

RECONSIDERING DUTCH *RUPS*, GERMAN *RAUPE* 'CATERPILLAR'¹

by Michiel de Vaan — Leiden

1 For the etymology of Dutch *rups* 'caterpillar', De Vries (1971: 597) mentions two different possible etymologies: "Voor de etymologie kan men het best van de vormen met *û* uitgaan. - 1. Genoemd naar het vraatzuchtige knagen van de rups, dan verband met *roppen* en *roven*. - 2. Als het borstelige dier en dan volgens Kluge-Mitzka 587 te verbinden met *rob* 1. Maar lang niet alle rupsen zijn behaard." This statement includes the two most striking features of a caterpillar: on the one hand its ability to eat bare crops and trees, and on the other hand the hairy, bristly appearance of many (but not all) species of caterpillars. De Vries also mentions the two most obvious candidates for a formal connection of Dutch *rups* and German *Raupe*.

A reconsideration of the forms involved is undertaken in the following sections; in my view, the formal opposition between De Vries' comparanda Dutch *roppen* 'to rip', *roven* 'to rob' on the one hand and *rob* 'seal' on the other hand may be the result of Germanic developments from a single Indo-European root. As for the semantic motivation, it seems that 'the bristly animal' is the better candidate. Since much is still unclear about the different variants of the word for 'caterpillar' in Dutch, Frisian and German dialects, a thorough discussion of the evidence is justified.

2 The issue of *rups* and *Raupe* is addressed by Boutkan and Kossmann (1999), who discuss the different forms of the word for 'caterpillar' in Continental West Germanic (CWGm.). They point to the difficulties involved in the reconstruction of a single Proto-Germanic preform for all the variants; as a solution, they propose that the pattern of alternations attested for 'caterpillar' may point to the origin of this word in a non-Indo-European substratum language. In their view, the CWGm. words for 'caterpillar' share some of the characteristics of non-IE substratum

¹ I would like to thank Robert Beekes, Jan Goossens, Frederik Kortlandt and Peter Schrijver for their comments on an earlier version of this paper. I am especially grateful to Joep Kruijsen, editor of the Limburgs Woordenboek at the University of Nijmegen, who has drawn the four dialect maps included in this article.

words in Germanic, as they have been described and tentatively explained in a growing number by Kuiper 1995, Beekes 1996, Schrijver 1997 and Boutkan 1996 and 1998 among others. One such characteristic is the alternation between forms with a long vowel plus a single intervocalic stop, and a short vowel plus a geminate intervocalic stop, as per Kuiper 1995: 70f. and Boutkan 1996: 17f. An example of a set of forms with this alternation is **knūb-* : **knupp-* : **knubb-* : **knaup-* 'round point, knob' (Kuiper loc.cit.)

Yet in the case of 'caterpillar', it seems to me that it is possible to derive the attested forms from one or more verbal formations which were present in Proto-Germanic, and which can be derived from a single Indo-European verbal root. This would imply that the problematic CWGm. forms for 'caterpillar' do not belong to the category of Germanic words borrowed from an unknown substratum language.

3 The form **rūp(p)-* 'caterpillar' is restricted to Continental West Germanic. It is unattested in the dialects of Britain, and in North Germanic. The only form which looks like a cognate is Faroese *rupa* 'red stone louse', which Young and Clever 1985 cite from the *Dictionary Færoense* of Svabo, which I have been unable to consult. Since Far. *rupa* is an isolated attestation within Scandinavian, it must be left aside.

Within CWGm., **rūp(p)-* is well-attested throughout the area, being absent only from the Bavarian dialects in the south-eastern corner. Those dialects use words like *Krautwurm* 'cole worm' or *Graswurm* to indicate the caterpillar, and such forms also occur in Swabian to the west of Bavaria (von Keller-Fischer 1920: 190). We cannot decide whether Bavarian once knew **rupp-/rūp-*, and replaced it by other formations, or never possessed it in the first place. In view of the Old English forms for 'caterpillar' such as *cawelwurm* 'cole worm', *leafwurm* and *treowwurm*, the same can be said about the Anglo-Saxon dialects: they may have replaced a form **rūp(p)-* by another formation, but they also may never have possessed it.

Which are the variants that occur in CWGm.? Boutkan and Kossmann 1999 reconstruct nine Proto-(West-)Germanic forms for 'caterpillar': **rūp-*, **rīp-*, **rupp-*, **rūp-s-*, **rups-*, **rūps-*, **rīps-*, **rips-* and, with hesitation, **rapp-*. This implies a consonant alternation *p/pp/ps*, a vowel alternation *i/ī/u/ū(a)*, and a large amount of contamination between these forms. Boutkan and Kossmann argue that the vacillating vocalism is a strong indication of the non-Indo-European origin of this etymon. I think that we can do with less original vowel variants: only *u* and *ū* are spread over a wide area, whereas forms in *-ī-*, *-e-* and *-a-*

have a very limited distribution. They probably replaced *-u-* or **-ū-* under the influence of other stems in *r_p* which were close in meaning. The alternation between *-p-*, *-pp-* and *-ps-* is caused by the different verb forms from which the word for 'caterpillar' was apparently derived.

4 We shall now describe the forms of 'caterpillar' in Germany, leaving the Dutch area for the next sections. The form **rappe* is attested in several eastern German dialects. Grimm (1893: 298) mentions a form *Rapp* occurring in the Nürnberg area (e.g. in a 1482 vocabulary), but this must be due to contamination with German *Rappe* 'Pferdekrankheit, Flechtenart wobei die Haut rissig wird', Bavarian *Rappen* 'itch, mange, scab', Italian dialects *rappa* 'scabies'. With umlaut and High German consonant shift, we find Bavarian *Räpfen* 'scabies'. Germanic **rappo* indicates a rough surface, and this causes the semantic overlap with the rough-skinned caterpillar, which gave rise to the formal contamination². The *a*-vocalism is furthermore attested in a small area in Silesia (Mitzka 1964: 1092), and it was probably introduced elsewhere too; I found a form *rabā* in the Thuringian dialect of Suhl (Spangenberg 1982: 68).

Apart from sporadic *rappe*, the forms **rūpō* and **ruppō* are the main forms on German territory. The whole of Frisian has **rūpō*, which agrees with the northern Dutch area to the west and with the large Low German area to the east and south of Friesland. Already in Middle Low German, we find *rupe* (Schiller-Lübben 1877 III: 533), but no occurrences of *ruppō*. In the modern Low German dialects, *rupe* is still the only form attested, see e.g. Bretschneider u.f. (1994: 814) for Brandenburg or Wossidlo-Teuchert (1970: 1092) for Mecklenburg. The High German dialects further east also have **rūpō* as their basic form: in Thuringia we find mostly *rubā* (Spangenberg 1982: 67), and in Prussian, *rūp* is the only form attested (Riemann etc. 1992: 756). The pronunciation with *[u]* is important, because these dialects usually present diphthongized reflexes of Gm. **ū* of the type *Haus*; the forms in *[u]* suggest that 'caterpillar' was borrowed from Low German, after the diphthongization of **u > au* had taken place (see below).

Further south, the map 'Raupe' in Müller 1948-58: 187-8 shows that

² Michiel Driessen points out to me that another way to link 'scabies' with 'caterpillar' is through the fact that some caterpillar species are poisonous to humans, causing irritation to the skin and rash. A few years ago there was a plague of such a caterpillar, called *processierups*, in North-Brabant.

the Ripuarian Rhineland has nearly exclusively the form *ruppe* for 'caterpillar', but a few relic forms of **rūpō* are scattered around Krefeld. The uniform situation in Ripuarian is remarkable, because the form *ruppe* is only sporadically attested elsewhere. We can find it in several Swiss dialects, for instance in the Aargau and in Vorarlberg (cf. Staub etc. 1909: 1197), and in a handful of Thuringian dialects.

Moving from the northern Rhineland to the Palatinate area south of the Eifel, we return to an area with reflexes of **rūpō*. The border between *ruppō* in Ripuarian and **rūpō* in Moselle Franconian closely resembles the course of other well-known isoglosses, such as the *dorpl/dorf*-isogloss.

In all other High German dialects to the east (Hessian, Rhine Franconian) and to the south (Swabian, Alemannic), we find a form *rupə* or *raupə*. The situation seems to be the same as in Thuringian and Prussian in the east. In dialects which did not diphthongize **ū*, 'caterpillar' has merged with the reflex of PGm. *ū*, e.g. Alsatian *rüp* < **rūpō* (Martin etc. 1907: 277), and the form *rūpe* in several Swiss dialects (Staub etc. 1909: 1196). In some of the dialects where PGm. **ū* was diphthongized to *ou* or *au*, **rupə* did not merge with PGm. **ū*. In the SE Swabian dialects near Augsburg described by Moser 1936, *hous* 'house' has the reflex *ou* < **ū*; but the word for 'caterpillar' is *ruapə* (p. 86), *-ua-* being the reflex of Middle High German *uo* in those dialects. Von Keller-Fischer 1920: 190 explicitly states that *rūpe* is not the most common word for 'caterpillar' in Swabian.

This survey confirms Grimm's view (1893: 298), who assumed that the Middle and High German dialects with *[rupə]* or *[raupə]* < **rūpō* have borrowed this word from Low German. The main reason for this view is the preservation of intervocalic **-p-*, which should yield *-f-* in High German. No High German attestations before the 15th century seem to be known. Judging from the attestations gathered in Grimm, *Raupe* is used in the oldest texts especially for the harmful caterpillars, which can be a plague to crops. Possibly, the borrowing of Low German **rupə* into High German was supported by the already existing word *raup* 'good-for-nothing, rough person, bully; yearling, heifer' (Grimm 1893: 298), attested in Tyrol, Bavaria and Swabia.

The (sporadic) High German attestations of *ruppe* are remarkable for their preservation of *-pp-*, as opposed to the regular affricate *-pf-* in the verb *rupfen* < **ruppon*. There are two possible explanations. The first one is that we regard *-pp-* as a case of expressive gemination in animal names, with a geminate which did not undergo the High German sound shift. Other examples of this phenomenon are quite numerous: German

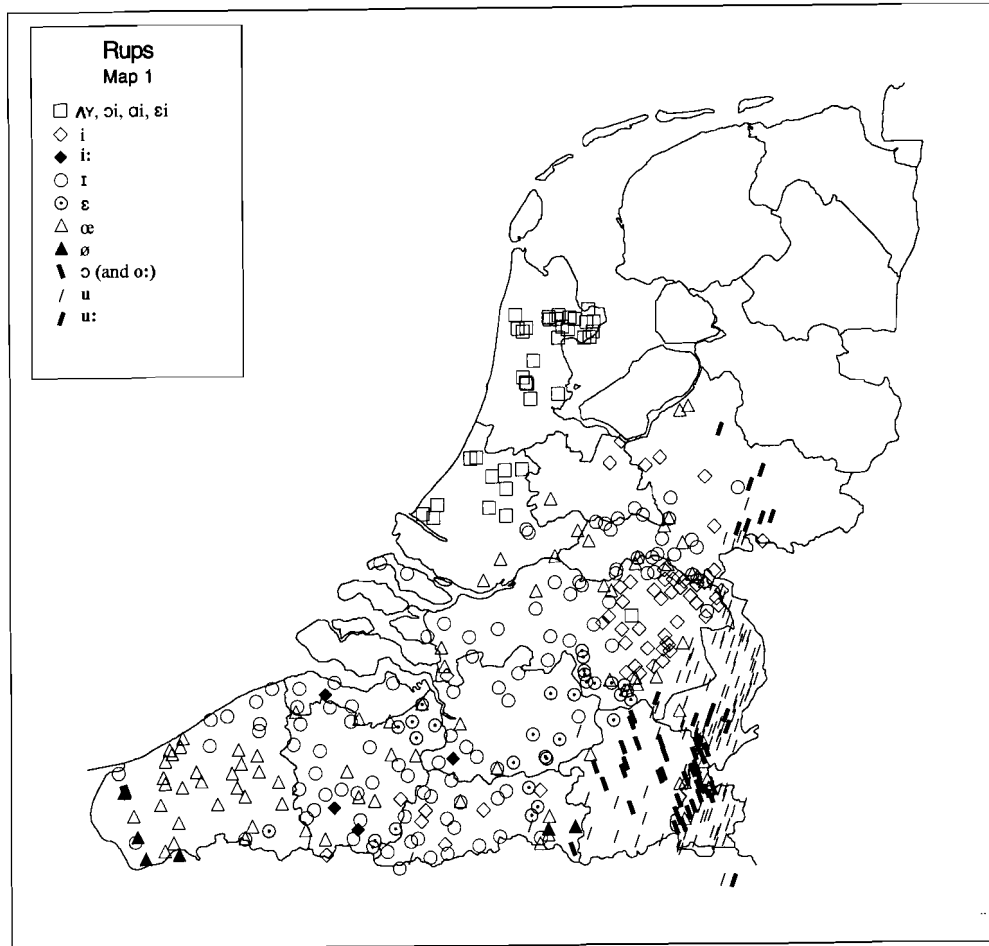
Zecke to Dutch *teek*, German *Zicke* to German *Ziege*, German *Bock* to Dutch *bok*, cf. Wissmann 1975: 5. The second possibility is that *Ruppe* in these High German dialects was made analogically to *ruppen* and *ruppig*. This seems the more attractive solution to me, in view of the scattered attestations.

5 We can now turn to the dialect geography of the Dutch linguistic area. The vocalism of the word *r_p(s)-* is indicated on map 13, which focuses on the southern half of the area. In the west and the centre of the Netherlands, the form of the standard language *rups* has ousted most of the older forms, and is therefore not indicated on the map. In the west, **ū* has become the diphthong [ʌɪ], and this form *ruip* is still widely attested in the north-west, in the area called West-Friesland⁴. Further to the south, it has presumably died out by now. The attestations of *ruip* on map 1 in the neighbourhood of Leiden and The Hague were given in the early 1970s by speakers who recalled that their parents used this form, but they themselves used standard *rups*⁵. In the north-eastern provinces of Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe and Overijssel, which are contiguous to Low Germany, we nearly exclusively find the form [rupe]. This form too has not been indicated on the map, except for the seven most north-easterly attestations of [ū] in the province of Gelderland, which show how far south the *rūpe*-area stretches

³ Maps 1 and 2 are based on the evidence from three different dialect enquiries, known as the Enquête Willems (from 1885), the Enquête Schrijnen-van Ginneken-Verbeeten (from 1914) and the Enquête Dialektcommissie (of 1971ff.), which I consulted at the Meertens Institute of Dialectology in Amsterdam. Maps 3 and 4 show the data for 'oprispen' contained in dialect enquiries nr. 10 and 10a, which were distributed in Limburg by the Department of Linguistics of Nijmegen University in 1961. The only other map of 'rups' which I know of is given by van Ginneken 1938: 112-113, who was interested in the development of the clusters *-sp-* and *-ps-*. His map does not provide the close net of vowel correspondences which we need for our present investigation.

⁴ For simplicity's sake, the symbol [ʌɪ] on Map 1 also subsumes the local vowel variants [ɔɪ], [ai] and [ɛɪ].

⁵ In Van de Water's 1904 description of a dialect of south-western Gelderland, just north of Den Bosch, I found the noun *ruipenest* 'nest full of caterpillars' (p. 126) preserving the old form **ruipe*, whereas the usual word for 'caterpillar' was *rups*. This attestation is not indicated in the map. As can be seen, this *ruipenest* occurs further to the south than any of the Holland relic forms I took from the 1970s dialect enquiry. It is another indication that the *s*-less forms once prevailed everywhere north of the river Maas.



in the east of the Netherlands. North-eastern *rūpe* and the western relic form *ruip* allow the conclusion that the entire north of the Netherlands once used **rūpe*.

All other vowel variants on map 1 involve an -s-; usually they take the form *r_{ps}(e)*, but some of the deviant consonant types are drawn on map 2. We will start our survey in the south-east, where the situation is the clearest. For Limburg, Boutkan and Kossmann reconstruct **rūps-* in order to explain the frequent reflex [u] which they found in the dialect dictionaries; as they rightly point out, short **u* is usually reflected as [o] in those dialects. Yet we can now see on map 1 that the centre of Limburg does have the reflex [ɔ] < **u*. If we compare the map of 'caterpillar' with other dialect maps of Limburg, the distribution of variants of 'caterpillar' matches other words in **u* quite closely⁶: northern and south-eastern Limburg have [u] (with a few local lengthenings to [ū]), but central Limburg has lowered the vowel to [o]. The attested distribution cannot match **ū*, especially in view of the reflex [u] in northern Limburg, where **ū* yields [ɣ], and in the south-eastern Brabant towns Deurne, Astén and Someren, where **ū* yields [o]. It is remarkable that these latter towns go along with Limburg in this respect, since the dialect boundary between northern Brabant and Limburg is usually quite strict, and few innovations have passed it from the east.

The eastern part of North-Brabant, between the cities of Eindhoven, Den Bosch and Nijmegen, has the form [rips] (as if standard Dutch *riepe*). Prof. Goossens (by mail) has suggested to me the only possible reconstruction for this form in this dialect area, viz. WGM. **reops-* < PGM. **reups-*. As we shall see below, this different ablaut form of the root **rup(s)-* fits in nicely with the rest of the evidence.

The pronunciation [ræps], indicated by the open triangles on map 1, prevails in West-Flanders and occurs sporadically everywhere in the South. In a few dialects in SW Flanders, [æ] was raised to [ø]. Further to the North, especially in the central Netherlands, [ræps] as given in the dialect questionnaires may simply be the standard form; but this is uncertain. The form goes back to *i*-umlaut of **u*, i.e. **rūps-*. Its **ū* cannot go back to the well-known western Dutch so-called 'spontaneous' fronting of rounded back vowels, since this fronting is usually restricted to a much smaller area, and especially the front vowels in

⁶ Compare the maps 'suiker', 'bok', 'hond'/mond' in De Vaan 1997 and the maps 'pop', 'bok', 'slok', 'lucht', 'krom' and 'pomp' in Goossens-Taeldeman-Verleyen 1998.

Brabant occur too far east to be due to 'spontaneous' fronting⁷. A large part of the south of Gelderland, Brabant, Flanders and Zeeland is covered by the form [rips]. As Goossens points out to me, this area is too large and stretches too far east as to be explained by means of the well-known western Dutch unrounding of rounded front vowels. We must rather accept a preform *rips-, which must be ascribed to the mutual influence which the roots *rup(s)- and *rip(s)- exerted on each other (see below). For individual dialects in Flanders and Zeeland, it is possible that [rips] is the result of unrounding of *rüps-, especially since none of the Middle Dutch attestations from this area show †ripse.

The form [reps] attested in southeastern Brabant bordering on Limburg, and more sporadically in East-Flanders, may locally be due to a lowering of *[rips], but it cannot be excluded that some dialects use a WGM. stem *reps-, different from *rup- and *rip-; see below.

The north-western Gelderland and Utrecht form [rips], viz. in Soest, Spakenburg, Voorthuizen and Hoenderloo, can only go back to *i, since unrounding of *ū does not usually take place in this area. The preform *rips is a local variant formation to southern Dutch *rips.

It seems less certain to me that the different s-less forms in north-western Holland reflect WGM. *ripō. Unrounding of [ɣ] < *ū to [i] is known from several different dialects in Holland, not only in West-Friesland, where this phenomenon can still be found⁸, but also e.g. in Egmond aan Zee, in Wateringen, and on the island of Vlieland. Weijnen 1966: 226 suspects that this unrounding was once more widespread than it is now. Therefore, the Texel form *riep* may also be due to unrounding. I was unable to find the Frisian form *riep*, which Boutkan-Kossmann cite from page III,47 in Dijkstra's dictionary (1898-1911); the only form I find there is the expected *rūp*.

The strongest evidence for *ripō would seem to be the 17th century s-less form *rijp* 'rups' (< /*rip/), which is used sporadically by various authors such as Bredero, Cats, Luyken and Vondel. They use *rijp* as a variant of the then already standard form *rup(s)e*. For instance, Cats has the sentence *Op het afdoen van rijpen of rupsen in de boomen*. The form *rijp* seems to have been a dialect variant which these authors used for stylistic reasons. It apparently never rose from its sub-standard

⁷ Compare for instance the dialect reflexes of *u in the maps 'pop', 'bok', 'wol' and 'zon' in Goossens-Taeldeman-Verleyen 1998.

⁸ The forms *rijp*, *rijpe* in Zaanland, Drechterland and Monnikendam can be regarded as unrounded diphthongs *oi < *ui, and they are included under the symbol [ʌɪ] on map 1.

status, so that it disappeared again and we now find only *rup*s and *ruip* in the Holland dialects. Because of the earlier attestation of *rijp*, it is less certain that it can be due to unrounding of *ū.

In conclusion, the preceding survey has shown that the original form was *rūpe in Holland, Friesland and the northern and eastern Saxon dialects, with a few occurrences of *ripse and possibly also *ripe. Limburg in the south-east has *rupse, eastern North-Brabant *reupse, and the remaining southern dialects of Brabant, Flanders and Zeeland have *rūpse, *ripse and *repse.

6 The dialect geographical data are largely confirmed by the forms for 'caterpillar' found in Middle Dutch. The lexicon of Teuthonista (before 1477) has only the forms *rupe*, *ruyppe* vel sim. < rūpō. Kiliaan (1599), who collected forms from all over the Dutch area for his lexicon, has *ruype*, *ruepe*, *roepe* (in Friesland, Holland and Overijssel) beside the southern forms *rupse*, *rupsene* (from East Flanders), and the form *ruepsene* /*rypsene*/, which I have not found in a single dialect. In accordance with the indications that the form *ruip(e)* once held sway in all of Holland, the Delft Bible has a preference for *rupe*; the Hague Bible also has *ruupse* /*rypse*/, which I only met in the dialect of Hoogerheide, 20 km to the north of Antwerp. Even Van Maerlant, who wrote at the end of the 13th century in Flemish, employs northern *rupen* 'caterpillars' beside Flemish *rupseme*, *rupsene*. We can safely say that the form *rupse* and its descendants have gained territory over the centuries at the cost of the form *rupe.

7 Surveying the entire Continental West-Germanic evidence, we can say that the form *rūpō is original in all dialects except for Low Franconian ***rupō*/***reupsō*/***rūpsō*/***ripsō*/***repsō*, a Rhenish area which has *rūppō but with dispersed relics of *rūpō, and sporadic occurrences of *rūppō in Switzerland and Thuringia. We shall discuss the possible origin of each of the three main variants.

As *rūpō 'caterpillar' is isolated within CWGM., having no other verb or noun of the structure *rup-* beside it after which it could have been formed, and since *rūpō has the most widespread attestation in Low German and Dutch, I assume that *rūpō is the original CWGM. form. It may originally have been restricted to the dialects of Low CWGM., whence it was borrowed into High German at a later stage. As I will explain in section 12 below, *rūpō can be derived from the Gm. root √*rup-/rupp-/rūb-* 'to be/make rough'.

The form **ruppō* is restricted to one larger area where it is the majority form, but where remnants of **rūpō* are also found; it occurs sporadically elsewhere in Germany and Switzerland. The introduction of *rupp-* can easily be explained from analogy with the verb **ruppōn* and the adjective *ruppig* 'rough, shaggy', which are also attested all over CWGm.

8 The *s*-forms **rups-* and **rüps-* are explained by Boutkan and Kossmann 1999 from original *s*-stem variants, e.g. "**rūp-ō* neben **rūp-s-ō*." This seems unlikely because it would imply that West Germanic had preserved an *s*-stem **rūp-es-*, which is unattested, and a derivative **rup-s-ō* preserved in Low Franconian only. However, neuter *s*-stems are a disappearing category already in Old Germanic. The form **rup-es-* would have been the PIE preform, but there is no trace of it⁹. It seems more promising to look for an origin within Low Franconian¹⁰.

The best candidate for the role of trigger for the replacement of **rūpō* by **rupsō* 'caterpillar' in Low Franconian is the CWGm. verb **rups(j)an* 'to make a coarse, rippled sound', as reflected in German *rüpsen* or *röpsen* (Grimm 1893: 1535), modern German *rülpsen* 'to clear one's throat; to burp'. Many aspects of the southern Dutch dialect forms of 'caterpillar' can only be explained in a satisfactory way if we assume that 'caterpillar' is derived from 'to belch'. The connection between 'to belch' and 'caterpillar' may be the way in which a caterpillar moves forward, viz. by slowly pushing itself forward, first with its hind legs, thus raising the central part of its body to a curve, which is lowered again when the front legs move forward. This movement may easily call into mind the lowering and raising of the Adam's apple when people belch, or retching movements of the throat when vomiting¹¹. As

⁹ The word for 'wasp', which also has **-ps-*, was not an *s*-stem in PIE: Gm. **wapsō* combines with Lith. *vapsà*, Russ. *osá*, Lat. *vespa* etc. as PIE **uob^hseh₂*.

¹⁰ Another possibility would be to derive **rupsō* from the addition of a suffix PGm. **-sa-* to an animal name, a derivation type which was possible in PGm. (Brugmann 1904: 331). A well-known example is MoHG *Fuchs*, MoE *fox* < **puk-s-a* 'fox', which can be contrasted with Goth. *fauho*, OHG *fōha*, Olc. *fóa* < **fuhōn-* 'female fox' < **puk-*. In PGm., this procedure was used especially to distinguish between male and female animals. Two arguments impair this hypothesis: *rupse* is a feminine, and its distribution seems too limited within CWGm. to make such an old origin probable.

¹¹ I owe this semantic motivation to my colleague Rieks Smeets, to whom it occurred when I told him of my idea to connect *rups* and *oprispen*.

the proposed connection will seem unusual to most readers, I will present the evidence for it in the following two sections: in section 9, the vocalism of 'to belch' will be discussed, and in section 10, the verbal suffixes.

9 The opposition between a Limburg form **rupse* as against **rūpse* in the area to the west of Limburg is mirrored by the distribution of the forms **rupsen* and **rüpsen* for 'to belch'. In Ripuarian, the umlauted form *röpschen* dominates the Rhineland west of the Rhine from the Eifel to Heinsberg, Erkelenz and Mönchengladbach (Müller 1948-58: 505); yet further to the south in Germany, the vowel *-u-* must originally have been used, since we find *rupschen* in Neuwied near Koblenz (Müller), and once *rubse* in southern Hessen (Maurer 1978-85). By now, most German dialect forms in central Germany have given way to standard *rülpsen*.

Unpalatalized forms are also attested in Middle Dutch *ropsenen* 'ructare' and *ropsenlec* 'ructim', viz. in the Vocabularius Copiosus, which according to Van Sterkenburg 1973: 36 is a mixture of southern Brabant and Limburg language; compare furthermore Early MoD *rospelen* 'to belch' in Plantijn. This raises the question whether we can find unpalatalized forms **rupsen* in the present-day dialects of Limburg, and in order to find the answer we must turn to map 3. This map indicates the vocalism of 'to belch' in Limburg and in a few adjacent Brabant dialects.

Nearly the whole of Dutch Limburg south of Venlo has the form [ræpsə] vel sim. < **rūpse*, thus joining the Ripuarian dialects to the east¹². Whereas the attestations of [æ] form a close net in Dutch Limburg, they make a sudden halt at the Dutch-Belgian border; as this border dates from 1839, the palatalized vocalism must have undergone a recent expansion from a smaller source area within Dutch Limburg¹³. Only six dialects are reported to have an unfronted vowel [u] or [ɔ]; in view of their seemingly random distribution, the recent advance of [æ], and the Middle Dutch attestations of *ropsenen* and *ropselen*, the unfronted vowels may be interpreted as relic forms. This view is

¹² I assume that the four entries of [ræ:psə] (spelled as *rèupse*) are due to local lengthening of [æ].

¹³ This explanation is to be preferred to the theoretical possibility that [æ] was ousted by other forms in Belgian Limburg. The forms for 'to belch' are everything but uniform in Belgian Limburg, which means that there is not one variant which was or is ousting verbs with a different vocalism.



Oprispen
Map 3

- AY
- ei
- y
- ◇ i
- I
- ⊙ ε
- e:
- △ œ
- ★ œ:
- ▲ o(:)
- ∩ o
- / u

strengthened by two cases where we can compare different information for the same dialect. For Maastricht, Endepols 1955: 352 gives an unrounded form *rōpse*, whereas the 1961 Nijmegen enquiry yields [æ]. This same enquiry has recorded [ɔ] for Moresnet (in the south-eastern corner of the map), whereas the nearby town of Montzen had *rōpse* already in Welter 1933: 9.

In Belgian Limburg, a preform **räupselen* can account for most of the attested pronunciations. In the north and south of the province, **äu* has yielded a vowel [ø(:)] or a diphthong [ΔY], which are unrounded in the central Belgian Limburg unrounding area, represented on the map by Hasselt and Genk¹⁴ *reepsele* and Opglabbeek and Bree *reipsele*. Bokrijk *repsele* is probably due to a local shortening of *reepsele*¹⁵. The two [ɣ] forms in Eksel and Diest can also go back to **räupselen*. This preform has exactly the same vocalism as the form *räupschen* 'to belch' given by Müller 1948-58: 191 for the Central Franconian dialects around Trier and Koblenz.

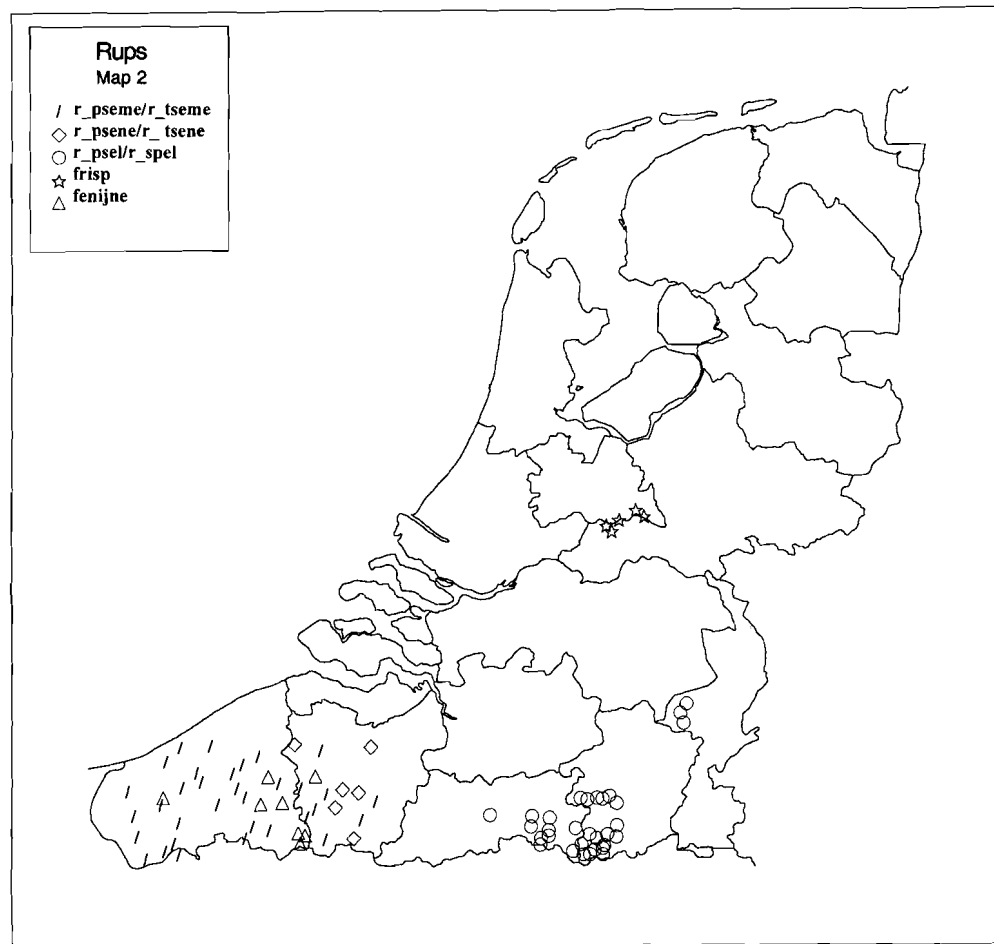
Three places in the southeast of Flemish Brabant have [ræspele], with the same vowel as in Dutch Limburg. Only one place in Belgian Limburg (Beverst) shows this [æ], and furthermore Stevens 1986: 492 gives [ræpsele] for Tongeren. Since map 3 shows the vowel [ø:] < **äu* for Tongeren, it is possible to regard the form given by Stevens as a local shortening of [ø:]; but we must also reckon with the possibility that the different variants **rüpselen* and **räupselen* have existed or still exist side by side in some dialects.

The eastern North-Brabant and northern Limburg area with [ɪ] forms the southeastern end of a large area with short **i*¹⁶, which is also the vowel of the standard Dutch word *op-rispen* (with metathesis of **ps*). I

¹⁴ The Nijmegen enquiry has *ripsele* but Goossens, native from Genk, informs me that his form is *reepsele* and that *ripsele* is unknown to him. *Ripsele* must be a local or even personal shortening of *reepsele*.

¹⁵ But the same form *repsele* in Smeermaas, near the border, cannot derive from **räupselen* since this dialect does not usually unround rounded front vowels. Possibly, older **räupselen*, **rüpselen* or **rupselen* was replaced by **repsele*, a form which I found reflected in the unique southeastern Brabant form [rɛpsələ] 'to ruminate' which the WBD p. 406 gives for the town of Landen. The meanings of 'to belch' and 'to ruminate' are very similar, and as Goossens suggests to me, the informant for Landen may have confused the words 'to belch' and 'to ruminate'. For this reason, Landen [ɛ] has been included on the map.

¹⁶ This includes the Budel attestation with [e] *opreespen*, since this dialect often lowers **i* in a closed syllable, especially in front of *s*; cf. van de Wouw 1968: 167f.



Map 2:

The types *r_pseme*, *r_psene* and *r_psel* are probably built on the frequentative verb forms for 'to belch'. The type *fenijne* is a loan from French. The type *frisip* must be due to the influence of other Dutch words in *fr-* which indicate something curly or folded, such as *frons* 'wrinkle', *frommelen* 'to fiddle, fumble', *frutsel* 'trinket', *freissem* (WNT) 'kind of rash'.



have extracted the Brabant data from the files of the lemma 'to belch' which will appear in the *WBD*¹⁷, but in most places, this verb was not glossed by the etymon *ripsen/rupsen* but by a different verb, so that Brabant is poorly represented on the map. Van Ginneken's map (1938: 112) of '*oprispen*' in Dutch shows a vowel variant [ɛ] in various smaller areas; this may partly be due to local lowering of *[ɪ] in front of -sp-¹⁸, but in general we may assume the occasional intrusion of a genuine WGm. *e, which was taken from another verb in the same semantic sphere, probably OHG *hrespan* 'to pluck', MHG *respen* 'to snatch'. The vowel [ɛ] in 'to belch' is much more frequent in Ripuarian and in Central Franconian, where Müller 1948-58: 100f. cites *räpsen* and *räpschen* from numerous towns, and even the noun *Räpsch* 'das Aufstossen' from Heinsberg, close to the Limburg border. These facts confirm the -i- and -e- spellings found for 'to belch' in late Middle and early Modern Dutch. Kiliaan has *ripsen* beside *rupsen* 'to burp, vomit', and Teuthonista *oprepsen* and *oprispelen*. We may conclude that, as in the case of 'caterpillar', the root *rups- was replaced by the formally and semantically closely similar verbs *rips- and *reps- in an unpredictable, seemingly haphazard way. In fact, this replacement can be witnessed in earlier sources and on a larger scale for 'to belch' than for 'caterpillar'.

10 The connection of Low Franconian 'caterpillar' with 'to belch' may be further supported by the different verbal suffixes which appear with 'to belch'. The lexicon of Kiliaan presents a form *rupsemen* 'to burp, vomit'; as map 2 shows, *rupseme* for 'caterpillar' is attested only in Flanders. This suggests that the verb was already *rupsemen* in Flanders when the name of the 'caterpillar' was derived from it; this suggestion is strengthened by the fact that -emen is much easier to understand as a frequentative verbal suffix than as a noun formative. The same can be said about the other variants indicated on map 2: the verbal suffix -enen appears in Voc.Cop. *ropsenen* and *ropsenlec* (cf. above), and -elen is attested in MHG *riuspeln* etc., in Early MoD *rospelen*, and in the modern dialects of Belgian Limburg and a few towns in Dutch Limburg, as shown by map 4. The suffix -elen in Limburg largely covers the same area as in -el in 'caterpillar' on map 2, thus supporting the

hypothesis that -el in 'caterpillar' follows the example of -elen in the verb 'to belch'.

11 Let me summarize the result of the two preceding sections. The CWGm. forms for 'to belch' display an alternation between different ablaut variants of the root *rups- (*rups-/ *rüps-, *riups-, *raups-/ *räups-) in interchange with *rips- (*rips-, *raips-) and *reps-. The Low Franconian forms *r_{ps}- 'caterpillar' show the same alternation of ablaut variants (*rups-, *rüps-, *reups-; *rips-; *reps-) and suffixes (-emen, -enen, -elen), with a geographical spread that is sufficiently similar to that of 'to belch' to justify the conclusion that 'caterpillar' has been formed from the same basis as 'to belch', and not once but many times anew in the individual dialects.

The interchange of the Germanic roots *rup- and *rip- has been mentioned several times in earlier literature on Dutch dialectology. One example seems especially interesting for the present problem. Goossens (1963: 41 and 86) has discussed the reflexes of Gm. *raupian 'to pluck' in the south of Belgian Limburg, where this verb is preserved with the meaning 'to pull out rapes for cattle-fodder'. Whereas the eastern part of Belgian Limburg has [rø:pə] or [re:pə] < *räupen, the area to the west has [reipə] < *raipen. Goossens concludes that, as in many other cases, the roots raup-/rup- and raip-/rip- have influenced each other from an early moment on¹⁹.

The vacillation in the root vowel and ablaut of 'to belch' is due to the association of this verb with other verbs of a comparable form and meaning; we have seen for instance that Dutch *respen* may be ascribed to the influence of CWGm. *hrespan 'to pluck, snatch'. Another example is provided by the Belgian Limburg form reconstructed as *räupselen, and Central Franconian *räupschen* 'to belch' (see section 9), which must have adopted the root form *räup- < Gm. *raupjan 'to tear' (Goth. *raupjan*). Once we recognize these replacements, the vowel alternations displayed by 'to belch' and by 'caterpillar' lose their apparent irregularity and arbitrariness, which has often prompted investigators to brandish words exhibiting such alternations as 'affective' or 'expressive' words. What characterizes them is the fact that they, more

¹⁷ I kindly thank Joep Kruijsen for providing these data to me.

¹⁸ As seems probable for the Waasland region in the north of East-Flanders, which is the largest area shown with [ɛ] in van Ginneken's map. The Waasland is also one of the areas with a concentration of [ɛ]-forms in 'caterpillar', see map 1.

¹⁹ It follows that unexpected vowel alternations do not prove the influence of a non-Germanic linguistic substrate (or superstrate) language. Granted the presence of the roots *rup- and *rip- in Proto-Germanic, which is beyond doubt, the later dialects could make good and innovating use of the possibilities offered to them by ablaut.

often than other words, undergo analogical change due to the influence of words with which they are associated in meaning; but they are in no way exceptions to the acknowledged processes of linguistic change.

12 As was indicated in section 1, the two most likely original meanings of **rūpō* are either 'the gnawing one' or 'the bristly one'. It seems to me that the word field in which 'caterpillar' occurs decidedly points to the second possibility. In the first place, we have the MLG gloss *rupe is ene rughe made* (Schiller-Lübben 1877 III: 533) 'caterpillar means a rough maggot'. In Frisian, the noun *rūpert* means a 'rough-haired animal'. A similar definition of Dutch *rupse* is given by Kiliaan: "*millepeda, centipeda, hirsuta: vermis terrae pilosus, [...] ex erucarum genere*," 'millepede, centipede, bristly: hairy worm of the earth, [...] from the species of caterpillars'. In the second place, the occasional contamination with *Rappe* 'mange, scabies' for 'caterpillar' in High German must be motivated by the bristly skin of (some of the) caterpillars. In the third place, several other CWGm. forms in **rupp-* are attested with a meaning 'bristly'. According to Grimm, *Ruppe* indicates a 'fish with a thick head', but also a pimple in the face. In Swiss dialects Staub e.a. (1909: 1197) report *rupp* 'rough-haired, crisp-haired', and *Rupp* 'the worst part of the hamp which remains after hackling'. It is clear that all these forms have the coarseness of a surface or an unevenness in a smooth surface as a common feature. The adjective *ruppig* 'shabby, rude' originates from north and central Germany, and is probably derived from the verb *rupfen*, OHG *ropfōn*, Low German *ruppen*, Dutch *roppen* 'to pluck, to fleece', which is said of plucking a bird's feathers, or of wool working. This verb is attested in all CWGm. dialects, and in High German it has undergone the consonant shift.

Even if we admit that not all caterpillar species have a rough skin, certainly the ones regarded as the most characteristic ones have an indented silhouette and a hairy(-looking) skin. We can find parallels for the hairy skin as a characteristic of the 'caterpillar' in its name employed in other languages. French *chenille* derives from Latin *canicula* 'little dog', and De Bo 1873: 359 mentions a form *harenhond* 'hairy dog' for West Flemish. In Romance, the word for 'cat' has often been used to refer to the caterpillar. A compound **catta pilosa* 'hairy cat' lies at the basis of many French dialect forms for 'caterpillar', cf. von Wartburg 1940: 521, who mentions 14th century French *chatepelose*, Corsican *gatepiloze* and the borrowed form *chasplouzen* in the Breton dialect of Vannes. English *caterpillar* reflects borrowing of the same

Old French etymon, and it has probably been adapted in its second member to *piller* 'to sack'. In Piemontese dialects in northern Italy, the word *gata* is used for 'caterpillar', and in combination with the word for 'beast', Veronese dialects have *bissa gata* 'cat-beast' and *bissa pelosa* 'hairy beast' (Beccaria 1995: 17). Albanian *gucimacë* 'caterpillar; larva, maggot, grub' is built from the words *gucë* 'puppy' and *macë* 'cat'. Within the Germanic area, we find the form *wëll Kaz* 'wild cat' used for 'caterpillar' in Luxemburg (Klees 1981: 23), and *Tüfelschatz* 'devil's cat' in Switzerland (Staub etc. 1909: 1196).

13 As I have argued in section 7, I believe that **rūpō* was the original word for 'caterpillar' in (Low) CWGm. The preceding section 12 has yielded the conclusion that the original meaning of **rūpō*, in other words the naming motive for the caterpillar, was 'the bristly one'. It is now time to discuss the Proto-Germanic origin of **rūpō*. Section 13 disclaims the proposed connection with a root **rVp-* 'to creep', and section 14 will defend the derivation from PGM. **rup-* 'to break'.

As we have seen in section 1, *rups* and *Raupe* have mainly been connected with two different groups of forms. The comparison with Dutch *roppen*, German *rupfen* and Gothic *raupjan* has the advantage of being impeccable on the formal side; but it is often felt that the meaning 'to pluck' is difficult to match with a caterpillar's activities, which is why this connection is often rejected. The comparison of *rups* etc. with Dutch *rob*, German *Robbe* 'seal', MiDu *robbe* 'rabbit', an animal with whiskers, can easily be reconciled with calling a caterpillar 'bristly'; but here, intervocalic **-bb-* flaws the direct comparison.

As an alternative etymology, Boutkan and Kossmann propose to connect **rup-* 'caterpillar' with a root **rVp-*²⁰ 'to creep', attested in Lat. *repo* 'to creep, crawl', and in Lithuanian *répliōti*, *roplōti* 'to creep', Latvian *rāpāt*, *rāpt* 'to creep', to which Old Prussian *rīpaiti* 'folget', *serripimai* 'erfahren' may belong. Some Germanic forms are also usually connected with Lat. **rēpō*, viz. OIc. *rāfa*, OHG *reba* 'vine' etc., but Boutkan and Kossmann judge the connection of the Germanic forms doubtful. They show that the limited distribution (Latin, Baltic, Germanic) of the etymon **rēp-* / **rāp-* (/ **rīp-*?), as well as its ablaut pattern, make the assumption of PIE origin difficult to defend, and they accordingly propose to regard this root as a substratum word.

Whereas it seems quite plausible that OIc. *rāfa*, OHG *reba* etc. must be assigned to a substratum layer, it seems unlikely that this substratum

²⁰ In which *V* may be any vowel.

root **rVp-* 'to creep' also furnished the CWGm. forms for 'caterpillar'. We have seen in the previous sections that the vocalism of 'caterpillar' is not as chaotic as it might seem at first glance, and that we can basically reconstruct **rūpō* as the oldest form, which alternated with **ruppō* or was in some dialects replaced by it. If CWGm. **rūp(p)-* would be connected with Latin *rēpō* etc., it is strange that the root vowel *-ū-* does not appear in any of the Latin or Baltic forms, nor in the possibly cognate Germanic forms of **rēp-* 'to creep'. Furthermore, since *-p-* in **rupō* cannot correspond with Latin or Baltic *-p-*, Boutkan and Kossmann (1999: 9) assume that **rupō* 'caterpillar' entered Proto-(West-)Germanic after the first consonant shift, which shifted **p* to **f*. This would mean that German *Rebe* etc. cannot be derived from the substrate root **rVp-* 'to creep' because it shows the result of Verner's law; yet as to meaning and form, *Rebe* and OIc. *rāfa* are much easier to connect with Latin *rēpō* than are the words for 'caterpillar'.

14 The meaning of **rūpō* decidedly points to the older connection with Got. *raupjan*, OS *rōpian*, OE *riēpan*, OHG *roufen* 'to pick, fleece'. The semantic background of this connection has been explained in section 12. We have seen that the variant **ruppō* must be due to the verb **ruppōn*, which belongs to the same root as Got. *raupjan* etc. Similarly, Low Franconian **rupsō*/**rūpsō*, etc. was formed on the basis of a verb **rups(j)an* 'to belch', which belongs to the same Germanic root **rup*²¹. This root has yielded many different forms in Germanic, with an interchange between the consonants *-p-*, *-pp-*, *-f-* and *-bb-*, and between the alternating vowels **u*, **au* and **ū*. At first sight, this interchange seems too haphazard to be explained from inherited stock, but the meaning does not allow us to separate the different forms, and a satisfactory formal explanation can in fact be given.

Our starting point is the PIE root **rup-* 'to break', as in Skt. *rūpyati* 'to have pain in the stomach' and Latin *rumpō*, *rūpi* 'to break'. This root is attested with the meaning 'rough' in Baltic: Lith. *rūpti* 'to become rough', *rupūs* 'rough', *ruplė* 'the rough bark on old trees', *raupsai* 'rash', *raūpti* 'to scratch open', *raūpas* 'pock'. In the animal name *rupūžė*, *rūpuže*, *raupezė* 'toad', it refers to its rough skin, which

21 The verb **rups(j)an* specialized to the meaning 'to belch' in the same way that German acquired *sich erbrechen* 'to vomit'. Other Germanic derivatives of **rup-* with the same meaning are e.g. OIc. *rypta* 'to vomit' and OHG *roffezen*, *ropfezen* < **rupatjan* (De Vries 1971: 494), OIc. *ropa* 'to belch', OSwe. *drypja* < **rupjan* 'to ruminate', and MLG *upropen* 'to belch' < **-raupon*.

provides a nice parallel for the derivation of 'caterpillar' in CWGm.

In Germanic, **rup-* yielded many different forms, which can basically be explained on the basis of Lühr's scenario (1988: 369, see also 351f.). The voiceless fricative *-f-* appears in OIc. *rauf* 'broke', *reyfa* 'to pierce', and in the intensive **ruff-al-ōn* with gemination in front of *-l-* (MoDutch *roffelen* 'to roll the drums', EFri. *ruffelen*, German *rüffeln* 'to blow up', MoE *to ruffle*). The verb PGM. **ruppōn* 'to tear', attested in OIc. *ruppa*, MoE *to rip*, NHG *rupfen* represents the intensive formation **rup-nō*. The geminate *-pp-* is best explained with Kortlandt's chronology (1991: 2f.): 1. Verner's Law **rup-nō-* > **rubnō-*, 2. Kluge's Law **rubnō-* > **rubbō-*, 3. Grimm's Law **rubbō-* > **ruppō-*. Intervocalic *-p-* in Goth. *raupjan* 'to tear', OHG *roufen* 'to pluck' probably represents the original causative PIE **roupéie-* (> PGM. **raubjan*), which adopted *-pp-* from the intensive **ruppōn* (thus Lühr 1988: 352), and simplified the geminate **pp* after **au* (cf. Prokosch 1939: 70). This verb then provided the intervocalic **-p-* which we find in **rūpō-* 'caterpillar'; whether or not this went via an unattested verb **rūpōn* is impossible to tell. Long **-ū-* must have a so-called secondary full grade, like in the class II strong verbs such as **sūpan*, **lūkan*; we also find this **ū* in North Germanic in OIc. *rúfinn* 'rough-haired', ODan. *ru* (< **ruv-*), Dan. dialects *ru* 'wrinkle, pleat', Norse dialects *ruvla* 'wrinkle, furrow'; in Dutch dialects we find *ruiven* 'to moult'. The latter forms go back to **rūb-* (Falk-Torp II: 915f.), which has retained *-b-*. The intensive **rubbon* has specialized in the meaning 'to scratch': MoE *to rub*, EFri. *rubben* 'to scratch', Norse, Dan. *rubbe*, Swe. *rubba*; this formation must be based on the preform **rubbō-* which arose as a result of Kluge's Law.

Just like **ripsō* is due to a recent mirroring of an *u*-vowel root **rips-* by an *i*-vowel root **rips-* (see above), in the same way the Dutch forms which seem to continue **ripō-* may be derived from WGm. **ripan* 'to tear', attested e.g. in OE *ripan* 'to reap', OS **ripi* 'ripe', and with short **i* in OIc. *rippa* 'to tear' and MLG *repen* 'to break flax' < **rip-*. This was already suggested by De Vries apud van Haeringen 1936: 141, and further elaborated by Berns 1974, especially p. 186, who has included all Dutch *-f-* and *-v-* variants. The Germanic forms can be connected with Greek *ereipo* 'to throw down, tear down', *ereípios ge* 'river bank', and Latin *ripa* 'river bank' (Lühr 1988: 352). As the roots **rup-* and **rip-* show very similar consonant-vowel alternations, and since they share the meaning 'to tear, to break off abruptly', it is conceivable that these roots, or at least part of their derivatives, were near-synonyms until fairly recently in the history of

Germanic.

15 I have argued that we need to regard only **rūpō* as a certain CWGm. form for 'caterpillar'. This form was lost in Low Franconian in favour of the forms **rupsō* and **rüpsō*, while it yielded to **ruppō* in the northern Rhineland and sporadically in other German dialects. The motivation for this replacement was the existence of verbs and adjectives with a form similar to **rūpō* which at the same time had a meaning 'to be/make rough', which provided a good semantic motivation for the derivation of a word for 'caterpillar'. The nouns **rupsō* and **ruppō* may of course have already existed in PGm. side by side with **rūpō*, but this does not seem likely in view of their limited distribution.

All this implies that we can regard Dutch *rups* and German *Raupe* as Indo-European heritage. The hypothesis that 'caterpillar' represents a substratum word from an unidentified language, a hypothesis which was motivated by the different variants observed in the present-day dialects, must be rejected. We therefore conclude with the warning that the - justified - increasing attention to substratum features in Germanic must not feed on an increasing scepticism about Indo-European explanations.

REFERENCES:

- Beccaria, G.L. 1995: *I nomi del mondo. Santi, demoni, folletti e le parole perdute*, Torino.
- Beekes, R. 1996: Ancient European loanwords, *Historische Sprachforschung* 109, 215-236.
- Berns, J. 1974: Artikel 'ruif', in *Toelichting bij de Taalatlas van Noord- en Zuid-Nederland II*, p. 170-222.
- de Bo, L.-L. 1873: *Westvlaamsch Idioticon*, Gent.
- de Bont, A.P. 1962: *Dialekt van Kempenland, meer in het bijzonder d'Oerse taal*, Assen.
- Boutkan, D. 1996: Riustring fal, fili and sincfalon, *Us Wurk* 45, 1-21.
- . 1998: On the form of North European substratum words in Germanic, *Historische Sprachforschung* 111/1, 102-133.
- . and M. Kossmann. 1996: *Het stadsdialekt van Tilburg*, Amsterdam.
- . 1999: Etymologische Betrachtungen zur Dialektgeographie von 'Raupe, rups', *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 50, 5-11.
- Bretschneider, A. u.f. 1994: *Brandenburg-Berlinisches Wörterbuch*, dritter Band, Leipzig.
- Brugmann, K. 1904: *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Strassburg.
- Dijkstra, W. 1898-1911: *Friesch Woordenboek*, Leeuwarden.
- Franck, J. and N. van Wijk 1912: *Etymologisch woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, tweede druk, 's-Gravenhage.
- van Ginneken, J. 1938: Sp-kaarten, *Onze Taaltuin* 7, 112-113.

- Goossens, J. 1963: *Semantische vraagstukken uit de taal van het landbouwbedrijf in Belgisch-Limburg*, Antwerp.
- Goossens, J., J. Tældeman en G. Verleyen 1998: *Fonologische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten. Deel I*, Gent.
- Grimm, J. and W. Grimm 1893: *Deutsches Wörterbuch. Achter Band: R-Schiefe. Bearbeitet von und unter Leitung von Dr. Moriz Heyne*, Leipzig.
- van Haeringen, C.B. 1936: *Supplement to Franck-van Wijk 1912*, 's-Gravenhage.
- von Keller, A. and H. Fischer 1920: *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch*, fifth volume, Tübingen.
- Kiliaan = Kilianus Dufflaeus, C. 1599: *Etymologicum teutonicae linguae sive dictionarium teutonico-latinum*, 3a ed., Antwerp.
- Klees, H. 1981: *Luxemburger Tiernamen*² (= *Beiträge zur luxemburgischen Sprach- und Volkskunde* 14), Luxembourg.
- Kluge, F. 1915: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Achte verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage*, Strassburg.
- Kortlandt, F. 1991: Kluge's law and the rise of Proto-Germanic geminates, *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 34, 1-4.
- Kuiper, F.B.J. 1995: Gothic *bagms* and Old Icelandic *ylgr*, *NOWELE* 25, 63-88.
- Lühr, R. 1988: *Expressivität und Lautgesetz im Germanischen*, Heidelberg.
- Martin, E. and H. Lienhart 1907: *Wörterbuch der elsässischen Mundarten*, second volume, Strassburg.
- Maurer etc. 1978-1985: *Hessisch IV: Ku - R*, Marburg.
- Mitzka, W. 1964: *Schlesisches Wörterbuch*, second volume, Berlin.
- Müller, J., M. Zender, H. Dittmaier, K. Meisen (ed.) 1948-58: *Rheinisches Wörterbuch*, seventh volume, Berlin.
- Plantijn, C. 1573: *Thesaurus Theutonicae Linguae. Schat der Nederduytscher spraken*, Antwerp.
- Pokorny, J. 1959: *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Tübingen - Basel.
- Riemann, E., R. Goltz and U. Tolksdorf 1992: *Preussisches Wörterbuch*, Neumünster.
- Schrijver, P. 1997: Animal, vegetable and mineral: some Western European substratum words, in *Sound Law and Analogy. Papers in honor of Robert S. Beekes on the occasion of his 60th birthday* (edited by Alexander Lubotsky), 293-316.
- Spangenberg, K. a.o. 1982: *Thüringisches Wörterbuch*, fifth volume, Berlin.
- Staub, F., L. Tobler, A. Bachmann and others 1909: *Schweizerisches Idiotikon: Wörterbuch der schweizerdeutschen Sprache*, sixth volume, Frauenfeld.
- van Sterkenburg, P. 1973: Verkenningen in middeleeuwse lexicografie naast een onderlinge relatie, *Leuvense Bijdragen* 62, 3-36.
- Stevens, A. 1986: *Túngersé Diksijñéer*, Tongeren.
- Teuthonista = G. van der Schueren, *Teuthonista of Duytschlender*, Cologne 1477 [ed. J. Verdam, Leiden 1896].
- de Vaan, M. 1997: 'Suiker' in de Limburgse dialecten en de ontwikkeling van WGm. **u* in gesloten syllabe, *Taal en Tongval* 49, 115-138.
- de Vries, J. 1971: *Nederlands etymologisch woordenboek*, Leiden.
- van de Water, A. 1904: *De volkstaal in het oosten van de Bommelerwaard*, Utrecht.
- von Wartburg, A. 1940: *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch II/1, c-cohortile*, Leipzig-Berlin.
- WBD = *Woordenboek van de Brabantse dialecten*, Assen 1967ff.
- Weijnen, A. 1937: *Onderzoek naar de dialectgrenzen in Noord-Brabant*, Fijnaart.
- 1966: *Nederlandse Dialectkunde*, Assen.

- van de Wouw, J.G.W. 1968: *Dialektgeografie van het Weertlands en zijn onmiddellijke omgeving, aan de hand van een monografie over het Nederweerts*. Doctoraalscriptie. Nijmegen.
- Wissmann, W. 1975: *Die altnordischen und westgermanischen Nomina postverbalia*, Heidelberg.
- Wossidlo, R. and H. Teuchert 1970: *Mecklenburgisches Wörterbuch*, fifth volume, Neumünster.
- Young, G.V.C. and C.R. Clever 1985: *Faroese-English dictionary*, Peel (Isle of Man).

Postscript

After I had received the proofs of my manuscript, I was sent the text of the article '*Rupseme hetet in onse tale*': *Van ruip en rups*, which Jan B. Berns has just published in the volume 'Met taal om de tuin geleid. Een bundel opstellen voor Georges De Schutter ter gelegenheid van zijn pre-emeritaat' (Antwerp, reprografie UIA, 2000), p. 19-24. He gives a more extensive list of MiDutch attestations, and stresses the existence of different dialect forms. His historical explanation, viz. that the oldest form was Gm. **rûpanô*, which was replaced by **rûp-smanô* (Flemish *rupsem*), whence by suffix reduction modern *rups*, can be dismissed using the data I have presented.