

[0882][Besprek]Volkert F. Faltings, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der friesischen Adjektiva*. Berlin, New York (2010), De Gruyter, 690 pp. ISBN 978-3-11-023135-9. e-ISBN 978-3-11-023136-6.

The appearance of this book is a major event in the study of Frisian lexis. The most recent etymological dictionaries I have seen focus on the distant origins of the vocabulary under consideration. Their authors tend to be interested in protoforms often at the expense of recorded details. This, I think, is an unproductive approach to the subject, because the presence and quality of a laryngeal in a certain position (to give a typical example) cannot be reconstructed with a high degree of certainty and because the earliest stage in the history of Frisian, English, or Norwegian belongs to comparative dictionaries of Germanic and Indo-European (Gothic is a different matter). Also, specialists who have spent decades investigating the facts of those languages seldom have an informed opinion about what may have happened two or three thousand years ago and can contribute much more to clarifying troublesome minutiae than, for instance, to explaining the mechanism of Holtzmann's Law: perhaps *Verschärfung* is a reflex of a laryngeal, perhaps a trivial case of "strengthening" (reinforcement), as in Hungarian and Faroese, perhaps an oralized *stød*, perhaps none of the above. From the lower depths of Proto-Indo-European an Old Frisian geminate or the variation *d ~ t* in a modern form is a negligible speck of dust. It does not follow that a scholar researching the history of a living language should be ignorant of the broader picture (etymology cannot afford being a provincial, parochial discipline), but it sometimes pays off to stick to one's last.

In my opinion, Faltings struck an ideal balance between the whole and the parts of which it is made up. According to my rough estimate, if we add up the Old West Frisian and Old East Frisian forms discussed in the entries, the sum will be around 8,500, an excellent number for an etymological dictionary, and some forms have, naturally, not been recorded in Old Frisian. The work was inspired by Frank Heidermanns's 1993 major opus *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen Primäradjektiva*, and the adjectives are listed according to the scheme used there, but one of the reasons Faltings undertook his work was the paucity of Frisian data in Heidermanns's dictionary. As he explains, given the state of the art, Heidermanns could not do better, and indeed, the present work shows that only someone who knows inside out all the literature on modern dialects and has a perfect command of a huge mass of evasive facts is able to produce a coherent picture of the old and modern Frisian vocabulary. The result deserves unstinted praise. If someone undertakes a kindred project and writes comparable dictionaries of Frisian verbs and nouns, we will have an etymological dictionary of Frisian worthy of its name.

Faltings investigated both primary and derived adjectives, so that his dictionary is also a handbook of Frisian word formation (as far as adjectives are concerned). The entries follow a long introduction, and references to it are given after every head word. Some adjectives have wide Germanic and Indo-European connections,

others are specifically Germanic (and their ties to non-Germanic words can at best be called putative), and a few are isolated. Some entries, for example, such as those on *\*gaila* ‘longing for something’, *\*haifst-* ‘strongly excited’, *\*kraunja-* ‘complaining’, *\*leitika-* ‘small’, *\*lina-* ‘mild, gentle’, *\*murka-* ‘crumbling, fragile’, *\*staru-* ‘stiff, rigid’, and *\*tala-* ‘yielding’ look like summaries of journal articles; however, most take up less space. For the head words in bold (like *\*gaila-* and the rest) attestation elsewhere in Germanic is given; a breakdown of the word’s status in Germanic and Indo-European, as well as references to the scholarly literature, follow. The references have great value, for the sources are little, if at all, known to outsiders. The sections on Indo-European depend mainly on Pokorny and other similar works, but one will find a few welcome exceptions. Consider the relevant section in the entry *\*barska-* ‘bitter, sharp’ (Germ. *barsch*, Engl. *bass*, from *bærs*, a fish name):

**Idg** Die meisten etymologischen Nachschlagewerke stellen das Adj. zu dem Fischnamen ‘Barsch (*perca fluviatilis*)’ in **FNF** ält. ngos. *bærs* /-e:-/ (a. 1743, BJ 1,13), **WFR** nwfr. *bears* (WFT 1,260), **E** ae. *bærs*, *bears*, **S** as. *bars*, **N** mnl. *baerse*, **D** mhd. *bars* < germ. *\*barsa-* m. < idg. *\*bhór-so-* ‘der Stachelige’ sowie mit grammatischem Wechsel zu **D** ahd. *bar* (-rr-) ‘starr aufgerichtet’, **W** an. *barr* (-rr-) ‘feurig, heftig’ < germ. *\*barza-* < idg. *\*bhor-só* ‘spitz, emporragend’, einer s-Erweiterung zu der o-stufigen Wurzel idg. *\*bhor-* ‘hervorstechend, spitz’ (IEW 109, Hm 117). Man hat demnach für germ. *\*barska-* eine Formation idg. *\*bhórs-ko-* angesetzt in der ursprünglichen Bedeutung ‘borstig, spitz hervorstechend’ und dabei offenbar an eine der seltenen denominalen Derivationen mit bindevokallosem idg. *k-Suffix* gedacht. Meines Erachtens sollte alternativ dazu auch eine Morphemfolge germ. *\*barska-* < idg. *\*bhór-sko-* in Erwägung gezogen werden, die man als primäres Verbaladj. mit *sk-*Suffix auffassen könnte, möglicherweise aus der o-Stufe der Verbalwurzel idg. *\*bher-* ‘mit einem scharfen Werkzeug bearbeiten, ritzen, schneiden’ (IEW 133ff.): vgl. z.B. im Germ. **E** ae. *berian* swv.1 ‘zerdrücken; quälen’, *bered* part.prät. ‘niedergeschlagen’, **D** ahd. *berien* swv.1 ‘schlagen, klopfen; reiben, kneten’, **W** an. *berja* swv.2 ‘schlagen, stoßen’, entsprechend außergerm. lat. *feriō*, *-īre* ‘stoßen, hauen, schlagen, stechen’. Verbaladj. mit *sk-*Suffix sind meist schwundstufig (Hm 72), doch gibt es vereinzelt auch solche, die den o-stufigen Ablaut des Perfektstammes zeigen, wie etwa germ. *\*kar-ska-* ‘munter, lebhaft’ (**S** mnd. *karsch*, **D** mhd. *karsch*, **W** an. *karskr*) zu idg. *\*ger-* ‘wecken’ (Hm 330).

Germ. *\*barska-* bezeichnete nach Ausweis der neusprachlichen Belege ursprünglich wohl den scharfen, bitteren Geschmack von etwas, während die übertragene Verwendung ‘von schroffem, barschem Wesen’ sekundär sein dürfte. Das weist auf eine Grundbedeutung ‘schneidend’. Auch sonst stehen Verbaladj., die die Geschmacks- oder Geruchswahrnehmung ‘bitter, scharf, rau’ ausdrücken, oft in Verbindung mit Verben bzw. idg. Verbwurzeln aus dem Sinnbezirk des Schneidens oder Beißens: vgl. unter anderem germ.

*\*baiska-* ‘bitter’ (Hm 113f.), *\*bitra-* ‘beißend, bitter’ (s.u.), *\*skarpa-* ‘rauh, scharf’ (s.u.). (pp. 115-16)

For comparison, I will reproduce the Germanic part of the entry *\*rōta-* ‘glad, happy’:

**Germ** Im Germ. isoliert. Heidermanns (Hm 453) setzt ein Primäradj. an. Angesichts W an. *-rætinn in málrætinn* ‘redefreudig’, das man für das Part.Prät. eines sonst nicht bezeugten starken Verbs der VI. Kl. halten könnte, käme wohl auf den ersten Blick auch ein ursprüngliches Verbaladj. in Betracht, doch zeigt das Part.Prät. der VI. Kl. – sofern nicht ein Palatal- oder *r*-Umlaut im Spiel ist – keinen Umlaut. Daher liegt in an. *-rætinn* eher eine Ableitung mit dem Suffix *-īna-* vor, ausgehend von einem Subst. entsprechend E ae. *rētu\** f. ‘Freude’ [ae. *un-rētu* f. ‘Angst, Besorgnis’], me. *rōt* ‘F[r]eude, Heiterkeit’. Derivationen dieser Art bilden auch im An. nicht nur Stoffadj., sondern können als Adj. der Neigung oder des Hanges ebenso aus Abstrakta hervorgegangen sein, wie z.B. in an. *geyminn* ‘aufmerksam, achtsam, vorsichtig’ aus an. *gaum* f., *gaumr* m. ‘Aufmerksamkeit, Augenmerk’, *hræsinn* ‘großsprecherisch’ aus an. *hróð* m. ‘Ruhm, Lobpreis’, *hyginn* ‘verständlich’ aus *hugr* m. ‘Sinn, Gedanke’, *lyginn* ‘verlogen’ aus *lygi* f. ‘Lüge’ usw. deutlich wird. (p. 436)

With regard to derived forms, the entry *\*langa* ‘long’ is characteristic. It occurs with the reflexes of *\*un-*, *-\*lika-*, *\*sama-*, *\*-ja-*, *-ōn-*, *-in-*, *-man-*, *\*-nassjo-*, *\*-epo-*, *\*-haidu-*, and *-ja-* (pp. 340-42), and all those forms are discussed. When an adjective has been attested only with a derivative suffix, Faltings disregards the etymology of the root. Thus, *\*faikna-* ‘injurious, deceitful’ turned up in his material only with the suffix *\*-iga-* (Old East Frisian *fēknigia*); as a result, nothing is said in the entry about *\*faikn-*. But when an explanation is called for, we always find it. For instance, a famous semantic discrepancy exists between Engl. *mad* and Middle High German *gemeit* ‘pleasant’. Although the protomeaning of the related verb seems to have been *\*‘change, exchange; mutāre’*, the difference between ‘maimed; deranged’ and ‘joyful, nice’ cannot but puzzle a language historian. On pp. 376-77 full discussion of the word, with reference to Continental North Frisian *mīidj* ‘unhurried’, is given.

Perhaps the only case in which more should have been said is the entry *\*tarta-* ‘tender’. German has *zart*, an expected form, but the Frisian and Dutch cognates begin with *d* (*dartel, dertil*, etc.). Dutch etymological dictionaries pay due attention to the enigmatic *d*. For some reason, Faltings does not address it. The derivation of *d* from *\*dh* has less appeal than reference to secondary (even if unexplained) voicing. I would like to add that Engl. *tart* ‘pungent’, whose origin is supposedly unknown, seems to match ‘mad’ and ‘depraved’ (Old Engl. *tart* ‘sharp, rough, severe’). *Zart* ‘tender’ is the opposite of *tart* ‘sharp to the taste’, but cf. *mad* ~ *gemeit*, above, and the history of Russian *solodkii* (stress on the second syllable) ~ *sladkii*

‘sweet’, which are akin to *solod* ‘malt’ (stress on the first syllable) and to *salt*, the basis being \*‘making tastier (by adding condiments)’; the same holds for Gothic *sutis* ‘gentle, yielding’, as opposed to Lithuanian *súdyti* ‘to add condiments or salt’. See also the passage on *barska*, quoted above (discussion of adjectives designating taste).

A short comment on West Frisian *fits* (p. 202) may also be in order here. The senses of *fits* vacillate between ‘stingy’ (obviously, a figurative sense) and ‘sharp, clever’. Old High German *fizus* meant approximately the same. Comparison with Modern West Frisian *fiterje* ‘drive on; encourage; hunt’ allows us to relate it to Gothic *fitan* ‘be in labor’, Engl. *fit* ‘attack of an illness’ and *fit*, as in *fitful*. Faltings does not cite any literature on Frisian *fits*. Perhaps my suggestion will make sense to both English and Frisian etymologists.

The dictionary reads very well, and it was a happy idea to give language abbreviations (**E, S, N**, etc.) in bold. One can easily find in the text all the forms one needs. But in the references to dictionaries it would have been better to indicate words rather than pages. My only serious complaint is the absence of non-Frisian indexes, for only Frisian words have been indexed by period and dialect. It is an almost formulaic statement that the authors of works on Germanic etymology lack familiarity with Frisian. However, without indexes of English, German, Dutch, and Scandinavian words mentioned in this book scholars will have a hard time drawing on the rich material Faltings collected and analyzed. One can imagine how much more useful Skeat’s, Kluge-Mitzka’s, and Kluge-Seebold’s dictionaries would have been if their compilers had put together indexes the way Walde, Feist, Vasmer, and others have done.

My high opinion of Faltings’s achievement is clear. Rather than finishing this review with one more rhetorical flourish, I will make a small present to the author and append a list of English words occurring in his dictionary.

#### **An Index of English Words Occurring in Volkert F. Faltings’s *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der friesischen Adjektiva***

In a few cases I added obvious cognates not mentioned in the dictionary (this holds, for instance, for *abut*, the first word below). The modern reflexes, except those attested in dialects, are all mine. Modern English words are italicized; all the other forms, unless indicated as ME (Middle English), are Old English. The ligature *æ* = *ae*, *ð* = *d*, *þ* follows *t*.

<i>abut</i> , 151; æðele, 111; æðre, 183; æltæwe,	bealu, 114; beorht, 121; betera, 118; <i>better</i> ,
550; afol, 208; andfenge, 196, ānwille,	118; bitol, 127; biter, 127; <i>bitter</i> , 127;
597; <b>bær</b> , 121; -bære, 123; <i>bale</i> , 114, <i>bare</i> ,	blæ-, 141; blāc, 128; ? <i>black</i> , 130; blēað,
121; <i>bass</i> ‘fish’, 114; beald, 113;	133; <i>bleak</i> , 128; blēat, 132; blīðe, 135;

blind, 137; *blind*, 137; *blithe*, 135; *blue*, 141; *brād*, 145; *broad*, 145; *bold*, 113; *bright*, 121; *brown*, 148; *brūn*, 148; *butt* (dial.), 151; *butte* (ME), 151; *cāf*, 303; *calu*, 307; *ceald*, 305; *cēne*, 320; *chill*, 305; *cīs*, 311; *clǣne*, 313; *clean*, 313; *clung* (dial.), 316; *cōl*, 319; *cold*, 319; *cool*, 319; *crēas*, 325; *creen* (dial.), 323; *-crēn*, 322; *crous* (ME), 328; *crouse* (dial.), 328; *crumb*, 327; *cwacian*, 331; *cwād*, 312; *cwead*, 332; *cwēd*, 332; *cwicu*, 334; *cyme*, 329; *darian*, 153; *dēad*, 156; *dead*, 156; *dēaf*, 154; *deaf*, 154; *dear*, 163; *deep*, 161; *dēop*, 161; *deorf*, 159; *dīere*, 163; *dierne*, 153; *diger*, 164; *Digerlēa*, 164; *dim*, 157; *dofian*, 172; *Doiley*, 164; *dol*, 179; *drōg*, 167; *drōf*, 168; *dry*, 170; *drȳge*, 170; *dull*, 179; *dumb*, 175; *dumb*, 175; *dwǣs*, 178; *dwel*, 177; *eald*, 104; *earg*, 108; *earm*, 109; *efen*, 182; *enge*, 105; *enough*, 419; *even* (adj.), 182; *evil*, 577; *fǣge*, 188; *fǣgen*, 187; *fǣle*, 191; *fǣst*, 200; *fǣtt*, 192; *fain*, 187; *fall*, 194; *fallow*, 195; *farrow* (adj.), 197; *fast*, 200; *fat*, 192; *fay*, 188; *fēa*, 201; *-feald*, 194; *fealu*, 195; *fearr*, 198; *-fere*, 207; *ferrow* (ME), 197; *fersk*, 213; *few*, 201; *flot*, 204; *flucg*, 203; *-fold*, 194; *foul*, 216; *fræfel*, 208; *frǣte*, 210; *free*, 211; *frēo*, 211; *fresh*, 213; *frōd*, 214; *frow* (ME), 209; *ful*, 218; *fūl*, 216; *full*, 218; *gæsne*, 222; *gāl*, 219; *gearu*, 226; *geason* (dial.), 221; *gedēfe*, 165; *gefægra*, 185; *gehende*, 267; *gelic*, 369; *gemād*, 376; *gemæc*, 382; *gemǣne*, 379; *gemet*, 392; *genge*, 225; *genōg*, 419; *geolu*, 228; *geong*, 300; *georn*, 229; *gēsen* (220), 220; *gesōm*, 497; *getæl*, 541; *gebȳde*, 549; *gewis(s)*, 612; *gewuna*, 620; *glæd*, 230; *glǣr*, 232; *glid*(der), 231; *gōd*, 235; *good*, 235; *græg*, 244; *gram*, 237; *granu*, 237; *gray*, 244; *grēat*, 239; *great*, 239; *green*, 245; *grēne*, 245; *grim*, 243; *grim*, 243; *guess* (dial.), 246; *guessed* (dial.), 246; *guest* (dial.), 246; *hādor*, 249; *hæst*, 251; *hāl*, 254; *half*, 261; *halt* (adj.), 264; *hamel\**, 265; *handy*, 267; *hār*, 255; *hard*, 269; *harm*, 270; *harm*, 270; *hās*, 257; *hāt*, 259; *hēah*, 274; *healf*, 261; *healt*, 264; *hēan*, 276; *heard*, 269; *hearm*, 270; *high*, 274; *hīore*, 277; *hlagol*, 278; *hlecc*, 356; *hleowe*, 279; *hlūd*, 280; *hlūtor*, 282; *hnēaw*, 284; *hnesce*, 283; *hnitol*, 285; *hol*, 292; *hold*, 293; *hollow*, 292; *hot*, 259; *hræð*, 289; *hrēaw*, 291; *hwæt*, 294; *hwīt*, 295; *īeðe*, 112; *ierre*, 184; *inca*, 298; *keen*, 320; *lāð*, 337; *læssa*, 337; *læt*, 346; *lama*, 338; *lame*, 338; *-lang*, 343; *lang*, 342; *late*, 346; *lēah*, 164; *lēas*, 349; *lēf*, 350; *left*, 373; *lēof*, 363; *lēoht*, 365; *lēoht*, 358; *less*, 337; *leuke* (ME), 281; *lief*, 363; *light* ‘not dark’, 358; *light* ‘not heavy’, 365; *like* (adj.), 369; *lisp*, 612; *loath*, 337; *loma*, 338; *-long*, 343; *long*, 342; *long* (adj.), 342; *loud*, 280; *luke* (ME), 281; *luke(warm)*, 281; *lyft-ād*, 373; *mad*, 376; *mæger*, 375; *mǣne*, 378; *mǣran*, 391; *mǣre*, 391; *malt*, 384; *mān*, 378; *māra*, 380; *match* ‘mate’, 382; *mealt*, 384; *mean* (adj.), 379; *mēde*, 397; *medume*, 387; *meet* (adj.), 392; *meodume*, 387; *meole*, 390; *mid*, 385; *midd*, 385; *middle*, 385; *mid(e)mest*, 388; *mild*, 389; *milde*, 389; *milk*, 390; *mis-*, 396; *mis-*, 396; *more*, 380; *murc\**, 401; *myl*, 399; *nacod*, 405; *nacud*, 405; *naked*, 405; *narrow*, 407; *nata-*, 408; *nēah*, 410; *nēar*, 410; *nearu*, 407; *nēol*, 416; *nēowol*, 416; *nesh* (dial.), 283; *new*, 414; *nifol*, 417; *nīhol*, 416; *nīowe*, 414; *nīwol*, 416; *numul-*, *-ol*, 420; *nyt*, 421; *old*, 104; *onwille*, 597; *open*, 579; *open*, 579; *quake*, 331; *quick*, 334; *rad* (dial.), 286; *ræde*, 422; *ranc*, 423; *rank* (adj.), 423; *rather*, 289; *raw*, 291; *rēad*, 425; *ready*, 422; *recen*, 432; *rēde*, 424; *red*, 425; *rīce*, 435; *ricen*, 432; *rife*, 430; *right*, 428; *riht*, 428; *rīpe*, 431; *ripe*, 431; *room*, 440; *rōt*, 436; *rough*, 438; *rūh*, 438; *rūm*, 440; *rȳbe*, 430; *sad*, 447; *salu*, 447; *salt*,

443; *sæd*, 443; *sallow*, 446; *sār*, 445; *sārcrēn*, 322; *scāf-*, 460; *sceard*, 464; *scearp*, 466; *scēoh*, 475; *sceol*, 472; *scīene*, 469; *scīr*, 471; *scort*, 481; *sealt*, 446; *seem*, 497; *sēfte*, 448; *selfwille*, 597; *sēoc*, 458; *shame*, 461; *shard*, 464; *sharp*, 466; *sheer*, 471; *short*, 480; *sib*, 451; *sibb*, 451; *sick*, 458; *sickle*, 456; *sīd*, 454; *side*, 454; *siht\**, 456; *sin-*, 454; *singe*, 449; *slāw*, 482; *slīðe*, 483; *slight*, 485; *-slihtes*, 485; *slow*, 482; *smæl*, 490; *small*, 490; *smart*, 491; *smeart*, 491; *smēðan*, 491; *smee* (dial.), 492; *smocc*, 493; *smock*, 413; *smolt*, 494; *smooth*, 491; *snel*, 497; *sōð*, 450; *soft*, 448; *sol*, 527; *sooth*, 450; *sore*, 445; *sound* (adj.), 540; *sour*, 528; *stare*, 504; *starian*, 504; *stark*, 503; *steady*, 507; *-steall*, 499; *stēap*, 506; *stēarc*, 503; *steep*, 506; *steer* (v.), 514; *stēop*, 513; *step-* (as in *stepchild*), 513; *stick* (v.), 515; *sticol*, 515; *stīð*, 511; *stīf*, 509; *stiff*, 509; *still*, 511; *stille*, 511; *stink*, 500; *stōr*, 515; *strang*, 519; *strong*, 519; *stunt*, 526; *stunt*, 526; *sund*, 540; *sūr*, 528; *swæ̅r*, 533; *swæ̅s*, 534; *swart*, 531; *sweart*, 531; *sweet*, 537; *swēte*, 537; *swīð*, 532; *swōt*, 537; *-syne*, 452; *-tæ̅we*, 549; *tam*, 544; *tealt*, 543; *tēdre*, 558; *thick*, 564; *thin*, 573; *tīdre*, 558; *til*, 551; *till* (v.), 551; *tilt*, 543; *tīnan*, 548; *tōh*, 545; *tom*, 544; *tōm*, 552; *tough*, 545; *trāg*, 553; *trend*, 555; *trēowe*, 557; *true*, 557; *trundle*, 555; *tūdor*, 558; *tydre*, 558; *þearl*, 569; *þeorf*, 566; *þēostre*, 568; *þicce*, 564; *þīestre*, 568; *-þīht\**, 565; *þīstre*, 568; *þrīst*, 572; *þweorh*, 576; *þynne*, 573; *þyrre*, 574; *þýstre*, 568; *unflycg*, 203; *ungemēde*, 377; *ungefōg*, 205; *unseht*, 443; *wāc*, 583; *wacor*, 584; *wade*, 581; *-wæ̅ne*, 601; *wæ̅r*, 604; *wæ̅t*, 608; *wan*, 586; *wan*, 586; *wancol*, 587; *-ward*, 589; *warm*, 591; *-weard*, 589; *wearð*, 606; *wearm*, 591; *wēste*, 613; *wet*, 608; *whet*, 294; *white*, 294; *whole*, 254; *wīd*, 610; *wide*, 610; *wiersa*, 606; *-wille*, 597; *wild*, 599; *wilde*, 599; *winestra*, 373, 601; *wīs*, 595; *wise*, 595; *wītig*, 596; *witty*, 596; *wlips*, 612; *wlisp*, 612; *wōrian*, 398; *worse*, 606; *worthy*, 606; *wound* (sb.), 621; *wrack*, 616; *-wræ̅c\**, 616; *wrāð*, 615; *wræ̅ne*, 614; *wrang*, 616; *wrath*, 615; *wreck*, 618; *wrigian*, 617; *wrong*, 616; *wry*, 617; *wund*, 621; *wyrsa*, 606; *yellow*, 228; *yfel*, 577; *yfelwille*, 597; *young*, 300.

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