Munus amicitiae

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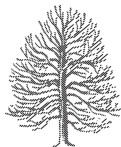
a collegis et amicis dicatum

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MUNUS AMICITIAE

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Gothic *stojan* 'judge',
Old High German *stūēn* 'atone (for)'

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It is widely agreed that the Gothic class I weak verb *stojan* (also *ga-stojan*; 3 sg. *-jiþ*) 'judge, pass judgment; κρίνειν' goes back to an immediate preform *stōwjan*, continuing PGmc. *stōwijan(aᴺ)*. Within Gothic, a sound change deleted *-w-* after *-ō-*, giving *stojan*, *-jiþ* and hiatus forms of the type pret. 1, 3 sg. *stōïda* < *stōwidōᴺ*, *-dai*. The hiatus forms were then affected by another rule that lowered the long high vowels (*ī*, *ū*) and high-mid vowels (*ē*, *ō*) to low-mid *ai* [ɛː] and *au* [ɔː] before another vowel, producing the well-attested alternation pattern *stojan* [-oː-] vs. *stauida* [-ɔː-]. *stau-* < *stō-* is also seen in the related noun *staua*, gen. *-os* (< *stōwō*) 'judgment, matter for trial; κρῖμα, κρίσις' and its derivatives *staua*, gen. *-ins* (< *stōwan-*) 'judge; κριτής' and *andastaua* (gen. *-ins*) 'opponent at law; ἀντίδικος'.[1]

The standard reconstruction *stōwjan* is matched by a standard etymology. The major etymological dictionaries agree in tracing *stojan* and its relatives to a version of the PIE root that we now write as *steh₂-* 'stand'. Feist (e.g. 1939:451, 455) cites a semantically diverse group of allegedly related Germanic and Balto-Slavic forms (OHG *stouwen* 'accuse, forbid', *stūēn* 'atone for', MLG *stōwen*, *stouwen*, *stūwen* 'pile up', OCS *staviti* 'put', Lith. *stovéti* 'stand', etc.), all of which he refers to a PIE extended root *stāu̯-*. Within Germanic, he equates Go. *staua* 'judgment' to OE *stōw* 'place', OFr. *stō* 'id.', and OIcel. *eld-stó* 'fireplace', positing a semantic development 'place' > 'place of judgment, *Gerichtsstätte*' > 'judgment'.[2] Pokorny (*IEW* 1008) accepts a variant of this account, as do Kluge and Seebold (2011 s.v. *stauen*). *LIV²* s.v. *steh₂-* hesitantly departs from the usual reconstruction *stōwjan* and proposes a direct derivation of *stojan* from an iterative-causative *stoh₂-éi̯e/o-* 'determine, establish the truth of, *feststellen*', with "analogical" restitution of the *-j-*.[3] But even here the possibility of a denominative present based on *stōwō* 'place' is entertained as an alternative.

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[1]Similarly *taui*, 'deed', gen. *tojis*; *afmauiþs* 'exhausted' < *-mōiþs*, etc. The rule is well documented for prevocalic *ē* (cf. *saian* 'sow' < *sēan*, *faian* 'reproach' < *fēan*, *armaio* 'alms' < *-ēō*, etc.), but less so for *ū*, where *bauan* 'dwell' < *būan* is the only example. There are no cases at all for *ī*, which was probably never prevocalic in Proto-Germanic.

[2]So too Lehmann 1986.

[3]As shown by Thórhallsdóttir (1993), intervocalic *-j-* < PIE *-i̯-* was lost everywhere in Germanic except after *-i-*; apparent cases of *-j-*-retention, as in later OHG *sāian* 'sow' or OS *salboian* 'anoint', are analogical. The phonological reflex of PIE *stoh₂-éi̯e/o-* in Gothic would have been *stauan* < *stōan*; analogical restoration

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Much of this near-consensus turns out on closer inspection to be ill-founded. That OE *stōw* and other words meaning 'place' go back via PGmc. *stōwō* to a suffixed form of PIE *steh₂-* 'stand' can be taken for granted; one has only to think of the nearly synonymous Go. *staþs*, Lith. *stovà*, Ved. *sthā́na-*, etc. for parallels. But was *stōwō* '(standing) place' (> OE *stōw*) the same word as *stōwō* 'judgment' (> Go. *staua*)? The supposed transitional meanings 'place of judgment' or 'determination, *Feststellung*' are nowhere to be found in our material; the Gothic forms almost invariably relate to actual judges and legal proceedings, while the juridical sense is altogether absent in North and most of West Germanic (see below). Only in Old (and Middle) High German is there a semantic echo of the Gothic forms, and here the details are instructive. The Old High German cognate of Go. *stojan*, found almost exclusively in glosses, is the class I weak verb *stouwen*, *stuowen* (also *ir-*) and its secondary class II byform *(ir)stouwōn* (-uo-).[4] The meaning of these can be gathered from the Latin verbs they translate: *(con)querī* 'complain', *protestārī* 'bear witness', *increpāre* 'chide', *obiurgāre* 'scold', *incusāre* 'accuse', *causārī* 'dispute', *corripere* 'reproach', etc. The common ancestor of Go. *stojan* and pre-OHG *stōwjan*[5] clearly did not mean 'establish the truth of' or 'perform the office of the *Gerichtsstätte*'. It denoted a verbal act—the act of reproving, complaining, or finding fault.

OHG *stouwen* has a direct continuant in MHG *stöuwen*, *stouwen* 'complain, accuse, reproach'. But the Middle High German verb also has another meaning, 'stop, inhibit, hold back', which is not found in Old High German.[6] The latter is the only attested sense of *stōwjan* (*-ōn*) in the other West Germanic languages. In Old English, the hapax *stōwian* (< *-ōn*) glosses Lat. *retentāre* 'hold back firmly'. In Middle Low German the earliest meaning of *stōwen*, *stouwen*, etc. was 'block, dam up (water)', whence 'pile up (earth, stones, etc.)' and then 'press tightly into place'. (NHG *stauen* 'stow, dam up', a Low German loanword, bears witness to this development.) Unlike *stōwjan* 'reproach' ("*stōwjan₁*"), this second *stōwjan* (*-ōn*), meaning 'hold back' ("*stōwjan₂*"), stands in an obvious and uncomplicated etymological relationship to the inherited substantive *stōwō* (< *steh₂-u-*) '(standing) place'. The literal sense of *stōwjan₂* was 'put or fix in a stationary position'.

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of the *-j-* would presumably have involved a proportion of the type past ptcp. *nasida-* : pres. *nasjan* ('save') :: past ptcp. *stōïda-* : pres. *X*; *X* = *stōjan*. But the participle *stōïda-* would itself have to have been created analogically.

[4] For the forms see Müller 1957:309–14; Raven 1963–7:I 323, II 148–9; Riecke 1996:382–3.

[5] As first seen by van Helten (1981:485–6), the Old High German class I forms are traceable to a preform *stōwjan*. The variants with *-uo-* preserve the phonology of the 2, 3 sg. *stōwis*, *-iþ*; the variants with *-ouw-* (< *-awwj-*) reflect the phonology of the stem-form *stōwja-*, presumably via a development of the type *stōwja-* > *stōwwja-* > *stawwja-* (cf. Thórhallsdóttir 1993:219–24, with discussion and references). Notwithstanding the ad hoc character of the latter scenario—there are no potentially confirming or disconfirming parallels—it is far simpler to refer *stuow-* and *stouw-* to a common prototype than to set up an otherwise unmotivated *stawjan* for the sole purpose of accounting for OHG *stouw-*.

[6] With the possible exception of two cases where *irstouu(i)ta* glosses Lat. *reppulit* 'thrust away' (see Müller 1957:311). The contexts, however, leave open the possibility that the Latin form was understood to mean 'rebuked' or 'rebuffed'.

All this seriously undermines the standard derivation of Go. *stojan* from **steh₂-* 'stand'. None of the transitional meanings ('*Gerichtsstätte*', etc.) that might have bridged the gap between 'stand, establish' and 'judge/judgment' are actually attested, and the meaning of OHG *stouwen* suggests rather that the Gothic sense 'judge' developed out of an earlier meaning 'reprove' or 'denounce'.[7] Clearly, a better story is needed.

In a perceptive paper written a generation ago, Roberto Gusmani (1978) proposed a different etymology, comparing WGmc. **stōwjan₁* and Go. *stojan* with Ved. *stáuti* 'praises', Gk. στεῦται 'declares, announces one's intention', and Hitt. 3 sg. mid. *ištuwāri* 'becomes known'. According to Gusmani, the underlying PIE root **steu-* 'declare/ address solemnly' was restricted to legal contexts in Germanic, in the same way that derivatives of PIE **deik̂-* 'point out' acquired a specialized legal meaning in Italic (Lat. *iūdex*, Osc. *meddíss* 'judge') and Greek (δίκη 'judgment, lawsuit, punishment'). Some of the details of Gusmani's account can be questioned, notably his claim that the technical juridical sense of Go. *stojan, staua* preceded the more general sense of OHG *stouwen*. But there can be no doubt that the connection with **steu-* yields a better semantic—and formal—fit with **stōwjan₁* and *stojan* than the traditional derivation from **steh₂-*. As we shall see, it is also supported by morphological considerations that could not have been appreciated thirty-five years ago.

Ved. *stáuti* (cf. GAv. 1 sg. *stāumī*) is well-known to Indo-Europeanists as the "original" Narten present, the verb on the basis of whose apophonic and accentual behavior the existence of the PIE "proterodynamic" present type (act. 3 sg. **stéu̯-ti*, pl. **stéu̯-n̥ti*, mid. **stéu̯-*) was first posited in 1968 by Johanna Narten. In the decades since Narten's classic paper, correlations have been discovered between Narten presents and other lengthened-grade formations—correlations so striking that many scholars now assume a distinction between Narten and non-Narten *roots* in the parent language.[8] The ontological status of Narten roots is not a question that needs to concern us here. What is important for us is that since the root **steu-* made a Narten present, we would also have expected it to make a "Narten" (= lengthened-grade) iterative-causative **stóu̯-ei̯e/o-* 'cause to be declared/addressed solemnly', just as the parallel roots **h₁ed-* 'eat' (Narten pres. **h₁ēd-/*h₁ed-*), **sed-* 'sit' (Narten pres. **sēd-/*sed-*), and **pleu-* 'flow' (Narten pres. **plēu-/ *pleu-*) made lengthened-grade iterative-causatives **h₁ód-ei̯e/o-* 'cause to be eaten, eat' (> Arm. *utem* 'eat'), **sód-ei̯e/o-* 'cause to be set down, fix' (> OIr. *sáidid* 'implants'), and **plóu-ei̯e/o-* 'cause to flow' (> OCS *plaviti* 'make flow, make float'), respectively.[9] I submit that the predicted iterative-causative **stóu̯-ei̯e/o-*, semantically "downgraded" from 'cause to be declared/addressed solemnly' to 'cause to be denounced/reproached'

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[7]The presumption of innocence was not, it would seem, universally respected among the early Germanic peoples.

[8]The canonical statement of this position is Schindler's influential "erweitertes Handout" of 1994.

[9]The correlation of lengthened-grade causatives with Narten presents was first demonstrated by Klingenschmitt (1978), who set up the suffix as **-i̯e/o-*. In my view, a stronger case can be made for the traditional suffix-form **-ei̯e/o-*, which is retained here. The question of **-i̯e/o-* vs. **-ei̯e/o-* is irrelevant for Germanic, where the two would have fallen together in any case.

(≅ 'denounce/reproach'), was precisely the source of PGmc. *stōwijan(a^N)* and its daughter forms, pre-OHG *stōwjan₁* and Gothic *stojan*. The semantic development in Germanic was the opposite of that in Indo-Iranian, where 'declare/address solemnly' was "upgraded" to 'acclaim/praise'. But Gmc. *stōwjan₁*/*stojan* and IIr. *stā́uti* are otherwise parallel, referring both to persons (wrongdoers; gods and heroes) and their actions (transgressions; heroic deeds).

Gusmani, then, was right to trace *stōwjan₁*/*stojan* to the root *steu-. He was probably wrong, however, to take it as a denominative present to *stōwō* ("*stōwō₁*") 'judgment'. The denominative analysis is superfluous: since the lengthened-grade iterative-causative *stōu̯-ei̯e/o-* was present, or at least freely formable, in the parent language, it is simpler to posit a direct development from *stóu̯-ei̯e/o-* to *stōw(i)ja-* than to take the more circuitous route through a deverbative noun.[10] PGmc. *stōwō₁* (> Go. *staua*), which must originally have meant something like 'solemn verbiage' (whence 'denunciation, reproach' > 'judgment'), was formally a lengthened-grade "collective" comparable to Gk. κώμη 'village', λώγη 'grain harvest' (Hesych.), or Lith. *núoma* 'rent', etc. (cf. Vine 1998, Villanueva Svensson forthcoming). Nouns of this type were an independent constituent of the Narten derivational complex.[11]

Taking *stōwjan₁*/*stojan* from *steu- opens the way to an analysis of the obscure but obviously related OHG *stūēn* 'atone (for)'. The sole attestation of this verb in a literary work is in *Muspilli*, l. 25: *uue demo in uinstri scal / sino uirina stuen* 'woe to him who must atone for his crimes in darkness'. The infinitive ending *-en* can only stand for *-ēn* in this text, justifying the standard lemmatization as a class III weak verb.[12] There are also scattered attestations in the Old High German glosses. These show, *inter alia*, that the vowel of the first syllable was long, and that the class III inflection, unusual in a verb of this structure and meaning, was replaced over the course of the ninth and tenth centuries by the class I inflection proper to the verba pura *(3 sg. (ir)stūēt → (ir)stūit,* etc.).[13] *stūēn* was clearly an archaic word, lacking a synchronic derivational basis in Old High German and apparently unfamiliar even to the copyists who transmitted it.[14] Its immediate source would have to have been a class III weak verb *stuwō, *-ais, *-aiþ*, etc.

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[10] It is otherwise, of course, with *stōwjan₂*, which is clearly denominative.

[11] The Narten character of the long vowel of the Germanic forms was already seen by Thórhallsdóttir (1993:225), who also noted, but did not endorse, the possibility of taking *stōwjan₁*/*stojan* from a Narten causative.

[12] All the historical infinitives in *-jan* in *Muspilli* end in *-an* (class I weak *touuan, huckan, kistarkan, uarsenkan, suannan* (2×), *lossan, arteillan, kitarnan*; strong *furisizzan*). The class III weak infinitives, other than *stuen* itself, are *sorgen* (3×) and *sagen*.

[13] Müller (1957:314–5) and Raven (1963–7:I 210) give the forms. In verba pura of the type *blōan* 'bloom', *grōan* 'grow', etc. the *-uo-* that developed from *-ō-* was monophthongized to *-ū-* before another vowel, giving 3 sg. *blūit, grūit*, etc. alongside analogically restored *bluoit, gruoit* (cf. Braune and Reiffenstein 2004:43, 297). It was to this type that class III *stūēn* (with long *-ū-*!) was assimilated (cf. 3 sg. *arstvit*, etc., as if to class I *stu(o)en*). A secondary class I preterite was created as well (*(ir)stuota* after *bluota < *blōta < *blōita*, etc.). *Pace* Pokorny (*IEW* 1008) and other writers, a primary (i.e., formerly reduplicating) OHG *stūan* or *stōan* never existed.

[14] As Müller points out (*ibid.*), misspellings of "*stuo(e)n*" are frequent, and glosses containing the word are sometimes in effect glossed themselves.

(infin. **stuwan*), with the class III suffix **-ai-/-a-* (cf. below) added to the zero grade of the root (**stuw-* < **stu(u̯)-*). The transparency of the original formation was lost in Old High German, where the sequence /-'u.wV-/ was resyllabified by regular sound change and rephonologized as /-'ū.V-/ (**stuwē-* > *stūē-*).[15] Neither the *-ū-* nor the hiatus of *stūēn* was thus original.

What exactly was the connection between **stōwjan₁/stojan* and **stuwan/stūēn*? Commenting on the semantic difference between 'denounce, reproach' (> 'judge') and 'atone (for)', Müller (1957:319) says,

> Von der Bedeutung her gesehen sind *stu(o)en* [= *stūēn*; JJ] und *stojan* beides Rechtsworte, jedoch mit jeweils anderer Sicht des Rechtsganges. Das Gotische bezeichnet den Vorgang vom Rechtsprecher aus: *stojan* ist 'richten', *staua* 'Richter, Gericht'. Das Ahd. sieht ihn vom Angeklagten her: (*gi-*, *ir-*) *stu(o)en* 'Strafe leiden, büßen'. Derselbe Vorgang ist also einmal von der aktiven, einmal von der passiven Seite aus gesehen ...

Müller is entirely right to liken the **stōwjan₁* : **stuwan* contrast to the difference between the active and mediopassive. If 'judging' is seen as an extension of denouncing or reproaching, then 'atoning' is an extension of denouncing one's own actions or reproaching oneself. Outside Germanic, interestingly, the root **steu-* is better attested in the middle than the active. In Greek there is no active at all: στεῦται, historically the middle of the Narten present **stéu-ti* (cf. Ved. act. *stáuti* : mid. *stáve* < **stéu̯-oi*) is an isolated deponent. Hitt. *ištuwāri*, with the dentalless "stative" ending *-āri* (cf. Oettinger 1976), is likewise medium tantum, but apophonically distinct from the Narten middles στεῦται and *stáve*. The Hittite form presupposes a zero-grade preform **stuu̯-ór*, which (pace *LIV*² 601) is probably old. As I have argued elsewhere (see n. 16), pre-Hitt. **stuu̯-ór* was a "root stative-intransitive present" of the type seen also in Hitt. *lagāri* 'falls, is knocked over' (: PIE **legh-*), *urāni* (< **-āri*) 'burns' (: **u̯erH-*), and especially Indo-Iranian forms like Ved. *cité* 'appears', *vidé* 'is found (as)', OAv. *sruiiē* 'is famed (as)' (cf. *LIV*² 335, n. 4), etc. Such presents belonged to "stative-intransitive systems" in the parent language; they were correlated, *inter alia*, with *h₂e*-conjugation aorists of the type that gave "passive" aorists in Indo-Iranian.[16] It is thus no accident that the passive aorists corresponding to *cité*, *vidé*, and *sruiiē* are all directly attested in our texts (Ved. *áceti*, *avedi*, OAv. *srāuuī* [= Ved. *śrā́vi*]). Precisely the same pattern is seen in the relationship between Hitt. *ištuwāri* and Ved. *ástāvi* 'was praised'. The expected Ved. 3 sg. pres. **stuvé* 'is praised' does not occur, its place having been taken by the Narten form

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[15] There is no contrast between *-uwa-* and *-ūa-* in Old High German. The corresponding treatment of **-ija-* is seen, e.g., in *fīēn* 'hate' and *fīant* 'enemy' (: Go. *fijan*, *fijands*).

[16] Stative-intransitive systems and the IE context of the Indo-Iranian passive aorist are discussed in Jasanoff 2003:152–73. It is essential to note that the terms "stative" and "stative-intransitive", as used by our honorand, myself, and other authors in connection with these forms, have a background in the history of IE scholarship and are in part purely conventional. Thus, e.g., the root stative-intransitive present Ved. 3 sg. *duhé* 'yields [milk]' is often neither stative nor intransitive.

stáve. But the multiply attested YAv. 1 sg. *stuiiē* 'I praise' (*ā-stuiiē* 'I confess') shows that the absence of **stuvé* is secondary.[17]

For PIE, then, we can posit a present middle **stu-h₂é(r)*, **-th₂é(r)*, **-ó(r)*, etc., formally distinct from the Narten middle (**stéu̯-*) and having both transitive and intransitive readings ('solemnly declare/announce concerning oneself; be solemnly declared/announced').[18] If these forms had survived into Proto-Germanic, they would have undergone the usual adversative shift: 1 sg. **stuwai*[19] 'I denounce/reproach (myself, my actions)', 2 sg. **stuðai*, 3 sg. **stuwai*, etc. Non-passive athematic middles of this type, in my view, were the nucleus of the third weak class. In the 3 sg., the opaque **stuwai* was clarified to **stuwaiþ(i)* by the addition of the productive active ending **-þ(i)*; the process was the same as in Ved. *áduha*[*t*] 'gave milk', Hitt. *paršiya*[*zi*] 'breaks', and other well-known examples. The remaining forms were then activized as well: a new 2 sg. **stuwais(i)* and 2 pl. **stuwaiþ(e)* were fashioned on the model of 3 sg. **stuwaiþ(i)*; in the 1 sg., **-ai* was replaced by **-ō*, leading to the creation of a thematic 1 pl. **stuwamiz* (*vel sim.*) and 3 pl. **stuwanþ(i)*.[20]

No discussion of *stūēn* can be complete without a note on the unique Old High German compound *stuatago* 'Judgment Day'. The word is a hapax, known only from l. 55 of *Muspilli*, the same text that provides our primary attestation of *stūēn*.[21] The first element of the compound, potentially readable as disyllabic *stūa-*, *stŭa-*, or monosyllabic *stua-*, is an otherwise unknown word meaning 'judgment', evidently akin to Go. *staua*. But OHG *stua-* is peculiar in two respects:

1) It is the only reflex of the root **steu-* outside Gothic with a specifically juridical meaning. Since the semantic shift from **stōw(i)ja-* 'denounce, reproach' to *stojan* 'judge' was specifically Gothic, an Old High German counterpart of Go. *staua* < **stōwō* ought to have meant 'denunciation, reproach' rather than 'judgment'.

2) From a purely formal point of view, *stua-* is unlikely to go back to **stōwō*, which would have been expected to give **stuouua(tago)* in Old High German.[22] Al-

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[17] As I will discuss elsewhere, indirect evidence for a Vedic 1 sg. **stuvé*, parallel to YAv. *stuiiē*, is to be found in the common but formally isolated *stuṣé* 'I will praise', from the "Doppelstamm" *stuṣ(a)-*.

[18] How the zero-grade and Narten middles would have differed, if at all, in function is not obvious. The two occur side by side in Younger Avestan.

[19] As in Indo-Iranian and Greek, the middle *hic et nunc* particle **-r* was replaced by **-i* in Germanic.

[20] For the most recent version of my analysis of the third weak class, see Jasanoff 2002–3:133–40, 156–61, where the "middle" interpretation of **stuwan*, **-aiþ* appears in a less developed form. The historical identity of PGmc. **stuwai*[*þ*] and Hitt. *ištuwāri* recalls the word equations PGmc. **witai*[*þ*] (Go. *witaiþ*, etc.) 'watches' = Ved. *vidé* 'is found (as)', and PGmc. **dugai*[*þ*] (OIcel. *dugir*) 'helps, suffices' = Ved. *duhé*.

[21] The line is usually read *sten ni kistentit / uerit denne stuatago in lant* 'stone will not stand, the Judgment Day will then come into the land'. Although the *s-* of *stuatago* is a restoration, the alliteration with *sten* (likewise with restored *s-*) and *kistentit* (with *st-* in the ms.) leaves no doubt that *stuatago* (and not, e.g., *tua*[*m*]*tago* 'Doomsday') is the correct reading.

[22] For proof of this we need look no further than *Musp.* 69, where the dat. sg. of **rōwa* 'rest, *Ruhe*' is written *ruouu*.

though *stua-* *could* in principle go back to PGmc. **stuwō*, with the same development as in *stūē-* < **stuwai-*, there is no comparative basis for such a preform.

The simplest interpretation of these facts is that *stua-*, or conceivably the whole compound *stuatago*, is a Gothic loanword. This idea is not new; it was first proposed on semantic grounds by Freudenthal (1949:89), and has been cited, for the most part approvingly, ever since.[23] The lexical "footprint" of Gothic in the Bavarian dialect of Old High German is uncontroversial. The phonological development would have been straightforward: as in the verba pura, early Old High German **stōa* (< Go. *staua* [stɔːa]) would have been diphthongized to **stuoa* and simplified to disyllabic *stūa* (cf. **blōan* > *bluoan* > *blūan*, etc.).

While thus of cultural interest as a case of Gothic–Old High German contact, *stūatago* is not an independent addition to the list of Germanic reflexes of **steu-* with an unbroken IE pedigree. But the number of such forms is already substantial:

- PGmc. **stōwijan(a^N)* 'denounce, reproach' (> Go. *stojan*, OHG *stouwen*, *stuowen*) : PIE Narten causative **stóu̯-ei̯e/o-*;

- PGmc. **stōwō* 'denunciation, reproach' (> Go. *staua* [→ OHG *stūa-*]) : PIE *ō*-grade collective **stóu̯-eh₂*;

- PGmc. **stuwaiþ(i)* 'atones (for)' (> OHG *stūēt*) : PIE 3 sg. mid. ("root stative-intransitive") **stuu̯-ór*.

As these examples show, Germanic, for all its innovative features, still has the power to confront us with surprising archaisms.

Abbreviations

IEW = Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 1. Bern: Francke.

LIV² = Rix, Helmut, ed. 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

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[23] So, e.g., Müller 1957:320, Mastrelli 1976:81–4, Green 1998:318–9.

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