AN

INTRODUCTION,

PHONOLOGICAL, MORPHOLOGICAL, SYNTACTIC,

to the

GOTHIC OF ULFILAS.

by

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LONDON:
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This book was originally designed to accompany an edition of Ulfilas for which I was collecting materials some eight or nine years ago, but which various considerations led me to lay aside.

As, however, it had long seemed to me equally strange and deplorable that not a single work adapted to aid a student in acquiring a knowledge of Gothic was to be found in the English book-market, I proceeded to give most of the time at my disposal to the building up of this "Introduction," on a somewhat larger scale than was at first intended, in the hope of being able to promote the study of a dialect which, apart from its native force and beauty, has special claims on the attention of more than one important class of students.

By the student of linguistic science, indeed, these claims are at once admitted; for the Gothic is one of the pillars on which rests the comparative grammar both of the older Indo-European languages in general, and also, pre-eminently, of the Teutonic cluster of dialects in particular.

But a good knowledge of Gothic is scarcely less valuable to the student of the English language,—at any rate, of the Ancient English or Anglo-Saxon; upon the phonology of which, and indeed the whole grammar, the Gothic sheds a flood of light that is not to be got from any other source.
And, again, the dialect should be one of very great interest to the Biblical student; for in it are enshrined extensive remains of a venerable version of the New Testament which is equally valuable and instructive where it agrees with and where it differs from other and later versions.

Nevertheless, by the time my first copy was finished I had conceived a suspicion that the desire to master a language lying outside the small group usually studied in this country would be confined to so few persons that I should do almost as well in burning my copy as in printing it. Since then, however, three or four books upon Ulfilas or his language have been published in this country; and trusting that these, as well as a slowly-growing interest in linguistic science, of which I see other signs, may have done something towards securing a welcome for a more advanced treatise, I at last venture, after subjecting it to repeated revision and much excision, to publish the present work.

I will take leave to mention, by the way, that although I have not seen any of the books just referred to, yet one of them—Prof. Skeat's edition of St. Mark, with (I think) a grammatical introduction—has had some effect upon this volume; for I had myself, long before the appearance of the distinguished Professor's book, prepared a text of the same gospel and a sufficient vocabulary, with the intention of adding them hereto by way of appendix. These, then, I removed; but at the same time restored the supplementary sections (114–116), which had been marked for suppression, and also, in the Syntax, quoted in full the numerous illustrations from St. Mark, which I had intended to indicate by simple reference.

The general plan of this book may be seen in the ensuing table of contents. In carrying out this plan I
have worked mainly from my own notes and lexical and other materials collected in the course of my philological reading and my frequent study of the Gothic remains; and even where, as under Inflexion, there is a certain accepted common stock of matter which one might perhaps be excused for appropriating without much inquiry, I have still done my best to subject the whole to a re-examination.

In the Phonology an attempt is made to exemplify systematically in the Gothic the results of various researches by the foremost philologists of the continent, whose names will be mentioned as their views are referred to. The chapters on Derivation and Composition are chiefly confined to a fresh collection and arrangement of facts and instances; although points of special importance are sufficiently discussed. The Syntax is newly planned; the rules have been directly deduced from the usages and idioms of the Gothic remains; and while some are probably new in substance, most of them are, I think, new in form.

I suppose that every one who is likely to enter seriously upon the study of Gothic will already be more or less skilled in speechcraft. Hence I have generally assumed, on the part of readers of this book, a knowledge of the fundamental principles and of the terminology of grammar; and I have not always refrained from citing hypotheses and explanations which may perhaps be hereafter corrected, if not rejected,—thinking it better that the present or recent state of opinion should be known to such readers than that matters of interest should be passed over with insufficient notice.

I originally contemplated, and indeed began, a more systematic comparison between Gothic and English than now appears in the book; but it soon became clear that to carry out such a comparison satisfactorily would
require constant reference to the older stages of our language, and would sometimes lead me far astray from my main path. I therefore abandoned it; and all the more willingly because I felt sure that such readers as could follow it profitably would be already competent, with the materials now before them, to do the work themselves; and also because, by way of compensation, I could then allow myself a little more space for the discussion of certain leading features of all Teutonic grammar,—such as the strong-verb system (§§ 22–25); the weak preterite (§ 81); and accentuation (§ 85);—not to mention many smaller matters,—such as the derivation of "eleven" and "twelve" (§ 34 (2)), and the history of "learn" (§ 43, Note 7).

As there are limits to human vigilance, it can hardly be but that, in the dense mass of details contained in this book, some errors have escaped notice. All such must be laid to my charge; for my respected printers, whom I am glad to take the opportunity of thanking, have answered with great pains and exactitude to my many calls upon their resources. A few trifling corrections are already noted on page xii; for any others that may reach me I shall be duly grateful.

London, May 1886.                                T. Le M. D.
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Corrections and Symbols.

D.G. = Deutsche Grammatik.—E.V. = English Version.—KZ. = Kuhn's Zeitschrift.—M.U. = Morphologische Untersuchungen.—PBB. (or Beitr.) = Paul and Braune's Beiträge.—QF. = Quellen und Forschungen.—V.G. = Vergleichende Grammatik.—WB. = Wörterbuch.—ZS. = Zeitschrift.

\( \sqrt{\text{Root}}; \sim = "\text{interchanging with}"; +, =, \ldots \), need no explanation.

Other contractions are either self-explanatory or are explained in the text (see, e.g., §5 and §6 (2)).

Corrections and Additions.

In the earlier pages e and o are circumflexed (\( \acute{e}, \acute{o} \)); for the sake of uniformity they should bear the long mark (\( \grave{e}, \grave{o} \)).

P. 44, Note 3: \( \acute{e}t, \acute{frêt} \); Möller, Englische Studien, III. 154, and the authorities cited by him, should also have been referred to.

P. 65, (iv.): "(b) not in the vb."; add, "except in the 2 p. s. passive suffixes -za, -zaun."

P. 80, (viii): "flanked by palatal vowels"; the argument is, that if the palato-guttural was little likely of itself to become labialized, still less so was it when its palatalism was strengthened by the palatal vowel on each side of it.

P. 93, § 39 (1): junga- properly belongs to § 40 (5, iv).

P. 108, (1, iii): mundrein- belongs to (6, vi), page 108, where it is again cited.—In (1, vi) add, Wulfilan- = Úlfilas.

P. 130, line 6: ahwó- should go under (iii) on same page.

P. 175, line 5 from bottom: for (§ 42 (2, iii)), read (§ 43 (2, iii)).

P. 206, line 14 of (ii), for "he cried out," read "and he cried out."

P. 217, first line of (viii): read, "The idiom of (vi)," not (v).

P. 233, line 18: for "noun," read "pronoun."
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE GOTHIC OF ULFILAS.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

THE PLACE OF THE GOTHS AND THEIR LANGUAGE IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN SYSTEM.

1. The term "Indo-European" (I-E.) may be used either ethnologically, to designate the family of related nations which (not to mention their colonies) occupy the greater part of Europe, together with much of Persia and India; or philologically, to designate the corresponding family of related languages and dialects which are or have been spoken by these peoples or their ancestors. At the present time, indeed, the relationship between some of these languages and others is by no means obvious; but most of them may, by the aid of more or less copious literatures, be traced back to older, and in some cases very ancient, stages; and these, if they be compared with one another, will be found to present so many points of similarity as to necessitate the conclusion that they were all derived in the main from one and the same primitive (but far from primeval) tongue. And although community of language does not always involve community of race, yet there is no reason to doubt that the ancient peoples who spoke those old languages descended in the main from one and the same primitive tribe of men who used that primitive tongue. This parent I-E. tribe (the Urvolk of German scholars) is believed to have had its home in the western part of the great table-land of central Asia.
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There it multiplied into a widespread people (for theirs was a pastoral life), and at last probably arranged itself into clans distinguished by (among other things) diverging and well-marked dialects. At a remote epoch—it can scarcely have been later than 2000 years B.C.—this primitive folk began to break up and disperse. There was first of all, most likely, a fissure into two great sections, or clusters of clans, which, from their ultimate locations, may be called the Asiatic or Eastern (frequently called the Aryan), and the European or Western, division. The former moved southwards and settled partly in Persia and partly in India. The latter moved northwards towards the Ural mountains; and, as it also multiplied and extended, separation again and again took place, until the people were distributed over the greater part of Europe,—generally, it would seem, extirpating, perhaps also to some extent annexing or absorbing, the older and feebler races previously in possession. At the dawn of European history these once migratory clans appear as innumerable tribes and nations, comparatively settled, and for the most part independent one of another; but still falling, in virtue of their language and location, into a few great groups, each of which may be considered as the expansion of a single subdivision or clan of the parent stock. In the west and the British Isles were located the Kelts; in the south, the Greek and Latin peoples; in the east and north-east, the Lithuanians and the Slavs; and in the middle and north, the formidable Teutonic or German tribes, with whom we are here more particularly concerned. All of these had long forgotten their common origin and their primitive home; and some (e. g., the Teutons themselves) 1 had even come to be regarded as indigenous to the districts in which they were then settled. In the time of Tacitus (whose "Germania" is by far the most valuable of classical contributions to our knowledge of Teutonic antiquity 2) we find that, within boundaries roughly marked by the Rhine, the Vistula, the North Sea, and the upper Danube, there dwelt towards fifty distinct and mostly independent Teutonic tribes,—men

1 On account of the limited application, in English, of the words "German" and "Germans," I shall generally use "Teutonic" and "Teutons" when speaking of this group of tribes (including the Scandinavians) collectively. The Latin plural Teutones is an extended or weak form of a simpler but non-extant noun teutē-, a classical equivalent of the Gothic (undā-, "folk, people," and of the base of the German adj. Deut-sch, and our Dut-ch.

2 To the reader of German may be recommended the excellent school and college edition by Prof. H. Schweizer-Sidler (Halle, 3rd ed., 1879).
of huge limb, fierce warriors, prolific, aggressive, a terror to their neighbours, and destined to change the whole political aspect of Europe,—a destiny postponed chiefly by their relentless wars among themselves.

2. In the north-east corner of this Teutonic area, on the lower Vistula and along the adjacent Baltic shore, dwelt the Goths 1. According to a tradition preserved by Jordanes 2, the original home of this renowned tribe was in Scandinavia; whence they are said to have crossed over to the mainland in "three ships." This tradition appears at first sight to be supported by various other circumstances that connect the Goths of the continent with that peninsula. Thus, three different tribes of Goths are mentioned by Jordanes (cap. iii.) in his list of Scandinavian tribes. Again, in a Baltic island, and in the southern district of Sweden, the name of Gothland survives to this day. Further, among the words borrowed from the Scandinavian Teutons in very ancient times by the Finns and Lapps (collected by Dr. W. Thomsen 3) are not only many that exhibit marked Gothic features, but some also that are even of a more antique cast than the corresponding words in Ulflas. And once more, the older Scandinavian dialects show so many points of affinity with the Gothic as to make it clear that they were mainly if not wholly derived from a dialect which was also the parent form of the latter. Now it is true that in very early times there were Gothic tribes in Scandinavia; and it has been supposed by some 4 that they entered the peninsula from north-west Russia and made their way southwards,—a view which is hardly consistent with the subsequent locations of the Teutons and the Finns respectively. But more recently,

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1 The proper base of their name is Guta-, nom. sing. Guts, plur. Gutos. They called themselves, as a people, the Gut-thiuda or "Gut-folk." There was also probably an extended or "weak" form Gutan- or Gotan-, whence the "Guttiones" and "Gotanes" of the classical writers. Our own forefathers called the Goths of the Continent Gotan. Goten and Gotische are the terms now employed by German philologists; but I confess myself not to have the courage to substitute either "Gots" or "Guts" for our time-honoured "Goths."

2 "De Getarum sive Gothorum Origine," etc., init., written probably about A.D. 550. There are accessible editions by Closs (Stuttgart, 1836) and by A. Holder (Freiburg, 1881); but the long-expected recension by Mommsen has now appeared.

3 In his work (in Danish) on the Influence of the Teutonic languages on those of the Finns and Lapps. There is a German translation bySievers (Halle, 1870).

4 E. g., by Steinthal, "Kleinere Schriften," I. 285; but see also Max Müller, Lectures, I. 218.
chiefly through the investigations of Bugge, Wimmer, and others, into the relative age and the lines of diffusion of the runic inscriptions, it has been concluded, reversely, that the tribes in question crossed over from the mainland to the southern parts of the peninsula, and spread abroad, not only therein, but also westward into Denmark. On this view the continental Goths simply remained behind; and when, long afterwards, the migration of the others was forgotten, while intercourse between the two divisions was re-established across the inland sea, the tradition above cited would grow up in the popular mind to explain at once the close relationship and the diverse location of the two.

3. If a report transmitted to us by the elder Pliny could be trusted, the earliest extant reference to the Goths would be due to Pytheas of Massilia (350 B.C.?), who is said to have assigned a tribe of Gutones to the shores of “an estuary” about “6000 stadia from the Ocean” (say 700 English miles from the Atlantic?). This report, however, is very doubtful; and were it less so, it is still too vague to be of much value. The information given us by Tacitus (Germ. xliii), though slender, is trustworthy. He knows only the continental Gotones; who (he says), while preserving their liberty, lived under a stricter monarchy than the other German tribes. A century, more or less, after Tacitus’s time, a great migration of these Goths must have taken place in a south-easterly direction; for about the year 240 Goths are found on the left bank of the lower Danube and eastward along the north shore of the Black Sea. From thence they incessantly harassed the outlying provinces of the Roman Empire, until Aurelian, notwithstanding his victory over them, wisely ceded to them the whole of Dacia proper. In these extended settlements the Goths towards the west gradually diverged from, and endeavoured to become independent of, those in the east; but the eastern Goths maintained their political ascendancy

5 So Dr. J. H. Gallée, “Gutiska,” I. 12 (Haarlem, 1880): “De ge- heele sage .... is dus waarschijnlijk niets anders dan een poging om deze Goten met de andere in verband te brengen.”—As to the “three ships,” compare the Ancient English tradition about Hengist and Horsa. The number “three” is thought to refer, in the one case, to the East Goths, West Goths, and Gepidae; in the other, to Angles, Saxons, and Jutes.

1 Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 35.

2 Mühlenhoff, “Deutsche Alterthumskunde,” I. (see especially pp. 367, 479, 481), rejects the statement; he thinks that Pliny (who quotes at second hand) may, owing to a defect in the MS. before him, have read Gutones for Teutones.
until the irruption of the Huns in 375. By these fierce hordes the East Goths were reduced to an ignominious subjection, which lasted till the death of Attila (526). The West Goths, panic-stricken, only escaped that indignity by crossing the Danube into Moesia, under leave of Valens, then Emperor of the East; but very soon, enraged by the treachery and cruelty of his lieutenants, they became no less terrible to their new neighbours than the Huns had been to themselves. Their onslaughts at this time culminated in the battle of Adrianople (378), in which Valens was slain and his huge army annihilated. It was the West Goths who sacked Rome under Alaric (A.D. 410), and then founded kingdoms in Gaul and Spain that were afterwards overthrown, in the one case by the Franks (507), in the other by the Moors (711). The East Goths also subsequently crossed the Danube, settled for a time in Thrace, and then took and held possession of Italy under the great Theodoric (489-526). After his death the Gothic power in Italy rapidly declined; and it was finally extinguished by the victories of Narses in 552. From these dates we hear little of the Goths, except in Spain, where they became Romanized; and their language everywhere more or less rapidly died out. Gothic, however, (probably in a debased form,) was spoken as late as the ninth century at Tomi (now Kustendje) on the Black-Sea coast. Still more recently we catch passing glimpses of the obscure tribe of Crim-Goths (the ancient *Tetraxiæ*), who were descended, it is believed, from a section of the East Goths that settled along the S.E. coast of the Crimea probably before the year 300. These are mentioned by more than one traveller of the later middle ages; but the fullest notice of them is by the Flemish traveller A. G. von Busbeck; who, when at Constantinople in 1562, met two Ambassadors of theirs, and took down some scores of their words and a fragment of verse. Unfortunately, since that time, all traces of them and their language have been lost.

4. It is to Ulfilas (i. e., Wulfilæ=Wölfel) that we are mainly indebted for what remains to us of the Gothic language.

3 See Massmann in Haupt's Zeitschrift, I., and his Introd. to Ulfilas. Fürstemann, "Geschichte des Deutschen Sprachstammes," II. 159-170, treats minutely of the verbal remains; but there are among them many debased forms that defy satisfactory restoration. [See now also Kremer in PBB. VIII. 445+.]

4 Ihre, in the *Proximum* (p. 6) to his "Glossarium Suio-Gothicum" (Upsala, 1769) speaks of Gothic as still current in the Crimea; but he cites no later authority than von Busbeck.
This remarkable man was born about the year 311. His ancestors, perhaps his grand-parents, were natives of Cappadocia who had been carried off as captives (long before his birth) by the Goths, during an irruption made by this people into the northern parts of Asia Minor. Nevertheless, he himself uniformly appears before us as a thoroughly patriotic Goth. He must also have been a person of some consideration; for, at or about the age of twenty, he was sent to Constantinople either with an embassy or as a hostage; and there he spent some ten years of his early manhood. He may previously have acquired some familiarity with provincial Greek and Latin, and with the elements of the Christian religion. But at Constantinople he became proficient both in the cultivated Greek and Latin of the time, and also in the theology of the then popular Arian school. Finally, he entered the Church; became successively "lector," priest, and (at the early age of 30) bishop; and at once began to labour with apostolic zeal among his own people, who were then still in Dacia, and still heathens. When persecution arose, he led a multitude of converts across the Danube (in 348), and procured for them, from the Emperor Constantius, settlements in Moesia; where, principally, he preached and laboured till his death (on a visit to Constantinople) in 381. He is said to have been a prolific writer, not only in Gothic, but also in Greek and in Latin. Above all, he conceived and executed the bold project of translating the Scriptures into the Gothic tongue, for the use of his infant churches. Of this translation considerable fragments, but nearly all from the New Testament, have been discovered in modern times; and scanty as they unfortunately are, they nevertheless enable us to reconstruct, in all its essential features, the Grammar of the language as written by him; so that it becomes possible to assign to the Gothic its place both in the general Indo-European system of languages, and also, more especially, in the Teutonic division of that system 1.

5. So much with regard to ethnic and historic considera-

1 The dialect employed by Ulfilas was that of the East Goths, which was probably the court or classical dialect (so to say) of a whole group of closely-related tribes (See §6(2) below), all of whom would thus be able to read and enjoy his translation.—His life has been investigated by Prof. Waitz and Dr. Bessel. A good sketch of him will be found in Max Müller's Lectures, I. 207-215, or in a lively article in No. 300 of the Edinburgh Review (Oct. 1877), afterwards acknowledged by the learned author of "Italy and her Invaders" (T. Hodgson, Esq., B.A.).—The obscure history of the West Goths previously to A.D. 375 is investigated by Dahn, "Die Könige der Germanen," II. 51-98, and V. init.
tions. We have now to recall to mind that the relationship of the I-E. peoples was suggested mainly (§ 1 init.) by the unmistakable relationship subsisting between the I-E. languages. These exhibit, firstly, an extensive common Vocabulary, either derived from an identical stock of "roots" of a special type by regular sound-changes, or constructed therefrom by the same or similar methods of word-building; and, secondly, (what is even more important,) systems of Inflection and Syntax based on one original plan. Under these general features are comprised innumerable details, by a comparison of which, as they appear in the separate languages, scholars have been able to reconstruct approximately the Vocabulary, the Inflexions, and, to some extent, the Syntax, of the primitive language itself, within which the separate descendent languages once existed as dialects. From special characteristics common over the European and over the Asiatic area, respectively, in conjunction with the geographical distribution of the people, is deduced the bifurcation of the "primitive speech" (in German, the Ursprache) into (let us say) two "sub-primitives,"—the Asiatic and the European. Within these, again, the phonetic and other differences between the leading dialects must be conceived to have so increased and multiplied with the increase and outspread of each main division of the people as to have rendered intercourse between the various divisions difficult and, at last, even impossible; and this circumstance probably played a leading part in determining the successive ethnic separations. Of the principal languages that hence resulted, there appeared in Asia the Sanskrit (Skt.) or oldest Hindoo, and the Zend (Zd., often called Old Bactrian)—and, in Europe, the Greek, Italic (chiefly represented by the Latin), Teutonic, Keltic, and Litho-Slavonic (or Letto-Slavic) languages. Not that these were all: there must have been many other intermediate or outlying languages, of which the greater number have disappeared. Nor, in speaking of Sanskrit, Greek, and the rest, as "languages" do we mean that each of them was a perfectly homogeneous and rigidly uniform mode of speech. On the contrary, each of them, even while still a dialect of the Ursprache, must have had its own internal variations, which, as it grew into an independent language, themselves grew into more strongly-marked

1 The order in which these are here mentioned corresponds to the chronological order in which their oldest written remains have been preserved.
2 See, for example, Prof. Hiibschmann on the Armenian, in KZ. XXIII.; and Dr. W. Tomaschek on the Yidghâh (or Mungi) dialect of the Hindoo Khoosh, in BB. VII. 195-210.
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dialects thereof, and, under favourable conditions, also matured, in turn, into independent languages,—a process which may be indefinitely repeated. As a matter of fact, no such rigidly uniform parent-language (or Grundsprache, to borrow another term from German scholars) is extant. In some instances, indeed, whole literatures in the diverse dialects that commonly pass under a single linguistic designation (no one of them being the parent of the others) have been preserved. This is the case with "Greek," as we call it,—a term applied to anything written in any of the teeming dialects and subdialects of Greece with its islands and colonies. Of a single homogeneous Greek Grundsprache we know, historically, nothing at all; and anything approximating thereto could only have been found in that remotely pre-historic time when the Greeks themselves were a single and compact, and therefore a very small, tribe. Nevertheless, by comparing the different dialectic forms of the same word with one another and, if possible, with its forms in other I-E. languages, and allowing for the known action of sound-change, the philologist arrives at a common fundamental form or base (a Grundform) of that individual word from which these dialectic varieties, so far as he can judge, have radiated. Thus, a comparison of the Attic ἔως, "dawn," the Ionic ἥως, and the ἹΕλικ ἁως, inter se, and also with the Lat. aurōra (where the r's = older s's) and with the Skt. ushās, suggests, as the base of those Grk. varieties, the grundform *aivos3, from a root aus (us), "burn, glow" (Lat. ar-ere for *us-cre). In a similar way the Vocabularies and the Inflections assigned to the principal I-E. Grundsprachen, and ultimately to the Ursprache itself, have been, form by form, approximately restored 4.

6. (1) As with the Greek, so with the Teutonic, which is also to be conceived of as, originally, a dialect of the Ursprache spoken by a single clan of the Urvolk. In Europe (probably) this primitive dialect grew into a virtually independent language, within which its own formerly slight internal variations grew, in turn, into more and more distinctly marked dialects. The ultimate separation of the Teutons from the cognate European tribes left full scope for the natural tendencies of their speech, and allowed the distinctive features of Teutonic Grammar to be finally and indelibly stamped thereupon; and

3 Typical or non-extant forms, reconstructed as above, are generally marked with an asterisk.

4 Systematically for the Vocabulary, and on a large scale, in Fick's Wörterbuch.
however numerous the subsequent divisions of the people, and however widely they have been scattered, they have taken with them everywhere, and have largely preserved to this day, the linguistic characteristics settled at that remote epoch. Between that epoch and the time of Tacitus many centuries must have elapsed; for wide as were their territories in his day, these had already proved too narrow. Migrating on a large scale, many of them had been annihilated by Marius two hundred years before; and, again, some fifty years after Marius, the pressure of the Germani upon the Galli had only been checked by the military genius of Julius Caesar.

(2) Preceding, accompanying, and following such expansion and tribal multiplication there must have been a corresponding multiplication of dialects. But just as the numerous old Greek dialects of which we know anything are ranged under a very few general heads according to their affinities, so those multitudinous old Teutonic dialects fell mainly into four great groups. There was one group in the N.E. of the continental area, which may be called the "Gothonic," and which comprised the Gothic of the East and of the West Goths and the closely-related dialects of the Gepidæ, the Vandals, the Burgundi, the Heruli, and other less-known tribes. Another group, very nearly akin to the preceding, may conveniently be made of the dialects of Scandinavia. In the N. and N.W. of central Europe was a group which may be called the Saxon, or Low German (L.G.) proper, comprising the numerous Saxon, Anglian, and Friesic dialects and subdialects. And to the south of these extended a fourth group of dialects which, as being used by inland tribes, are described as High German (H.G.). These four groups are severally represented by written remains of one or more of the leading dialects: the Gothonic group by the Gothic (Go.) of Úlfilas; the Scandinavian chiefly by the Old Norse (O.N.) or Icelandic; of the Old H.G. several varieties are extant; and of the remaining group three important dialectic centres are represented,—the Ancient English, or Anglo-Saxon (A-S.),—the Old Saxon (O.S.), or Saxon of the Continent,—and the Old Friesic (O.Fri.). Most of these remains, however, compared with Vedic Sanskrit, may almost be called modern. The Gothic Scriptures themselves date only from A.D. 350 at the earliest. A-S. literature begins from some two or three centuries later. The O.H.G. remains go back to the eighth century. O.S. is represented chiefly by the Héliand of the ninth century. The O.N. literature began to be written down towards the end of the eleventh century, although
the language employed is perhaps that of a somewhat earlier time. And a little later still, we come upon the O.Fri.

(3) By a comparison of the word-forms of one old dialect with the corresponding forms of another, and also with those of the younger Teutonic dialects on the one hand and of the old I.-E. languages on the other, the Grundformen or word-bases of an ideal Teut. Grundsprache may be abundantly reconstructed. And the same comparison will also be found to throw light upon the earlier dialectic condition of the (probably) undispersed Teutons themselves: for it establishes so many points of relationship between the Gothonic and the oldest Scandinavian dialects, on the one side, and between the remaining Teutonic dialects on the other, as to suggest that the common Teutonic language settled, in the first instance, into two main dialects, which may be described as East Teutonic and West Teutonic¹, within which the later separate dialects or clusters of dialects originally existed as sub-dialects.

(4) Of the Gothonic cluster of the E. Teut. the Gothic of Ulfilas is, as we have said, the sole surviving representative, save a number of scattered words². In virtue of its comparative antiquity it stands towards the other old Teut. dialects pretty much as Skt. stands towards Grk. and Latin,—i. e., as an elder sister. Of those others, indeed, there is none that is not, in various points (often very important ones), more archaic than the Gothic, so that they cannot have been derived therefrom; but, taken all round, the Gothic has diverged less than any of them from the general condition of language that prevailed among the oldest Teutons; and hence it approaches more nearly than any of them (at the stages at which we first know them) to the condition of the Ursprache itself,—more nearly, indeed, in some respects, than even the Greek or Latin.

(5) We have now seen that the distribution of languages and dialects generally corresponds with the distribution of nations and tribes. Hence geographical descriptions are often employed to indicate linguistic relationships. Gothic, accordingly, may be described as the southern or conti-

¹ For a summary of the evidence on this subject see the Inaugural Dissertation of Dr. H. Zimmer ("Ostgermanisch und Westgermanisch," Berlin, 1876), afterwards inserted in Haupt's ZS. XIX.; or, as to the E. Teut., Dr. Gallée's "Gutiska," I. (Inleiding); also some valuable remarks by Braune in PBB. IX. 547–8.

² Carefully collected by Förstemann, Gesch. II., and Kremer, in PBB. VIII. 445–460.
nental branch of the "East Teutonic"; and the Teutonic, as a whole, is mostly coupled with the Letto-Slavic to form a northern division of the European "sub-primitive" (the Teutons and Letto-Slavs having probably held loosely together after the other Europeans—the later Greeks, Italians, Kelts—had moved off, together or separately, to the southward and westward). It only remains here to add that, in view of certain phonetic characteristics (§ 31(9) below), the H.G. is often treated as a dialect apart; and the other dialects, including the Gothic, are described as L.G. in a wider sense; in which sense, indeed, these initials will mostly be employed in this book.
PART I.

THE GOTHIC ALPHABET: TRANSLITERATION; PRO-NUNCIATION\(^1\).

7. (1) By most of the early writers who mention him Ulfilas is spoken of as the inventor of the Gothic Alphabet. In point of fact, however, the Goths, like some related northern tribes, had previously possessed an Alphabet of Runes\(^2\). These runes were at first (and perhaps to a late date) popularly regarded among the Teutons as magical symbols and employed in divination and sorcery\(^3\). Their literary use was confined within narrow limits,—to inscriptions on ornaments, swords, and monumental stones; at least, no extended compositions of the old heathen ages have been preserved in these characters. The known runic alphabets, although they differed considerably at different times and in different places, yet all comprised a certain common stock of letters of the same, or nearly the same, shape, known by the same, or nearly the same, names, and arranged in the same, or nearly the same, sequence; from which facts it is deducible that they must all have descended from one common parent alphabet of still greater antiquity.

(2) The evidence for the existence of a runic alphabet among the Goths is derived, in part, from the forms of a number of the Ulfilic characters, and, in part, from a curious manuscript, still preserved at Vienna, containing transcripts of the Ulfilic alphabet accompanied by a series of names evidently meant for the runic names of the letters. These transcripts were made by some ninth-century scribe upon a leaf attached to a MS. of our own countryman Alcuin's treatise *De Orthographia*; and the way in which the names

\(^1\) In this Part some elementary matters that properly fall under Part II. are forestalled, in order that the student fresh to the subject may, on the first reading, pass lightly over Part II., and, indeed, if he so prefer, over Chapters (I.) and (II.) of Part III.

\(^2\) "Rune" is the Gothic, O.H.G., and O.S. rūna (l.), A-S. rún, "a mystery, a secret"; the A-S. for "runes" is rún-stafas, "rune-letters"; the O.N. is simply rūnar or rúnir.

\(^3\) See Tacitus, Germania x.
are attached to the characters seems to show that Ulfilas’s letters, whatever his intention may have been, were still, in and after his time, popularly called by the same names as the runes which they superseded or resembled. Most of these names, as they appear in the MS., are very corrupt; and it was one of the principal achievements of the earlier runic scholars to restore nearly all of them to correct Gothic forms generally answering to the names of the corresponding runic characters in the Scandinavian and A-S. alphabets.

(3) As the result of such restoration, the older Gothic alphabet of runic letters, with their names, may be considered to have stood pretty nearly as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Name*</th>
<th>Meaning of Name</th>
<th>Value of Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>乳房</td>
<td>*aihu</td>
<td>cattle</td>
<td>乳房</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>矢</td>
<td>*urus</td>
<td>wild ox</td>
<td>urs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鱼 (Or?)</td>
<td>(thiuth (Or thaurnus?))</td>
<td>good, subst. (or thorn?)</td>
<td>thi (in think)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>貂</td>
<td>ans</td>
<td>beam (of wood)</td>
<td>ãh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>家</td>
<td>*raida</td>
<td>cart</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>乳房</td>
<td>[*kaunzma?]</td>
<td>pine-wood? touch-wood?</td>
<td>乳房</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;, x</td>
<td>giba</td>
<td>gift</td>
<td>g (hard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>矢</td>
<td>winna (Or winno?)</td>
<td>pasture (or feeling?)</td>
<td>w (Engl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>矢</td>
<td>*hagls</td>
<td>hail</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


5 The sequence of the letters is here adjusted to that in the better-known runic alphabets: these, after their first six letters, are commonly called futharks,—just as we talk of the alphabet, or the A, B, C: an older combination (as in the alphabet above) gives futhark,—the o in the Scandinavian and A-S. alphabets being due to a phonetic variation of the name ans.

6 The names marked with an asterisk, although their form is probably correct, are not extant in the Gothic remains; those in square brackets are still more or less doubtful.

7 For the meaning of the accent in ai, see § 10 (2) below.
INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning of Name</th>
<th>Value of Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>nauths</td>
<td>need</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>*eis (=is)</td>
<td>iec</td>
<td>Ital. i = ē in meed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>jér</td>
<td>year</td>
<td>{ y in year, or Germ. j in jahr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>[*iuja (ius?)]</td>
<td>yew-tree?</td>
<td>iu = u in pure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H,S</td>
<td>saunil</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑</td>
<td>*Tius</td>
<td>{ Jove (or hea-}</td>
<td>t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>*baírka</td>
<td>birch-tree</td>
<td>b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>aihws</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>e in met.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>manna</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ú</td>
<td>*lagus</td>
<td>lake</td>
<td>l.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ኦ,Shown</td>
<td>*Ingws</td>
<td>{ (name of a }</td>
<td>ng.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐</td>
<td>dags</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐</td>
<td>*ôthal</td>
<td>{ heir-loom or</td>
<td>o in no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐</td>
<td>*quaírthr?</td>
<td>bait, lure</td>
<td>qu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐</td>
<td>{*hwair (or</td>
<td>cauldron (or</td>
<td>hw (=Engl. wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐</td>
<td>hwihws?)</td>
<td>wheel?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. (1) The Alphabet of Ulfilas shows various points of agreement with the runic on the one side, and the Greek (and, to a less extent, the Latin) on the other. The prevalent opinion is that he took the Greek alphabet as his basis, and made good its defects, as an exponent of Gothic sounds, out of the runic and the Latin. But so far as the forms of his characters are concerned, it might be at least equally well maintained that he took the runic alphabet as his basis, and modified it upon the pattern of the Greek and Latin. In the use of his letters as numerals, however, he certainly imitated the Greek; and their successive values in the numerical series show that their alphabetic sequence also was adjusted
as nearly as possible to that of the Greek letters. Two of his characters (¶=90 and ¶¶=900) are used only as numerals, agreeing in value with the Grk. κοππα and σαμπι, of which indeed they are supposed by some to be modifications (but see below). Including these, the Ulfilic Alphabet runs as in the following list, where the phonetic powers of the letters are expressed by the initials of the restored (runic) names attached thereto:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letters</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Numerical value&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Letters</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Numerical value&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Α</td>
<td>ans</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ζ</td>
<td>jër (jër)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Β</td>
<td>baîrka&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Π</td>
<td>ιερ (ιερ)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γ</td>
<td>giba</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ρ</td>
<td>paîrthr</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λ</td>
<td>dags</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Τ</td>
<td>ιους</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ε</td>
<td>ιε (ιε)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Κ</td>
<td>raida&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>quaîrthr</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>sauil</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ζ</td>
<td>[ezec?]</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Τ</td>
<td>tius</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Η</td>
<td>hagls</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Υ</td>
<td>winya</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ψ</td>
<td>ια (ια)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Φ</td>
<td>faihu</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Π&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>eis (i.e., ει, εες)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Χ</td>
<td>(Ingws?)</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κ</td>
<td>[kaunzma?]</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ξ</td>
<td>hwair</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λ</td>
<td>lagus</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>ùthal</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μ</td>
<td>manna</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>[†]</td>
<td></td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ν</td>
<td>nauths</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> When the letters are used as numbers they are distinguished either by a point before and after them, or by a stroke above; thus: Κ or Κ=Grk. Κ=20, &c.; sometimes indeed by both.

<sup>2</sup> For the value of ai see §10 (2).

<sup>3</sup> In the MSS, Π is thus printed not only when it is a numeral (See note 1), but also when it begins a word and when it follows another vowel without coalescing with it into a diphthong.
INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC.

(2) As to form and probable origin, it would seem that, of the foregoing letters, wurs and fatha arc runes;—thiuth, jér (yér), raida, and winya, are runes with the upper ring opened;—ans and ĕwair probably runes;—bairkä, eis, òthal, and perhaps quairthr, common to runic and Greek;—ezec (?), kaunzma (?), lagus, manna, and Tius, also common, but assimilated to Greek forms;—giba, aihws, païthr, and nauths, are Greek;—while dags, hagls, and sanil are apparently adjusted to Latin cursive script. As to Ingws (?), which is now really the Greek χ, it can hardly be called a member of this alphabet; as it is only used in Xristus=Xριστός, and a few other words adopted bodily from the Greek: usually, k appears for χ (Zakarias, Akajā, &c.), and probably gives the Gothic pronunciation thereof. The remarkable thing (See note 5 below) is that X appears with the very inappropriate name of the old Ing-runes (one of which it resembled in form); whereas for the gutturo-nasal -ing Ulfilas no longer employed a special symbol, but represented it, as did the Greeks, by Γ before K or before another Γ.

(3) To explain some of Ulfilas's changes it may be remarked that a simplification of the runes dags and manna (for Ulf, abolished crossed right-lines) would make them both identical in shape with the aihws- or ì-rune, and all three like the Grk. and Lat. M: the value of manna alone was therefore given to the symbol M, and X and e were adopted for dags and aihws.—The diphthong in being expressible by its two vowels, the inja-rune was set free; it was then adjusted to the shape and value of the Grk. or Lat. Ζ, and a new name was (apparently) given to it 5. —The thiuth (ψ)

4 The reader is requested to compare the two alphabets.

5 This name, in the Viennese MS., ezec, clearly refuses to be connected with inja or ius. W. Grimm's explanation of it as a distortion of zeta seems to me very probable. It is almost certain that the writer of the Viennese MS. drew his materials immediately from an A-S. source, and the A-S. c and x (=τ) were frequently mistaken for each other. This writer actually himself put c for t in the name of the n-rune as he gives it (noice); and the transcribers (from A-S. originals) of the pseudo-alphabets known as the "Marcomannic" or H.G. runes also put both c for t and t for c, in some of the names. Reading therefore ezet for ezec, we may perhaps conjecture that Ulfilas attempted to introduce a new series of names for his letters,—or at any rate for the new or remodeled ones. It is difficult to believe, e.g., that Ulfilas could have intended χ, i, and e to be called ingus, eis, and aihus; the phonetic powers of which (viz. ing, i = Engl. ee, and e) he represented, in writing, in a totally different way (i.e., by g before another guttural, by e, and by at). It seems to me more likely that these names were some that, in spite of his influence, maintained their hold on the people, and were transferred from the older letters to the newer ones that merely took their forms or their places, but not their powers.
of Ulf. differs somewhat in form from the known thorn-rune (ṣ) of other Teutonic alphabets; but it can hardly be either the Greek ψ or ϕ, as some have supposed; at any rate, in the case of all other directly borrowed Greek consonants Ulfilas has carefully preserved their native phonetic values. Now ϕ by closure of the ring leads to Φ (or ϕ); and Φ actually occurs for ϕ in the Viennese codex (fol. 19). If then we consider some of the older forms of Greek θῆτα (Θ, Δ) by which their Phoenician prototype is reproduced, it may not appear improbable that, just as the later Greeks adopted one of the crossed lines of the original and shortened it (Θ), so the Teutons may have adopted the other and lengthened it (ϕ); and this ϕ may easily have been the parent of the simpler ʒ, and, through this, of the later θ.—The giba-runes were replaced by the Greek γομμα (Γ).—The bairka- and pairtha-runes were identical; and for the latter the Greek πi (Π) was substituted.—Winya, besides its value of w, appears for T in borrowed Greek words.—ʫ is, in form, the old and general t-rune.—And, lastly, Ɣ, instead of being a variety of the Old Greek κόππα, may really be the old qu-rune, of which the Ulfilic Ɣ is a slight modification.

9. The Sounds of the Gothic language have been pretty accurately determined, or are at least known to lie within certain narrow phonetic limits (See next section). Hence it becomes possible, as it is highly convenient, to employ our ordinary Roman letters in substitution for the Ulfilic symbols. As to the greater part of the alphabet—a, ą, g, d, e (=ē), z, h, i, k, l, m, n, u, y, r, s, t, f, o (=ō)—there is a general agreement of usage among Gothic scholars. As to the remainder some diversity of transliteration prevails; and this is due, in two or three instances, to a slight difference of opinion with respect to the sound to be represented. Thus, while Ulfilas gives the labio-guttural combination (gw) by means of two letters, he uses the simple symbols Ɣ and Ǿ for the parallel combinations kw (=qu) and hw (our wh). It may have been, therefore, that he conceived of the sounds themselves as simple ones; and, on this view, most German editors substitute ɡ for the one, and some of the earlier editors w for the other. It is, however, at least equally

6 In the Viennese MS. a symbol ṣ occurs once in place of d and once alongside of ą. W. Grimm suggests that it may have been used [in later or post-Ulfilic Gothic?] to represent the soft spirant ẛ (dха, = our th in thou, thee, &c.). If this was so, the symbol could hardly have been related to κόππα at all; it may have been one half of Ulfilas's ϕ, the later thorn (ƿ) being the other.
likely that for kw and hw he merely retained the old runes as a matter of convenience, and that the three sounds should be harmoniously rendered by kw, hw, gw. The latter two will be used in this book; and for the first, to suit the English eye, the equivalent cluster qu will be substituted.—w having been taken by the older editors to represent hwair, they adopted v for winya; and this v is still almost universally employed by German scholars 1; but in this book w will be uniformly used.—For thiuth sometimes th, but far more frequently þ (the A-S. thorn) is employed: the latter will here also be adopted.—Ulfilas, as before said, following the Greeks, used Γ before Γ or K (and sometimes ΠΓ before K) to represent the guttural-nasal 2: this usage (with substitution of g for Γ) is imitated by continental editors (aggilus, dirgkan, &c.); but on this point, again, this book will follow English usage and employ n (angilus, dirogn, &c.): we shall thus be free to use gg in the cluster ggw (where the first g is not a nasal) found in a small group of words collected in § 29 (1, viii) below.—G is of course represented in German texts by j (=our y in year, &c.) : with much hesitation and reluctance I also adopt j; for in the chaotic jumble of letters that makes up a great part of English spelling, y (though comparatively well treated) has three distinct values, of which only one is required in Gothic; so that, by its use, the learner could hardly fail to be misled in the pronunciation of many words (e.g., bokarye, meryand, and the like). The use of j will compel him to notice that -je, -jand, &c., are distinct syllables; and y will thus remain open for convenient employment in certain borrowed words in which Ulfilas appears to have retained its prototype upsilon.

10. (1) The following conspectus of the alphabet to be used in this book gives the letters in the Ulfilic sequence, and, after each, a statement of its probable phonetic value:

A, a = short ah; i.e., å as in Germ. Mann, or in "back," "Maggie," &c., as pronounced in Lancashire. In a few

1 Who also use it in the clusters hw, gw.
2 Sometimes (in Luke) n is so used (hank, bringb, &c.); this is probably due to Italian influence: the gg before k may be due to the copyist.
3 On this subject see the Treatises of Weingartner and Dietrich in "Die Aussprache des Gotischen"; A. J. Ellis, in Part II. of his great work on Pronunciation; and, as to b, d, g, Paul, "Zur Lautverschiebung" in Vol. I. of Paul and Braune's "Beiträge." A good summary of older views is given by Rassmann in the "Allgem. Enzyk.," art. "Die Gotische Sprache."
special instances a is long (\(=\text{\'a}\)), like our a in "father" (See § 26 below): these will be marked (\(\hat{a}\)) as they occur.

B, b, initial = b in "burn"; but between vowels and as a final after a vowel it was probably a bilabial \(v\) (b); e.g., gib\(\hat{u}\)n = giban, nearly.

G, g, initial = our firm g in go; perhaps less firm, if not, in some cases, a spirant (= \(\hat{h}\) nearly) between vowels.

D, d, initial = our firm d in do; probably less firm, i.e., a soft spirant (say \(\breve{\delta}\)) between vowels, or as a final after a vowel.

E, e, is always long (\(\acute{e}\)) and = ai or ay in "bait," "day"; and like these, but probably more strongly, tinctured with an \(\tilde{i}\)-sound.

Qu, qu = gu in "queen," "require."

Z, z = z in "prize": z is nearly always interior, rarely final, and never initial except in borrowed proper names.

H, h = h in "hail"; it is to be sounded as an interior and a final = fa\(\hat{h}\)u, ja\(\hat{h}\), &c.

P, p = our hard or surd \(th\) in "think," "wrath," "method."

I, i = our short i in it. On the pattern of the Greek, I is also uniformly used as the initial of certain proper names, where we write J,—I\(\acute{e}\)sus, Iak\(\hat{o}\)b, &c.: in these cases it is to be sounded like our initial y (Yak\(\hat{o}\)b, &c.).

K, k, as in English; but it is to be sounded before n, as in kni\(\hat{u}\), "knee."

L, l; M, m; N, n: all sounded as in English: n will also be used here for the gutturo-nasal (= ng) before g and k.

J, j = y in year or j in hallelu\(\hat{y}\)ah. (See also the letter I, above.)

U, u, mostly short, and = u in fill or oo in foot; but frequently also long (\(\acute{u}\)) like our u in rude or oo in food; \(\hat{u}\) will be marked as it occurs.

P, p, as in English.

R, r = our r in round, &c., but probably with clearer trill, whether as initial, interior, or final.

S, s, always sharp or surd, as in our sing, hiss.

T, t, as in English.

W, w, nearly as in English; perhaps more distinctly spirant, especially within and at end of words. It is to be sounded in all positions (but see next entry, and the note).
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[Y, y, is generally employed where Ulfilas borrows the vowel upsilon of the Grk.,—Ymainaius, synagoge, &c.: its value here was probably somewhat nearer to i than the French u or Germ. ü 2.]

F, f, as in English.

[X, Χ, Grk. χi, probably pronounced by the Goths as a simple k: see § 8 (2) above.]

Hw, hw, an aspirated w=our wh in when, &c., as it should be pronounced.

O, o, always long (i. e. o) = our o or oo in nó, boat, and like these, but probably more strongly, tinctured with the ð- (ðð-)sound.

(2) Besides the foregoing, which render the simple symbols of Ulfilas, several combinations of vowels—real or apparent diphthongs—play a large part in the Gothic sound-system, and require careful attention. These are: ai, au, ei, iu.

Ai, ai, is either long (say ái) or short (aí)3. Of these the long is much the more frequent. This is a true diphthong, and probably equal to the sum of its two constituents, . . . = Germ. ai in Rüfler, or the Grk. ai as usually pronounced in England (i. e., a little broader than our pronoun I).—The short, ai, on the other hand, differed but little, if at all, in sound from the Grk. έ and Lat. e: our nearest equivalent is the ê of met; thus, Go. Baitažatbul = Grk. Beelzeboul = Bêelzebul. A special function of ai is to represent a variation of i caused by a following r or h4; as bairan, i. e. beran for biran, “to bear”; airta, i. e. ertha for irtha, “earth.”

Au, au, is also either long (áu) or short (au)3; and the long is the more frequent. This too is generally a true diphthong, and is then probably = Germ. au in Haüs, or our ou, ow in house, now.—The short au differed but little, if at all, from

2 In borrowed words involving the Greek diphthongs au, eu, it is uncertain whether Ulfilas intended us to read upsilon or upsilon; but as upsilon in such cases had then, it would seem, a semi-vowel and spirant character, differing perhaps but slightly from our u, this letter will accordingly, in such words, be used,—Pæcclus=Pæclus, aúwangelía=εὐαγγέλιον, &c. (See A. J. Ellis, “The English, Dionysian, &c., Pronunciations of Greek.”)

3 This mode of discrimination by accenting the predominant factor is Grimm’s, and is applied to au also. In this book the shorts (ai and au) only will hereafter be marked.

4 This phenomenon is called by German scholars Brechung; let us say “Refraction.”
the Grk. and Lat. ə. Our nearest equivalent is ə in not (which is really the short of aw in anewful); thus, Go. apaʊ-tauslus=Grk. αποστολος; Paʊntius=Pontius, &c.—aʊ is also the Brechung (See note4) of u before r and h; as in waʊrd, i.e. wœrd; daʊhtar, i.e. dœhtar for dœhtar.

Ei, ei, is, phonetically, the long of /, and is = the continental i, or our ee in seat. In this combination Ulfilas is thought to have imitated the Greek ei, which in his time had that value5.

Iu, iu, is diphthongal and = the sum of its components; it is nearly = our u in pure (i.e. pyoor), with perhaps a little more of the initial i-sound.

(3) The Gothic Alphabet may now be summarily displayed thus:

Vowels: a, å; aɪ (=e), ɛ; i, ei (=i); aʊ (=o), ə; u, ū; (y, non-Gothic)

Diphthongs: ai; au; iu;

Consonants: k, h, g; t, þ, d (ð); p, f, b (b); r, l; m, n; w, j; s, z.

A more minute inquiry into the history and relationships of these letters will follow in Part II.

11. As it is highly desirable to acquire at the outset a working system of pronunciation, a short continuous passage from Ulfilas (Mark iv. 1-9) is here given, with a parallel rendering into English sounds in accordance with the values assigned to the Gothic letters in § 10. The accented (i.e., the acutely-accented) syllable of the Gothic word is indicated by italicizing the vowel in the corresponding syllable of its phonetic rendering1:

Jah a Traffordesus dugann laisjan at marein;
Yah aftra Yaysoos doogann laus-yan at mareen;
jah galësun sik du imma manageins filu,
yah galaysoon sik doo immâ mânâgeens filoó,
swaswe ina galëpandan in skip gasatan in marein;
swåsway ina galeethândan in skip gasitan in marëen;
jah alla só managei wiéra marein ana ståpta
yah allâ só mânâgee withrå marëen änâ ståtha

1 See A. J. Ellis, as last cited.

1 For some remarks on accentuation, see § 85 below. The secondary accent cannot conveniently be indicated in the above passage.

Sæe habai ausôna hausjandôna gahausjai. Sûce habai owsônâ hows-yândôna gahowsyai
PART II.

PHONOLOGY.

12. "Phonology" is that division of Speech-craft which treats of the Articulate Sounds employed in speaking any given language or any group of related languages. When nothing more than a practical acquaintance with a single language is desired, it may generally be sufficient to determine, under this head, the number and nature of the sounds of that language, and their phonetic relationships to one another. But the philological student, who attacks a language not for itself alone, but also as contributory to the scientific study of language as distinct from languages, requires a good deal besides. His requirements, however, fall mainly under two heads,—Phonetics and History. By Phonetics is ultimately meant the physiology of the mode of formation of the given speech-sounds; while History not merely implies the tracing back (if possible) of the sounds to the oldest known form of the given language, but also involves a comparison of them with the corresponding sounds of related languages derived from the same parent stock. In the case of a living language—the English, say—the mode of formation of the sounds now employed may be determined with exactitude; and by means of the symbols preserved in a long series of written remains their phonetic values at different epochs during the last 1200 years or more may be fairly well ascertained. Not so with the Gothic. We have here before us only a transverse section, as it were, and a very incomplete one, of a dead language: of earlier and later stages of this language there are no remains worth speaking of. A history of Gothic sounds, as such, is consequently unattainable: it resolves itself, in fact, into a comparison of these sounds with those of cognate languages and dialects, and into an attempt, by this means, to establish the relationship of the Gothic phonetic system to that which has been approximately determined for the Teutonic or for the European Grundsprache or for the I-E. Ursprache itself. Even the phonetic value of many of the Ulfilic symbols can only be estimated by a similar
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comparison, and especially by an examination of the extent transcriptions of Gothic words (chiefly proper names) into Greek and Latin and of Greek and Latin words into Gothic; and this requires that the values of the Grk. and Lat. symbols themselves should first be pretty accurately known. An ade-
quate treatment of Gothic Phonology, as approached in this way, would require a considerable volume to itself. In the present work it will mostly be necessary to take for granted the results of previous investigations; but an attempt will still be made to sketch such an outline as will embrace all the facts and principles that are of general philological importance.

13. (1) The raw material (so to say) of audible speech is a stream, or rather a succession of short streams, of voice, produced by driving air from the lungs over the edges of two ligaments (the "vocal chords") which are situated in the throat, and which may be made to vibrate with various degrees of tension, at the will of the speaker. The mouth, its contents and boundaries, with the nasal channels as important appendages, form very effective machinery for the transformation of this raw material into expressive Speech-
sounds. By means principally of the tongue, acting towards or upon the palate and teeth,—of the lips,—of the movable under-jaw,—and, to a less extent, of the muscles of the cheeks,
—the voice-stream may be stopt, shunted, narrowed, and otherwise operated upon, in an indefinite number of ways.

(2) But, short of a complete stoppage, the passage of the voice must of course be more or less free. The first main division of speech-sounds, therefore, is into "open" and "close" or "closed." A completely open sound may be represented by our ah (=a in father); the other extreme—a close sound (sometimes called a "stop" or a "check")—by our p in reap, pear, apple. This particular stop is formed by a firm closure of the lips, the nasal passages being at the same time blocked. But "stops" may also be effected by the tongue, by pressure either against the teeth, or against any part of the palate, as far back as a complete line of contact can be formed. And all simple stops may be modified in formation by increasing or diminishing the tension of the muscles employed,—which of course modifies the degree of force with which the voice-stream is arrested.

(3) "Open" sounds are susceptible of numerous modifica-
tions; for the oral passage may be narrowed, not only at various regions (or even at two regions at once), but also by small gradations, until the narrowing approximates indefinitely near
to a complete contact; i.e., open sounds may be made to
differ as little as we please from "stops." And even when
complete contact at any point is reached, it may be (as it were)
eluded, or neutralized, by throwing open the nasal channels
and otherwise. The actual or possible sounds thus produced
or producible are so numerous as to necessitate a selection
therefrom; for the classification of which a basis may be
found in their acoustic quality. On this basis, open sounds
may be: (i) Clear Voice; which, however, is not incompa-
tible with considerable narrowing of the oral passage; as,
e.g., at the middle palate, in sounding i (our ee in see), or at
the lips, in sounding a (our oo in too);—(ii) Voice deadened
by Friction, owing to its being passed through a narrow
chink, formed, however, by a relaxed muscular effort; e.g.,
the sound of z in size or v in give;—(iii) Compressed Breath;
i.e., breath forced by considerable pectoral effort through a
very narrow chink formed with correlative muscular tension,
the voice, properly so called, being under these conditions
suppressed; examples, the s (ss) in sing, hiss, or the f (ff)
in for, off;—(iv) Elusions of a Stop; e.g., (a) the nasal
shunts, m (for which the lips are in the b-position), n (tongue
in d-position), and ng in sing, sang, song (back of tongue in
various g-positions); in all which, the voiced breath, menaced
with a stop, escapes by the nasal channels; (b) the lingual l
(tongue in d-position), the voice escaping by the sides of
the tongue; (c) the trill r, the voice escaping over the
vibrating tip of the tongue.

(4) The sounds falling under (i) are called Vowel-sounds;
those under (ii), Voiced Spirants; those under (iii) Voiceless
Spirants; and of those under (iv), m, n, ng are called Nasals,
and r, l, Liquids; or, for certain purposes, the members of
this group may conveniently be called Sonants. All these
four groups of open sounds, and any others that may be
producible, are sometimes described as "continuous" (being
capable of prolongation, without alteration of quality; indeed,
"lengthening" forms an important variation of the vowels
and even of the sonants); while the stops are described as
"momentary." But the terms "voiced" and "voiceless"
cover different ground; for under the latter the compressed
breaths of (iii) are colligated with intensive stops (such as
p, t, &c.); while, reversely, under the former the relaxed
stops (such as b, d, &c.) are colligated with the other groups
of open sounds.

14. (1) Not less important, historically, than the sounds
themselves are the symbols that stand for them, and that make up the alphabet of each language. In a perfect alphabet every simple sound should have one and only one symbol, and each symbol should stand for one and only one sound; and such perfection is aimed at by the phonetist or the philologist in drawing up a scientific or a theoretical alphabet. Few popular alphabets now-a-days approximate very closely to perfection; but the alphabets of some ancient peoples, and among them that of Ulfilas, are much less imperfect.

(2) In a perfect alphabet it follows that the classification of the symbols exactly agrees with that of the sounds; and the terms used to describe the groups of sounds—"vowels," "spirants," "sonants" (="liquids" + "nasals"), and "stops"—are often transferred (even in the case of very imperfect alphabets also) to the groups of symbols that represent them. The members of these groups, both of sounds and symbols, may be sorted into "labials," "dentals," and so on, according to the oral regions at which the sounds are produced; and the stops and spirants of each of these sub-groups may be sorted into "intensive" or "voiceless" and "relaxed" or "voiced." Ancient and useful equivalents for "stop," "voiceless stop," and "voiced stop," as applied to symbols are "mute," "tenuis," and "media."

(3) Another time-honoured division of letters is into "vowels" and "consonants,"—the latter (as is commonly explained) being incapable of complete utterance unless a vowel is conjoined with them. As applied to stops and voiceless spirants the term "consonant" may pass; but as to the voiced spirants and the sonants, we have seen, in §13 (3), that these have a certain voice- or vowel-quality of their own, which, in actual speech, comes out in unaccented syllables. It is true we English conceal the fact by always combining with them, in writing, a proper vowel; as, e.g., in heathen, riddle, besom (was=wōz), of (=ōv); but in current speech such unaccented vowels, if combined with sonants, are never sounded, and not always if combined with voiced spirants (heathn, riddl, besm (=bizm), w'z, 'v). In Gothic, as we shall see, such syllabic values of m, n, r, l, and w are not unfrequently written. In Skt. a similar value of r plays an important part. And it is pretty certain that in the Ursprache itself also the pronunciation of m, n, r (l was probably wanting) in unaccented syllables closely approximated to their purely sonant values. 1

1 These values will here be rendered by m, n, r, (l).
(4) In accented syllables the vowels proper almost monopolize the voice-stream and become the centres of audibility (ofive, enemy, very, &c.); so that the vocal quality of conjoined sonants and spirants becomes a secondary matter; and as, in continuous speech, the passage to and from these sounds, over the vowels, involves either an actual contact or a close approximation there to, both sonants and spirants serve, like the pure stops, to begin and end successive articulations; that is to say, the functions, e.g., of /l, m, n, &c., in alimony, Lazarus, are precisely the same as those of p, k, t, &c., in packet, decapitate. When so used, therefore, they may rightly be classed with these as consonants; but it is of great importance that their other or quasi-vowel character should be distinctly recognized.

(5) The case of the palatal and bilabial voiced spirants, commonly called semivowels, viz., j = y (in year) and w (in work), is closely similar. As initials of syllables they have a consonantal value; but as they are formed by the same positions of the vocal organs as the palatal and labial vowels (i, i; û, û), their syllabic values are generally given by these vowels. In some languages, indeed, e.g., the Gothic itself, i and j, u and w, are, in the course of inflexion and derivation, continually interchanging; so that, in function, as m : m, or as r : r, &c., : j : i, and w : u. But the syllabic use of w in Gothic (waurstw = "a work") implies a value differing from that of the full vowel u: it probably denoted, in such instances, a mere "rounded" or labialized breath or murmur like that with which we finish off "window," "barrow."

(6) Simple sounds may be combined into diphthongs, vowel or consonantal, by a rapidly successive pronunciation, or modified by a simultaneous arrangement of two simple positions of the vocal organs into one complex position. Thus, a back (or throat) vowel may combine with a forward one—say a palatal—giving a Diphthong proper (e.g., åh + û = au: See § 10), or any vowel may combine with a sonant (al, ol, il, &c., an, en, &c.); or a stop, intensive (voiceless) or relaxed (voiced), may combine (i) with a breath, giving an Aspirate (p + h = ph = Grk. φ; b + h = bh = Skt. ṇ); or (ii) with a voiceless or voiced spirant, giving what is sometimes called an "affricata" (e.g., Germ. pf and j = ts; Grk. ζ = dz; Engl. ch = tsh, j = dzh).—Of modifications, perhaps the most important is that of labialism, or "rounding," effected by projecting the lips and drawing the corners of
the mouth (and therefore, to a less extent, the cheeks) towards each other, while the hinder parts of the vocal machinery are arranged for the production of some simple vowel or consonant. Thus, ü, ū (Engl. oʊ, ō) result, in formation, from strongly-rounded "high-back" vowel-positions, which, without the rounding, would nearly give ä, ā (āh, āh); and qu (as in queen) and wh (=hw, as in when) are rounded guttural stop and breath, to which, with gw (§ 10), has been given, of late, the name of "velars" (from the velum palati, against which they are formed), and which, without the rounding, would be the clear gutturals k, g, h (say kāh, gūh, ēh) nearly.

15. (1) Of the countless producible speech-sounds the I-E. Ursprache employed but comparatively few. Its phonetic system was based, primarily, on the action of the vocal organs at four distinct regions,—the guttural, palatal, dental, and labial; or back-palatal (velar), mid-palatal, front-palatal, and labial; or, again, at the root of the tongue, at the middle of the tongue, at the tip of the tongue, and at the lips. By varying arrangements or movements of the organs a group of sounds was formed at each of these regions; and the primitive system was completed by two or three intermediate sounds and a few simple combinations and modifications. The whole may be displayed, in accordance with the sketch in §§ 13, 14, as follows:—

I. Open Sounds.

(i) Vowels, short and long, viz.:—Guttural or back, A, ā (≡ā, ā);—Semi-palatal, e, ē;—Palatal or middle, i, ĩ;—Half-rounded or faucial, o, ő;—Rounded or labialized, u, ū.

(ii) Diphthongs:—ai (ai), ei, oi;—au (au), eu, ou.

(iii) Sonants:—the trill, r;—the labio-nasal, m;—the dento-nasal, n;—the gutturo-nasal, ň (=ng): this group with both vowel and consonantal powers (§ 14 (3)).

* The founders of the English school of Phonetics are Mr. A. J. Ellis, in his great work on English Pronunciation and many smaller treatises, and Mr. A. Melville Bell in his "Visible Speech." The latest and best Text-books within a small compass are Mr. H. Sweet's "Handbook" in the Clarendon Press Series, and Prof. Ed. Sievers's "Grundzüge der Phonetik" (Leipsic, 1881); from either of which the literature of the subject may be discovered. The sketch in §§ 13, 14, above, is written in view merely of the requirements of this book; some of the terminology employed originated with Mr. Bell.
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(iv) **Spirants**—Voiceless Dental spirant, or "sibilant," s; Voiced ditto, z\(^1\);—Palatal "semivowel," j; Labial ditto, w.

II. **Close Sounds**\(^2\).

(i) **Voiceless or intensive Stops**—Velar, or rounded back-stop, q\(^3\);—Palatal or palato-guttural, e\(^\dagger\);—Front or Dental, t; Labial, p.

(ii) **Voiced or relaxed Stops** (a parallel series to the foregoing):—Velar, g\(^3\);—Palatal, g\(^3\);—Dental, d;—Labial, b.

(iii) **Aspirates** (a third parallel series; § 14 (6)):—Velar, gh\(^3\);—Palatal, gh\(^3\);—Dental, dh;—Labial, bh. Besides these, the normal (voiced) aspirates, there were a few voiceless ones (qh, ch, th, ph)\(^4\).

(2) The sounds just described may also be tabulated according to the several regions of formation, as follows:—

Gutturals:—\(\ddot{a}, \ddot{\alpha} (=a, \ddot{a})\); ng\(^1\);
Velars:—q, \(\ddot{q}\), (qh\(_1\)) gh; o, \(\ddot{\alpha}\);
Semi-palatals:—e, \(\ddot{e}\);
Palatales:—c, \(\ddot{z}\), (ch\(_1\)) gh; j; i, \(\ddot{i}\);
Dentals:—t, \(\ddot{t}\), (th\(_1\)) dh; r; n; s, z;
Labials:—p, \(\ddot{b}\), (ph\(_1\)) bh; m; w; u, \(\ddot{u}\) (See § 14 (6));

to which have to be added the Diphthongs as in I (ii) above.

16. (1) The foregoing tabulation may be provisionally called the primitive I-E. Alphabet. Historically, we know nothing about such an alphabet; but the place of records has been to a great extent supplied by investigations into and deductions from the nature of the speech-sounds employed, within historic times, over the whole known I-E.

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\(^1\) Derived from s in certain combinations: see Osthoff, KZ. XXIII. 87.

\(^2\) In pronouncing the consonants the reader is recommended to combine with them the short \(\ddot{a}\)-sound (\(\ddot{t}ah\), \(\ddot{p}ah\), &c.).

\(^3\) The velars might be written k\(_w\), g\(_w\), gh\(_w\); and the palatales, k\(^1\), g\(^1\), gh\(^1\); to indicate that the gutturals were affected by labialism and palatalism, but to a degree now indeterminable (See § 20 below). q and c as used above are appropriate simple symbols, and leave k to stand, when required, for the clear guttural; but as we have no \(\ddot{q}\) corresponding to \(q\), I have borrowed the German g.

\(^4\) See Kluge, in KZ. XXVI. 88-92. It was formerly thought that these aspirates were secondary consonants derived from voiceless stops.

\(^5\) The place of formation of this gutturo-nasal varies with that of the vowel which immediately precedes it.
area. As these investigations have become more minute and thorough, modifications in the deduced alphabet have become necessary; and some of the more important modifications recently introduced now require special notice, as bearing immediately upon Gothic Phonology. One of these affects the vowels and their combinations both with one another and with the liquids and nasals. The older view, based on that of the Sanskrit grammarians, was, that the three short vowels, a, i, u, were the foundation of the primitive, and hence of every derived, vowel-system, and that the short e and o prevalent in Europe radiated from the primitive a. It is now generally accepted, on the contrary, that (to neglect i and u for a moment) the European triplet a, e, o represents at least the later primitive condition of the simple vowels more nearly than does the single a of the Sanskrit which answers to them. Of this triplet, the pair, e, o, as well as the diphthongs formed by them with i and u (ei, oi,—eu, ou) mostly appear, in Europe, in close and constant relationship to each other, and interexchange, in various inflectional paradigms, on a plan which was probably settled in remotely primitive times by the influence of a varying accentuation, but which was afterwards much perturbed in the separate I-E. languages. As to a, it will be regarded by us, in this book, as a clear guttural vowel a (≡äh)\(^2\), with which value it generally appeared in Europe. Compared with the variable e, it is mostly characterized, in the older European languages, by invariableness and persistency.\(^3\) And not only might it (like e and o) enter into combination with a following i and u (ai, au≡ai, au); but it also probably (like i and u) once stood after e and o as the second element of diphthongs which were afterwards reduced to long vowels (See § 17 (5)).

(2) As to i and u, it was formerly held that they were equally independent with a; also, that from them, by accretions of a (which might be lengthened to ä), there grew historically, just as there may be constructed phonetically, a series of diphthongs (ai, au, äi, äu), from which the European triplets ai, ei, oi, and au, eo, ou, radiated, in the same way

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1 As to the probable earlier form of e and o, see note 2 to § 17.
2 Möller, in "Englische Studien" III., and PBB. VII. 482+; seems to deny to prim. a the character of a pure vowel; he treats it, standing alone, as originally a sonant, and in certain combinations as a sonant or a consonant, like the Semitic Aleph.
3 In Skt., in unaccented syllables it sometimes becomes i; as in duhitar=ðuvarip, pitar=παριπ. Lat. piter, Gothic fadar, "father": yet Teut. duhtar- (Go. dāhtar, "daughter") indicates that it may occasionally vanish in Europe.
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that e and o were supposed to have radiated from a. But later views make it doubtful whether, in the older stages of the Ursprache, i and u had any separate existence as speech-sounds. In the course of inflexion and derivation, at any rate, i and u appear to be debilitations of the diphthongs ei, eu, resulting from the settlement of the acute accent upon a neighbouring syllable; in consequence of which the variable e of the now unaccented (or weak) syllable ultimately vanished (compare 1 p. sing. prim. *cimi, Skt. cima (for *uˌwa), Grk. cimí, "I go," with 1 p. plur. prim. *imés, Skt. imás, Grk. i-μεν for *i-μέν, "we go").

(3) The case of the long vowels is more perplexing. It is probable, however, that they were all secondary, i.e., derived from the older short vowels or their diphthongs by phonetic processes. But as further reference will be made to them when the individual instances arise, no more need be said here.

17. (1) From the relationships established among the vowels in the foregoing section, it has been found to follow that the vowel and diphthongal series run in triplets, the individual members (or grades) of each triplet having originally appeared in immediately related grammatical forms which, as to their vocalism, varied with the accentuation,—a long vowel, or even two, being attached to certain series as outlying members of (probably) secondary origin. Thus the e and o diphthongal series (to take these first, on account of their great regularity) would stand as follows:—ei, oi, i, (+i); eu, ou, u (+u).

(2) Striking out the constant i (or u) from the first (or second) of these series, we arrive at the simple e(o)-series. But the third grade now becomes zero, which implies vowelless grammatical forms. And such forms not only ought to, but actually do, occur (e.g., πτ in πί-πτ-, ττ, "fall;" or σχ in σχ-ειν, σχε (εχω), "have"). It is highly probable, indeed, that forms like these were once general

4 See, as to i and ū, F. Kluge as cited in note 4 to § 19; and on the whole question, Osthoff in M.U. IV., who considers i, ūé, as well as i, ū, to have belonged to the weak grade. It is probable, indeed, as some think, that the weak forms i, ū were derived from ei, eu, through the intermediate long vowels i, ū (Kögel, PBB. VIII. 108).

1 In later times and in the separate languages there were often extensive perturbations; either the accent would shift without affecting the vowel (See ἄμεν in § 16(2)), or one member of a triplet would penetrate into positions belonging to the others (thus, in our plural "we sang," the a originally belonged to the singular only).
in weak or unaccented root-syllables; although, later, the normal root-form (with e) frequently supplanted it (as, e.g., in πεν-τός, σκερ-τός; or the Teut. *set-anis = Go. sil-ans)—a change accelerated, if not initiated, by the fact that the relationship of cognate forms was obscured by the loss of the vowel (as would be the case with a Teut. *stanás, or a Grk. *σκαπτός, which last would have to be smoothed down to become pronounceable). Hence we find duplicate forms of the weak grade, viz., zero and e²; so that the simple e-series stands thus:—e, o, zero or e, (+ê and also ô).

(3) Vowel-series that show the variations just displayed are called "Ablaut" series,—a convenient name first used by Grimm. But it is further convenient that the individual members or grades of each series should also be distinguished by appropriate names: "weak" (or "unaccented") and "long" may pass; but for the first two grades the names employed by various scholars are diverse and even contradictory: it is here proposed to call the e-grades (e, ei, eu) the "high-tone," and the o-grades (o, oi, ou) the "deep-tone," grades; for, in spite of Osthoff's dissent (M.U. IV.), it seems to me highly probable that, in accordance with the masterly hypothesis of Möller in PBB. VII. 482+, the e-grades originally fell under the acute, and the o-grades under the grave, accent. If, however, any one disagrees with this hypothesis, the terms "high-tone" and "deep-tone" may still be considered to indicate merely the musical quality of the e and o respectively².

(4) A, or the stable a (âh), must of course have been subjected to the same accessional influences as the other vowels; but it is doubtful whether any normal 1-E. or European series can be established either for it or for its diphthongs (ai, au=ai, au). Yet in some of the separate European languages there appear irregular remains of an a-series of the form â, ã (or ô), å; where quantity (or length) rather than quality affects the second member. In Gothic, the a-diph-

² Osthoff treats these also as coexistent by-forms like i, ĩ, u, ū (Note 4, § 16).
³ For this reason I have not used "acute" and "grave," which would necessarily involve the hypothesis referred to.—I may remark in passing that, as e and o are intimately related, while no change of accent would suffice to turn e directly into o, or o into e, it would follow that they must both have radiated from a central and unstable a, which fell a victim to palatalism on the one side and labialism on the other,—a fate which may well be due to the action of the acute and grave accent, respectively. Hence some scholars write a² and a₀ (or equivalent symbols) for e and o,—i.e., an a which, under differing conditions, became or might become e and o.
PHONOLOGY: EUROPEAN VOWEL-SYSTEM. 33

thongs, ai and au, persist, without variation, throughout all the related root-forms of certain verbs.

(5) More obscure, at least as to their origin, are certain long-vowel (ā- and ə-) series. For the ā-series (ā, ō, ū), Möller, improving on De Saussure, lays down a parent triplicate (ēa, oə, ā) formed from ā, just as the ei- and eu-series were formed from i and u (eA and oA subsequently fusing into ā and ū). For the ə-series, Möller assumes a sonant, e, parallel to ā, from which may similarly have been formed the triplicate ee, oe, e; whence, with fusion as before, ē, ō, e. But these explanations are only happy conjectures, for which there is no direct evidence; the existence of the long-vowel series themselves, however, must be acknowledged as a fact 3.

18. (1) The vowel-system of the assumed European Grundsprache may be considered identical with that of the later stages of the Ursprache as above sketched, and may be displayed as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-series</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ē, ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei-series</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu-series</td>
<td>eu</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə-series</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā-series</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-series</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ō, ū</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-diphthongs</td>
<td>ai, au</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) This is not an ideal scheme merely. It must have appeared, at first in all its clearness, and afterwards with a few changes, in the Teutonic Grundsprache (§ 21 below); and with further well-known and explicable changes it appears, fully displayed, in the Gothic. In the other old European languages it is already much deranged,—less perhaps in the Greek than in the rest; and as Greek is still extensively studied in this country, we will borrow from it a set of illustrations, as follows:—

3 The "high-tone" grade (ē) of the latter series can hardly be the secondary long of the (ē, ō, ū)-series in (2) above, as the verb-paradigms in which the (ē, ō, ū)-series occurs are among the very oldest of I-E. verbs.
INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC.

Vowel-gradation in Greek.

*e-series* .... λεγ-, λογ-, λεγ- (λγ'), in λεγω-, ει-λοχ-α (for *λιλογα), λεκ-τός;

*ei-series* .. λειπ-, λοιπ-, λιπ-, " λειπ-ω, λε-λοιπ-α, ε-λιπ-ον;

*eu-series* .. λευθ-, λαυθ-, λυθ-, " ε-λευ(θ)-αμα, (Αεολ.) ελ-ηλοθ-α, ἤ-λαυθ-ον;

*é-series* .... θη-, θω-, θε-,

*a-series* .. φα-(φη-), φω-, φα,

*ai-series* .. λαθ-, ληθ-(=λαθ-), λαθ-, " λα(ν)θ-άνω, λε-ληθ-α, ε-λαθ-ον.

The *a*- (*=a*)-diphthongs (ai, au) occur in various detached and derived words; as in αι-όν, λαι-ός, ταύ-ρος, αυ-ως (Lesbian), &c., &c.

(3) When preserved at all, the triplicate of related vowels appears most clearly in the related root-forms of the verb-scheme. But interchange also appears among "thematic" or stem-forming vowels both of verbs (as ο in φέρ-ο-μεν by ε in φέρ-ε-τε, &c.) and also of nouns (as ο and η=αι, in nom. s. ἀνθρώπ-ο-ς, πο-λιτ-η-ς, by ε and ι in voc. ἄνθρωπ-ε, πόλιτ-ι). It is highly probable, indeed, that in the primitive noun the vowels of root-syllables and of stem- and case-suffixes varied similarly to those of related verbal roots and suffixes, in accordance with an established plan of accent-shifting; although, later, a single root-form generally permeated all the cases; as the o-form ποδ- "foot," in Grk., but the e-form ped- in Lat.; while the long ο of the deep-tone ο appears in Dor. πώς and Go. fót-us; and the vowel-less weak grade bd for p'd appears in some Zend derivatives.

19. (1) But, as follows from §§ 13-15 above, the combinations of vowels with following sonants are a species of diphthong; and they accordingly form series in which υ, &c., play the same part that i and u do in the ei- and eu-series. With ά(α) such combinations persist (at least in Gothic); but, with the fluctuating vowel, triplicate grades are formed, which run through related verb-roots in precisely the same way, and under the same conditions with respect to accentuation, as the several vowel-series already mentioned: and thus

1 See § 17 (2).

2 These are related substantives: but an old pf. sing. with ω, in the *ei-series*, is extant in the Doric ἀφ-ιω-κα; where ιω=σεσω-, pf. to ση in the pres. ϊμι=ση-ιω-μι.

3 Cf. Lat. scab-ere, scab-i,—the vowel-change being quantitative.
we get the four sonant-series: em, om, m \(^1\);—en, on, n :—er, or, r ;—and, for Europe, el, ol, l \(^2\).

(2) The interest here lies in the weak grades or sonants proper (m, n, r, l). The vocal quality of these is, in our own language (§ 14 (3)), a dull murmur slightly differing as we pass from the nasals to r and from r to l. But it does not follow, and was not in fact the case, that they had, and have, precisely the same vocal quality amongst other peoples. In the older languages their vowel force was certainly more distinct. In Skt., r (rī) and l (lī) are placed among the vowels; and the grammarians give to r the value \( \frac{a + r}{1} + \frac{a}{1} \) i.e., an r-sound flanked by rudimentary a-sounds (cf. the Zend value ere\(^3\)); but m and n evolved a secondary vowel a before them, and in the permanently weak (unaccented) position m and n ultimately vanished, leaving only this a. In Europe all the four sonants from rudimentary vowels evolved full vowels, which generally, but not always, preceded them; and these vowels differed very considerably in different linguistic areas. In Greek (where m mostly became n) the evolved vowel was a, giving ap (or pa), aλ (or λα) and av, and from av=n the v vanished (cf. the Skt. a=nu=n, above) leaving only a; while p and λ persisted. For the Greek therefore the normal Sonant-system became:

\[
ev, \text{oν}, \ a ;—\text{er}, \ \text{op}, \ \text{ap (or pa)} ;—\text{el, ol, al (λα)}.
\]

Examples:

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{ev-series} & \quad \text{evν}, \ \text{evον}, \ \text{雅ν} , \ &\text{as in te\(i\)νω (\(=\*τε\(i\)\\j\omega\)), (subst.)τον-}\\
\text{er-series} & \quad \text{ερκ}, \ \text{ερκον}, \ \text{ερκα} , \ &\text{, ερκ-ομαι, ε-ερκον, ε-ερκα-ον} ;\\
\text{el-series} & \quad \text{στελ-}, \ \text{στολ-}, \ \text{σταλ-} , \ &\text{στελλω (\(=\*στελ\ \omega\)), (subst.)στόλος, ε-σταλ-κα} .
\end{aligned}
\]

In Latin and O.Irish the evolved vowel appears generally as e; in Lithuanian as i; in Teutonic as u, o; in Gothic as u only. \(^4\)

\(^1\) See note 1 to § 14.

\(^2\) l, as such, probably did not exist in the Ursprache, but was evolved in the separate languages out of r,—or perhaps out of one of two varieties of r.

\(^3\) Although Bartholomæ (BB. VII. 185+) maintains that the second e is an accretion.

\(^4\) The sonant-theory has been subjected to a powerful and ingenious, but scarcely successful, attack by Kögel, PBB. VIII. 101-125.
(3) The weak grades also appear both in the radical syllables of many detached words (e.g.: \( \beta \)-pa-\( \delta \)-\( \omega \)=-Skt. \( mrliu \); ---\( \epsilon \)-ka-\( \tau \)-\( \omega \)=Lat. cen-\( tu \)-\( m \)=Go. hun-da=-Skt. ga-t\( \acute{a} \)m; prim. grdf. . \textit{cmto-}) ; and in formative and in inflexional suffixes,---where, however, the secondary vowel is often assimilated to that of other forms of the suffix in the same paradigm (e.g.: stem \( \piou \)-\( ev \), Dat. pl. \( \piou \)-\( \acute{e} \)-\( si \), for \( -a \)-\( si \), i.e. \( -\eta \)-\( si \);---stem \( \gamma \gamma \mu \mu \)-\( o\nu \), D. pl. \( \gamma \gamma \mu \mu \)-\( \delta \)-\( si \), also for \( -a \)-\( si \), i.e., \( -\eta \)-\( si \);---but stem \( \mu \mu \tau \tau \)-\( \xi \)-\( pi \), D. pl. correctly (but with shifted accent, as in the preceding instances) \( \mu \mu \tau \tau \)-\( ra \)-\( si \), for \( -\tau \)-\( si \)). It should be noted that the syllabic force of the sonants mostly comes out either between two consonants or \textit{in fine} after a consonant. After a vowel, and generally before a vowel (e.g., D. sing. \( \mu \mu \tau \tau \)-\( \rho \)-\( l \), not \( -a\)-\( p \)-\( l \)), the sonants assume their consonantal force (See § 24 (3))

20. With the foregoing outline we leave the older vocalism. One other modern reform of the primitive alphabet, dealing with the guttural stops, must now be referred to. It was formerly supposed that the clear or central gutturals (\( ka \), \( ga \), \( gha \)) were the original ones, from which other "affected" varieties were thought to have been derived by the accretion of a "parasitic" spirant,—labial (\( w \)) or palatal (\( j=\gamma \)), as the case might be. It is now generally accepted that, on the contrary, the primitive speech possessed only the two affected series of gutturals,—the rounded or labialized gutturals ("velars"), and the palato-gutturals; and that the clear \( k \)'s, wherever they appear in the separate languages, were derived from \( k \)'s of one or the other of the affected series. Taking this later view for granted, we pass on to mention some remarkable phonetic results of the different treatment which these two varieties of gutturals underwent in different linguistic areas. Thus:

5 The foregoing sections (16–19) have special reference to Brugman in Curtius's "Studien," IX., and in KZ. XXIV., where the modern theory of I-E. vocalism was first definitely propounded;—to Brugm. and Osthoff in M.U. \textit{passim}.;—De Saussure, "Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles"; F. Kluge, Q. und F. XXXII.;—J. Schmidt in KZ. XXV. 1+; G. Meyer's Grk. Grammar;—and many valuable treatises, especially those of Paul and Möller in PBB, and of Collitz and Fick in BB.—It deserves passing mention that Geiger ("Ursprung der Sprache," I.) and afterwards Begemann ("Schwache Präteritum") were the first to reverse the old idea of \textit{guna} (or supposed elevation of \( i \) to \( a\i \) (our \( ei \)) and \( u \) to \( au \) (our \( eu \)). [See also the recent strictures on these later views by Curtius (deceased, alas! as this sheet goes to press) in his "Kritik," and the reply of Brugman, "Zum heutigen Stand der Sprachwissenschaft."
PHONOLOGY: PRIMITIVE GUTTURALS.

(1) The labial affection may appear as a full-blown spirant attached to the guttural; as in the u (=u) of the Latin qu (=kw),—quis, quatuor, sequor, tortuo, &c. ;—or the Gothic hw in hwas, hw = Engl. who, what.

(2) The labial element of a velar may transmute the guttural element into a labial consonant; e. g. : ēpip-omai = Lat. sequor;—τειπ-ο = Lat. torqu-o;—βαινο (i. e. *βαν-ιο = γτιο) = Lat. venio (for *γυεμ-ιο) ;—Go. fidwô, “four,” for *hwidwôr (§ 32 (2) below).

(3) The guttural element of a velar may vanish, leaving only the labial spirant (or the related vowel u) ; as in the Lat. ven-io (i. e. ven- for gwem- ; see (2) above) ;—vor-o (i. e. vor- for gwor-)= βορ- (for γβορ), βορ- in βορά, βτ-βρο-σκο : and closely similar are Lat. ubi for cubi, i. e., *quobi; uto- for cutero, i. e., *quotero.

(4) The palatals may pass into various sibilated spirants; as in Skt. and Zd. ãta=Lith. szintas= O.Slav. suto; (but Lat. centum, Grk. ἐ-κα-τόν, Go. hunda-).

(5) The velars themselves may be palatalized (though not sibilated) by the influence of a subjoined palatal vowel (e, i) or semivowel (j=y). These reduced velars may be called “palato-velars”; and their appearance in Skt., followed by a, is perhaps the most cogent piece of evidence that certain Skt. a’s have superseded the older e’s to which this effect on the velars is due. Thus Skt. k’akrám2 “wheel” = Grk. κύκλος for κεκβλός= Teut. *hueulá- for *hwegwlá- ; prim. grdf. *geqró. Similarly, as Skt. a in the reduplicating syllable of perfects is = a previous e, an initial velar of that syllable became a “palato-velar”; as: kar, “make” (k=y), perfect k’a-kara, “I made, or have made.” In Greek the velars are thrown forward by the high vowels to the dental position; as in τ-λ = Lat. quis ;—τ-εσσαρες = Skt. k’tavâras = Lat. quatuor for *quotewor(es);—ά-δ-ελφο = Skt. (sa-)gabha-, cf. Go. kalbô, “call.”

(6) Either affection may vanish, leaving a clear guttural. Thus (i) the Aryan and Letto-Slavic languages are averse to labialism; so that the velars (except where they fall under (5) above) appear as clear gutturals; while (ii), on the other hand, Latin, Greek, and Gothic are averse to palatalism (at least, the letters employed do not indicate it); and (iii) even

1 This acute observation was made first of all by Karl Verner; see Osthoff in M. U. I. 116, note.
2 k’, g’ = Engl. ch, j, in church, judge (=juj).
INTRODUCTION TO GOTIC.

labialism may, under circumstances not always determinable, also disappear in these same languages. Hence, by (i), the various forms of the velar in Latin, Greek, and Gothic, should normally be answered to by a clear guttural in Skt., Lith., &c. (but see (5) above); as: Lat. jecer for *jequor, Grk. ἵππ-αρ(τ) = Skt. ják-ṛ and jak-an-, Lith. jek-na;—by (ii), a clear guttural in Lat., Grk., Go. should normally be answered to by a sibilated palatal in Skt., Lith., &c.; as: Lat. can-is, Grk. Κάθον = Skt. cvan, Zd. ppān, Lith. šun-, O.Slav. su-ka;—and by (iii) a clear guttural in Lat., Grk., &c., may be answered to by a clear guttural (indicating an older velar) in Skt., &c.; as: κ-αλός = Skt. kalja; λευ-κ-ơ̄ς = Lith. laūkas.

(7) Generally speaking, then, in the Aryan and Letto-Slavic languages the velars appear as clear gutturals and the palatals as sibilants; while in the other leading European languages the labialism of the velars generally persists and the palatals appear as clear gutturals. But there are a good many gutturals in the separate languages as to which it is not yet determined, and perhaps never will be, whether they belong to one series or the other; while there are some probable instances in which the gutturals of one series have, under surrounding influences, passed over to the other. However, the normal correspondent values of the two series (leaving aside the Tenués aspiratae), as shown at the principal linguistic centres, may be summed up for future reference as follows:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q (kw)</td>
<td>=k, k' = k, k'' = k, c = k = π, r = qu, c</td>
<td>= hw, h, w;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g (gw)</td>
<td>= g, g' = g, g'' = g, z = g = β, γ, δ = (gw), w (v) = kw(qw), k;</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh (ghw) = gh, h = g, g' = g, z = g = φ, χ, θ = gu, g, v, h, f = gw, g, w;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c (k')</td>
<td>= c = s = sz = k = c = h;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g (g')</td>
<td>= g' = z = z = z = γ = g = k;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh (gh') = h = z = z = z = χ = g = g.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(As to the palato-velars, k' (≈ c nearly) and g', see note 2 above; g and sz = our sh (in shall, &c.) nearly; z, z = sh, z in azure, nearly.)

2 See J. Schmidt in KZ. XXV.
21. We are now in a position to attack the special phonology of the Gothic; and its vocalism may be best approached through that of the common Teutonic. In its oldest form the Teut. vowel-system must have agreed very closely with the common European (§18 (1) above); but in its latest stage certain modifications were established, the chief of which (inherited and in some instances extended by the Gothic) were these:—(i) e became i before combinations of nasal and consonant, and also before an immediately following i or j; as in bindan, drinkan; 2 p.s. hilpis, 3 p.s. hilpid, but infin. helpan; &c.;—(ii) o generally became a (and oi, ou, similarly, ai, au), and thus identical in form with a=ʌ (and its diphthongs with the ʌ-diphthongs); as in band, "I bound," drank, "I drank," &c.;—(iii) ei, or e+i, became i+i, that is i; as in bitan, "to bite," for *beitan;—(iv) prim. a (ʌ) became ə (=: identical in form with ə of the æ-æ-series); as in bröher=Lat. früter;—to which may be added that, in answer to the ə of the Gothic, there appear three values (a or æ and ə) in the non-Gothic dialects. The whole scheme therefore stood thus:—

4 Ascoli, in Italy, in his Lectures on Phonology, was the first to expound the nature of the two primitive guttural series. He was followed by M. Havet in France (see especially "Mémoires de la Société de la Linguistique," 1874), and by Fick in Germany ("Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indo-germanischen Europas," Götingen, 1873); but the latter mistakenly confined the phenomena to the tetnas only. The examples of ꆖ and ꆘ in Skt. and Zd. have been carefully investigated by Hübschmann, KZ. XXIII. 385–400; the palato-velars by J. Schmidt, KZ. XXV. 64–179. For an investigation of Palatalism in the Teutonic dialects, see H. Möller, "Die Palatalreihe . . . im Germanischen" (Leipzig, 1875); and the greater part of his article on Epenthesis in KZ. XXIV.: for contributions to the history of Velarisn, F. Kluge, Q. und F., XXXII. 42–46, and Osthoff in PBB. VIII. 256–287.

1 Of these, a and ə may have radiated from the intermediate æ, as Braune suggests (PBB. IX. 547).
### Teutonic Vowel-system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>High-tone</th>
<th>Deep-tone</th>
<th>Weak</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-series</td>
<td>(e, i)</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(\ddot{e}, \ddot{a}, \ddot{a})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et-series</td>
<td>(\ddot{i})</td>
<td>(ai)</td>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>(\ddot{i})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu-series</td>
<td>(eu)</td>
<td>(au)</td>
<td>(u)</td>
<td>(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē-series</td>
<td>(\ddot{e}, \ddot{a})</td>
<td>(\ddot{e})</td>
<td>(\ddot{e})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā-series</td>
<td>(\ddot{a})</td>
<td>(\ddot{a})</td>
<td>(\ddot{a})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-series</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A-diphthongs: \(ai, au\) in all positions.

For the sonant-system we have to bear in mind the evolved vowels of the weak grades (§ 19 (2) above): these were \(u\) (for the nasals) and \(o\) (for the liquids), by the side of which \(m, n, r, l\) assumed a consonantal character; thus:

- \(em\)-series: \(em, am, um\)
- \(en\)-series: \(en, an, un\)
- \(er\)-series: \(er, ar, or, ro\)
- \(el\)-series: \(el, al, ol\)

\(a\) (\(\alpha\)) + the several sonants gives \(am, an, ar, al\) in all positions.

### 22. (1) In Gothic the changes effected in the later Teutonic are adopted, and two of them are further developed; viz.: (i) prim. and Eur. \(e\) is, with certain exceptions (especially in the reduplicating syllable of verbs, where it appears as \(ai\), but with the value of \(e\)), everywhere palatalized to \(i\), both alone and in combination; and (ii) the vowel (Teut. \(o\)) evolved from the weak grades of the liquid-series becomes \(u\), as in the case of the nasals. By (i), therefore, Teut. \(eu\) (=e+u) becomes \((i+u=)\) \(iu\); just as Eur. \(ei\) (=e+i) had already become \((i+i=)\) \(i\) in Teut.: for \(i\), however, Ulfilas writes \(ei\) (probably in imitation of the Greek, in which, in his day, \(ei\) was also = \(i\) in sound), and this diphthongal form \((ei)\) is used for the genuine long \(i\) also. The high-tone sonants similarly become, by (i), \(im, in, ir, il\); while, by (ii), the weak grades became \(um, un, ur\) or \(ru\), and \(ul\).

### (2) The foregoing modifications being allowed for, the Gothic, in its old verb-system, will still be found to exhibit the primitive triplication of vowel-grades with beautiful regularity. The following scheme is, accordingly, enucleated

---

2 In place of \(\ddot{e}\) (See § 18 (1)).
3 In place of \(\ddot{a}\) (\(\alpha\)).
1 See § 10 above.
2 But the special phenomenon of Refraction (Brechung), whereby \(i\) and \(u\) appear as \(ai\) and \(au\) (=\(\ddot{e}, \ddot{o}\)) before \(h\) and \(r\), should be borne in mind (§ 10 (2)).
(so to say) from the various classes of the Gothic Primary (or "Strong?") Verbs, of which it may be considered as the index or exponent. (For convenience, the sonant-series are brought immediately under the e-series, to which their high- and deep-tone grades really belong):—

**Gothic Vowel-system.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-series</td>
<td>i (ai)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ē, ŏ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-series</td>
<td>im, in, il</td>
<td>am, an, al</td>
<td>un, un, ul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er-series</td>
<td>aŕ, ri</td>
<td>ar, ra</td>
<td>ańr, ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei-series</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ei (=i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu-series</td>
<td>iu</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ŭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā-series</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-series</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aś- and au-series</td>
<td>ai, au</td>
<td>ai, au</td>
<td>ai, au</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-, ar-, al-series</td>
<td>an, ar, al</td>
<td>an, ar, al</td>
<td>an, ar, al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The am-series does not occur.)

To the long vowels, ā should be added; which, however, is nearly always secondary.

23. (1) Vowel-gradation appears in Gothic stem-suffixes, just as in those of Greek and Latin (§ 18 (3)). Thus, 1 p. plur. present, badr-a-m = φέρ-ο-μεν; but 2 p. pl., badr-i-th = φέρ-ε-τε; — Acc. plur. wulf-a-nas; but Gen. sing. wulf-i-s; — N. pl. of i-declension, balg-ei-s, "leather bottle," for *balg-ijis = *balg-ei-es (cf. πόλ-ει-ς and πόλεες for *πολ-ει-ες); but A. pl. balg-i-nas; — N. pl. of u-declension, sun-ju-s for *sun-ius = *sun-eu-es; but N. sing. sun-u-s (cf. πῦχ-ε(φ)-ες for -eu-es, by πῦχ-υ-s); — and similarly, in consonantal stems, A. s. fad-a-r for *fad-ar = πατ-ε-α; but Dat. s. fad-r = πατ-ρ-ι; — A. s. ab-an, "man, husband," G. s. ab-in-s, D. and G. pl. ab-n-am, ab-n-ę; cf. Lat. ord-on- (implied in N. s. ord-o), G. s. ord-in-is, D. pl. ord-ini-bus for ord-n-bus.

(2) But, as before said, the chief seat of the triplicate vowel-gradation is in the system of Primary or Strong Verbs. These verbs are one of the most striking features of all Teutonic Grammar, ancient and modern; but nowhere do their original characters appear in such completeness and symmetry as in the Gothic; and any one who has mastered the tabulation of § 22 (2) and the phonetic principles under-

---

3 For the perturbed e-series, i, ē, i, see § 24 (2).
4 For this grade the long (ę) sometimes appears.
5 But see sama, &c., in § 26 (2).
lying it, holds the key to the vocalism of the whole of the Strong-verb system. To illustrate this statement, we will examine the root-forms upon which the several paradigms of primary verbs are constructed,—first glancing, however, at the formation of the I-E. perfect tense and at some of its oldest modifications.

(3) The stem of the I-E. perfect of primary verbs was originally formed by prefixing a "reduplicating" syllable to the root of the verb. It has long been supposed that this syllable was at first a repetition of the root itself, but was afterwards worn down, in most instances, to a uniform pattern, and made to exercise a merely grammatical function. But this very natural view remains a supposition only. At any rate, J. Schmidt, has, on weighty evidence, concluded that the reduplication, as far back as we can discover anything about it, consisted of an initial consonant like that of the root (when the root had one) plus the unstable vowel e (=a³); and that, at a later period of the Ursprache, while some of the perfect forms remained unaltered, others underwent contraction or abbreviation, according to the position of the primitive accent and the nature of the radical syllable. J. S. thinks that the I p. s. pf., which showed the deep-tone vowel and was, at least in later prim. times, accented on the root, kept its full form (*bher, šep, "bear," 1 p. s. perf., Skt. ba-bhúr-a, = a Grk. *πε-φορα, "I bore"; *γε-ωμ, "come," 1 p. s. g'á-gám-a, "I came")

In the plural two varieties arose: (a) its "persons" being accented on the personal suffixes, a radical e(a³) vanished if possible, and the redupl. syll. persisted (1 p. pl. Skt. ba-bhr-má, Eur. *bhe-bhr-má, "we bore"); 3 p. pl. Skt. g'á-gá-mús, "they bore");—but (β) when, for any reason, the vowel of the root did not vanish in the plural, as, e.g., when the high-tone v contained an e-diphthong, leaving i or u in the weak grade, then the vowel of the reduplication (which was now two removes from the acute accent), and hence the syllable itself, vanished. Thus *teks, Skt. taksh, "hew, fashion," gives 1 p. s. pf. ta-táksh-a, but 3 p. pl. (Vedie) taksh-ús (not *ta-táksh-ús) for *t'taksh-ús; and *weid, "see," gives

1 In KZ. XXV. 1–170: the above section is partly based on J. S.'s conclusions. Osthoff, however, on his theory of duplicate weak roots (M.U. IV., Vorwort) reverses some of these conclusions; he thinks, e.g., that the reduplication-less perfects started from the sing., not the plur.

2 Hence, where, in the separate languages, other vowels than e (a³) appear in the redupl. syllable, they are due to the assimilation of this vowel to that of the radical syllable: this is demonstrable in the classical Latin mo-mordi, cu-curri, and the like, in comparison with the ancient me-mordi, ce-curri, &c.
PHONOLOGY: THE VOWEL-SYSTEM.

1 p. pl. Skt. vid-\(\text{ma}\) = Ep. \(\ddot{e}\)-\(\text{mev}\) = Go. \(\text{witi-nim}\). At any rate, it is highly probable that the \textit{Ursprache} at one time possessed perfect forms, of which some maintained the full reduplication, while others had either undergone contraction in the radical syllable (in which ease, as we shall see, reduplication was obscured), or had actually lost the reduplication. When the I-E. dialects grew into independent languages, each gave swing, as regards this tense\(^3\), to that leveling tendency\(^4\) in virtue of which differing forms (especially if they be nearly related) are adjusted to one and the same pattern. In the Aryan dialects and in Greek, reduplication was generally restored to all perfect forms. In Latin many remain of the old perfects were similarly treated, while others dropped the reduplication throughout (\textit{scābi}, \textit{scābīnus}; \textit{fūli}, \textit{fōdinus}, \&c.). In Teutonic the whole body of primary verbs arranged themselves in two classes. The larger of the two comprised all those verbs in which the triplicate vowel-gradation was most clearly preserved,—\textit{i. e.}, all those involving radical \(e\), alone or in combination, as well as the (\(\ddot{e}\), \(\ddot{a}\), \(\ddot{o}\))-series: these dropped the reduplication everywhere except where it had become obscured\(^5\); for their tense-stems were sufficiently well marked by their proper vocalism. The other class comprised those verbs of which the radical vowel was uniform and rigid in all the tense-stems,—\textit{i. e.}, originally and strictly, those involving \(\ddot{o}=\ddot{a}\) (\(\ddot{a}\)) and the \(a\)-(\(\ddot{a}\))-diphthongs, both vowel and sonant: these show reduplication throughout the perfect; and with them in this respect agree verbs of the \(e\)-series, which are thus distinguished from the \(a\)- (\(\ddot{a}\)-) verbs which show the same deep-tone grade (\(\ddot{a}\)). The former class are called "Ablaut" verbs; the latter, "Reduplicating" verbs; and the full reduplication is preserved in Gothic alone of the Teut. dialects; although it is in some instances traceable in the other dialects under the spurious Ablaut forms to which it is reduced\(^6\).

24. In the Ablaut verbs the high-tone root-vowel or diphthong appears throughout the present tense, the deep-

\(^3\) But in some (as in the Letto-Slavic dialects) it was dropt altogether.

\(^4\) "\textit{Uniformierung}," sometimes called "\textit{Analogy}," or better, "\textit{Form- assimilation}": this is perhaps the most striking line of action of the intuitive economy of labour in language; and in largely saving mental effort, as it does, it is perfectly indifferent whether it increases or diminishes physical labour,—a point of much less importance.

\(^5\) See §24 (2).

\(^6\) In Teut. generally the old perfect indicated various aspects of past time, and is often called the \textit{preterite},—a term which will hereafter, for the most part, be employed in this book.
tone in the preterite (= perf.) *singular indicative* only, and the weak grade in the rest of the preterite and in the perfect, passive, or past participle (as it is variously called). The parts of the Gothic verb, therefore, chosen as "principal parts" (i.e., forms which contain the representative root-varieties) are,—the 1st person singular present, the 1 p. s. pret., and the 1 p. plur. pret., of the indicative; to which must be added the stem of the past ptp.

(1) In these main parts, the three vowel-grades are shown most clearly by the verbs involving the ei- and the iu-series. Thus *beit-*, "bite," and *biug-*, "bend, bow," show the parts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 p. s. pres.</th>
<th>1 p. s. pret.</th>
<th>1 p. pl. pret.</th>
<th>Stem of ptp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>beit</em></td>
<td><em>bait</em></td>
<td><em>bit-um</em></td>
<td><em>bit-ana-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I bite</td>
<td>I bit</td>
<td>we bit</td>
<td>bitten;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>biug-a</em></td>
<td><em>baug</em></td>
<td><em>bug-um</em></td>
<td><em>bug-ana-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I bend</td>
<td>I bent</td>
<td>we bent</td>
<td>bent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Compare the *leup*- and *leuθ*-series, § 18 (2)).

(2) In those verbs whose roots showed *i* (= *e*) followed by a single mute, the vocalism of the pret. plur. is out of harmony with that of the other leading parts; but the derangement is carried through all verbs of this formation with such uniformity that it simulates the aspect of a new and regular long-vowel grade (*ē*). Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 p. s. pres.</th>
<th>1 p. s. pret.</th>
<th>1 p. pl. pret.</th>
<th>Stem of ptp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>it-a</em></td>
<td>*(at?) <em>ēt</em></td>
<td><em>ēt-um</em></td>
<td><em>it-ana-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I eat</td>
<td>I ēte</td>
<td>we ēte</td>
<td>eaten;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sit-a</em></td>
<td><em>sat</em></td>
<td><em>sēt-um</em></td>
<td><em>sit-ana,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sit</td>
<td>I sat</td>
<td>we sat</td>
<td>*sitten, sat;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gib-a</em></td>
<td><em>gaf</em></td>
<td><em>gēb-um</em></td>
<td><em>gib-ana,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I give</td>
<td>I gave</td>
<td>we gave</td>
<td>given.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In *ēt* and *ēt-um*, the *ē* is = *e* + *a* and *ē* + ē,—i.e., it is a very an-

---
1 But see subsection (2) below.
2 The reader is requested to refer, throughout this section, to the tabulation in § 22 (2).*
3 This form is certified by the 3 p. s. pret. (*frēt*) of the compound *fra-itan*, "to devour," and by the long vowel in O.N. (*ăt*), O.H.G. (*ās*), and A-S. (*ēt*): *ēt* does not occur in Ulfilas; it has apparently been constructed by grammarians on the model of the other singular preterites of the series. (See Brugman, M.U., IV. 411-414; Kluge, Q. und F. XXXII. 61; Scherer, "Zur Gesch.," &c., 2nd ed. 237–8.)
4 For the final *f* answering to interior *b*, see § 31.
cient, probably primitive, fusion of the redupl. syll. ⟨e⟩ and the radical vowel (cf. Lat. ēdi, ēdimus). The pret. of this verb and perhaps that of es- (afterwards lost in Teut.) are thought by some to have set a pattern to which all plur., dual, and opt. forms of this class of verbs were assimilated (See note 1 to the preceding §). It is not less probable, however, that, as Scherer, J. Schmidt, and others agree, a few more, at any rate, of such plurals are to be attributed to the Ursprache,—a view supported by the exact agreement of Go. sæl-, Lat. sēd-, and Skt. sēd-, and by other similar forms. Prim. sēd- is for *sezd-; i.e., sēd- is a compression of the redupl. syll. and a weak vowel-less (§ 17 (2)) root zd=s'd (cf. Lat. nīd-ns=Skt. nīd-a, for *nīzd-a, Teut. nest 5). A few of such forms being established, the other verbs of a similar root-form would be attracted to their pattern (e.g., gēbum would be compressed from geg'bum=ge-g(i)b-un).

(3) Verbs with radical i(=e=a'), followed by a liquid or nasal only, resemble the preceding class in the third form of the root; but the root in the ptep. shows the sonant value; e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ &\text{nima} &\text{nam} &\text{nēnum} &\text{numana}-, \\
&\text{I take} &\text{I took} &\text{we took} &\text{taken}; \\
\{ &\text{stila} &\text{stal} &\text{stēlum} &\text{stulana}-, \\
&\text{I steal} &\text{I stole} &\text{we stole} &\text{stolen}; \\
\{ &\text{baira} &\text{bar} &\text{bērum} &\text{bairana}-, \\
&\text{I bear} &\text{I bore (bare)} &\text{we bore (bare)} &\text{borne}:
\end{align*}
\]

add the following, where the radical sonant precedes the evolved vowel, which is followed by a mute:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ &\text{brika} &\text{brak} &\text{brēkum} &\text{brukana}-, \\
&\text{I break} &\text{I broke (brake)} &\text{we broke (brake)} &\text{broken.}
\end{align*}
\]

In this class the pf. plur. would also appear to have been derived from the reduplicated form; i.e., nēnum, bērum, &c., are for *nemnum (ne-n'm-um), *bebrum (be-b'r-um), &c.; where nm (n'm), &c., are the weakest forms of the roots (cf. gm, bhr, in Skt. ga-gm-ūs, ba-bhr-mā, § 23 (3)). But in § 80 we shall meet with two old pret. plurals, munum and skulum, from which the reduplication must have vanished, while in the

5 This example suggests that if the Teut. had taken over *sezd-, it would have become *set-, not sæl-.
radical syllables the sonant values appear in full (un, ut), instead of being reduced to consonants, as they would have been in *mënum, *skêlum. This difference is strongly in favour of the former coexistence of duplicate varieties of the perf. pl.,—say, ne-n‘m-um by n‘num-um, me-m‘n-um by m‘mun-um, or the like. (See § 23 (3), and note ² to § 17.)

(4) In the case of the verbs whose high-tone roots involve i (=e) + sonant + mute, we resume complete regularity. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{bind-a} & \text{band} & \text{bund-um} & \text{bund-ana-}, \\
& \text{I bind} & \text{I bound} & \text{we bound} & \text{bound (bounden)};
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{wairp-a} & \text{warp} & \text{waérp-um} & \text{waérp-ana-}, \\
& \text{I become} & \text{we became} & \text{became} ;
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{hilp-a} & \text{halp} & \text{hulp-um} & \text{hulp-ana-}, \\
& \text{I help} & \text{we helped} & \text{helped (holpen)} ;
\end{align*}
\]

(an m-form occurs only in the 3 p. pret. sing. ana-tramp, of *ana-trimp-an, "to press upon," or "crowd about"). In these verbs the un, aIr, ut of the 3rd and 4th forms are the correct representatives of prim. n, r, l. But in two or three verbs the sonant of the root preceded the vowel (cf. brika in (3) above) ; and (although only present tenses are extant in Go.) they must have shown series like the following:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{priska} & \text{prask} & \text{prusk-um} & \text{prusk-ana-}, \\
& \text{I thresh} & \text{I threshed} & \text{we threshed} & \text{threshed} .
\end{align*}
\]

(5) The four preceding subsections embrace all the Ablaut verbs whose roots embody i(=e) either alone or in combination. Now, and lastly, come those with radical a (A); in all of which this vowel is followed by a single consonant. a appears in the present tense and in the past ptcp.; but the deep-tone ð has permeated the whole of the pret. from the pret. sing., to which alone it must have originally belonged. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{swar-a} & \text{swør} & \text{swør-um} & \text{swar-ana-}, \\
& \text{I swear} & \text{I swore} & \text{we swore} & \text{sworn} ;
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{wak-a} & \text{wok} & \text{wok-um} & \text{wak-ana-}, \\
& \text{I a-wake} & \text{I a-woke} & \text{we a-woke} & \text{a-woke} .
\end{align*}
\]

² The passive ptcps., numana-, stulana-, &c., are strictly correct, as these adjetival forms never had the reduplication, and could not have become *nêmana-, &c., except by assimilation to the perfect plural.
Seven verbs of this class take the formative suffix -ja in the present tense, on this pattern:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wahs-} & \quad \text{wōhs} & \quad \text{wōhs-} & \quad \text{wuhs-} \\
\text{I grow (O.É., wax)} & \quad \text{I grew (O.É., wox)} & \quad \text{we grew} & \quad \text{grown.}
\end{align*}
\]

This vowel-series is difficult to account for. It looks like a variation from the series ā, ō, a. So De Saussure thinks (Mém. 160–163); and, taking up certain conclusions of Curtius, he further thinks it likely that the root in ā was shifted to the present tense from the old simple aorist (afterwards lost in Teut.) to which it belonged.

(6) Summary.—The following may be taken, for future reference, as representatives of the various classes of Ablaut verbs in Gothic:—

\[
\begin{align*}
(i) & \quad \text{giba} & \quad \text{gaf} & \quad \text{gēbum} & \quad \text{gibana-} \\
(ii) & \quad \text{nima} & \quad \text{nam} & \quad \text{nē mum} & \quad \text{numana-} \\
(iii) & \quad \text{binda} & \quad \text{band} & \quad \text{bundum} & \quad \text{bundana-} \\
(iv) & \quad \text{beita} & \quad \text{bait} & \quad \text{bitum} & \quad \text{bitana-} \\
(v) & \quad \text{biuga} & \quad \text{baug} & \quad \text{bugum} & \quad \text{bugana-} \\
(vi) & \quad \text{waka} & \quad \text{wōk} & \quad \text{wōkum} & \quad \text{wakana-}
\end{align*}
\]

and, of these, (i), (ii), and (iii) show varieties of one and the same series, evolved by the differing treatment of the pret. plur. and of the past ptep.

25. Reduplicating Verbs.—In these, the reduplicating syllable of the old perfect is, in Gothic, formed by the initial consonant (if there is one) of the root,—or the initial cluster, if conceived of as a simple sound (as sk, st, hw, hl)—plus the vowel ai=e (= Grk. e). If the initial of the root is a vowel or diphthong, the reduplication is ai only. (The past ptep. does not show reduplication: see note 6 to § 24.)

(1) In classifying the Reduplicating verbs it will be convenient to pass from the a-series, given in (vi) above, to the a-diphthongs, vowel and sonant. These all persist through-

---

1 But Osthoff (PBB. VIII. 540+) has concluded that the s-clusters, at any rate, are not prim. for the redupl. syll.; and that this syll. once showed s only.
out the verb-scheme, and may therefore be treated together as a single subdivision of this class of verbs. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{I call} & \text{we called} \\
& \text{I augment} & \text{we augmented} \\
& \text{I blend (mix)} & \text{we blended} \\
& \text{I hold} & \text{we held}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{hai-t-a} & \text{hai-hait} & \text{hai-hait-um} & \text{hai-ana-} \\
& \text{I call} & \text{we called} & \text{called} \\
& \text{I augment} & \text{we augmented} & \text{augmented} \\
& \text{I blend (mix)} & \text{we blended} & \text{blended} \\
& \text{I hold} & \text{we held} & \text{held (holden)}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) The other subdivision (a small one) of reduplicating verbs comprises those with radical ē and those with radical ā (ā). In the roots of all the Gothic ē-verbs proper this vowel is followed by a single mute. Example:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{lēt-a} & \text{lāi-lōl} & \text{lāi-lōl-um} & \text{lēt-ana-} \\
& \text{I let} & \text{I let} & \text{allowed we let} & \text{et. let}
\end{align*}
\]

In the following verb the ē-root appears in the whole conjugation, having probably spread from the present tense:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{slēp-a} & \text{sāi-slēp} & \text{sāi-slēp-um} & \text{slēp-ana-} \\
& \text{I sleep} & \text{I slept} & \text{we slept} & \text{slept}
\end{align*}
\]

Three other verbs, sāian, "to sow;", wāian, "to blow," and laian, "to revile," (or, at least, two of the three) \(\text{are from ē-roots,—sē-, "sow," wē-, "blow" (\(?\ lē-, "bawl," : "scold")\). The present tense (sāia, "I sowed," etc.) is generally given as a modification of *sējā, etc., so that āi would be for ēj. But it may perhaps be a ja-tense correctly formed upon sa-, etc., the Go. weak grade of sē, etc. (cf. wahs-ja, § 24 (5), and also § 26 (1, iii)) to which the past ptep. must then be assumed to have been assimilated.\footnote{Laian is thought to have been attracted from the a- (\(=\ a\)) verbs (§24 (5)), which have the same deep-tone o. As to the others, cf. \(\sigma\gamma\) in \(\eta\mu\), i.e. \(\sigma\nu-\eta\mu\), and \(\chi\eta\) in \(\eta\mu\), i.e. \(\alpha-\chi\eta\mu\).}

The main parts of sāian are:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{saia} & \text{sai-sō} & \text{sai-sō-um} & \text{sai-ana-} \\
& \text{I sow} & \text{I sowed} & \text{we sowed} & \text{sown}
\end{align*}
\]

\footnote{The Grk. shows the expected i in the wkt. grades (\(\text{ē-rōs}=^*\text{σε-ρός};\) and ptep \(\text{dēr}-=^*\text{a-Frρr}-\), which is correctly reproduced in Lat. vent-o-, and in Go. \(\text{wind-a-};\) yet the Lat. shows a in sa-tus. This variation, a-e, is perplexing: it corresponds, however, with the Teut. variation \(\text{ē-}\), and perhaps also implies an intermediate \(\sigma\) (See note 1 to § 21). [Fick also, BB. IX. 316, treats the a of saia as wkt. grade to ō.]}

Two reduplicating verbs in Gothic show a radical ē throughout; and of only one of these is the preterite (perf.) preserved, viz.:—

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{hvōp-} & \quad \text{hvai-} \quad \text{hvōp-} \\
\text{I boast} & \quad \text{we boasted} & \quad \text{*hvōp-ana-} \\
& \quad \text{boasted.}
\end{align*} \]

The vowel-perturbation here is the reverse of that in slēpa, above.

(3) The series of representative Strong verbs (§ 24 (6)) may now be completed as follows:—

(vii) haita hāhait hāhaitum haitana-;
(viii) auka aiauk aiaukum aukana-;
(ix) halda haihald haihaldum haldana-;
(x) lēta laflōt laflōtum lētana-;
(xi) saia saīsō saīsōum saiana-;
(xii) hwōpa hwaihwōp hwaihwōpum hwōpana-.

26. The tabulation of § 22 (2) shows that two, three, or more vowel-sounds of diverse origin and history have in many instances become identical in Gothic. It may now be convenient, therefore, to consider the individual Gothic vowels with special reference to the various older sounds that have coalesced in each of them. For this purpose they may be arranged in the following order:—a, ē, ā, ē, ō;—ai, ei, i (ai);—au, iu, u (au), ū;—and reference will be made, as occasion arises, to positions in which any of them are known to occur outside of the strong-verb system. But it will be necessary to confine our observation for the present chiefly to the vowels of radical syllables.

(i) a = prim. ē occurs in the pret. sing. indic. of the ablaut verbs of classes (i), (ii), (iii)\(^1\);—in substantives immediately related to such verbs (as dranka- (neut.), “drink,” vb. drinkan; sangwi- (masc.), “a song,” vb. singwan);—in secondary verbs similarly related (drankan, “cause to drink”; saījan, “set,” or “cause to sit,” &c.);—and in many detached words (naiht- (f.) = Lat. noct-, “night”; ahtau = Lat. octo, “eight”; &c.).

(ii) a = prim. a (a) occurs in root-syllable of present tense and past ptc.p. of ablaut verbs of class (vi)\(^1\);—throughout the

\(^1\) The references are to §§ 24 (6), 25 (3), and 71–78.
reduplicating verbs of class (ix); — and in many detached
dwords (akra- (m.) = ἄγρο-, Lat. agro-,” field, acre”; tagra-
(n.) = ἀγρω-, L. lacrimā-, “ tear”; alja- = αλλα- for ἄλλο-
= L. alio-, “ other”; &c.). — In some instances (See § 78 (5)
below) ἀ = ὀ seems to have been taken for ἀ = λ. — For ἀ (= λ)
as a weak form of stem-suffix -ὁ ( = λ) in the N. & A. s. of
fem. substantives, see § 35 (2).

(iii) a sometimes also stands as weak grade to ὀ; as in
latjan, “ to let = hinder, delay,” by letan, “ to let = allow,
permit”; and perhaps in saian, “ to sow,” ἀ (§ 25 (2) and
note 8 ). — For suffixal examples compare (abl. =) dat. sing.
masc. of simple interrog. pron. hwammna, “ to whom,” with
the compound hwammēh, “ to each”; so also 3 p. s. of weak
preterite nasida, “ he saved,” &c., is probably for nasidē 3.

(2) ὀ, except in borrowed words, is secondary or non-
primitive. In the only certain Gothic instances it occurs for
the cluster ἀn before ὀ; as in the root-syllable of some re-
duplicating verbs of class (ix), viz. ἀθα for ἀθα, “ I seize,”
pret. faifāh; ἀθα, for ἀθα, “ I hang,” pret. haithāh; — also
in the mixed preterites (§ 80 (3)) ἀθα, “ I thought”; ἀθα,
“ I brought,” for ἀθα, ἀθα; — in the fem. subst.
(occurring only in compounds) ἀθα, “ a going,” related
to gangan, “ to go”; and a few other instances.—In certain
borrowed words (Peilātus, Sillānus, aurāli = Lat. orāle,
and others) the ὀ must also be considered long.

(3, 1) ἐ = prim. ἐ occurs in the present and in the ptc.
of a few redupl. vbs. (class (x) ); — in subs. immediately
related thereto (sēpa-(m.), “ sleep”); — in subs. immediately
related to the ai-verbs of class (xi); as : sēdi- (f.), “ seed,” vb.
saian; dēdi-, “ deed,” which implies a vb. *daian, “ to do”;
nēplō- (f.), “ needle,” which implies a vb. *naian = Lat. nēre;
and in various detached words; as mēnan-, “ moon,” = μνημ-,
and the related mēnēp, “ month” = μήν; and others.

(ii) ἐ is the long of the i- (=ē-) series in: wēga- (m.), “ a
wave,” vb. wigan, “ to move”; uz-etan- (m.), “ manger,” vb.
itan; anda-nēmi- (adj.), “ acceptable,” vb. niman; — in guēni-,
“ wife” (by quēnōn, “ woman”); — and in the pret. plur. &c.
of the gība- verbs (§ 24 (2)).

(iii) In the Go. remains ἐ sometimes appears for ei (= i)
and ei for ἐ; rarely, ἐ appears even for i and i for ἐ; as: ake,
“ but,” for akei, but afleitan for afleian; usdrēbi for usdrēbi,
“ he would drive out,” but birusjōs for bērusjōs, “ parents.”

2 Paul, in Beitr. II. 330+.
3 Sievers, PBB. IX. 561+; see also § 81 below.
These interchanges of spelling show that è was moving on towards i (i), parallel with the movement of ê to ë: and the spelling of Gothic names in the later Latin historians shows that i (i) was afterwards reached; thus in Widimir, Walamir, Frigerid, -mir and -rid were originally -mër and -rëd.

(4, i) ò = prim. õ, deep-tone to è, occurs in the preterite of reduplicating verbs of classes (x) and (xii); also in substantives and secondary verbs immediately related to such verbs; as in dôma- (m.), "judgment, doom," and òômjan, "to judge," probably related to *daian (See (3) above), Teut. *dê- or *da-yan, √dê = θη (in τιθη-μι).

(ii) ò, Teut. deep-tone to a (≠ λ, for ά) occurs in the strong verbs of class (vi);—also in nouns and secondary verbs immediately related to them; as: grôbô- (f.), "ditch," vb. graban, "to dig"; frôda- (adj.), "wise," vb. frâajan, "to understand"; (uf-) hôhjan, "to make laugh," from håhjan, "to laugh."

(iii) ð = prim. ñ (ά); as in the present tense and the past ptep. of reduplicating verbs of class (xii);—also in the related substantives; as: hvôstulô- (f.), "boasting," vb. hvôpan;—and in other words; as: brôpar, "brother," = φρᾶτηρ ("clansman"); bôkô- (f.), "letter," in plur. "book," originally, "beech," = φυγο- (for φάγο-), Lat. fâgo-; and probably in the masc. aec. hvânôh, "each man"; ainhvârjanôh, "every one," &c., by the simpler hvana, &c. (§ 35 (2)); —also in the borrowed and Gothicized word Rumoncis = "Români."

(iv) ò = prim. õ, the long of ò (deep-tone to è); as in: fôlu- "foot," cf. Grk. ποδ- by Lat. ped- (but ò also in Doric N. s. πῶς); and probably in: fidwôr, "four";—weitwôds (m.), "a witness," = eiôs to *eîôs;—fîdur-dôga- and aktau-dôga- (adj.), "four-days-(old)," "eight-days-(old)," immediately from dôga- (m.) "day," with e-root deg, prim. dhegh, as in Lith. dégù, "to burn, glow."

(v) Just as (§ 25 (2)) in the reduplicating verbs of class (xi), a(i) appears as a debilitation of ê(j), so also does a(u) appear as a debilitation of ò(w), before a vowel; e.g.: stôjan, for *stôwjan, "to judge," but pret. stauida; stem tôja- (n.), "work, deed," but N. & A. s. taui.—Similar is the au which renders Grk. ω before a vowel in Trauadai (dat.), "in Troas," and Naue, "Noah."

(vi) In Ulfilas ò sometimes occurs for ū and ù for ò; thus, N. pl. sumjôs, "sons," occurs for sumjûs, and ôhêigô for âhêigô (adv.), "timely, in season"; but also 3 p. pl. pret. âhlêdun for ôhlêdun, "they feared."
INTRODUCTION TO GOTHEIC.

(5, i) ai = prim. oi stands as deep-tone to ei in the pret. sing. of the ablaut verbs of class (iv);—in substantives and secondary verbs immediately related to those verbs; as: stai- (&f.), "path," vb. steigan, "to go, go up"; (ur-)raisjan, "to raise up," causative to (ur-)reisan, "to arise";—and in some detached words; as: filu-faiha- (adj.), "manifold," where faih- = ποικ- in ποικ-λαος, "variegated."

(ii) ai = prim. ai (ai), in the reduplicating verbs of class (vii);—also in related nouns; as: (ga-)haita- (n.), "a command";—and in many other words; as: haiha- (adj.), "one-eyed," = Lat. caeco-, for *caico-, "blind"; gaiti- (f.), "goat," = L. haedo-, for *haido-; kid; &c.

(iii) ai sometimes results from the fusion of a (=a) and i, once separated; as in mais (adv.), "more," for *mahis; aiza- (n.), "brass, copper," for *ajiza- = Skt. ājas-, Lat. aces, aeris.

(iv) ai is sometimes due to the action of a suffixal j, or even of a conjoined palatal (§ 20), upon a radical a; as in haiha- (adj.), "sound, whole," for *hal-ja- = Skt. kalja- = Grk. καλό- for *kaljjo-; (af-)aika, "I renounce," for *aiko-a; cf. Skt. (perf. only) aih-a, Lat. a-io = ag-jo. This effect is generally called "Epenthesis."^4

(v) For a(i) = e(j), see § 25 (2), and (1, iii) above.

(6, i) ei = prim. ei in the present of ablaut verbs of class (iv);—also in various other words; as: weina- (n.), "wine," = Lat. vino-, for *weino-; weihsa- (n.), "town, village," = L. vico-, for *weico-; (but the Grk. shows the deep-tone in these two instances, —ivo, for foivo; and oiko- for *foiko-.)

(ii) ei = long i (probably) before r- and n-suffixes; as in skeiri-, "clear"; leina- (n.), "linen"; gulpeina-, "golden"; and the like;—also (probably) before h in certain words, where it may have supplanted in (cf. a for an in (2) above); as in preihan, "to press upon, throng" (related to Germ. dringen); leihta-, "light" (opp. to "heavy"), for *linhta-, Teut. *lenhta-, for leng-ta; cf. ε-λαχ-υς (λαχ for λυχ, weak to λυχ), Skt. laghū and raghū = prim. rghi-.

(7, i) i = prim. e in the present tense of the ablaut verbs of classes (i), (ii), (iii);—in the past ptp. of class (i);—in various words immediately related to those vbs.; as: gaquisa- (adj.), "consentaneous" from quīpan, "to say"; bidō- (f.), "prayer," from bidjan, "to pray"; rinnōn- (f.), "brook," from rinnan, "to run"; and others;—also in

many words not traceable to any verb; as: midju- (adj.), "mid, middle," = Lat. *medium-, Grk. ἡμέρας- for ἡμέρα-, Skt. mādhya-; sibun for *śibu, "seven," = L. septem, Grk. ἕπτά for *πεντά, Skt. saptān; mālip-, "honey," = Grk. μέλι-.

(ii) i = prim. i, the weak grade of the ei-series, in the pret. plur. and in the ptep. of the ablaut verbs of class (iv);—and in derivatives from such verbs; e. g.: *tīr̥u- (m.), "limb," from leipan, "to go"; dis-skritian, "to be rent," from dis-skreītan, "to rend": but in some instances the original verb is not preserved; e. g.: *writu- (m.), "a 'tittle,' a stroke of the pen," implies a verb *wreītan, our "write"; and strika- (m.), also="a 'tittle,' a stroke of the pen," Germ. Streib, similarly implies *streīken, =irū dzie, "to strike or stroke."

(iii) i = prim. i also occurs in detached words; as: fiska- (m.) = Lat. piscī-; widuwōn-, "a widow" = L. vidua-, Skt. vidhavā; hī- in hī-ta, "this," hī-drē, "hither," = Lat. ci- in ci-s, ci-trā.

(iv) For I, initial, = J, see § 10.

(v) For i as written for ē and ē for i, sec (3, iii) above.

(8, i) ai, the Brechung or Refraction of i, is a variation of the latter vowel which appears (but not always or only) before h and r; as in: baira for *hira = O. Teut. *hīro = Lat. hēro = Grk. φέρω; faihu, "cattle, wealth," for *fihu = Teut. fēhu = Lat. pecu; &e. Here ai = i = Teut. e; but it also stands for i in the weak grade of some verbs of the ei-series; e. g.: (pres. ga-teiha, "I tell, relate," 1 p. s. pret. ga-tihā (ai diphth.), but) 1 p. pl. ga-taḥum and ptep. stem ga-taihāna-, for *ga-tihum and *ga-tihana-.

(ii) ai is for primitive e in the vowel of reduplicating syllables (§ 25 iniit.).

(iii) ai also occurs sometimes before other consonants than h, r, as in waila (adv.), "well"; baiṭra- (adj.), "bitter"; apiṭau (conj.), "or"; and perhaps jaina- (demonstr.), "he, yon" (junct). On the contrary, i appears (very exceptionally) unbroken in: nih, "nor," which is a comparatively late fusion of ni, "not," with the enclitic uh = Lat. que, "and"
(See (11, vii) below);—sihu, "victory," which occurs once only, and as a gloss upon the equivalent sigis (in Cor. I. xv. 57), of which it is probably a by-form;—pariha- (adj.), "unfulfilled or 'new' (cloth)," a very doubtful form, which also occurs once only (Matt. ix. 16), and may be a case of mis-spelling;—lastly, hiri, "come (thou) hither," with the plur. and dual hirjīp, hirjats, which are three old imperatives (used like
δεῦρο, δεύτερο, related to hêr, “her”; in which words Brugman attributes the absence of refraction to the attraction, upon the first vowel, of the i (or j) that follows the r. 

(9, i) au = prim. ou, deep-tone to iu (= eu), occurs in the pret. sing. of ablaut verbs of class (v) ;—in nouns and secondary verbs immediately related to such verbs; as: plauna-, “flight,” vb. pľu瀚, “to flee”; lausa- (adj.), “loose, free from;” and laužjan, “to loosen, set free;” primary vb. (fra-)luzan, “to lose;” and in other words, which may or may not be actually traceable to iu-forms; as: daupjan, “to baptize, (dip),” akin to diupa- (adj.), “deep”; ga-lauba- (adj.), “costly,” ak. to ëuba- (adj.), “beloved” (compare our word “dear,” in both senses); sprauðo (adv.), “quickly,” which implies a vb. *sprútan = íprúðun, “to sprout, spring;” rauda-, “red;” = Lat. rúfo- for *roubo- (but weak √ in Grk. (e-)púth-po-).

(ii) au = au appears throughout the conjugation of the redup. verbs of class (vii)—and in various detached words; as: hauha-, “high,” akin to kauka- in Cauca-sus; aus-an-, “ear,”= Lat. aur-i- for *aus-i-.

(iii) A radical au before a consonant becomes aw before a vowel; e. g.: 1 p. s. pres. strauja, “I strew,” but pret. strawida, “I strewed”; N. s. m. *fsau (adj.), “a little,” N. pl. fawai, “few;” = Lat. pau-ci.

(iv) But au appears before a vowel when òw is radical (See (4, v) above); and also in the verbs bauan, “to dwell”; bnuan, “to rub”; and trauan, “to be confident;” this au answers to û in cognate dialects; and may, as Paul suggests (Beitr. VII. 152+ , VIII. 210+ ), have penetrated the present tense from other forms in which the au is correct.

(v) au, like ai (See (5) above) may arise from contraction; as in: manjō- for *magwjo-, N. s. mawi for *magwi (§32 (3, v)), “maid, damsel” (cf. the masc. magu-,” boy, servant”);—or from epenthesis due to a w-suffix, or even to the labial element of a conjoined velar (§20); as: angan- (n.), “eye;” for *agwa-ŋ (cf. Lat. ocu-lus for *oquo-lus); perhaps also in

5 M.U. IV. 414-417.

6 So H. Möller (KZ. XXIV. 436) ; but otherwise, and perhaps better, Osthoff (M.U. I. 115, note, and PBB. VIII. 262). Möller’s first example of u-epenthesis—kauri- [or kauru-], said to be for *kauwī=Lat. gravi- for *garvi= Grk. Bapī= Skt. guru—is doubtful: Do Saussure (Mém. 266) and G. Meyer (Grk. Gram. 96) start from a prim. base *gr-ā-; so that ap, ar, ra, ur are sonant values, and the Go. should then be kaurī- [kaury-], i. e. *kuri- [kuru-].
PHONOLGY: VOWEL-VALUES.

((bi-)saul-jan, “to (be-)sully,” for *salw-jan (cf. O.H.G. solo, “dirty”).—H. Möller attributes a similar influence to the b in haubid-a-, “head,” by Lat. capi-is.

(10, i) eu = eu occurs in present tenses of ablaut verbs of class (v);—and in many other words which may or may not imply such verbs; as: friusa- (n.), “frost” (implying *frisan, “to freeze”); dinza- (n.), “wild beast”; pinbu- (m.), “thief”; &c.

(ii) eu and iw often interechange in the course of inflexion; as: stem triwa- (n.), “staff, wood,” nom. s. triu; so: kuiwa-, kuiu (n.), “knee”; quiswa- (= Lat. vivo- for *guivo-), quius (adj.), “living”; and ninja-, nom. s. niujis, implies an older and simpler *niwa-, *nius, “new,” = Grk. νέο- for νέο- (but Lat. novo-, with deep-tone).

(iii) eu results from contraction in siuni- (f.), “sight, vision,” i.e., *siwni- for *sigwni-, from swihw-an (i.e., *sihw-an), “to see.” (§ 32 (2) below.)

(iv) In one Go. verb of class (v)—(ga-)lukan, “to close, shut”—ǔ appears in the present tense against iu in the other verbs of the class.

(11, i) ū, the weak grade of the iu-series, appears in the pret. plur. &c. and in the ptep. of the ablaut verbs of class (v);—and in some nouns and secondary verbs immediately related to such verbs; e. g.: ga-kusti- (f.), “proof, experiment,” vb. ga-kiusan, “to test, prove”; juka- (n.), “yoke,” = Lat. jugo- = Grk. ζύγο- for δύογο-, vb. ςυγρ-υμμμ.

(ii) ū is = a prim. u in various other words; as in pu = Lat. tu, Grk. σὺ, “thou”; ura = Skt. upāri; &c.

(iii) ū, in the combination aūr (for ur), ru, ul, um, un, is generally the evolved vowel of the (short) sonants r, l, m, n, especially in the ptep. of the ablaut verbs of class (ii), and in the pret. plur. &c. as well as the ptep. of those of class (iii);—it also appears in many nouns immediately connected with such verbs; as: ga-brukō- (f.), “a fragment,” vb. brikan, “to break”; swulta- (m.), “death,” vb. swiltan, “to die”; andanumti- (f.), “acceptance,” vb. niman, “to take”; ga-runasi- (f.), “a street, a market-place,” vb. ga-rinnan, “to run or flock together”;—and in many other words, which may or may not be so derived; as, kun-ja- (n.), “a race, generation”; wulfja- (m.), “wolf”; guman-, “man,” = L. hom-on-; siun’ = sep(t)em; niun’= novem; taithun’ = decem; hunda’ = cento-; and others.

7 On these three finals see § 35, note 2.
(iv) Similar Gothic values appear for Skt. long sonants; as: *fulla- (adj.) for *fulna-, “full,” Li. *pílna-, O.Sl. *plănų, =S. pūr-nā-, I-E. *prēnā-; kunda- (in compounds) =S. *gātā-, L. gnātō-, I-E. *gnātō-. For the purposes of this book, therefore, the difference between r and ř, &c., need not generally be taken into account.

(v) ř is an important interrogative particle, attached to words as an enclitic; as: uz-ŭ himina was ř, “was-it from heaven?”

(vi) ř may interchange with w in the course of derivation; e.g.: *skadur- (m.), “a shadow,” but ufur-skadwjan, “to over-shadow”;—or it may appear as a compression of a cluster containing w; e.g.: ř, in junga-, “young,” and *jundō-, “youth,” is ř=we in *juwēn- (Lat. juven-i-, juven-co-, juven-tut-).

(vii) ř occurs in the enclitic conjunction -wē is probably of similar origin to the ř in augan- (Scc (9, v) above); i.e., -wē=-hw’ for *-hwē = Lat. -que, Grk. τε.

(viii) ř is a debilitation of the cluster wō in sušī-, “sweet,” strong form *swōti- (ō=ā), = Lat. suāvi- for *swādwi-, Grk. ὑδω- for *σφάδω-, Skt. swādu-; and in fidur-, by fidwōr, “four” (in compounds; e.g., fidur-falpa- (adj.), “four-fold”). These ř’s, however, arc mostly given as long.

(ix) For ř as written for ř, see (4, vi) above.

(x) ř occurs also for o-mikron in Grk. words, where aŭ might be expected, and indeed sometimes appears; e.g.: diabulus (and diabaulus); apaustalus (and apaustaulus).

(12, i) aŭ is to ř precisely what ai is to ř (See (8) above), and appears under the same conditions; e.g.: before r in the pret. plur. and the ptcp. of some vbs. of class (ii); as: ga-taúrum, “we destroyed,” ga-taúrana-, “destroyed,” and the subst. ga-taúrpī-, “destruction.” Here aŭ for ur =Teut. or =prim. r. But in the weak grade of some vbs. of the iu- (=eu-) series the ř for which aŭ appears is the prim. vowel; as: taúhum, “we led,” ptcp. taúhana-, “led” (for *ťūhum, *ťūhana-), infin. tiuk-an. Other instances of aŭ=*=or=r are:—baúrgi- (f.), “city,” vb. bairgan, “to protect”; haúrna- (n.), “horn,” = Lat. cornu-; paúrmu- (m.), “thorn”; maúpran- (n.), “murder,” akin to Lat. morti-; aŭh=ŭh in sāūhti- (f.), “sickness,” vb. šiukan, “be sick”; gadrāuthi- (m.), “soldier,” vb. dringan, “to fight”; or, without related vbs., dauhtar= θυγατηρ =Skt. dhūhitar-; aŭhsan-, “ox,” =Skt. ukshan-.8

8 Osthoff treats ř, r, &c., as primitive duplicates; see note 2 to § 17, and § 24 (3), above.
PHONOLOGY: THE LIQUIDS.

(ii) $a{\ddot u}r$ is probably $=$ a long sonant in faúra, "before." (adv.) $=$ Skt. purā; kaúra (n.), "corn," $=$ Skt. g'ūrā-, Lat. grānō; and perhaps kaúra-, "heavy," $=$ Skt. guřā- (See notes 8 and 9).

(iii) The $u$ of the enclitic $-uh$ is never refracted.

(iv) The occurrence of $a{\ddot u}$ for $u$ before other letters than $h$ and $r$ is not demonstrable; but it is probable in aištō (adv.) for ūštō, "perhaps"; and possible in bi-saúljan, "to defile," bi-saúlnan, "to be defiled" (But see (9, v) above).

(13, i) ū appears to be the long of the $n$-series in a considerable number of words formed by recognized suffixes, especially by such as involve a sonant or spirant; e.g.: skūrō (f.), "a storm (shower)"; fūsā- (adj.), "foul" (but cf. Lat. pudendo-); rūnō- (f.), "a mystery, secret"; hūsa- (n.), "a house"; ūsunādō (f.), "thousand"; brūpi- (f.), "daughter-in-law"; add ūr- (prefix) for ās-, "out"; also hūtra- (adj.), "clear, sincere"; brūkjan, pret. brūhta, "to use, enjoy"; hrūkjan, pret. hrūkida, "to crow"; āt, "out"; and two or three other words.

(ii) ū, in the cluster $ūh$, indicates suppression of $n$ (Compare ū in (2) above); as in pūhta, "it seemed," pret. to pūnkjan; hūnā- (m.), "hunger"; jūhizan- "younger," compar. of junga-, "young"; probably also in ūht-wōn-, "dawn, early morning," and some allied words, based on uht- for uht= ākt-, for akt-, in akt-ūν-, "sunbeam" (or is it related to nait, nocτ-, "night"?).

(iii) It will have been seen, from some of the examples cited in (i), (ii), that the long ū is not subject to refraction before $r$ or $h$.

(iv) For ū=ū and ū=ū, see (4, vi). It may here be added that ū always appears for ū in Rūma, Rūmōnis $=$ Rōma, Rōmāni.

27. Turning to the "Consonants" (§§ 13, 14) we begin with those (the "Sonants") which, on the whole, approximate most nearly to the vowels,—and first of all with the Liquids ($r$, $l$).

(1, i) Gothic $r$ is "primitive"; that is, it descends directly from, and corresponds to, $r$ in the Ursprache, as will appear from a comparison of the Gothic words in which it occurs.

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1 But the converse does not hold: many prim. $r$'s became $l$'s in the separate languages (See (2) below).
with the equivalent words of related languages; as for example: Go. *roudda-,* “red” = Lat. vitre-; for *roubo- = Grk. ἐρυθρο- (with weak v); I-E. *rōdhu-, rūdh-, wk. rūdh;—

ar-jan, to “plow,” O.E. to “ear” = Lat. ar-āre = Grk. ἀποφόρω;—sidwōr, “four” = Lat. quattuor = Grk. τέσσαρις = Skt. kätvā-ra-as.

(ii) Any clear mute + r may form a cluster either initial or interior; and s + tenuis + r may form an initial cluster; e. g.: akra- (m.), “field” (“acre?”) — hraín-，“clean” (rēn) —

(See § 41 (4, xx.).

(iii) A “velar” + r apparently occurs once, and once only, in the word qurammīþō- (f.), “moisture” (which may be a mis-spelling for kram-).

(iv) A syllabic r frequently appears in Go., but always in a final syllable and as a result of the disappearance of an accompanying vowel; e. g.: stem akra- (m.), “field,” Nom. s. akra, Accus. akr;— stem fingra- (m.), “finger,” N. s. fingrs, A. fingr;— stem mauþpra- (n.), “murder,” N. s. maúþpr, A. maúþpr; and others. Such r’s, f’s, &c., may be called “new sonants.”

(v) rr results from assimilation; as in urreisan, “to arise” = uz (for us) + reisan; urrinnan, “to go out or forth”; and the like; probably also in faítra (adv.), “far, afar off,” and and-staútrar, “to be angry at, murmur at,”—where, however, the derivation is uncertain.

(vi) Once the s (z) of us (uz) is assimilated to the initial r of a distinct word, viz., in ur riquizo, “out of darkness” (Cor. II. iv. 6).

(vii) For āúr= *or = r, the “old sonant,” see § 26 (12).

(2, i) Gothic, like the other European languages, shows l in many places where the most ancient Aryan remains show r; e. g.: Go. liuh-ada- (n.), “light,” lauh-altan, “to enlighten,” = Lat. lūc-, lūc-ēre (older long-), &c., = Grk. λαέκ-ōς, λυξ-vo-; but Skt. ruk- and rōk- (for *ravuk-); — Go. leihw-, laithw-, lihw-, “lend” = L. līnum-, līqu-, “leave,” = G. λευτ-, λουτ-, λπτ-; but Skt. rik-’, rek’- (for *rauk’); — Go. hliu-man- (m.), “hearing,” cf. L. clu- in clu-ēre, G. κλω-; but Skt.
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\( */gru-; \) — Go. fi诟 (Ger. incl)= Grk. 7roXu = Skt. punt.

But \( */gru-; \) is not uncommon in later Skt.; hence Go. liub-, “dear, beloved,” root liub, lub (cf. L. lub-et, lub-idōn-, &c.) = Skt. lubh-; Go. kalda- (Ger. falt), “cold,” akin to L. geltio-, Skt. qala-.

(ii) Clusters with \( /l/ \) are: kl, hl, gl; \( /l/; \) pl, fl, bl; \( /l/; \) sl; \( /l/; \) vl.

Examples: klismon- (f.), “cymbal”; \( /\alpha iba- \) (m.), “loaf”; —glit-munjan, “to glisten”; —plinhan, “to flce”; —plinsjan, “to dance”; —flödu- (m.), “flood”; —blinda-, “blind”; —slępan, “to sleep”; —wita- (m.), “the face.”

(iii) \( /l/ \) results from assimilation; as in: Go. fulla-, “full,” for *fulna- = Skt. pūrǔ-; Go. wullō- (f.), “wool,” for *wulnō—Lith. wilna- (f.), “full,” for *wilna- = Lat. pilna-.

In alla-,” “all,” skillunga- (m.), “shilling,” and two or three other words, the history of the duplication cannot be clearly traced.

(iv) A syllabic \( /l/ \), or “new sonant,” appears under precisely the same conditions as syllabic \( /r/ \); thus: stem tagl̄a-(n.), “a hair, (tail),” N. s. tagl̄, A. tagl; —stem fugla- (m.) “bird, (fowl),” N. s. fugl̄, A. fugl; —stem stikla- (m.) “cup,” N. s. stikls, A. stikl.

(v) It is frequently asserted that the \( /l/ \) in ainlif and twalif, our “eleven, twelve,” is descended from the \( /d/ \) of the prim. *dek in Skt. dam-, L. decem, Grk. δεκα: this is certainly not the case (See § 34 (2)).

(vi) For \( /l/ = *ol = l/ \), the old sonant, see § 26 (11, iii).

28. The other division of the Sonants comprises the Nasals, \( m, n, \) and \( n = ñ \) or \( ng \).

(1, i) Go. \( m \) is generally primitive. Examples: Go. midja-, “mid, middle” (adj.) = Lat. medio—Grk. meσo—or *meθjo- = Skt. mád̄ja-; —Go. (ga-) tamjan, “to tame” = L. domāre = Skt. dom-ayati; —Go. guman-,” “man” = L. homon-.

(ii) \( m \) is rarely=prim. \( n \) (or \( ng \)) as in fimf, “five,” (Lat. quinque, Grk. πεντε, &c.), the change being due to the change of the final velar into \( f/ \). Sometimes perhaps such an \( m \) springs from a suffixal \( n \) which may have been transposed into the root; as: dumba-, “dumb,” probably for *dub-na-; the root of which appears, with a different form and meaning, in dauba-, “deaf.” 1

(iii) \( sm\) is the only initial cluster with \( m \); as in smala-, “small”; smiṇa-, “smith”; and a few other words.

1 Leo Meyer, G.S., §§ 200, 210.
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(iv) *mm results from assimilation; as in the datives hwamma, "to whom," for *hwasma=prim. abl. *gosmēd; þamma, "to him, or to this," for *þosma=prim. abl. *tosmēd; and words on the same model. In other instances the history of the gemination is not clear; as in þamma- (adj.), "stammering, stuttering"; swamma- (m.), "sponge" (Ger. Schwamm).

(v) * occurs syllabically, or as a new sonant, under the same conditions as r and l; e.g.: Go. bagma- (m.), "tree," N. s. bagms, A. bagm;—Go. mailma- (m.), "gift," N. s. mailms, A. mailm.

(vi) For um=m, the old sonant, see § 26 (11, iii).

(2, i) Go. n is generally primitive; as in: nahl- (f.), "night"=Lat. noct.=Grk. νυκτ.=Skt. nakta-;—naman- (n.), "name"=Gr. νόματα=Skt. nāman-;—anun, "to breathe," akin to ἀν-ε-μος, Lat. an-imus; I-E. \(\sqrt{an}-.\)

(ii) Initial clusters with n are sn, hn, kn, and (once only) bn; as in: snaiwa- (m.), "snow"; hneiwan, "to sink, decline"; knm>- (n.), "knee"; and bnauan, "to rub, triturate" (for which, however, Holtzmann and others would read bi-nauna).

(iii) Interior sn appears, in derivation, for d+n, and once, it would seem (somewhat singularly), zn for t+n; as: anabusni- (f.), "a command," vb. ana-biudan, "to command"; and us-beisnein- (f.), "long-suffering," from us-beidan, "to await, endure"; but anda-wleizna- (n.), "the face," akin to wli-ta- (m.), "the face, form," and to the verb wlian-, "to look."

(iv) * also occurs syllabically, or as a new sonant; e.g.: anabusni- (f.) "a command," N. s. anabusns, A. anabuśn;—liugna- (n.) "a lie," N. & A. s. liugn.

(v) *n may result from assimilation; as: kinu- (f.), "check" (chîn), for *kenu- (w from obl. cases)=Grk. γενυ- (f.), Lat. genu- in genu-imus, Skt. hānu-;—rinu- (n.), "to run, flow," probably for *rînwa-;—brinna- "to burn" (intrans.), perhaps for *bêkna, akin to प्रेय-ेव. In kann (§ 80 (1) below), *n may be =n+n, the old present *kin-na being supposed =Skt. jānāmi for *jan-ṇāmi.

(vi) When *n is brought by inflexion before any mute or spirant (except j), one * disappears; e.g.: kann, "I know,"

2 So Paul, Beitr. II. 339+ and Möller, VII. 489+. The older view made these datives=the Skt. datives kṣemāt, tāṃśāt.

3 J. Schmidt, KZ., XXV. 143.
kant, "thou knowest," kunmena, "I or he knew"; but kunnin, "to make known."

(vii) For un = n, the old sonant, see § 26 (11, iii).

(3) n = n = our ng in sing, sang, &c., is a variation of the preceding "pure" n, as we may call it, effected by a following guttural: it is represented in Ulphilas by y or yy (§ 9 above), Examples: stinguere, "to knock or dash (against)" = Lat. stinguere, "to extinguish, (dash out?)"; — punkan, "to think, doubt," = Old Lat. tongere, "to know"; — anguru-, "narrow, strait," = L. angu-sto-. But when this n came before h it vanished 4, leaving the preceding vowel long (See under ū and ā in § 26).

29. This and the next section will treat of the Gothic Spirants that descend from primitive spirants 1; and firstly of the labial and palatal spirants w and j (= Engl. init. y). These are closely related to ū, ā, and i, i (§ 14), and are often called "semivowels"; but they must really be ranged with the narrowed sounds that approximate to complete stops 2.

(1, i) w is a favorite sound in Gothic, and generally preserves its primitive place and value. Examples: Go. winda- (m.) = Engl. wind = Ger. Wind = Lat. wento- 3; — Go. wiga- (m.) = E. way = Ger. Wieg = L. wiā- (for *weha-) ; — Go. widuwōn = E. widow = Ger. Widuwe = L. widuā- ; — Go. waite = E. (I) wot = Ger. (id) wuig = L. wiði = Grk. φωτα; and many more.

(ii) In the initial combinations wr, wλ, the w is to be sounded; as in wrikon, "to persecute"; wilita- (m.), "the face"; &c.

(iii) Initial clusters, in which w is the second element, are tw, ëw, dw, and sw; thus: Go. tω = Engl. two = Lat. dua- = Grk. ëw- ; — Go. swistar = E. sister = L. soror (for *swesor) = Skt. swāsar; and others: but ëwañan, "to wash," ëwañha-, "angry," ëwastiph- (f.), "safety," and ëwala-, "foolish," with their derivatives, are the only instances with initial ëw and ëw.

4 The English and other L.G. dialects carry on a similar suppression of the n before other spirants; e. g.: tooth, A-S. tōs = Go. tunnu- ; free, A-S. fīf = Go. finf; Ger. finf; us, A-S. üs = Go. ums, umis, Ger. ums.

1 Thus distinguished from another group, that spring from primitive mutes (§ 31 below).

2 In Sievers's system (See note 2 to § 14) the difference between the spirants w, j, the consonantal u, i, and the full vowels ū, ā, is carefully noted.

3 I. e., vento; the Romans had but the one symbol v to render both ū and ū; and similarly i for both i and j (= y).

4 Accretion of t within an Old Teut. base *swear; just as in Teut. *stramma-; "stream," /srew/; Grk. πέφ-, "flow." (Brugman, Stud. IX. 394.)
(iv) *w* appears with a quasi-syllabic force in the final combinations -tw, -dw, which are inflexional varieties of the formative suffixes -twa-, -dwa-; e.g.: stem wastrwa- (n.), "a work," N. & A. s. wairstw;—stem piwadwa- (n.), "bondage," N. & A. s. piwadw.

(v) For the "velars," or rounded gutturals, kw (qu), hw, gw, see §§ 9, 20, 32. We here note that the tenuis and aspirate (or rather "spirant") may stand in all positions, the media only in the interior and final; as: queni-, "woman, wife"; riqiza- (n.), "darkness"; sanqu (sankw), "(it) went down, sank"; hwas? "who?" saihwan, "to see," sahw, "I saw"; singwan, "to sing?"; &c. In the course of inflexion some of these might even come before another mute; as: 2 p. s. pret. sahwt, "thou sawest."

(vi) For the interchange of aw, iw, w, with au, in, u, see § 26 (9), (10), (11). Exceptional are: the adj. Nom. sing. m. lasiws, "weak" (not -ius), and the vb. us-skaiwjan, "to make wary, be vigilant" (not -aujan). Further, *w* persists after a long vowel or a diphthong, and whether in fine or followed by s, j, or a vowel; as: N. & A. s. fraiw, Dat. fraiwa (n.), "seed"; N. snaiws (m.), "snow"; N. & A. lew (n.), "occasion, opportunity," lewjan, "to betray";—w also persists between a consonant and j; as manwjan, "to prepare"; bandwjan, "to make signs"; &c.

(vii) For *w* = Grk. upsilon, in Daweid, Pawlus, &c., see § 10 note ².

(viii) In a small series of words there is, before *w*, a remarkable accretion of a firm guttural media, represented by gg. This is probably due to some special affection of the *w*,—as perhaps a more marked "high-back" position, bordering on actual contact. The accretion (gg) appears in similar instances in O.N.; but in W. Teut. the affected *w* evolves before itself only the vowel *u*. The Gothic instances are: triggwes, "true"; (with its derivatives triggwaba, "truly," and triggwō-. (f.), "a covenant"), stem triggwa- for *triwa- = O.N. adj. tryggr (for -ggwr), but O.H.G. triuwi Mod. triu = A-S. ge-treów (for *treuw), "true";—bliggwan, "to beat, scourge," for *bluwan; O.H.G. bliwan, Mod. blānu (the Engl. has only the subst., "a blow");—glaggwō and glaggwaba (adv.), "perfectly, thoroughly";—skuggwan- (m.), "a glass, mirror." And perhaps Go. bagma- (m.), "tree," is also

² See Kögel in PBB. IX., 523+; compared with Kluge in QF. XXXII. 127-130. The phenomenon is similar to that in the French guerre against our War, guise against wise (="manner"); Ital. guastare = Lat. vastare (i.e., wast-); Spanish gwad from Arabic wad, "river"; Keltic gwin = Lat. winum; and the like.
reduced from *baggwma- = Ger. Baum, A-S. beám, our "beam" of wood.

(2, i) In the extant Gothic remains very few words begin with *j; the commonest are: juka- (n.), "a yoke"; junga-, "young"; jéra-, "year."

(ii) Unlike w, j cannot stand in fine, but becomes i; as in those cases of ja-nouns (§ 48) from which the suffix-vowel a has vanished (stem harja- (m.), "host, army," A. s. hari; stem kunja- (n.), "race, generation," N. & A. s. kuni; &c.).

(iii) In the interior position j may follow either a vowel or a consonant, but it must always be followed by a vowel; as in fijan, "to hate"; frijón, "to love"; &c.

(iv) ai becomes aj in waju-, "evil-" (in compounds) from wai, "woe!"; aju-k-düpi- (f.), "eternity," from a weak form of aieva- (m.), "time, duration"; and probably baijópis, "both," from the simpler masc. plur. bai.

(v) Numerous duplicate forms occur, one with and the other without j after an i (fian and fijan, "to hate"; frión and frijón, "to love"; saijp and saijp, "he sows"; siüm and siüm, "we are"; &c.)

(vi) There is a similar variety in the trans-literation of Grk. names; e. g.: Maria and Marja = Maria; Iskariôtes & -jôtes = Ἰσκαριώτης.

(vii) Just as gg appears as an interior accretion before certain w's (See 1, viii) above), so does dd before certain j's, probably of some special quality. The instances are: iđđja, "I or he went," for an older *iğa = A-S. eo- in eo-de, "I, he went"; ñaddjjan, "to suckle," for *díajan—waddjjan- (f.), "wall," for *waju—twaddjē, "of two," for *twajē, gen. of tua-, "two."

Parallel instances in O.N. show gg and not dd; as veggr (for -ggj-r), "wall"; tveggja, "of two"; &c."

30. Of the Gothic sibilants, or dental spirants, s, z, the former is either primitive or derived from a dental mute, the latter, although sometimes prim., is always derived from s.

6 aju-k- by aieva- like fidu-r by fidwō-r (§ 26 (11, viii)).
7 See Kögel and Kluge, as before cited (note 5); Holtzmann, Gram. I. 29; J. Schmidt in KZ. XXIII. 304; and, as to iđđja, Möller in KZ. XXIV. 432. See also §§ 80, 81 below.
8 Branne, in PBB. IX. 545-548, makes it probable that gg was the older cluster, and that in Gothic this strong palatal was moved a little further forward to the d-position. With a similar "parasitic" d, however, we are familiar in other quarters; as in Grk., where ζ (= dz) sometimes stands for dj=older j,—thus, žyvo- = ȝyvo-, for *ȝyvo- = Lat. iugo-, Go. juka-, Engl. "yoke"; and the English j is itself phonetically = dz, for dj from j,—thus, "just," i. e., dz hust (for *djust)=Fr. juste, i. e. zhüst=Lat. justo- (i. e. yust-).
The voiceless sibilant, s, may occur in any position; e. g.: Go. *sibun, “seven,” = Lat. *septem = Grk. ἑπτά (for *σεπτά); — Go. *sit-an, “to sit” = Lat. sed-ère = Grk. ἑδ- for *σέδ- (in ἐκ-οὐματ, i. e. σέδ-ｊοματ); — Go. *sunus (nom. s.), “son” = Skt. सूनस, √su (cf. Grk. υἱός for *συ-ιος); — Go. *halsa- (m.), “neck” = Ger. *Hals = Lat. collo- for *colso-; — Go. *fiska- (m.), “fish” = Lat. pisci-.


(iii) *ss may occur in composition; as in *dis-skreitan, “to rend asunder”; *us-sālāwan, “to look up”; but in the MSS. one s, in such instances, is sometimes dropt (e. g., *ustōp, “he arose,” pret. to us-standan). In most, perhaps all, other cases, *ss springs from the fusion of two dental mutes; thus: *wissa, “I or he knew,” is for *wiptā=prim. wi tid “know” + a dh- or a t-suffix; — *quissi- (f.), “saying” (in compds., as waila-quissi-, lit. “a well-saying,” i. e., “blessing”) = *quipt-ti- = a prim. *gje-ti-; and similarly the adj. (ga-) quissa-, “consentaneous,” = -quipt-ā; and others. — In some instances the origin of the cluster is not quite clear; as in knussjan, “to kneel.”

(iv) For examples of st=dental+dental, see § 33 (1). — For sn=d+n, see § 28 (2, iii).

(2, i) The voiced sibilant z—except where it stands for Grk. ζ (Zacharias, &c.), or, rarely, σ (praizbytairei)—is always derived from an older s. Two or three instances of the kind are referable to the Ursprache; as to the rest, it has been shown by a remarkable investigation of Karl Verner’s that this sound-change, in Teutonic, is one of a group of related phenomena (§ 31 below) whose appearance depended upon the original position of the I-E. acute accent; but it must be added that, in respect of these phenomena, the Gothic, owing to special phonetic tendencies of its own (See (iv) below), recedes rather widely from the ideally correct Teutonic.

(ii) Verner’s conclusions, as applied to the sibilants, may be summed up in these rules: —

(a) Primitive initial s always persisted in all the Teut.

The clusters ss and st have been specially investigated by Kögel in PBB. VII. 171-201; but his conclusions should be checked by Kluge’s in IX. 149-149.

Go. *mizdān-, gazda-, &c. (See § 33 (3, vi) below).

KZ. XXIII. 97-130.
dialects; e.g.: Go. sibun, Engl. seven, H.G. *neun = Lat. septem, Grk. ἑπτά for *σεπτά = Skt. saptan = prim. *septam.

(β) Primitive interior or final s persisted when it originally closed an accented syllable; that is, when it immediately followed a vowel which in primitive times bore the acute accent; but

(γ) When it closed an unaccented syllable (the accent falling either on a preceding or a following syllable), it passed into z.

(iii) Thus (β): Teut. *quīwās5 (N. s. adj.), "living, quick," = Lat. vivus for *quīwōs = Skt. gīvās = I-E. *g̩iwarōs;—but

(γ): Teut. *quěniz (N. s.), "a wife, woman," = Skt. g'āni-, Zd. g'eni- = prim. *g̩eni- — So, in the infinitive, the accent was on the radical vowel; hence Teut. *dresan, "to fall"; *leusan, "to lose"; *keusan, "to test, to choose"; but in the past ptcp. the final or stem-vowel originally bore the accent; hence N. s. *drūzanā-, "fallen," *lūzanā-, "lost," *kūzanā-, "tested, chosen"; and similarly the pret. 1 p. s. was *drāus(a), *kāus(a), *lāus(a), "I fell, I chose, I lost"; but the 1 p. pl. *druzum(e), *kuzzum(e), *luzzum(e), "we fell, we chose, we lost"; &c.

(iv) But in Gothic this differentiation was extensively abrogated by two special characteristics: (α), in the verb, a uniform consonantal root-skeleton—in the present instance that ending in s—was carried throughout the whole conjugation; and (β), not in the vb. but in other parts of speech, while the relaxed spirant (z) was for the most part correctly preserved in the interior, the intensive spirant (s) generally appears for it as soon as, in the course of inflexion, it assumes the final position.

(v) Thus, by (α), the skeletons dr-s, k-s, l-s have ousted dr-z, k-z, l-z from those forms of the verbs just now cited in which they originally appeared; so that not only are the infinitives of the form druusan, kiusan, (fra-)liusan, and the 1 p. s. pret. draus, kaus, laus, as before, but also the 1 p. pl. pret. became drusum, kusum, (fra-)lusum; and the past ptcp. stem, druusan-, kusan-, lusana.—By (β), while (e. g.) the stems riquiza- (n.), "darkness," diuza- (n.), "wild beast," hatiza- (n.), "hatred," and the like, occur correctly in the oblique

4 We are here treating of s standing alone, i.e. uncombined with other consonants: in combination with the tenues (sk, &c., as in (1) above) s persists.

5 The accentuation given in this and the following instances is that of the older stages of the common Teutonic; in the latest stage, that is, immediately before the dispersion of the Teutonic tribes, the general transference of the accent to the radical syllable (when it was not already there) must have been far advanced, if not completed.
cases, the N. & A. s. are (generally) riquis, dius, hatis, &c.; only in a few stray instances does z appear in fine; as: riquiz (twice); aiz (n.), “copper, money” (once); mimz (n.), “flesh” (once). A similar relationship obtains between the final s of comparative adverbs and the interior z of the comparative of adjectives; as: mai$z$ (adv.), “more,” but mai$z$an- (adj.), “greater”;—airiz (adv.), “sooner, long ago,” but airizan- (adj.), “more ancient”; &c.: z in fact appears without exception in the compar. of adjs.,—hardizan- “harder”; al$z$ian-, “older”; frödozan- “wiser”; &c., &c.—And so, in inflexion, a final s appears in Gothic endings in place of a Teutonic z; as: N. s. wolfs (m.), “wolf,” and dau$z$us (m.), “death,” =Teut. *$z$olfaz, *dau$puz;—nélhwis (adv.), “nearer,” =Teut. *né$hwi$z;—bairais, “thou mayst bear,” =Teut. *bé$raiz; &c.;

(vi) But when such instances are brought, in Gothic, before the vowel of an enclitic, the original z, which now closes an interior unaccented syllable, reappears; as: 2 p. s. vileizis, “thou wilt”; but wileiz-u, “wilt thou?” So also in the case of pronouns and prepositions; as: Go. hwaz (Teut. *hwaz) = Lat. quis, “who”; but hwazuh = L. quisque, “each,” gen. hwi$z$uh, acc. pl. hwanzuh; =is = Lat. is, “he”; but i$z$ei “who” (relative); —us, “out, up”; but us-uh-iddja, “and he went up.” (See § 85.)

(vii) The correspondence of interior z to final s in such instances as these, and those of (v) above, seems to have established in Gothic a sort of phonetic ratio to which even foreign names were adjusted; as: Nom. Moses, Gen. MOS$z$is; N. Filippus, G. (+uh) = Filippau$z$-uh.

(viii) The passage of s to z took place along a line of sound-change which led on to r, and very often, in West Teut., to complete evanition in fine; e. g.: Teut. *wölfaz, *dau$puz, (Go. wulfs, dau$z$us) = O.N. ulfr, dau$z$r; but A-S. wulf, de$z$; and O. and N.H.G. wolf, töd.—As an example of r (=z) = s in the verb, we will cite the main parts of the A-S. equivalents of the Teut. *dreusan, *freusan (“to freeze”), *keusan, *leusan (See (iii) and (v) above) thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inf.</th>
<th>1 p.s. pret.</th>
<th>1 p.pl. pret.</th>
<th>Ptcp. pass.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dreó$z$an⁶</td>
<td>dreás</td>
<td>druxon</td>
<td>droren;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freó$z$an</td>
<td>freás (3 p.s.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>frozen⁷;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceó$z$an</td>
<td>céz</td>
<td>curon</td>
<td>coren;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(for-)leó$z$an (for-)leás</td>
<td>(for-)luron</td>
<td>(for-)loren*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁶ The accent in these A-S. examples is the usual mark for a long vowel or diphthong; it happens here that the same syllables also bore the tonic accent.
* Our “forlorn.”
The modern English, by form-assimilation, has expelled the
r-stems, and has conjugated the skeleton in s (but sounded as z)
throughout the conjugation (freeze, froze, frozen—choose,
chose, chosen): in the Germ. frieren, frer, ørfeuer.—verfeuer,
verlor, verlorn, on the other hand, the r-skeleton has ousted
the s-stems.—In not a few other instances the non-Gothic
dialects exhibit r=Teut. z, where the Gothic shows s, in all
the forms of a word; e.g.: Engl. ear= A-S. eóran—Germ.
Öh=O.H.G. órâ=O.N. eyra; but Go. always ausan—;
léran, O.N. læra; but Go. always laisjan.

31. (1) There remain to be considered the sounds which
may still, for convenience, be called "Mutes," although this
term is no longer synonymous, as it was in the primitive
system (§ 15), with "Close Sounds" or "Stops." Of the
Gothic Mutes these four, hw, h, ð, f, are, as we have seen
(§ 10), really spirants, and, except perhaps h, voiceless spi-
rants; while, in the interior position, the Media b, and pro-
bably d, g, when flanked by vowels, are voiced spirants (say
b, ð, and ð).

(2) But the historical relationship of the Gothic (and
L.G. generally) to the Primitive Mute-system requires special
attention; for the above-given voiceless spirants are found
to represent prim. tenues and the few prim. voiceless aspirates,
while the mediae for the most part represent prim. aspiratae,
and the tenues, prim. mediae. This relationship is designated
by German scholars Lautverschiebung, or Sound-shifting.
In the older Teutonic the correspondence of spirants, mediae,
and tenues to prim. tenues, aspiratae, and mediae, respectively,
must have been almost exact,—the exceptions being found
chiefly in the clusters sk, st, sp, ht, ft (See § 33 (1)), where
the tenues are preserved as such by the conjoined voiceless
spirants.

(3) But in the later stages of the common Teutonic a larger
and more important class of exceptions was established, in
which the prim. tenuis was represented by a voiced spirant
(a still later media) instead of a voiceless spirant. This class

9 This change of s to r, or "rhotacism," as it is called, is familiar to us
in Latin, where, likewise, the intermediate stage was z. Thus, Papirius
= *Papirius for -sius; autóra=*autóza for ausósa (§ 5 ad fin.); G. generis,
D. generi, &c.= *genesi, *genesi (cf. the N.s. genus). A. = Lat. r actually
appears in the remains of the Oscan dialect; as in the ending of the fem.
gen. pl. in -azum= Lat. -arum.

1 That is, these aspirates are mostly treated in Teutonic in the same way
as prim. tenues. See F. Kluge in KZ. XXVI. 88–92.
of exceptions is the main subject of the article by Verner referred to in § 30 (2) above; and he proves that these exceptions appear under precisely the same conditions as those under which Teut. *z* appears for prim. *s*; in other words, they depend upon the position of the primitive accent: so that, *mutatis mutandis*, the rules already given in treating of *z* for *s* apply here also; as follows:—

(a) The above-named Teut. spirants (=primitive tenues) remained unchanged in the initial position;

(b) In the interior and final positions these spirants remained unchanged when they severally closed a syllable which originally bore the accent; but

(c) When they severally closed an unaccented syllable (the primitive accent falling on a preceding or a following syllable), they passed into voiced spirants, and afterwards generally into media.


(4) So in the verb: a final spirant of a radical syllable persisted when that syllable was originally accented; but in those parts of the verb that originally took the accent on the personal or other suffixes the spirant was first relaxed and then it passed into the corresponding media; and this difference was long maintained in all the old non-Gothic dialects.

Thus the phonetic ratios $h \not{\in} f \not{\in} g \not{\in} d' \not{\in} b' \not{\in} z$ were all (so to say) equal, as will appear from the following A-S. samples (which should be compared with those in § 30 (2, viii) above):—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Teut.} & \quad *wērpan, *\text{“to become,”} & wårp(a) \text{ wōrdum (ē) wōrdanā-,} \\
\text{A-S.} & \quad \text{weorpan} & \text{weorp wurdon worden;}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Teut.} & \quad *sneipan, *\text{“to cut,”} & snāip(a) sniðum (ē) sniðanā-, \\
\text{A-S.} & \quad \text{sniplan} & \text{snāp snidon sniden;}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Teut.} & \quad *tēuhan, *\text{“to lead,”} & tāuh (a) tūžum (ē) tūžanā-, \\
\text{A-S.} & \quad \text{teon, *\text{“to tug,”}} & \text{teāh tugon togen;}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Teut.} & \quad *stāhan, *\text{“to strike,”} & slōh(a) [slōžum (ē)] slazanā-, \\
\text{A-S.} & \quad \text{sledn, *\text{“to slay,”}} & \text{slōh slōgon slagen.}
\end{align*}
\]

3 That is, single or uncombined spirants, not in clusters like *ft* or *ht*.

4 Fadar occurs only once (Gal. iv. 6); the current word is *atta*;—

5 *mōdar* does not occur at all; the current word is *āvei*. 
In the latest stage of the common Teutonic the accent gradually settled upon the radical syllable (when it was not already there), both in the verb and in other parts of speech: nevertheless the phonetic changes already established in virtue of the primitive accentuation remained unaffected.

(5) In Gothic, however, the spirants were extensively restored, in conformity with the special characteristics of the dialect stated, for s (z), in (a) and (b) of § 30 (2, iv.). Thus, by (a), in the verbs just cited, the skeletons of the strong roots, w-rp, t-h, &c., were carried throughout the whole conjugation, giving,—waíðan, warp, waúºum, waúºana;—snedes, snitiº, sniºum, sniºana;—tiuhum, taúºum, taúºana;—slaúºan, slóºh, slóºum, slaúºana; and the like. —Similarly, by (b), there is, in other parts of speech, a general correspondence between an interior media and a substituted spirant in the final position, both alone and also (as must now be added with reference to the dental and labial) in combination with a final s. But this general correspondence is, in the Gothic remains as we have them, interrupted by numerous exceptions; e.g.: stem manasedi- (f.), "mankind, the world (of men)," nom. s. manaseds (but also manased), acc. manased (but also manased); stem gamelída- (ptcp.), "written," N. s. neut. gamelid (but also gamelid).

(6) Again, in the "personal suffixes" of the verb, in those forms in which, as the prim. accentuation shows, a final d must have appeared in the common Teutonic (as it actually continued to do in O.S.), there also the Go. generally gives ð: thus, the accent originally fell on the radical syllable in the 3 p. s. indic. act. (Skt. bháráti=Grk. ðpeí for *ðpérti), 2 p. pl. (Skt. bhárataka=Grk. ðpértai), and 2 p. pl. imperative (Skt. bhárat=Grk. ðpértai); and similarly in the 2 p. pl. opt.: the later common Teut. form for all three persons was *bérì, ðbér, "bear"; and similarly *gúðì, *sláðì, &c.;

If this general rule does not take certain compounds into account (§§ 44, 85).

It will be seen that the appearance of g, d, z for h, ð, s is due to the same accent-shifting as vowel-weakening (§§ 17, 21); so that, in Teutonic, the weak grades of roots ending in h, ð, f, s had a twofold characteristic,—a vocal and a consonantal. An extension, by Sievers, of this discovery of Verner's will be mentioned in § 32 (2, v) and (3, i).

But traces of the "accentual differentiation," as it may be called, remain in 1 p. s. parl, but 1 p. pl. baírbam; and in 1 p. s. ah, but 1 p. pl. aiugam (§ 80 infrā). Moreover there is reason to believe that, contrary to the general rule, in a few Gothic verbs (skaidan, "to divide, separate"; haírbam, "to go, walk"; and (af-)swaið, "to wipe (off)", the media of the weak root has penetrated the whole conjugation. (See Paul, PBB. VI. 541+.)
but the Go. generally shows *baí̱rī-, *quí̱pî-, *slahi-, &c.; and only exceptionally *yebīd, "he gives," *libāid, "he lives," *drinkīd, "ye drink"; and the like.

(7) Corresponding to the instances in § 30 (2, vi, vii), there occur, alongside of the prepositions *af, *uf (which are also the regular prefix forms), *ab and *ub when followed by *u or *uh,—ab-u, *ub-*uh-; and corresponding to Moses, Mosezis, we find *Iōsēĩ, dat. *Iōsēba; *Asaf (= *'Āsāf), gen. Asabis.

(8) The remarkable relationship between the primitive and the L.G. mutes (See (2) above), is to a great extent reproduced between the L.G. and the older H.G. mutes,—almost completely in the case of the Dentals (i.e. H.G. dental spirants or affricatae answer to L.G. tenues; H.G. mediae answer to L.G. spirants; and H.G. tenues answer to L.G. mediae). In the case of the Gutturals and Labials, however, the H.G. answers to L.G. spirants with similar spirants (*h, *f); while in later H.G., mediae generally appear in correspondence to L.G. medie. This less complete sound-shifting is often called, by German scholars, the second (as that described in (2) above is called the first) Lautverschiebung; and the two together are, in this country, popularly colligated under the designation of "Grimm’s Law."

32. The Gutturals, or Velar and Palatal Mutes (See § 20).

(1) The Tenues:—Go. *qu (kw) and *k = H.G. *chw, *qu and *ch, *k = Prim. *g and *x. Examples:


(iii) It has been already said (§ 20 (6)), and it appears
from the foregoing, that the palato-gutturals stand as clear gutturals in Gothic; and so do also a part of the velar series, the labial affection having vanished. The latter therefore can only be discovered by comparison of Gothic words with those of cognate languages. Thus: Go. kautu¬ = Skt. gur¬ = Grk. βαγο¬ for γραγο¬ = Lat. gravi¬, i. e. *γαρυ¬ for *γαρω¬-i-;—and Go. juka- (n.), "a yoke," = H.G. Ἰηθ= Lat. iugo¬, Grk. γυγο¬, i. e. *διγγο¬ for Ἰγγο¬ = Skt. yug¬-.

(iv) F. Kluge¹ has made it probable that the appearance or disappearance of the labial element depended on the vowel that originally followed the velar: it was fully evolved before the high vowels (i, e), and vanished or tended to vanish before the low or back vowels (a, o, u)². The inflexional suffixes of the verb contain vowels of both kinds: hence, in the O.Teut. conjugation the final velar element of the root would sometimes appear and sometimes vanish (e. g.: √sinqu-, 1 p. s. *sinko, "I sink," but 2 & 3 p. s. *sinquezi, *sinquedí); while, afterwards, in the separate dialects, one or the other form of the root would prevail throughout. In Gothic the velar prevailed (sinkuan, &c.) but in the W.Teut. dialects the clear guttural (sinkan, "sink," singan, "sing," sehan, "see") and this is one of the distinguishing differences between E. and W.Teut.

(v) Go. k renders the Latin c, and Grk. κ, in borrowed words: as in Karkara = carcer; kaisar = Caesar; Krētes = Κρήτης, "Cretans";—often also the Grk. χ, as in Kairos¬=Χοράζειν, arkangilus = ἀρχή-αγγελός; although X = χ was also sometimes employed (§ 8 (2)).

(vi) kk occurs only in two words,—sakku¬ (m.), "sack, sackcloth,"=Lat. sacco¬, Grk. σάκκο; and smakkan¬, "a fig," which appears to be the same as the Slav. smokwa; but which language borrowed from the other is not clear.

(vii) sk frequently occurs (§ 30 (1)) ;—squ occurs only in the rare words ga-wrisqu, "to bear fruit," and hnasqu (adj.), "soft, delicate" O.E. nesh.

(2) The Spirants:—Go. hw and h=H.G. hw, w, h, g=Prim. g and c. Examples:

(i) Go. ahwó¬ (f.), "water, stream, flood,"=O.H.G. ahō¬ = Lat. aquā¬;—Go. hwa-s (interrog. pron.), "who,"=

¹ Q. und F., XXXII. 42-46. The subject has been taken up and further worked out by Osthoff in PBB. VIII. 250-287.
² This is the reverse of what took place in Greek, where the labial element comes out strong before the back vowels (τοι-νι, νο-τερος, &c.), while the high vowels often transform the guttural into a dental (τει-ω, τι-ς, &c.). See J. Schmidt in KZ, XXV. 135 +.


(iv) By the accentual exception (“Verner’s law,” § 31 (3) +) *g* appears instead of *h*; as in: Go. *-tīgū-,” “ten, -ty,” beside *tathun*, for *tīhubn, Teut. *fēhun, “ten” ;—Go. *tāgra-,” “a tear,” = Lat. *lacra-ma* (for *dae-*) = Grk. *δάκρυ-;* In the same way are to be explained: *fag-imōn, “be glad,” beside *faḥ-ėdī-,” “gladness;” *fulg-inā-,” “hidden,” beside *fīh-an, “to hide”; hung-rjan, “to hunger” (impers.), beside *hūh-rū-*(m.), for *hunh-ru-,” “hunger;” and others similar. Also the numerous adjectives in *-ga- =* Lat. *-co-,* Grk. *-kō-,* beside others in *-ha-* (§ 40 (5) iv)).

(v) In the foregoing examples *g* for *h* is = prim. palatal (c). In the case of an interior velar (*gw* for *hw*) Sievers3 has shown, as a corollary to Verner’s law, that the guttural element vanished, leaving only *w* (u); *e.g.*: *siuni-, “sight, seeing,” is for *sigw-ni-,* from the root *sihw- (=sehw-*) of *saĭhwan, “to see.”

(vi) Apart from the preceding exceptions a radical h final generally persists when brought into the interior position; e.g. : Go. havha-, "high," N. s. m. haufs, dat. havhamaa;—Go. haitha-", "one-eyed," (cf. Lat. caecus), N. s. haih, D. haihamma.

(vii) Initial clusters with h (which must be sounded) are hr, hl, hn; as: hrukjan, "to crow"; hlauta- (m.), "lot"; hnava- (adj.), "humble"; &c.

(viii) The interior cluster hs is = prim. ks; as in anhsan-, "ox," for able wasify-fyan, kant, below.

(ix) Excepting the s(z) of us before r (§ 27 (1, vi)), the h of the enclitic uh (and of jah, nih, and muh, which embody uh) is the only consonant that undergoes assimilation (and that by no means regularly) to the initial consonant of a following word, especially to p; e.g.: pah-uh + phn may give phamup-pan, "and thereupon";—was-uh + phn may give wasup-pan, "and he was 2;—in-uh + pis may give inup-pis, "and on this account"; and many similar. Other noticeable instances are: nis sijai for nih + sijai, "be it not," = "God forbid";—jjan ni for jah + ni, "and not";—jog gatraua for jah + gatraua, "and I am confident";—jus so for jah + so, "and she";—hwa nuk kant for hwa + nih + kant, "and what then knowest thou?"—jali liban for jah + liban, "and to live";—also jad du, "and to . . .";—jam mundõp, "and consider ye"; and a few more.

(x) For the combination ht (=kt, &c.), see under t, § 33 below.

(xi) For the important equivalence, Teut. f = hw = prim. q, see under f, § 34 (2).

(3) The Mediæ:—Go. (gw) w and g = H.G. (kw) w and k, g = Prim. ghw and gh, Examples:

(i) Go. snaiwa-, for *snaiqwa- (m.), "snow"; cf. Lat. nivis, nivis, for *(s)nighwis, and Grk. νιφό- (in compounds) for (σ)νυφο-;—Go. gasti- (m.), "stranger, guest," = Lat. hosti- = O.Slav. gosti-; Eur. base *ghosti-. Gw = prim. ghw is unstable; and Sievers's corollary (See under h in (2, v) above) applies here also; as in mawi (N. s.), "girl, maiden," for *magwi, G. makaʃ for *magwjo: the masc. is magu-s, "boy, servant."

(ii) Go. gardi- (m.), "house," = A-S. geard, Engl. yard, = Lat. horto-;—Go. gazda- (m.), "a goad, sting," = A-S. geard, O.E. yerde, "a rod," (whence "yard" as a measure), = Lat. hastã- for *hasða-;—Go. (us-)gildan, "to (re-)pay," = A-S. gieldan, gyldan; but our yield;—Go. giutan, "to pour,"
33. The Dentals.

(1) The Go. Tenuis, $t = $H.G. $\ddot{t}$ ($= ts$), $s$s = Prim. $d$.

(i) Examples: Go. t\textsuperscript{u}n\textsuperscript{u} (m.), "tooth," = $O.H.G.$ zand, Mod. $\text{\v{z}}\text{\'an}= $L.$ denti-, Grk. $\delta$-ov-, Skt. dant-, (but Go. shows weak vowel;) —Go. (ga)-tamjan, "to tame," = $O.H.G.$ zamjan, Mod. $\text{\v{z}}$\text{\'a}nu= $L.$ dom-are, Grk. $\delta$\text{\'a}$\mu$-$\acute{\alpha}$, Skt. dam-\text{\'ayati; } —Go. triwa-, N. s. triu (n.), "a staff," = $A.S.$ tre\text{\'ow}, "tree" = $G.$ $\delta$\text{\'o}$\nu$-, Skt. dru; —Go. t\text{\'o}$\text{\'a}-, "two," = $\text{\'u}$\text{\'e}$= $L.$ du\text{\'o}, G. $\delta$\text{\'o}, Skt. du\text{\'a}; —Go. gaiti- (f.), "goat," = $\text{\'e}$\text{\'i}$= $L.$ haed-, "kid;" —Go. beit-an, "to bite," = $\text{\'e}$\text{\'i}$\text{\'e}$= $L.$ fi(n)d-ere, "to split," Skt. bhid-; —Go. wi$\ddot{t}$-an, "to wit," i. e. "know," = wi$\ddot{f}$\text{\'e}$= $L.$ wi$\ddot{d}$-ere, G. $\dot{d}$-$\acute{\i}$v (for $\ddot{r}$\text{\'e}-), Skt. vid-; —Go. f\text{\'o}$\text{\'u}$- (m.), "foot" = $\text{\'u}$\text{\'e}$= $L.$ ped-, G. $\pi$\text{\'o}$\ddot{e}$, Skt. pad-, p\text{\'a}$d$-; —Go. swarta-, "black, swart (swarthy)," = $\text{\'c}$\text{\'w}$\text{\'a}$r\text{\'a}$; cf. L. sord-ere for *sword-ere.

4 Sometimes printed "I wis," as if it were a pronoun and verb!

5 This is, however, the only extant instance of its kind.
(ii) The favorite cluster st frequently occurs initially: as in steig/en, “go, go up”; staina- (m.), “stone”; &c., &c.;— and in the interior position: as in taur/stein- (f.), “thirst”; yramsta- (m.), “a splinter”; asta-, “a branch,” = öz/y- for *ð∅-ð∅.; in which instances the Go. group results from s + a dental suffix; and so in many others, notably in the superlative of adjectives (hauh/ta-,” highest,” armös/ta-,” most miserable”; &c.).

(iii) But the s itself may stand for a radical (Teut.) t, d, p; (=prim. d, dh, t); as in gilstra-, for *gilh-tra-,” a tax,” from gild-an,” “to pay”; 2 p. s. waist, “thou knowest” = Grk. oía/tha for *foiḷ-tha; quast,” “thou saidst,” by quịl-an; worst,” “thou becamest,” by waiṛ-an; &c. The cluster ss is often a variety of the foregoing (See § 30 (1)).

(iv) Just as the cluster st may come from an older combination of dental + t, so the clusters ht and ft may come from præ-Teutonic combinations of guttural + t and labial + t; e. g.: ahtau,” “eight,” Ger. ad/t = Lat. octo, Grk. ὀκτώ;— nalt-t (f.), “night,” Ger. Na/dt = L. noct-, Gr. νυκτ-, Skt. nakti;— rα/ht- “right,” Ger. re/dt = L. recto-;— fla/ht- (f.), “a plaiting”; cf. Lat. plect-e/re;— ma/hta-,” “able,” probably = Lat. ma/cτo-;— luh/t-jan,” “to shine,” probably = λεύσειν for *λευκτ-;— ha/fta-,” “held, bound,” = L. capto-;— hiftu- (m.), “thief, (shop-)lifter,” = G. κλειτά. In these cases it would seem that the prim. k or p underwent the usual change into the Teut. hard or voiceless spirant, h or f, which then exercised the same “protection” over the conjoined t that s did,—i. e., prevented it from passing into ŋ.

(v) tt occurs only in attan-,” “father,” and skatta- (m.), any “piece of money,”—both of doubtful derivation.

(2) The Go. Spirant ŋ = H. G. ą = Prim. t.

(i) Examples: Go. p̣at-a,” “that,” = H. G. daz, dą̣z = Lat. -tud (in is-tud), Grk. τό-(δέ), Skt. tad;— Go. pu,” “thou,” = dũ=L. tu, G. tũ, for tũ, O.Skt. tu-am;— Go. pṛeis, prịja,” “three,” = p̣rị = L. tres, tria, G. τρεῖς, τρία, Skt. (masc. nom.) trayas;— Go. bṛopar,” “brother,” = Bṛuḍr = L. frater-, G. φράτερ- Skt. bhṛaṭar-;— Go. waiṛpan = A-S. weɔ̣ṛpan,” “to become,” O.E. worth=e = verḍan = L. vert-ere, Skt. vart-, “to go, turn,” (cf. our idiom, “to turn into” = “become”);—Go. maị̣ṛpra-,” “murder, murther,” = Maorḍ = L. morti-, Skt. mrti, “death”;—so also ṁaṇp̣ṛo,” “thence,” is closely related to Skt. tatra,” “there”; ra/phjɔ̣n- (f.), “number,” to L. ratịōn-; prañjan,” “to run,” to G. τρέχειν; pahan,” “to be silent,”

1 Fick in BB. IX. 318.
to Lat. tæcère; miliq, "honey," to Grk. μελιτ-; and many more.

(ii) Of some words, common in Teut., the classical equivalents are doubtful, or not to be found; thus: piubâ- (m.), "thief," = O.H.G. dînâp, Mod. ðîn; paûrpa- (n.), "field, estate," = Engl. thorn, ðerf; paûrnu- (m.), "thorn," = ðorn; priskan, "to thresh," = ðreicnu; aîrâp- (f.), "earth," = êrde; and others.

(iii) Examples of the accentual exception (d for ð = prim. t) are very numerous; as: fidwôr, "four," = Lat. quatuor, Skt. kâtvâr-ás; —hardu-; "hard," = kâtûv-²; —hinda (pl.), "hundreds," = O.H.G. hunt = L. cent-unm, G. e-katû-v, Skt. cátá-; —undar, "under," = mantar = L. inter; —haidu-; "manner, form," = Engl. -hood, -head = mant = Skt. kutâ- for *kaitâ-; "appearance." As examples of verbal forms which regularly exhibit this exception may be mentioned the passive participle of weak verbs, and the remains of the passive (orig. middle) voice of all verbs; thus: saliât-", "set, placed," = Skt. saditâ-; —tamida-, "tamed," = Lat. domito-, Skt. damitâ-; &c., &c. (but, generally (by § 31 (5)), the N. s. masc. (tamîp, &c.) and the N. and A. s. neut. (tamîp, &c.) show ð; —also the medio-passive 3 p. s. indic. bairada = Grk. φέρετας, Skt. bhrârate; 3 p. s. subj. bairâdau = G. φέρωντο, Skt. bhrâreta; &c.: in short, wherever d appears regularly among verbal suffixes it represents prim. t (e.g., 3 p. p. act. baîrand = L. ferunt, G. φέροντα (for -ovt), S. bhrânti).

(iv) Apart from the exception just treated, Go. ð (= prim. t) maintains its value in the interior position; as: stem, aîpâ- (m.), "oath," N. s. aîps, G. aîpis, D. aîpa, &c. See also brôpâ, anpâras, &c., above.

(v) For sibilation of ð before t, see (1) above.

(vi) For ðp = h + ð, see under h, in § 32 (2). In aîp-pau, "or, or else," the origin of the first syllable is uncertain.

(vii) Initial clusters are: ðr, ðl, ðw; as in bragjan, "to run"; ðlubhan, "to fleece"; ðwahan, "to wash."

(3) The Gothic Media d = H.G. t, d = Prim. dh (Skt. dh, d; Grk. ð, ð; Lat. f, b, d).

(i) Examples: Go. dauni- (f.), "odour, savour," = O.H.G. tun-ist, Mod. ðunît = L. fu-mo-, akin to Grk. ðô-ev, orig. "to burn incense" (the Engl. dust has diverged in meaning); —Go. duîhctar, "daughter," = ḏûchtar = G. ðürvatêr-, Skt. duhitar-; —Go. daûra- (n.), "door," = Tör, Tûr = L. (pl.) for-es, (adv.) for-is, for-as (f = ð, Skt. dh), G. ðûpâ-, Skt.

(ii) Of many words, very common in Teut., the classical equivalents are not discoverable; as: dannum-, “death;” = Tōd; diupa-, “deep,” = tief; drinkan, “to drink,” = trinfōn.

(iii) When an interior d preceded by a vowel is brought, in the course of an inflection, into the final position, alone or in combination with s, it generally passes into p; as: (stem) gōda-, “good,” N. s. masc. gōps, N. & A. s. neut. gōp;—(ana)-bindan, “to bid,” pret. 1 & 3 p. s. -bind; bidjan, “to pray,” pret. 1 & 3 p. s. ba̯p; and the like. This rule holds, whether the d is =prim. dh, or (by the accentual exception) = prim. t (See (2) above). Yet, in the MSS., exceptions to the rule are not uncommon; as: gōds, gōd, -band, -bad, and the like.

(iv) Very rarely, on the other hand, this secondary final p penetrates from the N. & A. s. into the interior position; as: (dat.) guφa, for guđa, “to god”; (N. pl.) ufrōpans, “foolish,” from froda-, “wise.”

(v) In the interior clusters rd, ld, nd, gd, and zd, the d was probably a closed sound, or media proper; and it so remained in fine, with or without s; as: gārdī- (m.), “house,” N. s. gards, A. gard;—aldī- (f.), “age, time,” N. s. alds, A. ald;—bindan, “to bind,” pret. 1 & 3 p. s. band;—gahudī- (f.), “conscience,” N. s. gahudgs, A. gahudg.

(vi) Of the clusters just mentioned zd = prim. zdh is interesting; the instances are: Go. mizdōn- (f.), “pay, reward,” = A-S. meord (r for z, § 30 (2)) = O.Slav. mizda- = Zd. mizdža-, I-E. base *mizdh(o)- (Grk. necessarily μισθο-);—Go. gazda- (m.), “sting, goad,” = A-S. geard, “rod,” = O.H.G. cart, gart = L. hastā- for *hasbā- = prim. *ghazdā- (or °a-) ;—Go. huzdā- (n.), “treasure,” = A-S. heord, our “hoard,” = φορτ; to this the Latin cust-, in the extended form cust-ōd-, is probably equivalent;—Go. razdō- (f.), “speech, mode of speech,” = A-S. reord, reord = O.H.G.

1 See Osthoff, KZ, XXIII, 87.
rarta, implying a prim. or Eur. base *razdhā-, √ras, which in Skt. denotes "crying, howling."

(vii) dd occurs only as an aeration before j (§ 29 (2, vii)).
(viii) Initial clusters are dr and dw; as: drinkan, "to drink"; dreiban, "to drive"; but dw only in dwala-, "foolish," and its derivatives.

34. The Labials.

(i) In the parent speech the labial media was the rarest of mutes; indeed, Selhleicher declared that he could not find a single example of it that was completely satisfactory. In genuine Gothic, initial $p$ is of corresponding rarity. Most of the words in which it occurs (prauftēčes, psalmia, plajja, "street,"—probably mis-spelt for plajja $= πλαγία"; and others) are borrowed bodily from the Grk.;—one or two from the Latin (as, pund, "pound")—and plins-jan, "to dance," may be borrowed from the O.Slav.;—but punga-(m.), "purse," (A-S. pung, O.N. (nom.) pungr, O.H.G. -phung, -fung,) appears to be common in Teutonic;—peika-(bagms), "palm-(tree)," and (ana-)prangān, "to (op-)press," are obscure. There remains only the word (N. s. f.) paida (stem paidō-), "a coat," = O.S. pēda, O.H.G. pfeit, which is of the same origin as Grk. βαίτη, "a coat of skins": these imply a Eur. base *baitā-.
(ii) Examples with interior $p$ are not very numerous; and none are satisfactorily connected with classical equivalents. Nevertheless, some of them are among the commonest of Teut. words; as: diupa-(adj.), "deep"; skipa-(n.), "ship"; slēpan, "to sleep"; wēpna- (n.), "weapon"; hilpan, "to help."
(iii) The initial cluster $sp$ occurs in: sparwan- (m.), "sparrow"; spinnan, "to spin"; and two or three more;—$spr-$ only in the adv. spradō, "quickly."—Instances with initial $pr$ and $pl$ are cited above.

(2) The Spirant: (x) Gothic $f = $H.G. $f$, v, b = Prim. $p$; (β) Teut. f, for hv=prim. $g$.
Examples: (x, i) Go. fadar, "father," = O.H.G. fatar, Mod. $fater = $L. pater, G. πατέρ-, Skt. pitar;—Go. fōtu-(m.), "foot,"=O.H.G. fōoz, Mod. fōδ (but Dor. N. s. $δωρ)$, Skt. pād-, pad-;—Go. fiskā- (m.), "fish," = O.H.G. fisć, Mod. fisč = L. pisci;—Go. filla-(n.), "fell," i.e., "skin,"=fella = L. pellā;—Go. hēfan, "to lift, heave,"=O.H.G. hefjan, Mod. heben = L. capere;—Go. hīfan, "to steal," = L. clepere, G. κλέπτειν;—Go. af,
"from, of," = O.H.G. aba, Mod. ab = L. ab for *ap, G. ἀπό, Skt. ṛpa; —Go. uf, "under, up," = anf = L. s-ub, for *s-ub = G. ὑπό for *s-uπό (?) = Skt. ṛpa; —Go. utar, "over."); = Ger. anf = L. s-upe r = G. ὑπέρ for *s-uπέρ (?) = Skt. ṛpāri.

(ii) By the accentual exception we have: Go. sīben, "seven," = śūten = Teut. *sebun = prim. *sępun (but with suppression of ū between the two labials) = Lat. septem, Grk. ἑπτά for *sęp̣tṇ, Skt. saptān, prim. *sępūṭ; —Go. hlāiba- (m.) = A-S. hlāf, "loaf;" Ger. Laib = Lith. klępa-; —Go. haubiđa- = A-S. hedid, "head," = hau̯ṭ = L. capūt (§ 26 (9, v) above) —Go. laibō- (f.), "remainder," cf. Grk. λοιπα-.

Such a b, on assuming the final position, either alone or coupled with s, generally becomes f; as: stem hlāiba-, N. s. hlāi's, A. hlāi' (yet also, occasionally, hlāibs, hlāib).

(iii) Apart from the accentual exception, a Go. f = prim. p generally maintains its value in the interior position; as: hlifand, "they steal"; ni hlifais, "do not steal"; ushōfūn, "they lifted up"; from hlīfan, haýjan, above cited.

(iv) Initial clusters are fr and fl; as in fraisan, "to tempt," flōdu- (m.), "flood"; &c.

(v) For fl = p + t, see § 33 (1, iv).

(vi) ff does not occur.

(β, vii) The case of f in place of hw = prim. q (kw) deserves special attention. Examples: Go. fidwōr, for *hwidwōr, "four," = Bīr = L. quatuor (for *quetwōr) = Skt. kātvār; —Go. finf, for *finhw, "five," = fninf = L. quinque for *pinque, Skt. pānk'īn = Lith. penki; —Go. wulfa- (m.), for *w/hwa-, "wolf," = Wōlf = L. lupō- for *w//lquo-, Grk. λύκο- for ἡκο-, Skt. vrka- = Lith. vilka. These instances (and those in (viii)) belong to all the Teut. dialects; and to them perhaps may be added Go. and O.H.G. hīulan, "to mourn," A-S. heðian, O.S. hioban = Lith. szauk-iā, "to howl." —O.H.G. foraha, Mod. fōhre, Langobardic tereha, A-S. furh, Engl. fir = Lat. quercu.

1 But compare the O.N. fem. ylgr = Teut. *volgjār-(g = gw, for hw (f), by the accentual exception) = Skt. fem. vrki. (Verner, KZ., XXIII. 121.)

2 L. Meyer, G.S. § 74; supported by J. Schmidt in his review of the book, KZ. XIX.

3 Förstemann, Gesch., II. 219; Max Müller, Lectures, II. 247, 259; H. Müller, KZ. XXIV. 407. —Verner, in a note to his oft-cited article, shows that f of similar origin is not unknown in other linguistic regions; we ourselves are familiar with the flat, for what, of the Scotch Highlands. It may be added that Osthoff, M.U. I. 94, think that the final f of fimf may be due to assimilation to the initial f, and the initial f of fidvōr to the influence of fimf. But there is a sufficient number of other f's evolved from hw by mere phonetic change to render such explanations unnecessary.
dialects, we may cite our *oven = Germ. Oln*, beside the Go. aůhna-, Teut. *uhwna-; and the Friesic fial beside our wheel, A-S. hweol, Teut. *hweula- for *hwegová-. The point to be noted is, that in all such cases the *f* comes from a primitive *velar* and not from a palatal; and, indeed, without a conjoined labial element there are no satisfactory means of accounting for the remarkable transformation in question (§ 20 (2)).

-(viii) This and other considerations help to elucidate -*lif* (*f = hw*) in *ainlif*, "eleven," and *twalif*, "twelve." Bopp (followed by Schleieher, L. Meyer, Förstemann, and others) made *lif = dec-em, δεκ-α, "ten"; and this etymology is sometimes given out in this country as if it were the only one worth mentioning; whereas it is open to every possible objection: for the guttural of *decem, &c.*, is a palatal (cf. Skt. *daćan*); and in Go. *taihun* not only is the radical vowel also a palatal, but, both *ainlif* and *twalif* having passed into the i-declension, in the oblique cases (dat. *ainlibim, twalibim*4) the interior *f* (6) is actually flanked by palatal vowels. Further, the presumed equivalence of Teut. *l* and prim. *d* is, as Schleieher admits, unsupported by any similar instance; and, lastly, the prim. word for "ten" ended in a sonant, which should have persisted (as *un*) in Gothic (cf. *sibun, "seven," niüm, "nine")5, which, however, *lif* does not show us. In point of fact, the prim. *dećem = Skt. daćan*, Grk. *δέκα*, Lat. *decem*, is exactly reproduced, sound for sound, in the Go. *taihun*, Teut. *tehun*, with which *-lif* cannot be connected by any defensible lines of sound-change.

-(ix) This *-lif* is probably identical with the Lith. *-lika*, by the addition of which to the words for "one," "two," &c., the numerals of that language, from "eleven" to "nineteen" inclusive, are formed (vénű-lika, "eleven," dvý-lika, "twelve," &c.). But here the *k* and *a* only apparently bring the word a stage nearer to δέκα, *decem*, &c.; for a Lith. clear *k* is the normal equivalent to a palat. velar; while the *a* has no right here at all, the correct Lith. equivalent of a prim. nasal sonant being, not *a* (as in Grk. and Skt.), but *im* (*in, yn*). The initial *l* for a supposed *d* is also as unsupported in Lith. as in Teut.; and even the interior *i* (which may pass in Go. *lif*) is irregular; for the proper Lith. form of prim. or Eur. *e* is likewise *e*. On the other hand, the actual Lith. equiva-

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4 For interior *b = final f*, see later on: as to the i-declension, see note 2 to § 61.
5 Which should prevent labialism.
6 But see § 35, note 4.
7 As to *lēzvī- = Lat. lingvā- for *dingwā- = Go. tungōn-, "tongue," see § 32 (3, i).
lent of *decem* is *deszim*-7, in which (just as in Go. *taika*) every letter is as exactly regular as, in *lika*, every letter would, on Bopp's hypothesis, be irregular.

(x) The pre-*Teut.* bases of the Gothic words are *sīni-*liqua-8,*dwaliqua-* (neuter plural?), and -liqua- goes back to the prim. verb-root *reig*, *riq* = *λινμ-, *λίκ- = Lat. *liqu-, *liqu-* = Lith. *lik-, “leave,” = *Teut.* (before the operation of Verner's law) *leiwh-, *liwh-* (but the meaning of *leiwh-* in Go. is “lend,” i.e., “leave” in some one else’s hands). The *lor* then became *f* in these numerals, giving *lif*, which is to Lith. *lik* as Go. *wluka-* for *wolhwa-* is to Lith. *vilka-*.

The precise grammatical force of *lif*, *lik*, whether participial, substantival, or what not, is now impossible to determine; but in point of general meaning it is probable that *ainilif*, *twalif* were originally equivalent to “one left, or over,” “two left, or over” (i.e., beyond ten).

(xi) The proper final consonant in these words *was* *f* and not *b*. This is clear from the O.H.G., where *f* appears in the interior as well as in the final position: if *b* had been radical, O.H.G. should have answered with *b* or *p*. Yet, in the oblique cases in Gothic, *b* appears in the interior position. Kluge, therefore, (See note *) takes the interchange to be an instance (“the only certain one” in declension) of the accentual exception. It may, however, be simply due to the influence of the phonetic ratios referred to in §§ 30 (2, vii) and 31 (3) and (7), which are specially Gothic, and which even affected foreign names, as *İöseba* by *İösef*, and *Asabis* by *İsaf*.

(3) Go. *b*=H.G. *b*, *p*=Prim. *bh* (Grk. *φ*, Lat. *f*, *b*).


7 The Lith. word for “ten” actually in use is *deszim-ti-*, an abstract subst. formed from *deszim*, somewhat like the Grk. *δεκα-δ* from *δέκα*.

8 But for “elev-en” some non-Gothic dialects show an an-stem (as in A-S. *andeofan* or *elleofan*); and, as Kluge suggests (PBB. VI. 396+), it is more likely that the Gothic *ainilif* is an assimilation to *twalif* than that the other dialects should have introduced dissimilation.

9 A fact which puzzles Holtzmann (Gram. I. 307); but that is because he takes for granted that *b*, not *f*, is the radical consonant.
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lub-, lib- (in lub-et, lib-idon-, &c.), Skt. lubh-, "be perturbed (with desire)".—Go. sibjō- (f.) "relationship," A-S. sb, preserved in our "gos-sip" (i.e. "good-sib"), =Śippē; cf. Skt. sabhā-, "community, society."

(ii) In other instances classical equivalents are wanting; as: Go. badja- (n.), "bed," Bätt—bagna- (m.), "tree" (beam), Baum10;—batizan- (adj.), "better," feffer.

(iii) The genuine interior b flanked by vowels, as well as the exceptional b (See (2, ii) above), on assuming the final position, either alone or coupled with s, generally becomes f; as: infin. giban, "to give," but 2 p. s. imperative gif, 1 & 3 p. s. pret. gat;—bi-leiban, "to remain," 1 & 3 p. s. pret. bi-laif; &c. Yet b not unfrequently occurs; as: stem pīuba-, "thief," N. s. pīubs; graban, "to dig," 1 & 3 p. pret. grōb, "I digged."

(iv) In the clusters rb, lb, mb, b was probably a close sound or media proper, and persisted in fine; as in -srwb, 1 & 3 p. pret. to -srwrban, "to wipe"; N. and A. s. lamb (n.), "a sheep," stem lamba-;—perhaps also in the cluster bn; as in stbnō- (f.), "voice," O.E. stefen, steven; ibna (adj.), "even, equal," N. s. m. ibns.

(v) bb does not occur in Gothic words.

35. Miscellaneous Phonetic Rules.

(1) Crasis or vowel-fusion appears to have been unknown in Gothic: the collocation of two separate vowels, whether the same or different, giving what is commonly known as "hiatus," frequently occurs; e.g.: gaārmān, "to compassionate"; gaibnjan, "to make even or level"; anaāukan, "to add on"; biibrjan, "to be astonished"; duālgangan, "to come to"; saisōūm, "we sowed." (pret. 1 p. pl. to saian). But apocope is allowed in a few recognized cases; as, e.g., of a, before ist, "is," -uh, "and," -ei, "that" (relative); and of the i of ni, "not," before ist, and ibai, "lest, if"; thus: patist=パタ+ist, "that is"; karist=καρα+ist (imma), "there-is care (to him)=" (he) cares"; pammuh =pamma+uh, "and to him"; pammēi, "to whom,"= pamma+ei, "to him that"; 3 p. s. pret. frēt=fra+ēt, pl. frētun, "he, they devoured" (but infin. fraitan,—see § 24, note3); nist=ni+ist, "is not"; nibai, "unless,"= ni+ibai, "if not." In borrowed names a variety of treatment appears: sometimes a hiatus is preserved (gaiaɪna=γεέννα, "Gehenna") sometimes it is filled up with h (Aharon=Aaron); and sometimes one vowel is elided (Isak=Isaac).
(2) The relationships subsisting between the final sounds of Gothic words and those of corresponding words in the parent speech have, in the main, been summed up in a few general rules ("Auslautgesetze," "Rules for the final sound").

Thus, as regards consonants,—

(i) The only primitive final retained by the Gothic is s (whatever sound immediately precedes); any other final consonant is rejected; e.g.: Go. **sunus** (A. plur.) = prim. *sunums, "sons"; Go. **saihs** = Lat. *sex (= seks)*; nom. sing. **sunus**, plur. **sunus** = prim. *sunus, sunus-es*;—but 3 p. pl. pret. **nēmun** (not **nēmun**?) = *nē-n’m-unt* (§ 24 (3) above); acc. sing. **sunu** = prim. *sunum* 2.

As regards vowels—

(ii) The Gothic rejects the prim. finals ā, (o, e) ū,—the last sometimes even when it appears to be a factor in the diphthong ai; the first (a = a) = Go. ō; e.g.: Go. 3 p. s. *wait, "he knows,"* = Grk. *foi’d-e; Skt. vē’dā*; 2 p. s. act. *bairis* = *ϕερεις* for *ϕερεσί = Skt. *bhāras*; 2 p. s. pass. *bairasa*; 3 p. pl. *bairanda* = (ϕερη for) *ϕερεσία, *ϕερεσύ, *ϕερονταί = Skt. *bhāras* (-ē = -ai), &c.: and of all fem. subs. with stems in ē = a (gībā-", "gift," saīwālo-, "soul," &c.) the N. s. (to which the accus. is assimilated) is in a (gība, saīwala, &c.). Similar is the ratio -ē: -a. Sec § 26 (1, iii) and (4, iii).

(iii) These two central rules are subject to various qualifications and extensions. Rule (ii), for example, is to be extended to cover the vowel of a final syllable ended by a consonant; as: stem **daga**- (m.), "day," or **ansti**- (f.), "grace," O. Teut. nom. sing. *dąga*, *ansti*, but Gothic **dags, ansts**. Hence, when the terminating consonant is any other than s, both consonant (by Rule (i)) and vowel disappear; as in the accus. of the subs. just cited, viz., **dag**, **anst**, for *dągam, anstl* in ja-stems the remaining j is then vocalized; as: stem **harja**, "army," **hairdja**, "shepherd," acc. s. hari, hairdi.

1 Originally by Westphal, in Kuhn’s ZS. II.; there is a good summary by Schleicher, "Compendium," 3rd ed., 154–5 and 325–8; and an ample discussion by Scherer, "Zur Gesch." 2nd ed. 174–211; there are further important contributions to the general question by Sievers in PBB. V. 101+; and Paul in VI. 124+; whom, with very doubtful success, J. Schmidt opposes in KZ. XXVI. 20–42. (See § 85 below.)

2 In **sibun, niun, taihun**, (§ 26 (11, iii),) n derived from a prim. sonant persists. Osthoff, however, (M.U. I. 130–2) thinks that even these should normally have been *sibu*, &c.; but that the n has been preserved by influence of the orinals *sibun-da*, &c., where the n correctly appears. Kögel, again, (PBB. VIII. 110+;) makes *taihund* the original form, whence, by (i) above, *taihun*, which influenced *sibun* and *niun*.
(iv) Monosyllables are exempt from these rules, which, indeed, if applied, would reduce them either to a single consonant or to an unpronounceable cluster; thus, the demonstr. N. s. m. sa, “that (man),” = Grk. ὁ (for σο), Skt. sa;—f. σό, “that (woman),” = Grk. η (for σή=σά), Skt. sā; and the like.

(v) A prim. final ʊ also persists; e. g.: stem sumus- “son,” N. s. sumus, A. sunu; N. s. failu (m.), “property” (orig. “cattle”), = Lat. pecu, Skt. paṇu. This persistence is due, as Sievers suggests, to the fact that originally this ʊ generally bore the accent.

(vi) With respect to Rule (i) it is to be noted that a final ʊ has disappeared in N. s. after r preceded by a vowel; as: stem anpara-, “other,” N. s. m. anpar; stem vara-, “man,” N. s. var. In the case of weak subs. in -an, the ʊ also vanishes as well as the s; e. g.: stem guman-, “man,” but nom. s. guma. These, however, are not distinctively Gothic characteristics (cf. Lat. altero-, nom. s. alter; homon-, nom. s. homo).

(vii) But the most remarkable variation from Rule (i) is caused by the accession of an enclitic -a to the end of certain words, where it protects the final consonants. These words fall into two classes: (a) some “cases” of the monosyllabic pronouns and of adjectives of the pronominal declension (§ 54 at end); (b) some “persons” of the subjunctive (= optative) mood of the verb:—as (a), masc. acc. ḫana, “that (man),” neut. N. & A. ḫata, “that (thing),” (on the other hand ḥwa, by the rule, for *hwat, “what”;) ina, “him,” ild, “it”; and similarly, of the adjective, say mikila-, “great,” the A. m. is mikilana, N. & A. neut. mikilata; and the like3;—(b), of bairan, 1 p. pl. subj. pres. is bairaima, 3 p. bairaina, “we, they, may bear”; 1 p. pl. pret. bēreima, 3 p. bēreima, “we, they, might bear”; and the 1 p. dual, pres. is bairiwa, pret. *bēreiwa. Scherer traces this verbal -a (which probably differed from the pronominal -a) to an=the ąv that accompanies the optative and other moods in Grk. Note, however, that a final consonant or even a syllable (sometimes involving ʊ) has vanished from before it; e. g., bairaim-, bairain-, = Eur. bhēroimes, bhēroint, Grk. φερομεν (-μεν), φεροεν(τ).

36. Summary. (1) On the pattern adopted in § 15 the sounds of the Gothic tongue may be tabulated thus:—

Clear gutturals: k, h, g, and ʊ=ng, (when conjoined with back vowels); a, ā;

Velars: gu (=kw), hw, gw; aū (=ō), ō;

Semi-palatals: aū (=ē), ē;
Summary.

Phonology: summary.

Palatals: $k$, $h$, $g$, and $i_*=ng$, (when conjoined with palatal vowels); $j$; $i$, $ei$ ($=i$);

Dentals: $t$, $d$, $p$; $s$, $z$, $r$, $l$, $n$;

Labials: $p$, $b$, $f$; $m$; $u$, $\dot{u}$; $w$;

Diphthongs: $ai$, $au$, $iu$.

(2, i) The phonetic texture of a language is best shown by the proportions in which its various sounds occur in continuous speech. In Gothic, failing the living voice, we must fall back on continuous written composition. I have therefore carefully tabulated the recurrent sounds, to the number of 5000, in ten passages selected from various parts of Ulfilas, with the following results as regards the individual sounds:

Vowels: $a$, 777; $i$, 410; $u$, 198; $ei$, 162; $ai$, 139; $o$, 78; $au$, 76; $e$, 68; $ai$ ($\dot{e}$), 54; $aui$ ($\dot{o}$), 28; $iu$, 14; $\ddot{u}$, 6; $\dot{u}$, 2.

Consonants: $n$, 525; $s$, 410; $\theta$, 261; $m$, 207; $t$, 203; $d$, 202; $h$, 185; $r$, 174; $j$, 154; $g$, 125; $w$, 125; $l$, 108; $f$, 77; $b$, 69; $k$, 62; $z$, 39; $qu$, 21; $p$, 14; $hw$, 13; $ng$, 10; $gw$, 4.

Total of vowels, 2012, or 40.24 per cent.; of consonants, 2988, or 59.76 per cent.; i.e., of every five successive sounds two on the average are vowels and three are consonants.

(ii) Or, otherwise, if the numbers in each division be reduced to per-centages, it appears that, of the vowels alone, $a=38.62$ per cent.; $i=20.38$; $u=9.84$; $ei$ ($i$), 8.05; $ai$ = 6.9; $o=3.88$; $au=3.78$; $e=3.88$; $ai$ ($\dot{e}$) = 2.68; $aui$ ($\dot{o}$) = 1.39; $iu=0.7$; $\ddot{u}=0.3$; $\dot{u}=0.1$.

Of the consonants alone, $n=17.57$ p. c.; $s=13.72$; $\theta=8.73$; $m=6.93$; $t=6.8$; $d=6.76$; $h=6.2$; $r=5.82$; $j=5.15$; $g=4.18$; $w=4.18$; $l=3.62$; $f=2.58$; $b=2.31$; $k=2.08$; $z=1.3$; $qu=0.7$; $p=0.47$; $hw=0.44$; $ng=0.33$; $gw=0.13$.

(iii) The striking preponderance of $a$ among the vowels must have imparted a distinct tonality to the language; and more than half of the recurrent sounds fall among these six, $a$, $i$, $u$, $n$, $s$, $\theta$; not one of which is a complete stop; indeed (the mediae being partly reckoned among the open sounds), it will be found that only about one in eight of the Gothic sounds are complete stops.

1 Those parts being avoided which show any marked departure from the normal spelling; e.g., the earlier chapters of Luke, where $d$ frequently occurs for the usual final $b$. 

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PART III.

MORPHOLOGY.

37. (1) While Phonology, as we have seen, treats of individual speech-sounds, and takes words into account only in so far as they supply phonetic material; Morphology, reversely, treats of the various forms assumed by individual words, and takes sounds and sound-clusters into account only in so far as they enter into the construction of such forms. Phonology may be called the physical side of language, where it comes into contact with physiology and acoustics; its metaphysical side will hereafter come under consideration in Syntax, where language appears as a function of the mind,—an expression of mental modes and operations by means of phrase and sentence. Morphology lies between the two; for, taking sounds and their combinations as so much physical material, it builds up words therefrom as agents for the expression of ideas, and with a view to their collocation in the sentence. In this division of Grammar, therefore, a new element appears, commonly called "meaning,"—a term that covers the notions, ideas, and feelings which are expressed by words, and apart from which the sounds of speech would be so much mere noise.

(2) The "meaning" of a word may undergo modification according as the word is used independently of, or dependently upon, other words; and the independent meaning may often be subdivided into general and specific. To these varieties of meaning there correspond, in the older I-E. languages, definite sounds and sound-clusters that enter as components or factors into the phonetic body of the complete word. These accordingly fall into three strata, viz.:—

(i) Factors embodying a general meaning;

(ii) Factors (whether, as we know them, they can be shown to have an independent meaning or not) which, when added to the factors described in (i), have the effect of specializing the meaning;

(iii) Factors (generally destitute, as we know them, of an independent meaning) which, when superadded upon the foregoing, indicate the relationships of words to other words in a sentence; or which imply some special mode of conception on the part of the speaker.
A factor of the first or fundamental stratum is called a Root;—a factor of the second is called a Suffix or a Prefix, according as it follows or precedes the root to which it is attached; and the form resulting from the combination of root and suffix is called a Stem or Theme;—factors of the third order may be called Inflectional Suffixes; and these, varying with the function of the fully-organized word (verb, pronoun, substantive, adjective), serve as exponents of its syntactic relations or grammatical properties (mood, tense, number, person, case).

(3) For example: let us take the word aflageinai from the following Gothic sentence:—"Mérida Íohannês danpein idreigóis du aflageinai frauawûltê" (Mark i. 4),—i. e., "John preached the baptism of repentance for (=with a view to) the remission of sins." The root or core of this word is lag = Engl. lay, the deep-tone variety of the root lig with the general meaning of lie (§§ 24 (2) and 26 (1, i)). The first suffix was once probably of the form eja (See § 43 (2, i) below), giving a stem *lag-eja- with the modified but still general meaning of "cause to lie," .. lay, put." To this stem was added the secondary suffix ni, giving a feminine subst. stem with the narrower (substantival) meaning of "a laying, a putting." This composite stem appears reduced to the form layeini- (f.), which fell into a regular inflexional system (the "i-declension"), and from which compounds were formed by means of various prefixes, such as af="off, away, aside." The stem aflageini- therefore denotes "a laying or putting aside," and renders the Grk. ἀφεσις, "remission." But it does not, in this shape, enter into relationship with other words of a sentence; for this purpose it must be equip with varieties of endings, the remains of older inflexional suffixes. Thus, in the passage above cited, the final syllable ai is used in Gothic to form a dative case for i-feminines; and this case is always required in Gothic substantives correlated to the rest of a sentence by du. Aflageinai, in its turn, requires a completing substantive which must indicate its relationship thereto by taking the genitive form,—here

1 A factor might be thrust into a root, and would then be called an Infix. It is not certain that Infixes proper are a feature of I-E. morphology (but see Windisch, in KZ. XXI., and De Saussure, "Mémoire," p. 289 et seqq.); there is frequently found, however, what appears to be a phonetic transposition which closely resembles infixation,—as, e. g., in the n of the Lat. fundo, lingo, &c., for fud-no, lig-no, and the like.

2 Many later stems exhibit more than one suffix or prefix (See the example in (3)); but these imply the simpler stems with a single suffix.
the gen. plur. frauairportē, stem frauairporti- (f.), "wrong-working, sin," from Íwaark, "work." Now the investigation of such abstract relationships as those just referred to is the business of Syntax; but the examination and classification of the factors of the completed word, ready to enter into those relationships (N. s. af-lag-ei-n-s, D. af-lag- ei-n-ai, G. pl. frauairportl-ē, &c., &c.), is the business of Morphology.

38. A line or two may here be added upon each species of factor with which Morphology has to deal, and upon the order in which the Word is conceived to be built up from them.

(1, i) Roots were once, probably, independent vocables,—primeval words, of physical or concrete meaning,—possibly, in some instances, the rudimentary sentences of our remotest ancestors. As to their original form, however, nothing definite can be asserted; for we only know the I-E. root as the core or nucleus of a word or group of words, from which it is enucleated by modern analysis. But the completed I-E. word, as we find it, is an elaborate product of many ages of continuous, though it may have been very slow, mental and linguistic development, during which the constituent factors, before, and during, and after coalescence, may have undergone an indefinite amount of phonetic modification. It may be due (as Paul thinks) to some leveling process, rather than to any primordial necessity, that I-E. roots, as we know them, are all adjusted to the one general form of monosyllabism, although, within this limit, any pronounceable cluster of elementary sounds may be compressed; and so, when reduced to writing, they may require for their representation one, two, three, four, or even five symbols (as i, "that, he"); ei, "go"; ed, "eat"; pri, "love"; ten, "stretch"; steigh, "go, go up"; sperg, "make a noise"; smerd, "bite, give pain"). The more complex of such forms probably arose from the fusion of two or more simpler roots; but the results reached by so minute an analysis are too uncertain to be of much scientific value.

1 ei, gh, and the like, count of course as simple symbols. Words like the Latin string(ere) suggest roots of six symbols; but the n here once probably followed the g (See note 1 to § 37).

2 See, however, Fick's thoroughgoing investigation in the Nachtrag to his W-B., 2nd ed., reprinted in the 3rd ed., and his treatise in BB. I. 1+; cf. also Paul, in Beitr. VI. 118, note. Their views point to the conclusion that composite roots involve as many ultimate irresolvable roots (of the form ta, da, &c.) as they show consonants.
(ii) Nevertheless, behind and beneath roots lay the elementary sounds that form the ultimate germs of language. These were probably, in the very first instance, used without any definite logical function, and served merely to arrest attention, or to express passion, or to instigate or impel to action; for which purposes any one of the many produceable sounds would serve as well as any other. But they would soon begin to be allocated,—defined as it were,—by deictic or imitative action, to two main classes of ideas corresponding to the difference in nature between matter and motion. Established interjunctive sounds, as applied to things, would become first demonstrative and then generally pronominal; and, as applied to actions, imperative and afterwards predicative. The division of primary roots, therefore, into pronominal and verbal, as given by most philologists, may be pretty safely accepted. The ultimate pronom was, indeed, as Fick well says, the primeval noun; for in the infancy of mankind every object would be "this thing" or "that thing"; and the power to name things, in accordance with their apparent qualities, by means of combinations of roots, would be the result of a long period of observation and of mental (and corresponding linguistic) growth.

(iii) It was, in fact, the power of combining simple into composite vocables, in endless variety, for the expression of combinations of simple ideas, that gave rise to the copious vocabulary of the parent I-E. people. Upon the successive fissures of this people (See § 1), each division and subdivision took with it so much of that vocabulary as it had already appropriated; but in the course of its separate existence it gradually dropt words that were no longer required; while, on the other hand, to express new ideas, new compounds were formed out of old materials and on the old patterns; sometimes, probably, foreign words were adopted bodily from alien peoples with whom the various divisions came in contact; and finally, the whole vocabulary and grammar of each division were moulded by certain characteristic tendencies which gave to them a distinctive aspect. But the derived peoples no longer (so far as we can judge) fashioned and operated with new and independent roots of their own; so that by "roots" we strictly mean the primitive vocables so named. Nevertheless, it is convenient to be allowed to speak, for example, of Gothic, Latin, or Greek roots (e.g., Go. \( \sqrt{bahr} \) = Lat. \( \sqrt{fer} \) = Grk. \( \sqrt{\phi \epsilon \rho} \) = prim. \( \sqrt{\beta \eta \rho} \); and no harm will be done if it be borne in mind that we mean thereby "the special forms that primitive roots assume in Gothic, Latin, and Greek words."
(2, i) If Roots were originally independent vocables, then Stem-forming Suffixes—e. g., the ja of aflag-ja-, the ti of frauvarh-ti-, in § 37 (3)—must have been so likewise. In this case, they would probably be at the outset of precisely the same nature as the roots themselves; but having entered into combination with the latter as qualifying or determining factors, they gradually lost their primeval independence and meaning, and probably, too, in many instances, their primeval form. Most or all of the oldest stem-forming suffixes are generally believed to have been of pronominal origin 3. Their function, force, and shape, like those of roots, were settled in primitive times. The composites made up by their means served as bases for nouns and for secondary verbs; which were completed and differentiated by the accession of the factors that were afterwards ground down into Inflectional Suffixes.

(ii) It may be added that, with the process of stem-formation by the combination of previously independent elements, there agree certain modes of word-formation that have since prevailed over the whole I-E. area; and the degradation (so to say) of independent vocables of definite meaning into mere formative syllables, expressive only in combination, may be illustrated by many comparatively modern instances 4.

(iii) The formation of stems from roots by the addition of appropriate suffixes is called Derivation. To investigate this process and to examine and classify the suffixes involved in it is the first of the three principal duties of Morphology.

(3, i) But new forms, or at least varieties of older ones, may be constructed by combining subordinate initial factors with other factors related to them as principals. This process is called Composition, which appears to have grown out of the temporary collocation of a qualifying beside a qualified word, of a "governing" beside a "governed" word, or of a word with a specific beside one with a generic meaning. It may be that the factors of a compound are, as independent words, of coordinate grammatical rank, and that the relationship of principal and subordinate is but temporarily entered into; still, for the time being, some sort of subordination is accepted by one or the other. A closer variety of composition appears when the first factor is, as a separate vocable,

3 Some later (but still primitive) verb-stems, however, show a simple primary verb as the accessory factor (e. g., Lat. cre-do = Skt. crad-dhā-, where the first factor is a subst. and do = dhā-, "set, put").

4 As, e. g., by our -ly in "godly, wisely," &c., originally like;—by our -hood, -head = the independent Go. word haide- (m.), "way, manner";—by the French adverbial -ment= Lat. ablative mente; &c.
of inferior grammatical rank to the word with which it combines. Yet, even in this case, the subordinate words only in a few instances surrender their independent existence, although there is certainly a tendency to do so (See § 45).

(ii) The extension of the I-E. vocabulary by Composition is to be regarded as a younger process than that mode of suffixal combination out of which grew the I-E. stem; and this process has retained much of its original vigour down to the latest times. As a matter of chronology only, Composition should in fact come after Inflexion. As a matter of convenience, however, it may best be treated in the order here assigned to it.

(4, i) The third and last main division of Morphology treats of Inflexion, and deals with those final sounds or syllables which complete the word as distinguished from the stem, and with words themselves as thus completed.

(ii) In the I-E. grammatical system the Inflectional suffix is the result of an effort to express the relation in which one person or thing stood either to an action or to some other person or thing. The sounds originally so employed were probably, like stem-suffixes, of a demonstrative or pronominal nature. Until recently, indeed, it was almost a commonplace of philology that the oldest "personal" suffixes of the I-E. verb, for example, were identical with, or compounded from, certain forms of the personal pronouns that also remained in ordinary use as such. Thus, the three sing. endings -mi, -si, -ti of Skt. ás-mi, ás-si, ás-ti; Grk. ei'-mi (for *e'-s-mi), e'r-si, e'r-ti, (reduced to the bare consonants in Lat. sum, es (for *es-si), es-t; in the Go. im, is (for *is-si), ist, and in the m, s, t, with or without a vowel, that appear so frequently in conjugation) have been by some identified with the base of the Skt. ma-, Grk. (e)mu-, Lat. me, "me";—Skt. tv-, Grk. tu, su, se, Lat. tu, te, "thou";—and Skt. ta-, Grk. ro-, Lat. te (in is-te), Go. ja-, "he, that man"; while the plural endings, -masi, -tas(i), -(a)nti; Lat. -mus, -tis, -nt; Go. -m, -p, -nd, have been analysed into ma + sa = l + thou, i. e. we;—ta + sa = he + thou, i. e. ye;—and an or ana + ta = he + he, i.e. they; and so of other endings. Now some of such identifications may pass, nothing being decisively known for or against them; but others (as that of -si with tv-) are, on phonetic grounds, highly improbable. Nevertheless, although

8 This is the only instance in Gothic of a 1 p. sing. in -m = -mi; all other verbs show -a = Lat. -o, Grk. -a.

the verb-endings, all or some, were not identical with the extant independent pronouns, they may very well have been of similar (pronominal) origin and force; for the separate pronouns proper are probably survivals out of a crowd of such vocables, of which many, superfluous as pronouns proper, would be open to appropriation for suffixal uses. On this view, the various "persons" of the completed I-E. verb would appear to comprise subject as well as predicate, i.e., were, in reality, simple propositions; and hence it is that the verb in Latin, Greek, Gothic, and other old dialects, generally requires no separate nominative, when such nominative is a pronoun. But where the personal suffixes have in course of time either been worn completely away (as, mostly, in English) or deprived of their primitive force, there the reappearance of a separate nominative or subject has become, in nearly every instance, a matter of necessity.

(iii) The noun, on its narrower scale, has passed through a history similar to that of the verb. To the stem were appended previously-independent vocables, likewise, it would seem, originally demonstrative, and similar to those which also appear as independent prepositions. These indicated that the person or thing denoted by the stem was that from or towards which an action proceeded, or in, by, near, to, or from which some other person or thing lay or moved; and so on. Every such distinct relationship, when apprehended, required, theoretically, its own special appendage, which by coalescence with the noun-stem would form what was ultimately known as a "case." But whether cases to anything like the extent required were ever formed and were afterwards superseded, or whether (as is more likely) men in remoter ages were content to make a single form serve for a cluster of closely-related notions of reference, certain it is that in later primitive times only some eight cases (apart from the Vocative, which is of the nature of an Interjection) appear to be distinctly established. The finer shades of relationship,—the between, in, into, within; without, out-of, away-from; and numbers more,—were expressed by detached particles (viz., the aforesaid prepositions), each of which required to be followed by that one of the established cases which was felt to involve a notion most nearly corresponding to its own. Subsequently, the history of the noun is, in most of the derived languages, a history of the disappearance of many of the cases proper. In Latin there are but five

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7 "Noun," in the present work, generally covers both substantive and adjective,—the latter of which radiated from the former.
besides the Voe.)}; in Greek but four; in Gothic also four. In English we retain in partial use only the old genitive suffix's; other indirect relationships are nearly all expressed by prepositions, which have now become as indispensable to the noun as pronouns have become to the verb.

(iii) It should be noted that Inflectional suffixes may be attached directly to a root, or, in other words, that a root may serve directly as a stem; and nouns and verbs exhibiting this formation are said to be "non-thematic" (such as ποδ-"foot," in Grk., or the present tense of δί-ἔω-μι). Nouns inflected upon a simple root scarcely occur in Gothic,—all (with the partial exception of man-) having assumed some formative suffix; but, among the verbs, besides the present sing, is, ist, all the preterites indicate of the strong verbs, imply, at least in some "persons," older non-thematic perfects.

We now proceed to summarize the details of Gothic Morphology under the above-described sub-heads of Derivation, Composition, and Inflexion.

(I) DERIVATION.

In order to break up the abundant material into manageable sections, it will here be convenient to treat the stem-formation of the principal parts of speech in succession, and to group the suffixes according to their degrees of complexity.

39. Substantives and Adjectives: Stems formed by simple vowels.

(1) Suffix a=prim. o.—Examples: wulfa- (m.), "wolf," =L. lupus-, Gr. λύκο-; juka- (n.), "yoke," =L. jugo-, Gr. ἱγκο-; haiha- (adj., m. & n.), "one-eyed," =L. caeco-, "blind"; rauda-, "red," =L. rudo-; junga-, "young," =L. juvenco-: but sometimes a classical equivalent differs in suffix, and even in gender also; as: Go. fiska- (m.), "fish," =L. piscis- (m.) Go. wiya- (m.), "way," =L. viā- (f.), for *weha-.

Prim. o formed masculines and neuters, and interchanged with e in the course of declension (§23 (1)).

(2) The suffix δ=prim. ā (ā) forms feminines, and may be considered as complementary to a=o.—Examples: ahwō-, "water," =L. aqua-; bidō-, "a prayer, request," from

8 Including, of course, the old preterites that assumed the force of present tenses (§80).

1 Gradation of the stem-vowels (§23 (1)) is mostly left out of account: the simplest vowel-form of a series is generally selected.
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bidjan, “to pray, beg”; —gibō-, “a gift,” from giban, “to give”; —so also, aipō-, “earth”; piudō-, “folk, people”; and others. Add the bases of the feminine of the strong a-adjs. (§ 55); as: haihō-, “one-eyed”; rauđō-, “red”; jungō-, “young”; &c.

(3) Suffix i = prim. i.—Examples: awi- (f.?), ”sheep, ewe” (but it only occurs in the compound awi-stara-, “sheep-fold,” § 41 (4)) = L. avi-, Gr. δι-, for *ōři-, Skt. avi-; —add: slahan- (m.), “a blow,” from slahan, “to smite”; mati- (m.), “meat”; daithi- (f.), “a share, a dose”; &c. Gothic i-substs. are m. & f. only.—From i-adjs. the i has disappeared and the stems have to be reconstructed from indirect evidence (§ 56).

(4) Suffix u = prim. u.—Examples: faihu- (n.), “cattle, wealth,” = L. pecu-, Skt. paçu-; —haidu- (m.), “manner, way,” = Skt. ketū-, i. c., kaitu-, “appearance”; —filu- (n.), “much,” = Gr. τολῦ; —kuuru- (adj.), “heavy,” = Gr. βαρῦ (§ 26, note 4). Some stems originally ending in a consonant have assumed -u; as: fōtu- (m.), “foot,” but L. ped-, Gr. πόδ-, Skt. pād-, pād-; —tuṇṭu- (m.), “tooth,” but L. dent-, Gr. ὄ-δοττ-, Skt. dant-, dat.: the Gothic u in these instances originally appeared in the accus. s. & pl., -un, -uns, and dat. pl. -um, for -n, ns, m., and thence permeated the whole declension. There is a similar “shunting,” so to say, of substantives in par (§ 52 infrā), but in the plural only².—In u-adjs. this vowel appears only in the three singular nominatives (§ 57).

40. Substantives and Adjectives continued: Stems formed by suffixes involving a single consonant¹.

(1) r- and l- suffixes.

(i) ra, fem. rō, in: akra- (m.), “field,” = āγρο-, Lat. agro; —tagra- (n.), “lēur,” = L. lacri-mā- (f.), for *dacru-mā-, Gr. δακρυ-; —fingra- (m.), “finger,” √fanh (fang) in fāhan, “to take, seize”; —lig-ra (m.), “a couch, bed,” √λιγ, “lie”; —skūrō- (f.), “from a storm” (shower²); —adjs.: m. & n. bairtra-, f. bairtō-, “bitter”; —m. & n. fagru-, f. fagrō-, “suitable” (fair); &c.

(ii) la, fem. lō, in: stila- (m.), “seat, throne” (a settle),

¹ Brugmann, Stud., IX. 334–337; Osthoff, M.U., L 130.

² The English words in parentheses are equivalents in form to the Gothic; the meaning has often changed.

The consonants will be taken in the order in which they are given in §§ 27–34; the subjoined vowels are those treated in § 39.

1
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(2) m- and n- suffixes.

(i) ma (fem. mō), and mi; as in: dōma- (m.), "doom, judgment"; −hilma- (m.), "helm, helm-et," /hil/, Tcuf. hel, "cover"; −bog-ma- (m.), "a tree"; −bar-mi- (m.), "bosom"; −hai-mi- (f.), "town, village" (-ham, hōme), of which all the plural is based on the stem hai-mō-; −wa'àr-mi- (m.), "serpent (worm)," = Lat. ver-mi-; −mid-u-mō- (f.), "midst," from mid- in the adj. mid-ja-," midst.

(ii) an is a very favorite suffix, inherited in not a few instances from primitive times; e.g.: avithan- (m.), "ox, =Skt. ukshān-; −watan- (n.), "water," =Skt. udān- (with weak /), L. undā- for *udˈn-ā; −guman-,"man,"=L. homon-, for *hemon-, Eur. base *glm-on-. In other examples we may assume an equally ancient formation even though classical equivalents are wanting; as: brunnan- (m.), "a well, a spring" (Brunan); −skulan- (m.), "a debtor"; −witan- (m., in compounds), "one who knows." From these the suffix spread to words to which it did not originally belong; as: augan- (n.), "eye" (cf. Lat. ocu-lo-, for *oquo-lo- (m.)); −ausan- (n.), "ear" (cf. L. aurī-, for *ausī- (f.)). Newer words were formed on the same pattern; as: ga-dailan- (m.), "a partaker," from daili- (f.), "a part"; −ga-jukan- (m.), "a yoke-fellow," from juka- (n.), "a yoke." Foreign words are Gothicized by means of this suffix; as: mainbranan- (m.), "a parchment," =μενβρανα- (f.); faskan- (m.), "a

3 On the variations of the suffix and the nature of the a, see § 23 init. For a thorough investigation of this and the closely-related suffixes, see Osthoff, Forschungen II., and especially PBB. III.
bandage," = Late. fuscìa- (f.). But, in particular, this suffix is the special characteristic of the consonantal or "definite" or "weak" declension of adjectives (§ 58 infra).

(iii) To the ratio \( \frac{a}{an} \) of masculines answers the ratio \( \frac{\tilde{o}}{\tilde{on}} \) of feminines: thus, -wardö- (f.), "a keeper, female warden," alternates with -wardö-, beside the masc. -warda-, "a warden, keeper"; -sunñan- (f.) and sunnan- (m.), both = "sun"; - daïröñ- (f., but plural only), "door," beside daïrâ- (m.), "door, gate." Compare also: widuwöñ-, "widow," with Lat. vidwâ-, for *widewâ-, and Skt. vidhâvâ-; -tungöñ-, "tongue," i. e. "tung," with Lat. linguâ-, O. Lat. dînguâ-; -quin-öñ-, "woman," with γυνή, Skt. gnâ- for *gynâ-. Add the Gothicized feminines: aïkkleśjon-, "church," = ekkelestâ- (f.), and aiwangeljöñ-, "gospel," = evangélko- (neut.). -ön also answers to the masc. -an in the fem. of the consonantal declension of adjectives (§ 58).

(iv) Parallel with ön as an extension of ö stands the very important fem. suffix ein (i. e. in) as an extension of older ë- (=ja-) stems. Substantives ending in ein are mostly abstract feminines closely related to adjectives,—probably in the first instance to i- or ja- adj.s. (whence the ei); as in: aïrziein-, "error," adj. aîrz-ja-, "deceived, in error"; -frijein-, "liberty," adj. frijein-, "free"; -bleïpëin-, "kindness," adj. bleïpi-, bleïpja-; "kind"; &c.; but afterwards ein appears to have been applied, as a simple suffix, to other adj. bases; as: braidein-, "breath," adj. braïda-, "broad"; -manageïn-, "multitude," adj. managa-, "many" (in plur.); -naquadein-, "nakedness," adj. naquada-, "naked." The other principal positions of ein are: (a) in the fem. of the act. ptcps.; as: baïrandëcin-, "bearing," gïbândëcin-, "giving," &c. (for the implied ja compare the Grk. fem. ptcps. φερονςα-, διδουςα-, i. e., φεροντ-ja-, διδοντ-ja-, &c.); (b) in all the fems. of the comparative degree of adj.s.; as: managizeïn-, "more," &c.; and (c) in the fem. of the old superlatives in -man; as: frumein-, "first," &c.; the ei in (b) and (c) has not been satisfactorily accounted for. (See §§ 59, 60.)

(v) Noticeable is the uniform appearance of õ in the N. & A. s. & pl. of neuters of this formation, both substantive and adjective; as: stem aug-an- (n.), "eye," N. & A. s. augo, N. & A. pl. augòna;—weak adj. stem blindan-,"blind," N. & A. s. blindò, N. & A. pl. blindòna. This õ is the long of prim. ò = Go. a, and is probably the correct vowel (Osthoff, PBB. III. 56 and VIII. 262).

(vi) The Go. infin. suffix an has been referred to the A. s. of an ancient noun-suffix ana preserved in a number of Skt.
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verbal subst.; so that Go. bindan, "to bind," = Skt. bandh-ana-, "the act of binding."

(vii) na,nö:—barna- (n.), "child," from baíran:—lingna- (n.), "a lie," from lingan, "to lie:"—wépna- (n., but pl. only), "weapons":—aúñna- (m.), "oven":—rño- (f.), "a mystery":—stibñö- (f.), "voice," (= O.E. steven);—adj. m. & n. ibna-, f. ibnö-, "even":—m. & n. swíkna-, f. swíknö-, "pure": and others.

(viii) ana is the suffix of the strong-verb passive ptpe., = Skt. áná; as: bitana-, "bitten," = Skt. bibhidána--; buyana-, "bent," = Skt. bubhug'áná--; &c.

(ix) ina is a by-form of the foregoing; thus: fulína- and ga-fulína-, "hidden," from filhan, "hide," commonly given as adj., differ little or nothing in use from ptpe.;—so also, as substantives, aígina- (n.), "property, possessions," =, lit., "that which is owned," from aíhan, "to own, possess":—add: rágina- (n.), "counsel, advice"; and fáirínö- (f.), "accusation, blame," may be of similar origin.

(x) eína is an adj. suffix = Lat. ino, and like this denotes material; as: aír'pína- "earth,? from aír'pö- (f.), "earth:" —gul'poína- "golden," from gul'pa- (n.), "gold:" —leikína- "bodily, carnal," from leíka- (n.), "body:" —a'í'mína- "spiritual," from ah'm-an-, "spirit:" —so, gumína- "male," by gum-an- "man," (cf. L. masculíno-); —quí'ína- "female," by quí'íno- "woman" (cf. L. feminíno- by feminín-);

—and the substs. su'ína- (n.), "a pig, swine," and gáitína- (n.), "a kid," are properly adj. from Teut. *sú- (f.), and Go. gáiti- (f.), our "sow," and "goat," (cf. Lat. sü-ino-, from sü-s, and haed-ino-, from haed-us). The possessives, meína-, &c. (§ 63), are similar adjectives based on their related pronominal roots.

(xi) ni forms abstract fem. substantives from verbal roots, and a few adjectives; as: ana-busni-, "commandment," verb ana-bindan, "to command:"—us-beisni-, "patience," verb us-beidan, "to await,"—síuni-, for *síwuni- (§ 32 (2, v)), "sight, vision," verb saíhwan, "to see:" and others:—adj. hraini-, "clean:" sáuníni-, "beautiful"; (ana-)síuni-, "visible."

(xii) eíni (f.) is really a composite (§ 37 (3)): substantives formed with it imply verb-stems in -ja, and denote actions, just as substantives in -éin, related to adjectives, denote qualities; thus, while hraini- denotes "cleanliness, purity," (adj.-stem. hraini-(ja-), "clean, pure,") hraini- denotes "a cleansing," (vb.-stem hrainja-," cleanse, purify.") In fact, ja-verbs actually occur alongside nearly all the numerous
substantives in eini; as: (infin.) daupjan, "to dip, baptize"; daupceini-, "a dipping, baptism"; —gōjan, "to greet"; gōl-eini-, "a greeting"; —laisjan, "to teach"; laiscinii-, "teaching, doctrine"; —talzjan, "to instruct, admonish"; talzeini-, "instruction, admonition"; &c.

(xiii) Feminines in aini and ĕni are similarly related to verb-stems in aį and ĕ; as: ľulai-, "endure"; ľulaini-, "endurance"; —lapo-, "call, invite"; lapōni-, "calling, invitation"; &c. (§ 43 (2) below.)

(xiv) nu is rare: sunu-, "son," = Skt. sūnu-, √su, "beget"; &c.; ľaipnui- (m.), "thorn"; quairnu- (f.), "quern, mill"; and kinnu- (f.), "cheek" (chin).

(iii) [w- and j- suffixes:

(i) wa, fem. wō; —aiwa- (m.), "time, duration," = Lat. aevo- (n.), Grk. aiov for *airov (m. & f.); —alēwa- (n.), "oil," = L. olivo-, G. ἰλιαμός for *ίλιαυο-; —heiwai-, "house," akin to hai-mi-, "house, home"; —fraiwa- (n.), "seed"; —midwō- (f.), "rust"; —talhswo- (f.), "the right hand"; —adj., m. & n. triggwa-, f. triggwō-, "true, faithful"; and others.

(ii) wi occurs in the duplicate stem aiwi- = aiwa- (See above); —in nau-, N. s. naus, "a dead man, a corpse"; —and the adj. aēwi-, "olive, of-olives"; —wu, in manwu- (adj.), "ready"; —and *gloggwu-, "careful, accurate," implied in the adv. glaggwuba.

(iii) ľa, fem. ľo; ľękja- (m.), "physician," (O.E. leech); kunja- (n.), "generation, race," = Lat. genio- in form and genes- in meaning; —bandjo- (f.), "band, bond," from bindan-, "to bind"; —adj., m. & n., midja-, f. midjō- "mid." So, Go. haljō- (f.), "hell"; —badja- (n.), "bed"; —fanja- (n.), "clay, mud, (fen)"; —natja- (n.), "net"; —basja- (n.), "berry"; and many more.

(iv) ľu occurs in drunju- (m.), "sound, noise"; stubju- (m.), "dust" (Ger. Staub); and waddju- (f.), "wall."
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= Lat. aes for *aies-; — *bariza-, "barley," got from the adj. barizaina, "made of barley;" ) = Lat. far. gen. far-r-is for *far'z-is; — svaritiza-, "ink," from swertiz-.

"black;" — hatiza-, "wrath, hat-r-ed," from hatan, "to hate"; — ahsa- for *ahiza-, "ear (of corn)." = O. Lat. oces-, gen. acer-is for *acez-is, "husk, chaff." — riqiziza-, "darkness" = epe/Ses. — After evanition of the secondary suffix a in the N. & A. sing., the z left as a final should, and generally did, become s (§ 30 (2, iv)) but the z of the oblique cases sometimes ousted the s from those two cases (as in riqiz. aiz, &c.) more frequently, however, the s penetrated into the oblique cases; as in all the extant instances of agisa-, "fear, awe;" rimisa-, "quietness;" sigisa-, "victory;" and a few others. In ahsa- (cited above), veihsa-, "town, village," and peihsa-, "time, the age," the s has vanished after h.

(ii) The is (iz) of comparative adverbs (hauhis, "more highly") and adjectives (stem hauhiz-an-, fem. hauhiz-cin-) is a compression of the prim. suffix -jes, -jos (-ios). In advs. the i might be expected to disappear (§ 35 (2, iii)), as it actually does in mins, "less," wairs, "worse," and one or two more. Paul, Sievers, and others, therefore, hold that the fuller adverbal form, in -is, is due to assimilation to the compar. adjs. — The compar. form -oz-an (blindoz-an, "blinder," &c.), attributed by some to fusion of -jos with the stem-vowel of the positive, is by Mahlow and J. Schmidt (KZ. XXVI. 390) with great probability asserted to be based on compar. advs. in -os (-oz), pos. -o (e. g., sniumundos, "more hastily," pos. sniumundō, hastily); i. e., -oz-an and -os stand parallel to -iz-an and -is.

(iii) sa, fem. sō: only in the possessive adj. svēsa-, "one's own," related to the prim. reflexive pron. *swe-, Lat. se, Grk. ἐ.

(iv) In ssa, the ss comes from two dental dutes (§ 30 (1, iii)).

More properly speaking, this suffix shows triple gradation -os (-ös), -es (Go. -is, -iz), and -s: of which forms Latin and Greek show the first and second (L. gen-us, for -os, G. s. gen-er-is, for -ez-is; Grk. yev-os, G. s. yev-ous, for *yev-er-os); and Gothic the second and third, as in the instances cited above. But an o-form appears in the A-S. sīx-or, "victory," = Go. sig-is; and in Gothic itself prim. o in one or two words appears to have been darkened to u (cf. Lat. gen-us), and the words seem then to have been shunted on to the u-declension; as in sid-us (m.), "habit, manner," = tūos for *φίτος; and in sikh (n.), a gloss on sigis (Cor. I. xv. 55), — a somewhat doubtful form however. Compare also juk-uzjū in § 41 (4, xii). — See Paul in PBB. VI. 187-8, and Kremér in VIII. 387-389.

PBB. IV. 414, and V. 111. For a parallel example see note 4 to § 35.
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(5) Suffixes involving guttural mutes:

(i) *guæ, *gu-

(ii) *ka, *ki-

(iii) *ha, fem. *hö, like Grk. *-ko and Lat. *-co, forms adjectives: it is nearly always preceded by a (by i, as in Grk. and Lat., *-ko, *-co, only in the obscure word *pariha- (adj.?) “new, unfulfilled [cloth]” (§ 26 (8, iii) above): this -a may be taken as the stem-vowel of the base; e. g.: *stainaha-, “stony,” from *staina- (m.), “stone”; -un-barnaaha-, “childless,” from barna- (n.), “child”; -ainaha-, “only,” from aina-, “one” (cf. Lat. unico- from uno-,) with its fem. aino- hö—(as if formed independently on the fem. stem aino-).—

The h in these and similar instances implies, by Verner’s rules (§ 31), that the words were once paroxytone; but Grk. words in -ko- are uniformly oxytone; and this was probably the prevalent, although not the only, primitive accentuation:—accordingly, in a majority of instances this suffix appears in Gothic in the form of—

(iv) ga; as: audaga-, “blesséd”, wainaga-, “wretched”;

managa- “much, (in pl.) many”; —mód-aga-, “angry (moody)”; &c.:—handuga-, “wise” (orig, perhaps “dexterous”), from handu- (f.), “hand,” still shows the u of its base; in other instances u has given place to the prevalent a; as in grêdaga-, “hungry” (greedy), from grêdu- (m.), “hunger”; —wulpga-, “glorious,” from wulpu- (m.), “glory.”

(v) Adjectives from i-substs. might similarly be expected to show *-iga, or *-aga: they actually show -eiga (i.e. *iga); as: mahteiga-, “able, mighty,” from mahti- (f.), “power, might”; —ansteiga-, “gracious,” from ansti- (f.), “grace”; —listeiga-, “crafty,” from listi- (f.), “craft.” The attempts to explain the ei in such instances are all more or less questionable. Other adjs. in -eiga are based directly or indirectly upon ja-stems as: gawáirpéiga-, “peaceable,” from gawáirjja- (n.), “peace”: these mostly run parallel to fem. substs. in -ein and -eini; e. g.: usbeisneiga-, “patient,” by usbeisnein-, “patience,” (from usbeidan, “to endure”); —laiseiga-, “apt-to-teach,” by laiseini-, “teaching, doctrine,” (from laisjan, “to teach”); —biuèiga-, “good, blessed,” by biuèini-, “blessing, bounty,” (from biuèjan, “to bless”).

7 Or h and g may be due to accent-shifting in the course of declension. (See Paul, Beitr. VI. 545, and compare the b and d in (6, iv) below.)

8 As by Schleicher, Compendium, § 111; L. Meyer, G.S., § 406; Paul, PBIJ. VI. 545-6.
In such instances _ei_ correctly stands for _ja_, or, sometimes, _i_; and it is possible that -_eiga_, having originated in this way, may have penetrated the series of adjectives from _i_-substantives. Noticeable, however, is _gabouta_- (the only word with _i_) beside the less frequent _gabouta_- (_i_ “rich,” (the subst. is _gabein-, “riches,” vb. _giban_, “to give.”) —The only _sub. _of this termination is the abstract _idreigó_- (f.), “repentance”; but the adj. _sineiga_-, “old” (cf. Lat. _seneci_), is used with a concrete sense, “an old man, an elder.”

(6) Suffixes involving _ental_ mutes:

(i) _ta, ti, tu_ occur almost always in combination with a preceding _h_, _s_, _f_. The clusters _ht_, _st_, _ft_ may come from the primitive clusters _kt_, _tt_, _pt_, &c. (§ 33 (1)). The _s_ of _st_, however, may also of course be radical; as in: _frahusti_- (f.), “perdition,” _fra-husani_, “to lose”; _genisti_- (f.), “salvation,” from _ga-nisan_, “to be saved”; _kistu_- (m.), “proof, test,” from _kiusani_, “to test.” In _asta_- (m.), “a branch,” _t_ is correctly = _prim. _d_ ; cf. Grk. _ετό_ for _εθνό_. The exceptional instances (where _ta, ti, tu_ follow a vowel or sonant) are very few; as: _azetata_, “easy,” (of unknown origin); _sultana_- (n.), “salt” (with accretive _t_); _andantumi_- (f.), “acceptation,” where _t_ is probably for _d_ (verb _andiniman_, “to accept”); _kintu_- (m.), “a farthing” (“a cent”?).

The correct Gothic forms of the prim. suffixes _ta, ti, tu_ are: _þa_ (da), fem. _þo_ (do); _þi_ (di); _þu_ (du).

(ii) _þa_, fem. _þo_: _aipaga_- (m.), “an oath”; _munþa_- (m.), “mouth”; _wairþa_- (m.), “worth”; _gulþa_- (n.), “gold”; _hiwpaga_- (n.), “attention, silence,” cf. Lat. _clupera_ = _κλυ-ευ_, “to hear”; _aþpó_, “earth”; _sleþbó_, “loss, injury.” Most fem. substantives in _þó_ are based on adj. stems; but for the various primary stem-vowels _i_ always appears; _e. g._: _unhrainþpó_, “uncleanness,” from _unhrain_,- “unclean” —_diuþpó_-,” depth,” from _diuþpa_-,” deep”; _hauþpó_-,” height,” from _hauha_-,” high”; _manuwþpó_-,” readiness,” from _manuwu_-,” ready”; and, similarly, _i_ for _ja_, in _fairþpó_-,” oldness,” from _fairnja_-,” old”; but in _niuþpó_-,” newness,” _j_ is preserved, as it is throughout the declension of the adj. _niuja_-,” new.”

(iii) _da_ (do), for _þa_ (þò), by the accentual exception (§§ 31 (3) and 33 (2, iii)), is more especially the distinctive suffix of the past ptep. of weak verbs; as in: _m._ & _n._ _nasida_- (f. -dó-), “saved”; _m._ & _n._ _liugaida_- (f. -dó-), “married”; _m._ & _n._ _salbódæ_- (f. -dó-), “anointed”; &c., &c. Among

* I. c., according to Leo Meyer’s suggestion that _kintu_- is the Lat. _cento_-.
substs. occur pindō- (f.), "people, folk"; and muldō- (f.), "dust, mould."

(iv) In a few adjectives p or d may appear in Go., against a W.Teut. d only; e. g., p in daupta = Engl. "died"; -fālpā="-fold," as in ain-fulpā-, lit. "one-fold," i. e. "simple"; -but d in wunda-="wound-ed." This fluctuation is probably due to a prim. shifting of the accent, which in the course of inflexion sometimes rested on the root (giving Teut. þ) and sometimes on the suffix (giving d). One of the two (say þ) permeated all the cases in one dialect, and the other (d) in another.

(v) þi and di similarly interchange according to the former (but not always the original) position of the accent; e. g.: (ga-)qumpi-10, "a coming (together), an assembly," from quiman, "to come," = Skt. gāti-, "a going," Grk. βάσιν-, Lat. venti(ōn), from venire; -dulpī-, "feast," = Skt. dhūti-, "joy" —so, ga-baúrpi- "birth"; -naufi- (but nauvid- in various compounds), "need"; and two or three more. But in (ga-)mundi-, "remembrance," = Skt. mati-, "thought," Lat. menti-, "mind," the d, the weak root, and the accented suffix, are all in harmony. Similar are: ga-hugdi-, "mind, conscience"; -mitadi-, "measure"; -dēdi- (in compounds), "deed"; -sēdi- (in comp.), "seed"; and others. All these are fem.

(vi) þu and du also similarly interchange; as: dauptu-, "deity," from *diwan (pret. *dau), "to die"; -wultu-, "glory"; —but wratōdu-, "a journey," from wraton, "to travel"; -aujōdu-, "noise," from aujōn, "to make a noise"; —add: skildu-, "shield"; -fōdu-, "flood"; —skadu-, "shadow": these are all masc. In the fem. handu-, "hand," akin to hinpun, "to seize," the d probably belongs to the root.

(vii) da, f. dō, is normally = prim. dho, dhā: the chief examples (waúrda-, "word"; gazda-, "sting"; huźda-, "treasure"; razdō-, "speech, dialect"; and mizdō-n-, "pay, reward") have been investigated in § 33 (3)—add the adj. kālda-, "cold," and naquada-, "naked," (cf. Lat. gelido- and nudó-).

(7) There is no certain instance in Gothic, of a simple noun-suffix involving any labial mute. (But see § 42 (3).)

41. Substantives and Adjectives, continued.—Stems formed by suffixes involving two or more consonants. Such suffixes

10 The um = m (as also the a = m of Skt. and Grk.) shows that the radical syllable was originally weak.
are all probably compounds; and many of the components will be recognized as simple suffixes already treated of in the preceding section.

(1) r or l in first component:
(i) arja forms masc. subs., denoting agents; as: laisarja- "teacher," from laisjan, "to teach"; some such words, based on simpler substantives, are professional names; as: bökärja- "scribe," from bökö- (f.), "letter," in plur. "book";—wullärja- "fuller," from wullö- (f.), "wool." But wungarja- "pillow," is neuter.
(ii) arna in eisarna- (n.), "iron."
(iii) ran (f. rön, rein): swairjan- , "father-in-law," (Lat. socero-); swairtron- , "mother-in-law";—munadrein- (f.), "a mark, goal."
(iv) rana: akraana- (n.), "fruit," from akra- (§ 40 (1, i)).
(v) rja (n.): ga-ligirja- , "a lying-with," (Lat. con-cubitum-); from ligan, "to lie";—filigirja- , "a cave, den," from filhan, "to hide."
(vi) lan, f. lön, forms diminutives; as: barnilan- (n.), "a little child," from barna- (n.), "child";—muyulan- (m.), "a little boy," from magu- (m.), "boy, servant";—muelön- (f.), "damsel," from mayö- (f.), nom. mawi, "maid."
(vii) ljan: sigljan- (n.), "a seal"; which implies a simpler *sigla- (n.) = Lat. signo- (cf. asilu-, &c., § 40 (1, iv)).
(viii) linga- (m.): gadilinga- , "nephew";—skillinga- , "shilling." (See inga below.)

(2) m or n in first component:
(i) man (f. mön): namän- (n.), "name," = Skt. näman-, Lat. nömen- ; blöömän- (m.), "a flower (bloom)," where blö- = flö- in Lat. flö-s;—ahman- (m.), "spirit," vb. ah-jan, "to think";—klismön- (f.), "a cymbal," vb. klis-m-jan, "to tinkle."
(ii) But man with fem. mein is the suffix of a small group of ancient superlatives (§ 59 (3)),—e. g.: fruman-, frumein-.
(See also -duman, in (6, xiii) below.)
(iii) munjö (f.) occurs in lauhnunjö- , "lightning," which implies a simpler base *lauhman- = Lat. luminem- , for *loucen-. (iv) mundah: only in the adj. *sniumundah- , "swift, hasty," implied in the adv. sniumundö, "hastily," from sniuan (i. e. *sniuan, § 26 (10, ii)), "to hasten," or more immediately from a stem snium- , given in the derived verb sniumjan, "to hasten": (-mun-da- is exactly = Lat. -men- to-, and nearly = Grk. -ματω- for -μη-.)

1 The order of treatment will follow that of the initial components.
(v) anda (in nom. s. masc.), with its n- extension andan, f. andein, (in all other cases,) is the suffix of the present or active ptcp. of all verbs: the simpler and appears in a number of old participial forms that are used as substantives masc.; as: giband-, "giver"; —nasjand-, "saviour"; &c., &c. See §§ 52 (2) and 60 (1) below.

(vi) anōn only in gamaitanōn- (f.), "concision"; -an-belonging to the past ptcp. on which the subst. is based.

(vii) undja (f. jō), extended by n in undjan, shows the weak form of the ptepial suffix and; the instances are: hulundjō- (f.), "a cave," from (us-)hulōn, "to excavate"; —piundjō- (f.), "thousand"; —and nēhwundjan- (m.), "neighbour," from nēhw, nēhwa, "nigh."

(viii) inassu (m.), probably = in + at + tu. The in is got immediately from secondary verbs, but ultimately from weak substantives upon which such verbs might be formed; e. g.: fraujinassu-, "dominion," vb. fraujinōn, "to rule," from frajan-(jīn-), "lord, master"; —gudjinassu-, "priesthood," vb. gudjinōn, "to act as priest," from gudjan-(jīn-), "priest." In some instances the intermediate verb leads to an a- or i- or other subst.; as: draihinassu-, "warfare," vb. draihinōn, "to war," subst. (ga-)drauhi- (m.), "warrior"; —skalkinassu-, "bondage," vb. skalkinōn, "to serve," subst. skalka-(m.), "servant, slave"; —lekjinassu-, "healing," vb. lekinōn, "to heal," from lekja- "physician, leech"; but piudinassu-, "kingship, reign," vb. piudanōn, "to be king, reign," leads to a subst. in -ana-, viz. piudana- "king." In the case of ibnassu-, "equality," from ibna- (adj.), "even, equal," the n belongs to the adj., and the proper intermediate vb. is not extant in Gothic; nor is there anything between blōtinassu-, "worship," and the verb blōtan, "to worship." The simpler suffix assu occurs apart from n, in, jīn, only in ufarassu-, "superiority, excess," from ufar, "over." Our suffix -ness is a variety of the above conglomerate.

(ix) ina: adj. *unvēninga-, "unexpected," implied in unvēningō, "unexpectedly"; and skillinga-(m.), "shilling."  

(x) nan (m.), nōn (f.) : drōban-, "tumult"; —hatpōn-, "heaven woman"; —stārnōn-, "star," extended from a simpler *sternô- (cf. Lat. stellâ for ster'lâ-); a yet simpler base appears in Grk. á-στερ-, Skt. stār-.

(3) w or j in first component:

(i) wan, wōn: sparwan- (m.), "sparrow"; —smakkan-

But O.H.G. ebanōn.—It may be added that K. van Bahder makes the -at- in -assu- the same as the -at- in -atjan (§ 43 (2, i, &c.) below) beside ibnassu, therefore, he constructs a verb *ibnatjan. ("Verbalabstricta," 115.)
for *smakwan- (m.), "fig"; —peihwōn- (f.), "thunder"; —bandwōn- (f.), "a sign," extended from bandwō-, which also occurs.

(ii) wōd, in weitwōd- (m.), "a witness," which is generally explained as the remains of an old perf. ptep. act. =Grk. eἰδῶς for *Fi8Fòs, G. eἰδότος.

(iii) jan gives masc. substants. denoting agents; as: fiskja- "fisher," from fiska- (m.), "a fish"; —liugna- "liar," from liugna- (n.), "a lie"; —waurstwjani, "labourer," from waurstwja- (n.), "work"; and many others; —jan, as neut., occurs only in siɡljan- (See (1, vii) above) —the corresponding fem., jōn, occurs in: sakjon-, "strife," from sakkaun, "to strive"; —brunjōn-, "breastplate"; and several more.

(iv) For eini, eiga, = jani, jaja, see § 40 (2) and (5).

(v) jana, only in aljana- (n.), "zeal."

(vi) For is (= -joʌ) and -jōdu, see § 40 (4) and (6).

(4) s (z) in first component:

(i) assu: See inassu, in (2) above.

(ii) izan, oząn, in comparative of adj.s.: See § 40 (4, ii).

(iii) izwō (f.), only in ubizwō-, "porch," (prop. "projection of roof," ) = A-S. efese, Engl. eaves (which is . . not really a plural): ub is probably the prep. of (ub), "under," and iz perhaps the neuter s-suffix (§ 40 (4, ii)).

(iv) izjō only in aquisjō- (f.), "axe."

(v) iska (=Engl. ish, Germ. ich) forms adjectives from substantives; as: barniska-, "childish," from barna- (n.), "child"; —gudiska-, "divine," from guda-, "God"; and others. In iudaiwiska-, "Jewish," from iudaiu-, "Judean, Jew," the w is for u. Haijpiwiska-, "wild," prop. "growing or found in the wilderness or fields," from haijpijō- (f.), "field, heath," implies an intermediate form *haijpiwā- (wō- ?). The subst. atiska- (n.), "cornfield," was once probably an adjective.

(vi) iskja (i.e., isk extended by ja) forms neut. substant.; as: aiviskja- "shame," and barniskja-, "childhood."

(vii) ista, ōsta, = Engl. -est, is the usual suffix of superlative adjectives; as: sutī-, "sweet," superl. sulista-, "sweetest" (cf. Grk. οὖν-, ὤν-ωστο-) —arma-, "miserable," superl. armōsta-; &c., &c.: the is-, ōs- is identical with the iz, ož of the comparative degree (§ 40 (4, ii)).

(viii) istja = the superl. suffix + ja, forms two extant neut. substant.; viz.: hauhistja- "the highest height"; and frumistja- "the beginning."

(ix) sla, zla forms the neut. substants.: swumsla- (sometimes spelt swumflsla-), "a pool," from *swimman, "to swim;"
hunsla-, "a sacrifice";—skōhsla-, "evil spirit";—swartizla-, "ink," another reading of swartiza- (§ 40 (4, i) above): of this suffix the H.G. -jař is a by-form (in trúžm, &c.).

(x) skuldra : See (3, ii) below.

(xi) usjo in bérusjo-, "parents" (N. pl. masc.), corresponds exactly to the composite suffix (*ux-jo-, N. s. -vio) of the Greek pf. tpt. fem.; us, uv are weak to was, Fos (cf. indóš, stem fid-foσ-), and bé is the pf. stem of bairan, "to bear" (§ 24 (3)). The Go. word may once have been a fem. (as indeed its derivation suggests); but in Lith. and Slav. also us-ja- has penetrated the m. and n. of the tptc, and a masc. form (iðvō) has even been discovered in Grk.³

(xii) uzjó, in jukuzjó- (f.), "a yoke" (fig.), from juka- (n.), is a different suffix from the preceding, and is related to izjó in (iv) above, just as -us (-uz) is to -is (-iz). See note ⁵ to § 40.

(xiii) sama, in the adj. lustusama-, "desired, longed-for," from lustu- (m.), "desire," is probably = our -some ("toil-some," &c.), Ger. -fum (müß-fum, &c.), and is akin to same, Go. saman-, not to some, Go. suona-.

(xiv) snó, znó (f.) : fitusnó-, "multitude, abundance," from filu-, "much" :-hlaiwasnó-, "tomb" (occurs in pl. only), from hlaiwa- (n.), of same meaning ;—drauhsnó-, "a fragment, crumb" ;—faíznó-, "heel," = Lat. pernā-, Grk. πέρνα- and πέρπα-, I-E. base *persnā- ;—arhwasnó-, "dart, arrow," from Teut. *arhva-, "arrow," which is (in form) = the O.Lat. arquo-, later arcu-, "bow."

(xv) In sni (f.) of ana-busni- , "a command," from ana-bidan, "to command," and us-besni-, "long-suffering," from usbeidan, "to endure," the s represents a radical d : sni in the obscure words ga-rēhsni-, "design, counsel," and rōhsni-, "palace," is probably formed on this pattern. (See xix.)

(xvi) snja (n.) occurs only in fullhsnja-, "secrecy, concealment," from filjan, "to hide": it appears to be an extension of sni.

(xvii) sta, sti, stu : gramsta- (m.), "a chip, splinter," a "mote in the eye (perhaps :. from gramjan, "to irritate") ;—ansti- (f.), "grace," from Teut. an, "I grant," infin. unnan ;—ala-brunsti- (f.), "a holocaust," from brinnan, "to burn" ;—mažstu- (m.), "dung, dungheap"; and others. (See xix.)

(xviii) stein, in pramstein- (f.), "locust."

³ = A-S. hūsēl, "a sacrifice," and, in christian times, "the sacrament" : cf. Shakspere's "un-housed's" (Hamlet).

⁴ On this suffix, see Osthoff in PBB. III. 335; Forschungen, I. 190; and Paul, PBB. VI. 138.

⁵ Brugman in KZ. XXIV. 81, 83, 83.
(xix) *stwa in waúrkstw- (n.), “work,” for *waúrht-tw- (n.), a secondary derivative from waúrkjan, “to work.” (The simpler derivatives waúrht- (f.) and waúrhta- (adj.) frequently occur in compounds.)—This example (See also (xv), (xx)) clearly shows how the s of a composite suffix may really be traceable to a dental before another dental (§ 33 (1, iXi)). Such a form of suffix is also simulated when a root, followed by a t-suffix, ended in a genuine s; as in kustu- (m.), “proof, test,” vb. kius-an, “to prove, test”; —usdrusti- (f.), “a stumbling-place,” prop. “a falling,” vb. drins-an, “to fall”; —wahstu- (m.), “stature,” prop. “growth,” vb. wahs-jan, “to grow.”

It is to the influence of such patterns that the s of sta, sti, stu, stein, sno, &c., is probably in many instances due.

(xx) *stra (n.): in giistra, “tax, tribute,” from (us-)yildlan, “to pay,” s is again from d (cf. Lat. rostro-, rostro-, from râdere, rôdere; &c.); —but hulistra, “veil,” is from the verb huljan, “to hide” (cf. Lat. lustro-, monstro-, from luère, monère; &c.). This suffix is properly applicable only to a verb-base; but in avistra, “sheep-fold,” from *awi- = Lat. avi-, “sheep,” —and in *navistra, “grave, tomb,” (implied in the verb ga-nuvistron, “to bury,”) from navi-, nom. navis, “a dead man, a corpse,” —the base is a subst.; but as to these Osthoff (note 8) suggests that they are contractions of compounds *awi-wistra-, *nawi-wistra-; where *wistra- would denote “resting-place,” from the vb. wisan, “to dwell, remain, rest.”

(xxi) *stja only in traustja- (n.), “covenant,” from trauan, “to trust.”

(5) A guttural in the first component:

(i) ikna (or kna?): këlïkna- (n.), “a tower, an upper room.”

(ii) kla: only in the adj. ainakla-, “alone, solitary,” (cf. Lat. sin-gulo-). kl is perhaps a weak form, which before consonants should appear as kul (=kl): kul, extended by dra (See (6, iii) below), appears in the perplexing word spaïs-kuldra- (n.), “spittle,” from speiwan, “to spit.” The interior s is here probably adventitious, as it does not appear in the O.S. spê-caldera-, and O.H.G. spei-choltra-7.

(iii) agwan: only in bidagwan- (m.), “beggar,” from bid-jan, “to beg,” probably through an intermediate adj. *bidaga-, “begging.”

(iv) han occurs in the m. plur. subst. brôpra-hans, “brethren,” probably extended from an adj. in ha (§ 40 (5, iii)).

8 This suffix has been specially investigated by Osthoff in KZ. XXIII. 313-333.

7 Sievers in PBB. V. 523-4.
(v) hun, probably* = cun in Lat. -cunque, forms some indefinite pronouns. (See § 68 (2).)

(vi) huna occurs in the distributive numeral tweïhna = Lat. biïno-; i.e., *dwïno-, "two each"; the h is remarkable.

(6) A dental in the first component:

(i) t in composite suffixes, as, generally, in simple ones (§ 40 (6, i)), appears only in combination with a spirant; examples: waïrst-wan- and waïrst-wyan-, "workman" (See stwa in (4, xix) above);—waiït-wän- (f.), "a watching," from wakin, "to wake, watch";—wastjö- (f.), "garment," from wasjan, "to clothe";—hwöftuljö- (f.), "boasting," from hwöpan, "to boast";—ust-an-, "aftermost," from adv. aïta, "behind." The correct Gothic equivalents of prim. t-suffixes show þ or d; as in:

(ii) þar, dar: brðar = Lat. frätar;—sðar = pater, Skt. pitár-; (but daúhtar = Skt. duhitár- by (i)).

(iii) þra (f. þrö), dra*: maïrpra- (n.), "murder," cf. Lat. morti-;—smaïrpra- (n.), "fat";—födra- (n.), "sheath, scabbard";—kleïrë- (f.), "tent"; and others.

(iv) þrahan in bröþrahans: See (5, iv) above.

(v) þjan, i.e. þra+jan, in (mana-)maïrþjan- (m.), "manslayer, murderer."

(vi) dreïn: mundreïn- (f.), "a mark, object, goal," vb. mundàn, "to note, observe," from munan, "to intend."

(vii) þla, þlō: mapla- (n.), "market-place" (prop. "place of intercourse," vb. mapljan, "to converse") ;—nëþlō- (f.), "needle," þnë, Lat. nère, "to sew."

(viii) þla (= the preceding, extended by ja): haimöþlja- (n.), "land, estate," from (haimi-) haimö- (f.), "village, home";—faïra-maplja- (n.), "governorship"; but also faïra-maplja- (m.), "governor."

(ix) þleini: mapleini- (f.), "talk, conversation": See mapla-, in (vii) above.

(x) þwa: þwō, dwa : fijæþwō- (f.), "enmity," from fijan, "to hate";—þwaðwa- (n.), "servitude," from þwæ-, nom. þius, "servant, slave."

(xi) þja: ga-minþja- (n.), "remembrance," vb. gamunan, "to remember";—awëþja- (n.), "sheepfold," also "flock," from *awi-, "sheep";—framþja- (adj.), "alien, foreign" (frum), from prep. fram.

(xii) þjöan, djöan (f.): raþjöan-, "number, reckoning," = Lat.

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* Notwithstanding the contrary opinion of Scherer and Bezzenberger. See Paul, PBB. IV. 387.
* This suffix is investigated by Sievers in PBB. V. 510-538; see also Osthoff, Forsch. I., and the Krit. Studien of Ascoli (Merzdorf).
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ratō-, √ra, rē, "think"; —mitadjōn-, from the simpler mitadi-, "a measure," vb. mitan, "to measure."

(xiii) du man: hleiduman-, "left-hand" (adj.); *hinduman-, "hinder" (See (2, ii) above).

(xiv) du fi (f.) = Lat. tūt (i), in senectūt(i)—, &c.: ajukdupi-, "eternity," from an adj. *ajuka-, "eternal," and this from aiwa— (§ 29 (2, iv))—ga-maindupi-, "communion," from ga-maini— = Lat. com-mun-; —managdupi-, "abundance," from managa—, "much, (pl.) many"; —mikildupi-, "greatness," from mikila—, "great": these are all.—This suffix is = du + pi (§ 40 (6, v)); and the accent was once on the u (§ 31 (3)).

(7) A labial in the first component:
(i) Here falls the remarkable composite ubnja or ufnja, which appears (a) in the four neuters—fastubnja—, "a keeping, observing," from fastan10, "to hold, keep";—fastubnja—, "a fasting," from fastan10, "to fast";—waldufnja—, "power, authority," from waldan, "to rule, govern";—witubnja—, "knowledge," from witan, "to know";—and (β) in the two feminines: fraistubnjo—, "temptation," from fraisan, "to tempt" (so that this subst. also embodies a t-suffix)— wundufnjo—, "a wounding, a plague," from (ga-)wundōn, "to wound"11. As there is no simple labial noun-suffix (§ 40 (7)), the difficulty is to account for the syllable ub (uf), nja being made up of well-known elements. With respect to that syllable, Bopp12 started the prevalent and most probable explanation that ub (uf) is = um; so that ubnja is = umnja, and is an extension by ja of umn(a), which is identical with the suffix in the Lat. m. alumn-, f. columnā—; and of which, in fact, the very same extension appears in the Lat. columnā—. The change of m to b (f) cannot indeed be paralleled within the Gothic itself; but Paul (Beitr. I. 157, note) has cited from the O.N. the two words nafn = namn ("name"), and safna = semna ("to collect").

(ii) Closely similar to the foregoing suffix in form is ublja, in the solitary adj. dauplibja—, "destined or appointed to death"; but they are not connected; for the u of ubnja

10 These two, and hence the two derivatives, are no doubt the same word.

11 It is noticeable that all the roots begin with a labial spirant (f or w) and end with a dental stop (t or d), and that after the t a b follows, and after the d an f: the tribal name "Dulgubnii" (Tac. Germ. xxxiv.) shows the same suffix, g being here followed by b: the Gothic form of this name (nom. plur.) would probably be *Dulgufnjos.

12 V.G. III. 181 (3rd ed.): see also Sievers, PBB. V. 150, note 2, who further considers =umnja to be = munja; where -mun is weak grade to -man (See (2, i) above).
above appears to belong to the suffix, which is applied to bare verb-roots, while, here, the \( u \) belongs to the base, \( i.e. \), the noun-stem \( dāupu- \); and again, before \( l, b \) could hardly come phonetically from \( m \), unless (as is very improbable) \( l \) had also come from \( n \). Sievers (PBB. V. 531+), starting from a comparison of the O.H.G. \( \text{driscu-flī} \) (\( \text{driscu-bili} \)) with the equivalent A-S. \( \text{drresco-ld} \), for \( \text{*drresco-dlo-} \), our "threshold," both based on a Teut. \( \text{*drresco-ðlo-} \), strikes out the ingenious and likely explanation that \( bļja \) (for \( flja \)) comes from \( plja \) (See (6, viii) above); so that the adj. \( dāupu-\text{blja} \)- would come from \( \text{*dāupu-þlja-} \) by differentiation of the spirants. It is an objection that \( f \) for \( ð \) does not occur elsewhere in Gothic, nor, indeed, in the interior position in any related dialect. In the initial position, however, the substitution is well known; \( e.g. \) : Go. \( \text{þliuhan} \), but O.N. \( \text{fljja} \), A-S. \( \text{fleón} \), Ger. \( \text{fliezen} \), our \( \text{flee} \)\(^{13} \).

(iii) \( fla \), in \( \text{twei } \text{fla} \) (m., or n.? \( \equiv \, \text{wicifl, "doubt," from } \text{twa-}, \text{"two,}^{11} \) has been shown by J. Schmidt (\( KZ. \ XVI. \)) to be the equivalent of the Lat. \( \text{plō} \) in \( \text{dwplo-} \), and the Grk. \( \text{πλοι} \) in \( \text{διπλό-} \), \( i.e. \) \( \text{dēp-πλο-} \); it is related to the Lat. \( \text{-ple-} \text{z, pli-ç-ære, and is a word rather than a suffix.} \) (For the \( \text{ei of twei-} \), compare \( \text{tweihnai} \) in \( (5, vi) \) above.)

(iv) \( \text{bra} \) in \( \text{silabra-} \) (n.), "silver," is obscure: whether it is a suffix or a component, or whether \( b \) belongs to the root, leaving a suffix \( ra \), we cannot tell. The word, however, although common to all the O.Teut. dialects, appears to have been borrowed from the Letto-Slavic (O.Sl. \( \text{srebro} \), O.Pruss. \( \text{sirabla-} \), but Lith. \( \text{sidabra-} \), with \( d \) for \( r \)): Fick, indeed, thinks it is not an I-E. word at all.

42. Pronouns; Particles.

(1) The oldest pronominal bases are mostly monosyllabic and irresolvable. But two ancient derivative pronouns in \( \text{para} \) appear in Go. (and Teut. generally); viz. : \( \text{hwapara-} \), "which of two," and \( \text{anpara-} \), "the other of two"; of these the former is from the interrog. \( \text{hwə-} \) "who," the latter from an old pron. \( \text{*anə-} \): the suffix is probably of the same origin with that which appears in the Greek comparatives \( \text{σοφο-} \text{τερο-} \), \( \text{σα-φέο-} \text{τερο-} \), &c.\(^{1} \)—Add one pron. in \( ja \), also from \( \text{hwə-} \), viz. : \( \text{hwarja-} \), "which (of any number)"; but the \( r \) is unexplained.

\(^{13} \) The reverse change in "to and \( \text{tho,} \)" for "to and \( frō, \)" was formerly common, and is still to be sometimes heard, all over Kent.

\(^{1} \) Cf. our popular idiom, "to be of two minds."

\(^{14} \) The Go. \( a \) is for \( e \) before \( r \), as in \( \text{fadar, karkara} = \text{Lat. carcer,} \) &c.
(2) Particles are generally excluded from Morphology; for the primordial prepositions and conjunctions (which were originally of a pronominal nature) are of so simple a form (Lat. de, Grk. εκ, Go. du, &c.) as to be no further resolvable; while adverbs are for the most part fixed or (so to say) petrified "cases" of pronouns, substantives, and adjectives, and require some reference to Inflexion. More complex prepositions and conjunctions are often late and obvious compounds of known elementary forms (sub-ler, sup-ra, vel-ut, μεν-τον; Engl. up-on, how-ever; &c., &c.); and it may fairly be inferred that ancient conglomerates (trans, ἀπει, Go. pærh = through, &c.) are similar compounds, although the exact original form and meaning of the components may not now be determinable. Some prepositions that wear the aspect of derivatives are really adverbs, and may occur in both capacities (cf. Lat. intra, juxta, propterea, &c.), according as they do or do not "govern" a dependent word or clause; that is, the differentiation of function is based on syntactic grounds.

(3) In the formation of Gothic adverbs several suffixes (or varieties of them) are employed that have already come under our notice in §§ 39-41; as in ἱπαρν, "whence"; afera, "again"; iupana, "from above"; the comparative suffix -is, -ōs, in hauhīs, "higher," sniumundōs, "more hastily"; &c.: undar, "under," is, in use, a prep. only, although of adverbial (originally adjectival) formation (cf. Lat. infero-); undarō, like the equivalent Lat. infrā, is an adv. which may have a prepositional force. One suffix is peculiar to Go. adverbs, viz., ba, exactly equal in force to our ly; as: baĭtra-ba, "bitterly," from baĭtra-, "bitter";—harduba, "hardly," from hārdu- "hard"; &c.: this has been connected by Osthoff (KZ. XXIII. 93) with a suffix ba that makes abstract subs. in Lith. and O.Sl.—The inflexions from which the various adverbial forms have branched off will be referred to in the proper place under the next division of Morphology.

43. Verbs.—These may be conveniently treated under the heads of (1) Strong Verbs; and (2) Weak Verbs, (i) in ja; (ii) in ai; (iii) in o; (iv) "Correlative Passive" Verbs in nō (nā).
(1) Many Strong Verbs are inflected upon irresolvable roots of the simplest type;—as *an, "breathe"; *al, "grow"; *sit, "sit"; *lig, "lie"; *let, "let"; &c.;—which, with vowel-change, or reduplication, or both, serve as stems for the preterite indicative, but which, for the present tense indicative, have to be furnished with the stem-vowel *a or *i (=o or e),—*sita, "I sit"; *sitis, "thou sittest"; &c. Others probably involve a consonantal suffix,—as: *blunda, "mix, blend"; *walda, "rule, govern, (wield)"; &c. Of some, the formative suffixes are carried through the whole conjugation; of others, only through the present tense.

(i) Suffix *na: this forms the present-tense stem in *frainna-, "ask," */frih=Lat. *prec in *precor; the pret. (1 p. s.) is *franh. In a few verbs—*rinna-, "run," *du-ginna-, "begin,"—*na is probably assimilated from *wa (*ua).

(ii) *ja forms the pres.-t. stems of *bidja-, "pray," (pret. *baip, see § 71); *hajfa-, "take up, bear," = Lat. *capio, (pret. *hof), and the six similar verbs in § 76 *infra. *Ja is also the characteristic of the subjunctive (optative) mood; as: *si-ja-u, *si-ja-is, *si-ja-i, "I, thou, he, may be"; but in this capacity it mostly undergoes phonetic change (pret. opt. 3 p. s. *self-i, 1 p. pl. *self-ei-ma, &c.)

(iii) *sa: *blësa-, "blow"; *liusa-, "lose."

(iv) *ska: only in *priska-, "thresh"; */pri for *pir=per=Lat. *ter in *ter-ece.


(vi) Composite suffixes probably appear in—*wahskja-, for *wah-s'-ja-?, "grow," O.E. "wax";—*standa-, "stand," for *sta-d'-na-?1 the pret. is *stöp;—*bringa-, "bring," perhaps for *bri-g'-na-, in which case *bri is for *bir, *bair, "bear," = Lat. *fer-o: (compare *pri-ska-, above.)

(2) The stem of Weak Active Verbs was originally formed by adding *jo=Go. *ja, or, for causatives, *éjo=Go. *ýja, *ia, *ja, to simpler stems. According as the terminal sound of the simpler stem varied, so the suffix appears, in Gothic, either to have maintained its own form or to have fused with the final vowel of the said stem either into *ai or into *o;—*ja, *ai, *o, therefore, may stand as the distinctive signs, or "exponents," of three weak active conjugations. A similar distribution of derived verbs appears in other old European languages,—as in Latin; which answers with the *i-, *e-, and *a- conjugations;

1 See note 1 to § 37.
or in Greek; which answers with the verbs in (1 p. s.) ἤω, ἐω, ὧω and ὑω. But the primitive distribution of verbs among these conjugations was afterwards much perturbed; for every language has some favorite and prevalent conjugation which absorbs newly-formed verbs and attracts to itself verbs once belonging to other conjugations.

(i) ja-verbs.—These are mainly of two classes known as “denominatives” and “causatives.”

(a) “Denominatives” may be formed upon substantive stems as bases. The simplest formation appears when the base ends in a consonant; as: weitiwōdja-,” “bear witness,” from weitiwōd- (m.), “a witness,” (cf. Lat. custōdī-re from custōd-) ;—namja-,” “name,” from naman-, weak namn- (n.), “a name.” The next simplest appears when the base is an i-stem; as: dailja-,” “dole out, distribute,” from daili- (f.), “a share, dole”; &c. (cf. Lat. finī-re, from finīs-, &c.). But numerous a- (=o-) stems are also used for bases; as: andbohta-,” “serve,” from and bohta- (m.), “a servant,” (cf. Lat. servī-re from servō-);—dōmja-,” “(to) judge,” from doma- (m.), “a judgment, doom”;—rignja-,” “(to) rain,” from rigna- (n.), “rain”; &c. A few ja-verbs even appear to be based on fem. ō- (=A-) subs. (See (iii) below); as: bōlja-,” “(to) profit, boot,” from bōtō-,” “profit, advantage.”

(b) Denominatives based on adjectives (which may be of any termination) closely resemble causatives (See (γ) below) in meaning: they may, however, be called “factitives”; as: krai nja-,” “cleanse,” i.e. “make clean,” from krainīs,” “clean,” (cf. Lat. mollī-re from mollī-) ;—daupja-,” “kill,” i.e. “make dead,” from daupa-,” “dead,” (cf. L. suavi-re from suave-);—(ga-)hardja-,” “harden,” from hardu- (hardja-), “hard”; and many more.

(γ) Causatives proper are formed from the deep-tone verb-root by adding ja (originally īja = ējo); e.g.: lag-ja-,” “lay,” i.e. “cause to lie,” strong vb. lig-, lag, “lie”;—sautja-,” “set,” i.e. “cause to sit,” strong vb. sit, sat ;—drankja-,” “cause to drink,” strong vb. drink, drank;—(ur-)raisja-,” “raise (up),” i.e. “cause to rise,” strong vb. reis-, rais, “(a-)rise”; and others.

(δ) Three ja-verbs are based on stems in -at; viz.: swogatja-,” “groan”; kaupatja-,” “cuff, box the ears”; and laukatja-,” “lighten,” beside the noun-stem liuhada-,” “light,” and the simpler verb liuhtja-,” “shine.” The derived subst. ahmateini-,” “inspiration,” implies a fourth vb. *ahmatja-,” “inspire,” (but the Go. word for spirit is ahman-). These verbs have been aptly compared to the Grk. vbs. in -aξω = -aδ-ιω, as: ὀνομάξω, θαυμάξω, beside the nouns ὀνοματ-,
Introduction to Gothic.

\( \theta a v m a r - \); &c.² Within the Teut. area they answer to A-S. verbs in -\( e t t a n = O . H . G . v e r b s \) in -\( e z z e n \).

(e) This ja-conjugation is the prevalent one in Gothic; and it numbers more than twice as many verbs as the ai- and o-conjugations put together. In Latin the o-conjugation is the favorite, and hence some of its vbs. (which in form are =Go. o-vbs.) correspond in meaning to Go. ja-verbs; as: nömiōna-re = Go. namnja-n; domā-re (in pres. tense) = Go. tamja-n; signā-re = Go. siglja-n; lacrimā-re = Go. tegrja-n; and others.

(ii) ai-verbs.—(a) These answer, in formation, to Latin o-vbs.; some instances are identical in the two languages both in form and meaning; as: Go. silai-, “be still,” = Lat. sile-(re); Go. pakai-, “hold one’s tongue,” = L. tacē-(re); Go. weifai-, “watch, observe,” = L. vide-(re); Go. habai-, “have,” = L. habe-(re); Go. *lubai-, “hope,” (implied in the subst. lubaini-, “hope,” § 40 (2, xiii),) = L. lubē-(re). These vbs. (as Mahlow and Kögel suggest, PBB. IX. 509+) may very well have been formed on noun-bases in -\( e \), so that *habai-an (afterwards reduced to haban) would imply a base habē-, just as saian-an implies a root sē- (§ 25 (2) above); and verbs so formed would set the pattern of the conjugation.

(β) There is further a general correspondence of meaning between most of these ai-vbs. and many Latin o-vbs., in that both sets indicate duration, state (condition), or feeling (emotion); e.g. (besides some of the instances just cited): pulai-, “endure”; libai-, “live”; mairnai-, “be anxious”; reirai-, “tremble”; fijai-, “hate”; travai-, “trust”; sifai-, “rejoice”; and others. (Cf. L. manère, lugère, algère, dolère, &c. &c.)

(γ) When once this form of verb was associated with a definite category of conceptions, it would attract to itself all verbs of similar force, irrespective of the base out of which they grew: thus we find hueilai-, “linger,” by the o-sem. hveilō-, “time” (from which an o-vb. might have been expected—see (iii) below); and similarly sairgai-, “(to) sorrow,” by sairgo-, “sorrow”; liugai-, “marry,” by liugō-, “marriage”; and others;—also, from adjectives, (ga-)parbai-, “refrain or abstain from,” adj. parba-, “needy”;—armai-, “have mercy on,” adj. arma-, “miserable”;—weitai-, “hallow,” adj. weiha-, “holy,” (which last is, in force, a factitive, like the ja-vbs. of (i, β) above.)

² L. Meyer, G.S. § 107; Grein, “Das Got. Verbum,” p. 61; Kögel in PBB. VII. 181+; but Pott thinks that the t of atian was prim. (BB. VIII. 66).

³ Collected by Kluge, PBB. IX. 164.
(iii) ō-verbs.—(a) The pattern of this conjugation was set by verbs based immediately on fem. substantives in -ō (=a): to these jo (je) = Go. ja (ji) was originally added, but was afterwards reduced, in certain "persons" of the vb., to i, and then absorbed by the ō. In Gothic, neither ānor ē anywhere appears (See § 79 (3) below). Examples: karō ja-; "(to) care," subst. karō-, "care";—idreiγō ja-), "repent;" subst. idreiγō-, "repentance;"—(ga-)paidō(ja-), "clothe," subst. paidō-, "coat;"—midumō(ja-), "mediate," subst. midumō-, "middle, midst;"—(ga-)sunjō(ja-), "justify," subst. sunjō-, "truth;" and others. (Cf. Lat. formā-re from formā-, culpā-re from culpā-, &c.; or Grk. τιμάω for *-αιω from τιμά-, &c.)

(β) But not a few ō-vbs. are from m. & n. a- (=ō-) substs.; as: fiskō(ja-), "(to) fish," from fiska- (m.), "a fish;"—auviliudo(ja-), "give thanks," from auviliuda- (n.), "thanks;"—liufō(ja-), "sing," implying *liufa- (n.), "song;" and others. (Cf. Lat. fumā-re from fumā-; sonā-re from sonō-, &c.; the Greek, in such instances, shows 1 p. s. -oω for -αιω, as in δουλω from δουλο-.)

(γ) Even u-stems give off ō-vbs.; as: bstō(ja-), "lust after," from lustu- (m.), "lust";—grēdō(ja-), "(to) hunger," from grēdu-, "hunger."

(δ) An important group of ō-vbs. is based on noun-stems in -an (-in), -ina, -ana: these denote "acting as, playing the part of"; e.g.: gudjānō(ja-), "act as priest;" from gudjan-, "priest;"—faušinō(ja-), "be lord (over)," from fraujan-, "lord;" (cf. Lat. dominā-re from domino-);—piudanō(ja-), "be king, rule," from piudana-, "king;"—raginō(ja-), "rule, act as governor," by ragnja- (m.), "governor," ultimately from ragna- (n.), "counsel, judgment;"—aiganō(ja-), "own, be owner of, possess," from aīgina-, "property, possessions." One ō-vb. of similar meaning, but without the -in-suffix, is a borrowed Lat. ā-vb., viz., militō, "serve as a soldier," = L. militā-re. Several such verbs, however, are based on stems in -a, -ja, -i, -u, or a consonant, either intermediate substantives being lost, or (what is more likely) -inō- (like āi above) having come to be considered as a single formative suffix to be employed for the construction of a special category of verbs irrespective of the termination of the base; hence we have: airinō(ja-), "act as ambassador," from airu-, "ambassador;"—draushinō(ja-), "serve as a

4 L. Meyer, G.S. § 457; Kögel, following Mahlow, PBB. IX. 504+.
5 This actually occurs, however, only in the compound ga-aiginōn "take possession of."
soldier," from (ga-) draúhti-, "soldier";—leðinō(ja-), "heal, i.e., act as physician," from leðja-, "physician";—höritnō(ja-), "play the adulterer, commit adultery," from hōra-, "adulterer";—reikinō(ja-), "reign, be ruler," from reik-, "ruler." (Cf. Lat. regnā-re, from regnō-, and ultimately from rēg-, "king."—See also § 41 (2, viii) above.

(iv) The "correlative passives" were originally based on past or passive ptcps. (in -ana-) of strong active verbs. Their "characteristic" was -ō, so that this conjugation was a subdivision of that in (iii) above; but in all the present-tense forms -ō is supplanted in Gothic by -a (-i) after the pattern of the strong verbs, so that the paradigm has a heterogeneous aspect. Thus we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bi-auka-, &quot;augment&quot;</td>
<td>bi-aukanāši</td>
<td>bi-aukanō-6 bi-aukan-, &quot;be augmented, increase&quot;;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brika-, &quot;break&quot;</td>
<td>brukana- (ua-)brukno-</td>
<td>brukna-, &quot;be broken&quot;;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dis-taira-, &quot;tear asunder&quot;</td>
<td>dis-tairana-</td>
<td>dis-tairnō- and -na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fra-liusa-, &quot;lose&quot; (perdere)</td>
<td>fra-lusana-</td>
<td>fra-lusno- and -na-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes an act. ja-vb. and a correl. pass. are both referable to a single strong vb.; as: (intrans.) waka-, "wake, watch," (trans.) wakja- (in us-wakja-, "awaken"), correl. pass. -waknō- and -na- (in ga-waknō- and -na-, properly, "be awakened"). Afterwards, as it would seem, -nō (-na) came to be regarded as more especially correlative to -ja, and the verbs so formed, as correlative to the factitive verbs based on adj.s. (See (i. β) above): this class of nō-vbs. is actually a majority of the conjugation. Examples:

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blinda-, &quot;blind,&quot;</td>
<td>... ga-blindja-, &quot;(to) blind,&quot;... ga-blindnō- and -na-, &quot;be-come blind&quot;;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fulla-, &quot;full,&quot;</td>
<td>... fullja-, &quot;fill,&quot;... fullnō- and -na-, &quot;be filled&quot;;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabiga-, &quot;rich,&quot;</td>
<td>... gabigja-, &quot;enrich,&quot; gabigno- and -na-, &quot;be en-riched&quot;;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>managa-, &quot;much, many,&quot;</td>
<td>... manajja-, &quot;multiply,&quot;... manajnō- and -na-, &quot;be mul-tiplied,&quot;... &quot;abound&quot;;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swinka-, &quot;strong,&quot;</td>
<td>... swinja-, &quot;strengthen,&quot;... swinfnō- and -na-, &quot;be strengthened&quot;;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and others. One, the only extant, nō-verb correl. to an act.

6 Between -ana and -na-, -nō, may be supposed to have come the intermediate form -ina (§ 40 (2, ix) above).
ai-vb. (which is also based on an adj.) is: weihuō- and -na-, "be hallowed," act. weihai-, "hallow," from weika-, "holy".

(II) COMPOSITION.

44. (1) By "Composition" is meant the combination of two or more words into one word. In compounds made up of two components only, (to which class our attention must be chiefly confined,) the first of the two stands towards the second in some subordinate or qualifying relationship (§ 38 (3)), even although, as independent words, the two may be of coordinate grammatical rank. Moreover, if each separately is an inflectible word, the second alone, in perfect composition, retains its inflexions, while the first appears either in a thematic or a radical form. The present section will briefly deal with compounds formed from inflectible words (at least, substantives, adjectives, verbs); leaving to § 45 the treatment of the numerous and more closely-fused compounds of which the initial factors are got from gram-

7 This conjugation is really a new and ingeniously-evolved passive voice; it became a somewhat favorite one in the Gothic and Scandinavian dialects: in the Western dialects, on the contrary, it almost died out. A survival in our own language is the vb. learn. The Go. causative laisjan, for *laitjan, "to cause to know," . . "to teach," = O.S. lirian, O.H.G. lēran, A-S. lēren, is referable to an old strong verb = Go. *leisan, of which only the pret. Go. lais (used as a pres. =) "I know," is extant. On the ptp. *lizana- must have been formed a correlative pass. = Go. *liznēn (not extant) = W.Teut. *liznōn, = O.S. lizōn, O.H.G. lōrnēn and lērnēn, A-S. lērniān (pret. learnōde), prop., "to be taught," . . "to learn." The German still keeps both vbs. clear and distinct (lēren, lernen). In English, up to the 12th century, the act. vb. was in general use, but it has since been expelled by "teach." Before its expulsion, however, there occurred a period of confusion between the act. and pass. forms, which was partly due no doubt to the phonetic resemblance between the later forms of lēren and lernen, and of which many curious instances might be collected from early English writers. We even find Spenser writing (for the sake of rime): "He of Tityrus his song did lere"; he means, of course, learn. More generally, lernen encroached on the domain of leren. Thus in the Psalms of the Prayer-book we find: "learn (= teach) me understanding"; so also our unlettered provincials: "I lart him his letters," and the like. The substitution is universally accepted in the participial adj. learnēd = doctus, gelernt, orig. lērēd (as in Robert of Brunne, who wrote his Chronicle "not for the lērēd but for the lewed").

—Another correlative pair still extant are: owe, old pret. ought (= A-S. ògan, pret. òlte) and own, oware = A-S. ògniam, ògnode. The latter however had, even in A-S. times, taken (and it still keeps) the meaning of the parent verb ("to possess"); while the former, which maintained its old meaning down to Shakspeare, has become the equivalent of Lat. dēbēre,—with an additional shifting of ought, in an abstract sense, into a quasi-present tense.
metrical categories (prepositions, adverbs) subordinate to those of the final factors (substantives, adjectives, verbs).

(2) Of the compounds to be first treated the most numerous are the various classes of Noun-compounds; i.e., combinations of a substantive or an adjective with another substantive or adjective ("adjective" including participle), in any admissible order. Of these a few examples will here be considered and arranged with special reference to the important question as to the conditions under which the first factor retains or drops its stem-vowel, or (if the stem ends in a consonant) modifies its stem-suffix. This question has been discussed, as it affects the Gothic, by J. Kremer (PBB. VIII. 371–460), who lays down the general rule that the first factor ought to show the stem-vowel when this vowel originally bore the accent in the independent word and retained it in composition, while consonantal stems should show the weak stem-form. There are, however, so many exceptions among a-nouns, (caused, no doubt, by a later assimilation of compounds of one pattern to those of another 1) that the rule is often of doubtful value.

(i) a- (= o-) stems:—A correct form for subst. + subst. is gud-hūsa-, "temple" (= guda- (n.), "God," + hūsa- (n.), "house"); but compounds like weina-gardi-, "wine-yard" (= weina- (n.), "wine," + gardi- ("garden")) are numerous;—for subst. + adj. we have, correctly, guda-faurhta- ("God-fearing, devout") (= guda-, "God," + faurhta-, "fearful, afraid"), &c.;—also, for compound adjs. made up of adj. + subst., we find, correctly, lausa-wairda- (adj.), "babbling, talking-foolishly" (= lausa- (n.), "vain, empty," + wairda- (n.), "word"), &c.; but again, laus-handu- ("empty-handed") (= lausa- + handu- (f.), "hand"), &c. Other examples: hunda- (n.), "hundred," + fadi- (adj.), "master," = hunda-fadi- ("centurion"); weina- + drunkjan- (m.), "a drinker," = wein-drunkjan-; hauha-, "high," + hairtan- (n.), "heart," = hauh-hairta- (adj.), "high-minded, proud"; liuba-, "dear, beloved," + leika- (adj.), "like," = liuba-leika- (adj.), "love-ly"; and many more.

(ii) ja-stems:—ja persists when the base is a short syllable; e.g.: frajpja- (n.), "mind, understanding," + marzeini- (f.), "offence, injury," = frapja-marzeini-; "mental delusion";—but if the base is long, or of more than one syllable, ja (or more properly ja) becomes i; as: andja- (m.), "end," + lausa- (adj.), "void of," = anđi-lausa-, "endless"; and so

1 For a discussion of the irregularities I must refer to Kremer's article.
also the fem. pūsundjō-, "thousand," + fadi-, "master," = pūsundjia-fadi-, "captain of a thousand."

(iii) s- ( = A-) stems (fem.) := stem-vowel appears as a- ;
    e. g.: aîrdoğan-, "earth," + kunda-, "springing-from," = aîrđa-kunda-, "terrestrial."

(iv) i-stems := i generally and correctly persists; as : gasti- (m.), "guest," + gōda-, "good," = gasti-gōda-, "hospitalite" ;
    -mati- (m.), "meat," + balgi- (m.), "bag," = mati-balgi- (m.), "wallet." —But in a few instances i does not appear ;
    as : brudi-, "bride," + fadi-, "master," = brudja-fadi-, "bride-groom" ;
    —twalibī-, "twelve," + wintru- (m.), "winter," = twalib-wintru- (adj.), "twelve-years-old."

(v) n-stems := u correctly persists (See § 35 (2, v)) ; as :
    handu- (f.), "hand," + waurhta- (ptcp.), "wrought," = handu-waurhta- (adj.), "made by hand" ; —yrnu- (m.), "ground," + waddju- (f.), "springing-from," —uyra- (m.), "terrestrial." —But in a few instances n does not appear ;
    as : brudja-, "bride," + fadi-, "master," = brudja-fadi-, "bride-groom" ;
    —twalibī-, "twelve," + wintru- (m.), "winter," = twalib-wintru- (adj.), "twelve-years-old.

(vi) n-stems := these all, as initial factors, follow the pattern of the a-stems 2 that keep the a (See (i) above) ; as :
    waïkhsta- (m.), "corner," + staina- (m.), "stone," = waïksta-staina- (m.), "corner-stone" ; —augan- (n.), "eye," + daïra- (n.), "door," = auga-daïran- (n.), "window."

(vii) Other consonantal stems := r-stem : bropar- (for -er-) + *-lubon- (f.), "love," = bropar-lubon- (f.), "brotherly love," (ru, wk. grade to er (re)—see § 24 (3), (4) above; but bropral. also occurs) ; —s-stem (in Go., -isa, -iza) : sigis(a.)- (n.), "reward," + launa- (n.). "prize of victory."

(3) The composite Pronouns will be given under "Inflection" (§§ 62–68 below).

(4) Composite verbs (= noun + vb.) occur, but rarely; as : piuπa- (n.), "good," + spillon, "preach," = piuπ-spillon, "preach good tidings" (where piuπ may originally have been accus. to spillon). But it should be noted that some apparently composite verbs are really denominatives (§ 43 (2, i)) based on composite noun-forms ; as : ubil-waurdjan, "to abuse, speak evil of," which is based immediately on the adj. ubil-waurda-, "abusive," which again is formed from ubila-, "evil," and waïrda- (n.), "word."

2 Perhaps because some of the older compounds may embody, as first factor, the simpler a- ( = o-) stems of which the an-stems were extensions (§ 40 (2)).
45. (1) Prepositions, or rather Adverbs, when used as initial factors of compounds are called "Prefixes." Most of these (known as "separable" prefixes) still maintain an independent existence also; but some few (known as "inseparable" prefixes) have, as independent words, disappeared. The compounds formed from the latter are often (somewhat unhappily) called "proper," and those from the former, "improper," compounds. The next subsection will display the Gothic prefixes in alphabetical order, each followed by examples of the various compounds formed therewith; and the meanings assigned to the prefixes are those which they possess as such, and which may or may not agree with their meanings as independent words. (Inseparable prefixes will be specially indicated.)

(2) Gothic Prefixes, and Compounds formed therewith:—

Af, "off"; "away"; "un-"; sometimes an intensive = "quite, completely"; examples: afmaitan, "to cut off"; afsniman, "to take away"; afshunban, "to become quite dumb"; afetjan- (m.), "a glutton," lit. "an eater-up"; afhaimi- (adj.), "away from home,"; "absent"; afguda- (adj.), "ungodly, godless"; afguidein- (f.), "godlessness"; and many more.

AfAR, "after": afargangan and afarlaistjan, "to go after, to follow"; afardaga- (m.), "the day after"; afarsabbatu- (m.), "the (day) after the sabbath." (These are all.)

AftrA, "again"; only in astra-anastődeini- (f.), "a beginning again, a renewal."

ANa, "on; up; at; again (= Lat. re-); over; and over-(in sense of excess)"; as: analaqjan, "to lay on (hands, &c.)"; anatimirjan, "to build up"; anahaimi- (adj.), "at home,"; "present"; ananijan, "to renew"; anafithan, "to hand over, give in charge"; anakuirjan, "to over-burden"; and many others: ana is in most instances nearly = Grk. ává, and exactly so in anakunnan = ánavagynóskεyν, "to read."

Aand, "against, over against,"; "in front of; to; on"; also (like its Germ. equivalent cin)="un-"; as: andweihan, "to war against"; andstandan, "to withstand" (with-, here, is also = "against"); andwairpa- (adj.), "present" (prop., "being in front of"); andhausjan, "to listen to," "obey"; andsathwan, "to look upon"; andbindan, "to unbind" (cutbindan).

ANDA- (insep.), the fuller form of the foregoing; hence, beside and-haitan, "to confess," there stands anda-haita-
(n.)¹, "confession"; beside and-ḥaffjan and and-waṇdjan, "to answer," stand anda-haft- (f.) and anda-waṇdja- (n.), "an answer";—add: andanei,pja- (adj.), "contrary, opposed";—andastalja- (m.), "an adversary"; and others. Words with anda- are all subs. or adj.

At, "by; to; before; down"; as: atstandan, "to stand by";—aγgangan, "to go or come to";—atsuljan, "to set before, present";—atsteiyan, "to come down, descend"; and many more.

Bi, "around; round about; all-over"; often = be-; e.g.: bigraban, "to dig around (a place)";—bisaihwan, "to look round about";—bisauljan, "to be-sully, defile";—bitaicyön, "to be-lick, or lick all-over";—biskaban, "to be-shear, or shave all-over"; &c., &c.

Dis- (insep.), "apart; asunder; upon"; often = "dis-"; e.g.: distairan, "to tear asunder";—distuljan, "to dole out, distribute";—dishaban, "to seize upon";—disdr̥maan, "to fall upon"; and others.

Du, "to; be-"; as: durinnan, "to run to";—duγinnan or dustōdian, "to begin"; and (in one codex) dunwakon, "to keep watch (against)." These are all the words in which du occurs alone; but it is also found in combination with at or ga-; as: du-at-rinnan, "to run up to";—du-ga-windan (sik), "to entangle (oneself)."

Fair- (insep.), an intensive=" per-; ex-," Germ. wer-; as: fairweitjan, "to gaze";—fair-rinnan, "to extend";—fair-greipan, "to take hold of"; and a few more.

Faır, "before; by; for-"; faırlagjan, "to lay or set before";—fairγangan, "to go or pass by";—fairbiudan, "to forbid"; and others: faır and bi occur in combination, as in faır-bigangan, and faır-bisiwan, "to go on before"; (but biγragjan faır, "to run on before."

Faíra, the fuller form of the foregoing, = "before; beforehand"; as: faíraquiman, "to go or come before";—faíraγipan, "to say beforehand, to prophesy"; and many more.

Fra- (insep.), "from or away; out"; also = "for-; per-; re-"; also an intensive ( = up); or it may imply wrongness; as: fraγawipan, "to cast away";—fradailjan, "to dole out, distribute";—fragiban, (sometimes =) "to forgive";—frahusnan, "to be lost, perish";—fragildan, "to repay";—fra-iyan, "to eat up, devour";—fraslīdan, "to swallow up";—fra-waγrkan, "to sin," lit. "to work or act wrongly"; and many others.

¹ The difference between and- and anda- is due to variation of accent in the compounds (See § 44 (2) and § 85).
**INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC.**

_Fram_ indicates distance onwards, or extension in advance; as: _framaldra_- (adj.), “very old,” or “advanced in years”; _framgahti_- (f.), “advancement”; _framis_ (adv.), “further on”; _framwairþis_ (adv.), “henceforth”; and two or three more.

_Fri- _ (insep.), perhaps a variety of _fra_-; only in _frisahiti_- (f.), “example, pattern, form.”

_Ga- _ (insep.) occurs far more frequently than any other prefix: its shades of meaning are various, and often difficult to determine: it was originally perhaps = “with, together, (co-, con-)” as in _galisan_, “to gather together”; _ga-bairan_, prop. “to bring together, . . . to compare,” (like Lat. _conferre_); whence its “collective” use in _gaskohja_- (sing., neut.), “a pair of shoes” (cf. Germ. _Gebriiten_, _Geburte_ , &c.),—and also its sense of “fellow-” as in _ga-arbhjan_ (m.), “fellow-or joint-heir?” _ya-waurstwan_ (m.), “fellow-worker”: other shades of the same meaning appear in _gabaurá_- (m., occurring in plur. only), “a common meal, a feast” (= Lat. _convivium_, Grk. _συντρώιων_); but _gabaurá_- (n., sing.), “a contribution”; _gawilja_- (adj.), “of one mind or will”: from this (like Lat. _con_ -) it passed on to various shades of intensive use; as: _gabrannjan_, “to burn up”; _gadómjan_, “to con-demm”; _gadraban_, “to hew out”; _ga-brikan_, “to break to bits”; _galukan_, “to shut up”; _gastandá_ , “to stand still, or to stand fast”; _gastaurkunan_, “to pine away”; _gawigan_, “to shake down”; _gawaúrkjan_, “to work out, to effect”; and the like. It is not seldom used to assist in the formation of _ja_-verbs and their correlative passives; as in _gablindjan_, “to blind, strike blind,” and _gablindnan_, “to become, or be struck, blind”; _gahailjan_, “to make whole,” and _gahailnan_, “to be made whole.”

_Ga_- frequently occurs in detached verb-forms; thus, it is used to fortify the notion of passivity, or completeness, or both, as in the past ptcp.; e.g., _gadailida_- “divided”; _gawaúlida_- “chosen, elect”; &c., &c. It is also _used_, although by no means uniformly, in present tenses with a future sense (See under “ Verbs,” in the Syntax). But the difference between a bare verb and the same verb with _ga_- is sometimes imperceptible, owing, no doubt, to a debilitation of the force of the prefix: hence we sometimes find that a simple verb has vanished before the compound, as being a mere duplicate;—as _nisan_ before _ganisan_, “be saved” (but both of the related causatives, _nasjan_ and _gasnasjan_, frequently occur). In a few instances _ga_- appears to be doubled upon itself; as: _ga-gawairþjan_, “to reconcile”; _ga-gamainjan_, “to make common, to defile” (Mark vii. 23); but in 15, 18,
20, the simpler gamainjan appears): these, however, are based on less elaborate compounds in ga-; as ga-wairja- (n.), “peace”; ga-maini-, “common.” Ga- was sometimes rather loosely attached to a word; for a particle might be thrust in between them; as the interrog. u, in Ga-u-lamb-jals ...? “do ye-two believe ...?”—or a particle and a pronoun; as: (Frah ina) ga-u-hwa-séhri = “(he-asked him) whether (u) he-saw aught (hwa)” —and even three particles are found so inserted; as in: Ga-þ-pan-milý-sandiledi-imma brôpar = “and (þ for h = uh) besides (pan) we have sent (milý) him a brother.”


Ib- (insep.), probably a weaker form of the fuller ab = af (a = a): ib-daljan- (m.), “a declivity, descent”; —ibuku- (adj.), “backward.”

Id- (insep.), “back; again; re-”: idweita- (n.), “reproach,” and idweitjan, “to reproach, revile.” Idreigo- (f.), “repentance,” is sometimes given as formed with id; but this is very doubtful.

In, “in, into, en-”: insaian, “to sow in (a place)”; —inagjan, “to threaten” (lit., “put fear into”); —ingardi- (adj.), “in the house,” ( = Lat. domestico); —inlinhtjan, “to enlighten”; —inmaidjan, “to make a change in,” : “to transfigure”; and many more.

Inn, inna: only ² in inn-at-gâhti- (f.), “a coming-in to, an entrance”; and innakunda- (adj.), “belonging to the same family or household.”

Miss- (insep.) = “mis-,” and denotes wrongness, badness, or difference; as: missadédi- (f.), “misdeed, trespass”; —missataujandan- (m., ptcpial subst.), “an evildoer”; —missaquissi- (f.), “contention”; —missaléika- (adj.), “various, diverse.” These are all.

Mîp, “with; together; con-”: alone in mîpwissein- (f.), “conscience”; —with ga- in mîp-gasîpan- (m.), “a fellow-traveller with (any one)”; —mîp-galeikond- (m., ptcpial subst.), lit. “one who likens (himself) with (some one else),” : “an imitator.” Mîp often more loosely precedes a verb, with which indeed some editors combine it; as: mîp gangan or mîpgangan, “to go with”; &c.

Silda- (insep., but prob. a subst. or an adj., the base of
our seldom, Ger. selten): "rare,".; "strange"; as in silda-leika- (adj.), "wonderful," and its derivatives.

Swa, "so": swaleika- (adj.), "such"; swalauda- (adj.), N. s. m. swalaufs, "so great."

Tuz- (insep.) is probably a weak form of twis: it occurs only in tuzwërjan, "to doubt, disbelieve."

Twis- (insep.), from twa-, "two," denotes divergence or separation: it occurs only in twis-standan, "to take leave, depart," and the related subst. twis-stassi- (f.), "sedition."

Paírth, "through": paírheípan, "to go through"; and a few more.

Uf, "up; under; sub-": as: ufblésan, "to puff up";—ufgairdan, "to gird up";—ufsnainwjan, "to put under, subject";—ufstróypjan and ufswóypjan, "to ery out," or "lift up the voice";—ufvákjan, "to reach out, or stretch forth";—ufméljan, "to write under, subscribe"; and many more.

Ufar, "over; above; more-than; super-": ufarsull- (adj.), "more-than full, overflowing";—ufarmeljan, "to write over, or superscribe";—ufarhugjan, "to think too-highly (of oneself)";—ufargudjan- (m.), "a chief priest"; and others.

Un- (insep.) is a negative prefix = "un-, in-, dis-, -less"; as: un-at-gáhta- (adj.), "unapproachable or inaccessible";—unagandan- (ptepial adj.), "fearless";—unbarnaha- (adj.), "childless";—ungalaubeini- (f.), "unbelief";—unswéran, "to dishonour"; and many similar.

Und, "to; up to; on to"; prob. a weak form of and: only in: undrinvan, "to come or fall to (as a share)";—undrédan, "to offer, provide";—undgreipan, "to seize on, lay hold of."

Undar, "under": only in the wk. neut. superlative undariató used as a subst. = "undermost or lowest (part)," and the wk. adj. undarleijan-, "lowest (in degree)," E.V. "less than the least."

Unfa- (insep.), "away": occurs only in unfaipliuhan, "to flee away, escape."

Us, uz (and by assimilation ur), "out; forth; up; without"; also intensive, "thoroughly" (Anglicè "out and out")?; as: usdreiaban, "to drive out";—urréisan, "to arise, rise up";—urrinman, "to run or go forth";—usfáirinan- (wk. adj.), "without blame";—uslaisjan, "to teach thoroughly," (cf. Lat. é-docére); and very many more.

Waila, "well=good"; as: wailadédi- (f.), "a good deed, benefit";—wailamérjan, "to preach good tidings"; and two or three more.

Waja- (insep.) and wai, prob. identical with wai, "woe,"
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indicating evil or calamity (the opposite of wailo); as: wajamērjan, "to speak evil of, to blaspheme, revile";—waidēdjan- (m.), "an evildoer, a malefactor."

Wīpra, "towards, against"; only in: wīpra-wāña- (adj.), "opposite, over-against";—wīpra-ganjan and wīpra-ganānjan, "go to meet."

(III) INFLEXION.

46. Under this head we have to consider the completed words formed from stems by means of final suffixes which ultimately served to fit one word for entering into relationship with others in continuous speech. These endings were probably of pronominal origin (§ 38 (4)). By coalescence with more vigorous pronominal roots they gave rise to the scheme of the inflected pronoun, and by coalescence with primary verb-roots, or with stems formed from them, they gave rise to the noun-scheme, and to the scheme of the verb, primary and secondary: the noun afterwards radiated into substantive and adjective. These four word-categories, or "Parts of Speech,"—the substantive, the adjective, the pronoun (with the article), and the verb,—maintained their inflectibility in all the separate I-E. languages. But the general head of "Inflexion" is usually extended to cover other parts of speech,—adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions,—which (with the exception of some adverbs) are no longer inflectible, and are often classed together as "particles"; these, however, are all derived either from inflectible words or from one of the two classes of ultimate roots. And, further, owing to the importance of bringing the whole word-system of a language into one connected view, it is usual to range the interjection under the head of particles. These parts of speech will now be considered in the following order:—

(a) Substantives; (β) Adjectives, including the Verbal Adjectives (Participles) and the Numerals; (γ) Pronouns, including the Article; (δ) Verbs; (ε) Particles.

(a) Substantives.

47. (1) The variations of form which the endings of substantives undergo give what are called Cases of those substantives; and the complete scheme of cases appertaining to each substantive, or group of similar substantives, is called its (or their) Declension. It is probable that the cases of all substantives were once formed by the same series of suffixes or endings; but in later primitive times substantives of
different genders or of different stem-forms had already, in a few of their cases, assumed different or modified endings; while, in the separate descendent languages, special phonetic and accentual tendencies led to a great diversity of declension. Of the primitive cases the Gothic has preserved the Nomina-
tive (N.), the Accusative (A.), the Dative (D.)—with which in certain declensions the old Ablative (Abl.) and Locative (L.), and perhaps the Instrumental (I.), have coa-
sead,—the Genitive (G.), and the interjectional Vocative (V.). Originally, the endings of these cases probably were, for the masculine: Sing. N., -s; A., -m; D., L., -i; Abl., -ēl; Instr., -ē or -ō; G., -es, or for o-stems -sjo; V. (no suffix);— Plur. N., -es; A., -ms or -ns; D., -bhīas, or I., -bhīs (but Teut. everywhere shows -m, which can hardly be derived from either of these 1); G., -ēm or -ōm; V. (N. form would probably be used). The neuter differed in the N. & A. s. (-m or 0) and N. & A. pl. (-ā); the feminine chiefly in the N.s., which often dropped -s. An old Teut. masc. o-subst. (say *wolfo- = Go. wulfa-, "wolf") may accordingly be supposed to have shown the following declension:—

Sing.: N. wolfo-s; A. wolfo-m; D. wolfoi; G. wolfe-
sjo; V. wolfe.
Plur.: N. wolfo-s (-ōs = o-es); A. wolfo-ns; D. wolfo-m; G. wolfo-m (or -ōm); V. (=N.) wolfo.

In comparing this with the Gothic declension in the next §, we have to put a for o and i for e (§§ 21, 22), and to apply the rules of § 35. Where either rule appears to break down (as in wulfōs, -ans), the cause may lie in the accentuation (§ 85).

(2) The Gothic Substantives will now be laid out in declen-
sions according to the various terminations of their themes or stems, by which their inflexional endings are affected. Those whose stems ended in a (fem. ē), i, u are grouped together as the Vowel Declensions; those whose stems ended in n, and a few ending in r, d, g, &c., form the Consonant Declensions 2.

48. The Vowel Declensions: Stems in a (masc. & neut.), and ē (fem.); including the special groups in ja (jū), wa (wō), sa, and ra.

1 Compare the O.Slav. -mu, and the Lith. -ms; some vowel once probably followed the m in Teut.
2 The Vowel and the Consonant Declensions are sometimes called, respectively, the Strong and the Weak Declensions.—On meeting with the successive stem-suffixes the reader is requested to refer to §§ 39-41.
(1) *Masculines*: (i) Stems in a.

**wulfa-**, "wolf."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. wulfs</td>
<td>wulfós</td>
<td>wulfós</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. wulf</td>
<td>(wulfós)</td>
<td>hlaibs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. wulf</td>
<td>wulfans</td>
<td>hlaibans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. wulfa</td>
<td>wulfám</td>
<td>hlaibá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. wulfs</td>
<td>wulfé</td>
<td>hlaibés</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly are declined: *ai pá-*, "oath"; *banga-*, "tree"; *daga-*, "day"; *fiska-*, "fish"; *fugla-*, "bird, fowl"; *munja-*, "mouth"; *staina-*, "stone"; *pindana-*, "king"; *viya-", "way"; and others. *Reika-*, "prince," resembles some of the consonant declensions (§ 52 (2)) in making the N. pl. *reiks*.

(ii) Masc. *ja*-stems make the N. s. in -jis when the radical syllable is short and closed or long and open; but when it is long and closed, or when the base (apart from any prefix) is of more than one syllable, the N. & G. s. show -eis (i.e., -is = i-is) and not -jis. The A. s. in all instances shows i (= vocalized j). Thus:

**harja-**, "army, host."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. harjis</td>
<td>harjós</td>
<td>harjós</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. hari</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>hairdí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. hari</td>
<td>harjans</td>
<td>hairdí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. harja</td>
<td>harjam</td>
<td>hairðja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. harjis</td>
<td>harjé</td>
<td>hairðé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like *harja-* decline *nijja-*, "kinsman"; and like *hairdja-*, *andja-*, "end," (which, however, makes A. pl. *andins*, Rom. x. 18); *kwaitjá-*, "wheat"; *lękja-*, "physician"; *sipónja-*, "disciple"; *bókarja-*, "scribe"; *laisärjá-*, "teacher"; and the like. (Ubil-)tōja- (tō-), long and open), "(evil-)doer," gives N. s. -tōjis; the V. & A. do not occur; if they did, we should expect -tāui, by § 26 (4, v).

(iii) In masc. *wa*-stems the *v* before *s* and in *fine* becomes *u* after a short radical vowel, but after a long vowel it persists (§ 29 (1, vi)); e.g:

1 For the final f (fs) = interior b, see § 31 (5).
2 "Closed," i.e., ended by a consonant (as *har-*, *nít-, &c.); "open," not so ended (tō-).
3 This includes length by "position," as it is called in classical prosody (as, haird-, i.e., herd-). After such roots the suffix was once probably of the form -ia.
piwa-, "servant, slave."  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. pius</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>piwös</td>
<td>s.aiws</td>
<td>saiws</td>
<td>saiws</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piwans</td>
<td>s.aiwa</td>
<td>saiwa</td>
<td>saiwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piwam</td>
<td>s.aiws</td>
<td>saiws</td>
<td>saiws</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like saiwa- decline snaíwa-, "snow."

(iv) When a stem ends in sa- (za-), only one s appears in the N. s., which is consequently identical in form with the V. & A.; as: -halsa- (in compounds), "neck" (šals), N. V. A. -hals, D. -halsa, &c.;—anza-, "beam (of wood)," N. V. A. *ans, D. anza, &c.

(v) If a stem ends in ra- preceded by a vowel the s of the N. s. does not appear; as: waira-, "a man," (Lat. viro-), N. V. A. wair, D. waira, &c. But if a consonant precedes ra-, the s appears as usual; as: akra-, "field," (L. agro-) N. akrs, V. A. akr, D. akra, &c.

(vi) Two words (like andja- in (ii) above) show assimilation to the i-declension in one case of the plural, viz.: aiwa-, N. s. aiws, "time, duration," but A. pl. aiwins (not ans); wega-, "wave," but D. pl. wégim (not -am).

(2) Neuters: (i) stems in a. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>haubida-, &quot;head.&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. a.</td>
<td>juka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. juka</td>
<td>jukam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. jukis</td>
<td>jukë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly are declined: barna-, "child"; haúrna-, "horn"; hunsla-, N. A. hunsl; "a sacrifice"; huźda-, "treasure"; maúrpra-, "murder"; tagra-, "a tear"; tagla-, "a hair"; waúrda-, "word"; witōda- (N. s. witōp), "law"; and many more.

(ii) The neut. ja-substantives, like the preceding, differ from the masc. in the N. s., which is identical in form with the A. s., and in the N. & A. pl. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kunja-, &quot;a race, generation.&quot;</th>
<th>andbahtja-, &quot;service.&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. a. kunja</td>
<td>kunja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. kunja</td>
<td>kunja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. kunjis</td>
<td>kunjë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Like kunja- are declined badja-,” “bed”; fa byłyana-, “mountain”; fra(471,421),(573,435)ja-, “understanding”; ganja- (N. A. s., gaiv). “land, region”; hauja- (N. A. s., havi), “grass, (hay)”; kunja-,” “knowledge”; natja-,” “net”; reikja-,” “rule, power”; toja- (N. A. s., taui, § 26 (4, v), “a deed”; but waddhänja-,” “authority,” and perhaps the similar neuters (§ 44 (7)), have G. s. -jis and -eis.

In the G. s. we should expect -eis under the conditions given for masculines in (1, ii) above; but only two neuters—traustja-,” “covenant,” and fa ira-mapja-,” “governorship”—show -eis only: in most other instances -eis interchanges with -jis; and kunja-, reikja-, and fa iryana- show -jis only.

(iii) Neuters in -wa vocalize w in the N. & A. s. after a short vowel, but preserve it after a long one; as: kniwä-,” “knee,” N. A. s. kniu, D. kniwe, G. kniweis; N. A. plur. kniwa; &c.; but fraiwa-,” “seed,” N. A. s. fraiw, D. fraiwa, G. fraiwis; N. A. pl. fraiwa, &c. Like kniwa- is declined the only other similar subst. extant, viz., triwa-,” “a staff, bludgeon,” prop. “wood” (our tree);—like fraiwa- : hläwa-,” “tomb”; lewa-,” “occasion”; alewa-,” “oil”; and one or two more.

(iv) Neuts. in -iza generally show s in N. & A. sing.; as: stem hatiza-,” N. A. hatis,” “hatred”; diuza-,” N. A. *dius, “wild beast”; &c. As to the s and z, see §§ 30 (2) and 40 (4).

(v) Guda-,” “a god,” is properly neut., and so appears in the plur. (guda = “gods, idols”); in the sing. (=“God”) it is always a masculine in sense, although it maintains its neut. form (N. V. A. gu).: the D. G. s. should be *guda, *gudis (§ 33 (3) above); but in the MSS. there occur only the contracted forms gä, ğs, which are generally resolved into gu, guis; but there is no reason why the latter should not be guis.

(vi) The neut. fadreina-,” “race, lineage,”—in plur., “fathers, ancestors,”—is used in the N. & A. s. (with or without the article) as a collective = a masc. plur., —(pät, pansen) fadrein, “the parents.”

(3) Feminines: (i) Here, in N. & A. s., ò=ā appears as ą (§ 35 (2, ii)), and the D. ends in ai: the jö-stems based on a short radical syllable follow the normal declension.—

Examples:

6 Apparently a neut. adj. from fadar; cf. sweina-,quineina-, &c., in § 40 (2, x). An abstract fem. subst. in -ni (fadreinis), also meaning “race, lineage,” occurs once (in the G. sing.); and should be distinguished from the former.
Like gibō- are declined: ahwō- (= Lat. aquā-), "water, flood"; bidō-, "prayer"; hairdō-, "herd, flock"; hveilō-, "hour, time"; piudō-, "a people, folk"; nēplō-, "needle"; runō-, "a secret, mystery"; saiwalō-, "soul"; stibnō-, "voice"; wambō-, "belly"; wullō-, "wool"; and many more. Substantives like sunjō- are few, and occur only in detached cases; such are: banjō-, "a wound"; haljō-, "hell"; sibjō-, "relationship"; wippjō-, "a crown"; winjō-, "pasture".

(ii) But when the base of a jō-stem is either one long syllable, or consists of two or more syllables, the Nom. s. appears as i (for older i = *ija).—Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gibō-</th>
<th>&quot;a gift.&quot;</th>
<th>sunjō-</th>
<th>&quot;truth.&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>gibā</td>
<td>sunja</td>
<td>*sunjōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>gibōs</td>
<td>*sunjōm</td>
<td>*sunjō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N. V. A. gibai | gibom | sunjai | *sunjō |
G. gibōs | gibō | sunjōs | *sunjō |

Similarly are declined: aquizjō-, "axe"; fraistubnjō-, "temptation"; haljō-, "field, heath"; jukuzjō-, "a yoke" (fig.); lauhmunjō-, "lightning"; and a few more. But maujō-, "girl, damsel," (for *magwjo-, from magu-, "boy," and pīujō-, "maid, handmaid," (from pīwa-, pīus,—see (1) above,) turn their u into w before the i of the N. s.,—N. mawi, A. mauja, D. maupai, &c.; N. piwi, A. pīuja, D. pīujai, &c.

(iii) wō-stems follow gibō- throughout; as: triggwō-, "a covenant," N. A. triggwa, D. triggwai, &c. So also: bandwō-, "sign, token"; friāpwo-, "love"; fijapwō-, "enmity"; and two or three more.

49. The Vowel Declensions, continued: Stems in i (m. & f. only).

(1) Masculines: the sing. resembles a-nouns in form.—Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>balgi-</th>
<th>&quot;bottle (of leather).&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>balgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>balgis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Like \textit{balyi}- are declined: \textit{armi-}, "the arm"; \textit{gardi-}, "house"; \textit{gasti-}, "stranger, guest"; \textit{hupi-}, "the hip"; \textit{brufadi-} (N. -\textit{faps}), "bridegroom"; and a few more.

Substs. in \textit{s} show only one \textit{s} in the N. sing.; as: \textit{vrumsi-}, "a rising, a going forth," N. A. s. \textit{vrums}; and those in \textit{ri} preceded by a vowel show no \textit{s} at all; as: \textit{buri-}, "one born, a son," N. A. s. \textit{bair}.

\textit{Nawi-}, "a dead man, a corpse," makes N. sing. A. *\textit{nau}; N. pi. \textit{naweis}, A. \textit{naivins}. (The other cases, like the A. sing., are not extant.)

(2) Feminines.—Example:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{ansti-}, "grace, bounty." & \\
Sing. & Plur. \\
N. ansts & ansteis \\
V. anst & \\
A. anst & anstis \\
D. anstai & anstins \\
G. anstais & ansté.
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

So also: \textit{arbaidi-}, "labour" (N. s. \textit{arbai}\textit{ps}, A. \textit{arbai}); \textit{daili-}, "a part, share"; \textit{dèdi-} (in compounds), "deed" (N. s. strictly \textit{dèps}); \textit{fahedi-}, "joy" (N. s. -\textit{ps}); \textit{fralusti-}, "perdition"; \textit{gahugdi-}, "mind, thought"; \textit{gaquumpi-}, "assembly, synagogue"; \textit{mikildufi-}, "greatness"; \textit{queni-}, "wife, woman"; \textit{siuni-}, "sight"; \textit{taikni-}, "token, sign"; and many more.


50. Vowel Declensions concluded: Stems in \textit{u} (m., f., & n.).
INTRODUCTION TO GOTIC.

(1) Masculines and Feminines. These may here be coupled, as the case-endings are the same for both.—Examples:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sunu</strong>- (m.)</td>
<td><strong>sunjus</strong></td>
<td><strong>handu</strong>- (f.)</td>
<td><strong>handjus</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. sunus</td>
<td>sunjus</td>
<td>handus</td>
<td>handjus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. sunu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>handu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. sunu</td>
<td>sununs</td>
<td>handu</td>
<td>handuns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. sunau</td>
<td>sunum</td>
<td>handau</td>
<td>handum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. sunans</td>
<td>suniwē</td>
<td>handaus</td>
<td>handiwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly are declined the masculines: **airu**-, “ambassador, messenger”; **asilu**-, “ass” (also fem.); **dau**u-, “death”; **fōtu**-, “foot”; **hliftu**-, “thief, (-lifter)”; **hūru**-, “hunger”; **lustu**-, “foot”; **hliftu**-, “thief, (-lifter)”-; **huhru**-, “hunger”; **magu**-, “boy, servant”; **skadu**-, “shadow”; **skildu**-, “shield”; **sunpu**-, “tooth”; **pāirnu**-, “thorn”; **wandu**-, “rod, wand”; **wintru**-, “winter”; **wipru**-, “lamb” (our “ewe”). Also the feminines: **asilu**-, “she-ass”; **kinnu**-, “cheek”; and one or two more.

The gender of **flōdu**- (m.?), “flood,” and **qua’irnu**- (f.?), “wall,” is not quite certain.

Substs. in **-ju** follow the same pattern; as: **stubju**- (m.), “dust” (See tu), N. **stubjus**, V. A. **stubju**, D. **stubjau**, G. **stubjus**. So also **drunjus**- (m.), “sound”; **-waddju**- (in compounds), (f.), “wall.” The plural of these words does not occur.

The above paradigms show the normal u-declension; but in many detached instances either au appears for u (as N. s. sunaus, A. s. handau, and the like); or, reversely, u appears for au (as D. s. sunu, G. s. dau**pu**s, and the like).

(2) Neuters. These are rare; and only odd cases of the sing. occur; as: **faihu**-, “money, riches,” N. A. **faihu**, D. **faihu**. Gairu (N. s.), “goad,” and **sihu** (A. s.), “victory,” occur only once, and in glosses. The G. s. is certified by filaus, gen. of the pronominal filu-,” “much.”

51. The Consonant Declensions: Stems in **-n**. These are of all three genders.

(1) Masculines.—Example:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>guman</strong>-</td>
<td>“man.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Plur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. V. guma</td>
<td>gumans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. guman</td>
<td>gumans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. gumain</td>
<td>gumam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. gumin</td>
<td>gumanē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NEUTER**
Like *guman- are declined: *ahman-，“spirit”; *arhjan-,”heir”; *attan-,”father”; *blöman-,”flower, (bloom)”; *fisijan-,”fisherman”; *frayjan-,”lord, master”; *galjan-,”cross”; *gucljan-,”priest”; *hanan-,”cock”; *mënan-,”moon”; *simistan-,”an elder”; *smakkan-,”fig”; *sparwan-,”sparrow”; *sunnun-,”sun”; *waúrstwjan-,”labourer”; and many more.

Aban-,”man, husband,” and *auhsan-,”ox,” mako in the D. & G. plur., *abnam, *abne, and *auhsnam *auhsne. (See the two similar neuters in (3) below.)

(2) Feminines. The suffix-vowel preceding the n may be ő, or ei=ɨ (§ 40 (2)), but the inflexional changes are the same for both sets of stems.—Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. V.</td>
<td>tungö</td>
<td>tungöns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>tungön</td>
<td>tungöns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>tungön</td>
<td>tungöm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>tungöns</td>
<td>tungöno.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like *tungön- are declined: *aglon-,”tribulation”; *brinnon-,”fever”; *hafyon-,”woman”; *kalbön-,”calf”; *mizdön-,”pay, hire”; *quinon-,”woman”; *räljön-,”number, reckoning”; *sunnon- (See also *sunnan- above), ”the sun”; *stairnön-,”star”; *uhtwön-,”dawn, morning”; and many more.—Like *managein-: *airzein-,”error”; *bairlein-,”kindness”; *braidedin-,”breath”; *diupein-,”depth”; *faúrhen-,”fear”; *frifdin-,”freedom”; *frödein-,”wisdom”; *garaulhein-,”righteousness”; *hauhein-,”height”; *langein-,”length”; *mitklein-,”greatness”; *siukein-,”sickness”; *swirlein-,”strength”; *tärstein-,”thirst”; and many more.

A few subs. in -ein are concrete; as: *aipein-,”mother”; *marein-,”sea”; *hwairnein-,”skull”; and one or two others.

(3) Neuters. These show ő in the N. & A., s. & pl. (§ 40 (2, v)) : the D. & G., s. & pl., agree with the masculines.—Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. V.</td>
<td>haúrtö</td>
<td>haúrtöna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>haúrtin</td>
<td>haúrtam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>haúrtins</td>
<td>haúrtanë.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly are declined: *angun-,”eye”; *ausan-,”car”;
INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC.

kaūrnan-, "a corn or grain"; sigljan-, "a seal"; and two or three more.

Naman-, "name," and watan-, "water," suppress the stem-vowel in the plural; but the only extant plural cases are: N. & A. nanna; D. watnam. In the sing. they follow hairtan-.

More irregular is fōn- (or fōna-?), "fire," N. A. fōn, but D. funin, G. funins.

More irregular is fon- (or fona-?), "fire," N. A. fon, but D. funin, G. funins.

(4) Deminutives are formed by -l-an, and, as in Latin, follow the gender of their bases; as: magulan- (m.), "little boy," from magu- (m.); mavilōn- (f.), "young girl," from mavlō-, N.s. mawi (f.); and barnilan- (n.), "little child," from barna- (n.). Add Wulfilan- (§ 4), from wulfa-.

52. Other Consonant Declensions.

(1) Nouns of family relationship in -par (-pr). These, in the N. A. D. pl. are shunted on to the u-declension (§ 39 (4)).—Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. V.</td>
<td>brōpar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>brōpar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>brōpr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>brōprs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of this word all the cases occur. Of fadar- only the V. (or N.?) sing. is found, and that but once. The two feminines dauhlar-，“daughter,” and swistar-， “sister,” are declined like brōpar-.

(2) Participial substantives in -nd. These are really the old active ptcps.; but they now denote agents, and are all masc. In the G. s. and D. pl. they appear to have been assimilated to the a-declension (§ 48 (1)).—Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>fijand-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. A.</td>
<td>fijand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>fijand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>fijandis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other instances are: bisitand-， "neighbour"; daupjand-， "baptizer, 'Baptist'"; franjnound-， "Lord, ruler"; frawei-

1 Fōn and fun are varieties of one root: see J. Schmidt, KZ. XXVI. 16-19.
INFLEXION OF SUBSTANTIVES.

135
tand-, "avenger"; giband-，“giver”; mērjand-, “preacher” (but the A. s. ptep., mērjandan occurs in Rom. x. 11); frijond-, “friend”; mēdumond-, “mediator”; nasjand-, “saviour”; talejand-, “teacher”; waldanand- (in compounds), “ruler.”

But of the majority of these words only a single case occurs.

(3) Mēnōjp- (m.), “mouth,” differs from the pattern of fijand- in the G. s. & D. pl.: the endings which it presents in these cases are probably those that strictly belong to consonantal stems (cf. brōprs, brōprum, above). Its full declension is:

Sing. N. mēnōps, A. *mēnōp, D. mēnōp, G. mēnōps; Plur. ,, *mēnōps, ,, mēnōps, ,, mēnōpsm, ,, *mēnōpe.

Here, or in (2), may perhaps be placed N. s. weitwōds, A. s. weitwōd, “a witness,” of which the N. pl. is also weitwōds, G. pl. weitwōdē. Some grammarians make the word an a-noun (stem weitwōda-) which has been assimilated to the consonant declension (cf. reika-, § 48 (1, i)).

(4) Feminines. These have stems that end in a guttural or dental: they follow the i-declension in the D. pl.—Example:

baúrg-, “city.”

Sing. Plur.
N. baúrgs baúrgs
A. baúrg baúrg
D. baúrg baúrgim
G. baúrgs baúrgē.


(5) The paradigm of the word for “man” is made up from complementary cases based on the a-, an-, and simple consonant stems manna-, mannan-, and man-; thus:—

1 Some editors of Ulf. put the G. s. as mēnōvis; but, according to Upström, this is contrary to the MS.
2 In mana-sēdi-, “mankind,” and mana-mairkwjon-, “man-muderer,” we have yet another form of stem.—Schleicher (Comp.) cites man- (in the G. s. and N. A. plur.) as the only instance in which, in north Europe, a root is used directly as a noun-stem.
INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. manna</td>
<td>mannans or mans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. mannan</td>
<td>mannans or mans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. mann</td>
<td>mannam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. mans</td>
<td>mannâ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53. Borrowed substantives. These may be arranged in two main strata:—

(1) Words that were probably already naturalized and regularly declined in Gothic when Ulfilas wrote; as: *alēwa* (n.), “oil,” = Lat. oleo- for *olewo-; akeita- (n.), “vinegar,” = L. acēto-; arkō- (f.), “box, ark,” = L. arcā-; asilu-¹ (m. & f.), “ass,” = L. asino-; aīrēka- (m.), “pot,” = L. urceo-; aurojā- (n.), “napkin,” = L. orali-; faskjān- (m.), “bandage,” = L. fasciā- (f.); karkaro- (f.), “prison,” = L. career-(m.); Kreka- (m.), “a Greek,” = L. Graeco-; kubitu- (n.), “a reclining at table,” = L. (ac-)cubitu-; lukarna- (n.), “lamp, candle,” = L. lucernā- (f.); marikreitu- (m.), “pearl,” = Grk. μαργαρίτα; plagjō- (f.), perhaps misspelt for platjō- “street,” = L. plateā-; punda- (n.), “a pound,” = L. indecl. pondo; sigljan- (n.), “a seal,” = L. signo-; ulbandu- (m.), “camel,” = L. elephanto- or elephant- (m.), Grk. ἐλεφάντ-; and perhaps two or three more. The declension of all the foregoing is sufficiently indicated by the suffix-vowel. With these may be ranged a few well-known proper names; as: *Iâirusâlîymô* (f.) = Jerusalem (but see also (2, ii) below); *Kaisara- = Caesar; Krētō- (f.) = Crete; Makidônîjô- (f.) = Macedonia; and *Rûmô- = Rômā-.

(2) Words, especially proper names, necessarily introduced with the scriptures themselves. These are but imperfectly adjusted to the various Gothic declensions, and show many irregularities. Examples:

(i) *a-declension*: Adama- (but N. Adam), “Adam”; Iēsu-, N. Iēsus, “Jesus,” A. Iēsu, D. Iēsua and Iēsu, G. Iēsuis; Laiwvju- (which follows hairdja-, § 48 (1)) = “Levi”; and others. Some feminines that show ā in the N.—as Galatia, Kilekia, Seidōna, and Syria, with its byform Saura—make their G. in -ais, like the i-fems. (§ 49 (2)).

(ii) To the *i-declension* belong the national names of peoples; as: Makidônî, “a Macedonian”; Rumôni-, “a Roman”; Saurî-, “a Syrian”; Seidôni-, “a Sidonian”; Tyri-, “a Tyrian.” The sing., Naiman sa Saur, “Naaman the Syrian,” occurs (Luke iv. 27); but generally these nouns are plurals,—N. -eis, D. -im, G. -ē. Of some, duplicate

¹ Grimm, however, considers this a native word.
stems occur; as: Gaúmaúreis, N. pl., "people of Gomor-rha," but D. Gaúmaúrjum;—Saúdaúmeis, N. pl., "people of Sodom," but D. Saúdaúnim or Saúdaúnimam, G.-jê;—
*Åpeineis, D. Åpeinim," "Athens," is plural as in Grk.;—
Iaúrusályneis, D. -nim and -mim, "Jerusalem," is also plural.

(iii) Under the u-declension fall Grk. and Lat. mase. 
o-nouns, at least in the sing.; as: Paitru-, "Peter"; Teitu-,
"Titus"; aipistaúri = épisokoto-, "bishop"; apaústaúli=
áptostolo-, "apostle"; but in such plurals as occur there
is oscillation between i- and u-forms; as: angilu-, "angel," 
N. plur. angiljus and angileis, G. angilê only;—subbattu-, 
"sabbath," D. plur. subbatum and subbatim, G. subbatê.

(iv) To the weak or n-declension are adjusted those mase. 
proper nouns of which the Grk. Ns ends in -a or -as (which 
stands in Ulf.) or in -ô, -ôn; as: N.*Iôra, Jora, G. Iorius;—
N. Annas, Kajafa, D. Annin, Kajafin;—N. Apaúllô, Symaión,
G. Apaúllêôns, Symaîôns;—also fems. in (N.) -ô and -ei; 
as: N. Iaúreikô, "Jericho," D. Iaúreikôn;—N. Béfsfagei=
Bêðsphagnost, D. Béfsfagein.—To the n-declension regularly 
belongs the important subst. aikklesjôn- (f.) = ekklêstai-,
"church" (N. -jô, G. -jôns, &c.);—(7ô) éna-grêleu, "the 
gospel," is rendered both by the fem. aíwangeljôn- and the 
neut. aíwangelêja.—Remarkable is: N. Marjâ and Mariam,
Mary, A. Marjan and Marian, D. Marjûn, G. Marjûns; but 
other fems. with the properly mase. suffix -an also occur; as:
Marjân-, Martha; Sárran-, Sarah.

(v) Mixed forms. These are generally due to a mere 
transliteration of some of the cases of words as they actually 
stood in the original Greek, while other cases of the same 
words are passed through a Gothic mould; thus: N. Bêpania=
ô Bêpanía, A. Bêpanian, G. (G.) Bêpanias = (á pó) Bêpanías;
but D. Bêpaniin and -iän;—N. s. aipistaúlê = épisokolê,
but D. aipistaúlein, A. pl. aipistaúlans, D. pl. aipistaúlêm;—
N. s. synagôgê, synagôgyn, A. synagôgen and -gein, D. syna-
gôgein, -gên, -gê, and -gai, and G. synagôgais;—N. s. praí-
feûts = próphiêtes, but G. praífêts, like a-nouns; or N. s.
praífêtus, A. praífêtu, &c., like u-nouns. The indifference 
to uniformity becomes striking when varieties of one case 
occur close together; as: G. s. praífêtaus and -tis, both in 
Mt. x. 41;—G. s. Mattapíaus in Luke iii. 26, but in 25 Matt-
apiwis, as if the second half of the name (N. s.) Matta-pius 
were the Go. pius, stem piwa- (§ 48 (1)). Detached instances 
are: Nasôrêniai, voc. = Naçarîné! alabalstraiûn, acc. = alÎá-
bastrrov; asarjava = òsaarpov (Mt. x. 29); arômata, acc. pl.
= ómuata; &c.—Indeclinable are: Atléisahâîp, Bêplahaiîm,
Kafar naum, sabbatō (but see (iii) above), paska, "the pass-over," manna, "manna"; and others. But perhaps the most curious examples of all are those where the Gothic declension of a word is suggested by an oblique case of the Greek; e.g.: the o in the Grk. G. s. (ἐξ) Ταβερνάδος (John vi. 23) appears to have suggested an o- (= Go. u-) stem, and is rendered by (us) Tibairiadiau (dat.) ; and the α in the A. s. (δία) Ἡροδιάδα (Mark vi. 17) suggested an n-stem (-da, -dan, -din, -dins), and is rendered by (in) Hairōdiadins (gen.), lit., "for the sake of Herodiada."

(β) Adjectives (including Participles and Numerals).

54. (1) The I-E. Adjective and Substantive were once probably identical; and the former was differentiated from the latter by its gradual appropriation to the discharge of predicative and attributive functions. From its continual juxtaposition with substantives of different genders there ultimately resulted, by assimilation, a variety of gender in one and the same individual adjective,—a variety systematically established in (for example) the "three-gender" adjectives of Greek and Latin 1. But the Gothic Adjective (and the Teutonic generally) exhibits certain special features that require careful study. In the first place its declensions are to be arranged as Vowel (or Strong) and as n (or Weak); but whereas each substantive is declinable after one paradigm, and one only; almost every adjective is declinable both after a strong and after a weak paradigm. Which form it shall assume is determined by syntactic conditions,—the weak adj. being generally used in company with the article, and the strong when such limitation is absent. The weak is hence sometimes called the Definite, and the strong the Indefinite, declension. The definite follows the pattern of the n-substantives, and may stand aside for the present. The indefinite declension (and this is the second point to note) differs widely from the vowel-declensions of the substantive: for in both numbers and in all three genders the strong adjectives show a series of inflectional endings which are mostly identical with those of the simple pronouns i-, pa-, hva- (§§ 62, 64, 66, below) 2.

(2) In the long-current explanation of the Strong adjective declension—first proposed by Bopp—the endings are attributed to the simple adjective-stem (say blin- 1 See Brugm., KZ, XXIV. 34+, and Pott, "Geschlecht," in Allgem. Enk.
2 Hence, once more, the Strong is also sometimes called the "Pronominal" declension.
MORPHOLOGY: INFLEXION OF ADJECTIVES.

or *blinda-, "blind") of the complete paradigm of the old
pronoun *ja- (Skt. *ja, jà, jad = Grk. ὅ, ἦ, ὃ, (relative), . = a
appears to be supported by the Lith. and Slav., which show
a paradigm thus constructed; but for the Teutonie it is open
to serious phonetic and other objections. Schleicher there-
fore and other scholars refer the strong adjective declension
directly to the pronominal declension. Schleicher points
out—and his views have been ably expanded by Sievers—that
certain adjectives ("all," "one," "other," &c.) are often
regarded as pronouns: several of such were probably declined
like pronouns in the Ursprache; and the Latin answers
thereto with its declension of totus, unus, alius, &c. Sievers
therefore assumes that from such common words as these
the pronominal system of inflexions gradually extended, in
Teutonic, to all adjectives, and was kept in place and in
form (yet not completely) by the influence of the simple
pronouns,—especially of the incessantly-used pa-. To this
influence may very likely be ascribed the preservation of the
final i (See § 35 (2, ii)) in the N. pl. masc. (*blindai, &c.); as
well as the appearance of a final vowel in A. s. m. (*blindan),
and likewise, perhaps, the duplicate N. & A. s. neut. in -ata.
Certain cases of the strong adjectives will still, however, be
recognized as following the substantive rather than the pro-
noun (where the two differ).

55. The Vowel (or Strong) Declensions: (i) Stems in -a
(fem. -ô).—Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td><em>blinda</em></td>
<td><em>blind</em></td>
<td><em>blind</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>blindana</td>
<td>blindana</td>
<td>blinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>blindamma</td>
<td>blindamma</td>
<td>blindai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>blindis</td>
<td>blindis</td>
<td>blindaizôs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N.</td>
<td><em>blindai</em></td>
<td><em>blind</em></td>
<td><em>blind</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>blindans</td>
<td>blindans</td>
<td>blindôs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>blindaim</td>
<td>blindaim</td>
<td>blindaim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>blindaizê</td>
<td>blindaizê</td>
<td>blindaizô</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like *blinda-* are declined: *arma-*, "miserable"; *dauba-

3 Thus *blind-* should give, in Go., N. s. m. *blindeis, A. *blindjana, &c.
(cf. *hairdeis, hairdjans, § 48 (1, ii)).
4 PBB. II. 98–124.
5 It deserves mention that Scherer, "Zur Gesch." 2nd ed., maintains
the older view: the discussion is therefore by no means ended.
INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC.

(N. s. daufs¹, dauf¹, dauba), "deaf, dumb"; göda- (N. s. gōps¹, gōp¹, göda), "good"; hauha-", "high"; hvetta-", "white"; junga-", "young"; langa-", "long" (used of time only); leitila-", "little"; mikila-", "great"; swarta-", "black"; ubila-", "evil"; and many more.

(ii) Adj.- (like subst.-) stems in -sa show no additional s in the N. s. m.; as: swesa-,"one's-own," N. s. m. swes; gaquissa-,"consentaneous," N. s. m. gaquis.

(iii) But adjs. in -ra preceded by a long vowel (unlike similar substs.) do take s in N. s. m.; as: swera-,"honoured/" N. s. m. swers; gaura-,"sad/" N. s. m. gaurs; just as when a consonant precedes; e. g.: abra-,"violent, mighty," N. s. m. abrs. No example occurs of the N. s. m. of an adj. in ra preceded by a short vowel; but from the pronominal forms, N. s. m. anpar, "other"; unsar, "our"; and the like, it is inferred that such adjs. did not take the s.

(iv) Adjs. in ja differ in the N. s. m. & f., like similar substs. (§ 48), according to the character of the base to which ja is attached. Example, with a short closed radical syllable:\n\nmidja-,"mid, middle" (Lat. medio-).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td>midjis</td>
<td>midi, midjata</td>
<td>midja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>midjana</td>
<td>midi, midjata</td>
<td>midja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>midjamma</td>
<td>midjamma</td>
<td>midjai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>midjis</td>
<td>midjis</td>
<td>midjaižos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N.</td>
<td>midjai</td>
<td>midja</td>
<td>midjaižos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>midjans</td>
<td>midja</td>
<td>midjaižos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>midjaim</td>
<td>midjaim</td>
<td>midjaižos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>midjaiže</td>
<td>midjaiže</td>
<td>midjaižo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, when the base is an open syllable, as in niu-ja-, "new," we should have:\nSing. N. niujis, n. niwi or niujata, f. niuja; A. m. niujana, n. niwi or niujata, f. niuja; &c. &c. But when the base is a long syllable, as in wilp-ja-, "wild," the declension in the sing. should be of the form—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. wilpjeis</td>
<td>wilpi, wilpjata</td>
<td>wilpi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. wilpjana</td>
<td>wilpi, wilpjata</td>
<td>wilpi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. wilpjamma</td>
<td>wilpjamma</td>
<td>wilpja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. wilpjeis (and -jis?)</td>
<td>wilpjeis (and -jis?)</td>
<td>wilpjaižos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plur. is like that of midja-. Like midja- and niuja-, decline: un-sibja-, "ungodly," and fullatjôa-, "perfect," ubiltôja-¹, "evil-doing, maleficent,"—and like wilja-: dûrjja-.

¹ But b and d often persist: see § 31 (5).
² See Note ² to § 48.
³ "Should have," &c.; i. e., if all the cases were extant.
⁴ These two words are used of persons only,—the latter, indeed, as a
MORPHOLOGY: INFLEXION OF ADJECTIVES.

"in-error, mistaken"; alljya-, "old"; faivnya-, "old, ancient"; and one or two more. The important adj. frija-, "free," makes the N. s. m. freis (i. e., fris for *fris); the only other cases extant are: masc. A. s. frijana, N. pl. frijai, A. pl. frijans; and the whole of the fem. sing., N. & A. frija, D. frijai, G. frijaižos.

(v) There are, in Ulf., only four adjs. in -wa preceded by a short vowel, viz.: fawa-, "little" (in quantity), in plur. = "few"; lasiwa-, "weak, feeble"; quiwa-, "living"; and us-skawa-, "vigilant." Of these a Nom. s. occurs (and that but once) only in the masc. lasiivs; we should have expected *lasius. For quiwa- we may probably assume, for the X. s. m., quius, n. quiu and quiwata, f. quiwa; and for fawa-, faus, fau and fawata, fau, (like pius, kniu, and frigywa, § 48); but as to the other there is some doubt whether we should say us-skaus or us-skaws.

56. The Vowel Declensions, continued: Stems in -i. This -i, however, which nowhere appears as such, is inferred either from the form of the N. s. fem., which takes s (like ansts, &c., § 49), or from derived adverbs in -iba, or from related words in other dialects. The N. s. m. & f. resemble those of the i-substantives (§ 49); the N. & A. s. neut. follow the a-substs.: in all the other extant cases of all genders and both numbers ja appears¹, so that these cases are identical in suffix with the corresponding cases of midja- and witjja- in § 55.—

Example:

hraini- (hrainja-), "clean"².

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>N. hrains</td>
<td>hrain, hrainjata</td>
<td>hrains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. hrainjana</td>
<td>hrain, hrainjata</td>
<td>hrainja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D. hrainjamma</td>
<td>hrainjamma</td>
<td>hrainjai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G. hraineis²</td>
<td>hraineis²</td>
<td>hrainjaižos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>N. hrainjai</td>
<td>hrainja</td>
<td>hrainjös</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. hrainjans</td>
<td>hrainja</td>
<td>hrainjös</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D. hrainjaim</td>
<td>hrainjaim</td>
<td>hrainjaim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G. hrainjaiže</td>
<td>hrainjaiže</td>
<td>hrainjaižo.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like hraini- are declined: analaugni-, "hidden"; andanëmi-, subst. = "evildoer, malefactor": if the simple N. & A. s. neut. occurred, they would be fullataui, vbiltatai (§ 26 (4, v)).

¹ The j, however, on the Schleicher-Sievers hypothesis, is the consontantized stem-.
² Some of the cases in this and other paradigms are not extant; but where the given forms are not open to doubt it is not necessary to indicate them.
³ When the radical syllable is short, this G. suffix should be -jis (§ 55, iv).
"acceptable"; briki-,"useful"; gasfuiri-,"well-behaved"; gamaini-,"common"; riuri-,"corruptible"; seli-,"good, kind"; sutii-(or suti-?), "sweet"; and others: of the majority of them, however, only a single case actually occurs.

57. The Vowel Declensions, concluded: Stems in -u. Here the u appears in the N. s. m., f., & n., and in the A. s. n.; when therefore any of these cases occur, there is no doubt as to the declension of the adj. The other cases show ja'.—Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hardus</td>
<td>hardu, hardjata</td>
<td>hardus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. hardjana</td>
<td>hardu, hardjata</td>
<td>hardja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. hardjamja</td>
<td>hardjamma</td>
<td>hardjai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. hardeis</td>
<td>hardeis</td>
<td>hardjaizōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hardjai</td>
<td>hardja</td>
<td>hardjōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. hardjans</td>
<td>hardja</td>
<td>hardjōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. hardjaim</td>
<td>hardjaim</td>
<td>hardjaim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. hardjaizē</td>
<td>hardjaizē</td>
<td>hardjaizō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly are declined: aglu-,"difficult"; angwu-,"narrow, strait"; kaiku-,"heavy, weighty"; lusandu-,"empty-handed"; manuwu-,"ready"; seipu-,"late" (in time); tulgu-,"fast, firm"; twalbwintru-,"twelve-years-old"; pāuru-,"withered"; and two or three more: but of the majority only a single case actually occurs.

58. The n-declension' comprises regularly-extended forms of the simpler adjective-stems. The masc. follows guman-; the fem., tungon-; and the neut., hairtan-; (§ 51).—Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blinda</td>
<td>blindō</td>
<td>blindō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. blindan</td>
<td>blindō</td>
<td>blindōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. blindin</td>
<td>blindin</td>
<td>blindōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. blindins</td>
<td>blindins</td>
<td>blindōns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blindans</td>
<td>blindōna</td>
<td>blindōns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. blindans</td>
<td>blindōna</td>
<td>blindōns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. blindam</td>
<td>blindam</td>
<td>blindōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. blindamc</td>
<td>blindamc</td>
<td>blindōnō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The j perhaps permeating from ancient Noms, pl. m. & f. (cf. sunjus, § 23 (1)), or as Schmidt thinks from the ancient N. s. f. (KZ. XXVI. 371-2).
2 See Notes 2 and 3 to § 56.
3 See § 40 (2, ii) above. On the older substantival character of these adjectives, see Osthoff, Forsch. II., and Brugman in KZ. XXIV. 37.
The ja-stems of the a-declension should make, of course, Sing. N. midja, midjö, midjö; A. midjan, midjö, midjön: and so on. Of the i- and u-declensions the ja-stems are taken as the bases of the n-declension; as: Sing. N. hrainja, hrainjö, hrainjö, and hardja, hardjo, hardjo; A. hrainjan, hrainjö, hrainjön, and hardjan, hardjö, hardjön; &c., &c.


(1) The Comparative Degree is of the n-declension only; the base is a simpler comparative in iz (is) or õz (õs), which in this form is used (if at all) as an adverb only; e.g., hauhis (for -iz), "higher" (adv.), but hauhizan-, "higher" (adj.). The compound suffix -ozan is used with some a-adjs.; other a-adjs. (including all in ja), and likewise all i- and u-adjs., take -izan. The fem. follows managein- (§ 51).—Examples:

frödözan-,. "wiser"; sutizan-,. "sweeter."

masc. | neut. | fem.
---|---|---
Sing. N. frödöza, sutiza | frödözo, sutizo | frödözei, sutizei
A. frödözan, sutizan | frödözö, sutizö | frödözein, sutizein
D. frödözin, sutizin | frödözin, sutizin | frödözeins, sutizeins
G. frödözins, sutizins | frödözins, sutizins | frödözeins, sutizeins

Phr. N. frödözans, sutizans | frödözoña, sutizoña | frödözeins, sutizeins
A. frödözans, sutizans | frödözoña, sutizoña | frödözeins, sutizeins
D. frödözanam, sutizam | frödözan, sutizam | frödözein, sutizein
G. frödözanė, sutizanė | frödözanė, sutizanė | frödözeinė, sutizeinė

Before -izan, ja disappears; thus, of alþja, "old," the compar. is: N. s. alþiza, alþizö, alþizei; A. alþizan, &c. Of u-adjs. (as hardu-) the compar. is also of the form N. s. hardzu, hardzö, hardzei; &c.

Besides frödözan-, the following comparatives in -ozan occur:—garaihtozan-, "more righteous"; handugozan-, "wiser"; hlasózan-, "more cheerful"; swikunpoz-an-, "better-known"; swinpözan-, "stronger, mightier"; þaürf-tözan-, "more needful"; usdaudozan-, "more zealous."

(2) The Superlative Degree. Here the vowel and consonantal declensions are again used. The stem of the strong or a-declension is formed by the suffix -ta appended to the simpler (adverbial) comparative stem in -is, -õs; as: (adv.) hauhis; superl. adj. hauhista-, "(the) highest"; (cf. Grk. kak-ú-s-to-, &c.). The m., n., and f. of this form follow blinda- (§ 55), except that the duplicate N. & A. s. neut. in -ata does not occur, and perhaps was not in use. Of the n-declension the fem. follows tungön-.
Example (vowel-declension):

\[
\text{frødösta}-, \text{“wisest”}; \text{sutista}-, \text{“sweetest”}.
\]

masc. neut. fem.
S. N. *frødösts, sutists *frødöst, sutist *frødösta, sutista
A. *frødöstanana, sutistana *frødöst, sutist *frødösta, sutista ;
&c. &c. &c.

(n-declension):

masc. neut. fem.
S. N. *frødösta, sutista *frødösto, sutisto *frødösto, sutistö
A. *frødöstan, sutistan *frødöstö, sutistö *frødöstön, sutistön ;
&c. &c. &c.

To all the comparatives in -ösan there no doubt answered superlatives in -östa; but none of these occur in Ulfilas. On the other hand, for the two superlatives in -östa that do occur,—viz.: armösta-, “most miserable,” and lasiwösta-, “most feeble”—the corresponding comparatives are wanting.

(3) Irregular Comparison.

(i) Six (positive) adjectives that have lost the pos., or themselves appear in those degrees in a disguised form. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gōda-, “good,”</td>
<td>batizan-, “better,”</td>
<td>batista-, “best”;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubila-, “bad, evil,”</td>
<td>wāirsizan-, “worse,”</td>
<td>[wanting 1];</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mikila-, “big, great,”</td>
<td>maizan-, “greater,”</td>
<td>maista-, “greatest”;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leitila-, “little,”</td>
<td>minnizan-, “less,”</td>
<td>minnista-, “least”;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sineiga-, “old,”</td>
<td>[wanting 2]</td>
<td>simista-, “eldest”;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junga-，“young,”</td>
<td>jūhizan-, “younger,”</td>
<td>[wanting ];</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are all declined like the similar degrees in (1) & (2) above.

(ii) Three old superlatives in ma-n, and three others in tu-ma-n or du-ma-n are based on prepositions or adverbs, and have no comparatives; these are: fruman-, “first” ; auhumran-, “higher”; immuman-, “inner, inmost”; aftuman-, “last”; iftuman-, “next, following”; hleiduman-, “left-hand.” As the form of the stem shows, these are all weak; but the fem. follows managein-; as: N. s. m. fruma, n. frumö, f. frumei; A. m. fruman, n. frumö, f. frumein; and so on.—

1 Probably wāirsista-.
2 Probably minnizan- (siniz- = Lat. senior-).
3 Used in wk. form with comparative meaning,—bai sinistans = “the elders.”
4 Probably jūhista-.
Some of them appear to have lost their full superl. force; and one or two are always used as comparatives. Upon these, new superlatives in -ista are formed (the -an of the stem being first rejected); as: from *frum-an-, *frum-ista- ("foremost"); from aftum-an-, aftum-ista- ("aftermost"); and from auhum-an-, auhum-ista- ("highest"). Two similar "double superlatives" occur for which forms in -an- are (if they existed) not preserved; viz.: *hinduman- (= "hinder"); and *spēduman-, "last, latest," implying *spēduma- ("later"); but alongside the latter the regular compar. (l.) spēdizein-, and superl. spēdista-, also occur; of which, however, the pos. (stem *spēda- = Gr. ἱπάτ) is wanting.

60. The Participles (or Verbal Adjectives).

(1) The Active (also called the Present) Participle.—The old form of this ptpc. has been shown (§ 52 (2)) to survive in a series of nouns of agent whose stem ended in -an. In the actual Gothic ptpc. this stem-suffix (excepting, generally, the N. s. m.) was extended by -an. The three genders, in declension, follow *guman-, *hairtan-, and *managein- (§ 51). Example:

(giband-) gibanand-, "giving."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td>gibands, and (rarely)</td>
<td>gibandō</td>
<td>gibandein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gibanda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>gibanand</td>
<td>gibanndō</td>
<td>gibanndein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>gibbonand</td>
<td>gibanandin</td>
<td>gibanndein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>gibbonins</td>
<td>gibaninds</td>
<td>gibanndeins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N.</td>
<td>gibbonans</td>
<td>gibanndōna</td>
<td>gibanndeins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>gibbonans</td>
<td>gibanndōna</td>
<td>gibanndeins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>gibbonans</td>
<td>gibanndōna</td>
<td>gibanndeins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>gibanndanē</td>
<td>gibanndanē</td>
<td>gibanndeins</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So also are declined: hausjandan- ("hearing"); nimandan-, "taking"; quimandan-, "coming"; quipandan-, "saying"; saithwanand-, "seeing"; &c., &c.

(2) The Past (also called the Passive or the Perfect) Participle is declined after both the vowel and the consonantal pattern. The suffixes of this ptpc. are—for the ablaut and reduplicating verbs -ana, and for the derived verbs -da (-ida, -aida, -āda). In the consonantal declension the fem. follows tungōn.

1 And even when preceded by the article; but see § 93 (viii).
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Examples (vowel-declension):

\[
gibana-, \text{"given"}; \text{nasida-, \text{"saved."}}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td>gibans, nasips</td>
<td>giban, nasip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>gibanana, nasidana</td>
<td>giban, nasip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>gibanamma, nasidamma</td>
<td>(same as masc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>gibanis, nasidis</td>
<td>(ditto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N.</td>
<td>gibanai, nasidai</td>
<td>gibana, nasida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>gibanans, nasidans</td>
<td>giban, nasida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>gibanaim, nasidaim</td>
<td>(same as m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>gibanaizē, nasidaizē</td>
<td>(ditto)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(n-declension):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td>gibana, nasida</td>
<td>gibanō, nasidō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>gibanan, nasidan</td>
<td>gibanō, nasidō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>gibanin, nasidin</td>
<td>gibanin, nasidin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and so on, like blindan- in § 58.

Similarly are declined: bundana-, wk. bundanan-，“bound”;

numana-, wk. numanan-，“taken”;

saiana-, wk. saianan-，“sown”;

daupida-, wk. daupidan-，“baptized”;

gawasida-, wk. gawasidan-，“clothed”;

salbōda-, wk. salbōdan-，“anointed”;

habaida-, wk. habaidan-，“had”; &c., &c.

61. The Numerals.

(1) The Cardinals. The list extant in Ulf. is scanty; but as the fundamental names and a few combinations of them are preserved, a large part of the Go. numerical system may be reconstructed.

(i) The first three cardinals—aina-, “one,” twa-, “two,” and pri-, “three”—were fully declined; thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>ains</td>
<td>ain, ainata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>ainana</td>
<td>ain, ainata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>ainamma</td>
<td>ainamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>ainis</td>
<td>ainis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>twai</td>
<td>twa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>twans</td>
<td>twa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>twaim</td>
<td>twaim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>twaddjē</td>
<td>twaddjē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>*preis</td>
<td>prija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>prins</td>
<td>prija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>*prim</td>
<td>*prim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>prije</td>
<td>prije</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(ii) Besides its strictly numerical sense of “one,” aina- may have the related but purely adjectival meaning of “only, alone” (μόνος, solus), and may then be plural (σίμως, ainaim, &c.): see § 97 (ii). Used pronominally aina- may be = “one, a certain one” (ἐὰν, ὁ): see § 101 (xvii).

(iii) The cardinals from “four” to “nineteen” show, in some instances, datives in im and genitives in d. Such of these as occur are given in the following list of extant numerals:

- fidwor, “four”; (D. fidwōrim by fidwōr;)
- fimf, “five”; saīhs, “six”; sibun, “seven”; ahtau, “eight”;
- nīun, “nine”; (G. nīnē;)
- taīhun, “ten”; (D. taīhunim;)
- *ainlīj, “eleven”; (but D. ainlīnim occurs;)
- twalīj, “twelve”; (D. twalīdim by twalīf, G. twalībe;)
- fidwōr-taīhun, “fourteen”;
- fimf-taīhun, “fifteen”; (D. fimf-taīhunim.)

(The wanting “teens” would probably be *prija-taīhun, *saīhs-taīhun, *sibun-taīhun, *ahtau-taīhun, and *nīun-taīhun.)

(iv) The tens from “twenty” to “sixty” are formed by the aid of a separate masc. u-subst., tigu-2 (our -ty), “a decad,”—declinable (but always, of course, in the plur.) like sunu- (§ 50),—and the remaining three by the aid of tēhund, evidently a by-form (although hitherto phonetically unexplained) of taīhun; thus:

- twai tigjus, “twenty”; (D. twaim tigum;)
- preiš tigjus, “thirty”; (A. prins tiguns and G. prije tigiwe;)
- fidwōr tigjus, “forty”; (A. fidwōr tiguns;)
- fimf tigjus, “fifty”; (A. fimf tiguns;)
- saīhs tigjus, “sixty”; (D. saīhs tigum;)—but:

(v) For “one hundred” the composite taīhun-tēhund, by taīhun-taīhund, occurs; but for two or more hundreds the neuters tua, prija, &c., are followed by the neut. pl. hunda. The extant instances are:

- tua hunda, “two hundred”; (D. twaim hundam;)

1 Osthoff, M.U. L. 131, and J. Baunack, KZ. XXV. 244 note, suggest, with great probability, that these apparent i-cases are “analogical” formations instigated by the genuine (dat.) prim, to which, first of all, fidwōr-im, and then the successive numerals up to (probably) *nīun-taīhun-im, were assimilated.

2 Radically related to taīhun; see § 32 (2, iv).
The word for "thousand" is the fem. púsundjō-, declined like bandjo- (§ 48 (3)). The instances are:

púsundi, "thousand";
twós púsundjōs, "two thousand";
'g (=*preis) púsundjōs, "three thousand";
 fidwōr púsundjōs, "four thousand"; (D. fidwōr púsundjōm);
 fimf púsundjōs, "five thousand"; (D. fimf púsundjōm);
and the datives (mip) tāihun púsundjōm, "(with) ten thousand," and (mif) tswaím tīgum púsundjō, "(with) twenty thousand";
where tāihun is treated as an adj., while the subst. tīgum takes the partitive gen. after it. Once, however, in the fragment of Ezra (ii. 14) there occurs twa púsundja, "two thousand," formerly explained as a neut. plur., but more recently as the remains of a dual fem.

(vii) The use of the letters of the alphabet as numerical symbols has been explained in § 8. If it had not been for this usage, many other of the full names than those above given would have been preserved. Both when these symbols and when the full names are used the general rule was that the larger collective units (thousands, hundreds, tens) preceded, and the smaller units (hundreds, tens, ones) followed.

(2) The Ordinals. These are based on the cardinals, except the first two, namely: fruman-, "first," with fem. in -ein- (See § 59 (3, ii)), and anāpara-, "other, second," which is declined after the vowel-paradigm (§ 55). Prīdja-, "third," and the rest, are of weak declension only, with fem. in -ōn (§ 58 (1)). The extant ordinals are:

Nominatives singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fruman-, &quot;first&quot;</td>
<td>fruma</td>
<td>frumō, frumei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anāpara-, &quot;second&quot;</td>
<td>anāpar</td>
<td>anāpar, anāpara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prīdja-, &quot;third&quot;</td>
<td>prīdja</td>
<td>prīdjo, prīdjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saīhsta-, &quot;sixth&quot;</td>
<td>saīhsta</td>
<td>saīhsto, saīhsto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahtuda-, &quot;eighth&quot;</td>
<td>ahtuda</td>
<td>ahtudo, ahtudo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 By Mahlow, approved by J. Schmidt, KZ. XXVI. 43.
4 E.g., Suniwe Babaawis 'x'k: 'g="of the sons of Babaaw (Babay) 623" (Ez. ii. 11).
5 As in our idiom, "every other day"; i.e., "every second day."
6 The d is not an accretion here; cf. Lat. tertio-, Grk. τρίτο-, &c.
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Nominatives singular.

masc. | neut. | fem.
--- | --- | ---
niundan-，“ninth” | niundáñ | niundáñ
taihundan-，“tenth” | taihundáñ | taihundáñ

fimfta-taihundan-，“fifteenth”

Of this last composite only the dative, fimfta-taihundin, occurs; from which we infer that only the second member of such compounds was declined. It also suggests (what is clear by analogy) that “fifth” was fimfta-.

(3) Indefinite and other numerals.

(i) Certain adjectives, which in the sing. denote quantity, indicate in the plur. an unspecified number; as: allu-,”all, the whole,” plur. allai, alla, allòs, “all (in number)” —
fawa-,”little,” plur. fawai, fawa, fawòs, “few”; —manag-,
“much,” plur. managai, managa, managòs, “many”; —sumai, in sing. = “some, a certain one,” in plur., sumai, &c., “some, or certain ones.”

(ii) “Both” is represented by (a) ba-, declined like twa-; but only the N. m. bai, A. bans, D. baim, and the N. & A. n. ba, occur; (b) bajòp-, based on ba-, of which there occur only the N. m. bajòps, D. bajòpum (cf. mènòps, § 52 (3)).

(iii) The only simple “distributive” extant is tweihna-, “two each”; and of this only the A. f. tweihnom, and D. tweihnaim, occur (see § 41 (5, vi)). But a distributive notion is conveyed by prepositional or pronominal phrases; as:

(Insandida ins) twans hwanzuh, “(He sent them forth) two by two” (Lk. x.1) —Bi twans aippau maist (bi)prins, “by twos or at-most (by) threes” (Cor. I. xiv. 27);—Ana hwarjanòh fimftigum, “in each (rank) fifty” (Lk. ix. 14).

(iv) “Multiplicative” adj.s. are formed by adding falòpa-, “-fold,” to the cardinals, which drop their stem-vowel (when there is one); as: ainfalòpa-, lit. “onefold,” : “simple”; fidurfalòpa-, “fourfold”; taihuntaihundfalòpa-,”hundredfold”; managfalòpa-,”manifold.”

(v) “Iterative” phrases are formed by the numerals + the D. s. & pl. of sinòpa-, m., lit. “a going,” : “a time,” —as: ainamma sinòpa,” once”; anfaramma sinòpa,” a second time”; prìm sinòpa, “thrice”; &c. These are properly adverbial (§ 82 (5)).

(γ) Pronouns.

62. The Personal Pronouns (including the Reflexive Pronoun).

(1) The Personal Pronouns (as in some related dialects)
retain a dual of the 1st and 2nd persons (="we-two," "ye-two"); as:

**First Person.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. ik</td>
<td>wit</td>
<td>weis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. mik</td>
<td>unk, unkis</td>
<td>uns, unsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. mis</td>
<td>unkis</td>
<td>uns, unsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. meina</td>
<td>unkara</td>
<td>unsara.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Second Person.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. pu</td>
<td>*jut</td>
<td>jus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. pu</td>
<td>*jut</td>
<td>jus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. puk</td>
<td>inquis</td>
<td>izwis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. jus</td>
<td>inquis</td>
<td>izwis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. þeina</td>
<td>inquara</td>
<td>izwara.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the foregoing there is no distinction of gender. For the 3rd persons, "he, she, it," the unemphatic demonstrative *i*- is used: it appears in all genders; thus:

**Third Person.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. is</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. ina</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>jja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. imma</td>
<td>imma</td>
<td>izai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. is</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>izös</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. eis</td>
<td>ija</td>
<td>ijös</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. ins</td>
<td>jja</td>
<td>ijös</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. im</td>
<td>im</td>
<td>im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. iže</td>
<td>iže</td>
<td>izō.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) The Reflexive Pronoun stands as the direct or indirect object to some verb whose subject or nominative is a noun or pronoun of the 3rd person; and this subject and the reflexive pronoun must denote the same person or thing. It follows from the definition that a reflexive proper cannot assume the nominative relationship and form. Accordingly, the Gothic reflexive shows only the three remaining cases,—A. sik, D. sis, G. seina, and these serve for both numbers and all genders of the 3rd person. (More on the Reflexive will follow in the Syntax, § 102.)

63. The stems of the Personal Possessives show the same form as the genitives of the personal pronouns. Grammatically, as well as by derivation (§ 40 (2, x)), they are adjectives, and are declined after the a-paradigm only (like *blinda-*,
§ 55 (i)); but the duplicate neuter form in -ata, which occurs with *meina-, *beina-, *seina- appears to be wanting for the other possessives. The whole series is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominatives singular.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p. s., meina-, “mine”.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot; beina-, “thine”.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p. du., unkara-, “our-two’s”.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot; inquara-, “your-two’s”.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p. pl., unsara-, “our”.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot; izwara-, “your”.....</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stem of the Reflexive Possessive is *seina-, f. seinō-, "his, her, its, their," or "his own, her own," &c. Of this the N.-forms are necessarily wanting (§ 102) ; and the A., D., G., s. & pl. (A. s. m. seinana, n. sein, seinata, f. seina, &c.) are used under precisely the same syntactic limitations as the pronoun sik, sis, itself. But when the persons or things to be implied in a genitive are not denoted by the subject or nominative of the clause in which that gen. is to occur, the genitives of i- (is, izōs, izē, izō) must be employed.

64. The Demonstrative Pronouns (including the Article).

(1) The simple Demonstrative is *pa-, “he, she, it, that"; which is also used as the definite article, “the," when the Gothic idiom requires one. The initial dental is sibilated in the N. s. m. & f.; but the s appears to date from prim. times (Skt. sā, sā = Grk. ὁ, ἦ for *σο, *σα).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N. sa</td>
<td>pata</td>
<td>sō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. pana</td>
<td>pata</td>
<td>pō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. ūamma</td>
<td>ūamma</td>
<td>pizai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. pis</td>
<td>pis</td>
<td>pizōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N. ūai</td>
<td>pō</td>
<td>pōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. ūans</td>
<td>pō</td>
<td>ōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. ūaim</td>
<td>paim</td>
<td>paim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. pizē</td>
<td>pizē</td>
<td>pizō.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the neut. sing. an old Instrumental case, pē, is preserved in one phrase¹, and as a factor in several conjunctions (bīpē, pē-ēi, and others).

(2) A more forcible Demonstrative = “this or that man,

¹ Ni pē haldis, “none the more": our article here and in similar phrases (“all the better,” &c.) is also an instrumental.
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...woman," &c., or an emphatic he, she, &c., is formed by combining with pa- the particle -uh (= Lat. -que). But note: (α) where the cases of the simple pronoun end in a this vowel (except in the N. s. m.) is elided before the u; (§) after a long vowel or a diphthong, on the contrary, the u of uh vanishes; (γ) a final s of the simple pron. becomes z (§ 85 (5, iii)). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N.</td>
<td>sah</td>
<td>patuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>jānuh</td>
<td>patuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>jammuh</td>
<td>pammuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>pizuh</td>
<td>pizuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. N.</td>
<td>pah</td>
<td>pōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>jānzuh</td>
<td>āh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>paimuh</td>
<td>paimuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>pizēh</td>
<td>pizēh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of all the plurals only the N. m. occurs, and of the fem. sing. only the N.; but there can be no doubt as to the form of the missing cases.

(3) Demonstratives of the nearer and remoter person or thing.

(i) The old pronominal stem hi-, "this," survives only in the D. & A. of the m. & n. sing.; these occur in certain adverbial phrases denoting point of time; viz.: D. m., himma daga, "(on) this day," i. e., "to-day"; —n., fram himma, or fram himma nu, "from this time," or "henceforth"; —also: A. m., und hima daga, "to this day"; —n., und hita, or und hita nu, "till now," or "hitherto."

(ii) jaina-, lit. "yon or yonder (man, woman, &c.)," is really an adj., and is declined after the a-paradigm (§ 55); viz.:

| N. s. m. | jaïns | n. | jainata | f. jaïna |
| A. s. | jaïnana | " | jainata | "jaïna ; &c. | &c. |

The simple N. & A. neut. (*jaïn) does not occur.

(4) Here, for want of a better place, may be mentioned the quasi-pronominal intensives saman-, "same," and silban-, "self," which are declined after the n-paradigm (§ 58). Saman- is nearly always accompanied by the article (as is also "same" in English), —silban, rarely or (more properly) never. Thus we have:

| N. s. m. | sa sama | n. | pata samō | f. | só samō |
| A. s. | jana saman | " | pata samō | " | pō samōn ; &c., &c. ; and : |
MORPHOLOGY: INFLEXION OF PRONOUNS.

N. s. m. silba  n. silbō  f. silbō
A. s. " silban  " silbō  " silbon :

&c., &c.—The former is rather of an adjectival, the latter of a substantival, nature and use (see Syntax, § 107).

65. The Relative Pronouns.

These are all formed by affixing to demonstrative or personal pronouns the particle ei.

(1) The usual Relative of the 3rd persons is based upon pa-, as declined in § 64 (1); but before the appended ei, which keeps its form throughout, a short a (except in the N. s. m.) vanishes, a diphthong or long vowel persists, and a final s becomes z (cf. § 64 (2)).

\[ pa- + ei = \text{"who, which, that."} \]

Sing. N. saei  patei  søei
A. panei  patei  pœi
D. pammei  pámmei  pizaei
G. pizei  pizei  pizöei

Plur. N. paiei  pœi  pözei
A. panzei  pœi  pözei
D. paimei  paimei  paimei
G. pizéei  pizéei  pizöei.

The instrumental þeii occurs only as a conjunction, and always after ni (ni þeii . . . , "not that . . . "). The neuters þatei and þammei are also conjunctions (Syntax, § 103 (xv, xvi)).

(2) Two Nominative Relatives of the 3rd person are also formed upon the N. s. m. & f. of i- (§ 62 (1)), viz.: m. izei and f. sei (= si + ei); sei indeed occurs more frequently than søei. In izei, e often appears for ei (§ 26 (3, iii)). Occasionally there is a remarkable employment of izei (izē) for the N. plural masc. (= *eizei); as: þai sind þai izē . . . , "these are they who . . . " (Lk. viii. 15).

(3) Relatives for the 1st and 2nd persons are similarly formed by affixing ei to the pronouns of those persons. Probably a full scheme of these Relatives was in use (ikei, *mikei, *mizei, &c.); but only the following detached instances are preserved in Ulfilas:—

1 p. s., ikei, " (I) who ";
2 p. s., þuei, " (thou) who "; þukei, " (thee) whom "; þuzei, " (to thee) to whom ";
2 p. pl., þuzei, " (ye) who "; D. izwizei, " (you) to whom ".

1 Compare the German, ich der ich, wir die wir; &c.
66. The *Interrogative Pronouns.*

(1) The simple Interrogative stem is *hwa-* (hwo-), "who?"
Of this, only the singular forms (minus the G. fem.) occur. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>hwas</td>
<td>hwa</td>
<td>hwō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>hwana</td>
<td>hwa</td>
<td>hwō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>hwamma</td>
<td>hwamma</td>
<td>hwizai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>hwis</td>
<td>hwis</td>
<td>hwizōs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the neuter an old Instrumental also survived, viz., *hwē* ="wherewith? by what means?" (=A-S. *hwī,* our "why").

A relic of the plur. is embodied in the A. m. *hwanz-uh* (§ 67 (1)).

(2) The *Partitive Interrogatives,* as they may be called, are *hwafyara-* (which (of two)’/ O.E. "whether," and *hwarja-* (which (of any number)’/ The former followed *anpara-* in declension (§ 61 (2)); but there occur only the N. s. m. & n. *hwapar,* and the D. *hwaparamma.'* *Hwarja-* is declined like *midja-* (§ 55 (iv)), except that in the neut. s. only the form in -ata occurs: N. s. m. *hwarjis,* n. *hwarjata,* f. *hwarja;* A. s. m. *hwarjana,* D. *hwarjamma,* G. *hwarjis,* N. pl. m., *hwarjai,* A. *hwarjuns,* A. f. *hwarjōs.* These are all the cases that are found in Ulf.

(3) Here are generally placed (although they are really adjectives) the *Qualitative* and *Quantitative Interrogatives,* as they may be called; viz.: *hwileika-* = Lat. quali-,”of what sort?” and *hwelauda-* = Lat. quanta-,”how great?” These follow the *a-declension* of adjectives, except that the neut. in -ata is wanting;—N. s. m. *hwileiks* (and once *hveleiks*), n. *hwileik* (not —ata), f. *hwileik,* &c.;—N. s. m. *hwelaufs,* n. *hwelaup;* f. *hwelauda;*—and to them answer the correlatives *swaleika-* = Lat. tali-,”such,” and *swalauda-* =Lat. tanto-,”so great”; which follow the same declension,—*swaleiks,* *swaleik* (but also *swaleikata*), *swaleika;* &c.: of the other only the A. s. n. *swalaud* (for *swalaup*) and A. s. f. *swalauda* occur.

67. The *Distributive Pronouns.*

These convey the notion of “each” or “every one” (whether of two or of any number); and in Gothic they are all formed from interrogatives by the addition of *uh.*

1 Probably a mistake for *hwaparammēh* (§ 67 (4)), in which, however, it is embodied.
(1) Thus, hwa-+uh gives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>G.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>hwazuh</td>
<td>hwanōh</td>
<td>hwammēh</td>
<td>hwizuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>hwah</td>
<td>hwah</td>
<td>hwammēh</td>
<td>hwizuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>hwah</td>
<td>hwah</td>
<td>hwizaih</td>
<td>hwizaih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>hwah</td>
<td>hwah</td>
<td>hwizaih</td>
<td>hwizaih</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hwazuh** is exactly = Lat. quisque, both in formation and meaning; it generally renders πᾶς, πᾶς ὁ+p, and the like. Of the plur. only the A. m. hwazuh occurs (see § 61 (3, iii)).

(2) ekasro- is nearly always rendered by hwarju-+uh; which is declined thus:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>G.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>hwarjizuh</td>
<td>hwarjatōh</td>
<td>hwarjammēh</td>
<td>hwarjizuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>hwarjatōh</td>
<td>hwarjatōh</td>
<td>hwarjatōh</td>
<td>hwarjatōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>hwarjammēh</td>
<td>hwarjammēh</td>
<td>hwarjammēh</td>
<td>hwarjammēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>hwarjizuh</td>
<td>hwarjizuh</td>
<td>hwarjizuh</td>
<td>hwarjizuh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the n. only the N. and of the f. only the A. occur; but the forms of the other cases are pretty certain.

(3) A still more precise distributive, = “each,” “every one,” is made by prefixing ain- (indecl.) to hwarjizuh, &c. (cf. Lat. unus-quisque); thus: N. s. m., ainhwarjizuh, A. ainhwarjatōh, D. ainhwarjammēh, G. ainhwarjizuh; and N. s. n., ainhwarjatōh. These are all the cases that occur.

(4) A similar pair, hwaparuh and ainhwaparuh = “each of two,” and “each one of two,” are formed upon hwapar; but only the two datives m., hwaparammēh and ainhwaparammēh, occur (once each); and the former of these (it should be added) is a correction of the hwaparimma of the MS.

68. Indefinite Pronouns.

(1) The combination hwazuh saei, lit. “every one that,” is generally = “whosoever”; but only the N. s. m. occurs. To this combination may be prefixed the pronoun sa,—sahwazuh saei; for which the equivalent sa-hwazuh izei is occasionally found: these also occur only in the N. s. m. The corresponding neuter is pata-hwah pei (not patei), “whatsoever”; it occurs only in the A. s.

---

1 ὁ is clearly the older value, of which the a in hwana is the short ($§ 85 (3, iii)$).
2 For the ē see § 26 (1, iii).
INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC.

(2) To hwazuh and hwah may be prefixed an indeclinable pis, and the compound may be followed by saei (neut. patei), pei, or ei. The following occur (the N. & A. neut. most frequently):

masc. \[\text{neut.} \]
N. pishwazuh ei, "whosoever," pishwah pei & patei, "whatsoever,"
A. pishwanôh saei, "whomsoever," pishwah pei & patei, "whatsoever,"
D. pishwammêh saei & pei, "to whom-
G. [soever," pishwizuh pei, "(of) whatsoever."

(3) hwa- is also used in many combinations to give an indefinite force (see Syntax, § 104 (iv)).

(4) aina-, "one;" suma-, "some;" and alla-, "all, the whole," are properly adjectives, but are also (especially suma-) used with an indefinite pronominal force = "some one," "a certain man," &c.—Suma- is often duplicated into a correlative pair,—sums . . . sums, "the one . . . the other" (Grk. ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ): in this usage, uh, ûh, is generally attached to the second member, and sometimes to both members, of the pair,—sums . . . sumszuh; in the plur., sumai(h) . . . sumaih, "some . . . and others."

(5) Three indef. pronouns are made by adding to aina-, mannîn-, and hwa-, the suffix -hun, probably = cum (cum) in Lat. -cunque; but they are only used, with a preceding ni, as negatives. Ainshun, mannahun, and hwashun, should mean, in the affirmative, "any one," "any man," and "anybody," or "whosoever;" hence, with ni, they mean "no one, nobody, (neut.) nothing." Of the three, ainshun occurs by far the most frequently; its declension is:

masc. \[\text{neut.} \]
N. (ni) ainshun ainhaun ainöhun
A. (ni) ainöhun (ð' ainö-)\(^1\) ainhaun ainöhun (ð' ainöö-)
D. (ni) ainummêhun ainummêhun ainaihun
G. (ni) ainishun ainhaun ainözhishun.

Mannahun is, of course, masc. only: all the sing. occurs; viz.: N. (ni) mannahun, A. (ni) mannahun, D. (ni) mannahun, G. (ni) manshun. Of the third compound only the N. s. m., (ni) hwashun, occurs.

\(^1\) See Note \(^1\) to § 67, and § 85 (3, iii).
(δ) Verbs.

69. (1) The "accidents" of the Verb in Gothic, as in cognate languages, are Voice, Mood, Tense, Number, and Person; and in the Verb-system are incorporated one Imperative and two Participles.

(i) The Voices are two,—Active and Passive. The latter (what is left of it) is an inflexional voice, as in Greek, and not a composite one, as in English: in form it is descended from the primitive "middle" voice; and hence it is sometimes called the "Medio-passive" voice.

(ii) The Moods of the active voice are three,—the Indicative, the Optative (which also serves as a Subjunctive), and the Imperative. In the remains of the (medio-) passive voice the imperative is wanting.

(iii) The Tenses of the active voice are two,—the Present and the Preterite (originally, in strong vbs., the Perfect, §§ 23–25): of the passive there is only a present tense.

(iv) The Numbers of the active voice are three,—Singular, Dual, and Plural: in the passive there is no dual.

(v) The Persons of the singular and plural of both voices are three,—1st, 2nd, and 3rd; but of the dual there are only a 1st and a 2nd person. In the passive one personal form has to do duty for two or three persons.

(vi) The Infinitive is an uninflectible form (probably the old accus.) of a verbal substantive in -ana (§ 40 (2, vi)); but the Participles maintain complete schemes of adjectival inflexion (§ 60).

(2) The Gothic is richer than the other old Teut. dialects (a) in number, by its dual; (β) in voice, firstly by the remains of the inflexional (medio-) passive; and secondly (excepting O.N.) by its more fully developed "correlative" conjugation (§ 43 (2, iv)). But, like those others, it is poverty-stricken in the matter of tense, especially in comparison with the classical tongues. It is incapable therefore of expressing all those delicate variations of time-limited action which the Greek, for example, indicates by its copious inflexions. Thus the Gothic present often has to do duty for the future; while various subdivisions of past time—imperfect, pluperfect, aoristic—have to be expressed by the preterite. Nevertheless, some advance had been already made towards supplying the deficiencies both of voice and tense by means of composite forms. The composite passive-forms will be referred to in § 106 (iii), and the composite tenses in § 107. Among these the student will recognize some that are the prototypes of corresponding composites in modern Teutonic dialects.
70. (1) In point of Conjugation, nearly all the Gothic verbs may be arranged in a few groups, the members of each of which show similar series of root-forms, or suffixes, or both. The term "conjugation" is, however, often used with a sort of concrete or collective force; and all the verbs of each group are said to be of such or such a conjugation.

(2) The series of personal endings is substantially the same for all Gothic verbs; and so are the optative mood-suffixes. The varieties of conjugation are therefore determined by the varieties of the stem to which these suffixes and endings are attached. In the case of the pret. of Strong Verbs the root is the stem. In the present tense indic., however, a stem-vowel, a or i, comes between root and ending,—baïr-i-s, baïr-a-nd, &c.: in the pret. indic. 1 & 3 p. s. only the deep-tone variety of the bare root remains (bar); the plur. and opt. are based on the weak variety, and the opt. mood-suffixes come between root and ending. The present-tense stem-suffixes of Weak Verbs have been displayed in § 43 (2), and have been shown to include the element ja (ji). But this ja (ji) forms the present-tense stem of a few strong verbs also; so that the character of the present tense is not always a sure criterion of a strong or a weak verb. Such a criterion is, however, furnished by the preterite. Unlike the pret. of strong verbs, that of weak verbs is formed by the addition of a remarkable d-suffix which is generally considered to have once been an independent tense of an old strong verb. (See § 81 below.)

(3) In a small group of verbs an old strong pret. has been taken as a new present, and a new pret. has been formed by adding thereto a weak-pret. suffix. These verbs are called "preterite-presents"; and with them are grouped a few other so-called "irregular" verbs. But both these and the weak verbs proper may stand aside for a time while we resume, from § 25, the study of the strong verbs.

(4) All the Strong Verbs form, in reality, one great conjugation. It is convenient, however, to group them according to the several vowel-series exhibited by the varieties of the root (§§ 23–25): this we shall accordingly do, and shall give for each group a model verb conjugated in full. Many of the forms here given do not occur in Ulphilas (See § 78' (1) below); but only such of the non-extant forms as are doubtful will be indicated by the interrogative (?).
MORPHOLOGY: INFLEXION OF VERBS.

71. Ablaut verbs of vowel-series (i), § 24 (6).

(1) Paradigm:

\textit{giban}, to give.

Present tense.

**Active.**

**Indicative:**

Sing. 1. gib, \textit{I give}\(^1\)

2. gibis, \textit{thou givest}

3. gib\(p\), \textit{he, she, it gives}

Dual 1. gib\(\text{ö}s, we-two give\)

2. gib\(\text{a}t\), \textit{ye-two give}

Plur. 1. gib\(\text{am}, we give\)

2. gib\(p\), \textit{ye give}

3. gib\(\text{and}, they give;\)

**Optative (Subjunctive):**

Sing. 1. giba, \textit{I may give}\(^1\)

2. gib\(a\), \textit{that} I may give

3. gib\(a\), \textit{that} \textit{he} may give

Dual 1. gib\(\text{ai}w\), \textit{we-two may give}\(^1\)

2. gib\(\text{ait}\), \textit{ye-two may give}

Plur. 1. gib\(\text{ain}\), \textit{they may give;}

**Passive.**

**Indicative:**

Sing. 1. gib\(\text{a}d\), \textit{I am given}\(^1\)

2. gib\(\text{az}\), \textit{thou art given}

3. gib\(\text{ad}\), \textit{he is given}

Plur. 1. gib\(\text{and}\), \textit{we, ye, they are given;}

**Optative:**

Sing. 1. giba\(d\), \textit{I may be given}\(^1\)

2. gib\(a\), \textit{that} I may be given

3. gib\(a\), \textit{that} \textit{he} may be given

Dual 1. gib\(\text{ia}d\), \textit{we-two may be given}\(^1\)

2. gib\(\text{ait}\), \textit{ye-two may be given}

Plur. 1. gib\(\text{ain}\), \textit{they may be given;}

**Preterite (active only).**

**Indicative:**

Sing. 1. gaf\(^2\), \textit{I gave}

2. gaf\(^2\), \textit{thou gavest}

3. gaf\(\), \textit{he, she, it gave}

Dual 1. geb\(\text{u}, we-two gave\)

2. geb\(\text{ut}\), \textit{ye-two gave}

Plur. 1. geb\(\text{um}, we gave\)

2. geb\(\text{u}, ye gave\)

3. geb\(\text{un}, they gave;\)

**Optative:**

Sing. 1. geb\(\text{jau}, (that) I might give\(^2\)

2. geb\(\text{ois}, (that) thou mightest give\)

3. geb\(\), (that) \textit{he} might give

Dual 1. geb\(\text{ei}w\), \textit{we-two might give}\(^3\)

2. geb\(\text{e}t\), \textit{ye-two might give}

Plur. 1. geb\(\text{i}m\), \textit{they might give}\(^3\)

2. geb\(\text{ij}, ye might give\)

3. geb\(\text{ina}, they might give;\)

\(^1\) The English equivalents will not be supplied in subsequent paradigms.

\(^2\) On the final \textit{f} for \textit{b}, \textit{ft}, \textit{st}, for \textit{bt}, \textit{tt}, &c., see §§ 31 (5) & 33 (1, iv).

\(^3\) See § 78 (1) below.
INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC.

Infinitive:
giban, to give.

Participles:
Active (present):—gibandan- (but N. s. m. gibands, and rarely gibanda’), giving;
Passive (past):—gibana- (N. s. m. str. gibans, weak gibana’), given.

(2) This vowel-series is shown by the following verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Ptcp. stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 p. s.</td>
<td>1 &amp; 3 p. s.</td>
<td>2 p. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giba, I give</td>
<td>gaf</td>
<td>gaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-gita, I find</td>
<td>bi-gat</td>
<td>bi-gast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlifa, I steal</td>
<td>hlaf</td>
<td>hlait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ita, I eat</td>
<td>(at?) ét</td>
<td>est⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liga, I lie</td>
<td>lag</td>
<td>lagt⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lisa, I gather</td>
<td>las</td>
<td>last</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mita, I measure</td>
<td>mat</td>
<td>mast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-nisa, I am saved</td>
<td>ga-nas</td>
<td>ga-nast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quipa, I say</td>
<td>quap</td>
<td>quast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rika, I heap up</td>
<td>rak</td>
<td>rak( or raht)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saihwa’, I see</td>
<td>sahw</td>
<td>sahwt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sita, I sit</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>sast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sniwa, I hasten</td>
<td>snau</td>
<td>snawt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ga-)wida, I bind</td>
<td>-wap</td>
<td>-wast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ga-)wiga, I shake</td>
<td>-wag</td>
<td>-wagt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wisa, I dwell, remain</td>
<td>was</td>
<td>wast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrika, I persecute</td>
<td>wrak</td>
<td>wrakt (or -ht)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To this series are thought to belong *diva, “I die,”* (cf. sniwa), of which only the ptcp. *divana- occurs; fitan, “to travel in birth” (of which only 1 p. s. present, *fita*, and fem. act. ptcp. *fitandei* occur,—once each, Gal. iv. 19, 27); and *nipan, “to support, help”* (which occurs only once, in 2 p. s. opt. = imperative, *nīpais*, Phil. iv. 3).

One verb, *bidjan,* “to beg, pray, beseech,” shows a ja-stem in all the present tenses,—*bidja,* “I pray,” *bidjands,* “praying,” &c.; but the pret. is *ba-p (bad)*, *bast, bédum,* &c., and

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4 See § 60.
5 The 2 p. s. pret. is added because of the consonantal combinations with t.
6 See § 24 (2).
7 See § 32 (3, iii) ad fin.
8 The quasi-passive meaning of the verb scarcely admits of this formation.
9 This verb is only found (once) in the 2 p. s. present, *rikis.*
10 *ai=i* by refraction (§ 26 (8)).
the ptp., bidana-. The present 1 p. s. \((us)\)bida (without \(j\)) also occurs once (Rom. ix. 3),—whether correctly or by error we cannot tell. Bidja, in the present tenses, follows nasja (§ 79 (1)).

Fratihan, “to ask,” shows a na-stem in the present tenses, in which it follows fullhan (§ 79 (4)) : its pret. is frah, fraht, frēhum, &c.; and its ptp. fraihana-.

72. Ablaut verbs of vowel-series (ii), § 24 (6).

(1) Paradigm:

\(niman\), to take.

**Active:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. nima</td>
<td>nimau</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nimis</td>
<td>nimais</td>
<td>nim</td>
<td>nimaza</td>
<td>nimaizau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nimip</td>
<td>nimai</td>
<td>nimada</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nimaizau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1. nimös</td>
<td>nimaiwa</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nimats</td>
<td>nimaits</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1. nimam</td>
<td>nimaima</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nimip</td>
<td>nimaij</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nimand</td>
<td>nimaina</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>nima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preterite.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. nam</td>
<td>nêmjau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. namt</td>
<td>nêmeis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nam</td>
<td>nêmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1. nêmu</td>
<td>nêmeiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nêmuts</td>
<td>nêmeits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1. nênum</td>
<td>nêmeima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nêmp</td>
<td>nêmeip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nêmun</td>
<td>nêmeina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Verbs of this series:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 p. s.</td>
<td>1 &amp; 3 p. s.</td>
<td>2 p. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baîra, I bear</td>
<td>bar</td>
<td>bart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brika, I break</td>
<td>brak</td>
<td>brakt (or -ht)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîma, I take</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>namt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quîma, I come</td>
<td>quam</td>
<td>quamt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stîla, I steal</td>
<td>stal</td>
<td>stalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-ťaira, I destroy -tar</td>
<td>-tart</td>
<td>-tûr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here probably belongs the verb ga-timan, “to suit, agree with”; of which only the 3 p. s. present occurs. The verb “to tread,” which in the W.Teut. dialects is regular, shows,
in Gothic, an exceptional *u in the infin. and the present
tenses. The parts that occur are: *trudan (infin.), *trudanda
(3 p. pl. pass.), and (ga-)*trudan (neut. ptp. pass.): the pret.
was probably *traþ, *trëdum (cf. O.N. trað, tráðum, against
the infin. troða).

73. Ablaut verbs of vowel-series (iii), § 24 (6).

(1) Paradigm:

bindan, to bind.

Present tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>binda</td>
<td>bindau</td>
<td>bindada</td>
<td>bindaian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bindis</td>
<td>bindais</td>
<td>bind</td>
<td>bindaza</td>
<td>bindaizaun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bindlip</td>
<td>bindai</td>
<td>bindadai</td>
<td>bindada</td>
<td>bindaidual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1. bindðs</td>
<td>bindaiva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bindats</td>
<td>bindaits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1. bindam</td>
<td>bindaima</td>
<td>bindam</td>
<td>bindanda</td>
<td>bindaidau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bindlip</td>
<td>bindair</td>
<td>bindipa</td>
<td>bindanda</td>
<td>bindaidau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bindand</td>
<td>bindaina</td>
<td>bindandau</td>
<td>bindanda</td>
<td>bindaidau.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Preterite.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. banst</td>
<td>bundeis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. band</td>
<td>bundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1. bundu</td>
<td>bundeiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bunduts</td>
<td>bundeits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1. bundum</td>
<td>bundeima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bundup</td>
<td>bundeip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bundun</td>
<td>bundeina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) The verbs of this series are numerous; viz.:

Present.  Preterite.  Ptpc. stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 p.s.</th>
<th>1 &amp; 3 p.s.</th>
<th>2 p.s.</th>
<th>1 p. pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>binda, I bind</td>
<td>band</td>
<td>banst</td>
<td>bundum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baúrga, I protect</td>
<td>barg</td>
<td>bargt ?</td>
<td>baúrgum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blaggwa, I scourge</td>
<td>blaggw</td>
<td>blaggwta</td>
<td>bluggwum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brinnna, I burn</td>
<td>brann</td>
<td>brant</td>
<td>brunnnum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drinka, I drink</td>
<td>drank</td>
<td>drankt ?</td>
<td>drunkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filha, I hide, bury</td>
<td>falh</td>
<td>falht</td>
<td>fulhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finpa, I find</td>
<td>fanp</td>
<td>fanst</td>
<td>funpum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(us-)gilda, I (re)pay</td>
<td>-gald</td>
<td>-galst</td>
<td>-guldum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du-ginna, I begin</td>
<td>du-gann</td>
<td>-gant</td>
<td>-gunnum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(uf-)gaðrda, I gird (up)</td>
<td>-gard</td>
<td>-garst</td>
<td>-gaúrdum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See § 29 (1, viii).
2 Intransitive.
3 In the sense of “learn, discover.”
4 See § 28 (2, vi).
### Morphology: Inflection of Verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 p. s.</td>
<td>1 &amp; 3 p. s.</td>
<td>2 p. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilpa, I help</td>
<td>halp</td>
<td>halpt (or -ft)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(fra-)hippa, I capture</td>
<td>-hanp</td>
<td>-hanst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwairba, I go, walk</td>
<td>hwarb</td>
<td>hwarbt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(af-)lina, I depart</td>
<td>-lann</td>
<td>-lant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rinna, I run</td>
<td>runn</td>
<td>rant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singwa, I sing</td>
<td>sangw</td>
<td>sangwt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinqua, I sink</td>
<td>sanqu</td>
<td>sanqu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(fra)-slinda, I swallow (up)</td>
<td>-sland</td>
<td>-slanst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spinnna, I spin</td>
<td>spann</td>
<td>spant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stinaqua, I dash, knock</td>
<td>stanqu</td>
<td>stanqu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(af)-swairba, I wipe (out)</td>
<td>-swarb</td>
<td>-swarb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swulta, I die</td>
<td>swalt</td>
<td>swalst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ana)-trimpa, I tread (on)</td>
<td>-tramp</td>
<td>-tramp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(at)-ipinsa, I attract</td>
<td>-pans</td>
<td>-panst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ga)-pairsa, I cause to wither⁷</td>
<td>-pars</td>
<td>-parst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>priska, I thresh</td>
<td>prask</td>
<td>praskt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wairpa, I throw, cast</td>
<td>warp</td>
<td>warpt (or -ft)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wairpa, I become</td>
<td>warp</td>
<td>warst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilwa, I rob, ravage</td>
<td>walw</td>
<td>walvt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winda, I wind</td>
<td>wand</td>
<td>wanst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winna, I suffer</td>
<td>wann</td>
<td>want⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ga)-wirisqua, I bear fruit (but only 3 p. pl. pres. act., gawrisquand, occurs).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74. Ablaut verbs of vowel-series (iv), § 24 (6).

(1) Paradigm:

**beita₅, to bite.**

**Present tense.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>beita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>beitis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>beitip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1.</td>
<td>beitós</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>beitats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1.</td>
<td>beitama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>beitap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>beitand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁵ *Sangut*, &c., on the pattern of *sahut*, "thou sawest," and *triggy₆*, "faithful."

⁶ *Swarb* does not occur; but *hwarb* (above) occurs several times. (See also Note ⁵, § 31.)

⁷ Only the pass. ptcpl. occurs = "withered."
Preterite.

Sing. 1. bait  bitjau
2. baist  bieteis
3. bait  biti
Dual 1. bitu  bieteiva
2. bituts  bieteits
Plur. 1. bitum  bieteima
2. bitup  biteitp
3. bitun  bieteina.

(2) The verbs of this series are:


1 p.s.  1 & 3 p.s.  2 p.s.  1 p.pl.
beida, I await  baip  baist  bidum  bidana-;
beita, I bite  baipt  baipt  bitum  bitana-;
deiga, I knead, mould  daig  daigt?  digum  digana-;
dreiba, I drive  draif  draif  dribum  dribana-;
greipa, I seize  graip  graipt?  gripum  gripana-;
hneiwa, I sink, decline  hnaiw  hnaiwte  hniwum  hniwana-;
bi-leiba, I remain  -lauf  -lauf  -libum  -libana-;
leiwa, I lend  laiw  laiwte  laiwum  laiwana-;
(ga-)leipa, I go  -lauf  -lauf  -lipum  -lipana-;
ur-reisa, I arise  -raisp  -raist  -risum  -risana-;
skeina, I shine  skain  skain  sknimum  skinana-;
dis-skreta, I rend  -skrait  -skrait  -skritum  -skritana-;
(bi-)smeita, I be-smear  -smait  -smait  -smitum  -smitana-;
sneipa, I cut  snaipt  snaipt  snipum  snipana-;
speipa, I spit  spaip  spaip  spiwum  spiwana-;
steiga, I ascend  staisp  staig  stigum  stigana-;
sweipa, I cease  swaipt  swaipt  swibum  swibana-;
gai-teihia, I tell  -taipt  -taipt  -tahum  -tahana-;
pehia, I grow, thrive  paipt  paipt  paihum  paihana-;
preiha, I press upon  praihip  praihip  prahum  prahana-;
weihia, I fight  waipt  waipt  waihum  waihana-;
weipa, I crown  waipt  waipt  wipum  wipana-;
(in-)weita, I salute, worship  -wait  -wait  -witum  -witana-.

We should perhaps add kei(j)u, kai, ki(j)um, ki(j)ana-, "sprout, grow," on the basis of the neut. ptp. sing. uskijanata, "sprung or grown up" (Luke viii. 6). In a mutilated word of the codex (Mark vi. 19) Uppström sees naiw9 (3 p.s.

1 The student will be careful to distinguish between the refraction in these forms, and the proper diphthong of the pret. sing.

2 So Herodias *naiw imma, E.V. "Herodias hated him." Förstemann would trace *neivam to an older *neib-wan = Ger. niben. Leo Meyer very ably discusses the word in KZ. XX. 308-312.

75. Ablaut Verbs of vowel-series (v), § 24 (6).

(1) Paradigm:

**Active:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>biuga</td>
<td>biug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>biugis</td>
<td>biugais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>biugip</td>
<td>biugai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1.</td>
<td>biugos</td>
<td>biugaiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>biугats</td>
<td>biugais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1.</td>
<td>biugam</td>
<td>biugam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>biugip</td>
<td>biugai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>biugand</td>
<td>biugain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Passive:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>biugada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>biugada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>biugada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1.</td>
<td>biuganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>biuganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1.</td>
<td>biuganda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preterite.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>bugjau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>bugjat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>bugi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1.</td>
<td>buggeiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>buggeits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1.</td>
<td>buggeima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>buggeip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>bugun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infin. :—biugan; Ptep. act. :—biugandan-; Ptep. pass. :—bugana-.

(2) The verbs of this series are:

**Present.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 p.s.</th>
<th>1 &amp; 3 p.s.</th>
<th>2 p.s.</th>
<th>1 p. pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ana-)biuda, I bid</td>
<td>-baup</td>
<td>-baust</td>
<td>-budum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biuga, I bend</td>
<td>baup</td>
<td>baugt?</td>
<td>budum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>draug, I serve as a soldier</td>
<td>draug</td>
<td>draugt?</td>
<td>drugum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>druusa, I fall</td>
<td>draus</td>
<td>draust</td>
<td>drugum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giuta, I pour</td>
<td>gaut</td>
<td>gaust</td>
<td>gutum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hauft, I mourn</td>
<td>hauft</td>
<td>hauft</td>
<td>hufum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dis-hnuip, I break</td>
<td>-hnaup</td>
<td>-hnaupt?</td>
<td>-hnuupum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...asunder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-hnupana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiusa, I prove, test</td>
<td>kaus</td>
<td>kaut</td>
<td>kusum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kriusta, I gnash</td>
<td>kraust</td>
<td>kraust</td>
<td>krustum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liida, I grow</td>
<td>laup</td>
<td>laust</td>
<td>ludum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liinga, I lie (mentor)</td>
<td>lang</td>
<td>laugt?</td>
<td>lugum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fra-liusa, I lose</td>
<td>-laus</td>
<td>-laust</td>
<td>-lusum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ga-)luka, I shut</td>
<td>-lauk</td>
<td>-laukt</td>
<td>-lukum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-lukan-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION TO GOTIC.

---|---|---
1 p. s. | 1 & 3 p. s. | 2 p. s. | 1 p. pl.
niuta, I obtain, enjoy | naut | naust | nutum | nutana-;
siuuka, I am sick | sau | saukt? | sukum | sukana-;
as-skiuba, I push aside | -skauf | -skauf | -skubum | -skubana-;
sliupa, I slip, creep | slau | slauft? | slupum | slupana-;
tiuha, I lead, bring | tau | tauht | tauhum1 | tauhana-1;
pliuha, I flee | plau | plauht | plauhum1 | plauhana-1;
us-priuta, I trouble | -praut | -praust | -prutum | -prutana-.

An act. ptep. plur., wulandans, "being-fervent (in spirit)" = ζέορτες (Rom. xii. 11), is generally thought to have a radical ū and to imply a verb like lūkan. Some grammarians have put a verb sniuhani into this list: a pret. snauh indeed occurs (Thess. I. ii. 16); but it may be the pret. snau of snivan (§ 71) emphasized by the enclitic 'h (u).n.

76. Ablaut Verbs of vowel series (vi), § 24 (6).

(1) Paradigm:

wakan: to wake, watch.

Present tense.

Active: | Passive:  
---|---|---|---|---
Sing. 1. waka | wakau | | wakada | wakaidau  
2. wakis | wakis | wak | wakaza | wakaiwu  
3. wakip | wakai | wakada | wakada | wakaidau  
Dual 1. wakos | wakaiwa | | |  
2. wakats | wakats | | |  
Plur. 1. wakam | wakaima | wakam | wakanda | wakindau  
2. wakip | wakip | wakam | wakanda | wakindau  
3. wakand | wakaima | wakandau; | wakanda | wakindau.

Preterite.

---|---
Sing. 1. wök | wökajau |  
2. wök (or -ht)? | wökeis |  
3. wök | wöki | Infin. :—wakan;  
Dual 1. wökru | wökeiwa | Ptep. act. :—wakandan-;  
2. wökuts | wökeits | Ptep. pass. :—wakana-.  
Plur. 1. wökum | wökeima |  
2. wökup | wökeip |  
3. wökun | wökeina. |  

1 See Note 1 to preceding Section.
(2) The normal verbs of this series are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 p. s.</td>
<td>1 &amp; 3 p. s.</td>
<td>2 p. s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ala, I am fed, I grow</td>
<td>öl</td>
<td>ölt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us-ana, I breathe (my last)</td>
<td>-ön</td>
<td>-önt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-daban², to befall, to beseem</td>
<td>ga-döf (-döb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-draba, I hew out</td>
<td>-dröf</td>
<td>-dröft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-draga, I collect, heap up</td>
<td>-drög</td>
<td>-drögt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fara, I go, fare</td>
<td>för</td>
<td>fört</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graba, I dig</td>
<td>gröf</td>
<td>gröft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>af-hlapa, I laze</td>
<td>-hlöp</td>
<td>-hlöst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mala, I grind</td>
<td>möl</td>
<td>mölt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saka, I strive (in words)</td>
<td>sök</td>
<td>sökt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skaba, I shave</td>
<td>sköf</td>
<td>sköft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slaha, I smite</td>
<td>slöh</td>
<td>slöht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swara, I swear</td>
<td>swörf</td>
<td>swört</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwaha, I wash</td>
<td>pwöh</td>
<td>pwöht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waka, I wake, watch</td>
<td>wök</td>
<td>wökt?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Standa, “I stand,” is probably for *stad-na (§ 37, Note’); pret. stöp, *stöst, stödum; the ptp. should be *stadana-. For *aga, ög, see § 80 (1, xii).

(3) Seven other verbs of this series make their present-tense stems in -ja, viz.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frapja, I understand</td>
<td>fröp</td>
<td>fröst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hafija, I lift</td>
<td>höf</td>
<td>höfft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlaha, I laugh</td>
<td>höh</td>
<td>höhjt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-rapja, I count</td>
<td>-röp</td>
<td>-röst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-skajja, I create</td>
<td>-sköp</td>
<td>-sköpt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skajja, I injure</td>
<td>sköp</td>
<td>sköst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahsja, I grow</td>
<td>wöhs</td>
<td>wöhst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wahseja of course makes in the present 2 p. s. wahseis (which, however, does not occur), and 3 p. s. and 2 p. pl. wahseip; cf. søkjä (§ 79 (1, iii)).

77. (1) Reduplicating Verbs (§ 25).—These, on account of their comparatively small number, may be treated in a single section, and, with the partial exception of those in (6) below, under a single paradigm, say—

---

¹ Only the preterite us-ön occurs, E.V., “he gave up the ghost.”
² Impersonal: only the infin. and the 3 p. s. pret. occur, each once.
**INTRODUCTION TO GOthic.**

*haitan,* to call or name.

**Present tense.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. haita</td>
<td>haitau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. haitis</td>
<td>haitais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. haitip</td>
<td>haitai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1. haitós</td>
<td>haitaiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. haitats</td>
<td>haitaits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1. haitam</td>
<td>haitaima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. haitip</td>
<td>haitip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. haitand</td>
<td>haitaina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preterite (Perfect).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. haihait</td>
<td>haihaitjau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. haihaitst</td>
<td>haihaitest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. haihait</td>
<td>haihaiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1. haihaitu</td>
<td>haihaituiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. haihaituts</td>
<td>haihaitoits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1. haihaitum</td>
<td>haihaituma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. haihaitup</td>
<td>haihaitelp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. haihaitun</td>
<td>haihaituina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Reduplicating verbs of the ai-series (vii):  

**Present.**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 p. s.</th>
<th>1 &amp; 3 p. s.</th>
<th>2 p. s.</th>
<th>1 p. pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>af-aika¹, <em>I deny</em></td>
<td>-aiaike</td>
<td>-aiakte ?</td>
<td>-aiakum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fraisa, <em>I tempt</em></td>
<td>faïrais</td>
<td>faïraist</td>
<td>faïraisum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haita, <em>I call, name</em></td>
<td>haihait</td>
<td>haihaitst</td>
<td>haihaitum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laika, <em>I leap, dance</em></td>
<td>laiailk</td>
<td>laiialkt</td>
<td>laiailkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maita, <em>I cut</em></td>
<td>maïmaïst</td>
<td>maïmaïst</td>
<td>maïmaïtum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skaida, <em>I divide</em></td>
<td>skaïskaid</td>
<td>skaïskaist</td>
<td>skaïskaidum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ga-plaihan,** "to console, comfort," probably belongs here; but only present-tense forms occur.

(3) Of the au-series (viii) only aukan, "to add, augment," shows an extant preterite, in the 3 p. s. ana-aiāuk, "he further added." But the following probably belong here:—*haiupan,* "to leap"; *stautan,* "to smite, slap"; and possibly the uncertain *bnaum,* "to rub," of which only the pres. ptp., plur. *bnaumandans* occurs, and once only. *Bauan,* "to dwell," ought also to be a reduplicating verb: its present tense certainly belonged to the strong conjugation; but the only preterite preserved in Ulfilas is of the second weak conjugation (*bnauida*).

¹ On *aika,* see § 26 (5, iv).
(4) Reduplicating verbs of the al- and an-series (ix):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>falpa, I fold</td>
<td>faifalp</td>
<td>faifalst</td>
<td>faifalus</td>
<td>falpana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halda, I hold</td>
<td>haiahald</td>
<td>haihaist</td>
<td>haihalstum</td>
<td>haianahaldum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-staldal, I possess</td>
<td>-staistald</td>
<td>-staistalst</td>
<td>-staistaldum</td>
<td>-staiblanah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faha&quot;, I seize</td>
<td>faifah</td>
<td>faifahst</td>
<td>faifahuum</td>
<td>faibana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hahab&quot;, I hang</td>
<td>haihah</td>
<td>haihahst</td>
<td>haihahum</td>
<td>haihahum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following verbs, whose preterites do not occur, probably belong here:—(an-)*al*pan, “to grow (very) old”; blandan, “to mix, mix with”; (ana-)*praigan, “to oppress”; sultan, “to salt”; (us-)*stangan, “to knock or thrust (out)”; and waldan, “to rule.” Gangun, ptcp. gangana-, once had a perf. *gaigang, which has been supplanted by other forms: see § 80 (3)³.

(5) Reduplicating Verbs of the series ë, ò, ê (x):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fłęka&quot;, I bewail</td>
<td>faiflök</td>
<td>faiflökst</td>
<td>faiflökum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greña, I weep</td>
<td>gaigröl</td>
<td>gaigröst</td>
<td>gaigrötom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lęta, I let, leave</td>
<td>laiflöt</td>
<td>laiflöst</td>
<td>laiflötum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ga-)rëda, I provide</td>
<td>-raifröl</td>
<td>-raifröst</td>
<td>-raifrötom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tékä, I touch</td>
<td>taitök</td>
<td>taitökst</td>
<td>taitökum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To this class is generally attached stëpan, “to sleep,” whose preterite shows ë throughout (§ 25 (2)). Alongside the pret. 1 & 3 p. s. saizlëp there also appear saizlëp and (3 p. pl.) saizlëpun: this variation suggests that the reduplicating syllable did not originally bear the accent (§ 85 (3, iv)). The verb *blësan, “to blow, puff,” may similarly have made *baiblës, &c.; but only the passive 3 p. s. pres. and the ptcp. of the compound *uf-blësan, “to puff up,” occur; viz.: uf-blësada, “(he) is puffed up”; uf-blësana, “puffed up,” i.e. “vain, proud.”

(6) The three verbs of the series ai, ò, ai (xi)—viz., laian, “to revile”; saian, “to sow”; waian, “to blow”—offer two or three peculiarities. Thus, between the final i of the root and the present-tense suffix-vowels j is, in a very few instances, phonetically inserted (§ 29 (2, v)), as in saijîp, “he sows,” saijands, “sowing”; the normal present-tense forms, however, are saia, saiais, saiya, ... saianu, ... 3 p. s. pass. saiada; act. ptcp. saiands; pass. ptcp. saians; &c.² Again,

² For *fanhan, *hanhan (§ 26 (2)).
³ On some of these verbs see § 78 (5).
⁴ The present tense of this verb is not extant, and it has been suggested by Beesdenberger ("Die a-reihе"), with whom Kluge and De Saussure agree, that it might have been fläka (like hröpa below): in the absence of evidence, I prefer to follow the older authorities.
⁵ Laián does not occur in any pres.-tense forms; waian occurs only in the dat. of the act. ptcp. masc., waiándin.
in the perfect, of which, however, very few forms are extant, it would seem that the 2 p. s. ended in st (not t only),—probably by assimilation to the 2 p. s. of the numerous strong verbs whose roots end in t, p, d, and s, and more particularly to gaigrost, laiost, and rairost; while in the dual and plural indic. the u that characterizes the personal suffixes of other strong verbs⁸, the roots of which all end in consonants, appears here also after the vowel ő. The complete pret. indic. should therefore be:

Sing. 1. saisō, 2. saisost, 3. saisō;
Dual 1. saisōu, 2. saisouts;
Plur. 1. saisōum, 2. saisōul, 3. saisōun;
but the only forms that actually occur are: saisō, saisost⁷; laioun; waiwoun.

(7) The only verb that certainly carries a radical ő throughout its conjugation is hwōpan, already displayed in § 25 (2), (3): this occurs somewhat frequently. With it should no doubt be coupled blotan, “to worship,”—of which, however, only present-tense forms occur. We have seen in Note⁴ that some would put a *flōkan here.

78. Remarks on the Strong Conjugation.

(1) Rare and Missing forms.—No single Gothic verb (either weak or strong) is extant in all its forms: of most verbs, in fact, very few forms appear,—of many, only one or two. In the foregoing paradigms the deficient forms of the selected verbs are supplied by following the pattern of appropriate extant forms belonging to other verbs. One form, the 1 p. dual opt. of the pret., does not occur at all; but its suffix (-eiwa) is assumed to have been analogous to that of the corresponding person of the present tense (-aiwa). Of the 3 p. sing. imperative of a strong verb only one instance occurs (but in two places), viz., at-steigadau (af pamma galgin), “let-him-come-down (from the cross)”; but this form agrees with that of the single instance among the weak verbs,—lausjadau (ina), “let-him-deliver (him)”: on these patterns the other 3 p. s. imperatives are constructed. For the 3 p. plur. imper. the only pattern is supplied by the weak (ai)-verb liugandau, “let-them-marry.” The 2 p. s. strong imperative shows the bare present-tense root: final b and d should therefore pass into ŋ and p, as in gif (§ 71), except when following a liquid or nasal. Of other strong-verb forms

⁶ See (4) in the following section. ⁷ This form only occurs once.
that of which additional examples would be most acceptable is the 2 p. s. indic. preterite: this is unfortunately wanting for all verbs whose roots end in \( k \) and in \( p \); and we are left in doubt whether to say, \( e.g., wökt, ga-sköpt, \) or \( wöht, ga-sköft. \)

(2) Stems and Personal Endings.—These agree closely with those of the classical languages,—allowance being made, of course, for the action of Grimm’s (and Verner’s) Law and of the Auslautgesetze (§ 35 (2)): where they differ from those of Grk. and Lat., they do so in the direction of the still older endings of the Skt. and Zd. Thus the dual endings in gibós (-ös = -öses, -öves) and gibats are closely similar to the Skt. -äwas, -athaś, for the latter of which the Grk. shows -ηςων. The personal ending \( \overline{y} \) in fine (bairi) = Lat. fert; &c.) really replaces a late Teut. \( d \) (§ 8), although it appears to be the normal equivalent of a classical \( t \) (§ 31 (5), (6)). Similarly the \( s \) of the second person sing. present of the act. replaces a late Teut. \( z \). But in the passive, where the consonants are banked up by a final vowel, \( d \) and \( z \) regularly appear throughout, as Verner’s Law requires. Thus 2 p. s. indic. bairaza (for *baírizi\(^1\)) = Grk. φέρη for *φέρεσαι = Skt. bhārasē; 3 p. s. (which is also appropriated to the 1 p. s.) bairāda (for *bairīdā\(^1\)) = φέρεσαι = Skt. bhāratē; and similarly for the opt. In the plur. of both the passive moods, the 3 p. has supplanted both the other persons; indic. bairānda = φερονται, opt. bairānda = φέροντο.

(3) The distinctive mood-suffix of the Optative was originally jā (jē); which in Go. appears as \( i \) in the present tense, as in Grk., and \( e i \) (= \( i \)) in the pret. Before \( i \) in the pres. tense the stem-vowel \( a = o \) appears (as does \( o \) in Grk.),—bair-ai-s, bair-ai- = φέρ-ο-ν, φέρ-ο-. But the 1 p. s. bairau is noticeable. Osthoff (M.U. IV. 302) gets the \( u \) from a sonant \( m \) (bairau = *bheroip (n) = prim. bhéroim); and explains the 1 p. opt. of the Go. pret., bērjau (for which *bērjē for *bērjēm might be expected), as an assimilation to the 1 p. pres. bairau: compare, however, the 3 p. imperatives act., s. bairadau, pl. bairandau, with Skt. bhāratām, pl. bhārantaṃ\(^2\). For the pass. opt. (bairaizau, &c.), we get no direct light upon the \( u \) from other languages; but we may conjecture that it spread

\(^1\) See J. Schmidt, KZ. XXVI. 44.

\(^2\) These are middle and not act.; but as to their equivalence with the Gothic forms Bopp, Schleicher, L. Meyer, Scherer, and others are agreed. The Grk. (φερότω, φερότων) and Lat. (ferto, ferunto) are, like the Go., active; so that Begemann not unreasonably attributes a change of voice to the Skt.
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along these forms from others that have disappeared from the Gothic as we know it.  

(4) The prim. ending of the 2 p. s. perf. indie. act. was -tha (Skt. -tha, Grk. -θα), which should give, according to Grassmann (KZ. XII. 106) a Go. t; but according to Kluge (KZ. XXVI. 91) a Go. ḍ. It will be seen, however, by a glance down the tables of strong verbs, that t would even on the latter view, necessarily appear in a large majority of the 2nd persons of the preterite, in virtue of the phonetic combinations of the suffix with the final consonants of the roots; and this majority would assimilate the remainder. The u of the pret. 1 p. dual answers to Skt. -va (= prim. -va); in the 1 p. pl., -um is =m, from after which a prim. e (a) has vanished; and in the 3 p. pl., un is =n, from prim. -nt(i). From these “persons” the u spread to the 2 p. dual and plural.

(5) Vowel-shunting.—Certain verbs of the waka- and of the falpa-series are probably referable to roots that originally fell within the e-(o)-series; as: faran (cf. O.Slav. pera, Grk. πώπος); malan (cf. O.Slav. mešja, Lat. molere, and the weak root in Go. muldō-, “dust”); blandan, probably related to blinda-; and perhaps a few others. It would thus seem, that, as a = prim. o and a also = prim. a, some roots involving the former have been attracted to the group of genuine A-roots and have become the bases of similar ablaut and reduplicating verbs.

79. Weak Verbs.—For the present-tense stems of weak verbs see § 43 (2). The personal endings of this tense are precisely the same as for the present tense of strong verbs; but before some of these endings, and even (in the 2 p. s. imperative) where there is no such ending, the stem-suffix, in certain instances, undergoes slight phonetic changes; which circumstance makes it advisable to treat this tense separately for each class of weak verbs. In the preterite, however, the stem of each class maintains a constant form throughout; and as, besides, the series of inflexional endings is unvarying, the preterites of all the four classes of weak verbs may be conveniently treated together.

(1) Present tense of ja-verbs (First Weak Conjugation).—In this class it is necessary to take into account the form of the radical syllable: this may be (i) short and closed, as  

3 Cf. the Skt. opt. mid. 2 & 3 p. dual and 2 p. plur. in -ṭhām, -tām, and -dhvām.
1 See Note 2 § to 48.
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nas-; (ii) long and open, as stō-; (iii) long (by nature or "position") and closed, as sōk-, hard-. In conjugation, the sub-classes (i) and (ii) go together, and ți is preserved throughout the tense except in the 2 p. s. imperative, where ći (=i) appears for ja**: in sub-class (iii) ja passes into ći whenever it is immediately followed by s or p, and also in the 2 p. s. imperative. Paradigms:

(i) nasjan, to save.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. nasja</td>
<td>nasjau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nasjís</td>
<td>nasjais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nasjíp</td>
<td>nasjai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1. nasjös</td>
<td>nasjaiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nasjáts</td>
<td>nasjaits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1. nasjam</td>
<td>nasjaina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nasjíp</td>
<td>nasjáip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. nasjánda</td>
<td>nasjain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Infin. : nasjan; Ptcp. act. : nasjand-

Like nasjan are conjugated: hazjan, to praise; us-kramjan, to crucify; latjan, to hinder; matjan, to eat; (ga-)tanjan, to tame; pragjan, to choose; wasjan, to clothe; and others. (See § 43 (2, i).)

(ii) stōjan, to judge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. stōja</td>
<td>stōjau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. stōjis</td>
<td>stōjis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. stōjíp</td>
<td>stōjai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1. stōjós</td>
<td>stōjaiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. stōjats</td>
<td>stōjait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1. stōjam</td>
<td>stōjaina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. stōjíp</td>
<td>stōjáip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. stōjánda</td>
<td>stōjaina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Infin. : stōjan; Ptcp. act. : stōjand-

2 But in Denominatives of which the bases ended in a consonant, the imper. ought to end in i (weitvöd-, "a witness," *weitvödi," "do thou bear witness"). The only imper. that has preserved this i is hiri (§ 26 (8, iii)): the rest have been assimilated to the imperatives of vbs. based on vowel-stems. (See Brugman, M.U. IV. 414+.)

3 See § 26 (4, v).
The following are conjugated similarly; but au and in become aw and iw before the ei of the 2 p. s. imperative⁴:—
taujan, to do, make (imp. tawei⁵); straujan, to strew (imp. *strawei); (ana-)niujan, to renew (imp. *ana-niwei); (ga-) quinjan, to give life to; siujan, to sew: also, probably, *(af-)dōjan (imp. *af-duwei) and *af-mōjan (imp. *af-mauwei), which both mean "to fatigue, wear out," nearly, and are deduced from the past pteps. af-dauida-, af-mauida,—each occurring once in the N. pl. masc.

(iii) sōkjan, to seek.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>sōkja</td>
<td>sōkja</td>
<td>sōkjada</td>
<td>sōkjadau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sōkcis</td>
<td>sōkjais</td>
<td>sōkei</td>
<td>sōkjaza</td>
<td>sōkjaiazu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sōkeisp</td>
<td>sōkjai</td>
<td>sōkjadau</td>
<td>sōkjadau</td>
<td>sōkjaiadav</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Dual 1. | sōkjōs| sōkjaiwa |                     |
|         | sōkjats| sōkjaiats| sōkjats       |

| Plur. 1. | sōkjam| sōkjama| sōkjanda| sōkjandau |
|         | sōkeisp| sōkjai| sōkijdau | sōkjandau |
| 2. sōkeip| sōkjaina| sōkjandau | sōkjadau |
| 3. sōkjand| sōkjaina| sōkjandau | sōkjandau |

Infin.: sōkjan; Ptep. act.: sōkjandan.-

So also, when the radical syllable is long by "position," we have ga-hardja, I harden, ga-hardeis, ga-hardeip; &c.

On this pattern are conjugated: arbaidjan, to labour; draibjan, to drive; hailjan, to heal; hauhjan, to exalt; hausjan⁶, to hear; laisjan, to teach; mêljan, to write; (ur-)raisjan, to raise (up); piuipjan, to bless; andwattrējan, to answer; (ga-)blindjan, to make blind; fulijan, to fill; timrjan, to build; and many more. (§ 43 (2, i.).)

(2) Present tense of ai-verbs (Second Weak Conjugation).

—The most noticeable fact in the present tense of this conjugation is that the stem-characteristic (ai) appears only in those persons of the indic. which have the ending s or ū, and in the 2 p. s. & pl. imperative. All the other forms, active and passive, are the same as those of the strong verbs. Paradigm:

⁴ And also, as we shall see, in the preterite.

⁵ This is the only imperative of the kind that actually occurs.

⁶ Hausjan also occurs; and un-beistjēs, "unleavened," implies *beistjēn, "to leaven," by ga-beistjan. These jō-forms are perhaps assimilations to the 3rd conjugation.
MORPHOLOGY: INFLExION OF VERBS.

haban, to have.

Active:                  Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>haba</td>
<td>habau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>habada</td>
<td>hababdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>habais</td>
<td>habais</td>
<td>habai</td>
<td></td>
<td>habaza</td>
<td>habaijau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>habaij</td>
<td>habai</td>
<td>habadau</td>
<td></td>
<td>habada</td>
<td>habaidau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1.</td>
<td>habōs</td>
<td>habaiwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>habanda</td>
<td>habaidau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>habats</td>
<td>habaits</td>
<td>habats</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1.</td>
<td>habam</td>
<td>habaima</td>
<td>habam</td>
<td></td>
<td>habanda</td>
<td>habaijau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>habaij</td>
<td>habaij</td>
<td>habaij</td>
<td></td>
<td>habanda</td>
<td>habaidau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>haband</td>
<td>habaina</td>
<td>habandau</td>
<td></td>
<td>habanda</td>
<td>habaidau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infin.: haban; Ptep. act.: habandan.-

Similarly are conjugated: fastan, to fast; fijan, to hate; liugan, to marry; (ana)silan, to be still; and others. (§ 43, (2, ii.).)

(3) Present tense of ō-verbs (Third Weak Conjugation).— Here the ō appears throughout the tense as the only suffix-vowel, absorbing even the mood-vowel (i) of the opt. in both act. and pass.: it is therefore immediately followed by the consonantal personal endings, where there are such; in other places ō itself appears as the final. Paradigm:

salbōn, to anoint (salve).

Active:                  Passive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>salbō</td>
<td>salbō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>salbōda</td>
<td>salbōdau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>salbōs</td>
<td>salbōs</td>
<td>salbō</td>
<td></td>
<td>salbōza</td>
<td>salbōzau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>salbōp</td>
<td>salbō</td>
<td>salbōdau</td>
<td></td>
<td>salbōda</td>
<td>salbōdau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1.</td>
<td>salbōs</td>
<td>salbōwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>salbōts</td>
<td>salbōts</td>
<td>salbōts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1.</td>
<td>salbōm</td>
<td>salbōma</td>
<td>salbōm</td>
<td></td>
<td>salbōnda</td>
<td>salbōndau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>salbōp</td>
<td>salbōp</td>
<td>salbōp</td>
<td></td>
<td>salbōnda</td>
<td>salbōndau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>salbōnd</td>
<td>salbōna</td>
<td>salbōndau</td>
<td></td>
<td>salbōnda</td>
<td>salbōndau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infin.: salbōn; Ptep. act.: salbōndan-.

So also are conjugated: faginōn, to rejoice; hvarbōn, to go about; karōn, to care; labōn, to invite; mitōn, to think; spillōn, to tell, proclaim; and others. (§ 42 (2, iii.).)

(4) Present tense of na-(nō-)verbs (Fourth Weak Conjugation,—“Correlative Passives”).—The n appears throughout the tense; and the endings that follow it are the same as those of the strong verbs. This conjugation, being passive
in force, though active in form, does not admit of being further passivized: so that no inflexional (medio-)passive can be formed. Paradigm:

**fullnan**, to be filled.

**Indic.**

Sing. 1. fullna, "I am filled"  
2. fullnis, "thou art filled"  
3. fullnip, "he is filled"

Dual. 1. fullnös, "we-two are filled"  
2. fullnats, "ye-two are filled"

Plur. 1. fullnam, "we are filled"  
2. fullnij, "ye are filled"  
3. fullnand, "they are filled"

**Opt.**

Sing. 1. fullnau, "(that) I may be filled"  
2. fullnais, "(that) thou mayst be filled"  
3. fullnai, "(that) he may be filled"

Dual. 1. fullnaiwa, "(that) we-two may be filled"  
2. fullnaijs, "(that) ye-two may be filled"

Plur. 1. fullnaima, "(that) we-two may be filled"  
2. fullnaij, "(that) ye may be filled"

**Imperative.**

Sing. 1. fullnam, "let-us be filled"  
2. fulln, "be thou filled"  
3. fullnadiu, "let-him be filled"

Plur. fullnadiu, "let-them-be-filled.

**Infin.**: fullnan, "to be filled"; Ptep. pres.: fullnands, "being filled."

Similarly are conjugated: auknan, to be augmented; and- bundnan, to be unbound; ga-dauñnan, to be killed; gabignan, to be enriched; ga-hauñnan, to be made whole; af-lifnan, to be left (over); mikilnan, to be magnified; minznan, to be diminished; fra-quistnan, to be destroyed; ga-quiunan, to be made alive; dis-skritnan, to be torn asunder; ga-paúrsnan, to be dried up; and others. (§ 43 (2, iv.).

It may be noted (a) that a large majority of these verbs occur only as compounds with prefixes; and (b) that many of them may equally well, sometimes better, be rendered by equivalent intransitive verbs; as: auknan, to increase; ga- dauñnan, to die; minznan, to decrease; fraquistnan, to perish; gaquiunan, to revive; and the like.

(5) The Preterite of all the weak verbs is formed by suffixing to the present-tense stem, or a modification thereof, the syllables (Indic.) -da, -dés, -da; -dédub, -déduts; -dédum, -dédub, -dédun; (Opt.) -dédjau, -dédeis, &c. (See § 81.) Before these suffixes, ja-verbs show i (nas-i-da; &c.) and ő: of the correlative passives the full suffix -nő- appears. Paradigms:
MORPHOLOGY: INFLEXION OF VERBS.

First Conjugation.

(i) *nasida,*
I saved.

(ii) *stauida,*
I judged.

(iii) *sőkida,*
I sought.

Indicative:

Sing. 1. *nasida*  
2. *nasidēs*  
3. *nasida*  
Dual 1. *nasidēdu*  
2. *nasidēduts*  
Plur. 1. *nasidēdum*  
2. *nasidēdup*  
3. *nasidēdu*  

Optative:

"(that) I might save, judge, seek":

Sing. 1. *nasidēdjuau*  
2. *nasidēdeis*  
3. *nasidēdi*  
Dual 1. *nasidēdeiwa*  
2. *nasidēdeiws*  
Plur. 1. *nasidēdeima*  
2. *nasidēdeiwp*  
3. *nasidēdeina*  

Second, Third, and Fourth Conjugations.

(iv) *habaida,*
I had.

(v) *salbōda,*
I anointed.

(vi) *fullnōda,*
I was filled.

Indicative:

Sing. 1. *habaida*  
2. *habaidēs*  
3. *habaida*  
Dual 1. *habaidēdu*  
2. *habaidēduts*  
Plur. 1. *habaidēdum*  
2. *habaidēdup*  
3. *habaidēdu*  

Optative:

"(that) I might have, anoint, be filled":

Sing. 1. *habaidēdjuau*  
2. *habaidēdeis*  
3. *habaidēdi*  
Dual 1. *habaidēdeiwa*  
2. *habaidēdeiws*  
Plur. 1. *habaidēdeima*  
2. *habaidēdeiwp*  
3. *habaidēdeina*  

N
INTRODUCTION TO GOTIC.

(6) The stem of the past (perfect or passive) participle of weak verbs has been shown (§ 40 (6, iii)) to be formed by the suffix -da (= prim. -tā), before which the verb-root + vowel appear in the same form as in the preterites,—nasida-, saved; stauida-, judged; habaida-, had; salboda-, anointed; &c.; and in the strong or vowel declension of this ptp. it has been seen (§ 60 (2)) that ā appears for d in the N. s. m. and the N. & A. s. n. The nō-verbs are, of course, incapable of forming a ptep. of this pattern.

80. Irregular or Mixed Verbs.—These may be arranged in three groups: (1) “Preterite-presents”; (2) is-, wisan, “to be,” and wiljan, “to will”; (3) Verbs with irregular or contracted preterites. With some trifling exceptions and additions, these mixed verbs are, or have been, common to all the Teutonic dialects.

(1) The “Preterite-present” verbs are remains of old strong verbs whose original preterites (i.e. perfects) gradually acquired the force of the present tense (whence their designation), and whose original presents, for the most part, ultimately died out. The new presents still maintained their old strong-verb-preterite inflexions; but upon the weak forms of the roots (where such forms appear) were constructed new preterites on the general pattern of the weak preterite (See next §). In classifying these “preterite-presents” it is usual to arrange them according to the several ablaut series to which the parent verbs belonged; as follows:—

(a) Ablaut-series i, a, ē, i (§ 71).—Here are generally placed mag, “I can, am able,” and some compounds of -nah (impers.), “it sufficeth (?)”; but their right to this place is open to dispute (See Note 2). The extant forms, however, are:

(i) mag.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. mag</td>
<td>magjau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. magt</td>
<td>mageis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mag</td>
<td>magi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MORPHOLOGY: INFLEXION OF VERBS.

Present:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual 1. magu</th>
<th>Opt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. maguts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plur. 1. magum | mageima | mahtōdan: |
| 2. magup | mageip |
| 3. magun | mahtōdan | mahtōman |

Infin.: *magan; Ptep. act.: magandan-: Past ptep: magana-.

There is of course no passive; nor, with the remarkable exception of No. (xii), in series *e, below, does this or any other of these verbs appear to have evolved a new imperative. The remainder of the paradigm, although not extant in Ulfilas, may be easily supplied.

(ii) nah.

This occurs only in the compounds (3 p.s. impersonal: binah, "it is permitted or lawful" (= Lat. licet), and ganah, "it sufficeth." But various closely-related forms occur; as: binaūht ist=binah (where binaūht is participial); ganuūhan- (m. subst.), "sufficiency"; ganōha- (adj.), "enough"; and ganōhjan, "to satisfy," with its correl. pass. ganōhnan, "to be satisfied".

(b) Ablaut-series i, a, u, u (§ 73).—The verbs showing this series may be divided into two small classes, of which the first, comprising skal, "I owe, ought, am bound to," and man, "I think, suppose," belong, except in having avoided the irregular e-grade (See § 24 (3)), to the nima group (§ 72). The extant forms are:

To put mag and nah under this ablaut series implies that the older parent-verbs would have shown in Gothic the main parts *migau, mag, *mēgum, *migana-, and *naiha, nah, *nēkum, *nahana-. In magum, magiivan, &c., therefore, a must be supposed to have penetrated from mag. But on certain grounds (such as the probable equivalence of the ptp. mahtō- with the Lat. maet), De Saussure (Mém., pp. 63, 158) would treat mag as an A-root, which should once have shown the series a, ō, o, a (§ 24 (5)); so that the ō of the three sing. persons of the old perf. indic. would thus have been assimilated to the numerous a-forms. It is true we find in O.N. megum, megiu, &c.; but on the other hand O.S. shows mugum, mugi, &c.; and O.H.G. fluctuates between a-, e-, and u-forms. These differences rather suggest that an isolated verb was attracted, in different dialects, to the powerful e- and u-series, than (as is generally supposed) that the Gothic evolved a vocalism sui generis out of one of the numerous verbs of the giba class. (See, however, aik, No. (xiii.).)

Of nah the vowel values are uncertain: it is generally compared with Lat. nac (nanciscor), or Grk. νέκ (ένεκα). The Gothic itself shows u-forms in binaūht and ganuūhan-; so does A-S. in the plur. genugon, opt. genuge. On the other hand Go. ganōha-, &c., O.N. gnōgr, A-S. ganah, show ō, on which vowel see § 26 (4).
(iii) skal.

Present tense:

\[\text{Indic.: S. 1 p., skal, 2. skalt, 3. skal;} - \text{Pl. 1. skulum, 2. skuluþ, 3. skulun; } \text{Opt.: S. 1 p. skuljau, 3. skuli; } \text{Pl. 2. skuleip.}\]

Preterite:

\[\text{Indic.: S. 1, 3. skulda; } \text{Pl. 1. skuldedum, 3. skuldedun; } \text{Opt.: S. 3. skuldedi; } \text{Pl. 2. skuldeiep.}\]

The infin. should be *skulan.

(iv) man.

Present \text{Indic.: S. 1, 3. man;} - \text{Pl. 2. munuþ;} - \text{Opt.: S. 2. muneis, 3. muni;} - \text{Pl. 1. muneima, 2. muneiþ.}

Pret. \text{Indic.: S. 1, 3. munda;} - \text{Pl. 1. mundedum, 3. mundedun.}

\text{Ptec. pres.: munandan-}; \text{ Ptec. past: mundan-}.

\text{Infin.: mutan.}

(N.B.—man, munda must be carefully distinguished from the ai-verb, muna, munaida, “I intend,” “I intended.”)

The second class contains kann, “I know, am acquainted with” (obsolete 1 p. pres. *kinna); parf, “I need” (obs. 1 p. pres. *pairfa”); and gadars, “I dare, am bold” (obs. 1 p. pres. *gadairsa). The radical syllable of each of these is of the binda type (§ 73). The forms preserved in Ulfilas are:

(v) kann.

\[\begin{array}{ccc|ccc}
\text{Sing. 1. kann} & \text{2. kant} & \text{3. kann} & \text{Plur. 1. kunnup} & \text{2. kunnup} & \text{3. kunnun} \\
\text{Indic.} & \text{Indic.} & \text{Indic.} & \text{Indic.} & \text{Indic.} & \text{Indic.} \\
\text{Opt.} & \text{Opt.} & \text{Opt.} & \text{Opt.} & \text{Opt.} & \text{Opt.} \\
\text{kunnjau} & \text{kunneis} & \text{kunni} & \text{kunnum} & \text{kunneip} & \text{kunneina} \\
\text{munþa} & \text{munþes} & \text{munþa} & \text{kunþedum} & \text{kunþedeip} & \text{kunþedun} \\
\text{kunþédjau} & \text{kunþéjau} & \text{kunþéjau} & \text{kunþéjau} & \text{kunþéjau} & \text{kunþéjau} \\
\end{array}\]

\text{Infin.: kunnan; Act. ptep.: kunnandan-; Pass. ptep.: kunþa-}.

(N.B.—From this verb must be distinguished the ai-verb, -kunnan, pret. -kunnaida, “get to know, learn,” found in several compounds.)
MORPHOLOGY: INFLEXION OF VERBS.

(vi) ðarf.


Pret. Indic.: S. 1, 3. ðuértta.

Ptcp. pres.: ðuérbandan.; Ptcp. past: ðuértta.-

The infin. should be *ðuérban.

(vii) gadars.

Pres. Indic.: S. 1, 3. gadars; Pl. 1. gadaúrsum; —Opt.: S. 1. gadaúrsjau.

Pret. Indic.: S. 1, 3. gadaúrsta; Pl. 3. gadaúrstèdun.

Infin.: gadaúrsan.

(c) Ablaut-series ei, ai, i, i (§ 74).—To this belong two verbs,—lais, "I know," and wait, also "I know."

(viii) lais.

(This, 1 p. sing., is the only form extant, and only occurs once.)

(ix) wait.

Present: Preterite:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1.</td>
<td>wait</td>
<td>witjau</td>
<td>wissa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wait</td>
<td>witeis</td>
<td>wissés</td>
<td>wissèdeis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wait</td>
<td>witi</td>
<td>wissa</td>
<td>wissèdi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 2.</td>
<td>wituts</td>
<td>witeip</td>
<td>wissèdup</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1.</td>
<td>witum</td>
<td>wisset</td>
<td>wissédun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. witum</td>
<td>wissetu</td>
<td>wissèdeina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infin.: witan; Act. ptep.: witandan.-

The verbs fra-weitan, "to avenge," and in-weitan, "to salute, to worship" (§ 74), show the parent verb *weitan, wait, witum, *witana-; from which there are several other derivatives'.

(N.B.—The above witan must be carefully distin-

4 But various derivatives of the obsolete *leisa, lais, *lisum, *lisana- are extant; as: listi- (f.), "craft"; lubjær-leisein- (f.), "(the black) art." The verb is believed to have meant originally, "to go, go after, follow carefully," which meaning appears in laisti- (m.), "a track, footprint"; laistjan, "to follow." For laisjan and *lisnan, see Note 7 to § 43.

5 Certain odd parts of witan, about which the popular mind is not quite clear, are scarcely yet obsolete in England. It may be worth while to note, therefore, that:

Go. witan = A-S. witan = Engl. to wit (pres. infin.);

"wait = " wait = " I wot (1. p. s. pres.);

"wissa = " wistte = " I, or he wist (1 & 3 p. s. pret.).

I have heard the O.E. I wis (i.e. wís for gewís=Ger. gewiš) given as the present tense to I wist!
guished from the ai-verb, witan, pret. witaidda, "to observe, watch."

(d) Ablaut-series in, au, u, u (§ 75).—Here falls only

(x) 3 p. s. daug, "(it) is good for, (it) profiteth," generally called an "impersonal" verb; but in both the places in which it occurs it is accompanied by a proper nominative.

(e) Ablaut-series a, ö, ö, ücü (§ 76).—Here belong gamöst, "I find room, dwell," and ög, "I fear, am afraid."

(xi) gamöst.

The extant parts are only: Pres. Indic.: S. 3. gamöst;—Opt.: Pl. 1. gamösteima;—Pret. Indic.: Pl. 3. gamostëdun.

(xii) ög.

Pres. Indic.: S. 1, 3. ög;—Opt.: S. 2. ogeis; Pl. 2. ögeip;—Imperative, S. 2. ogs.

Pret. Indic.: S. 1, 3. ohta; Pl. 3. ohtëdun.

Ptcp. pres.: ögandan-.

The 2 p. s. pres. of (xi) should be gamöst, and of (xii) probably ögt (cf. magt). The new Infinitives do not occur, but may be safely given as *gamötan and *ögan. The obsolete *ag-an, of which ög was originally the pret. (perf.), survives in the participial adj. un-agandes, "without-fear"; in the derived verb (af-)*agjum, "to frighten (off)"; and in some other related words. The sing. imperative ögs is a unique formation in Gothic⁶; the plur., ogel, is really the optative.

(f) The last of the preterite-presents is

(xiii) aih, "I possess";

of which the phonology has been much discussed⁷.

The diphthong may be either = ai,—in which case the parent verb would once have resembled aika (§ 77 (2)), with a perf. *ai-aih, plur. *ai-aigum, which must have dropt the

⁶ The s is supposed, by Bezzenberg and by Scherer, to be a survival of the old middle perfect imperative, which, in Grk., ended in -ṣa, a primitive -sva.—J. Kremer (PBB. VIII. 388) puts down ögs as a substantive: if he means that the Go. ögs is actually (sometimes) a substantive, it may be granted that such a value would suit phrases like Ni ögs ṃus (with sjāt understood)="Have no fear"; "Fear not" (Syntax, § 91 (vi) below): yet even here it is unnecessary, as the dative is a frequent accompaniment of verbs of fearing (§ 91 (v)); while in other phrases no meaning but the imperative will suit; as in: Ni hucei hauhala, ak ögs, "Don't think proudly—Be not highminded, but fear."

⁷ Most recently by Möller, KZ. XXIV. 444+, and Osthoff, M.U. IV. 205.
reduplication on becoming a new present,—or = the deep-tone of the i-series (§ 74); in which case it must have penetrated the plural and other forms (cf. may in (i) above).

As to its final guttural, this verb is one of the instances (Note 6, § 31) in which the accentual differentiation of consonants (h~g) survives in Gothic; although, as will forthwith be seen, there is a distinct tendency towards the assimilation of one to the other. The following are the extant parts; and after each form in the present tense is stated the number of times it occurs:—

Present tense:

Indic. S. 1 & 3 p. aih (7) and aig (1);—Plur. 1. aignum (2) and aihum (2), 2. aihu{ (1), 3. aignum (2);
Opt. S. 3 p. aigi (2);—Pl. 2. aigeip (1), 3. aigeina (2);
Ptcp. pres. aigands (5), aihands (1).

Preterite:

Indic. S. 1, 3. aihtha; Pl. 3. aihthedum;—Opt. S. 2. aihthedeis.

Thus, in the pres. sing. the correct h-form appears 7 times, against 1 g-form (an assimilation to the plural); while, in the plural and opt., the originally correct g-forms appear 9 times, against 3 h-forms (by assimilation to the singular). The present ptcp. is a secondary formation based no doubt on the plural \(\sqrt{aig}\) (cf. mun-andan-, \(\sqrt{ba}rb\)-andan-, &c., above); and hence the g largely preponderates.

(2) The verbs to be and to will.

(i) The "substantive verb," as it is often called, forms its present tense upon is-, and its pret. upon wis-an, "to dwell, abide,"—a verb of the gioba-class (§ 71). The complete conjugation is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present tense</th>
<th>Preterite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indic.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Opt.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. im, Iam, &amp;c.</td>
<td>sijau (siau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is</td>
<td>sijais (siais)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ist</td>
<td>sijai (siai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1. siju (sīu)</td>
<td>sijaiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sijuts</td>
<td>sijait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1. sijum (sium)</td>
<td>sijaima (siaima)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sijup (siup)</td>
<td>sijaip (siaip)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sind</td>
<td>sijaia (siaina);</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infin.: wisan; Ptcp. pres.: wisandan-; Ptcp. past: wisana-.

For the imperative, the opt. forms (sijais, &c.) are used.
The present tense is noticeable as the only instance in which the m of the prim. 1 p. s. suffix -mi appears in Gothic (cf. Skt. ās-mi, Grk. ei-μι for *ēs-μι, Lat. sum for *es-‘m= *es-mi, Engl., with irregular vowel, an). The Teut. plur. may have been either of the form *izum, *iznā, *izun (cf. Grk. ἔκπρ, Lat. estis, O.N. erun, eruþ, erum, A-S. (e)arum, &c.); or of the form *sum, *suþ, sind (cf. Skt. smās, Lat. sumus, Go. *sjum, sium or sijum; &c.). The j of the indic. spread thither from the optative, where it is historically cor-
rect (Go. sijau for *sjau = Skt. sjam, &c.; see § 78 (3)): the i is an incrcntion, assisted perhaps by the 3 p. pl. sind. Of the forms with j and those without it the former occur by far the most frequently.

(ii) Wiljan, "to will," offers much matter for discussion. The remarkable facts are, that the whole paradigm, the new weak pret. as well as the present tense, is based on a √wil, and that the suffixes of the present arc those of the pret. optative,—this formal opt. being used as indicative; thus:

Present:—Sing. 1. wiljaus, 2. wileis, 3. wili;
   Dual 1. *wileiwa, 2. wileits;
   Plur. 1. wilcima, 2. wileiþ, 3. wilcina.

Pret. Indic.: S. 1, 3. wilda, 2. wildēs; Pl. 1, wildēdum, &c., &c.

Pret. Opt.: S. 1. wildēdjm, 2. wildēdeis, &c., &c.

Infinit.: wiljan; Ptcp. pres.: wiljandan. 8

(3) Verbs with irregular or contracted preterites.

(i) Gangan, "to go," should apparently have belonged to the falpa class (§ 77 (4)). Its present-tense forms, as well as those of its numerous compounds, follow the pattern of the other strong verbs: its reduplicating perfect, however, has disappeared from Gothic, but is certified by the O.H.G. gianc (for *gēgang), and the rare A-S. geong. In one place in Ulfilas a new weak preterite, gangiđa (= A-S. gengde) occurs, implying a present-stem *gangja- of the first weak conjuga-

8 J. Schmidt gives the latter (KZ. XXV 592-+), Osthoff the former (M.U. IV. Vorwort); but O.'s hypothesis should allow of both.

9 Grimm's reference of wil- to an ei-series (*weil-, *weil-, *wil-) cuts it away from the cognate words in related languages. L. Meyer (G.S., § 380) would rank it with man and skal (See above); but this would necessitate *wiljau, &c. The one piece of pretty firm ground is that the present tense, as above given, is the exact Go. equivalent of the Lat. velum, velis, velit, velimus, &c., (i.e., velis, velīmus, &c.). J. Schmidt (Voc. II. 408) would make them both aorists; but F. Kluge (PBB. VIII. 515-+) suggests that vel (wil) is = I-E. √ghwel = Grk. ἠκ-, = Skt. har-yā-mi,—a ja-verb: this would have any rate account for the 1 p. s. wiljaus; but the suggestion requires thinking about.
tion; everywhere else the pret. attached to *gangan consists of the following remarkable forms:—


In these forms *dd is an accretion (§ 29 (2, viii)); and the *ija, &c., (= A-S. eo in eo-de, &c.,) got by eliminating the *dd, are probably an ancient aorist = Skt. āyēm, āyēs, &c.

(ii) *Bringan, "to bring, lead," was originally a verb of the binda class (§ 73). It remained so as regards the present tense: but the strong pret. was entirely lost at a remote date, and in place of it we find in Go. the forms brūhta, brūhtēs, brūhtēdum, &c., i.e., *branht-ta, *branhtēs, &c., (§ 26 (2)). These imply a present-tense stem *brunyja-, which actually appears in the O.S. brengian, and the O. Northumbrian brengian.

(iii) Here may be grouped a small number of verbs which have similar t-preterites, and which show weak ja-stems in their present tenses; these are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bugja, I buy</td>
<td>bauhta</td>
<td>bauhtēdum</td>
<td>bauhta-;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brūkja, I use</td>
<td>brūhta</td>
<td>brūhtēdum</td>
<td>*brūhta-;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pankja, I think</td>
<td>pāhta</td>
<td>pāhtēdum</td>
<td>pāhta-11;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūnktjan, to seem12</td>
<td>jūhta13</td>
<td></td>
<td>jūhta-11;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waūrkja, I work</td>
<td>waūrhta</td>
<td>waūrhtēdum</td>
<td>waūrhta-;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaupatja, I buffet, cuf</td>
<td>kaupasta</td>
<td>kaupastēdum</td>
<td>kaupatida-;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last of these is noteworthy as showing a compressed pret. beside an extended ptep. Of the others the pret. suffix is attached directly to the radical syllable; and the present-tense ja-stems are based on root-forms of old ablativ verbs: pank- and punk-, for example, appear to be the radicales of the pret. sing. & plur. of a lost present *pīkan, and waūrk-, the radical of the pret. plur. of a lost *waūrkhan, (= werk = Grk. ἥπερ). Brūk-ja is = the Lat. frū-or for *frūg-or (but ā in frū-, "fruit"). The equivalence, pānkja = O.Lat. tongeo, suggests that this wk. pres. may have dated from European times. Bug-ja shows the weak root of a verb of the buga-series (§ 75), whose parts must have been the same as those of bugan itself.

10 Kluge, as cited in §§ 28, 29. See also § 81 below.
11 For *bahta (§ 26 (2)).
12 Generally impersonal: the 3 p.s. pres. *bunkeir mis is our "me-thinks."
13 For *būhta (§ 26 (13, ii)).
14 pāhta- and pāhta- occur only as factors of compound adjectives.
81. The Weak Preterite 1.

(1, i) This formation, while one of the most striking, is also one of the most perplexing, features of Teutonic Morphology; and hence of late years it has been one of the most vigorously discussed. The points in debate fall under two main questions, viz., whether this pret. is a compound, or whether it is an inflexion. The latter question is a comparatively modern one; formerly, the composition-theory, as it may be called, was universally accepted, and opinions differed only with reference to the nature and origin of the two components. This theory was first suggested, for the Gothic plural, &c., by Bopp (Conj. Syst.), but was extended by Grimm to the Gothic singular and to the whole pret. in the other Teut. dialects. According to Grimm the first factor or component was the verb-stem as it appears in the present tense or nearly so (nasi- for nasja-, habai-, sabö-), and the second a verb *dana, to which he assigns a pf. sing. *dada, plur. *dëdum, &c. But the vb. dada with pret. plur. dëdum would have been of the gib-series (§ 71), and its pret. (pf.) in Gothic would have been—

Indic.: S. 1, 3. daph (not dada), 2. dast; Dual 1. dëdu, 2. dëduts; Pl. 1. dëdum, 2. dëdup, 3. dëdun;—Opt.: S. 1. dëdjauf, 2. dëdeis; &c. &c.

This dada implies a prim. /dhedh, and is = Skt. dadh- (given by the grammarians), a duplicated byform of ðhë = ðη (Go. *daian, "do," § 26 (3, i)) and with the same meaning; and independent pret. forms exactly answering to the *dëdum, &c., just given, actually appear in other O. Teut. dialects (See (3, i) below) mixed up with tense-forms of the simple verb do. The former existence of *dana, *dada], may therefore be assumed for the Gothic; and it will be seen at once that the 13 dëdorfms of its pret. as above are identical with the corresponding factors of the Gothic weak pret.; which identity offers a

very strong piece of evidence in favour of Grimm's hypothesis. But for the 3 singular persons the hypothesis breaks down: *dap, *dast, *dap could not very well pass into -du, -dês, -da; for the final consonants are such as the Gothic loves, and they would have been kept in their places by powerful analogies (such as quaï, quaïst, quaï; baï, bast, bôï); and even if the final consonants had fallen away, the ê of -dês would still be inexplicable.

(ii) Bopp (V.G.), while generally agreeing with Grimm, differed on some points of detail. He thought that, just as the present tenses of weak verbs date from primitive times, so also may certain periphrases out of which their perfects appear to have grown. In Skt. such perfects were made by collocating an abstract substantive with a pre-existing perfect of a primary verb,—as of kar-, "make," or us- or bru- "be": and so, a vbl. subst. + k'akāra would mean, "I did or made (a sitting, an anointing, &c.)." On this view, the prototypes of the Go. nasi-, salbô-, &c., would have been subst.; and these would have been "governed" by an old perfect, which afterwards coalesced with them into the weak pret. as we find it. As to the form of this second and governing factor Bopp agreed with Grimm as regards the Gothic plural endings -dēdum, -dēdûp, &c.; but for the singular he assumed a reduplicated perfect = prim. *dadhu (for *dhahdu) to which Holtzmann, L. Meyer, and Schleicher 2 gave a Gothic form *dida; and this, in composition, is supposed to have lost its first or redupl. syll. Schleicher, however, with Pott, Max Müller, Förstemann, and others, would extend this reduplicated perfect throughout the dual, plural, and optative; but the forms they assign to the said perfect can hardly be the correct ones. For the verb "do," if extant in Gothic, would have been an ê-verb of the saia series (§ 25 above); and its perfect, as Begemann and others have shown, would have been—

Indic.: S. 1, 3. daïdô, 2. daïdôst; Plur. daïdôum, &c.;—
Opt. daïdôiau, daïdôeis; &c.;

and apart from phonetic anarchy there appears to be no way of reducing either this series of forms to the -du, -dês, -dêdum, &c., of the Gothic, or an equivalent non-Gothic series to the corresponding endings of the related dialects.

(iii) These hypotheses offer four possible constructions of the weak pret.,—the combination, to wit, of either the present-tense stem or of a verbal substantive with either the ablaut perfect of *didan or the redupl. pf. of "do" (Go.

2 These scholars agree with Grimm as to the first component.
INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC.

*daian); and one or another of these combinations is adopted by all the leading Teutonic Grammarians of the older school (besides those mentioned in Note 1),—as Holtzmann, v. d. Gabelentz, Heyne, Grcin, Koch. Before glancing at other hypotheses we may notice the attempt of Amelung to modify and work out in detail Bopp's idea of the first component. In the pret. of intransitive *ja-verbs A. assumed, for that component, a *ja-subst., and in the pret. of transitives, a *ja-adj.: Go. andwaúrdida, "I answered," would thus be =andwaúrdi (neut. accus., stem *andwaúrdja-) + da, and would mean, "answer I made"; and (ana-)niwidla, "I re-newed," would be =niwi (A. n. of niuja-) + da, and would mean, "new I made." There is an apparent aptness in this treatment so long as noun-stems can be found which are of the same form as the given verb-stems; but (not to mention other objections) to carry it through, A. is driven to invent noun-forms that never existed or which were needless duplicates of others that did exist.

(iv) A most important contribution to the discussion in hand was the pregnant suggestion of Scherer⁴ that the second factor of the normal weak pret. was originally a simple aorist. We have already met with one such aorist (at least for the singular) in § 80 (3, i), viz.: *ija, *ijës, *ija = Skt. ájám, ájás, ájat = O. Teut. *éjó(m), *éjëz, *éjë(d), I-E. vi, ja, "go"; and similarly, to the Skt. aor. ádhám, ádhas, ádhut (Grk. *eôyn, *eôns, *eôny) should answer O. Teut. *édó(m), *édëz, *éde(d) = Go. *ida, *idës, *ida, where, as in ija, the initial i- (which Scherer discards) may be the Gothic equivalent of the primitive augment. Taking up Scherer's suggestion Kluge tried to carry out, on a more satisfactory plan, the attempt of Amelung referred to in (iii) above. For the first factor he confined himself in every instance to real noun-forms; and his results come to this: that singular preterites, like fullida, "I filled," pragida, "I ran," are to be divided full-ida, prag-ida, &c. = Teut. follam édóm, pragam édóm, i. e., "full I made," "a run I did," &c.; whence *follédó(m), *follédó,

3 But the Gothic subst. is, N. & A. s., andawaúrdí. (See § 85(4).)
4 Originally promulgated in the 1st ed. of "zur Gesch."
5 This particular aor. is identical in form with the imperf.: these two tenses originally had the same endings, although the root-syllables generally differed (cf. édëwov, -es, -e, and édëwov, -es, -e, &c.). With áyám, &c., cf. (as to endings) Lat. eram, erás, erat (for *es-áém, -áes, -áil).
6 In the matter of suffix-vowels (-óm, -ë, -é) I follow Sievers, although the Grk. suggests 1 p. s. -ém. Kluge writes édóm, édöz, &c., on the basis of the -ó-forms of the non-Gothic dialects.
7 Once probably existing in Teutonic, although nowhere extant: cf. Grk. τροχο.
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fullida,—*prag'édō(m), *pragedō, pragida, &c. But although K's treatment removes some of the objections to Amelung's, it is itself not free from others, especially with reference to the suppression of the stem- and case-endings of the substs. and adjs., which must at first have presented all varieties of gender and number. As, however, K. does not lay much stress on his hypothesis (indeed, he seems afterwards to be rather in favour of a t-suffix), it need not here be discussed (But see (3, ii) below): still, it has been useful in drawing fresh attention to the weak-pret. forms, and in accelerating the growth of the opinion that, apart from the Gothic dēd-forms, the Teut. pret. suffixes are of aoristic origin.

(v) Here, and lastly under this head, may be mentioned the view of Dr. S. Bugge (originally stated in the "Tidskrift for Philologie, &c.,” in 1867), that the first factor of the wk. pret. was got from the past ptep.; so that, e. g., Go. tamīda, "I tamed," would be for tamīd’d-a = tamīda-+ da, "I made tame." This, however, seems to assume much too late a date for the combination: what he should have contemplated was the fusion of a European domītō- with a dlh-suffix; in which case the clashing of the dentals would have led to st or ss; and indeed one or the other of the same clusters ought (by the hypothesis) to have arisen within the Teutonic itself in the case of some of the preterites of the mixed verbs (§ 80); as in the supposed mahta-++da, pāhta-++da (cf. wissa, kaupasta, gamō-stēdun).9

(2, i) Passing to those hypotheses which treat the wk. pret. as an inflexion, we notice first the very forcible attack upon the composition-theory made by W. Bégemann in 1873. On his view the base of the wk. pret. (tamīd-a, -ēs, &c.,) was the bare stem of the past ptep. itself (tamīd-),—or, at any rate, the two were of identical origin; and to this base the suffixes, -a, -ēs, &c., (whatever their original form may have been,) were directly attached. He supports his view by many apposite analogies; and although his constructive powers are not equal to overcoming the difficulties of the case, (he cannot, e. g., give a very satisfactory account of his suffixes,) yet his keen criticisms laid bare the weak places of the older theory and compelled philologists to reconsider the whole question.9

9 In B.'s own example, tawīḥa-++da ("done"+"did"="I caused (to be) done"), the +d might again be expected to lead on to ḫ and st or ss. We have seen, however, that, by Verner's law, d must be put for ḫ in the later Teut. form of the ptep. stem: hence my substitution in the text above, which is to the advantage of B.'s view.
9 Bopp had long previously hinted at the possible derivation of the pret. sing. directly from the ptep.
(ii) But a new turn was given to the discussion by Windisch, who suggested that certain preterites of the mixed verbs (§ 80) are, like the Old Irish t-prets., based on ancient imperfect stems answering to the Grk. κλεπτ-τ-, τυπτ-τ-, or the Lat. nec-t-, flec-t-. It may be an objection that this "determinative" t properly belongs to the present as well as the past tense; so that we should have to assume either that these verbs once had t-presentes alongside their old simple presents (*břuht-a, say, beside *brůk-a (bruk-ja), = Lat., as it were, *fructo(r) beside fruor), which afterwards vanished; or else that the t spread by assimilation from t-forms of other verbs, which themselves, or at least their preterites, thereafter disappeared. For the O.Ir. Windisch has discovered some such old t-presentes, but shunted into futures. 10

(iii) Nevertheless the suggestion has been a fruitful one. It was at once accepted by Scherer to the extent proposed by W.; while by some other scholars it has been, with certain modifications, applied over a much wider area,—in fact, preferentially to the whole of the Teut. weak-verb system. The representative treatises on this view of the subject are perhaps those of Möller. He agrees that the final vowels (Go. -a, -ės, -a) are those of the prim. aor. or impf., but maintains that the d is adventitious, and started from some ancient presents in t (= Go. ū, as in fālpa-an),—just as Brugman (M.U. I. 71), taking up a hint of Schleicher's, derives the θ of the Grk. θν-αorist from the present-tense stem of verbs showing that aspirate (as, σχέ-θ-ω, aor. ἑσχέ-θ-νυ). To get the Teut. d from prim. t we must, by Verner's law, suppose that the normal weak pret. was originally accented either on the root or the suffix,—or possibly, with Sievers, that the accent shifted from root to suffix, and reversely, in the successive persons (as, 1 p. s. *tāmido, 2. *tamidēs, 3. —de, 1 p. pl. tāmīdōm, &c.). Möller indeed admits (especially in consideration of the similar formations in Grk. and Lith.) that the suffix of the normal wk. pret. may have got its d from prim. dh (and not t); but this also he tries to trace, not to a separate verb, but to present-tenses with a dh- (= Teut. d-) base.

(3, i) Undecisive as are the hypotheses above referred to, yet the theory of the weak pret. no longer stands exactly as Grimm and Bopp and their immediate successors left it.

10 Several Gothic wk. vbs. show bases in ht, ft, but they come from noun-bases ending in the same cluster; as: ga-raiht-jan, "to guide, direct," from adj. raihti-a = Lat. rect-ō; haft-jan, "cleave to," from adj. or ptc. haft-a-, "possessed with or of," = Lat. capt-ō.
MORPHOLOGY: INFLEXION OF VERBS.

One point, at any rate, may be considered as established, viz., that the -a, -ēs, -a of the Gothic, and the corresponding vowels of the non-Gothic, singular are those of the old simple aorist (or of the imperf., which were once the same; see Note ¹); and that in the non-Gothic dialects the endings of the same tense are continued, with sundry modifications, from the sing. to and throughout the plural. As to the d, however, of the normal weak pret., the view which treats it as merely adventitious is by no means to be accepted without demur. Especially is the attempt to account for the Gothic plur. and opt. forms on this plan open to grave suspicion. That by a fortuitous concourse of such d's with an unexplained ē the Go. should have reached a series of forms (-tēdum, &c.) absolutely identical with forms of the independent pret. of "do" in O.S. (plur. dādun) and O.H.G. (plur. 1. tātun(ēs), 2. tātut, 3. tātun, + an opt. based on tāt- throughout), would clearly be so startling a coincidence that, to minimize the effect, Möller himself is obliged to have recourse to the assimilative influence of the lost Gothic pret. *dēdum, &c. It is a question whether composition pure and simple is not a preferable hypothesis; and if it be so here, one need hardly contest it in the case of the Go. singular, or of the whole of the non-Gothic preterite.

(ii) One circumstance referred to by Möller is at least as favourable to the composition-theory as to his own, viz., that -da, &c., of the pret. were sometimes (let us provisionally say always) attached directly to the bare stem (i.e., the stem without -ja) of the present tense, and not superadded upon -ja. This bare stem is, in the case of denominative verbs, a noun-stem with or without a stem-vowel; so that, assuming the above circumstance to be generally true, we here come into contact with the hypotheses referred to in (1, iii & iv) above, and the way is smoothed for the use of the aorist *édōm (-ida), &c., for the second factor, as Kluge proposed (pres. laus-jan, pret. laus-ida; pres. salbō-n for *salbō-jan, pret. salbō-da for *salbō-ida; pres. ḫaha-n for *ḥahē-jan? pret. ḫaha-ida, with a for ē before i, as in saian, § 25 (1, iii)). Causatives (e.g., O.Teut. *nax-ē-ja), on this view, have been assimilated to other ja-vbs. in the pret., just as in the present

¹ O.H.G.: sing. 1, 3. neri-t-a, 2. neri-t-ōs; plur. 1. neri-t-um, 2. neri-t-ut, 3. neri-t-un; (neri=Go. nasi- in nasi-da, "I saved"); O.S.: sing. 1, 3. neri-d-a, 2. neri-d-os; plur. neri-d-un; A-S.: sing. 1, 3. nere-d-e, 2. nere-d-es(ē); plur. nere-d-on.

With these dialects even O.N. agrees (but with syncope); thus, of tenja =Go. tamjan, "to tame," the pret. is: sing. 1. tam-d-a, 2. tam-d-ir, 3. tam-d-i; plur. 1. töm-d-um, 2. töm-d-ūx, 3. töm-d-u: (-ār, -i=Go. -ēs, -ē).

¹² For the varieties of the weak verb see § 43 (2).
(Go. *nasja, &c.); but in the Go. plur. &c. of causatives the connecting -i- might stand for the distinctive -ē-; while for other *ja-vbs. we should have to assume assimilation to the causatives and to all singulars, in respect of this i (*laus-i-dēdum, &c.).

(iii) The mixed verbs (§ 80) are of course the mainstay of Begemann, Windisch, and Möller; and certainly, if the preterites of those vbs. are to be treated as evolved by strict phonetic rule, independently of any modifying influence, the composition-theory breaks down for some of them. But possibly they have been affected by some such influence. Let us hear what is to be said on the subject. And, firstly, the initial component of the normal weak pret., including the attached vowel, whencesoever derived, was no doubt ultimately felt, in the popular Teutonic mind, to be identical with the present-tense verb-stem (*salbō-da, habai-da, and nasi-da,—in which last the i would be taken for the very familiar variation of j); and to this stem, -da, -dēs, &c., would then seem to be attached by way of mere suffix. When therefore (by the hypothesis) certain old strong preterites assumed in Teutonic times the value of presents, these suffixes, -da, -dēs, &c., would instinctively be added to the new present in each instance (or one form of it), in order to arrive at a new pret.; e.g., skul-, skul-da; wil-, wil-da; mun-, mun-da; kunn-, pret. kunpa for kun-da (see Note 16): in which group of preterites it is immaterial, phonetically, whether the second factor, at the time of combination, showed the later Teut. d or the prim. dh. Further, the dh (dh) would become i by the action of the final root-consonant in ga-daūrs-ta, and perhaps in aih-ta (=*aik-dha or *aih-da?), and in paūrf-ta (=*trp-dha or *porf-da?). But of the vbs. with roots ending in i and k (=prim. d and g), the pret. clusters *ss (or st) and *ht can hardly be derived phonetically from the later Teut. values of the clashing consonants (t + d = tt and k + d = kt); and certainly not from the older values (d + dh and g + dh),—i.e., wissa cannot be got from *vid-dha; brūhta from brug-dha; &c. The difficulty is still more apparent in verbs with roots in -g; for the phonetic evolution, e.g., of mahta, whether from *mag-da or *magh-dha, is out of the question. In the case of this and of the preceding group of verbs the resource of the composition-theory is, to assume assimilation of the new preterite to the old l-verbal or past ptep.¹⁴

¹³ That is, we have no reason to suppose that Teut. tt, kt would necessarily pass on to st (ss) and ht, as prim. tt, kt did.

¹⁴ This was first distinctly urged, I think, by L. Meyer, G.S. § 100: older grammarians used to teach that ht, st (ss), ft, were correct phonetic equivalents of gd, td, bd, &c.
(iv) In their final forms the normal Teut. wk. pret. and the $d$- (=t-) ptcp. (§ 33 (2, iii)) showed the same vocalism and the same consonantal skeleton (*tamið-a, "I tamed," *ta-mið-a, "tamed," &c.). This circumstance, exemplified in countless instances, would, it may be urged, create a general feeling that the bases of the two forms were really identical; whence would follow, in instances where the two differed, an instinctive tendency to assimilate the one to the other.

Now the $d$- and $t$-ptcps. date from the oldest known times. Of some of those belonging to the mixed verbs the equivalents exist in other old I-E. languages; thus: *munda-, i.e. *munda- = Grk. ματο-, i.e. ματο-; *wissa- (not indeed preserved in Ulfilas) = Lat. viso-, i.e. *wisso-, = *wid-to; *bruhta = L. fructo-; and *mahta = L. macto-: to these therefore, and others similar, it is to be supposed that the compound prets. under discussion were ultimately assimilated. This hypothesis is reasonable and consistent and preserves the continuity of the mode of formation of the weak preterite throughout the whole series of verbs affected. The difficulties it involves are certainly not more or greater than those involved in other hypotheses,—probably (and especially in view of the Gothic dêd-forms) fewer and less. The present writer, at any rate, although impressed with the claims of a simple $t$-pret., is not quite prepared to surrender the composition-theory as recently modified. But possibly the ingenuity that is being applied to the whole question may yet strike out some new argument more decisively in favour of the other theory than any that has yet been adduced.

Begemann might perhaps ask why, if this feeling of identity was so strong, it might not have urged the people one very short step further, i.e., to the direct assumption of the ptcpl. skeleton as the base of the pret.; which would satisfy his hypothesis so far as these mixed verbs are concerned (supposing them to be comparatively late creations).

It is impossible, of course, adequately to discuss the weak preterite without going largely into the details of the non-Gothic dialects (and much more might be said on the Gothic): I have contented myself, therefore, with clearing the ground for any reader who may desire to extend his inquiries over a wider area than the Gothic. One small point of detail I would not seem to shirk,—the formation of kunba, which carries with it others of like kind. The attempts of Verner, Möller, and others, to trace the $b$ (for $d$) to the action of a second $n$ (=older $w$?) seem to me unsuccessful. I prefer to consider the ptcp. kunba as a mixed form, due to stem-gradation, i.e., ultimately to prim. accentuation, which would have yielded the Teut. skeletons *kinþ-, *kund-; so that in comes from one and b from another (cf. tunþ-un-, "tooth," mairþ-ra-, "murder," &c.); and I shall hold, for the present, that this ptcp. determines the form of the pret. (See also § 85 (1, ii) below.)
(e) **Particles.**

Under this head are comprised *Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions,* and *Interjections.* Except the last named, these are all related to inflectible words; although their parentage and mode of growth are in many instances no longer traceable.

82. *Adverbs* are generally classified according to the nature of the circumstances which attend an action or a quality, and which the adverbs indicate; such as the manner, the time, the place, the number of times, the degree, or what not. This classification is functional or logical rather than morphological, but it serves just as well here also; because it generally happens that a definite form or group of forms is assigned to each such function.

(1) Adverbs of Manner are mostly formed (i) by adding -ba to adj. stems; (ii) less frequently, by changing the final vowel of such stems into ō. Examples:

(i) *ubilaba,* "badly, ill," from *ubila-,* "evil";—*baitraba,* "bitterly," from *baitra-,* "bitter";—*sunjaba,* "truly," from *sunja-,* "true";—*analaugniba,* "secretly," from *analaugni-,* "secret";—*harduba,* "hardly, severely," from *hardu-,* "hard";—*glaggwuba,* "perfectly," from *glaggwu-,* "perfect." (But *hardaba* and *glaggwa.ba,* by assimilation to -stems, also occur.)

(ii) *galeiko,* "similarly," from *galeika-,* "like";—*sinteino,* "continually," from *sinteina-,* "continual";—*usdaudo,* "zealously," from *usdauda-,* "zealous";—*missō,* "reciprocally," "one another," from *missa-,* "reciprocal";—*glaggwō,* "perfectly," from *glaggwu-,* "perfect." So also: *aljaleikd,* "otherwise";—*sniumundo* and *sprauto,* "hastily";—and several adverbs in -jo (implying adj. in -ja) as: *alakjo,* "all together";—*piubjō,* "furtively".

Of other formation are: *kwaiba,* "how"; *swa,* "so"; *swarē,* "in-vain"; *waita,* "well."

(2) Adverbs of Degree may be subdivided into the Indefinite (or Positive) and the Definite (or Comparative).

(i) The Indefinite indicate general intensity, and agree in form with adverbs of manner; such are: *abraba,* "greatly, very";—*hauhaba,* "highly";—*mikilaba,* "greatly";—*allandjō,* "wholly, completely";—*ussindō,* "particularly."

1 Osthoff, Kuhn's *ZS.* XXIII. 90, taking up a suggestion of Paul's in *Germania* XX., shows that the prototypes of these ō-adv. were probably old fem. sing. accusatives; cf. the Grk. *συζεύγων, γράβαραν,* &c.; Lat. *clam, perperam,* &c.; while those in -a (-ba, -na, &c.) were old sing. ablatives.
(ii) The Definite are the old simple (or unextended) degrees of adjectives (See § 40 (4, ii)) ; as : hanbis, "higher" ; nēhuis, "nearer" ; mais, "more" ; and, with loss of i, mins, "less" ; wairs, "worse" ; to which may be added two in -ōs, viz. : ajaleikōs, "otherwise," and sinamandōs, "more diligently" ; which are comparative forms corresponding to the positives ajaleikō and sinamandō given in (1, ii) above. Two superlatives also occur, viz. : frumist, "first-of-all" ; maist, "at-most" : these, in form, are the accus. neut. sing. of superl. adjs. (§ 59 (3)).

Mais is frequently intensified by jilu, jluvs (See (6) below), und jilu, "much," or, in questions, hwan jilu, und hwan jilu = "how much more" ; as : Is jilu mais (or und jilu mais) hi-pida, "he cried out a great deal more."

(3) Adverbs of Time may also, in meaning, be Definite (indicating a fixed point or period of time) ; as : nun, "now" ; himma daga, "to-day" ; and Indefinite (indicating duration or an unfixed period) ; as : fram-wīgis, "evermore" ; suman and simlē, "formerly." As to derivation, however, they may be either Simple,—as nun, "now" ; ju, "already" ; hwan, "when" ; pan, "then" ; which are, as it were, fossilized cases of old pronouns ;—or Compound (more properly, adverbial phrases),—of which the leading member is generally a case of a noun or pronoun ; as : himma daga (dat.), "to-day" (§ 64 (3)) ; gistra-dagis (gen.), "to-morrow" ; du maúrgina, "to-morrow (morning)" ; *fram himma nu, "henceforth" ; dagis hwizuk (gen.), "day-by-day" ; ju-pan, "forthwith" ; suns or suns-aiv, "immediately" ; ni aiv (acc.), "never." Faúpís, "previously," is a comparative.

(4) Adverbs of Place involve the notions of rest in a place, or of motion to or motion from a place (i.e., direction). The Gothic, like some other languages, shows triplets of related adverbs adjusted to express these three notions. One such series of triplets is derived from the simple interrogative and demonstrative pronouns ; viz. :

hwar, where . . . . [hwap & ] hwadrē , whither . . . . hwaprō , whence ;
par, there . . . . *pap, thither . . . . paprō , thence ;
hēr, here . . . . . . . hidrē , thither . . . .
jaìnar, yonder . . . [jaind & ] jaìndrē , thither . . . . jaìnprō , thence ;
aljār, elsewhere . . . aljap, other-whither . . . aljaprō , from elsewhere.
Another such series is related to prepositions; viz.:  
\[ \text{iupa, above} \ldots \ldots \text{iup, up, upwards} \ldots \text{iupaprō, from above;} \]
\[ \text{innā, in, within} \ldots \text{inn, in} \ldots \ldots \text{innaprō, from within;} \]
\[ \text{ūta, without} \ldots \text{ūt, out, forth} \ldots \text{ūtaprō, from without;} \]
\[ \text{fairra, afar off} \ldots \ldots \text{fairraprō, from afar.} \]

The following appears to be related to the subst. \text{dala-} (n.), “dale, valley”:

\[ \text{dalaṛa, below} \ldots \text{dalaḥ, down} \ldots \ldots \text{dalaṛō, from below.} \]

\text{Allaprō, “from all quarters,”} is from the adj. \text{alla-}, “all.”

In some adverbs the suffix \text{-na} has nearly or quite the same force as \text{-prō}; viz.: \text{afta, “behind”}; \text{aftana, “from behind”};
\[ \text{hindār (prep.), “behind, beyond”; hindana, “from behind or beyond”;} \]
but \text{iupana} (from \text{iup—See above) means “from the beginning”}; \text{innana} is used as \text{= innā,} and \text{ūtana as = ūta;—so also, samana, “together, at once;” but samaḥ, “together,” occurs with verbs of motion.} (5) Adverbs of Number, or, more properly, Number of Times, are Definite or Indefinite. Of the former none are simple except \text{aftra, “again,”} \text{i.e., “once more”}; the rest are phrases formed with \text{sinṛa-} (§ 61 (3, v)); of which the extant instances are: \text{ainamma sinṛa, “once”;}
\[ \text{twain sinṛam, “twice”;} \]
\[ \text{prim sinṛam, “thrice”;} \]
\[ \text{fimf sinṛam, “five times”;} \]
\[ \text{sibun sinṛam,} \]
seven times. The only extant example with an ordinal is \text{anṛaramma sinṛa, “a second time”};
but as an equivalent of \text{*pridjīn sinṛa} there occurs the phrase \text{pridjō ṭata} (neut. accus.), “the third time,” which is an obvious imitation of the Grk. \text{τρίτον τοῦτο.—Indefinite are:}
\[ \text{uṛta, “often,”} \]
and the phrase \text{manag mēl, “many a time.”} (6) Miscellaneous Adverbs.—The old Instrumentals \text{pē} and \text{huē} (§§ 64 (1) & 66 (1)) are adverbia. From the latter are formed the important Interrogative Adverbs \text{Bi-huē, “whereby? how?”} and \text{Du-huē, “wherefore? why?”} Other advs., which are obviously cases (mostly genitives) of subs. or adjs., are: \text{(ni) allis, “(not) at all”; raḥitis, “indeed, truly”; —filus, “much, very much”;} and \text{filu (acc. neut.), “much, often”; —andwarṇis, “over-against”; —landis, “far away.”} (lit. “over-the-land”); \text{—bi sunjāi, “truly, of a truth.”} (Compare the O.E. needs, whiles, nights, &c., which are old genitives.) Add the phrases: \text{in fulhsna, “secretly”; —in baḥrtein, “openly”; —bi sumata or bi sum ain, “in part.”} (Compare our \text{in vain, on high, &c.}) But \text{ṭata andaneipō or  

\[ ^2 \text{The A-S. equivalent, siṅ, O.E. sith, sithe, was used in precisely the same way: thus Spenser (Cal., Jan.), “a thousand sithes.”} \]
pata wiprawaipō (acc.), "contrariwise," are imitations of the Grk. toivavriov.

(7) Under Adverbs it is usual to place the Particles of Affirmation, Negation, and Interrogation; as: ni, "not";—nē, "nay, no, not";—ja and jai, "vea." The interrogative -u (sometimes strengthened to -uh) is attached enclitically to the first word of its clause; as: skuld-u ist...? "is it lawful...?"—sometimes even to a prefix, which it separates from the root; as: ga-u-laubjats..., "do ye-two believe...?"

With -u are formed the compounds niu = Lat. nonne, "(is) not..." (shall) not...", &c.;—jau, "whether" (in indirect questions), "if," "so, so then";—and jau, "or" (in the second of two alternative questions; as in: skuld-u ist... jau ni? "is it lawful..., or not?") "than," "in that case." Other interrogative particles are: an (= Lat. uu), which generally accompanies interrogative pronouns; as: an hwa..., "what then...?" an hwas...? "who then...?"

—nuh (=nu+uh), which is similarly used; as: hwa nuh... "what then"; (sometimes indeed an and nuh are both used; as: an nuh is...? "and art thou then...?";)—and ibai, which, like Lat. num, expects a negative answer; but both ibai, "lest," and nibai=nī+ibai, "unless," are also conjunctions.—Some pronominal interrogatives (as, hwar, hwan, hwaiwa) have appeared under other heads.

83. Prepositions immediately precede the words they "govern"; and, in Gothic, only certain particles—viz., the enclitic -u, -uh, and conjunctions that cannot stand first in their clauses, such as auk, pan, raithis—are allowed to come between the two. In origin, prepositions may be assigned to the class of pronominal (demonstrative) roots; and the very oldest of them probably consisted of a single consonant preceded or followed by a single short vowel1, or, at most, flanked by two such vowels. On this view, preps. involving two consonants are to be regarded as later compounds. Still later, and indeed special, for the most part, to the separate languages, are those derived from inflectible words; such as Lat. circa, Go. alja, Engl. between, notwithstanding; &c. For convenience, prepositions, like adverbs, may be arranged according to their functions, i. e., according to the cases they govern, although these functions are not answered to by corresponding variations of form.

1 See Grassmann in KZS. XXIII. 550-579. His general view is probably correct; but the details of his elaborate scheme are often of doubtful value.

(2) Prepositions governing the Dative: — af, “of, from, by, on (the right side, left side)”; — alja, “but, except”; — du, “to”; — fauiru, “before, for, for (= on account of)”; — fram, “from, of, with, by, for”; — mil, “with”; — nēhuā, “nigh-to, near”; — us, “out-of, from.”

(3) Prepositions governing the Accusative and Dative: — afar, “after, according-to”; — ana, “on, upon, in, into, about (= nearly)”; — at, “at, by, with, to”; — bi, “by, about, around, against, according-to”; — hindar, “behind, beyond, among”; — uf, “under, in-the-days-of”; — ufār, “over, above, besides, beyond”; — und, “until, up-to,” (and, with dat.) “for” = “in exchange or return for.”

(4) Preposition governing the Accusative, Dative, and Genitive: — in (with acc. =) “in, into, towards”; (with dat. =) “in, into, among”; (with gen. =) “on-account-of, for-the-sake-of.”

(5) Various simple prepositions may occur in Gothic, as in English, without any noun or pronoun after them; they are then really adverbs of place or direction; as: jah bi-prag-jands fauir . . . , “and running-on before . . . .” On the other hand, some derived adverbs in -ō and -ana, also denoting place or direction, may take a case (nearly always the gen.) of a noun or pronoun after them,—that is, may become prepositions: such are: hindana, “beyond”; — innana, “within”; — ufarō, “over, above”; — and utana, “without, outside”: ufarō governs the dative also. The phrase in andwairpja (+ gen.), lit. “in-the-presence-(of),” is frequently used as a prep. = “before.”

84. Conjunctions, like prepositions, are mostly traceable to pronominal elements either alone or in combination: the reader will easily recognize many such among the following words. Conjunctions (grouping them also functionally) may be:

(1) Copulative: — jah, “and, also”; — uh (enclitic), “and, also”; — jah . . . jah . . . , “both . . . and . . .” ; — ni patainei . . . ak jah . . . , “not only . . . but also . . . .”

(2) Disjunctive or Distributive: — aifpau, “or, or otherwise”; — eifpau, “or else”; — andizuh . . . aifpau . . . , “either
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... or ..."; —jatpē ... jatpē ...; "whether ... or whether ..."; —ni (or nih) ... ni (or nih)...; "neither ... nor ..."

(3) Adversative: —ak, akei, "but"; —iŋ, pan, aŋpan, "but, however."

(4) Final: —ei, "that"; —duŋpē, duŋpē ei, and du paamaa ei, "to-the-end-that"; —(ni) pēei, "(not) that"; —ibai, "lest (= that ... not)"; —swaei, swaswe, swē, "so-that."

(5) Conclusional: —nu, uhu, paama, paunu, eipan, duŋpē or duŋpē; are all (in most instances, but not always) = "therefore"; —with a negative imperative, nuunu occurs; as: —ni nuunu ōgeiŋ, "fear ye not therefore."

(6) Concessive: —pan, "in-that-case"; —paunujabai, "eventhough"; —swēpauh, "indeed."

(7) Causal: —auk, allis, raihtis, "for"; —untē, duŋpē ei, "because"; —(ni) pēei, "(not) because"; —pandē, "inasmuch-as."

(8) Conditional: —jabai, (and rarely) paundē and iŋ, "if"; —nibai, niba, "unless (= if ... not)."

(9) Temporal: —bipē, "when, as"; —pan, "when"; —mipānei, "while"; —pandē, "while, as-long-as"; —sunsei, "as-soon-as"; —faupōpei, "before-that"; —untē, und patei, "until." —Add the phrases: swā langa hweila swē, "as long as"; —and pata hweilōs pēi, "as long as" (lit. "up-to that-point of-time that") —and swa ufta swē, "as often as."

(10) Local: —parei, "where"; —padei, "where, whither"; —pishwaruŋ pei, "whithersoever"; —pishwaruŋ pei, "wheresoever." (Compare the Indef. Pronouns, § 68 (2).)

(11) Comparative: —pan, "than"; —swē . . . swaswe . . .; "as ... so ..."; —swē (or swaswe) . . . swa (or swah, or swa jah), "as ... so also ..."

(12) Pronominal: —ei, patei (pammei), pei, (and rarely) untē, = "that," when introducing substantival clauses (Syntax, § 103 (xv), 108 (vi), et alibi).

Frequently two conjunctions of nearly the same force are used together; as: bipē hpan, "when, after-that"; —auk raihtis or auk allis, "for indeed"; —paunu uhu, "therefore"; —and especially the enclitic -uh (-uŋ) with pan; as: was-up-pan, "and he was."

84*. Interjections. These are few: the words only so used are but three, viz.: ō, "O!"—soi, "lo!"—wai, "woe!"

But other parts of speech may be used interjectionally; as: waila, "well then!" and jai, "yea, O!" Add the three old imperatives, 2 p. s. hiri, 2 p. du. hirjats, 2 p. pl. hirjiŋ,
"Come!" and the clause, *Nis sijai*, "God forbid!" (lit., "be it not so.")—*Wainei* introduces an exclamatory and optative clause,—"would that . . . .," or "would to God that . . . . ."

85. Accentuation.—As we have now had before us all the forms that Gothic words can assume, this may be a suitable place for a few paragraphs on Accentuation.

(1, i) The central feature of every I-E. system of Accentuation is the primary or acute accent. This, in different languages, may differ both in nature and in position. In the primitive speech the acute was probably more musical in quality (or more dependent on "pitch") and less dependent on emphasis or force than in the Teutonic dialects; while, as to position, it was free or movable.—*i. e.,* it might rest either on the root, or on a derivative suffix, or on a case- or a person-ending even in the different inflexional forms of the same word. This freedom persisted in Teutonic down to a comparatively late date (§§ 30, 31); and its effects both on vowels and on consonants are visible to this day.

(ii) But sometimes a vowel indicates an accentuation at variance with that indicated by a neighbouring consonant. Thus, in Go. *wulfa-, ul = l* implies accentuation of the suffix, while *f (= hw, § 34 (2))* implies accentuation of the root. In this instance the discrepancy dates from prim. times, and may be explained by assuming, with Möller, an early prim. N. s. *wérōs*, but G. s. *wrgēs-jo*; &c.: the weak root must then be supposed to have spread from the oblique to the direct cases; without, however, displacing the acute, which in these latter cases rested on the root.

(iii) But before the dispersion of the Teutonic tribes the primary accent had ceased to be movable; and in *all forms*

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2 See similar instances in § 40 (6, iv, v, vi) and Note 18 to § 81 above. Others (collected by Noreen and Kluge) show dialectic variations which must have arisen in Teut. times (*e. g.,* Go. *blōba-* by W.Teut. *blōda-, "blood"); or Go. *hābru-* by W.T. *hungr(u)-, "hunger").
of simple (i. e. uncompounded) words it had settled upon the radical syllable (see § 30, Note 5, and § 31 (1)). The natural correlative to this elevation of the root was the depression and weakening of such of the subsidiary syllables as became quite unaccented, especially many of the finals (§ 35 (2)). Intermediate in power, however, to the primary accent and the absence of accent, stood a secondary accent, which still, although in a less degree than the primary, tended to preserve the vowel or syllable upon which it rested.

(2, i) If now we had to deal only with the primary accent in simple words, our task would be easy. But there are many gradations of accent; there are many varieties of compound words; and the relative accentuation of words in continuous speech is continually shifting. As to the first point, the variations of accent are generally ranged in three grades,—the primary or acute (marked by ') the secondary or grave ('), and the unaccented or weak; or, as we may call them, the higher, middle, and lower grades; but in a long series of words all the higher grades are not equally acute, nor all the middle grades equally grave, nor all the lower grades equally weak. In the case of simple words standing alone, however, the possible gradations are very few; and the main problem is, where to place the middle grade or grades; for then (the place of the acute being known) the weak syllable or syllables are also known. In the case of isolated disyllables the accentuation of the final is indifferent; but if they be embodied in a sentence the final will take the grave or be weak according as the initial syllable of the next word is weak or not: such final may also take the grave before a pause. (See (5) below.)

(ii) For tri- and poly-syllables the problem is more difficult; and various attempts have been made to lay down a rule for settling the place of the grave. Thus Lachmann, from the scansion of O.H.G. verse, concluded that when the radical syllable was long, the next syllable bore the grave; but when short, the next but one; and Holtzmann, Scherer, and others have accepted this rule as valid for the Teutonic, notwithstanding the contradictory evidence of the dialects. Sievers, however, entirely rejected it, and, in his powerful articles, laid down the rule that the place of the grave was on the final,—a rule which still leaves certain important instances unexplained. Wider than these rules is Paul's theory of a movable secondary accent for the Teut.; in nouns (the verb requires special treatment; see (3, iv) below) this accent is supposed to have normally rested on the derivative suffix (when there was one) in the direct cases (N. & A. s. & pl.), but
in the oblique cases on the endings. With this theory, with the (perhaps disputable) postulate that no two successive syllables can have precisely the same accentuation (See Note 1), and with the assumption of form-leveling in various directions, he may be considered to have solved the problem.

(3, i) The Gothic dialect has no history (§ 12) : the discussion of its accent-system is therefore involved in many difficulties; nor has any of the scholars yet mentioned, except Holtzmann (and he but partially) attempted a direct investigation into it. However, for this dialect also we must start from the fact that the primary accent rested on the radical (initial) syllable of simple words. As to the secondary, we shall, in the following remarks, keeping our eye on the non-Gothic dialects, be chiefly guided by Paul's theory, and by the vocalism of certain types of Gothic words.

(ii) For Gothic disyllables the remarks in (2, i, ad fin.) hold certainly. For many trisyllabic forms the accent-schemes are pretty certain: e.g.: N. A. s. n. hündip, "head," for *hündida(m), D. hündidā, G. hündidēs, D. pl. hündidām, G. hündidē; but N. A. pl. hündidā;—N. A. s. n. liūhap, "light," D. liūhadā, G. -diš;—N. s. m. kātīls, "pot, (kettle)," for *kātīlaz, D. kātīlā, G. -īs, N. pl. kātílōs (See (5, ii) below), A. -ūns, D. -ūm, G. -ē;—N. s. m. hīminis, "heaven," hīminā, -ūs, N. pl. -ūs, &c.;—N. s. f. māgapīs, "maiden," D. māgapāūi, G. -pāīs, pl. prob. māgapūīs, &c.;—diūpīpā, "depth," diūpūpāi, -pōs, pl. -pōs, -pōm, -pō;—sāwūlā, -alī, -ūs; &c.—Disyllabic n-substs. give G. pl. sūnive, hānive, &c. 3;—n-substs. masc. & neut. give G. pl. gūmane, ãittane, hūrtane, ãanganе, &c.;—fem., tūngon, āürzēn̄, &c.; but neut. N. A. pl. hūrtōna, ãugōna, &c.—The D. pl. abnam, watum, &c. (§ 51), clearly imply *dāb(a)nām, *wāt(a)nām, &c., as Holtzmann points out; but it is doubtful whether, as H. thinks, hanam, gumam, &c., can be for *hānùnām, *gūmùnām, &c.: dative forms like *hānùnām, *mēnùnām, and the like, may very well have led to hānam, &c.; and these, together with the influence of the very numerous a-declension datives (wulfam, jukam, &c.), may have determined the form of the current dative in the n-declension. Where a final long vowel persists in N. or A. s. or pl. of trisyllables it should probably bear the grave (See

3 Holtzmann unfortunately died before he could return to the subject, as he proposed.
4 N.B.—In this section refraction and vowel-quantity are not marked. The dash (') here always means the acute accent; in the case of diphthongs it is placed over the first vowel.
5 See §§ 48+, when meanings are not here given.
(5, ii); as in f. mánagēi, G. mánagins, N. pl. mánagins, but G. pl. mánagénéd;—neut. bürnilê, G. bürnilins, N. A. pl. bürnilôna, but G. bürnilône;—m. láisairês (-cis = -is = -is), láisarjû, pl. -jôs; but A. s. láisirî. Examples with long penult.: n. wîtodp, wîtodás, -dû, pl. wîtodâ, wîtodôm, -dl;—f. lăiseins, láiseinû, -nuis, pl. -nôs, nûns, -nûm, -nû;—f. hläi-
wasnâ, “tomb,” hläiwasnû, -nôs, pl. -nôs, -nûm, -nû;—frâujinássus, frâujinassâu; &c.

(iii) The strong adjective may be approached from the instructive forms,—A. s. m. (nî)ainômêhun (by ainômûn), D. (nî)ainummêhun (§ 68 (5)). In these, as Holtzmann sug-
gests, the grave was drawn to or held on the ô and ê (whence their length) by the enclitic -hun (cf. also hwânoh, hwammêh, hvarjamoh, hvarjammeh, § 67; and see (5, ii) below). The interior vowel, with or without n, has vanished from ain-
(n)ôhun, and with m is reduced to mun = m in ainummêhun: its syllable therefore in each instance must have been unac-
cented. Now comparing with the foregoing forms the A. & D. s. of the simple adj. (§ 61 (i)) with their full interior vowel and shortened final, and comparing the N. & A. s. n. with hwârjamôh (§ 67 (2)), we must infer the accentuation,—
ánâna, ánömmâ, ánâda: the first and third of these agree with Paul’s theory; while, for the second, the grave must be
supposed to have shifted (perhaps by assimilation to ánâna
&c.) from the final to the penult. This was no doubt the
accentuation of similar trisyllabic adj.-forms; but in the G.
pl. m., n., & f., and the G. s. f., the grave certainly rested
on the endings. Hence we may write: gódâna, gódîta, gód-
ëmma, but gûdaië, -zôs, -zô;—dwâlôna, dwâlîta, dwâlëmma,
“foolish,” but dwâlaië, -zôs, -zô; &c., &c. For tetrasy-
lables Paul’s rules put a grave on the derivative suffix and
a second grave on the ending; as: áudags for *áudaigaz,
“blessed,” áudojananû, áudojatû, áudojammû, áudojaië; f.
áudojâ, áudojaië, -gôs, &c.;—mûnågananû, mûnågaizë, &c.;—
mikilanû, -atû, aizê, &c.;—léãilanû, -aizê, &c.;—mâhteiganû,
-aizê; &c., &c.; where the vocalism of -ana, -ata, &c., follows
that of the trisyllabic forms. And here must be placed the
vowel-declensions of strong- and weak-vb. ptcps.; as: gûb-
nanû, -atû, -ammû, -aizê, &c.;—sâlôdananû, -ammû, &c.;—
frûjînândananû, -ammû; &c. Also superlatives: frûdöstanû,
lûsîwôstânû, sûtîstanû; &c. In weak-adj. forms (§ 58) the
vocalism suggests: bûndôna, bûndanû, bûndonô;—mâhteiga,
-gan, mâhteignô, -gins, mâhteigôna, but mâhteigonê; f. prob.
mâhteigo, -gôn, -gôns, but G. pl. mâhteigonô;—ptcp., hás-

Possibly the ever-recurring fem. arâc. & pron. bôs may have contributed to the persistence of the above N. pl. ending, -ôs.
junds, "hearing," hänjöndan, hänjändin, -dins, -dona, hánus-
jändanè, -deinò; — píudanôndis, píudåmòndins, -dona, but píudá-
nôndanè, -deinò; — compar., súliza, súlizòn, -ins, súlizanè, &c.; — 
händugòza, -anè, -ond, händugozìn, -ins, -ıns, òna; — wk. 
superl., lásiviòsta, -anè, lásivostin; &c. (But see (4, iii) 
below.)

(iv) In the present tenses of vbs. Paul puts the grave 
on the thematic vowel,—násjòda, násjùima, fráujinòp, fráuj-
nòndau; &c. In the extant reduplicating vbs. the acute 
probably fell on the redupl. syll. (gáirot, háihait, i.e. gé-, 
hé-); and in tri- or tetra-syllabic forms the grave probably 
settled on the 3rd syll., — gáirotìm, gáirotëima; &c. In 
the weak preterite the grave is usually assigned to the 
da-(dë-)suffix throughout; but if, as is probable, the Teut. 
sing. was once of the form *nasidöm, -dës, -dë (§ 81 (1, iv) 
and (2, iii)), the state of the Gothic finals indicates the 
accentuation,—násida, násidès, násida; hábaidà, hábaïdès; 
fráujinòda, fráujinòdes; &c.; although, by the time of 
Ulfilas, the da-forms may have assumed the grave, by assis-
tilation to the rest of the pret.

(4, i) For compounds formed with prefixes Lachmann 
established the rule, which holds for Teutonic, that in com-
 pound verbs so formed the verb bore the acute, but in nouns 
the prefix. A disyllabic prefix would, of course, in noun-
composition, fall under the same treatment as other disyllabic 
initial components (§ 44 (2) above); and if once oxytone (as 
most of such particles were), it would preserve its full form; 
while in verb-composition, under a reduced accent-scheme, 
it became, or tended to become, monosyllabic, or, if a mono-
syllable, was liable to other weakenings. Such a difference 
of form appears in Gothic compounds with and- by anda-; as 
(vbs.): andhátan, "to confess"; andhíman, "to accept"; 
&c.; but (nouns): ándahàit (n.), "a confession"; ánda-
núnts (f.), "acceptation"; &c. If and is a weaker form of 
and (§ 45 (2)), it also is consistent in appearing with verbs 
only. But, as in other dialects, so in Gothic, there was an 
extensive assimilation in form of the verb- and the noun-
prefixes. Thus, ana- always shows its full form with verbs 
as well as nouns; but af- (from *abô) always appears with 
nouns as well as verbs; while faura and faut are used in-
differently with either. Still, the accent-schemes were pro-

The infin. was originally a noun-form (§ 40 (2, vi)), but when 
attacted into the verb-system, a compound infin. was no doubt very 
earlly assimilated to the vb. in point of accentuation: the same is probably 
true of the ptcps., at least the pres. ptcp.
bably not affected ("anafïlhan, "to hand on (a custom, &c.),") but ánaðilh (n.), "a tradition"; &c.). Holtzmann indeed conjectured, and Kluge has made probable, that in Gothic noun-compounds the acute fell (sometimes, at any rate) even on prefixes which in other dialects are unaccented,—gyrulds, "pious"; baimait (n.), "circumcision"; &c. The negative insep. prefix un- (properly used with nouns only) perhaps always bore the acute. This would naturally lead to a modification of the accent-scheme of the conjoined word; as: A. s. háilína, "sound, whole," but unháílaná; D. s. frô-dámma, "wise," but unfrôdámna; &c.

(ii) Of noun-compounds proper (§ 44 (2)) the accentuation, when the first component was monosyllabic, would be: D. s. gúłówæ; N. s. lúashándus, A. lúashándjaná; &c. But when each component was of more than one syllable their radical accents were more nearly equal: the first was still the higher of the two; but the second might also claim to belong to the higher grade. Holtzmann accordingly calls the first a "double-acute," and uses two dashes for it (""'); as: N. s. adj. hánduávarh, but A. hánduávarhlaná; D. s. vei'nu-gárd; G. s. fra'hjámárzeinás; &c. But here again un- would take off the highest accent: A. s. u"n-ho'nduávarh-
laná, "not-made-with-hands"; adv. u"n-a'nasíunibá, "invis-
sibly"; &c. In some verb-forms with double prefix the order of the two acutes is the reverse of the foregoing: fáùrogas"tida" (imma) "I placed before (him)";—milpúna-
ku"mbide"dun (imma), "they sat-at-meat with (him)"; &c.

(iii) In polysyllabic forms some "heavy" suffixes in Go. probably (as in other dialects) took the sub-acute; i. e., as Scherer suggests, these forms simulated composition: such perhaps were,—A. s. baðrizéiná, by N. s. bárizéins, "made of barley"; and also some of the forms already cited in (3, iii) above; as: compar. G. pl. ha"ndugózaná;—ptep. frau'-
jinóndané;—or adv. u"nfa'rínódábá, "unblamably," (like unanasíunibá, above). The -dê- of polysyllabic weak prts. certainly took the lower acute,—vei"two"didédun, "we bore witness"; frau"jé"nodédéina, "they might rule"; &c.

(5, i) In continuous speech the logical importance of the successive words is continually varying, and their accent-
schemes are correspondingly raised or depressed, or even altered in their proportions. Thus, before a more highly accented syllable a weak syllable may be further weakened.
and may even disappear (cf. *pat'ist, kar'ist, &c., § 35 (1)); and in this way Sievers and Paul account for the loss of the stem-vowel in the N. s. of certain declensions (e. g.: *days ist = *dáýaz ist; *mikils ist = *mikilaz ist; &c.). On the contrary, before an unaccented syllable, and also in pausá (i. e., at the end of a phrase or clause) a syllable may take a somewhat higher accent than in other positions; as do ut and the final of *pátá in: háusjándans *pátá, uskísun * mínna út *us báurg, "hearing that, they cast him out from the city."

(ii) These principles give rise to the phenomena of pro- and en-clisis. The Go. enclitics par excellence (-uh, -u, -hun) have fused with the words which they originally followed; and we have already seen, in (3, iii), examples of their influence upon a preceding syllable. It is to a similar influence that Holtzmann would attribute the persistence, contrary to the auslaufsätz, of the full endings in certain direct cases plural (dag-ös, -ans, manag-ans, -ös, &c.); although he is unable to point out any special enclitic agent which could have affected them. The proclitics most nearly answering to the coalescing enclitics are the monosyllabic prefixes of verbs (See (4, i, ii) above). But between such prefixes and their verbs the enclitics uh and u may wedge themselves in; thus: *(uf-wópján, "to cry out"); but) *u-uh-wópidá, "he cried out"; -(bi-gítan, "to find"); but) bi-uh-gitai, "will he find?" &c. Even a third particle or a pronoun is sometimes thrust in, and in turn acts enclitically upon uh or u; as: *(dis-sítan, "to fall upon" (said of fear); diz-uh-sát, "and (fear) fell upon (them)"; but) diz-uh-pan-sát, "and thereupon (fear) fell on (them)."

See also gá-ū-hwa-seh*huw (§ 45 (2, ga-).) In these proclitic conglomerates the effect of each successive enclitic is to raise by a grade the accent of the preceding one.

(iii) But the terms pro- and en-clitic, in a wider sense, cover many separate subsidiary words in a clause. Thus the article, prepositions, and conjunctions are proclitic; unemphatic pronouns may be either pro- or en-clitic; while a proclitic to a following word may act enclitically upon a preceding one (as at in láisján at márèin, "to teach by the sea"); and, further, as in the conglomerates just treated in (ii), so an enclitic may attach itself to one of these independent proclitics; or two or three of the latter may come together; or mixed groups may occur. Examples: *(us hi-míná, "from heaven"); but) úz-ú hi-míná wás? "was-it from heaven?" — *(úf pus sílbin, "of thyself"); but) áb-ú pus si"lbin *pátá quípis? "sayest-thou that of thyself?" *(áfár *pátá, "after that"); but) *áfár-uh *pán *pátá, "and after that"; —úddjéduñ-
"and they went over the sea"; or, without 
u or uh,—gāngāts in po háín, "gó into the village." Many 
of these subordinate words, owing to their non-accentuation, 
underwent, in Teutonic, phonetic weakening; and to the oldest 
Gothic we may assign forms like hwaz, iz, (G. s.) piz, diz, uz, 
ab9, uh10. In the later Gothic the final consonants became s 
and f in the independent words, hwas, is, uf, &c. (See §§ 30 
(2, v, vi) and 31 (7) above); but z and b still appear in 
interior positions, as in composition and in oblique cases,— 
hwazuh, izei, pizos, ab-uh, &c.

(6) With the foregoing sketch we must leave the Gothic 
accentuation, many points in which cannot be satisfactorily 
settled. In conclusion we will here repeat a part of the 
passage quoted in § 11 above, with an attempted assignment 
of the accents :

Jah áftrā Iésūs dugánn láisjnāt at mā"rei"n; jah galēsun 
sik du imma mánągeinś fi"lu", swáswę ină galélipandăn in skip 
gasĭtan in márēin; jah állás so mánągēi wîphra márēin āna 
stāpā wās. Jah láisidā ins (or láisida ins? see (3, iv)) in 
gājukŏm (or in gajukŏm? see (4, i) ad fin.) ma"na"g, jah quajp 
im in láiseinăi seinăİ: Hau"sei"p! Sāi, urram sa sāiānds du 
sāian frai"wa sēinamma. Jah wa"rįp, mįpõnęi sūsō, sūm 
ràihtis gadrāns faur wišg, jah quēmūn fũglōs jah frētun āta 
(or frētun āta?). A'n̄pāruh-ŏn gadrāus āna stai"nāhammă, 
 pérdę ni hábăidă (or hábăida) ārphă mănuţă; jah sūns urra"un, 
in pizēi ni hábăida diupaiţōs ārphōs: at sümīn ān urrin- 
nandin ufbra"an, jah, ũńtē ni hábăida wāurtins, gâpau"rs-
noda"; &c. &c.

9 The determination of the accentuation in groups of subordinate words, 
especially when some are dissyllables, is not always easy. I much doubt 
whether Paul's postulate,—that no two successive syllables have the 
same accent-grade,—which may hold good for individual words, can be 
granted for words in series. Before and after a pause, at any rate, 
however slight, (as, I think, Paul concedes,) exactly the same level of 
accent may occur; and further, two successive syllables may often be on 
the lowest level; at least, with ordinary enunciation, I am unable to 
perceive any difference of strength between -to and the, in "gó into the 
village"; or between -er and the in "over the sea."

I ought perhaps to have mentioned before that Paul, in arranging 
gradations of accent, discriminates between strength, or emphasis, and 
tone, or musical pitch. To avoid prolonged discussion of the subject 
I have tacitly assumed that variations of emphasis carry with them 
variations of tone, as they mostly do.

10 These two props. were probably, as Sievers thinks, shortened from 
*aba, *uba, for *afu, *ufu, (Gk. ἄφω, ὕφω).
PART IV.

SYNTAX.

86. Syntax treats of words as members of the Proposition or Sentence,—i.e., as used in combination for the expression of thought or feeling. As, therefore, the unit of Phonology is the articulate sound; and as the unit of Morphology is the word composed of such sounds; so the primary unit of Syntax is the simple proposition. The abstract basis of Syntax lies in the relationship existing among the successive ideas or notions combined in any mental operation; but the concrete exponents both of the ideas or notions and of their relationships are the completed words whose formation has been studied under Morphology; and the special business of the Syntax of any language is to deduce, from the usages of that language, the rules which control the assignment of its various word-forms to the expression of those relationships. In doing this, however, the purview of Syntax must extend beyond its primary unit; for men ultimately found themselves able to evolve, by an uninterrupted effort, a cluster of closely-allied simple thoughts adjusted to one another in various appropriate relationships, and to express such a thought-cluster by a corresponding cluster of simple propositions. This process required the formation of elaborate conjunctional machinery, and, especially in the older I-E. languages, involved alterations in the form and order of the words in some of the constituent propositions. All such results of the process have likewise to be investigated by Syntax.

87. The Syntax of the Gothic language is, in its main features, closely similar to that of every other I-E. language. The principal relationships accordingly into which the constituents of a sentence may enter are:

1 Lat. *disco*, but *lego ut discam*;—*senex est*, but *scebat se senem esse*; &c.

2 In the following outlines of Go. Syntax it is assumed that the reader is familiar with the methods and the terminology of grammatical analysis.

1 In the Gothic remains, which are mostly close translations from the Greek, the idioms and constructions of the latter language often appear to be exactly reproduced; but there is no reason to suppose that any violence was done to the native texture of the Gothic: in many respects the two languages stood on nearly the same linguistic level.
(1) The **Subjective or Nominative**;—(2) The **Direct Objective or Accusative**;—(3) The **Secondary, Remoter, or Indirect Objective** (Dative, &c.);—(4) The **Attributive or Adjectival** (including **Apposition**);—(5) The **Prädicative or Assertive**;—(6) The **Adverbial**.

(1) The **Subject** of a sentence may be
(i) A substantive or a pronoun; and its inflexional characteristic is the Nominative case; as: *Stibna quam us himinam* = "A-voice came from heaven."
(ii) But in Gothic, as in Latin and Greek, the subject may be involved in the verb itself (§ 38 (4)); as: *Amen quifa izwis* = "Verily I-say to-you";—*Atiddjëdun du Ißsua* = "They-came to Jesus."

Instead of a subst. or pronoun, any word or collection of words having a substantival force may be used; as:
(iii) An adjective used substantively; as: *Xi Jmurbun swiri>ai* (or *hailai] lekeis* (gen.) = "The-strong (or the-whole)
need not a physician."
(iv) An infinitive or infinitive phrase; as: *Waurdam weihan du ni wahtai daug* = "To-strive with-words is-profitable for nothing."
(v) A participial phrase; as: *T'ai haldandans T6 sweina gaßlaúhun* = "Those keeping (=they-that-kept) the swine fled."
(vi) A complex sentence may have for its subject a substantival clause (.:. a subordinate subjective proposition); as: *Saei wajamëreiß alman weihana ni habaiß fralet aiw* = "Whoso blasphemeth the Holy Ghost never hath forgiveness."

(2) The **Direct Object** of a sentence may also be
(i) A subst. or pronoun; and its inflexional characteristic is the Accusative case; as: *Herodes nahtamat waûrhta* = "Herod made a supper."
(ii) An adjective used substantively; as: *Gasalbôdëdun managans siukans"They anointed many sick."*
(iii) An infinitive or infinitive phrase; as: *Aßpan ik quifa izwis ni swaran allis* = "I tell you not to-swear al-all."
(iv) A participial phrase; as: *Andnimip Tana sandjandan mik* = "He-receiveth him-that-sendeth me."
(v) In a complex sentence the direct object may be a substantival clause; as: *Meridëdun ei idreigôdëdeina* = "They preached that (men) were-to-repent."
But, as qualitative of (i), it is to be noted
(vi) That, by specially Gothic usages, a direct object appears sometimes in the Genitive, and more frequently in the Dative; as: (G.) *Hilp meinaizös ungalaubeinais* = "Help-
thou mine unbelief”; —Uswairpiḥ ฏain unhulpōm=“He-castesth-out the devils.”

And as qualitative of (v) it is to be noted

(vii) That an accus. + infin. (as in Latin) may be construed as a clause; e.g.: Hwa wilčits taujan mik inquis=“What will-ye-two that I do for you?” i.e., more familiarly, “What do-you-want me to-do for-you”? —Allai gadomidēduń ina skulan wisan daupau=“They all adjudged him to-be guilty of death,” i.e., “that he was guilty,” &c.

(3) The Secondary, Remoter, or Indirect Object (when there is one) must be

(i) A substantive or pronoun, or an equivalent; but the cases and the constructions may vary, as in the following samples:—Atgaf haubip 舀ōhannis ฎizai maijai (dat.)=“He-gave John’s head to-the damsels”; —(Aipś) ḳanei swōr wiḥra Abraham attan unsarana (prep.+ace.)=“(The-oath) which he-swore to Abraham our father”; —Gahailida manangans missaleikaim sauhtim (dat.)=“He-healed many of-various diseases.”

(ii) Rarely, the secondary object is a substantival clause; as: Bidei mik pišhvizuh-ȩi (gen.) wileiš=“Ask me for whatsoever thou-wilt.”

(iii) Under this head should perhaps be placed the “factitive” accusative, whether it be subst., adj., pron., or infin. Examples: Hwana ḳuk-silban taujis ṭu?=“Whom makest thou thyself?”; —Ni magt ain tagl hwet aître pa swart gataujan=“Thou-eaust not make one hair white or black”; —Baudans gataujip gahausjan jah unrödjandans rōdjan=“The-deaf he-maketh to-hear and the speechless to-speak.”

(iv) Or wairfpan, “to be, become,” may be used between the two accusatives; e.g.: Gatauja inquis wairfpan mutans manne=“I will make (or cause) you to-become fishers of men.” This construction is scarcely distinguishable from that in (2, vii.).

(v) But, instead of a second accusative, du+dat. may be used; as: Jus gatawidēduń itu da filigrja waidēdjanę=“Ye have-made it (the temple) into a den of thieves”; —ṭu, manna wisands, taujis ḳuk-silban du guja=“Thou, being a-man, makest thyself into God.”

(4) The Attributive function is discharged either by an adjective or by some word, phrase, or clause having an adjectival force.

(i) An adjective; as: Sum gadraus in aître pa gōda=“Some fell in good ground.”

(ii) A participle or participial phrase; as: Daupidai wēsun
allai, andhaitandans frawaúrhtim seinaim="Baptized were-
they all, confessing their sins."

(iii) A genitive; as: Galaip in gard pis synagôgasadas =
="He-went into the-house of-the ruler-of-the-synagoge.">

(iv) An infinitive or a phrase; as: Afleisabaip (dat.)
usfullnôda mêl du baïran="For-Elizabeth was-fulfilled the-
time to bring-forth" ;—Ganimip ñaus miip sis="Ile taketh
them (that are) with him."

(v) A relative clause; as: Insailidêdun pata badi ana
pammei lag sa uslîpa="They tied-ropes-to the bed on which
lay the palsied-man."

(vi) Appositional words, phrases, and even clauses, are
(also less distinctly) of an adjectival character, being
expository of the nouns to which they are attached; as: . . . .
in garda Daweidis (gen.) piuimagaus seinis (gen.) = "... in
the house of-David his servant" ;—Gasahw Iakôbu (acc.)
pana (acc.) Zaîbaïdaïaus jah Iôhanne brôpar is="He saw
James the (son) of-Zebedee and John his brother."

We cannot, of course, give an inflexional case to clauses; but their syn-
tactic relationships are just as clear as if we could; thus, in the
following we have really an objective (substantival)
clause in apposition with the accus. anabusn :—Anabusn
niuja giba izwis, ei frijoî izwis-missô="A new commandment
I-give to-you, (viz.) that ye-love one-another." But in the
following the same clause assumes a subjective character by
apposition with pata :—pata ist anabusns meina, ei frijoî, &c.
="This, (viz.) that ye-love one-another, is my commandment."

(5) In Syntax the term "Predicate" denotes the assertive
word or words of a sentence; it includes therefore the "co-
pula" (positive and negative) which, in logic, is excluded,
but excludes the direct and other objects, which, in logic, are
included.

(i) In Gothic, as elsewhere, the grammatical prédicate is
generally a single verb-form; as: Gaquêmun managai="Many-people came-together" : the resolution of such a
form into its logical equivalents is a matter with which
grammar has nothing to do.

(ii) But composite tenses may be formed by means of a
ptep. plus a tense of wisan or wairpan as copula; or by means
of an infin. plus a tense of skulan, kunnan, &c.; as: Iohannes
was daunfjands="John was baptizing" ;—Jabai Satana ga-
dailips warî . . . . = "If Satan was divided . . . ." ;—Wailamérjan
ik skal="Preach I must."

(iii) Or the grammatical prédicate may consist of an
adjective, a substantive, an adverb, a phrase, or even a clause,
plus a tense of wisan, wairpan, or of some intrans. or passive

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verb, as copula; e.g.: Wastjös is waîrpan hweitōs="His garments become white";—pu is Xristus="Thou art Christ";—Pomas, saci haitada Didimus="Thomas, who is-called Didymus";—Jabai sijai jōinar sunus gawairjjis . . . ="If the son of peace be there . . .";—Ik us-pamma-fairhwau ni-im="I am-not of-this-world";—Sa ist pammci-sōkjam-usquiman="This is the-man-whom-they-seek-to-kill" (See § 103 (vi)). But the copula may be suppressed; as: Braid daûr, jah rums wig="Wide (is) the door, and broad (is) the way."

(iv) With the parts of wisan and waîrpan, du+a dat. is sometimes used; as: Sijaina (opt.=fut.) ëpo twa du leika samin="They two shall-become one flesh";—(Ik) waîrpa izwis du attin,jah jus waîrpi mis du sunum="I will-become a-father to-you, and ye shall-become sons to me." This is a correlative construction to that in (3, v).

(v) Sometimes in Gothic (as frequently in English) a preposition following a verb may be taken with the verb as a loose compound; as: Bidjaiy-bi ñans wrikandans izwis="Pray-for them-that-persecute you."

(6) The Adverb, as its name imports, is generally attached to a verb or verbal 2; e.g.: 

(i) ëpo alla ubilona innaprō usgangand="All these evils come-out from-within."

But the Adverbial function may be discharged by numerous equivalents of the adverb proper; as by:

(ii) Some case of a substantive; as: Ufarassau sildaleiki-dëdu="They marvelled exceedingly" (lit., "in-excess"): such a case is, in fact, an adverb.

(iii) An infinitive; as: Quêmun saîhwam="They-came to-see" (purpose).

(iv) Prepositional phrases of various kinds; as: Daupidai wêsun allai in Iaûrdanē ahwai fram imma="Baptized were they-all in the river (of) Jordan" (place) "by him" (agency);—Gars warp in pizê aîpē="He was sorry on-account-of the oaths" (cause);—Afar dagans ñrans bigêtun ina . . .="After three days" (time) "they found him . . ."

(v) An absolute phrase, with or without at; as: Naûhpanuh at ñamma rōdjandin, quam Iudas="He yet speaking" (time) "came Judas";—Andanahtja ñan waîrpanamma bërun du imma . . ="Evening then coming-on" (time), "they brought to him . . ." These phrases are generally rendered by clauses (§ 110).

2 The exceptions are the advs. of degree or intension which modify the meanings of adjs. or other advs.
(vi) A clause; as: Jabai wileis, magt mik gahrainjan = "If thou wilt" (condition) "thou canst cleanse me";—
Ni fralaflot ins rōdjān, untē kunphēdan ina="He did not allow
them to speak, because they knew him" (reason). Adverbial
clauses are multiform and of delicately-graded force; the
adverbial conjunctions by which they are introduced (§ 84
(4)–(11)) may be taken as symbols or exponents of their
several characters.

(7) In now considering the details of Gothic Syntax we
may take the "parts of speech" in the same order as before;
viz.: (a) Substantives; (γ) Adjectives; (γ) Pronouns; (ð)
Verbs; and (ε) Particles; but as Syntactic sometimes differ
from Inflexional relationships, it will now be convenient to
treat the Article along with the Adjectives, and the Participles
(in their verbal character) along with the Verbs.

(a) Substantives.—Syntax of the Cases1.

88. The Nominative Case.
(i) This case has been shown (§ 87 (1)) to characterize,
primarily, the subject of a proposition.
(ii) But substantives used prädicatively (§ 87 (5)) are also
in the nominative, probably by attraction to the subject. In
this construction the prädicative substantive implies, for the
time being, the same person or thing as the subject, and the
two are connected by an intransitive or a passive verb.
(iii) A substantive in apposition with a nominative is itself
also in the nominative2.
(iv) Very rarely a Nominative Absolute occurs (See § 110).

89. The Vocative is of an interjectional nature: hence
grammarians hesitate to regard it as properly a "case." A
substantive when in the vocative becomes, for the time being,
of the "second person."
(i) The vocative, in Ulfilas, generally follows the Grk.
original; as: Managai quipand mis, frauja, frauja! (Mt. vii.
22) = "Many shall-say unto-me, lord, lord!" (κύριε, κύριε!);
—Apēan hwa mik haiṭip frauja, frauja! (Lk. vi. 46) = "But
why call ye me lord, lord!" (where we might have expected
an accus.). More remarkable is the following:—Jus wōpeipl

1 The general rules respecting the Cases apply also to adjectives and
pronouns, and will not be formally repeated in connexion with these parts
of speech: some pronominal examples will indeed be here cited.
2 This obvious agreement of appositional nouns and pronouns extends
to all the cases: a corresponding rule need not be repeated in each
instance.
mik laisareis jah frauja (John xiii. 13) = “Ye call me teacher and lord” (ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ κύριος).

(ii) A genuine Gothic usage appears in the prefixation of the personal pron. to the voc.; as: ὅμ lēki, hailei ἡφ silban (Lk. iv. 23) = “(Thou) physician, heal thyself!” (= Grk. ἀπειρέ only).

(iii) But in numerous instances the pron. so used seems to be a more explicit rendering of the Grk. art.; as: Atta unsar, ὅμ in himinam (Mt. vi. 9) = “Our father, (thou) in the heavens” (ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς); — Jus wairós, frijòp quenins izwarós! (Eph. v. 25) = “(Ye) husbands, love your wives!” (οἱ ἱὼν . . .). This rendering of the Grk. art., however, is not essential; e.g.: Sunau Daweidis, armai mik! (Mk. x. 47) = “Son of David, have-mercy-on me!” (ὁ νίόσ . . ., but no ὅμ).—The voc. frequently, as here, accompanies an imperative.

90. The Accusative has been shown (§ 87 (2, i)) to be

(i) and primarily the case of the direct object in a proposition of which the predicate comprises a transitive verb. (But see § 87 (2, vi).)

(ii) The accusative is also required to follow certain propositions (§ 83).

(iii) But accusatives of substantives denoting distance or duration are used adverbially without any governing proposition; as: Gangais mīp imma lwos (rastōs) = “Go with him two (miles)”; — Quēmun dagis wig = “They went a day’s journey”; — Salida . . . twans dagans = “He-abode . . . two days.”

(iv) A similar adverbial accus. is that which indicates (as in Grk. and Lat.) an object or a part of the person affected by the meaning of a verb, a verbal, or an adjective in the same clause; as: Urrann sa dauqa gabundans handuns jah fotuns faskjam (John xi. 44) = “The dead-man came-forth bound hand and foot (lit., hands and feet) with bandages” (δεδεμένος τὰς χεῖς, &c.). With the accus. the dat. may alternate; as: Stauidaŋ nu ufanqurdaŋaŋ hupins izwarans sunjai . . ., jah gaskōhái fōtum, &c. (Eph. vi. 14, 15) = “Stand therefore, girt (about) your loins with truth . . ., and shod on-your-feet,” &c. (The Grk. has the accus. in both places.) (The following passage, however, does not show this construction:—Jah haubip wundan brahtedun (Mk. xii. 4) = “And they wounded (him) in-the-head,” but lit., “they brought or made his head wounded”).

1 So Latimer renders the passage in his sermon on it.
SYNTAX: THE SUBSTANTIVE.

(v) Some intransitive verbs may take an accus. of similar meaning to their own (a "cognate" accus.); as: *huzda, "to treasure-up treasures*; — *waurkjan waurstwa, "to work works*; — *haisfjan haisf, "to fight a fight."

(vi) The impersonal verbs (3 p. s.) *grêdō* or *hungeři*, lit., "it hungers (me, you, &c.)," and *pa’ersel*, "it thirsteth (me, you, &c.)," require an accus. of the person affected; as: *Jabai grêdō (subj.) fijand peivana...; jabai pa’ersjai iina...* (Rom. xii. 20) = "If thine enemy hunger...; if he thirst..."; — *Paana gangandau du mis ni hungeři hwanhun (John vi. 35) = "He-that-cometh to me shall never hunger."

(vii) *Kara (ist)*, lit., "there is care or concern (for somebody)," is equivalent to an impers. vb., and takes an accus. (where we should have expected a dative) of the person feeling the care, and a gen. (really dependent on kara) of the person or thing causing it; as: *Ni kar’ ist ina īzeī lambē (John x. 13) = "He careth not (=he is not concerned) for the sheep."

The object of the care may even be expressed by a clause to which a genitive quality is given by the conjunction; as: *Ni-u kāra ḫuk īzei fraquistnun (Mk. iv. 38) = "Carest thou not that we perish?" (īzei = īs + ei, "for this, viz., that... '').

(viii) Verbs that denote teaching, naming, reckoning (= considering), rendering, and the like, require two accusatives, between which, when the sense allows, swē or swaswē may occur; as: *Laisida ins* in gajukōm manag="He-taught them many-a-thing in parables"; — *Panzei apaqstāvans namnida="... whom he called apostles"; — Triggwana mik rahnda="He-counted (reckoned) me faithful"; — *Swē mfrōdana nimaiŋ mik="Receiving me as a fool."

(ix) A variety of the foregoing appears in the idioms— *garāihtana (or uswaúhrtana) + dōmjān, gudōmjān, quipān, or gateihani; lit., "to judge, adjudge, or declare (oneself or any one else) (to be) righteous or just"; i.e., simply, "to justify"; as: Garāihtana domidēdun gup (Lk. vii. 29) = "They justified God" (lit., "adjudged him to be just"); — Juzei in witōda garāihtans quipā izwis (Gal. v. 4) = "Ye-who are justified by the law" (lit., "assert yourselves to be righteous").

(x) Closely similar is the use of *bringan* with an adj. or a ptcp.; as: Witōp ahmins libainais frijana brahta mik witōdis frawārhtais (Rom. viii. 2) = "The law of the spirit of life hath-made me free from the law of sin." So also wairpana bringan, "to render worthy"; wundan bringan, "to wound" (See under (iv) above); and gamainja bringan, "to communicate." The idioms in (viii), (ix), and (x) are closely similar to the factitive accus. of § 87 (3, iii).
INTRODUCTION TO GOTHIC.

(xi) Verbs of sensation or perception often take an accus. ptcp. with their object (as in Grk.); e.g.: Bigat unhlulþn usgangana (Mk. vii. 30) = "He found the-evil-spirit gone-out." (See § 110 (x).)

(xii) For the accus. + infin. as = an objective clause, see § 87 (2, vii). But sometimes the acc. + infin. after swasvē is = a final or concluding clause: it then renders the similar Grk. accus. + infin. after ὀστε; e.g.: ... swasvē ῥατα skip gahulįp-wairįpan fram wēgim (Mt. viii. 24) = "... so that the ship was-covered by the waves" (ὀστε το πλοῖον καλύπτει-θαί, &c.).

91. The Dative is (i) one of the forms assumed by the remoter object (§ 87 (3)).

(ii) With du the dat. occasionally forms idioms well known in older English; as: Ἰαί σίβυν αἱλθέδουν ὄ δυ κυναι (Mk. xii. 23) = "The seven had her to wife"; —Xristus izwis nist du bótai (Gal. v. 2) = "Christ profiteh you nothing" (lit., "is not to you for a profit," — ὄ δυ bótai = "to boot").

Closely similar to these is: Ὅσ τυ ωσ υν lagjiþ du plata fanau þarihiþ ana snagan fañrjana (Mt. ix. 16) = "Nobody putteth, for a patch, a piece of new-cloth on to an old garment."

(iii) If, by change of an active verb into a passive, the direct object becomes the subject, the dative of the remoter object remains unaltered; as: Afletanda ἄσ frawaurhteis þeinōs (Mk. ii. 5, 9) = "Thy sins are forgiven thee"; (passive to: Ἰκ αφλήτα ἄσ frawaurhtins þeinōs, "I forgive thee thy sins").

(iv) The dat. often occurs with intransitive verbs to indicate the person or thing with reference to whom or which an action or feeling takes place; as: ... wailamērjan unlēdaím = "... to preach-the-gospel to-the-poor"; — Νί maŕinaitþ saiwalai izvarai = "Take no thought (or, be not concerned) for your life." These datives are really indirect objects; wailamērjan may in fact take an accus. also.

(v) The Gothic often uses, with verbs denoting thought and feeling (especially fear), a dat. of reference, closely resembling the datīvus ethicus of the Latin; as: Νί ōgs ἄσ, "Be (thou) not afraid"; — Νί faúrhtetþ izwis, "Be (ye) not affrighted"; — Ὅσκιζαν sīs or mitōn sīs, "to think to-one-self"; — Frawaurhta mis, "I have sinned." Some of these may take a direct object also; as: Νί nūnu ogeþ izwis ins (Mt. x. 26) = "Fear (ye) not them therefore"; — Hērōdēs ohta sīs Iohannēn (Mk. vi. 20) = "Herod feared John." — Add this: Run gawaurhîédun-sīs alla sō hairda (Mt. viii. 32)
=lit., "All the herd made-them a run," i.e., "made a rush, or rushed."

(vi) The dat. + wisan or wair̓p̓an is = haban (cf. Lat. est mihi, &c.); as: Freu̓j̓n j̓aú̓r̓fts j̓is ist (Lk. xiv. 31): lit., "To-the-lord there-is need of this" = "The lord hath need of this"); -Saú̓rga mis ist mikila (Rom. ix. 2) = "I have great sorrow"; -Wair̓p̓ Sarrin sumus (9) = "Sarah shall have a son."

(vii) Similar is the use of the dat. with a substantive implying a relationship of the person or thing named to some other person or thing; as: Hwa was ist mis nêhwundja? (Lk. x. 29) = "Who is my neighbour?" - Freu̓j̓n ist j̓aunum subbatō (Mk. ii. 28) = He is lord of-the-sabbath.

(viii) The idiom of (v) is extended (on the pattern of the Greek) to two datives, when a community of interest is in question; as: Hwa w̄us jah put? = lit., "What [is there common] to-us and to-thee?" i.e. (E. V.), "What have we to do with-thee?" - Ni wai̓ht [sj̓ai̓] put jah j̓aunum garmingtin (Mt. xxvii. 19) = (E. V.) "Have thou nothing to do with-that just-man."

(ix) Those neuter adjs. which with ist form a sort of impersonal compound require the dative and generally an infinitive; such are: gudof (gudob) ist ( = Lat. decer), "it befits or beseeems"; az̓əlizo or rapi̓zō ist, "it is easier"; ay̓lu ist, "it is difficult"; y̓əp ist ( = Lat. prodest), "it is good"; wan̓ ist ( = Lat. de-est), "there is wanting"; bruks or brulc ist, "it is useful"; e.g.: Rapi̓zō ist ulbandan pai̓r̓h pai̓rkō nē̄l̓ō̄s pai̓r̓hlei̓p̓an ... (Lk. xviii. 25) = "It is easier for-a-camel to-go through the eye of a needle ..."; - Ainis put wan ist (Mk. x. 21) = "Of-one-thing there-is a lack to thee," i.e., "One thing thou lackest."

(x) Adjectives and pteps. implying knowledge, affection, likeness, and other relational notions take a dative; as: Sah was kun̓ps j̓aunum gud̓̌j̓in = "And he was known to-the (chief) priest"; - Sunu aigands liubana sis ... = "Having a son dear to-himself ..."; - Jah anpara galeiku pizai = "And the second is like unto-that."

(xi) The Gothic dative discharges the functions of the old ablative, instrumental, and locative; as: (a) = Instrum.: Wō̳p̓ida Jesus stih̓nai mikilai = "Jesus cried with a loud voice"; - Slohun is haub̓p̓ rausa = "They smote his head with a reed"; (b) = Lat. abl. (but Grk. gen.) of comparison: Quimip swim̓p̓oza mis = "There-cometh a mightier than-I"; - Niw̓ sai̓wala mais ist fōdeinai jah leik wus̓t̓j̓om? (Mt. vi. 25) = "Is-not the-life more than-food and the body than-raiment?"

1 Wan may be a neut. subst.
(c) = Lat. abl. or locative, and Grk. dat., denoting point of time: Jah sabbato daya galci̇and in synagogēn... = "And, on-the-sabbath day, going into the synagogue..." ;—Soh ʃizai hwei̇lai atstandandcī... = "And she coming up at-that moment...": but (d) a point or period of time marked by some well-known person is indicated by uf, "under," + the dat. of such person's name (as in Grk. by ετί + gena.) e. g.: uf Abiȧpȧra gudjian = "in-the-days-of Abiathar the (high) priest";—uf Hailleisaı̇au praunitàu = "in-the-days-of Elisha the prophet": (e) The use of the dat. with an abl. function appears still more clearly after the preps. at, mit, faı̇ra, &c. (§ 83); of which special examples need not be cited.

(xii) Du + the dat. of verbal nouns (like είs or πρ̄ıs + accus.) may frequently be rendered by an infin. e. g.: Liu̇hāp du andhuleinai piudom (Lk. ii. 32) = "A light to lighten the gentiles," (lit., "for-a-revelation to-the-gentiles,—είς ἀποκάλυφιν...") ;—All boko... paı̄rtȯs du laiseinai, du gasaltai, du garaı̇theinai, du talzeinai in garaı̇thein (Tim. ii. iii. 16) = "All of-the-scriptures... (are) useful to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in righteousness" (lit., for teaching,—πρ̄ıs δίδακταίαν, & c.).

(xiii) It has been shown (§ 87 (2, vi)) that some verbs take a direct object in the dative case. The commoner of such verbs are: baı̊rjan, "to keep, preserve"; fraquiman, "to spend, consume"; frali̇usun, "to lose"; frȧpjan, "to understand"; gaumjan, "to perceive"; ufarmunnɔ̄n, "to forget"; tẽ̇kan and attẽ̇kan, "to touch"; idweitjan, "to upbraid, reproach"; kukjan, "to kiss"; frakunnum, "to despise"; and balwjan, "to torment."

(xiv) Other verbs take sometimes the dat. and sometimes the accus. without variation of sense; as: fraquistjan, usquistjan, and usquiman, "to destroy"; waripan, "to cast"; uswaripan and usdreiban, "to cast out"; and saian, "to sow."

(xv) Others take the dat. or accus. with a slight change of meaning; as:

anahaitan, + dat. = to scold; + accus. = to call on, invoke;
andhaitan, " = to confess, profess, " = to acknowledge thank;
(g = recognize);
gasakan, " = to rebuke, reprove; " = to convince, to silence;
uski̇usun, " = to reject; " = to prove, test;
and others.

(xvi) If an active verb which takes its direct object in the dative be turned into the passive voice, the dative may be turned into the nominative; as: Usdribana warxf so managei
92. The Genitive.

(i) When one person or thing is spoken of as taking its origin from another, the name of that other is put in the genitive case. The relation of the genitive to this its so-called "governing" word is of an adjectival character (§ 87 (4, iii)). Varieties of the simple eonerete genitive appear in the following Gothic examples:—Sa sunus Marjins, "the son of (=sprung from, born of) Mary";—Hairda sweine, "a herd of (=made up from) swine";—Launa frauaurhtais daujms, "the wages of (=resulting from) sin (is) death";—Skalks auhumistins gudjins, "a servant of (=belonging to) the high priest"; &c.

(ii) The last-cited phrase exemplifies the very common "possessive" genitive. This gen. may be used praedicatively; as: Untē Xristaus sijup, "Because ye-are Christ's."

(iii) The force of the genitive was ultimately extended to the expression of a great variety of relationships, some of which seem actually opposed to its original force. We can speak, for example, not only of "the father's son," but also of "the boy's father"; and in the case of a phrase like "the fear of the enemy," we can only tell from the context whether the fear is subjective or objective,—i.e., whether the enemy feared some one else or some one else feared them. The Gothic accompanies the cognate languages in such usages.

(iv) Rarely, the word for "house" is omitted in Go. (as in Engl.) after the gen. of a personal name; as: Gangij sums manne fram pis fauramaipleis synagögeis (Lk. viii. 49) = "There-cometh a certain man (lit., a-certain-one of-men) from the-ruler-of-the-synagogue's,"—i.e., fram garda, "from the house (of)."

(v) A large area in the realm of this case is occupied by
what is loosely called the Partitive genitive. Here, the gen. denotes a whole (number or quantity), of which one, some, or a part is denoted by the accompanying noun or pronoun (or an equivalent). Genitives like that in hārda sveinē (in (i) above) are therefore really partitives; but the designation is usually reserved for instances in which the notions of partand whole are more distinctly marked,—as when the gen. is accompanied by an interrogative or indefinite pronoun, a numeral, or a superlative; examples: Hwas izwara...?—"Who or Which (one) of you...?"—Ni fralalot ainōhun izē milis afargangan (Mk. v. 37)="He-allowed not any-one of-them to follow with (i.e., to accompany) himself." So also ains pizē bōkarjē, "one of-the-scribes";—allaizō anabusē frumista, "the-first of-all-the-commandments";—manageins filu, "much of-the-people," i.e., "a great multitude." Even all is similarly used (as with us); e.g., all bagmē godaizē, lit., "all of-the-good trees," E.V. "every good tree";—all manageins, "all of (the) multitude."

(vi) Some idiomatic partitives with the interrog. or demonstr. pronoun deserve special notice; as: N'ist hwa fulginis=lit., "There is nothing (of) hidden";—ni waih wargipōs="nothing of (＝no) condemnation" (cf. Lat. quid novi, nihil malī, &c.);—Und pata hweilōs (G. s.) pei... (Mt. ix. 15) = lit., "Up-to that (point) of time that...", i.e., "while" or "as long as";—Hwō sō laiseinō sō niujō? (Mk. i. 27)="What is this (of) doctrines, this new (doctrine)?"="What new doctrine (is) this?"—Hwō sō handugeinō sō gibanō imma? (vi. 2)="What is (this (of) wisdom, this that-is-given to him?" So also: pai pīudō, "they of-the-gentiles," i.e., "the heathen," is = the simple plural pīudōs.

(vii) But the gen. alone may be used partitively, especially after ni; as: Wesun swē lamba ni habandōna hārdeis (Mt. ix. 36) = "They were as sheep not having (any) shepherd" (＝ French, n'ayant pas de berger);—Ni habaida diupaizōs aipōs (Mk. iv. 5) = "It had no deep earth," E.V. "no depth of";—Jah ni was im barnē (Lk. i. 7) = lit., "And there-was-not to-them (any one) of-children," i.e., "they had no child." This is a genuine Gothic idiom; but a genitive solus may also occur in a positive clause; as: Matidēdup pizē hlaibē (John vi. 26)="Ye did eat of the loaves";—Insandida skalk ei nēmi akrinis (Mk. xii. 2) = "He sent a servant that he-might-receive of-the-fruit" (＝ Grk. ârō + gen.).

(viii) Such an unaccompanied partitive genitive may also occur prädicatively; as: Bi sunjāj jah pizē is (Mt. xxvi.
73) = "Of a truth thou also art (one) of-them." (See (ii) above.)

(ix) A gen. may be used to denote age; as: Was ank jërë twalibë (Mk. v. 42) = "For she-was (of the age) of-twelve years." (The adj. twalibwintrus, "twelve-years-old," might equally well have been used.)

(x) The Gothic is fond of using a gen. of the name of the people of a country or city + land, markös, or the like, instead of the name of the country or city itself; as: Tyrë jah Seidônë land (Mt. xi. 21) = "The land of the Tyrians and Sidonians," i.e., "Tyre and Sidon"; — Galeipandsat marköm Tyrë jah Seidônë . . . (Mk. vii. 31) = "Departing from the coasts or borders of Tyre and Sidon." So also land Akujë = "Achaia"; aîrëa Saudaümjë = "the land of Sodom"; (but the Grk. too has γῆ Σωδόμων).

(xi) The adjs. waîrëa-, "worthy"; fulla-, "full"; lausa-, "void"; frija-, "free"; and framaqi-, "alien," often require a gen. to complete their sense; — so also do the verbs fulljan, "to fill," and fullnan, "to be filled"; as well as words of an opposite meaning; as: paîrban, "to need," and wan ist, "there-is lack." These usages correspond to our own,—"worthy of," "full of," &c.

(xii) Gamûnun, "to remember," takes its direct object sometimes in the gen. and sometimes in the accus. (but ufarmunnôn, "to forget," takes the dative).

(xiii) Gahrainjan, "to-cleanse"; hailjan, "to-make-whole"; lëkinôn, "to-heal"; and skaman sik, "to be ashamed"; take their remoter object in the gen., when they have one.

(xiv) As additional instances of verbs that take their direct object in the genitive (§ 87 (2, vi)) we may cite: Hwazuh-saci saîhwiq quînôn du lastôn izôs . . . (Mt. v. 28) = "Whosoever looketh-at a-woman to lust after-her . . ."; — Fraîhna jah ik izwis ainis waûrdis (Mk. xi. 29) = "I also will-ask you one word (i.e., question)";—Allai ainis stiklis brûkjam (Cor. I. x. 17) = "We-all partake of-one cup."

(xv) Of the last-cited verb an impersonal passive once occurs with the gen. retained (compare the impers. pass. with the dat., § 91 (xvii)); viz.: Patei ist all du riurein, päirh patei is brukjaidau (Col. ii. 22) = "Which is all destined-to perish, through (the mere fact) that use-will-be-made thereof."

(xvi) Examples of genitives diverted to adverbs have been given in § 82. Other genitive combinations are also

1 In verse 22, indeed, the datives Tyrim jah Seidônin, "for the Tyrians and Sidonians," occur as sole equivalents of Tyrë kai Σιδώνι.
used adverbially, especially to indicate "whither;" after verbs of motion; as: Usleipam āáíís stáðís (Mk. iv. 35) = "Let-us-pass-over to-the-other shore";—Insándáda iná haihjós seinaízós (Lk. xv. 15) = "He-sent him into-his field."

(β) Adjectives (including Participles, in their adjectival character, the Numerals, and the Article).

93. General Rules.
(i) Adjectives, as shown in §87, may be used attributively, prädicatively, or absolutely (i. e., without an accompanying substantive); and they "agree" with the substantives they accompany or stand for in number, gender, and case.

(ii) Exceptions to such "agreement," as to number and gender, may occur when the meaning of the word qualified overrides the form. Thus, if this word be a "noun of multitude,"—as managei (fem. sing.), "people, multitude," or hiuhma (masc. sing.), "crowd,"—the accompanying adjective (generally a ptep.) is mostly in the masc. plur.; e. g.: Was managei beidándans Zakariins (Lk. i. 21) = "The people were in-expectation of-Zacharias";—Allá só managei, gásaltáwándáns iná, . . . (Mk. ix. 15) = "All the multitude, seeing him, . . ."

(iii) Much more rarely grammatical feminines are treated as masculines, or even (when denoting things) as neuters; and grammatical neuters (when suggesting persons) as masculines; e. g.: Bigat unhulpón (f.) usgangana (m.) = "She found the devil gone-out" (Mk. vii. 30);—Éi kanníp (n.) wési handuyei (f.) gupés (Eph. iii. 10) = "That the-wisdom of God might-be known";—Ni wairípíp garáíths (m.) . . . ainham (n.) leiké (Gal. ii. 16) = "No flesh (lit. no one of-bodies), i. e., no man . . . becometh just (= is justified)."

The adjs. (or pteps.) in these examples are all prädicative.

(iv) When an adj. refers to two or more specified substantives (or pronouns) of different genders it is put in the neuter plural; as: Wésunuh-þán garáíthka ba (Lk. i. 6) = "And they (Zacharias and Elizabeth, just mentioned) were both righteous";—Sa atta þéins jah ik winnandánda sóki-só-kedum þuk (ii. 48) = "Thy father and I sorrowing have sought thee."

(v) But Case-agreement is much stricter, and extends to words widely removed from one another; as: Góp þús ist galeipan in líbain háltamma, . . . hámfammama, . . . haihamma . . . (Mk. ix. 43, 45, 47) = "It is good for-thee to enter into life lame, . . . maimed, . . . one-eyed . . ."
(vi) The adjectives midja-，“mid,” and halba-，“half,” are used attributively, like the Latin medio-, summo-, &c., where we employ a corresponding abstract substantive; as: 
Bigetun ina sitandan in midjaim laisarjam (Lk. ii. 46) = “They found him sitting in the midst of the doctors”; —
Giba ḫus und halba ḫiidangardja meina (Mk. vi. 23) = “I will give it thee up to the half of my kingdom.”

(vii) The place of attributive adjectives in Gothic is generally after their substantives; but they may precede when emphasis or sense requires; as: Maŋgōs wīdūwōns wēsun in Israela... (Lk. iv. 25) = “Many widows were in Israel...”; —but: Galuknōda himiuns du ĥeram prim jah mēnōps saĩhs, swē warp hūhrus mikiils (ibid.) = “Heaven was shut-up for three years and six months, so that there-was a great famine.”

The possessive adjectives, meina-, peina-, &c., used attributively, nearly always follow their substantives.

(viii) Adverbs and phrases may be used (as in Greek) as adjectives; but when they precede the subst. they require the article; as: Sō nu Iērusalēm = “The Jerusalem that-now-is”; —Sō tupa Iērusalēm = “The J. which-is-above”; —
Sō nu alds = “The present world”; —Pai bi ṭuta anŋar lust-jus = “The lusts of-other things.”

When a phrase follows the noun the art. may be wanting; as: Ṣō garaĩhtein us witōda (Rom. x. 5) = “The righteousness (which is) of the law.”

(ix) The Greek is imitated on a more extensive scale in:
Meljan insaht bi ṭōs gasīllaweisidōns-in-us waihţins (Lk. i. 1) = “To write an-account about the things (that are) fully-believed-among-us” ; —and in: Ei gaknumais pikē bi-pōeis-galaisiŋs-is waûrdē astaŋ (4) = “That thou-mayest-know the certainty of the doctrines about-which thou-hast-been-instructed” (relative clause).

94. Strong Adjectives (Vowel Declensions, §§ 54–57).

(i) Strong adjectives are used attributively when the substantive to be qualified is not limited by the article or otherwise; as: Ni mag bagms piwēigs akhrana ubīla gataujan (Mt. vii. 18) = “A good tree cannot produce evil fruit.”

(ii) Adjectives (purely such) used prædicatively are of the strong declension; as: Braid (ist) dauř jah rums (ist) wigs, ... jah managai sind ʧai inn galei/pdfandāns faʃirḥ pata (Mt. vii. 13) = “Broad is the gate and wide (lit. roomy) is the way, ... and many are they-that-go-in through it.” Weak forms so used are of a substantival character, § 95 (iii).
(iii) Certain adjectives, pure or pronominal, are always strong; viz.: (a) the Cardinal Numerals (§ 61); — (b) the Ordinal anpara- (ibid.); — (c) the Possessives, meina-, veina-, &c., and the pronominal jaina-, wuapa-, hvarja-, hwileika, swaleika-, hwelauda-, swalauda-, alla-, and sumu- (§§ 63-68); — (d) the Adjectives ganoha-, halba-, midja, and fulla-. Most of these are precluded by their meaning from taking the article before them. Anpara- and swaleika-, however, sometimes take it, but without changing their declension; e.g.: Ni im swaswe pai anparai mans (Lk. xviii. 11) = "I am not as the other men"; — Dizé swaleikaizé ist piudangardi gups (16) = "Of-such is the kingdom of God."

(iv) Strong Adjectives (without the article) may be used as substantives, but in a general and unrestricted sense; as: Blindai ussalhwand, kaltai gangand, baudai gahausjand, dau pairi urreisand (Mt. xi. 5) = "Blind-people receive-sight, lame-people walk, deaf-people hear, dead-people arise."

(v) Very rarely a substantival adj. appears in the strong form in a limited construction; as: Managa leika pize ligandané weihanizé urreisan (Mt. xxvii. 52) = "Many bodies of the buried saints arose."

95. Weak Adjectives (Consonant or n Declension, § 58).

(i) Weak adjectives appear when the substantive to be qualified is further limited, as by the article, or (rarely) by some other pronominal form, or even by the sense alone (e.g., spédista dags, "the last day").

(ii) Weak adjectives are very frequently used as substantives; thus: pai weihans = "the saints"; sums blinda = "a certain blind-man"; pai blindans = "the blind-men" (i.e., some particular men, not "blind people"") generally: see § 94 (iv); Sa audaya jah ains mahteiga (Tim. I. vi. 15), "the blessed-one and only potentate."

(iii) The following, and one or two others, always appear without the article: — alaparban-, "(one) utterly destitute"; fullawitan-, "the perfect (man)"; ingardjan-, "one-of-a-household"; usgrudjan-, "a weary (one)"; usfilman-, "astonished"; uswénan-, "(one) without hope." These are nearly always used prædictively.

(iv) When a weak adj. used attributively follows its substantive, the article generally goes with it; as: Ñu is sunus meins sa liuba (Mk. i. 11) = "Thou art my beloved son"; —

1 The phrase bo alla (= tâ ñata) looks like an exception; but bo is really a pronoun and alla in apposition, "these, all-of-them." The art. that often follows alla- belongs to the accompanying subst. (§ 98 (vii)).
\[\text{\textsl{Syntax: The Adjective.}}\]

\[\text{\textsl{The Degrees of Adjectives.}}\]

(i) The Dative is used after the Comparative where we use "than" + a nominative (§ 91 (xi, b)).

(ii) When comparison extends from one instance to another of any oblique case, \textit{pau}, "than," must come between; as: Sutizö ist Sūdāu̝ähjam \ldots \textit{pau} \textit{pizai} bu̝ry q
jainai (Mk. vi. 11) = "It shall-be more-tolerable for-the-
people-of-Sodom . . . than for-that-city;"—Nibai managizō
(neut. s.) wairpīp izwaraizōs garaihteins pau (garaihteins)
pižē bōkărjē jah fareisaiē . . . (Mt. v. 20) = "Unless there-
shall-be more of-your righteousness than (of-the-righteous-
ness) of the scribes and pharisees . . ."

(iii) In the case of mais, "more" + the positive (Gōp ist
imma mais . . . (Mk. ix. 42) = "It-is better for-him . . ."),
we ought perhaps to translate mais by "rather" ("It-is
good for-him, rather that . . ."). This is the proper rendering
in Mk. v. 26 (where, however, mais accompanies a compa-
rative adv.), . . . ak mais wairj habaida, "but rather found-
herself worse."

(iv) More remarkable is the use of mais with the compa-
rative of adjectives, forming a sort of double comparative;
as: Niu jus mais wulprizans sijuł ̣ paim? (Mt. vi. 26) = "Are
ye not better, of more consequence, than they?"—Paneei
gakausidēsum . . . filaus mais usdaudōzan (Cor. II. viii. 22)
= "Whom we have proved (to be) . . . much more diligent."
(But one codex has simply filu usd.)

(v) In the following, on the other hand, the comparative
seems to have (as in the Grk.) a superlative force:—Sa
mimmiza in ūndangardjai himinē . . . (Mt. xi. 11, Lk. vii. 28)
= "The least in the kingdom of heaven . . ." (Grk. ὁ μικρό-
τερος).

97. The Numerals.

(i) The partitive genitive accompanies numerals which
denote some out of a larger total (§ 92 (v)),—the numerals
themselves being then used pronominally; but when a
numeral and its substantive are coextensive, the numeral
becomes merely attributive; as: Ni wasjaip twaim paidōm
(Mk. vi. 9) = "Do not clothe (yourselves) with-two coats";
—Habaidēdun fiskans fawans (viii. 7) = "They had a-few
fishes";—Gawārķjaima hleiprōs prins (Lk. ix. 33) = "Let-
us-make three tents."

(ii) The uses of aina- otherwise than as a strict numeral
should be noted. Examples: Duatrinnands ains . . . = "A-
certain-man running-up . . .";—Ni bi hlaib ainana libaiį
manna (Lk. iv. 4) = "Man liveth not by bread alone";—
Panzei ni skuld ist matjān, nibai ainaim (pl.) gudjam (vi. 4)
= "Which (loaves) it is not lawful to eat, except for-the-
priests only";—Rōdida sis ains . . . (vii. 39) = "He-said to-

1 I can find no trace of the weak declension assigned by some gram-
marians to aina- when it means "alone."
himself *alone*” (where *ains* agrees with the nom. involved in the verb). The combinations *ains jah sa sama* (mase.), *ain jah ṭata samō* (neut.), are identical with our “one and the same.”

(iii) Grammarians have established a difference between *bai* and *bajōps*: *bai* is used of pairs of persons or things of like kind; such as married couples; two blind men; two debtors; &c.: *bajōps* is used of unlike persons or things brought into passing connexion; *e. g.*: Wesūnuḥ ḫan garaihita *ba* (Lk. i. 6) = “And they-were both (Zacharias and Elizabeth) righteous”;—but: *Wein* jungata in *baljins* niusjans giuntand, jah *bajōps* gafastanda (Lk. v. 38) = “Men-pour new (lit., young) wine into new skins (lit., bags), and *both* (wine and skins) are preserved.”

98. The *Article* 1 belongs historically to the demonstrative pronouns (§ 64); syntactically it must be put with the adjectives; for it is a satellite of the substantive, with which, in each instance, it agrees in gender, number, and case.

(i) The article implies a certain specialization of the substantive; but not a mere individualization: hence the Go. art. is often absent where the English art. is required; as: *Stibnα wōpjandins in aupiđai*: *Manweł wig fraunjins* ...

(Mk. i. 3) = “The voice of-one-crying in the wilderness: Prepare-ye the way of the Lord . . .”

(ii) A few substantives that approximate to proper names also appear without the article; such are: words for “God” (*guıp, frauja, atta*); “the-sun” (*sunno*); “earth,” “heaven,” “hell” (*aḻpa, himins, halja*); “death” (*dau̯pus*); and “day,” “night,” (days, nahls), except when they denote a particular day or night.

(iii) When a person or thing has been once mentioned, the article is used at any subsequent mention, even though the substantive employed may differ; *e. g.*: Jah suns ahma ina ustauh in *aupiđai*; jah was in *pizai aupiđai* dagē fidwōrtiguns (Mk. i. 12, 13) = “And forthwith the spirit led him out into (the) desert; and he was in the desert forty days”;

—Daupiıp’s was fram İohnnē in *İaΤrđanē*; jah, usgangands us ḫamma watin . . . (9, 10) = “He was baptized by John in Jordan; and, coming-out-out-of the water . . .” The subsequent subst. may even be implied in a preceding verb; as: *Galeipands in synagōgēn laișda ins* . . . jah usfilmans waurpun ana *pizai laiseinai* (21, 22) = “Going into the

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1 The article means the definite article: there is no indefinite article in Gothic: *aina* and *suma* mean “one,” “a certain one.”

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synagogue he taught them, . . . and they were astonished at the teaching."

(iv) But some well-known and frequently-mentioned names take the article on their first occurrence in any passage; such are: só alís, "the temple"; só baúrys, "the city" (i. e., Jerusalem); pái fereisaiçes, "the pharisées"; pái bökárrjos, "the scribes"; pái sipônjos, "the disciples."

(v) When a subst. is qualified by a relative clause, or by a phrase equivalent thereto, it generally takes the art.; as: Insailidéun páta badi ana þammei lag sa uslípa (Mk. ii. 4) ="They fastened-ropes-to the bed on which lay the palsied-man";—Drinkats pana stikl ðaneci ik drinka (x. 39)="Ye-two-shall-drink-of the cup that I drink of"; (but in 38 the art. is not used.) Qualifying phrases are generally participial, occasionally prepositional; and both kinds are generally rendered in English by a relative clause; as: Só brwan-dei in mis frauaúrhts (Rom. vii. 17)="The sin that-dwelleth in me";—Só garalíhteii ús wílóda . . . só ús galawbínai garalíhtet (x. 5, 6)="The righteousness (which is) of the law . . . the righteousness (which is) of faith."

(vi) The article accompanies participles used as substantives, e.g.: pái galawbíjandans, "believers";—þans fralusans, "them that-are-lost";—þata utyangándó ús mann . . . þata innyangándó in mannan (Mk. vii. 15, 18), "that which-cometh-out of a man . . . that which-goeth-into a man." So also the set phrases: þata annufjuanó, "that which-is-handed-on" = "tradition";—þata gamélið (but also þata gamélip), "that which-is-written" = "the scriptures";—þata qilípanó, "that which-was-spoken," plur. þo qilípanóna.

(vii) The article generally accompanies alla- (except when this is used quasi-partitively); jaina- when it follows its subst. superlatives; and sometimes possessives; as: Alla só managei, "All (of the) (the whole) multitude";—Ni mag standan sa gards jáins, "That house cannot stand";—Ufrakej þó handu þeina, "Stretch forth thy hand";—Só smalista apaústaíle, "the least of-the-apostles."

(viii) The art. frequently accompanies titular subs. in apposition; as: Ióhannês sa daupjands, "John the Baptist"; Héródês sa taîtrarkes, "Herod the tetrarch"; &e. But when the two subst. form as it were a single appellation, the art. may be wanting; as: þiúdans Héródês, "King Herod"; Teibárius kaisar, "(the) Emperor Tiberius"; Ésaieus praufóldus, "(the) prophet Isaiah"; &e.

(x) The nenter ḫata (like Grk. τό) introduces infinitive phrases and subordinate clauses; as: ḫata du frijón ina us allamka haǔrtin ... (Mk. xii. 33) = “To love him with the whole heart ...” (τό ἀγαπάω ...);—Iēsūs quāp du immu, ḫata jābāi mageis galaujań ... (ix. 23) = “Jesus said unto him, if thou canst believe ...” ( ... τό, εἰ ἐὰν ἐπιστεύσῃς ...);—Gabadwidedun attin is, ḫata hwaiwa wîldēli haitām ina (Lk. i. 62) = “They made-signs to his father, (inquiring) how he wished him to-be-named” ( ... τό τί ἀν θέλω ...).

(xi) In a series of two or more substantives of different genders the art. is repeated; as: ḫiis ist sa mândikâ jah sō ufarmeleins? (Mk. xii. 16) = “Whose is the portrait and the superscription?” But if the subs. are of the same gender, the usage varies,—sometimes, probably, according as they denote one or more than one group of persons; as: Quam managei fram ḫaim ahuumistam gudjam jah bōkarjam jah sinistam (Mk. xiv. 43) = “There-came a multitude from the chief priests and scribes and elders”;—but: Frēhun ina ḫai fareisai’eis jah ḫai bōkarjōs ...’ (vii. 5) = “The pharisees and the scribes asked him ...”

(xii) Very rarely the art. occurs with a proper noun; as: Ik haba wētwōdija maizēn ḫamma Tōhānnē (John v. 36) = “I have greater testimony than-John.” Such a usage appears sometimes to imply contempt,—Sa Barabbas, accus. ḫunu Barabban, “this Barabbas” (Mk. xv. 15, John xviii. 10).

(y) Pronouns.

99. General Rules.—(i) Pronouns naturally have the same gender, number, and person as the substantives they stand for; but their cases are determined by their functions—subjective, objective, or what not—in their own clauses.

(ii) The Vocative is confined to the second persons,—persons addressed being ipso facto of the second person.

(iii) As in the case of adjectives (§ 93 (ii)), so the agreement of pronouns with substantives is perturbed when the meaning of the latter prevails over the form; as: Infinōda du ḫizāi managein (fem. s.) ... jah jabai fralēta ins (m. pl.) ... = “I-have-compassion upon the multitude ... and if I send them away ...” (Mk. viii. 2, 3);—Ei ni gangaįp swaswē jah anpārōs pīudōs (fem.) gangand ... pāie (m. rel.) sik silbans atgebun aglaitein (Eph. iv. 17, 19) = “That ye-walk not as also other gentile-nations walk ... who have-given-over themselves to uncleanness.”

(iv) The neuters ḫata and hwá, followed by ist+a subst. are used (like our this, that, what) irrespectively of the
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gender of the subst.; as: Niu ḫata ist sa timrja? (Mk. vi. 3)="Is not this the carpenter?"—Bi mageiŋ gafahan ḫwad sijai braidei jah langei ... (Eph. iii. 18)="That ye-may comprehend what is the breadth and the length ... ."

(v) But if emphasis is to be thrown on the pronoun the proper gender reappears; as: Bi sunjai gup̂s sunus ist sa (Mt. xxvii. 54)="Of a truth this-man is God's son";—Hwad ḫannu sa sijai? (Mk. iv. 41)="Who then can this-man be?"

(vi) Where we, in English, use one pronoun predicatively to another, the Gothic, like the Greek, omits the former; as: Sa ist, bi ḫanei gamelij ist ... (Lk. vii. 27)="This is (he) about whom it is written ... ."—Quaŋ im Jēsus, Ik im (John xviii. 5, 6, 8)="Jesus said unto them, I am (he)."

(vii) If a pronoun stands for two substantives of different genders it is put in the neut. plur. (cf. § 93 (iv) above); as: Mipŋanei ḫo wēsun jainar ... (Lk. ii. 6)="While they (Joseph and Mary) were there ... ."—Sijaina ḫo ṭva du leika samin (Mk. x. 8)="Those two (the man and the wife) shall become one flesh."

100. The Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns.

(i) A subjective pronoun is involved in the verb alone (§ 87 (1, ii)). But if the verb be suppressed, a pronoun is used; as: Wainags ik manna!=E. V.,"Wretched man that I am!"

(ii) When different parties, already once mentioned, appear in succession in the narrative, one or the other (if not both) is generally represented by a pronoun; as: (Hērōdēs) swör izai ... ḫo st̄ usgangandei quaŋ ... (Mk. vi. 23, 24)="(Herod) swore to her ... and she going out said ... ."

(iii) Pronouns are used in antitheses; as: Ik daup̂ja izwis in watin; ḫo is daupeiŋ izwis in ahmin weihamma (i. 8)="I baptize you in water; but he will-baptize you in the holy spirit."—Ni jus mik gawalidēdup̂, ak ik gawalida izwis (John xv. 16)="Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you."

(iv) The unemphatic pronoun is, si, ita (=Lat. is, ea, id) may occupy positions to which, in Latin, hic, iste, or ille would be assigned. Is is even used for different persons spoken of in succession, where a change of pronoun might be expected; as: ḫo is dugann mērjan filu ... swaswē is ni mahta in baung galeipan (Mk. i. 45)="But he (the leper) began to-publish it widely ... so that he (Jesus) could not enter into the city" (but Grk. ὁ ... αὐτῶν ... .)—Bipē is
anakumbida in garda *is* . . . (ii. 15) = "As he (Jesus) reclined-at-table in *his* (Levi's) house . . ."

(v) Contrariwise, *is* and *sa* are sometimes used in succession for the *same* person or persons; as: Urraisida *pô, undgreipands handu ivōs* (Mk. i. 31) = "He raised *her* up, taking-hold-of *her* hand.";—Gasakands *im ni lailô*t pôs rôljan (Lk. iv. 41) = "Rebuking *them*, he suffered *them* not to speak."

(vi) The simple demonstrative, *sa*, &c., frequently appears in the emphatic position at the end of a clause; as: Hwa sôkeîp mîp *paim*? (Mk. ix. 16) = "Why dispute-ye with *them*?"—Duhwê weis ni mahtêdum usdreiban *puna*? (28) = "Why could we not expel *that-one*?"

(vii) *Sa* is also used to introduce a phrase; as: Xiu ussungwuî aiw hwa gatawida Daweid, . . . *is jah pâi mîp immâ*? (Mk. ii. 25) = "Have ye never read what David did, . . . he and *those with him*?"—*pâi wiîra wîg* sind *pâi haus-jandans . . .* (Lk. viii. 12) = "Those by the wayside are the hearers . . . ."

(viii) *Sah, sôh, pâtuh*; being merely *sa, &c., + uh*, are not essentially emphatic; and, indeed, may often be best rendered by "and this," "and that," "and he," &c.; as *pâtuh* *pân quaî* bi ahman (John vii. 39) = "And-this moreover *he* spake with-reference-to the spirit";—*pammhu* dâurawards uslûkîp (x. 3) = "And-to-him* the porter openeth."

(ix) In virtue of this meaning *sah* is often used as the equivalent of a relative; as: Lazarus, *sah* atwàïrpaus was du dâûra is (Lk. xvi. 20) = " . . . Lazarus, *who* (lit., and he) was laid at his gate";—. . . tâîhuîn frûtsîllai mans, *pâih* gastôpîn faîraîprô (xvii. 12) = " . . . ten leprous men, *who* (lit., and they) stood afar-off."

(x) *Sah*, with or without *pân*, is emphatic when it snms up, as it were, a preceding phrase or clause, or points to a following one; as: Saeri sandîda mik atta, *sah* weîtôdêîp bi mik (John v. 37) = "The father that sent me, *he* beareth-witness about me";—*Sôh* *pân* ist só aiweînî libains, eî kunneina ûk aînana sujîna guî . . . (John xvii. 3) = "And this is the (aforesaid) everlasting life (viz.), that they-know thee the only true God . . . ." Yët the simple *sa* may also be so used; as: Saeri waîrkeîp wiîjan guîs, *sa* bôpîar meïn is (Mk. iii. 35) = "Whoso doeth God's will, *he* is my brother."

(xi) *Jâîna*-, like *êkêîvo* - and Lat. *illo*-, is the demonstrative of the distant (third personal) object, whether in actual or imaginary space or time; as: Îp *jâînaim, paim* uta, in gaju-kôm allata waîrîp (Mk. iv. 11) = "But *for-yonder-people* (namely) those without, everything is-done in parables."—
Besides its pronominal use, it may either precede or follow a substantive; in the one case the subst. does not, in the other it does, take the article; as: Jah þan fastand, in Jainamma daga (Mk. ii. 20) = "And then shall-they-fast, in that day";—Ni mag standan sō þjidangardi jaina (iii. 24) = "That kingdom cannot stand."

101. The intensives saman- and silban-.

(i) The construction of saman- closely resembles that of same in English: the latter, however, is always accompanied by the article; the former generally, but not quite always; thus we find: Sijaina þo twa du leika samin (Mk. x. 8) = "They two shall-become the-same flesh";—Ei samō hugjaima jah samō frapjaima (Phil. iii. 16) = "That we-may-think the-same-thing and mind the-same-thing." (See also § 97 (ii).)

(ii) Silban- is always either actually or virtually appositional; actually in: ik silba, "I (my-)self"; sik silban, "him (him-)self"; Dawcid silba, "David (him-)self"; Af mis silbin, "of my-self" (formerly "me self") ; &c.;—virtually in: Sība āu-raaquimip in mahtai Hāleiens (Lk. i. 17) = "He-himself shall come-before (Christ) in the power of Elias"; and the like (the personal pron. being implied in the verb).

(iii) Its genitives are used with the possessives meina-, þeina-, &c., just as, in Latin, ipsius is used with meo-, tuo-, &c.; e.g.: þeina silbons saiwala þairhgangiþ hairus (Lk. ii. 35) = "A sword shall pierce thine own soul" (tuam ipsius animam . . . . );—Waurstw sein silbins kiusai hwarjizuh (Gal. vi. 4) = "Each-man should-test his own work" (suum ipsius opus . . . . ).

(iv) Silban- may further render autoʊató = sponte suā, "of its own accord"; e.g.: Silbō airþa akran bařrij (Mk. iv. 28) = "The earth beareth fruit of-itself." 2

(v) In þata silbō, "the self-same-thing," lit., "that-thing itself," silbō is still in apposition, þata being the pronoun, not the art.: so in the phrases: in þamma silbin (Rom. xiii. 6), "in this very thing";—du þamma silbin (ix. 17), "for this very purpose."

102. The Reflexive Pronoun; and the substitutes for a Reciprocal.

(i) Sik stands as accusative to a verb or verbal when that

1 Frequently, e. g., in the Sonnets of Sir Philip Sidney.

2 Compare Virgil's

"Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae Ubera."
accusative has to denote the same person or thing as the subject of the clause, whether principal or subordinate, in which the verb occurs, or to which the verbal is attached;—Sis stands as indirect, and rarely as direct, objective to a verb or verbal under precisely the same conditions: it may also occur in various kinds of phrases attached to a clause; but must still refer to the subject of the clause (See the examples in (iii) below);—Seina, as was shown in § 63, is genitive to sik, sis, and also (in a declinable form) a possessive adj. No clear example of it in the former capacity occurs in Ulf.; when it appears in the latter capacity, the substantive it qualifies must denote some person or thing appertaining to the person or thing denoted by the subject. It follows that, of the adjectival seina-, the nominatives are not in use; for the substantive it qualifies is necessarily in the A., D., or G. case. To qualify substantives in any other than the reflexive relationship a genitive of a personal or demonstrative noun must be used (§ 63).

(ii) Sik, sis, seina-, therefore, in point of syntax, generally run parallel to the Latin se, sibi, suo-. Like these they stand for all genders; and just as these are frequently strengthened by ipso-, so are those by silban- (See preceding §). But in Gothic the logical restrictions, given in (i) above, are much more rigidly observed than in Latin¹; and, with one or two exceptions (See (iv) below), a pronoun referring to a substantive or pronoun outside its clause, or to any other substantive or pronoun than the subject within its clause, is always a personal or demonstrative. Examples: Jah sunsaiw Íesus ufknjap a in sis silbin pō us sis maht usgangandein; (jahl) gawandjands sik in managein quaip . . . (Mk. v. 30) = "And immediately Jesus perceived within himself the power going out-of himself; (and) turning himself round in the multitude said . . . .": in 33, however, we read: Sō quinō, witandei ñatei warǒ bi ija, quam . . . = "The woman, knowing what had-happened with-respect-to her, came . . . ." (ija, not sik, because it falls in the clause whose subject is ñatei ²);—Jah Íesus aflaip miŋ siponjam seinaim du marcin; . . . jah quaip ñaim siponjam seinaim . . . (iii. 7, 9) = "And Jesus departed with his disciples to the sea; . . . and he said to his disciples . . . ."

(iii) In phrases, however lengthy, as distinct from clauses, the reflexive relationship to the nominative is nearly always

¹ Such constructions, e.g., as: "A Caesare . . . invitor sibi ut sim legatus"; would not pass in Gothic.

² Here again the Latin would show the reflexive ("quum seiret (id) quod in se factum fuerat").
strictly maintained; as: Jah auk ūai frawaúrhtans ūans frijóudans sik frijónd (Lk. vi. 32) = "For the sinners also love those-that-love them";—Quað ūan (Īsamaūs) du ūaim atgangaundem manageim daúpjān fram sis . . . (iii. 7) = "And John said to the multitudes that-came to-be-baptized by him . . . ."

(iv) The one or two instances in which the personal stands for the reflexive, and vice versa, are quite exceptional; as: Waírites (ist) sa waúrstwa mizdōns is (Tim. I. v. 18) = "Worthy (is) the workman of his wage";—and reversely, Distahida mikilpūhtans ghahgaih hairtins seinis (Lk. i. 51) = "He (God) hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their heart." In: Gasaishwandei Páitru warmjandan sik, quað . . . (Mk. xiv. 67) = "Seeing Peter warming himself, she said . . . .", warmjān-sik was perhaps looked upon as equivalent to a simple verb (See § 106 (iv) below); and again, the reflexive in an absolute phrase (§ 87 (6, v)) cannot be called exceptional, such phrases being really clauses; e. g.: Usgangandin imma jaínpró miáf sipōnjam seinaim . . . (Mk. x. 46) = "He going-out from-thence with his disciples . . . ."

(v) For the 1st and 2nd persons sing., dual, and plur., the various oblique cases of the personal pronouns (nearly always accompanied by silban-) may be used reflexively; as: Īk gabaníthja imma mik silban (John xiv. 21) = "I will-manifest myself to him";—Ni uns silbanān mērjam (Cor. II. iv. 5) = "We preach not ourselves";—Ei ni sijas in izwis silbam frōdai (Rom. xi. 25) = "That ye-be not wise in yourselves" (E.V. "in your own conceits");—Nasei puk silban (Mk. xv. 30) = "Save thyself!" (Compare 31; and also xii. 31 & 33.)

(vi) But persons or things denoted by a plural subject may be spoken of as acting upon one another. This "reciprocal" action is generally expressed in Gothic by the adverb misso, "reciprocally," mostly preceded, but once or twice followed, by an oblique case of the reflexive or of a personal pronoun, or even by a possessive; as: Sōkildünd mifā sis misso (Mk. i. 27) = "They questioned with one another";—Jus skulu puk izwis misso (dat.) ḫwahan fōtuns (John xiii. 14) = "Ye ought to wash one another's feet," or lit., "the feet for one another";—Ni waúrphaima flautai, uns misso ushantandans, misso in neiļa wisandans (Gal. v. 26) = "Let us not be vain-glorious, provoking one another, envying one another," lit., "being reciprocally in a-state-of-envy";—Īzwarōs misso kautipōs bafrāip (vi. 2) = "Bear-ye one another's burdens."

(vii) A stricter individualization is occasionally attempted by using anpara- twice; e. g.: Untē sijum anpar anparis
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liph (Eph. iv. 25) = "For we are members one of another" (but liph sing., in agreement with anbar); — . anbar anparana munands sis auhuman (Phil. ii. 3) = "... one thinking another superior to-himself."

103. The Relative Pronouns.

(i) A Relative has a conjunctival, in addition to its pronominal, character: it introduces the clause to which it belongs, and at the same time attaches this clause adjectivally to some substantival factor (its "antecedent") of another clause (§ 87 (4, v)).

(ii) The relative derives its gender, number, and person from its "antecedent": its case depends upon its relationship to the verb in its own clause; as: Sai, smakkabagms (nom.) panei (acc.) frequenta ga#au#ur#noda (Mk. xi. 21) = "Lo, the fig-tree which thou-cursedst has-withered-away."

(iii) But the subordinate (adjectival) clause introduced by a relative may precede the principal clause; e. g.: panei in-sandida jains pammulji nis ni galaubei (John v. 38) = "Whom he sent, on-him ye believe not" (quem ... , huic ... ; ov ... , tOtov ... ); — panei gasahw ... pata weitvodeip (iii. 32) = "What he hath seen ... that he testifeth." (See § 100 (x).)

(iv) The foregoing construction is preferred when a relative is attached to a demonstrative: the reverse order has a much feeble effect; as: po poei leikis sind mitowd (Rom. viii. 5) = "They do-mind the-things which are of the flesh."

(v) In preference to this feeble construction, we generally find the demonstrative suppressed: the relative clause thus becomes substantival instead of adjectival, and discharges, in the principal clause, the syntactic function of the suppressed antecedent; as: Ip so quino, waitandi panei-warp-bi-ija ... (Mk. v. 33) = "But the woman, knowing what-had-happened-respecting-her." Here panei = pata (acc.) + panei (nom.), just as our what = that + which; and the subordinate clause stands objectively to waitandi.

(vi) When, in this form of clause, the relative and the suppressed antecedent should be in different oblique cases, the relative may be either in the case required by the verb of its own clause or in that required by the verb of the principal clause; as: Wait atta izwar pizei-jus-#aurbu (Mt. vi. 8) = "Your father knows whereof- (or of-what-) ye-have-need," — i. e., pata pizei., "that of which," &c. (pizei, gen. by #aurbu); — but: Hwa wileip ei taujau pammei-quinip-piudan-luadaie? (Mk. xv. 12) = "What will-yi that I-do to-him-whom-ye-call-king-of-the-Jews?" — i. e., pamma. (D. by taujau) panei.
(vii) Substantival clauses thus arising may be subordinated to ("governed" by) prepositions; as: Ni waiht ufar ðateigara-id-sijai-izwis lausjaip (Lk. iii. 13) = "Demand nothing over-and-above what-is-appointed-you";... ni ufar ðateigameleip-ist frajjan (Cor. i. iv. 6) = "... not to-be-wise above what-is-written."

(viii) The real antecedent is sometimes, as in Latin and Greek, thrown into the relative clause, assuming the case of, and being qualified by, the relative; e.g.: Salīda in jammei was stada (John xi. 6) = lit., "He abode in-what-place he was" (="in the place in which,"—Lat. in quo erat loco = εν ου τόπω);—Etun jah drunkun ... und panei day galaip Nauel in arka (Lk. xvii. 27) = "They ate and they drank ... up-to what-day Noah entered into the ark" (="up-to the day on which").

(ix) More frequently it is preferred to resolve the relative into a demonstrative + the relative particle ei, and to make the demonstr. qualify the antecedent in its proper clause; as: Sijais ðahands und panei dag ei wairpai pata (Lk. i. 20) = "Thou-shalt-be speechless up-to that day that (or, on-which) this shall come-to-pass."

(x) Immediately after the demonstrative sa the minor relative izei (izē) is generally preferred; as: Niu mahta sa, izei uslauk augōna ðamma blindin, gataujan ei ... (John xi. 37) = "Could not this-man, who opened the blind-man's eyes, bring-it-to-pass that ... ."

(xi) This febler relative is a singular in form (§ 65 (2)) : it may, however, be used also for the plural, and is then generally strengthened by a demonstrative, which may agree either with it or with its antecedent; as: Aatsaiflaij ðafrica liugnaprauffėtum ðaim izei quimand at izwis ... (Mt. vii. 15) = "Beware of false prophets, of-them who come to you ... .";—Sind sumai ðizē hēr standandane ðai izē ni kausjand danaus ... (Mk. ix. 1) = "There-are some of those standing here who shall-not-taste of-death ... ." Þai izei, in such instances, differs imperceptibly, if at all, from ðaiei.

(xii) Examples of the use of the relatives of the first and second persons (§ 65 (3) above):—Ik silba Paulus bidja izwis ..., izei hauns im in izwis (Cor. ii. x. 1) = "I myself, Paul, beseech you ... , (I) who am lowly among you";—Pu is sunus meins sa liuba, in puzei waiia galeikaida (Mk. i. 11) = "Thou art my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased" (anteced. ... pu, not sunus);—Jus sijup juzei garaifhtans dōmeip izwis (Lk. xvi. 15) = "Ye are (they) who justify yourselves" (lit., "adjudge yourselves righteous": see § 90 (ix));—Hwas izwis afgügida ..., —izwizei ðafrica augam ïesu
Xristus faūramelips was . . . ? (Gal. iii. 1) = "Who hath-bewitched you,— . . . (you) before whose eyes Jesus Christ was set-forth?" (lit., "to whom before (your) eyes"; see § 91 (vi)).

(xiii) But ik is sometimes followed by saei instead of ikre: the relative seems then intended to convey the notion of "one-who," "a-man-that," or the like; although the following verb is still of the 1st person; e.g.: Ik im saei weitōdja bi mik sīlan (John viii. 18) = "I am one-that bear witness about myself" (= "a-man-that beareth"); —Anstai gups (ik) im saei im (Cor. I. xv. 10) = "By-the-grace of God I-am the-man-that I-am." These saei-clauses are substantival and predicative, whereas in all the extant instances with ikei the relative clause is adjectival to ik.

(xiv) The relative conjunctions, parei, panchei, and even pan, which are generally adverbial, may, like our "where" and "when," be attached directly to substantives denoting place or time, and may thus introduce adjectival clauses; as: Wairpja in ëmanna stada parei quilpada im . . . (Rom. ix. 26) = "It-shall-come-to-pass in the place where (=in which) it-is-said unto-them . . ."; —Quimip nahts panchei ni manna mag wairkjan (John ix. 4) = "Night cometh, when (=in which) no man can work"; —Atgangand dagōs pan afnimada af im sa bruftsāps (Mk. ii. 20) = "The-days are-approaching when (=in which) the bridegroom shall-be-taken-away from them."

(xv) The conjunction patei is identical in form with the neuter relative. (See (v) above), and probably is the latter diverted to a more distinctly conjunctival use. Like our equivalent that, it introduces substantival clauses after verbs of saying, telling, thinking, seeing, hearing, and the like; as: Dugann laisjan ins patei skal suunus mans filu winman (Mk. viii. 31) = "He began to teach them that the son of man is-bound to suffer much." The Gothic follows the Greek in making patei = ëri introduce direct speech; as: Quēmun . . . quipandans patei Daūhtar ëaina gaswalt (Mk. v. 35) = "They came . . . saying, Thy daughter is-dead"; — . . . quipands du imma patei Jabai wileis magt mik gahrainjan (i. 40) = "... saying to him, If thou-wilt thou-canst cleanse me." (See also § 108 (3).)

(xvi) When a verb or verbal in the main clause takes a dative or genitive as its direct object (§§ 87 (2, vi), 91 (xiii), 92 (xiv)), pammei or pizei appears conjunctively instead of patei; as: Ip ains pize, gaumjands pammei-hraims-war . . . (Lk. xvii. 15) = "And one of them, perceiving that he-was-cleansed . . ."; —Laisari, niu kura (ist) puk pizei-fra-
quistnam? (Mk. iv. 38) = “Master, carest thou not that-we-perish?” (For kara þuk, see § 90 (vii.) A þammei-clause may even follow a preposition; as: Iþ faginþ in þammei namna izwara gamelida sind in himinam (I.k. x. 20) = “But rejoicce in the-fact-that (= because) your names are written in heaven.”

104. The Interrogative, Distributive, and Indefinite Pronouns.

(i) The Interrogatives may be used partitively; as: Hwar-jamma izè wairstþë quëns? (Mk. xii. 23) = “To-which-one of them shall-she-be wife?” (§ 92(v).)

(ii) But they are more often used independently; as: Hwo ist sò aiþei meina? (Mk. iii. 33) = “Who is my mother?”
—Hwarja ist allaizó anabusnë frumista? (xii. 28) = “Which-one is foremost of all the commandments?”

(iii) The neuter hvwa, like τι or Lat. quid, is sometimes = “why?”; as: Hwa þanamais draibeis þana laisari? (Mk. v. 35) = “Why troubllest thou the master any further?”

(iv) In conditional and other clauses hvwas, hvwa, like τις, τι, or quis, quid (= aliquid, aliquis), are often used indefinitely = “any one,” “anything”; as: Jabai hvwas ahman Xristaus ni habaiþ, sa nist is (Rom. viii. 9) = “If any-man (= eþ τις, si quis) have not the spirit of Christ, he is not his”;—Jabai hvwa habaiþ wiþra hwana, aflõtaþ (Mk. xi. 25) = “If ye have aught against anybody, forgive.”

(v) A similar use extends to derived adverbs and to hvw; e.g.: . . . nibai hvwan gawandjaina-sik (Mk. iv. 12) = “. . . lest at any time they-be-converted”;—Allaim was all, ei hwaïwa sumans ganasjau (Cor. I. ix. 22) = “I was everything to all-men, that (= if) in-any-way I-might-save some”;—In þammei hvw hwas ananasþeiþ, gadors jah ik (Cor. II. xi. 21) = “In what-soever any-man is-bold, I too am-daring.”

(vi) The Distributives likewise may be used either partitively or independently; as: Hwazuh abnë . . . hvôh quinônô . . . = “Every man . . . every woman . . .” (lit., “each-one of men,” &c.). But: Hwazuh mòdags brôþr seinamna swarë . . . (Mt. v. 22) = “Every-one (that is) angry with-his brother without-cause . . .”; —. . . wairpandans hlauta (dat. s.) . . . hwazuhjizuh hwa nêmi (Mk. xv. 24) = “. . . casting lots . . . (to settle) what each-should-take.”

(vii) Hwa- + uh, Hwarja-, and Hwarja- + uh, are sometimes used adjectivally; as: Daga hvammnëh was at izwis (Mk. xiv. 49) = “Every day was-I with you”; —And dulf hwarjôh fralaílôt im ainana bandjan (xv. 6) = “At every feast he-released unto-them one prisoner”;—Wituþ auk hwarjôs
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anabusnins atgbumbum izwis (Thess. I. iv. 2)="For ye-know
what commandments we-gave you."

(viii) The indefinites Hwazuh + saei and Sa-hwazuh +
saei (or izei) or, in neut., patahwah + pei introduce substan-
tival clauses in various syntactic relationships; as: Hwazuh-
saei taujip frawaёрht skalks ist frawaёрhtai (John viii. 34)
="Whosoever-doeth-sin is a slave to sin" (subjective clause);
-patahwah-pei wilieп, bidjiп (xv. 7)="Ask whatsoever-ye-
will" (objective clause);--Sahwazuh-saei andhaitip mis . . .
andhaitja jah ik imma (Mt. x. 32)= "Whosoever conffes-seth
me . . . I also will-confess him" (appositional clause to imma).

(ix) But saei alone (which is itself really a compound =
"he-that") is often used instead of the foregoing comp-
ounds; as: Saei allis will saiwala seina ganasjan fraquistieп
izai (Mk. viii. 35)="For (he-that=) whosoever will save his
life shall lose it.";--Saei skamaip sik meina . . . jah sunus
mans skamaip sik is . . . (38)= "Whosoever is ashamed of
me . . . the son of man will also be ashamed of him."

(x) The indefinite meaning of the composite pronouns in
(viii) is, however, not far from a distributive meaning; and,
in fact, a distributive phrase may sometimes best render
them; as: Ni hwazuh-saei quipip mis, Frauja, Frauja! inn
galeipip (Mt. vii. 21)= "Not every-one-that saith to me,
Lord, lord! shall enter in."

(xi) For Hwazuh-saei with its clause, hwazuh + sa + a
present ptcp. may appear as an equivalent, on the pattern of
the Greek; as: Hwazuh sa aflёands quen seina jah lu-
gands anёara horinоп (Lk. xvi. 18) = "Every-one that
(= whosoever) putteth-away his wife and marrieth another
committeth-adultery" (πάς ὁ ἀπόλυνον . . .).

(xii) Pishwazuh does not fuse with saei or ei, nor pishwah
with patei or pei; and while pis is indeclinable, -hwazuh and
-hwah remain declinable: their own case they nearly (but
not quite) always take from the principal clause; as: Pis-
hwanоп (acc.) saei (nom.) afaikitп mik . . ., afaika jah ik ina . . .
(Mt. x. 33)= "Whosoever denieth me . . ., I also will-deny
him" (= "any one that"); syntactically, pishwanоп and
ina are appositional accusatives);—Pishwammёh (dat.) saei
habaip, gibada imma (Mk. iv. 25)= "To-whomsoever hath,
shall-be-given," or, "Whosoever hath, to-him," &c. (ap-
position datives);—Bidei mik pishwizuh-pei wileis (vi. 22)
="Ask me for-anything-that (= whatsoever) thou wilt":
the pronominal clause is here a genitive object-clause to
bidei. But: Pishwazuh-ei (compound nom.) quipai du щамма
fairgunja, Ushafei pak . . ., wairipip imma (dat.) pishwah-pei
quipip (Mk. xi. 23)= "Whosoever shall-say to this mountain,
Take thyself off... there-shall-happen to-him whatsoever he saith": the pronouns here take their case from the subordinate clauses, although the first of these clauses might be in apposition with imma.

(xiii) In connexion with these compounds may here be conveniently noticed the related adverbs pishwaduh + tudei (or teci), and pishwaruh + tec; as in: pishwaduh-tei gangaip in gard, par saljai (Mk. vi. 10) = "Whithersoever ye go into a house, there abide"; —pishwaruh-tei ina gafaihp, gawaihp ina (ix. 18) = "Wheresoever it seizeth him, it casteth him down."

(xiv) Even the article + a ptep. may be similarly rendered; as: Sa mik andnimands andnimip pana sandjandamik (Mt. x. 40) = "He-that (=whosoever) receiveth me receiveth him-that-sent me." In the parallel passage, John xiii. 20, we in fact find: "Saei mik andnimip," &c. The Grk. in both places has ὅ + a ptep.

(xv) Occasionally our "whoever" and "whatever" render ōro-, and are nearly equivalent to "how many soever" and "how much soever," or "as many as," and "as much as": the corresponding Gothic phrases then are: swa managai swē or swaswē, and swa filu swē; e.g.: Jah swa managai swē ni andnimaina izwiz... (Mk. vi. 11) = "And whosoever (=as many as or how many soever) shall not receiveth you... ."—Gatawidēdun imma swa filu swē wildei (ix. 13) = "They have done to him whatsoever (lit., as much as) they would."

(xvi) Alla- may be used either adjectivally (as, Allai Judaicis="All the Jews") or pronominally,—in which case it may either stand alone (as, Afsanpōdeđun allai = "All were astonished"), or be accompanied by a genitive (§ 92 (v)). In these usages the Go. and Engl. agree. But when the Go. neut. sing. all takes a plural gen., it is best rendered by "every" used as an adj.; as: All bagmē="Every tree"; —allata frawāurtē="Every sin."

(xvii) Aina- and suma-, used indefinitely, differ from hwa-so used (See (iv)), in that they indicate actual, and not merely possible, instances; as: Jah duatrinnands ains... bāp ina, quipandas... (Mk. x. 17) = "And a-certain-man running-up... besought him, saying... ."—Jah sumai usstandandans galing weitwōdidēdun anai (xiv. 57)="And certain-men rising-up bare-false-witness against him."

(xviii) Occasionally aina- and suma- are used together; as: Ains sums pīzē atstandandanē="Some one of-them that-stood-by"; —Ains sums jungalaups = "A certain young-man"; (Mk. xiv. 47, 51.)

(xix) Hwashun and mannahun are always closely accom-
panied by  

:  

: “  (Mk. x. 18) = “  (Mk. v. 37) = “He did not permit any-one of them to accompany him.” But sometimes  

: “  (Lk. x. 19) = “And  (lit., no one of things) shall injure you.” If the sense of a clause is clearly negative,  

: “  (John vii. 48) = “Pray has anyone of the rulers believed on him?” (= “no one has”). In Thess. i. iv. 12: . . .  

: “  (Mk. ii. 22) = “  In a verb of the 1st or 2nd person it is sufficiently clear who is referred to, without any previous mention.

: “  (Cor. i. vii. 21).

: is that of  (m.), “debtor,” with  ,  , &c., + accus. = “I am a debtor,” &c., — a paraphrase which at last became = “I owe”; &c.; and actually took an accusative as object;  

: “  (Philem. 19) = “Thou owest me thyself”; —Aflet uns (dat.) patei  (Mt. vi. 12) = “Forgive us what we owe” (= “our debts”). In other combinations, however,  maintains its proper character and meaning.

(8) Verbs (including the Infinitive and the Participles in their verbal aspects).

105. General Rules.

(i) A subject may be involved in the verb itself (§ 87 (1)). When the verb is of the 3rd person this involved subject should have reference to some person or thing (or persons or things) already mentioned; except where an indefinite nom. like our “men” or “they” is understood; as in: Wein jungata in balgins niujans  (Mk. ii. 22) = “Men-pour fresh wine into new bottles.” In a verb of the 1st or 2nd person it is sufficiently clear who is referred to, without any previous mention.

(ii) Of Impersonal verbs the grammatical object is the virtual subject (See § 90 (vi) & 91 (ix)). The curious imper.  (ist), § 90 (vii), seems to have supplanted the intrans. and perhaps imper. verb  , of which only a single form (the 2 p. s.) occurs, in:  (subj.), “never mind” (Cor. i. vii. 21).

(iii) A somewhat similar combination to  (ist) + accus. is that of  (m.), “debtor,” with  ,  , &c., + accus. = “I am a debtor,” &c., — a paraphrase which at last became = “I owe”; &c.; and actually took an accusative as object;  

: “  (Philem. 19) = “Thou owest me thyself”; —Aflet uns (dat.) patei  (Mt. vi. 12) = “Forgive us what we owe” (= “our debts”). In other combinations, however,  maintains its proper character and meaning.
(iv) For passives used impersonally when their actives govern a dat. or a gen., see §§ 91 (xvii) & 92 (xv).

(v) The discrepancy in "number," already referred to in the case of adjectives and pronouns (§§ 93 (ii) & 99 (iii)), extends, under similar conditions, to the verb; as: All (sing.) manageins idljedun (plur.) du imma (Mk. ii. 13) = "The whole of the multitude came to him." But the verb is sometimes singular and the accompanying ptep. plural; as: Was managei beidandans Zakariins (Lk. i. 21) = "The multitude was (were) awaiting Zacharias."

(vi) Two or more singular nominatives coupled by jah should naturally, and often do, take the verb in the dual or plural; as: Ik jah atta meins ain siju (John x. 30) = I and my father are one";—Ni wissedun Iosëf jah ai'pei is (Lk. ii. 43) = "Joseph and his mother knew-it not." Not seldom, however, the verb is in the singular; as: ... parei malo jah nidua fravardeip (Mt. vi. 19) = "... where moth and rust corrupteth";—Gôleî izwis Akyla jah Priska (Cor. I. xvi. 19) = "Aquila and Priscilla greet(eth) you." But it is to be noted that the Gothic here agrees with the Greek.

(vii) As regards number it may further be noted that several times the dual, in passages requiring it, drops into the plural,—a fact suggesting that the dual was passing out of use; as: Bigitats fulan asilaus gabundanana; andbindans ina attiuhip (Lk. xix. 30) = "Ye-two-will-find an ass’s foal bound; loose it and bring-it-hither."

106. Voice.

(i) The scanty remains of the (medio-)passive in Gothic are confined to the present tense indic. and opt. (§§ 69, 78); but even in this tense it may be supplanted by the younger substitutes.

(ii) The most interesting of these substitutes is the "Correlative Passive" treated in § 48 (2, iv). Verbs of this formation are capable of as extensive inflexion as their corresponding actives. In the present tense they jostle and even out the older (medio-)passive; and thus we have: . . . ei hauhjaidau sunus gujs (John xi. 4), "that the son of God may-be-glorified";—and also: . . . ei ushauhnaï namô fraujins (Thess. II. i. 12), "that the name of the Lord may-be-glorified";—and while gahailnyp, "he or she is (or shall be) healed," appears more than once, gahailjada does not appear at all. In the pret., a "correlative passive" form sometimes answers to a simple pass. present (usluknôda to uslûkada).

(iii) Composite Passives, prototypes of those in English and German, are formed by using the parts (chiefly the
prets.) of wisan and (less frequently) warpan, as auxiliaries, with the pass. ptp. as principal; e. g.: gamelip ist, "it is written";—daupidai wisun, "they were baptized";—galalip war∫, "he was divided"; &c. Sometimes such a composite preterite occurs in change with the pret. of a "correlative passive"; as: usgaisips ist, "he is beside himself"; and usgeisnōdēdum⁰, "we are beside ourselves."

(iv) The passive is likewise rendered by an active verb used reflexively; as: hailjan sik, "to be healed" (prop. "to get oneself healed");—inmaidjan sik, "to be transfigured";—bra̩stjan sik, "to be comforted" (E.V. "to be of good cheer");—skaman sik, "to be ashamed"; &c. Some such reflexives, however, show a correlative meaning to that of the active, rather than a strictly passive force; as: laisjan or galaisjan, "to teach"; but laisjan sik or galaisjan sik, "to learn";—leihwan, "to lend"; but leihwan sis, "to borrow."

(v) Passives of various forms occasionally occur with an intransitive meaning; as: . . . ei ni gasaihwaizau mannam fastands (Mt. vi. 18) = "... that thou-appear not unto-men (as) fasting" (cf. the Lat. videri);—Ataugips war∫ im Hēlias (Mk. ix. 4) = "There-appeared unto-them Elias";—and so the reflexives: gavandjan sik = "to return";—atnēhwan sik, "to draw near";—gatulgjan sik = "to persist"; and others.

107. Tense.

(i) The Gothic is compelled by its poverty in tense-inflections to use the present (indic. or opt.) as a future, and the pret. forms for various subdivisions of past time; as: Sutizō ist Saúdaúmjəm in daga stanōs . . . (Mk. vi. 11) = "It shall-be more-tolerable for-the-people-of-Sodom in the day of judgment . . .";—Inuh pis bileifai maïn attin seinamma jah aípein seinai (x. 7) = "For this-reason a man shall-leave his father and his mother";—Frawaurht ni ufkunþeldjan, nih þairh witop (Rom. vii. 7) = "I should not have known sin, except through the law."

(ii) The prefix ga- seems sometimes to be intended to assist either the future or the aoristic force; as: Ak þatainei quip waúrda, jah gakailnip sa þiamagus means (Mt. viii. 8) = "But only speak with a word, and my servant shall-be-healed";

¹ We should have expected gis-, not geis- as the root of this vb.

Compare the Germ.: Das Buch hat jad gefunden, "the book has been found"; or the French: Le drap se vend à trois francs le mètre, "the cloth is sold at three francs a metre"; and the like. The Icelandic has evolved a complete middle voice out of the fusion of mk, sk, = Go. mið, sik, with the forms of the active voice.
Ik gataîra alh, jah bi þrins dagans anþara gatimrja (Mk. xiv. 58) = “I will-destroy the temple, and in three days I-will-build another.”

(iii) Composite active futures are made by means of the present-tense forms of skulan, haban, duginnan, and munan (pret. munaidu), as auxiliaries, with an infinitive as principal; e.g.: . . . saei skalstôjan quiwans jah daubans (Tim. I. iv. 1) = “. . . who shall judge the quick and the dead”;—Þatei tauja, (þata) jah taujan haba (Cor. II. xi. 12) = “What I-do, (that) also I-will do”;—Gaunôn jah grêtan duginnip (Lk. vi. 25) = “Ye shall mourn and lament”;—Hwa warþ ei uurs munais gabairhtjan þuk silban? (John xiv. 22) = “How has-it-come-to-pass that thou-wilt manifest thyself to-us?”

(iv) The preterites of skulan, haban, and munan make corresponding “past-futures”; e.g.: Sa ist Hélias, saei skalda quiman (Mt. xi. 14) = E.V., “This is Elias, who was-for-to-come” (Lat. qui venturus erat);—Silba wissa þatei habaida taujan (John vi. 6) = “He-himself knew what he would do” (ipse sciebat quid esset facturus);—Unté is and þata munaida þairhgyangan (Lk. xix. 4) = “For he was to pass along that-way.”

(v) A more cumbrous past-future is made with the prædicative adj. anawairþa-, “future,” “in-the-future,” “to-come,” and was or wesun followed by an infin. with du; as: Anawairþ was uns du winnan aglipós (Thess. I. iii. 4) = lit., “It-was in-the-future for-us to suffer tribulation”; i.e., “We had or were to suffer”;—. . . ðeþi anawairþai wesun du galauðjan (Tim. I. i. 16) = “. . . who were-going to believe.”

(vi) A continual past tense (fashioned on the Greek) is formed by was, wesun, &c., and the active ptep.; as: Was Tómannês daupjands (Mk. i. 4) = “John was baptizing”;—Wesun sipônös fastandans (ii. 18) = “The disciples were fasting” or “used to fast.”

(vii) The Gothic also followed the Greek in neglecting the sequence of tenses; as: Gafréhun (pret.) þatei in garda ist (pres.) (Mk. ii. 1) = “They learnt-by-inquiry that he is (was) in the house”;—Paruð þan gasahw managei þatei Þesus nist jainar . . . (John vi. 24) = “When therefore the multitude saw that Jesus is-not (was-not) there . . .”

108. Mood.—The rules on Mood to be here given will for the most part revolve about the Optative (Subjunctive): other modi will be considered chiefly in so far as they come into contact with, or require to be differentiated from, this.

(1) Optative and Imperative.

(i) The Optative proper appears in independent clauses;
as: Weihnaī namō pein, quîмai pûdinassus peins; wair̄αι wilja peins (Mt. vi. 9, 10) = "May thy name be-hallowed; may thy kingdom come; may thy will be-done";—Γιπ̄ fulljai izwis allaizōs fahēdaīs (Rom. xv. 13) = "May God fill you with all joy."

(ii) With waineī (=οϕελον = Lat. utinam) it is implied that a wish is unfulfilled; e.g.: Waineī pûdinoseúdoīp = (Cor. i. iv. 8) = "Would-that ye-reigned-as-kings";—Waineī us̄halaīدة̄dēīp meinaizōs uufrōdeims (II. xi. 1) = "Would-that ye-would-bear-with my folly." Ịp has nearly the same force in: Ḭ̄p wissîdeis jah ju in ḫanma daga peinamma . . . (Lk. xix. 42) = "If (or, O if = would-that) thou also hadst-known in this thy day . . ."

(iii) A wish easily assumes a hortative and then a mild imperative force; as: Sijai waîr̄ld izwar, Ja, ja, Xō, nē (Mt. v. 37) = "Let your word be, Yea, yea, Nay, nay";—Pâîhr̄γangaima ju und Bêl̄hahaim (Lk. ii. 15) = "Let-us-go now unto Bethlehem";—Jabai idreigō sik, frâlîtais imma (xvii. 3) = "If he repent, do-thou-forgive him." The imperative force becomes stronger after ni; as: Ni maîr̄praîjais, Ni hîñjaïs (Mk. x. 19) = "Do-not murder, Do-not steal"; or "Thou shalt not . . ."

(iv) But colloquially, when one person is addressing another, the imperative proper is generally preferred, even with ni; as: Gâng in gawair̄πi = "Go in peace";—Ni faîr̄htēīp izwis = "Be (ye) not afraid";—Usleîpam jainis stadis="Let-us-pass-over to yonder shore."

(v) Remarkable is the idiomatic and untranslatable use of ei between two imperatives; as in: Lēt, ei saîhwam . . . (Mt. xxvii. 49, Mk. xv. 36) = ṣēpes, ṣēw̄en, "Let-be, let-us-see";—Saîhwîp ei atsaîhwîp-izwis . . . (Mk. viii. 15) = ṣb̄aṭe, βλάτετε, "Take-heed (and) beware . . .!" Ei seems to be similarly idiomatic in: ḫānu nu ei faîr mēl ni stōjaīp (Cor. i. iv. 5) = ṣb̄aṭe μῃ . . . κρινέτε, "Therefore judge not before the time."

(vi) In indirect or reported commands or entreaties the opt. always appears; and its tense follows that of the governing verb. Examples: Anabaîp im ei mann ni quēpeina (Mk. vii. 36) = "He commanded them that they-should-not-tell (=not to tell) any man";—Fâûr̄baîp im ei wâîht ni nēmeina in wig (vi. 8) = "He forbade them to take anything for their journey";—Quâp sîpô̄njam peinaim ei usdrībeina inâ (ix. 18) = "I spake to (=besought) thy disciples to cast him out";—Wîl̄jau ei mis gibais haubīp Johannis (vi. 25) = "I will that thou-give me the head of John";—Ni laîlōt (=fâûrbâîp) ei hwâs pâîrhβēri kas pâîrh pō ahē (xii. 16) = "He-did-
not-allow (= he forbade) anyone to carry a vessel through the temple.” (The direct commands or entreaties would be: Ni quîyâîp . . . ; Ni nimâîp . . . ; Usdreibîp or Usdreibâîp . . . ; Gif mis . . . ; &c.)

(vii) The future force of the opt. in simple direct propositions probably radiated from its hortative or concessive force. Thus: Ḳp ni swa sîjai in izwis (Mk. x. 43), “But it shall not be so among you,” (originally, “let it not be so”); —Nē, ak haitaidau İohannēs (Lk. i. 60), “Nay, but he-shall-be-called John” (“let him be-called”).

(viii) Sometimes an indic. present is followed by an opt. present, when both have a future force; as: Ni mannhun auk ist saeî tayjîp maht in namin meinamma, jah magî sprautô ubilwairîdjan mis (Mk. ix. 39) = “For there is no man who shall-work a miracle in my name, and (who) shall-be-able readily to-speak-evil-against me”; —Saci tayjîp jah laisjai swa . . . (Mt. v. 19) = “Whoso shall-keep (the commandments) and shall-teach (men) so . . .” Some grammarians think they see, in the second clause, a consequence or logical completion of the first.

(2) The Optative as a Subjunctive: the Subjunctive and Indicative in Questions.

(ix) The original function of the Subjunctive probably was to express the mental conception of possible occurrences as distinguished from the statement of actual facts; and the subjunctive uses of the optative in Gothic still, for the most part, differ from the indicative mood in accordance with such a distinction.

(x) The subjunctive (opt.) appears in Gothic (as in Latin) in direct dubitative questions; e.g.: Hwa tayjau? = “Quid faciam?” = “What am-I-to-do?”—Þu is sa quimanda, þau anþarizuh beidaima? (Mt. xi. 3) = “Art thou he that-should-come, or are-we-to-expect another?”—Und hwa at izwis sijau? und hwa þulau izwis? (Mk. ix. 19) = “How long am-I-to-be with you? how long am-I-to-put-up-with you?” The Greek original sometimes shows the future indicative in such passages; and our own idiom would prefer this tense all along (“What shall-I do?” &c.). It is to be noted, however, that occasionally the Gothic itself shows a curious alternation of indic. and subj., even where the Greek has the subj. throughout; as: Ni maûrniâp nu quiþandans, “Hwa matjam?” aîþau “Hwa drinkam?” aîþau “Hvē wasjaima?” (Mt. vi. 31) = “Be-not concerned therefore, saying, ‘What shall-we-eat?’ or ‘What shall-we-drink?’ or ‘Wherewithal are-we-to-clothe (ourselves)’”
A similar variation of mood (irrespective of tense) appears in rhetorical questions that run in pairs; as: Hwai Pawlus ushramiṣṭḥa wārḥ in izwara, aṭṭhau in namin Pawlans dawpidai wēseǐ? (Cor. I. i. 13) = "Pray was Paul crucified for your sake, or were-you baptized in Paul’s name?"—Hwai siwūkį, jah ik ni siukau? hwā afmarzjada, jah ik ni tandua? (II. xi. 29) = "Who is-weak, and I am-not-weak? who is-offended, and I burn not?" This is probably an idiomatic usage like that in (viii) above.

Direct indirect dubitative questions naturally show the subjunctive, which, in tense, follows the leading verb; as: Ni maunaiṇi sawalai izwarai, hwā maṭjavai, jah hwa drinkaiṇ; niḥ leika izwaramma, hwē waṣjaṇ (Mt. vi. 25) = "Be not concerned for your life, what ye-are-to-eat, and what ye-are-to-drink; nor for your body, wherewithal ye-are-to-cloth (yourselves)" (compare verse 31, in (x) above);—Du sis missō andrunnun, hwarjís maists wēsī (Mk. ix. 31) = "They disputed with one another, which was-to-be greatest."

In the examples of (x) and (xii) the dubitation is inherent in the question itself; but sometimes it is involved in the governing verb, when this denotes doubting, wondering, expecting, or the like; as: pankjandam allaim (absolute phrase) bi lohannēn, niu aŭftō sa wēsī Xristus . . . (Lk. iii. 15) = "As all men were-questioning about John, whether perchance (aŭftō) he might not be the Christ . . ."); —Jah witaĭdēdum imma, hailīdēdī-u sabbato daga (Mk. iii. 2) = "And they-watched him, (to see) whether (-n) he-would heal on the Sabbath-day";—Sildaleikidēdun hwā lātīdēdī ina in pizai ah (Lk. i. 21) = "They-wondered what could-be-delaying him in the temple."

The usual word for asking a question is fraihnan (pret. fraḥ); but the question that follows may be either indirect or direct; if indirect, the verb of the question must be in the subjunctive; as: Frēhuṇ ina skuld-u sijai man quën afsatjan (Mk. x. 2) = "They-asked him whether it-is (=was) lawful for-a-man to-put-away his-wife";—if direct, the verb must be in the indicative; as: Fraḥ ina Īesus, "Hwa ist namō pein?" (Lk. viii. 30) = "Jesus asked him, 'What is thy name?';"

Indirect questions governed by verbs of telling, knowing, seeing, and the like, imply an actual fact, and generally (not quite always) take their verb in the indicative mood; the tense, however, (following the Greek,) often differs from that of the leading verb; as: Wissulā pān Īesus hwarjai sind pāi ni galabjandans, jah hwās ist saci galēweį ina (John vi. 64) = "For Jesus knew who they are (were)
that-did-not-believe, and who it is (was) that shall (should) betray him." Yet we find: Schweun hwar galagip wsri (Mk. xv. 47) = "They-saw where he-was laid"; and others similar.

(xvi) The indic. is also used when the principal clause is negative; as: Ni wituts hwis bidjats (Mk. x. 38) = "Ye-two-know not what ye-are-asking";—Hwaiwa nu sathwip, ni witum (John ix. 21) = "How he now seeth, we-know not."—(Mk. ix. 6, Ni wissa hwa rodidedi, is not an exception, as it contains a dubitative question,—"He-knew not what to say.")

(xvii) The verb of an indirect question following such verbs as haban, "to have," manwjan, "to prepare," sokjan, "to seek," often implies an end or purpose; it is then in the subjunctive, and may be best rendered by the English infinitive; as: Ni haband hwa matjaina (Mk. viii. 2) = "They have nothing to eat" (cf. Lat., "Non habent quo vestantu");—Manwei hwa matjau (Lk. xvii. 8) = "Prepare something for-me-to-eat";—Sokideun hwaiwa imma usquis-tidedeina (Mk. xi. 18) = "They sought how to destroy him."

(xviii) The word for "to answer" is andhaffjan; in the following instance (Lk. xx. 7) it governs an indirect clause:—Andhofjan ei ni wissedeina hwafri (wesi) = "They-anwered that they-knew not whence (he was)." It may also be used without any object (rahtaba andhofjt, "thou-hast-anwered rightly"), or may take a subst. after it (ni-u andhaffjis waiht? "answerest-thou nothing?".). But the favourite construction is to couple andhaffjan and quiyan (like the Greek ἄποκρινεσθαι + εἰπεῖν) and to append a direct answer without a conjunction. The following are the leading forms:—Andhof Iêsus jah quaf: "Só meina laisseins nist meina" (John vii. 16) = "Jesus answered and said, 'This doctrine of mine is not mine.'";—Panuh andhaffjand jah laşma quipandans: "Hwan juk schwum gredagana," &c. (Mt. xxv. 44) = "Then shall they also answer saying: 'When saw we thee a-hungred . . .'";—Andhaffjands _CONV_PAN_ Pan Paitrus quaf: "Pu is Xristus" (Lk. ix. 20) = "Then Peter answering said, 'Thou art (the) Christ."

(3) Reported Speech.

(xix) A reported fact or statement is usually in the form of a subordinate clause introduced by ñatei (pammei), ei, or (rarely) unte, and ñe (See § 103 (xv, xvi)). When the leading clause is assertive (or virtually so), the verb of the subordinate clause is indicative; as: Kunnup ñatei nêhwa ist asans (Mk. xiii. 28) = "Ye-know that the harvest (=summer)
is nigh”;—Gaumidêđun ḫammei afawalpijâs ist sa stains (xvi. 4) = “They-perceived that the stone is (=was) rolled away”;—Bi ḫamma ufkunand allai ḫe meinaí sipônjôs sîjî (John xiii. 35) = “By this shall all-men know that ye-are my disciples”;—Nî gamâlîjîp ġst ġtâîj razn mein razn bidô haitada? (Mk. xi. 17) = “Is it not written (=it is written) that my house shall-be-called a house of prayer?”

(xx) But if the leading clause is negative or subjunctive, or is a question implying uncertainty, the subordinate clause requires the subjunctive; as: ḫî quîpa ġe ik bidjau attân bi izwis (John xvi. 26) = “I say not that I-will-pray the father for you”;—Nî galâuulbâjedûn ġtâîj is blînds wësî (ix. 18) = “They did not believe that he had-been blind”;—Jôbâi quî-pjau ġtâîj ni kunnjau ina . . . (viii. 55) = “If I-were-to-say that I-know him not . . .”;—Ga-u-luâuljâts ġtâîj magjau pâta telju (Mt. ix. 28) = “Do-ye-two-believe that I-can do this?”—Hwa wileîs ġi telju ḓus? (Mk. x. 51) = “What wilt-thou that I-do for thee?”

(xxi) Indirect propositions governed by verbs of hoping, trusting, supposing, and the like, require a verb in the sub-

junctive; as: Wënjâ ġe kunnîj . . . (Cor. II. xiii. 6) = “I-

hope that ye-know . . .”;—. . . ġtâîj trauauîdûn sis ġe wëseînî
garaihtai (Lk. xviii. 9) = “. . . who trusted in-themselves that

they-were righteous”;—Jînai hûgûûdûn ġtâîj is bi slëp quîpî
(John xi. 13) = “They supposed that he was-speaking about

sleep.”

(xxii) Statements reported at second hand take the sub-

junctive; as: Jah frëhun ina quîpandans, ünté quîpand ġjai
bôkajrjôs ġtâîj Hêlîas skûlî quîman faûrîpîs (Mk. ix. 11) =
“And they questioned him saying, that the scribes assert

that Elias must first come”;—Şâ-u ġst sa sunus izwar, ġtâîj
jus quîpî ġtâîj blînds gabaûrjans waûrîpî? (John ix. 19) =
“Is this your son, (about) whom ye assert that he was born

blind?”—Weis hausûûdûn ama witôda ġtâîj Xristus sijai du
aiwa (John xii. 34) = “We have heard out of the law (i. e.,
that the law says) that Christ is-to-abide for ever.”

(xxiii) Hausjân, “to hear,” as a leading verb, takes the

subordinate verb in the indicative; as: Hausûûdûn bîsusîntâ
untê gamîkîlîda fraûja armahâîrteîn seîna bi izai (Lk. i. 58) =
“The neighbours heard that the Lord had-magnified his

mercy towards her.” But if hausjân is itself subordinate,
and yet takes a secondary subordinate clause after it, the
verb of the latter is in the subjunctive; as: Iddjêđun gamût-
jân imma, untê hausûûdûn ġi gatûvîdêdi pó taîkîn (John xii.
18) = “They went to meet him, because they-heard (=some
one had told them) that he-had-wrought that miracle”;}
Dugunnun ḷans-ubil-habandans bairan ḷadei hausidēdun ci is wēsi (Mk. vi. 55) = "They-began to carry those-that-were-ill to-the-place-where they-had-heard that he was." (These examples are closely similar to those under rule (xxii).)

(4) Subjective and Appositional Clauses.

(xxiv) The mood here varies in accordance with the broad characteristics of the Indicative and Subjunctive laid down in (ix) above. The following leading cases may be cited:—

(a) When a subjective clause is a statement introduced by ei or ḷatei.—Indicative: Hwa ist ḷatei miḻ mōtarjam jah fra华尔rhtaim matjūp jah drinkip? (Mk. ii. 16) = "How is it that he eats and drinks (i.e., is actually eating and drinking) with publicans and sinners?" But Subjunctive: Ganah siponi (acc.) ei wairpāi swē laisarcis is (Mt. x. 25) = "It-sufficeth the disciple that he-be (=for him to be) as his teacher".—Batizō ist ḷus ei fraquistnai ains ḷipwē ṣeinaizē . . . (Mt. v. 29, 30) = "It-is better for-thee that one of thy members perish . . ." (or "for one . . . to perish").

(b) When a subjective clause is introduced by an indefinite prōnoun.—Indicative: Swa managai swē attلاقoultry imma ganesun (Mk. vi. 56) = "As many as (actually) touched him were-healed";—Wairjūp imma ṣipšwah-ῆς quipūp (xi. 23) = "Whatsoever ḷe-saith shall-come-to-pass for-him." 

(c) Appositional clauses.—Indicative: Spillō ižwis fahēp mikila, . . . ḷatei gabairans ist ižwis himma daga nasjands (Lk. ii. 10) = "I-announce to-you a great joy . . . (viz.) that there is born to-you this day a saviour";—Bigita witōp, untē mis atist ubil (Rom. vii. 21) = "I find a law, (viz.) that evil is-present with-me." But Subjunctive: . . . gamunan aiples ḷanei swōr . . ., ei ġēbi unsis, &c. (Lk. i. 73) = " . . . to-remember the oath which he swore . . ., (viz.) that he-would-grant to-us," &c.;—Sōh ḷan ist sō aiweīnō libains, ei kunneina ḷuk . . . (John xviii. 3) = "And this is the life everlasting, (viz.) that they-may-know thee . . .".—Or, after a question: Ḵwabrō mis ḷata, ei quēmī aiples fraujins meinis at mis? (Lk. i. 43) = Whence (= How happens) this to-me, (viz.) that the mother of my lord should-come to me?"

(5) Relative Clauses.

(xxv) If a Relative clause is attached to a positive indicative clause, it also requires the indicative; but if to an imperative or optative clause, it requires the subjunctive; e.g.,

Indicative: ḷō waṟūrtswa, ḷōei ik tauja, jah is ταυή (John xiv. 12) = "He also shall-do the works which I (actually) do";—but Subjunctive: Atta, gif mis sei undrinnai mis dal aimsonis (Lk. xv. 12) = "Father, give me the-share of-property
that falleth (=such share as should-fall) to me”:—|No unga';i
triggwaim mannam |Jabai wairpaj sijaina jaw an pars laisjan
(Tim. II. ii. 2)= “These-things do-thou-commit to faithful
men who shall be (=such as may be) worthy for able to
|teach others also.” This modal harmony extends to other
forms of composite sentences; as: |Jabai habai ansöna haus-
jandönä gahausjai (Mk. iv. 9) = “Whoso hath hearing ears,
let-him-hear”; in verse 23 we find an equivalent conditional
clause: |Jabai hwas habai ansöna hausjandönä gahausjai=
“If any-man have,” &c. (See (xxvii) below.)

(xxvi) But when the leading clause is interrogative or
negative, although its verb be indicative, the verb of the
relative clause is generally subjunctive (Compare (xxv)); e. g.: |Hwa auk ist 'jizei wanai wéseip? (Cor. II. xii. 13. = “For
what is-there whereof ye-were lacking?”—Hwas sa ist saci
frawarhtius afeïtai? (Lk. vii. 49) = “Who is this that for-
gives (=that he should dare to forgive) sins?”—Nih allis
ist hwa fulginis patei ni gabairhtjaidau (Mk. iv. 22, Mt. x.
26) = “For there-is nothing hidden that shall-not-be-re-
vealed”;—Nip paiei sijaina fraiw Abrahamic, allai (sind)
barna (Rom. ix. 7) = “Not all those are children who are the
seed of Abraham” (or, not all such-as-are the seed of Aabr.
are children). When, however, a fact is stated in the rel.
clause, the indic. is used; as: |Maguts-u drinkan stikl pancei
ik drinka? (Mk. x. 38) = “Can ye-two drink-of the cup that
I am-drinking-of?”

(6) Adverbial Clauses: Condition.

(xxvii) Conditional clauses are introduced by jabai and
(for past tenses) ip; or, when negative, by nibai (niba) and
(for past tenses) nih. In the present tenses, fact, or what is
put as fact, requires the indic.; hypothesis or uncertainty
requires the subjunctive: modal harmony (See (xxv)) must
also be taken into account; as: |Jabai mis hwas andbahtjai
(subj.), mik laistjai (subj. = imper.); ... jabai hwas mis
andbahteip (indic.), swéraiip (indic.) ia atta (John xii. 26) =
“|If a man serve me, let-him-follow me; ... if a man serveth
me, the father honoreth him”;—Jabai marzjai puk handus
ßeina, afmait pó (Mk. ix. 43) = “If thy hand offend thec, cut
it off” ;—Jabai sunus sijais guüs, warý pük pjaró dalap
(Lk. iv. 9) = “If thou be the son of God cast thyself down
from thence.” But Indicative: |Niba saci gabatrada iupárô,
i mag gasaihwan pindangardja guüs (John iii. 3, 5) =
“Unless a man is-born from above, he cannot see the king-
dom of God” (i. e., “Only the man that is born ... can see ... ’’);—Ibai witôp unsar stôjip mannam, nibai faurpís
hauseiḥ fram imma? (vii. 51) = “Pray does our law judge a man (=it does not judge a man), unless it first heareth (a defence) from him?” Generally therefore subj. or indic. in protasis requires subj. or indic. in apodosis. Yet we find: Jabai hwas mcinaim hausjai waurdnam jah [ni] galaujhai, ik ni stōja īna (John xii. 47) = “If a man hear my words and believe [not], I judge him not”; — and so in other similar instances.

(xxviii) In purely hypothetical sentences the protasis puts a case which is, or is assumed to be, the reverse of actual fact, and the apodosis states a conclusion which would be true if the protasis were true. The verb of each should be, in Gothic, as in Latin, in the pret. subj. (opt.); e. g.: Jabai Mōsē galaujideiḥ, ga-ʔau-laujideiḥ mis (John v. 46) = “If ye-had-believed Moses” (which ye have not), “in-that-case (ʔau) ye-would-have-believed me” (which ye do not); — Ipb barna Abrahamiš wēseิ, waurstwa Abrahamiš tawideiḥ (viii. 39) = “If ye-were children of Abraham, ye-would-do the works of Abraham”; — Nih quēmjau jah rōdidejau du im, frawauḥt ni habaideiθina (xxv. 22) = “If I-had-not-come and spoken to them” (as I have), “they would-not-have-had sin”; and many similar. In Mk. xiv. 5, — Maht wēsi ʔata balsan frabujjan in managizó ʔau prija hunda skattė . . . , — the protasis is suppressed: “This ointment might have been sold for more than three hundred pence . . .” (i. e., “if it had not already been wasted”).

(xxix) In some instances there is an endeavour to adjust the sequence of tenses to the Greek (cf. §107 (vii)); as: Jabai quēpjau (pret.) ʔatei ni kunnjau īna, sijau (pres.) galcis izwis, linga (John viii. 55) = “If I-were-to-say that I know him not, I should-be like you, a liar,” (ēav eirw . . . eσomaia . . . ; for kunnjau, see (xx) above); — Jabai mein waūrd fastaidideina, jah izwar fastaina (xxv. 20) = “If they-had-kept my word, they-would-keep yours also” (ei. . . ἐτὴκσαν, . . . θηκσουσαν). But in the same verse we find: Jabai mik wrēkun (indic.), jah izwis wrikand; i. e., “If (=inasmuch-as) they (actually) have-persecuted me, they will also persecute you.”

(7) Adverbial Clauses: Reason.

(30) A conjectural or asserted reason or explanation, which is not the real and correct one, is introduced by ni ʔatei or ni ʔeći, and takes the subj.: it may be followed by the real reason in the indic. (cf. Lat. non quod + subj., followed by sed (quia) + indic.); thus: Ni ʔatei attan sēḥwi hwas . . . (John vi. 46) = “Not that anyone hath-seen the father . . .”; — ḫataḥ-ʔan quaṣ, ni ʔeći īna ʔiẓe ʔarbanē kara
wēsi, ak untē piubs was jah arka habaida (xii. 6) = “And this he-said, not that he cared about-the poor” (as he pretended), “but because he was a thief, and had the money-box”; —

Ni ḫatei ju andhēmjau . . . ; aṣṣan ik ajarganga . . . (Phil. iii. 12) = “Not that I-have-attained already . . .; but I follow-after . . . .”

(xxxi) But when a given reason embodies an actual fact, it takes the indicative. even after a negative; as: Vi faginōp ei ḫai ahmans iwis ufsausjand, iḥ faginōp, &c. (Lk. x. 20) = “Rejoice not that the spirits (actually) obey you, but rejoice,” &c.; —Sōkeiḍ mik, ni ḫatei sēhup tainnuś. ak ḫatei unti-ṭedup ḫizē haiba (John vi. 26) = “Ye-seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye-ate of the loaves.”

(xxxii) ei and untē, after questions, especially dubitative questions, sometimes introduce a statement of the facts which give rise to the bewilderment: they may then be rendered “seeing-that,” or “inasmuch as,” and are followed by the indicative; as: Hwa sijai ḫata? . . . ei mīp waldunja ahmans anabiudip . . . (Mk. i. 27) = “What can this be? . . . seeing-that with authority he-commandeth spirits . . .”; —Hwas ḫannu sa sijai? unti jah winds jah marei ufsausjand iimma (iv. 41) = “Who then can this be? seeing-that both wind and sea obey him”; —Nibai usquimai sis silbin? ei qūpǐp, ḫadei ik ganga, jus ni magup quiman (John viii. 22) = “Pray is-he-going-to-kill himself? inasmuch-as he-saith, Whither I go, ye cannot come.”

(xxxiii) But ei, “on-the-ground-that,” leading-in a reported reason, accusation, and the like, takes the subjunctive; as: Jah sa frawröhpis warp du iimma ei distahidēli aigin is (Lk. xvi. 1) = “And he (the steward) was accused to him (the master) on-the-ground-that he-had-wasted his property”; —Abraham sifaida ei gasēhwi dag meinana; jah gasahw . . . (John viii. 56) = “Abraham rejoiced on-the-ground-that he-saw (or would-see) my day; and he saw it . . . .” (Compare the similar case in rule (xxii.).)

(xxxiv) Clauses introduced by ibai, “lest,” or ibai aiflō, “lest perchance,” state a ground of fear, and take the subjunctive; as: Ni manna giutip wein jungata in balgins fārm-ijans, ibai aiflō distairai wein ūta niujō ḫans balgins (Mk. ii. 22) = “No man poureth new wine into old bottles (or skins), lest perchance the new wine burst the bottles”; —Og izwis, ibai swarē arbaididēdjav in iwis (Gal. iv. 11) = “I-am-afraid for you, lest I-should-have-laboured in-vain among you.”

(8) Adverbial Clauses: Final.

In Ulfilas “final” clauses are very numerous: they may
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denote End, Purpose, and Consequence or Result. Their mood is the subjunctive.

(xxxv) Clauses denoting the End, or intention, of an antecedent action are introduced by ei, which may be preceded by *dupē, dup-[pē, &e. If such a clause is to be negated as a whole, and to be followed by an alternative, *ti [pēi ... ak (ei) = "not that ... but (that)" are used; if its verb only, *ei ni, "that ... not," is used. Examples: Frawardjand and-wairjja seina, *ei gasaihwaindau mannam fastandans (Mt. vi. 16) = "They-disfigure their-own faces, that (=to-the-end-that) they-may-appear unto-men to fast" (lit., "as-fasting");—Ibai lukarn quimi dupē ei uf mêlan satjaidau? (Mk. iv. 21) = "Pray is a candle brought" (lit., "cometh it") "to-this-end (dupē), that it-may-be-placed under a bushel?"—Untē atstaig us himina, *ti [pēi jnau wiljan meinana, ak (ei) ... (John vi. 38) = "For I-came-down from heaven, not (to-the-end) that I should-do my own will, but (that) ... ";—Akei faura farcisaiun ni andhafaitun, *ei us synagogein *ni uswauirpanai waürpœina (John xii. 42) = "But because-of the Pharisees they did not confess (him), that they might not be cast out of the synagogue."

(xxxxvi) Here may be placed the similar clauses after waîrja-, "worthy"; ganôha-, "sufficient"; as: *Ni im waîrps ei uf hrōt mein înn gângais (Mt. viii. 8) = "I am not worthy that thou-shouldest-come under my roof";—Hlaibôs *ni ganôhai sind þaim, þei nimai hwarjizuh leitil (John vi. 7) = "The loaves will not be sufficient for them, that each one may-take a little."

(xxxxvii) The Purpose of an action is frequently expressed in Gothic, as in Greek and in English, by the infinitive (See next section); but sometimes by *ei + the subj., just as also in Grk. by *iva + subj. Not seldom, where the Greek has one construction the Gothic has the other. Examples: Ga-waurhta twalif *du visan (but Grk. *îva òvoi) *mil sis, jah *ei insandidëi (îva aposteîlaŋ) ins mērjan (Mk. iii. 14) = "He-selected twelve to be (= that they-might-be) with himself, and that he-might-send-them to preach";—Brāhēdun ina in Iairusâlem atsajHan (parasptēsai) faura fraujin, ... jah ei gēbeina (but Grk. òov òovai) hunsl (Lk. ii. 22, 24) = "They brought him to Jerusalem to present (him) before the Lord, and to offer (= that they-might-offer) a sacrifice;"—Attaihun þata barn *ei tawidēdeina (òov òovai) bi biuhîja witôdis (27) = "They brought the child that they-might-do (= in-order-to-do) according to the custom of the law."

(xxxxviii) To indicate Consequence or Result the Gothic sometimes uses swaswē or swaei with the infin., in imitation
of the Grk. ὅστε + infin. (See §90 (xii)); but more frequently swasve, swaet, swē, with a finite verb, either indic. or (rarely) subj., according as the clause is historical or argumentative; e. g.: Afslauŋmodalun allai ... swaei sākidēdun (ὕστερον ἑτερίου) māp sis missō (Mk. i. 27) = "They were all astonished ... so that they- question wε- ed with one another"; — Galukh- nōda himius ... swē warply (ὡς ἐγέρσον) hūhrus mikils (Lk. iv. 25) = "Heaven was-shut-up, so- that there-was a great famine."

(xxxix) Here, grammatically, may be placed those composite commands which consist of a direct imperative ("do," "see," &c.) and a governed clause in the subjunctive; as: Taujaŋ ei jah in Laūdekaion (Grk. gen.) aikklēssjōn uusning- waiana (Col. iv. 16) = "Cause that it- (this epistle) be-read in the church of the Laodiceans"; — Satlwaŋs ei manna ni witi (Mt. ix. 30) = "See that no man know-it." Some similar commands with ibai may be added; as: Satlwiŋ ibai frum izwis missō fraquimaindau (Gal. v. 15) = "(Beware lest ye- be-, i. e.,) See-to-it that ye-be-not-consumed of one-another"; — Satlwiŋ ibai hwas ubil und ubillama hwamma uylaidal (Thess. I. v. 15) = "See that no-one repays to-any-one-else (hwamma) evil in-return-for evil."

(9) Adverbial Clauses: Temporal.

(xi) Faupripei, "before, before-that," is the only temporal conjunction that always takes the subj. (opt.) after it; as: Wait atta izwar pizei dus daurpul, faurpizet jus bidjaŋ ina (Mt. vi. 8) = "Your Father knoweth what ye need, before ye ask him"; — Jah nu quaŋ izwis, faurpizet waupriŋ (John xiv. 29) = "And now I-have-told you, before it-hath-come-to-pass."

(xii) Some other temporal conjunctions take the indic. or subj. according as their clauses refer to actual fact or to what is merely possible or still in the future; in the latter case the temporal clause is generally attached to an imperative, optative, or subjunctive clause (See (xxv)); in the former to an indicative. Examples (Indic.) : Jah warply, bīpē is anakumbida in garda is ... (Mk. ii. 15) = "And it came to pass, as (=while) he (Jesus) was-reclining-at-table in his (Levi's) house ... "; — Jah ḫan sāia, urüninip (iv. 32) = "And when it-is-sown, it-springeth-up"; — (Subjunctive): ḫu ḫan bidjaŋ, gang in ḫejjōn ḫeina (Mt. vi. 6) = "Thou, when thou-wouldst-pray, go into thy chamber?"; — Quaŋ izwis ... eī, bīpē wauprai, galanbjaŋp (John xiv. 29) = "I-have-told you, to-the-end-that, when it-shall-come-to-pass, ye may be- lieve"; — ... daupu fraujins gakannjaŋp,unte quimai (Cor. I.
xi. 26) = “...do-ye-show-forth the Lord’s death, until he-come.” But the subjunctive may also follow a question in the indic.; as: Hwa nu ist, brôprjus, òan samañp garinnai? (Cor. I. xiv. 26) = “How is-it then, brethren, when ye come together?” (but the pointing here is doubtful.)

109. The Infinitive.

(i) The Infinitive, in conformity with its substantival origin, may stand as object of a finite verb; as: (a) after the “auxiliaries,” skulan, &c., in the composite futures treated in § 107; — (b) after some other similar verbs, as wiljan, magan, and the like, of which the sense was at last felt to be incomplete without a conjoined infin.; as: Magt mik gahrainjan (Mk. i. 40) = “Thou-canst cleanse me”; — Jabai hwas wili frumists wisan... (ix. 35) = “If a man will be (=wishes to-be) first...”; — Aïnhun ni gadaúrsta ina fraíhnan (xii. 34) = “No one durst ask him”; — (c) after ordinary transitive verbs; as: Sökídëdun attëkan imma (Lk. vi. 19) = “They-sought to-touch him”; — Ohtëdun fraíhnan ina (ix. 45) = “They-feared to-ask him”; —... patei gadôb ist quinôm gahaitandeim guñp blôtan’ (Tim. I. ii. 10) = “... which is-befitting women professing godliness” (lit., “to-serve God”); — and many more. (It will be observed, that while itself “governed” by the preceding verb, the infin. may “govern” a direct object of its own.)

(ii) Instead of a simple verb, a prædicative subst. or adj. involving a verbal notion may, in combination with ist, &c., appear with a following infin.; as: Skula ist (=skal) all witôp taujan (Gal. v. 3) = “He-is bound (lit., he-is a-debtor) to-do (=keep) the whole law”; — Wên habam (=wêñjam) in izwis mikilnan (Cor. II. x. 15) = “We-have-hope to-be-magnified in you”; — Jabai gawilja ist (=wili) bawan miñp imma... (I. vii. 12) = “If she-is willing to-live with him...”; — Mahteigs ist (=mag) guñ alla anst ufarassjan in izwis (II. ix. 8) = “God is able to-cause-to-abound all grace among you”; —... lustu habands (=gairñjands) andëtnan jah miñp Xristau wisan (Phil. i. 23) = “... having a desire to depart and to be with Christ.”

(iii) For the accus. + infin. as = à clause, see § 87 (2, vii). This construction occurs (very rarely) after the verbs for “to hear” and “to see”; as: Hausidëdûp ina siukan (Phil. ii. 26) = “Ye-heard that he was-ill”; — Jabai nu gasaithwîp sunu

1 Ulf. seems to take karagygalëte as an imperative.

1 This is an attempt to construct an equivalent of òeòsiézeiav; similarly; du akran bairan (Rom. vii. 5) = èí às à karçofoñfžu.
mans ussteigan... (John vi. 62) = "What-and-if who-sees the son of man ascend..." (After these verbs of sensation the object is usually accompanied by a ptcp.: see next section; rule (x)). The following are additional instances of the accus.+infin. as equivalent to various forms of subordinate clauses:—Quiñand uslass ni wisan (Lk. xx. 27) = "They say that there-is-not (any) resurrection" (reported speech = Quiñand hātei+indic.; § 108 (xix)); —Abbān ik qiāna izwī ni swaran allis (Mt. v. 34) = "But I tell you not to swear at all" (indirect negative command = Faqūbinda izwī ei ni swaraḍī allis: § 108 (vi)); —Haihait galei+ in sipōnjaus hindar marein (Mt. viii. 18) = "He-bade the disciples go to-the-other-side of the sea" (= Anbanu) im ei galīpriim, &c.) But note the nom. after the infin., as (properly) in the Grk., in Rom. ix. 3: Usbīda (usbidja?) anaphaine wisan silba ik... "I desire myself-to-be accursed..."

(iv) Similarly, the direct object of the verbs for "to make," "to cause," and a following infin. denoting the result of the action (§ 87 (3)), are considered by some grammarians equivalent to a clause; as in: Baudans gatiyanā ṣahausjian, "He-maketh the-deaf to-hear," —i. e., "He-bringeth-it-about that..." Such equivalence is incontestable when a second accus. stands as a quasi-predicate to the first; as in: Gataujā inquis wairpañ nutans manne (Mk. i. 17) = "I-will-cause you-two to-become fishers of men" (Cf. § 108 (xxxiv)).

(v) Very rarely an infin. appears after a passive verb as the completion of a predicate: the whole construction may then be regarded as the conversion of an active verb followed by an accus.+infin.; e.g.: Bigitana waṛouples anaibusu wisan du daṇpāu (Rom. viii. 10) = "The commandment was-found to-be for-me unto death" (in the active, Bigat anabusu wisan du d., "I-found the commandment, &c.").

(vi) The infin., with or without du, may stand as subject of a clause; e.g.: Wiljan atligāḥ mis (Rom. vii. 18) = "To-will is-present with-me"; —Abbān mis liban Xristus ist, jah gaswītān gawāthiri... Abbān du wisan in leika ḫairīsštā in izwara (Phil. i. 21, 24) = "But for-me to-live is Christ, and to-die (is) gain;... but to remain in the body (is) more-necessary on-your-account."

(vii) When a subjective infin. introduces a phrase, the art. ḫaṭa is generally prefixed to it (See § 98 (x)); as: ḫaṭa du-sitan-af-taḥswōn-meinaī nist mein du giban (Mk. x. 40) = "But to sit on my right hand is-not mine to give"; —or, without du: Hwa ist ḫaṭa us daṇpaim usstandan? (ix. 10) = "What is-it to-rise from the dead?"

(viii) Impersonal predicates, like goḥ ist, batizo ist, &c.,
precede a subjective infin. or infin. phrase (Compare § 108 (xxiv, a)); as: Ni göþ ist niman hlaið bornė jah waîrpan hundam (Mk. vii. 27) = "It is not good to-take the children’s bread and to-cast-it to-dogs";—Göþ þus ist hamfamma in libain galeîpan, þau twòs handuns habandin galeîpan in gi-æinnan (ix. 43: see also 45, 47) = "It is good for-thce to-go into life one-handed, rather-than, having two hands, to go into Gehenna";—Hwaþar ist azëtizó, du quîþan . . ., þau quîþan . . .? (Mk. ii. 9) = "Which-of-the-two is the-easier, to say . . ., or to-say . . .?"

(ix) Rarely, with an imper. prédicate, an accus. + infin. may stand as subject; e. g.: Warþ afslauþnan allans (Lk. iv. 36) = "It-came-to-pass that-all were-a-stonished";—Azëtizó ist himin jah aiðra hindarleîpan . . . (xvi. 17) = "It is easier (for) heaven and earth to pass-away . . ."

(x) More frequently, after such predicates, a dative + infin. occurs; as: Jâh warþ þairhgangan imma þairh alisk (Mk. ii. 23) = "And it-came-to-pass that-he went-through the-cornfields";—Warþ þan gaswîltan þamma unledîn (Lk. xvi. 22) = "And it came to pass that the beggar died";—Azëtizó ist ûibandau þairh þairkó nêþlós þairkleîpan, þau gabîganna in þiudangardja guþs galeîpan (Mk. x. 25, and also, with Rapizó ist, in Lk. xviii. 25) = "It is easier for-a-camel to-go-through" (= that a camel should, &c.) "the-eye of-a-needle, than for-a-rich-man to-go into the kingdom of Goð".2

(xii) A special function of the infin. in Gothic, as in English, is to mark the purpose of an action (See § 108 (xxxvii)), particularly after verbs denoting motion; as: Quëmnun saithwan, "they-came-to-see"; Hwa usiddjéðuþ saithwan? "What went-ye-out for-to-see?" (Compare the use of the Latin supine in -um.) Very rarely, after a verb of motion, du precedes the infin.; as: Urrinnatþ sa lausjands du afwandjan afgudein . . . (Rom. xi. 26) = "The deliverer shall-come-forth to turn-away ungodliness . . ."

(xii) Where the Grk. (or Engl.) has two imperatives (the first implying motion), the Gothic substitutes for the second an infin. of purpose; as: Gang þuk silban ataþgjan guðdjin (Mk. i. 44) = lit., "Go to-show thyself to-the-priest" (= ýrâye, dëðþov . . ., "go, show", or "go and show");—Hiri laistjan mik (x. 21) = "Come-hither to-follow me" (ðèþro, ákoðþbëi µov . . ., "come (and) follow").

(xiii) After other verbs du precedes the infin. of purpose; as: Bartaimâius sat faîr wig du aîhtrôn (x. 46) = "Barti- mâus sat by the road-side to beg";—Anþar ist manag patei

2 The comparison is between the whole phrase ûibandau . . . þairkleîpan and the whole phrase gabîgamma . . . galeîpan.
andnēmun du haban (vii. 4) = “There is many another-thing that they-have-received to hold.”

(xiv) In other instances of this infin. du generally answers to the Grk. art. with or without a preposition; as: Sōkideδun ana Iēsu weitwōdiθa du aidaiaθjau ina (xiv. 55 = “They sought testimony against Jesus to-put him to-death” (eis το θανατοσας αυτόν); —Ibai gardins ni habai̇p du matjau jah drinkan? (Cor. I. xi. 22) = “Pray have-ye not houses for eating and drinking?” (eis το εσθιεν και πίνειν).

(xv) Between du and the bare infin. other words are occasionally inserted; as: Warp ganists piudom du in aljana bringan ins (Rom. xi. 11) = “Salvation came to the Gentiles, to bring them (the Israelites) into (E.V., to provoke them to) jealousy.” This may also occur when the infin. does not strictly denote purpose.

(xvi) For swaswē or swaei + accus. + infin. as equivalent to a clause denoting consequence or result, see § 108 (xxxviii).

(xvii) The Go. infin. (like others) must originally have been independent of “voice”; and although it was assigned chiefly to the active, there are extant not a few instances in which it renders, and must be rendered by, a distinctly passive form; as: Quēmum mōtarjōs daupjau (Lk. iii. 12) = “The tax-farmers came to-be-baptized” (βαπτισθηναι); —or with du: Sa sunus mans atgibada du ushramjan (Mt. xxvi. 2) = “The son of man is-handed-over to be-crucified.”

(xviii) But the Gothic sometimes attempts to indicate passivity by means of mahta- or skulda- + infin.; which clusters stand as correlatives to the active magt and skal + infin. (See (i) above), as is shown in the first of the following examples: —Skal sunus mans filu winnan (act.), jah uskiusan skulds ist (pass.) . . . (Mk. viii. 31) = “The son of man must suffer much, and must be rejected” —Maht wēsi ṭata balsan frabugjan . . . (xiv. 5) = “This ointment might have been sold . . .”; —Quinō . . . ni mahta was galekīnon (Lk. vii. 43) = “The woman . . . could not be healed.”

(xix) More frequently, however, a passive infinitive is given either by a reflexive form or by wairjau + a pass. ptc. Thus, in the parallel passage of Luke (ix. 22) to Mk. viii. 31 just cited, we have: Skal sunus mans uskiusans wairjau, “The son of man shall be rejected.” So too: Wēgs mikils warp in marein, swaswē ṭata skip gahuli̇p wairjau fram wēgim (Mt. viii. 24) = “A great tempest arose on the sea, so that the ship was overwhelmed by the waves”; —but (Reflexive): Quēmum haijau sik sauhtē seinaizō (Lk. vi. 18) =

3 But év τῷ, πρὸ τοῦ, and the like, + the infin., have a temporal meaning, and are rendered in Go., as in Eng., by adverbial clauses.

s2
"They-came to be healed of their infirmities." (But the Gothic frequently shows an ei-clause as the equivalent of a Grk. and Engl. passive infin. (Compare § 108 (xxxv)–(xxvii)); as: Ni im waǐps ei haitaidan sunus þeins (Lk. xv. 19 & 21) = "I am not worthy to be called thy son" (ἀξίοις κηληθήναι ...).

(xx) It was shown in § 91 (xiii) that du + the dative of a verbal subst. may be rendered by an infin.; reversely, a Go. infin. sometimes renders the Greek dat. of a verbal subst.; as: ... ei uhteigai sijaip fastan jah bidjan (Cor. I. vii. 5) = "... that ye-may-be at-leisure to-fast and to-pray" (ίνα σχολάσητε τῷ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῷ προσενυχί,—"for-fasting and for-praying")

110. The Participles.
(i) For pteps. in their adjectival use, see §§ 93–95; and as principal verbs, §§ 106 (iii) and 107 (vi).
(ii) In the use of pteps. Ulfilas generally follows the Grk.; but he cannot, of course, render its finer tense-varieties; examples: Quam Iesus in Galeilaia mērjands (κηρύσσον) afwangeljōn ... guiipands (λέγων) ...; jah hwarbondes (παράγων) faiur marein gasahw Seimōnu jah Andreaian wātrpan-dans (ἀμφίβαλλοντας) nati in marein; ... jah suns aflē-
tandans (ἀφέντες, aor.) ὅ natja seiña laistidėdun afar imma (Mk. i. 14–18) = "Jesus came into Galilee preaching the gospel ... (and) saying ...; and passing-along, or as he passed along, by the sea he-saw Simon and Andrew casting a net into the sea; ... and forthwith having-left their nets they followed him."

(iii) In rendering from Grk. into English we frequently turn an aorist ptep. followed by a finite verb into two finite verbs; as in verse 18 just cited,—ἀφέντες ... ἱκολούθησαν, "they-left their nets and followed him." A similar rendering occasionally appears in Ulfilas; as: Paruh uṣhōf augōna Iesus jah gauvida þammēi manageins filu iddja du imma, quaś-uh du Filippau ... (John vi. 5) = "Then Jesus lifted-up his eyes and perceived that a great multitude was-coming to him, and he said to Philip ..."; (but the Grk. is: ἔταρας ... καὶ θεασάμενος ... Χένει;)—Jah usstigun in skip iddijd-
dun-uh afar marein (17) = "And they-went-up into a ship and were-going over the sea" (ἐμβάντες ... ἠχοντο).

(iv) The Gothic pteps. preceded by the article have to be rendered into English by a relative clause ( §§ 95 (viii) and

4 On the I-E. Infinitive see the elaborate treatise of Dr. Julius Jolly, to which I am indebted for one or two valuable suggestions.
98 (vi)); but the Grk. perf. ptep. with the article may also be rendered, in Go. as in Engl., by a relative clause; as: Iftumin daga managei sei stó̄p hindar marcin schwun . . . (John vi. 22) = "On the following day the multitude which stood on-the-other-side-of the sea saw . . ." (ὁ ὁχλὸς ὁ ἐστηκως . . . εἰδον . . .).

(v) Very important is the "absolute" construction (§ 87 (6, v)). The favorite absolute case in Gothic is the dative (just as the ablative is in Latin and the genitive in Grk.); e.g.: Jah usleiβandin ἵσυνa in skipa, gaqūnūn sik managauns filu du imma (Mk. v. 21) = "And Jesus having-passed-over (or, when I. had . . .) in the ship, there-came-together to him a great multitude."

(vi) This construction is often, apparently, turned into a prepositional phrase by at; but its real syntactic force is not affected; as: At andanahita jušan viusandin hweilai, usiddja in Belanian (Mk. xi. 11) = "It being already evening (or, As it was now evening) in-point-of-time, he-went-out into Bethany" (ὁψῑς ἡ̄θη ω̄σής τῆ̄ς ὦ̄ρας);—At alassin ūn sildalekjamanda bi alla þoei gatawida Jesus, quaβ Paitrus . . . (Lk. ix. 43) = "All then wondering (or, As all wondered) at all the things that Jesus did, Peter said . . ."

(vii) A comparison of the Gothic, Grk., and Lat. shows that in very remote times the absolute construction was in a very unsettled condition as regards case. And within the Gothic itself, although the D. is generally used, yet the N., the G., and also (though rarely) the A. occur; as: (N.) Jah waūr̄an̄s daḡs gāt̄īls . . . (Mk. vi. 21) = "And a suitable day being-come . . .";—(G.) Jah uwiusandins sabbatē dagis . . . (xvi. 1) = "And the sabbath day being-come . . .";—(A.) Jah inn gangandan ina in skip, baθ ina saei was wods . . . (v. 18) = "And as-he-was-entering into a ship, he that had-been possessed besought him . . ." Noticeable is the use of at with such an accus. in Mt. xxvii. 1:—At maw̄gin ūn waūr̄an̄ana . . . = "And when morning was-come . . .".

(viii) But sometimes phrases that read like absolute phrases may rather (as the Grk. shows) be taken in apposition with a following pronoun; as (D.): Dałaf ūn atyangandin inma af faįrguna laįstīdēduu afar inma iumūns managōs (Mt. viii. 1) = "And as he came down from the mountain great multitudes followed him" (καταβαίνιτε ἃ αὐτῶ . . . ἕκολοθηραν αὐτῶ . . .);—(A.) Usygangandn ūn ina in daur gasahw ina anþara (xxvi. 71) = "And as he was going out into the porch another (damsel) saw him" (ἐξελθόντα δὲ αὐτῶν . . . εἶδεν αὐτῶν . . .).

(ix) The E.V. generally renders the Grk. absolute con-
structions by means of adverbial clauses. Sometimes the Gothic does the same; as: Iš pan seiþu warþ, quam manna gabibs ... (Mt. xxvii. 57) = “And when it was late, there came a rich man ...” (οὕτως δὲ γεγομένης ...);—Jah bitę warþ sabbato ... (Mk. vi. 2) = “And when the sabbath was- come ...” (γεγομένου σαββάτου).

(x) Verbs of sensation and perception mostly (as in the Latin) take an accus. + a ptcp. (which generally implies durative action) after them; as: Gusaithwand þana wòdan sitandan, jah gawasidan, jah fraþjandan (Mk. v. 15) = “They-see the-maniac sitting, and clothed, and in-his-senses”;—Weis gahausidédu ni þampand ina þatei ... (xiv. 58) = “We heard him say (lit. saying) that ...” (See also § 109 (iii).)

(xi) Verbs that denote ending and ceasing or ceasing-from and the reverse are, in imitation of the Grk., accompanied by a ptcp. in the nom.; as: Biþe usfullida lèsus anabíudands þain twalif ... (Mt. xi. 1) = “When Jesus had-completed (. ended) commanding the twelve ...”;—Ni hweilaidédu bidjandans jah aihtróndans, ei ... (Col. i. 9) “We-have-not-ceased praying and supplicating that ...” But in Eph. i. 16 the verb and ptcp. are interchanged: Unswéibands awiliudo, “unceasing I-give-thanks” (but Grk., ὑπὲρ τοῦ πανομαίου εὐχαριστοῦ).

(xii) The past or perf. ptcp. of intransitive verbs has an active rather than a passive sense,—usgangana-, “having-gone-out”;—waúrpana-, “having-come-to-pass”; &c. And so, when used with the art.: Sà us himina quumana ...,” he that-came from heaven.”

(e) Particles.

111. (1) Adverbs.—(i) As their name imports, “adverbs” are generally attached to verbs to indicate the time, manner, place, or other attendant circumstance, under which an action is performed (§§ 82, and 87 (6)).

(ii) But those of “degree” may qualify adjectives; as: Was auk (sa stains) mikils abraba (Mk. xvi. 4) = “For (the stone) was exceedingly large.”

(iii) It has been shown (§ 93 (viii)) that adverbs with a preceding article may have an adjectival force: so also may adverbial phrases, whether attached to substantives or used absolutely (§ 98 (v), (vi)).

(2) Prepositions (§ 83).—(iv) Generally speaking, the office of a preposition is to bring a noun or pronoun into relationship with a verb: the prep. and its “governed” word,
together with any qualifying words attached to the latter, then form a conglomerate equivalent to an adverb (§ 87 (6, iv)).

(v) The instances in which prepositional phrases are attached directly to substantives or pronouns (See (iii) above) may have originated through the suppression of a verb or ptp.; so that "the bridge over-the-river" would be = "the bridge stretching" or "which stretches over the river"; &c. But however this may have been, such phrases must in actual usage be considered adjectival (§ 87 (1, iv)).

(vi) The prep. in after verbs of motion sometimes takes the accus. and sometimes the dat.; as (A.): Ahma ina ustath in au’dida (Mk. i. 12) = "The spirit led him away into the wilderness";—Gangats in haim þó wiprawairþón inquis (xi. 2) = "Go into the village over-against you";—but (D.): Quêmun in garda Seimonis (29) = "They came into Simon's house";—Ni bringais uns in fraistubunjai (Mt. vi. 13) = "Lead us not into temptation."

(vii) The Gothic, following the Greek, is fond of putting a preposition after a verb in which the same (or a closely similar) preposition appears as a prefix; e. g. : Jah warrh gangan imma þairh atisk (Mk. ii. 23) = "And it-came-to-pass (that) he went-through the cornfield." So also: afnim an af + dat., "to take-away from";—mìp-inn-galeÝjan mìp + dat., "to go in along-with";—atgangan du + dat., "to go-up to"; and many similar. Occasionally even an equivalent adverb is also added; as: Usgang ut us þamma (Mk. i. 25) = "Come-out out of him." But sometimes, on the other hand, either the prefix or the following preposition is absent; as: mìpiddjédun imma sipônjós is ganóhai (Lk. vii. 11) = "Many-of his disciples went-with him" (so the Grk., συνεπορεύοντο αὐτῷ);—Duþþe wairkjand þos mahteis in imma (Mk. vi. 14) = "Therefore these mighty-works operate in him" (but the Grk., ἐν-ἐργοῦσιν ἐν αὐτῷ).

(3) Conjunctions.

(viii) As prepositions connect individual words, so conjunctions connect actual or virtual propositions. The conjunctions to be employed depend of course upon the logical relationship of the propositions to be connected; and hence a conjunction becomes a sort of exponent of the logical character of the clause it introduces.

(ix) Where conjunctions seem to introduce words or phrases only, these are generally incomplete clauses; as: Ni galeÝþþ imma in haito, ak in wamba (i. e., ak galeÝþþ imma in w.) = "It goeth not into his heart, but (it goeth) into his belly" (Mk. vii. 19);—Wastjós is waúþþun hwcitós swe snaiws
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(i.e., swē snaieis ist hweilis) = "His garments became white as snow (is white)") (ix. 3).

(x) But jah, like our "and," is often merely equivalent to the sign +, linking together a number of individual words into a group which may be treated as one plural; e.g.: Ganam Iesus Paitru jah Iakōbū jah Iōhannēn, jah ustauh ins . . . (Mk. ix. 2) = "Jesus took Peter and James and John, and led them up," &c. ;—Jah Marja sō Magdalēnē jah Marja só Iakōbis jah Salōmē usbaūhtēduν aromata (xvi. 1) = "And Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James, and Salome bought spices . . ." (See also § 105 (vi).)

(xi) Many conjunctions that introduce subordinate clauses have necessarily come under consideration in § 108: of the rest, although they differ somewhat or altogether in form from the corresponding conjunctions of related languages, the uses are substantially the same. For the conjunctival character of the relative pronoun see §§ 103 & 108 (5).

(xii) Ak and akei differ in use; ak and not akei occurs after negative clauses only; as: Ni bringais uns in fraistub-njai, ak lausei uns afamma ubulin (Mt. vi. 13) = "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one."

(xiii) Corresponding to ḫaiei . . . ḫāna . . . ḫatei . . . ḫata . . . ; &c. (§ 103 (iii)) ; we find, among adverbial clauses, instances like: parei ist huzd izwar, ḫaruh ist jah haīrō izwar (Mt. vi. 21) = "Where your treasure is, there will also your heart be."

(xiv) For syntactic purposes the compounds ḫishwaruh-pei and ḫishwaduh-pei or -pei may be considered as simple adverbial conjunctions (§ 104 (xiii)).

(4) Interjections.

(xv) Ŭ takes the vocative in direct address; as: Ŭ kuni ungalauhjandō! "O faithless generation!" (The substantives in such instances are really of the 2nd person.) But Ŭ may also be used with the nom., in expressions of admiration or contempt of persons or things spoken of in the 3rd person; as: Ŭ diwipipa gabcinis handugeins gušs! (Rom. xi. 33) = "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom of God!" In Mk. xv. 29,— Ŭ sa gatairands ūh alh! E.V., "O thou-that destroyest the temple!" (οὐδὲ ὁ καταλῦων τῶν ναῶν) is in the form of the 3rd pers., although it is difficult to render it as such into English. In a direct voc. Ulfilas, as we have seen (§ 89 (iii)), sometimes renders the Grk. art. by ḫu or jus.

(xvi) Sai often occurs independently of a subst., like our "lo": it then simply draws attention to the accompanying clause. It is sometimes so used in Gothic without any equivalent in the Greek; as: Jah suns, sai, ahma ina
uست.auh in ἀνφίδα (Mk. i. 12) = "And forthwith, behold, the spirit led him away into the wilderness" (καὶ εἰδέως τὸ πνεῦμα . . .).

(xvii) Sai (like ἰδοῦ, ἰδε, or Lat. ecce), when followed by a subst., generally takes it in the nom. case unaccompanied by a verb; as: Sai, manna ἀσέτζα . . . (Mt. xi. 19, Lk. viii. 31) = "Behold, a gluttonous man . . ." (ἰδοῦ, ἀνθρωπός φάρος . . .; ecce, homo edax . . .);—Sai, ἀιπεὶ μείνα jah ᾧai bróφερας meinaí (Mk. iii. 34) = "Behold, my mother and my brethren."

(xviii) But the purely ostentative ἰδε = ecce is sometimes rendered by a complete proposition with or without sai; as: Sai, sa ist wiprus gups! (John i. 29) = "Behold, (this is) the lamb of God!" (ἰδε ὁ ἄμνος . . .);—Sai ist sa manna! (xix. 5) = "This is the man!" (ἰδε ὁ ἀνθρωπός! ecce homo! "behold the man!")

(xix) Exceptionally, sai exhibits an imperative force, and takes the accusative after it; as: Sai ἕανα ματ. . . . (Mk. xvi. 6) = "Behold the place . . .";—Sai nu sēleîn gups (Rom. xi. 22) = "Behold now the goodness of God." (In the Grk. of this instance, but not of the preceding one, ἰδε also takes the accus.)

(xx) The unemphatic καὶ ἰδοῦ, is sometimes treated as a mere transitional conjunction and rendered by ἄπαν, jah ἕαν, or paruh; as: ἄπαν atbērun du imma uslipan . . . (Mt. ix. 2) = "Thereupon they carried to him a palsied-man" (καὶ ἰδοῦ . . .);—Jah ἕαν faurhāh alhs disskriuōda (xxvii. 51) = "And lo, the curtain of the temple was-rent-asunder" (καὶ ἰδοῦ . . .);—Paruh was manna in Iafrusālēm . . . (Lk. ii. 25) = "And (lo) there was a man in Jerusalem . . ." (καὶ ἰδοῦ . . .).

(xxi) Wai is followed by the dative; as: Wai ἃus Kauπαραζκίν, wai ἃus Bāiπ[saidan! (Lk. x. 13) = "Woe to thee Chorazin, woe to thee Bethsaida!"

(xxii) Jai is interjectional only with an accompanying vocative; as: Ἰπ ἃus, jai ἑαν gups! . . . (Tim. I. vi. 11) = "But thou, O man of God! . . ."

112. Question and Answer.

(i) The use of the Interrogative Pronouns and Particles (§§ 66, 82 (7), 104) agrees, in the main, with that of the corresponding forms in Latin, Greek, English, and other cognate languages. With us, however, the order of words in a question (except when it begins with a pronoun in the nominative, as, "Who-told-you?") differs from the rigid order required in

1 With these rules on Interjections should be compared those on the Vocative (§ 89).
an assertive proposition; and for the simple present or pret. of a verb a composite with do as an auxiliary is mostly substituted ("What does he say?"="He says—what?"). But in the Gothic no special effect of the interrogative form upon the order of words can be demonstrated.

(ii) *Ibai*, as an interrogative, is = Lat. *num*, which expects the answer "No." It may perhaps be best rendered by our half-ironical "pray does, or is," &c.; as: *Ibai* þu maiza is attin unsaramma Abrahama ...? (John viii. 53)="Pray are-you greater than our father Abraham ...?"—*Nibai*, as an interrogative, ought to have nearly the same force, but it generally implies uncertainty, and may perhaps be best rendered by our half-ironical negative assertion followed by a direct question; as: *Nibai* usquimai sis silbin? (John viii. 22)="He isn't going to kill himself, is he?"

(iii) Some questions are without any introductory particle or pronoun; as: Swa jah jus unwitans siju? ni frajíp...? (Mk. vii. 18) = "Are ye also thus without-understanding? Do ye not perceive," &c.

(iv) With negative questions *niu* is generally used; but not seldom *ni* or *nih* occurs without -u; as: *Niu* andhafjis waíht? (Mk. xiv. 60)="Answerest-thou nothing?" but: *Nih* þata gamélidó usungwúp ...? (xii. 10)="Have-ye-not read that scripture ...?"

(v) *An*, in most of the few instances in which it occurs, is coupled with *hwas* or *hwu* = "Who then ...?" "what then ...?", or, "and who," &c.: it always implies a reference to something already said; as: *An* *hwas* ist mis nèhwundja? (Lk. x. 29)="Who then is my neighbour?"—*An* *hwu* taujíma? (iii. 10)="And what are-we-to-do?" But once without *hwas*: *An* nuh þiudans is þu? (John xviii. 37) = "And art thou then a king?"

(vi) The merely affirmative or negative answer to a question may be given either by one of the particles *ja*, *jai* = "yea, yes," and *né* = "nay, no" (§ 82 (7)) ; or by an assertion correlative to the question; or by both together; but the choice is mostly determined by the Grk. text; e. g.: Ga-u-laubjats ðatei magjau þata tauján? Quèþun du imma, *Jai*, frajája (Mt. ix. 28) = "Do-ye-two-believe that I can do this? They said unto him, Yea, Lord?"—Maguts-u drinkan stíkl ...? *Magu* (Mk. x. 38, 39)="Can-ye-two drink-of the cup ...? We-can?";—þu is Xristus ...? Ìp is quap, *Ik iní* (xiv. 61, 62) = "Art thou the Christ ...? And he
said, I am’;—Niu jah Ɂu Ƀizē sipōnjē Ɂis is? . . . Nr, ni im (John xviii. 25) = “Art not thou also one-of this-man’s disciplies? . . . No, I am not.”

(vii) On the modal varieties of direct and indirect question and answer see § 108, (x)—(xviii).

(viii) Alternative questions are mostly connected by Ɂau, very rarely by aifpaum; and when the second question is a complete sentence (or virtually such) the interrogative particle is mostly used with it as well as with the first; as: Daupins Iōhannis, uzuh himina was Ɂau uzuh maumam? (Mk. xi. 30) = “John’s baptism, was-it from heaven, or (was-it) from men?”

(ix) But when the question starts with a pronoun the alternative clauses are reduced to substantives or infinitives in apposition with the pronoun; as: Hwa Españ ist ažetizō, du quipan . . ., Ɂau quipan . . . (Mk. ii. 9) = “Which is the easier, to say . . ., or to say . . .?”—Hwana wilėf ci fra-lētau izwis, Barabban Ɂau Ɂesu? (Mt. xxvii. 17) = “Whom will-ye that I release unto you, Barabbas or Jesus?”

(x) After an impersonal predicate such an infinitive may become the real subject; as: Skuld-u ist in sabbatim pjūp taupan aifpaum unpjūp taupjan? saiwala nasjan aifpaum usquist-jan? (Mk. iii. 4) = “Is (it) lawful on the sabbath to-do good or to-do evil? to-save life, or to kill?” The change of person and mood is remarkable in: Skuld-u ist kaisaragild giban kaisara, Ɂau niu gibaima? (Mk. xii. 14) = “Is-it lawful to give tribute to Caesar? or are-we-not-to give?” It would seem that Ulf. followed certain old versions in suppressing [h ov; δομεν]: “Is it lawful . . ., [or not? Are-we-to give,] or,” &c.: the subj. therefore really marks one of a pair of direct dubitative questions (§ 108 (x)).

113. Order of Words.

(i) In this respect the Gothic text generally follows its Greek model; but it is not on that account to be assumed that Ulfilas distorted his native language (See Note 1 to § 87). Within certain narrow limits, indeed, Gothic usages are discoverable; and many instances of difference have already come before us.

(ii) When a single Greek verb-form is rendered by a com-posite the assertive component or auxiliary verb generally comes last; e.g.: gameiŋip ist = γενεβαται; daupiđai vesun = εβαππιξμον; usfilmans wauiřum = εξεπληξσοντο; and many similar. Yet: wařp gaskapans (“it was made”) = εγενετο; and the continuatives, was daupjands, &c. (§ 107 (vi)).
(iii) Reflexive pronouns generally follow their verbs, not only when the Greek also shows a similar construction, but likewise when the reflexive verb and pronoun render a single Grk. middle form; as: 
\[
\text{gawasida sik} = \pi\text{περευβάλετο}; \text{mitōdedun sis} = \delta\text{iελογίζοντο}; \text{skama mik} = \alpha\text{iσχύνομαι}; \text{νραφστεi} \text{πuk} = \theta\acute{\alpha}ρσει.
\]
(iv) When a single Grk. verb-form is rendered by a Go. verb + a subst. or phrase, the verb generally comes last; as in 
\[
\text{friijans or friijs bringan} = \epsilon\text{λευθεροῦν}; \text{garaihtana dōnjan} = \delta\text{ικαίον}; \text{aiwangējōn mērjan} = \epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gammaελίζεσθαι; \text{ana armins niman} = \epsilon\nu\gammaκαλίζεσθαι; \text{&c., &c.}
\]
Yet the verb may precede, if imperative, or if the subst. is attracted to a following clause or phrase; as: 
\[
\text{Ni sijais galingawetwōds, lit., "Be not a-false witness" = Mη \psi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\omega\mu\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\tau\nu\rho\omicron\sigma\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma; -- Afsdailja tāihundōn dail allis piizei gastalda, lit., "I-distribute the-tenth-part of all that I possess" = 'Α\pi\tau\omicron\delta\varepsilon\kappa\epsilon\alpha\tau\omega\omicron\dot{\omega} ... .}
\]
(v) Certain conjunctions have a fixed position irrespective of that of their Grk. equivalents; thus, \text{apfan}, \text{ip}, and \text{un̈e} always come first in a clause, although \text{de} and \text{γαρ}, which they render, do not.
(vi) The negative \text{ni} immediately precedes its verb. The instances are innumerable; and the observance of the rule sometimes leads to a slight re-arrangement of words; as in 
\[
\text{Rom. viii. 1: Paim . . . ni gangandam bi leika = τοīs . . . μη \kappa\pi\tau\alpha\s\alpha\pi\kappa\tau\alpha\pi\tau\iota\alpha\omicron\dot{\omega}ν.}
\]
Many other small differences may be discovered by a careful comparison of the Gothic with the Greek text; but this task must now be left to the diligent student.

**Supplementary Sections.**

114. The Gothic Vocabulary.—About a sixth part of the words (as they stand in the lexicon) are borrowed names and terms (cf. § 53). These omitted, there remain above 3000 native words; of which, however, a large majority are compounded out of a comparatively small number of simpler words. Some of these simpler words are not preserved; but their existence in the time of Ulf. or previously is certified by their compounds (e.g., \*\text{tairan}, "to rend, tear," by \text{ga-} and \text{dis-tairan}; \*\text{swaran-} (m.), "a swearer," by \text{usar-}\text{swaran-}, "an oath-breaker"; &c.). Unfortunately, the 3000 and odd words are but a fraction of the whole Gothic vocabulary. Of the language of native song and saga,—of war and sport,—of political, social, and family life,—of the older national religion,—of commerce, agriculture, and other arts; and of the terminology of natural objects, celestial and ter-
restrial,—animal, vegetable, and mineral; either very scanty specimens or none at all are preserved. This loss is the more to be regretted because Ulfilas shows, in the treatment of alien subjects and events, not only case and elegance, but sometimes an exuberance and sometimes a precision and refinement of expression that even surpass his model: thus, for “to preach,” or “to preach the gospel,” we find merjan, (ga-)spillōn, wailamērjan, walūspillōn, piepspillōn, and the borrowed aiwangeljan; besides more general terms, such as (ga-)kannjan, gateihan, and rōdjjan waurd; and again in Cor. I. x. 25–28, “conscience” (sENVEdHTos) is rendered first by the exact equivalent mipywissei, and then (apparently for the mere sake of variety) by γαθύγδες and by ἄπτνυς. In other instances, the piling-up of words is perhaps an attempt at an exact rendering of a Greek term to which a single Gothic word was hardly equivalent; as: aslantapōdēdun sidaleikjanndans (Mk. i. 27), “they—were—astonished and wondered” (Grk. ἐθαμβηθονθανον only); swaswe banhidēdun mikiljanndans guj (ii. 12), “so—that they—exalted and magnified God” (Grk. ὥστε δοξάζεις τὸν θεόν). Again, “world” = ὁ κόσμος = Lat. mundus, is Go. faitrīnu; but if ὁ κόσμος means “the world of men” (as in, “the world cannot hate you,”) then we find manaseps: “world” moreover, as “inhabited earth” (ἡ οἰκουμένη), is midjunyards: but the “world”1 of our E.V. also means “the present age,” “the world of time”; these may be given by alds, aiws, and mêl. So too, for “to deny,” we find langījan, prop. “to deny by hiding the truth,” i.e., by dissimulation, or indirectly (Mt. xxvi. 70); but “to deny point blank” and by direct assertion (as in verse 72) is asfaikan (lit., “renounce?”); while to “deny by act and deed” is invidan (Mk. viii. 34, Tim. I. v. 8): the Grk. in each instance is αἰρεῖσθαι only. And, once more, in Lk. xix. 12, a nobleman goes “to receive” (λαβέω) a kingdom; the Go. (more exactly) has franiman, “to receive (from some one else)”; and (ver. 15) he returns “having received” it (λαβὼν); but the Go. has andnumands, “having taken it to or upon (himself).” If then, as is probable, the remains, as we have them, indicate what the Gothic was capable of in other and wider and more congenial fields of literature, it would seem that, by its copious vocabulary, its noble and sonorous inflexional forms, and its compact and forceful syntax, it was eminently fitted to produce bold and striking effects and to become a

1 A-S. woorold, woruld, = O.H.G. wērdōt: to this a Go. *wairaldi- would be equivalent,—from waira- “man” and aldi- “age, time,” = a Lat. seculum virorum.
worthy rival of the ancient classical tongues,—at any rate, of the Latin.

115. The student who desires to test the extant resources of the Gothic will no doubt have recourse to composition therein: he will then find that the only subjects to which they can be applied with even moderate success are such as are essentially scriptural. Preeminently of this character is Bunyan’s “Pilgrim’s Progress”; of the earlier paragraphs of which it is here proposed to attempt a rendering:

(i) As I walked through the wilderness of this world I lighted on a certain place where was a den; and I laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept I dreamed a dream.

(ii) I dreamed, and behold, (I saw) a man clothed with rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own house, a book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back.

(iii) I looked, and saw him open the book and read there-in; and as he read he wept and trembled; and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry saying: “What shall I do?”

(iv) In this plight therefore he went home, and refrained himself as long as he could, that his wife and his children should not perceive his distress: but he could not be silent long, because— that his trouble in-

(i) *Pairhleipands aupida pis fairhwaus bigat stap parei was filigri; jah galagida mik in pamma filigrja du slepan; jah slepands *draum *draumida.

(ii) *Draumida, jah sai, manna wastjom diskritanaim gawasisps, in stada sumamma standands; jah wlits is afwandips was af garda is; jah wesun imma bokos in handau jah baurpei mikila ana amsam.

(iii) Fairweitjands jan ik du imma gasahw ina uslukan pos bokos jah anakunnan; jah anakunnands tagrida jah reiraida; jah jupan ni magands pahan, gannonds ufropida stibnai mikilai quipands: “Hwa taujan?”

(iv) Panuh jan is, swa (sik) habands, galaip du garda seinamma, jah, swa langa hweila swe mahta, gahabaida sik, ei quens is jah barna angwipai is ni gaumidedeina: appan swe- pauh lang mel pahan ni mahta,

1 Massmann, to whose enthusiasm for everything Gothic later scholars are greatly indebted, had the vocabulary and idiom of the Go. remains at his pen’s point, and used them with astonishing fluency. With a daring to be admired rather than imitated he even attempted to restore the old alliterative verse, and wrote therein more than one lengthy poem,—which, however, in spite of their cleverness, would, I feel sure, have considerably astonished Ulfilas. A judicious review of his *Lith wairp jah wulhu witubnips merjando* (“Song proclaiming the value and glory of knowledge”), with a favorable specimen therefrom, will be found in the collected *Kleinere Schriften* of J. Grimm (V. 263–273).

2 The marks of quantity and of refraction are now omitted.
creased. Therefore, at length, he brake his mind to his wife and children; and thus he began to talk to them:

(v) "O my dear wife (said he) and you the children of my bowels, I, your dear friend, am in-myself undone, by-reason-of a burden that lieth-hard upon me: moreover, I am for certain informed that this our city will be burned with fire from heaven; in which fearful overthrow both myself, with thee my wife, and you my sweet babes, shall miserably come-to-ruin, except some way of escape can be found."

(vi) At this his relations were sore amazed; not-for-that they believed that what he had said to them was true; but because they thought that some frenzy distemper had got into his head: therefore, it drawing near night, and they hoping that sleep might settle his brains, with all haste they got him to bed.

(vii) So, when the morning was come, they would know how he did. He told them, Worse and worse: he also set to talking to them again: but they began to be hardened; they also thought to drive away his distemper by harsh and surly carriages to him: sometimes they would deride, sometimes they would chide, and sometimes they would quite neglect him.

(viii) Wherefore he began to retire himself to his chamber to pray for and pity them, and also to condole his own misery: he would also walk solitarily in the fields, sometimes reading and sometimes praying.

(ix) Now I saw upon a time, when he was walking in the fields, that he was, as he was

unto aglo is bisukenoda. Duppe at andja mitonins seinos gakan-nida quenai seinai jah barnan seinaim, jah swa dugann rodjan (du) im:

(v) "Quen meina liubo, jah jus, barna bru-te meinaizo, ìk, frijonds izwar sa liuba, silba fralusnodua, in bauprens pízos (anakaurjandeins mik; jai, gata-han ist mis bi sunjai patei skulda ist so baurgs unsara funun us himina gabranjjan; in pízaici usagjandein uswalteinai weis allai—jah ìk silba. jah ðu, quen meina, jah jus, barna sutistona— *armaba fraquistnam, nibai bigi-tam hawaiwa unapliuhaima."

(vi) Ïanuh ðan ana ðanuma us-filmaus waupjun abraba ganipjos is; ni patei galabidedeina patei sunjein weí ðata quipano fram imma; ak muneded ðej usgai-sips was: duppe, at andanahtja ðan wauppanamaha, wenzjandans ei slepa is fullafrjandjs aftra waupji, sniumundo lagidedun ina ana badi is.

(vii) Ïanuh in maurgin fre-hun ina hawaiwa is (sik) habai-dedi. Andhof im quipands patei Wairs und ðlu wairs; jah aftra dugann rodjan du im. Ïp eis dugunnun gadaubidai wairjp; jah hugidedun patei harduba taujandans usdribeina siukein is; eipan nu bimampjand ina; nu gasakand imma; jah nu sind unkarjans is.

(viii) Ïnuh ðis iddja in heppjon seine bidjan bi ins jah infeinan du im jah flekan sik silban; jah ðan usgangands ut hwarboda in haijai is ains, nu bokos anakun-nands, jah nu bidjands.

(ix) Ïanuh ðan ðik, nauhpunuh (at) imma hwarbondin in haijai, gasahw ina, bi biuhtja is,
wont, reading in his book and greatly distressed in his mind; and as he read he burst out, as he had done before, crying, "What shall I do to be saved?"

(x) I saw also that he looked this way and that way, as if he would run; yet he stood-still, because he could not tell which way to go.

(xi) I looked then and saw a man named Evangelist coming to him; who asked, "Wherefore dost thou cry?" He answered: "Sir, I perceive by the book in my hand that I am condemned to die and after that (to come) to judgment; and (I find that) I am not willing to do the first, nor able to do the second."

(xii) Then said Evangelist: "Why not willing to die, since this life is attended with so many evils?"

(xiii) The man answered: "Because I fear that this burden that is upon my back will sink me lower than the grave, and I shall fall into Tophet"...

(xiv) Then said Evangelist: "If this be thy condition, why standest thou still?" He answered: "Because I know not whither to go."

(xv) Then he gave him a parchment roll, and there was written within: "Flee from the wrath to come."

(xvi) So I saw in my dream that the man began to run. Now he had not run far from his own door but his wife and children perceiving it began to cry after him to return. But the man put his fingers in his akunnandan bokos is, jah aglon mikilai dishabaidana; jah ana-kunnands ufhropida is, swaswe faurpis, quipands: "Hwa taujau ei ganisan?"

(x) Jah whaitoda hidre jah jaindre, swaswe wiljands pragjan; appan nauhpunuh gastop; unte ni wissa hwap pragidedi.

(xi) Insaihwands pan ik, gasahw mannan atgangandan du imma pizei namo Aiwangelista; sace frah ina quipands, "Hwa gretis?" Ip is andhajands quap du imma: "Frauja, ufkunpa pairh bokos pos in handau meinai patei gawargips im daupau, pa-proh-pan stauai; appan gadaupnan ni wiljau, jah gasatjan mik faura stauastola gups ni gadars."

(xii) Quap pan du imma Aiwangelista: "Duhwe gaswilatan ni wileis, pande so nu libains swa managa ubila mip sis bringip?"

(xiii) Andhof sa manna jah quap: "Unte og mis, ibai aufto so bairpei so ana amsam meinaim sanqujai mik in undaristo airpos, jah ik driousan in gaiinan"...

(xiv) Quap pan du imma Aiwangelista: "Swa (puk) ha-hands duhwe gastandis?" Andhajands sa manna quap: "Unte ni wait hwap galeipau."

(xv) Panuh pan gaf imma Aiwangelista mainbranan, in pammei gamelip was: "Pliuh faura pamma anawairpin hatiza."

(i) Pairkleipands, "passing-through": ptep. = adverbial clause (§ 110); so also slepands, &c., below.—Fairkwraus, here fig., not the geographical world, which would be (G.s.) midjängardis (§ 114).—Bigitan, "to find, discover."—Filigjea- (n.), "a den. lair."—In pamma fil.: Bunyan here does not discriminate between "place" and "den."—*Draum, *draunjan, reconstructed words.

(ii) Sai+N. (§ 111 (xvii)).—Dis-skreitan, "totear, rend (as-unnder); wasljom disskr., "with torn clothes"; yarasjan, "to clothe."—Sumamaa (§ 104 (xvii)).—Wita-(m.), "face": (I have made clauses of B.'s with-phrases)—Afwandjan, "to turn away."—Bokos (§ 34 (3, i)).—Wesun inna (§ 91 (vi)).—Ana ansam, "on (his) shoulders": the Go. for "back" does not occur.

(iii) Fairweitjan du, "to gaze at."—Uslukun, "to open," infin. after saikuan (§ 109 (iii)).—Pos b. (§ 98 (iii)).—Anakuanan, orig. perhaps = "tacite legere"; "to read aloud" would be sinyuan or usswingan; but the distinction is not clear in Ulf.: both render aniagniuvaseu.—Tagrjan, lit., "to shed tears (tagra)"; reiran (au-verb), "to tremble."—Jupan ni magands, "no longer being able"; pahan=tacere, "keep silence."—Gaunond, &c., lit., "lamenting he-cried-out with a loud voice."—Hva tanjan? (§ 108 (x)).

(iv) Pannh pan is, "and thereupon he"; swa (sik) hubands, "being in this state"=ovros ëxwir: the Go. haban (like ëxwir) with an adv., and sometimes with the reflexive pron. also, denotes "to be in such or such a condition"; as in ubilaba haban, "to be ill"; ajlatekis sik haban, "to be otherwise"; &c.—Galeip (or yange) du g. s., and in gerd seinana, regular phrases for "he goes home."—Swa l. huw. swe (§ 84 (9)).—Gahaban sik = Lat. se continué; used of self-restraint from uncleanness; but the essential meaning is more general.—Ang., D. by gaum. (§ 91 (xiii)); for the mood, § 108 (xxxx).—Opp. sw., "but still," or "nevertheless."—Lang mel, advbl. accus., "(for) a long time": langa—always refers to time.—Aglon-, f., "trouble"; (bi-)aunknan (§ 43 (2, iv)).—At andja: this phrase does not occur; but andja- (m.) is often used of time in the similar set phrase undi andi, "to the end," "to the last," or "continually."—Mitioni, f., "a thought"; gakunnjan, "to make known, declare."—Rodjan, like quijan, may or may not take du after it.

(v) Liudo, wk. (§ 95 (vii)).—Brusts, f. pl. (§ 52 (4)), "breasts," E.V. "bowels."—Fr. izwar sa liuba (§ 95 (iv)).—Fralusnan (§ 43 (2, iv)): "am undone" involves the notion of the perfect.—In+ gen. (§ 83 (4)).—Kaurjan or anak., "to press-heavily(-on)," "to burden."—Gatshejan, "to tell, show, declare"; gat. ist mis bi s., "it-has-been declared unto-me of a truth."—Skulda ist + act. infin. t
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(gabrannjan)=pass. infin. (§ 109 (xviii)).—Funnin, dat. (= instr.) of fon (§ 51 (3)).—Usagjandein, ptcp. f., “terrifying” (a simple adj. = “fearful, terrible,” is not preserved; but an act. ptcp. is sometimes used by Ulf. to render a simple Grk. adj.).—Usvalteini- (f.), “an overthrowing” ; vb. usualtjan, “to overturn” (cf. § 40 (2, xii)).—Weis allaei, “we all,” sums up the composite subject that follows.—Suti- always appears in Ulf. with an abstract force,—”Armaba constructed upon the adj. arma-, “pitiable, wretched.”—Fraquistnan, “to perish,” lit., “be destroyed,” correl. pass. to fraquistjan, “to destroy.”—Nibai takes indic.; nib. bids., &c., lit., “unless we discover how we are to escape” (umpapl.: subj., § 108 (xii)).

(vi) Ana = “at,” with words denoting fear, amazement, &c.—Uulenman-, “amazed,” always weak.—Abraba, “exceedingly.”—Ganitja-, “kinsman,” occurs in pl. only.—Ni patei . . . ak (§ 108 (xxx)).—Sunneina-, “true”; wesi (§ 108 (xx)).—Datq qupano (§ 98 (vi)).—Ak not akei (§ 111 (xii)).—Usq. was, “he was beside himself,” or “out of his senses.”—At andan., &c. (§ 110 (vi)).—Ei stepa, &c.: lit., “that by sleep he would become sound-minded again.”—Sunumundo, “hastily.”—Lag., “they laid him on his bed.”

(vii) Pahruh, “now, and so.”—In mauvin, “on the morrow”; in + A., as in two or three other phrases, where we might expect the D.—Frethun ina, “they asked him” (as Bunyan means).—Hwaiwa, &c.; see the first note in (iv) above.—Andhof qu. (§ 108 (xviii)).—Patei + direct statement (§ 103 (xv)).—Und flu waris, “much worse”; und flu, lit., “up-to a-great-deal”; cf. und flu mais, “a great deal more.”—Aftra, “again.”—Gandaubjan, “to harden, make callous”; used of the heart or mind.—Hardbua taujandans, “behaving harshly”; usdribclina, “they would drive out”; svukein is, “his sickness or infirmity.”—Efpun, “therefore.”—Nu, nu, “now . . . now,” i.e., “at one time, at another time” (but such a series of nu’s does not occur in U.).—Bimampjand, “they deride”; gasakand, “they rebuke, reprove.”—Unkarjan-, “careless, neglectful” (Ni sijais unkarja + G. = “be not neglectful of” = “neglect not”: Tim. I. iv. 14).


(ix) Nauh-paum at imma . . ., “while he was still . . .” (§ 110 (vi)).—Bi biutja is, “according to his custom” (biutja-, n.); or we might say, swe biutjs was, “as he was accustomed”; aq. m. dish., “possessed by great distress”; dishaban, “to seize, take possession of,” is used only of strong feelings.—Ei ganisau, “that I may-be saved”; ganisau is pass. in meaning; the corresponding act. (causative, § 43 (2, i)) is ganasjau, “to save.”

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(xi) Insaihwan, "to look (at or on)."—Pizie n., "whose name (was) Ev."—Huwa = "Why" (§ 104 (iii))—Ujkwapa, lit., "I have got to know," : "I perceive."—Gwavargjan, "to condemn," with A. of person and D. of penalty.—Daprob-pan, "and afterwards."—Staua, f., "judgment"; hence dags stanos = "day of judgment."—(Dauwpan and stauai replace B.'s infinitives; hence his "to do the first," "to do the second," are replaced by clauses.)—Gadaupjan (correl. pass. to gadaupjan, "to kill") = "to die" (§ 79 (4) in fine); another word for "to die" is gaswiltan, used just below.—Wiljan, opt. in form only (§ 80 (2)).—Gasatjan mikt, "place or present myself," : "appear"; faura stauastola, "before the judgment-seat" (as in Rom. xiv. 10).—Ni gadars, "I dare not."

(xii) So nu libains, "the present life" (§ 93 (viii)).—Uhiba- is frequently used as a subst.; m. s. bringip, "brings with it."

(xiii) Og mis, "I fear me" (§ 91 (v)).—Ibai anftho + subj. (§ 108 (xxxiv)).—Sanqujan, "to plunge, sink" (trans.).—In umbaristo airpos, lit., "into the lowest part of the earth" (see Eph. iv. 9).—Driusan, "to fall"; in gaiainaun, "into Gehenna" (= Tophet; always rendered by "hell" in the E.V.).

(xiv) Swa (p.) h.: see (iv) above.—Galeipau (§ 108 (xiii)).

(xv) Maimbranan- (m.) = L. membrano- (f.).—In p., "in or on which."—Gamejyan, "to write."—Pliuh, "flee-thou": fauwa, "from before"; anaawairpa = Lat. futuro-, "to-come" (§ 107 (v)); hatiza-(n.), "wrath." (These words occur in Lk. iii. 7.)

(xvi) Jah jupan . . . , "and he being now not far-from his own house"; fairra, prop. an adv., also has a prepositional force governing a dative (here garda).—Woppan, "to call, cry"; bidjandona, ptp., "beseeching him": possibly woppan might govern an ei-clause without this insertion; but no instance occurs in U.—Gawandjen sik, "to return."—Unsweibands, "without ceasing" (§ 110 (xi)).—Libains, not voc.; aiweino (§ 95 (vi)).

THE END.

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