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# **A GOTHIC GRAMMAR**

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**A Gothic Grammar**

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# Содержание

|   |    |
|---|----|
| ABBREVIATIONS                                     | 6  |
| FONOLOGY  | 7  |
| CHAP. I. THE ALFABET                              | 7  |
| CHAP. II. THE VOWELS                              | 9  |
| a   | 9  |
| e   | 9  |
| i   | 10 |
| o   | 11 |
| u   | 11 |
| ei  | 12 |
| iu  | 13 |
| ai  | 13 |
| au  | 15 |
| APPENDIX  | 16 |
| CHAP. III. TABLE OF THE GOTHIC VOWELS             | 17 |
| A. FONETIC SYSTEM                                 | 17 |
| B. HISTORICAL SYSTEM (Ablaut-Series)              | 17 |
| CHAP. IV. THE CONSONANTS                          | 20 |
| A. SONOROUS CONSONANTS                            | 20 |
| B. NOIZD SOUNDS                                   | 23 |
| APPENDIX  | 32 |
| INFLECTION  | 34 |
| CHAP. I. DECLENSION OF SUBSTANTIVS                | 34 |
| GENERAL PRELIMINARY REMARKS                       | 34 |
| A. VOCALIC (STRONG) DECLENSION                    | 36 |
| B. N-DECLENSION (WEAK DECLENSION)                 | 42 |
| C. MINOR DECLENSIONS                              | 44 |
| APPENDIX.   | 45 |
| CHAP. II. DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVS                 | 47 |
| A. STRONG ADJECTIVS                               | 47 |
| B. WEAK ADJECTIVS                                 | 50 |
| C. DECLENSION OF THE PARTICIPLS                   | 51 |
| D. COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVS                        | 51 |
| CHAP. III. NUMERALS                               | 53 |
| 1. CARDINALS                                      | 53 |
| 2. ORDINALS                                       | 54 |
| 3. OTHER NUMERALS                                 | 54 |
| CHAP. IV. PRONOUNS                                | 55 |
| 1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS WITHOUT GENDER<br>(REFLEXIV) | 55 |
| 2. PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON                   | 55 |
| 3. DEMONSTRATIV PRONOUNS                          | 56 |
| 4. RELATIV PRONOUNS                               | 57 |
| 5. INTERROGATIV PRONOUNS                          | 57 |
| 6. INDEFINIT PRONOUNS                             | 58 |
| CHAP. V. CONJUGATION                              | 60 |

|                                   |    |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| GENERAL REMARKS                   | 60 |
| I. STRONG VERBS                   | 61 |
| Конец ознакомительного фрагмента. | 65 |

# Wilhelm Braune

## A Gothic Grammar / with selections for reading and a glossary

### ABBREVIATIONS

anv., anomalous verb. cf. or cp., compare. E., English. follg., following. G., German. Gr., Greek. Idg., Indo-Germanic. Lt., Latin. ME., Midl English. MHG., Midl High German. NE., New English. NHG., New High German. Nth., Northumbrian. OE., Old English. OHG., Old High German. ON., Old Norse. OS., Old Saxon. pp., past particip. prec., preceding. prsp., present particip. prt. – prs., preterit present. Sc., Scotch. Shak., Shakspeare. Sp., Spenser. sta., strong adjectiv. stv., strong verb. th. s., the same. w., with or word. wa., weak adjectiv. wv., weak verb. <, from; >, whence.

Anz. fda., Anzeiger für deutsches alterthum, s. Zs. fda.

Beitr., Beiträge zur geschichte der deutschen sprache und literatur. Halle 1874 ff.

Bezenb. beitr., Beiträge zur kunde der indogerm. sprachen, hg. v. A. Bezenberger. Göttingen 1875 ff.

Brugm., Grundriss der vergleichenden grammatik der indog. sprachen von K. Brugmann (Engl. edition). Strassburg 1886-92.

Dietrich, aussprache des got., s. § 2 n. 1.

Germ., Germania, hg. von Pfeiffer-Bartsch-Behaghel (1856-92).

Grundr., Grundriss der germ. philologie, hg. v. H. Paul. Strassburg 1889-93.

IF., Indogerm. forschungen, hg. v. K. Brugmann und W. Streitberg. Strassburg 1892 ff.

Kl. W., Kluge, Wörterbuch.

Kuhns zs., Zeitschrift für vergleichende sprachforschung. Berlin 1852 ff.

Litbl., Literaturblatt für germ. und roman. philologie. Heilbronn 1880 ff.

Sk., Skeat, Etymological Dictionary.

vB., von Bahder, Verbalabstracta.

Wrede, Wand., Sprache der Wandalen, s. § 220 n. 4.

Wrede, Ostg., Sprache der Ostgoten, s. § 221 n. 4.

Zs. fda., Zeitschrift für deutsches alterthum. Berlin 1841 ff. With this sinse vol. 19: Anzeiger für d. alt. Berlin 1876 ff.

Zs. fdph., Zeitschrift für deutsche philologie. Halle 1869 ff.

# FONOLOGY

## CHAP. I. THE ALFABET

§ 1. The monuments of the Gothic language are handed down to us in a peculiar alphabet which, according to Greek ecclesiastic writers, was invented by Wulfila (s. § 221). The Gothic alphabet, however, is not entirely a new creation, but Wulfila based it on the Greek alphabet which he accommodated to the Gothic sounds, increasing it by several signs from the Latin alphabet, and, in a few cases, availing himself of the familiar runic alphabet. Of the Greek alphabet he also retained the order and numerical value. The Gothic alphabet is now sufficiently represented in Roman letters. In the following we give in the first line the original Gothic characters, in the second their numerical values, in the third the transliteration of the Gothic characters by Roman letters, which latter we shall use exclusively in this book.

|     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| ⱦ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   |
| 1   | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7   | 8   | 9   |
| ⱦ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   |
| 1   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   |
| 10  | 20  | 30  | 40  | 50  | 60  | 70  | 80  | 90  |
| ⱦ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | —   |
| Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   | Ɱ   |
| 100 | 200 | 300 | 400 | 500 | 600 | 700 | 800 | 900 |
| r   | s   | t   | w   | f   | z   | h   | o   | —   |

Note 1. Of these signs one (**i**, 10) is represented by two forms. The **i** without dots occurs oftener, the **i** with dots stands at the beginning of a word, and in the middle of a word after a vowel, to show that it forms a syllable for itself and does not form a diphthong with the preceding vowel; e. g., **fraiṭiþ** (= **fra-itip**). In transliteration **i** is employed throughout.

Note 2. Two characters, the Greek episema 'koppa' (90) and 'sampi' (900), have no phonetic values, but serve only as numerals. When the symbols denote numerals, they are marked by a horizontal stroke above them, or by dots before and after them: **ib** or **·ib·** = 12.

Note 3. The transliteration of the Gothic symbols is not alike in all cases. Most editors have hitherto used **v** for **w** (§ 39, n. 1); for the single symbols **q** (§ 39, n. 1) and **h** (§ 63) we find **kv** or **qu** and **hv** or **w**, respectively; for **p**, which is borrowed from the Norse-A. – S. alphabet, also **th** occurs (§ 70, n. 1).

Note 4. The Gothic monuments show but few abbreviations; the holy names, **gub**, **frauja**, **iēsus**, **Xristus**, are always abbreviated. Abbreviations are denoted by a stroke above the word, but in our texts the abbreviated words are usually printed in full; as, **gb** = **gub**, **fa**, **fins** = **frauja**, **fraujins**. – For more on this point, s. Gabelentz-Loebe's grammar, p. 19 et seq.

Note 5. The Goths already had the Germanic runic letters before Wulfila. The names of these letters were used also for the new characters. The names of the Gothic symbols, together with a few Gothic words and alphabets, are preserved in a Salzburg-Vienna manuscript of the 9th century: W. Grimm, 'Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur 43', p. 4 et seq. Massmann, *zs. fda.* 1, p. 296 et seq. – The form of the names, however, is very corrupt. As to this, cp. A. Kirchhoff, 'Das Gotische

Runenalphabet', 2nd edit., Berlin 1854; J. Zacher, 'Das Gotische Alphabet Vulfilas und das Runenalphabet', Leipzig 1855. – Of special importance is Wimmer's treatise on Wulfila's alphabet, as 'Appendix I' to his book: 'Die Runenschrift', Berlin 1887, pp. 259-274.

§ 2. Of the 27 characters two have only numerical values, (§ 1, n. 2), a third, the  $\chi$ , is retained only in Greek foreign words, especially in the name 'Christus', and denotes no Gothic sound. Hence there remain the following 24 characters whose phonetic values are to be determined:

(a) Consonants:

**p b f m w l t d þ s z n l r k q g h v j.**

(b) Vowels:

**a e i o u.**

(c) Diphthongs:

**ei iu ai au.**

In determining the phonetic values of these characters we are guided by the following means: (1) The Gothic alphabet is based on the Greek alphabet; hence, the pronunciation of the Greek letters to be determined for the 4th century, must also be regarded as that of the Gothic letters so long as there is no proof to the contrary. (2) The rendition of the numerous Greek foreign words and proper nouns by Wulfila. (3) The transliteration of the Gothic proper nouns in Latin documents and by Latin authors of the 4th-8th centuries. (4) The testimony of the cognate Germanic languages. (5) Phonetic changes and grammatical phenomena in the Gothic language itself permit us to draw conclusions about the nature of the sounds.

Note 1. Concerning the pronunciation of the Gothic letters, cp. Weingärtner, 'Die Aussprache des Gotischen zur Zeit des Ulfilas', Leipzig 1858; Fr. Dietrich, 'Ueber die Aussprache des Gotischen während der Zeit seines Bestehens', Marburg 1862; about the consonants, Paul, 'Zur Lautverschiebung', Beitr. 1, p. 147 et seq.

Note 2. An old testimony for the Gothic pronunciation in the Salzburg-Vienna MS.:

|         |          |      |            |            |           |
|---------|----------|------|------------|------------|-----------|
| uuortun | otan     | auar | euangelīū  | ther       | lucan     |
| waurþun | uþþan    | afar | aivaggeljo | þairh      | Lokan     |
|         | uuorthun | auar | thuo       | iachuedant | iachuatum |
|         | waurþun  | afar | þo         | jah qeþun. |           |

ubi dicit. genuit .j. ponitur ubi gabriel .g. ponunt et alia his sim̃ ubi aspiratione. ut dicitur gah libeda *jah libaida* diptongon *ai* pro e longa p ch q ponunt. – Cp. § 1, n. 5, and, for explanation, especially Kirchhoff, p. 20 et seq.



## CHAP. II. THE VOWELS

### a

§ 3. The Gothic **a** signifies as a rule the short a-sound [as in G. mann].

Note 1. Foren words and names; as, **Annas**, Ἀννας; **Akaja**, Ἀχάια; **barbarus**, βάρβαρος; **aggilus**, ἄγγελος; **karkara**, *carcer*; **lukarn**, *lucerna*; **Kafarnaum**, Καπερναούμ.

Note 2. Gothic names: **Athanaricus**, **Ariaricus**, **Amalafrigda** (*Ammian.*)

§ 4. Short **a** is very frequent both in stem-syllabls and in inflection. E. g.

(a) Stem-syllabls: **agis**, *aw*; **aljīs**, '*alius*'; **tagr**, *tear*; **ahva**, '*aqua*'; **alan**, *to grow*; **hafjan**, *to heav*; **saltan**, *to salt*; **haldan**, *to hold*; **waldan**, *to rule*; **fadar**, *father*; **staps**, *place*. — **ahtau**, '*octo*'; **gasts**, *guest*; **hwapar**, '*uter*'; **awistr**, *sheepfold* (OHG. *au*, '*ovis*'; ahd. gr., § 219, n. 3); **bandi**, *band*; **barn**, *child*; **saggws**, *song*; all preterits of the III. – V. ablaut-series: **bar**, *I bore*; **hlaf**, *I stole*; **band**, *I bound*; **gaf**, *I gave*, etc.

(b) Inflections: **daga** (dat. sg., § 90), **waúrda** (nom. acc. pl., § 93), **giba** (nom. acc. sg., § 96), **guma** (nom. sg., § 107), **haírtôna** (nom. acc. pl., § 109); — **blindamma**, **blindana**, **blinda**, **blindata** (str. adj., § 123); — **imma**, **ina**, **ita**, **ija**, **meina** (prn.; § 150 et seq.); — **nima** (1st pers. sg. prs. ind.); **nimaima**, **nimaiwa**, **nimaina** (1st pers. pl. du. and 3d pers. pl. opt., § 170); **haitada** (medio-passiv, § 170); **sôkida** (weak prt., § 184); – adverbs: **-ba** (as, **glaggwuba**), **nêhva**, **inna**, **ana**, **waíla**, etc.

Note 1. Apocope of an unaccented **a** before enclitics: **pat-ist**, **pat-ei**, **pan-uh**, **þamm-uh**, **þan-ei**, **þamm-ei**, **kar-ist**. – Also **frêt** and **frêtum** (prt. of **fra-itan**, *to devour*, § 176, n. 3).

Note 2. For **a** in the dithongs **ai**, **au**, s. §§ 21. 25.

§ 5. In a few cases **a** is long [as in E. father]. (Comp. Holtzmann, Altd. Gr., I, 3 et seq.).

(a) In foren words: **Silbânus** (*Silvanus*), **aurâli** (*orale*), **spaíkulâtur** (*speculator*), **Peilâtus**, etc.;

(b) In the following Gothic words: **fâhan** (OHG. *fâhan*), *to cach*; **hâhan** (OHG. *hâhan*), *to hang*; **þâhta** (prt. of **þagkjan**, *to think*); **brâhta** (prt. of **briggan**, *to bring*); **gafâhs**, *a haul*; **faúrhâh**, *curtain*; **gahâhjô**, *in order*; **-gâhts**, *a going*; also **þâhô** (OHG. *dâha*), *clay*; **unwâhs**, *blameless* (OE. *wôh*, *wrong*).

Note. In the words mentiond under (b) **âh** arose from **anh** (§ 50, n. 1). Cp. also Litbl. 1886, p. 485.

### e

§ 6. **e** is always a long, close vowel (**ê**) approaching very much the sound of **i** [as in E. they].

Note 1. In Greek words  $\eta$  is regularly represented by **ê**; e. g., **Gabriêl**, **Kêfas**, **aíkklêsjô**, **Krêta**; – sumtimes also  $\iota$ : **Naên**, Ναίν; **Tykêkus**, Τυχικός; **aíloê**, ἐλωί; likewise  $\epsilon$ : **Jarêd**, Ἰαρעד.

Note 2. In Gothic names Latin writers employ **e** for Gothic **ê**: **Sigismêres**, **Gelimêr**, **Reccarêd**; besides, as erly as the 6th century, quite regularly also **i**; as, **Theodemir**, **Valamir**. Cp. Beitr., 11, 7 et seq.; Wrede, Wand., 92 et seq.

§ 7. Goth. **ê** (which regularly corresponds to OHG. and OS. **â**; ahd. gr., § 34) is found:

(a) in reduplicating verbs, in part with the ablaut **ô** (§§ 179, 181): **grêtan**, **lêtan**, **slêpan**; (b) in the prt. pl. of the IV. and V. ablaut-series: **sêtum** (inf. **sitan**, *to sit*), **nêmun** (inf. **niman**, *to take*), **têmun** (inf. **timan**, *to befit*), **êtum** (inf. *itan*), and in the prt. sg. **frêt**; Luc. XV, 30 (§ 176, n. 3); (c) in derivativs from the verbal stems givn under (b); as, **andanêms**, *agreeabl*; **andanê**, *a receiving*; **gatêmiba**, *becumingly*; **uzêta**, *manger*; (d) in other words; as, **jêr**, *year*; **qêns**, *wife*; **mêna**, *moon*; **lêkeis**, *fysician*; **mêrjan**, *to preach*; **manasêps** ('*man-seed*'), *world*, etc.; (e) in formativ syllabls: **fahêps**, *joy*; **awêpi**, *flock of sheep* (cp. however § 17, n. 1); **azêts**, *easy*; 2nd pers. sg. prt. of wvs., **-dês** (**nasidês**, § 184); (f) final: in the ending of the gen. pl.; as, **dagê**; in monosyllabic instrumentals: **pê**, **hê** (§§ 153, 159); in partcls and advs.; as, **swê**, **untê**, **hidrê**, **bisunjanê**; lastly, in the dativs **hammêh**, **hvarjammêh**, **ainummê-hun** (cp. §§ 163-166).

Note 1. **ê** before vowels appears as **ai**; s. § 22.

Note 2. **ei** occurs quite often for **ê**, especially in the Gospel of St. Luke; as, **qeins** (= **qêns**), **faheid** (= **fahêd**), **fraleitais** (= **fralêtais**); Lu. II, 5. 10. 29; **afleitai**; Mt. IX, 6, etc.

Note 3. Sporadically also **i** for **ê**; so, frequently, in the Gospel of St. Lu.; as, **birusjôs**; Lu. II, 41; **qipeina**; VIII, 56. IX, 21; **tawidideina**; VI, 11; **duatsniwun**; Mk. VI, 53. Only **i** is found in **wriþus**, *herd*; Lu. VIII, 33 (for **wrêþus**; cp. Bezzenb. Beitr. 3, 114).

Note 4. Reversely, also **e** occurs for **i** and **ei** (§ 10, n. 5; § 17, n. 1). – These deviations (in ns. 2-4) seem due to East Gothic writers; cp. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 161.

§ 8. From the preceding **ê** must be separated the **ê** of sum Gothic words in which it corresponds to OHG. ea, ia (not â): **hêr**, *here*; **Krêks**, *Greek*; **fêra**, *side, region*; **mês**, *table*. Cp. ahd. gr., §§ 35, 36; Beitr., 18, 409 et seq.

## i

§ 9. Gothic **i**, as a rule, denotes the short vowel **i** [as in E. it], while its corresponding long sound is represented by **ei** [= ie in E. believ]; s. § 16.

Note 1. The **i** in Greek words stands for short ι, only exceptionally for η which is generally represented by **ê**; e. g., **Aúnisimus**, Ὀνήσιμος; **Bīpania**, Βηθανία.

Note 2. **i** in Gothic words is long, when it is incorrectly employd for **ê** (cp. § 7, n. 3).

§ 10. The Gothic **i**, from an historical point of view, is of two kinds: It represents two originally distinct sounds which, from a purely Gothic standpoint, can not be separated.

(a) Goth. **i** = proethnic Germanic e (OHG. *ë* or *i*; cp. ahd. gr., §§ 28-30), as in the prs. tense of verbs of the III. – V. ablaut-series (§§ 32-34): **niman**, OHG. *nëman*; **giban**, OHG. *gëban*; **giba**, OHG. *gëba*; **bindan**, OHG. *bintan*; **itan**, *to eat*; **midjis**, '*medius*'; **hlifan**, *to steal*; **swistar**, OHG. *swëster*; **fidwôr**, *four*; **gifts**, *gift*; **-qiss**, *speech*; the pps. of the V. ablaut-series: **gibans**, **itans**, **lisans**, **wigans**, **qipans**.

(b) Goth. **i** = proethnic Germanic i (OHG. *i*; ahd. gr., § 31); e. g., **lists**, *stratagem*; **fisks**, *fish*; **is**, *he*; **wissa**, *I knew*; **skritnan**, *to rend* (intr.); prt. pl. and pp. of the verbs of the I. ablaut-series (§ 30): **bitun**, **bitans** (inf. **beitan**); **stigun**, **stigans** (inf. **steigan**); **lipun**, **lipans** (inf. **leipan**).

Note 1. Final **i** occurs in **ni**, **bi**, **si**, **hiri**; in the nominativs of feminin and neuter **j**-stems: **bandi** (§ 96), **kuni** (§ 93); in the acc. and voc. sg. of the masculin **j**-stems: **hari** (§ 90); 3d pers. sg. prt. opt.: **nêmi**. This final **i** appears as **j**, when it becums medial (§ 45).

Note 2. Final **i** before a following **i** of an enclitic word is elided in **nist** (= **ni-ist**), **sei** (= **si-ei**), **niba** (= **ni-iba**).

Note 3. Every **i** before **h** and **r** is broken to **ai**; cp. § 20.

Note 4. **ij** is found in **ija**, 'eam'; **prija**, 'tria'; **fijan**, *to hate*; **frijôn**, *to luv*; **sijum**, *we ar*; **kijans**, *germinated*, etc. **i** for **ij** is rare: **fian**, **sium**, etc., but **friapwa** (beside **frijapwa**), *luv*, occurs very often.

Note 5. Occasionally **e** takes the place of **i**; as, **usdrebi**; Mk. V, 10; **seneigana**; I. Tim. V, 1.

Note 6. For **i** in the difthong **iu**, s. §§ 18. 19.

Note 7. For a separation of the two **is** (= OHG. *ë* and *i*) in East Gothic names, s. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 162.

## o

§ 11. The Gothic character **o** always denotes a long close **o** approaching somewhat the sound of **û** (= *o* in E. *home*).

Note 1. In Greek words **o**, as a rule, corresponds to *ω*, rarely to *ο*; e. g., **Makidonja**, Μακεδονία; it also stands for *ου*: **Iodas**, Ἰούδας; Lu. III, 26.

Note 2. **o** in Gothic words often stands for (short) **u** (§ 14, n. 3).

§ 12. **ô** (= OHG. *uo*; s. ahd. gr., § 38 et seq.) is frequent in Gothic words. E. g., **brôpar**, *brother*; **bôka**, *beech*; **frôps**, *wise*; **flôdus**, *flud*; **fôtus**, *foot*.

In the prt. of the VI. series (§ 35) and of the **ê** – **ô**-series (§ 36): **ôl**, **hôf**, **ôg**, pl. **ôlum**, **hôfum**, **ôgum**; **laîlôt**, **laîlôtum**, **aisô**. In endings, as in nom. pl. **gibôs**, **dagôs**; wvs. II.: **salbôn**; final, in gen. pl. f. **gibô**, **tuggônô**; nom. sg. **tuggô**, **haîrtô**. Prns.: **lvô**, **pô**, **sô**, **lvânô-h**, **ainnô-hun**, **hvarjanô-h**. Verb **salbô**. Advs. in **-ô** (§ 211).

Note 1. For **ô** we sometimes find **u**: **gagrôtûda** (inf. **krôtôn**), *he is crushed*; Lu. XX, 18; **ûhtêdun** (prs. **ôg**), *they feared*; Mk. XI, 32. – In East Gothic names **u** often takes the place of **ô**; s. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 164.

Note 2. In a few words **ô** before vowels becomes **au**; s. § 26.

Note 3. **ô** and **u** interchange in the inflection of **fôn**, gen. **funins** (§ 118). Concerning this and other relations between **ô** and **u**, cp. Beitr. 6, 377 et seq.; 564; also Kuhns Zs., 26, 16 et seq.

## u

§ 13. The letter **u** in Gothic denotes both a short and a long vowel; the short **u**, however, occurs oftener than long **û**.

Note 1. **u** in foreign words regularly represents Gr. *ου*. In unaccented syllables, however, it stands for Gr. *ο*: **diabulus**, διάβολος (beside **diabaûlus**), **apaûstulus** (beside **apaûstaûlus**), **paîntêkustê**, πεντηκοστή.

Note 2. **u** for **ô** seldom (§ 12, n. 1), **u** for **áu** (§ 25, n. 3).

§ 14. Short **u** is very frequent in Gothic. E. g.

(a) **juk**, *yoke*; **sunus**, *sun*; **drus**, *fall*; **us-drusts**, *a falling*; **fra-lusts**, *lost*; **lusnan**, *to perish*; – in the prt. pl. and pp. of the verbs of the II. series (§ 31); e. g., **gutum**, **gutans**; **lusum**, **lusans**; – in endings of the sbs. of the **u**-decl.: **handus**, **handu**; – final, as in **pu**, prn., *thou*; **nu**, *now*; **-u** (interr. particl).

(b) **wulfs**, *wolf*; **wulla**, *wool*; **gaqumþs**, *council*; **gulþ**, *gold*; **swumfsl**, *pond*; **hund**, *100*; **sibun**, *7*; **taîhun**, *10*; **fulls**, *ful*; **un-** (privativ prefix); in the prt. pl. and pp. of the verbs of the III. series (§ 32): **bundum**, **bundans**; in the pp. of the verbs of the IV. series (§ 33): **numans**, **stulans**.

**brukans**, *broken*; **us-bruknan**, *to break off* (intr.); **trudan**, *to tread*, pp. **trudans**; **snutrs**, *wise*.

Note 1. As a rule, the final **u** of stems is dropt before derivativ **j**-suffixes; e. g., **-hardjan**, *to harden* (< **hardus**); **-agljan**, *to trouble* (< **aglus**); **manwjan**, *to prepare* (< **manwus**); **ufarassjan**, *to increase* (< **ufarassus**); L. Meyer, 'Got. Spr.', p. 325 et seq. But **skadwjan**, *to overshadow* (< **skadus**), and **skadweins**, *a shading* (cp. Zs. fda. 36, 269). – Concerning **u** beside **w**, cp. § 42.

Note 2. Every **u** before **h** and **r** is broken to **aú**; cp. § 24.

Note 3. **u** is eight times (mostly in Lu.) represented by **o**; e. g., **laúhmoni**, *lightning*: Lu. XVII, 24; **sunjos**, *suns*; Lu. XVI, 8; **ushôfon**; Lu. XVII, 13; **ainomêhun**; Lu. VIII, 43; **faího**, *money*; Mk. X, 23.

Note 4. In the endings of the **u**-declension **u** is occasionally represented by **au**; as, **sunaus** (nom. sg.); Lu. IV, 3; cp. § 105, n. 2.

§ 15. Long **û** certainly appears in: (a) **ût**, *out* (**ûta**, etc.); **dûbô**, *duv*; **rûna**, *mystery*; **rûms**, *room, roomy*; **\*mûl** (in **faúrmûljan**, *to muzl*); **brûps**, *bride*; **hûs**, *house*; **skûra**, *shower*; **hlûtrs**, *pure*; **fûls**, *foul*; **\*mûks** (in **mûkamôdei**), *meek*; **pûsundi**, *1000*; **brûkjan**, *to uze* (prt. **brûhta**; adj. **brûks**); **lûkan**, *to lock* (§ 173, n. 2); **hrûkjan**, *to crow* (s. Beitr., 6, 379); **hnûpô**, *sting* (Icel. hnúpa; s. Noreen, Nord. revy, April 1883).

(b) for nasalized **u**, the primitiv nasal being lost (cp. § 5, b; § 50, n. 1): **pûhta** (prt. of **pugkjan**, *to think*), **pûhtus**, *thought* (adj. **pûhts**); **hûhrus**, *hunger*; **jûhiza** (compar. to **juggs**), *yunger*; **ûhtwô**, *daybreak*; **ûhteigs**, *ûhtiugs*, *seasonabl*; **bi-ûhts**, *accustomd* (s. Brgm., I, 181).

Note 1. **u** is perhaps long in: **prûtsfill**, *leprosy* (cp. ON. **prútinn**, *swoln*; OE. **prûstfell**; Beitr., 9, 254); **anabûsns**, *commandment* (Beitr., 9, 152 and 10, 497; Brgm., II, 287); **lûns**, *ransom* (Brgm., II, 285); **sûts**, *sweet* (OS. **swôti**, OE. **swête**; cp. however Kuhn's Zs., 26, 380); the suff. **-dûps** (§ 103; cp. Beitr. 6, 380); **jûs**, *ye* (§ 150; Brgm., III, 374. 398). Sum write also **fidûr**- and **-ûh** (cp. § 24, n. 2).

Note 2. In **Rûma**, *Rome*, **Rûmôneis**, *a Roman*, **û** stands for the Lt. **o**.

Note 3. **o** for **û** occurs only in **ôhteigô**; II. Tim. IV, 2 (in codex B, for **ûhteigô** in A).

Note 4. For **û** becoming **au** before vowels, s. § 26, b.

## ei

§ 16. Like Greek **ει** at the time of Wulfila, and in imitation of it, Gothic **ei** denotes long **î**.

Note 1. In Greek words **ei** usually stands for **ι**, but also for **ει**, and sumtimes for **η**.

Note 2. Concerning **ei** for Goth. **ê**, s. § 7, n. 2.

Note 3. The difthongal pronunciation of **ei** suggested by J. Grimm is refuted also for linguistic reasons. Cp. J. Schmidt, 'Idg. Vocalismus', I, 485; Litbl. 1886, 485; Brgm., I, 57.

§ 17. **ei** in stem syllabls of Gothic words occurs especially in the prs. tense of the I. series (§ 30): **beitan**, *to bite*; **steigan**, *to mount*; **peihan**, *to thrive*; in the inflection of these verbs it interchanges with **ai** and **i**.

Other examples: **hweila**, *time*; **eisarn**, *iron*; **leipu**, *cider*; **preis**, 3; **leihts**, *light*; **weihs**, *holy*; **skeirs**, *clear*; pronouns: **weis**, *we*; **meins**, **peins**, **seins**; – very often in formativ and inflectional syllabls; as, adjs. in **-eigs** (**mahteigs**, *mighty*); in **-eins** (**aiweins**, *eternal*); nomina actionis in **-eins** (**laisains**, *doctrin*); nom. and gen. sg. of the m. **ja**-stems: **haírdeis**, *herd*; **laisareis**, *teacher*; nom. pl. of the **i**-

decl.: **gasteis**; opt. prt.: **nêmeis**; final, in feminins in **-ei**: **managei** (§ 113); imperativs: **sôkei**, etc. (§ 186); the rel. particl **ei** (§ 157), alone and in composition.

Note 1. **ei** is quite often represented by **ê**; as **akêtis**; Mt. XXVII, 48; **wêhsa**; Mk. VIII, 26. 27; **akê**; Gal. II, 14; **izê**; Mk. IX, 1. Lu. VIII, 13. 15, etc. – Here perhaps belongs also **awêpi** (§ 7, e), which, however, occurs three times with **ê**: Jo. XVI, 16. I. Cor. IX, 7; cp. Beitr., 11, 32; 18, 286.

Note 2. Onse (in **seiteina**; II. Cor. XI, 28) occurs **ei** beside **in** (in **sinteins**, *daily*; **sinteinô**, *always*).

Note 3. Beside **gabeigs**, *rich* (**gabei**, *riches*), which occurs 5 times in Luke, also II. Cor. VIII, 9. Eph. II, 4 (in B), we find more frequently (11 times) **gabigs** (> **gabigjan**, *to enrich*; **gabignan**, *to grow rich*); cp. Brgm., II, 261. 271.

## iu

§ 18. In the pronunciation of **iu** the stress is on the **i**, and **u** is a consonant.

Note 1. In Gothic words Latin writers render **iu** by eu, eo: **Theudes**, **Theudicodo**; **Theodoricus**. As to this, cp. Wrede, 'Wand', 100 et seq.; 'Ostg.', 167.

Note 2. In **sium** (§ 10, n. 4), **niu** (interr. particl = **ni-u**, § 216) **iu** is dissyllabic, i. e. **í-ú**.

§ 19. **iu** is a normal vowel of the present tense of the II. series (§ 31), and here it interchanges with the ablauts **au**, **u**: **biugan**, *to bend*; **biudan**, *to offer*. – In other words; as, **piuda**, *peple*; **dius**, *animal*; **liuhap**, *light*; **diups**, *deep*; **siuks**, *sick*; **niujis**, *new*; **niun**, 9; **iup**, *upward*. – In formativ and inflectional syllabls **iu** does not occur, except in the isolated **ûhtiugs** (I. Cor. XVI, 12. Cp. Beitr., 12, 202).

Note. In **triu**, *tree*; **qiujan**, *to quicken*, etc., **iu** interchanges with **iw** before an inflectional vowel: gen. **triwis**; prt. **qiwida**; cp. § 42.

## ai

**ai** in Gothic words denotes two etymologically, and certainly also fonetically, different sounds.

§ 20. I. The short vowel **ái** [= a in E. fat]. **ai** is used in Gothic to denote a short, open e<sup>1</sup>-sound. In this case, according to Grimm's exampl, grammarians put an accute accent over the **i** (**ái**) in order to distinguish it from **ái** (§ 21). Gothic **ai** corresponds to e or i in OHG. and in the other Germanic languages. The short e-sound represented by **ái** occurs:

(1) before **h** (**hv**) and **r**, which sounds hav caused breaking of every preceding short **i** to **e** (**ái**; § 10, n. 3); e. g., **airþa**, *erth*; **waírpan**, *to throw*; **baírhts**, *bright*; **faíhu**, *cat*; **maíhstus**, *dung*; **raíhts**, *right*; **taíhun**, 10; **saíhvan**, *to see*; **paíhum** (prt. pl. of **peihan**, *to grow*). (2) in reduplicated syllabls (§ 178 et seq.): **haíhald**, **aíaik**, **laílôt**, **saísô**, etc. Cp. Osthoff, 'Zur Geschichte des Perfects', p. 276 et seq. Brugmann, IV, 15. (3) in the conj. **aíþpau**, *or* (= OHG. *ëddo*, ahd. gr. § 167, n. 11; cp. Beitr. 12, 211); probably, also, in **waíla**, *wel* (= OHG. *wëla*, ahd. gr., § 29, n. 4), but cp. Beitr. 11, 553.

Note 1. The law for the transition of **i** to **ai** before **h** and **r** (so-calld breaking or refraction) is almost without exception, and equally concerns the Germanic **i** in general and the Gothic **is** (§ 10) in particular. The **i** before **h**, **r**, is retaind only in the following words: **nih**, '*neque*' (= **ni uh**), **hiri**, (*cum*) *here!*; du. **hirjats**, pl. **hirjip** (219); and in the isolated forms: **sihu**, *victory* (cp. § 106, n. 1), **parihis** (a probably

<sup>1</sup> For the values of this sign according to 'Amended Spelling', s. 'Standard Dictionary', p. 568.



corrupt form in Mt. IX, 16), adj. in gen. sg., *not fuld* (said of cloth). Cp. IF. 4, 334 et seq.

Note 2. Not every **ai** before **h**, **r** is **ái**, but may also be the old difthong; e. g., **páih** (prt. of **peihan**, like **ráis**, prt. of **reisan**, but pl. **paíhum**, like **risum**, § 30), **áih**, *I hav*; **áihts**, *property*; **háih**s, *one-eyd*; **fáih**, *deceit* (Beitr., 12, 397); **áir**, *erly* (OHG. êr); **sáir** (OHG. sêr), *sorrow*; **áirus**, *messenger*. Whether **ai** has the value of **ái** or **ái** can in most cases only be inferd from the remaining Germanic languages.

Note 3. In Latin orthograpy **ái** is exprest by **e**; e. g., Ermanaricus = Goth. **\*Aírmanareiks**, Ermenberga = Goth. **\*Aírminbaírga**. Cp. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 162.

Note 4. **ai** is to be regarded as a difthong (**ái**) in **baitrs**, *bitter*; **jains**, *yon, that* (and its derivations), while formerly, according to OHG. bittar, jenêr, it was thought to be short (**ái**). Cp. Holtzmann, 'Altd. Gr.', p. 11 et seq.; Brgm., I, 392; Bezzenb. Beitr., 16, 156. – Scherer (Zur Gesch. d. dtsch. Sprache) presumed short **ái** also in the 3d pers. sg. prs. opt. (like **nimai**) and in several forms of the strong inflection of adjs. (nom. pl. m. **blindai**, gen. sg. f. **blindaizôs**, gen. pl. **blindaizê**, **blindaizô**). Hirt (Beitr., 18, 284 et seq.) goes stil farther in this direction. – Cp. also § 22, n. 3.

§ 21. II. The old Difthong **ai**. By far the greater number of the Gothic **ais** express a difthongal sound which is equivalent to OHG. ei or ê (ahd. gr., §§ 43. 44), OS. ê, ON. ei. The Goths of Wulfila's time indeed seem to hav stil pronounced this **ai** as **a + i**. – For the difthong **ai** we employ Grimm's sign **ái** whenever it is likely to be confused with **ái**. Examples of difthongal **ai** (before **h**, **r**, cp. § 20, n. 2): The prts. sg. of the I. ablaut-series (§ 30), —**bait**, *I bit* (inf. **beitan**); **staig**, *I mounted* (inf. **steigan**); etc.; **wait** (§ 197); **ains**, *one*; **hlaifs**, (*loaf of*) *bred*; **staiga**, *path*; **laisjan**, *to teach*; —**haitan**, *to be calld*; **maitan**, *to cut*; **skaidan**, *to separate*; **aiws**, *time*; —**hails**, *hale, sound*; **dails**, *deal*.

**ai** appears also in inflectional syllabls of the III. Weak Conjugation (§ 191): **habais**, **habaida**, etc.; in the prs. opt.: **nimais**, etc.; **anstais**, gen. sg. of the **i**-decl.; in the str. adjs.: **blindaizôs**, etc. (§ 123); – final: **gibai**, **anstai**, dat. sg.: **nimai**, 3 prs. sg. opt.; **blindai**, dat. sg. f. and nom. pl. m. of the str. adj.; – monosyllabls: **pai**, nom. pl., *these*; **twai**, 2; **bai**, *both*; **jai**, *yes*; **sai**, *behold!*; **wai**, *woe!*

Note 1. Latin writers express the Gothic **ai** predominantly by **ai**, **ei**: **Dagalaiphus**, **Gaina**, **Radagaisus**, **Gisaleicus** (cp. Dietrich, 'Ausspr.'), **eils** in a Lt. epigram (Zs. fda., 1, 379). On the Bukarest rune-ring (cp. § 221, n. 3) stands **hailag** (Paul's 'Grundriss', I, 411). – Concerning the difthongal pronunciation of the Gothic **ai**, cp. especially Wrede, 'Wand.', 95 et seq.; about monofthongization in East Goth., s. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 165.

Note 2. **ai** and **aj** interchange in **wai**, *woe!*; **wai-dêdja**, *evil-doer*, and **waja-mêrjan**, *to blasfeme*; in **aiws**, *time*, and **ajukdûps**, *eternity*.

§ 22. Many scholars hold that also the **ai** in the reduplicating ablaut vs. (§ 182) **saian** and **waian** is difthongal. This **ai**, however, stands etymologically for Gothic **ê**, and its OHG. equivalent is **â** (not **ei**): OHG. **sâen**, **wâen** (cp. ahd. gr., § 359, n. 3.) The difthong **ai** before a vowel would becum **aj**; hense, **\*sajan**, **\*wajan**. Here **ai** perhaps has the sound of long æ, i. e. open e representing close e (**ê**) when followd by a vowel; thus, **saian**, **waian**, for **sêan**, **wêan**.

Note 1. Before the **i** of the 3d pers. sg. prs. a **j** is often found: **saijip** (Mk. IV, 14), **saijip** (II. Cor. IX, 6 in A, for **saiip** in B; Gal. VI, 7. 8. in A, for **saiip** in B). Before **a** the **j** occurs but onse: **saijands** (Mk. IV, 14). Cp. Beitr. 11, 75 et seq.

Note 2. Here belongs also the isolated **faian** (Rom. IX, 19, in prs. **faianda**); but the prs. to the prt. **laílôun** is **lauan** rather than **laian**. Cp. Beitr. 11, 56.

Note 3. Also the **ai** in **armaiô**, *alms* (Bezzenb. Beitr. 7, 210; Beitr. 11, 74), is likely to belong here. – Concerning the fonetic values of the **ais** discust here, cp. especially Beitr. 11, 51 et seq.; Brgm., I, pp. 126. 127; Wrede, 'Wand.' 99, who,

beside Holtzmann, is inclined to assume a long sound for these **ais**; Noreen, 'Urg. Lautlehre', p. 35 et seq.

§ 23. That the Goth. **ai** may be both short and long (like a in E. at, fare) is evident from its regular occurrence in Greek words. As a rule, **ai** = ε in **aikklēsĵō**, ἐκκλησία; **Aileisabaiþ**, Ἑλισάβεθ; **Baiailaibul**, Βεελζεβούλ; **Gainnēsaraib**, Γεννησαρέτ, etc.; likewise = αι (i. e. long æ): **Idumaia**, Ἰδουμαία; **Haibraius**, Ἑβραῖος; **hairaísis**, αἵρεσις, etc.

Note. Gothic **ai** for Greek η is exceptional; e. g., **Hairodiadins**, gen. to Ἡρωδίας (Mk. VI, 17); **Neikaúdaimus** (Skeir. 52); Νικόδημος (for **Nikaúðēmus** elsewhere.)

## au

Also Goth. **au** (like **ai**) stands for historically and fonetically different sounds.

§ 24. I. The short vowel **áu**. —**au** in Gothic denotes a short open o-sound. In this case grammarians put an accute accent over the **u** (**áu**) in order to keep it apart from the difthong **au**. Goth. **áu** corresponds to o or u in OHG. and in the other Germanic languages.

The **áu**, before **h** and **r** in Gothic words, has in every instance developpt from a short **u** which, when immediately followd by these sounds, was 'broken' to short ö. E. g.

**waúrms**, *wurm*; **haúrn**, *horn*; **baúrgs** (OHG. burg), *city*; **waúrd**, *word*; **waúrpum**, prt. pl. of **waírpan**, *to throw* (cp. § 32); **saúhts** (OHG. suht), *sickness*; **daúhtar**, *daughter*; **aúhsa**, *ox*; **taúhum**, prt. pl. of **tiuhan**, *to pul*; **baúhta**, prt. of **bugjan**, *to buy*.

Note 1. **áu** before other sounds is entirely exceptional and somewhat doubtful. Thus, in **auftō**, *perhaps* (onse also **uftō**; Mt. XXVII, 64), **bisauljan**, *to sully*; **bisaulnan**, *to becum sullied*. Holtzmann (altd. gr., p. 14) regards also **ufbauljan** (II. Tim. III, 4) as belonging to this class.

Note 2. The change of short **u** into **áu** before **h** is without exception. An apparent exception is the enclitic **-uh**, *and*, the **u** of which must be referd to a secondary development; it is never found after a short accented vowel, nor after a long vowel or difthong; e. g., **sa-h**, **ni-h**, **þai-h**, **wiljáu-h**, **hvarjanô-h**; **u** occurs after consonants, and in polysyllabic words in which a final short **a** before the **u** was elided; as, **haz-uh**, **þammuh** (= **þamma uh**), **qīpuh** (= **qīpa uh**). Sum, however, assume **-ûh** (cp. Beitr. 18, 299). — Other **us** before **h** ar all long: **þûhta** (cp. § 15). — There ar a few cases of **u** before **r** in unaccented syllabls (§ 13, n. 1), namely in the foren words **spaiikulâtur** and **paúrpura** (beside **paúrpaúra**), *purpl*; so, also, in the Gothic **fidur-** (§ 141, n. 1) which, however, stands perhaps for **fidûr-** (cp. IF. 4, 334). — The prefix **ur-** (in **urreisan**, **urruns**, etc.) does not belong here; it is a late form for **us** the **s** of which was assimilated to a following **r** (§ 78, n. 4).

Note 3. Not every **au** before **h** and **r** has developpt from **u**, but may also be the difthong **au**; as, **háuhs**, *high*; **táuh**, prt. of **tiuhan** (but pl. **taúhum**, § 31); **gáurs**, *sorry* (cp. OHG. gôrag, *wreched*, and Goth. **gaunôn**, *to mourn*).

Note 4. The **au** for **u** in the endings of the **u**-declension may be **áu**, but also **áu** which would be due to confusion caused by analogy. Beitr., 18, 280. — Cp. also **uftō** for **auftō**, § 24, n. 1.

Note 5. As a rule, the Greek o is represented by **áu**; e. g., **apaustaulus**, ἀπόστολος; **alabalstraun**, ἀλάβαστρον; **Barþaulaumaius**, Βαρθολομαῖος; **Pauntius**, Πόντιος; **áu** = u in **Saúr**, Σύρος; **paúrpaúra**, πορφύρα. — Goth. **áu** = o in the East Gothic name **Thorisa**. (Wrede, 'Ostg.', 76. 165).

§ 25. II. The old difthong **au** [= ou in E. house]. Every **au** not broken from **u** (before **h**, **r**; s. § 24 and note 3) is a difthong; it corresponds to OHG. au, ou, or ô (ahd. gr., §§ 45. 46), OS. ô, ON. au. Whenever it is likely to be confused with **áu**, we put (according to Grimm), an accute accent over the **a** (**áu**). E. g.

The prts. sg. of the II. ablaut-series (§ 31): **gaut**, *I pour* (inf. **giutan**); **laug**, *I lied*, etc.; **laugnjan**, *to deny*; **daupjan**, *to baptize*; **galaubjan**, *to believ*; **galaubeins**, *belief*; **raups**, *red*; **daupus**, *deth*; —**aukan**, *to increase*; **hlaupan**, *to run*; **stautan**, *to push, strike*; —**haubiþ**, *hed*; **augô**, *ey*.

**au** in inflections and final occurs in the **u**-declension: **sunaus**, **sunau**; 1st pers. sg. opt.: **nimau**, **nêmjau**; 3d pers. sg. imper.: **lausjadau**; opt. midl: **haitaidau**.

Note 1. **au** often interchanges with **aw** (cp. § 42); e. g., **taujan**, prt. **tawida**, *to do*; **mawi**, gen. **maujôs**, *girl*; **sniwan**, prt. **snau**, *to hasten*.

Note 2. Latin writers express Goth. **au** by au; as, **Ausila**, **Austrovaldus**, **Audericus**. Cp. Wrede, 'Wand.', 96 et seq. Concerning East Gothic monofthongizations, s. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 165 et seq. (Zs. fda., 36, 2732).

Note 3. In the **u**-declension **u** is often found for **áu**; cp. § 24, n. 4; § 105, n. 2.

§ 26. Another **au**, historically, and probably also fonetically, different from the preceding ones occurs before vowels.

(a) For original **ô**: **stauida**, prt. of **stôjan**, *to judge*; **staua**, f., *judgment*; **staua**, m., *judge*; **taui**, n., gen. **tôjis**, *deed* (cp. also **ubiltôjis**, *evil-doer*; **taujan**, *to do*, prt. **tawida**); **afmauidai** and **afdauidai**, pps. of **\*afmôjan**, and **\*afdôjan**, *to tire out, weary*; **sauil**, n., *sun*.

(b) For **û** in the other Germanic languages: **trauan** (OHG. trûen), *to trust*; **bauan** (OHG. bûan), *to dwell*; **bnauan**, *to rub (to pieces or powder)*. ON. (g)núa, OHG. nûan). Cp. also § 179, n. 2.

Since this **au** does not change into **aw** before vowels, it must denote a monofthong which is likely to be the long of **áu**, hence a long open **o** (= a in E. fall), while long close **o** (shading very much to **û**, like ô in E. home) is denoted by **ô**. Accordingly, Goth. antevocalic **ô**, **û** past into **au**. Cp. Brgm., I, 156. For the extensiv literature on this question, s. Noreen's 'Urgerm. Lautlehre', p. 34; also Beitr., 17, 563-567.

Note 1. Also Gr. ω before a vowel, which is represented as a rule by **ô**, is rendered by **au**: **Trauada**, Τρωάδας; **Nauêl**, Νοέ; **Lauidja**, Λωίδς.

Note 2. **ô** before **u** occurs, however, in the preterit forms **waiwôun** (inf. **waian**, § 182), **lailôun** (inf. **\*lauan**, § 179, 4). Cp. Beitr., 11, 742.

## APPENDIX

§ 27. Beside the vowel-signs discust in the foregoing paragraphs, a few consonant-signs may likewise discharge the function of vowels, for the Gothic liquids **l**, **r** and the nasals **m**, **n** are very often vocalic (i. e. syllabic) at the end of a word after a consonant. Here an original suffixal vowel was lost in most cases, and in its place the following liquid or nasal became the bearer of the accent. Thus the Gothic has dissyllabic words with vocalic liquids or vocalic nasals (sonant liquids or sonant nasals); as, **akrs**, *field*; **fugls**, *bird*; **taikns**, *token*; **maipms**, *present*.

Note In the West Germanic languages a new vowel (OHG. a) has developed from these vocalic liquids and nasals; e. g., OHG. akkar, fogal, zeihhan, OS. mêpom. Cp. ahd. gr., § 65, and Brgm., I, 190. 237.



## CHAP. III. TABLE OF THE GOTHIC VOWELS

### A. FONETIC SYSTEM

§ 28. In the preceding paragraphs the Gothic vowels have been given according to the letters by which they are represented. Now they will be arranged according to the nature of their sounds, the following scale of seven vowels from i to u being taken as a basis:

i e æ a o u.

e and o denote here the close e and o (which shade very much to i and u, respectively); æ = open e (= a in fat, fare); o = open o.

In the following survey we shall state after each of these vowel grades whether it occurs in Gothic, and by what letter it is expressed.

|             |                                 |
|-------------|---------------------------------|
| i:          | Short, i (§ 10).                |
|             | Long, ei (§§ 16, 17).           |
| e:          | Short, wanting.                 |
|             | Long, ê (§§ 6-8).               |
| æ:          | Short, ai (§ 20).               |
|             | Long? (perhaps the ai in § 22). |
| a:          | Short, a (§§ 3, 4).             |
|             | Long, â (§ 5).                  |
| o:          | Short, wanting.                 |
|             | Long, ô (§§ 11, 12).            |
| u:          | Short, u (§§ 13, 14).           |
|             | Long, û (§ 15).                 |
| Diphthongs: |                                 |
| ai:         | §§ 18, 19.                      |
| ai:         | § 21.                           |
| au:         | § 25.                           |

### B. HISTORICAL SYSTEM (Ablaut-Series)

§ 29. The Gothic vowels, as regarded from a historico-etymological point of view, may be grouped into a number of series of related vowels. The vowels belonging to such a series may interchange in formations with the same root; in the formation of tenses and in the verbal and nominal derivation all vowels of the same series may occur, but not such as have nothing in common with that series. This change of vowels within a series is called ablaut (or gradation), the series themselves ablaut-series. The ablaut-series are most perceptible in the verb. The relation between the vowels of the same series is not a fonetic but a historical one; to establish it, we must pass beyond the limits of the Germanic languages and take recourse to the comparative grammar of the Indo-Germanic languages. The Gothic ablaut-series as appearing in verbal inflection are these (cp. § 172 et seq.):

§ 30. I. Series: ei ai i (aí).

Examples: **reisan** (**urreisan**), **rais**, **risum**, **risans**, *to rize*; **urraisjan**, *to raiz*; **urristis**, f., *resurrection*; —**peihan**, **paíh**, **paíhum**, **paíhans**, *to thrive*; —**wait**, *I know*; pl. **witum**; **weitan**, *to see*; **weitwôds**, *witness*; **mip-wissei**, *conscience*; **witubni**, n., *knowledge*; —**lais**, *I know*; **lubja-leisei**, f., *wichcraft*; **lists**, f. (?), *stratagem*; **laisjan**, *to teach*.

Note. The **i** of this series is the protothnic Germanic i mentioned in § 10, b.

§ 31. II. Series: **iu au u** (aú).

Examp<sup>ls</sup>: **giuta**, **gaut**, **gutum**, **gutans**, *to pour*; **gutnan**, *to pour* (intr.); — **liugan**, **laug**, **lugum**, **lugans**, *to lie*; **liugnja**, m., *liar*; **liugn**, n., *lie*; **analaugns**, *hidn*; **laugnjan**, *to deny*; — **galaubjan**, *to believ*; **galaubeins**, *belief*; **liufs**, *dear*; **lubô**, f., *luv*; **lubains**, f., *hope*; — **siuks**, *sick*; **saúhts**, f., *sickness*; — **driusan**, *to fall*; **drausjan**, *to drop* (tr.); **drus**, m., *fall*; **driusô**, f., *slope*.

Note. The vowel **û** is rare in this series; cp. **lûkan**, *to lock* (§ 173, n. 2); **anabûsns** (? § 15, n. 1), *command*, < **biudan**.

§ 32. III. Series: **i** (**aí**) **a u** (**aú**).

The themes of this series always hav two consonants after the vowel, mostly a liquid or a nasal in gemination, or a liquid or a nasal + another consonant. E. g.

**bindan**, **band**, **bundum**, **bundans**, *to bind*; **bandi**, f., *band*; **bandja**, m., *prisoner*; **gabinda**, f., *band*, *bond*; **and-bundnan**, *to becum loose*; **gabundi**, f., *bond*; — **rinnan**, *to run*; **rannjan**, *to cause to run*; **runs**, m., *a run*, *course*; **rinnô**, f., *brook*; — **waírpan**, *warp*, **waúrpum**, **waúrpan**, *to throw*; **uswaúrpa**, f., *a casting out or away*, *an outcast*; — **þáirsan**, *to be dry*; **þaúrsnan**, *to wither*; **þaúrsus**, *dry*, *witherd*; **þaúrstei**, *thirst*; — **drigkan**, *to drink*; **dragkjan**, *to giv to drink*; **dragk**, n., *a drink*, *potion*; **-drukja**, m., *a drinker*; **drugkanei**, f., *drunkenness*; — **þriskan**, *to thresh*; **gaþrask**, n., *threshing-floor*.

Note. The **i** of this and the following two series is that givn in § 10, a (= proethnic Germanic e).

§ 33. IV. Series: **i** (**aí**) **a ê u** (**aú**).

The stems of this series hav a simpl liquid or nasal after the vowel. E. g.

**niman**, **nam**, **nênum**, **numans**, *to take*; **-numja**, m., *taker*; **anda-numts**, f., *a receiving*; **andanêms**, *agreeabl*; **andanê**, n., *a receiving*; — **baíran**, **bar**, **bêrum**, **baúrans**, *to bear*; **baúr**, m., *'natus'*; **barn**, n., *child*; **bêrusjôs**, *parents*; — **ga-tíman**, *to becum, suit*; **ga-tamjan**, *to tame*; **gatêmiba**, *fitly*.

Note. To this series belongs also **brikan**, **brak**, **brêkum**, **brukans**, *to break*; **gabruka**, f., *a broken bit*; **us-bruknan**, *to break off* (intr.); **brakja**, f., *strugl*. — Also **trudan**, *to tred*; § 175, n. 2.

§ 34. V. Series: **i** (**aí**) **a ê**.

The vowel of the stems of this series is followd by a singl consonant other than a liquid or a nasal. E. g.

**giban**, **gaf**, **gêbum**, **gibans**, *to giv*; **giba**, f., *gift*; **gabei**, f., *richness*; — **sitan**, *to sit*; **satjan**, *to set*; **anda-sêts**, *abominabl*; — **mitan**, *to mezure*; **mitôn**, *to consider*; **mitaps**, f., *mezure*; **usmêt**, n., *manner of life*; — **ga-nisan**, *to be saved, recuver*; **nasjan**, *to save*; **ganists**, *salvation*.

Note. Also **saílván**, **sahv**, **sêhvum**, **saílvans**, belongs to this class, because **hv** represents a singl sound; § 63, n. 1.

§ 35. VI. Series: **a ô**.

Most of the stems of this series end in a singl consonant. E. g.

**wakan**, **wôk**, **wôkum**, **wakans**, *to wake*; **waknan**, *to awake*; **wahtwô**, f., *wach*; **wôkains**, f., *a waching*; — **graban**, *to dig*; **grôba**, f., *pit*, *hole*; **graba**, f., *dich*; — **frapjan**, **frôþ**, *to understand*; **frapi**, n., *understanding*; **frôþs**, *wise*; **frôdei**, f., *understanding*, *wisdom*; — **hafjan**, **hôf**, *to heav* (tr.); **-hafnan**, *to heav* (intr.); **haban**, *to hav*, *hold*; **ungahôbains**, f., *incontinency*; — **ôg**, *I fear*; **unagands**, *fearless*; **ôgjan**, *to frighten*; **usagjan**, *to terrify*; **agis**, n., *fear*; — **sakan**, *to contend*; **sakjô**, f., *strife*; **sôkjan**, *to seek*; **sôkns**, f., *serch*, *inquiry*; **unand-sôks**, *irrefutabl*.

§ 36. Series: **ê ô** (VII. Ablaut-Series).

A connection between **ê** and **ô** occurs in the so-cald reduplicating ablaut-verbs **lêtan**, **laílôt**, etc.; **saian** (= **\*sêan**, § 22), **saísô**, etc.; cp. § 180 et seq.

Note. This series is no longer found in the verbal inflection of the remaining Germanic languages, but its existence is proved by its occurring in word-formation; as, OHG. (â: ô) *tât*, f., *tôn*, *tuon*, *to do*; – *knâan*, *to know*: *knôt*, *chnuat*, f., *kin*. – For more on this point, s. Beitr. 11, 262 et seq.

## CHAP. IV. THE CONSONANTS

§ 37. The consonant-signs to be discust here both in regard to value and occurrence in the Gothic language hav alredy been enumerated in § 2. We divide the consonantal sounds in sonorous consonants and noizd sounds. Cp. Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik* 4, p. 70 et seq. Accordingly, the Gothic consonant-signs **w**, **j**, **l**, **m**, **n**, **r**, represent the sonorous sounds, the rest the noizd sounds.

### A. SONOROUS CONSONANTS

#### 1. The semivowels **w** and **j**

§ 38. Germanic **w** and **j** ar the vowels **u** and **i** uzd as consonants; hense in Gothic the interchange between **i** and **j**, **u** and **w**, according to their position which determins their fonetic values as vowels or consonants. The consonantal **i** and **u**, which in other languages ar denoted by the same signs as the vocalic **i** and **u**, hav special signs in Gothic, **j** and **w**. These sounds ar also calld 'semivowels'.

#### **w**

§ 39. The sign of the Gothic alfabet which we represent by **w**, is, according to its form and alfabetic position, the Gr. **υ**. For this it also stands in Greek foren words, for exampl, **Pawlus**, Παῦλος; **Daweid**, Δαβίδ; **aiwaggeljô**, εὐαγγέλιον; **paraskaîwê**, παρασκευή. But the Gothic **w** stands not only for the Gr. **υ** of the combinations **au**, **eu**, in which it had perhaps at that time assumed the value of a spirant, but also for simpl Greek **υ**, namely vocalic **υ**; as, **Swmaîôn**, Συμεών; **swnagôgê**, συναγωγή; **martwr**, μάρτυρ. But in our transcriptions of the Gothic texts the Greek vocalic **υ** is exprest by **y** instead of **w** (**Symaîôn**, **synagôgê**, **martyr**); so, also, for practical reasons, in this book.

Note 1. A noteworthy Gothic transcription is **kawtsjô** (= Lt. *cautio*) in the document at Naples (§ 221, n. 3). Cp. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 166; Zs. fda., 36, 273.

Note 2. The Gothic sign is in most of the later editions represented by **v**. But because of its correspondence in the other Germanic languages the letter **w** should be uzd (as, Goth. **wilja**, MHG. NHG. *wille*, OE. *will*, NE. *will*). Cp. Beitr., 12, 218 et seq.

§ 40. In Gothic words the **w** originally had the fonetic value of the consonantal **u** (= E. *w*). But at Wulfila's time the **u**-sound seems to hav alredy containd sumwhat of a spirant. Cp. Zs. fda., 36, 266 et seq. (37, 121 et seq.).

Note. Latin writers uzually express the **w** in proper nouns by **uu**. **Vvilia**, **Uualamir**; but also often by **Ub**: **Ubadala** (= **Wadila**), **Ubadamirus** (= **Wadamêrs**), etc. Greek authors mostly put **οὐ** for the Goth. **w** (as in **Οὐάνδαλοι**), but also **β** (as in **Βάνδαλοι**). Cp. Dietrich, pp. 77-80. Wrede, 'Wand.', 102; 'Ostg.', 167 et seq.

§ 41. Initial Gothic **w** occurs frequently; e. g., **wasjan**, *to clothe*; **witan**, *to know*; **wiljan**, *to wil*; **waír**, *man*; **warmjan**, *to warm*.

So also before **l** and **r**; as, **wlits**, *countenance*; **wrikan**, *to persecute*; **wrôhjan**, *to accuse*.

After the consonants: **t**, **d**, **þ**, **s**; e. g., **twai**, *two*; **dwals**, *foolish*; **þwahan**, *to wash*; **swistar**, *sister*.

Medial **w** before vowels; e. g., **awistr**, *sheepfold*; **saiwala**, *soul*; **hneiwan**, *to bow*; **siggwan**, *to sing*; **ûhtwô**, *dawn*; **taihswô**, *right hand*; **nidwa**, *rust*.

Note. The signs **q** (**kw**) and **h** (**hw**) are also usually explained as combinations of **w** with **k** and **h**. There are reasons, however, to assume that **q** and **h** are simply labialized gutturals (§§ 59. 63). But on the other hand **q** and **h** in High German are treated precisely like Goth. **tw**, **gw**, etc. (= t, g, etc., medial **w** being dropped); for example, Goth. **ûhtwô**, **siggwan** = OHG. *ûhta*, *singan*; and Goth. **siggan**, **sailvan** = OHG. *sinkan*, *sehan*. Although this proves nothing as to the values of the Gothic signs, it certainly shows that in protoethnic Germanic the **tw**, **gw**, etc., must have denoted sounds analogous to those of **kw** and **hw**.

§ 42. (1) **w** remains unchanged after long vowels, diphthongs, and consonants, (a) finally, (b) before the **s** of the nominative, (c) before **j**; e. g., (a) **lêw**, n., *opportunity*; **hlaiw**, n., *grave*; **waúrstw**, n., *work*; (b) **snaiws**, *snow*; **triggws**, *tru*, *faithful*; (c) **lêwjan**, *to betray*; **hnaiwjan**, *to abase*; **skadwjan**, *to cast a shade* (< **skadus**, *shade*); **arwjô**, adv., *in vain*.

(2) in all three positions, however, **w** becomes **u** after a short vowel; e. g., (a) **snau** (prt. to **sniwan**, § 176, n. 2); **triu**, *tree* (gen. **triwis**); **\*kniu**, *knee* (gen. **kniwis**, § 94, n. 1); (b) **naus**, m., *a dead person* (gen. **nawis**); **\*pius**, *servant* (gen. **piwis**, § 91, n. 3); (c) **mawi**, gen. **maujôs**, *girl*; **gawi**, gen. **gaujis**, *district*; **piwi**, gen. **piujôs**, *maid-servant*; **tawida**, pres. **taujan**, *to do*; **\*straujan**, *to strew*, prt. **strawida**; **iujan**, *to quicken*, prt. **qiwida**. – Cp. Grundr., I, 414; Zs. fda., 36, 277.

Note 1. Hense a word does not end in **aw**, **iw**; **aws**, **iws**, except the isolated **lasiws**, *weak* (II. Cor. X, 10).

Note 2. **aw** for **au** occurs before **j** in **usskawjan**, *to awake*; II. Tim. II, 26 (in B); I. Cor. XV, 34 (**ussk..jip** in MS.); and in the nom. pl. **usskawai** (**unskawai** in MS.), *wakeful*; I. Thess. V, 8; cp. § 124, n. 3.

Note 3. No example occurs for the position of medial **w** before consonants other than **j** and **s**; before **n** after a short vowel **u** is found in **qiunan** (< **qiwa-**), *to become alive*; **siuns** (cp. **sailwa-**).

## j

§ 43. The sign **j** stands, as a rule, for the Greek antevocalic ι, in **Akaja**, Ἀχάα; **Marja**, Μαρία; **Judas**, Ἰούδας; **Iskarjôtês**, Ἰσκαριώτης, etc. But Gr. antevocalic ι is also often represented by Goth. **i**; as, **Iskariôtês**, **Zakarias**, **Gabriël**, **Iûdas**. – The sign **j** in Gothic pronunciation probably has the value of a consonantal **i**, not that of the spirant **j** in German.

§ 44. (a) Initial **j** in Gothic words: **juk**, *yoke*; **jêr**, *year*; **ju**, *alredy*; **jus**, *yu*. (b) Medial **j** occurs after vowels and after consonants, but always before vowels, never before consonants; e. g., **midjis**, '*medius*'; **lagjan**, *to lay*; **niujis**, *new*; **frauja**, *lord*; **prija**, '*tria*'; **bajôps**, *both*. (c) **ji** is contracted into **ei** after a consonant belonging to the same syllable, but is retained when the syllable begins with **j** (cp. Beitr. 16, 282). The latter is the case when it is preceded by a short high-toned vowel with a single consonant or by a long stem-vowel without a consonant. Examples – concerning particularly the masculines (and neuters) of the **ja**-stems (§§ 92. 127) – are: **har-jis**, **tô-jis** (*doer*), but **hair-deis**, dat. **haird-ja**; – also the I. Weak Conjugation (§ 185): **sô-kja**, **sô-keis**, **sô-keip**; **san-dja**, **san-deip**; **miki-lja**, **miki-leip**; but **nas-ja**, **nas-jis**, **nas-jip**; **stô-ja**, **stô-jis**, **stô-jip**.

Note 1. The rule under (c) may, practically, also be worded in the following manner: **ji** becomes **ei** after a long stem-syllable and after secondary syllables, but remains **ji** after a short stem-syllable and immediately after a long stem-vowel. – For exceptions, s. § 95; § 108, n. 2; § 132, n. 1.

Note 2. Only **i** is often employed for medial **ij** before vowels; s. [§ 10](#), n. 4; for **j** occurring sporadically in the inflection of **saian**, s. [§ 22](#), n. 1.

§ 45. **j** is never final; in this position it always becomes **i**; e. g., **harjis**, acc. **hari**; **mawi**, gen. **maujôs** (s. [§ 42](#), 2, c); **taui**, *deed*, gen. **tôjis**.

Note 1. For the change of **aj** and **ai**, s. [§ 21](#), n. 2.

## 2. Liquids

### l

§ 46. Gothic **l** occurs often, – initially, medially, and finally; as, **laggs**, *long*; **galaubjan**, *to believ*; **liuhap**, *light*; **laúhmuni**, *lightning*; **wiljan**, *to wil*; **aljís**, '*alius*'; **blôma**, *flower*; – dubl **l**, as in **fill**, *hide*; **fulls**, *ful*; **wulla**, *wool*.

Note 1. **l** is syllabic ([§ 27](#)), for exampl, in **fugls**, *bird (fowl)*; **tuggl**, *constellation, star*; **tagl**, *hair*; **swumfsl**, *pond*; **siglján**, *to seal*.

Note 2. Goth. **l** always corresponds to Gr. λ. It is interpolated in **alabalstraún**, ἀλάβαστρον.

### r

§ 47. **r** is equivalent to Gr. ρ and occurs frequently in Gothic words; e. g., **raíhts**, *right*; **raubôn**, *to rob*; **baíran**, *to bear*; **fidwôr**, *four*. – Dubl **r** is rare: **qaírrus**, *meek*; **andstaúrran**, *to threaten*; **faírra**, *far*.

Note 1. Syllabic **r** ([§ 27](#)) occurs, for exampl, in **akrs**, *field*; **brôþr**, dat. sg. of **brôþar** ([§ 114](#)), *brother*; **figgrs**, *finger*; **tagr**, *tear*; **hlûtrs**, *pure*; **fagrs**, *suitabl*; **maúrþr**, *murder*; **huggrjan**, *to hunger*.

Note 2. Every **i** before **r** becomes **aí**, and every **u** in the same position **aú**; s. [§§ 20. 24](#).

Note 3. Concerning **r** from **z**, s. [§ 78](#), n. 4; [§ 24](#), n. 2.

## 3. Nasals

### m

§ 48. **m** occurs in all positions of a word; as, **mizdô**, f., *reward*; **mêna**, m., *moon*; **ams**, m., *shoulder*; **guma**, m., *man*; finally: **nam**, *I took*; in the terminations of the dat. pl., —**dagam**, etc.; 1st pers. pl., —**nimam**, **nêmun**, etc. – Dubl (**mm**) in **swamms** (cp. [§ 80](#), n. 1), *spunge*; **wamm**, n., *spot*; in the pronominal dat. sg., —**imma**, **blindamma**.

Note. Syllabic **m** ([§ 27](#)) in **maipms**, *present*; **bagms**, *tree*.

## n

§ 49. Initial **n** in **nahts**, *night*; **niujis**, *new*; **ni** (negation), etc.; medial: **kuni**, *n., kin*; **ains**, *one*, etc.; final: **laun**, *n., reward*; **niun**, *nine*; often in inflection; as, dat. sg. **hanin**, inf. **niman**, **nêmun** (3d pers. pl. prt.), etc.

Dubl **n** (**nn**) occurs frequently; e. g., **brinnan**, *to burn*; **spinnan**, *to spin*; **rinnan**, *to run*; **kann**, *I know*; **kannjan**, *to make known*; **manna**, *man*; **brunna**, *wel, spring*. Dubl **n** remains finally and before **j**, but is simplified before other consonants (s. § 80): **kant**, **kunþa** (inf. **kunnan**), **rant** (2nd pers. sg. prt.; inf. **rinnan**), **brunsts** (inf. **brinnan**), **ur-runs** (< **rinnan**), *outlet*.

Note. Syllabic **n** (§ 27) in **usbeisns**, *f., expectation*; **taikns**, *f., token*; **ibns**, *even*; **laugnjan**, *to deny*; **swêgnjan**, *to triumph, rejoice*.

§ 50. Before guttural consonants **n** becomes a guttural nasal which (in imitation of the Gr.) is denoted by **g** (**gg**; s. § 67).

Note. The (guttural) nasal disappears before **h**, and the preceding short vowel is lengthend. S. § 5, b; § 15, b (Brgm., I, 182 et seq.).

## B. NOIZD SOUNDS

### 1. Labials

## p

§ 51. The letter **p**, which does not occur very often in Gothic, corresponds to Gr. π.

(a) Initially, **p** may be regarded as being altogether wanting in purely Gothic words; the examples which do occur are either obviously foreign words or at least etymologically obscure, if not loanwords too: **plinsjan**, *to dance*; **plats**, *pach*; **anapraggan**, *to harass*; **paida**, *coat*; **puggs**, *purse*; **peikabagms**, *date-palm*; **pund**, *pound*; **plapja**, *street* ('platea'); **pistikeins**, *πιστικός*, **paúrpura**, *purpl.*

(b) **p** occurs in purely Gothic words medially and finally; e. g., **slêpan**, *to sleep*; **greipan**, *to gripe*; **hôpan**, *to boast*; **skapjan**, *to shape, make*; **hlaupan**, *to run*; **diups**, *deep*; **waírpan**, *to throw*; **hilpan**, *to help*; **skip**, *ship*; **iup**, *upwards*. – Initial **sp** in **speiwan**, *to spit*; **sparwa**, *sparrow*; **spillôn**, *to narrate*; **spinnôn**, *to spin*.

Note 1. **pp** does not occur.

Note 2. **p** before **t** becomes **f** in **gaskafts**, *f., creature* (cp. **skapjan**); **hōftuli**, *f., glory* (cp. **hôpan**). Cp. § 81.

## f

§ 52. Gothic **f** in foreign words corresponds to Gr. φ; e. g., **Filippus**, *Φίλιππος*; **Kajafa**, *Καϊάφας*. Latin writers render Goth. **f** mostly by **ph** (Dietrich, p. 75); as, **Dagalaiphus**, **Phaeba**. Hence Goth. **f** was probably a bilabial, not a labiodental spirant, as is also evident from Goth. **fimf**, **hamfs**.

Note. **f** is regarded as labiodental by Jellinek; Zs. fda., 36, 275 et seq.



§ 53. (a) Initial **f** occurs often in Gothic words; e. g., **fôtus**, *foot*; **fadar**, *father*; **flôdus**, *flud*; **faîhu** (*catl*), *mune*; **fûls**, *foul*; **frôps**, *wise, judicious*; **frius**, *cold*; **fidwôr**, 4.

(b) Medially and finally **f** occurs in but a small number of Gothic words; as, **hlifan**, *to steal*; **hafjan**, *to heav*; **hiufan**, *to lament*; **lôfa**, m., *palm of the hand*; **ufar**, *over*; **afar**, *after*. Before consonants: **luftus**, *air*; **hamfs**, *maim*; **tweifls**, *dout*; **wulfs**, *wolf*; – (final) **fimf**, *five*; **hôf** (prt. of **hafjan**); **parf**, *I need* (inf. **paúrban**).

Note 1. Finally and before the **s** of the nom., **f** occurs very often for medial **b**; s. § 56.

Note 2. Medial **f** before **t** (**n**) stands for **b** (§ 56, n. 4), before **t** also for **p** (§ 51, n. 2).

Note 3. **ff** is not found.

## b

§ 54. **b** corresponds to Gr. β, for which it stands in foren words; e. g., **barbarus**, βάρβαρος; **lakôb**, Ἰακώβ. The pronunciation of the Gr. β was that of a labial soft spirant [nearly = E. v]. In like manner Goth. **b** has the value of a soft (voiced) labiolabial spirant medially after vowels, while initially and medially after consonants it denotes a soft stop (= E. b).

Note 1. Gothic **b** between vowels in Latin foren words stands for Lt. v, but after **m** for b: **Silbanus**, *Silvanus*; **Naúbaímbaír**, *November*; **(ana)kumbjan**, *cumbere*.

Note 2. In Gothic names Latin writers employ Lt. b for Gothic **b** initially and after a consonant (as, **Amala-berga**, **Hildi-bald**, **Albila**), but medially between vowels Lt. v is used (as, **Liuva**, **Erelieva**); cp. Dietrich, p. 71; Beitr., 1, 148 et seq.; Wrede, 'Ostg.', 169; Zs. fda., 36, 275.

§ 55. Examples of **b**:

(a) initially: **baíran**, *to bear*; **beitan**, *to bite*; **brikan**, *to break*; **brûkjan**, *to uze*; **blêsan**, *to blow*; **biudan**, *to offer*; **blôma**, *flower*; **brôpar**, *brother*; **bôka**, *letter*; **bnauan**, *to rub*.

(b) medially: **liuba** (w. m. adj.), *dear*; **galaubjan**, *to believ*; **graban**, *to dig*; **sibja**, *relationship*; **arbi**, *inheritance*; **kalbô**, *hefer*; —**haubip**, *hed*; **hlaibis** (gen. of **hlaifs**), *bred*; **sibun**, *seven*; **haban**, *to hav*; **skaban**, *to shave*; **(bi-)leiban**, *to remain*; **liban**, *to liv*; **biraubôn**, *to rob*; **salbôn**, *to salv, anoint*.

Note. **bb** occurs in foren words only; as, **sabbatus**.

§ 56. **b** after consonants (**l**, **m**, **r**) remains finally, before the **s** of the nom., and before the **t** of the 2nd pers. sg. prt.; postvocalic **b** becums **f**. This means that postvocalic **b** was a soft spirant (§ 54) which, finally, changed into the corresponding hard spirant, while postconsonantal **b**, medially and finally, had the value of a stop. Hense **giban**, *to giv*, 1st and 3d pers. sg. prt.: **gaf**, 2nd. pers. **gaft**, 2nd sg. imper.: **gif**; **hlaifs**, *bred*, acc. **hlaif**, nom. pl. **hlaibôs**; – but **lamb**, *lam*; **dumbs**, *dum*; **swaírban**, *to wipe*, prt. **swarb**.

Note 1. Our texts contain a few exceptions to the rule of final **f** for medial **b** after vowels, but the preponderant number of examples prove the validity of the rule which is fonetically founded and has a striking analogon in the OS. *geban* – *gaf*; *liobo* – *liof* (but *lamb*). The exceptional cases with final **b** (21 in all) occur only in definit parts of the texts (7 in Lu., 5 in the epistls to the Thess., 4 in Jo., 3 in Skeir., in all the other texts only onse each in Mk. and Eph.). Therefore the anomalous **bs** may be referd to the writers of the respectiv parts, who either from purely orthografic considerations put the medial **bs** also finally, or in order to express



a later pronunciation as it existed at their time, according to which voiced sounds occurred also finally. The latter supposition is founded on the fact that in the Arezzo document (of the 6th century) the spelling **Gudilub** occurs. – Cp. also the remarks on the interchange of **d** and **p** in § 74, n. 1.

The exceptions in the verb are rare, only **grôb** (Lu. VI, 48) and **gadôb** (Skeir. 42); – the forms with **f** occur in **gaf**, **gaft**, **gif** (very often); onse each: **grôf** (inf. **graban**), **swaif** (inf. **sweiban**), **bilaif** (inf. **bileiban**), **skauf** (inf. **skiuban**). Accordingly, we may safely write **draif** (prt. of **dreiban**, to drive).

Of nouns only **hlaifs** is often found: nom. **hlaifs** (12 times, onse **hlaibs**), acc. **hlaif** (19 times, **hlaib** seven times); — **twalif**, *twelv* (12 times, **twalib** 3 times); accordingly, also **\*ainlif** (dat. **ainlibim**).

Furthermore the following nominatives must be regarded as normal forms: **\*stafs**, *element* (only **stabim** occurs); **\*laufs**, *leaf* (only **galaubamma** 3 times, **filugalaubis**, **galubaim**), **\*gadôfs**, *becuming* (onse **gadôf**, 4 times **gadôb**), **\*liufs**, *dear* (only forms with more than one syllable occur: **liubai**, **liuba**, **liubana**, etc.). Lastly, also **\*piufs** (= OS. *thiof*), *thief*, tho the nom. accidentally occurs (4 times) as **piubs**, beside **piubôs** (twice), **piubê**.

Note 2. Subject to the abuv rule are also the preps. **of** and **uf**, the **f** of which becomes medial by enclisis and is changed into **b** before the following vowel; **ab-u**, **ub-uh**. In composition, however, **f** remains: **af-êtja**, *voracious eater*; **uf-aipeis**, *under oath*. (Cp. **us** in § 78, n. 4).

Note 3. An apparent exception is **parf**, *I want* (for **parb**), pl. **paúrbum**; but **parf** has real **f** (§ 53) and must be kept apart from the pl. with **b** (s. ahd. gr., § 101). **b** stands correctly in the adj. **gapaúrbs**. Cp. § 79, n. 2.

Note 4. **f** before **t** in derivativ words stands for **b** elsewhere (§ 81): **gifts**, f., *gift* (< **giban**, onse **fragibtim**; Lu. I, 27), **paúrfts**, *necessity*. **b** is common before **n**: **ibns**, **stibna**, **daubnan**, **drôbnan**, but the ending **-ubni** interchanges with **-ufni**; as, **fraistubni**, *temptation*, but **waldufni**, *power*; **aflifnan**, *to remain, be left*; cp. **laiba**, *remnant*.

## 2. Gutturals

### k

§ 57. Goth. **k** corresponds to Greek κ, Lt. c; e. g., **Kéfas**, Κηφᾶς; **aíkklêsjô**, ἐκκλησία; **laíktjô**, *lectio*. Goth. **k** in Greek words represents also χ; as, **kaúrazein**, Χοραζίν; **ark-aggilus**, ἀρχάγγελος. The Gr. sign χ is but rarely retained, always in **χristus** (s. § 2). Cp. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 54.

Note. The labialized **k** (**kw**) has a special sign (**q** § 59) in Gothic.

§ 58. Examples of **k**: (a) initially: **kniu**, *knee*; **kaúrn**, *corn*; **kuni**, *kin*; **kalds**, *cold*; **kiusan**, *to choose*; **kalbô**, f., *calf*; — **sk**: **skeinan**, *to shine*; **skaidan**, *to separate*. (b) medially: **brikan**, *to break*; **aukan**, *to increase*; **akrs**, *field*; **reiks**, *mighty*; **mikils**, *great*; **waúrkjan**, *to work*; **laikan**, *to leap*; **rakjan**, *to stretch*; finally: **ik**, *I*; **mik**, *me*; **juk**, *yoke*.

Note 1. **kk** occurs in **smakka**, *fig*; **sakkus**, *sack*.

Note 2. In derivativ words **h** takes the place of **k** before **t** (§ 81); as, **saúhts**, *sickness* (cp. **siuks**); **wahtwô**, *wach* (cp. **wakan**); **brûhta** (prt. of **brûkjan**); **pâhta** (prt. of **pagkjan**). – Since there occur no examples of the 2nd pers. prt. of verbs in

**k** (as, **wakan**, **aukan**, **tēkan**), it is uncertain whether the **k** before **t** remained **k** or was changed into **h** (**wōkt** or **wōht**?).

## q

§ 59. The Gothic sign **q** does not occur in the Greek alphabet, the corresponding sign being borrowed from the Latin (**Q**). In Lt. words it corresponds to Lt. **qu** (**qartus**; Rom. XVI, 23) to which it most likely corresponds also phonetically. The Lt. **qu** denoted a labialized **k**-sound which was a simple consonant not forming position. Cp. Zs. fdph., 12, 481 et seq.

Note. The double sign **kw** (**kv**) which is used beside **q** for the Gothic character is due to the perception that in the cognate languages Gothic **q** is represented by a combination of consonants which appears as **k** with a **w**-sound closely attached to it, and is therefore expressed by two signs: in OE. by **cw**, in ON. by **kv**, in OHG. MHG. NHG. by **qu**. Hense Goth. **qipan**, *to say*, = OE. **cweþan**, ON. **kveþa**, OHG. **quedan**. But from this nothing certain can be inferred about the phonetic value of Goth. **q**, although it is possible that its pronunciation was precisely the same as that of NHG. NE. **qu**. – Cp. also § 41, n. 1.

§ 60. Examples of **q**: **qinô**, *woman*; **\*qius**, pl. **qiwai**, *alive*; **qairnus**, *mil*; **qiman**, *to cum*; **qrammipa**, *moisture*; **naqaps**, *naked*; **aqizi**, *ax*; **riqis**, *darkness*; **sigqan**, *to sink*, prt. **sagq**.

## h

§ 61. Gothic **h** in Greek words stands for the *ruf* breathing (as, **Haíbraius**, Ἡεραῖος; **Hêrôdês**, Ἡρώδης), but the *ruf* breathing is often disregarded (as, **ôsanna**, ὠσαννά). Accordingly, Goth. initial **h** had the value of a mere breathing. Medially and finally it may still have had the value of a fricative sound (HG. *ch*). Cp. the assimilations (§ 62, n. 3) and breaking (§ 62, n. 1). Also initially before consonants, (**hl**, **hn**, **hr** (**hw**)), the **h** had probably retained a stronger sound.

Note 1. Latin writers render Gothic **h** by their **h** (as, **Hildibald**, **Hildericus**); but they also omit it; as, **Ariamirus**, **eils** = **hails** in the epigram (s. § 21, n. 1), Zs. fda. 1, 379; cp. Dietrich, p. 77.

Note 2. Labialized **h** (**hw**) has a special sign in Gothic: **hw** (§§ 63. 64).

Note 3. In foreign names **h** is sometimes interposed medially between vowels; as, **Iôhannês**, Ἰωάννης; **Abraham**, Ἀβραάμ. Cp. Es. Tegnér, Tidskr. for filol. N. R. 7, 304 et seq.

§ 62. Examples for **h**: (a) initially: **haurn**, *horn*; **hana**, *cock*; **hairtô**, *hart*; **hails**, *hole, sound*; **hund**, *hundred*; **hafjan**, *to heav*; – initial combinations: **hlaifs**, *bred*; **hluma**, m., *hearing*; **hlifan**, *to steal*; **hlûtrs**, *pure*; **hlahjan**, *to laf*; **hnaiws**, *low*; **hrains**, *clean*; **hrôpjan**, *to call*; **hrôt**, n., *roof*. – (b) medially: **faihu**, *muney*; **taihun**, *ten*; **teihan**, *to show*; **tiuhan**, *to pul*; **saïhs**, *six*; **nahts**, *night*; **liuhtjan**, *to light*; **filhan**, *to conceal*; **swaïhra**, '*socer*'. – (c) finally: **jah**, *and*; **-uh**, *and* (cp. § 24, n. 2); **fah** (prt. of **filhan**); **tauh** (prt. of **tiuhan**), etc.

Note 1. Before **h** (as before **r**) **i** is broken to **ai**, **u** to **au**; cp. §§ 20. 24.

Note 2. Dropping of **n** before **h**, which made the preceding vowel long: **fâhan** (< **fanhan**), **pûhta** (< **punhta**), etc.; cp. § 50, n. 1; § 5, b; § 15, b.

Note 3. Final **h** in **-uh** (or **-h**; § 24, n. 2), **jah**, **nih**, may be assimilated to the initial sound of a following word. But rarely in the gospels (cod. argent.) and in codex B, and only before particles or prns. beginning with **p**; frequently, however, also before other consonants, in codex A and Skeir; as, **wasuppan** (= **wasuh-pan**, *but*

*it was*); Mk. I, 6; **sumaiþþan** (= **sumaih-þan**, *but sum*); Mt. XXVI, 67; **sijaipþan** (= **sijaih-þan**, *but it shall be*); Mt. V, 37; **japþê** (= **jah-þê**, *and if*); **nipþan** (= **nih-þan**, *and not*); – before other consonants in A: **jalliban** (= **jah liban**, *and liv*); II. Cor. I, 8; **jaggatraua** (= **jah gatraua**, *and I trust*); Rom. XIV, 14; **jaddu** (= **jah du**, *and to*); II. Cor. II, 16; **jabbrusts** (= **jah brusts**); II. Cor. VII, 15; **nukkant** (= **nuh kant**, *knowest thou now?*); I. Cor. VII, 16; exceptionally also in the codex argent., but only in Lu.: **janni** (= **jah ni**); Lu. VII, 32; **nissijai** (= **nih sijai**); Lu. XX, 16.

Note 4. Final **h** is sumtimes dropt (in consequence of having lost its sharp sound? But cp. Beitr., XV, 277): **hvarjô** (for **hvarjôh**); Mk. XV, 6; **hammê** (for **hammêh**); Gal. V, 3; **hvarjanô** (for **hvarjanôh**); Skeir. 43; oftener **inu** (in A) for **inuh**, *without*; the **h** of consonant-combinations is dropt in **hiuma**; Lu. VI, 17. VIII, 4 (elsewhere **hiuhma**, *multitude*); **drausnô**; Skeir. 50 (beside **drauhsna**, *crum*); **als** (for **alhs**); Mk. XV, 38, etc. All these cases ar probably due to the copyists, and most of them hav therefore been amended by the editors. Cp. Bernhardt, Vulfila, LIII et seq. – Also superfluous **h** occurs: **snauh** (for **snau**); I. Thess. II, 16; here, however, it is perhaps the enclitic **-h** (= **-uh**, § 24, n. 2).

Note 5. In derivativ words **h** occurs in certain cases beside **k** (s. § 58, n. 2) and **g** (§ 66, n. 1).

## hv

§ 63. The sound of **hv** is peculiar to the Gothic, and has no equivalent in Gr. The Gothic sign (whose alfabetic position is that of the Greek ψ) is uzually exprest by **hv** (**hw**), because all the corresponding words of the remaining Germanic languages (at least initially) hav hw (hu, hv); as, Goth. **hveits** = OHG. hwîz, OS. OE. hwît, ON. hvîtr, *white*. But there ar reasons which justify the assumption that the Goth. **hv** was a simpl consonant. Fonetically, it may be regarded as a labialized **h** (or a voiceless **w** = NE. wh? Grundr., I, 411). It is therefore recommendabl to represent the simpl Gothic sign by the unitary ligature **hv**. Cp. Zs. fdph., 12, 481 et seq.; Beitr., 12, 218 et seq.

Note. **hv** and **hw** ar not identical in Gothic. This is proved by the fact that in composition the final **h** and the following initial **w** ar not exprest by **hv**, but by **hw**: **þairhwakandans**, *keeping wach (thruout)*; Lu. II, 8; **ubuhwôpida** (= **uf-uh-wôpida**; **ufwôpida** < **uf-wôpjan**), *and he cried out*; Lu. XVIII, 38. – The simpl sound of **hv** is also evident from the fact that the verb **saíhvan** is inflected like the verbal stems ending in a singl consonant (§ 34, n. 1), and that in reduplication **hv** is treated like a singl consonant (**hvaíhvôp**, § 178). Cp. Holtzmann, altd. gr. I, 25, together with § 41, n. 1, abuv.

§ 64. Examples of **hv**: initially: **hvas**, *who*; **hvaírnei**, f., *skul*; **hvaírban**, *to walk about*; **hveila**, *time*; **hvôpan**, *to boast*; **hveits**, *white*; **hvaiteis**, *wheat*; – medially: **ahva**, *water*; **saíhvan**, *to see*; **leilvan**, *to lend*; **þeihvô**, *thunder*; **nêhva**, *near*; **aíhva-tundi**, f., *brambl-bush*; – also finally: **sahv**, **sahv** (prt. of **saíhvan**), **nêhv**, *near*.

Note. **i** and **u** ar broken before **hv** as wel as before **h**; cp. § 62, n. 1.

§ 65. **g** corresponds to Greek γ, also as a guttural nasal; as, **synagôgê**, συναγωγή; **aggilus**, ἄγγελος. – The pronunciation of the Gothic initial **g** was quite certainly that of a soft (voiced) stop; final and medial **g** was possibly a spirant.

Note 1. Latin authors render **g** in Gothic names by g, but also by c; as, **Caina** beside **Gaina** (Jornandes), **Commundus** (= **Gummundus**); medially,

especially before **i**, it is often dropt; as, **Eila** beside **Agila**, **Egila**, **Aiulf** (= **Aigulf**), **Athanaildus** (= **Athanagildus**); cp. Dietrich, p. 73 et seq.

Note 2. For the pronunciation of medial **g** as a spirant the Latin representations may be adduced (cp. especially Wrede, 'Ostg.', 173 et seq.); but this is contradicted by the fact that final **g** does not become **h** (cp. **b-f**, **d-p**). Jellinek (Beitr., 15, 276 et seq.; Zs. fda., 36, 85) infers a 'media affricata' for the pronunciation of medial and final **g**; then the value of a stop seems more probable (cp. Wilmanns, D. Gramm., I, 16).

§ 66. **g** occurs frequently in Goth. words, both initially and medially. E. g. (a) **gasts**, *guest*; **guma**, *man*; **gulþ**, *gold*; **gôþs**, *good*; **giutan**, *to pour*; **greipan**, *to gripe, seize*; **graban**, *to dig*. (b) **agis**, *aw*; **wigs**, *way*; **gawigan**, *to move*; **steigan**, *to mount*; **ligan**, *to lie*; **þragjan**, *to run*; — **augô**, *ey*; **tagr**, *tear*; **tigus**, *ten*; **aigan**, *to hav*; suffixal **g**: **mahteigs**, *mighty*; **môdags**, *angry*.

Also final **g** remains unchanged: **ôg**, *I fear*; **mag**, *I can*; **wig** (acc. of **wigs**, *way*), etc.

Note. **g** becomes **h** before a suffixal **t** attached to it (§ 81); e. g., **mahts**, **mahta** (prs. **mag**), **ôhta** (prs. **ôg**), **baúhta** (inf. **bugjan**), **brâhta** (inf. **briggan**). But there seems to be no change of consonants before the **t** of the 2nd pers. prt. Only **magt** (1st **mag**) is found (201). — Also elsewhere in word-formation an interchange between **h** and **g** takes place in words belonging to the same root: **taíhun**, *10*; and **tigus**, *decad*; **filhan**, *to conceal*, and **fulgins**, adj., *hidn*; **faginôn**, *to rejoice*, and **fahêþs** f., *joy*; **huggrjan**, *to hunger*, and **hûhrus**, *hunger*; **juggs**, *yung*; compar. **jûhiza**; concerning the interchange between **áig** and **áih**, s. § 203, n. 1. Cp. § 79, n. 2.

§ 67. **g** denotes also a guttural nasal (s. § 50); e. g., (**n + g**): **laggs**, *long*; **briggan**, *to bring*; **tuggô**, *tung*; **figgrs**, *finger*; **gaggan**, *to go*; — (**n + k, q**): **drigkan**, *to drink*; **þagkjan**, *to think*; **þugkjan**, *to seem*; **igqis**, *(to) yu both*; **sigqan**, *to sink*; **stigqan**, *to thrust*.

Note 1. Beside the single letter **g** used to express the guttural nasal, **gg** is sometimes found (so regularly in codex B): **siggqan**, **drigkkan**, **igggqis**; **g** is not doubled before **g**; the only case, **atgagggand** (Mt. IX, 15) is corrected by the editors. The reverse error occurs three times: **faúragaggja** (for **faúragaggja**, *steward*); Lu. VIII, 3. XVI, 1; **huggridai** (for **huggridai**); I. Cor. IV, 11. Cp. Vulfila by Bernhardt, p. LI.

Note 2. The Latin sign (n) for the guttural nasal occurs but a few times in Lu.; as, **þank**; XVII, 9; **bringip**; XV, 22.

§ 68. The combination **ggw** deserves special notice. (1) It is a guttural nasal + **gw**, as is proved by the **ng** of the remaining Germanic languages (also of the ON.): **aggwus**, *narrow* (OHG. *engi*, ON. *qngr*); **siggwan**, *to sing* (OHG. *singan*, ON. *syngva*); **saggws**, *song*. Here perhaps belongs also **unmanariggws**, *unrestrained, wild* (cognate with OHG. *ringi*? Dtsch. Literaturzeitg. 1888, p. 770).

(2) Another **ggw** corresponds to West-Germanic *uw* (OHG. *uu* or *uuu*; cp. ahd. gr., §§ 112, 113), to ON. *gg(v)*; this **gg** certainly denotes a stop: **triggws**, *faithful* (OHG. *triuwi*, ON. *tryggr*); **bligwan**, *to beat* (OHG. *bliuwan*); **\*glaggwus**, *exact* (OHG. *glauwêr*, ON. *gloggr*); **skuggwa**, *mirror* (ON. *skyggja*; cp. Goth. **skawjan**).

Note. Concerning the **ggw** of the words given under (2) and the analogous **ddj** (§ 73, n. 1), cp. Beitr., IX, 545; Göttinger Nachrichten, 1885, No. 6; Brgm., I, 157; Scherer, 'Kleinere Schriften', I, p. XII et seq. — Concerning the East-Gothic names **Trigguwa**, **Trigguilla**, s. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 78 et seq.

### 3. Dentals

#### t

§ 69. Gothic **t** corresponds to Greek τ, and stands frequently both initially and medially. E. g. (a) initially: **tunþus**, *tooth*; **triu**, *tree*; **tuggô**, *tung*; **tagr**, *tear*; **taihun**, *ten*; **twai**, *two*; **tamjan**, *to tame*; **trauan**, *to trust*. **st**: **steigan**, *to mount*. (b) medially: **watô**, *water*; **hairtô**, *hart*; **baitrs**, *bitter*; **itan**, *to eat*; **giutan**, *to pour*; **sitan**, *to sit*; **witan**, *to know*.

Final **t** remains unchanged; as, **wait**, *I know*; **at**, *at*; **wit**, *we two*.

Note 1. **t** is dubld in **atta**, *father*; **skatts**, *money*.

Note 2. **t** before **t** in derivativ and inflected words becoms **s** (§ 81); as, **ushaista**, *very poor* (cp. **haitan**); **blôstreis**, *worshipper* (cp. **blôtan**, *to worship*); 2nd pers. sg. prt. **waist** (1st **wait**), **haihaist** (inf. **haitan**, *to be calld*); weak prt. **gamôsta** (1st pers. **gamôt**); **kaupasta** (inf. **kaupatjan**, *to cuf*); **wissa** (< **wista**, 1st **wait**).

§ 70. Gothic **þ** corresponds to Gr. θ (as, **þômas**, Θωμάς; **Naþan**, Ναθάν); its sound-value was that of a voiceless dental spirant = the NE. surd th in thin. Also the Greek θ denoted at that time, as it stil does in New Greek, a similar sound.

Note 1. Greek authors represent the Goth. **þ** by θ; as, Θεοδέριχος. Latin writers express Goth. **þ** mostly by th; as, **Theodoricus**, **Theodomirus**, but also often by t. Cp. Wrede, 'Wand.', 104; 'Ostg.', 170 et seq. – In like manner sum later prints hav **th** for **þ** (s. § 1, n. 3).

Note 2. Latin authors often uze d beside th for medial **þ** in proper nouns, from which a later softening may be inferd. Cp. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 171.

Note 3. Concerning the sound-value of Germanic-Goth. **þ**, cp. IF. 4, 341 et seq.; for the relation between Goth. **þ** and Gr. θ, s. Wimmer, 'Die Runenschrift', 268.

§ 71. **þ** in Gothic words is very frequent. E. g. (a) initially: **þulan**, *to suffer*; **þanjan**, *to stretch*; **ga-þairsan**, *to wither*; **þaursus**, *witherd*; **þaurstei**, *thirst*; **þata** (prn.), *that*; **þu**, *thou*; **þreis**, *three*; **þliuhan**, *flee*; **ga-þláihan**, *to cumfort, console*; **þwahan**, *to wash*. (b) medially: **brôþar**, *brother*; **tunþus**, *tooth*; **wiþrus**, *lam*; **frapi**, n., *understanding*; **frapjan**, *to understand*; **anþar**, *other*; **hvaþar**, *'uter'*; **waírþan**, *to becum*; **qipan**, *to say*. (c) Also final **þ** remains unchanged; as, **þiup**, n., *good* (gen. **þiupis**); **qap**, prt. of **qipan**; **aips**, acc. **aip**, *oath*.

Note 1. **þþ** occurs in **aipþau**, or (§ 20), and, by assimilation, for **h-þ**: **nipþan**, etc.; s. § 62, n. 3.

Note 2. **þ** finally and before the **s** of the nom. very often stands for **d**, and must be kept apart from the **þ** mentiond under (c) which remain **þ** medially also; s. § 74.

Note 3. **þ** becoms **s** before **t** (§ 81); e. g., 2nd pers. sg. prt. **qast** (inf. **qipan**), **warst** (inf. **waírþan**), **snaist** (inf. **sneiþan**, *to cut*).

Note 4. **d** stands for medial **þ** in **weitwôdida**, *testimony*; Jo. III, 32.

#### d

§ 72. Goth. **d** corresponds to Greek δ. The New Greek pronunciation of δ is that of a soft (voiced) dental spirant (ð = NE. th in thou). Gothic **d**, at least medially after a vowel, likewise had



the sound-value of this spirant. But *d* initially and medially after *n*, *r*, *l*, *z*, has the value of a soft (voiced) stop.

§ 73. Examples of *d*: (a) initially: **daúr**, *n.*, *door, gate*; **daúhtar**, *daughter*; **dal**, *dale, valley*; **dauns**, *odor*; **daddjan**, *to suckl*; **ga-daúrsan**, *to dare*; **driusan**, *to fall*; **dwals**, *foolish*. (b) medially: **sidus**, *custom*; **wadi**, *n.*, *wager*; **midjis**, '*medius*'; **widuwô**, *widow*; **biudan**, *to offer*; **bindan**, *to bind*; **haírda**, *herd*; **waldan**, *to rule*; **mizdô**, *reward*; **fadar**, *father*; **frôdei**, *understanding* (cp. **frôps**, **frôdis**, *intelligent*); **fidwôr**, *four*; **þridja**, '*tertius*'; **þiuda**, *peple*; **-ida**, as in **aupida**, *desert*; **gahugds**, *mind*; **gards**, *house (yard)*; **hardus**, *hard*; **hund**, *hundred*; **and**, *on, in*; **alds**, *age* (cp. **alþeis**, *old*), **kalds**, *cold*; **gazds**, *sting*.

Note. In Gothic words *dd* is found only in **waddjus**, *wall* (ON. *veggr*); **daddjan**, *to suckl*; **twaddjê** (gen. of **twai**, 2; ON. *tweggja*); **iddja**, *I went*; hence always in the combination **ddj**. – Cp. § 68, n. 1; and Brgm., I, 127.

§ 74. Finally and before the *s* of the nominativ *d* remains only after a consonant; e. g., **hund**, **nimand** (3d pers. pl. prs.), **gards**, **alds**, **gazds**, **gahugds**. But postvocalic *d* becoming final (and before the *s* of the nominativ) is changed into *þ*, because *þ* denotes the hard sound corresponding to *d*. Such eufonic *þs* from medial *ds* constitute the greater number of the Gothic final *þs*, the smaller number ar original (also medial) *þs*. (§ 71, n. 2). E. g.

**staps**, **stadis**, *place* (but **\*staps**, **stap̃is**, *shore*); **haubiþ**, **haubidis**, *hed*; **liuhap̃**, **liuhadis**, *light*; **frôps**, **frôdis**, *wise*; **gôps**, **gôdis**, *good*; **báup̃**, prt. of **biudan**; **bidjan**, *to pray*, prt. **bap̃**; – all pps. of *wvs.*; as, **nasips**, **nasidis**; **salbôps**, **salbôdis**; furthermore all final *þs* in verbal inflection (3d pers. sg., 2nd pl.); as, **nimiþ**, **nêmuþ**, **nêmeiþ**, – but with enclitic **-uh**: **nimiduh**, **nêmuduh**, **nêmeiduh**; – advs. like **hwap̃**, *whither* (cp. § 213); prep. **miþ**, *with*.

Note 1. The change of final *d* into *þ* does not occur in all cases in our manuscripts. This exception does not concern the original text of Wulfila, but is only a deviation from the normal state of orthografy, which is proved by the fact that final *d* occurs exceedingly often only in Lu., especially in the first ten chapters, not quite rarely also in Jo., more rarely in the other books. Examples from the sixth chapter of Lu. ar: **samalaud** (34), **gôds** (35. 43), **gôd** (43), **mitads** (38), ptc. **gamanwids** (40), **gasulid**, and especially frequently verbal forms: **taujid** (2), **ussuggwud** (3), **faginôd**, **laikid** (23), **habaid** (24), **usbaírid** (45), etc. – Sinse yunger forms of speech ar a characteristic feature of the gospel of Lu. (§ 221, 1), they might be regarded as representatives of a later development of the Goth. language, introduced into our text by sum writers (for similar cases in East-Gothic names, s. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 171). Others explain the forms with final *d* as being due to their original position before words beginning with a vowel according to which the forms **nimiþ** and **nimid** would be 'dublets' ('satzdubletten'). – Cp. also Kock, Zs. fda., 26, 226 et seq., who shows that these *ds* for *þs* ar most frequent after unaccented vowels (as in **mitads**), but after an accented vowel only when the latter is long or a difthong, rarely after a short accented vowel (as in **mid**; Lu. VII, 11.)

Note 2. Sinse the final *þ* has by all means to be regarded as the regular one, it must also be employd in words of which only forms with medial *d* occur: **biuþs**, **biudis**, *table*; **rauþs**, *red*; **usdaup̃s**, *zelous*; **gamaiþs**, *maimd*; **môþs**, *anger*; **knôþs**, *stock, race*. Hense also **garaip̃s**, *redy*; **unlêds**, *poor*, which, beside the forms with medial *b*, hav onse each the final forms **garaid** and **unlêds**, respectively. But both forms occur in Lu.

With final *d* only ar repeatedly found: **weitwôds**, *witness*, acc. **weitwôd**; twice **gariuds** (**gariud**), *honorabl*; only one final form with *d* (but none with *þ*) occurs in **braids**, *broad*; **dêds**, *deed*;

**wôds**, *mad, possess*; **grids**, *step, grade*; **skaískaid** (prt. of **skaidan**). The normal forms would be **dêps**, **wôps**, etc., for the forms with **d** insted of **p** ar hardly due to anything else but unfavorabl transmission.

Note 3. The occurrence of this final **p** for thematic **d** must not be confounded with that of **p** in words that hav also medial **p** beside **d** in other words from the same root; as, **frôd-** (nom. **frôps**), *prudent*; **frôdei**, *prudence*; but **frapi**, *understanding*, **frapjan**, *to understand*; **sad-** (nom. **saps**), *satisfied*, but **ga-sôpjan**, *to satisfy*; **sinps**, *a going, way*, but **sandjan**, *to send*; **alds**, *age*, but **alpeis**, *old*. Cp. § 79, n. 2.

Note 4. **p** is seldom found where medial **d** is expected; as, **guþa** (for **guda**); Gal. IV, 8; **unfrôþans**; Gal. III, 3.

§ 75. The **d** of the weak preterit, which stands mostly after vowels (**nasida**, **habaida**), remains intact after **l** and **n** (**skulda**, **munda**), while after **s**, **h**, **f** it becums **t**: **kaupasta**, **môsta**, **daúrsta**, **bâhta**, **brâhta**, **þûhta**, **brûhta**, **waúrhta**, **baúhta**, **ôhta**, **mahta**, **áihta**, **þaúrfta**; it is changed into **p** in **kunþa**; **ss** is assimilated from **st** in **wissa**.

Conform to this rule ar the respectiv ptcs. **nasips**, **habaiþs**, **skulds**, **munds**, but **waúrhts**, **baúhts**, **mahts**, **binaúhts**, **þaúrfts**, **kunþs**. Cp. § 187, n. 1; § 197 et seq.; §§ 208. 209.

Note. **d** becums **s** before the **t** of the 2nd pers. prt. (§ 81): **baust** (1st **baup**, inf. **biudan**); so, also, before consonants in derivativ words; as, **gilstr**, *tax, tribute* (< **gildan**); **usbeisns**, *expectation* (< **usbeidan**, *to abide, expect*).

## S

§ 76. **s** is a hard (voiceless) dental spirant and corresponds to Gr. σ. **s** occurs very often in Gothic words, especially initially. E. g.

(a) initially: **sunus**, *sun*; **sitan**, *to sit*; **skadus**, *shade*; **speiwan**, *to spit*; **standan**, *to stand*; **straujan**, *to strew*; **slêpan**, *to sleep*; **smals**, *small*; **snutrs**, *wise*; **swaíhra**, *father-in-law*.

(b) medially: **kiusan**, *to choose*; **wisan**, *to be*; **wasjan**, *to clothe*; **þûsundi**, *thousand*; **gasts**, *guest*; **fisks**, *fish*; **asneis**, *hired man*; **hansa**, *host*; **aúhsa**, *ox*; **þaúrsus**, *witherd*.

(c) Also final **s** remains unchanged; as, **gras**, *grass*; **mês**, *table*; **was** (prt. of **wisan**), *was*; **hals**, *neck*.

Note 1. **ss** occurs frequently; e. g., **hvassei**, *sharpness*; **qiss**, *speech*; **wissa** (prt. of **witan**); suff. **-assus** (**þiudinassus**, *kingdom*, etc.).

Note 2. Final **s** stands in most cases for medial **z**, especially the final inflectional **s**. Cp. § 78; dropping of the **s** of the nominativ in § 78, n. 2.

Note 3. For **s** from **t**, **p**, **d**, before consonants (**t**), s. § 69, n. 2; § 71, n. 3; § 75, n. 1.

Note 4. Concerning the fonetic distinction between the spirants **s** and **p**, cp. IF., 342.

§ 77. The sign **z** corresponds in Greek words to ζ; as, **Zaíbaídaius**, Ζεβεδαῖος; **azymus**, ἄζυμος. Its sound, like that of the Gr. ζ both at Wulfila's time and in New Greek, was the corresponding soft sound of **s**, hense a voiced dental spirant (E. z).

§ 78. (a) In Goth. words **z** occurs never initially.

(b) Medial **z** is frequent. But final **z** becums **s**, the corresponding hard sound (cp. § 79). E. g.

**azêts**, *easy*; **hazjan**, *to praise*; **hazeins**, *praise*; **díus**, gen. **diuzis**, *animal*; **hatis**, gen. **hatizis**, *hatred*; **hatizôn**, *to be angry*; **huzd**, *trezure*; **gazds**, *sting*; **mizdô**, *reward*; **azgô**, *ashes*; **marzjan**, *to offend*; **talzjan**, *to teach*; – comparativs: **maiza**, 'major'; **frôdôza**, **alpiza**, etc.; – pronominal forms; as, **izwara**, **þizôs**, **þizê**, **blindaiþôs**; 2nd pers. sing. midl: **haitaza**.

(c) Most of the Gothic final **ss** represent **z**, especially the inflectional **s**; this reappears as **z** when it becomes medial by an enclitic addition, for example, the **s** of the nom. **hvas**, *who?*, but **hva<sup>z</sup>uh**; **is**, *he*, but **izei**, *who*; **us**, *out*, but **uzuh**, **uzu**; **dis-** (as in **dizuhþansat**; Mk. XVI, 8); **þôs**, nom. pl. f., but **þô<sup>z</sup>uh**; **weis**, *we*; **weizuh**; **wileis**, 2nd pers. sg., but **wileizu**; advs.: **mais** (compar. **maiza**), *more*; **áiris**, *erlier* (compar. **áiriza**), etc.

Note 1. **z** is but rarely employed for final **s**: **minz**, *less*; II. Cor. XII, 15 (Codex B), for **mins** elsewhere; **riqiz** (4 times), *darkness*, beside **riqis**, gen. **riqizis**; **aiz**, *brass*, *money* (only Mk. VI, 8); **mimz**, *flesh*; I. Cor. VIII, 13. – For a different view of final **s** for **z**, s. Wilmanns, *Dtsch. Gramm.*, I, p. 86.

Note 2. The **s** (**z**) of the nom. sg. is dropped (1) after **s** (**ss**, **z**): **drus**, m., gen. **drusis**, *fall*; **swê<sup>s</sup>**, gen. **swêsis**, adj., *one's own*; **laus**, **lausis**, *loose*; **us-stass**, f., gen. **usstassais**, *resurrection*; (2) after **r** immediately preceded by a short vowel: **wair**, **wairis**, *man*; **baúr**, *sun*; **kaisar**, *Cæsar*; **anþar**, *other*; **unsar**, *our*; but **s** remains unchanged after a long syllable: **akrs**, *field*; **hōrs**, *whoremonger*; **skeirs**, *clear*; **swêrs**, *honored*; **gáurs**, *sorrowful*. An exception is the onset occurring nom. **stiur**, *steer*, *calf*. Cp. Brgm., I, 516; II, 531; Wrede, 'Ostg.', 177 et seq. – At a later stage of development, especially in East-Gothic, the loss of the nominative-**s** occurs more extensively. So already in the Documents (Neap. Doc.: **Gudilub**, **Ufitahari**); cp. Wrede, loc. cit.

Note 3. **z** and **s** interchange in the prt. of **slêpan**; **saíslêp**; Mt. VIII, 24. Lu. VIII, 23. I. Thess. IV, 14; **saízlêp**; Jo. XI, 11. I. Cor. XV, 6; – in the neuters in **-is** (gen. **agisis** and gen. **hatizis**); s. 94, n. 5.

Note 4. The **z** (s. c, abuv) of the prep. **us** is in compounds assimilated to a following **r** (cp. § 24, n. 2); e. g., **urruns**, *a running out*; **urreisan**, *to (a)rise*; **urrûmnan** (beside **usrûmnan**, in Codex B, II. Cor. VI, 11), *to expand*; onset **ur** for the prep. **us**: **ur riqiza**; II. Cor. IV, 6. — **us** remains unchanged before other sounds in compounds; as, **usagjan**, *to frighten*; **usbeidan**, *to abide, expect* (cp. § 56, n. 2). **z** for **s** before a vowel appears only in **uzôn** (prt. of **\*usanan**, *to expire*); Mk. XV, 37. 39; and in **uzêtin** (dat. of **\*usêta**, *manger*); Lu. II, 7. 12. 16.

Note 5. When **us** is affixed to a word beginning with **st**, only one **s** is sometimes written: **ustaig** (prt. of **us-steigan**); Mk. III, 13; **ustôþ**; Lu. VIII, 55. X, 25; **ustandip** (prt. and prs. of **us-standan**); Mk. X, 34; **ustassai** (nom. **usstass**); Lu. XIV, 14. – Cp. **twistandans** (in B = **twis-standans** in A); II. Cor. II, 13; **diskritnan** (for **dis-skritnan**); Mt. XXVII, 51; there is no analogon for **sp**.

## APPENDIX

### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE CONSONANTS

§ 79. The Gothic soft spirants, **b**, **d**, **z**, finally and before the **s** of the nom. (cp. §§ 56. 74. 78) are changed into the corresponding hard sounds, **f**, **p**, **s**, while the fourth soft spirant, medial **g**, remains unchanged when final (§ 66; § 65, n. 2).

Note 1. Also the final **b**, **d**, **z** have sometimes remained unchanged, i. e. **z** rarely (§ 78, n. 1), but **b** and **d** especially often in certain parts where also other forms show a later stage of development. Cp. § 56, n. 1; § 74, n. 1, and Zs. fda., 25, 226 et seq.

Note 2. Interchange between **f** and **b**, **p** and **d**, **h** and **g**, **s** and **z**, which had taken place in proto-Germanic according to definite laws and is better preserved in other Germanic languages ('Grammatical Change'; s. ahd. gr., § 100 et seq.), occurs in Gothic only in derivative words; cp. **g-h**, § 66, n. 1; **d-p**, § 74, n. 3; (**z** – **s**, § 78,



n. 3); and traces of it are seen in the inflection of the verbs **parf** (§ 56, n. 3), **áih** (§ 203, n. 1).

§ 80. Gemination of the Gothic liquids and nasals, **l**, **m**, **n**, **r**, is frequent; also **ss** and a few instances of **kk** (§ 58, n. 1), **tt** (§ 69, n. 1), **pp** (§ 71, n. 1), **dd** (§ 73, n. 1); – the more frequent examples of **gg** (§§ 67. 68) are in part of another kind.

The geminated consonants remain unchanged when final and before the **s** of the nominative: **skatts**, **full**, **kann**, **rann**, **wamm**, **gawiss**; likewise before **j** (as in **fulljan**, **skattja**, **kannjan**, etc.), but are as a rule simplified before other consonants: **kant**, **kunþa** (cp. **kann**); **rant**, 2nd pers. sg. prt., **ur-runs**, m., *a running out* (cp. **rinnan**); **swumfsl**, *pond* (cp. **\*swimman**); – but usually **fullnan**, only a few times **fulnan**.

Note. Some instances of gemination as well as of simplified gemination in the MSS. are merely orthographic errors; as, **allh** for **alh**; Lu. II, 46; **wisêdun** (**s** for **ss**); **inbranjada** (**nj** for **nnj**); Jo. XV, 6; **swam** for **swamm**; Mk. XV, 36. – Such errors are mostly corrected by the editors. Cp. Bernhardt, 'Vulfila', p. LVII.

§ 81. The changes of consonants before dentals may, as far as the Gothic is concerned, be embraced in the following rule:

Before the dentals, **d**, **p**, **t**, all labial stops and spirants are changed into **f**, all gutturals into **h**, all dentals into **s**, the second dental appearing always as **t**. E. g.

**skapjan**, **gaskafts** (§ 51, n. 2); **þáurbán** (**\*þáurbda**), **þáurfata**; **giban**, **gifts** (§ 56, n. 4); —**siuks**, **saúhts**; **þagkjan**, **þáhta** (§ 58, n. 2); **magan**, **mahta** (§ 66, n. 1); —**wait**, **waist** (§ 69, n. 2); **wáirþan**, **warst** (§ 71, n. 3); **biudan**, **baust** (§ 75, n. 1).

Note 1. Exceptions are **magt** (2nd pers. sg.; 1st **mag**, § 201) and **gahugds**, *mind*.

Note 2. **st** often becomes **ss** by assimilation; as, **wissa**, prt. of **witan** (§ 76, n. 1). Cp. Beitr., 7, 171 et seq.; 9, 150 et seq.; IF., 4, 341 et seq.

Note 3. The rule given above from a practical standpoint of the Gothic grammar must be formulated differently from a comparative-historical standpoint, because the discussed sound-shifts have not originated in the Gothic language, but are reflections of protoethnic Germanic and Indo-Germanic relations of sounds. S. Brgm., I, 381 et seq.; 403 et seq.

§ 82. Assimilations occur only in combination with **h** (s. § 62, n. 3) and **us** (§ 78, n. 4).

# INFLECTION

## CHAP. I. DECLENSION OF SUBSTANTIVS

### GENERAL PRELIMINARY REMARKS

#### (a) On declension in general

§ 83. The Gothic declension, like that of the remaining Old-Germanic dialects, comprises three genders: the masculin, neuter and feminin.

Note 1. The neuter of all declensions resembles in form very closely the masculin; a distinction occurs in the nom. and acc. sg. and pl. only.

Note 2. A distinction of gender is wanting only with the personal prn. of the 1st and 2nd persons, with the reflexiv prn. (§ 150), and with the numeral adjectives 4-19 (§ 141).

§ 84. The Goth. declension has two numbers: singular and plural.

Note. The dual which originally existed in all Indg. languages, is preservd in the Goth. decl. in the 1st and 2nd pers. of the personal prn. only (§ 150).

§ 85. The Goth. declension has four complete cases: nominativ, genitiv, dativ, accusativ. The vocativ is mostly identical with the nominativ, only in the singular of sum classes of declension the vocativ is different from the nominativ, but then it is always identical with the accusativ.

Note. The Goth. dativ represents several Indg. cases (dativ, locativ, ablativ, instrumental). Relics of the neuter instrumental ar stil present in the pronominal declension: **þê** (§ 153), **hvê** (§ 159).

#### (b) On the declension of substantivs

§ 86. The declension of substantivs in Gothic is divided into a vocalic and a consonantal declension, according as the stems of the substantivs end in a vowel or a consonant.

Note. The original form of the stem is in part unrecognizabl in the Gothic language, because the stem has blended with the endings, final vowels hav been lost, and the like, so that the division into a vocalic and a consonantal declension appears correct only in the light of the Comparativ Indo-Germanic Grammar, and but with reference to this it must be retaind. Such a division would never hav been made from an especially Gothic-Germanic standpoint.

§ 87. Of the consonantal stems in Gothic the **n**-stems (i. e. the stems in **-an**, **-ôn**, **-ein**), ar very numerous, while of other consonantal declensions but a few remains ar preservd (§ 114 et seq.). Sinse the time of Jac. Grimm the **n**-declension has also been calld Weak Declension.

§ 88. There ar four classes of the vocalic declension: stems in **a**, **ô**, **i**, **u**. Accordingly, we distinguish them as **a-**, **ô-**, **i-**, and **u-**declensions. The stem-characteristics ar stil clearly seen in all

classes in the dat. and acc. pl.; e. g., **dagam, dagans**; – **gibôm, gibôs**; – **gastim, gastins**; – **sunum, sununs**. Since the time of Jacob Grimm the vocalic declension has also been called Strong Declension.

Note 1. Of the four vocalic declensions the **a-** and **ô-**declensions are closely connected, the **a-**declension containing only masculines and neuters (**dags, waúrd**), the **ô-**declension the corresponding feminines. Both classes are therefore usually given as one, the **a-**declension.

Note 2. The Gothic **a-**declension corresponds to the second or o-declension in Greek and Latin (Gr. m. – *ος*, n. – *ον*; Lt. – *us*, – *um*), the Goth. **ô-**declension corresponds to the first or *ā*-declension in Gr. and Lt. Now since Comparative Grammar teaches us that the Græco-Lt. vowels are the more original ones, and that once also the Germanic stems of the corresponding masculine and neuter must have ended in *o* and those of the feminines in *â*, we often meet in Germanic Grammar with the term o-declension for the masculines and neuter, and with the term *â*-declension for the feminines.

### (c) On the nominal composition

§ 88a. Substantives (and adjectives) as the first parts of compounds end as a rule in a vowel, the connecting vowel of the components (or composition-vowel), which in the case of the vocalic stems is oftenest identical with the stem-vowel. Examples: **a-**decl.: **figgra-gulþ**, **huns-la-staps**, **himina-kunds**, **fulla-tôjis**; —**i-**decl.: **gasti-gôþs**, **naudi-bandi**; —**u-**decl.: **fôtu-baúrd**, **hardu-hairtei**, **filu-waúrdei**.

But the connecting vowel of the **o-**stems is always **-a**; as, **airpa-kunds**, **hleipra-stakeins**; the **-ja** of **ja-**stems persists when the stem is a short syllable, but it becomes **i** when the stem is long (cp. § 44); as, **wadja-bôkôs**, **alja-kuns**; **arbi-numja**, **aglaiti-waúrdei**; in like manner **pûsundi-faps**, < stem in **-jô-**, nom. **pûsundi** (§ 145).

The **n-**stems have simply **a** instead of the thematic ending **-an**, **-ôn**; as, **guma-kunds**, **fruma-baúr**, **wilja-halpei**, **qina-kunds**, **auga-daúró**; but **mari-saiws** (cp. Beitr., 8, 410).

Note 1. The composition-vowel was often dropped in Gothic, especially that of the **a-**stems; e. g., of **a-**stems: **wein-drugkja** (but **weina-triu**, **weina-basi**, etc.), **gud-hûs**, **gub-blôstreis** (but **guda-faurhts**, **guda-laús**, **gupa-skaunei**), **laus-qiprs**, **laus-handus** (but **lausa-waúrds**), **piudan-gardi**, **háuh-pûhts**, **ain-falþs**, **piu-magus** (for **piwa-**, § 91, n. 3); – of **ja-**stems: **niuklahs** (but **niuja-satips**), **freihals**, **aglait-gastalds** (but **aglaiti-waúrdei**); – of **i-**stems: **brûþ-faps**, **put-haúrn** (Beitr., 8, 411), **twalib-wintrus** (§ 141).

Note 2. Some words show evasions of the composition-vowel: **þiupi-qiss** (for **þiupa-**); I. Cor. X, 16 (in Cod. A); **anda-laús** (for **andja-**); I. Tim. I, 4 (in A, but **andi-laús** in B); **hrainja-hairts** (for **hraini-**); Mt. V, 8; **garda-** in cpds. seems to be the normal form beside the stem **gardi-** (s. § 101): **garda-waldands**; Mt. X, 25. Lu. XIV, 21; **mipgarda-waddjus**; Eph. II, 14 (in B, but **midgardi-w.** in A); Beitr., 8, 432. Cp. also **brôþra-lubô**; Rom. XII, 10 (in A, but **brôþru-lubô**; I. Thess. IV, 9, in B). – The evasions occur mostly in Codex A and seem to be younger East-Gothic forms; cp. the names in the Documents (e. g., **Gudi-lub**, in Ar. Doc.; **Sunjai-fripas**, in Neap. Doc.), and Wrede, 'Ostg.', 184.

Note 3. Beside the other consonantal stems there occur: **brôþru-lubô** (§ 114); cp. the preceding note; **baúrgs-waddjus**, a genitive-compound (§ 116); **nahta-mats** (§ 116); beside **mann-** (§ 117) the stem **mana-** is found: **mana-sêþs**, **mana-maúrþrja**, **unmana-riggws**; and (probably according to note 1) **man-leika**.

—**sigis-laun** and **pruts-fill**, which belong to old **s**-stems (s. § 94, n. 5. – Leo Meyer, Got. Spr., p. 174), may (by loss of **a**, according to note 1) also refer to **a**-stems.

Note 4. For more about the cpds. in Gothic, s. Beitr., 8, 371-460; Brgm., II, 73 et seq.; Wrede, 'Ostg.', 183 et seq.

## A. VOCALIC (STRONG) DECLENSION

### 1. (a) A-Declension

§ 89. The Gothic **a**-declension contains only masculins and neuters. We distinguish between pure **a**-stems and **ja**-stems.

Note. The **wa**-stems in Gothic differ but very little from the pure **a**-stems. Their number is very small (§ 91, n. 3; § 93; § 94, n. 1).

#### Masculins

§ 90. Paradigms of the masculins. (a) Pure **a**-stems: **dags**, *day* (< an earlier \*dagaz, protoethnic Germanic \*dago-z, § 88, n. 2); **hlaifs**, (*loaf of*) *bred* (protoethnic Germanic \*hlaibo-z). (b) **ja**-stems: **hairdeis**, *herdsman* (protoethnic Germanic \*herdio-z); **harjis**, *army* (protoethnic Germanic \*hario-z).

|       |    |        |          |           |         |
|-------|----|--------|----------|-----------|---------|
| Sing. | N. | dags   | hlaifs   | hairdeis  | harjis  |
|       | G. | dagis  | hlaibis  | hairdeis  | harjis  |
|       | D. | daga   | hlaiba   | hairdja   | harja   |
|       | A. | dag    | hlaif    | hairdi    | hari    |
|       | V. | dag    | hlaif    | hairdi    | hari    |
| Plur. | A. | dagós  | hlaibós  | hairdjós  | harjós  |
|       | G. | dagê   | hlaibê   | hairdjê   | harjê   |
|       | D. | dagam  | hlaibam  | hairdjam  | harjam  |
|       | A. | dagans | hlaibans | hairdjans | harjans |

§ 91. Like **dags** decline many masculins; as, **stains**, *stone*; **skalks**, *servant*; **tains**, *twig*; **himins**, *heaven*; **fisks**, *fish*; **wigs**, *way*; **wulfs**, *wolf*; **fugls**, *bird (fowl)*; **aiþs** (gen. **aiþis**), *oath*.

**hlaifs** shows the hardening of the medial soft spirant when becoming final (cp. §§ 56. 79). So does **laufs** (nom. pl. **laubôs**), *leaf*.

Note 1. The declension of these masculins is identical with that of the masculine **i**-stems (100) in the nom. sg. and in the gen. pl. Only the nom., acc., and dat. pl. can show to which declension they belong. Consequently, a number of masculins which are not found in those pl. cases cannot with certainty be classified. The testimony of the other Germanic languages, however, will in many cases enable us to decide. Thus **akrs**, *field*; **mêgs**, *sun-in-law*; **maúrgins**, *morning*; **snaiws**, *snow*; **maipms**, *present*, etc., belong to the **a**-decl.

Note 2. Words which are not found in the nom. sg. nor in the nom. acc. pl., may be neuter. Thus the nom. to the isolated gen. **akeitis** (*vinegar*) may be both **akeits** and **akeit**, that to the dat. **stapa** (*shore*) both **staps** and **stap**. Sum of such words are undoubtedly m., as is evident from the adjs. which modify them, or from the cognate dialects; e. g., **slêps**, *sleep*; **wôkrs**, *uzury*; **aúhns**, *oven*; **tweifls**, *dout*; **môps**, *anger* (gen. **môdis**, § 74).

Note 3. According to the rules for final **w** (§ 42), **þius** and **þiu** are given, respectively, as the nom. and voc. sg. to the nom. pl. **þiwôs** (*servants*), gen. **þiwê**— the only forms found. Cp. **þiu-magus**, *servant*, § 88a, n. 1.

Note 4. According to § 78, n. 2, the **s** of the nom. sg. is dropped in **\*ans** (dat. **anza**), *beam*; **\*hals** (**halsis**), *neck*; **freihals**, *liberty*; **\*ams** (acc. pl. **amsans**), *shoulder*: **waír**, *man*; **\*gabaúr** (n. pl. **gabaúrôs**), *festiv meal*; **kaisar**, *emperor*, *Cæsar*; **stiur**, *steer* (Neh. 5, 18; cp. Zs. fda., 37, 319).

Note 5. **wêgs**, *wave* (nom. pl. **wêgôs**, but dat. pl. **wêgim**); **aiws**, *time* (dat. pl. **aïwam**, acc. pl. **aïwins**), show a tendency to merge into the **i**-decl.

§ 92. The **ja**-stems are subject to the rules concerning the contraction of the **ji** into **ei** (s. § 44, c and n. 1), according to which there is a distinction between the words with long and those with short stem-syllables. Further examples: (a) long-stemmed and trisyllabic (polysyllabic): **asneis**, *hired man*; **andeis**, *end*; **hwaiteis**, *wheat*; **sipôneis**, *disciple*; the words in **-areis** (Kluge, Stammbildung, §§ 8. 9; ahd. gr., § 200): **laisareis**, *teacher*; **bôkareis**, *scribe*, etc. (b) short stems: **nipjis**, *cuzin*; **\*andastapjis**, *adversary*.

Note 1. **andeis**, *end*, has in Rom. X, 18 the acc. pl. according to the **i**-decl.: **andins**.

Note 2. Only in the pl. occurs: **bêrusjôs**, *parents* (§ 33).

Note 3. The acc. pl. **hljans** (Mk. IX, 5) suggests the nom. sg. **\*hleis** (like **freis**, § 126, n. 2), *tent*. Cp. Zimmer, QF., 13, 308.

Note 4. A nom. pl. **silbawiljôs**, adj. used as sb. (nom. sg. **\*silba-wiljis**, *willing of one's self*; cp. **gawiljis**, § 126), occurs in II. Cor. VIII, 3.

## Neuters

§ 93. Paradims. (a) pure **a**-stems: **waúrd**, *word*; **haubip**, *hed*. (b) **wa**-stems: **triu**, *tree*. (c) **ja**-stems: **kuni**, *kin*.

|       |    |         |          |        |        |
|-------|----|---------|----------|--------|--------|
| Sing. | N. | waúrd   | haubip   | triu   | kuni   |
|       | G. | waúrdis | haubidis | triwis | kunjis |
|       | D. | waúrda  | haubida  | triwa  | kunja  |
|       | A. | waúrd   | haubip   | triu   | kuni   |
| Plur. | N. | waúrda  | haubida  | triwa  | kunja  |
|       | G. | waúrdê  | haubidê  | triwê  | kunjê  |
|       | D. | waúrdam | haubidam | triwam | kunjam |
|       | A. | waúrda  | haubida  | triwa  | kunja  |

§ 94. Like **waúrd** are declined a very great number of neuter nouns; e. g., **blôp**, **blôpis**, *blud*; **gulþ**, *gold*; **juk**, *yoke*; **jêr**, *year*; **haúrn**, *horn*; **sauil**, *sun*; **silubr**, *silver*; **agis**, *fear*; **sáir**, *sorrow*; **maúrþr**, *murder*; **gras**, **grasis**, *grass*.

Examples of words, like **haubip**, with a final hard sound for a medial soft spirant: **dius**, **diuzis**, *animal*; **hatis**, *hatred*; **riqis**, *darkness* (§ 78, n. 1); **liuhap**, **liuhadis**, *light*; **witôþ**, *law*.

Note 1. According to § 42, the final **w** of **wa**-stems becomes **u** after a short vowel. There occur two words of this kind: the paradigm **triu** (**weina-triu**, *vine*) and **\*kniu**, **kniwis**, *knee*. No change after a long vowel; as, **lêw**, *opportunity*; **fraiw**, *seed*.

Note 2. According to § 91, n. 2, it is doubtful whether some words are m. or n. The reasons given there permit us to class words like **þaúrp**, *field*; **maþl**, *market*,

with the neuters; doubtful as the forms **dal**, *dale* (cp. ON. *dalr*), **lun**, *ransom* (or **lûns**, cp. § 15, n. 1).

Note 3. The word **gub**, which is neuter in form, is used as m. when denoting the Christian God. But the n. pl. **guda** (*heathen*) *gods* (cp. § 74, n. 4), is still used. The inflection of the sg. is uncertain, because only abbreviated forms (§ 1, n. 4) occur: **gp**, **gps**, **gpa**. As full forms are given: nom. acc. **gub**, gen. **gups**, dat. **gupa**, though we should expect the gen. **gudis**, dat. **guda**. If the gen. form **gups** is correct, the word **gub** would belong to the consonantal stems (§ 114 et seq.). – In composition **guda-** and **gupa-**; s. § 88a, n. 1.

Note 4. **fadrein**, '*paternity*', in the sense of '*parents*', may be used as an indeclinable pl. with the art.: **pai fadrein**, **pans fadrein**. But also the regular neuter pl. **fadreina** occurs in the sense of '*parents*'. The fem. **fadreins**, *lineage*, *family*, is a separate word (§ 103). – Cp. J. Schmidt, 'Indog. Neutra', 14.

Note 5. The gen. of **hatis**, *hatred*, occurs onse (in cod. B) as **hatis** (a consonantal form); Eph. II, 3 (**hatizê** in A). For a different view, s. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 77. – Concerning the neuters in **-is**, s. v. Bahder, 'Verbalabstracta', 52 et seq.; Kluge, *Stammbild.*, §§ 84. 145; Brgm., II, 419 et seq. Cp. also § 78, n. 3.

§ 95. Like **kuni** are declined both short and long **ja**-stems; e. g., **badi**, *bed*; **nati**, *net*; **faírguni**, *mountain*; **gawi**, **gaujis**, *province* (§ 42, n. 2); **taui**, **tôjis**, *deed* (§ 26); **reiki**, **reikjis**, *kingdom*; **arbi**, **arbjis**, *inheritance*; **galigri**, *consummation of marriage*; **gawaúrki**, *business*; **garûni**, *counsel*; **andwairpi**, *presence*.

Note 1. Beside **-jis** a contracted gen. in **-eis** (cp. § 44, c; § 92) is found in but a few long and short stems; as, **trausteis** (nom. **trausti**, *covenant*); Eph. II, 12; **andbahti**, *office*, has the gen. **andbahtjis** (3 times) beside **andbahteis** (onse); Lu. I, 23; **gawairpi**, *peace*, has **gawairpjis** (6 times), **gawairpeis** (3 times); **waldufni**, *power*, has **waldufneis** (Skeir., 49) beside **waldufnjis** (twice).

## 1. (b) Ô-Declension

§ 96. The Gothic ô-declension contains only feminines which serve as a supplement to the **a**-decl. (§ 88, n. 1). Also here we distinguish between pure **ô**-stems and **jô**-stems.

Paradims: (a) **giba**, *gift* (stem **gibô-**). (b) long **jô**-stems: **bandi**, *bond* (stem **bandjô-**); **mawi**, *girl* (stem **maujô-**).

|       |          |         |        |
|-------|----------|---------|--------|
| Sing. | N. giba  | bandi   | mawi   |
|       | G. gibôs | bandjôs | maujôs |
|       | D. gibai | bandjai | maujai |
|       | A. giba  | bandja  | mauja  |
| Plur. | N. gibôs | bandjôs | maujôs |
|       | G. gibô  | bandjô  | maujô  |
|       | D. gibôm | bandjôm | maujôm |
|       | A. gibôs | bandjôs | maujôs |

§ 97. Like **giba** are declined a great many words; as, **bida**, *request*; **piuda**, *people*; **hansa**, *multitude*; **saiwala**, *soul*; **stibna**, *voice*; **airpa**, *erth*; **lweila**, *hour*; **wamba**, *belly*; **mildipa**, *mercy*; **ahwa**, *water*.



Note 1. The declension of the **wô-** and short **jô-**stems is identical with that of **giba**; e. g., **triggwa**, *covenant*; **bandwa**, *sign*; —**sunja**, *truth*; **halja**, *hel*; **sibja**, *relationship*; **wrakja**, *persecution*; **plapja**, *street*.

Note 2. The acc. sg. of **hveila** before the enclitic **-hun** is found as **hveilô-** in **hveilôhun**; s. § 163, n. 1 (as regards the form, cp. **ainôhun**, § 163, c; **hvarjôh**, § 165).

§ 98. Like **bandi** go the long and polysyllabic **jô-**stems. Their inflection is the same as that of **giba**, except in the nom. and voc. sg. which have **i** instead of **ja**. — Further examples: **piudangardi**, *kingdom*; **hōftuli**, *glory*; **\*haiþi**, *field, heath*; **\*wasti**, *garment*; **\*frijōndi**, f., *friend*; **\*fraistubni**, *temptation*.

Note 1. Like **mawi** (for the change of **w** into **u**, s. § 42), whose inflection corresponds to that of **bandi**, inflects also **þiwi**, **þiujôs**, *maid-servant*.

## 2. I-Declension

§ 99. The **i**-declension contains only masculines and feminines. Both genders properly ought to inflect precisely alike. But this is the case in the pl. only, while the sg. of the masculines has the gen. and dat. after the analogy of the **a**-declension.

### Masculines

§ 100. Paradigm: **balgs**, *wine-skin* (proethnic Germanic **balgi-z**).

|       |    |        |       |    |         |
|-------|----|--------|-------|----|---------|
| Sing. | N. | balgs  | Plur. | N. | balgeis |
|       | G. | balgis |       | G. | balgê   |
|       | D. | balga  |       | D. | balgim  |
|       | A. | balg   |       | A. | balgins |
|       | V. | balg   |       |    |         |

§ 101. The number of masculines inflecting like **balgs** is not very great; e. g., **gasts**, *guest*; **gards**, *house*; **muns**, *thought*; **mats**, *meat, food*; **saggws**, *song*; **saups**, **saudis**, *sacrifice*; **brûþ-faps (d)**, *bridegroom*; **staps (d)**, *sted, place*.

Note 1. Words not occurring in the nom., dat., acc. pl. can not with certainty be referred to this declension (cp. § 91, n. 1). In many cases, however, we can infer from the remaining Germanic languages to what declension they belong. Accordingly, the word **saiws**, *sea, lake*, belongs here; and, particularly, a number of verbal abstracts like **qums**, *arrival*; **drus**, *fall*; **wlits**, *face*; **runs** (gen. **runis**), *a running*; **grêts**, *weeping*; **krusts**, *gnashing*.

Note 2. The **s** of the nom. is dropped according to § 78, n. 2; e. g., **ur-runs**, **ur-runsis**; **drus**, **drusis**; **baúr**, **baúris** (< **baíran**, *to bear*), *sun*.

Note 3. **naus**, *a dead person*, is explained according to the rules for **w** (§ 42); nom. pl. **naweis**, acc. pl. **nawins**; so, also, the acc. and voc. sg. **nau**.

Note 4. For **wêgs** and **aiws**, s. § 91, n. 5; for the acc. pl. **andins**, s. § 92, n. 1.

### Feminines

§ 102. Paradigm: **ansts**, *favor* (proethnic Germanic **ansti-z**).

|       |    |         |      |    |         |
|-------|----|---------|------|----|---------|
| Sing. | N. | anst    | Phr. | N. | ansteis |
|       | G. | anstais |      | G. | anstê   |
|       | D. | anstai  |      | D. | anstim  |
|       | A. | anst    |      | A. | anstins |
|       | V. | anst    |      |    |         |

§ 103. A great number of feminins belong to this class. Examp<sup>ls</sup>: **qêns**, *woman, wife*; **dails**, *deal*; **wêns**, *hope*; **naups**, **naupais**, *need*; **siuns**, *sight*; **sôkns**, *serch*; **taikns**, *token*; **fahêps**, **fahêdais**, *joy*; **magaps** (**þ**), *maid*; **fadreins**, *generation, family*; **arbaiþs** (**d**), *work*; **asans**, *harvest*; **ahaks**, *duv*; those in **-dupþs**, **-dupais** (perhaps **-dûþs**; cp. § 15, n. 1): **mikildupþs**, *greatness*; **managdupþs**, *abundance*; **ajukdupþs**, *eternity*; **gamaindupþs**, *communion*.

Very numerous ar the verbal abstracts which may be formd from every strong verb by means of the dental suffix **t** (**þ**, **d**); e. g., **gaskafts**, *creation*; **þaúrfts**, *need*; **ganists**, *salvation*; **fralusts**, *loss*; **gakusts**, *test*; **gabaúrþs**, *birth*; **gataúrþs**, *destruction*; **manasêþs** (**d**), *world*; **dêþs**, *deed*; **gahugds**, *thought*.

Note 1. Here belong also the abstracts in **-eins**, **-ôns**, **-ains**, derived from the weak verbs of the I., II., and III. Weak Conjugations, respectively; e. g., **naseins** (< **nasjan**), *salvation*; **laiseins**, *doctrin*; **háuheins**, *a 'heightening'*, hence *praise*; **galaubeins**, *belief*; **naiteins**, *blasfemy*; **lapôns** (< **lapôn**), *invitation*; **salbôns**, *salv, ointment*; **mitôns**, *consideration*; **þulains** (< **þulan**), *suffering, patience*; **libains**, *life*. – But those in **-eins** hav the nom. and gen. pl. according to the **ô**-declension. Thus, for exampl:

|       |    |          |    |           |    |           |       |            |
|-------|----|----------|----|-----------|----|-----------|-------|------------|
| Sing. | N. | naiteins | G. | naiteinai | D. | naiteimai | A. V. | naitein    |
| Phr.  | N. | naiteinô | G. | naiteinô  | D. | naiteinim | A.    | naiteinins |

So in one exampl also the dat. pl.: **unkaúreinôm**; II. Cor. XI, 8. – The pl. of the abstracts in **-ôns**, **-ains** is regular: **mitôneis**, **mitônê**, etc.

Note 2. Whether words ar f. or m. is doutful when they do not occur in a distinctiv case; as, **lists**, *craftiness*; **fulleips** (or **fulleip**, n.), *fulness*.

Note 3. The s of the nom. is dropt according to § 78, n. 2; e. g., **us-stass**, **us-stassais**, *resurrection*; **garuns**, **-runsais**, *street*.

Note 4. **haims**, *village*, forms its pl. according to the **ô**-declension: **haimôs**, etc.

### 3. U-Declension

#### Masculins and Feminins

§ 104. The masculins and feminins of the **u**-declension ar identical in form. Paradim: **sunus**, *sun*.



|       |    |        |       |    |        |
|-------|----|--------|-------|----|--------|
| Sing. | N. | sunus  | Plur. | N. | sunjus |
|       | G. | sunáus |       | G. | suniwê |
|       | D. | sunáu  |       | D. | sunum  |
|       | A. | sunu   |       | A. | sununs |
|       | V. | sunu   |       |    |        |

§ 105. Further examples: (a) masculins; e. g., **áirus**, *messenger*; **asilus**, *ass*; **daupus**, *deth*; **wulpus**, *glory*; **hûhrus**, *hunger*; **paurnus**, *thorn*; **haírus**, *sword*; **liþus**, *lim*; **lustus**, *lust*; **magus**, *boy*; **faírhus**, *world*; **fôtus**, *foot*; **stubjus**, *dust*; **wrêpus**, *flock* (§ 7, n. 3); in **-assus** (Kluge, Stammbildg., § 137 et seq.): **draúhtinassus**, *warfare*; **ibnassus**, *evenness*; **piudinassus**, *kingdom*; in **-ôdus**, **-ôpus** (Kluge, Stammbildg., § 134); e. g., **auhjôdus**, *tumult*; **gabaúrjôpus**, *plezure*.

(b) The only feminins are certainly only **handus**, *hand*; **kinnus**, *cheek*; **waddjus**, *wall* (cp. Beitr., 16, 3181), and perhaps **asilus** (if ðvov in Lu. XIX, 30. Joh. XII, 15, means *she-ass*).

The gender of **sum** is doubtful; as, **qairnus**, *mil*; **flôdus**, *flud*; **luftus**, *air*.

Note 1. Foreign words like **aggilus**, *angel*; **sabbatus**, *sabbath*, fluctuate in the pl. between the **u**- and **i**-decl.; s. § 120, n. 1.

Note 2. There is a noteworthy fluctuation between **u** and **au** (**áu**? cp. § 24, n. 4) in the terminations of the sing. All cases of this kind have been collected by Leo Meyer in his 'Got. Spr.', p. 574. **au** occurs for **u**: nom. **sunaus**; Lu. IV, 3; **faírhus**; Gal. VI, 14 (in cod. B = **faírhus** in cod. A); **Bartimaiaus**; Mt. X, 46; – acc. **handau**; Mk. VII, 32; **piudinassau**; Lu. IX, 27; **haírau**; Rom. XIII, 4 (in A = **haíru** in Cod. Car.); – voc. **sunau** (often), **magau**; Lu. II, 48.

Reversely we find **u** for **au**: gen. **daupus**; Lu. I, 79; **wulpus**; Rom. IX, 23; **apaustaulus**; II. Cor. XII, 12 (in A = **apaustaulaus** in B); dat. **wulpu**; Lu. IX, 26; **Paítru**; Gal. II, 7 (in A = **Paítrau** in B).

From the great number of examples, however, we infer that the above paradigm is by all means the regular one; the deviations just mentioned are merely owing to confusion on the part of later copyists. When a word occurs in two manuscripts, it generally has the correct form in one. Especially in Cod. Amb. A and in the gospel of Lu. the **u**-decl. is confused in this way. Cp. Beitr., 18, 2801.

## Neuters

§ 106. The word **faíhu**, *money* (orig. 'catl', = OHG. fihu) is the only neuter sb. of this class which occurs in several cases in the singular. No n. pl. is found.

|    |           |
|----|-----------|
| N. | faíhu     |
| G. | [faíháus] |
| D. | faíháu    |
| A. | faíhu     |

Note 1. Also **gairu**, *sting*, is n. It occurs only in the nom. sg. (II. Cor. XII, 7 in A, as a gloss to **hnûþô**). – The sb. **leipu**, *fruit-wine*, probably belongs here too; only the acc. sg. **leipu** occurs (Lu. I, 15); cp. Gallée (§ 223, n. 1), I, p. 38. – The acc. sg. **sihu**, a gloss to the neuter **sigis**, *victory*, in Cod. B I. Cor. XV, 57, is probably miswritten for **sigu** (because the **i** in **sihu** would have become **ai**) which may also belong to a masculine (nom. sg. **\*sigus** = OHG. *sigu*). But cp. J. Schmidt, 'Idg. Neutra', 153.

Note 2. The gen. **faíháus** has been inferred from the m. (f.) and from the adv. gen. **filaus** (§ 131, n. 3).

## B. N-DECLENSION (WEAK DECLENSION)

### 1. Masculins

§ 107. Paradim: **guma**, *man*.

|       |    |               |      |    |               |
|-------|----|---------------|------|----|---------------|
| Sing. | N. | <b>guma</b>   | Phr. | N. | <b>gumans</b> |
|       | G. | <b>gumins</b> |      | G. | <b>gumanê</b> |
|       | D. | <b>gumin</b>  |      | D. | <b>gumam</b>  |
|       | A. | <b>guman</b>  |      | A. | <b>gumans</b> |

§ 108. Like **guma** inflect a great many masculins; e. g., **staua**, *judge*; **hana**, *cock*; **skula**, *detter*; **mêna**, *moon*; **atta**, *father*; **ahma**, *spirit*; **blôma**, *flower*; **milhma**, *cloud*; **hluma**, *hearing*; **weiha**, *priest*; **swaihra**, *father-in-law*; **magula**, *lil boy*; pl. **brôprahans**, *brothers* (J. Schmidt, 'Idg. Neutra', 16); —**bandja**, *prisoner*; **haurnja**, *trumpeter*; **fiskja**, *fisher*; **timrja**, *carpenter*; **arbja**, *heir*; **wilja**, *wil*; **manamaúrþrja**, *(man-)murderer*; **waúrstwja**, *workman*.

Note 1. **aba**, *man*, has the gen. pl. **abnê**, dat. pl. **abnam**; of **aúhsa**, *ox*, occurs the gen. pl. **aúhsnê**. Cp. the neuters in § 110, n. 1. Onse (I. Cor. IX, 9) we meet with the acc. pl. **aúhsununs** which either stands for **aúhsuns** (according to § 80, n. 1; cp. Anz. fda. 6, 120) or for **aúhsnuns** (Beitr., 8, 115; 12, 543; Brgm., I, 203).

Note 2. The long stems in **-ja** do not contract the **ji** of the gen. and dat. sg. into **ei** (s. § 44, n. 1); hence, **bandja**, gen. **bandjins**, dat. **bandjin**.

### 2. Neuters

§ 109. Paradim: **haírtô**, *hart*.

|       |    |                 |      |    |                 |
|-------|----|-----------------|------|----|-----------------|
| Sing. | N. | <b>haírtô</b>   | Phr. | N. | <b>haírtôna</b> |
|       | G. | <b>haírtins</b> |      | G. | <b>haírtanê</b> |
|       | D. | <b>haírtin</b>  |      | D. | <b>haírtam</b>  |
|       | A. | <b>haírtô</b>   |      | A. | <b>haírtôna</b> |

§ 110. Like **haírtô** inflect but few substantivs: **augô**, *ey*; **ausô**, *ear*; **barnilô**, *lil child*; **auga-daúró**, *window*; **paírkô**, *hole, ear of a needl*; **kaurnô**, *corn*; **sigljô**, *seal*. Cp. J. Schmidt, 'Indog. Neutra', 106 et seq.

Also the weak adjectives (§ 132).

Note 1. Irregular forms occur in the pl. of the neuters **namô**, *name*, and **watô**, *water*. The sg. inflects like **haírtô**. Paradim:

|       |    |              |    |               |    |               |    |              |
|-------|----|--------------|----|---------------|----|---------------|----|--------------|
| Sing. | N. | <b>namô</b>  | G. | <b>namins</b> | D. | <b>namin</b>  | A. | <b>namô</b>  |
| Phr.  | N. | <b>namma</b> | G. | <b>namnê</b>  | D. | <b>nammam</b> | A. | <b>namma</b> |

The pl. of **watô** occurs only in the dat. **watnam**. Cp. § 108, n. 1.

Note 2. To the dat. sg. **sunnin** which occurs (twice) in the frase: **at sunnin urrinnandin** (Mk. IV, 6. XVI, 2), belongs perhaps a neuter **sunnô** (not a m. **sunna**),

beside the f. **sunno**, *sun* (§ 112). – Cp. Mahlow, 'Die langen vocale a, e, o', p. 156, and Sievers' comments on this in the appendix to the 3d G. edition of this grammar.

Note 3. The word **gajukô** which was formerly regarded as n., is f., 'a female companion'. Cp. Bernhardt's 'Vulfila', comment on Phil. IV, 3.

### 3. Feminins

§ 111. The feminins of the **n**-declension are divided into two classes: stems in **-ôn-** and **-ein-**. Their inflection is the same. Paradims: **tuggô**, *tung*; **managei**, *multitude*.

|       |    |         |           |
|-------|----|---------|-----------|
| Sing. | N. | tuggô   | managei   |
|       | G. | tuggôns | manageins |
|       | D. | tuggôn  | managein  |
|       | A. | tuggôn  | managein  |
| Phr.  | N. | tuggôns | manageins |
|       | G. | tuggônô | manageinô |
|       | D. | tuggôm  | manageim  |
|       | A. | tuggôns | manageins |

§ 112. Like **tuggô** inflect many substantivs; as, **qinô**, *woman, wife*; **ûhtwô**, *dawn*; **swaihrô**, *mother-in-law*; **azgô**, *ashes*; **gatwô**, *street*; **stairnô**, *star*; **wikô**, *week*; **sunno**, *sun* (cp. § 110, n. 2); —**arbjô**, *heiress*; **brunjô**, *brestplate*; **tainjô**, *basket*; **niþjô**, *female cuzin*; **raþjô**, *account*.

Note 1. Also the feminins of the weak adjectivs inflect like **tuggô** (§ 132).

§ 113. Nearly all substantivs inflecting like **managei** are derived from adjectivs. Such an abstract in **-ei** may be formed from every adjectiv, hence the great number of these words; e. g., **diupei**, *depth*; **laggei**, *length*; **bleipei**, *mercy*; **mikilei**, *greatness*; **braidei**, *breadth*; **frôdei**, *wisdom*; **hardu-hairtei**, *hard-heartedness*; **drugkanei**, *drunkenness*; sum can not be referred to corresponding adjs., but they likewise denote a state; e. g., **þaurstei**, *thirst*; **magapei**, *maidenhood*. But very few have a concrete meaning; as, **aipei**, *mother*; **þramstei**, *locust*; **kilpei**, *womb*; **marei**, *sea*; **hvaírnei**, *skull*.

Note 1. There is a close resemblance between adjectival abstracts in **-ei** and the verbal abstracts in **-eins** (cp. § 103, n. 1); e. g., **háuhei**, *height* (< **háuhs**), but **háuheins**, *a heightening, praise* (< **háuþjan**). Both have the acc. sg. **háuhein**.

In one case there is confusion. In Jo. X, 33 we meet with a gen. sg. **wajamêreins** (nom. **wajamêreins**, *blasfemy*) from which it is customary to infer a nom. **wajamêrei**, tho in its meaning such a form is impossible.

Note 2. In Cod. B. three nominativs sg. in **-ein** are found: **liuhadein**, *illumination*; II. Cor. IV, 4 (**liuhadeins** in A; comp. this passage in Bernhardt's 'Vulfila'); **wiljahalþein**, *favor*; Col. III, 25 (wanting in A); **gagudein**, *piety*; I. Tim. IV, 8 (**gagudei** in A).

Note 3. The comparativs, the superlativs in **-ma**, and the pres. participles form their feminin like **managei** (cp. § 132, n. 4).

## C. MINOR DECLENSIONS (REMAINS OF CONSONANTAL DECLENSIONS.)

§ 114. Nouns in **-r** denoting relationship. The words **brôþar**, *brother*; **daúhtar**, *daughter*; **swistar**, *sister*; **fadar**, *father*, hav replaced their old consonantal inflection in the nom., acc., and dat. pl. with the forms of the **u**-declension (§ 104). Paradim:

|       |    |        |      |          |
|-------|----|--------|------|----------|
| Sing. | N. | brôþar | Phr. | brôþrjus |
|       | G. | brôþrs |      | brôþrê   |
|       | D. | brôþr  |      | brôþrum  |
|       | A. | brôþar |      | brôþrums |

Note. Cp. the cpd. **brôþru-lubô**, *brotherly lov* (§ 88<sup>a</sup>, n. 3; § 210, n. 1).

§ 115. The present participles in Gothic inflect like weak adjectives (§ 133). An older (substantival) inflection, however, persists with sum participles used substantively. Paradim: **nasjands**, *savior*.

|       |    |           |      |           |
|-------|----|-----------|------|-----------|
| Sing. | N. | nasjands  | Phr. | nasjands  |
|       | G. | nasjandis |      | nasjandê  |
|       | D. | nasjand   |      | nasjandam |
|       | A. | nasjand   |      | nasjands  |
|       | V. | nasjand   |      | —         |

Furthermore: **fijands**, *fiend*; **frijônnds**, *frend* (> **frijônndi**, § 98), **daupjands**, *the Baptist*; **mêrjands**, *preacher*; **bisitands**, *neighbor*; **talzjands**, *teacher*; **-waldands**, *ruler* (**all-w.**, *the Almighty*; **garda-w.**, *master of the house*); **fraweitands**, *avenger*; **fraujinônnds**, *ruler*; **midumônnds**, *mediator*; **gibands**, *giver*. Cp. Zs. fdph., 5, 315.

§ 116. A number of feminins following in sum cases the **i**-decl. (**ansts**, § 102) appear in others as short forms which are remains of an old consonantal inflection. Paradim: **baúrgs**, (*burg*), *town, city*.

|       |    |        |      |            |
|-------|----|--------|------|------------|
| Sing. | N. | baúrgs | Phr. | N. baúrgs  |
|       | G. | baúrgs |      | G. baúrgê  |
|       | D. | baúrg  |      | D. baúrgim |
|       | A. | baúrg  |      | A. baúrgs  |

Like **baúrgs** inflect also **alhs**, *templ*; **spaúrds**, *race-course*; **brusts**, *brest*; **dulps**, *feast*; **waihts**, *thing*; **miluks**, *milk*; **mitaps** (**d**), *mezure*.

The word **nahts**, *night*, inflects in the sg. like **baúrgs**, in the pl. only the dat. **nahtam** is found. Cp. **nahta-mats**, § 88a, n. 3.

Note 1. **waihts** and **dulps** chiefly follow the **i**-declension; hence, g. sg. **waihtais**, **dulpais**. According to the cons. declension occur once each the dat. sg. **dulp** and acc. pl. **waihts**. Beside **waihts** there is a n. nom. sg. **waiht** in the combination **ni-waiht**, *nothing*.

§ 117. Masculins with short (consonantal) cases: **manna**, *man*; **mênôþs**, *month*; **reiks**, *ruler*; **weitwôds**, *witness* (cp. § 74, n. 2). But in point of inflection they are not fully alike.

(1) **manna** follows in sum cases the **n**-decl. (**guma**, § 107). These cases are here put in Italics:

|       |    |               |      |    |                      |
|-------|----|---------------|------|----|----------------------|
| Sing. | N. | <i>manna</i>  | Phr. | N. | <i>mans, manmans</i> |
|       | G. | <i>mans</i>   |      | G. | <i>mannê</i>         |
|       | D. | <i>mann</i>   |      | D. | <i>manmani</i>       |
|       | A. | <i>manman</i> |      | A. | <i>mans, manmans</i> |

Note 1. To **manna** belongs the cpd. \***alamans** (*all men*), found in the dat. pl. **alamannam** (Skeir.) only; also the neuter **gaman** (*companion, company*) which inflects, however, in all the extant forms (nom. acc. sg. **gaman**, dat. sg. **gamana**, dat. pl. **gamanam**) precisely like **waúrd** (§ 93).

Note 2. In composition the stem **mana-** (**man-**) appears; s. § 88a, n. 3.

(2) **mênôps** and **reiks** follow in the g. sg. the a-decl.: **mênôpis**, **reikis**, but in the dat. sg. the short forms **mênôp** and **reik** (Eph. II, 2) occur. In the nom. acc. pl. the short forms **mênôps** and **reiks** are used; gen. pl. **reikê**. In the dat. pl. **mênôpum**, but **reikam**. – Beside the nom. sg. **weitwôds** there occur the acc. sg. **weitwôd** and the g. pl. **weitwôdê**.

Note 3. The g. sg. **mênôpis** (Neh. VI, 15) is not quite certain; Löbe reads **mênôps**.

Note 4. Here belongs also the nom. **bajôps**, dat. **bajôpum**, *both* (s. § 140, n. 1).

§ 118. The neuter **fôn**, *fire*, has this form in the nom. acc. sg., but **funins** in the gen., and **funin** in the dat. – No plural occurs. Cp. § 12, n. 3.

Note 1. Concerning the neuter genitives **gups** and **hatis**, s. § 94, n. 3, and § 94, n. 5, respectively.

## APPENDIX. DECLENSION OF FOREN WORDS

§ 119. A number of foren words from the Latin and Greek were fully adopted into the Gothic language thru commercial and political intercourse, so that their inflection is the same as that of purely Gothic words; e. g., **pund**, n., *pound*; **marikreitus**, m., *perl*; **Krêks**, m., *Greek*; **karkara**, f., *'carcer'*; **alêw**, n., *oil*; **kaisar**, m., *Cæsar*.

§ 120. A second portion of foren words were at a later period forced on the Gothic language by Christianity and especially by the version of the Bible. To these belong for the most part proper nouns which are still felt to be foren elements and have but imperfectly adopted the Gothic inflection. For their treatment in Gothic no fixed rules can be given. Sometimes they retain their Greek inflection, sometimes they take either similar or arbitrarily formed case-endings. – Cp. Bernhardt's 'Vulfila', p. XXVIII, and especially M. H. Jellinek, 'Beitr. zur Erklärung der german. flexion' (Berlin 1891), pp. 76-84.

Note 1. Most consistent is the treatment of the Gr. masculines in – ος, Lt. – us, which inflect in Gothic according to the u-decl. (§§ 104, 105); e. g., **Paítrus**, **Barþaúlaúmaius**, **Teitus**, **aípiskaúpus**, ἐπίσκοπος; **apaústaúlus**, ἀπόστολος; **aggilus**, ἄγγελος; **sabbatus**, *sabbath*. But only in the sg. pl. forms follow mostly the i-decl.; e. g., **apaústaúleis**, **sabbatins**, **aggileis**, **aggilê** beside **aggiljus**.

Note 2. Greek case-endings are retained in the neuters **alabalstraún**, ἀλάβαστρον; **praitôriaún**, πραιτώριον, etc.; **Israêleitês** has the nom. pl. **Israêleitai** = Ἰσραηλῖται; Rom. IX, 4; or (with Gothic inflection) **Israêleiteis**; II. Cor. XI, 22.

Note 3. The following exampl may illustrate arbitrary inflection. The Gr. ἐπιστολή is represented in Goth. by **aípistaúlê** (nom. sg.). But the dat. sg. is **aípistaúlein**, the dat. pl. **aípistaúlêṃ**, and the acc. pl. **aípistaúlans**.



## CHAP. II. DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVS

§ 121. In Gothic, as in all other Germanic languages, adjectivs hav two kinds of inflection, the strong and the weak. The strong inflection is the original one corresponding to that of the cognate languages, the weak originated on Germanic soil. Every normal adj. may hav both a strong and a weak inflection. The distinction is a syntactic one: the weak form is employd after the articl (rarely in other positions), the strong form in all other cases, especially when the adj. is uzed predicatively, or attributivly without the articl. Cp. Zs. fda., 18, 17-43.

### A. STRONG ADJECTIVS

§ 122. The strong inflection of adjectivs is in part the same as the vocalic (or strong) inflection of the substantivs with which it was originally identical. In Germanic, however, sum cases of the adj. hav adopted the pronominal inflection, so that the identity between the adjectival inflection and that of the substantivs is now confined to certain cases. The nom. and acc. sg. of the neuter gender hav two forms of the same value, a substantival and a pronominal one (in **-ata**). The latter, however, is not uzed predicatively.

The Gothic adjectiv, like the substantiv, has three vocalic declensions: (1) Adjectivs of the **a**-declension which correspond to the substantival **a**-declension in the m. and n. (§ 89 et seq.) and in the f. of the **ô**-declension (§ 96 et seq.). – A subdivision is formd by the **ja**-stems, just as in the case of the corresponding substantivs. (2) Adjectivs of the **i**-declension which correspond to the substantivs in §§ 99-103. (3) Adjectivs of the **u**-declension belonging to the substantivs in §§ 104-106.

Classes (2) and (3), however, contain but very few remains in Gothic. The few adjectival **ja**-stems hav in most of the inflectional cases past over to the 1st class, so that the normal strong declension of the adjectivs in Gothic embraces only the **a**-declension and its subdivision, the **ja**-stems.

Note. Subject to strong inflection ar all pronouns (except **sama** and **silba**, § 132, n. 3), the cardinal numbers, inasmuch as they inflect adjectivly, and **anþar**, *the second*; also the adjectivs of a more general meaning: **alls**, *all*; **ganôhs**, *enuf*; **halbs**, *half*; **midjis**, *'medius'*; **fulls**, *ful*.

§ 123. Paradim of the strong adjectival declension: **blinds**, *blind*. The pronominal forms differing from the inflection of the corresponding substantivs ar in the following paradim put in Italics:

|       | M.                  | N.                     | F.                |
|-------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Sing. | N. <b>blinds</b>    | <i>blind, blindata</i> | <b>blinda</b>     |
|       | G. <b>blindis</b>   |                        | <i>blindaižôs</i> |
|       | D. <i>blindamma</i> |                        | <b>blindai</b>    |
|       | A. <i>blindana</i>  | <b>blind, blindata</b> | <b>blinda</b>     |
| Phr.  |                     |                        |                   |
|       | N. <i>blindai</i>   | <b>blinda</b>          | <b>blindôs</b>    |
|       | G. <i>blindaižê</i> |                        | <i>blindaižôs</i> |
|       | D. <i>blindaim</i>  |                        | <i>blindaim</i>   |
|       | A. <b>blindans</b>  | <b>blinda</b>          | <b>blindôs</b>    |

§ 124. Here belong most of the extant adjectivs; e. g., **hails**, *hole, helthy*; **siuks**, *sik*; **juggs**, *yung*; **triggws**, *tru, faithful*; **swinþs**, *strong*; **ubils**, *evil*; **aiweins**, *eternal*; **haiþiwisks**, *wild*; **mahteigs**, *mighty*; **ansteigs**, *gracious*; **manags**, *much, many*; **môdags**, *angry*; **handugs**, *wise*. – Also adjectiv pronouns; as, **meins**, *mine, my*; **þeins**, *thine, thy*; **seins**, *his*; **jains**, *yun*; the superlativs (§ 137) and pps. pass.; as, **numans**, *taken*; **nasipþs**, *saved* (cp. § 134).

Note 1. According to § 78, n. 2, the *s* of the nom. sg. is dropt, (1) after *s*; e. g., **swêš**, **swêšis**, *own*; **gaqiss**, **gaqissis**, *consenting*. (2) after *r* preceded by a short vowel: **anþar**, *the second, the other*; **unsar**, *our*; **izwar**, *your*; **hvaþar**, *which of the two*. Accordingly, the nom. pl. **warai** must hav had a nom. sg. **war**, *wary*.

Note 2. The rules for the hardening of final soft spirants (79) must be noted; as, **frôþs**, **frôðis**, *wise*; **gôþs**, **gôðis**, *good* (§ 74); **liufs**, **liubis**, *dear*; **daufs**, **daubis**, *def* (§ 56, n. 1).

Note 3. Stems having a *w* before the case-endings ar subject to the rule for final *w* (§ 42) in the nom. sg. m. and n. The three words of this kind occur only in other cases. Therefore the noms. pl. **fawai**, **qiwai**, **usskawai** suggest as noms. sg. m. and n. **faus**, **fau**, *few*; **qius**, **qiu**, *alive*; **usskaus**, **usskau**, *wakeful*. According to **usskawjan** (*to awake*, § 42, n. 2), also **usskaws** might be supposed insted of **usskaus**. For **lasiws**, s. § 42, n. 1.

Note 4. The pronominal adjectivs in *-ar*: **unsar**, **izwar**, **anþar**, **hvaþar**, hav in the n. sg. only the shorter forms: **unsar**, **izwar**, etc.

§ 125. Adjectiv-stems with *ja* before the endings (*ja*-stems) hav most of their forms like the paradim **blinds**. Only in few forms a change is caused by the *j*. As in the case of nouns, we distinguish between short and long adjectival *ja*-stems.

Paradim of a short *ja*-stem: **midjis**, *midl*:

|       |             |               |           |
|-------|-------------|---------------|-----------|
|       | M.          | N.            | F.        |
|       | N. midjis   | midi, midjata | midja     |
| Sing. | G. midjis   |               | midjaizôs |
|       | D. midjamma |               | midjai    |
|       | A. midjana  | midi, midjata | midja     |
| Phr.  |             |               |           |
|       | N. midjai   | midja         | midjôs    |
|       | G. midjaizê |               | midjaizô  |
|       | D. midjaim  |               | midjaim   |
|       | A. midjans  | midja         | midjôs    |

§ 126. As regards inflection, the m. **midjis** is closely related to the substantiv **harjis** (§§ 90. 92), the n. **midi** to the substantiv **kuni** (§§ 93. 95). The fem. **midja** shows no deviation whatever.

Only a small number of adjectivs belong to this class: **aljis**, *another*; **sunjis**, *tru*; **ga-wiljis**, *unanimous*; **unsibjis**, *criminal*; **-frapjis**, *minded* (only in **grinda-**, **sama-fr.**); **hvarjis** (§ 160); also those whose stems end in a vowel (§ 44, c): **niujis**, *new*; **-tôjis**, *doing* (as, **ubiltôjis**, *evil-doing*).

Note 1. On account of the small number of these adjs. sum forms of the abuv paradim ar not extant. Thus, the short form of the neuter **midi** is givn in conformity with the long stems (§ 127), and that of **niujis** would be **niwi**; only **niujata** occurs; the n. of **-tôjis** would be **-taúi** (§ 26, a).

Note 2. The adj. – stem **frija-**, *free*, which occurs in the f. sg. **frija**, **frijaizôs**, **frijai**, **frija**, and in the m. forms, acc. sg. **frijana**, nom. pl. **frijai**, acc. **frijans**, has a contracted nom. sg. m. **freis** (for **frijis**). Also the gen. sg., if extant, would be **freis**.

Note 3. The nom. sg. f. of **niujis** is **niuja** (contrary to **piwi**, § 98, n. 1).

§ 127. The long *ja*-stems inflect in the pl. like **midjis**. Paradim **wilpeis** (stem **wilþja-**), *wild*, in the sg.:

|       |    |                       |                 |              |
|-------|----|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|
|       |    | M.                    | N.              | F.           |
|       | N. | wilpeis               | wilpi, wilpjata | wilpi        |
| Sing. | G. | [wilpeis or wilpjis?] |                 | [wilpjaizós] |
|       | D. | wilpjamma             |                 | wilpjai      |
|       | A. | wilpjana              | wilpi, wilpjata | wilpja       |

§ 128. The infl. of the m. is related to that of the sb. **haírdeis** (§§ 90. 92), the infl. of the f. to that of **bandi** (§§ 96. 98; only **wôpi** occurs; II. Cor. II, 15). None of the few adjs. of this class occurs in the gen. sg.; **wilpjis** (Rom. XI, 24) probably stands for **wilpjins**; s. § 132, n. 1.

Further examples: **alpeis**, *old*; **faírneis**, *old*; **aírzeis**, *astray*; **wôpeis**, *sweet*.

§ 129. According to § 122, only remains of the original adjs. of the **i**- and **u**-declension are extant in Gothic, viz.: nom. sg. of all genders, acc. sg. n., and gen. sg. m. and n. All other extant cases have past over to the inflection of the **ja**-stems (§§ 125-127). The same rule applies to the weak forms (§ 132, n. 1).

Note. The old form of the gen. sg. [m.] n. is seen in **skeiris** (Skeir. 45) for the **i**-decl., in **filaus** (§ 131, n. 3) for the **u**-decl.; the latter, of course, is only a partial proof for the adj.

§ 130. The adjectival **i**-stems are connected with the substantives **balgs**, **anst** (§§ 99-103). Examples: **hrains**, *clean*; **gamains**, *common*; **brûks**, *useful*; **analaugns**, *hidn*; **anasiums**, *visibl*; **andanêms**, *agreeabl*; **andasêts**, *abominabl*; **sêls**, *kind* (**unsêls**, *wicked*); **suts**, *sweet*; **skeirs**, *clear*; **gafâurs**, *sober* (**unfâurs**, *talkativ*); **aljakuns**, *of different kind*. The paradigm **hrains** inflects thus:

|       |      |            |                   |               |
|-------|------|------------|-------------------|---------------|
|       |      | M.         | N.                | F.            |
|       | N.   | hrains     | hrain [hrainjata] | hrains        |
| Sing. | G.   | [hrainis]  |                   | [hrainjaizós] |
|       | D.   | hrainjamma |                   | hrainjai      |
|       | A.   | hrainjana  | hrain [hrainjata] | hrainja       |
|       | Phr. |            |                   |               |
|       | N.   | hrainjai   | hrainja           | hrainjôs      |
|       |      | etc.       |                   |               |

Note 1. A gen. sg. f. as well as a longer n. form (like **hrainjata**) are not extant.

Note 2. A word may with certainty be referred to this class, (1) if it occurs in the nom. sg. f. (**hrains**), (2) if besides the nom. sg. m. and n. also cases with **j** are found. But if only the nominatives m. and n. (**hrains**, **hrain**) occur, the word may inflect like **blinds** (123); if only **j**-cases (as, **hrainjamma**) are found, it may decline like **wilpeis**, **midjis** (§§ 127. 125). – Other adjectives, however, are without sufficient proof, but for other considerations, included in this class; e. g., **skauns**, *beautiful*; **aups**, *desolate, waste*; **hauns**, *base*; **bleips**, *merciful*; **gadôfs**, *fit*; **\*mêrs**, *famous* (in **wailamêr**, nom. sg. n.). – Cp. Kluge, Stammbildg., §§ 178. 197. 229-231; Beitr., 14, 167; 15, 489; Brgm., II, 287.

Note 3. Adjectival **i**-stems may be inferred from adverbs in **-iba** (§ 210); e. g., **arniba**, **gatêmiba**.

§ 131. The adjectival **u**-stems are related to the substantives **sunus** (fem. **handus**), **faíhu** (§§ 104-106). Examples: **hardus**, *hard*; **qaírrus**, *meek*; **paúrsus**, *dry*; **tulgus**, *steadfast*; **manwus**, *redy*; **aggwus**, *narrow*; **aglus**, *difficult*; **seipus**, *late*; **plaqus**, *tender*; **twalibwintrus**, *twelv years* (lit. *winters*) *old*. Paradigm **hardus**:

|       |      |             |                 |              |
|-------|------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|
|       |      | M.          | N.              | F.           |
|       | N.   | hardus      | hardu, hardjata | hardus       |
| Sing. | G.   | [hardaus?]  |                 | [hardjaizôs] |
|       | D.   | [hardjamma] |                 | [hardjai]    |
|       | A.   | hardjana    | hardu, hardjata | hardja       |
|       | Phr. |             |                 |              |
| N.    |      | hardjai     | [hardja]        | hardjôs      |
|       | etc. |             |                 |              |

Note 1. Whether adjectives belong to this class is seen from the nom. sg. in which the abuv adduced examples occur (the only f. forms being **paúrsus** and **tulgus**; Beitr., 15, 570; 16, 318). **laushandus**, *empty-handed*; **hnasqus**, *soft*; **kaúrus**, *heavy*, ar merely inferd from their **ja**-cases.

Note 2. From the adv. **glaggwuba** (§ 210) an adj. **glaggwus** (§ 68) can be inferd.

Note 3. The original adj. **\*filus**, *much*, is preservd in Goth. in the nom. acc. sg. n. uzed substantivly and adverbially: **filu**, the gen. **filaus** being uzed adverbially.

## B. WEAK ADJECTIVS

§ 132. The weak declension of adjectivs is fully identical with the weak or **n**-declension of nouns (§§ 107-112). But it must be noticed that the f. of the weak adj. inflects like the paradigm **tuggô** (cp. § 112, n. 1). – Examl of an inflected weak adj. (**blinds**, § 123):

|       |      |          |          |          |
|-------|------|----------|----------|----------|
|       |      | M.       | N.       | F.       |
|       | N.   | blinda   | blindô   | blindô   |
| Sing. | G.   | blindins |          | blindóns |
|       | D.   | blindin  |          | blindón  |
|       | A.   | blindan  | blindô   | blindón  |
|       | Phr. |          |          |          |
|       | N.   | blindans | blindóna | blindóns |
|       | G.   | blindanê |          | blindónô |
|       | D.   | blindam  |          | blindóm  |
|       | A.   | blindans | blindóna | blindóns |

Note 1. Like **blinda** inflect all weak adjectivs. Of **ja**-stems: nom. sg. **niuja**, **niuĵô**, **niuĵô** (cp. § 126), **wilþja** (§ 127); —**i**-stems: **hrainja**, **hrainĵô**; **u**-stems: **hardja**, **hardĵô** (cp. § 129 et seq.). – In the cases with **i** (gen. dat. sg. m. n.) of the long stems in **-ja** (**-i**-, **-u**-) the forms with **-ji**- appear as the regular ones (as in the sb., § 108, n. 2; contrary to § 44, c); cp. **wilþji(n)s**; Rom. XI, 24; **unhrainjin**; Mk. IX, 25. Lu. VIII, 29; **unsêljjin**; Mt. V, 39. Jo. XVII, 15. But beside **unsêljins**; Eph. VI, 16 (in A) **unsêleins** (in B); beside **faírnjin**; Mk. II, 21. Lu. V, 36, also **faírnin**; II. Cor. VIII, 10. IX, 2.

Note 2. Sum adjectivs occur only in the weak forms; as, **usgrudja**, *idle*, *despondent*; **alaparba**, *poor*; **usfaírina**, *blameless*; **inkilþô**, *pregnant*, and a few more of which sum ar probably to be regarded as substantivs (cp. Zs. fda., 18, 41, note). – The weak form **ainaha** (no strong form occurs), *only*, has in Lu. VIII, 42 the nom. sg. f. **ainôhō** (cp. Beitr., 12, 203) which is certainly incorrect for **ainahô**.

Note 3. All ordinals except 1st and 2nd (cp. § 146), and the prns. **sama** and **silba** (§ 156) follow the weak inflection only.

Note 4. Lastly, the prs. ptc. (§ 133), comparativs (§ 136), and the superlativs in **-ma** (§ 139) inflect exclusivly like weak adjs. But all these words hav the f. according to the paradim **managei** (§ 113, n. 3).

## C. DECLENSION OF THE PARTICIPLS

§ 133. The present participi has lost its strong inflection and declines like a weak adj., but with the f. in **-ei** (§ 132, n. 4). Only the nom. sg. m. has frequently both the strong and the weak inflection. Paradim **gibands**, *giving*:

|       |    |           |           |             |
|-------|----|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| Sing. |    | M.        | N.        | F.          |
|       | N. | gibands   | gibandô   | gibande i   |
|       |    | gibanda   |           |             |
|       | G. | gibandins |           | gibande ins |
|       | D. | gibandin  |           | gibande in  |
|       | A. | gibandan  | gibandô   | gibande in  |
| Phr.  |    |           |           |             |
|       | N. | gibandans | gibandôna | gibande ins |
|       | G. | gibandane |           | gibande inô |
|       | D. | gibandam  |           | gibande im  |
|       | A. | gibandans | gibandôna | gibande ins |

Note 1. Concerning the shorter inflection of sum participis used substantivly, s. § 115.

§ 134. The prt. ptc. pass., like an ordinary adj., follows the strong and weak inflection; e. g., the pp. of the stv. **giban**:

|         |    |               |    |                        |    |               |
|---------|----|---------------|----|------------------------|----|---------------|
| Strong: | m. | <b>gibans</b> | n. | <b>giban, gibanata</b> | f. | <b>gibana</b> |
| Weak:   |    | <b>gibana</b> |    | <b>gibanô</b>          |    | <b>gibanô</b> |

The pp. of the wv. **nasjan**:

|         |               |    |                        |    |               |
|---------|---------------|----|------------------------|----|---------------|
| Strong: | <b>nasips</b> | n. | <b>nasip, nasidata</b> | f. | <b>nasida</b> |
| Weak:   | <b>nasida</b> |    | <b>nasidô</b>          |    | <b>nasidô</b> |

Note. Concerning the interchange between **p** and **d** in the pp. of the weak verbs, s. § 74.

## D. COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVS

### 1. COMPARATIV

§ 135. The comparativ degree of adjectivs in Gothic is formd by means of two suffixes, **-iz-** and **-ôz-**, to which the terminations of the weak adjectivs ar added.

The formation with the suff. **-iz-** is more general than the other. It is found in adjs. of all kinds; e. g., **managiza** (< **manags**, a-stem), **alpiza** (< **alpeis**, §§ 127. 128), **hardiza** (< **hardus**, § 131). – But the suffix **-ôz-** occurs in a-stems only: **frôdôza** (< **frôps**), **swinpôza** (< **swinps**).

Note. The adj. **juggs**, *yung*, has the compar. **jûhiza** (according to § 50, n. 1). Its superlativ is not extant.

§ 136. The comparativs inflect exactly like weak adjectivs, but the f. ends in **-ei** (§ 132, n. 4):

|       |    |            |             |             |
|-------|----|------------|-------------|-------------|
| Sing. | N. | m. frôðôza | n. frôðôzô  | f. frôðôzei |
|       | G. | frôðôzins  | frôðôzeins, |             |

etc., like the prs. ptc. (§ 133).

## 2. SUPERLATIV

§ 137. The superlativ degree, like the comparativ, is formd in two ways, in **-ist-** or in **-ôst-**; e. g., **managists** (< **manags**), **armôsts** (< **arms**, *poor*). The inflection of the superlativs is precisely the same as that of ordinary adjectivs – strong and weak.

Note. No rule can be givn for the appearance of the **ô** or the **i** in the suffix, except that the **ô**-form occurs only with **a**-stems. We may suppose that a word which forms the compar. by means of **i**, has **i** in the superl. also, and that, in like manner, the **ô**-forms correspond to each other. This supposition, however, is only founded on a few extant exampls.

## 3. IRREGULAR COMPARISON

§ 138. The lack of comparison of sum adjectivs is supplied by comparativs and superlativs with a corresponding meaning, but without a positiv:

|                              |         |                 |         |                 |
|------------------------------|---------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|
| <b>gôps</b> (d), <i>good</i> | Compar. | <b>batiza</b>   | Superl. | <b>batists</b>  |
| <b>ubils</b> , <i>evil</i>   | "       | <b>wairsiza</b> | "       | —               |
| <b>mikils</b> , <i>great</i> | "       | <b>maiza</b>    | "       | <b>maists</b>   |
| <b>leitils</b> , <i>litl</i> | "       | <b>minniza</b>  | "       | <b>minnists</b> |
| <b>sineigs</b> , <i>old</i>  | "       | —               | "       | <b>sinista</b>  |

§ 139. A superlativ with an **m**-suffix is found in six words, which ar derived from adverbial stems and appear without a positiv. The **m**-suffix is either simpl: **fru-ma**, **innu-ma**, **aúhu-ma**, or compound: **af-tuma**, **if-tuma**, **hlel-duma**.

Two of them hav assumed a comparativ meaning: **aúhuma**, *higher*; **hlel-duma**, *left* (ἀριστερός); the others hav a superlativ or an intensiv signification: **aftuma**, *the last*; **iftuma**, *the next*; **innuma**, *the inmost*; **fruma**, *the first*.

These words follow the weak inflection, but hav the f. in **-ei**, exactly like the comparativs.

Note. Sum superlativs in **-ma** ar compared anew in the uzual manner: **aftumists**, *the last*; **aúhumists**, oftener than **aúhmists** (cp. OE. *ymest*, Sievers-Cook, OE. Gr., § 314, n. 3), *the highest*; **frumists**, *the first*. – The forms **hindumists**, *hindmost*, **spêdumists**, *last* (< \***spêps**, beside **spêdiza**, **spêdists**), suggest the missing **hinduma** and **spêduma**. Also **miduma**, **midst**, **midumônds**, *mediator*, point to a form \***miduma**, *midl* (cp. OE. *meodume*, *midmest*).



## CHAP. III. NUMERALS

### 1. CARDINALS

§ 140. The first three numerals are declinable in all cases and genders.

1. **ains**, n. **ain** and **ainata**, f. **aina**, inflects entirely like a strong adj. (**blinds**, § 123). Plural forms mean *only, alone*. No weak inflection is found. (§ 122, n. 1).

|    | M.                | N.           | F.           |
|----|-------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 2. | N. <b>twai</b>    | <b>twā</b>   | <b>twōs</b>  |
|    | G. <b>twaddjē</b> | —            | —            |
|    | D. <b>twaim</b>   | —            | <b>twaim</b> |
|    | A. <b>twans</b>   | <b>twā</b>   | <b>twōs</b>  |
|    | N. —              | <b>þrija</b> | —            |
| 3. | G. <b>þrijē</b>   | —            | —            |
|    | D. <b>þrim</b>    | —            | —            |
|    | A. <b>þrins</b>   | <b>þrija</b> | <b>þrins</b> |

The nom. of the m. and f., which is not extant, may with certainty be given as **preis**.

Note. The definite dual number '*both*', ἀμφότεροι, is rendered by **bai**, which inflects like **twai**. The extant forms are nom. m. **bai**, dat. **baim**, acc. **bans**, nom. acc. n. **ba**. — There occurs also an extended form with the same meaning, its inflection being that of a consonantal substantiv (§ 117, n. 4): nom. **bajōþs**, dat. **bajōþum**.

§ 141. The numerals from 4 to 19 are of one gender. Extant are: **fidwôr**, 4; **fimf**, 5; **saíhs**, 6; **sibun**, 7; **ahtau**, 8; **niun**, 9; **taíhun**, 10; **ainlif** (§ 56, n. 1), 11; **twalif**, 12; **fidwôrtaíhun**, 14; **fimftaíhun**, 15. These numerals are used uninflected, but may take an inflected gen. and dat. according to the i-declension (§ 99 et seq.). Thus, **fidwôr**, dat. **fidwôrim**; **niun**, gen. **niunê**; **taíhun**, dat. **taíhunim**; **ainlif**, dat. **ainlibim**; **twalif**, gen. **twalibê**, dat. **twalibim**.

Note. For **fidwôr** appears **fidur-** (s. § 24, n. 2) in compounds: **fidurfalþs**, *fourfold*; **fidurdôgs**, *time of four days*; **fidurragineis**, *tetrarch*. Cp. Beitr., 6, 394; Brgm., III, 11.

§ 142. The tens from 20 to 60 are formed by means of the pl. **tigjus** (< \***tigus**, *a decad*), preceded by the units. **tigjus** inflects regularly like **sunus** (§ 104). The object counted is always given in the gen. — **twai tigjus**, 20; \***preis tigjus**, 30 (extant in gen. **þrijê tigiwê**, acc. **þrins tiguns**), **fidwôr tigjus**, 40; **fimf tigjus**, 50; **saíhs tigjus**, 60.

§ 143. From 70 to 100 **-têhund** takes the place of **tigjus**: **sibuntêhund**, 70; **ahtautêhund**, 80; **niuntêhund**, 90; **taíhuntehund** and **taíhuntaíhund**, 100. The numerals in **-têhund** are substantives which are as a rule indeclinable. Onse (Lu. XV, 7) we meet with an inflected gen. sg.; **in niuntêhundis jah niunê garaíhtaizê**. — Cp. Brgm., III, 40.

§ 144. The hundreds are formed by means of the plural of a neuter **hund** (*a hundred*). The following are extant: **twā hunda**, 200; **þrija hunda**, 300; **fimf hunda**, 500; **niun hunda**, 900.

§ 145. **þūsundi**, 1000, is a f. sb. (inflecting like **bandi**, § 96), with a gen. pl.; several thousands are expressed by **þūsundjōs**. — Onse (Ezra II, 14) occurs a n. pl. **twā þūsundja**. Cp. ahd. gr., § 275. OE. Gr., § 327, and Mahlow, 'Die langen Vocale', p. 98.

The extant thousands are: **twōs þūsundjōs**, 2000; **.g. þūsundjōs**, 3000; **fidwôr þūsundjōs**, 4000; **fimf þūsundjōs**, 5000; **taíhun þ.**, 10000; **miþ twaim tīgum** (dat.) **þūsundjō** (gen.), *with 20000*.

Note (to §§ 141-145). The numerals are very often denoted by letters (cp. § 1, n. 2). Therefore so many words for numerals are wanting.

## 2. ORDINALS

§ 146. The first two ordinals differ in point of stem from the corresponding cardinals. 1. m. **fruma**, n. **frumô**, f. **frumei** (s. § 139), and the superl. **frumists**, *first* (§ 139, n. 1). 2. **anþar**, *second, other*, inflects like a strong adj. (§ 122, n. 1; § 124, ns. 1. 4). – All subsequent ordinals are derived from the cardinals and inflect like weak adjectives (§ 132, n. 3). The extant ordinals are: **þridja**, *3d*; **\*fimfta** (only in 15th), *fifth*; **saíhsta**, *6th*; **ahtuda**, *8th*; **niunda**, *9th*; **taíhunda**, *tenth*; **fimftataíhunda**, *15th*. Only the second component is declined: dat. sg. (**in jêra**) **fimftataíhundin**; Lu. III, 1.

## 3. OTHER NUMERALS

§ 147. A distributive numeral is **tweihnai**, *two apiece, two-and-two*, extant in the dat. f. **tweihnaim** and acc. f. **tweihnôs**.

Note. All other distributives are expressed by means of the cardinals along with **hwazuh**, **hwarjizuh** (§§ 164. 165) or the prep. **bi**; as (**insandida ins**) **twans hwanzuh**, *two and two*; Lu. X, 1; **bi twans**; I. Cor. XIV, 27.

§ 148. Multiplicatives are formed by means of the adj. **falþ-**: **ainfalþs**, *onefold*; **fidurfalþs**, *fourfold*; **taíhuntaíhund-falþs**, *hundredfold*; **managfalþs**, *manifold*.

§ 149. Numeral adverbs answering the question 'how many times', 'how often'? are expressed by the dat. sg. **sinþa** or by the dat. pl. **sinþam** (nom. sg. **sinþs**, *time*, lit. 'a going') preceded by the cardinals: **ainamma sinþa**, *once*; **twaim sinþam**, *twice*; **þrim sinþam**, *thrice*; **fimf s.**, *five times*; **sibun s.**, *seven times*. – With an ordinal numeral: **anparamma sinþa**, *a second time*.

Note. Also the n. **þridjô**, *a third time*, is used adverbially (II. Cor. XII, 14).

## CHAP. IV. PRONOUNS

### 1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS WITHOUT GENDER (REFLEXIV)

§ 150.

|       |    | 1. Person. | 2. Person. | Reflexiv. |
|-------|----|------------|------------|-----------|
| Sing. | N. | ik         | þu         | —         |
|       | G. | meina      | þeina      | seina     |
|       | D. | mis        | þus        | sis       |
|       | A. | mik        | þuk        | sik       |
| Dual  | N. | wit        | —          | —         |
|       | G. | ugkara     | igqara     | seina     |
|       | D. | ugkis      | igqis      | sis       |
|       | A. | ugkis, ugk | igqis      | sik       |
| Phr.  | N. | weis       | jus        | —         |
|       | G. | unsara     | izwara     | seina     |
|       | D. | uns, unsis | izwis      | sis       |
|       | A. | uns, unsis | izwis      | sik       |

Note 1. **ugkis**, **igqis**, etc., are also speld **uggkis**, **iggqis**; cp. § 67, n. 1.

Note 2. The nom. du. 2nd pers. is not extant; it was undoubtedly **jut**. For **jus** (**jûs?**), s. § 15, n. 1.

§ 151. From the stems of these pronouns adjectives are derived, the so-called possessive pronouns. 1st pers.: m. **meins**, n. **mein**, **meinata**; f. **meina**, *my (mine)*; 2nd pers.: **þeins**, *thy (thine)*; refl. **seins**, *his*. Plurals: 1st pers. **unsar**, *our*; 2nd pers. **izwar**, *your*. The only extant dual poss. prn. is **igqar**, the 1st pers. would be **ugkar**.

Note 1. The inflection of these pronominal adjectives is identical with that of the strong adj.; concerning **unsar**, **izwar**, cp. § 124, ns. 1 and 4. — No weak inflection occurs.

Note 2. The reflexive **\*seins** occurs only in the gen., dat., acc.; instead of the nominatives of all genders and numbers the genitives of the prn. of the 3d pers. (**is**, **izôs**; **izê**, **izô**; § 152) are employed.

### 2. PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON

§ 152.

|       |    | M.            | N.             | F.             |
|-------|----|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Sing. | N. | is, <i>he</i> | ita, <i>it</i> | si, <i>she</i> |
|       | G. | is            |                | izôs           |
|       | D. | imma          |                | izai           |
|       | A. | ina           | ita            | ija            |
| Phr.  |    |               |                |                |
|       | N. | eis           | ija            | [ijôs]         |
|       | G. | izê           |                | izô            |
|       | D. | im            |                | im             |
|       | A. | ins           | [ija]          | ijôs           |

Note. The acc. and gen. pl. n. and the nom. pl. f. ar not extant, but the inferd forms ar undoubtedly correct.

### 3. DEMONSTRATIV PRONOUNS

§ 153. The simpl dem. prn. **sa**, **sô**, **þata** is uzed both as dem. prn., *this*, *that* (for the Gr. οὗτος or αὐτός), and, with a weakend force, as articl, *the*. The latter uze is predominant. – The neuter sing. (like the interrog., § 159) has preservd the instrumental case.

|       |        |       |      |       |
|-------|--------|-------|------|-------|
|       |        | M.    | N.   | F.    |
|       | N.     | sa    | þata | sô    |
| Sing. | G.     | þis   |      | þizôs |
|       | D.     | þamma |      | þizai |
|       | A.     | þana  | þata | þô    |
|       | Instr. | —     | þê   | —     |
| Phar. |        |       |      |       |
|       | N.     | þai   | þô   | þôs   |
|       | G.     | þizê  |      | þizô  |
|       | D.     | þaim  |      | þaim  |
|       | A.     | þans  | þô   | þôs   |

Note 1. The final **as** of the dissyllabic forms ar dropt in combination with enclitics beginning with a vowel; cp. § 4, n. 1. – For **þei** from **\*þa-ei**, s. § 157, n. 2.

Note 2. The instr. n. **þê** is preservd only in the combinations **bi-þê**, **du-þê** (**dupþê**), **jap-þê** (§ 62, n. 3), **þêei** (§ 157, n. 1), and, like **þana** (in **þanamais**, **þanaseiþs**), before a comparativ (= E. 'the' in 'the more').

§ 154. A compound demonstrativ pronoun is formd by affixing the enclitic particl **-uh** to the simpl demonstrativ. Cp. § 24, n. 2. Its meaning is always that of the simpl **sa** uzed demonstrativly, *this*, *that* (= Gr. οὗτος or αὐτός). – It inflects thus:

|       |        |          |       |           |
|-------|--------|----------|-------|-----------|
|       |        | M.       | N.    | F.        |
|       | N.     | sah      | þatuh | sôh       |
| Sing. | G.     | þizuh    |       | [þizôzuh] |
|       | D.     | þammuh   |       | [þizaih]  |
|       | A.     | þanuh    | þatuh | [þôh]     |
|       | Instr. | —        | þêh   | —         |
| Phar. |        |          |       |           |
|       | N.     | þaih     | [þôh] | [þôzuh]   |
|       | G.     | [þizêh]  |       | [þizôh]   |
|       | D.     | [þaimuh] |       | [þaimuh]  |
|       | A.     | [þanzuh] | [þôh] | [þôzuh]   |

Note 1. The forms in square brackets ar not extant.

Note 2. The instr. n. **þêh** occurs only in the adv. **bi-þêh**.

§ 155. A defectiv demonstrativ pronoun **hi-** (nom. **\*his** = **is**, § 152), *this*, occurs only in temporal frases in the dativ m. and n. **himma** and in the acc. m. **hina**, n. **hita**; e. g., **himma daga**, *to-day*; **und hina dag**, *to this day*; **und hita**, *til now*.

§ 156. **jains** (concerning the vowel **ai**, cp. § 20, n. 4), n. **jainata**, f. **jaina** (*yon*), *that*, inflects like a strong adj. (**blinds**, § 124).

Like weak adjectivs inflect **silba**, *self*, and **sama**, *same*, or with the articl: **sa sama**, *the same* (cp. § 132, n. 3).

## 4. RELATIV PRONOUNS

§ 157. A simpl relativ pronoun is not found in the Gothic language. A relativ prn. of the 3d pers. is formd from the simpl demonstrativ pronoun by affixing the partcl **ei** which, when uzed independently, has the force of a conjunction, *that, in order that*. This relativ pronoun inflects as follows:

|        | M.        | N.    | F.       |
|--------|-----------|-------|----------|
| Sing.  | N. saei   | þatei | sôei     |
|        | G. þizei  |       | þizôzei  |
|        | D. þammei |       | þizaiei  |
|        | A. þanei  | þatei | þôei     |
| Instr. | —         | þêei  | —        |
| Phr.   |           |       |          |
|        | N. þaiei  | þôei  | þôzei    |
|        | G. þizêei |       | [þizôei] |
|        | D. þaimei |       | þaimei   |
|        | A. þanzei | þôei  | þôzei    |

Note 1. The instr. n. **þêei** is uzed only as a conjunction.

Note 2. Beside **þatei** occurs **þei**, which is employd, however, only in combination with **hah** (§ 164, n. 1), and (like **þatei**) as a conjunction, *that*. Cp. Beitr., 4, 467; 6, 402; Zs. fda., 29, 366 et seq.

Note 3. Insted of the nom. sg. **saei**, m., **sôei**, f., also **izei**, m., **sei** (i. e. **si-ei**, § 10, n. 2), f., (formd from the 3d pers. of the pers. prn., § 152) ar employd. The form **sei** occurs even more frequently than **sôei**. Sumtimes **izei** stands as nom. pl. m. (for **eizei** which is not found); e. g., **þai izei bimaitanai sind**; Gal. VI, 13. — For **izei** the form **izê** is often found; cp. § 17, n. 1.

Note 4. Concerning the change of final s before **ei** into **z**, s. § 78, c.

§ 158. When a relativ clause refers to a prn. of the 1st or 2nd pers., the relativ partcl is affixt to the respectiv pers. prn. Thus, **ikei**, *who* (1st pers. sg.); — **þuei**, *who*; **þuzei**, *to whom* (as in Mk. I, 11); **þukei**, *whom* (2nd pers. sg.); — **juzei**, *who*; **izwizei**, *to whom* (2nd pers. pl.).

## 5. INTERROGATIV PRONOUNS

§ 159. The interrogativ pronoun **hwas**, *who?* (= Lt. quis), is formd from the simpl interrogativ stem **hwa-**. A substantiv following **hwas** occurs always in the genitiv; e. g., **hwa mizdônô**, τίνα μισθόν; Mt. V, 46.

|        | M.        | N.  | F.       |
|--------|-----------|-----|----------|
| Sing.  | N. hwas   | hwa | hō       |
|        | G. hwis   |     | [hwizôs] |
|        | D. hwamma |     | hwizai   |
|        | A. hwana  | hwa | hō       |
| Instr. | —         | hōē | —        |

Note 1. The gen. f. is not extant. The instr. occurs only in the neuter (cp. **sa**, § 153).

Note 2. **hwas** has no plural; cp. however **hwanzuh**, § 164, n.

Note 3. **hwas** is also employd as an indefinit prn.; cp. § 162, n. 2.

§ 160. From stem **hva-** ar derived: **hvaþar**, *which of two?*, and **hvarjis**, *which?* A substantiv following is always put in the gen. Both words inflect like strong adjectives —**hvaþar** like **anþar** (cp. § 124, n. 1), **hvarjis** like **midjis** (§ 125), f. **hvarja**, the n. **\*hvarjata** like **hvarjatôh** (§ 165).

§ 161. Compound interrogativs: **hveileiks**, *what sort of?*, '*qualis?*' (its correlativ being **swaleiks**, *such*, '*talis*'), and **hvelaups**, f. **hvelauda**, *how great?*, '*quantus?*' (correlativ **swalaups**, *so great*, '*tantus*'). These words inflect like a strong adjective.

Note. **hveileiks** (in Lu. I, 29), for **hveileiks**, is probably miswritn (according to § 10, n. 5).

## 6. INDEFINIT PRONOUNS

§ 162. The Goth. indefinit pronoun **sums**, f. **suma**, n. **sum**, **sumata**, **sum** (Gr. τις, τι), inflects like a strong adjective and is used adjectively; with the meaning *sum one*, *a certain one*, it is also used substantively.

Note 1. An enumerativ expression is **sums...sums** (= Gr. ὁ μὲν...ὁ δέ). In most cases **uh** (§ 24, n. 2) is added to the second **sums**, occasionally also to the first; as, **sumai...sumáih**, or **sumáih...sumáih**, *sum ... others*.

Note 2. Also the interrogativ **hvas** (§ 159) is very often used as an indefinit prn., *anyone*.

§ 163. The enclitic particl **-hun** is used to form indefinit pronouns which occur only with the negativ particl **ni**. Their meaning is *no one*, *none*.

(a) The singular of **man**, *man* (§ 117), with the suffix **-hun** means *no one*. – The extant forms ar:

n. **ni mannahun**, d. **ni mannhun**, g. **ni manshun**, acc. **ni mannanhun**.

(b) **ni hwashun** (< **hvas**, § 159), used substantively, *no one*. It occurs in the nom. sg. m. only. – An analogon to **hwashun** is **hvanhun** (< **hvan**, § 214, n. 1).

(c) **ni ainshun**, the commonest indef. prn., is used substantively (*no one*, *none*) and adjectively (*no*, *not any*). A following sb. occurs always in the (partit.) gen.; e. g., **ni ainshun þiwê**, *no servant*; Lu. XVI, 3. – The declension of **ainshun** differs in sum cases from that of the simpl form **ains** (§ 140).

|      | M.            | N.     | F.       |
|------|---------------|--------|----------|
| Sing | N. ainshun    | ainhun | ainôhun  |
|      | G. ainishun   |        | —        |
|      | D. ainunmêhun |        | ainaihun |
|      | A. ainuôhun   | ainhun | ainôhun  |
|      | ainôhun       |        |          |

Note. **-hun** is also affixt to the acc. sg. of the sb. **hveila** (§ 97, n. 2): **hveilôhun**, *for an hour* (**ni hveilôhun**, οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν; Gal. II, 5).

§ 164. '*Every*' is rendered by affixing **-uh** to the interrogativ pronouns.

(a) **hvazuh**, *every*. A noun or prn. following takes the gen. Its inflection differs in part from that of the simpl form **hvas** (§ 159):



|       |      |         |      |      |
|-------|------|---------|------|------|
|       |      | M.      | N.   | F.   |
|       | N.   | lvazuh  | lvah | lvôh |
| Sing. | G.   | lvizuh  |      | —    |
|       | D.   | lvammêh |      | —    |
|       | A.   | lvânôh  | lvah | —    |
|       | Phr. |         |      |      |
|       | A.   | lvanzuh | —    | —    |

In the pl. only the acc. **lvanzuh** occurs.

Note 1. The indef. relativ '*whoever, whosoever*' (Lt. *quicunque*) is rendered: (1) by **lvazuh saei** or, with **sa** prefixt, **salvazuh saei**. For **saei** also **izei** is found (§ 157, n. 3). – These forms are used in the nom. sg. only, the nom. n. **patalvah pei** (**pei** = **patei**, § 157, n. 2) occurs twice: Jo. XV, 7. 16. – (2) by **pishlvazuh** followed by **saei** or **ei** in all cases; the first component, **pish**, remains uninflected: m. n. **pishlvazuh saei**, dat. **pishlvammêh saei**, acc. **pishlvânôh saei**; – nom. acc. n. **pishvah pei** (or **patei**), gen. **pishvizuh pei**, dat. **pishlvammêh pei**.

Note 2. Here may be observed the adverbs: **lvêh** (instr. of **lvazuh**), *at least, at any rate, only*, and **pishlvaduh pei**, *whithersoever*, **pishvaruh pei**, *wheresoever* (cp. **lvap**, **lvâr**, § 213, n. 1).

§ 165. (b) **lvârjizuh**, *every, each*.

|       |    |            |             |         |
|-------|----|------------|-------------|---------|
|       |    | M.         | N.          | F.      |
|       | N. | lvârjizuh  | lvârjatôh   | —       |
| Sing. | G. | lvârjizuh  |             | —       |
|       | D. | lvârjammêh |             | —       |
|       | A. | lvârjanôh  | [lvârjatôh] | lvârjôh |

Note. **lvârjizuh** is also compounded with (uninflected) **ain**: **ainlvârjizuh**, *every one, every, each*, n. **ainlvârjatôh**, dat. **ainlvârjammêh**, etc.

§ 166. *Each of two* is rendered by **lvâparuh**; it occurs only in the dat. **lvâparammêh** (Skeir. 46), for the evidently incorrect **lvâparamma** (cp. Bernhardt's comment on this passage); – also with **ain**-prefixt (cp. § 165, n. 1): **ainlvâparuh**, *each one of two* (only **ainlvâparammêh** occurs; Skeir. 41).

## CHAP. V. CONJUGATION

### GENERAL REMARKS

§ 167. The Gothic verb has the following forms:

1. Two voices, Activ and Midl. The Activ Voice alone has preservd a great variety of forms. The Midl Voice is retaind in but a few forms of the prs. indicativ and optativ, which occur, however, very often. The midl forms hav a passiv meaning. Therefore the Midl Voice is also calld Passiv or Medio-Passiv Voice.

Note 1. The lost passiv forms ar supplied by the pp. along with the corresponding forms of **wairþan** or **wisan**; e. g., **daupjada**, *he is baptized*, but **daupiþs was** or **warþ**, *he was baptized*. Cp. Zs. fdph., 5, 409 et seq.

Note 2. The originally inchoativ verbs in **-nan** (§ 194) frequently hav a medial meaning (§ 194).

2. Two tenses, Present and Preterit (Perfect). The Preterit is the general tense for the past. The future is wanting; its place is mostly supplied by the present, seldom by means of auxiliary verbs (**skulan**, *shal*; **haban**, *hav*; **duginnan**, *to begin*).

3. Two complete moods, Indicativ and Optativ (also calld Subjunctiv). An Imperativ occurs only in the present; it has the second persons of all three numbers and a 1st pers. pl. – There ar but few instances of a 3d pers. sg. and pl. imper. This is uzually exprest by the 3d pers. opt. But also the 2nd and 1st pers. imp. ar frequently exprest by the opt.

4. Three numbers: Singular, Dual, and Plural. The 3d pers. du. is wanting.

5. The Present Infinitiv, the Present Participl with an activ meaning, and the Preterit Partic. with a passiv meaning.

§ 168. The Gothic verbs ar, from a Germanic point of view, divided according to the formation of the preterit in relation to the present into two chief classes:

### I. Strong Verbs

The strong verbs do not form the preterit with an additional suffix, but by change of the radical vowel or by reduplication. Thus, we hav two subdivisions:

1. Ablaut Verbs. The preterit of these verbs is formd without reduplication. It differs from the present only by a regular change of the radical vowel, the so-calld ablaut (cp. § 29); e. g., **binda**, *I bind*, **band**, *I bound*.

2. Reduplicating Verbs. The prt. has reduplication, but no ablaut; e. g., **halda**, *I hold*, **haihald**, *I held*.

3. Reduplicating Ablaut Verbs. A smaller number of verbs hav the prt. both with ablaut and reduplication; e. g., **lêta**, *I let*; **lailôt**, *I let* (prt.).

### II. Weak Verbs

The weak verbs form the preterit by the addition of a suffix beginning with a dental consonant; e. g., **nasja**, *I save*, **nasida**, *I saved*. This suffixal element, **-da**, was formerly regarded as a form of the verb 'do' (Germanic *dôn*), wherefore the weak prt. was also calld 'compound preterit'.

The weak verbs (except a few) ar derivativ verbs. According to their formativ suffixes, which ar best preservd in the preterit forms, they ar divided into four classes: (1) Suffix **i** (in the present **j**):

**nasja, nasi-da.** (2) Suffix **ô**: **salbô, salbô-da.** (3) Suffix **ai** (in the present in part obscured): **haba, habai-da.** (4) Suffix **nô** (in the present **n**): **fullna, fullnô-da.**

Note. The small number of verbs which can not be referd to the two chief classes must, according to this classification, be considerd 'irregular'.

## I. STRONG VERBS

### A. INFLECTION OF THE STRONG VERBS

§ 169. The inflection of the strong verbs (by means of personal endings) is the same in all three classes (§ 168). Therefore we first giv the paradims of inflection and then discuss the formation of the tense-stems (which is different in each class). As paradims may serv a reduplicating verb, **haitan**, *to be calld*, and two ablaut verbs, **niman**, *to take*, and **biudan**, *to offer*.

§ 170.

|                                       |          |           |            |             |
|---------------------------------------|----------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| <b>(a) Present (Activ).</b>           |          |           |            |             |
| Indicativ.                            |          |           |            |             |
| Sing.                                 | 1.       | nima      | biuda      | haita       |
|                                       | 2.       | nimis     | biudis     | haitis      |
|                                       | 3.       | nimiþ     | biudiþ     | haitiþ      |
| Dual                                  | 1.       | nimôs     | biudôs     | haitôs      |
|                                       | 2.       | nimats    | biudats    | haitats     |
| Phr.                                  | 1.       | nimam     | biudam     | haitam      |
|                                       | 2.       | nimiþ     | biudiþ     | haitiþ      |
|                                       | 3.       | nimand    | biudand    | haitand     |
| Optativ.                              |          |           |            |             |
| Sing.                                 | 1.       | nimau     | biudau     | haitau      |
|                                       | 2.       | nimais    | biudais    | haitais     |
|                                       | 3.       | nimai     | biudai     | haitai      |
| Dual                                  | 1.       | nimaiva   | biudaiwa   | haitaiwa    |
|                                       | 2.       | nimaits   | biudaits   | haitaits    |
| Phr.                                  | 1.       | nimaima   | biudaima   | haitaima    |
|                                       | 2.       | nimaiþ    | biudaiþ    | haitaiþ     |
|                                       | 3.       | nimaina   | biudaina   | haitaina    |
| Imperativ.                            |          |           |            |             |
| Sing.                                 | 2.       | nim       | biuþ       | hait        |
|                                       | 3.       | nimadau   | biudadau   | haitadau    |
| Dual                                  | 2.       | nimats    | biudats    | haitats     |
| Phr.                                  | 1.       | nimam     | biudam     | haitam      |
|                                       | 2.       | nimiþ     | biudiþ     | haitiþ      |
|                                       | 3.       | nimandau  | biudandau  | haitandau   |
| Infinitiv.                            |          |           |            |             |
|                                       |          | niman     | biudan     | haitan      |
| Participl.                            |          |           |            |             |
|                                       |          | nimands   | biudands   | haitands    |
| <b>(b) Preterit.</b>                  |          |           |            |             |
| Indicativ.                            |          |           |            |             |
| Sing.                                 | 1.       | nam       | baup       | haihait     |
|                                       | 2.       | namt      | baust      | haihais t   |
|                                       | 3.       | nam       | baup       | haihait     |
| Dual                                  | 1.       | nêmu      | budu       | haihaitu    |
|                                       | 2.       | nêmuts    | buduts     | haihaituts  |
| Phr.                                  | 1.       | nêmun     | budum      | haihaitum   |
|                                       | 2.       | nêmuþ     | buduþ      | haihaituþ   |
|                                       | 3.       | nêmun     | budum      | haihaitum   |
| Optativ.                              |          |           |            |             |
| Sing.                                 | 1.       | nêmjau    | budjau     | haihaitjau  |
|                                       | 2.       | nêmeis    | budeis     | haihaiteis  |
|                                       | 3.       | nêmi      | budi       | haihaiti    |
| Dual                                  | 1.       | nêmeiwa   | budeiwa    | haihaiteiwa |
|                                       | 2.       | nêmeits   | budeits    | haihaiteits |
| Phr.                                  | 1.       | nêmeima   | budeima    | haihaiteima |
|                                       | 2.       | nêmeiþ    | budeiþ     | haihaiteiþ  |
|                                       | 3.       | nêmeina   | budeina    | haihaiteina |
| <b>(c) Preterit Participl Passiv.</b> |          |           |            |             |
|                                       |          | numans    | budans     | haitans     |
| <b>(d) Medio-Passiv — Present.</b>    |          |           |            |             |
| Indicativ.                            |          |           |            |             |
| Sing.                                 | 1.       | nimada    | biudada    | haitada     |
|                                       | 2.       | nimaza    | biudaza    | haitaza     |
|                                       | 3.       | nimada    | biudada    | haitada     |
| Phr.                                  | 1. 2. 3. | nimanda   | biudanda   | haitanda    |
| Optativ.                              |          |           |            |             |
| Sing.                                 | 1.       | nimaïdau  | biudaïdau  | haitaïdau   |
|                                       | 2.       | nimaïza   | biudaïza   | haitaïza    |
|                                       | 3.       | nimaïdau  | biudaïdau  | haitaïdau   |
| Phr.                                  | 1. 2. 3. | nimaïndau | biudaïndau | haitaïndau  |

Note 1. **biudan** is subject to the rules for the final soft spirants (§ 79): imper. sg. **biuþ**, prt. **baup** (cp. § 374). Likewise **giban**, **gif**, **gaf** (cp. § 56).

Note 2. The termination of the 2nd pers. sg. prt. (-t) causes the change stated in the rule for consonants before dentals (§ 81). Final **b** of stems becoms **f**: **gaft** (inf. **giban**); exampls for **pt** ar wanting: **skôpt** or **skôft**? (inf. **skapjan**); —**g** remains unchanged in **magt** (§ 66, n. 1), other exampls ar wanting; neither ar there any exampls for **kt** (**wôkt** or **wôht**? cp. § 58, n. 2); – dentals becom **s**: **warst** < **waírþan**, **qast** < **qíþan** (§ 71, n. 3), **gastôst** < **standan**, **baust** < **biudan** (§ 75, n. 1), **bigast** < **gitan**, **haihaist** < **haitan** (§ 69, n. 2). – The extant 2nd pers. prt. of **saísô** (inf. **saian**) is **saísôst**. On account of the scarcity of exampls it is uncertain whether all stems ending in a vowel had **-st**. – The 2nd pers. prt. of **rinnan** is **rant** (§ 80).

Note 3. Only one strong verb is found (twice) in the 3d pers. sg. imper.: **atsteigadan**, καταβάτω; Mt. XXVII, 42. Mk. XV, 32 (cp. § 186, n. 1). The 3d pers. pl. may be givn with certainty according to the weak verb (§ 192, n. 1).

Note 4. The dual forms of the verb occur very seldom. The 1st pers. du. opt. prt., **nêmeiwa**, etc., which is only givn according to the corresponding form of the prs. **nimaiwa**, is not found at all. Also the 2nd pers. du. opt. prt. is but an inferd form according to the anomalous **wileits** (§ 205).

Note 5. Concerning the irregular formation of the present of sum strong verbs with **j**, s. § 206, n.

## B. TENSE-FORMATION OF THE STRONG VERBS

### 1. Ablaut Verbs

§ 171. The ablaut verbs form their tense-stems by a regular change of the radical vowel, the so-cald ablaut. The several ablaut-series and the conditions of their appearance wil be found givn in §§ 30-35. To each of these series belong ablaut verbs, and therefore six ablaut classes must be distinguisht. Each ablaut verb contains four ablaut vowels which appear in the formation of the verb in the following manner: (1) The first vowel belongs to the present and to what is connected with the present (prsp., inf., also medio-passiv). (2) The second vowel is that of the sg. prt. indic. (3) The third vowel appears in the du. and pl. prt. indic. and thruout the prt. opt. (4) The fourth vowel belongs to the pp.

In order to determin the inflection of a strong verb, it is customary to giv the following four forms (principal parts): (1) 1st pers. sg. prs. indic., or the prs. inf.; (2) 1st pers. sg. prt. indic.; (3) 1st pers. pl. prt. indic.; (4) the pp.

In the following we arrange the ablaut verbs according to their classes.

§ 172. Class I. Verbs of the first ablaut series: **ei—ái—i** (**aí**) (cp. § 30); e. g., **greipa**, **graip**, **gripum**, **gripans**, to *gripe*, *seiz*; **i** before **h** (**hv**) becoms **aí** by breaking (§ 20): **leihva**, **láihv**, **laíhvum**, **laílvans**, to *lend*.

Note 1. Like these inflect: **deigan**, to *knead*; **steigan**, to *mount*; **gateihan**, to *show*; **þeihan**, to *thrive*; **þreihan**, to *throng*; **weiþan**, to *fight*; —**beitan**, to *bite*; **dis-kreitan**, to *tear to pieces*; **ga-smeitan**, to *smear*; —**weitan** (**inweitan**, to *wurship*; **frauweitan**, to *punish*); **beidan**, to *wait*; **leipan**, to *go*; **sneiþan**, to *cut*; —**weipan**, to *crown*; **dreiban**, to *drive*; **bi-leiban**, to *remain*; **sweiban**, to *cease*; —**reisan**, to *rize*; **skeinan**, to *shine*; **hneiwan**, to *decline*, *bow*; **speiwan**, to *spit*.

Note 2. The **n** of **keinan** (OHG. kînan), *to germinate*, occurs only in the prs. stem (cp. § 206, b); the pp. is **kijans** (only in **uskijanata**; Lu. VIII, 6). The prt. **\*kai**, **\*kijum**, has been replaced by a weak prt. of the IV. weak conjugation (**keinôda**



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