Etymology and the European Lexicon

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Etymology and iconicity in onomatopoeia and sound symbolism
A Germanic case study

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The current paper takes its basis in onomatopoeia and sound symbolism, also called phonaestheia, and investigates the relation to etymology in lexical iconicity. A selected number of examples of onomatopoeia and sound symbolism, mainly in Germanic, are investigated from a historical perspective, taking into consideration such factors as analogy and regular sound change in relation to onomatopoeia and growth and spread of sound symbolism.

1. Introduction

1.1. Theories on iconicity

In this paper, iconicity is used as a cover-term for any motivated connection between form and meaning in language, different from arbitrariness in the Saussurean sense, in which no such motivated connection is supposed to be present. There is a rich literature on linguistic iconicity in general, ranging from theoretical studies to psycholinguistic experiments (e.g., of the bouba-kiki type, cf. Zlatev forthcoming) or studies in iconicity among typological categories such as expressives in languages that possess this specific word class, colour terms, or the like (for an overview, see Carling 2014: 199–201).

1.2. Problem of iconicity in relation to etymology

The current paper looks specifically at iconicity in relation to etymology and focuses on Germanic, a branch within the Indo-European family that is very active in developing sound symbolic clusters. For that purpose, theories on sound symbolism are specifically related to the discussion on problems connected with etymology. Basically, there is a fundamental problem involved here: a prerequisite for the discipline of etymology is based on the notion of inevitability of sound change and the principle of the (lexical/derivational) morpheme as the smallest meaning-bearing unit. A lexeme is typically composed by a root morpheme with a certain meaning that changes by means of a morphological derivational process, resulting in a new lexeme with a new meaning. By means of reconstruction, the lexeme can be analyzed according to its root morpheme(s) and derivational morpheme(s). Accordingly, root morphemes and derivational morphemes can be reconstructed and systematized, as for instance: “the morpheme x typically changes the meaning of a verbal root of the type y to a meaning z”.

During this procedure, how are we supposed to deal with a process of semantic and phonological change that connects lexemes to each other by means of a form-meaning correspon-

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dence that is not on the morpheme level, but partially (unusually completely) on the phonetic level? If a cluster of phonemes, a phonaestheme, can be considered as a linguistic unit capable of bearing meaning, how are we supposed to deal with the etymologies of words that in a synchronic state can be identified as bearing this form-meaning connection?

The present paper will try to address this question by looking at some etymologies for bird names, which are typically motivated since they imitate a particular bird’s call. Second, in a separate section, a selected number of sound symbolic clusters in Germanic will be looked at, taking into consideration questions of etymology in contrast with iconicity as a synchronically operating mechanism that is capable of creating new lexical material as well as modifying language change.

2. Growth and change of onomatopoeia: a case study on bird names

Onomatopoeia is a type of iconicity that basically implies that there is a connection between form and meaning which is motivated by means of likeness, e.g., an imitation of an acoustic signal. The iconicity is typically complete, i.e., the whole word is motivated (imitation of a sound), and there is a one-to-one correlation between form and meaning, i.e., the linguistic form is not typically involved in lexical and semantic networking, as is the case with sound symbolic clusters, which are dealt with below. Onomatopoetic words can be either non-lexical, i.e., not part of the set of lexical terms in a language, or lexical, i.e., part of the set of lexical terms in a language (for the distinctions, see De Cuypere 2008), and they can be non-adapted, i.e., not adapted to the inflectional system of the language, or adapted, i.e., adapted to the inflectional system of the language. Typically, the procedure of a lexicalization and adaptation of a non-lexical onomatopoetic word (e.g., boom, meow) would be as follows: first, a non-lexical form, imitating the acoustic signal, which is not necessarily phonologically adapted to the particular language, becomes phonologically adapted, lexicalized, but not yet inflected. Second, the lexicalized and phonologically adapted form becomes morphologically adapted. This is the final step and this adaption procedure initiates that language change can affect the form, blurring the once clearly motivated connection between form and meaning.

Onomatopoeia are typically restricted to certain well-defined semantic areas, e.g., words for animals with a distinct call, words that are acoustic imitations, and do not have the tendency to build up networks like complex sound symbolism (see below). As noticed by Jespersen, onomatopoetic expressions, both lexical and non-lexical, are often resistant to sound change or “constantly renewed and as it were reshaped by fresh imitation” (Jespersen 1922: 406). On the other hand “words that have been symbolically expressive may cease to be so in consequence of historical development, either phonetic or semantic or both” (Jespersen op. cit.). The special position of onomatopoetic words in language is often repeated in historical linguistic handbooks (e.g., McMahon 1994: 177).

Quite obviously, lexicalization and adaption of onomatopoetic words show several possibilities. A diachronic look at Indo-European names of birds with a distinct call (crow, cuckoo, owl) gives an insight in principles of change of onomatopoetic expressions.

Among the Indo-European words for ‘owl’ (see figure 1) (Old) Swedish ugglė, Icelandic uglė, Danish ugle (with Verschärfung), Middle Low German üle, German Eule, Old English ùl, and English owl are all regular reflexes of a Proto-Germanic *ūwwilōn (Kroonen 2013), a diminutive formed on a root *ūw-, also present in Swedish uv, Old Swedish üver, Icelandic úfr ‘owl’. Renewed imitative representations are present in German Uhu, the dialectal forms Schuhu (schwäbisch, thüringisch), Buhu (siebenbürgisch), Old New High German Huhu (Hellquist 1980[1922]: 1272, Kluge 1960: 802). Likewise, Old Indo-Aryan úlōka- and
Latin *uluccus* can be reflections of an Indo-European *ulūkos*, from an imitative and reduplicated stem *ulul-* (Pokorny 2002-[1959]: 1105), whereas Latin *ulula, ululāre* ‘to howl’ is likely a renewed imitation (de Vaan 2008: 638). Or else, *uluccus* could be a diminutive of *ulula* (maybe not related to Old Indo-Aryan *ulika-*). Furthermore, Greek *būás*, Armenian *bu* and Latin *būbō* represent renewed imitative forms, secondarily adapted to the inflectional system (Beekes 2010: 246, Frisk 1973: 275).

**Figure 1** Development of the Indo-European words for ‘owl’. Shadowed squares represent renewed motivated forms.

Similarly complex is the ‘cuckoo’ word in Indo-European. Latin *cucūlus*, Sanskrit *kokila-*, and presumably also Greek *kokkūx* (from a stem *kokkūg-*, cf. de Vaan 2008, Beekes 2010: 733) all show reshapings of the mid-vowel and somewhat different morphological adaptions from an imitative, presumed Indo-European root *kuku(k)-*. In Germanic, the forms Swedish *gök*, Icelandic *ugla*, Danish *vg*, Old High German *gouh*, and Old English *géac* represent correct derivations of a Proto-Germanic root *gauka-, which in itself is possibly a renewed imitative as compared to Indo-European *kuku(k)-* (cf. Lith. *geguzė*). In the Germanic languages, several languages have renewed imitative forms, appearing relatively late. In Middle English, *ʒēke* (Old English *gēac*) is replaced by *cuccu* during the 13th c. German *Gauch* is replaced during the 15th c. by *kuckuk* (Low German *kakuk*), and in Swedish, the form *gök* (17th c.), mentioned above, has an alternative form *kucku*.

It is not unusual, cross-linguistically, to find two sets of forms, one representing the changed form, the other an motivated form which has resisted change. A case in point is the Germanic word for raven/crow, which has been investigated from a broad, cross-linguistic perspective by Marttila (2011). Swedish *korp*, Icelandic *kørpr*, Elfd. *kúarp* are parallel to Old Norse *hrafn*, Swedish *ramn*, Faroese *ravnur*, Danish *ravn*, Old English *hrafn, hram*, Old High German *rabo, hrabo, rappo, hraban*, German *Rabe* ‘raven’, both originating from a Proto-Germanic root *‘krobh-on-‘ (Kroonen 2013, Hellquist 1980=1922: 500). The *korp* forms have resisted change and are renewed motivated, though adapted and inflected, whereas the other forms have undergone regular phonological changes.

Basically, onomatopoetic expressions are coined by means of an attempt towards a direct imitation of the acoustic signal as produced by the reference object (or event). Compared to sound symbolic words (see 3) onomatopoetic expressions do not necessarily relate to other
linguistic material; they are “ex nihilo” creations, derived by means of direct imitation. This contributes to the fact that onomatopoetic expressions often come out as similar, also in genetically non-related languages, something that makes them inappropriate for linguistic classification (Campbell & Poser 2008: 197, Marttila 2011).

The further fate of onomatopoetic expressions can then be classified under three types (see also Carling & Johansson 2014): 1) the forms are resistant to adaptation and change, keeping a particular, non-adapted position in the language. This condition is found most frequently among non-lexical onomatopoetic words: examples are words as English atishoo, cock-a-doodle-doo; 2) the forms are adapted without change, e.g., they become inflected as verbs or nouns, but they are either not affected by sound change or otherwise behave irregularly. Examples are Middle English pipen, Modern English peep, which is inflected but not affected by sound change (cf. McMahon 1994: 85); 3) the forms are completely conventionalized, i.e., they have lost their iconicity, become integrated into the language system and are affected by regular sound change. Examples are Swedish gök and uggla, words that give little or no association to the sound originally produced by the animals.

3. The phonaesthetic lexicon of Germanic

Germanic languages are very rich in developing phonaesthemes, and sound symbolic lexemes are found in great numbers. However, there are very few studies devoted to this part of the lexicon of the Germanic languages, exceptions being Marchand (1960) for English or Abelin (1999) for Swedish. None of these take the history or etymology of the individual lexemes into consideration. To investigate the sound symbolic lexicon of Germanic is an enormous task, in particular since the sound symbolic clusters are very numerous. The current paper will look more closely at two clusters, initial gl- in Germanic in general and initial fj- in Swedish.

3.1. Germanic initial gl-

Germanic initial gl- basically denotes light (Abelin 1999) and the semantic connotations of gl- can be described as derived from this core meaning. This pattern recurs in all Germanic languages, and many of the gl-words have a Proto-Germanic etymology, which implies that this connection to light and light-derived meanings should be ascribed to Proto-Germanic. However, the productivity of gl-words has continued in the various branches of the Germanic tree, deriving, in various ways, a number of new lexemes with light-derived meanings. This phonaestheme has had a very rich productivity, both as concerns form and meaning (see Carling & Johansson 2014).

Figure 2 shows an associative semantic network of words with initial gl- which is based on data from six Germanic languages: Old/Middle and Modern English, Swedish, Swedish dialectal, German, and Icelandic. Taken as a whole, the network has been based on data from all these languages. However, the network has not been generated in accordance with, as is usual, semantic associations in a synchronic state of a language (cf. Sadowski 2001 for semantic associative networks on gl-words for states of English), but on semantic variation and change. This means that associative lanes have been based on either: 1) attested semantic change (with or without morphological derivation), 2) polysemy within a synchronic state of one language.

The organization of top and parent nodes as well as the semantic paths in this network is therefore diachronic rather than synchronic. This procedure has resulted in the inclusion of further lexemes (since they have been identified as etymologically connected), as compared
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to earlier studies (Abelin 1999, Sadowski 2001) with initial gl-, such as Swedish glada 'kite',
glogg 'glogg' or glänta 'glade' which otherwise would have been regarded as non-motivated.

Sound symbolic clusters like these reveal much of the processes of the emergence and
spread of iconicity: first, the various associations and changes on the meaning side, showing
in the form of networks with super- and subdomains, nodes and a never-ending number
of new semantic sprouts; second, the realization on the form side, where a number of language
mechanisms are active in creating new lexical material (cf. below).

Figure 2

FIGURE 2 Associative semantic network of Germanic gl-words in six Germanic languages
(Modern English, Old/Middle English, Swedish, Swedish Dialectal, German, and
Icelandic). The associative lanes are based on: (1) attested semantic change (with/
without morphological derivation), (2) polysemy (synchronically). Data is given
in Appendix 1. Also published in Carling & Johansson (2014)

Most Germanic gl-words can be organized under the main categories SEEING, BRIGHTNESS,
SWIFTNESS, JOY, SMOOTHNESS and SLIMINESS, as seen in the semantic network in figure
2 (see also Appendix with forms). The other subcategories in figure 2 are derivations of these
main categories, as indicated either by language change or by polysemy. Among the words
in gl- in the network of figure 2/Appendix, most are in some way derivations from the Indo-
European root *g̑hel- 'shine' (see Jóhannesson 1956: 375ff.). However, there are several other
possibilities: some lexemes have an etymology that indicates that they have not undergone
change, such as (Old) Swedish/Old Norse/Norwegian glam 'noice', from *hlam, as in Old Eng-
lish hlimman, hlymman 'sound, noice' (vb.); others are borrowings (see below).

A number of cognates within the Germanic set of gl-words can be traced back to Pro-
to-Germanic. The following are some of the relevant entries in Orel (2003: 135ff.): *glaðaz
GLAD, *glaimiz (Old English glǣm 'brilliant light' GLÆM), *glasani/*glazan (Old English glæs,
Old Icelandic *gler* 'glass', *glawwaz* (Old English *glēaw* 'clear-sighted'), *glisōjan-* (Old English *glīsian* 'to shine, glisten'), *glit(a)rōjan-* (Old Icelandic *glitra* 'to glitter'), *glīz*/*glīζ* (Old Icelandic *glit* 'glitter', Old High German *glitz* 'brightness'; cf. German *glitzern* 'to glitter', English *glitz* [1966] via Yiddish), *glōmaz* 'red-hot embers'), *glōmaz* (Old English *glōm* 'twilight' *gloom*). All these derived roots relate back to the Indo-European root *gʰel-* 'be bright, shine'.

A number of *gl*-roots are borrowings with various types of sources, either Germanic internally or from French or alike (see further down). For example, *glitter* first occurs in Middle English from Nordic *glitra* (Old Icelandic *glitra* 'to glitter', *glit* 'glitter'), *glor* [c. 1300] 'gaze intently' is borrowed from Scandinavian (Swedish Dialectal *glora* 'glow, stare' and Icelandic *glora* 'gleam, glare', not attested in Old Icelandic). Middle English *glam* is also a borrowing from Old Nordic *glam(m)* 'noise, din', like *glen* (cf. also Middle Danish *glas*, borrowed from Low German (occurs beside older *gler*). Old English *glice* and German *gliten* are Proto-Germanic inherited forms, but the Swedish form *gilda* (first in Mid. Swed. *glidhus*) is probably a borrowing from Middle Low German.

Taken as a whole, the collection of *gl*-words form a complex network of true Proto-Germanic cognates, derived forms, and borrowings. Furthermore, as indicated in the network in figure 2, the semantic change typically varies between the semantic categories, e.g., (Modern) Icelandic *glaðna* has only kept the *bright* meaning of Old Icelandic *glaðr* (i) 'glad, cheerful', (ii) 'bright' (of the sky, weather, fire). Old English *glæd* also meant 'bright, shining' and 'cheerful', where the 'bright, shining' meaning has been lost in Modern English. The involved semantic changes can be summarized as follows (Carling & Johansson 2014):

- **Productivity of lexical derivation.** Most forms in initial *gl-* are derived from Indo-European *gʰel-* 'shine'. The phonaestheme, like the root, is extremely productive in network-building in Germanic. Derivations of the root (cf. Jóhannesson 1956: 375ff.) in various Germanic languages gives a map of semantic derivations that corresponds well to a synchronic associative semantic network of *gl*-words in any Germanic language (figure 2).

- **Sporadic phonetic substitution or retention.** This type of change, which is common among the onomatopoetic words (i.e.) occurs also in sound symbolic words, though less frequently. The distinction between retention and substitution is vague, an example of both would be, e.g., (Old) Swedish/Old Norse/Norwegian *glam* 'noice', from *hlam*, as in Old English *hlimman, hlymman* 'sound, noise' (vb.).

- **Influx and adaptation of loans.** A number of words in initial *gl-* are loanwords. Several are borrowed within Germanic, e.g., Swedish *glas* 'glass' ← Middle Low German *glas* 'glass' (inherited from Old Norse *gler*), Swedish *glans* 'brilliance' ← (Middle High) German *glanz*, whereas others are borrowed from outside Germanic, e.g., English *glair* 'white of egg', *glairy* 'wisced, slimy' ← Old French *glaire*, Latin *clárus*.

### 3.2. Swedish initial fj-

Another interesting complex is initial *fj-* in Swedish, denoting pejorative. Table 1 lists words in standard Swedish, beginning with *fj-* and denoting pejorative, their etymologies and earliest attestations. The list represents about half of the total amount of words beginning with *fj-* in the standard language. If we continue to dialects (cf. Rietz 1962[1867]: 141-144)
or vernacular language (cf. Kotsinas 1998: 52–54), the list would be much longer. However, since origin and earliest attestation are more difficult to trace in this type of material, dialectal and vernacular forms have been left aside here. Most other non-motivated words in Swedish beginning with fj- have their origin in Old Norse and Proto-Germanic, e.g., fjord (Old Norse fjørðr, Proto-Germanic *furþi), fjäll (Old Norse fjall, Proto-Germanic *felza), fjäder (Old Norse fjodd, Proto-Germanic *fedro), and the initial fj- has emerged from the North Germanic sound change known as “breaking”. Apparently, there is no such connection between fj- and pejorative in Icelandic. The connection is an innovation in Swedish, most likely emerging and active around the 18th–19th century. Why did this connection appear? Did it emerge from a single word, fjärta ‘fart’ and then spread to other words by means of analogical diffusion? Apparently, as seen in table 1, the -j- has been added secondarily in most of the forms.

### Table 1  Standard Swedish words beginning with fj- denoting pejorative²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Etymology</th>
<th>Earliest attestation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fjant</td>
<td>busybody</td>
<td>From Rotwelsch/Bavarian fant ‘Knabe, Bube’</td>
<td>Attested from end of 19th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fjasko</td>
<td>failure</td>
<td>From Italian fiasco ‘bottle with flat bot- tom and long neck’</td>
<td>Attested from end of 19th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fjollig</td>
<td>foolish</td>
<td>From Old French fol</td>
<td>Attested from end of 18th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fjompin</td>
<td>show off</td>
<td>Variant of fjollig?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fjuttig</td>
<td>insignificant</td>
<td>Variant of futtig (same meaning), probably from German futsch ‘away, in vain’ (onomatopoetic)</td>
<td>Futtig from end of 18th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fjäska</td>
<td>fawn on</td>
<td>Earlier meaning ‘hurry without doing anything’, probably variant of fjása (same meaning) of uncertain origin</td>
<td>Attested in this meaning since 18th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fjärta</td>
<td>fart</td>
<td>Germanic word with Indo-European roots, Old English feortan, etc.</td>
<td>Attested from 16th c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4. Concluding remarks

The current paper has looked at a very complex linguistic phenomenon, the growth of onomatopoeia and sound symbolism, from the perspective of a limited set of etymologies in a restricted number of languages. The problem is complex and involves a number of connections and associations in language that operate synchronically, but have a large influence on language change. A study on iconicity in relation to etymology clearly demonstrates one of the basic problems of etymology: if lexemes are treated as “each word has its own history”, then the operation of semantic diffusion and analogy as typically involved in the spread and growth of sound symbolic clusters can hardly be investigated. On the other hand, it is difficult

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² Sources (attestations, etymologies): Abelin 1999, SAOB, Hellquist 1980[1922], Wolf 1993. Denote that we also have a corresponding evolution in Danish: fjante ‘fool around, have fun; flirt, fjørte ‘fart’ (inherited), fjums ‘(vulg.) piece of ass, cunt, follet ‘foolish, silly, stupid, fiumse/fiumre ‘do sth. wrong’ etc. In Danish, also the variant cluster pj- denotes pejoratives: pjusket ‘tousled, dishevelled, rumpled, pjult ‘coward, wimp; rag (of clothes), pjatte ‘fool around’ (also: pjat ‘nonsense, fiddle-faddle), pjok ‘wimp, softy, weak person’ etc. (I acknowledge an anonymous reviewer for this list).
to prove that a given change is directly related to iconicity. Typically, the outcome in a particular language can be analyzed as motivated, for instance, by an associative network of a certain phonosememe in the language. However, with a greater time-depth taken into consideration, operation of iconicity becomes much more difficult. Nevertheless, since linguistic iconicity is as frequent as it is, it needs to be taken seriously in discussions on language change. Every new generation of speakers of a language renews iconicity when learning and using the language.

Appendix 1. Words in Germanic with initial gl-. See 3.1 and Figure 2 for explanation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Old/Middle English</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>Swedish dialectal</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Icelandic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIGHT / BRIGHTNESS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glad, glade, gladk, glair, glance, glare, glass, gleam, gleed, glim, glimmer, glint, glister, gloaming, glower, glac, glare, glass, glance, glo</td>
<td>glad, glade, glare, glass, gleam, gleed, glim, glimmer, glint, glister, gloaming, glower, glac, glare, glass, glance, glo</td>
<td>glamer, glena, glia, Glanz, glänzen, Glas, glampa, glampi, glan, glans, glansa, glänna, glæggur, gier, glim2, glimmer, glist, glitra, glomma, glöggva, gláka, glálja, glaik, glair, glance, glare, glass, gleam, gleed, glim, glimmer, glint, glister, gloating, glower, glac, glare, glass, glance, glo</td>
<td>gladra, gladur, glampa, glampi, glan, glans, glansa, glänna, glæggur, gier, glim, glimmer, glist, glitra, glomma, glöggva, gláka, glálja, glaik, glair, glance, glare, glass, gleam, gleed, glim, glimmer, glint, glister, gloaming, glower, glac, glare, glass, glance, glo</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRANSPARENCY</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>glass, glycol, glass</td>
<td>glas, glis</td>
<td>Glas</td>
<td>glér, gluggi, glær</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEEING</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>glance, glare, glint, gliff, glimpse, glint, goat, gloom, gloater, glot</td>
<td>glance, glare, glint, glot, glover</td>
<td>glana, glasj, glo, glosa, glibbra</td>
<td>glotzen, glupplen</td>
<td>gláp, glápa, gliss, glegger, glória, glugga, glára, glyraun, glarska, glara, glæggur, glæggvun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEMORY</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>glömma</td>
<td>gleyma, glöggva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CURIOSITY</td>
<td></td>
<td>glysa</td>
<td>glegga, glóra, glúra, glérinn, glöggva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DARKNESS</td>
<td>gloaming, gloom, glower, glum</td>
<td>gloaming, gloom, glum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLINDNESS</td>
<td>glimpse</td>
<td>glimpse</td>
<td>gláka, glýja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWIFTNESS</td>
<td>glass, glaive, glance, gleb, glint, glissade, goat, gloom, glower, glut</td>
<td>glass, glaive, glance, gleb, glint, glissade</td>
<td>glida, glinta, glitstur, glístur, glina, glöna, glitra</td>
<td>glém, glinta, glitstur, glístur, glina, glöna, glitra</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>STRIKING</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>DESTRUCTION</td>
<td>gladiator, glaive</td>
<td>gladiator, glaive</td>
<td>gladiator, glāfs</td>
<td>glādēl, glāta, glidri, glufsa, gli-</td>
<td>lura, gliatur, gliapur, gliam, glātun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOY</td>
<td>glad, glee</td>
<td>glad, glādare, glāttig</td>
<td>glāvār, glēna, glān, Glück</td>
<td>glād, glaadling, glianni, gliang, gliedri, glēdja, glens, gliena, glettja, glett-</td>
<td>ting, glietni, gly-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLAY</td>
<td>glee, gleek</td>
<td>gly</td>
<td>glānka, glens, glēna, glingra, glingar, gīr, gliss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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### References


