

Class II strong verbs with *ū* in the root.

<i>Gothic</i>	<i>Old Norse</i>	<i>Old English</i>	<i>Old Frisian</i>	<i>Old Saxon</i>	<i>Old High German</i>	
galūkan	lúka	lūcan	lūka	bilūkan	bilūhhan	‘close’
—	súga	sūgan	—	sūgan	sūgan	‘suck’
—	súpa	sūpan	—	—	sūfan	‘drink, swallow’
—	lúta	lūtan	—	—	—	‘bow’
—	dúfa	dūfan	—	—	—	‘dive’
—	—	—	dūka	—	(no pres.)	‘dive’
—	—	crūdan	—	—	—	‘press’
—	—	strūdan	—	—	—	‘despoil’
—	—	sūcan	—	—	—	‘suck’
—	stúpa (1x)	—	—	—	—	‘stoop’
biugan	(no pres.)	būgan	—	(no pres.)	biogan	‘bend’
afskiuban	—	scūfan	skūva	—	skioban	‘push’
sliupan	—	slūpan	—	—	sliofan	‘slip, glide’
—	—	lūcan	lūka	—	arliohan	‘pluck, weed’
—	—	—	slūta	(no pres.)	sliozan	‘close’
—	hrjóta	hrūtan	hrūta	hrūtan	rūzan	‘snore’
—	smjúga	smūgan	—	—	(no pres.)	‘creep’
—	—	āsprēotan	sprūta	ūtsprūtan	(no pres.)	‘sprout’
—	þjóta	þēotan, þūtan	—	—	diozan	‘howl, roar’

Two unusual verbs with *ū* in the root.

	<i>pres. inf.</i>	<i>past 3sg.</i>	<i>past 3pl.</i>	<i>past ptc.</i>	
<i>Gothic</i>	brūkjan	brūhta	[brūhtedun]	—	‘use’
<i>Old English</i>	brūcan	brēac	brucon	brocen	‘use, enjoy’
<i>Old Frisian</i>	brūka	—	—	—	‘use’
<i>Old Saxon</i>	brūkan	—	—	—	‘enjoy, rejoice’
<i>OHG</i>	brūhhan	verbrūchte (12th c.)	keprūhhit, gebrūchet;		‘use, enjoy’
			kiprohan (1x)		

Most likely reconstruction: PGmc. *brūkanaǵ, *brūhtē, *brūhtaz, with different regularizations in different daughters.

Nearly all derivatives exhibit *ū: Goth. *brūks*, OE *bryċe*, OHG *brūhhi* ‘useful’, Goth. pl. *unbrūkjai*, OE *unbryċe* ‘unuseful’, < PGmc.

*brūkiz, *unbrūkiz; OHG *prūh* ‘use, custom’; only OE *broc* ‘use, benefit’ and *bryċe* ‘use, enjoyment, service’ reflect short *u.

Italic cognates (Lat. *fruī* ‘enjoy’, ptc. *fructus*, *frūgēs* ‘produce’, etc.; Osc. *fruktatiuf* ‘usufruct’; Umbr. acc. *frif* ‘produce’) reflect post-

PIE *b^hruHg^w-.

	<i>pres. inf.</i>	<i>past 3sg.</i>	<i>past 3pl.</i>	<i>past ptc.</i>	
<i>Gothic</i>	bauan	bauaida (1x)	—	—	‘dwell’
<i>Old Norse</i>	búa	bjó	bjoggu	búinn	‘dwell, prepare’
<i>Old English</i>	būan, būgean	būde	būdon	gebūd, gebūn	‘dwell, cultivate’
<i>Old Saxon</i>	būan	būide	—	—	‘dwell’
<i>OHG</i>	būen	būta	biruun (!)	—	‘dwell, inhabit’

Most likely reconstruction: PGmc. *būanaǵ, *būdē (weak, anomalous); also fairly likely: *būanaǵ, *bebū (strong, class VII).

There are also apparently derived weak verbs:

ON *byggva*, *byggja* ‘settle, inhabit’ < *buwwijanaǵ; Northumbrian OE *bȳa* ‘inhabit, possess’; OF *būwa*, past *būvde* ‘cultivate’ apparently belongs here, and both the OS past and the OHG verb listed above might belong here too; in weak class II, late West Saxon OE *būgian*, *būgode* and *bōgian*, *bōgode* ‘dwell, inhabit’.

Some of these might simply reflect remodelling of the inherited basic verb.

Derivatives are fairly numerous (see Seebold 1970:125-6) and mostly reflect *bū-. Short *u appears in OE *botl*, *bold* ‘dwelling’,

OF *bodel* ‘movable property’, OS *bodal* ‘landed property’; long *ō appears in ON *ból* ‘court, lair’. The family of words that means ‘swelling, boil’ probably isn’t related.

The PGmc. present *būanaǵ reflects post-PIE *b^huh₂-ye/o- with regular loss of intervocalic *j (Þórhallsdóttir 1993:152-6); the same stem appears in Gk. φύεσθαι ‘grow’, Lat. *fiērī* (3pl. *fīunt*) ‘become’, OIr. *bīid* ‘customarily is’, but the lack of any such formation in Indo-Iranian suggests that it arose independently more than once.

The root is PIE *b^huh₂- ‘become’, a non-ablauting root with underlying */u/; the inherited aorist (indic. 3sg.) *b^húh₂t survives in Skt. *áb^hūt* ‘has been’, Gk. ἔφῦ ‘was born, is (by nature)’, thematized in Lat. *fuit* ‘has been, was’, OIr. *boi* ‘was’.

It is striking that only these two anomalous verbs unproblematically reflect PIE roots that are expected to appear with internal *ū in PGmc. Of the strong verbs, ‘pluck’ reflects PIE *lewǵ- ‘break’; the verbs meaning ‘suck’ resemble similar verbs in other subfamilies, but the only perfect match is between Lat. *sūgere* and OE *sūcan*, and the latter is isolated within Germanic; *spreut-/*sprūt- might belong with Lith. *spráusti* (*spráud-*) ‘cram in’; *smūg- (and *smeug-?; cf. ModHG *schmiegen*) might belong with Lith. *smáukti* ‘strip off’ and/or OCS *smykati se* ‘lumber off’ (the first with a diphthong, the latter with *ū).

This suggests that the entire strong subclass with *ū in the root is a Germanic innovation.