

Examples of Grimm's Law (not exhaustive!).

Note that (1) PIE palatals and velars always have the same outcomes, and (2) labiovelars are delabialized next to u-vowels and immediately before obstruents.

1) Voiceless stops became voiceless fricatives.

• *p > *f:

PIE *p^óds 'foot (nom. sg.)' (cf. Skt. *páṭ*, Doric Gk. πῶς /p^ó:s/) > PGmc. *fōt- > Goth. *fofus*, ON *fótr*, OE *fōt*, OHG *fuoz*;

PIE *péku 'cattle, property' (cf. Skt. *pásu*, Lat. *pecū*) > PGmc. *fehu > Goth. *faihu*, ON *fǣ*, OE *feoh*, OHG *fihu*;

PIE *pék- 'to comb' (cf. Gk. πέκειν /péke:n/; Lith. *pėšti* 'to pluck'), extended *pék-t- (cf. Lat. *pectere*) > PGmc. *fehtana 'to fight' (!; but the Lat. verb can also mean 'to thrash (someone)') > OE *feohtan*, OHG *fehtan*;

PIE *pélh₁u 'much (neut.)' (cf. OIr. *il*; Skt. *purú*, Gk. πολύ /polú/ with remodelled ablaut) > PGmc. *felu > Goth., OHG *filu*, ON *fjql-*; cf. OE *fela* with oblique ending;

PIE *p^h₁nós 'full' (cf. Skt. *pūrṇás*, Lith. *pilnas*) > PGmc. *fullaz > Goth. *fulls*, ON *fullr*, OE *full*, OHG *fol*;

PIE *p^ṛh₁mós 'first' (cf. Lith. *pirmas*; parallel *p^ṛhwós in e.g. Skt. *pūrvas*, Toch. B *pärwešše*) > PGmc. *fruma-n- > Goth. *fruma*, OE *forma*;

PIE *pórkós 'pig' (cf. Lat. *porcus*; Lith. *paršas* 'barrow') > PGmc. *farhaz 'piglet' > OE *fearh*, OHG *farah*;

PIE *pénk^{we} 'five' (cf. Skt. *páñca*, Gk. πέντε /pénte/) > PGmc. *fimf > Goth., OHG *fimf*, ON *fimm*, OE *fif*; the word-final labial is puzzling;

PIE *paw- 'few' (cf. Lat. pl. *paucī* with k-suffix) > PWGmc. pl. *fawai > Goth. *fawai*, ON *fáir* (with added ending), OE *fēawe*, OHG *fowe*;

PIE *péh₂w^ṛ 'fire' (cf. Hitt. *pahhur*), collective *péh₂wō^r → *ph₂uō^r (cf. Toch. B *puwar*), oblique stem *ph₂un- (remodelled in Gk. πυρ- /pur-/) > PGmc. *fō^r, *fun- > Goth. *fon*, *funin-*, ON *fúrr* (poetic), OE *fȳr*, OHG *fuir*;

PIE *pró 'in front, forward' (cf. Skt. *prá*, Gk. πρό /pró/) > PGmc. *fra- > Goth. *fra-*, OE *for-*;

- PIE *préwseti ‘it burns’ (cf. Skt. *plóṣati*; derived noun *pruṣvā́* ‘hoarfrost’) > PGmc.
 *friusidi ‘it freezes’ > OE *frīest*, OHG *friusit*; ON *frýss* with ending replaced;
- PIE *priHós ‘beloved’ (cf. Skt. *priyás*) > PGmc. *frijaz ‘free’ > Goth. *freis*, OE *frīo*,
 OHG *frī*;
- PIE *plékteti ‘(s)he plaits’ (cf. Lat. *plectit*, OCS *pletetŭ*) > PGmc. *flihtidi > OHG
flihtit;
- PIE *swépnos ‘sleep’ (cf. Skt. *svápnas*, Lat. *somnus*) > PGmc. *swefnaz ‘sleep, dream’ >
 ON *svefn*, OE *swefn*;
- PIE *népōts ‘grandson’ (cf. Lat. *nepōs*, Skt. *nápāt*) >→ PGmc. *nefō ‘grandson, nephew’
 (remodelled as an n-stem) > ON *nefi*, OE *nefa*, OHG *nefo*;
- PIE *klep- ‘to steal’ (cf. Gk. κλέπτειν /klépte:n/; Old Prussian *auklipts* ‘hidden’, OCS
poklopŭ ‘cover’) > PGmc. *hlefanā > Goth. *hlifan*;
- PIE *Hréwpeti ‘(s)he will break’ (aor. subj.; the present was nasal-infixed, cf. 3sg. Lat.
rumpit, Skt. *lumpāti*) > PGmc. *riuufidi ‘(s)he tears’ >→ ON *ryfr* (with ending
 replaced);
- PIE *kápros ‘male (animal)’ (cf. Gk. κάπρος /kápros/ ‘boar’, Lat. *caper* ‘he-goat’) >
 PGmc. *hafraz ‘he-goat’ > ON *hafr*, OE *hæfer*;
- PIE *tetórpe ‘(s)he enjoys’ (cf. Skt. 3pl. *tātrpúr* ‘they are satisfied’; root *terp-, cf. Gk.
 τέρπεσθαι /térpēs^hai/ ‘to enjoy oneself’) >→ PGmc. *þarf ‘(s)he needs’ >
 Goth., ON *þarf*, OE *þearf*, OHG *darf*.
- *t > *þ:
- PIE *túH ‘you’ (nom. sg.; cf. Lat. *tū*, Vedic Skt. *tuv-ám*) > PGmc. *þū > Goth., OE
þū, ON *þú*, OHG *dū*;
- PIE *tóm ‘that’ (acc. sg. masc.; cf. Skt. *tám*, Gk. τόν /tón/) >→ PGmc. *þanō > Goth.
þana, OE *þone*;
- PIE *tód ‘that’ (neut.; cf. Skt. *tát*, Gk. τό /tó/) > PGmc. *þat > ON *þat*, OE *þæt*, OHG
daz;
- PIE *tórmos ‘borehole’ (cf. Greek τόρμος /tórmos/ ‘socket’) > PGmc. *þarmaz
 ‘intestine’ > ON *þarmr*, OE *þearm*, OHG *darm*;
- PIE *tonéyeti ‘(s)he extends (it)’ (cf. Skt. *tānáyati*) >→ PGmc. *þaniþi ‘(s)he stretches
 (it)’ > OE *þeneþ*, OHG *denit*; Goth. *ufþanjiþ sik* ‘strives for’ has levelled *j* in
 from other forms, while the ending of ON *þenr* has been replaced;

- PIE *ténh₂u-s ~ *tñh₂éw-, fem. *tñh₂éw-ih₂ ~ *tñh₂u-yéh₂- ‘thin’ (cf. Lat. *tenuis*) >→ *tñh₂ús, fem. *tñh₂wíh₂ (cf. Skt. *tanús*, *tanvī*) > *þunuz, *þunwī >→ PGmc. *þunnuz, *þunnī > ON *þunnr*, OE *þynne*, OHG *dunni*;
- PIE *teg- ‘to cover’ (cf. Lat. *tegere*) in (post-)PIE *togom ‘roof’ > PGmc. *þaką > ON *þak*, OE *þæc*, OHG *dah*; similar semantics in Lat. *tēctum*, OIr. *tugae*;
- PIE *tetórpe ‘(s)he enjoys’ (cf. Skt. 3pl. *tāṭṛpúr* ‘they are satisfied’; root *terp-, cf. Gk. τέρπεσθαι /térpest^{hai}/ ‘to enjoy oneself’) >→ PGmc. *þarf ‘(s)he needs’ > Goth., ON *þarf*, OE *þearf*, OHG *darf*;
- PIE *tríns ‘three (acc. masc.)’ (cf. Skt. *trīn*, Lat. *trīs*) > PGmc. *þrinz > Goth. *þrins*, OHG *drī*; cf. ON *þrjá*, OE *þrīe* with added endings;
- PIE *treb- ~ *tr̥b- ‘building’ (cf. OIr. *atreba* ‘(s)he dwells’; secondary zero grade in Lat. *trabs* ‘beam’) in PGmc. *þurpa ‘farmstead, village’ > ON *þorp*, OHG *dorpf*; Goth. *þaúrþ* ‘field’;
- (post-)PIE *tong- ‘to percieve, to think’ (cf. dialectal Lat. *tongitiō* ‘nōtiō, idea’, OIr. *tongid* ‘(s)he swears’) > PGmc. *þank- in *þankijana ‘to think’ > Goth. *þagkjan*, OE *þencan*, OHG *denken*; ON *þekkja* ‘to perceive’; *þank- ‘thanks’ > ON *þokk*, OE *þanc*, OHG *dank*;
- PIE *b^hréh₂tēr ‘brother’ (cf. Skt. *b^hrātā*, Lat. *frāter*) > PGmc. *brōþēr > Goth. *broþar*, ON *bróðir*, OE *brōþor*, OHG *bruoder*;
- PIE *kátus ‘fight’ (cf. OIr. *cath* ‘battle’; Luvian *kattawatnallis* ‘plaintiff’) > PGmc. *haþuz ‘battle’ > OE *heapu-*, OHG *hadu-*; ON *Hqðr*, name of the god of battle;
- PIE *k^wóteros ‘which (of two)?’ (cf. Gk. πότερος /póteros/; Skt. *katarás*) > PGmc. *h^waþeraz > Goth. *haþar*, OE *hwæþer*;
- PIE *nítuos ‘(one’s) own’ (cf. Skt. *nítuas*) > PGmc. *niþjaz ‘relative, kinsman’ > Goth. *niþjis*, ON *niðr*; OE pl. *niþpas* ‘men’;
- PIE *ánteros ‘other (of two)’ (apparently a derivative of *ályos ‘other’ with an archaic *l ~ *n alternation) > PGmc. *anþeraz > Goth. *anþar*, ON *annarr*, OE *ōþer*, OHG *ander*;
- PIE *wértetor ‘it turns’ (cf. Lat. *vertitur*, Skt. *vártate*) >→ PGmc. *wirþidi ‘(s)he becomes’ > Goth. *wairþiþ*, OE *wierþ*, OHG *wirdit*.

• *k̑ and *k > *h:

PIE *kím ‘this’ (acc. sg. masc.; cf. Lith. *šĩ*) >→ PGmc. *hinō > OE *hine* ‘him’, Goth.

- (*und*) *hina* (*dag*) ‘(until) this (day)’;
- PIE **kérd-* ~ **kṛd-* ‘heart’ (cf. Lat. *cord-*, Lith. *širdis*) >→ PGmc. **hertan-* > Goth. *hairto*, ON *hjarta*, OE *heorte*, OHG *herza*;
- PIE **kéleti* ‘(s)he hides (it)’ (OIr. *celid*, Lat. cpd. *occultit*; for the palatal cf. Skt. *śaraṇás* ‘protecting’) > PGmc. **hilidi* > OE *hilþ*, OHG *hilit*;
- PIE **key-* ‘to be lying down’ (cf. pres. 3sg. Skt. *śéte*, Gk. κείται /*kêitai*/) in **kóymos* ‘resting place’ > PGmc. **haimaz* ‘settlement’ > ON *heimr* ‘world’, OE *hām* ‘home’; Goth. *haims* ‘village’ has been remodelled as an i-stem, but note a-stem pl. *haimos* ‘countryside’;
- PIE **konk-* ‘to hang’ (cf. Hitt. pres. 3sg. *gānki*; Skt. *śáṅkate* ‘is indecisive, worries’) > PGmc. **hanhana* > OE *hōn*, OHG *hāhan*; Goth. *hāhan* ‘to suspend (judgment)’;
- PIE **klew-* ‘to hear’ with derivs. **kléwm̥* ‘hearing’, **kléwtrom* ‘means of hearing’ (cf. Skt. *śrav-*, *śrótram* ‘ear’, Av. *srauu-*, *sraoma*, *sraoθrəm* ‘singing’) > PGmc. **hleuman-* ‘hearing’, **hleuþrą* ‘noise’ > Goth. *hliuma*, OE *hlēoþor*, OHG *hliodar*;
- (post-)PIE **kṛn-* ‘horn’ (cf. Skt. *śṛṅgam*, Lat. *cornū*; see Nussbaum, *Head and Horn* pp. 11-4) >→ PGmc. **hurna* > Runic Norse *horna*, Goth. *haiurn*, ON, OE, OHG *horn*;
- PIE **kaw(H)-* ‘to chop’ (cf. Lith. *káuti* ‘to beat, to chop, to kill’, Toch. B /*kaw-*/ ‘kill’) > PGmc. **hawwana* > ON *hoggva*, OE *hēawan*, OHG *houwan*;
- PIE **kátus* ‘fight’ (cf. OIr. *cath* ‘battle’; Luvian *kattawatnallis* ‘plaintiff’) > PGmc. **haþuz* ‘battle’ > OE *heaþu-*, OHG *hadu-*; ON *Hqðr*, name of the god of battle;
- PIE **kusd^ho-* ‘treasure’ (cf. Lat. *custōs* ‘guardian’, Gk. κύσθος /*kúst^hos*/ ‘vulva’) > PGmc. **huzdą* > Goth. *huzd*, ON *hodd*, OE *hord*, OHG *hort*;
- PIE **kóryos* ‘detachment’ (OIr. *cuire* ‘company’; Lith. *kārias* ‘army’) > PGmc. **harjaz* ‘army’ > Goth. *harjis*, ON *herr*, OE *here*, OHG *heri*;
- PIE **klep-* ‘to steal’ (cf. Gk. κλέπτειν /*klépte:n*/; Old Prussian *auklipts* ‘hidden’, OCS *poklopŭ* ‘cover’) > PGmc. **hlefaną* > Goth. *hlifan*;
- PIE **k̥l̥hnís* ‘hill’ (cf. Lat. *collis*; Lith. *kálnas* < **kólHnos*) > PGmc. **hulliz* > OE *hyll*;
- (post-)PIE **káykos* ‘one-eyed’ (cf. OIr. *caech*; Lat. *caecus* ‘blind’) > PGmc. **haihaz* > Goth. *haihs*;
- (post-)PIE **kólsos* ‘neck’ (cf. OLat. *collus*, Lat. *collum*) > PGmc. **halsaz* (cf. Goth., ON,

OHG *hals*, OE *heals*;

PIE *pékú ‘cattle, property’ (cf. Skt. *pásu*, Lat. *pecū*) > PGmc. *fehu > Goth. *faihu*, ON *fǣ*, OE *feoh*, OHG *fihu*;

PIE *dékmd ‘ten’ (cf. Skt. *dása*, Lat. *decem*, Lith. *dėšimt*) > PGmc. *tehun > Goth. *taihun*, ON *tíu*, OE *tīen*, OHG *zehan*;

PIE *swékuros ‘father-in-law’ (cf. Skt. *śvāsuras*, Lat. *socer*) > PGmc. *swehuraz > OE *swēor*, OHG *swehur*; cf. Goth. *swaihra* with remodelled ending;

PIE *deyǵ- ‘point (at)’ (cf. Gk. *δεικνύναι* /*deiknúnai*/ ‘to show’, Lat. *dīcere* ‘to say’) > PGmc. *tīhanaǵ ‘to declare’ > Goth. *gateihan* ‘to proclaim’; OE *tīon*, OHG *zīhan*, both ‘to accuse’;

PIE *pórkos ‘pig’ (cf. Lat. *porcus*; Lith. *paršas* ‘barrow’) > PGmc. *farhaz ‘piglet’ > OE *feorh*, OHG *farah*;

PIE *lówkos ‘clearing’ (cf. Lith. *laukas* ‘field’, Lat. *lūcus* ‘grove’) > PGmc. *lauhaz > OE *lēah* ‘meadow’, OHG *lōh* ‘copse, grove’;

(post-)PIE *déketi ‘(s)he leads’ (cf. Lat. *dūcit*) > PGmc. *tiuhidi ‘(s)he leads, (s)he pulls’ > Goth. *tiuhīþ*, OE *tīehþ*, OHG *ziuhit*;

post-PIE *márkos ‘horse’ (cf. Welsh *march*) > PGmc. *marhaz > ON *marr*, OE *meorh* (both poetic); cf. OHG *marahscalc* ‘horse-servant’.

• ***k^w and *k^w > *h^w (*h when delabialized):**

PIE *k^wóm ‘which? (acc. sg. masc.; cf. Skt. *kám* ‘which?, whom?’) > *k^wón ‘whom?’ > PGmc. *h^wanō > Goth. *h^wana*, OE *hwone*;

PIE *k^wód ‘which? (neut.)’ (cf. Lat. *quod*; Vedic Skt. *kád* ‘what?’) > PGmc. *h^wat ‘what?’ > ON *hvat*, OE *hwæt*, OHG *waʒ*;

PIE *k^wóteros ‘which (of two)?’ (cf. Gk. *πότερος* /*póteros*/; Skt. *katarás*) > PGmc. *h^waþeraz > Goth. *h^waþar*, OE *hwæþer*;

PIE *k^wyeh₁- ‘to rest’, derived noun *k^wyéh₁tis (cf. Lat. *quiēs*; Old Persian *šiyātiš* ‘peace’), zero grade *k^wi_h1- in PGmc. *h^wīlō ‘time’ > Goth. *h^weila*, OE *hwīl*, OHG *wīla*;

PIE *ék^wos ‘horse’ (cf. Skt. *áśvas*, Lat. *equos*) > *ék^wos > PGmc. *eh^waz > ON *jór*, OE *eoh* (both poetic); cf. Goth. *aihuatundi* ‘thornbush’, lit. *‘horse-tooth’;

PIE *sek^w- ‘to see’ (cf. Alb. *sheh* ‘(s)he sees’; Hitt. *sākuwa* ‘eyes’) > PGmc. *seh^wanaǵ > Goth. *saihan*, ON *sjá*, OE *sēon*, OHG *sehan*;

PIE aor. subj. *léyk^weti ‘(s)he will leave (it)’ (Gk. pres. indic. λείπει /léipei/ ‘(s)he is leaving (it)’; but the original pres. was nasal-infixed, cf. Skt. *riṇákti*, Lat. *linquit*) > PGmc. *līh^widi ‘(s)he lends’ > Goth. *leihiþ*, OE *līehþ*, OHG *līhit*;

PIE aor. subj. *séyk^weti ‘(s)he will filter’ (cf. late Rigvedic Skt. pres. indic. *sécate* ‘(s)he moistens’, beside frequent *siñcáti* and aor. 3pl. *asican*) > PGmc. *sīh^widi ‘(s)he filters’ > OE *sīehþ*, OHG *sīhit*;

post-PIE *ák^weh₂ ‘running water’ (cf. Lat. *aqua* ‘water’) > PGmc. *ah^wō ‘river’ > Goth. *ahva*, ON *á*, OE *ēa*, OHG *aha*.

☞ **Examples of labials and dorsals immediately preceding obstruents:**

PIE *kh₂ptós ‘grabbed’ (cf. Lat. *captus* ‘taken, caught’) > PGmc. *haftaz ‘captive’ > OE *hæft*, OHG *haft*;

PIE *oktōw ‘eight’ (cf. Skt. *aṣṭáu*, Lat. *octō*) > PGmc. *ahtōu > Goth. *ahtau*, ON *átta*, OE *eahta*, OHG *ahto*;

PIE *swéks ‘six’ (cf. Av. *xšuuāš*, Gk. ἕξ /héks/, Boiotian *φέξ* /(h)wéks/) → *séks (by lexical analogy with ‘seven’; cf. Skt. *ṣát*, Lat. *sex*) > PGmc. *sehs > Goth. *saihs*, ON *sex*, OE *siex*, OHG *sehs*;

PIE *deks- ‘right(-hand)’ (cf. Gk. δεξιός /deksiós/, Av. *dašinō*) > PGmc. *tehswaz > Goth. *taihswa*, OHG *zesō*, *zesawēr*;

PIE *uksén ‘bull, ox’ (cf. Av. *uxša*) >→ PGmc. *uhsō (ending remodelled) > ON *oxi*, OE *oxa*, OHG *ohso*; Goth. gen. pl. *aihsne*.

☞ **Note also, with delabialization:**

PIE *nók^wt- ~ *nék^wt- ‘night’ (cf. Gk. νύξ /núks/, νυκτ- /nukt-/, Hitt. *nekuz mēhur* ‘evening time’) > *nókt- > PGmc. *naht- > Goth. *nahts*, ON *nátt*, OE *niht*, OHG *naht*.

Exception: a PIE voiceless stop immediately following another obstruent was *not* affected by Grimm’s Law.

☞ **Examples of PIE *s + stop:**

PIE *spr^{dh}- ‘contest’ (cf. Skt. *spr^{dh}-*) > PGmc. *spurd- ‘racecourse’ > Goth. *spaurds*;

PIE *spr₁-n-h₁- ‘to kick’ (cf. Lat. *spernere* ‘to despise, to reject’, pf. *sprēvisse*) > PGmc. *spurnan₁ ‘to kick, to trample’ > ON *sporna*, OE, OHG *spurnan*;

PIE *h₂stér- ‘star’ (cf. Hitt. *hasterz*, Gk. ἀστέρ- /astér-/) >→ PGmc. *sternan- > Goth. *stairno*, ON *stjarna*, OE *steorra*, OHG *sterno*, *sterro*;

- PIE *stéh₂ti- ~ *sth₂téy- ‘act of standing, place to stand’, → *sth₂tís (cf. Skt. *st^hitís*) >
 PGmc. *stadiz ‘place’ > Goth. *staps*, ON *staðr*, OE *stede*, OHG *stat*;
- PIE *stéygheti ‘(s)he’s walking’ (cf. Gk. *στείχει* /stéik^hei/; Skt. *stigh^h*-, pres. 3sg.
stigh^hnóti) > PGmc. *stīgidi ‘(s)he climbs’ > Goth. *steigip*, OE *stīgþ*, OHG *stīgit*;
 ON *stigr* with ending replaced;
- PIE *h₁esti ‘(s)he is’ (cf. Gk. *ἔστι* /esti/, Lat. *est*) > PGmc. *isti > Runic Norse, Goth.,
 OHG *ist*, OE *is*, early ON *es*;
- PIE *g^hóstis ‘stranger’ (cf. Lat. *hostis* ‘enemy’, OCS *gostĭ* ‘guest’) > PGmc. *gastiz
 ‘guest’ > Goth. *gasts*, ON *gestr*, OE *giest*, OHG *gast*;
- post-PIE superlative suffix *-isto-s (cf. Gk. *-ιστο-ς*, e.g. in *ἄριστος* /áristos/ ‘best’) >
 PGmc. *-ista-z, e.g. in *batistaz ‘best’ > Goth. *batists*, ON *baztr*, *beztr*, OE *betst*,
best, OHG *bezzisto*;
- PIE *skéydeti ‘(s)he will cut (it) off’ (cf. Rigvedic Skt. *mā c^hedma* ‘may we not break’) >
 PGmc. *skītidi ‘(s)he defecates’ > ModHG *scheißt*; ON *skítr* with ending
 replaced; seldom attested in the older Gmc. documents;
- PIE *skabh^heti ‘(s)he’s scratching’ (cf. Lat. *scabit*) > PGmc. *skabidi ‘(s)he shaves’ >
 Goth. *skabiþ*, OE *scæfþ*, OHG *skebit*; ON *skefr* with ending replaced;
- (post-)PIE *pisk- ‘fish’ (cf. Lat. *piscis*) > PGmc. *fiskaz > Goth. *fisks*, ON *fiskr*, OE,
 OHG *fisc*.

☞ **Examples of PIE *t preceded by a labial or dorsal stop:**

- PIE *kh₂ptós ‘grabbed’ (cf. Lat. *captus* ‘taken, caught’) > PGmc. *haftaz ‘captive’ >
 OE *hæft*, OHG *haft*;
- PIE *októw ‘eight’ (cf. Skt. *aṣṭáu*, Lat. *octō*) > PGmc. *ahtōu > Goth. *ahtau*, ON *átta*,
 OE *eahta*, OHG *ahto*;
- PIE *nók^wt- ~ *nék^wt- ‘night’ (cf. Gk. *νύξ* /núks/, *νυκτ-* /nukt-/; Hitt. *nekuz mēhur*
 ‘evening time’) > *nókt- > PGmc. *naht- > Goth. *nahts*, ON *nátt*, OE *niht*, OHG
naht.

☞ **Intramorphemic *tt, which occurred only in affective words, was also exempt:**

- PIE *átta ‘dad’ (cf. Lat. *atta*, Gk. *ἄττα* /átta/, both used as polite terms of address for old
 men; Hitt. *attas* ‘father’) >→ PGmc. *attō > Goth. *atta* ‘father’.

2) Voiced stops became voiceless stops.

• *b > *p:

PIE *d^héwbu- ~ *d^hubéw- ‘deep’ (cf. Lith. *dubùs* ‘hollow’; *d^hubrós in Toch. B *tapre* ‘high’) >→ PGmc. *deupaz > Goth. *diups*, ON *djúpr*, OE *dēop*, OHG *tiof*;

PIE *leb- ‘lip’ (cf. Lat. *labrum*; Hitt. *lilipai* ‘(s)he licks’) > PGmc. *lep- ~ *lip- > OE *lippa*, OHG *leffur*;

PIE *treb- ~ *t^hrb- ‘building’ (cf. OIr. *atreba* ‘(s)he dwells’; secondary zero grade in Lat. *trabs* ‘beam’) in PGmc. *þurpa ‘farmstead, village’ > ON *þorp*, OHG *dorpf*; Goth. *þaúrþ* ‘field’;

(post-)PIE *g^hreyb- ‘to grab, to grasp’ (cf. Lith. *griēbti* ‘to grasp at, make a grab for’) > PGmc. *grīpana > Goth. *greipan*, ON *grīpa*, OE *grīpan*, OHG *grīfan*.

• *d > *t:

PIE *dékm̥d ‘ten’ (cf. Skt. *dáśa*, Lat. *decem*, Lith. *dēšimt*) > PGmc. *tehun > Goth. *taihun*, ON *tíu*, OE *tīen*, OHG *zehan*;

PIE *déks- ‘right(-hand)’ (cf. Gk. δεξιός /deksiós/, Av. *dašinō*) > PGmc. *tehsواز > Goth. *taihsua*, OHG *zesō*, *zesawēr*;

PIE *dn̥g^hwéh₂- ‘tongue’ (cf. Old Lat. *dingua*) >→ PGmc. *tungōn- > Goth. *tuggo*, ON *tunga*, OE *tunge*, OHG *zunga*; the Gmc. word has been remodelled as an n-stem;

PIE *h₁dónt- ~ *h₁dn̥t- ‘tooth’ (cf. Skt. *dánt-* ~ *dat-*, Gk. ὀδόντ- /odónt-/, Lat. *dent-*) > PGmc. *tanþ- ~ *tund- > ON *tǫnn*, OE *tōþ*, OHG *zand*; Goth. *tunþus* ‘tooth’, *aíhuatundi* ‘thornbush’, lit. *‘horse-tooth’;

PIE *deyk- ‘point (at)’ (cf. Gk. δεικνύναι /deiknúnai/ ‘to show’, Lat. *dīcere* ‘to say’) > PGmc. *tīhana ‘to declare’ > Goth. *gateihan* ‘to proclaim’; OE *tīon*, OHG *zīhan*, both ‘to accuse’;

PIE *deywós ‘god’ (cf. Skt. *devás*, Lat. *deus*) > PGmc. *Tīwaz, name of the war god > ON *Týr*; OE *Tīwesdæg* ‘dies Martis, Tuesday’;

PIE *dayh₂wēr ‘brother-in-law’ (cf. Skt. *devā́*, Gk. δᾱήρ /da:é:r/) >→ PGmc. *taikuraz (under the lexical influence of *swehuraz, see above) > OE *tācor*, OHG *zeihur*;

PIE *dóru ~ *dréw- ‘tree, wood’ (cf. Skt. *dáru*, gen. sg. *drós*) >→ PGmc. *trewa > ON *tré*, OE *trēo*; Goth. dat. pl. *triwam* ‘with clubs’;

PIE *dwóh₁ ‘two’ (masc. nom.-acc.; cf. Skt. *dvā́*, Homeric Gk. δύω /dúo:/) > ?PGmc. *twō, possibly in OE *twægen* > *twēgen* (*twō inō): or >→ ?PGmc. *twai (with

- plural inflection) > Goth *twai*;
(post-)PIE **déwketi* ‘(s)he leads’ (cf. Lat. *dūcit*) > PGmc. **tiuhidi* ‘(s)he leads, (s)he pulls’ > Goth. *tiuhīþ*, OE *tīehþ*, OHG *ziuhit*;
PIE **ád* ‘at’ (cf. Lat. *ad*) > PGmc. **at* > Goth., ON *at*, OE *æt*, OHG *aʒ*;
PIE **tód* ‘that’ (neut.; cf. Skt. *tát*, Gk. τό /tó/) > PGmc. **þat* > ON *þat*, OE *þæt*, OHG *daʒ*;
PIE **k^wód* ‘which? (neut.)’ (cf. Lat. *quod*; Vedic Skt. *kád* ‘what?’) > PGmc. **h^wat* ‘what?’ > ON *hvat*, OE *hwæt*, OHG *waʒ*;
PIE **h₁ed-* ‘to eat’ (cf. Skt. *ad-*, Homeric Gk. ἔδειν /éde:n/, Lat. *edere*) > PGmc. **etana* > Goth. *itan*, ON *eta*, OE *etan*, OHG *eʒzan*;
PIE **póds* ‘foot (nom. sg.)’ (cf. Skt. *pát*, Doric Gk. πός /pó:s/) > PGmc. **fōt-* > Goth. *fotus*, ON *fótr*, OE *fōt*, OHG *fuoz*;
PIE **wréh₂d-* ~ **wṛh₂d-* ‘root’ (cf. Lat. *rādīx*) > **wrād-* ~ **wurd-* > PGmc. **wrōt-* ~ **wurt-* > Goth. *waurts*, ON *rót*; OE *wyrt*, OHG *wurz* ‘root, herb, plant’; ON *urt* ‘herb’;
PIE **swáduš* ‘pleasant, sweet’ (**swéh₂dus?*; cf. Skt. *svādús*, Gk. ῥόδύς /hē:dús/) > PGmc. **swōtuz* → PNWGmc. **swōtiz* (cf. ON *sætr*, OE *swēte*, OHG *suozī*);
PIE subjunctive **b^héydeti* ‘(s)he will split’ (cf. Skt. *b^hédati*) > PGmc. **bītidi* ‘(s)he bites’ > Goth. *beitīþ*, OE *bītt*, OHG *bīʒʒit*; ON *bítr* with ending replaced;
PIE **skéydeti* ‘(s)he will cut (it) off’ (cf. Rigvedic Skt. *má c^hedma* ‘may we not break’) > PGmc. **skītidi* ‘(s)he defecates’ > ModHG *scheißt*; ON *skítr* with ending replaced; seldom attested in the older Gmc. documents;
PIE **sed-* ‘sit’ (cf. Lat. *sedēre*, Skt. *sad-*) > PGmc. **sitjana* > ON *sitja*, OE *sittan*, OHG *sizzen*; Goth. *sitan* with remodelled stem vowel;
PIE **wóyde* ‘(s)he knows’ (cf. Skt. *véda*, Gk. οἶδε /ôide/) > PGmc. **wait* > Goth. *wait*, ON *veit*, OE *wāt*, OHG *weiʒ*;
PIE **wódr̥*, **udén-* ‘water’ (cf. Hitt. *wātar*, gen. *widēnas*), collective **wédōr*, **udn-*’ (cf. Hitt. pl. *widār*, Gk. ὕδωρ /húdō:r/) >→ PGmc. **watōr*, **watin-* ~ **watn-* >→ Goth. *wato*, gen. *watins*, dat. pl. *watnam*, ON *vatn*, OE *wæter*, OHG *waʒʒar*;
PIE **kér̥d-* ~ **kṛd-* ‘heart’ (cf. Lat. *cord-*, Lith. *širdis*) >→ PGmc. **hertan-* > Goth. *hairto*, ON *hjarta*, OE *heorte*, OHG *herza*;
PIE **h₃ósdos* ‘branch’ (cf. Gk. ὄσος /ósdos/; Hitt. *hasduēr* ‘twigs, brush’) > **ósdos* >

PGmc. *astaz > Goth. *asts*, OHG *ast*;

PIE *nisdós ‘seat’ (*ni-sd- ‘down-sit-’, cf. Arm. *nist*, Skt. *nīdás*), ‘nest’ (cf. Lat. *nīdus*, OIr. *net*, Welsh *nyth*) > PGmc. *nistaz ‘nest’ (*nestaz?!) > OE, OS, OHG *nest*; the word does not occur in North or East Germanic; the lowering of the vowel in OE is puzzling;

(post-)PIE *g^hayd- ‘goat’ (cf. Lat. *haedus* ‘kid’) > PGmc. *gait- > Goth. *gaits*, ON *geit*, OE *gāt*, OHG *geiz*.

• *ǵ and *g > *k:

PIE *ǵéwseti ‘(s)he tastes’ (cf. Gk. γεύεται /géuetai/; Skt. *jósati* ‘(s)he enjoys’) > PGmc. *kiusidi ‘(s)he tests’ > Goth. *kiusiþ*; OE *cīest*, OHG *kiusit*, both ‘(s)he chooses’; ON *kýss* ‘(s)he chooses’ with ending replaced;

PIE *ǵǵh₂nóm ‘crushed, ground’ (neut.; cf. Skt. *jīrnám* ‘worn out’, Lat. *grānum* ‘grain’) > PGmc. *kurną ‘grain’ > Goth. *kaúrn*, ON, OHG *korn*, OE *corn*;

PIE *ǵómb^hos ‘row of teeth’ (cf. Skt. pl. *jámb^hāsas*; Gk. γόμφοσ /gómp^hos/ ‘peg’) > PGmc. *kambaz ‘comb’ > ON *kambr*, OE *camb*, OHG *kamb*;

PIE *ǵénu- ~ *ǵénw- ‘jaw’ (Gk. γένυσ /génus/; Toch. A dual *śanwem*) > PGmc. *kinnuz ‘cheek’ > Goth. *kinnus*, ON *kinn*, OHG *kinni*; OE *cinn* ‘chin’;

PIE *ǵónu ~ *ǵnéw- ‘knee’ (cf. Skt. *jānu*, Gk. γόνυ /gónu/) > PGmc. *knewą > Goth. *kniu*, ON *kné*, OE *cnēo*, OHG *knio*;

PIE *h₂égeti ‘(s)he is driving’ (cf. Skt. *ájati*, Lat. *agit*; Gk. ἄγει /ágei/ ‘(s)he is leading’) > PGmc. *akidi ‘(s)he goes in a vehicle’, inf. *akanaą > ON inf. *aka*; ?also OE *acan* ‘to ache’ (Seebold, *Vergl. u. etym. Wb. der germ. starken Verben*, p. 75);

PIE *h₂égros ‘pasture’ → ‘field’ (cf. Skt. *ájas*, Gk. ἀγρός /agrós/, Lat. *ager*) > PGmc. *akraz > Goth. *akrs*, ON *akr*, OE *æcer*, OHG *ackar*;

PIE *wérǵom ‘work’ (cf. Gk. ἔργον /érgon/; for the palatal cf. the related verb below) > PGmc. *werką > ON *verk*, OE *weorc*, OHG *werk*;

PIE *wǵyéti ‘(s)he works’ (cf. Av. *vərəziieiti*) > PGmc. *wurkīþi > Goth. *waúrkeiþ*, OE *wyrçþ*, OHG *wurchit*; ON *yrkir* with ending replaced;

PIE *h₂melǵ- ‘to milk’ (cf. Gk. ἀμέλγειν /amélge:n/, Lith. *mélžti*) > PGmc. *melkanaą > OE *melcan*, OHG *melchan*;

PIE *éǵh₂ ‘I’ (cf. Skt. *ahám*, Gk. ἐγώ /egó:/, Lat. *ego*, all with innovative second syllables) > PGmc. *ek, unstressed *ik > Goth. *ik*, ON *ek*, OE *iç*, OHG *ih*;

- PIE *gol- ‘cold’ (o-grade; cf. Lat. *gelū*, Lith. *gelumà* ‘frost’) in PGmc. *kalaną ‘to be cold, to freeze’ > ON *kala*, OE *calan*, and *kaldaz ‘cold’ > Goth. *kalds*, ON *kaldr*, OE *ceald*, OHG *kalt*;
- PIE *glewb^h- ‘to split’ (cf. Lat. *glūbere* ‘to peel’) > PGmc. *kleubanaą > ON *kljúfa*, OE *clēofan*, OHG *klioban*;
- PIE *yugóm ‘yoke’ (cf. Skt. *yugám*, Gk. ζυγόν /sdugón/, Lat. *iugum*) > PGmc. *jukaą > ON *ok*, OE *geoc*, OHG *joh*; Goth. *juk* ‘yoke (of oxen), pair’;
- PIE *seh₂gieti ‘(s)he gives a sign’ (cf. Hitt. *sākizzi*; Lat. *sāgīre* ‘to perceive keenly’) > PGmc. *sōkīþi ‘(s)he seeks’ > Goth. *sokeiþ*, OE *sēcþ*, OHG *suochit*; ON *sækir* ‘(s)he meets’ with ending replaced;
- PIE *teg- ‘to cover’ (cf. Lat. *tegere*) in (post-)PIE *togom ‘roof’ > PGmc. *þakaą > ON *þak*, OE *þæc*, OHG *dah*; similar semantics in Lat. *tēctum*, OIr. *tugae*;
- (post-)PIE *h₂ewg- ‘to increase’ (remodelling of PIE *h₂weg-; cf. Lat. *augēre*) > PGmc. *aukanaą > Goth. *aukan*, ON *auka*; OHG *auhhan* ‘to add’;
- (post-)PIE *tong- ‘to perceive, to think’ (cf. dialectal Lat. *tongitiō* ‘nōtiō, idea’, OIr. *tongid* ‘(s)he swears’) > PGmc. *þank- in *þankijanaą ‘to think’ > Goth. *þagkjan*, OE *þencan*, OHG *denken*; ON *þekkja* ‘to perceive’; *þank- ‘thanks’ > ON *þokk*, OE *þanc*, OHG *dank*;
- (post-)PIE *weg- ~ *wog- ‘awake’ (cf. Lat. adj. *vigil*) > PGmc. *wak- in caus. *wakjanaą ‘to wake (someone) up’ > Goth. *uswakjan*, ON *vekja*, OE *weccan*, OHG *wecken*; fientive *wahnō- ~ *wakna- ‘wake up (intr.)’ > Goth. *gawaknan*, ON *vakna*, OE *wæcnan*.
- *g^w > *k^w (*k when delabialized):
- PIE subjunctive *g^wémeti ‘(s)he will step’ (cf. Skt. *gámat*) > PGmc. *k^wimidi ‘(s)he comes’ > Goth. *qimiþ*, OE *cymþ*, OHG *quimit*;
- PIE *g^wén ‘woman (nom. sg.)’ (OIr. *bé*) > PGmc. *k^wēniz ‘wife’ > Goth. *qens*, ON (poetic) *kván*; OE *cwēn* ‘queen’;
- PIE *g^wih₃wós ‘alive’ (cf. Skt. *jīváś*, Lat. *vīvos*, and with analogical full-grade root Gk. ζῶός /sdq:ós/) > *k^wikwós > PGmc. *k^wik^waz > ON *kvikr*, OE *cwic*, OHG *quec*;
- PIE *g^wréh₂u- ~ *g^wr̥h₂éw- ‘heavy’ (cf. Lat. *gravis*) → *g^wr̥h₂ús (cf. Skt. *gurús*, Gk. βαρύς /barús/) > PGmc. *kuruz > Goth. *kaúrus*;
- PIE *g^wóws, *g^wów- ‘cow’ (cf. Skt. *gáus*, Gk. βούς /bōús/) > PGmc. *k^wō- ~ *kū- (?) >

ON *kýr*, OE *cū* but OHG *kuo*;

PIE *h₁rég^wos ~ *h₁rég^wes- ‘darkness’ (cf. Skt. *rájas* ‘empty space’, Gk. ἔρεβος /érebos/ ‘hell’; for the meaning cf. the related formation *h₁rǵ^wónt- in Toch. B *erkeṃt* ‘black (obl. sg. masc.)’) > PGmc. *rek^waz ~ *rik^wiz- > Goth. *riqis*, ON *røkk*;

PIE *h₃éng^wŋ ‘ointment’ (cf. Lat. *unguen*), collective *h₃éng^wō > PGmc. *ank^wō > OHG *ancho* ‘butter’;

(post-)PIE *b^hruHg^w- ‘use, enjoy’ (cf. Lat. *fruī* < *frūvī, ptc. *frūctus*) > *b^hrūg^w- > PGmc. *brūkana > OE *brūcan*, OHG *brūhhan*; Goth. *brūkjan* has been remodelled on the basis of the verb’s weak past.

3) Breathy-voiced stops became voiced obstruents.

• *b^h > *b:

PIE *b^héreti ‘(s)he’s carrying’ (cf. Skt. *b^hárati*, Gk. φέρει /p^hérei/, Lat. *fert*) > PGmc. *biridi > Goth. *bairiþ*, OE *birþ*, OHG *birit*;

PIE *b^héyd^heti ‘(s)he trusts, (s)he believes’ (cf. Lat. *fīdit*, Gk. πείθεται /péit^hetai/) > PGmc. *bīdidi ‘(s)he waits (for)’ > Goth. *beidiþ*, OE *bītt*, OHG *bītit*; ON *bíðr* with ending replaced;

PIE *b^héwd^heti ‘(s)he makes (someone) aware’ (cf. Skt. *bód^hati* ‘(s)he wakes (someone) up’; Homeric Gk. middle πεύθεται /péut^hetai/ ‘(s)he finds out’) > PGmc. *biudidi ‘(s)he offers, (s)he commands’ > Goth. *anabiudiþ*, OE *bīett*, OHG *biutit*; ON *býðr* with ending replaced;

PIE *b^hend^h- ‘tie’ (cf. Skt. *band^h-*) > PGmc. *bindana > Goth., OE *bindan*, ON *binda*, OHG *bintan*;

PIE subjunctive *b^héydeti ‘(s)he will split’ (cf. Skt. *b^hédati*) > PGmc. *bītidi ‘(s)he bites’ > Goth. *beitiþ*, OE *bītt*, OHG *bīzzit*; ON *bítr* with ending replaced;

PIE *b^hāǵ^hus ‘arm’ (cf. Skt. *bāhús*; Gk. πῆχυς /pê:k^hus/ ‘forearm’) > PGmc. *bōguz > ON *bógr* ‘shoulder’, OE *bōg* ‘arm, shoulder, bough’;

PIE *b^huh₂- ‘to become’ (cf. aorist 3sg. Skt. *áb^hūt*, Gk. ἔφc /ép^hu:/) → pres.

*b^huh₂-ye/o- > PGmc. *būana ‘to dwell’ > Goth. *bauan*, ON *búa*, OE *būan*;

PIE *b^hréh₂tēr ‘brother’ (cf. Skt. *b^hrātā*, Lat. *frāter*) > PGmc. *brōþēr > Goth. *broþar*, ON *bróðir*, OE *brōþor*, OHG *bruoder*;

- PIE *h₃b^hrúHs ‘eyebrow’ (cf. Gk. ὄφρῦς /op^hrú:s/, Skt. *b^hrrís*) > *brūz → PGmc.
 *brūwō > OE *brū*;
- (post-)PIE *b^hrǵh- ‘hill’ (cf. OIr. *brí*, *brig-*; the root is PIE ‘high’) > PGmc. *burg- ‘hill-
 fort’ > Goth. *baúrgs*, ON *borg*, OE, OHG *burg*, all ‘town’;
- (post-)PIE *b^hruHg^w- ‘use, enjoy’ (cf. Lat. *fruī* < *frūvī, ptc. *frūctus*) > *b^hrūg^w- >
 PGmc. *brūkanaǵ > OE *brūcan*, OHG *brūhhan*; Goth. *brūkjan* has been
 remodelled on the basis of the verb’s weak past;
- PIE *web^h(H)- ‘to weave’ (cf. Skt. *vab^h(i)-*, Toch. B /wəpa-/) > PGmc. *webanaǵ > ON
vefa, OE *wefan*, OHG *weban*);
- PIE *skab^heti ‘(s)he’s scratching’ (cf. Lat. *scabit*) > PGmc. *skabidi ‘(s)he shaves’ >
 Goth. *skabiþ*, OE *scaefþ*, OHG *skebit*; ON *skefr* with ending replaced;
- PIE *glewb^h- ‘to split’ (cf. Lat. *glūbere* ‘to peel’) > PGmc. *kleubanaǵ > ON *kljúfa*, OE
clēofan, OHG *klioban*;
- PIE *gómb^hos ‘row of teeth’ (cf. Skt. pl. *jámb^hāsas*; Gk. γόμφοϛ /gómph^hos/ ‘peg’) >
 PGmc. *kambaz ‘comb’ > ON *kambr*, OE *camb*, OHG *kamb*;
- PIE *h₂ntb^hí ‘on both sides’ (cf. Gk. ἀμφί /amp^hí/, Lat. *amb(i)-* ‘around’) > PGmc.
 *umbi ‘around’ > ON *um(b)*, OE *yambe*, OHG *umbi*.
- *d^h > *d:
- PIE *d^héh₁ti- ~ *d^hh₁téy- ‘act of putting’ (cf. Gk. θέσις /t^hésis/; Av. *zraz-dāti*- ‘belief’
 (lit. ‘putting faith’), Skt. *vásu-d^hiti*- ‘bestowal of goods’) >→ *d^hētís > PGmc.
 *dēdiz ‘deed’ > ON *dáð*, OE *dæd*, OHG *tāt*; Goth. *missadeþs* ‘misdeed, sin’;
- PIE *d^hóh₁mos ‘thing put’ (cf. Greek θωμός /t^ho:mós/ ‘heap’) > PGmc. *dōmaz
 ‘judgment’ > ON *dómr*, OE *dōm*, OHG *tuom*; Goth. *doms* ‘fame’;
- PIE *d^hugh₂tēr ‘daughter’ (cf. Skt. *duhitā*, Gk. θυγάτηρ /t^hugátɛ:r/) > PGmc. *duhtēr
 > Goth. *daúhtar*, ON *dóttir*, OE *dohtor*, OHG *tohter*;
- PIE *d^hwór- ~ *d^hur- ‘door’ (cf. Gk. θύρα /t^húra:/, Lat. pl. *forēs*) > PGmc. *dur- > ON
 pl. *dyrr*, OE *duru*; OHG *turi*; Goth. *daúr*, OE *dor*, OHG *tor* ‘gate’;
- PIE *d^héwbu- ~ *d^hubéw- ‘deep’ (cf. Lith. *dubùs* ‘hollow’; *d^hubrós in Toch. B *tapre*
 ‘high’) >→ PGmc. *deupaz > Goth. *diups*, ON *djúpr*, OE *dēop*, OHG *tiof*;
- PIE *d^heyǵh- ~ *d^hiǵh- ‘make (out of clay)’ (Skt. *dihánti* ‘they daub’, Lat. *fingere* ‘to
 shape, to mold’ with nasal infix), *d^hóyǵ^hos ‘malleable substance’ > PGmc.
 *digan ‘to make (pottery)’, *daigaz ‘dough’ > Goth. *digan*, *daigs*, OE *dāg*, OHG

- teig*; ON *deig* with shifted gender;
- PIE *d^hed^hórse ‘(s)he dares’ (cf. Skt. *dad^hárṣa*) >→ PGmc. *(ga)dars > Goth. *gadars*;
OE *dearr*, OHG *gitar* have generalized *rz from the plural;
- post-PIE *d^hrewg^h- (meaning?; cf. *d^hrowg^hos in Lith. *draũgas*, OCS *drugŭ* ‘friend’) >
PGmc. *dreugana ‘serve, be a retainer’ > Goth. *driugan* ‘to campaign’, OE
drēogan ‘to act, to accomplish’;
- PIE *méd^hu ‘sweet (nt.), honey, mead’ (cf. Skt. *mád^hu* ‘sweet’, OCS *medŭ* ‘honey’,
OIr. *mid* ‘mead’, Homeric Gk. μέθυ /mét^hu/ ‘wine’) > PGmc. *medu(z) ‘mead’
> ON *mjǫðr*, OE *meodu*, OHG *metu*;
- PIE *h₁wid^héwh₂ ~ *h₁wid^hwéh₂- ‘widow’ (cf. Skt. *vid^hávā*, Lat. *vidua*) >→ PGmc.
*widuwōn- > Goth. *widuwo*, OE *widuwe*, OHG *wituwa*;
- PIE *g^{wh}éd^hyeti ‘(s)he is asking for’ (cf. Av. *ǰadīieiti*, OIr. *guidid*; intensive in Gk.
ποθεῖ /pot^hêi/ ‘(s)he longs for’) >→ PGmc. *bidīpi, inf. *bidjana > Goth. *bidjip*,
bidjan, ON *biðr* (ending replaced), *biðja*, OE *bitt*, *biddan*, OHG *bitit*, *bitten*;
- PIE *méd^hynos ‘middle’ (cf. Skt. *mád^hyas*, Gk. μέσος /mésos/, Lat. *medius*) > PGmc.
*midjaz (cf. Goth. *midjis*, ON *miðr*, OE *midd*, OHG *mitti*);
- PIE *wed^h- ‘join’ (cf. Skt. *vád^hram* ‘leather strap’, Welsh *gwedd* ‘yoke’) > PGmc.
*wedana > Goth. *gawidan*, OHG *wetan*;
- PIE *sámh₂d^hos ‘sand’ (cf. Gk. ἄμαθος /ámat^hos/) > *sáməd^hos > *sám^hd^hos > PGmc.
*samdaz (sic) > MHG *sam(b)t* beside ON *sandr*, OE *sand*, OHG *sant*;
- PIE *spr^hd^h- ‘contest’ (cf. Skt. *spr^hd^h-*) > PGmc. *spurd- ‘racecourse’ > Goth. *spaurds*;
- PIE *kud^h- ‘treasure’ (cf. Lat. *custōs* ‘guardian’, Gk. κύσθος /kúst^hos/ ‘vulva’) >
PGmc. *huzda > Goth. *huzd*, ON *hodd*, OE *hord*, OHG *hort*;
- PIE *mis^hd^hó- ‘reward’ (cf. Gk. μισθός /mist^hós/; Skt. *mīd^hám* ‘prize’) > PGmc. *mizdō
> OE *mēd*, *meord*, OHG *miata*; Goth. *mizdo* has been remodelled as an n-stem.
- *ǵ^h and *g^h > *g:
- PIE *ǵ^háns ‘goose’ (cf. Gk. χήν /k^hé:n/, Lith. *žąsis*) > PGmc. *gans > ON *gás*, OE *gōs*,
OHG *gans*;
- PIE *ǵ^helHwos ‘yellow’ (cf. Lat. *helvos* ‘bay (horse)’; for the palatal cf. OCS *zelenŭ*
‘green’) > PGmc. *gelwaz > OE *ǵeolu*, OHG *gelo*;
- PIE *wég^heti ‘(s)he’s transporting (it)’ (cf. Skt. *váhati* (aor. *ávāt* with reflex of palatal
cluster), Lat. *vehit*) > PGmc. *wigidi ‘(s)he moves’ > OE *wigþ*, OHG *wigit*;

- PIE *h₃méyǵ^heti ‘(s)he’s urinating’ (cf. Skt. *méhati* (past ptc. *mīḍhás* with reflex of palatal cluster), Gk. ὀμείχει /oméik^hei/) > PGmc. *mīǵidi > OE *mīǵþ*; ON *mígr* with ending replaced;
- PIE *séǵ^hos, *séǵ^hes- ‘power, victory’ (cf. Skt. *sáhas*, Av. *hazō*) > PGmc. *segaz, *sigiz- > Goth. *sigis*, ON *sigr*, OE *sige*, OHG *sigi*, *sigu*;
- PIE *b^hāǵ^hus ‘arm’ (cf. Skt. *bāhús*; Gk. πῆχυς /pê:k^hus/ ‘forearm’) > PGmc. *bōguz > ON *bógr* ‘shoulder’, OE *bōg* ‘arm, shoulder, bough’;
- PIE *d^heyǵ^h- ~ *d^hiǵ^h- ‘make (out of clay)’ (Skt. *dihánti* ‘they daub’, Lat. *fingerē* ‘to shape, to mold’ with nasal infix), *d^hóyǵ^hos ‘malleable substance’ > PGmc. *digan ‘to make (pottery)’, *daigaz ‘dough’ > Goth. *digan*, *daigs*, OE *dāg*, OHG *teig*; ON *deig* with shifted gender;
- (post-)PIE *b^hrǵ^h- ‘hill’ (cf. OIr. *brí*, *brig-*; the root is PIE ‘high’) > PGmc. *burg- ‘hill-fort’ > Goth. *baúrgs*, ON *borg*, OE, OHG *burg*, all ‘town’;
- PIE *ǵ^hóstis ‘stranger’ (cf. Lat. *hostis* ‘enemy’, OCS *gostĭ* ‘guest’) > PGmc. *gastiz ‘guest’ > Goth. *gasts*, ON *gestr*, OE *ġiest*, OHG *gast*;
- (post-)PIE *ǵ^hayd- ‘goat’ (cf. Lat. *haedus* ‘kid’) > PGmc. *gait- > Goth. *gaits*, ON *geit*, OE *gāt*, OHG *geiz*;
- PIE *stéyǵ^heti ‘(s)he’s walking’ (cf. Gk. στείχει /stéik^hei/; Skt. *stigh-*, pres. 3sg. *stigh^hnóti*) > PGmc. *stīǵidi ‘(s)he climbs’ > Goth. *steigþ*, OE *stīǵþ*, OHG *stīgit*; ON *stígr* with ending replaced;
- PIE *d^lh₁ǵ^hós ‘long’ (cf. Skt. *dīrǵhás*, OCS *dlǵŭ*) > PGmc. *tulgaz ‘firm’ > Goth. *tulgus* ‘firm, steadfast’ (*‘long-lasting’), transferred into the u-stems; OE adv. *tulge* ‘firmly’;
- PIE *léǵ^hyeti ‘(s)he’s lying down [eventive]’ (cf. OCS *ležetŭ* [stative], Homeric Gk. aor. λέκτο /lékto/ ‘(s)he lay down’) > PGmc. *ligiþi (stative) > Goth. *ligiþ*, OE *liǵþ*, OHG *ligit*;
- PIE *h₂éǵ^hos, *h₂éǵ^hes- ‘emotional pain, distress’ (cf. Homeric Gk. ἄχος /ák^hos/) > PGmc. *agaz, *agiz- ‘fear’ > Goth. *agis*, OE *ege*;
- PIE *mog^h- ‘be able’ (cf. OCS *mogŭ* ‘I can’, OIr. *mochtae* ‘powerful’, Skt. *mag^hám* ‘possessions’) > PGmc. *mag ‘(s)he can’ > Goth., OHG *mag*, ON *má*, OE *mæǵ*;
- PIE *h₃nog^h(w)- ‘claw, nail’ (cf. Gk. ὄνυχ- /ónuk^h-/, Lith. *nāgas*) > PGmc. *naglaz > ON *nagl*, OE *nægl*, OHG *nagal*; cf. Goth. *ganagljan* ‘to nail (something)’;

post-PIE *d^hrewg^h- (meaning?; cf. *d^hrowg^hos in Lith. *draũgas*, OCS *drugŭ* ‘friend’) > PGmc. *dreuganaǵ ‘serve, be a retainer’ > Goth. *driugan* ‘to campaign’, OE *drēogan* ‘to act, to accomplish’.

• *g^{wh} and *ǵ^hw > *b-, *-g^w- after *n, otherwise *g ~ *w (*g when delabialized):

PIE *g^{wh}éd^hyeti ‘(s)he is asking for’ (cf. Av. *ǵadiieiti*, OIr. *guidid*; intensive in Gk.

ποθεῖ /pot^hêi/ ‘(s)he longs for’) > PGmc. *bidīpi, inf. *bidjanaǵ > Goth. *bidjip*, *bidjan*, ON *biðr* (ending replaced), *biðja*, OE *bitt*, *biddan*, OHG *bitit*, *bitten*;

PIE *g^{wh}en- ‘strike, kill’ (cf. pres. 3sg. Skt. *hánti*, Hitt. *kuēnzi*), o-grade *g^{wh}on- (cf. Gk.

φόνος /p^hónos/ ‘murder’) in PGmc. derived nouns *banō ‘murderer’ > ON *bani*, OE *bana*, OHG *bano*; *banjō ‘wound’ > Goth. *banja*, ON *ben*, OE *benn*;

PIE *g^{wh}reh₁- ‘smell’ (cf. Skt. *g^hrā-*) > PGmc. *brē- in OE *bræþ* ‘smell, vapor’;

PIE *g^{wh}énti- ~ *g^{wh}ntí- ‘(act of) killing, (a) blow’ (cf. Skt. *hatís*; for the labiovelar cf.

Hitt. *kuēnzi* ‘kills’) → *g^{wh}ntis > *g^{wh}úntis > PGmc. *gunþiz ‘battle’ > ON *gunnr*, *guðr*; OE *gūþ* has been remodelled as an *ō*-stem;

PIE *ǵ^hwér- ~ *ǵ^hwér- ‘wild animal’ (cf. Gk. θήρ /thḗ:r/, Lith. *žvėris*; Lat. *ferus* ‘wild’)

> PGmc. *berō ‘bear’ > OE *bera*, OHG *bero*; with different suffix in ON *bjqrn*;

PIE *dnǵ^hwéh₂- ‘tongue’ (cf. Old Lat. *dīngua*) > PGmc. *tungōn- > Goth. *tuggo*, ON

tunga, OE *tunge*, OHG *zunga*; the Gmc. word has been remodelled as an n-stem;

PIE *h₂éng^hus, fem. *h₂nǵ^héwih₂ ‘constricted’ (cf. Skt. *aṃhús*; OIr. compound *cumung*

‘narrow’) > pre-PGmc. *ang^hus, *ang^hwī > PGmc. *anguz, *ang^wī ‘narrow’ > Goth. *aggwus* (with levelling of the labiovelar into the masc.; cf. *aggwīþa* ‘tribulation’, etc.), ON *qngr*, OE *enġe*, OHG *engi*;

post-PIE *mag^hus ‘boy’ (cf. Goth. *magus*; OE *magu* ‘son’, Ogham Irish *magu-*, OIr. *mug*

‘slave’), deriv. *mag^hwī ‘girl’ > *mag^{wh}ī > PGmc. *mawī > Goth. *mawi*;

PIE *seng^{wh}- ‘to chant’, derived noun *sóng^{wh}os (collective *song^{wh}éh₂ > *honk^{wh}ǵ >

Gk. ὀμφή /omp^hḗ:/ ‘divine voice’) > PGmc. *sing^wanaǵ ‘to sing’, *sang^waz ‘song’ > Goth. *siggwan*, ON *syngva*, OF *siunga*, OE, OS, OHG *singan*; Goth. *saggws*, ON *sqngr*, OF *song*, OE *song* ~ *sang*, OS, OHG *sang*;

PIE *sneyg^{wh}- ‘to snow’ (cf. Gk. νείφειν /néip^he:n/, Old Lat. pres. 3sg. *nīvit* (*nīvit?*)),

derived noun *snóyg^{wh}os (cf. Lith. *sniėgas*, OCS *sněgŭ*) > PGmc. *snīwidi ‘it’s snowing’, *snaiwaz ‘snow’ > ON *snýr*, OHG *snīwit*; Goth. *snaiws*, ON *snjór*, OE *snāw*, OHG *snēo*;

PIE *neg^{wh}ró- ‘kidney’ (cf. pl. Gk. νεφροί /nep^hrói/, dialectal Lat. *nefrōnēs*) >→ PGmc.

*neurō (n-stem, like the Latin word) > ON *nýra*, OHG *nioro*;

PIE *h₁l̥ng^{wh}rós ‘light (in weight)’ (cf. Gk. ἐλαφρός /elap^hrós/ ‘light, nimble’; for the

nasal cf. full-grade superlative *h₁l̥ng^{wh}istos > Av. *rəñjīštō* ‘swiftest’) >

*lung^{wh}rós > PGmc. *lungraz ‘swift’ > OS *lungar* ‘powerful’; OE adv. *lungre* ‘quickly, soon’.

Appendix.

☛ All labials and dorsals appear as *f and *h before *t and *s.

(The simplest hypothesis is that they had all become *p and *k before Grimm’s Law occurred, though that is not the only possibility.)

Examples inherited from PIE or intermediate protolanguages:

PIE *h₂eǵ-s- ‘axle’ (cf. Skt. *ákṣas*, Lat. *axis*, Lith. *ašis*; deriv. of *h₂eǵ- ‘drive’, see above) > PGmc. *ahsō > OE *eax*, OHG *ahsa*;

PIE *d^hugh₂tēr, *d^hugtr- ‘daughter’ (cf. Skt. *duhitā*, Gk. θυγάτηρ /t^hugátē:r/ with laryngeal generalized, Osc. **futír** with laryngeal-less stem generalized) >→ PGmc. *duhtēr > Goth. *dauhtar*, ON *dóttir*, OE *dohtor*, OHG *tohter*;

PIE *wob^hseh₂ ‘wasp’ (cf. Old Prussian *wobse*, Balochi *gvabz*; ?Av. *vaβzakō*, name of a daēvic animal; apparently derived from *web^h- ‘weave’, see above) > PGmc. *wafsō > OHG *wafsa*; OE *wæfs* has been transferred into the masc. a-stems;

PIE verbal adj. *wṛǵtós ‘worked, fashioned’ (Av. *vərəštō*; to *wṛǵyéti ‘(s)he is working’, see above) > PGmc. ptc. *wurhtaz ‘made’ > Goth. *wairhts*, ON *ortr*, OE *worht*, OHG *giworaht*;

PIE *h₃rǵtós ‘straightened’ (verbal adj. of *h₃reǵ- ‘put in a straight line’, cf. Lat. *regere* ‘to guide’; Gk. ὀρέγειν /orége:n/ ‘to reach’, Lith. *réžti* ‘to reach’) >→ *h₃reǵtós (cf. Lat. *rēctus*) > PGmc. *rehtaz ‘straight, right’ > Goth. *raihts*, ON *rétr*, OE *riht*, OHG *reht*;

PIE *h₂wégseti ‘(s)he increases (it)’ (cf. Homeric Gk. ἀέξει /aéksei/): root *h₂weg-, but at some point the present was resegmented to give a new root *h₂wegs-, whence derived pres. *h₂wogs-éye/o- (cf. Skt. causative *vakṣáyati* ‘(s)he makes it grow’) > PGmc. (intensive?) *wahsijanā ‘to grow’ > Goth. *wahsjan*, ONorw. *vexa*; >→ PNWGmc. *wahsanā > ON *vaxa*, OE *weaxan*, OHG *wahsan*;

PIE or post-PIE *wéb^htis ‘act of weaving’ (to *web^h(H)- ‘weave’, see above) > PGmc.

PGmc. *wiftiz ‘act of weaving’ > OE *wift* ‘weft’, OHG *gewift* ‘fabric’;

post-PIE *h₂eǵsleh₂ ‘shoulder-joint’ (cf. Lat. *āla* ‘wing’; deriv. of ‘axle’, see above) >

PGmc. *ahslō > ON *ǫxl*, OE *eaxl*, OHG *ahsala*.

Germanic formations based on inherited roots:

PIE *h₁leng^{wh}- ‘light’ (e.g. in *h₁lŋg^{wh}rós, see above; *h₁leng^{wh}istos > Av. *rəñjīštō*

‘swiftest’) + suffix *-to- (formation unclear) > PGmc. *linhtaz ‘light(weight)’ >

Goth. *leihts*, ON *léttr*, OE *līht*, OHG *līht*;

PIE *glewb^h- ‘to split’ > PGmc. *kleubanaǵ (see above): PGmc. *kluftiz ‘act of splitting’

> OE *ǵeclȳft* ‘cleft’, OHG pl. *clufti* ‘shears’;

PIE *mog^h- ‘be able’ > PGmc. *mag ‘(s)he can’ (see above): PGmc. *mahtiz ‘power’

> Goth. *mahts*, OE *miht*, OHG *maht*;

PIE *h₃méyǵ^heti ‘(s)he’s urinating’ > PGmc. *mīgidi (see above): PGmc. *mihs- ‘urine’

→ ‘dung’, with various extensions in Goth. *maihstus*, OE *meox*, *mixen*, OS *mehs*, OHG *mixin*, *mist*;

PIE *seh₂gieti ‘(s)he gives a sign’ > PGmc. *sōkīpi ‘(s)he seeks’ (see above): PGmc.

ptc. *sōhtaz ‘sought’ > OE *sōht*, OHG *gisuoht*; ON *sóttr* ‘met’;

(post-)PIE *tong- ‘perceive, think’ > PGmc. *þankijanaǵ ‘to think’ (see above): PGmc.

ptc. *þanhtaz ‘thought’ > OE *þōht*, OHG *gidāht*; ON *þáttr* ‘perceived’;

(post-)PIE *weg- ~ *wog- ‘awake’ > PGmc. *wak- (see above): PGmc. *wahtwō ‘night

watch’ > OHG *wahta*; Goth. dat. pl. *wahtwom*;

post-PIE *d^hrewǵ^h- > PGmc. *dreuganaǵ ‘serve, be a retainer’ (see above): PGmc.

*druhtiz ‘band of retainers’ > ON *drótt*, OE *dryht*, OHG *truht*; Goth. *gadraúhts*

‘soldier’; further PGmc. *druhtinaz ‘lord’ > ON *dróttinn*, OE *dryhten*, OHG *truhtin*.

The same pattern holds for roots and formations not securely attested outside of Gmc.;

in addition to the following unusual formations, there are many derived nouns in

*-ti-:

PGmc. *slīkanaǵ ‘to slide, to slip’ (> OHG *slīhhan* ‘to creep’; related nominals include

OE *slīc* ‘slick’, ON *slíkisteinn* ‘whetstone’): PGmc. *slihtaz ‘smooth’ > Goth.

slaihts, ON *sléttr*, OHG *sleht*; OE adv. *eorðslihtes* ‘thick on the ground’;

PGmc. *þunkijanaǵ ‘to seem’ (intrans. to *þankijanaǵ, with zero-grade root; > Goth.

bugkjan, ON *þykkja*, OE *þynčan*, OHG *dunchen*): PGmc. ptc. *þunhtaz ‘seemed’
 > ON *þótr*, OE *ūht*, OHG *gidūht*;
 PGmc. *bugjana ‘to buy’ (> Goth. *bugjan*, OE *bycgan*): PGmc. ptc. *buhtaz ‘bought’ >
 Goth. *baúhts*, OE *boht*;
 PGmc. *bringana ‘to bring’ (> Goth. *briggan*, OE, OHG *bringan*): PGmc. ptc. *branhtaz
 ‘brought’ > OE *brōht*, OHG *brāht*.

☞ **A PIE phonological rule inserted *s between dental stops at morpheme boundaries; *Tst > PGmc. *ss, simplified to *s after anything but a short vowel.**

Examples:

PIE *widstós ‘known’ (cf. Skt. *vittás*; verbal adj. of *wóyde ‘(s)he knows’, see above) >
 PGmc. *(ga)wissaz ‘certain’ > OE *gewiss*, OHG *giwis*; Goth. *unwiss* ‘uncertain’;

PIE *sedstós ‘seated’ (verbal adj. of *sed- ‘sit down’, see above) > PGmc. *sessaz ‘seat’
 > ON, OE *sess*;

PIE *wéd^hstis ‘act of joining’ (to *wed^h- ‘to join’, see above) > PGmc. *gawissiz ‘joint’
 > Goth. *gawiss*;

pre-PGmc. *g^wétstis ‘act of speaking’ (*g^wét-e/o- > PGmc. *k^weþana ‘to say’) > PGmc.
 *k^wissiz in Goth. *samaqiss* ‘agreement’, OE *andcwiss* ‘answer’;

pre-PGmc. *k^wh₁dstós ‘sharpened’ (*k^weh₁d-e/o- > PGmc. *h^wētana ‘to strike’; cf. also
 PGmc. *h^watjana ‘to sharpen’) > PGmc. *h^wassaz ‘sharp’ > ON *hvass*, OE
hwæss, OHG *was*; Goth. adv. *hwassaba*;

pre-Gmc. *káydstis ‘act of calling’ (*kayd-e/o- > PGmc. *haitana ‘to call, to command’)
 > PGmc. *haisiz ‘command’ > OE *hāes*;

pre-PGmc. *p^hntstós (meaning difficult to determine; derived from *pent- ‘travel’ >
 PGmc. *finþana ‘to find’) > PGmc. *funsaz ‘ready to go, hastening’ > ON *fúss*,
 OE *fūs*, OHG *funs*;

pre-Gmc. *weydstos ‘knowledgeable’ (also a derivative of ‘know’ (see above), but the
 ablaut grade and meaning are unexpected) > PGmc. *wīszaz ‘wise’ > ON *víss*, OE,
 OHG *wīs*; Goth. *unweis* ‘ignorant’;

pre-PGmc. *(h₁)ēdstos ‘eaten’ (cf. Lat. *ēsus*?; but the long vowel is as likely to be a
 Germanic innovation based on the past stem of this verb) > PGmc. *ēsaz ‘food;
 carrion’ > OE *āes*.