celtic **-māro-*, where there is no basis whatsoever for a sense 'famous', Schmidt eventually repeats the communis opinio of the handbooks that Gmc. **-mēro-*, Slav. *-měr*, and Gk. -μωρος are all cognate, declaring that the Celtic and Greek show that the original sense was 'great, large', and that '[i]m Germanischen allein hat sich eine andere Bedeutung "berühmt" entwickelt' (1957: 78–79). How the latter is supposed to have happened he does not explain. In principle, this is not excluded: cf. colloquial English 'in Wall Street circles she is big in derivatives'. The real problem with the received Celto-Germanic equation lies in Germanic.

2 Gmc. **mēro-*

2.1 Personal Names in **-mēro-*

Despite its universal acceptance, a closer look at the alleged match between Celt. **māro-* 'large, great' and Gmc. **mēro-* 'famous' in male personal names shows that it rests on very little beyond the (quite imperfect) formal resemblance. Schmidt (1957: 238–239[2]) lists more than 60 Gaulish names with *-maro-* as second member (all but a handful

determinative compounds). Schönfeld (1911) lists more than 25 Germanic names with *-mēro-* as second member (also in all clear cases determinative compounds). In view of the respective productivity, it is remarkable (and highly disturbing for their alleged cognacy) that there is precisely one word equation. As per Schmidt (1957: 143), Βαλλο-μάριος is Celtic (contra Schönfeld, 1911: 43),[4] while *Catu-meres* in Tacitus (Schönfeld, 1911: 61–62) is manifestly not a cognate, but a half-Celticized variant of the Germanic name seen in OHG *Hadubrand* (Schmidt, 1957: 168). The one genuine match is *Sego-maro-* and *Sigi-meris* (OHG *Sigmar*), but, in view of the productivity of 'victory' in personal names in both traditions, it is hardly a surprise that it appears with the respective very productive **-māro-* and **-mēro-*. They may easily be entirely independent creations. In sum, evidence that the two adjectives appearing as the second members of determinative compound personal names are cognate is far from compelling.[5] The problem with the standard view is the evidence of Germanic appellatives reflecting **mēro-*, to which we now turn.

2.2 Gothic Appellatives

All Germanic evidence from appellatives (duly cited in every handbook!) shows the received opinion that the primary sense of **mēro-* is 'famous, illustrious' to be a *Märchen*. We may begin the deconstruction of this fable with Gothic. Here there is no direct evidence for **mēro-*, only derivatives of proto-Gmc. **mēri-* 'news, report' (see below): a verb *merjan* 'announce, proclaim' (= κηρύσσειν), a noun *meriþa* 'news, report' (= ἀκόη, φήμη), a further noun *mereins* 'news, gospel' (= κήρυγμα), and

[4] The first member of Gmc. *Barzimeres* 'reputed for X' is entirely unclear, but there is no basis for Celtic pace Schönfeld (1911: 44). The validity of the spelling of *Suomarius* is not assured, and Celt. *Sumarius* 'very great' is likely (cf. Schmidt, 1957: 60 & 239).

[5] Against Schmidt (1957: 79) there is no basis for claiming that Gk. -μωρος must mean 'large, great' and be cognate with the Celtic adjective. The former may represent either **-moh₁ro-* 'reputed for' or **-moh₂ro-* 'large, great in': ἐγχεσί-μωρος, ἰό-μωρος, ὑλακό-μωρος 'famous for/great in spears, power, barking'. The *-mĕr* of Slavic personal names may well be borrowed from Germanic (Schmidt, 1957: 78–79), but see Wenzel (2021: 149–163) for arguments in terms of their diachronic and diatopic distribution for a native morpheme. In either case, they merely reinforce **-meh₁-ro-* in the sense 'reputed (for)'.

also in compounds an adjective **merja-* in *waila-merei-* 'of good repute' (= εὔφημος) and a noun **merei-* in *waila-merei-* 'good repute' (= εὐφημία) and *waja-merei-* (= δυσφημία) 'ill repute', aptly glossed by Heidermanns (1993: 408) as 'guter Ruf' and 'schlechter Ruf', with a word for 'repute' based on a verbum dicendi.[6] The major point is the consistently neutral sense of all Gothic derivatives of **mēro-*, which show evidence only for a verbum dicendi 'report, proclaim, speak of'. Any amelioration to 'famous, illustrious' is limited to personal names, but since they unsurprisingly all have positive first members, 'reputed for' is equally possible. Contrary to all claims, there is no proof that such an amelioration ever took place in Gothic. No basis for a sense 'large, great' is found anywhere (see the open admission of Schmidt, 1957: 79[1]!).

2.3 West Germanic Appellatives

2.3.1 Old English

The evidence of all West Germanic languages unequivocally confirms the findings from Gothic. Amelioration has definitely begun in Old English and for some words has ousted the original neutral sense (*mǣrðu* is only 'fame, glory' versus Goth. *meriþa* and OHG *mārida*), but there is no doubt that it is an innovation. The oldest occurrence of the adjective *mǣre* is in Beowulf, where it is used equally of both Grendel and Beowulf: *Beo.* 6.102–103 *Grendel … mǣre mearc-stapa* 'Grendel the notorious march-stalker', but *Beo.* 26.797 *mǣres þēodnes* 'of the illustrious prince' (et passim). The negative sense is also present elsewhere: *Mt.* 27.16 *Hæfdum ēnne gebundenne mǣrne monn se wǣs hāten Barabus* 'they had a prisoner, a notorious man who was called Barabbas' and Or. 3.8.1 *seō stōw gewearþ swīðe mǣre … for Rōmāna bismere* 'the place became very notorious for the disgrace of the Romans'. Naturally, this did not preclude Aelfric using it to mean 'illustrious, celebrated'. The adjective still meant in Old English merely 'well-known, famous', whether the fame was good or bad (correct Heidermanns, 1993: 408 'berühmt, berüchtigt'). The

[6] The facts are available in Feist (1939) and Lehmann (1986).

verbs *mæran* and *gemæran* certainly mean 'celebrate' (Bosworth & Toller, 1898, s.vv.), but also still 'proclaim, report, spread word of': *PsTh* 70.14 *and þīn sōðfæst weorc … mæreð* 'and will proclaim your true work' (pronuntiabit). The same mix of neutral and positive use is found with *mærsian* 'praise, glorify', but also simply 'make known, spread word of': *Mk.* 1.45 *mērsiga þæt word* 'make known that word' (diffamare sermonem); cf. *Mt.* 9.31 & 28.15. Likewise *mærsung* is 'praise, celebration', but also 'report, rumor': *Mt.* 9.26 *spranc mērsung … ðiūs* (fama haec) *in alle eorðo* 'this report/rumor went out into all the earth'. The original sense 'proclaim, make known' is still preserved in *mærsere* 'herald'.

2.3.2 Old High German and Beyond

There is widespread agreement among the handbooks regarding the Old High German reflexes and their subsequent history. We may begin with the foundational treatment of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, which focuses on the history of the neuter noun *māri* and feminine *mārī*, which are glossed as 'news, report, narrative' and 'rumor, news, repute (Ruf)'. The brothers Grimm underscore that the use is mostly of definite, concrete oral communication and that through Middle High German one can freely say: *gute*, *neue*, *falsche*, *böse mär*(*en*) *sagen*, *bringen*, *mittheilen* 'say, bring, communicate good, new, false, bad news/reports'. However, in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, *Mär* undergoes pejoration and mostly is used of a false narrative or report. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the word is obsolete in literary German, except for a brief revival of its original sense by the 'Hainbund' poets. The word does persist in dialect (presumably early nineteenth century) in the set phrase 'was ist der mer?' for 'what is the news, what is going on? (Grimm & Grimm, 1885: 12.1615–1617). A fictive sense obviously also adheres to the only reflex in Modern Standard German, the diminutive *Märchen* 'fable, fairy tale'.

This overall history of the noun has not precluded occasional ameliorative use of OHG *mārī* and far more such usage in the related OHG adjective *māri*, noun *mārida*, and verb *māren*. The Old High German adjective means in fact mostly 'famous, celebrated' (= Lat. *famosus*, *celeber*, etc.),

but occasionally merely ‘(made) known’. The noun *mārida*, likewise, beside neutral ‘Nachricht, Gerede’ and negative ‘Gerücht’, can be used for ‘Lobpreis, Ruhm’, and the verb is attested as ‘bekanntmachen, verbreiten’, but also ‘preisen, verherrlichen’ (which in turn does not prevent the past participle from being used for ‘verrufen, berüchtigt’): see Schützeichel (2004: 6.276–282) and Schmid (2015: 275–287).[7] The presentation in Splett (1993: 599) differs only in detail, and Lexer (1878: 2045–2047) affirms a similar range of meanings in Middle High German: adjective *mære* ‘berühmt, bemächtig, herrlich’, but neuter and feminine nouns *mære* ‘nachricht, bericht, erzählung, gerücht’, and verb *mæren* ‘verkünden, bekannt/berühmt machen’.

2.3.3 Other West Germanic

MDutch *mare* had a positive sense ‘fame’ alongside neutral ‘news, report’ and negative ‘rumor’, but ModDutch *mare* means only the latter three, and OFris. *mêre* is cited only as ‘news, tidings’. MLG *mêre*, likewise, is ‘story, report’ and ‘rumor’ (de Vries, 1971: 426; Franck, 1912: 413). In the Old Saxon *Hêliand*, the adjective *mâri* mostly means ‘renowned, glorious’, but sometimes merely ‘known’, and once is negative: Hel. 128.5402 *mâri meginthiof* ‘notorious great thief’. Similarly, *mârian* is mostly ‘proclaim, make known’, but once ‘praise (oneself)’, while *mâriða* is ‘news, proclamation’, but once ‘praiseworthy deed’ (Heyne, 1883: 271–272).

2.3.4 North Germanic

In Old Norse, amelioration has been completed, and *mærr* means only ‘famous, glorious, mighty’ and the like. However, the runic inscription on the Thorsberg chape preserves the precious relic **niwajemariz** ‘the not ill-reputed one’, the second part of which is a word equation with Goth. **waja-mērei-* ‘of ill repute’ (Feist, 1939: 547; Lehmann, 1986: 252). We may, therefore, confidently assume that the sense was originally neutral as in Gothic ‘repute’.

[7] Both works (and Splett, 1993: 599) also cite the negative use of neuter *māri* in the compound *māri-sagāri* ‘rumor-monger’. Cf. the recreation cited by Grimm & Grimm: ‘Märenträger’.

3 Summation

The combined evidence of Gothic and West Germanic is unequivocal: the base of Gmc. **mēro-* is a verbum dicendi: 'speak (of), make known, proclaim, narrate'. If one tries to begin with a sense 'magnify', whence 'praise', one must assume that there was a massive bleaching to the meanings above and then pejoration. Semantic bleaching is not unusual, but it must be motivated. I know of no published attempt to explain such a development in this case. Frankly, I doubt that anyone has ever tried. Based on an egregious case of slavish acceptance and mindless repetition of received opinion, manifest facts cited in every handbook have simply been ignored—because the equation of the Celtic and Germanic personal names was taken as fact, not as the mere hypothesis that it is. I do not wish to be sanctimonious. Without Yakubovich's root **meh*$_2$- 'grow (large)' and Hittite support for it, I would have followed everyone else. There was now reason for me to reexamine the long-held hypothesis and the Germanic facts, whose implications for the compound names I had ignored with others.

Once we give due respect to the latter, the long demonstrated meanings of the Germanic reflexes of **mēro-*, a plausible solution is immediately available. We have a Germanic root **mē-* reflecting a PIE root **meh*$_1$- with the senses attested in Germanic. The adjective **mēro-* meant 'spoken of, made known', hence 'known (for), reputed'. The widespread amelioration in all the Germanic languages except possibly Gothic (where it cannot be excluded) in not only the adjective, but also, to a lesser extent, the associated nouns and verbs is trivial. One need only cite the Paradebeispiel of Gk. φατός 'spoken, said' and 'famous' and the history of the loanword *fāma* in Latin and elsewhere. But fame can be positive or negative (and also easily changeable), and concomitant pejoration is also to be expected (cf. the full range of uses of Lat. *fāma*). Verbs of speech are quite prone to both: Lat. *acclāmāre* 'shout (at)' (with and without positive or negative associations) leads to Engl. 'acclaim' (since the seventeenth century in the sense 'praise, applaud'), but **ter-* 'say' (Lith. *tarìu*, Hitt. *tar-*) becomes Luw. *tatariya-* 'to curse'.

A PIE root *meh_1- 'speak' has been needed for more than a century. Previous etymologies for Hitt. *mēmi/a-* 'speak' have ranged from the preposterous (cognate with Skt. *mimāti* 'bellow, bleat') to the formally impossible (to the root of **men-* 'think'). A preform **mé-mn-V-* could lead only to Hitt. †*mēmmV-* (see the correct objection of Kloekhorst, 2008: 575). However, a **mé-moh$_1$i̯-ei*, **mé-mh$_1$-i̯-n̥-ti* leads regularly to the older plural *memianzi* with loss of laryngeal before yod (and to preconsonantal weak stem *memi-* < **mé-mih$_1$-*). Based on the present third singular *mē/emai* (always with short *-ai* in Old Hittite in more than 30 examples), the result of preconsonantal **mé-moh$_1$i-* (likely **mēmai-*) was altered to *mēma-* by analogy to the class of *tarna-* (with Kloekhorst, 2008: 145–147). We may add this to the list of unique Hittite and Germanic isoglosses: cf. *kuššan* 'wage, fee' and the Germanic family of Engl. 'hire' (Kloekhorst, 2008: 498 et al.).

References

Or. = Bosworth, J. (Ed.). (1859). *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of the compendious history of the world by Orosius*. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

Bosworth, J., & Toller, C. N. (1898). *An Anglo-Saxon dictionary*. Clarendon Press.

de Vries, J. (1971). *Nederlands etymologisch woordenboek*. Brill.

Eichner, H. (1973). Die Etymologie von heth. *mehur*. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, 31*, 53–107.

Feist, S. (1939). *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*[3]. Brill.

Franck, J. (1912). *Etymologisch woordenboek der nederlandsche taal*[2] (Ed. N. van Wijk). M. Nijhoff.

Grimm, J., & Grimm, W. (1885). *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Band 12). S. Hirzel.

Heidermanns, F. (1993). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen Primäradjektive*. De Gruyter.

Hel. = Heyne, M. (1883). *Hêliand. Mit ausführlichem Glossar herausgegeben*[3]. F. Schöningh.

Kloekhorst, A. (2008). *Etymological dictionary of the Hittite inherited lexicon*. Brill.

Lehmann, W. P. (1986). *A Gothic etymological dictionary*. Based on the third edition of *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* by Sigmund Feist. Brill.

Lexer, M. (1878). *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*. S. Hirzel.

Melchert, H. C. (forthcoming). Hittite ^{UZU}*mu/aḫḫ(a)r(a)i-* 'flesh of the thigh, ham'. *Journal of cuneiform studies*.

Puhvel, J. (2004). *Hittite etymological dictionary vi, Words beginning with M*. Mouton de Gruyter.

Schmid, H. U. (2015). *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch* (Band VI: M und N). Akademie-Verlag.

Schmidt, K. H. (1957). Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, 26*, 33–301.

Schönfeld, M. (1911). *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen*. Carl Winter.

Schützeichel, R. (2004). *Althochdeutscher und altsächsischer Glossenwortschatz*. Max Niemeyer.

Splett, J. (1993). *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch. Analyse der Wortfamilienstrukturen des Althochdeutschen, zugleich Grundlegung einer zukünftigen Strukturgeschichte des deutschen Wortschatzes* (Band I, Teil 2). De Gruyter.

Vendryes, J. (1950/1951). Deux nouvelles inscriptions gallo-romaines. *Études celtiques, 5*, 237–247.

Weitenberg, J. J. S. (1979). Einige Bemerkungen zu den hethitischen Diphthong-Stämmen. In W. Meid & E. Neu (Eds.), *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* (pp. 289–303). Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

Wenzel, W. (2021). *Slawen zwischen Saale und Neiße. Namenkundliche Studien*. Barr.

Yakubovich, I. (2010). Indo-European **mā-* 'to grow'. *Индоевропейское языкознание и классическая филология, 14*, 478–492.