

## Wilhelm Braune

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

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## ABBREVIATIONS.

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- anv., anomalous verb.
- cf. or cp., compare.
- E., English.
- follg., following.
- G., German.
- Gr., Greek.
- Idg., Indo-Germanic.
- Lt., Latin.
- ME., Midl English.
- MHG., Midl High German.
- NE., New English.
- NHG., New High German.
- Nth., Northumbrian.
- OE., Old English.
- OHG., Old High German.
- ON., Old Norse.
- OS., Old Saxon.
- pp., past participl.
- prec., preceding.
- prsp., present participl.
- prt.-prs., preterit present.
- Sc., Scotch.
- Shak., Shakspere.
- Sp., Spenser.
- sta., strong adjectiv.
- stv., strong verb.

- th. s., the same.
- w., with or word.
- wa., weak adjectiv.
- wv., weak verb.
- <, from; >, whense.

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

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

Bezzenb. beitr., Beiträge zur kunde der indogerm. sprachen, hg. v. A. Bezzenberger. Göttingen 1875 ff.

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

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

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

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

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

Kl. W., Kluge, Wörterbuch.

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

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

Sk., Skeat, Etymological Dictionary.

vB., von Bahder, Verbalabstracta.

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

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

Zs. fda., Zeitschrift für deutsches alterthum. Berlin 1841 ff. With this sinse vol. 19: Anzeiger für d. alt. Berlin 1876 ff. Zs. fdph., Zeitschrift für deutsche philologie. Halle 1869 ff.

# FONOLOGY.

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## CHAP. I. THE ALFABET.

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

À	B	r	ď.	8		u	Z	h	Ψ
1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8	9
a	b	g	d	0		q	Z	h	Þ
ŧ1	R	λ	n	Н		G	η	π	4
10	20	30	40	50		60	70	80	90
i	k	1	m	$\mathbf{n}$		j	u	P	_
ĸ	s	т	Y	F		x	0	Q	Ť
100	200	300	400	500	•	600	700	800	900
r	8	t	w	f		X	h	0	-
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	а	b	g	d	е	q	Z	h	þ
	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90

i	k	I	m	n	j	u	р	_
100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900
r	S	t	w	f	γ	h	0	_

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

Note 2. Two characters, the Greek episema 'koppa' (90) and 'sampi' (900), hav no fonetic values, but serv only as numerals. When the symbols denote numerals, they are markt by a horizontal stroke abuv them, or by dots before and after them: **ib** or **ib** = 12.

Note 3. The transliteration of the Gothic symbols is not alike in all cases. Most editors hav hitherto uzed  $\mathbf{v}$  for  $\mathbf{w}$  (§ 39, n. 1); for the single symbols  $\mathbf{q}$  (§ 39, n. 1) and  $\mathbf{b}$  (§ 63) we find  $\mathbf{k}\mathbf{v}$  or  $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{u}$  and  $\mathbf{h}\mathbf{v}$  or  $\mathbf{w}$ , respectively; for  $\mathbf{p}$ , which is borrowd from the Norse-A.-S. alfabet, also  $\mathbf{t}\mathbf{h}$  occurs (§ 70, n. 1).

Note 4. The Gothic monuments show but few abbreviations; the holy names, **guþ**, **frauja**, **iêsus**, **Xristus**, ar always abbreviated. Abbreviations ar denoted by a stroke abuv the word, but in our texts the abbreviated words ar uzually printed in ful; as, **gþ** = **guþ**, **fa**, **fins** = **frauja**, **fraujins**.—For more on this point, s. Gabelentz-Loebe's grammar, p. 19 et seq.

Note 5. The Goths alredy had the Germanic runic letters before Wulfila. The names of these letters wer uzed also for the new characters. The names of the Gothic symbols, together with a few Gothic words and alfabets, ar preservd in a Salzburg-Vienna manuscript of the 9th century: W. Grimm, 'Wiener Jahrbücher der Litteratur 43', p. 4 et seq. Massmann, zs. fda. 1, p. 296 et seq.—The form of the names, however, is very corrupt. As to this, cp. A. Kirchhoff, 'Das Gotische Runenalphabet', 2nd edit., Berlin 1854; J. Zacher, 'Das Gotische Alphabet Vulfilas und das Runenalphabet', Leipzig 1855.—Of special importance is Wimmer's treatis on Wulfila's alfabet, as 'Appendix I' to his book: 'Die Runenschrift', Berlin 1887, pp. 259-274.

- § 2. Of the 27 characters two hav only numerical values, (§ 1, n. 2), a third, the  $\chi$ , is retaind only in Greek foren words, especially in the name 'Christus', and denotes no Gothic sound. Hense there remain the following 24 characters whose fonetic values ar to be determind:
  - (a) Consonants:

pbfmw|tdbsznlr|kqghbj.

(b) Vowels:

aeiou.

(c) Difthongs:

ei iu ai au.

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

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

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

waur	bun	afar	þo	jah qeþun.		
uuorti	hun	auar	thuo	iachuedant iach <sup>u</sup> atun		
waurþun	uþþan		afar	aiwaggeljo	þairh	Lokar
uuortun	otan		auar	euangeliū	ther	lucam

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

## CHAP. II. THE VOWELS.

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a

- § 3. The Gothic **a** signifies as a rule the short a-sound [as in G. mann].
  - Note 1. Foren words and names; as, **Annas**, ἀννας; **Akaja**, ἀχαΐα; **barbarus**, βάρβαρος; **aggilus**, ἄγγελος; **karkara**, *carcer*; **lukarn**, *lucerna*; **Kafarnaum**, Καπερναούμ.
  - Note 2. Gothic names: **Athanaricus**, **Ariaricus**, **Amalafrigda** (*Ammian*.)
- § 4. Short **a** is very frequent both in stem-syllabls and in inflection. E. g.
- (a) Stem-syllabls: agis, aw; aljis, 'alius'; tagr, tear; aha, 'aqua'; alan, to grow; hafjan, to heav; saltan, to salt; haldan, to hold; waldan, to rule; fadar, father; stabs, place.—ahtau, 'octo'; gasts, guest; habar, 'uter'; awistr, sheepfold (OHG. au, 'ovis'; ahd. gr., § 219, n. 3); bandi, band; barn, child; saggws, song; all preterits of the III.-V. ablaut-series: bar, I bore; hlaf, I stole; band, I bound; gaf, I gave, etc.
- (b) Inflections: daga (dat. sg., § 90), waúrda (nom. acc. pl., § 93), giba (nom. acc. sg., § 96), guma (nom. sg., § 107), haírtôna (nom. acc. pl., § 109); —blindamma, blindana, blindata (str. adj., § 123); —imma, ina, ita, ija, meina (prn.; § 150 et seq.); —nima (1st pers. sg.

prs. ind.); **nimaima**, **nimaiwa**, **nimaina** (1st pers. pl. du. and 3d pers. pl. opt., § 170); **haitada** (medio-passiv, § 170); **sôkida** (weak prt., § 184); —adverbs: **-ba** (as, **glaggwuba**), **nêba**, **inna**, **ana**, **waíla**, etc.

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

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

- § 5. In a few cases **a** is long [as in E. father]. (Comp. Holtzmann, Altd. Gr., I, 3 et seq.).
- (a) In foren words: **Silbânus** (*Silvanus*), **aurâli** (*orale*), **spaíkulâtur** (*speculator*), **Peilâtus**, etc.;
- (b) In the following Gothic words: **fâhan** (OHG. fâhan), *to cach*; **hâhan** (OHG. hâhan), *to hang*; **þâhta** (prt. of **þagkjan**, *to think*); **brâhta** (prt. of **briggan**, *to bring*); **gafâhs**, *a haul*; **faúrhâh**, *curtain*; **gahâhjô**, *in order*; **-gâhts**, *a going*; also **þâhô** (OHG. dâha), *clay*; **unwâhs**, *blameless* (OE. wôh, *wrong*).

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

e

- § 6. **e** is always a long, close vowel ( $\hat{\mathbf{e}}$ ) approaching very much the sound of **i** [as in E. they].
  - Note 1. In Greek words η is regularly represented by  $\hat{\mathbf{e}}$ ; e. g., **Gabriel**, **Kêfas**, **aíkklêsjô**, **Krêta**; —

sumtimes also ι: **Naên**, Ναίν; **Tykêkus**, Τυχικός; **aíloê**, ἐλωί; likewise e: **Jarêd**, Ἰαρέδ.

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

- § 7. Goth. **ê** (which regularly corresponds to OHG. and OS. â; ahd. gr., § 34) is found:
- (a) in reduplicating verbs, in part with the ablaut ô (§§ 179. 181): grêtan, lêtan, slêpan; (b) in the prt. pl. of the IV. and V. ablaut-series: sêtum (inf. sitan, to sit), nêmun (inf. niman, to take), têmum (inf. timan, to befit), êtum (inf. *itan*), and in the prt. sq. **frêt**; Luc. XV, 30 (§ 176, n. 3); (c) in derivative from the verbal stems givn under (b); as, andanêms, agreeabl; andanêm, a receiving; gatêmiba, becumingly; uzêta, manger; (d) in other words; as, jêr, year; qêns, wife; mêna, moon; lêkeis, fysician; mêrjan, to preach; manasêbs ('man-seed'), world, etc.; (e) in formativ syllabls: **fahêþs**, *joy*; **awêþi**, *flock of sheep* (cp. however § 17, n. 1); azêts, easy; 2nd pers. sg. prt. of wvs., -dês (nasidês, § 184); (f) final: in the ending of the gen. pl.; as, dagê; in monosyllabic instrumentals: **bê**, **bê** (§§ 153. 159); in particls and advs.; as, swê, untê, hidrê, bisunjanê; lastly, in the dativs wammeh, warjammeh, ainummehun (cp. §§ 163-166).

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

Note 2. **ei** occurs quite often for **ê**, especially in the Gospel of St. Luke; as, **qeins** (= **qêns**), **faheid** (=

- fahêd), fraleitais (= fralêtais); Lu. II, 5. 10. 29; afleitan; Mt. IX, 6, etc.
- Note 3. Sporadically also **i** for **ê**; so, frequently, in the Gospel of St. Lu.; as, **b**irusjôs; Lu. II, 41; **q**ipeina; VIII, 56. IX, 21; **tawid**ideina; VI, 11; **duatsn**iwun; Mk. VI, 53. Only **i** is found in **wribus**, herd; Lu. VIII, 33 (for **wrêbus**; cp. Bezzenb. Beitr. 3, 114).
- Note 4. Reversely, also **e** occurs for **i** and **ei** (§ 10, n. 5; § 17, n. 1).—These deviations (in ns. 2-4) seem due to East Gothic writers; cp. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 161.
- § 8. From the preceding **ê** must be separated the **ê** of sum Gothic words in which it corresponds to OHG. ea, ia (not â): **hêr**, here; **Krêks**, Greek; **fêra**, side, region; **mês**, table. Cp. ahd. gr., §§ 35. 36; Beitr., 18, 409 et seq.

i

- § 9. Gothic **i**, as a rule, denotes the short vowel **i** [as in E. it], while its corresponding long sound is represented by **ei** [= ie in E. believ]; s. § 16.
  - Note 1. The **i** in Greek words stands for short ι, only exceptionally for η which is generally represented by  $\hat{\mathbf{e}}$ ; e. g., **Aúnisimus**, Ονήσιμος; **Biþania**, Βηθανία.
  - Note 2. **i** in Gothic words is long, when it is incorrectly employd for  $\hat{\mathbf{e}}$  (cp. § 7, n. 3).
- § 10. The Gothic **i**, from an historical point of view, is of two kinds: It represents two originally distinct sounds which, from a purely Gothic standpoint, can not be separated.

- (a) Goth. **i** = proethnic Germanic e (OHG. ë or i; cp. ahd. gr., §§ 28-30), as in the prs. tense of verbs of the III.-V. ablaut-series (§§ 32-34): **niman**, OHG. nëman; **giban**, OHG. gëban; **giba**, OHG. gëba; **bindan**, OHG. bintan; **itan**, *to eat*; **midjis**, '*medius*'; **hlifan**, *to steal*; **swistar**, OHG. swëster; **fidwôr**, *four*; **gifts**, *gift*; **-qiss**, *speech*; the pps. of the V. ablaut-series: **gibans**, **itans**, **lisans**, **wigans**, **qiþans**.
- (b) Goth. **i** = proethnic Germanic i (OHG. i; ahd. gr., § 31); e. g., **lists**, *stratagem*; **fisks**, *fish*; **is**, *he*; **wissa**, *I knew*; **skritnan**, *to rend* (intr.); prt. pl. and pp. of the verbs of the I. ablaut-series (§ 30): **bitun**, **bitans** (inf. **beitan**); **stigun**, **stigans** (inf. **steigan**); **libun**, **libans** (inf. **leiban**).
  - Note 1. Final i occurs in **ni**, **bi**, **si**, **hiri**; in the nominative of feminin and neuter **j**-stems: **bandi** (§ 96), **kuni** (§ 93); in the acc. and voc. sg. of the masculin **j**-stems: **hari** (§ 90); 3d pers. sg. prt. opt.: **nêmi**. This final **i** appears as **j**, when it becums medial (§ 45).
  - Note 2. Final i before a following i of an enclitic word is elided in **nist** (= **ni-ist**), **sei** (= **si-ei**), **niba** (= **ni-iba**).
  - Note 3. Every **i** before **h** and **r** is broken to **ai**; cp. § 20.
  - Note 4. ij is found in ija, 'eam'; þrija, 'tria'; fijan, to hate; frijôn, to luv; sijum, we ar, kijans, germinated, etc. i for ij is rare: fian, sium, etc., but friaþwa (beside frijaþwa), luv, occurs very often.
  - Note 5. Occasionally **e** takes the place of **i**; as, **usdrebi**; Mk. V, 10; **seneigana**; I. Tim. V, 1.
    - Note 6. For i in the difthong iu, s. §§ 18. 19.

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

0

§ 11. The Gothic character  $\mathbf{o}$  always denotes a long close  $\mathbf{o}$  approaching sumwhat the sound of  $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$  (= o in E. home).

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

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

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

In the prt. of the VI. series (§ 35) and of the ê—ô-series (§ 36): ôl, hôf, ôg, pl. ôlum, hôfum, ôgum; laílôt, laílôtum, aísô. In endings, as in nom. pl. gibôs, dagôs; wvs. II.: salbôn; final, in gen. pl. f. gibô, tuggônô; nom. sg. tuggô, haírtô. Prns.: hô, þô, sô, hanô-h, ainnô-hun, harjanô-h. Verb salbô. Advs. in -ô (§ 211).

Note 1. For  $\hat{\mathbf{o}}$  we sumtimes find  $\mathbf{u}$ :  $\mathbf{gakrotuda}$  (inf.  $\mathbf{kroton}$ ), he is crusht; Lu. XX, 18;  $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$ htedun (prs.  $\hat{\mathbf{og}}$ ), they feard; Mk. XI, 32.—In East Gothic names  $\mathbf{u}$  often takes the place of  $\hat{\mathbf{o}}$ ; s. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 164.

Note 2. In a few words  $\hat{\mathbf{o}}$  before vowels becums  $\mathbf{a}\mathbf{u}$ ; s. § 26.

Note 3. ô and u interchange in the inflection of fôn, gen. funins (§ 118). Concerning this and other

relations between  $\hat{\mathbf{o}}$  and  $\mathbf{u}$ , cp. Beitr. 6, 377 et seq.; 564; also Kuhns Zs., 26, 16 et seq.

#### u

- § 13. The letter **u** in Gothic denotes both a short and a long vowel; the short **u**, however, occurs oftener than long  $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$ .
  - Note 1. **u** in foren words regularly represents Gr. ου. In unaccented syllabls, however, it stands for Gr. o: **diabulus**, διάβολος (beside **diabaúlus**), **apaústulus** (beside **apaústaúlus**), **paíntêkustê**, πεντηκοστή.
  - Note 2. **u** for **ô** seldom (§ 12, n. 1), **u** for **áu** (§ 25, n. 3).
  - § 14. Short **u** is very frequent in Gothic. E. g.
- (a) juk, yoke; sunus, sun; drus, fall; us-drusts, a falling; fra-lusts, lost; lusnan, to perish; —in the prt. pl. and pp. of the verbs of the II. series (§ 31); e. g., gutum, gutans; lusum, lusans; —in endings of the sbs. of the udecl.: handus, handu; —final, as in þu, prn., thou; nu, now; -u (interr. particl).
- (b) wulfs, wolf; wulla, wool; gaqumbs, council; gulp, gold; swumfsl, pond; hund, 100; sibun, 7; taíhun, 10; fulls, ful; un- (privativ prefix); in the prt. pl. and pp. of the verbs of the III. series (§ 32): bundum, bundans; in the pp. of the verbs of the IV. series (§ 33): numans, stulans.

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

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

Note 2. Every  $\mathbf{u}$  before  $\mathbf{h}$  and  $\mathbf{r}$  is broken to  $\mathbf{a}\dot{\mathbf{u}}$ ; cp. § 24.

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

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

- § 15. Long û certainly appears in: (a) ût, out (ûta, etc.); dûbô, duv; rûna, mystery; rûms, room, roomy; \*mûl (in faúrmûljan, to muzl); brûþs, bride; hûs, house; skûra, shower; hlûtrs, pure; fûls, foul; \*mûks (in mûkamôdei), meek; þûsundi, 1000; brûkjan, to uze (prt. brûhta; adj. brûks); lûkan, to lock (§ 173, n. 2); hrûkjan, to crow (s. Beitr., 6, 379); hnûþô, sting (Icel. hnúþa; s. Noreen, Nord. revy, April 1883).
- (b) for nasalized **u**, the primitiv nasal being lost (cp. § 5, b; § 50, n. 1): **pûhta** (prt. of **pugkjan**, *to think*), **pûhtus**, *thought* (adj. **pûhts**); **hûhrus**, *hunger*; **jûhiza** (compar. to **juggs**), *yunger*; **ûhtwô**, *daybreak*; **ûhteigs**, **ûhtiugs**, *seasonabl*; **bi-ûhts**, *accustomd* (s. Brgm., I, 181).

- Note 1. **u** is perhaps long in: **þrûtsfill**, *leprosy* (cp. ON. **þrútinn**, *swoln*; OE. **þrûstfell**; Beitr., 9, 254); **anabûsns**, *commandment* (Beitr., 9, 152 and 10, 497; Brgm., II, 287); **lûns**, *ransom* (Brgm., II, 285); **sûts**, *sweet* (OS. swôti, OE. swête; cp. however Kuhn's Zs., 26, 380); the suff. **-dûþs** (§ 103; cp. Beitr. 6, 380); **jûs**, *ye* (§ 150; Brgm., III, 374. 398). Sum write also **fidûr-** and **-ûh** (cp. § 24, n. 2).
- Note 2. In **Rûma**, *Rome*, **Rûmôneis**, a *Roman*, **û** stands for the Lt. o.
- Note 3. o for û occurs only in ôhteigô; II. Tim. IV, 2 (in codex B, for ûhteigô in A).
- Note 4. For  $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$  becuming  $\mathbf{a}\mathbf{u}$  before vowels, s. § 26, b.

#### ei

- § 16. Like Greek ει at the time of Wulfila, and in imitation of it, Gothic **ei** denotes long **î**.
  - Note 1. In Greek words **ei** uzually stands for  $\iota$ , but also for **ei**, and sumtimes for  $\eta$ .
    - Note 2. Concerning ei for Goth. ê, s. § 7, n. 2.
  - Note 3. The difthongal pronunciation of **ei** suggested by J. Grimm is refuted also for linguistic reasons. Cp. J. Schmidt, 'ldg. Vocalismus', I, 485; Litbl. 1886, 485; Brgm., I, 57.
- § 17. **ei** in stem syllabls of Gothic words occurs especially in the prs. tense of the I. series (§ 30): **beitan**, *to bite*; **steigan**, *to mount*; **beihan**, *to thrive*; in the inflection of these verbs it interchanges with **ai** and **i**.

Other exampls: **beila**, *time*; **eisarn**, *iron*; **leibu**, *cider*, **breis**, *3*; **leihts**, *light*; **weihs**, *holy*; **skeirs**, *clear*; pronouns: **weis**, *we*; **meins**, **beins**, **seins**; —very often in formativ and inflectional syllabls; as, adjs. in **-eigs** (**mahteigs**, *mighty*); in **-eins** (**aiweins**, *eternal*); nomina actionis in **-eins** (**laiseins**, *doctrin*); nom. and gen. sg. of the m. **ja**-stems: **haírdeis**, *herd*; **laisareis**, *teacher*; nom. pl. of the **i**-decl.: **gasteis**; opt. prt.: **nêmeis**; final, in feminins in **-ei**: **managei** (§ 113); imperativs: **sôkei**, etc. (§ 186); the rel. particl **ei** (§ 157), alone and in composition.

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

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

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

## iu

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

Note 1. In Gothic words Latin writers render **iu** by eu, eo: **Theudes**, **Theudicodo**; **Theodoricus**. As to

this, cp. Wrede, 'Wand', 100 et seq.; 'Ostg.', 167.

Note 2. In **sium** (§ 10, n. 4), **niu** (interr. particl = **niu**, § 216) **iu** is dissyllabic, i. e.  $\mathbf{i}$ - $\mathbf{u}$ .

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

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

### ai

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

- § 20. I. The short vowel aí [= a in E. fat]. ai is uzed in Gothic to denote a short, open e[1]-sound. In this case, according to Grimm's exampl, grammarians put an accute accent over the i (aí) in order to distinguish it from ái (§ 21). Gothic ai corresponds to e or i in OHG. and in the other Germanic languages. The short e-sound represented by aí occurs:
- (1) before **h** (**b**) and **r**, which sounds hav caused breaking of *every* preceding short **i** to **e** (aí; § 10, n. 3); e. g., aírþa, *erth*; waírpan, *to throw*; baírhts, *bright*; faíhu, *catl*; maíhstus, *dung*; raíhts, *right*; taíhun, 10; saíban, *to see*; þaíhum (prt. pl. of þeihan, *to grow*). (2) in reduplicated

syllabls (§ 178 et seq.): haíhald, aíaik, laílôt, saísô, etc. Cp. Osthoff, 'Zur Geschichte des Perfects', p. 276 et seq. Brugmann, IV, 15. (3) in the conj. aíþþau, or (= OHG. ëddo, ahd. gr. § 167, n. 11; cp. Beitr. 12, 211); probably, also, in waíla, wel (= OHG. wëla, ahd. gr., § 29, n. 4), but cp. Beitr. 11, 553.

Note 1. The law for the transition of **i** to **ai** before **h** and **r** (so-calld breaking or refraction) is almost without exception, and equally concerns the Germanic i in general and the Gothic **i**s (§ 10) in particular. The **i** before **h**, **r**, is retaind only in the following words: **nih**, 'neque' (= **ni uh**), **hiri**, (cum) here!; du. **hirjats**, pl. **hirjib** (219); and in the isolated forms: **sihu**, victory (cp. § 106, n. 1), **þarihis** (a probably corrupt form in Mt. IX, 16), adj. in gen. sg., not fuld (said of cloth). Cp. IF. 4, 334 et seq.

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

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

Note 4. **ai** is to be regarded as a difthong (**ai**) in **baitrs**, bitter; **jains**, yon, that (and its derivations), while formerly, according to OHG. bittar, jenêr, it was

thought to be short (aí). Cp. Holtzmann, 'Altd. Gr.', p. 11 et seq.; Brgm., I, 392; Bezzenb. Beitr., 16, 156.— Scherer (Zur Gesch. d. dtsch. Sprache) presumed short aí also in the 3d pers. sg. prs. opt. (like nimai) and in several forms of the strong inflection of adjs. (nom. pl. m. blindai, gen. sg. f. blindaizôs, gen. pl. blindaizê, blindaizô). Hirt (Beitr., 18, 284 et seq.) goes stil farther in this direction.—Cp. also § 22, n. 3.

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

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

- Note 1. Latin writers express the Gothic **ai** predominantly by ai, ei: **Dagalaiphus**, **Gaina**, **Radagaisus**, **Gisaleicus** (cp. Dietrich, 'Ausspr.'), **eils** in a Lt. epigram (Zs. fda., 1, 379). On the Bukarest rune-ring (cp. § 221, n. 3) stands **hailag** (Paul's 'Grundriss', I, 411).—Concerning the difthongal pronunciation of the Gothic **ai**, cp. especially Wrede, 'Wand.', 95 et seq.; about monofthongization in East Goth., s. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 165.
- Note 2. ai and aj interchange in wai, woe!; wai-dêdja, evil-doer, and waja-mêrjan, to blasfeme; in aiws, time, and ajukdûþs, eternity.
- § 22. Many scholars hold that also the **ai** in the reduplicating ablaut vs. (§ 182) **saian** and **waian** is difthongal. This **ai**, however, stands etymologically for Gothic **ê**, and its OHG. equivalent is â (not ei): OHG. sâen, wâen (cp. ahd. gr., § 359, n. 3.) The difthong **ai** before a vowel would becum **aj**; hense, \***sajan**, \***wajan**. Here **ai** perhaps has the sound of long æ, i. e. open e representing close e (ê) when followd by a vowel; thus, **saian**, **waian**, for **sêan**. **wêan**.
  - Note 1. Before the **i** of the 3d pers. sg. prs. a **j** is often found: **saijib** (Mk. IV, 14), **saijib** (II. Cor. IX, 6 in A, for **saiib** in B; Gal. VI, 7. 8. in A, for **saiib** in B). Before **a** the **j** occurs but onse: **saijands** (Mk. IV, 14). Cp. Beitr. 11, 75 et seq.
  - Note 2. Here belongs also the isolated **faian** (Rom. IX, 19, in prs. **faianda**); but the prs. to the prt. **laílôun** is **lauan** rather than **laian**. Cp. Beitr. 11, 56.
  - Note 3. Also the **ai** in **armaiô**, *alms* (Bezzenb. Beitr. 7, 210; Beitr. 11, 74), is likely to belong here.—

Concerning the fonetic values of the **ai**s discust here, cp. especially Beitr. 11, 51 et seq.; Brgm., I, pp. 126. 127; Wrede, 'Wand.' 99, who, beside Holtzmann, is inclined to assume a long sound for these **ai**s; Noreen, 'Urg. Lautlehre', p. 35 et seq.

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

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

#### au

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

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

The  $\mathbf{a}\dot{\mathbf{u}}$ , before  $\mathbf{h}$  and  $\mathbf{r}$  in Gothic words, has in every instance developt from a short  $\mathbf{u}$  which, when immediately followd by these sounds, was 'broken' to short  $\check{\mathbf{o}}$ . E. g.

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

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

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

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

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

Note 5. As a rule, the Greek o is represented by  $\mathbf{a}\mathbf{u}$ ; e. g., apaustaulus, ἀπόστολος; alabalstraun, ἀλάβαστρον; Barþaulaumaius, Βαρθολομαῖος; Pauntius, Πόντιος;  $\mathbf{a}\mathbf{u} = \mathbf{v}$  in Sa $\mathbf{u}\mathbf{u}$  το in the East Gothic name Thorisa. (Wrede, 'Ostg.', 76. 165).

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

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

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

- Note 1. **au** often interchanges with **aw** (cp. § 42); e. g., **taujan**, prt. **tawida**, *to do*; **mawi**, gen. **maujôs**, *girl*; **sniwan**, prt. **snau**, *to hasten*.
- Note 2. Latin writers express Goth. **au** by au; as, **Ausila**, **Austrovaldus**, **Audericus**. Cp. Wrede, 'Wand.', 96 et seq. Concerning East Gothic monofthongizations, s. Wrede, 'Ostg.', 165 et seq. (Zs. fda., 36, 273<sup>2</sup>).

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

- § 26. Another **au**, historically, and probably also fonetically, different from the preceding ones occurs before vowels.
- (a) For original ô: stauida, prt. of stôjan, to judge; staua, f., judgment; staua, m., judge; taui, n., gen. tôjis, deed (cp. also ubiltôjis, evil-doer; taujan, to do, prt. tawida); afmauidai and afdauidai, pps. of \*afmôjan, and \*afdôjan, to tire out, weary; sauil, n., sun.
- (b) For û in the other Germanic languages: **trauan** (OHG. trûên), *to trust*; **bauan** (OHG. bûan), *to dwel*; **bnauan**, *to rub* (*to pieces* or *powder*. ON. (g)núa, OHG. nûan). Cp. also § 179, n. 2.

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