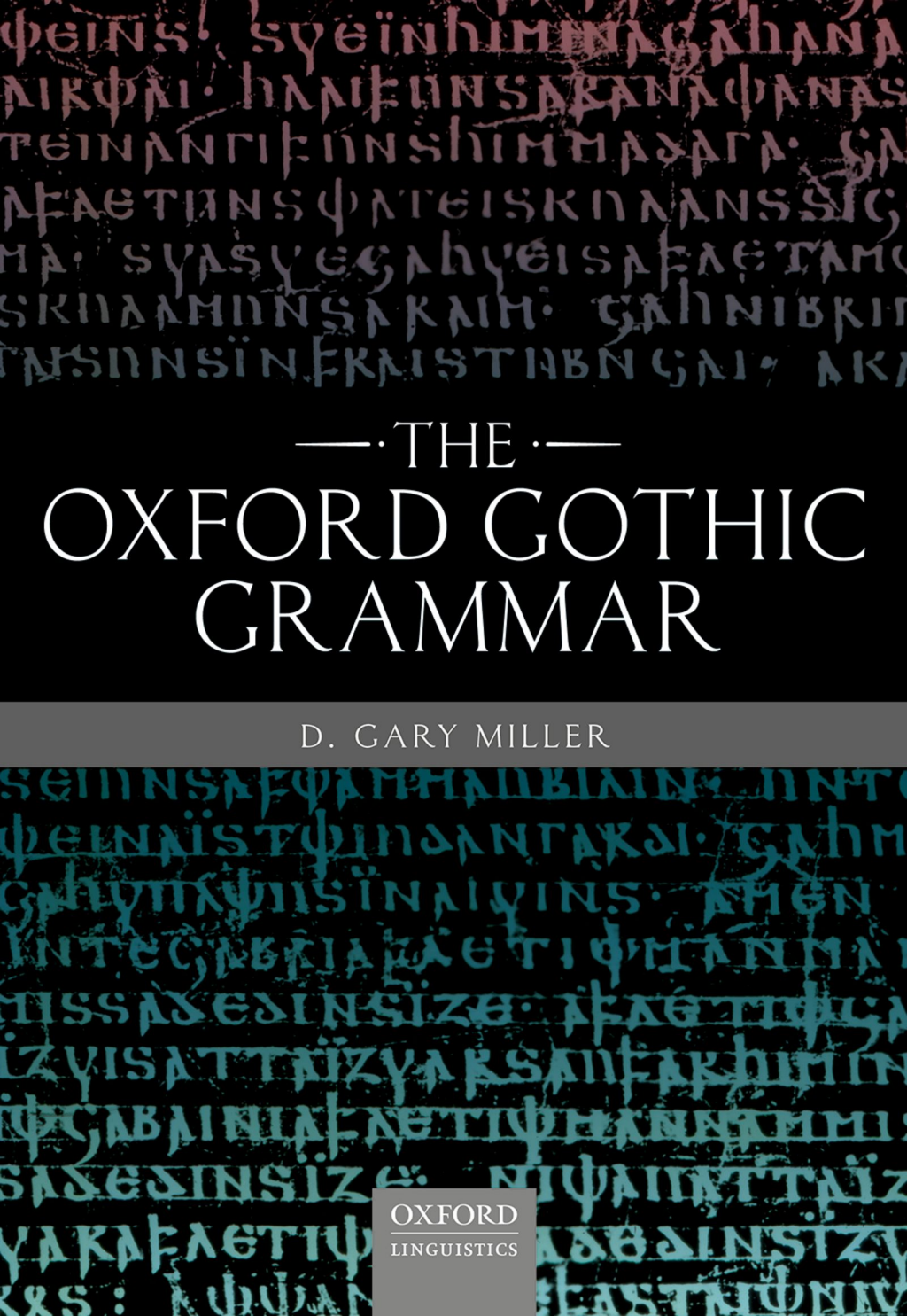


THE OXFORD GOTHIC GRAMMAR

D. GARY MILLER

OXFORD LINGUISTICS

THE OXFORD GOTHIC GRAMMAR

Frontispiece. An extract from the Bologna fragment. Bologna, Archivio della Fabbriceria di San Petronio, Cart. 716/1, n°1 (olim Cart. 353, cam. n°3), f. 1r, l. 1–6. With permission of the Archivio della Fabbriceria di San Petronio.

THE OXFORD GOTHIC GRAMMAR

D. GARY MILLER

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

First Edition published in 2019

Impression: 1

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018956932

ISBN 978–0–19–881359–0

Printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

qenai jere fimf tigiwe meinai, Iudiþ, þizai liuboston

'for my dearest wife of fifty years, Judith'

12 August 2017

CONTENTS

PREFACE

Purpose and intended audience

To make this work accessible to students with little background in Germanic and none in Latin or Greek, even the simplest words are translated or provided with discussion. Since no knowledge of Greek is presupposed, all words are transliterated.

Linguistic terminology is kept to a minimum and explained on its first occurrence or in a cross-referenced section. A certain amount of basic linguistics, especially phonetics, is presupposed. For those seeking additional discussion of the linguistic concepts, references are provided, in particular to my technical treatise on language change (Miller 2010).

Indo-European reconstructions are provided for students who are interested or better equipped in terms of background. As students become more advanced in their study of Germanic and Indo-European, they will benefit more from this grammar.

The amount of work written about Gothic is truly staggering. There is no other dead language with so small a corpus that has attracted as much attention. The numerous references provide advanced students and professionals with an important research tool.

The fact that Greek is not taken for granted but Indo-European is may appear to be a contradiction. However, as already mentioned, the Indo-European component can be ignored by students without that knowledge at the outset. But since many comparisons are—by necessity—made with the Greek and Latin texts, those cannot be ignored at any stage and for this reason translations are provided.

Justification

Why another grammar of Gothic? Because many of the resources are in German, French, Russian, or Italian, and assume a working knowledge of various ancient languages or a high level of competence in linguistic theory, Germanic students at an early stage in their education no longer have ready access to the Gothic texts. Students interested in Gothic as a very early translation of the Bible, even antedating Jerome's Latin Vulgate, have been hard-pressed to examine the Gothic corpus.

The recent discoveries of the Bologna fragment and the Crimean graffiti have not been included in any other English grammar of Gothic.

Gothic grammars in English are not very helpful because they focus on phonology and morphology or language history to the near exclusion of syntax. When I had the

occasion to teach Gothic, students were in a perpetual quandary about the syntactic constructions because of the large number of idioms and Greek calques.

Phrases and idioms are treated throughout. The uniqueness of this book lies in the large amount of semantic and syntactic discussion. In addition to individual chapters devoted to syntax, nearly every chapter has a syntactic component.

This volume makes no pretenses to originality. It does what a reference grammar is supposed to do: provide information about the language and references for additional discussion.[1] Speculative hypotheses about the nature of the grammar and conjectural linguistic analyses are kept to a minimum. In particular, while the organizational bias is generative, ephemeral formalizations are avoided.

Most of the Gothic grammars in English with historical discussion are dated. Gothic grammars typically have chapters on historical phonology and historical morphology. Unlike those grammars, Indo-European is not discussed here because this grammar is primarily descriptive. While historical reconstructions are made throughout, it is pointless to repeat what can be found in Ringe (2006, 2017), Ringe & Taylor (2014), Fulk (2018), and any of the handbooks.

Nearly all grammars make up Gothic forms. Full paradigms are cited when very few Gothic nouns and no adjectives or verbs exist in all possible forms. Rare is the grammar that indicates nonexisting forms. Not necessarily expected forms like DAT PL *nahtam* 'nights' (§3.3), ACC PL *aiwins* 'eons' (§3.2) show that it is unsafe to make up forms.

Many unknowns remain about Gothic. For this reason, form counts are provided for many words that are poorly attested. But even non-rare words can have accidental gaps. Were it not for *auhumists* 'highest' in Jn 18:13, we would not know from the other thirty-two occurrences of this adjective that it is not exclusively weak. It remains unknown, however, whether it is accidental that (i) the only existing strong form is nominative singular masculine, exactly like present participles, and (ii) if so, why.

The study of Gothic

The edition of the Gothic texts is that of Streitberg (1919), seriously dated in many respects. Very few corrections of the errors have been made due to poor readings of the manuscripts, most of which are palimpsests (Gothic texts partially scraped away to reuse the parchment for Latin texts), about 12% of which are not legible. The seventh edition by Piergiuseppe Scardigli (2000) contains a second supplement with texts discovered since 1919: *tabella Hungarica*, *Gotica Parisina*, and the Speyer fragment (§1.5).

[1] References provide additional discussion only. They are not to be construed as agreeing with the point made unless a work is specifically cited in that context.

Barring inevitable misreadings, early editions of enduring value include Gabelentz & Löbe (1848), Maßmann (1834, 1857), Uppström (1854), which preserves the manuscript punctuation,[2] and Bernhardt (1875), which includes a synoptic restitution of the Greek text.

The first edition of the *codex Argenteus* (§1.5) by Franciscus Junius in 1665 is remarkable for the printing of the entire Gothic text in a specially cut Gothic type, Pica Gothica. Junius also put the books in the modern order Matthew, Mark, Luke, John (§1.9), and divided the text into chapters and verses while getting rid of the Eusebian canon (§1.5) and system of sections (Munkhammar 2017: 40, w. lit).

Gothic passages in the current grammar are cited from Snædal (2013a: Vol. 1), which includes a few more corrections, but a new edition is needed (Falluomini 2009). One is in preparation by Carla Falluomini, using modern scientific techniques to re-examine the manuscripts and texts.

There are many useful resources for the study of the Gothic language. The classic grammar is by Gabelentz & Löbe (1846). Early historical treatments include Meyer (1869), Kluge (1911), and Jellinek (1926); more recent: Krahe & Seebold (1967), Krahe & Meid (1967), Pudić (1971), Ramat (1981), Jasanoff (2004), Ringe (2006, 2017), Rousseau (2012, 2016). For derivation, see Schubert (1968), Casaretto (2004), and, for derivation and inflection classes, Thöny (2013).

Handbooks of Gothic abound: Munch (1848), Douse (1886), Balg (1883 [phonology and morphology], 1887–89 [667-page glossary], 1891 [edition and syntax]), Saussure (1881–82, 1890–91), Leyen (1908), Streitberg (1920), Jellinek (1926), Kieckers (1960 [1928]), Van Hamel (1931), Wright (1954), Mossé (1956), Guxman (1958), Hempel (1962), W. Krause (1968), Braune & Ebbinghaus (1981), Binnig (1999), Braune & Heidermanns (2004), Piras (2007), Rousseau (2012), Kotin (2012), Feuillet (2014), Schuhmann (forthcoming). Useful textbooks include Bennett (1980/1999), Lambdin (2006), De Vaan (2007a) [in Dutch], Rauch (2011), and Goering & Jones (forthcoming).

Other useful aids are Skeat's glossary (1868), Regan's dictionary (1974) [many errors], etymological dictionaries by Balg (1887–89), Holthausen (1934), Feist-Lehmann (*GED*) (1986), Devlamminck & Jucquois (1977) [incomplete], and Găleşanu (2002), Tollenaere & Jones' word index (1976), Anreiter's reverse word list (1987) [no glosses], Köbler's list of translation correspondences between Gothic and Latin (1972) and especially his comprehensive *Wörterbuch* (1989) with German and English glosses (http://homepage.uibk.ac.at/~c30310/ gotwbhin.html). Snædal's concordance (2013a)

[2] Scribal punctuation is ignored in most editions (except Bennett 1960) and grammars because it seldom correlates with modern punctuation. It sometimes signals rhetorical emphasis or a rhythmic recitation unit (very clearly in the Lord's Prayer §10.4), but often appears arbitrary. In parallel passages, for instance, there is little consistency, and the intent of the marks can elude the modern reader. The two main forms are a colon : for larger segments of text, and a raised period · for smaller bits, brief pauses, light emphasis, or individual words. Enlarged letters, spaces, paragraph signs, and colon with horizontal line also occur. Line breaks (here marked with |) are also a form of punctuation: | *akei sunjon* | *akei unwerein* | *akei agis* | *akei gairnein* |… (2Cor 7:11A/B) 'but (what) defensiveness, but (what) indignation, but (what) fear, but (what) ardent desire…' (Braun 1913: 372; cf. *akei* in App.). See the text samples in Kauffmann (1920) and the discussion in Friesen & Grape (1927: 51ff.) and Werth (1965: 162ff., w. lit).

is indispensable. See also his Academia.eduprofile. The searchable Wulfila Project (http://www.wulfila.be/gothic/) has Snædal's corrections to Streitberg's text and valuable links. The PROIEL parallel parsed corpus of early New Testament translations, including Gothic, requires caution.

Also crucial are the bibliographies by Mossé (1950, 1953, [& Marchand] 1957). Van de Velde (1966) overviews the early history of research, especially in the Netherlands.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Parts of this work have been presented at colloquia, and other parts read by friends and colleagues. The number of contributors is truly inestimable. Most regrettable is that some of the more influential ones are no longer around to receive my gratitude.

Those who have most influenced my thinking on various parts of this work are William Bennett, whose Gothic course I attended at the 1973 Linguistic Institute in Ann Arbor, Warren Cowgill, Harold Roe, Oswald Szemerényi, and Calvert Watkins.

My biggest debt of gratitude goes to Artūras Ratkus, who has provided me with input on nearly every topic, hundreds of references, and major assistance with the Eastern European and Russian literature.

Special thanks go to Patrick Stiles, whose meticulous reading of the entire typescript is responsible for countless corrections, references, and other improvements.

Carla Falluomini saved me from many pitfalls with her valuable comments and corrections throughout, but especially on the manuscripts and text selections.

From Roland Schuhmann and Sara Pons-Sanz I received several lists of helpful corrections. To Rob Howell I am indebted for discussion especially of Chapter 2. Wayne Harbert provided me with a number of astute comments and assisted me with various syntactic problems. For other helpful suggestions, references, and improvements, I am grateful to George Dunkel, Zygmunt Frajzyngier, Helena Halmari, Galia Hatav, Heinrich Hettrich, Hans Henrich Hock, Jay Jasanoff, who used an earlier version of this text in his graduate seminar on Germanic, Brian Joseph, Paul Kiparsky, Jared Klein, Craig Melchert, Sergio Neri, Joseph Salmons, Dieter Wanner, and, of course, the readers at Oxford University Press.

A number of scholars have generously shared their prepublished work, in particular, Carla Falluomini, Wayne Harbert, Hans Henrich Hock, Jay Jasanoff, Jared Klein, Artūras Ratkus, Don Ringe, †Magnús Snædal,[1] Seiichi Suzuki, Brendan Wolfe, Robert Woodhouse. Anita Auer and Michiel de Vaan provided me with a copy of their work on the Bologna fragment.

Others who have contributed to this work both directly and indirectly include Elly van Gelderen and Jules Gliesche. Whatever is right in this work I owe to the expertise of friends and colleagues. They are of course not responsible for any errors.

Thanks also to Julia Steer for her interest in commissioning this work and securing its publication, to Victoria Sunter for careful editorial preparation of the typescript, to Clare Jones for seeing the work through the production stages, and to Miranda Bethell

[1] Gothic studies suffered a major blow with the sudden passing of Magnús Snædal on 3 December 2017. His work on Gothic has been indispensable, and his major contributions will be sorely missed.

for extremely careful copy-editing. Ela Kotkowska forced me to dig up references I had forgotten I have.

As always, my main debt is to my wife of (now over) fifty years and constant companion, Judith, to whom this book is dedicated. Without her encouragement and support, none of this would have come to fruition.

Florissant, CO
16 September 2018

D. Gary Miller
Professor emeritus and Adjunct Professor
Linguistics and the Classics
Universities of Florida and Colorado at Boulder
dgm@ufl.edu

DATING AND OTHER CONVENTIONS

Dating

To avoid the problem of BC/AD vs. BCE/CE ('Common Era') and obviate lengthy references ('second half of the 1st century BC(E)'), a modified/simplified version of the conventions in Miller (1994) will be adopted to simplify dating. Dates are given in brackets, e.g. [750], which will be roughly equivalent to [mid c8], more simply, [c8^{m}]. All dates will be understood to be CE unless specified BCE. Most dates are approximate signalled by [ca.] (= *circa* 'about') or equivalent. Following are the dating conventions standardly used in this work:

[c6]	sixth century
[c6^{1}]	first half of c6
[c6^{2}]	second half of c6
[c4^{b}]	beginning of the 4th century
[c5^{3}]	last third of the 5th century
[c2^{e}]	end of c2
[c2^{m}]	middle of c2
[c3/4]	c3 or c4 (uncertain)
[c3^{e}/4^{b}]	same but with narrower range
[110–240]	110 CE to 240 CE
[240–110]	240 BCE to 110 BCE
[ca. 369]	around 369
[a350]	before (ante) 350
[p350]	after (post) 350
[n.d.]	no date available

For early events, approximate dating is frequently all that is available.

Citation of Gothic forms

Nonpast tense and indicative mood are treated as defaults. This means that, in glosses for instance, nonpast tense and indicative mood are not specified. If optative, infinitive, imperative, or preterite is not indicated, the form will be assumed to be nonpast indicative.

This work observes the useful convention of a following asterisk for an unattested citation form (Banta 1980; Suzuki 1986: xii, 1989: xviii). Earlier authors (e.g. Jellinek 1926) used this convention inconsistently. A preceding asterisk indicates (i) Gothic

forms that are postulated but entirely unattested, (ii) Germanic and Indo-European reconstructions, or (iii) ungrammatical forms. Thus, Goth. *aggwus** 'narrow' is unattested in that form but note NOM/ACC SG N *aggwu*. It differs from **unags* 'fearless', which is unattested in any of its possible forms and therefore has the status of a reconstruction. It is posited to underlie *unagei** 'fearlessness' (§8.5).

To capture the belief that *ai* and *au* had a double value as both diphthongs and low mid vowels, Grimm (e.g. 1822: 43–8) devised a diacritic distinction not in the Gothic script: *faíhu* 'chattels', *faúr* 'before' with short vowel, *máizo* 'more', *sunáus* 'son's' with original diphthong. Grimm's convention is observed in Chapters 1 and 2, and in cases of potential ambiguity, as a heuristic for those less familiar with Germanic.

Whether or not Gothic retained distinctive vowel length is impossible to determine with certainty. There are indications of distinctive length in both consonants (§2.3) and vowels (§2.9). If length was preserved, it was part of every word's lexical representation, and for this reason is indicated in this grammar for all vowels except *e* and *o*, which were exclusively long and therefore by convention need not be so indicated.

Verbs are listed by the four principal parts that are needed to predict all of the forms. The first principal part is the infinitive, from which all nonpast forms follow. The second and third principal parts are conventionally the 1/3 singular and the 1 plural respectively of the preterite active indicative. Because of the limited corpus, third person forms are usually more frequent. The third person singular is indicated as 3SG. Third person plural forms are not signaled because of the difference between 1PL *-um* and 3PL *-un*. The fourth principal part is the preterite participle.

An asterisk before a principal part, such as **bidans*, means that no form of that category, in this instance the preterite participle, is attested for that verb. A following asterisk indicates only that that particular form is not found but that other forms of the category occur. A citation such as «*mitan* (in *usmitan* 1Tim 3:15A)» means that *mitan* is not attested as a simplex but the form occurs with a prefix.

Underscoring is the usual way of indicating a word or form targeted in a given construction. For instance, *imma* in *maiza imma* 'greater than him' exemplifies the dative of comparison (§4.34).

A dotted underscore calls attention to a prefix as distinct from the root, e.g. a̤nd̤namt 'you received' (1Cor 4:17A).

A broken undercore indicates letters inserted by an editor. For instance, in the second occurrence of gafilhan 'bury' in Mt 8:21f., *ga* is not in the manuscript.

Cited forms are italicized except in numbered examples, where letters in italics indicate safe restorations. In an italicized string, safe restorations are deitalicized. Consider the following illustration from Chapter 6:

(62)	gawita*is*	unsis	faura	kun*ja*	þamm[a]	(Bl 1r.6 = Ps 11/12:8)
	watch.2SG.OPT	us	for	race.DAT	D.DAT.SG.N	

'you should guard us from this generation'

In this example, the [a] of *þamma* is reconstructed by the editor, and the *is* of *gawitais* is safely restored, as is the *ja* of *kunja*. Outside of a numbered example, the first word would be cited *gawita*is, in which deitalicized *is* indicates the safe restoration.

It is important that uncertain readings be indicated. For instance, the older reading *us* han*dam . . . u.a* (Bl 1v.13) to the *-u-* stem *handus* 'hand', even if segmented *handa-m* [. . .] with a late compounding vowel *-a-* (Schuhmann 2016: 61), was bizarre. It is now read *us* þiu*dana* (Falluomini 2017; see §10.11).

Another example of a difficult reading is *Naubaimbair* 'November' in the Gothic calendar (§2.3). Landau (2006) denies that the word exists, but Magnús Snædal (p.c.) writes (email of 8 March 2017):

> Maßmann was the first to read *naubaimbair*, Uppström accepted it with the comment, *s*[*atis*] *cl*[*arum*] ['sufficiently clear']. Ebbinghaus accepted it without comment. Neither appears to have found it difficult to read that word. In the facsimile edition of the Ambrosian codices it is almost illegible, but remnants of letters are apparent. I think that *naubaimbair* is/was in the calendar. The reason for the fact that this word has been erased more thoroughly than the other parts of the calendar text is perhaps that *naubaimbair* was not in the original but was added later with another ink. The purpose of adding *naubaimbair* was to explain *fruma jiuleis* ['first Yule'].

Based on infrared photographs made in 1960, Ebbinghaus (1975) read *naubaimbar*.

Carla Falluomini (email of 12 March 2017) examined the manuscript and found the reading very uncertain. The only certain letters are . . . *bainb* . . . (*n* is more likely than *m*), and "a gloss to *fruma jiuleis* is not possible in my opinion: the position of the word in the page is against this idea."

Citation of Indo-European roots

The general knowledge of Indo-European assumed here can be found in any of the handbooks. Especially useful for the beginner is Benjamin Fortson's *Indo-European Language and Culture* (2010).

Because of its ready accessibility, Indo-European roots in the present work are often cited as in Watkins (2000), *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European roots* (*AHDR*). Generally, a Proto-Indo-European (PIE) form is also provided, sometimes from *AHDR* and sometimes from other sources, such as Rix et al. (2001), *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (*LIV*), Wodtko et al. (2008), *Nomina im indogermanischen Lexikon* (*NIL*), Kroonen (2013), *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic* (*EDPG*), or Dunkel (2014), *Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme* (*LIPP*).

Indo-European roots in an entry are sometimes cited in brackets, the first from *AHDR* (unspecified), the second (if present) from another source (*LIV*, *EDPG*, etc.), e.g. Goth. *air* 'early' [**ayer-* / **$h_2$ei-(e)r-* 'day, morning']. The information is different:

*$h_2$ei-(e)r- would be the full (*e*-) grade PIE form, and **ayer-* post-IE (thanks to Roland Schuhmann for this precise formulation).

I have taken the liberty of making certain substitutions in the interest of consistency and clarity. For *AHDR* 's obsolete **ə*, the appropriate laryngeal (*h_1, *h_2, *h_3) has been supplied. **H* or *h_x without a number means that the precise nature of the laryngeal is undetermined. Many of the diacritics in *LIV*, *EDPG*, and *LIPP* have been altered, especially *i/y*, *u/w*, for their **i̯, *u̯*, e.g. **yeug-* 'yoke' (= **i̯eu̯g- LIV* 316).

When *AHDR*'s oldest form and a reconstruction in one of the other lexicons is the same, a single form can be cited without reference, e.g. **spék-* 'observe'. Sometimes, for simplicity, just the older form is cited, e.g. **ǵenh$_1$-* 'beget', instead of *AHDR*'s **genə-*.

Another (perhaps peculiar) convention I have followed is to write the Indo-European aspirates merely as **bh, dh, ǵh, gh, g^wh*, except when adjacent to a laryngeal. The zero grade of **deh$_3$-* 'give' is written **dh$_3$-*, but to avoid potential confusion, that of **dheh$_1$-* 'put; make' is written **d^hh$_1$-* with voiced aspirate signaled by superscript *h*.

Other conventions

The following (mostly standard) conventions are employed:

*	—reconstructed (of earlier or proto-forms); ill-formed (of sentences/words)
	—after a Gothic word: the word is attested but not in the cited form
**	impossible form
?*	possibly ungrammatical or ill-formed (marginal at best)
?	questionable form; marginally acceptable sentence
#	grammatical but not in the intended meaning
|	line division
>	'is realized as', 'becomes' (in historical changes)
<	'is derived from' (in historical changes)
→	'leads to; results in'
	x → y = 'x is replaced by y'
⇒	x ⇒ y 'x is transformed into y'
~>	'tends to become'
~	'varies with'
≈	'strongly covaries with'
=	'is equivalent or identical to'
≠	'is not the same as'

†	—with a year, e.g. [†450] = died (of people)
	—with a word, e.g. †*meritory* = obsolete
	—also used of glosses and readings, e.g. †*gadikis* (now read *gadigis*)
[ ]	—dates
	—feature representation
	—Greek or Latin text underlying the Gothic
	—Indo-European roots
	—morphological or syntactic composition
	—peripheral or parenthetical information (sometimes within parentheses)
	—phonetic representations
	—reconstructed letter(s) or text
	—syntactic representations
[[ ]]	erroneous letters deleted by editor
(( ))	Gothic words that have no correspondent in any extant Greek manuscript
/ /	phonologically contrastive representation
.	in phonological representations, e.g. /gai.jus/: syllable boundary
{ }	morpholexical representation
< >	graphic representation
∅	empty set

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AG	*Altnordische Grammatik*, Vol. 1: *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik unter Berücksichtigung des Urnordischen*. By Adolf Gotthard Noreen. 4th edn. Halle: Niemeyer (1923)
AHDR	*The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European roots*. Ed. Calvert Watkins. 2nd edn. Boston: Houghton Mifflin (2000)
AJP	*The American Journal of Philology*
AJGLL	*American Journal of Germanic Linguistics and Literatures*
ASPK	*Ancient Scripts and Phonological Knowledge*. By D. Gary Miller. Amsterdam: Benjamins (1994)
BR	*Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, Vol. 1: *Laut- und Formenlehre*. By Wilhelm Braune and Ingo Reiffenstein. 15th edn. Tübingen: Niemeyer (2004)
BSL	*Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*
CGG	*A Comparative Germanic Grammar*. By Eduard Prokosch. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America (1939). (Repr. 1966)
CHEL	*Cambridge History of the English Language*. Ed. Richard M. Hogg. 5 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1992–9)
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin: De Gruyter
Cod. Lindisf.	*Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis*. Ed. T. D. Kendrick, T. J. Brown, R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, H. Roosen-Runge, Alan S. C. Ross, E. G. Stanley, and A. E. A. Werner. 2 vols. Vol 1: *Musei Britannici codex cottonianus Nero D.IV, permissione musei Britannici totius codicis similitudo folii 1–259* (1956). Vol. 2: *Commentariorum libri duo quorum usus de textu evangeliorum latino et codicis ornatione, alter de glossa anglo-saxonica* (1960). Olten and Lausanne: UrsGraf; New York: Duschnes
DELG	*Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. 4 vols. By Pierre Chantraine. Paris: Klincksieck (1968–80)
DELL	*Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*. 2 vols. By Alfred Ernout & Antoine Meillet. 3rd edn. Paris: Klincksieck (1951)
EbgW	*Die Erweiterung des bibelgotischen Wortschatzes mit Hilfe der Methoden der Wortbildungslehre*. By Hans-Jürgen Schubert. Munich: Hueber (1968)
EDG	*Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. By Robert S. P. Beekes. Leiden: Brill (2010)

EDHIL	*Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. By Alwin Kloekhorst. Leiden: Brill (2008)
EDPC	*Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic*. By Ranko Matasović. Leiden: Brill (2009)
EDPG	*Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic*. By Guus Kroonen. Leiden: Brill (2013)
EDL	*Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*. By Michiel de Vaan. Leiden: Brill (2008)
EIE	*External Influences on English*. By D. Gary Miller. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2012)
EWAia	*Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. By Manfred Mayrhofer. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Winter (1986–2001).
EWDS	*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. By Friedrich Kluge & Elmar Seebold. 24th edn. Berlin: De Gruyter (2002)
F	Falluomini (2014)
FT	Finazzi and Tornaghi (2013)
GCS	*Gotische Casus-Syntaxis*. By Marten Jan van der Meer. Leiden: Brill (1901)
GE	*Gotisches Elementarbuch*. By Wilhelm A. Streitberg. 5th & 6th edns. Heidelberg: Winter (1920)
GED	*A Gothic Etymological Dictionary*. Based on the 3rd edn of *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gothischen Sprache* by Sigmund Feist. By Winfred P. Lehmann. Leiden: Brill (1986)
GG	*Gotische Grammatik*. By Wilhelm Braune & Frank Heidermanns. Tübingen: Niemeyer (2004)
GGS	*Geschichte der gotischen Sprache*. By Max Hermann Jellinek. Berlin: De Gruyter (1926)
GHL	*A Grammar of the Hittite Language*: Part 1, *Reference Grammar*. By Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., & H. Craig Melchert. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns (2008)
GK	*Germanische Kausativbildung: Die deverbalen jan-Verben im Gotischen*. By Luisa García García. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (2005)
GL	*Grammatici Latini*. Ed. Henricius [Heinrich] Keil. 8 vols. Leipzig: Teubner (1857). (Repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961.)
GLAC	Germanic Linguistics Annual Conference
GPA	*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen Primäradjektive*. By Frank M. Heidermanns. Berlin: De Gruyter (1993)
GrGS	*Grammatik der gothischen Sprache* (1846). By Hans Conon von der Gabelentz & Julius Löbe <Loebe>. [q.v. in References]
GrOE	*A Grammar of Old English*. Vol. 2: *Morphology*. By Richard M. Hogg & Robert D. Fulk. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell (2011)

GS	*Die gothische Sprache*. By Leo Meyer. Berlin: Weidmann (1869)
HGE	*A Handbook of Germanic Etymology*. By Vladimir E. Orel. Leiden: Brill (2003)
HLFL	*Historische Laut- und Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*. By Gerhard Meiser. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (1998)
HS/HL	*Historische Sprachforschung / Historical Linguistics*
IBS	*Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck
IEL	*Indo-European Linguistics*. By Michael Meier-Brügger, with Matthias Fritz and Manfred Mayrhofer. Tr. Charles Gertmenian. Berlin: De Gruyter (2003)
IF	*Indogermanische Forschungen*
IGBulg	*Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*: https://epigraphy.packhum.org/regions/12
IS	*Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft*. By Michael Meier-Brügger. 9th edn. Berlin: De Gruyter (2010)
IstMorph	*Istoričeskaja Morphologija nemeckogo jazyka: Posobie dlja studentov pedagogičeskikh institutov*. By Lev Rafailovič Zinder and Tat'jana Viktorovna Stroeva. Leningrad: Prosveščenie (1968)
JEGP	*The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
JIES	*The Journal of Indo-European Studies*
KM	*Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*, Vol. 3: *Wortbildungslehre*. By Hans Krahe & Wolfgang Meid. Berlin: De Gruyter (1967)
Kr [+runic inscr. #]	*Die Runeninschriften im älteren Futhark*. Ed. Wolfgang Krause. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (1937; 2nd edn, 1966). All references are to the 2nd edn unless Kr[1] is specified
KRP	*Kiel Rune Project*
KZ	(Kuhn's) *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*
LCG	Evidence for language contact in Gothic. By Antje Casaretto. *NOWELE* 58/59: 217–37 (2010)
LCLT	*Language Change and Linguistic Theory*. By D. Gary Miller. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2010)
LG	*Lateinische Grammatik*. By Manu Leumann, Johann Baptist Hofmann, & Anton Szantyr. 3 vols. Munich: Beck (1977). Vol. 1: *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. By M. Leumann (1977); Vol. 2: *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. By J. B. Hofmann. Rev. A. Szantyr (1965)
Lg.	*Language*
LHE	*From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic: A Linguistic History of English*, Vol. 1. By Donald Ringe. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2006)

LHE²	*From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic: A Linguistic History of English*, Vol. 1. By Donald Ringe. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2017)
LIPP	*Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominal-stämme*. 2 vols. By George Eugene Dunkel. Heidelberg: Winter (2014)
LIV	*Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstamm-bildungen*. Ed. Helmut Rix et al. 2nd edn. Wiesbaden: Reichert (2001)
LSDE	*Latin suffixal derivatives in English and their Indo-European ancestry*. By D. Gary Miller. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2006; Repr. with corrections, 2012)
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*. Ed. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, J. Reidy, Robert E. Lewis, et al. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (1952–2001). The online MED is available at http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/m/med/
MITWPL	*MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*. Dept. of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT, Cambridge, MA
MPIE	The morphology of Proto-Indo-European. By Jesse Lundquist & Anthony D. Yates. In Klein et al. (2017)
MSS	*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*
MU	*Morphologische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Part 2. By Hermann Osthoff and Karl Brugman[n]. Leipzig: Hirzel (1879)
MUN	*Die Morphologie des urgermanischen Nomens*. By Alfred Bammesberger. Heidelberg: Winter (1990a)
MV	*Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*. By Antoine Meillet & Joseph Vendryes. 2nd edn. Paris: Champion (1948). (Repr. 1966.)
NCG	*Nominal compounds in Germanic*. By Charles T. Carr. London: Oxford University Press (1939)
NIL	*Nomina im indogermanischen Lexikon*. Ed. Dagmar S. Wodtko, Britta Irslinger, & Carolin Schneider. Heidelberg: Winter (2008)
NOWELE	*North-Western European Language Evolution*. Odense: Odense University Press
NWG	*Nominale Wortbildung der gotischen Sprache. Die Derivation der Substantive*. By Antje Casaretto. Heidelberg: Winter (2004)
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary* online, 2nd edn (1989) and 3rd edn (in progress). Ed. John A. Simpson. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2000–). http://oed.com/
ORI [+runic inscr. #]	*A Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions*. By Elmer H. Antonsen. Tübingen: Niemeyer (1975)

ORM	The oldest runic monuments in the north: Dating and distribution. By Lisbeth M. Imer. *NOWELE* 62/63: 169–212 (2011)
OSD	*Altsächsisches Handwörterbuch / A Concise Old Saxon Dictionary*. By Heinrich Tiefenbach. Berlin: De Gruyter (2010)
PBB	*(Paul und Braunes) Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association*. The Modern Language Association of America
PWGA	Zur primären Wortbildung im germanischen Akjektivsystem. By Frank Michael Heidermanns. *KZ* 99/2: 278–307 (1986)
Snædal	[with no further specification] = Snædal (2013a, Vol. 2)
SPE	*The Sound Pattern of English*. By Noam Chomsky & Morris Halle. New York: Harper & Row (1968)
TLG	*Thesaurus linguae graecae*
TLL	*Thesaurus linguae latinae*
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Society*
Ulf.	*Ulfilae, Gothorum episcopi, opera omnia, sive veteris et novi testamenti versionis Gothicae fragmenta quae supersunt… grammatica et glossarium* Vol. 1. By Hans Conon von der Gabelentz & Julius Löbe <Loebe>. Paris: Petit-Montrouge (1848)
VEW	*Vergleichendes und etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen starken Verben*. By Elmar Seebold. The Hague: De Gruyter Mouton (1970)
VG	*Das Vernersche Gesetz und der innerparadigmatische grammatische Wechsel des Urgermanischen im Nominalbereich*. By Stefan Schaffner. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft (2001)
VGS	*Die Verbalabstracta in den germanischen Sprachen, Ihrer Bildung nach dargestellt*. By Karl von Bahder. Halle: Niemeyer (1880)
WHS	*Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*. By Ernst Risch. Berlin: De Gruyter (1973)
ZfdA	*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

A	adjective
a	*ante* 'before' (in dates)
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolute
ACC	accusative
act.	active
Adj/ADJ	adjective
ad loc.	at the place (in the text)
ADV	adverb
AFF	affix
Agr	agreement
AI	accusative and infinitive
ALL	allative
Ambr.	(*codex*) *Ambrosiani*
Angl.	Anglian dialect (OE)
AOR	aorist
AP	adjective phrase
App.	(= see the entry in) Appendix
arch.	archaic
Arg.	(*codex*) *Argenteus*
Arm.	Armenian
ART	article
ASP	aspect
athem.	athematic
Aux	auxiliary
BCE	Before Common Era
bk.	book
Bl	Bologna fragment
Bon.	(*codex*) *Bononiensis*
Brix.	(*codex*) *Brixianus*
Byz.	Byzantine (Greek); the Byzantine main text

C	consonant
c	century
ca.	*circa* / about (of dates)
Cal	Gothic calendar
CAUS	causative
CE	Common Era
Celt.	Celtic
cf.	compare
Ch.	Chapter (in this book)
ch.	chapter
Chron	(Old English) Chronicle
CL	Classical Latin
Cl	Classical (Gk., etc.)
CNJ	conjunction
cod.	codex
codd.	codices
Col	Colossians
CMPV	comparative
COMP	complementizer
CONC	concessive
CONJ	conjunction
cont.	continued
Cor	Corinthians
CP	complementizer phrase
Crim.	Crimean Gothic
D	demonstrative/determiner
DAT	dative
DEADJ	deadjectival
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DENOM	denominal
DESID	desiderative
DET	determiner
DEVERB	deverbal
dial.	dialect(al)
DIM	diminutive
DP	determiner phrase

Du	Dutch
DU	dual
dupl	duplicate(d) in MSS A and B
DURAT	durative
E	east
eccl.	ecclesiastical
ECM	exceptional case marking
ed.	(with name) editor/edited by
edn	edition
eds.	editors
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
Elfd.	Elfdalian, Övdalian
Eng.	English
Eph	Ephesians
epigr.	epigraphic
esp.	especially
etc.	etcetera; and other things
et al.	*et alii*, and other people
etym.	etymology, etymological(ly)
Ex	Exodus
excl.	excluding
F	feminine (in glosses)
f.	following (one page)
f.	folio (in MS reference)
Far.	Faroese
FEM	feminine
ff.	following (two pages)
fin./FIN	finite
fl.	*floruit* / flourished
FP	Functional Phrase
Fr.	French
fr.	fragment
freq	frequent
ftn.	footnote
FUT	future
FWO	free word order

Gal	Galatians
Gaul.	Gaulish
Gen/GEN	genitive
gen. ed.	general editor
Germ.	German
Gk.	Greek (Ancient Greek)
GL	Grimm's Law
Gmc.	Germanic
Gosp	Gospel
Goth.	(Biblical) Gothic
Grd	gerund
H	heavy (syllable)
HAB	habitual
Hitt.	Hittite
ibid.	in the same work
Ice.	Icelandic
id.	the same (meaning)
IE	Indo-European
i.e.	*id est,* that is
IMPF	imperfect
IMPFCTV	imperfective
IMPS	impersonal
IMPV	imperative
INCH	inchoative
incl.	including
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INDIVID	individual
INF	infinitive
inscr.	inscription
INSTR	instrumental
INTERROG	interrogative
IO	indirect object
IRREG	irregular
Ital.	Italian
IT-DUR	iterative-durative
ITER	iterative

ITR	intransitive
Jn	John
KL	Kluge's Law
Lat.	Latin
LIE	late Indo-European
lit.	literally
Lith.	Lithuanian
L	light (syllable)
Lindisf	Lindisfarne (ONorth.), oldest of the OE gospel glosses (ed. Skeat 1871–7)
Lk	Luke
LL	Late Latin
LOC	locative
Luv.	Luvian
M	Middle (Greek etc.)
M	masculine (in glosses)
MASC	masculine
MDu	Middle Dutch
MEDPASS	mediopassive
Merc.	Mercian
MHG	Middle High German
MID	middle (voice)
Mk	Mark
ML	Medieval Latin
MLG	Middle Low German
Mn	Modern (Greek, French, etc.)
MS	manuscript
MSS	manuscripts
Mt	Matthew
N	north
N	noun
N	neuter (in glosses)
Nbr	Northumbrian
n.d.	no date available
NE	northeast
NEG	negative; negator

Neh	Nehemiah
NGmc.	North Germanic
NOM	nominative
NONPST	nonpast
NP	noun phrase
NS	new series
NT	New Testament
NT	neuter
NUM	numeral
NW	Northwest (Germanic)
N/W	North/West (Gmc. dialects)
O	Old (with language names)
O	object (with S, V, etc.)
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique (case(s))
OCS	Old Church Slav(on)ic
ODan	Old Danish
ODu	Old Dutch
OE	Old English
OF	Old Frisian
OFar.	Old Faroese
OFr.	Old French
OHG	Old High German
OIr.	Old Irish
OL	Old Latin
OLF	Old Low Franconian
OLG	Old Low German
ON	Old Norse
ONorth.	Old Northumbrian
OP	Old Persian
OPhryg.	Old Phrygian
OPr	Old Prussian
OProv.	Old Provençal
OPT	optative
orig.	original(ly)
OS	Old Saxon
OSL	open syllable lengthening
OSw	Old Swedish

OT	Old Testament
OV	object-verb
P	phrase (after N, V, etc.)
P	preposition
P-word	preposition, particle, prefix
p	*post* 'after' (in dates)
p.	page
PAP	past active participle
pap.	papyrus
PASS	passive
p.c.	personal correspondence
PERF	perfect(ive)
Pers.	Persian
PF	perfect (in glosses)
PFCTV	perfective
PGmc.	Proto-Germanic
Phil	Philippians
Philem	Philemon
phps.	perhaps
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PL	plural
PL TANT	plurale tantum (plural only)
PLUPF	pluperfect
Poss/POSS	possessive
PP	prepositional phrase
PP	preterite participle
pp.	pages
PPP	past passive participle
PR	present (with SBJ etc.)
PRFX	prefix
prep.	preparation
PRES	present
PRET	preterite
PRN	pronoun, pronominal
prob	probably
PROG	progressive
PrP	present participle
PRT	participle; participial mood

PST	past
Ptc/PTC	particle
PWA	predicative weak adjective
Q	question particle (in glosses)
Q	quantifier
q.v.	*quod vide* ('which see')
R	resonant (*l, r, m, n, j, w*)
r.	recto
RECIP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative (complementizer)
rev.	revised
rhet.	rhetoric(al)
Rom	Romans
Rushw	Rushworth (Merc.), 2nd oldest of the OE gospel glosses (ed. Skeat 1871–7)
RV	Rig Veda (Sanskrit)
S	subject (with V, O, etc.)
S	in Bible verses (e.g. Mk 16:20S), Speyer fragment
SBJ	subjunctive
sc.	*scilicet* 'namely'
SC	small clause
SG	singular
SH	sonority hierarchy
Sk	Skeireins
Skt.	Sanskrit
SL	Sievers' Law
sme	someone
sthg	something
STR	strong verb
SUBJ	subject
SUPERL	superlative
SUPPL	suppletive
s.v.	*sub vide* 'see under'
Sw.	Swedish
Thess	Thessalonians
theta	thematic (role)

Tim	Timothy
Tit	Titus
TL	Thurneysen's Law
Toch.	Tocharian
TR	transitive
tr.	translator; translated by
V	vowel (phonological contexts)
V	verb (with S, O, etc.)
VFIN	finite verb
VINF	infinitive
V1	verb first
V2	verb second
v.	*vide* 'see'
v.	verso (of text foliae)
VCD	voiced
VCL	voiceless
Ved.	Vedic
Vet. Lat.	Vetus Latina
viz.	*videlicet* 'namely'
VL	Verner's Law
VL + date	Vetus Latina, ed. Jülicher et al. (1963–76)
VL + #	Vetus Latina MS number
VL	Vulgar Latin
v.l.	*varia lectio* ('variant reading')
v.ll.	variant readings
VO	verb-object
VOC	vocative
vol(s).	volume(s)
VP	verb phrase
vs.	verse (in text references)
vs.	versus
Vulg.	Vulgate
W	west
WK	weak
WS	West Saxon dialect (OE)
w. lit	with literature (references)
XP	phrase of any lexical-syntactic category

CHAPTER 1
The Goths and Gothic

Despite many defenses of the traditional account, there is no secure evidence for a Scandinavian origin of the Goths, no runic evidence, and linguistic parallels between Gothic and Old Norse are inconclusive. The Goths had considerable contact with the Romans. Not only are there many borrowings from Latin, but many Greek words in Gothic have their Latin form. The entire Gothic corpus contains a little over 70,000 words preserved in some 15 documents. Many mysteries surround the Gothic translation of the Bible. Evidence for multiple translators is presented from lexical, morphological, and syntactic localization, as well as the range from fully idiomatic to marginally acceptable to ungrammatical constructions.

1.1 Brief history of the Goths

> Die Geschichte der Goten,
> eine Diskussion ohne Ende
>
> (Hachmann 1970: 1)

Most of what is known about the Goths is from Jordanes, maybe a romanized Goth but he is unclear on that and possibly of mixed Alan descent (Wagner 1967: 4–17; Vieira Pinto 2017).[1] Born ?ca. 480 on the lower Danube, he served in Moesia (north of Thrace, northern Bulgaria today) as a *notarius* (secretary) to the otherwise unknown Ostrogoth-Alan Gunthigis, also called Baza, a military commander in Moesia (Vieira Pinto 2017).[2]

[1] For the Goths and their history, see Heather & Matthews (1991), Scardigli (1964, 1973), Wagner (1967), Hachmann (1970), Høst (1971), Christensen (2002) [disputes Jordanes' sources and Svennung (1967, 1969)], Teillet (2011). See also Schwarcz (1992), Lenski (1995) [revised chronology], Budanova (1999), Wolfram (1976 [pre-Christian religion], 1979, 2005a, b), McLynn (2007), Barnish & Marazzi (2007), Liebeschuetz (2011) [defends Jordanes on Gothic traditions, for which cf. Vitiello 2005], and the papers in Hagberg (1972) and Kaliff & Munkhammar (2013). There are many unknowns about Wulfila and the Bible translation (Ebbinghaus 1992; Poulter 2007; Munkhammar 2011b). Bibliographies include Petersen (2005, 2009), Ferreiro (2008, 2011, 2014), and the references in Falluomini (2013a, 2015).

[2] The name Baza occurs at Ammædara (Francovich Onesti 2002: 179, comparing MPers. *bāz* 'falcon').

The Oxford Gothic Grammar. First edition. D. Gary Miller

Jordanes' *Getica* 'The Getae/Goths' (on the confusion see Löwe 1991), was written in Constantinople in Moesian administrative Latin (Croke 1987) before 1 April 551. It departs considerably from what little is known about the lost twelve-book *Historia Gothica* (Gothic History) [a533] by Cassiodorus [ca. 490–ca. 583] (Barnish 1984; Croke 1987). Jordanes, who was writing a world history, was asked to summarize that work, but without access to it, as he confesses in his Preface, he had to rely on memory from prior readings (*relēgī* 'I (re)read' or 're-re-read'?; see Wagner 1967: 50), plus other sources, especially Orosius, Priscus, and Ablavius (nothing extant but see Hachmann 1970: 59–109), and his own additions (Christensen 2002; Liebeschuetz 2011: 187ff.). Everyone agrees that Jordanes was wrong that "the Goths" were initially united.

Jordanes uses the Scandia theme: the Goths moved from Scandza to Gothiscandza near the delta of the Vistula, then southeast in c2, splitting around the Black Sea.[3] Scandza may not belong to Gothic tradition (Hachmann 1970; Christensen 2002: 263).

Another suggestion is that "the Scandinavian Goths came from the south across the Baltic Sea rather than the other way around" (Kortlandt 2001: 22; cf. Mańczak 1984, 1987). This account is equally compatible with the (not unequivocal: Christensen 2002) topographic evidence of the Goths' relation to the *Gautoi* (Procopius) in Scandinavia, the Swedish *Östgötar* (cf. *Ostrogothae*), *Gutland / Gotland*, etc. (Strid 2010, 2013).

There is agreement on presence of the Goths in the Chernyakhov–Sântana de Mureș culture in the Moldova-Romania region just north of the Black Sea, at least from c3 to c5. Unfortunately, everything else, including how they got there, is disputed (e.g. Ioniță 1972; Halsall 2007: 133; Kulikowski 2007: 60–8).

The Goths had considerable contact with the Romans.[4] Not only are there borrowings from Latin (Jellinek 1926: 179–94; Stefanescu-Draganesti 1982), but many Greek

[3] Another interpretation of Jordanes' *Gothiscandza* is **Gutisk andja* 'Gothic end/coast', possibly Gdańsk (*CGG* 29; Green 1998: 166f., but see Kortlandt 2001). This is based on identification of the Wielbark culture (between the Oder and Vistula) with Goths (Urbańczyk 1998; Heather 2010: 104f.; Kaliff 2011) but archaeology cannot establish ethnicity (Poulter 2007). There is no secure evidence for a Scandinavian origin of the Goths (Hachmann 1970; Heather 1996: 25–30; Christensen 2002), no runic evidence (Nielsen 2011; Snædal 2017b), and linguistic parallels between Gothic and Old Norse are inconclusive (Chs. 7, 8, 11; *CGG* 30; Rösel 1962: 48–52; Nielsen 1989a: 80–103, 1995, 2002a; Stiles 2013; cf. Scardigli 2002: 555). Gothic is lexically nearest to High German and farthest from Scandinavian (Mańczak 1984, 1987), proving only contact (cf. Penzl 1985: 157f.), Scandinavian innovations (de Vries 1956), or common retentions (Patrick Stiles, p.c.). For works on the name of the Goths, see *Gotica Minora* 6 (2006).

[4] Early exposure to Latin is indicated by loanwords like Goth. *wein* 'wine', borrowed before the Latin change of *v* /w/ to /v/ in the first century (*GGS* 184; Corazza 1969: 10–13; Green 1998: 213; *EIE* 22f., 55).

Another possibility is *alew** '(olive) oil' (e.g. GEN SG *alewis* Lk 16:6), if from early Lat. **olēwom* (*GED* 26f.) or **oleivom* (Francovich Onesti 2011: 200). The problem is that olive oil from Baetica (southern Spain) is first known to German and British military garrisons via the Rhône–Rhine axis in c1 (*EIE* 76, w. lit), by which time the Latin form had long been *oleum* (Untermann 1954: 391). Hypotheses to salvage **olēwom* via the Celts in Moravia (e.g. Green 1998: 156ff.; Kortlandt 2001) and other alleged intermediaries leave different aspects of the word unexplained (*GED* 26f.) and are sheer guesses, given the absence of attestations. For Corazza (1969: 3, 14f.), *alew* was borrowed along the Vistula in c1/2.

The clue to the history of *alew** is provided by Goth. *l(a)iwa** 'lion': GEN PL *laiwane* Bl 1v.15 (Falluomini 2017: 291) or *liwane* based on loans into Slavonic (Roland Schuhmann, p.c.). *Liwa** is from Lat. *leō* 'id.' (Falluomini 2018b, w. lit). Since *leō* was itself borrowed (Breyer 1993: 152f.; Biville 1990: 94), the /w/ in *laiwa** presumably came from pre-Goth. **leū* / **liū* (Lat. /ō/ > Goth. /ū/; cf. Stifter 2010), which, when inflected, yielded **liw-a(n)-* by generalization of the stem */liw/.

words in Gothic have their Latin form,[5] e.g. *aíkklesjo* 'congregation', *aíwaggeljo* 'gospel', *aípistula** 'letter' (but Hellenizing *aípistaúle* in the Epistles), *diabulus* 'devil', *drakma** 'drachma', a Greek silver coin worth about 25 cents, ACC *kintu* (Mt 5:26) 'cent' (VL **centus*; cf. *centum* '100' Grienberger 1900: 140; Schröder 1925; Corazza 1969: 64), ACC *karkara* 'prison', *paúrpura** 'purple', *skaúrpjono* 'of scorpions', etc. (Luft 1898a: 296, 300f.; Elis 1903: 73; Gaebeler 1911: 3f.; Francovich Onesti 2011: 201, 203).

The usual account is that Gothic acquired most of its Latin borrowings in Dacia in c3/4 (Corazza 1969). Kortlandt (2001) argues that (i) the Goths had direct contact with Latin speakers along the Danube and encountered Greeks first in Moesia, and (ii) the Latin-based religious vocabulary points to the Goths entering Moesia from the west, not the north. This account is by no means unanimously accepted (cf. Schrijver 2014: 158f.), but can explain (i) the earlier borrowings from Latin, (ii) the large range of lexical loans, and (iii) contact-induced grammatical innovations (Stefanescu-Draganesti 1982).

The Ostrogoths occupied the area north of the Black Sea and in the Crimea. Visigoths settled west of the Black Sea and the Dniepr, and north of the Danube, in the Roman province of Dacia. In 376, the Visigoths crossed the Danube from Dacia to Moesia, then Thrace, where they defeated and killed the emperor Valens in 378.

The Visigoths sacked Rome in 410 during the reign [395–410] of Alaric (Goth. **Alareiks* 'king/ruler of all') [ca. 370–410]. Theoderic [ca. 454/5–526], Goth. **Þiudareiks* 'people-king/ruler of the tribe' (*Theoderīcus* in most c6 Roman sources: Wrede 1891: 51–7), Ostrogothic king of Italy [493–526], grew up in Roman Constantinople. Before 475, he led his people down the Danube from Pannonia to Lower Moesia. Theoderic entered Italy in 489, and by 490 controlled most of mainland Italy and Sicily. In 493, he captured Ravenna, established an Ostrogothic empire, and reigned thirty-three years. In 498, his rule of Italy was recognized by the emperor Anastasius in Constantinople.

When Germanic tribes converted to Christianity, it was Homoian Christianity (Wolfe 2014). Despite confusion between Homoianism and Arianism (Brown 2007; Berndt & Steinacher 2014), there was a doctrine that the Father and Son were merely 'alike'.[6] This may be reflected in some Gothic passages (denied by Schäferdiek 2002, but see Pakis 2008 and the disputes in Berndt & Steinacher 2014) but not others (Kauffmann 1898; Stutz 1966: 12ff.; Falluomini 2015: 15). There is no evidence for it in the Bologna fragment (Wolfe 2016, 2017). The opposition between the Arian and

Latin *oleum* '(olive) oil' had several Vulgar Latin variants, e.g. **oliu(m)*, **oleo/u(m)*. Trisyllabic forms are unstable (§§2.12f.), and **oliu(m)* was realized as disyllabic */olju/ (> **oli*), **oleu(m)* as */oleu̯/, borrowed into pre-Gothic as */alēu̯/ (maintaining the heavy syllable) which, when inflected, yielded *alew-is* etc. (§2.13). See now Pagliarulo (2019).

[5] Latin words in a Greek form also occur, e.g. *laigaion* (Mk 5:9, 15) = Gk. *legeṓn* for Lat. *legiō* 'legion', *praitoriaun* 'praetorium', *kaisar** 'Caesar', *maimbrana** 'parchment' (Bréal 1889: 629).

[6] Also antitrinitarian was Sabellianism (no difference at all between God, the son, and the spirit), which the Goths rejected: *iþ nu ains jah sa sa|ma wesi bi Sabailli|aus insahtai*: *missaleikaim band|wiþs namnam*: *hai|wa stojan jah ni sto|*[5.3]*jan*: *sa sama mahte|di*: (Sk 5.2.20–5.3.2) 'but now, if he were one and the same according to Sabellius' view, signified by different names, how could this same one judge and not judge?' The Christology of Skeireins is body/divine soul, and anti-Sabellian (Wolfe 2013).

Catholic churches has possibly been exaggerated. Schäferdiek (1967, 2014) argues that there was more cooperation than generally admitted, leading to the union between the Visigoths of Spain and the Catholic church in 589 (cf. Sullivan 1968). Of the seven buildings for Arian worship in Ravenna, three survive, including Theoderic's church dedicated to St. Martin, now the Basilica di Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (see Falluomini 2015: 28f., w. rich lit).

During the reign of Theoderic, the manuscripts of the Gothic Bible were recopied. The Gothic documents from Ravenna (§§10.6, 10.7) date to this same period.

In 552/3, the Ostrogoths were driven from Italy. Visigoths in Spain became Hispanicized. Some (variety of?) Goths remained in the Crimea at least through the sixteenth century, and probably through the eighteenth, on the evidence of influence on the Greek dialect spoken there and testimonies (details in Høst 1971, Rousseau 2016: 639–57).

1.2 Crimean Gothic

Crimean Gothic has eighty-six entries (101 lexical items) elicited in 1560/62 by Flemish diplomat Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq [1522–92] from two Crimeans, one a Greek, the other possibly a Crimean Goth but more competent in Greek.[7] De Busbecq's lists appear in his 'Fourth Turkish Letter' [1562] written in Latin. He himself seems to have been involved in its publication in Paris in 1589 (see Stiles 2005, w. lit).

In the following list of Crimean words of Germanic origin, bracketed forms are emendations by Schröder (1910), Stearns (1978), and others: *broe* [= *broet*] 'bread', *plut* 'blood' (Goth. *bloþ*), *stul* 'seat' (Goth. *stols*), *hus* 'house' (Goth. *-hūs*), *vvingart* 'vine' (Lat. *vītis* vs. Goth. *weinagards** 'vineyard'), *reghen* (which is straight Flemish: Rob Howell, p.c.) 'rain' (Goth. *rign*), *bruder* 'brother' (Goth. *broþar*), *schuuester* 'sister' (Goth. *swistar*), *alt* 'old' (cf. Goth. *alþeis* 'old'), *vvintch* [= *vvintsch*] 'wind' (cf. Goth. *winds*), *siluir* 'silver' (Goth. *silubr*), *goltz* 'gold' (Goth. *gulþ**), *salt* 'salt' (Goth. *salt*), *sune* 'sun' (Goth. *sauil*, *sunno*), *mine* 'moon' (Goth. *mena* Mk 13:24), *tag* 'day' (Goth. *dags*), *oeghene* 'eyes' (Goth. *augona*), *bars* 'beard' [=**bards*? Ganina, p. 114], *handa* 'hand' (Goth. *handus*), *boga* 'bow' (OE *boga*; cf. Goth. *biugan** 'bend'), *miera* 'ant' (cf. ON *maurr*), *rinck / ringo* 'ring' (cf. ON *hringr*), *brunna* 'fountain' (Goth. *brunna*), *vvaghen* 'wagon', *apel* 'apple' (Gmc. **apla-* < PIE **h₂ab-ol-* '(the) juicy' < 'watery'? [Neri

[7] The main discussions are Loewe (1902), Schröder (1910), Stearns (1978, 1989), Grønvik (1983), and Ganina (2011) with (unfortunately old) photographs of the Busbecq documents, discussion of every word in the corpus, and recent archaeological finds. It is especially useful for words that Busbecq did not consider Germanic. For some additional corrections, see Stiles (2005). Nucciarelli (1991) reconstructs eight lexical domains of the text: body parts and ornaments, military, culinary, family and aging, astronomical and weather, house and household, personal attributes, and verbs of human activities in the infinitive. Thanks to Wayne Harbert, Rob Howell, and Patrick Stiles for detailed discussion of this section.

Crimean Gothic and Wulfila's Gothic are distinguished here as 'Crimean' and 'Gothic' respectively. For historical writings on Crimean Gothic, see Vol. 4 (2005) of *Gotica Minora* (ed. Christian T. Petersen).

2016: 33; cf. *EDPC* 23, *EDL* 20, *EDPG* 31f.]; Hamp's North Central European **ablu-* 'sorb' [e.g. 2010] was challenged already by Adams 1985), *schieten* 'to shoot an arrow', *schlipen* 'to sleep' (Goth. *slepan*), *kommen* 'to come' (Goth. *qiman*), *singhen* 'to sing' (Goth. *siggwan*), *lachen* 'to laugh' (cf. Goth. *(uf)-hlohjan* 'make laugh'), *eriten* [= *criten*] 'to cry' (Goth. *gretan*), *geen* 'to go' (vs. Goth. *gaggan*), *breen* 'to roast' (ON *bræða*), *schuualth* 'death' (cf. Goth. *swiltan* 'die'), *statz* 'land' (Goth. *staþs**), *ada* 'egg' (§2.14), *ano* [= *(h)ano*] 'rooster' (Goth. *hana*).

Schröder (1910) and Stearns (1978) suggest that *kor* 'grain', *fisct* 'fish', *hoef* 'head', *thurn* 'door', were errors for *korn* 'grain' (Goth. *kaurn*), *fisc* 'fish' (Goth. *fisks**), *hoeft* 'head' (Goth. *haubiþ*), *thur* 'door' (Goth. *daur*). For *stein* 'star', it is possible that two words were intended: *stein* 'stone' (Goth. *stains*) and *stern* 'star' (Goth. *stairno**).

Most of the numerals have a very Germanic appearance: *ita, tua, tria, fyder* (Goth. *fidwor*), *fyuf* [= *finf*], *seis* (Goth. *saihs*), *seuene* (Goth. *sibun*), *athe* (Goth. *ahtau*), *nyne* (Goth. *niun*), *thiine* (Goth. *taihun*), *thiinita* '11', *thunetua* [= *thiinetua*? i.e. *thiine* + *tua* = Goth. *twai*] '12', *thunetria* [= *thiinetria*?] '13', etc.; *stega* '20' (cf. Goth. *tigjus**, OFris. *stīge*), *trei-thyen* '30' (Goth. *þreis-tigjus**), *furdei-thien* '40'. From Iranian are *sada* '100' (cf. Pers. *sad*) and *hazer* '1000' < MPers. *hazār* 'thousand' (Loewe 1902: 15–19, w. lit).

Some elicited Crimean forms appeared to Busbecq not to be Germanic although they are, e.g. *iel* 'life, health', *ieltsch* 'living, healthy' (cf. Goth. *hails* 'well'), *iel vburt* [= *vvurt*?] 'may it be well' (Goth. (*)*hail waurþi*), *schuos* 'fiancee' (error for *schnos* 'daughter-in-law' [Grønvik 1983: 27; Patrick Stiles, p.c.] or related to Goth. *swes* 'property' [Ganina, p. 147, w. lit]), *menus* [= **mem(m)s, menns*?] 'meat' (Goth. *mimz*), *fers* 'man' (Goth. *fairhus* 'world' Hamp 1973a; cf. Ganina, p. 119f.), *baar* 'boy' (Goth. *barn*), *ael* 'stone' (Goth. *hallus**), *mycha* 'two-edged sword' (Goth. *meki* 'short sword', prob borrowed into Gmc. *GED* 250), *rintsch* 'mountain' (cf. *GED* 286).

Non-Germanic are *marzus* 'marriage' (cf. (?) Lat. *marītus* 'husband'), *telich* 'foolish' (< Turkish *telyg*), *stap* 'goat' (cf. Alb. *tsap*, Slav. **capŭ*, etc. 'he-goat': Ganina, p. 150f., w. lit), *schediit* 'light' (cf. (?) Avestan *xšaēta-* 'light'), *cadariou* 'soldier' (for *cadarion*, from (Lat.-)Gk. *kenturíōn* 'centurion' Menner 1937; less likely is Gk. *kontárion* 'spear').

Unclear are *atochta* 'bad' (perhaps Goth. **at-ogan*), *lista* 'too little' (cf. OE *lǣst* 'least', but see *GED* 233f., Ganina, p. 221), *borrotsch* 'wish' or 'joy'? (cf. Goth. *ga-baurjoþum* Lk 8:14 'by pleasures'; Lat. *voluntās* may be for *voluptās* 'pleasure' but see Stearns 1978: 131, *GED* 78).

Inflected forms include *tzo* [*v*]*varthata* 'you made', *ies* [*v*]*varthata* 'he made'; cf. Goth. *waurhta*, perhaps plus Goth. *þata* 'that' (Stearns, pp. 44, 129). For *malthata* 'I say' suggestions include *mal-thata* 'I say that' (Stearns, p. 107), PRET *maþlida* to Goth. *maþljan** (Loewe 1902: 13; cf. Matzel 1989: 89f.), and *mathla-(i)ta* 'I say it' (Rousseau 2016: 636). See Ganina (pp. 135ff., 215–20). For *kilemschkop* 'drink up your cup (*kop*?)' there are many guesses in Ganina (p. 131ff.).

The forms in *-(t)z* probably represent a misperception of /þ/, e.g. *goltz* = Goth. *gulþ** 'gold', *statz* 'land' = Goth. *staþs** (DAT *staþa*) 'shore', *tzo* = Goth. *þu* 'you' (Stearns, p. 85; cf. Ganina, pp. 103, 110). A genuine affricate has sometimes been posited (e.g. Rousseau 2016: 636) but seems unlikely.

Crimean is East Germanic, parallel to but not directly descended from Wulfila's Gothic (Zadorožnyj 1960; Costello 1973; Stearns 1978; Ganina 2011; Wayne Harbert, p.c.). A West Germanic dialect influenced by Gothic (Grønvik 1983, 1995) would entail a very large number of direct borrowings from Gothic. For instance, Gothic and Crimean alone have a /d/ in **fedwōr* 'four' (Goth. *fidwor/fidur-*, Crim. *fyder*) and /z/ where the rest of Germanic has rhotacism (cf. Loewe 1902: 13f.; Ringe 2012: 34; Stiles 2013: 15); cf. Crim. *ies*, Goth. *is* 'he' vs. OHG (etc.) *er* 'id.' (Stearns 1978: 140, *GED* 204).

Based on *mine* for Goth. *mena* 'moon', *mycha* for *meki* 'sword', *plut* for *bloþ* 'blood', *stul* for *stols* 'seat', etc., Crimean seems to have raised the long mid vowels.

Moreover, Crim. *ada* 'egg' (NOM PL) has Verschärfung (§2.14) of the Gothic kind (Ganina, p. 108f.), and forms with *-d-* do not exist in North Germanic (ON *egg*) or West Germanic (OHG *ei* 'egg') (cf. Stiles 2013: 7).

Several words may contain Goth. *-ata* (§3.7), e.g. *gadeltha* 'beautiful' (cf. *gatilata** 'fitting'?), *vvichtgata* [= *vvitgata*?] 'white' (cf. *hveitata**), a precise isogloss with Gothic (Loewe 1902: 21f., 35; Zadorožnyj 1960: 214; Stearns 1978: 118f.; Ganina 2011: 226).

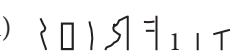
Wulfila's Gothic appears to have innovations that are absent in Crimean. One is preservation of /u/ before /r/, as in Crim. *thur{n}* (influenced by Flemish *deur*?) vs. Goth. *daur* 'door' (unless a different word 'towergate' [Høst 1985: 43f.]), but note *korn* (= Goth. *kaurn*). Crimean may have *a-* umlaut in *goltz* vs. Goth. *gulþ** 'gold' (cf. Stearns 1989: 180ff.), but the similarity to Dutch *goud / gold* is striking (Rob Howell, p.c.).

Differences between Biblical Gothic and recorded Crimean are not surprising, given that (i) at least ten centuries separate the two, (ii) the informants may not have been native Crimean Gothic speakers, (iii) Flemish misperceptions are rampant (e.g. *tria* vs. Goth. *þrija* 'three'), and (iv) transcription errors abound (*goltz* for *gulþ** 'gold' etc.).

1.3 Possible East Germanic runes

The question of Gothic runes is often addressed. Some nine (mostly uninterpretable) inscriptions with fewer than 20 words covering a period of 400 years have been claimed to be East Germanic (see Nedoma 2010: 9). In addition to *ranja* on a spearhead (*ORI* 7: Dahmsdorf [201–50]) 'router' (§8.23), two possibilities are mentioned here.

An early spearhead (Kr 33, *ORI* 96) from Kowel, West Ukraine [210–90] (*KRP*), has been thought to be Gothic or, more generally, East Germanic. The inscription in (1) is retrograde, and the *d-* letter would have a unique box-form (e.g. Mel'nikova 2001: 90f.; Nedoma 2010: 14).

(1) 

Despite eight interpretations in the Kiel Rune Project (checked 30 October 2017), the inscription is generally agreed to read *tilarīds* 'attacker', 'goal-rider', 'goal-pursuer', or the like; cf. OE *tilian* 'to attain', ON *ríða* 'to ride' (Antonsen 2002: 57, 214; Nedoma

2010: 14–20, 43f.). The inscription has been thought to be East Germanic because of the *-s* and the location, but movable objects can come from anywhere. If it is runic, it may be non-Gothic (Snædal 2011a; Nielsen 2011, w. lit). Must (1955) and Snædal (2017b) insist that the letters are not runic but from a Greek epichoric alphabet. Snædal reads ΤΙΓΓΡΙΟΣ, i.e. *Tigúrios*, a Celtic tribe in Switzerland. Must's interpretation as Illyrian *Tilurios* or *Tilarios* is also possible.

Around the middle of the fourth century, an apparently Ostrogothic inscription was made on the golden ring of Pietroassa (Pietroasele, Romania).

(2) gutaniowihailag
gutanī ō(þal) wī(h) hailag
'possession of the Goths, sacred, holy'

The Kiel Rune Project (checked 30 October 2017) lists fifteen interpretations, but the reading in (2), defended by Bammesberger (1994: 5f.) and MacLeod & Mees (2006: 173), is confirmed by a republished photo (Svärdström 1972: 119; Mees 2002: 78f.; Nedoma 2010: 30). Whether *Gutanio* '(of) Gothic women' (MacLeod & Mees 2006: 173) or *gutani o* remains in dispute. If the latter, the first word can be *Gutani* (Goth. **Gutanē* 'of the Goths'), hence the old interpretation in (2) defended by Nedoma (2010: 29ff., 44f.). The letter *o* in that case stands for its name **ōþal* 'inheritance' (§2.1). The last word is likely *hailag* 'holy' (not in Wulfila's text), and *wi(h)* may be *wīh* 'sanctuary' or 'sacred', comparable to Wulfila's *weihs* 'holy', *weiha* (2x) 'priest'. Nothing precludes Ostrogothic, but Ebbinghaus (1990) finds the evidence unconvincing, and Snædal (2017b) claims the inscription is Old High German.

For the rest, the reader is referred to Nedoma (2010) and Snædal's contributions.

1.4 Wulfila and Gothic documents

Probably of Anatolian parents enslaved by Goths in Western Cappadocia, Wulfila lived ca. 307/311–ca. 383 (Streitberg 1897; Stutz 1972: 388; Metzger 1977: 384f.).[8] What little is known about him is from his student and later bishop of Durostorum, Auxentius, and the fifth-century Church historians Philostorgios of Cappadocia, Socrates Scholasticus (Constantinople), and Sozomen (Palestine). His name was variously rendered *Ulfila* (Auxentius), *Ourphílās* (Photius, Philostorgios), *Oulphílās* (Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret), *Vulphilas* (Cassiodorus), *Vulfila* (Jordanes), etc. Spellings from Gothic territories, especially *Vu-* associated with Ravenna and *Gulfilas* in Isidor of Seville point to Goth. *Wulfila* 'little wolf' (Klein 1952; cf. Weinhold 1870: 3; *GGS* 9; Schäferdiek 1990a; Ebbinghaus 1991a; *GED* 375).

Constantine sanctioned Christianity in 325. Between 337 and 341 (Sivan 1996: 381ff.; Barnes 1990 argued for 336), Wulfila was consecrated bishop of the Visigoths

[8] Since all of the basic information is collected in Munkhammar (2011b), other sources are cited here for convenience. Munkhammar (e.g. 2011d: 41) prefers the dates 311–81 for Wulfila. Also useful are the summaries in Kirchner (1879) and Plate (1931).

for Gothia (Goth. *Gutþiuda** Cal 1.1, 1.7) in eastern Dacia (Vasiliev 1936: 12ff.; Kokowski 2007). He preached for forty years in Greek, Latin, and Gothic (Auxentius; cf. Burton 2002). During that time, he began his translation of the Gothic Bible, most likely in the preparation of sermons. The more polished portions of the translation, especially in the Gospel of John (§1.7), could reflect their use in sermons over the years.

Persecuted by Athanaric and other unChristianized Goths, Wulfila led his people across the Danube in 347/8. When the Visigoths became Christianized is disputed (Schäferdiek 1979a, b), and initially involved Gothicization of Christians (Schäferdiek 1990b: 38; 1992: 24f.).

Around 369 (traditional date) Wulfila completed religious texts for the Goths of Moesia, or *Gothi minores*, who remained in the area for centuries (cf. Velkov 1989).

Whether or not Wulfila translated the Bible is disputed. Auxentius mentions that Wulfila wrote several treatises and many commentaries but does not mention a Bible translation (Griepentrog 1990: 33ff., w. lit). This may imply that others were involved (Gryson 1990: 13).

Testimonies exist that Wulfila translated the Bible. One is by Cassiodorus (translating Socrates): 'Vulphilas, bishop of the Goths, invented the Gothic letters [i.e. the alphabet] and translated the divine scriptures into that language'.[9]

The ninth-century theologian Wala(h)frid Strabo of Reichenau reports that *studiōsī… dīvīnōs librōs… trānstulērunt* '(a team of) scholars translated the sacred books' into Gothic.[10] Leont'ev (1964) reviews the church historians and their commentators, and claims that there is no conclusive evidence that Wulfila translated the Bible. Nevertheless, the seemingly discrepant testimonies are not necessarily contradictory. Auxentius does not rule out involvement of more scholars, and the statement by Cassiodorus, known for his curt, unelaborated report style, can be shorthand, the pragmatic assumption being that Wulfila did not translate the Bible alone (§§1.7f.).

1.5 The Gothic corpus

The entire extant Gothic corpus is preserved in nine manuscripts. Seven transmit parts of the Bible translation. Prior to the discovery of the Bologna fragment, the corpus contained fewer than 70,000 words (Snædal 2009a). Excluding inflectionally related forms and 333 foreign names, the word total is 3204, built on some 1500 roots.

[9] *Vulphilās Gothōrum episcopus litterās Gothicās adinvēnit, et scrīptūrās dīvīnās in eam convertit linguam* (Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* 8.13.3, http://monumenta.ch/latein/text.php?tabelle=Cassiodorus&rumpfid=Cassiodorus,%20Historia%20Ecclesiastica,%2008,%20%20%2013&nf=1). Philostorgios (*Ecclesiastical History*. 2.5 reported by Photius) also asserted that 'Ourphilas' translated the whole Bible except for the Books of Kings, but Hebrews was not translated (§1.5).

[10] *De eccles. rerum exordiis* vii, in *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, Legum sectio II: *Capitularia regum Francorum* 2.481 (cf. Maßmann 1857: LVII; Odefey 1908: 22; Leont'ev 1964: 275).

Over two-thirds of these are of Indo-European provenance and about fourteen percent have cognates only within Germanic (Falluomini 2018b).

Codex Argenteus

Most of the Gothic corpus is in the *codex Argenteus* (now in Uppsala), produced ca. 520 in Ravenna (Munkhammar 2011a; cf. Ebbinghaus 1997). The 'silver codex' was first edited by Franciscus Junius in 1665 (see Munkhammar 2017). It is a deluxe manuscript, written in silver and gold ink (containing real silver and gold) on purple vellum, dyed with orchil or folium (Munkhammar 2018). The letters are large, very regular, and easy to read. Each section begins with a partial or entire line in gold letters, and each Gospel opens with several lines in gold. Acker (1994: 34) describes the "artistry in alternation of gold and silver, the Eusebian canon markers, the big letter sections, the framing of the canon tables at the bottom of each page…" Production of such a codex was very expensive, and presupposed great importance of the text.[11]

Cod. Arg. is written in two hands (visible in Friesen & Grape 1927 and more recent photographs), with differences between Matthew–John (Scribe 1) and Luke–Mark (Scribe 2). The latter features more slender and angular letters and straighter lines than the former (Friesen & Grape 1927: 56).

Cod. Arg. contains 187 of the original 336 parchment leaves (Friesen's calculation). The last leaf, the Speyer fragment, discovered in 1970, contains the long ending of Mark 16:9–20S (S = Speyer) (Szemerényi 1972; Garbe 1972; Hamp 1973b; Scardigli 1973: 302–80; Zatočil 1980; Stutz 1971, 1973, 1991). The Speyer subscript has the only syllabified text in the Gothic corpus: *ai-wag-gel-jo…us-tauh wul-þus þus wei-ha g(u) þ* 'the Gospel…has ended; glory to you, holy God'.

Codices Ambrosiani

Most of the remainder of the translation of the Gothic Bible is in the *codd. Ambr.* A–D (E is Skeireins), all palimpsests from but probably not all written at the Benedictine Bobbio Abbey in northern Italy [c7/8] (Scardigli 1994: 527f.; cf. Van den Hout 1952), now housed in Milan, Turin, and Vatican City (Munkhammar 2011d: 47; Falluomini 2015).

A (102 leaves + *cod. Taurinensis* below) contains parts of the Epistles, 44 margin glosses, and, on the next to last page, a fragment of a Gothic liturgical calendar of martyrs (Ebbinghaus 1975), probably dating to c5 (Schäferdiek 1988, 1990b: 36).

> The calendar contains the only attestation of (*ana*) *gutþiudai* (Cal 1.1, 1.7) '(in) Gothia, (in) the land of the Goths' (Ebbinghaus 1976a: 140; cf. Friedrichsen 1927: 90f.; *GED* 163f.). The feast days marked on the calendar are non-western.
> Commentary and discussion: Loewe (1922a), Ebbinghaus (1978), Reichert (1989), Schmeja (1998), Landau (2006).

[11] For details, see Munkhammar (2011a, 2018), Staats (2011), Snædal & Lock (2018). Online facsimile edition: http://ub.uu.se/about-the-library/exhibitions/codex-argenteus/about-the-project/. Photos: http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?pid=alvin-record%3A60279&dsId=ATTACHMENT-0001&cid=1/.

B (78 leaves) contains parts of the Epistles (less Romans and Philemon), including 2 Corinthians, the only book preserved in its entirety in the extant Gothic corpus.

> Copies of the Pauline Epistles (less Hebrews, which was probably not by Paul and never translated; see Falluomini 2015: 143), especially *codd. Ambr.* A, B, attest some textual modifications but share nineteen errors that point to a common ancestor (Friedrichsen 1939: 62–127; see also Bernhardt 1874b), despite differences in stichometry in the immediate sources (Marold 1890: 10). *Cod. Ambr.* B contains no glosses.

C (2 leaves) has fragments of Matthew 25:38–46, 26:1–3, 65–75, 27:1, overlapping on 26:70–27:1 with *cod. Arg.* but containing minor textual differences.

D (3 leaves) contains fragments of Nehemiah 5:13–18, 6:14–7:3, 7:13–45. Despite the demonstration by Kauffmann (1897) that the text is in fact Nehemiah, and the commentary by Langner (1903), Landau (2011) claims the last portion is Ezra 2:9–42, but did not take the Lucianic Nehemiah into account (Snædal & Petersen 2012).[12] While some Lucianic readings of Ezra are the same as in the Lucianic Nehemiah, there are readings in Nehemiah that match the Gothic against Ezra, and the leaf in question (209/210) perfectly adjoins to leaf 461/462 of Nehemiah (Heinzle 2016).

This is the only portion of the Old Testament preserved in Gothic (with notable differences in style and the treatment of Biblical names), although a number of OT passages are preserved in references and citations (Maßmann 1857; Ohrloff 1876; Mühlau 1904), and now also in the Bologna fragment (below), with citations from Genesis, Exodus, Isaiah, Psalms, and Daniel (Falluomini 2014).[13]

E (8 leaves) contains pages of Skeireins.

> Skeireins (aíwaggeljons þairh Iohannen) 'Explication (of the Gospel according to John)' was so-named by Maßmann (1834), its first editor. Of the eight parchment leaves (sixteen pages), 1, 2, 5–7 are in *cod. Ambr.* E, and 3, 4, 8 in *cod. Vaticanus Latinus* 5750 (folia 57–62), all by the same scribe, with meticulous corrections by a second (Bennett 1960: 26f.). The original length, if the text was completed, is unknown. The extant version contains commentary on 37 Biblical verses, 23 of which occur in the extant Wulfilian text with only six precise matches (Falluomini 2016a). A Greek source is likely because of its Classical stylistic features (McKnight 1897b; Bennett 1960: 41f.; Friedrichsen 1961a). Friedrichsen (1961b, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1970) attempts to reconstruct the original by Wulfila's contemporary, Theodore, bishop of Heraclea (cf. Snædal 2015a), who wrote commentaries on John and Matthew. But a match of seven lines does not prove that Skeireins was translated in its entirety (Falluomini 2016a: 278). Schäferdiek (1981) argues that theologically Skeireins must date to the second quarter of c4. Griepentrog (1990) takes the next leap and claims

[12] The Gothic translation of the Old Testament was based on the revision of the Septuagint ascribed to Lucian († 311/312). This was the version used by Arian Christians in Asia Minor and Greece (Streitberg 1919: xxxii; Friedrichsen 1926: 8; Elsakkers 2005: 44, 52, w. lit).

[13] Prior to Gothic citations of Exodus, the existence of a Gothic version was posited on circumstantial evidence, such as presence of an ancient law on abortion in the *Leges Visigothorum* 6.3.2, with a distinction between a formed and unformed fetus, which matches only the Lucianic Septuagint-based Vetus Latina versions of Ex 21:22f. (Elsakkers 2005).

that Wulfila translated Skeireins. This idea is generally rejected because of the belief that Skeireins is later and too divergent (e.g. Del Pezzo 1973a; Ebel 1978; *GG* 10f.; see the discussion in Helm 1958), but a contemporaneous work is plausible with team involvement. In that event, it is possible that the stylistic differences from the Gothic Bible are due to different translators, the different text type and linguistic content, or both (cf. Bennett 1959b).

Codex Carolinus

Cod. Carolinus [c6^{b}] in Wolfenbüttel is one of two Gothic-Latin bilinguals. It is a palimpsest with four leaves containing about 42 verses of Romans 11–15 (Kauffmann 1911b; Falluomini 1999). The Gothic text on the left is typical of bilingual works in which the language for the intended audience is on the right. These were probably written by Goths for Latin-speaking Goths or Arian Romans (Falluomini 1999, 2015: 29f., 36ff.).

Codex Gissensis

The second of the two Gothic-Latin bilinguals (Gothic text on the left, Latin on the right) is the flood-destroyed *cod. Gissensis* [c6]. Only photos remain of the double parchment leaf, revealing a few final words of the Gothic column (Lk 23:11–14, 24:13–17, signaled Lk *Gissensis*) and initial words of the Vetus Latina text with some Vulgate readings (Lk 23:3–6, 24:5–9). Editions and reconstructions: Glaue & Helm (1910), Kuhlmann (1994), Snædal (2003), Falluomini (2010b).

Codex Taurinensis

Cod. Taurinensis (Turin National University Library) is part of *cod. Ambr.* A and contains four leaves with fragments of Galatians and Colossians (Maßmann 1868).

Gotica Veronensia

Gotica Veronensia [c5^{e}/6^{b}] consists of 27+ margin glosses in Gothic (about thirteen of which are legible) to the Latin homilies by Maximin the Arian. Gothic notes indicate the content of the homilies (Kraus 1929; Marchand 1973b; Gryson 1982; Snædal 2002b), e.g. *bi horos jah motarjos* [for *bi horans* jah motarjans**] (19.30) *dē adulterīs et publicānīs* 'concerning adulterers and money-changers' (Kraus, p. 211).

Codex Bononiensis: The 'Bologna fragment'

Discovered in 2010, *cod. Bon.* is a bifolium (two pages recto and verso) on a palimpsest [c6^{1}] from the Basilica of San Petronio in Bologna. The Gothic text (Falluomini 2014, 2016b, 2017; Auer & De Vaan 2016; cf. Finazzi & Tornaghi 2013, 2014) was scraped off but mostly visible behind the letters superimposed to reuse the manuscript for Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. The Gothic is an eclectic composition of Old and New Testament quotes that go back to Wulfila's version. Various stylistic points and invocations ('save us, Lord') suggest a sermon (Sigismund 2016). Multiple defenses of God ('if there is no God…') point also to a proselytizing function (but see Wolfe

2017). Some words and passages (especially of the Old Testament) are previously unattested. Verses parallel to those in *cod. Arg.* do not differ in substance, but there are differences in their arrangement, use, introduction, and coherence (see §§10.9–10.13). Special manuscript properties are discussed in Falluomini (2016c).

Ostrogothic deeds
Nonliterary documents are embedded in two Latin papyri with some Gothic signatures (Scardigli 1973: 269–301; Tjäder 1982), ultimately from Ravenna (Penzl 1977). One is a land transfer title deed from Arezzo [538], of which only a copy from 1731 is extant. The remaining four are debt-settlement deeds from Naples [551], differing only in names and titles (http://www.gotica.de/urkunden.html, NaplesDeed).

Codex Vindobonensis / Gotica Vindobonensia
The so-called Salzburg-Vienna Alcuin MS (*cod. Vindobonensis*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 795) [c8^{e}/9^{b}] contains a few words from Lk 9:28 (and maybe 15:32), the title of Luke's Gospel, some numerals of Genesis, two abecedaria with the first sixteen of the 27 Gothic letters (Falluomini 2010a; cf. Sickel 1875: 471ff.), plus letter names resembling the Old English and Old Norse rune names (§2.1). The Gothic text is later, possibly inserted by Visigoths in southern Gaul (Falluomini 2015: 43). The entire contents are summarized and described in Zironi (2009: 254–65).

Crimean graffiti
Five ninth- or tenth-century graffiti discovered in 2015 in a church near Sevastopol in the Crimea feature some previously unattested quotes from the Gothic Bible, e.g. Psalm 77:14+ (Vinogradov & Korobov 2015, 2018; Korobov & Vinogradov 2016). The language is very close to Wulfilian Gothic, and in the old sigmatic alphabet (§2.2). Some new forms occur, e.g. *sildaleika* 'wonders, miracles' in the otherwise nonextant *þu is g(u)þ waurkjands sildaleika* (Ps 77:14) 'you are the God working wonders' (Korobov & Vinogradov 2016: 145f.).

Gotica Parisina
This manuscript [c8^{e}/9^{b}] transmits seven Gothic Biblical names, six from the genealogy of Jesus in Lk 3. The names compared to their equivalent in the *cod. Arg.* are: *Laiueis* (*Arg. Laiwweis* 3:24, 29, 5.29), *Mailkeis* (= *Arg.* 3:24), *Zauraubabelis* (*Arg. Zauraubabilis* 3:27), *Airmodamis* (= *Arg.* 3:28), *Simaion* (*Arg. Swmaions* 3:30), *Aileiaizeris* (*Arg. Aileiaizairis* 3:29), *Paitrus* (= *Arg. passim*). See the commentary in Snædal (2015a).

Tabella Hungarica
A lost lead tablet [c5^{3}] from Hungary (the *tabella Hungarica*), probably an amulet, has part of John 17:11–12 (Harmatta 1997; Streitberg & Scardigli 2000: 507–14; Falluomini 2015: 41, w. lit).

Minor attestations

The smaller documents include a few potential runic inscriptions (§1.3) and an epigram containing a few 'Vandal' words in *cod. Salmasianus* [ca. 800], p. 141:

> *inter eils goticum scapiamatziaiadrincan*. The first part is 'amid Gothic *hails*!' After that the text may read: **Skapja! *Matja jah *drigkan!* '(Hail!) Waiter! Food and drink!' (Snædal 2009b, taking *matja*, *drincan* as nouns). Schuhmann (forthcoming, §1.2.3.k) follows another tradition in taking the words as Gothic and *matzia ia drincan* as (substantivized) infinitives *matja(n) jah drigkan* [to eat and drink] 'food and drink!'. Kleiner (2018) criticizes all accounts and takes *scapia* as a 1SG verb: 'amidst Gothic shouting, I make food and drink(s)' or 'amidst greetings, I make Gothic food and drink(s)'.[14] For textual criticism see Scardigli (1974).

There are several other fragments, borrowings, names, and margin glosses that reveal a tradition of Gothic textual exegesis (Plate 1931; Stutz 1972: 381).

Forty-four margin glosses appear in *cod. Ambr.* A, perhaps in different hands (cf. Scardigli 1994: 530). The remaining 15 glosses (plus one, possibly later, on Mk 2:13) are in *cod. Arg.*: ten on Luke, four on Mark (Scribe 2), one on Matthew (itemized in Falluomini 2015: 46). The Latin glosses also bear witness to scholarly activity with the manuscript (details in Acker 1994).

A complete list of Gothic sources and texts, less the recent discoveries, can be found on the Wulfila Project website and in Snædal (2013a: vol. 1). For descriptions, see also Plate (1931), Stutz (1966), Gryson (1990), and, for the manuscripts, Scardigli (1994), Rendboe (2008), Falluomini (2015, 2016c).

1.6 The Bible translation

Because of Hellenization and then Christianization, Gothic has several layers of culture terms, some borrowed, some translated by novel derivatives or compounds, and many expressed by adaptation of a native word or compound, especially to express Christian meanings (Kauffmann 1920: esp. 357–88; 1923). Generally speaking, Greek loanwords are mostly connected with Christianity. Other terms of Mediterranean civilization are from Latin (Kortlandt 2001).

Excluding the Bologna fragment and the Crimean graffiti, the Gothic lexicon contains 333 foreign names and 146 loanwords and derivatives from them (Snædal 2009a: 152f.). There are also many calques (Schulze 1905; Gaebeler 1911; Lühr 1985; Davis 2002; Casaretto 2010, 2014; Snædal 2015a). Generally speaking, Velten (1930: 303) found over 400 loan translations vs. 116 borrowings. Divergences in the rendering of the foreign words and constructions are partly stylistic or interpretive and partly due

[14] Huld (1990) assumes loss of *h* and a new dialect: in *scapiam atzia ia(h) drincan* 'let us prepare food and drink', *atzia* and *drincan* are ACC nouns, *atzja* (ACC PL N) 'eats', cognate with ON *-æti* 'food' (mostly for animals), in contrast to Wulfilian *af-etja* (2x) 'glutton' with *e*.

to Wulfila's sources or team of translators (Metlen 1932: 22f., 25; Friedrichsen 1939: 259, 1961a: 103f.; Barasch 1973: *passim*; Gryson 1990: 13; Falluomini 2015: 147).

Some word and form distributions are translation prompted (Regan 1970, 1972). To illustrate variation due to different Greek meanings, four Gothic words translate Gk. *asthenḗs*: *lasiws* (2Cor 10:10B) 'weak (in body)', *siuks* (Jn 6:2 *siukaim*) '(physically) sick, diseased', *unmahteigs* (Rom 14:1A *unmahteigana*) 'weak, unfirm (in faith)', *unhails** (Lk 9:2 *unhailans*) 'unhealthy, sick; mentally ill' (Barasch 1973: 132, 140f.).

Gk. *dógma* is translated *gagrefts* (Lk 2:1) 'decree', *ragin* [ACC] (Col 2:14B *raginam*) 'legal demand', *garaideins* (Eph 2:15A/B *garaideinim*) 'ordinance' (Barasch 1973: 145).

Goth. *biuþs** translates Gk. *trápeza*, Lat. *mēnsa* 'table' only in the sense of 'dining table' (Mk 7:28, Lk 16:21, 1Cor 10:21A (2x), Neh 5:17). The tables of the money changers (Mk 11:15) are rendered with *mesa* (Rosén 1984: 371–8).

The intersection of two Gothic words can translate one Greek word, as in *ei samo hugjaima* ((*jah samo fraþjaima*)) (Phil 3:16A/B) 'that we may be disposed (as) one and understand (as) one' (cf. Ratkus 2018c, and see *sama* in App.) for Gk. *tò autò phroneîn* [to mind the same] 'to be of one mind'. Since *jah samo fraþjaima* has no basis in the *Vorlage* (cf. *Ulf.* 810, Marold 1883: 65ff.), Streitberg (1919: 375) follows Bernhardt (1875) in assuming that the addition was a margin gloss that got incorporated into the text.

Some variations can be just stylistic, such as avoidance of the same Gothic word in close succession (*GrGS* 284–90; Groeper 1915: 85ff.; Kauffmann 1920: 181–6; Stutz 1972: 380; Falluomini 2015: 82–8). Interpretive variations in (lexical) aspect, viewpoint, theological factors, etc., also occur, as noted by many (e.g. Götti 1974; Lloyd 1979).

A stylistic feature that pervades the translation is repetition, of syllables, words, and phrases. Hundreds of examples can be found in Kauffmann (1920), e.g. *sumanz-uþ þan praufetuns, sumanz-uþ þan aiwaggelistans, sumanz-uþ þan hairdjans jah laisarjans* (Eph 4:11A) 'and some prophets and some evangelists and some pastors and teachers' (Kauffmann 1920: 28). Most of these stylistic features are also characteristic of the Greek and Latin versions, although not necessarily in the same passages.

One type of syllable repetition is homoioteleuton (same ending), e.g. *jabai ƕo̲ godeino̲, jabai ƕo̲ hazeino̲* (Phil 4:8B) 'if (there are) any virtues, if (there are) any praises' (Kauffmann 1920: 23).

The main type of syllable repetition is alliteration (and *figura etymologica* §4.8), as in *wulfos wilwandans* (Mt 7:15, Bl 2v. 17f.) 'ravaging wolves', *þwahla watins in waurda* (Eph 5:26A) 'with a washing by water in the word', *hanins hruk* (Mt 26:75) 'the rooster's crowing', ((*haurnjans haurnjandans*)) (Mt 9:23) 'flutists playing flutes', *wintru wisa* (1Cor 16:6A/B) 'I'll stay the winter', *lustu leikis* (Gal 5:16B) 'lust of the flesh', *liþiwe leikis lasiwostai* (1Cor 12:22A) 'of the limbs of the body (that seem to be) weakest', *malma mareins* (Rom 9:27A) 'sand of the sea', *in beista balwaweseins* (1Cor 5:8A) 'in the leaven of malice', *faihu-friks* 'greedy', *gasti-gods* 'hospitable' (§7.7), etc. (*GrGS* 290f.; Stolzenburg 1905: 375; Kapteijn 1911: 341ff.; Kauffmann 1920: 169–73; Ambrosini 1967; Toporova 1989: 73ff.; Wolfe 2006; Rousseau 2012: 34f., 152f.).

Some examples have the properties of Germanic alliterative verse (Kauffmann 1920: 171ff.), e.g. *fr̲auja, jū f̲ūls ist; f̲idurdogs auk ist* (Jn 11:39) 'Lord, by now he is foul;

for he is four days (dead)', *waurdam weihan du ni waihtai daug* (2Tim 2:14B) 'verbal quarreling is useful for nothing', *harjis himinakundis hazjandane guþ* (Lk 2:13) '(a multitude) of heavenly host praising God'.

The Gothic Bible is not uniform for a variety of reasons. Ignoring copy errors, these may include scribal preferences (Friedrichsen 1926, 1930), revisions in Ravenna (cf. Stutz 1972), and dialect mixture (Marchand 1956b). Some variations are due to style (see above), to different Greek versions (not all extant), to ambiguities of Greek words and capturing nuances (Regan 1970, 1972; Barasch 1973; Francini 2009), but many subtleties are ignored (Wolfe 2018b). The zealous attempts to attribute Gothic translation variations, or departures from the Greek, to different Latin versions (e.g. Marold 1881a–83, Friedrichsen 1926), are unjustified (e.g. Burkitt 1926; Ratkus 2018a). The influence may have been (in part) the other way around (§1.9). Finally, some variations may be due to different translators (Friedrichsen 1961a: 103–11; Griepentrog 1990: 33ff.; Falluomini 2005: 312; Ratkus 2016, 2018a; cf. Jellinek 1926: 10f.).[15]

The usual arguments regarding one or more translators are aprioristic, like that of Munkhammar (2011d: 47):

> Many commentators have expressed scepticism about Wulfila's having translated the entire Bible. The principal argument is probably that time limitations would have made this impossible. His other responsibilities were extensive, and his time and situation were stormy and unpredictable. But there have certainly been other whole Bible translations that came to be under extremely difficult conditions.

The next sections present some of the localization evidence for different translators.

1.7 Lexical localization

Different word densities may reflect multiple translators. There are differences from one book to another and even within books. For instance, 'high priest' (Gk. *arkhiereús*) is rendered many different ways in Gothic (§7.3), including a hapax compound *ufar-gudja* [over-priest] (§7.6)—attempts to imitate the Greek model (Kind 1901: 20f.; Wolfe 2018b) and capture the ambiguity of *arkhiereús* (Burkitt 1926; Ratkus 2018a). Mark 14 has only forms of (*sa*) *auhumista gudja* '(the) highest priest', despite reference to different kinds of priests, while John 18 has a large amount of variation, and syncopated

[15] Griepentrog (1990: 18) also suggests that different Gothic translations of the Bible existed in different manuscripts. The idea of different translators is less controversial than that of a collation and editing of multiple manuscripts. Of course, if the different translators worked more-or-less independently, they would have had separate pieces of parchment, which got collated into a single edition. That is not the same as different translations that got edited by pick and choose in the end. Some differences between Skeireins and its target passages (Del Pezzo 1973a; Falluomini 2016a) could signal differences among Gothic manuscripts rather than (or as well as) variants in the Greek *Vorlage*, but the identities that emerge in the Bologna fragment and the Crimean graffiti do not support the kinds of differences that one might expect among independent Gothic translations of the Bible. In short, the idea that each translator had his own parchment is speculative enough. Anything beyond that is far outside the realm of verifiability.

auhmist- is confined to Luke (3:2, 4:29, 19:47) but *auhumist-* occurs at Lk 20:19, 23:13G. Groeper (1915: 19) attributes to "the Gothic John" a creative translation technique. Ratkus (2018a) argues for different translators and that John is the most refined. He supports this conclusion with lexical, morphological, and syntactic details.[16] Even phonologically, the translator of John sets himself apart, for instance, in being the only one to write *pasxa* 'Passover' (§2.2) vs. *paska* elsewhere (Artūras Ratkus, p.c.).

The distribution of 'devil' is complicated (cf. Weinhold 1870: 7f.; Groeper 1915: 39–42; Laird 1940: 174–82; Ganina 2001: 30–44; Wolfe 2018b). Forms of *diabulus* occur in Luke (6x), Skeireins (3x), Ephesians (1x dupl), Bl 2v.19, and *diabaul-* in John (2x), Bl 2r.22f. Forms of *unhulþa* are found in Luke (4x), Matthew (1x), and the Epistles: Eph (2x, 1 dupl), 1Cor (1x), 1Tim (3x, 1 dupl), 2Tim (1x dupl). The Gospels prefer forms of feminine *unhulþo*: Mt 5x, Mk 15x, Lk 12x, Jn 7x. Luke alone uses all three. Skeireins has only *diabulus*. GEN SG *diabulaus* is glossed *unhulþins* at Eph 6:11A, and *unhulþons* is glossed *skohsla* at Lk 8:27. Otherwise *skohsl** occurs 5x (Mt 8:31, 1Cor 10:20A 2x, 10:21A 2x). Finally, there is also a feminine ACC PL *diabulos* (1Tim 3:11A).

The words for 'preach (the gospel)' (or 'bring good tidings') are diversely distributed (Weinhold 1870: 16f.; Kind 1901: 17ff.; Stolzenburg 1905: 20: Groeper 1915: 31–7; Van der Meer 1929: 290f.). Borrowed *aiwaggeljan** is a hapax (Gal 4:13A). The most generic term is *merjan* (Ganina 2001: 148ff.), preferred in the Epistles (23x; 11x in 1/2 Corinthians alone) and Mark (12x) along with *gateihan** (6x). The latter is especially preferred in Luke (11x), where *wailamerjan* also occurs 7x (otherwise only 1x in Matthew and 5x in the Epistles). The most interesting overlap is at 2Cor 1:19 with *merjada* 'was preached' in MS A and *wailamerjada* in B. The hapaxes *gaspillon**, *þiuþspillon**, and *wailaspillon** are exclusive to Luke. *Spillon** occurs in Luke (1x), Mark (2x), Romans (1x), and Nehemiah (1x). Matthew uses only *gateihan** (2x), *merjan* (3x), and *wailamerjan* (1x), John only *gateihan** (4x), and Skeireins only *merjan* (1x). Luke is frequently an outlier (Gaebeler 1911: 30). The main passages are cited in Grünwald (1910: 10–17).

Blasphemy seems to have been a novel concept.[17] Three different nouns occur: *anaqiss* (§7.7) in Colossians and 1Timothy, *naiteins** (§8.15) in Mark and Luke, *wajamereins* (§8.15) in Matthew, Mark, Ephesians (Kind 1901: 15ff.). These correspond to verbs: *anaqiþan** (1Cor 10:30A) 'denounce, blaspheme', *ganaitjan** (Mk 12:4) 'insult, dishonor', *wajamerjan* (10x, 3 dupl, never in Luke) 'revile, slander, blaspheme' (Grünwald 1910: 37; Wolfe 2006: 207f.; 2018b).

Praising (Gk. *doxázein* 'think; extol; praise, glorify') is split among several Gothic verbs (Weinhold 1870: 13; Grünwald 1910: 39f.; Freudenthal 1959; Zagra 1969; Francini 2009: 107f.). The most is *hauhjan* 'exalt' (25x), but *mikiljan** 'make great, glorify'

[16] It is perhaps not surprising that the translation of John is the most refined, since the Greek version is the most refined of the Gospels. Assuming that other Gothic commentaries were made, one may speculate that the reason Skeireins was preserved at all is because it involved John.

[17] A similar situation exists in Old English for this and many other terms. Pons-Sanz (Forthcoming) notes that many terms are used to render 'blasphemy' but the concept had no legal status and is not mentioned in Anglo-Saxon legal codes.

occurs 11x in this sense. At Jn 12:23 *sweraidau* (to *sweran** 'honor') translates *doxasthēi* 'should be glorified' (cf. PPP *gasweraiþs* Jn 12:16, *gasweraids* Jn 13:31), and at Lk 18:43 *awiliudonds* (*awiliudon* 'thank') renders *doxázōn* 'praising'. Finally, with *wulþags** 'extraordinary' there is periphrastic *ni was wulþag þata wulþago* (2Cor 3:10A/B) 'the glorious was not glorious', for Gk. *ou dedóxastai tò dedoxasménon* 'the glorified is not (anymore) glorious' (Freudenthal 1959: 17).

For healing (Gk. *therapeúein* 'treat; heal'), *(ga)hailjan* occurs in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, but *(ga)le(i)kinon* only in Luke (6x), where *(ga)hailjan* more often translates *iāsthai* 'heal, cure' (5x) or *iāthēnai* 'be healed; recover' (3x) (Stolzenburg 1905: 21f.).

For 'synagogue', Matthew uses *gaqumþs** 'gathering together' (§8.9), which is rare in John (2x) and Luke (1x). Borrowed *swnagoge** occurs in Luke (10x), Mark (6x), and John (3x), never in Matthew (cf. Wolfe 2018b).

Laþons has entirely different meanings in Luke and the Epistles. In the Epistles, it has its etymological meaning 'calling' (9x, 5 dupl), of the calling by/to God/Christ, while in Luke it means 'redemption' (2:38) and 'consolation' (2:25) (§8.15).

Although some Christian terms, such as 'church', 'deacon', 'angel', were known to the Goths before Wulfila (Jellinek 1923: 443f.; Lühr 1985: 139f., w. lit), some concepts were necessarily new. Weinhold (1870) and Kind (1901) emphasize that it is not surprising that different calques and explanatory compounds were experimented with in an attempt to establish satisfactory translations. Groeper (1915) and Kauffmann (1920: 186–91) make a similar point regarding the many synonyms for technical Christian terms, but attribute them to stylistic and other factors. After reviewing major discrepancies in Luke, Groeper (1915: 102f.) leaves open the idea of a different translator. Piras (2007: 47) is convinced that another translator is likely.

1.8 Morphological and syntactic localization

More significant than lexical variation, much of which can be stylistic or due to translations from different sources, or experimentation with translations of novel concepts, are variations in morphology and syntax. While everyone's grammar contains variation, some variants by their nature are unlikely to belong to the same grammar.

The emphatic adverb *sunsaiw* 'immediately' occurs 20x, 17 of which are in Mark (§3.32). Luke prefers plain *suns* 'immediately' (12x), which also occurs in Mark (23x), but only in chs. 1–5. *Sunsaiw* occurs 16x in chs. 5 to the end. In ch. 5, *suns* occurs at verses 2, 13, and 42, *sunsaiw* at 29 and 30. There is next to no overlap.

Swes 'one's own' (of all persons, singular and plural) occurs mainly in the Epistles (17x, 9 dupl), rarely in the Gospels (Mk 1x, Lk 1x) except John (4x), and Skeireins (4x).

In the dative-accusative plural of 'us', *unsis* predominates in the Gospels, *uns* in the Epistles, especially 2 Corinthians (Snædal 2010). In the Bologna fragment, only *unsis* occurs (7x + 1 conjectured §3.14).

Eighteen of the 48 duals occur in Mark 10–14, not without variation (Seppänen 1985), and only one occurs in the Epistles (§5.31).

The neuter nominative-accusative singular of the strong adjective has no suffix (e.g. *þein* 'your', *all* 'all') or *-ata* (*þeinata, allata*). What is most striking about the use of *-ata* is its low occurrence in the Epistles (Ratkus 2015; see §3.5).

Fadrein 'parents' has special plural forms only in the Epistles (see App.).

In the realm of syntax, separation of *du* 'to' from an infinitive is restricted to the Epistles and one occurrence in Skeireins (§9.24), e.g. *du akran bairan* (Rom 7:5A) 'to bear fruit' (Gk. *eis tò karpophorēsai* 'for fruit-bearing'), *du in aljana briggan ins* (Rom 11:11A) 'in order to provoke (*lit*. bring) them to jealousy', *du galiugagudam gasaliþ matjan* (1Cor 8:10A) 'to eat (what is) sacrificed to idols', etc. (Grewolds 1932: 19).

The subject focus construction *iþ is qaþ-uh* (Mk 14:62, Lk 18:21, 29, 20:25, Jn 9:17, 38) 'and he said' (§11.14) is attested only in the Gospels, less Matthew. The verb in Mark is restricted to *qaþ-uh* 'and he said'. The simpler *iþ is qaþ* (16x) 'and he said' occurs in the same three Gospels, but *iþ Iesus qaþ* (10x) 'and Jesus said' is found in Matthew (8:22, 27:11).

It is fair to say that, with the exception of Smirnickaja (2014), the scholarly opinion has shifted from the unitarian view of Wulfila as the sole translator to a team of translators. While one individual can be responsible for numerous variations, some highly idiosyncratic and experimental coinages, like the hapax *ufargudja* for 'high priest' (§7.6), are unlikely to have been the work of one and the same translator.

To conclude this section, scholars have noted the diversity of forms and word choices but ignored the most probative evidence: localization of different syntactic structures, such as separation of *du* 'to' from an infinitive in the Epistles, the subject focus construction limited to three of the four Gospels, variation in the use of reflexives and pronominals (§§9.5f.), or the near confinement to Mark of *þata* 'that, this' with the infinitive as a quasi-gerundial (§9.25). The accusative and infinitive construction normally contains *wisan* 'to be' and is triggered by verbs with an accusative feature. Barring several examples whose grammaticality has been questioned, the most flagrant exceptions are in the linguistically adventuresome Luke (§§9.29ff.).

More generally, despite the optimism expressed by Peeters (1985b), the Gothic corpus exhibits a range of constructions from fully idiomatic and carefully nuanced to marginally acceptable, to ungrammatical constructions (cf. Kirchner 1879) that are not likely to belong to one individual's grammar, and point to a team of translators (cf. Ratkus 2016). Unequivocal evidence for any position on the Gothic translator(s) is of course lacking.

1.9 The Greek *Vorlage*

The primary source or model ('*Vorlage*') for the Gothic translation was the Greek New Testament, but 5400 manuscripts with 200,000 to 300,000 differences are extant (Ehrman 2000: 443), and the Gothic version does not entirely reflect any one of them.

It is generally agreed that Wulfila used an early Byzantine text.[18] The Latin Vulgate of Jerome [347–420] relied mainly on Alexandrian manuscripts (e.g. Nestle et al. 2012).

To illustrate this issue, one difference involves the ending of the Lord's Prayer:

(3)	unte	þeina	ist	þiudangardi	jah	mahts	jah	wulþus	in		
	for	thine	is	kingdom	and	power	and	glory	in		
	aiwins										(Mt 6:13)[19]
	eons										

About a dozen manuscripts containing Matthew have this doxology (Falluomini 2015: 149), or praise formula (Gk. *dóxa* 'glory'). The early *Didache* [c1^{e}/2^{b}], which bears similarities to Matthew, also has a variant: *hóti soũ estin hē dúnamis kaì hē dóxa eis toùs aiõnas* (*Didache* 8.2) 'because yours is the power and the glory into the eons'. The main Byzantine text has the complete doxology (Robinson & Pierpont 2005: 11), as does *cod. Brixianus* and several other pre-Vulgate manuscripts (cf. VL 1972: 31). Both the *Didache* and the doxology are ignored by Jerome's Vulgate.

The Gothic Gospels are sequenced Matthew–John–Luke–Mark in the misleadingly named 'Western' order (cf. Burton 1996b: 82). This is the order followed by the Greek-Latin *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* (VL 5) [ca. 400] (Parker 1992), with only Luke complete, and some ten other sources, including Peshitta Syriac manuscripts (Metzger & Ehrman 2005: 276f.).[20] The Western order is characteristic of several Vetus Latina manuscripts, such as *codd. Palatinus* (VL 2), *Vercellensis* (VL 3), *Veronensis* (VL 4), *Corbeiensis II* (VL 8), *Brixianus* (VL 10), *Monacensis / Valerianus* (VL 13) (Houghton 2016b: 211–19; cf. Burton 2000). Of these, VL 3, 4, and 10 are, like *Argenteus*, deluxe manuscripts (Friesen & Grape 1927: 107ff.; cf. Acker 1994: 45f.).

Burkitt (1899) argued that the Gothic translation influenced north Italian manuscripts of the Vetus Latina, or (misnamed) 'Old Latin' (Bible), a pre-Vulgate Latin translation of a scantily preserved Greek text (see http://www.vetus-latina.de/en/index.html). One of those is *cod. Brixianus* [c6^{1}] which, like *Argenteus*, is a purple parchment with silver ink (gold for the first three lines of each Gospel) and Eusebian canon

[18] See, for instance, Hug (1821: 462–89), Kauffmann (1911a), Friedrichsen (1961a), Campanile (1975), Metzger (1977: 384f.), Ratkus (2011), Falluomini (2013a, 2015).

The Byzantine text developed slowly (Kenyon 1937: 199). It was only partially standardized by the time of Wulfila, and would not have been the same as modern versions (e.g. Robinson & Pierpont 2005). These issues, their evolution, and the Greek *Vorlage* are discussed most extensively by Falluomini (2013a, b, 2015). For edns of the main Greek and Latin Biblical MSS, see Falluomini (2014: 286f.).

[19] Goth. *in aiwins* is unique. More formulaic is *du aiwa* 'for ever' (Jn 8:35 2x, 12:34, 14:16, 15:16, 2Cor 9:9B, Bl 1r.6f.). The difference seems to be translation prompted. In all of these passages, the Byzantine main text has *eis tòn aiõna* 'into the eon (SG)', and most of the Latin texts have *in aeternum* 'into eternity' (cf. Francini 2009: 96f.; Falluomini 2014: 292). Another rendering of eis *toùs aiõnas* (Lk 1:33) and *eis tòn aiõna* (Jn 6:51, 58) is *in ajukdūþ* (Schaubach 1879: 14; Stolzenburg 1905: 10; Odefey 1908: 56; see §8.13). The Crimean graffiti have *und aiwiņs* [unto the eons] (Korobov & Vinogradov 2016: 146).

[20] There is evidence for a variety of sequences in the early manuscripts, e.g. Mark before Matthew in VL 1 (*Codex Bobiensis*) (Houghton 2016b: 195). A complete register of the Vetus Latina MSS, including edns, is found in Houghton (2016b: 210–54).

parallel tables in the bottom margin of each page rather than at the beginning of the codex (see Nordenfalk 1938: 263; Acker 1994: 44, 78–85; Snædal & Lock 2018). Despite the heavy overlay of Vulgate readings (Burton 2000: 27), some Brixian readings differ from other pre-Vulgate versions and the Vulgate but match the Gothic text (Marold 1881a–83; Burkitt 1899, 1926; Metzger 1977: 386). See the extensive literature in Pakis (2010).

In the Gospels (excluding Matthew) the historical present is prompted only ten times by the same construction in Greek, while deviations from the Greek agree 138x with the Vetus Latina (Pakis 2010). This may, of course, be an independent stylistic feature of both Gothic and Biblical Latin.

Cod. Brixianus occasionally agrees alone with the Gothic. For instance, *ustauh* (Mk 1:12) 'led out' is not a match to (other) Vetus Latina or Vulgate manuscripts with *expulit* 'drove out', Vet. Lat. *tulit* 'led', *dūxit* 'id.', etc. (cf. VL 1970: 3), but only to Brixian *ēdūxit* 'led out'. Similarly, *wopidedun* (Mk 10:49) 'they called' differs from those Vet. Lat. MSS with *dīxērunt* 'they said', *clāmāvērunt* 'they exclaimed', and Vulg. *vocant* 'they call' (= Gk. *phōnoūsin* 'id.'), but matches Brixian *vocāvērunt* 'they called'. Odefey (1908: 96–106) provides for Luke a complete list of the Gothic correspondences shared solely with *cod. Brixianus*.

Brixianus can also pattern with the Greek against the Vulgate and Gothic text (Stutz 1972: 389, w. lit), and Kauffmann (1900) concludes that both stem from a Gothic-Latin bilingual text. Some other pre-Vulgate Latin manuscripts also show distinct similarities to the Gothic (Piper 1876; Odefey 1908: 126ff.; Burton 1996a; Falluomini 2015: 101–4).

Especially in Luke and the Epistles the Gothic sometimes agrees with Latin and/or Alexandrian texts, but non-Byzantine readings in different manuscript traditions imply their presence in the Byzantine area and Wulfila's *Vorlage* prior to stabilization of the proferred Byzantine readings (Friedrichsen 1959; Gryson 1990; Falluomini 2013a, 2015). It goes without saying that, if there were different translators of the Gothic Bible, they could have used different Greek manuscripts (Metlen 1932: 25).

Unlike the reason(s) for them, relationships between the Latin versions and the Gothic Bible are often unmistakable (Burkitt 1926, Hunter 1969). Due to codicological and text-critical similarities to *cod. Brixianus* (Gryson 1990; Falluomini 2013a, b, 2015: 33), it was once hypothesized that *Argenteus* had been influenced by Latin versions and in turn to have influenced *Brixianus* (Friedrichsen 1926, 1961a: 68; Metzger 1977: 386). Nevertheless, the "Gothic and Latin may represent independent renderings of the same Greek readings" (Falluomini 2013b: 146).

To conclude this section, "Wulfila probably used, beside a Greek *Vorlage* which transmitted an early Byzantine text, a Latin translation, in order to better render difficult passages of the Greek. This would justify some similar renderings in the Gothic and Latin versions" (Falluomini 2015: 147). The Latin version(s) would of course have been pre-Vulgate.

CHAPTER 2

Alphabet and phonology

2.1 The Gothic alphabet

There are many testimonies that Wulfila invented the Gothic alphabet (Lendinara 1992). Most of the twenty-seven letters resemble the Greek script, as shown in Table 2.1. Variant forms are discussed by Marchand (1973a: 18–22). The second row contains the numerical value, the third the Greek letter, the fourth the Roman transliteration, and the last row the ninth-century letter name that has been supposed to be Gothic.

Table 2.1 Gothic alphabet

𐌰	𐌱	𐌲	𐌳	𐌴	𐌵	𐌶	𐌷	𐌸
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A	B	Γ	Δ	E	(υ)	Z	(h)	(Θ)
a	b	g	d	e	q[u]	z	h	th
aza	bercna	geuua	daaz	eyz	quertra	ezec	haal	thyth

𐌹 𐌺	𐌻	𐌼	𐌽	𐌾	𐌿	𐍀	𐍁
10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90
I	K	Λ	M	N	–	(υ)	Π	Ϙ
i	k	l	m	n	j	u	p	–
iiz	chozma	laaz	manna	noicz	gaar	uraz	pertra	–

𐍂	𐍃	𐍄	𐍅	𐍆	𐍇	𐍈	𐍉	𐍊
100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900
(P)	Σ (S)	T	Y	Ϝ	X		Ω/O	(ϡ)
r	s	t	w	f		wh	o	–
reda	sugil	tyz	uuinne	fe	enguz	uuaer	utal	–

The Oxford Gothic Grammar. First edition. D. Gary Miller

Letters with allegedly Gothic names similar to those in Old English and Old Norse appear in *cod. Vindobonensis* 795 (Falluomini 2010a: 27). There are few changes in their interpretations from Zacher (1855) and Grienberger (1896) to Ganina (2007) and Seebold (2010). Unless otherwise mentioned, the reconstruction of the letter names follows Seebold: **ansuz* 'deity', ?**berk(a)na-* 'birch tree', **gebō* 'gift', **dagaz* 'day', **ehwaz* 'horse', **kʷerþra-* 'lamp wick' (Patrick Stiles, p.c.; cf. OS *querthar** 'wick', OHG *querdar* 'id.' *EPDG* 318), VL *idzēta* < *zēta* (Wagner 1994: 275), **hagla-* 'hail', ?**þun-ra-* 'thunder'? (*thyth* can be *theta* /þita/), **īsaz* 'ice', *?*kiz-na-* 'pine'? (?**k(a)uz-ma-* 'ulcer'?), **laguz* 'lake', **man-n-* 'human', **naudiz* 'need', **jāra-* 'year', **ūruz* 'aurochs', ?**perþa-* 'poetry'?, **raidō* 'cart, Reite', **sō(w)el-* 'sun', **tīwaz* 'god', **wennjō/*wunnjō* 'bliss', **fehu* 'c(h)attel', **ingwaz* '(i)ng'[1], ?**hwera-* 'kettle'? (cf. *EDPG* 265), **ōþala-* 'inheritance'.

The letter names and some forms, e.g. for /f/, /þ/, /j/, suggest runic input (cf. older futhark ᚠ *f*, ᚦ *þ*). The form ⋚ of /j/ in *cod. Vindobonensis* 795 resembles runic ᛃ ᛋ consisting of right-leaning < plus retrograde > (cf. Venetic ıı, >>, >ı = i̲i̲, like u̲u̲ for [w]), and a runic source is likely (Luft 1898c: 93).[2] The sign for /u/ resembles runic ᚢ, and the runes for /þ/ ᚦ, /r/ ᚱ, and /s/ ᛊ could have influenced the Gothic letters (Wimmer 1887).

ᘻ /kʷ/ has the position and number '6' of Greek wau/digamma /w/. Greek ϙ qoppa, the source of Latin Q, no longer existed and only prehistorically had the sound relevant to Gothic (*ASPK* 51ff.). Qoppa remained as '90' in model abecedaria. Gothic **ᕹ** has its position and numerical value. It does not seem accidental that **ᘻ** /kʷ/ strongly resembles **ᕹ** and occupies the slot of lip-rounded digamma /w/.

The origin of the Gothic alphabet is disputed. Viehmeyer (1971) derives it from runic. Most of the Gothic letters have a Greek shape, alphabet order, numerical value, sound (Granberg 2010, 2013), and both have twenty-seven signs. Runic input is plausible (Mees 2002; Raschellà 2011; *pace* Marchand 1955b, 1959, 1973a; Ebbinghaus 1996).[3] Snædal (2015b) derives the Gothic alphabet from the Greek, with *j* and *q* influenced by the Latin alphabet. Latin of course never had a distinctive *j*, which occurred only as an occasional swash or tall *i*, which usually marked length or was stylistic (Gordon 1983: 14). It had the sound /j/ only in rare epigraphic and manuscript spellings like EIJVS 'his' (cf. Lindsay 1894: 439).

[1] The *ing*-rune ᛜ [ŋ] is either a composite of a right-leaning < plus retrograde > form of gamma Γ (compare the Greek and Gothic convention of *gg* for [ŋ(g)]) (Miller 1994: 68), or an adaptation of the Phoenician pharyngeal /ʕ/ (*'ayin*), perceived as the velar nasal [ŋ] (Vennemann 2010). These two accounts are not necessarily incompatible. The source of the two gammas in Greek for [ŋ(g)] (which is unknown) could have been the same sort of adaptation of Phoenician /ʕ/.

[2] That the letter for /j/ was special is indicated by the symmetrical patterning with that for /kʷ/. Both occur after five Greek-based letters. As to runic origin, in both Gothic and runic (e.g. the Vadstena bracteate (*ORI* 90), the /j/ sign occurs in the second row, where it is the fourth letter from the right.

[3] The source problem of the signs is compounded by the absence of agreement on the origin of older futhark. Morris (1988) derives the runic script from a preclassical, epichoric Greek alphabet. Griffiths (1999) and Faarlund (2004b) follow suit. The widespread idea that the Roman alphabet is the source is epigraphically difficult (*pace* Robertson 2011, Losquiño 2015) and, unlike Latin letters, runes had names (Barnes 2012: 21f., 157–63) and very different functions (*ASPK* ch. 5; Rousseau 2012: 39). Some signs favor a north Italic origin; cf. Venetic X /g/ (Eichner 2006). Markey (2001) reviews several Alpine alphabets. Camunic has a few letter-forms in common with the older futhark, but most are quite different. Mees (e.g. 2000, 2013) and several others argue for a North Etruscan origin. Miller (1994), Woodhouse (2002), and Vennemann (2006, 2009, 2010, 2013) argue for a Phoenician origin of the runic alphabet, but Miller advocates input from several scripts and Vennemann a more direct Phoenician lineage.

2.2 Specific letters

The shape and origin of nearly every Gothic letter is in dispute. This section examines some of the details.

𐌸 *þ*

The letter 𐌸 *þ* has been derived from a fourth-century cursive form of Greek Θ/θ theta (e.g. Marchand 1955b, 1973a: 19f.). Mees (2002: 65) denies this because of a similar runic form at Illerup (cf. Raschellà 2011: 117f.). Wimmer (1887: 268), Wagner (2006b: 286), and Snædal (2015b: 99–103) derive 𐌸 *þ* from Gk. φ phi (early /p^{h}/, c1–2 /f/). Snædal takes 𐌾 /h^{w}/ from Θ/θ theta, although theta was a precise match to the sound of thorn (*GGS* 25). By that account, the decision to use a Latin or runic 𐌵 for /f/ left the perceptually close 𐌸 open for /θ/, which in turn left Θ/θ available for /h^{w}/. It is just as plausible that cursive theta or runic thorn served for /θ/ and something else for /h^{w}/.

𐌾 /h^{w}/

The origin of 𐌾 /h^{w}/ is uncertain. Wagner (1986, 2006b: 289) suggests a wheel, PGmc. **h^{w}eh^{w}laz*. For Zacher (1855: 115f.), a pre-Wulfilian runic script had a letter 𐌾 with this name; *uuaer* represents Goth. **ƕair* 'caldron, kettle' (ibid. 14, 16), a later name for Wagner. Absence of **ƕair* and Gmc. 'wheel' from the Gothic corpus can be accidental gaps. Observationally, 𐌾 appears pictographically iconic to a lip-rounded mouth. Boüüaert (1950: 435f.) posited O for rounding plus • for aspiration (cf. Marchand 1973a: 22) (Wayne Harbert, p.c.), similar to other early modified letters (*ASPK* 67).

𐌎 and 𐌔 /s/

Latinate 𐌎 occurs with other vertical calligraphic letters in most Gothic manuscripts: *Argenteus*, *Ambrosiani* A, C, E (and *Vaticanus*), *Carolinus*, and *Gissensis*. Rightward-slanting sigmatic 𐌔 occurs with other slanting letters in *Gotica Veronensia*, *Bononiensis*, *Ambr.* B, with some cursive traits in the margin glosses, the Ostrogothic deeds, and the glosses of *Ambr.* A, mixed straight and slanting in the *tabella Hungarica*, an upright variant in *Ambr.* D, and mostly vertical in the Crimean graffiti (Vinogradov & Korobov 2015). It is the shape, then, not the slant, that is distinctive. Both styles are rooted in Greek models, the upright in the Greek biblical majuscule, the sloping in the ogival (pointed) majuscule (Falluomini 2015: 20f.). Upright letters prevail in the second alphabet in *cod. Vindobonensis*. In the first, most letters have shape peculiarities (Ebbinghaus & Wentzler 1977; Falluomini 2006, 2010, 2015: 20f.; Snædal 2015b: 95f.).

Sigmatic /s/ belongs to script Type I with *n-* suspension according to the Greek use. Script Type II, with latinate /s/ (likely introduced in Italy), observes the Latin practice of suspension marks for line-final /n/ and /m/ (cf. Marchand 1973a: 15f.). The marks are ¯ for /n/ and ¯̣ for /m/, e.g. 𐍂𐌹𐌲𐌲𐌰𐌽𐌳𐌰¯ (Sk 2.1.17) = ACC SG M *briggandan*

'leading', **𐌰𐌹̄|𐍈𐌰𐌸𐌰𐍂𐌰𐌼𐌼𐌴𐌷** (Sk 3.1.16f.) = DAT SG M *ain|ƕaþarammeh* 'each', **𐍅𐌰𐌿𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐌰̄** (Sk 1.4.19) = DAT PL *waurstwam* 'with deeds'. Most editors just transcribe the nasals.

𐍁 90 and 𐍊 900

The numbers 90 and 900 have no (known) sound value. The latter resembles runic ᛏ and archaic Greek ↑ /t/ but corresponds in numerical value to the Greek letter sampi Ͳ. It occurs only in the Salzburg-Vienna Alcuin MS (*cod. Vindobonensis* 795 4.11 2x). The Gothic Bible spells out *niun hunda* (Neh 7:39) '900', but **𐍊** was likely part of the original Gothic alphabet (*pace* Wimmer 1887: 263) as one of the twenty-seven signs matching the Greek.

𐌹 and 𐌹̈

𐌹 and **𐌹̈** were positional variants: ï was word boundary- and syllable-initial, e.g. *ïzei* '(he) who', *usïddja* 'I went out', *saiïþ* 'sows', *sauïl* 'sun', *fraïtiþ* 'consumes' (*GG* 22, cf. *GGS* 25). Both are transcribed *i*. For **𐌹̈** in foreign names, cf. *Gaïus* (Rom 16:23A), ACC *Gaïu* (1Cor 1:14A). Note also *ïesus* 'Jesus' (Col 4:11A/B) as an ordinary name. The divine name is abbreviated **𐌹̄𐍃̄**, **𐌹̄𐌿̄𐍃̄** (*GG* 22; Falluomini 2015: 64).[4] Sometimes **𐌹̈** is an archaic spelling for **𐌾** *j*, e.g. *ïudáiwisko* 'like a Jew', *ïudáiwiskon* 'to live as a Jew' (both in Gal 2:14B) beside *judáiwisks** (Tit 1:14A, Sk 3.2.9) 'Jewish' (Snædal 2015b: 101).[5]

𐍇

𐍇 is Greek χ (chi), which was a fricative by the second century (but see E. H. Sturtevant 1940: 85; Leppänen 1916: 104). It occurs mainly in religious words, e.g. **𐍇̄𐍃̄** (*Ambr.* B **𐍇̄𐌿̄𐍃̄**) for *Xristus* 'Christ' (Ebbinghaus 1997 [1995]: 92; *GG* 22; Falluomini 2015: 64); *pasxa* 'Passover; paschal feast' (Jn 6:4, 18:28, 18:39) beside *paska* (Mk 14:12 [2x], 14:14, etc. [6x total]) for Gk. πάσχα 'id.'; GEN SG *Zaxariïns* (Lk 3:2) beside *Zakariïns* (Lk 1:21, 1:40), NOM *Zakarias* (Lk 1:5, 1:12, 1:18, 1:67), VOC *Zakaria* (Lk 1:13), ACC *Zakarian* (Lk 1:59) 'Zachariah'; *aiwxaristian* (2Cor 9:11B) 'eucharist' (Gaebeler 1911: 19f., 48ff.). **𐌺** *k* is normal for Greek χ; cf. *Twkeikus* (Eph 6:21B, Col 4:7A), *Twkekus* (Col 4:7B), ACC *Twkeiku* (2Tim 4:12A), for Τύχικος; *Akaïjai* for Ἀχαΐᾳ *Akhaíāi* (2Cor 1:1B), *Akaje* (2Cor 11:10B), *Akaïje* (1Cor 16:15B), etc. (cf. *GGS* 29, Marchand 1973a: 26, *GG* 67).

𐍇 never occurs in native Gothic words like *mag* 'is able', if indeed [max] (§2.3). Since **𐌺** *k* usually rendered Greek χ, the rare **𐍇** may be graphic (*GGS* 33), but original

[4] The Greek models contained shortened forms devised by Christian scribes for prominent sacred words, some written with the first and last letters, some with the first two and the last, and some with the first letter and the last two. A horizontal line was written above the abbreviation, e.g. Θ̄C̄ for θεός *theós* 'God' (Metzger & Ehrman 2005: 23f., w. lit). For equivalents in the Latin texts, see Houghton (2016b: 191).

[5] From the 2nd century CE on (earlier in Egyptian papyri), Greek used the *trēma* 'perforation; dot on dice', a diaeresis, most often to mark a word-initial vowel after a word-final vowel, especially ι *i* or υ *u*, e.g. ϊερεύς /hiereús/ 'priest', but also to indicate that the vowel headed another syllable, as in Αϊδι 'to Hades'. Gothic scribes adapted one variety of this practice, which was inconsistent within Greek texts (Threatte 1980: 94f.). Greek had occasional doubling, as in ϋϊός beside υἱός /huiós/ 'son', but some diaeresis spellings were lifted over directly, e.g. Goth. *Gaïus* from Gk. Γάϊος 'Gaius', in which *ï* in both languages indicates that it belongs to another syllable, i.e. /Ga.jus/, the name being Lat. *Gaius* /gai̯.jus/.

(§2.7; *pace* Beck 1973a: 29), possibly to represent the aspirate as in Aramaic *pasq'a* (Ebbinghaus 1963), not a substitute for missing Gothic [x] (Luft 1898a: 297). **𐍇** occurs 2x for Greek κ (Roberge 1984: 328), one in confusion: *Xreskus* (2Tim 4:10A) / *Krispus* (MS B) for Gk. Κρήσκης (Lat. *Crēscēns*); the former may be analogical to *Xristus* or the latter to (ACC) *Krispu* (1Cor 1:14A) = Gk. *Kríspos* / Lat. *Crispus* (Leppänen 2016: 103f.).

𐍉 /ō/

Although Gothic **𐍉** *o* looks like Greek Ω omega and is generally derived from it (Marchand 1973a: 21f.), some (e.g. Wimmer 1887: 269f.; Snædal 2015b) derive it from O omicron, parallel to the derivation of **𐌴** *e* from ε epsilon. On this account, it is accidental that (i) it resembles both omega and older futhark ᛟ /o/; (ii) **𐍉** occupies the numerical place of omega, (iii) **𐍉** is long /ō/ like omega, (iv) the Gothic alphabet closes with **𐍆** /f/, **𐍇** /x/, **𐍈** /hʷ/[6], **𐍉** /ō/, in the same positions and bearing the same numerical values as Greek Φ *ph(e)ĩ*, Χ *kh(e)ĩ*, ψ *ps(e)ĩ*, Ω *õ* (*méga*), (v) *Bishop* Wulfila arranged his pronounceable letters (i.e. less **𐍊**) from **𐌰** to **𐍉**, mirroring "alpha to omega," (vi) Gothic **𐌴** /ē/ was derived from epsilon because both were high mid vowels (§2.6).

𐌷 /h/

𐌷 /h/ was from Latin because of its uncial form (Weingärtner 1858: 55; Luft 1898c: 92; Falluomini 2015: 19). **𐌷** in the *tabella Hungarica*, Falluomini notes, implies that it was in Wulfila's alphabet and not due to western influence. The same sign in the Crimean graffiti (Vinogradov & Korobov 2015: 65) reinforces this point. It occupies the position of Greek H eta (§2.6), causing one to wonder about "the interplay between shape-to-sound mapping and the shape-to-numerical-value mapping" (Wayne Harbert, p.c.).

𐍅 /w/ and (?) /y/

Greek upsilon Υ was borrowed as Gothic **𐍅**, in the same position (after **𐍄**) and with the same numerical value of 400. It usually has the value /w/, as in ACC PL *weinatriwa* (1Cor 9:7A) to *weinatriu* (Jn 15:1, 5) 'vine' (cf. Voyles 1968: 725). It also rendered the υ and οι of Greek loanwords, suggesting that υ and οι were both pronounced /y/ at that time, e.g. ACC **𐌽𐍅𐌼𐍆𐌰𐌽** *Nwmfan* 'Nymphas' (Col 4:15A/B), DAT PL **𐌻𐍅𐍃𐍄𐍂𐍅𐍃** *Lwstrws* (2Tim 3:11A/B) /lýstrys/ = Gk. Λύστροις *Lústrois* 'in Lustra', a city in Asia Minor (§2.6).

Conclusion

There is no evidence that Wulfila did not know runes (Snædal 2017). Despite countless denials, it is not implausible that he adapted an older runic script to a Greek sequence of symbols, together with their numerical values, making additional use of Latin models (Cercignani 1988; cf. Gütenbrunner 1950). The details differ, but Wimmer (1887: 259–74), Mensel (1904), Hermann (1930), d'Alquen (1974: 34–48), Rousseau (2012: 39–43), and Falluomini (2015: 18–21) derive the Gothic alphabet from Greek with input from Latin and runic. Such accounts potentially explain both the

[6] **𐍈** /hʷ/ replaces the superfluous ψ *ps(e)ĩ*, which had no runic counterpart (cf. d'Alquen 1974: 44f.). For some (e.g. Wimmer 1887: 261; Kortlandt 2017), **𐍈** is a direct continuation of ψ.

runic-looking letters (Wessén 1972) and the latinate letters. Unequivocal evidence for any of these positions is lacking, but most invented scripts have letters from different sources (*ASPK* 67, w. lit).

2.3 Phonological system 1: Consonants

Table 2.2 contains the inventory of Gothic consonantal segments (LABVEL = labiovelar) (cf. Moulton 1948: 77ff.).

Stops and fricatives

Table 2.2 Gothic consonantal system

		LABIAL	CORONAL		PALATAL	VELAR	LABVEL	LOW
STOP	VCL	p		t		k	k^w	
	VCD	b		d		[g]	(g^w)	
CONTINUANT	VCL	f	θ	s		[x]	h^w	h / [χʔ]
	VCD	[β]	[ð]	z		ɣ		
SONORANT	NASAL	m		n		[ŋ]		
	LIQUID			r	l			
	GLIDE				j		w	

From alternations with voiceless fricatives, orthographic *b, d, g* were voiced continuants [β, ð, ɣ] after vowels (Rauch 2011: 47f.; Kotin 2012: 64f.), but stops [b, d, g] after consonants and when geminated (Moulton 1954; Zadorožnyj 1959; Marchand 1973a: 64–8, 76; Harbert 2007: 50). See the statistical data in Hench (1897), who is wrong about spirants after /l/ (Sturtevant 1953: 55f.). Spellings of loanwords are indeterminate (Leppänen 2016: 104f.).

As evidence of the Gothic distribution, the frequently cited *Naúb̲aímb̲aír* (Cal 2) 'November'—if it exists (see Preface xxv)—proves nothing because Vulgar Latin *b* and *v* merged before c5/6 (Luft 1898a: 294f.; *GGS* 37; *EIE* 55f.), i.e. before the composition of *cod. Ambr.* A. Inconclusive also is *losef* 'Joseph' with *f* except in its sole occurrence in Skeireins with *b* : DAT SG *lo*|*seba* (Sk 2.1.7f.) vs. *losefa* (Mk 15:45). The reason for such variation in borrowed names is not clear (*GGS* 57f.). More informative are spelling alternations like DAT PL *fragib̲tim* (Lk 1:27) 'betrothal' (attributed by Sturtevant [1931: 68] to the *b* in the immediately following *ab̲in* 'husband') beside *fragif̲tim*

(Lk 2:5) 'id.' and *fragift* (Sk 3.3.21) 'gift'. Collectively, these show that *b* was contextually spirantized.

Voiced [z] (and [ɣ]) were less well integrated into the phonological system than were [v] /b/ and [ð] /d/. In Proto-Germanic, there was no contrast between /s/ and /z/ word-initially, and /g/ contrasts word-medially with /h/, not /x/ (Suzuki 2018, w. lit). For examples, cf. *asilus* 'donkey' beside *azets** 'easy', *taíhun* 'ten' vs. ACC *tiguns* 'tens', etc.

Final spirant devoicing

Gothic devoiced fricatives in word-final position (cf. Moulton 1954), e.g. *ƕaz* 'who' : *ƕazuh* 'each', *máiz* 'more, rather' : *máiz-uh* (Sk 8.2.2; Streitberg 1905: 388ff.) 'and rather' (§6.36) beside *waz* 'was' : *waz-uh* (freq) 'and was' with underlying /s/; ACC *goþ* : GEN *goðis* 'good'; 2PL *gaggiþ qiþiđ-uh* (Mk 16:7) 'go and tell'; NOM *twalif* : GEN *twaliƀe* '12', *hláifs* (11x) 'bread' : GEN SG *hláiƀis* (Jn 6:51, 1Cor 10:17, 11:28A). The *-s* is not the conditioning factor in *hláifs*. Contrast NOM SG M *blinđs* 'blind', N *blinđ / blinđata*, with a stop, not a continuant, because of the nasal, or *lamƀ* 'sheep', NOM/ACC PL *lamƀa*.

ᚵ *g* did not alternate; cf. *dag* 'day', ACC *dag*, GEN *dagis*, etc.; *magan** 'can' : 1/3SG *mag*. The reason is disputed. One possibility is the absence of a letter for velar [x] if **ᚷ** was restricted to loanwords and perhaps just graphic. Kostakis (2015: ch. 3) argues that *h* was still [x]. Frequent word-final *-g* can derive from the lack of contrast between the positional variants [ɣ] and [x] (Roberge 1984: 327, w. lit), which contributed to blocking final devoicing from applying (Suzuki 2018). Another suggestion is that **ᚻ** *h* was a glottal continuant [h], and could not be used for [x], i.e. *nahts* 'night' was /nahts/ (cf. Marchand 1973a: 53f., 77, w. lit). Vennemann (1972: 878f.) claims that **ᚻ** *h* was [h] word-initially and uvular [χ] elsewhere, and for this reason could not be used for the [x] in *mag* etc. (cf. Moulton 1948: 79; 1954: 7). Weingärtner (1858: 54ff.), Jasanoff (2004: 886), and Howell (1988, 1991: 90f.; 2018) argue that */x/ had already become [h] (§2.7). Paradigmatic analogy can explain the *g* in 2SG *magt* (cf. *GGS* 71; Marchand 1973a: 68; Roberge 1984: 326; Heidermanns 2007b: 63), and would not affect the *h* in ACC SG *maht* 'power' or 3SG PRET *mahta* 'was able' (*pace* Roberge 1984: 335; cf. *GGS* 58). Conservative spelling can explain the *-g* in *mag* 'can' etc., which can represent [g] (Roberge 1984: 337) or [ɣ] (Suzuki 2018). Of course, if *h* was [h], and final *g* [x], *g* would be a better representation for the latter.

Final voiced obstruents

To account for frequent 3SG *-đ* and roughly 226 final *-đ, -ƀ, -z* (in decreasing frequency, *-z* never in verbal inflections), Roberge (1983) adduces early accent fixing in Gothic plus post-Wulfilian devoicing. Final voiced segments were residues of the older contrast between, e.g. *qaþ* 'said' (over 470x) and *haubiđ* 'head' (ACC 2x vs. *haubiþ* 22x, 4 dupl). Later scribes tried to reconcile their neutralization of the contrast with the received text but left inconsistencies (cf. Salmons 2018) with identical deviations in *codd. Ambr.* A, B. In Luke 1–7, *-iþ, -uþ* occur 34x, *-iđ, -uđ* 30x, but after nonshort vowels *-đ* predominates: *-eiþ, -oþ, -aiþ* occur 18x vs. *-eiđ, -ođ, -aiđ* 29x (Hench 1897: 51). In John 11–16 verbal *-đ* occurs only after a long vowel or diphthong. No *-đ* occurs in

Skeireins or Nehemiah, and the greatest number of final voiced stops for all lexical categories occurs in Luke 1–10 (Jacobsohn 1920: 131; *GGS* 57, 74). Exceptionless IMPV *gif* 'give' (7x, 1 dupl), 1SG PRET *gaf* (2x), 3SG PRET *gaf* (28x, 4 dupl) 'gave' (not counting prefixed forms) have underlying /f/; *-d* predominates before voiced segments (Streitberg 1905: 391–400) except in Luke 1–10 where sentence sandhi is ignored (cf. Jacobsohn 1920: 131f., 149–52). Proto-Germanic had voiced dentals in the main set of verb endings, and the Gothic variation is at least in part predicted by final devoicing (Bernharðsson 2001: 270f.).

Strings of /n/ + /g/

Variant spellings like 𐌱𐍂𐌹𐌽𐌲𐌹𐍈 *bringiþ* (Lk 15:22) for 𐌱𐍂𐌹𐌲𐌲𐌹𐍈 *briggiþ* 'brings' occur, probably under Latin influence (Maßmann 1857: LVI f.; Francovich Onesti 2007; Falluomini 2015: 19) but Greek inscriptions contain similar examples. The alternation confirms the [ŋ] value of *g(g/k)* as in Greek (Brosman 1971: 166, w. lit; Snædal 2011b); cf. 𐌰𐌲𐌲𐌹𐌻𐌿𐍃 *aggilus* [aŋgilus] 'angel' (Gk. ἄγγελος [áŋgelos] 'messenger; angel'). Prefixes like *in-*, *un-* do not assimilate to [ŋ] (Snædal 2011b; cf. *GGS* 55, Penzl 1950).[7]

𐌠 /kʷ/

Gothic 𐌠 *q* is always voiceless on the evidence of the *z* in DAT SG *riqiza* 'darkness' by Thurneysen's Law (§2.5), and represents /kʷ/, possibly even in *qrammiþa* 'moistness'.[8] It is never written *kw* and never divided at the end of a line; cf. *ri-qis* 'darkness' (Schulze 1908). It transcribes Latin *qu-* in *Qartus* (Rom 16:23A) = Lat. *Quartus,* Gk. *Koúartos* (*GGS* 37), but *Akwla* (1Cor 16:19B) mirrors Gk. *Akúlā* not Lat. *Aquila* (Snædal 2018: 199).

𐌸 /hʷ/

𐌸 *ƕ* represents /hʷ/ (and not a sequence [hw]) because it reduplicates as a single C (*ƕaíƕop* 'boasted'), counts as one C for class 5 verbs, like *saíƕ-an* 'to see', whose roots end in a single C, is never written *hw*, which occurs between words, e.g. *þairh-wakandans* Lk 2:8 'watching through' (Weingärtner 1858: 56f.), is not divided at line-ends (cf. *saiƕan* 'to see' Schulze 1908), fails to vocalize between Cs, and is voiceless for Thurneysen's Law (§2.5), e.g. *arƕazno*s 'volley of arrows' vs. *hlaiwasnos* 'tombs' (Streitberg 1903: 495–8; Penzl 1950; Bennett 1959a, 1967b; *GG* 70; Thöny 2013: 123; Suzuki 2018). Wagner (2006b: 287f.) denies this, citing reduplicated forms (cf. Voyles 1968: 721): PRET 3SG *-skaískáid* (*skáidan* 'separate'), 1SG *-staístald* (*-staldan* 'acquire'), etc. However, *s* + stop crosslinguistically patterns differently from other clusters (Levin 1985; Moon 2010: 232ff.; Kostakis 2015: 93). Except for *kriustiþ* (Mk 9:18) 'gnashes', STR 2 verbs have only

[7] More generally, they do not assimilate at all. An isolated *ummahteigam* (1Cor 9:22A) 'to the weak' is cited (e.g. *GGS* 55; Marchand 1973a: 54), but the reading *unmahteigam* is certain (Snædal 2013a: i. xix).

[8] The reconstruction is something like **gʷroms-mó-* (*EDPG* 300f.). The labiovelar is often denied (e.g. Douse 1886: 58; Webster 1889: 88; Sturtevant 1951: 59; Casaretto 2004: 470) on the assumption that the *q*-spelling of *qrammiþa* is an error, but /kʷ/ is possible (Kotin 2012: 63; cf. *EDPG* 301). For another complex *q-* cluster, cf. DAT PL F *hnasqjaim* (Mt 11:8 2x, Lk 7:25) '(in) fine (clothes)'.

one final C (Sturtevant 1933b: 209), but *s* in *sC* is extraprosodic (cf. Takahaši 1987; Keydana 2006: 74ff.) only word-initially, as in many languages (Yates 2017: 137ff.). In Gothic, *-sC-* makes a heavy syllable for Sievers' Law (§2.12); cf. 3SG *-qisteiþ* (*fra-qisteiþ* 11x, *us-qisteiþ* Mk 12:9, Lk 20:16) 'destroys' (Suzuki 1982: 601), and invariably divides *-s.C-* (§2.11), showing that internally *s* is not an onset adjunct.

ƕ /gʷ/ or [gw]?

It is generally assumed that **ƕ** represents /gʷ/ rather than a cluster [gw] (Beck 1976: 19ff.; cf. Thöny 2013: 123), but it is divided some ten times, e.g. *sigg-wada* (2Cor 3:15B) 'is read', *trigg-wos* (3x) 'of covenant' (Schulze 1908; Marchand 1973a: 56f.). **ƕ** occurs 98 times. Since the *saggws** type is never spelled **sangws*, there is no internal evidence for the etymological contrast between, e.g. *saggws** /saŋgʷs/ 'song' and *triggws* /triggʷs/ (or [triggws]?) 'true' (Brosman 1971; Snædal 2011b). External evidence for the dual pronunciation is also inconclusive. Ostrogothic *Triggu(il)a** / *Triuu(il)a** (Wrede 1891: 78–80) can confirm only absence of a nasal (Wagner 2003) but may also lack /g/ (Snædal 2011b: 151). This nasalless name has no bearing on the *saggws** type. Greek ΓΓ *gg* for [ŋg] and [gg] provides a model for the dual Gothic pronunciation, but the absence of <ngw> spellings is unexpected in light of occasional *ng* spellings (§2.3).

ɣ /j/

For the glide **ɣ** /j/,[9] cf. DAT *Beþanijin* (Lk 19:29, Jn 12:1) ~ *Beþaniïn* (Mk 8:22, 11:12), *si(j)um, si(j)uþ* 'we are, you are' (§5.24), *saijiþ* (Mk 4:14, Gal 6:7A, 6:8A 2x, 2Cor 9:6A 2x) ~ *saiïþ* (ms. B) 'sows'. *Frijon* 'to love' prefers *j*. In *friaþwa* 'love', *j* is nearly confined to MS A. *Fijan* 'to hate' and *fijands* 'enemy' (**fi(j)and- EDPG* 140) prefer *j*, but note 3SG *fiaiþ* (Jn 12:25) ~ *fijaiþ* (6x) ~ *fijaid* (Jn 15:19) 'hates', PrP NOM PL M *fiandans* (Rom 12:9A) ~ *fijandans* (Rom 11:28A) 'hating'; ACC SG *fiand* (Mt 5:43) ~ *fijand* (4x) 'enemy'. The NOM SG is always *fijands* (Rom 8:7A, 1Cor 15:26A, Gal 4:16A, Bl 2r.21, 21f.).

Geminates

Postvocalic geminates are distinctive for resonants (Eichman 1971), some fricatives, and voiceless stops (Meyer 1855); cf. *manna* 'man', *atta* 'father', *skatts* 'mina, money', *smakka** 'fig' (*NWG* 223). Contrast *in* 'in(to)' with *inn* 'in(side)'; ACC SG *fulan* 'foal, colt' : ACC PL M *fullans* 'full'; *fūls* 'foul (smelling)' : *fulls* 'full'; *wis* (3x) 'calm' : *-qiss* 'speech' (*missa-qiss* 'discord' etc. §7.6). See also *aiþþau* 'or' (§2.7) and *-ddj-* (§2.14). Foreign words have many geminates, e.g. *Filippus* 'Philip', *sakkus** 'sackcloth', ACC *Þaddaiu* (Mk 3:18) 'Thaddaeus', *sabbato* 'sabbath', *aiffaþa* (Mk 7:34) 'open up' (Beade 1971: 9f.).

[9] Vennemann (1985: 206–17) claims *j* was a fricative. The glide status is upheld by, e.g. Van Helten (1903: 63f.), Gaebeler (1911: 40f.), Jacobsohn (1915), *GGS* 38, 76, Jones (1963), Beade (1971: 44f.), Beck (1976), Barrack (1997: 5), *GG* 57, Heidermanns (2007a), Pierce (2007: 241), Kotin (2012: 62).