



INTRODUCTION TO BIBLICAL GOTHIC

Roland Schuhmann



LEIDEN SUMMER SCHOOL 2022

Contents

I. INTRODUCTION	5
1. The Goths	5
2. Wulfila and Christianity.....	6
3. The sources of the Gothic language.....	8
4. The Gothic Script.....	14
5. The pronunciation of the Gothic characters	16
5.1. Vowels	16
5.2. Consonants	17
II. TEXTS	19
1. From the Gospels.....	19
1.1. Matthew 6:9–13: The Lord’s Prayer	19
1.2. Matthew 8:1–4: Cleansing of a Leper	21
1.3. Matthew 8:23–27: Calming the Storm	23
1.4. Matthew 8:28–34: Healing of Two Demon-Possessed Gergesenes (Gadarenes).....	24
1.5. Matthew 9:1–8: Healing of a Paralytic.....	26
1.6. Matthew 26:69–75: The Denial of Peter	28
1.7. John 6:1–15: The Feeding of the Five Thousand	30
1.8. John 6:16–21: Jesus walks on Water.....	33
1.9. John 11:1–45: The Raising of Lazarus	33
1.10. John 13:21–30: Jesus, the Favorite Disciple, and the Traitor	39
1.11. John 13:36–38: The announcement of Peter’s denial.....	40
1.12. John 18:1–11: Arrest of Jesus	40
1.13. John 18:25–27: The Denial of Peter	42
1.14. John 18:28–40: Jesus before Pilate.....	42
1.15. John 19:1–5: The mocking and flagellation of Jesus.....	44
1.16. Luke 1:26–38: The Announcement of Jesus’ Birth	45
1.17. Luke 2:1–20: Birth of Jesus.....	47
1.18. Luke 3:21–22: Baptism of Jesus	50
1.19. Luke 5:12–16: Cleansing of a Leper	50
1.20. Luke 5:17–26: Healing of a Paralytic and the Authority to Forgive Sins	51
1.21. Luke 9:1–6: Sending Out the Twelve.....	52
1.22. Luke 9:10–17: The Return of the Twelve and the Feeding of the Five Thousand	53
1.23. Mark 1:1–8: John the Baptist	55
1.24. Mark 1:14–20: The Beginning of Jesus’ Ministry in Galilee. The Calling of the First Disciples ..	56
1.25. Mark 3:13–19: The Calling of the Twelve Apostles	57
1.26. Mark 7:31–37: Healing of a Deaf.....	58
1.27. Mark 8:22–26: Healing of a Blind	59
1.28. Mark 10:1–12: Of Marriage and Divorce.....	59
1.29. Mark 14:53–65: Jesus before the Sanhedrin.....	61
1.30. Mark 15:6–20: Condemnation and Mocking of Jesus	62
1.31. Mark 15:21–41: Crucifixion and Death of Jesus	64
1.32. Mark 15:42–47: Burial of Jesus	66
1.33. Mark 16:1–8: The Message of Jesus’ Resurrection.....	67
1.34. Mark 16:9–20: Apparitions of the Risen Christ and Ascension	68
2. From the Old Testament	69
2.1. Nehemiah 5:14–18: Nehemiah in the Service for his People	69
2.2. Nehemiah 6:15–19: The Wall is Completed	71
3. From the Pauline Epistles	72
3.1. Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.....	72
3.2. The Epistle to Titus	77
4. From the Skeireins	80
4.1. Page 3.....	80
4.2. Page 4.....	82
5. Codex Bononiensis.....	84
5.1. Page 1.....	84
5.2. Page 2.....	87
6. From the Mangup Gothic Inscriptions.....	90
6.1. Fragment 1.1	90

6.2.	Fragment 1.2	90
6.3.	Fragment 1.4	90
7.	Deeds of Sale.....	90
7.1.	Deed of Sale from Naples	90
7.2.	Deed of Sale from Arezzo	91
8.	Translations of the texts not (directly) derived from the Bible.....	92
8.1.	4.1. Skeireins, page 3	92
8.2.	4.2. Skeireins, page 4	92
8.3.	5.1. Codex Bononiensis, page 1	93
8.4.	5.2. Codex Bononiensis, page 2	94
8.5.	6.1. Crimean Biblical Gothic Inscriptions, fragment 1.1	94
8.6.	6.2. Crimean Biblical Gothic Inscriptions, fragment 1.2	94
8.7.	6.3. Crimean Biblical Gothic Inscriptions, fragment 1.4.....	94
8.8.	7.1. Deed of Sale from Naples	95
8.9.	7.2. Deed of Sale from Arezzo	95
III.	PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF GOTHIC	96
1.	Gothic as a member of the Indo-European and Germanic language family	96
2.	Phonology	98
2.1.	The phoneme system of Proto-Indo-European	98
2.2.	From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic.....	101
2.2.1.	Vocalism.....	101
2.2.2.	Consonantism	104
2.2.3.	Accent.....	106
2.3.	From (late) Proto-Germanic to Gothic	107
2.3.1.	Vocalism.....	107
2.3.2.	Consonantism	109
2.3.3.	Accent.....	111
3.	Morphology	111
3.1.	Declination	111
3.1.1.	Declination of the nouns.....	111
3.1.2.	Declension of the pronouns	124
3.1.3.	Declension of the adjectives	132
3.1.4.	Numerals	138
3.2.	Conjugation	143
3.2.1.	The strong verbs	145
3.2.2.	The weak verbs.....	153
3.2.3.	Other verb formations.....	157
3.3.	Uninflected words	160
3.3.1.	Prepositions, prefixes	160
3.3.2.	Conjunctions.....	161
3.3.3.	Interjections.....	162
	List of Words Treated Etymologically in the Texts	163

Literature

The number of introductions, grammars, etc. of Gothic is unmanageably large. This list of references therefore only offers a small selection of the most important literature. Starting from it, a good overview of the relevant literature on the Gothic can be gained.

Bibliographic aids (chronologically)

- Mossé, Fernand 1950. 'Bibliographia Gotica. A bibliography of writings on the gothic language to the end of 1949'. *Mediaeval Studies* 12, 237–324.
- Mossé, Fernand 1953. 'Bibliographia Gotica. First supplement, corrections and additions to the middle of 1953'. *Mediaeval Studies* 15, 169–183.
- Mossé, Fernand †, James Woodrow Marchand, J. W. 1957. 'Bibliographia Gotica. Second supplement, corrections and additions to the middle of 1957'. *Mediaeval Studies* 10, 174–196.
- Ebbinghaus, Ernst Albrecht. 1967. 'Bibliographia Gotica. Third supplement, corrections and additions to the end of 1965'. *Mediaeval Studies* 29, 328–343.
- Ebbinghaus, Ernst Albrecht. 1974. 'Bibliographia Gotica. Fourth supplement, additions to the end of 1972'. *Mediaeval Studies* 36, 199–214.
- Petersen, Christian TobiOS 1997. 'Bibliographia Gotica. Fifth supplement, corrections and additions to the middle of the nineties'. *Mediaeval Studies* 59, 301–356.
- Petersen, Christian TobiOS 2005. *Bibliographia Gotica Amplificata. A Bibliography of Writings on the Gothic Language from their beginnings to the turn of the millennium*. Darmstadt: Syllabus-Verlag. [CD-Rom]

Text editions (alphabetically)

- Bennett, William Holmes. 1960. *The Gothic commentary on the Gospel of John: Skeireins Aiwaggeljons þairh Iohannen. A Decipherment, Edition, and Translation*. New York: Modern Language Association.
- Bischoff, Bernhard. 1984. 'Ein karolingisches Denkmal des Gotischen (zweite Hälfte des neunten Jahrhunderts)'. In: Bernhard Bischoff (Hrsg.). *Anecdota novissima – Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 256–258. Stuttgart.
- Falluomini, Carla. 1999. *Der sogenannte Codex Carolinus von Wolfenbüttel (Codex Guelferbytanus 64 Weissenburgensis). Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der gotisch-lateinischen Blätter (255, 256, 277, 280)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Falluomini, Carla. 2014. 'Zum gotischen Fragment aus Bologna'. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 143, 281–305.
- Falluomini, Carla. 2017. 'Zum gotischen Fragment aus Bologna II: Berichtigungen und neue Lesungen'. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 146, 284–294.
- Finazzi, Rosa Bianca, Paola Tornaghi. 2013. 'Gothica Bononiensia: Analisi linguistica e filologica di un nuovo documento'. *Aevum* 87, 113–155.

- Gabelentz, H[ans] C[onon] de, J[ulius] Loebe. 1843. *Ulfilas veteris et novi testamenti versionis Gothicae fragmenta quae supersunt*. Vol. I: *Textum continens*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.
- Glaue, [Karl Leopold] Paul, Karl Helm. 1910. 'Das gotisch-lateinische Bibelfragment der Universitätsbibliothek zu Gießen'. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 11, 1–38
- Korobov, Maksim, Andrey Vinogradov. 2016. 'Gotische Graffito-Inschriften aus der Bergkrim'. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 145, 141–157.
- Nedoma, Robert. 2010. 'Schrift und Sprache in den ostgermanischen Runeninschriften'. *North-Western European Language Evolution* 58/59, 1–70.
- Snædal, Magnús. 2013. *A concordance to Biblical Gothic*. Part I: *Introduction*. Texts. Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press.
- Streitberg, Wilhelm. 2000. *Die gotische Bibel*. Band 1: *Der gotische Text und seine griechische Vorlage. Mit Einleitung, Lesarten und Quellennachweisen sowie den kleineren Denkmälern als Anhang*. Mit einem Nachtrag v. P. Scardigli. 7. Auflage. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Vinogradov, Andrey, Maksim Korobov. 2018. 'Gothic graffiti from the Mangup basilica'. *North-Western European Language Evolution* 71, 223–235.

Introductions, manuals, grammars, language histories (alphabetically)

- Bennett, William Holmes. 1980. *An introduction to the Gothic language*. New York: Modern Language Association.
- Bethge, R[ichard]. 1898–1900. 'Gotisch'. In: Ferdinand Dieter. *Laut- und Formenlehre der altgermanischen Dialekte*. (21–35: 'Vokalismus'; 193–214: 'Konsonantismus'; 391–408: 'Konjugation'; 568–602: 'Deklination'). Leipzig: O. R. Reisland.
- Braune, Wilhelm. 2004. *Gotische Grammatik mit Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnis*. 20. Auflage, neu bearbeitet von Frank Heidermanns. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Gabelentz, H[ans] C[onon] de, J[ulius] Loebe. 1846. *Ulfilas veteris et novi testamenti versionis Gothicae fragmenta quae supersunt*. Vol. II, pars posterior: *Grammaticam linguae Gothicae continens*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.
- van Hamel, A[nton] G[erard]. 1931. *Gotisch handboek*. Tweede druk. Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon.
- Jellinek, Max Hermann. 1926. *Geschichte der gotischen Sprache*. Berlin: Walther de Gruyter & Co.
- Kieckers, Ernst. 1928. *Handbuch der vergleichenden gotischen Grammatik*. München: Hueber.
- Krahe, Hans. 1967. *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre des Gotischen. Zugleich eine Einführung in die germanische Sprachwissenschaft*. 2. Auflage, bearbeitet von Elmar Seebold. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Krause, Wolfgang. 1968. *Handbuch des Gotischen*. 3., neubearbeitete Auflage. München: Beck.
- Miller, D. Gary. 2018. *The Oxford Gothic Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Mossé, Fernand. 1956. *Manuel de la langue gotique. Grammaire, textes, notes, glossaire*. Nouvelle édition. Paris: Aubier.
- Piras, Antonio. 2007. *Manuale di Gotico. Avviamento alla lettura della versione gotica del Nuovo Testamento*. Roma: Herder.
- Rauch, Irmengard. 2011. *The Gothic language. Grammar, genetic provenance and typology, readings*. 2nd edition. New York [u.a.]: Lang.
- Streitberg, Wilhelm. 1920. *Gotisches Elementarbuch*. 5. und 6. neubearbeitete Auflage. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Wright, Joseph. 1997. *Grammar of the Gothic language and the gospel of st. Mark, selections from the other gospels and the second epistle to Timothy with notes and glossary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

(Etymological) dictionaries, concordances (alphabetically)

- Devlamminck, Bernard, Guy Jucquois. 1977. *Complément aux dictionnaires étymologiques du gotique*. Tome 1 (A-F). Louvain: Peeters.
- Feist, Siegmund. 1939. *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache. Mit Einschluss des Krimgotischen und sonstiger zerstreuter Überreste des Gotischen*. Dritte neubearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Gabelentz, H[ans] C[onon] de, J[ulius] Loebe. 1843. *Ulfilas veteris et novi testamenti versionis Gothicae fragmenta quae supersunt*. Vol. II, pars prior: *Glossarium linguae Gothicae continens*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.
- Holthausen, Ferdinand. 1934. *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Mit Einschluß der Eigennamen und der gotischen Lehnwörter im Romanischen*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Lehmann, Winfred P. 1986. *A Gothic etymological dictionary. Based on the 3. ed. of "Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache" by S. Feist*. With bibliography prepared under the direction of Helen-Jo J. Hewitt. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Magnús Snædal. 2013. *A concordance to Biblical Gothic*. Part II: *Concordance*. Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press.
- Streitberg, Wilhelm. 2000. *Gotisch-Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Um zwei neue Wörter ergänzt von P. Scardigli. 6. Auflage. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Tollenaere, Felicien de, Randall L. Jones 1976. *Word-indices and word-lists to the Gothic bible and minor fragments*. Leiden: Brill.

Other important literature (alphabetically)

- Casaretto, Antje. 2004. *Nominale Wortbildung der gotischen Sprache. Die Derivation der Substantive*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- García García, L. 2005. *Germanische Kausativbildung. Die deverbale jan-Verben im Gotischen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Griepentrog, Wolfgang. 1988. *Synopse der gotischen Evangelientexte*. München: Kitzinger.
- Lühr, Rosemarie. 1985. 'Die Deklination griechischer und lateinischer Wörter in Wulfilas gotischer Bibelübersetzung'. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 46, 139–155.

- Marchand, James W[oodrow]. 1973. *The sounds and phonemes of Wulfila's Gothic*. The Hague [u.a.]: Mouton.
- Neri, Sergio. 2003. *I sostantivi in -u del gotico. Morfologia e preistoria*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.
- Schubert, Hans-Jürgen. 1968. *Die Erweiterung des bibelgotischen Wortschatzes mit Hilfe der Methoden der Wortbildungslehre*. München: Hueber.
- Stutz, Elfriede. 1966. *Gotische Literaturdenkmäler*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Wagner, Norbert. 1994. 'Zu den Gotica der Salzburg-Wiener Alcuin-Handschrift'. *Historische Sprachforschung* 107, 263–283.
- Wrede, Ferdinand. 1891. *Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien*. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.

Important sites

- <http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0001&pid=alvin-record%3A60279&dswid=-3888> – Manuscript of the Codex Argenteus online.
- <http://www.wulfila.be/gothic/> – Digitized edition of the biblical Gothic texts (and the Skeireins, the calendar and the signatures of the sales deeds) with word definitions (with further links).
- [<http://www.cs.tut.fi/~dla/gothic.html>] – Among other things line-by-line transcription of the Codex Argenteus for download (also further links) (offline)].
- <http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record%3A173610&dswid=1385> – A digitized version of the 1927 facsimile edition of the Codex Argenteus (black and white).
- <http://www.gotica.de/> – Collection and edition of the Gothic texts outside the Codex Argenteus.
- <https://lrc.la.utexOSedu/eieol/gotol> – Solid introduction to Gothic for self-study by Todd B. Krause and Jonathan Slocum.
- <http://www.koeblergerhard.de/gotwbhin.html> – Practical dictionary with complete references.
- <https://spw.uni-goettingen.de/projects/aig/lng-Goth.html> – Good (bit short) introduction in videos to Gothic by Ryan Sandell and Nelson Goering.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Goths

The subject of this book is the language of the Germanic people of the Goths. Its oldest verifiable name form is Gr. *Goútōnes*, Lat. *Gutones* (later *Gotones*), based on a Germ.-Goth. **Gutans* *n*-st. ‘the Goths’; cf. also Goth. dat. *ana gut-þiudai* ‘*en gothía*, in the Gothic people’ (twice in the Gothic calendar [Kal 1:1.7]; cf. OIcl. [uncertainly transmitted] *Gotþjóð* next to assimilated *Goðþjóð*), OE *Gotan* (nom.sg. *Gota*, dat.sg. *Gotan*, nom.pl. *Gotan*, gen.pl. *Gotena*), OGut. *Gutnalþing* (= *Gutna alþing* ‘the all-thing of the Goths’), OIcl. (gen.pl.) *Gotna*, OSwed. (sg.) *guti*, (pl.) *gutar*; the demonym is probably also existent in Run. **gutani** (gold ring from Pietroasele, 1st half of the 5th century); the form is mostly interpreted as a genitive plural, i.e. as ‘of the Goths’. Younger (from the 3rd century) is the declension as *o*-stem in Latin and in Greek: Lat. *Got(h)i*, Gr. *Gó(t)thoi*.

The name of the Goths, PGmc. **gut-an-iz*, is a derivation from the root PGmc. **geute/a-* ‘to pour’ (> Goth. *giutan**, OHG *giozan*, OS *giotan*, ODu. *gietan*, OE *gēotan*, OFris. *giata*, *jāta*, OIcl. *gjóta*); but the exact naming motive (‘they, who pour out’, ‘semen pourers’, ‘masculine beings’, ‘stallions’, ‘young people’?) remains unclear in detail.

According to the statement in the *Getica* (published around 551) by the Latin writing Roman-Gothic author Iordanes, the Goths once emigrated from Scandinavia (c. 4: ‘It is reported that the Goths once left this island Scandza under their king named Berig’). Although the origin from Scandinavia is generally viewed critically in research, it is nevertheless probable – if only because of the name of the island of *Gotland* and the region of *Götaland* in Sweden. However, the message from Iordanes is certainly not to be understood as meaning that an entire Germanic tribe left Scandinavia; rather, it was a smaller group, a so-called tradition core group. In the ancient authors Pliny, Tacitus and Ptolemy, the Goths are attested as residents of the Baltic Sea coast, an area that Iordanes calls *Gothiscandza*. Probably after the middle of the 2nd century the Goths set out on a journey south. Only from the first half of the 3rd century do they appear again, when they arrived in their new homes in the south-east (in present-day Romania, Moldova and Ukraine). Their journey took them past an area with the name *Oium* (Iordanes, *Getica* c. 4), probably corresponding to Goth. dat.pl. f. **aujom* ‘land, meadow, floodplain by the water’. As neighbors of the Roman Empire, they plundered Moesia, Thrace, and Asia Minor. Finally, individual parts of the Goths established themselves within the Roman Empire, namely in Asia

Minor (here called *Gotthograĩkoi*), north of the Danube and in Dacia. Goths also entered Roman service as mercenaries, fought the Persians, among other things, and ended up in garrisons in Egypt. Under Constantine the Great, large groups of Goths attained the status of *foederates*. In the 3rd century the Goths split into two groups, which have been handed down in two different nomenclatures. On the one hand, the ancient sources speak of *Austro-/Ostrogot(h)ae* and *Visigot(h)ae*, that are now referred to as Ostrogoths and Visigoths, and on the other hand of *Greotungi/Greotingi* and *Tervingi*.

The element *Austro-/Ostro-* leads back to PGmc. **austra-* ‘east’, while the element *Visi-* has nothing to do with ‘west’ but probably continues PGmc. **uesu-* ‘good’. The demonym *Greotungi/Greotingi* is a derivation with the suffix PGmc. **-u/inga-* from PGmc. **greuȝta-* ‘grit, sand’ (> OHG *grioz*, OS *griot*, Odu. *griet*, OE *grēot*, OFris. *grēt*, OIcl. *grjót*), *Tervingi* a derivation with the same suffix from PGmc. **teru(i)a(n)/ōn-* ‘belonging to the wood, tar’ (> MDu. *ter[re]*, E *teru*, OIcl. *tjara*).

Since the invasion of the Huns in 375, the Goths have been wandering again. Under Alaric, the Visigoths conquered Rome in 410, shortly afterwards the Visigothic kingdom of Tolosa was founded in southern France. In the second half of the 5th century, the Visigoths occupied a large part of Spain, but lost the southern French part to the Merovingians during the beginning of the 6th century. The Spanish Visigoth Empire ended abruptly in 711 with the Arab conquest of Spain. The Ostrogothic kingdom of Ermanaric is conquered by the Huns, with the Ostrogoths becoming Hun vassals. After the death of Attila in 453, the Ostrogoths reappear as Roman *foederates*. Under Theodoric the Great they move to Italy; in 493 he founded the Ostrogothic kingdom with Ravenna as its capital. The Eastern Roman Empire finally conquered it in 553 (death of the last Ostrogoth king Teja in 552).

A small portion of the Goths remained north of the Black Sea along with allied Germanic tribes. They are divided into Crimean Goths (on the Crimea Peninsula) and Tetraxitic Goths (on the Taman Peninsula). The name of the Goths lives on in the Crimea in the church eparchy of *Gothia*.

2. Wulfila and Christianity

The beginnings of Christianity among the Goths probably go back to a campaign to Cappadocia in 264, from which they brought back prisoners of war who adhered to Christianity; among them are the maternal grandparents of the later bishop Wulfila. According to Basil of Caesarea, a certain Eutyches preached to the Goths before the middle of the 4th century. On the

other hand, it remains uncertain whether a Theophilus mentioned in the files of the Council of Nicaea in 325 actually worked as a bishop among the Crimean Goths.

The Christianization of the Goths living near the Roman Empire progressed under the leadership of Wulfila. The life and activities of the Visigoth bishop Wulfila, the (co-)author of most of the Gothic texts, have been handed down by various Greek and Latin writers, and in detail by Auxentius (an Arian bishop of Durostorum in Lower Moesia), who wrote in a book about the turn of 382 to 383 reports on the life, faith and death of his teacher Wulfila, in Philostorgios (died shortly after 425), who reports on the origin and translation work of Wulfila, and in Socrates, Sozomenos and Theoderet (each around the middle of the 5th century), who report some information about Wulfila; since they are orthodox authors, their statements are sometimes biased. Shorter information can also be found in Iordanes, *Getica* c. 51 (excerpt of the *Gothi minores* [see below] under the leadership of Wulfila), Isidore of Seville, *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum* c. 8 (Bible translation Wulfilas), Walafrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum* c. 7 (Bible translation, but without mentioning Wulfilas).

From these sources it can be deduced that Wulfila was born in 307 or 311 and initially held the office of a church lector before being ordained a bishop at the age of thirty (337?, 341?). Around 348 Wulfila is expelled with a group of Christians whom he presided over, when Athanaricus is persecuting Christians among the Goths. They flee across the Danube and are given new residences in Moesia inferior by Emperor Constantine. They were referred to there as *Gothi minores* 'little Goths'. He takes part in the Arian Council of Constantinople in 360, as well as in the Council of Constantinople in 381. In the year 383 (in older literature the dates 381 and 382 are also found) he is present during a council of bishops of different faiths, which was led by Emperor Theodosius to the settlement of sectarian disputes in Constantinople and died there.

Wulfila is a follower of the Arian doctrine, in a moderate form of it. While Arianism assumes that the Father is God (thus in contrast to the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, which assumes that God Father, Son [Jesus Christ] and Holy Spirit are one), Wulfila denies the oneness of God Father and Son, but professes the resemblance between the two.

The name Wulfila has been handed down in different spellings: Auxentius consistently offers *ulfila*, which is regarded as a transcription of the Greek spelling, since the Greek sources usually hand down the spelling *Oulphilas*; deviating from this e.g. Philostorgios gives *Ourphilas* as the name. The later Latin sources begin the name with *v* (or Romance *g*): *Vulfila*, *Vulphilas*, *Gulfila* (*Gylfila*). The Syriac variant *urufil* is also known, which is a transcription of the Greek name form with *r*. From this, the name can certainly be deduced as Wulfila; this is a derivation with the affiliation or diminutive

formation with the suffix PGmc. **-ila-* to PGmc. **uulfa-* ‘wolf’ (> Goth. *wulfs*, OHG *wolf*, OS, ODu., OE *wulf*, OFris. *wolf*, OIcl. *ulfr*).

3. The sources of the Gothic language

The transmission base of the Gothic language is narrow in comparison with that of the Germanic corpus languages that have come down to us later. The main source of the Gothic language is the translation of the Bible made by Wulfila, according to the church historians Philostorgios, Socrates and Sozomenos, which he probably tackled around 369 with the help of a collective of authors. According to Philostorgios, Wulfila left out the books of the kings from the Old Testament because he feared that this would rekindle the warlike spirit of the Goths. The Bible translation is therefore a testimony of the Visigothic (better: the language of the *Gothi minores*). The manuscripts, on the other hand, come almost exclusively from the Ostrogothic language area. Whether and to what extent the Ostrogothic language has had an impact on the originally Visigothic language, remains open.

Only a small part of the entire translation of the Bible has survived. These fragments have come down to us in manuscripts with overlapping content, all which date from the first half of the 6th century.

The most important manuscript is the *Codex argenteus* (CA), so named after the text written in silver ink (not after its silver binding made in the 17th century because the word *argenteus* is already used in 1597 by Bonaventura Vulcanius). The Codex is now in the University Library in Uppsala (Sign. D G 1). The manuscript, which originally came from Italy, was in the Werden monastery (Germany) on the banks of the river Ruhr in the 16th century (it has been visited and used there several times by scholars) and arrived in the 17th century finally to Sweden. The manuscript originally contained the four gospels in the order Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark (order of the ‘Western’ Bible tradition) on 336 leaves. Of these, 187 pages have survived (but see below). The Bible text is divided into sections (according to Eusebius of Caesarea), which are provided with Gothic numerals in the margins. Parallel passages are noted at the bottom of each page, framed by Romanesque-style arches. The parchment of the manuscript is dyed purple, the inscription was made with silver and gold ink (gold ink only for the first letters of the sections). Two writer hands can be distinguished: Hand I wrote Matthew and John, Hand II Luke and Mark (<http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0001&pid=alvin-record%3A60279&dswid=-3888>).

The Gospel of Luke shows – especially in chapters 1–10 – a lot of forms that deviate from the language of the remaining texts. In the past, these linguistic peculiarities were attributed to Ostrogothic scribes; today, on the other hand, a mixture of dialects is assumed to be the cause of this because of inconsistent transmission of the Gospels.

In 1970, a sheet of parchment was discovered in the Speyer Cathedral that once belonged to the *Codex argenteus* and is called *Fragmentum Spirense* or *Folium Spirense* (without signature) after where it was found. It is (as is proved not only by the text following fol. 335 [187^v] but also by the matching wormholes) the folio 336 of the CA (<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/idg/germ/speyer1z.jpg>; <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/idg/germ/speyer2z.jpg>).

The *Codex Carolinus*, also originally from Italy, is a *codex rescriptus* from the (ducal) library in Wolfenbüttel (HAB, Cod. 64 Weißenburg, p. 255f., 277, 280), which comprises four leaves (first edition by the discoverer, Abbot Franz Anton Knittel, in 1762). The lower Gothic text contains pieces from the chapters 11 to 15 of the Romans. The Gothic text is accompanied by the Latin text (therefore bilingual). Both texts are written according to sections and lines of meaning (<http://diglib.hab.de/edoc/ed000006/index.php?facsimile=VD>).

The *Codex Gissensis*, a sheet of parchment found before 1907 near ancient Antinoopolis in Upper Egypt, is the sparse remains of a Gothic-Latin bilingual (first published by Glaue and Helm in 1910). The manuscript was formerly kept in the Gießen University Library (Gießen, Universitätsbibl., Hs. 651/20), but has been considered destroyed or lost since 1945, either through flooding or robbery. The fragment consisted of a double leaf (pages 1–2 and 15–16 of a quaternio); the Gothic text included (incomplete) Luke 23:11–14 and 24:13–17, the Latin text Luke 23:2–6 and 24:5–9. The negatives of the manuscript have been preserved (<http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/pbug-inv018-1.jpg>; <http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/pbug-inv018-2.jpg>).

The *Codices Ambrosiani* comprise two larger manuscript parts and two manuscript fragments, all *codices rescripti*, from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, discovered by Cardinal Angelo Mai in May 1817 (first edition by Carlo Ottavio Castiglione between 1819 and 1839):

Codex Ambrosianus A (Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, S 36 sup.) consists of 102 leaves, twelve pages of which are blank and two other pages are either also blank or illegible. The

Codex contains fragments of the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and Philemon.

Codex Ambrosianus B (Milano, Biblia Ambrosiana, S 45 sup.) consists of 78 leaves, one side of which is empty. The codex contains fragments of the letters to the Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, and Titus. 2 Corinthians is complete.

Codex Ambrosianus C (Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, I 61 sup., p. 90f.) contains two leaves with fragments of chapters 25 and 27 from the Gospel of Matthew.

Codex Ambrosianus D (Milano, Biblia Ambrosiana, G 82 sup., p. 209f., 451f., 461f.) comprises three leaves with chapters 5 and 7 from Nehemiah.

The *Codex Taurinensis* consists of four leaves from the University Library of Turin (Torino, Bibl. Universitaria Nazionale, F. IV. 1 Fasc. 10) that were severely damaged (due to a fire in the library in 1904). It is a *codex rescriptus* originally belonging to the Codex Ambrosianus A, containing fragments of the letters to the Galatians and Colossians (first edition by Hans Ferdinand Maßmann in 1868).

A unique item, as it is no manuscript, is the small lead tablet from *Hács Béndekpuszta*, dated to the last third of the 5th century that was still folded when it was found in a grave. When trying to open it, the object, originally approx. 5.5 x 5.5 cm in size, shattered into countless small pieces. Some of them could be saved and were stored in the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. These few fragments have been lost since around 1992. Only photos (unfortunately only from one side) are available. The fragment includes John 17:11. It is the oldest text in Gothic script, in both script types (see below under 4).

There are also testimonies that are of religious nature and partly refer to Wulfila's translation of the Bible, but represent an independent group:

The *Skeireins* are fragments of an explanation of the Gospel of John, which was titled *Skeireins aiwaggeljons þairh Iohannen* ("Explanation of the Gospel according to John") by its first editor Hans Ferdinand Maßmann. Eight leaves from what was originally a manuscript have been preserved, of which the leaves 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7 are now the Codex Ambrosianus E from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, E 147 sup., p. 77, 80, 111, 114, 309f.), and the leaves 3, 4 and 8 are now the Codex Vaticanus Latinus 5750 from the Biblioteca

Vaticana zu Rom (Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 5750, p. 57–62; https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.5750). These are *codices rescripti*, except sheet 6^v. Whether the Skeireins is an original or a translation (perhaps of a work by Theodorus of Heraclea; cf. Schäferdiek, Knut, 1981. „Die Fragmente der ‘Skeireins’ und der Johanneskommentar des Theodor von Herakleia“. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 110, 175–193) is unclear, as is the original scope of the work. Depending on the situation, the quotes from Matthew, John and the letter to the Romans contained therein can come directly from Wulfila's translation of the Bible or be independent transmissions.

The Gothic text of the *Codex Bononiensis* was recognized by Maddalena Modesti and Annafelicia Zuffrano in 2010; the first editors (Finazzi & Tornaghi [see bibliography]) called the fragment *Gothica Bononiensia*. It is a fragment of a double leaf found in Bologna (signature Cart. 716/1, n°1 [olim Cart. 353, cam. n°3]; <http://www.gotica.de/bononiensia.html>), which probably dates from the first half of the 6th century and perhaps originated in Verona. It includes some parts of an anonymous text (perhaps a homily, a sermon, or a liturgical prayer). The value of the fragment is that in addition to some quotations from Matthew and Luke, Epistle to the Romans, 1st and 2nd Epistle to Timothy, the text also contains some quotations from the Old Testament (Genesis, Psalms, Daniel) and from the Acts of the Apostles are, i.e., from texts that have not otherwise been handed down.

The *graffiti from Mangup* in the Crimea, discovered in 1938 but only recognized as Gothic in 2016 (cf. Korobov & Vinogradov [see bibliography]), date from the period between the middle of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century. Among them is a fragment from the Psalms alongside other graffiti with religious content.

A *Gothic calendar* running from October 23rd to November 30th is preserved on page 196 of Codex Ambrosianus A.

The *Gotica Veronensia* are in a parchment manuscript (Verona, Bibli. Capitolare, LI [49] + Venezia, Biblio Giustiniani Recanati, without signature) from the 5th/6th century, written in Verona, which contains a Latin collection of homilies by the Arian bishop Maximinus. At the beginning of almost every homily there are short notes on the subject in Gothic language and script as marginalia. These are mostly Bible quotations. The manuscript is in poor condition and the Gothic sentences are mostly badly rubbed and nearly illegible.

Finally, there is a group of different content and from entirely different times:

The *Codex Vindobonensis* is a manuscript from Salzburg from the end of the 8th century, which is now in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Vienna, Austrian National Library Cod. 795; formerly: Salzburg Wiener Alcuin Manuscript). It contains several Gothic alphabets and the Gothic names of the letters, as well as some Gothic word groups from the Gospel of Luke including phonetic comments (http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_3112149&order=1&view=SINGLE).

In the *Gotica Parisina* (also called *Codex Segonensis*; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 528, fol. 71v) from the beginning of the 9th century there are seven biblical personal names to Luke 3:24–29 in Latin script with the overwritten Gothic pronunciation. There are also nine letters in Gothic script with the Latin equivalents (first edition by Bischoff [see bibliography]) (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078378q/f78.item>).

Two *Deeds of Sale* written on papyrus. The first, drawn up around 551, is in the library in Naples (without signature) and was formerly in Ravenna in the archive of the Gothic church of St. Anastasia; it says that the whole clergy of this church gave to a certain Petrus Defensor eight ounces of marshland worth 180 shillings and received the transfer of 60 shillings in cash to pay off a debt of 120 shillings. The second, formerly in the Arezzo Cathedral Archives (without signature), is lost and only known from a facsimile and partial print in Doni, Giovanni Battista. 1731. *Inscriptiones Antiquae*. Florence (pp. 496–498) (https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/fs1/object/display/bsb10864014_00634.html). It states that the deacon Gudilaib sold four uncien of the estate of Kaballaria to the deacon Alamod for 133 gold shillings.

Isolated Gothic words can be found in some Latin writing authors, such as Iordanes. Possibly Gothic, perhaps also Vandalic, at least East Germanic are some words in the first verse of the Latin poem entitled *de convivi(i)s barbaris* (transmitted in the Codex Salmasianus [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Codex Parisinus Latinus 10318]; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8479004f/fl51.image>); the first two verses are:

Inter eils Goticum scapiamatziaiadrincan
non audet quisquam dignos educere versus
 In between the Gothic “*eils scapiamatziaiadrincan*”
 no one dares to produce worthy verses.

The exact interpretation of the Gothic words is uncertain, although the meaning is clear. *eils* is unanimously accepted as the Biblical Gothic word *hails* ‘healthy, whole; be greeted’, the complex *scapiamatziaiadrincan* is resolved differently. Of the many interpretations that have been suggested, only two come into question: either as *skapjam matjan jah drigkan* ‘let us get to eat and drink (here)’ or as *skapja, matja jah drigkan* ‘waiter, food and drink’. Both verses can thus probably be rendered as “Under the Gothic ‘Be greeted! Let’s get something to eat and drink!’ / no one dares to produce worthy verses” or with “Under the Gothic ‘Be greeted! Waiter! Food and drink!’ / no one dares to produce worthy verses”.

In the font of the Older Futhark some Gothic or East Germanic inscriptions are transmitted, but their interpretation is usually difficult. These include:

1. Spearhead from Dahmsdorf (ca. 250–320): **ranja**, either ‘making flee’ or ‘runner’.
2. Golden ring from Pietroasele (1st half of the 5th century): **gutani o wi(h) hailag**, perhaps ‘of the Goths (heritage) property, consecrated (and) sanctified’.

An important source for Gothic (both for Ostro- and Visigothic) are the numerous personal names that are handed down in Greek and Latin sources (in the works of literary authors and in documents); bearers of these Gothic names are not only Goths themselves, but also e.g., Huns.

Other sources for Gothic are on the one hand place names of Gothic origin in France, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula as well as loanwords from Gothic in the Romance languages. A difficulty here is that there were also other Germanic tribes in these areas and their language can also be the source. The exact attribution to Gothic is therefore difficult or controversial or uncertain in individual cases.

Finally, the testimonies of the so-called Crimean Gothic come from a much later period. These are recorded between 1560 and 1562 by the Flemish ambassador Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522–1592) and handed down in his fourth letter from Turkey (<https://books.google.de/books?id=h->

[0RQQ04umEC&printsec=frontcover&hl=de#v=onepage&q&f=false](#) [the relevant section goes from page 132 to page 137]). It consists of 86 words and four short sentences, which he recorded heard from the mouth of a Greek, who spoke Crimean Gothic. Phonetically, the attested forms stand further off from Gothic; because of that Crimean Gothic is also sometimes seen as a West Germanic language or at least (heavily) influenced by a Westgermanic language; this, most likely is incorrect. Crimean Gothic probably died out in the 18th century.

The term Crimean Gothic has become ambiguous through the discovery of the older inscriptions in the Crimea (see above), since these are also classified as Crimean, but they hardly deviate in comparison to Biblical Gothic. A clarification of the term would therefore be desirable (Crimean Gothic vs. Crimean Bible Gothic?).

4. The Gothic Script

According to the unanimous reports of the Greek church historians Philostorgios, Socrates, and Sozomenos, the Gothic bishop Wulfila created a new script to record his translation of the Bible. All Gothic monuments except for the runic inscriptions, the personal/place names in late antique tradition, the words in the Latin poem *de convivi(i)s barbaris*, the loan words from Gothic as well as Crimean Gothic, are written in different variants of an alphabetical script that can be traced back to one basic form. Because of the records, this basic form is attributed to Wulfila; the script is therefore also referred to as Wulfila's script (alphabet). The further developments of Wulfila's writing in the individual manuscripts can be divided into two types based on two criteria. One type uses Gr. nasal shortening only for *n* and has an *s*, the shape of which corresponds to that of the ε -shaped Gr. sigma; therefore, this type is also called Σ type. The other type uses the Latin nasal shortening for both *n* and *m* and has an *s* whose form corresponds to that of the Latin uncial *s*; therefore, this type is also referred to as *S* type. Of these two types, the Σ type is probably closer to the Wulfilan base form, while the *S* type emerged from it by influence by the Latin script (a final paleographic study is still pending). Both types are uncial fonts. The letters therefore have the same shape regardless of their position in the word.

The two font types are not to be confused with the scribe's hands I and II in the *Codex argenteus*.

The distribution of both types in the monuments is as follows:

1. The Σ type is present in: a. The alphabets of the Codices Ambrosiani B, D, the Codex Bononiensis and the Gotica Veronensia; b. The alphabet of the marginalia of Codex

Ambrosianus A as well as in the word *laikt(s)jo* (44x) in the margin of Codex Ambrosianus B; c. The first alphabet on fol. 20^v of the Codex Vindobonensis (so-called Vienna Alphabet); d. The alphabet of the Naples charter (probably also that of the Arezzo charter, which is lost, however); e. The inscriptions of Mangup.

2. The *S* type is present in: Codex Argenteus, Codex Carolinus, Codex Gissensis, Codices Ambrosiani A (and in the originally related Codex Taurinensis), C, E (and in the originally related Vaticanus Latinus 5750).

3. Characteristics of both types of writing can be found on the small lead tablets by Hács Béndekpuszta.

The Gothic script comprises 27 characters, of which 25 characters serve both as a sound and as a number, two only as numbers. It is not a new creation, but is based on existing alphabets, as can be seen from the shape and sequence of the characters and their use as numerals. Because of the latter two usages, it is reasonable to assume that the Greek alphabet was the basis, but that certain gaps were filled with the help of the Latin alphabet. However, the exact contribution made by the individual alphabets is disputed. If the Runic alphabet also contributed is even more discussed.

The table below gives a. The numerical value of the individual letters; b. A standardized alphabet character; c. The transcription in Latin letters (in older works one sometimes finds other transcriptions; the more common ones are *kw* or *kv* for *q*, *th* for *þ*, *v* for *w*, *hw*, *hv* or *w* for *h*); d. the names of the letters handed down in the Codex Vindobonensis:

a.	b.	c.	d.	a.	b.	c.	d.
1	ᚠ	a	<i>aza</i> 'Aesir'	60	Ġ	j	<i>gaar</i> 'year'
2	ᚢ	b	<i>bercna</i> 'birch'	70	ᚱ	u	<i>uraz</i> 'aurochs'
3	ᚦ	g	<i>geuua</i> 'gift'	80	ᚱ	p	<i>pertra</i> '?'
4	ᚩ	d	<i>daaz</i> 'day'	90	ᚹ	—	
5	ᚱ	e	<i>eyz</i> 'horse'	100	ᚰ	r	<i>reda</i> 'wagon'
6	ᚱ	q	<i>quertra</i> 'bait'	200	ᚰ	s	<i>sugil</i> 'sun'
7	ᚰ	z	<i>ezec</i> '(letter) Zeta'	300	ᚰ	t	<i>tyz</i> 'god'
8	ᚱ	h	<i>haal</i> 'hail'	400	ᚹ	w	<i>uuinne</i> 'pasture'
9	ᚰ	þ	<i>thyth</i> 'the good (one)'	500	ᚰ	f	<i>fe</i> 'livestock, property'
10	ᚱ	i	<i>iiz</i> 'ice'	600	ᚰ	x	<i>enguz</i> 'man'
20	ᚰ	k	<i>chozma</i> 'ulcer'	700	ᚰ	h	<i>uuaer</i> 'kettle'
30	ᚰ	l	<i>laaz</i> 'water'	800	ᚰ	o	<i>utal</i> 'inheritance'
40	ᚰ	m	<i>manna</i> 'person'	900	ᚰ	—	

50 **N** n *noicz* ‘need’

In the text editions, the Gothic characters are always rendered by the Latin transcription.

The use of the characters as numerals is expressed in the manuscripts as follows: 1. There is a horizontal line above the letter; 2. Above the letter there is a horizontal line and a dot on the left and right. The characters for 90 (**ƿ**) and 900 (**𐌸**) only appear as numbers.

The 10th letter is represented in two form variants, *ī* (**𐌺**) and *i* (**𐌹**). The *ī* stands: 1. Initially (*īk* ‘I’, *īst* ‘[s]he is’); 2. In the interior of the syllable after a vowel (*sauīl* ‘sun’, *saiīþ* ‘[s]he sows’, *tauī* ‘act’); 3. In the base word of verbal compounds starting with *i* (*usiddja* ‘went out’, *fraiīþ* ‘consumes, devours’); Evidence for a corresponding use in nominal compounds is missing. Otherwise, *i* is written.

5. The pronunciation of the Gothic characters

The following overview reflects the author’s view of the pronunciation of the Gothic characters. In addition, there are also deviating views, which are listed in chapter 2.3.

5.1. Vowels

1. <a> is predominantly short (one mora), occasionally also long (two morae) if it comes from PGmc. **anχ^(w)* > Late PGmc. **aχ^(w)* (as in *fahan* ‘to catch’, *-gahts* ‘gait’) and in foreign words and suffixes.
2. <e> and <o> are always long.
3. <i> is always short *i*; *ī* is rendered by the digraph <ei>, based on the Greek model.
4. <u> is usually short, but not infrequently long, either from PGmc. **ū* or from PGmc. **unχ^(w)* > Late PGmc. **uχ^(w)* (as in *puhta* ‘thought’, *juhisa* ‘younger’).

Before *r*, *h* and *h* *i* becomes <ai> and *u* becomes <au> (see below).

5. <ai> has three phonetic values: a. diphthong (as in *ains* ‘one’, *wai* interj. ‘woe!’); b. open *e* (as in NHG *Hecke*) exclusively before *r*, *h* and *h* (as in *wair* ‘man’, *raihts** ‘right, straight, fair’, *saihan* ‘to see’); c. open *ē* (as in NHG *ähnlich*) in hiatus before vowel (as in *saian* ‘to sow’).

<ai> before *r*, *h* and *h* can also be a diphthong (as in *haihs** ‘one-eyed’). The phonetic value is determined by comparison with the other Germanic (or Indo-European) languages.

Goth. <ai> also has the phonetic values given under b. and c. when borrowing/transcribing Greek words (b. as in *aikklesjo* ‘congregation, place of worship’ < Gr. *ekklēsia*, c. as in place name *Idumaia** < Gr. *Idoumaia*).

<au> also has three phonetic values: a. diphthong (as in *aukan** ‘to increase’); b. *o* (as in NHG *offen* ‘open’) exclusively before *r* and *h* (as in *haurn** ‘horn’, *sauhts** ‘disease’); c. open *ō* (as in E *draw*) before a vowel (as in *sauil* ‘sun’).

<au> can also be a diphthong before *r* and *h* (as in *hauhs** ‘high’). The phonetic value is determined by comparison with the other Germanic (or Indo-European) languages.

Goth. <au> also has the phonetic values given under b. and c when borrowing/transcribing Greek words (b. as in *apaustaulus* ‘apostle’ < Gr. *apóstolos*, c. as in personal name *Nauei* [transformed] < Gr. *Nōē*).

In the older literature, the following habit can sometimes be found for distinguishing the monophthong from the diphthong: the monophthong is denoted by *ai* and *au*, while the diphthong is denoted by *ái* and *áu*.

6. <iu> is usually also a diphthong, in which *i* is a vowel and *u* a semi-vowel (like *ew* in Northern E dial. *new*), that continues PGmc. **eu* (as in *þiuda* ‘people’); very rarely both elements are vowels and then split into two syllables (as in *niun* ‘nine’).

7. For <w> in vocalic function cf. 5.2.1.

5.2. Consonants

1. <w> denotes a bilabial voiced sound (like in E *wind*), on the other hand in loanwords between consonants a *ü* (like in NHG *Nüsse* ‘nuts’) (like in Gothic personal name *Swmaion* < Gr. *Symeún*). Final *w* becomes *u* after a short vowel (as in nom.sg. *kniu** ‘knee’ : gen.sg. *kniw-is*).

2. <j> denotes a consonantal *j* (as in NHG *jäh* ‘quick’). In final position it becomes *i* (as in acc.sg. *hari* : nom.sg. *harjis* ‘army’).

3. <r>, <l>, <m>, <n> are like in German. Following the Greek example, *n* becomes velar *n* [ŋ] before *g* and *k* and is written as <g> (as in *tuggo* ‘tongue’, *þugkjan** ‘to believe, to mean, to apply’).

4. and <d> are either voiced fricatives (in medial position after vowels/diphthongs) or voiced plosives (initial and in medial position after consonants [perhaps except after resonants]).

When the voiced spirants *b*, *d* become to stand in either final position or before a final *s*, they become the corresponding voiceless spirants <f>, <þ> (like E *theft*) (as in *giban* ‘to give’ : 2ndsg.pres.imp. *gif*, nom.sg. *gōþs* ‘good’ : gen.sg. *godis*).

5. <g> is generally a voiced plosive; it remains uncertain whether it is a voiced (or even voiceless) fricative in the final position or before *s* and *t*. The combination <ggw> is to be read

either as *ŋ-gw* (as in *aggwus* ‘tight’) or as a longer pronounced (double time) *g* with a following *w* (as in *triggws* ‘faithful’). The phonetic value is determined by comparing the form with corresponding forms in other Germanic (or Indo-European) languages.

For <g> as a sign for *n s.* above.

6. <p>, <t>, <k> are like in German.

7. <f> is either bilabial or labiodental (not decidable), <h> is an aspirate in initial position (like in NHG *Halle* ‘hall’), in internal and final position maybe too, but it could in these positions also be a fricative (like in NHG *ach*), <þ> is a voiceless fricative (like E *theft*).

8. <q> and <hv> are more likely biphonematic combinations of *k* respectively *h* and *w* rather than monophonematic (*k^w* or *h^w*).

9. <s> lies between the sounds *ss* like in NHG *Nuss* ‘nut’ and *sch* in NHG *Schaf* ‘sheep’, likewise <z> between *s* in NHG *Sahne* ‘cream’ and *j* in NHG *Journal* ‘journal’.

10. <x> appears only in loanwords from Greek and is like *ch* in NHG *Buch* ‘book’.

The word stress of Gothic will be dealt with in 2.2.3. and 2.3.3.

II. TEXTS

1. From the Gospels

1.1. Matthew 6:9–13: The Lord's Prayer

9 *swa nu bidjaip jus: atta unsar þu in himinam, weihnai namo þein. 10 qimai þiudinassus þeins. wairþai wilja þeins, swe in himina jah ana airþai. 11 hlaif unsarana þana sinteinan gif uns himma daga. 12 jah aflet uns þatei skulans sijaima, swaswe jah weis afletam þaim skulam unsaraim. 13 jah ni briggais uns in fraistubnjai, ak lausei uns af þamma ubilin; unte þeina ist þiudangardi jah mahts jah wulpus in aiwins. amen.*

9 *swa*: adv. ‘so’; OHG, OS, ODu. *sō*, OE *swā*, *swæ*, OFris. *sā*, *sō*, OIcl. *so*. — *nu*: 1. adv. ‘well, now’, 2. conj. ‘well, therefore, consequently’; the quantity of *u* is uncertain, since in Germ. both long and short vowel languages are found; OHG *nu*, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *nū*, OIcl. *nú*. — *bidjaip*: 2ndpl.pres. opt. to *bidjan* st. v. 5 ‘to pray, to beg’; the *j* is only found in the present stem (*bidja*, *baþ*, *bedun*, *bidans**), present forms without *j* (*bidan* [1.CorA 7:5] and *usbida* [RomA 9:3]) are analogous after the preterite; OHG *bitten*, OS *biddjan*, ODu. *Bidden*, OE *biddan*, OFris. *bidde*, OIcl. *biðja*; the verb is strong despite the suffix containing *j* (originally *-je/o-* formation). — *jus*: nom. pers.pron. ‘you (pl.)’; (with changes) OHG *ir*, OS *gī*, *ge*, ODu. *gi*, *ir*, OE *ge*, OFris. *jī*, OIcl. *ér*. — *atta*: nom.sg. m. *n*-st. ‘father’; usually the word is also seen in the person *Attila*, which however, can also be of Hunnic origin; OHG *atto* m. (only one instance <ato>), MDu. *ate*, North Fris. *atte*, OIcl. personal name *Atti*; the inherited word for ‘father’ is found in Gothic only once as voc.sg. *fadar* (GalA 4: 6) (see *fadar* *). — *unsar*: nom.sg.m. poss.pron. ‘ours’; OHG *unsar*, *unsēr*, OS *ūsa*, *ūser*, ODu. *unsa*, OE *ūser*, *ūsse*, *ūre*, OFris. *ūse*, *ūser*; derivation from the root in Goth. *us* dat./acc. to *weis* pers.pron. ‘we’; the position of the poss.pron. (as the adj. in general) here after the substantive is inherited, as in PGmc. the position of the adj. was free (it could therefore proceed or follow the substantive; cf. OHG *fateres mīnes* ‘my father’ [Hildebrandslied]). — *þu*: nom. pers.pron. ‘you’; OHG *du*, OS *t(h)u*, ODu. *thu*, OE *þu*, OFris. *thu*, OIcl. *þú*. — *in*: prep. + dat./acc. (for the designation of place / direction) ‘in, on, on, to, while, after to’, + gen. ‘because of, for the sake of, for, through’; Run. *ī*, OHG, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *in*, OIcl. *í*. — *himinam*: dat.pl. to *himins* m. *a*-st. ‘heaven’ (in the plural because the Judeo-Christian notion knows seven heavens); OS *hevan*, MDu. *heven*, OE *heofon*, OIcl. *himinn* next to OHG *himil*, OS *himil*, ODu. *himil*, OFris. *himel*, *himul*, *himil*, *hemel* probably with dissimilation *m - n* > *m - l* (and not change of suffix). — *weihnai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *weihnan** w. v. 4 ‘to become holy’ (this is the only instance of the word); derivation from Goth. *weihs* adj. *a*-st. ‘holy’; with the suffix PGmc. **-na-* inchoative verbs are derived in Goth. and the North Gmc. languages. — *namo*: nom.sg. n. *n*-st. ‘name’; OHG, OS, ODu. *namo*, OE *nama*, *noma*, OFris. *nama*, *noma*, OIcl. *nafn*. — *þein*: nom.sg.n. to *þeins* poss.pron. ‘your’; OHG *dīn*, OS, ODu. *thīn*, OE *þīn*, OFris. *thīn*, OIcl. *þinn*; derivation with the suffix PIE **-no-* of the loc.sg. PrePGm. **teī* ‘with you’ of the 2ndsg. pers.pron. (see *þu*); meaning therefore originally ‘with you’.

10 *qimai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *qiman* st. v. 4 ‘to come’; OHG *queman* next to (zero grade) early OHG *kuman*, *koman*, OS, ODu. *kuman*, OE *cuman*, OFris. *kuma*, *koma*, OIcl. *koma*, *kuma*. — *þiudinassus*: nom.sg. m. *u*-st. ‘government’; (king’s) empire’; derivation with the suffix Goth. *-assus* (forming abstracts) from Goth. *þiudanon* w. v. 2 ‘to rule’, a denominal verb to Goth. *þiudans* m. *a*-st. ‘king’; from derivations like Goth. *þiudinassus*, which could also be related directly to Goth. *þiuda* f. *ō*-st. ‘people’,

a suffix **-inassu-* was already abstracted in late Proto-Germanic, cf. Goth. *-inassus*, OHG *-nessi*, *-nassi*, *-nissi*, *-nussi*, OS *-nissi*, *-nissea*, *-nessi*, *-nussi*, ODu. *-nussi*, *-nissi*, OE *-nise*, *-niss*, OFris. *-nisse*. — *wairpai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *wairpan* st. v. 3 ‘to become’; OHG *werdan*, OS, ODu. *Werthan*, OE *weorpan*, OFris. *wertha*, OIcl. *verða*. — *wilja*: nom.sg. m. *n-st.* ‘will’; OHG *willo*, OS *willio*, ODu. *willo*, OE, OFris. *willa*, OIcl. *vili*; derivation from the root in Goth. *wiljan* athem. to ‘to want’. — *swe*: adv., conj. ‘how; as, there’; OE *swā*, *swæ*, OFris. *sā*, OIcl. *svá*. — *jah*: copula ‘and’ (the final *-h* can be assimilated to the initial of a following word); a combination of Goth. *ja* ‘yes’ (OHG, OS *ja*, Early MDu. *ja*, OE *iā*, *gēa*, OFris. *je*, *ge*, *gēa*, OIcl. *já*) and Goth. *-(u)h* enclit. part. ‘and’; cf. with reinforcing particle PGmc. **-k^e* OHG. *joh*, OS *jak*. — *ana*: prep. + dat./acc. (to denote place/direction) ‘on, in, over’; Run. **ana** (Möjbro Stone, 160–560/70), OHG, OS, ODu. *ana* (preserving final **-a* in proclitic position) next to Run. **an** (bracteate from Tjurkö 1, 440–560), **a** (bracteate from Trollhättan II, ca. 500), OHG, OS *an*, OE *on*, OFris. *on*, *a(n)*, OIcl. *a*. — *airpai*: dat.sg. to *airpa* f. *ō-st.* ‘earth, land’; OHG *erda*, OS, ODu. *ertha*, OE *eorðe*, OFris. *erthe*, *irthe*, *erde*, OIcl. *jörð*; dental extension to the root in OHG *ero*, (?) ODu. *ere* (in *erende* ‘boundary [of the earth]’), OIcl. *jörfi*.

11 *hlaif*: acc.sg. to *hlaifs* (*-b-*) m. (there are also analogous spellings with *-bs* and *-b* in the nom.sg and acc.sg); Run. **hlaiba** (in dat.sg. **witandahlaiiba** ‘bread keeper’ [stone from Tune, 375/400–520/530]; *n-st.* in the composition; cf. for the meaning E *lord* < OE *hlāford* ‘bread keeper’), OHG *leib*, OE *hlāf*, OFris. *hlēf*, *lēf*, OIcl. *hleifr*; borrowed in OCS *chlěbъ*, Latv. *klāips*. — *pana*: acc.sg.m. to *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, who’; *pan-* is the old acc. form (< PIE **tom*), to which a particle *-a* was attached after the final **m* had changed to **n*; in Goth. the dem.pron. has not yet achieved the function of the article. — *sinteinan*: acc.sg.m. w. to *sinteins** adj. *a-st.* ‘every day’; composition from Goth. *sin-* (cf. OHG *sin-* [e.g. in *sinfluot* ‘deluge’, *singruoni* ‘evergreen’], OS *sin-* [e.g. in *sinnahti* ‘eternal night’], OE *sin-* [e.g. in *singrēne* ‘evergreen’, *sinhere* ‘great army’], OIcl. *sí-* [e.g. in *sígrænn* ‘evergreen’] < PGmc. **sem* ‘one, in one together, uniform, together, with’), and Goth. *-teins* < PGmc. **tīna-* ‘day’ (? OHG *-zin* [in *len(gi)zin* ‘spring’]). — *gif*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *giban* st. v. 5 ‘to give’ (*f* by final devoicing); Run. (1stsg.pres.) **gibu** (bracteate 2 from the area of Køge/Seeland, 440–560), (3rdsg.pres.) **gAf** (stone from Stentofte, 520/30–700), OHG *geban*, OS, ODu. *Gevan*, OE *giefan*, OFris. *jeva*, OIcl. *gefa*. — *us*: dat. to *weis* pers. pron. ‘we’; OHG *uns*, OS *ūs*, Early MDu. *ons*, OE, OFris. *ūs*, OIcl. *oss*. — *himma*: dat.sg.m. to *hi-** pron. ‘this’ (the pronoun is defective and occurs in Goth. only in terms of time in the dat./acc.sg.m./n.: *himma daga* ‘on this day, today’, *and hina dag* ‘until this day’, *fram himma [nu]* ‘from now on’, *and hita* ‘until now’ and in *hidre* adv. ‘here’); PGmc. **xi-* ‘this’ is also preserved in the other Germanic languages, however, only in relicts, cf. OHG *hiuru* ‘this year’, *hiutu* ‘today, now, present’, OS *hiurig* ‘this year’, *hiudu* ‘today’, ODu. *hiudo* ‘today’, OE *hēodæg* ‘today’, OFris. *hiūdega* ‘today’; OHG *hina* ‘away from here’, OS *hina* ‘away’, MDu. *hene* ‘from here, to, from now on’, OE *hin-* (in *hinsīd* ‘departure, death’, *hingang* ‘departure, death’). — *daga*: dat.sg. to *dags* m. *a-st.* ‘day’ (Crimean Goth. *tag*); OHG *tag*, OS, ODu. *Dag*, OE *dæg*, OFris. *dei*, OIcl. *daGr*.

12 *aftet*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *aftetan* st. v. 7 ‘to dismiss, to send away; to forsake, to leave behind’; compound with Goth. *letan** st. v. 7 ‘to let, to permit, to allow, to leave (behind)’. — *patei*: conj./pron. ‘that’ or acc.sg.n. to *saei* rel.pron. ‘which’ (determination is dependent on the classification of the following word *skulans*). — *skulans*: either nom.pl. to *skula* m. *n-st.* ‘debtor, the culprit’ (OHG, OS *skolo*) or nom.pl.m. to *skula** adj. ‘guilty’ (only weak inflection) (OHG *skolo*); in both cases derivations from the root in Goth. *skulan** pret.pres. ‘to be guilty, must’. — *sijaima*: 1stpl.pres.opt. to *wisan* irreg. st. v. ‘to be (there), to exist’; the construction of *aftet uns patei skulans sijaima* is thus either ‘relieve that we are debtors’ or ‘relieve that which we owe’. — *swaswe*: 1. adv. ‘as well as, like’, 2. conj. ‘so that’; combination of Goth. *swa* adv. ‘so’ and Goth. *swe* adv., conj. ‘how; as, there’. — *weis*: nom. pers. pron. ‘we’; OHG *wir*, OS *wī*, *wē*, ODu. *wi*, OE *wē*, OFris. *wī*, OIcl. *vér*. — *paim*: dat.pl.m. to *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, that’. — *skulam*: dat.pl. to *skula* m. *n-st.* ‘debtor, the culprit’.

13 *ni*: neg. ‘not’; OHG *ni*, OS *ni*, *ne*, ODu. *ne*, OE, OFris. *ne*, *ni*, OIcl. (poet.) *ne*, *né*. — *briggais*: 2ndsg.pres.opt. to *briggan* anom. to ‘to bring’; OHG *bringan*, ? OS *bringan*, ODu., OE *bringan*, OFris.

bringa. — *fraistubnjai*: dat.sg. to *fraistubni** f. *jō*-st. ‘temptation’; derivation with the suffix PGmc. *-*uþniō*- to an unattested verb Goth. **fraiston* w. v. 3 ‘to try’ (cf. OIcl. *freista*); cf. Goth. *fraisan** st. v. 7 ‘to try’, which probably continues a compound PGmc. **fr(a)-aise/a-*. — *ak*: conj. ‘but’ (always at the beginning of the [sub-]clause); OHG (with development from **a* to *o* in unstressed position) *oh*, OS *ak*, OE *ac*, *oc* — *lausei*: 2nd.sg.pres.imp. to *lausjan* w. v. 1 ‘to release, to save; to collect money’; OHG *lōsen*, OS *lōsian*, ODu. *lōsen*, OE *lisan*, *lȳsan*, OFris. *lēsa*, OIcl. *leysa*; derivation from the root in Goth. *laus* adj. *a*-st. ‘loose, empty’; OHG, OS, ODu. *lōs*, OE *lēas*, OFris. *lās*, *les*, *lōs*, OIcl. *lauss*, itself a derivation from the root in Goth. *liusan** (in *fraliusan** st. v. 2 ‘to lose’ [see *fralusts*]). — *af*: prep. + dat. ‘from, from – away, from – here’; OHG *ab*, OS *af*, OE *æf*, *af*, *of*, OFris. *of*, OIcl. *af* next to (with preservation of the final vowel in proclitic position) OHG *aba*, ODu. *ava*. — *ubilin*: dat.sg.n. w. to *ubils* adj. *a*-st. ‘evil, bad’; OHG, OS *ubil*, ODu. *uvil*, OE *yfel*, OFris. *evel*; probably as ‘excessive, going beyond the right measure’ to PIE **upo* ‘up’. — *unte*: conj. ‘until, as long as; because’; OE *untō*; formation to the root in Goth. *and* prep. + acc./dat. ‘up to; for, around’. — *ist*: 3rd.sg.pres.ind. to *wisan* irreg. st. v. ‘to be (there), exist’; OHG *ist*, OS, ODu. *ist*, (with loss of *t* after the pattern of the pret.pres. or because of weak stress) *is*, OE, OFris. *is*, OIcl. (with the same loss of *t* and *e* after the 1st.sg. *em*) *es*. — *þiudangardi*: nom.sg. f. *jō*-st. ‘royal castle, kingdom’; compound with Goth. *þiudana*- ‘king’ (see *þiudinassus*) and Goth. *-gardi*, derivation from the root in Goth. *gards* m. *i*-st. ‘house, family; court’. — *mahts*: nom.sg. f. *i*-st. ‘power, strength, fortune’; OHG, OS *maht*, Early MDu. *macht*, OE *meaht*, *miht*, OFris. *macht*; derivation from the root in Goth. *magan** pret.pres. ‘can, to be able’. — *wulþus*: nom.sg. m. *u*-st. ‘glory’; Run. *o²wlþu-* (in nom.sg. personal name *o²wlþupewaz* ‘Ullr-/shining servant’ [chape from Thorsberg, 210/220–250/260]), OIcl. name of a god *Ullr* actually ‘the shining one’. — *aiwins*: acc.pl. to *aiws** m. *a/i*-st. ‘time, eternity’ (this is the only instance of the acc. pl.; the word fluctuates between *a*- and *i*-st.: dat.pl. *aiwam* [7x], acc.pl. *aiwins*; in the sg. there is no difference between both stem classes); OS *ēu* ‘law’ next to OHG *ēwa* ‘eternity’, OS *ēwa** ‘eternity’, ODu. *ēwa* ‘eternity’, OFris. *ē*, *ewe* ‘law, practice, legal act (?)’ and OE *ǣ(w)* ‘law, statute, religion, scripture, rite, custom, wife’. — *amen*: ‘Amen’ (loan word from Gr. *amēn*).

1.2. Matthew 8:1–4: Cleansing of a Leper

1 *dalap þan atgaggandin imma affairgunja, laistidedun afar imma iumjons managos. 2 jah sai, manna þrutsfill habands durinnands inwait ina qipands: frauja, jabai wileis, magt mik gahrainjan. 3 jah ufrakjands handu attaitok imma qipands: wiljau, wairþ hrains. jah suns hrain warþ þata þrutsfill is. 4 jah qap imma Iesus: saiþ ei mann ni qipais, ak gagg, þuk silban ataugei gudjin jah atbair giba þoei anabaup Moses du weitwodipai im.*

1 *dalap*: adv. ‘to the valley, down’ (the adverb corresponds to Gr. *kata-* ‘down’ in the verbal compound with the Greek vorlage); derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-ap* (cf. *aljab* ‘elsewhere’) of Goth. *dals** m. / *dal** n. ‘pit, gorge, valley; wine press pit’; OHG *tal*, OS, ODu. *dal*, OE *dæl*, OFris. *del*, OIcl. *dalr*. — *þan*: 1. adv. ‘then, thereupon’, 2. adversative conj. (very often with *-[u]h* [usually rendering Gr. *dé* ‘but, and’]), 3. conj. ‘when, as long as; as’; OHG *dan*, OS, ODu. *than*, OE *þan*, *þon*, OFris. *than*, OIcl. *þá*; originally the acc.sg.n. to the dem.pron. in Goth. *sa* ‘this (one)’. — *atgaggandin*: dat.sg.m. pres.part. to *atgaggan** defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go, to come’ (*atgaggandin imma*: absolute dative construction rendering the Gr. absolute genitive); compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go’. — *imma*: dat.sg.m. to *is* anaphor.pron. ‘he’. — *fairgunja*: dat.sg. to *fairguni* n. *ja*-st. ‘mountain’; OE *fyrgen*, *firgen* next to (feminine) OHG *Fergunna* ‘Ore Mountainins’, OIcl. *ffjorgyn* ‘earth, land’; cf. Lat.-Celt. (or Lat.-Germ. via Celtic?) *Hercynia silva*, a German low mountain range; derivation from

the root in Goth. *fairhus* m. *u*-st. ‘world’. — *laistidedun*: 3.pl.pret.ind. to *laistjan* sw. v. 1 ‘to follow, to strive’; OHG *leisten*, OS *lēstian*, ODu. *lēsten*, OE *lēstan*, OFris. *lāsta*, *lēsta*; derivation from the root in Goth. *laists** m. *i*-st. ‘track’, Spur‘; OHG *leist*, MLG *lēst*, MDu. *leest*, OE *lēst*, *lāst*, OFris. *lāst*, *lēst*, OIcl. *leistr*. — *afar*: prep. + acc./dat. ‘after; behind’; OHG *afar*, OIcl. *afar*-; derivation with the suffix PGmc. *-era- from PGmc. **āba* (see *af*). — *iumjons*: nom.pl. to *iumjo** f. *n*-st. ‘heap’ (this is the only occurrence of the word); without equivalents. — *managos*: nom.pl.f. to *manags** adj. *a*-st. ‘some, many’; OHG, OS, ODu. *manag*, OE *manig*, *monig*, OFris. *monich*, *manich*, OIcl. *manGr*.

2 *sai*: adv. ‘see’; unclear, probably to *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’ and not a shortended form (with *saihv* → *sai*) of the imperative of *saihan* st. v. 5 ‘to see’. — *manna*: nom.sg. m. irreg. cons.st. ‘man’; Lat.-Germ. *Mannus*, Run. **maR** (Stone from Eggja, 575–675/700), OHG, Lgb., ODu. *man*, OS *mann*, OE *mann*, *monn*, OFris. *man*, *mon*, OIcl. *maðr*, *mannr*. — *brutsfill*: acc.sg. to *brutsfill* n. *a*-st. ‘leprosy’; compound with Goth. *bruts*- with unclear meaning (only having a correspondence in OE *brust*-) and Goth. *-fill* ‘skin, fur’ (cf. OHG *fel*, OS *fell*, ODu. *fel*, OE *fell*, OFris. *fel*, OIcl. *fjall*, *fell*). — *habands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *haban* sw. v. 3 ‘to have, to possess; to hold, to mean; to become’; OHG *habēn*, OS *hebbian*, ODu. *hebben*, OE *habban*, OFris. *habba*, *hebba*, *hava*, OIcl. *hafa*. — *durinnands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *durinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run to’; compound with Goth. *rinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run’. — *inwait*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *inweitan** st. v. 1 ‘to show respect, to greet’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *wīzan*, OS, ODu., OE *wītan*, OFris. *wīta*, OSwed. *vīta*. — *ina*: acc.sg.m. to *is* anaphor.pron. ‘he, who’; OS *ina*. — *qībands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *qīpan* st. v. 5 ‘to say; to mean, to designate’; OHG *quedan*, OS, ODu. *quethan*, OE *cweðan*, OFris. *quetha*, *quatha*, *queda*, OIcl. *kveða*. — *frauja*: nom.sg. m. *n*-st. ‘lord, master’; OS *frōio*, OE *frīega* next to OIcl. god’s name *Freyr* and Run. **frawa-** (in nom.sg. personal name **frawaradaz** [stone from Möjbro, 160–560/70]), OHG, OS *frō*, OE *frēa*; derivation from the root in Goth. *fram*: 1. adv. ‘further’, 2. prep. + dat. ‘from; since; for, at; around, about, for’. — *jabai*: conj. ‘if’; (different formation) OS *geffþ*, OE *gif*, *gyf*, OFris. *ief*, *gef*. — *wileis*: 2ndsg.pres. pres. to *wiljan* athem. to ‘to want’; OS *willian*, ODu. *willen*, OE *willan*, OFris. *willa*, OIcl. *vilja*. — *magt*: 2ndsg.pres.ind. to *magan** pret.pres. ‘can, to be able’; OHG *magan*, *mugan*, OS *mugan*, ODu. *mugan*, OE *magan*, OFris. *muga*, *moga*, OIcl. *mega*. — *mik*: acc. to *ik* pers.pron. ‘I’; OHG *mih*, OS *mik*, OE *mic*, OFris., OIcl. *mik*. — *gahrainjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to clean’; compound with Goth. *hrainjan** w. v. 1 ‘to clean’; OHG *reinen*, OS *hrēnian*, Early MDu. *reinen*; derivation from the root in Goth. *hrains* adj. *i/ja*-st. ‘pure’.

3 *ufrakjands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *ufrakjan** w. v. 1 ‘to get up’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG, Early MDu. *recken*, OS *rekkian*, OE *reccan*, OIcl. *rekja*; to the root in Goth. *rikan** st. v. 5 ‘accumulate’. — *handu*: acc.sg. to *handus* f. *u*-st. ‘hand’ (once an acc.sg. *handau* [Mk 7:32] is attested) (Crimean Goth. *handa*); OHG *hant*, Lgb. *ande-*, *andi-*, OS *hand*, ODu. *hant*, OE, OFris. *hand*, *hond*, OIcl. *hond*. — *attaitok*: 3.sg.pret.ind. to *attekan* st. v. 7 ‘to touch’; compound with Goth. *tekan** st. v. 7 ‘to touch’. — *hrains*: nom.sg.m. adj. *i/ja*-st. ‘pure’; (different formation) OHG *reini*, OS *hrēni*, ODu. *rēni*, OFris. *rēne*, *rēn*, OIcl. *hreinn*, actually ‘sifted, separated (from)’. — *suns*: adv. ‘soon, suddenly, at once’; without direct correspondences.

4 *Iesus*: nom. m. personal name ‘Jesus’ (loan word < Gr. *Iēsoûs*). — *saihv*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *saihan* st. v. 5 ‘to see’; OHG, OS *sehan*, ODu. *sian*, OE *sēon*, OFris. *sia(n)*, OIcl. *séa*, *sjá*. — *ei*: conj. ‘so that’; etymologically unclear. — *gagg*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go’; OHG, OS *gangan*, Early MDu. *ganghen*, OE *gangan*, OFris. *gunga*, *gonga*, OIcl. *ganga*. — *puk*: acc.sg. to *pu* pers.pron. ‘you’; (analogically remade) OHG *dih*, OS *thik*, OE *þec*, OIcl. *þik*. — *silban*: acc.sg.m. to *silba* pron. ‘self’; *silba* is only inflected weak; however, strong in OHG *selb*, OS, ODu. *self*, OE *seolf*, OFris. *self*, OIcl. *sjálfr*. — *ataugei*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *ataugjan* w. v. 1 ‘to show someone (dat.) something (acc.)’; compound with Goth. *augjan** w. v. 1 ‘to show’; OHG *ougen*, OS *ōgian*, ODu. *ōgen*, OE *īwan*, OFris. *āwa*, *auwa*; for the formation cf. OHG *zougen*, OS *tōgian*; derivation from the root in Goth. *augo* n. *n*-st. ‘eye’. — *gudjin*: dat.sg. to *gudja* m. *n*-st. ‘priest’; Run. (nom.sg.) **gudija** (stone from Nordhuglo, 375/400–520/30); derivation from the root in Goth. *gup* n. *a*-st. ‘god’. — *atbair*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *atbairan** st. v. 4 ‘to bring (to), to offer’; compound with Goth. *bairan* st. v. 4 ‘to carry, to suffer, to

give birth'; OHG, OS, ODu., OE *beran*, OFris., OIcl. *bera*. — *giba*: acc.sg. to *giba* f. *ō*-st. 'gift, present'; OHG, OS *geba*, ODu. *geva*, OE *giefu*, OFris. *jeve*, *jef*, OIcl. *giōf*; derivation from the root in Goth. *giban* st. v. 5 'to give'. — *þoei*: acc.sg.f. to *saei* rel.pron. 'which'; compound with Goth. *sa* dem.pron. 'this, the' and Goth. *ei* conj. 'so that'. — *anabaub*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *anabiudan** st. v. 2 'to offer, to command' (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *biotan*, OS *biodan*, ODu. *biedan*, OE *bēodan*, OFris. *biada*, OIcl. *bjóða*. — *Moses*: nom.sg. personal name (< Gr. *Mōsēs*) (next to the spelling *Mosez* [2.KorA 3:13; vielleicht auch 2.KorB 3:13] with analogical -z instead of -s). — *du*: prep. + dat./inf. 'to, for, in'; probably (with development in weak stress position) to OHG *zuo*, OS *tō*, Early MDu. *toe*, OE *to*, OFris. *tō*. — *weitwodipai*: dat.sg. to *weitwodiþa* f. *ō*-st. '(giving) testimony'; derivation from Goth. *weitwodjan** w. v. 1 'to testify, to be witness'.

1.3. Matthew 8:23–27: Calming the Storm

23 jah innatgaggandin imma in skip, afariddjedun imma siponjos is. **24** jah sai, wegs mikils warþ in marein, swaswe þata skip gahulþ wairþan fram wegim; iþ is saislep. **25** jah duatgaggandans siponjos is urraisidedun ina qibandans: frauja, nasei unsis, fraqistnam. **26** jah qap du im Iesus: hva faurhteip, leitul galaubjandans? þanuh urreisands gasok windam jah marein, jah warþ wis mikil. **27** iþ þai mans sildaleikidedun qibandans: hileiks ist sa, ei jah windos jah marei ufhausjand imma?

23 *innatgaggandin*: dat.sg.m. pres.part. v. *innatgaggan* defect. st. v. 7 'to come in, to enter'; compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 'to go'. — *skip*: acc.sg. to *skip* n. *a*-st. 'ship'; OHG *skif*, *skef*, OS *skip*, MDu. *scip*, *scep*, OE *scip*, OFris. *skip*, OIcl. *skip*. — *afariddjedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *afargaggan* defect. st. v. 7 'to follow'; compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 'to go'; the forms in the preterite with *iddj*- belong to a suppletive paradigm; OE *ēode*. — *siponjos*: nom.pl. to *siponeis* m. *ja*-st. 'pupil, disciple'; derivation from the root in OHG *seffo* 'follower, servant'.

24 *wegs*: nom.sg. m. *a/i*-st. '(sg.) storm, swell, surf; (pl.) waves' (in the plural the word varies between *a*- and *i*-st.: nom.pl. *wegos* [Mk 4:37], dat.pl. *wegim* [Mt 8:24]); OHG *wāg*, OS *wāg*, *wēg*, OE *wæg*, OFris. *wēg*, OIcl. *vágr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *ⁱwigan* st. v. 5 'to move' (if the conjecture *wigan ina* from transmitted <*wigā*na> [Lk 14:41] is correct); OHG, OS *wegan*, MDu. *wegen*, OE *wegan*, OFris. *wega*, OIcl. *vega*. — *mikils*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. 'big'; OHG *micil*, OS *mikil*, MDu. *mekel*, OE *micel*, *mycel*, OIcl. *mikill*. — *marein*: dat.sg. to *marei* f. *n*-st. 'sea'; OHG *merī*, OS *meri*; formation to Goth. *mari*- (in *marisaiws** m. *i*-st. 'sea'); OHG *mari*, MLG *mēr(e)*, ODu. *meri*, OE *mere*, *mære*, OFris. *mer(e)*, *mar*, *mēr*, OIcl. *marr*. — *gahulþ*: acc.sg.n. pret.part. to *gahuljan** w. v. 1 'to veil'; compound with Goth. *huljan* w. v. 1 'to cover, to veil, to envelop'. — *fram*: 1. adv. 'further', 2. prep. + dat. 'from; since; for, at; around, about, for'; OHG *fram*, OS, OE *fram*, *from*, OIcl. *fram*, *frá*. — *iþ*: conj. 'but'; etymologically related with *id*- in Goth. *idweit** n. *a*-st. 'disgrace, shame'; OHG *it*-, *id*-, *et*-, OS, ODu., OE *ed*-, OFris. *et*-, OIcl. *ið*- 'again, again and again, repeatedly, exceedingly (intensifying)'. — *is*: nom.sg.m. anaphor.pron. 'he'; OHG *ir*, Run.Swed. *īr*, *ēr*, Run.Swed., Run.Dan. *iaR*. — *saislep*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *slepan** st. v. 7 'to sleep' (Crimean Goth. *schlipen*); OHG *slāfan*, OS *slāpan*, MDu. *slāpen*, OE *slēpan*, OFris. *slēpa*.

25 *duatgaggandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *duatgaggan** defect. st. v. 7 'to come to'; compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 'to go'. — *urraisidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *urraisjan* w. v. 1 'to raise up, to erect, to awaken'; causative formation to Goth. *urrisjan* st. v. 1 'to rise, to arise'. — *nasei*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *nasjan* w. v. 1 'to save' (with analogical -s- instead of expected -z- after the derivation base Goth. **nisan* [in *ganisan* st. v. 5 'to recover, to be saved']); OHG *nerien*, *nerren*, OS *nerian*, ODu.

neren, OE *nerian*, OFris. *nera*. — *fraqistnam*: 1stpl.pres.ind. to *fraqistnan* w. v. 4 ‘to perish’; next to Goth. *qistjan* w. v. 1 ‘to perish, to ruin’.

26 *hva*: acc.sg.n. to *has* quest./indef.pron. ‘who?; any’; OSwed. *hvā(r)*. — *faurhteip*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *faurhtjan** w. v. 1 ‘to be afraid’; OHG *for(a)hten*, *fur(a)hten*, OS *forhtian*, ODu. *forhten*, OE *fyrhtan*, *fryhtan*, OFris. *fruchta*, *frochta*; derivation from the root in Goth. *faurhts** adj. *a*-st. ‘timid’; OHG *-forht* (in *gotforht* adj. ‘fearing God’), OS *for(a)ht*, OE *forht*. — *leitil*: acc.sg.n. to *leitils* adj. *a*-st. ‘small, little, few’; MDu. *lītel*, OE *lītel*, OIcl. *litill*. — *galaubjandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. v. *galaubjan* w. v. 1 ‘to believe’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *gilouben*, OS *gilōvian*, ODu. *gilōven*, OE *gelēfan*, *gelīfan*, *gelīefan*, *gelȳfan*; derivation from the root in Goth. *liufs* (-*b*-) adj. *a*-st. ‘dear’. — *panuh*: 1. adv. ‘then, thereupon’, 2. adversative conj., 3. conj. ‘when, as long as; as’ and Goth. *-(u)h* enclit. part. ‘and’. — *urreisands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. v. *urreisan* st. v. 1 ‘to rise, to arise’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG, OS *rīsan*, Early MDu. *rīsen*, OE *rīsan*, OFris. *rīsa*, aisl *rīsa*. — *gasok*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gasakan* st. v. 6 ‘to scold, to shut up, to silence, to convict, to refute’; compound with Goth. *sakan* st. v. 6 ‘to quarrel; to blame, to scold’; Run.-preOHG (3.pl.pret.ind.) **gasokun** (Gürtelschnalle von Pforzen, 567–600), OHG *sachan*, OS *sakan*, ODu. *-sakan* (in *farsakan* ‘verleugnen, entsagen’), OE *sacan*, OFris. *seka*; to the same root also belongs the group of Goth. *sokjan* w. v. 1 ‘to search, to dispute’. — *windam*: dat.pl. to *winds* m. *a*-st. ‘wind’; OHG *wint*, OS *wind*, ODu. *wint*, OE, OFris. *wind*, OIcl. *vindr*. — *wis*: nom.sg. n. *a*-st. ‘calm sea’; without correspondences.

27 *sildaleikidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *sildaleikjan** w. v. 1 ‘to marvel, to admire; to wonder’; without equivalents; derivation from Goth. *sildaleiks** adj. *a*-st. ‘amazing, wonderful’; OS *seldlīk*, OE *seldlic*, *sellic*; compound with etymologically unclear Goth. *silda-* and Goth. *-leiks* (see *leik*). — *hileiks*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘how?’; (partially with a different form of the first member of the compound) OHG *welīh*, *wēolīh*, *wiolīh*, OS *hwilīk*, OE *hwilc*, *hwelc*, OFris. *hwelik*, *hwelk*, *hulk*, OIcl. *hvīlikr*. — *sa*: nom.sg.m. dem.pron. ‘this, the’; ? Run. **sa** (if the sequence **sawilagaz** is indeed to be separated in **sa wilagaz** ‘the cunning one’ [bone amulet from Lindholmen, 460/70–560/70]), OIcl. (with lengthening in monosyllabics) *sá*. — *ufhausjand*: 3rdpl.pres.ind. to *ufhausjan* w. v. 1 ‘to obey, to stick to (something)’; compound with Goth. *hausjan* w. v. 1 ‘to hear’ (with analogical *-s-* instead of expected *-z-*, probably after the other causatives in Gothic like Goth. *kausjan* w. v. 1 ‘to taste, to get to know; to examine’ or *nasjan* w. v. 1 ‘to save’, that have their *-s-* analogically from *kīusan** and **nisan* [in *ganisan*]); OHG *hōren*, OS *hōrian*, ODu. *hōren*, OE *hīeran*, OFris. *hēra*, *hera*, OIcl. *heyra*.

1.4. Matthew 8:28–34: Healing of Two Demon-Possessed Gergesenes (Gadarenes)

28 *jah qimandin imma hindar marein in gauja Gairgaisaine, gamotidedun imma twai daimonarjos us hlaiwasnom rinnandans, sleidjai filu, swaswe ni mahta manna usleipān pairh pana wig jainana. 29 jah sai, hropidedun qibandans: hva uns jah þus, Iesu, sunau gudis? qamt her faur mel balwjan unsis? 30 was-uh þan fairra im hairda sweine managaize haldana. 31 ip þo skohsla bedun ina qibandans: jabai uswairpis uns, uslaubei uns galeipān in þo hairda sweine. 32 jah qap du im: gaggip! ip eis usgaggandans galipun in hairda sweine; jah sai, run gawaurhtedun sis alla so hairda and driuson in marein jah gadaupnodedun in watnam. 33 ip þai haldandans gablauhun jah galeipandans gataihun in baurg all bi þans daimonarjans. 34 jah sai, alla so baurgs usiddja wiþra Iesu, jah gasaihandans ina bedun ei usliþi hindar markos ize.*

28 *hindar*: prep. + acc./dat. ‘behind, beyond’; OHG *hintar*, OS *hindar-* (in *hindarscrenkig* ‘devious’), Early MDu. *hinder*, OE *hinder*, OIcl. *hindr-* (in *hindrvitni* ‘superstition’); derivation from the

pronominal stem in Goth. *hi-** (see *himma*). — *gauja*: dat.sg. to *gawi** n. *ja*-st. ‘surroundings; country, land’; OHG *gewi*, *gouwi*, OS (only in place names) *gō*, *gā*, ODu. *gō*, OFris. *gā*, *gē*. — *Gairgaisaine*: gen.pl. to *Gairgaisainus** m. *u/i*-st. resident name ‘Gergesener’ (< Gr. *Gergesēnós*) (this is the only occurrence of the name). — *gamotidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *gamotjan* w. v. 1 ‘to meet’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OS *mōtian*, MDu. *moeten*, OE *mētan*, OFris. *mēta*, OIcl. *mōta*. — *twai*: nom.m. num. ‘two’ (with *-ai* after the strong adjective and pronoun) (cf. Crimean Goth. *tua*); (with different reformations) OHG *zwēne*, OS, ODu. *twēne*, OE *twēgen*, OFris. *twēne*, OIcl. *tveir*. — *daimonarjos*: nom.pl. to *daimonareis* m. *ja*-st. ‘the possessed one’ (< Gr. *daimoniários* or Lat. *daemoniārius*). — *us*: prep. + dat. ‘out, from; since, right after’; OHG *ar-*, *ir-*, *ur-*, OS *ur-*, *or-*, OE *or-*, (in weak stress position) *a-*, OFris. *ur-*, *or-*, OIcl. *or-*, *ur-*, *ør-*. — *hlaiwasnom*: dat.pl. to *hlaiwasna** f. *ō*-st. ‘grave’; derivation from Goth. *hlaiw* n. *a*-st. ‘grave’. — *rinnandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *rinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run’; OHG, OS, ODu., OE *rinnan*, OFris. *renna*, *rinna*, OIcl. *rinna*. — *sleidjai*: nom.pl.m. to *sleips** (*-d*) / *sleideis** adj. *i/ja*-st. / *ja*-st. ‘bad, dangerous’; (cf.) OS *slīthi*, OE *slīþe*. — *filu*: adv. ‘a lot of, much; very’; OHG, OS *filu*, ODu. *filu*, OE *feolu*, *fela*, *feala*, OFris. *fefe*, *felo*, OIcl. (only in compounds) *ffql-* ‘much’. — *usleipān*: inf. st. v. 1 ‘to go out/away; to vanish’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *līdan*, OS, ODu. *līthan*, OFris. *lītha*, OE *līðan*, OIcl. *liða*. — *pairh*: prep. + acc. ‘through’; OHG *derh* ‘pierced’, OE *perh*, ? OFris. *thriuch*; nex to (with ablaut) OHG *dur(u)h*, OS *thuru(h)*, ODu. *thuro*, *thurg*, OE *þorh*, *þurh*, OFris. *t(h)ruch*, *troch*. — *wig*: acc.sg. to *wigs* m. *a*-st. ‘way’; OHG, OS, ODu., OE *weg*, OFris. *wei*, *wī*, OIcl. *vegr*; derivation from the same root as in Goth. *wegs* m. *a/i*-st. ‘(sg.) storm, swell, surf; (pl.) waves’. — *jainana*: acc.sg.m. to *jains* dem.pron. ‘that one’; OHG *jenēr*, MLG *jēne*, *gene*, MDu. *gene*, *gone*, *geune*, OFris. *ien(a)*, *gen(a)*, *jīn*, *ienna*, OE *geon*.

29 *hropidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *hropjan* w. v. 1 ‘to call’; OHG *ruofen*, OIcl. *hrópa*, *hræpa*; derivation from the root in Goth. *hrops* m. *i*-st. ‘shout, screams’; OHG *ruof*, MLG *rōp*, Early MDu. *roep*, OE *hrōp*, OIcl. *hróp*; derivation from a strong verb, continued in OHG *ruofan*, OS *hrōpan*, ODu. *ruopan*, OE *hrōpan*, OFris. *hrōpa*, *rōpa*, *ropa* ‘to shout, to call’. — *Iesu*: voc.?*/*dat.?. — *sunau*: dat.sg. to *sunus* m. *u*-st. ‘son’ (next to one instance of *sunu* [Joh 14:13]; according to others this is a voc.sg.); OHG, OS *sunu*, ODu. *sunu*, OE, OFris. *sunu*, OIcl. *sonr*, *sunr*. — *gudis*: gen.sg. to *gub* n. *a*-st. ‘God’; although the word *gub* is a neuter, it has masculine attributes (*gub meins* ‘my God’ [e.g. Mt 27:46]); OHG *got*, OS *god*, ODu. *got*, OE, OFris. *god*, OIcl. *guð*, *goð*. — *her*: adv. ‘her’; OHG *hiar*, OS *hēr*, *hier*, *hīr*, ODu. *hier-* (in *hiera* ‘here’), OE *hēr*, OFris. *hīr*, OIcl. *hér*. — *faur*: 1. adv. ‘ahead’, 2. prep. + acc. ‘before, along, on; for, for the sake of, about, as to’; either to OHG, OS, ODu. *furi*, OFris. *fori*, OIcl. *fyr* ‘before, for, because of’ or to OHG *fora*, OS *for(a)*, ODu. *fore*, OE *for(e)*, OFris. *fore*, OIcl. *for-* ‘before, for, because of, instead of’. — *mel*: acc.sg. to *mel* n. *a*-st. ‘time, hour’; OHG, MLG *māl*, Early MDu. *mael*, OE *mæl*, OFris. *mēl*, *māl*, OIcl. *mál*. — *balwjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to torture’ (the verb is construed with the dative); derivation from the root in OHG *balo-*, OS *balu-*, OE *bealu*, OFris. *balu-* ‘tormenting’.

30 *was-uh*: consisting of Goth. *was*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *wisan* irreg. st. v. ‘to be (there), to exist’ and Goth. *-(u)h*: enclit. part. (always added to the first word of a sentence; after vowels only *-h*) ‘and’, probably a combination of a particle *-u-* (also in Goth. *aipþau* ‘or’) and *-h* ‘and’. — *fairra*: adv. ‘remote, far from, away from’; OHG *ferro*, OS *ferre*, ODu. *ferro*, OE *feor(r)*, OIcl. *ffjarri*. — *hairda*: nom.sg. f. *ō*-st. ‘flock’; OHG *herta*, MLG *herde*, OE *heord*, OIcl. *hjqrð*. — *sweine*: gen.pl. to *swein** n. *a*-st. ‘pig’; OHG, OS, ODu., OE *swīn*, OFris. *svīn*, OIcl. *svín*. — *haldana*: nom.sg.f. pret.part. to *haldan* st. v. 7 ‘to tend, to graze’; OHG *haltan*, OS *haldan*, ODu. *haldan*, OE *healdan*, OFris. *halda*, *hālda*, *haulda*, *hāda*, *hauda*, *holda*, OIcl. *halda*.

31 *skohsla*: nom.pl. to *skohsl** n. *a*-st. ‘evil spirit, demon’; probably to OIr. *scál* ‘appearance’. — *uswairpis*: 2ndsg.pres.ind. to *uswairpan* st. v. 3 ‘to throw out/away, to cast out’; compound with Goth. *wairpan* st. v. 3 ‘to throw’. — *uslaubei*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *uslaubjan** w. v. 1 ‘to allow’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic [see *galaubjan*]). — *galeipān*: inf. st. v. 1 ‘to come, to go’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic [see *usleipān*]).

32 *usgaggandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *usgaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go out’; compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go’. — *run*: acc.sg. to *runs* m. *i*-st. ‘run’; OHG *run*, OE *ryne*, OFris. *rene*; derivation from the root in Goth. *rinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run’. — *gawaurhtedun*: 3.pl.pret.ind. to *gawaurkjan* w. v. 1 ‘to cause, to effect, to prepare’ (both parallel passages [Mk 5:13 and Lk 8:33] have the following text: *jah rann so hairda* ...; the construction *run gawaurhtedun sis* translates Gr. *hōrēsen* ‘the threw themselves’); compound with Goth. *waurkjan* w. v. 1 ‘to make, to take effect’. — *sis*: dat. to *sik* pers./refl.pron. ‘himself’. — *alla*: nom.sg.f. to *alls* adj. ‘all, everyone, whole’; OHG *al(l)*, OS *all*, ODu. *al*, OE *eal(l)*, OFris. *al(l)*, OIcl. *allr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *alan** st. v. 6 ‘to grow’ (only nom.sg.m. pres.part. *alands* [1.TimAB 4:6]); OE *alan* ‘to nourish’, OIcl. *ala* ‘to raise’. — *so*: nom.sg.f. to *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’; MDu. *soe*, *su*, OIcl. *sú*. — *and*: prep. + acc. ‘along, over, towards’; (in the other Germanic languages only as a prefix) OHG *ant-*, OS *and/t-*, ODu. *and-*, OE *and-*, *ond-*, OFris. *ond-*, OIcl. *and-*; to the same root also belongs Goth. *andeis* m. *ja*-st. ‘end’. — *driuson*: acc.sg. to *driuso** f. *n*-st. ‘slope’ (this is the only attested case form [also Lk 8:33, Mk 5:13]); derivation from the root in Goth. *driusan** st. v. 2 ‘to fall’. — *gadauþnodedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *gadauþnan* w. v. 4 ‘to die’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from the root in Goth. *daups* (*-þ-*) adj. ‘dead’. — *watnam*: dat.pl. to *wato** irreg. n. *n*-st. ‘water’; (also with implementation of *n*) OIcl. *vatn* next to (with implementation of *r*) OHG *wazzar*, OS, ODu. *watar*, OE *wæter*, OFris. *weter*.

33 *gaplauhun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *gapliuhan** st. v. 2 ‘to take flight, to flee’; compound with Goth. *pliuhan* st. v. 2 ‘to flee’; OHG, OS *fliohan*, ODu. *flīan*, OFris. *fliā*, OE *flēon*, OIcl. *flyja*. — *gataihun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *gateihan** st. v. 1 ‘to announce’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *zīhan*, OS *-tīhan* (in *aftīhan* ‘to fail’), Early MDu. *tiēn*, OE *tēon*, OFris. *-tiā* (in *urtiā* ‘to deny’), OIcl. *tjá* ‘to accuse’. — *baurg*: dat.sg. to *baurgs* f. cons.st. ‘tower, castle, city’; OHG, OS *burg*, Early MDu. *borch*, OE *burg*, OFris. *burch*, OIcl. *borg*. — *bi*: prep. + acc./dat. ‘at, around; in(side); regarding; about, according to; on’; ? Run. *bi* (spear shaft from Kragehul, 470–490), OHG *bi*, OS *bi*, *be*, ODu. *bī*, OE *bi*, *be*, OFris. *bi*.

34 *wīpra*: prep. + acc. ‘against’; cf. OHG *widar*, OS, ODu. *wither*, OE *wiðer*, OFris. *wither*, *wether*, OIcl. *viðr*. — *gasaihandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *gasaihan* st. v. 5 ‘to spot’; compound with Goth. *saihan* st. v. 5 ‘to see’. — *markos*: acc.pl. to *marka* f. *ō*-st. ‘mark, (border) area’; OHG, OS, ODu. *marka*, OE *mearc*, *merc*, OFris. *merka*, *marke*, OIcl. *mörk*.

1.5. Matthew 9:1–8: Healing of a Paralytic

1 *jah atsteigands in skip ufarlaiþ jah qam in seinai baurg*. 2 *þanuh atberun du imma usliþan ana ligra ligandan. jah gasaihands Iesus galaubein ize qap du þamma usliþin: þrafstei þuk, barnilo, afletanda þus frawaurhteis þeinos*. 3 *þaruh sumai þize bokarje qeþun in sis silbam: sa wajamereiþ*. 4 *jah witands Iesus þos mitonins ize qap: duhe jus mitoþ ubila in hairtam izwaraim?* 5 *hæpar ist raihtis azetizo qiþan: afletanda þus frawaurhteis, þau qiþan: urreis jah gagg?* 6 *aþþan ei witeiþ þatei waldufni habaiþ sa sunus mans ana airþai afleitan frawaurhtins, þanuh qap du þamma usliþin: urreisands nim þana ligr þeinana jah gagg in gard þeinana*. 7 *jah urreisands galaiþ in gard seinana*. 8 *gasaihandeins þan manageins ohtedun sildaleikjandans jah mikilidedun guþ þana gibandan waldufni swaleikata mannam*.

1 *atsteigands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *atsteigan** st. v. 1 ‘to descend’; compound with Goth. *steigan** st. v. 1 ‘to climb’; OHG, OS, ODu., OE *stīgan*, OFris. *stīga*, OIcl. *stíga*. — *ufarlaiþ*: 3.sg.pret.ind. to *ufarleiþan** st. v. 1 ‘to cross over’ (this is the only occurrence of the word) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic [see *usleiþan*]). — *seinai*: dat.sg.f. to *seins** poss.pron. ‘his, her’ (the word occurs only in the

oblique cases, since the pronoun logically always refers to the subject of the sentence); OHG, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *sīn*, OIcl. *sinn*.

2 *atberun*: 3.pl.pret.ind. to *atbairan* st. v. 4 ‘to bring (to)’; compound with Goth. *bairan* st. v. 4 ‘to carry, to suffer, to give birth’. — *usliþan*: acc.sg. to *usliþa* m. *n*-st. ‘of palsy sick one’; derivative compound with the prefix Goth. *us-* ‘from’ and Goth. *liþus* m. *u*-st. ‘limb’, so ‘one, whose limbs are out [of use]’; OHG *lid*, OS *lith*, Early MDu. *lit*, OE *leopu-*, OFris. *lith*, *leth*, *lid*, *led*, OIcl. *liðr*. — *ligra*: dat.sg. to *ligrs** m. *a*-st. ‘camp, bett’; OHG, OS *legar*, ODu. in place name *legar-*, OE *leger*, OFris. *leger*, *legor*, OIcl. *legr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *ligan** st. v. 5 ‘to lie’. — *ligandan*: acc.sg.m. pres.part. to *ligan** st. v. 5 ‘to lie’; cf. (formed with the suffix PGmc. **-iē/a-*) OHG *liggen*, OS *liggian*, ODu. *liggen*, OE *licgan*, OFris. *lidza*, *ledza*, OIcl. *liggja*. — *galaubein*: acc.sg. to *galaubeins* f. *i*-st. ‘belief’; derivation from Goth. *galaubjan* w. v. 1 ‘to believe’. — *þrafstei*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *þrafstjan** w. v. 1 ‘to comfort (oneself), to admonish’; perhaps to OHG *fluobara* ‘consolation’, OS *frōvra* ‘consolation, help, assistance’, OE *frōfor* ‘consolation, help, assistance’. — *barnilo*: nom./voc.sg. to *barnilo*^(*) n. *n*-st. ‘(little) child’; diminutive of Goth. *barn* n. *a*-st. ‘child’. — *aftetanda*: 3rdpl.pres.ind.pass. to *aftetan* st. v. 7 ‘to dismiss, to send away; to leave (behind), to abandon’ (the subject of *aftetanda* is in all cases *frawaurhteis*); compound with Goth. *letan** st. v. 7 ‘to let, to permit, to allow, to leave (behind)’. — *frawaurhteis*: nom.pl. to *frawaurhts* f. *i*-st. ‘sin’; OS *farwurht*, OE *forwyrht*; derivation from Goth. *frawaurkjan** w. v. 1 ‘to commit a sin; (+ *sis*) to sin’; compound with Goth. *waurlkjan* w. v. 1 ‘to make, to take effect’.

3 *þaruh*: 1. adv. ‘there’, 2. conj. ‘well, but’; combination of Goth. *þar* adv. ‘there’ and Goth. *-(u)h* enclit. part. ‘and’. — *sumai*: nom.pl.m. to *sums* indef.pron. ‘anyone, a certain, someone, (pl.) some’ (the pronoun is inflected like a stron adjective); OHG, OS *sum*, Early MDu. *som*, OE, OFris. *sum*, aisl *sumr*. — *bokarje*: gen.pl. to *bokareis* m. *ja*-st. ‘scribe’; OHG *buohhari*, OS *bōkeri*, OE *bōcere*; derivation with the continuants of the loan suffix Lat. *-ārius* from the root in Goth. *boka* f. *ō*-st. ‘letter of the alphabet; (pl.) writing, letter, book, document’. — *wajamereip*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *wajamerjan* w. v. 1 ‘blaspheme’; compound with Goth. *waja-* ‘bad’; MHG *wē-*, OE *wēa-*; derivation from Goth. *wai* interj. ‘woe!’; OHG, OS *wē*, Early MDu. *-wee* (in *owee* ‘oh woe!’) OE *wā*, OFris. *wī*, OIcl. *vei*; and Goth. *merjan* w. v. 1 ‘announce, make known’.

4 *witands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *witan* pret.pres. ‘to know’; OHG *wizzan*, OS, ODu., OE *witan*, OFris. *wita*, *weta*, OIcl. *vita*. — *mitonins*: acc.pl. to *mitons* f. *i*-st. ‘consideration, thought’; derivation from Goth. *miton** w. v. 2 ‘measure, consider, think’. — *duhe*: adv. ‘what for, why’; compound (after the Gothic breaking) of Goth. *du* prep. + dat./inf. ‘to, for, in’ and Goth. *he* instr.sg.n. to *has* interrog./indef. pron. ‘who?; anyone’. — *mitop*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *miton** w. v. 2 ‘measure, consider, think’; OHG *mezzōn*, OE *metian*, OFris. *metigia*, *mātigia*; derivation from the root in Goth. *mitan** st. v. 5 ‘to measure’; OHG *mezzan*, OS, ODu., OE *metan*, OFris., OIcl. *meta*. — *hairtam*: dat.pl. to *hairto* n. *n*-st. ‘heart’; OHG *herza*, OS, ODu. *herta*, NWestFris. *hert*, OIcl. *hjarta* next to (feminine) OE *heorte*, OFris. *herte*, *hirte*, *harte*. — *izwaraim*: dat.pl.n. to *izwar* poss.pron. ‘your’ (partly with reformations) OHG *iuw(er)ēr*, OS *euwa*, *iuwa*, ODu. *iuwa*, OE *ēower*, *īower*, OFris. *jūwe*, *jōwe*, OIcl. *ypvarr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *izwis* dat. to *jus* pers.pron. ‘you’.

5 *hapaar*: nom.sg.n. to *hapaar* interrog.pron. ‘who of the two’ (inflected like a strong adjective); OE *hwæper*, OIcl. *hvaðarr* next to OHG *wedar*, OS *hwethar*, Early MDu. *weder*, OE *hweper*, OFris. *hweder*. — *raihtis*: conj. ‘namely, after all, circa’ (adverbial genitive to *raihts** adj. *a*-st. ‘right, straight, fair’); OHG *rehtes*. — *azetizo*: nom.sg.n. comp. to *azets** adj. *a*-st. ‘easy’ (this is the only documented case form of the word; once it is spelled *azitizo* [Mk 10:25]); without equivalents. — *þau*: 1. part. ‘as; or’, 2. adv. ‘yes, well, circa’; OIcl. *þey-* (in *þeygi* ‘not at all’).

6 *apþan*: conj. ‘but’; compound with an unattested simplex Goth. **ap* conj. ‘but’ and Goth. *þan* 1. adv. ‘then’, 2. adversative conj. ‘but’, 3. conj. ‘when, as long as; as, since’. — *waldufni*: acc.sg. to *waldufni* n. *ja*-st. ‘power, force’; derivation from the root in Goth. *waldan* st. v. 7 ‘to rule’; OHG *waltan*, OS *waldan*, MDu. *wouden*, OE *wealdan*, OFris. *walda*, OIcl. *valda*. — *sunus*: nom.sg. m. *u*-st. ‘son’ (the

form *sunaus* is also once [Lk 4:3] attested). — *afleitan*: inf. st. v. 7 ‘to dismiss, to send away; to leave, to leave in the lurch, to leave behind, to abandon’ (the spelling with *-ei-* instead of expected *-e-* occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is most likely an expression of a late Gothic sound development from *ē tu tī*); compound with Goth. *letan** st. v. 7 ‘to let, to permit, to allow, to leave (behind)’. — *nim*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *niman* st. v. 4 ‘to take (up), to receive, to catch’; OHG *neman*, OS *niman*, ODu. *neman*, OE *niman*, OFris. *nima*, OIcl. *nema*. — *gard*: acc.sg. to *gards* m. *i*-st. ‘house(hold), family’; (with different formation) OHG *gart*, Lgb. in personal names *-gardus*, *-cardus*, OS *gard*, ODu. (dat.sg.) *-charde* (in *olecharde* ‘in/near a beegarden’), OE *geard*, OIcl. *garðr*.

7 —.

8 *manageins*: nom.pl. to *managei* f. *n*-st. ‘crowd’; derivation from Goth. *manags** adj. *a*-st. ‘some, many’. — *ohtedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *ogan** pret.pres. ‘to fear’ (once the spelling *uhtedun* [Mk 11:32] is attested); cf. OIr. *-ágor* ‘fear’. — *sildaleikjandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *sildaleikjan** w. v. 1 ‘to marvel, to admire; to wonder’; the form is ungrammatical, since it refers to the fem. *manageins* (this is probably the result of a mixture of two variants, since in Gr. manuscripts both *ephobésan* ‘they feared’ and *ethaúmasan* ‘they were amazed’ are found here; cf. also in a Latin Bible manuscript: *admirantes timuerunt* ‘astonished they were afraid’). — *mikilidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *mikiljan** w. v. 1 ‘to praise’; OS *mikillian*; derivation from the root in Goth. *mikils* adj. *a*-st. ‘big’. — *swaleikata*: acc.sg.n. to *swaleiks* pron.adj. ‘like that, such’ (inflected like a strong adjective); MDu. *swelc*, *swilc*, OE *swelc*, *swyle*; compound with the preform of Goth. *swa* adv. ‘so’ and Goth. *-leiks* (see *leiks*).

1.6. Matthew 26:69–75: The Denial of Peter

69 *ip Paitrus uta sat ana rohsnai, jah duatiddja imma aina piwi qipandei: jah þu wast miþ Iesua þamma Galeilaiau.* 70 *ip is laugnida faura þaim allaim qipands: ni wait*

^{CA}*hva qipis.*

^C*hva qipis.*

71 ^{CA}*usgaggandan þan ina in daur, gasah ina anþara jah qap du þaim jainar: jah sa was miþ Iesua þamma Nazoraiau.*

^C*usgaggandan þan ina in daur, gasah ina anþara jah qap du þaim jainar: jas sa was miþ Iesua þamma Nazoraiau.*

72 ^{CA}*jah aftra afaiaik miþ aiþa swarands þatei ni kann þana mannan.*

^C*jah aftra laugnida miþ aiþa swarands þatei ni kann þana mannan.*

73 ^{CA}*afar leiril þan atgaggandans þai standandans qepun Paitrau: bi sunjai, jah þu pize is; jah auk razda þeina bandweip þuk.*

^C*afar leiril þan atgaggandans þai standandans qepun Paitrau: bi sunjai, jah þu pize is; jah auk razda þeina bandweip þuk.*

74 ^{CA+C}*panuh dugann afdomjan jah swaran þatei ni kann þana mannan. jah suns hana hrukida.*

75 ^{CA}*jah gamunda Paitrus waurdis Iesuis qipanis du sis: þatei faur hanins hruk þrim sinþam afaikis mik. jah usgaggands ut gaigrot baitraba.*

^C*jah gamunda Paitrus waurdis Iesuis qipanis du sis: þatei faur hanins hruk þrim sinþam inwidis mik. jah usgaggands ut gaigrot baitraba.*

69 *Paitrus*: nom. m. personal name ‘Peter’ (< Gr. *Pétros*). — *uta*: adv. ‘outside’; OHG *ūze*, OS, ODu. *ūta*, OE *ūte*, OFris. *ūta*, *ūte*, OIcl. *úti*; derivation from the root in Goth. *ut* adv. ‘out(side)’. — *sat*:

3rdsg.pret.ind. to *sitan* st. v. 5 ‘to sit’; in Gothic with conversion of the original *īe/a*-verb after *ligan** st. v. 5 ‘to lie’; next to OHG *sizzen*, OS *sittian*, ODu. *sitten*, OE *sittan*, OFris. *sitta*, OIcl. *sitja*. — *rohsnai*: dat.sg. to *rohsns** f. *i*-st. ‘court’; without correspondences. — *duatiddja*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *duatgaggan** defect. st. v. 7 ‘to come to’; compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go’. — *aina*: nom.sg.f. to *ains* adj. *a*-st./num. ‘one’; the word is inflected like a strong adjective (without weak forms), whereby the forms of the plural have the meaning ‘only, alone’; OHG *ein*, OS, ODu. *ēn*, OE *ān*, OFris. *ān*, *ēn*, OIcl. *einn*. — *þiwi*: nom.sg. f. *jō*-st. ‘maid’; OHG *diu*, OS *thiu*, *thiwi*, OE *þēowu*, OIcl. *þý*; motion feminine to Goth. *þius** m. *wa*-st. ‘servant’. — *miþ*: 1. prep. + dat. ‘with, at, under’, 2. adv. ‘with, at the same time’; (different formations) OHG *mit(i)*, Lgb. in personal names *Miti-*, OS *mid(i)*, *mit(h)*, *met*, ODu. *mit*, OE *mid*, *mið*, *mide*, OFris. *mithi*, *mede*, *mit(h)*, *mei*, OIcl. *með(r)*. — *Galeilaiāu*: dat.sg. to *Galeilaius* m. *u/i*-st. resident name ‘Galileans’ (< Gr. *Galilaĩos*).

70 *laugnida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *laugnjan** w. v. 1 ‘to deny’; OHG *loungen*, OS *lōgnian*, Early MDu. *looehenen*, OE *līgnian*, OFris. *leina*, *laina*, OIcl. *leyna*; with unclear derivation basis to the word group of Goth. *liugan** st. v. 2 ‘to lie’. — *faura*: 1. adv. ‘in front (of), before’, 2. prep. + dat. ‘before’; OHG, OS *fora*, ODu., OE, OFris. *fore*, OIcl. *for-* (in *foringi* ‘leader’); Derivation from the root in Goth. *faur* 1. adv. ‘ahead’, 2. prep. + acc. ‘before, along(side); for; for the sake of, about, regarding’.

71 *daur*: acc.sg. to *daur* n. *a*-st. ‘door’; (with different reformations) OHG *tor*, *turi*, OS *duru*, ODu. *duri*, OE *dor*, *duru*, OFris. *dore*, OIcl. (pl.) *dyrr*. — *anþara*: nom.sg.f. to *anþar* adj./num. *a*-st. ‘other, second’ (the word is only inflected strong); OHG *andar*, OS *ōðar*, ODu. *andar*, OE *ōþer*, OFris. *ōther*, OIcl. *annarr*. — *jainar*: adv. ‘in that place, there’; maybe to OHG *ionēr* ‘somewhere (to)’; formation to the root in Goth. *jains* dem.pron. ‘that one’. — ^C*jas*: copula ‘and’; with assimilation of *-h* *-s* to *-s* *-s*. — *Nazoraiau*: dat.sg. to *Nazorauius* m. *u/i*-st. resident name ‘Nazarene’ (loanword < Gr. *Nazōraĩos*).

72 *aftra*: adv. ‘again; back(wards)’; OHG, OS *aftar*, ODu. *ahter*, OE *æfter*, OFris. *efter*, OIcl. *aptr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *af* prep. + dat. ‘from’. — ^{CA}*afaiaik*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *afaikan* st. v. 7 ‘to deny, to curse’; OHG *-eichan* (in *ineichan* ‘to sacrifice’). — *aipa*: dat.sg. to *aips** (*-þ*) m. *a*-st. ‘oath’; Run. **aipa-** (in **aipalataz** [axe handle from Nydam, 210/20–375/400]), OHG *eid*, Lgb. (pl.) *aidos*, OS *ēth*, Early MDu. *eet*, OE *āþ*, OFris. *ēth*, *ēd*, OIcl. *eiðr*. — *swarands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *swaran* st. v. 6 ‘to swear’; with (analogical?) loss of the original stem formation with the PGmc. **īe/a*-suffix in Gothic; OHG *swerien*, *swerren*, OS *swerian*, ODu. *sweren*, OE *swerian*, OFris. *swera*, *swara*, OIcl. *svera*. — *kann*: 1stsg.pres.ind. to *kunnan* pret.pres. ‘to know’; OHG, OS, ODu. *kunnan*, OE *cunnan*, OFris., OIcl. *kunna*.

73 ^{CA}*standandans/stand<and>ans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’, *stehen*; OHG *stantan*, OS *standan*, MDu. *standen*, OE *standan*, OFris. *stonda*, OIcl. *standa*. — *sunjai*: dat.sg. to *sunja* f. *jō*-st. ‘truth’; Lat.-Germ. (Lex Salica) *sunnis* ‘legal obstacle’, OHG *sunna*, *sunne*, OS *sunnea*, OE *synn*, OIcl. *syn*; derivation from the root in Goth. *ist* ‘(s)he is’. — *auk*: conj. ‘because, namely’ (the word is in the second position of the sentence); Run. ? **uk** (stone from Eggja, 575–675/700), OHG *ouh*, OS, ODu. *ōk*, OE *ēac*, OFris. *āk*, OIcl. *auk*, *ok*. — *razda*: nom.sg. f. *ō*-st. ‘language, manner of speech, tongue’; OHG *rarta*, OIcl. *rōdd* next to (ablauting) OE *reord*. — *bandweip*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *bandwjan** w. v. 1 ‘to give a sign, to indicate’; OIcl. *benda* (borrowed from Germanic in OProv. *bandir*, Italian *bandire*, Catal. *bandir*); derivation from the root in Goth. *bandwa** f. *wō*-st. ‘sign’; without equivalents.

74 *dugann*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *duginnan** st. v. 3 ‘to begin’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic, as in the other Germanic languages); OHG, OS, ODu., OE *-ginnan*, OFris. *-ienna*, *-ginna*. — *afdomjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to judge, to condemn’; compound with Goth. *domjan* w. v. 1 ‘to judge, to distinguish, to justify’; OHG *tuomen*, OS *dōmian*, ODu. *duomen*, OE *dēman*, OFris. *dēma*, OIcl. *dóma*; derivation from the root in Goth. *doms* m. *a*-st. ‘position, sentence’; OHG *tuom*, OS *dōm*, ODu. *duom*, OE, OFris. *dōm*, OIcl. *dómr*. — *hana*: nom.sg. m. *n*-st. ‘rooster’; OHG *hano*, OS *hano-* (in *hanokrād* ‘cockcrow’), ODu. *hano*, OE *hana*, OFris. *hona*, OIcl. *hani*. — *hrukida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *hrukjan** w. v. 1 ‘to crow’; derivation from the root in Goth. *hruks** / *hruk** m. / n. *a*-st. ‘crowing’.

75 *gamunda*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gamunan* pret.pres. ‘to remember’; compound with Goth. *munan** pret.pres. ‘to mean, to believe’; OS, OE *munan*, OIcl. *muna*. — *waurdis*: gen.sg. to *waurd* n. *a*-st. ‘word’; OHG *wort*, OS *word*, ODu. *wort*, OE, OFris. *word*, OIcl. *orð*. — *hruk*: acc.sg. to *hruks** / *hruk** m. / n. *a*-st. ‘crowing’; cf. NRuss. *kruk* ‘raven’, Lith. *kraũkti* ‘to croak’. — *prim*: dat.m. / n. to *preis** num. ‘three’; OHG *drim*, OS *thrim*, ODu. *t(h)rin*, *drin*, OE *þrim*, OE *thrim*, *thrium*, OIcl. *þrim(r)*, *þrem(r)*; to (cf. also Crimean Goth. *tria* n.) OHG *drī*, OS *thria*, *thriu*, ODu. *thrī*, OE *þrī(e)*, *þrȳ*, OFris. *thrē*, OIcl. *þrír*. — *sinþam*: dat.pl. to *sinþs** / *sinþ** (*-þ-*) m. / n. *a*-st. ‘times’; OHG *sint*, OS *sīth*, OE *sīþ*, OIcl. *sinn*. — *^cinwidis*: 2ndsg.pres.ind. to *inwidan** st. v. 5 ‘to dney’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *wetan* ‘to connect’. — *ut*: adv. ‘out’ (always after the verb); OHG *ūz*, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *ūt*, OIcl. *út*. — *gaigrot*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gretan* st. v. 7 ‘to weep, to lament’; OS *grātan*, OE *grētan*, OIcl. *gráta*. — *baitraba*: adv. ‘bitterly’; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-ba* to Goth. *baitrs** adj. *a*-st. ‘bitter’; next to (ablauting) OHG, OS *bittar*, ODu. *bitter*, OE *biter*, OIcl. *bitr*.

1.7. John 6:1–15: The Feeding of the Five Thousand

1 *afar þata galaip Iesus ufar marein þo Galeilaie jah Tibairiade. 2 jah laistida ina manageins filu, unte gasehun taiknins þozei gatawida bi siukaim. 3 usiddja þan ana fairguni Iesus jah jainar gasat miþ siponjam seinaim. 4 was-uh þan nehva pasxa, so dulþs Iudaie. 5 þaruh ushof augona Iesus jah gaumida þammei manageins filu iddja du imma, qap-uh du Filippau: haþro bugjam hlaibans, ei matjaina þai? 6 þatuh þan qap fraisands ina; iþ silba wissa þatei habaida taujan. 7 andhof imma Filippus: twaim hundam skatte hlaibos ni ganohai sind þaim, þei nimai harjizuh leitul. 8 qap ains þize siponje is, Andraias, broþar Paitraus Seimonaus: 9 ist magula ains her, saei habaiþ e hlaibans barizeinans jah b fiskans; akei þata ha ist du swa managaim? 10 iþ Iesus qap: waurkeiþ þans mans anakumbjan. was-uh þan hawi manag ana þamma stada. þaruh anakumbidedun wairos rapjon swaswe fimf þusundjos. 11 nam-uh þan þans hlaibans Iesus jah awiliudonds gadailida þaim anakumbjandam; samaleiko jah þize fiske, swa filu swe wildedun. 12 þanuh, biþe sadai waurþun, qap du siponjam seinaim: galisiþ þos aflifnandeins drauhsnos, þei waihtai ni fraqistnai. 13 þanuh galesun jah gafullidedun ib tainjons gabruko us fimf hlaibam þaim barizeinam, þatei aflifnoda þaim matjandam. 14 þaruh þai mans gasaihandans þoei gatawida taikn Iesus, qepun þatei sa ist bi sunjai praufetus sa qimanda in þo manaseþ. 15 iþ Iesus kunnands þatei munaidedun usgaggan jah wilwan <ina> ei tawidedeina ina du þiudana, afiddja aftra in fairguni is ains.*

1 *ufar*: prep. + acc./dat. ‘above’; OHG *ubar*, OS *uþar*, *obar*, ODu. *over*, OE *ofer*, OFris. *uver*, *over*. — *Galeilaie*: gen.pl. to *Galeilaius* m. *u/i*-st. resident name ‘Galileans’ (here uses as a country name). — *Tibairiade*: gen.pl. to *Teibairiadeis* pl.m. resident name ‘inhabitants of Tiberias’ (this is the only occurrence of the word) (< Gr. *Tiberiádos*).

2 *taiknins*: acc.pl. to *taikns* f. *i*-st. ‘sign, wonder’; (with other stem formation) OHG *zeihhan*, OS, ODu. *tēkan*, OE *tācen*, OFris. *tēken*, OIcl. *teikn*; derivation from the root in Goth. *gateihan** st. v. 1 ‘to announce, to proclaim’. — *gatawida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gataujan* w. v. 1 ‘to accomplish, to bring about, to make’; compound with Goth. *taujan* w. v. 1 ‘to do, to make’; Run. (1stsg.pret.ind.) **tawido** (golden horn B from Gallehus, 375/400–460/70), (3rdsg.pret.ind.) **tawide** (oldest occurrence on the shield handle 2 from Illerup Ådal, 210/20–250/60), OHG *zouwen* next to (w. v. 2) OHG *zāwēn*, OE *tawian* next to (different formation) OIcl. *tæja*. — *siukaim*: dat.pl.m. to *siuks* adj. *a*-st. ‘sick, weak’; OHG *sioh*, OS

siok, ODu. *siek*, OE *sēoc*, OFris. *siāk*, OIcl. *sjúkr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *siukan* st. v. 2 ‘to be sick, to be ill’.

3 *gasat*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gasitan* st. v. 5 ‘to sit down, to take a seat’; compound with Goth. *sitan* st. v. 5 ‘to sit’.

4 *neha*: 1. adv. ‘near’, 2. prep. + dat. ‘nearby’; (different formation) OHG *nāho*, ODu. *nāio*; derivation from the root in Goth. *neh* adv. ‘near’; OHG, OS *nāh*, ODu. *nā*, OE *nēah*, OFris. *nei*, *nī*, OIcl. *ná*- (only in *nálægr* ‘nearby’). — *pasxa*: nom.sg. f. ‘Pascha, Easter’ (the word is not inflected; more often attested is the spelling with *-k-* instead of *-x-*) (< Gr. *páscha*); Early MDu. *paschen*. — *dulps*: nom.sg. (*-p-*) f. *i*-st. ‘feast’; OHG *tuld*. — *Iudaie*: gen.pl. to *Iudaius* m. *u/i*-st. N ‘Jew’ (also written with *J-*) (< Gr. *Ioudaĩos*).

5 *ushof*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *ushaffan* st. v. 6 ‘to raise up, to lift up’; compound with Goth. *haffan** st. v. 6 ‘to lift’; OHG *heffen*, OS *hebbian*, ODu. *heven*, OE *hebban*, OFris. *heffa*, OIcl. *hefja*. — *augona*: acc.pl. to *augo* n. *n*-st. ‘eye’ (Crimean Goth. *oeghene* pl.); OHG *ouga*, OS, ODu. *ōga*, OE *ēage*, *ēge*, OFris. *āge*, *āch*, OIcl. *auga* next to (different stem formation) Run. **-augiz** (in **gliaugiz** ‘bright eye’ [bracteate 1 from Nebenstedt, 400–500]); with secondary *au-* (probably after the root in Goth. *auso* n. *n*-st. ‘ear’); the original form is preserved e.g. in OHG *ak-* (in *aksiunī* ‘appearance’). — *gaumida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gaumjan* w. v. 1 ‘to notice’; OHG *goumen*, OS *gōmian*, Early MDu. *gomen*, OE *gīeman*, *gȳman*, OIcl. *geyma*; derivation from the root in MDu. *gome*, *goom* ‘festive reception; attention’, OIcl. *gaumr* ‘attention’. — *pammei*: conj./pron. ‘that’. — *Filippau*: dat. to *Filippus* m. personal name ‘Philippus’ (< Gr. *Philippos*). — *hapro*: adv. ‘where from’; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-pro* from the root in Goth. *has* interrog./indef.pron. ‘who?; anyone’. — *bugjam*: 1stpl.pres.ind. to *bugjan* irreg. w. v. 1 ‘to buy’; OS *buggian*, OE *bycgan*, OIcl. *byggja*. — *matjaina*: 3rdpl.pres.opt. to *matjan* w. v. 1 ‘to eat’; OE *mettan*, OIcl. *metja*; derivation from the root in Goth. *mats* m. *i*-st. ‘food, provisions’.

6 *patuh*: nom.sg.n. to *sah* dem.pron. ‘he and no other, just him’; combination of Goth. *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’ and *-(u)h* enclit. part. ‘and’. — *fraisands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *fraisan** st. v. 7 ‘to try’ (see *fraistubni**).

7 *andhof*: 3rdpret.ind. to *andhaffan* st. v. 6 ‘to reply, to answer’; compound with Goth. *haffan** st. v. 6 ‘to lift’. — *hundam*: dat. to *hunda* n.pl. ‘hundred’ (on the other hand, Crimean Goth. *sada* is borrowed from Iranian); OHG *-hunt*, OS *hund*, ODu. *chunna*, OE *hund*. — *skatte*: gen.pl. to *skatts* m. *a*-st. ‘money, coin; Mine’; OHG *skaz*, OS *skatt*, ODu. *skat*, OE *sceatt*, OFris. *skett*, OIcl. *skattr*. — *ganohai*: nom.pl.m. to *ganohs** adj. *a*-st. ‘enough, much’; OE *genōh* next to (with grammatical change) OHG *ginuog*, OS *ginōg*, ODu. *ginuog*, OE *genōg*, OFris. *enōg*, OIcl. *gnógr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *-nauhan** pret.pres. (in *binauhan** pret.pres. ‘to be allowed, may’, *ganauhan** pret.pres. ‘to suffice’); OHG *gi-nah* ‘it is enough’, OE *be-nugan* ‘to need, to want, to desire, to enjoy’, *ge-nugan* ‘to suffice, to be enough’. — *pei*: 1. rel.part. ‘as long as’, 2. conj. ‘that’; cf. Gr. *teĩ-* (in *teĩde* ‘here’), OPruss. *tei-* (in *teimu* ‘now’), OCS *ti* ‘and, so, then’. — *hvarjizuh*: nom.sg.m. pron. ‘every’; compound with Goth. *hvarjis* pron. ‘who’ and Goth. *-(u)h* enclit. part. ‘and’.

8 *Andraias*: nom. m. personal name ‘Andreas’ (< Gr. *Andréas*). — *broþar*: nom.sg. m. *r*-st. ‘brother’ (Crimean Goth. *bruder*); OHG *bruoder*, OS *brōthar*, ODu. *bruother*, OE *brōdor*, OFris. *brōther*, OIcl. *bróðir*. — *Seimonaus*: gen. to *Seimon* m. personal name ‘Simon’ (the genitive is also transmitted as *Seimonis*) (< Gr. *Símōn*).

9 *magula*: nom.sg. m. *n*-st. ‘(little) boy’; derivation from the root in Goth. *magus* m. *u*-st. ‘boy’. — *e*: num. ‘five’ (see *fimf*). — *barizeinans*: acc.pl.m. to *barizeins** adj. *a*-st. ‘prepared from barley’; derivation from the root in OE *bere* ‘barley’, NNorthFris. *ber(r)e* ‘barley’, OIcl. *barr* ‘grain, food; needle shoots, foliage, tree’. — *b*: num. ‘two’ (see *twai*). — *fiskans*: acc.pl. to *fisks** m. *a*-st. ‘fish’ (Crimean Goth. [†]*fisch* [printed <fisc<]]); OHG *fisc*, OS, ODu. *fisk*, OE *fisc*, OFris. *fisk*, OIcl. *fiskr*. — *akei*: conj. ‘but’; compound with Goth. *ak* conj. ‘but’ and Goth. *ei* conj. ‘(so) that’.

10 *waurkeip*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *waurkjan* w. v. 1 ‘to make, to take effect’; OHG *wurchen*, OE *wyrcean*, OIcl. *yrkja*. — *anakumbjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to lie down, to lie at the table’ ([with reformation] < Lat.

accumbere ‘to lie down, to lie at the table, to sit down’). — *hawi*: nom.sg. n. *ja*-st. ‘hay’; OHG *hewi*, *houwi*, OS *hōi*, ODu. *houwi*, OE *hīg*, OFris. *hā*, *hē*, OIcl. *hey*; derivation from the root in OHG *houwan*, OS *hauwan*, ODu. *houwan*, OE *hēawan*, OFris. *hāwa*, *hauwa*, *hōwa*, *houwa*, OIcl. *hoggva*, all ‘to hit’. — *stada*: dat.sg. to *staps* (-d-) m. *i*-st. ‘place; hostel’; OHG *stat*, OS *stedi*, Early MDu. *stat*, *stede*, OE *stede*, OFris. *sted(e)*, OIcl. *staðr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’. — *wairos*: nom.pl. to *wair* m. *a*-st. ‘man’; OHG, OS *wer*, ODu. *wera-*, OE *wer*, OFris. *wer-*, OIcl. *verr*. — *raþjon*: dat.sg. to *raþjo* f. *n*-st. ‘number, bill’; OHG *reda*, OS *rethia*, ODu. *retha*, OFris. *rethe*, *rede*, *rē(d)*; probably derivation from the root in Goth. *garapjan** (or *garapan**?) st. v. 6 ‘to count’. — *fimf*: nom. num. ‘five’ (Crimean Goth. [†]*fynf* [printed <fyuf>]); OHG *fimf*, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *fff*, OIcl. *fimm*. — *þusundjos*: nom.pl. to *þusundi* f. *jō*-st. ‘thousand’ (once the spelling *þusundjus* [Neh 7:17] is also attested); OHG *dūsunt*, OS *thūsundig*, ODu. *thūsunt*, OE *þūsend*, OFris. *thūsend*, OIcl. *þús(h)und*.

11 *awiliudonds*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *awiliudon* w. v. 2 ‘to thank’; innerGoth. Derivation to Goth. *awiliuþ* (-d-) n. *a*-st. ‘thanks’; compound with Goth. *awi-* ‘protection’ (Run. **auja** [bracteate from Skodborghus/Skodborg, 440–560]) and Goth. *-liuþ* (-d-) ‘song’ with secondary -d- in the compound next to Goth. *liuþ** (-þ-) n. *a*-st. ‘singing’. — *gadailida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gadailjan** w. v. 1 ‘to divide, to allot’; compound with Goth. *ailjan* w. v. 1 ‘to share, to inform’; Run. (3rdpl.pret.) **dalidun** (stone from Tune, 375/400–520/30), OHG *teilen*, OS *dēlian*, ODu. *dēlon*, OE *dēlan*, OFris. *dēla*, OIcl. *deila*; derivation from the root in Goth. *dails** f. *i*-st. ‘part’; (with different stem formation) OHG *teil*, OS, ODu. *dēl*, OE *dēl*, OFris. *dēl*; (loanword from Germanic?) Russ.-CS *dělb*. — *samaleiko*: adv. ‘in the same way, likewise’; adverbial formation to Goth. *samaleiks** adj. *a*-st. ‘same’.

12 *bipe*: 1. adv. ‘after, later’, 2. conj. ‘during, as, as soon as, after’; compound with Goth. *bi* prep. + acc./dat. ‘at, around; in(side); regarding; about, according to; on’ and Goth. *þe* instr.sg.n. to *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’. — *sadai*: nom.pl.m. to [†]*saps* (-d-) adj. *a*-st. ‘satiated’ (the nominative singular is only transmitted in the spelling <sads> [PhilB 4:12]); OHG *sat*, OS *sad*, ODu. *sat*, OE *sæd*, early NWestFries. *sed*, OIcl. *saðr*. — *galisip*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *galisan** st. v. 5 ‘to collect, to gather’; compound with Goth. *lisan** st. v. 5 ‘to read, to collect’; OHG, OS, ODu., OE *lesan*, OFris. *lesa*, *lasa*, *lēsa*, OIcl. *lesa*. — *aflifnandeins*: acc.pl.f. pret.part. to *aflifnan** w. v. 4 ‘to remain’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OIcl. *lifna*; newly formed nasal present to the root in in Goth. *liban* w. v. 3 ‘to live’ and Goth. *bilaibjan** w. v. ‘to leave’ ([the simplex is not attested in Gothic]; OHG *leiben*, OS *lēvian*, OE *lēfan*, OFris. *lēva*, *liōwa*, OIcl. *leifa*). — *drauhsnos*: acc.pl. to *draushna** f. *ō*-st. ‘chunk, crumbs’; without equivalents. — *waihtai*: dat.sg. to *waihts* f. cons./i-st. ‘thing, item, something’; OHG, OS, ODu., OE *wiht*, OIcl. *vétrr*, *vætrr*; (loanword from Germanic?) aksl. *věštъ* ‘thing’.

13 *gafullidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *gafullnan** w. v. 4 ‘to be filled’; compound with Goth. *fullnan** w. v. 4 ‘to become full’; derivation from the root in Goth. *fulls* adj. *a*-st. ‘full’. — *ib*: num. ‘twelve’ (see *twalif*). — *tainjons*: acc.pl. to *tainjo** f. *jōn*-st. ‘basket’; OHG *zeinna*, Lgb. **zain(j)a* (loanword in Italian *zana*), MLG *tēne*, MDu. *tene*, OIcl. *teina*; derivation from the root in Goth. *tains** m. *a*-st. ‘branch’ (only gen.pl. *taine* [Joh 15:2]); OHG *zein*, OS *tēn*, MDu. *teen*, OE *tān*, OFris. *tēn*, aisl. *teinn*. — *gabruko*: gen.pl. to *gabruka** f. *ō*-st. ‘chunk’; derivation from Goth. *gabrikan** st. v. 4 ‘to break’.

14 *praufetus*: nom.sg. m. *u*-st. ‘Prophet’ (< Gr. *prophētēs*). — *manaseþ*: acc.sg. to *manaseþs* (-d-) f. *i*-st. ‘humanity, world’; compound with Goth. *mana-* (compound with to Goth. *manna* irreg. cons.st. ‘man’) and (not attested as a simplex) Goth. *-seþs* f. *i*-st. ‘seed’; OHG *sāt*, OS *sād*, Early MDu. *saet*, OE *sæd*, OFris. *sēd*, OIcl. *sáð*; derivation from the root in Goth. *saian* st. v. 7 ‘to sow’; OHG *sāen*, OS *sāian*, Early MDu. *sayen*, OE *sāwan*, *sēwan*, OFris. *siā* (only pret.part. *esēn* ‘sown’), OIcl. *sá*.

15 *munaidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *munan** w. v. 3 ‘to intend to do, to want’; OHG *-monēn* (in *firmonēn* ‘to despise, to disregard, to condemn’); derivation from the root in Goth. *munan** pret.pres. ‘to mean, to believe’. — *wilwan*: inf. st. v. 3 ‘to rob’; cf. perhaps Lat. *volvere* ‘to roll, to turn’. — *þiudana*: dat.sg. to *þiudans* m. *a*-st. ‘king’; OS *thiudan*, OE *þēoden*, OIcl. *þjóðann*; derivation from the root in Goth. *þiuda* f. *ō*-st. ‘people’. — *afiddja*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *afgaggan** defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go away’; compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go’.

1.8. John 6:16–21: Jesus walks on Water

16 *ip swe seiþu warþ, atiddjedun siponjos is ana marein, 17 jah usstigun in skip, iddjedun-uh ufar marein in Kafarnaum. jah riqis juþan warþ jah ni atiddja nauhþan du im Iesus. 18 ip marei winda mikilamma waiandin urraisida was. 19 þaruh farjandans swe spaurde k jah e aipþau l gasaihand Iesu gaggandan ana marein jah neha skipa qimandan jah ohtedun sis. 20 þaruh is qap <im>: ik im, ni ogeiþ izwis. 21 þaruh wildedun ina niman in skip, jah sunsaiw þata skip warþ ana airþai ana þoei eis iddjedun.*

16 *seiþu*: either nom.sg.n. to *seiþus** adj. *u*-st. ‘late’ oder nom.sg. n. *u*-st. ‘evening’; (formed differently) OHG *sīd*, OS *sīth*, *sīð*, MDu. *side*, OE *sīð*, OIcl. *síð* ‘late’.

17 *usstigun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *ussteigan* st. v. 1 ‘to ascend’; compound with Goth. *steigan** st. v. 1 ‘to climb’. — *Kafarnaum*: acc.sg. to *Kafarnaum* f. indecl. place name ‘Capernaum’ (< Gr. *Kapharnaoum*). — *riqis*: nom.sg. (-z-) n. *a*-st. ‘darkness’; OIcl. *røkkr*. — *juþan*: adv. ‘already’; compound with Goth. *ju* adv. ‘already, now’ and Goth. *þan* 1. adv. ‘then, thereupon’, 2. adversative conj. ‘but’, 3. conj. ‘when, as long as; as’. — *nauhþan*: adv. ‘still’; compound with Goth. *nauh* adv. ‘still’ and Goth. *þan* 1. adv. ‘then, thereupon’, 2. adversative conj. ‘but’, 3. conj. ‘when, as long as; as’.

18 *waiandin*: dat.sg.m. pres.part. to *waian** st. v. 7 ‘to blow’; OHG *wāen*, MLG *wēien*, ODu. *wāion*, OE *wāwan*, OFris. *wēia*, *wāia*, OSwed. *via*.

19 *farjandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *farjan** w. v. 1 ‘to ferry, to go by ship’; OHG *ferien*, *ferren*, OS *ferian*, MDu. *veren*, OE *ferian*, OFris. *fēra*, *fōra*, OIcl. *ferja*; derivation from the root in Goth. *faran** st. v. 6 ‘to wander, to go’; OHG, OS, ODu., OE *faran*, OFris., OIcl. *fara*. — *spaurde*: gen.pl. to *spaurds** f. cons.st. (?) ‘racecourse, stadium length’; OHG *spurt*, OE *spyrd*. — *k*: num. ‘twenty’. — *aipþau*: conj. ‘or’; OHG *etho*, *edho*, OS *ettho*, *ettha*, OE *eðða*. — *l*: num. ‘thirty’.

20 *ik*: nom. pers.pron. 1stsg. ‘I’ (Crimean Goth. *ich*); Run. **ek**, **ik**, **-eka**, OHG *ih*, OS *ik*, ODu. *ik*, *ic*, *ek*, *ec*, *i*, *ich*, OE *iċ*, *ih*, OFris. *ik*, OIcl. *ek*. — *izwis*: dat. to *jus* pers.pron. ‘you’; OHG *iu*, OS *eu*, *iu*, OE *eow*, *aisl yþr*.

21 *sunsaiw*: adv. ‘immediately’; compound with Goth. *suns* adv. ‘soon, suddenly, at once’ and Goth. *aiw* adv. ‘ever’.

1.9. John 11:1–45: The Raising of Lazarus

1 *was-uh þan sums siuks, Lazarus af Beþanias, us haimai Marjins jah Marþins, swistrs izos. 2 was-uh þan Marja, soei salboda frauþan balsana jah biswarb fotuns is skufta seinamma, þizozei broþar Lazarus siuks was. 3 insandidedun þan þos swistrjus is du imma qipandeins: frauja, sai, þanei frijos siuks ist. 4 ip is gahausjands qap: so siukei nist du dauþau, ak in hauheinais gudis, ei hauhjaidau sunus gudis þairh þata. 5 frijod-uh þan Iesus Marþan jah swistar izos jah Lazaru. 6 swe hausida patei siuks was, þanuh þan salida in þammei was stada twans dagans. 7 þaþroh þan afar þata qap du siponjam: gaggam in Iudaian aftra. 8 qepun du imma þai siponjos: rabbei, nu sokidedun þuk afwairpan stainam Iudaieis, jah aftra gaggis jaind? 9 andhof Iesus: niu twalif sind hveilos dagis? jabai has gaggiþ in dag, ni gastiggqiþ, unte liuhap þis fairhaus gasaiþiþ; 10 aþþan jabai has gaggiþ in naht, gastiggqiþ, unte liuhad nist in imma. 11 þo qap jah afar þata qipiþ du im: Lazarus, frijonds unsar, gasaizlep; akei gaggam, ei uswakjau ina. 12 þanuh*

qepun þai siponjos is: frauja, jabai slepiþ, hails wairþiþ. 13 qap-uh þan Iesus bi dauþu is; iþ jainai hugidedun þatei is bi slep qepi. 14 þanuh þan qap du im Iesus swikunþaba: Lazarus gaswalt, 15 jah fagino in izwara, ei galaubjaiþ, unte ni was jainar; akei gaggam du imma. 16 þanuh qap Þomas saei haitada Didimus þaim gahlaibam seinaim: gaggam jah weis, ei gaswiltaima miþ imma. 17 qimands þan Iesus bigat ina juþan fidwor dagans habandan in hlaiwa. 18 was-uh þan Beþania nehva Iairusaulwmiam, swaswe ana spaurdim fimftaihunim. 19 jah managai Iudaie gaqemun bi Marþan jah Marjan, ei gaþrafstidedeina ijos bi þana broþar izo. 20 iþ Marþa, sunsei hausida þatei Iesus qimiþ, wiþraiddja ina; iþ Marja in garda sat. 21 þanuh qap Marþa du Iesua: frauja, iþ weseis her, ni þau gadauþnodedi broþar meins. 22 akei jah nu wait, ei þishvah þei bidjis guþ, gibip þus guþ. 23 qap izai Iesus: usstandiþ broþar þeins. 24 qap du imma Marþa: wait þatei usstandiþ in usstassai in þamma spedistin daga. 25 qap þan <izai> Iesus: ik im so usstass jah libains; saei galaubeiþ du mis, þauh ga-ba-dauþniþ, libaid; 26 jah hazuh saei libaiþ jah galaubeiþ du mis, ni gadauþniþ aiw. galaubeis þata? 27 qap imma: jai, frauja, ik galaubida þatei þu is Xristus, sunus gudis, sa in þana fairhu qimanda. 28 jah þata qiþandei galaip jah wopida Marjan, swistar seinu, þiubjo qiþandei: laisareis qam jah haitiþ þuk. 29 iþ jaina, sunsei hausida, urrais sprauto jah iddja du imma. 30 niþ þan nauhþanuh qam Iesus in weihsa, ak was nauhþanuh in þamma stada þarei gamotida imma Marþa. 31 Iudaieis þan þai wisandans miþ izai in garda þrafstjandans ija, gasaiþandans Marjan þatei sprauto usstop jah usiddja, iddjedun-uh afar izai qiþandans þatei gaggiþ du hlaiwa, ei greitai jainar. 32 iþ Marja, sunsei qam þarei was Iesus gasaiþandei ina draus imma du fotum qiþandei du imma: frauja, iþ weiseis her, ni þauh gaswulti meins broþar. 33 þanuh Iesus, sunsei gasah ija greitandein jah Iudaiuns þaiei qemun miþ izai gretandans inrauhtida ahmin jah inwagida sik silban. 34 jah qap: hvar lagideduþ ina? qepun du imma: frauja; hiri jah saiþu. 35 jah tagrida Iesus. 36 þaruh qepun þai Iudaieis: sai, hwiwa frioda ina. 37 sumai þan ize qepun: niu mahta sa izei uslauk augona þamma blindin gataujan ei jah sa ni gadauþnodedi? 38 þanuh Iesus aftra inrauhtiþs in sis silbin gaggiþ du þamma hlaiwa. was-uh þan hulundi jah staina ufarlagida was ufaro. 39 qap Iesus: afnimip þana stain. qap du imma swistar þis dauþins Marþa: frauja, ju fuls ist; fidurdogs auk ist. 40 qap izai Iesus: niu qap þus þatei jabai galaubeis, gasaihis wulþu gudis? 41 ushofun þan þana stain þarei wOS iþ Iesus uz-uh-hof augona iup jah qap: atta, awiliudo þus, unte andhausides mis; 42 jah þan ik wissa þatei sinteino mis andhauseis; akei in manageins þizos bistandandeins qap, ei galaubjaina þatei þu mik insandides. 43 jah þata qiþands stibnai mikilai hropida: Lazaru, hiri ut! 44 jah urrann sa dauþa gabundans handuns jah fotuns faskjam, jah wlits is auralja bibundans. qap du im Iesus: andbindiþ ina jah letiþ gaggan. 45 þanuh managai þize Iudaiei þai qimandans at Marjin jah saiþandans þatei gatawida, galaubidedun imma.

1 Lazarus: nom. m. personal name ‘Lazarus’ (< Gr. *Lázaros*). — Beþanias: dat. to Beþania place name ‘Bethany’ (this is the only instance of the dative with this spelling; the dative is also spelled as Beþaniin, Biþaniin, and Beþanijin) (< Gr. *Bēthania*). — haimai: dat.sg. to haims* f. *i/ō*-st. ‘village, (pl.) country’ (singular after the *i*-st., plural after the *ō*-st.); OHG *heima*, MLG *hēme*, ODu. *hēm* next to m./n. OHG *-heim*, OS *hēm*, MDu. *heem*, OE *hām*, OFris. *hēm*, OIcl. *heimr*; as loanwords from Germanic in OPruss. *caymis*, Lith. *kiēmas*, Latv. *ciems*. — Marjins: gen. to Marja f. personal name ‘Mary’ (< Gr. *María*). — Marþins: gen. to Marþa f. personal name ‘Martha’ (< Gr. *Mártha*). — swistrs: gen.sg. to swistar f. *r*-st. ‘sister’; OHG, OS *swestar*, ODu. *suster*, OE *sweostor*, OFris. *swester*, OIcl. *systir*.

2 *salboda*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *salbon* w. v. 2 ‘to anoint’; OHG *salbōn*, OS, ODu. *salvon*, OE *sealfian*, OFris. *salvia*; denominal derivation from the root in OHG *salba*, OS, ODu. *salva*, OE *sealf(e)*, NWestFris. *Salve* ‘ointment’. — *balsana*: dat.sg. to *balsan* n. *a*-st. ‘ointment’ (< Lat. *balsanum*). — *biswarb*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *biswairban** st. v. 3 ‘to wipe, to dry’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *biswerban*; simplex with the same meaning in OHG *swerban*, OS *swervan*, MDu. *swerven*, OE *sweorfan*, OFris. *swerwa*, *sworva*, OIcl. *sverfa*. — *fotuns*: acc.pl. to *fotus* m. *u*-st. ‘foot’; OHG *fuoz*, OS *fōt*, ODu. *fuot*, OE *fōt*, OFris. *fōt*, OIcl. *fótr*. — *skufta*: dat.sg. to *skuft** n. *a*-st. ‘head hair’; OHG *skuft*.
3 *insandedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *insandjan* w. v. 1 ‘to send’; compound with Goth. *sandjan* w. v. 1 ‘to send’. — *frijos*: 2ndsg.pres.ind. to *frijon* w. v. 2 ‘to love’; OS *frīon*, Early MDu. *vriën* ‘to court’, OE *frīogan*, NWestFris. *frije*, OIcl. *frjá*; derivation from the root in Goth. *freis* adj. *ja*-st. ‘free’; OHG *frī*, Lgb. *-free* (in *fulcfree* ‘people free’), OS *frī*- (e.g. in *frīlīk* ‘noble born’), ODu. *frī*, OE *frīo*, OFris. *frī*, *frē*, *frei*, OIcl. *frj*- (in *frjáls* ‘free’).

4 *gahausjands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *gahausjan* w. v. 1 ‘to hear’; compound with Goth. *hausjan* w. v. 1 ‘to hear’. — *siukei*: nom.sg. f. *īn*-st. ‘sickness’; OHG *siuhhī*, OIcl. *-sýki*; derivation from the root in Goth. *siuks* adj. *a*-st. ‘sick, weak’. — *nist*: contraction of Goth. *ni* neg. ‘not’ and Goth. *ist* 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *wisan* irreg. st. v. 1 ‘to be (there), to exist’. — *daupau*: dat.sg. to *daupus* m. *u*-st. ‘death’; Run. **-dAude** (in dat.sg. **welAdAude** ‘treacherous death’ [ston from Björketorp, 520/30–700]), OHG *tōd*, OS, ODu. *dōth*, OE *dēap*, OFris. *dāth*, *dād*, *dēd*, *dōd*, OIcl. *dauðr*; derivation from the root in OIcl. *deyja* ‘to die’ (see *gadaupnan*). — *hauheinais*: gen.sg. to *hauheins* f. *i/ō*-st. ‘prize, honor’; derivation from the root in Goth. *hauhjan* w. v. 1 ‘to praise’. — *hauhjaidau*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *hauhjan* w. v. 1 ‘to praise’; OHG *hōhen*, MLG *hōgen*, MDu. *hogen*, OE *hīean*, OFris. *heia*; derivation from the root in Goth. *hauhs** adj. *a*-st. ‘high’.

5 —.

6 *salida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *saljan* w. v. 1 ‘to accommodate, to stay’; derivation from the root in OHG *sal*, OS *seli*, ODu. *sala*, *seli*, OE *sæl*, *sel*, *sele*, NWestFris. *seal*, OIcl. *salr* ‘hall’; in Gothic there is only the derivation *salipwos* f.pl. *ō*-st. ‘hostel’; OHG *selida*, OS *selitha*, OE *sælp*.

7 *paþroh*: adv. ‘from there, hence; theron’; compound with Goth. *paþro* adv. ‘therefore, from there; theron’ and Goth. *-(u)h* enclit. part. ‘and’. — *Iudaian*: acc. to *Iudaia** f. territorial name ‘Judea’ (< Gr. *Ioudaía*).

8 *rabbei*: voc.sg. to *rabbei** m. ‘teacher, rabbi’ (only instances in the vocative singular) (< Gr. *rhabbēi* < Aram.-Hebr. *rabbī*). — *sokidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *sokjan* w. v. 1 ‘to search, to dispute’; OHG *suohhen*, OS *sōkian*, ODu. *suoken*, OE *sēcan*, OFris. *sēka*, *sēza*, OIcl. *sækja*; derivation from the root in Goth. *sakan* st. v. 6 ‘to quarrel; to blame, to scold’. — *afwairpan*: inf. st. v. 3 ‘to throw away’; compound with Goth. *wairpan* st. v. 3 ‘to throw’. — *stainam*: dat.pl. to *stains* m. *a*-st. ‘stone’; Run. (acc.sg.) **staina** (stone from Vettelund, 160–460/70), OHG *stein*, OS, ODu. *stēn*, OE *stān*, OFris. *stēn*, OIcl. *stein*; (perhaps loanword from Germanic) OCS *stěna* ‘wall of stone’. — *jaind*: adv. ‘there’ (this is the only instance of the word); OE *ge(o)nd*, *gind*, (derivated) OS *jendro* ‘more distant’; derivation from the root in Goth. *jains* dem.pron. ‘that one’.

9 *niu*: interrog.part. ‘not?, isn’t it?’; compound with Goth. *ni* neg. ‘not’ and Goth. *-u* enclit. interrog.part. — *twalif*: (*-b-*) nom. num. ‘twelve’; OHG *zwe lif*, OS *twel if*, ODu., OE *twelf*, OFris. *twelef*, *twel if*, OIcl. *tólf*. — *heilos*: nom.pl. to *heila* f. *ō*-st. ‘while, time, hour’; OHG *wīla*, OS *hwīl(a)*, ODu. *wīla*, OE *hwīl*, OFris. *hwīl(e)*, *wīl(e)*; derivation from the root in NSwed. *hwīl* ‘rested’, Older NDan. *huīl* ‘rested’. — *gastiggqip*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *gastigqan** st. v. 3 ‘to bump’; compound with *stiggqan* st. v. 3 ‘to push’; OHG *stinkan* ‘to smell’, MLG *stinken* ‘to smell’, ODu. *stinkan* ‘to smell’, OE *stincan* ‘to jump; to smell’, NWestFris. *stjonke* ‘to stink’, OIcl. *stökkva* ‘to jump’. — *liuhap*: acc.sg. to *liuhap* (*-d-*) n. *a*-st. ‘light’; cf. Hitt. *lukkatt-* ‘morning’, Lat. (name) *Lūcetius*, gall. (name) *Leucetios*. — *fairhaus*: gen.sg. to *fairhus* m. *u*-st. ‘world’ (Crimean Goth. *fers*); OHG *ferah*, OS *ferh*, OE *feorh*, OFris. *fer(e)ch*, OIcl. *ffqr*.

10 *naht*: acc.sg. to *nahts* f. cons.st. ‘night’; OHG, OS, ODu. *naht*, OE *niht*, *neaht*, OFris. *nacht*, OIcl. *nátt*, *nótt*.

11 *frijonds*: nom.sg. m. cons.st. ‘friend’ (substantivized pres.part. to *frijon* w. v. 2 ‘to love’). — *gasaizlep*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gaslepan** st. v. 7 ‘to sleep, to fall asleep’; compound with Goth. *slepan** st. v. 7 ‘to sleep’. — *uswakjau*: 1stsg.pres.opt. to *uswakjan** w. v. 1 ‘to awaken’ (this is the only instance of the word) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *wecken*, OS *wekkian*, OE *weccan*, OIcl. *vekja*; the same root appears also in Goth. *wakan** st. v. 6 / w. v. 3 ‘to watch, to be vigilant’ and Goth. *gawaknan** w. v. 4 ‘to awaken’.

12 *hails*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘healthy, whole; be greeted’; OHG *heil*, OS, ODu. *hēl*, OE *hāl*, *hæ̆l*, OFris. *hēl*, OIcl. *heill*.

13 *hugidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *hugjan** w. v. 1 ‘to think, to mean’; OHG *huggen*, OS *huggian*, MDu. *hogen*, OE *hycgan*, OFris. *hugia*, OIcl. *hyggja*; derivation from the root in Goth. *hugs** m. *i*-st. ‘sense, reason’; OHG, OS *hugi*, MDu. *hoge*, OE *hyge*, OFris. *hei*, OIcl. *hugr*. — *slep*: acc.sg. to *sleps** m. *a*-st. ‘sleep’; OHG *slāf*, OS, ODu. *slāp*, OE *slēp*, OFris. *slēp*; derivation from the root in Goth. *slepan** st. v. 7 ‘to sleep’.

14 *swikunþaba*: adv. ‘aparently, openly, clearly’; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-ba* from Goth. *swikunþs* (*-þ-*) adj. *a*-st. ‘obvious, apparent, known’; compound with Goth. *swi-* (to the root in Goth. *swes* adj. ‘own, belonging’) and Goth. *kunþs* (*-þ-*) adj. *a*-st. ‘known’. — *gaswalt*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gaswiltan* st. v. 3 ‘to die’; compound with Goth. *swiltan** st. v. 3 ‘to be dying’; ? OHG *swelzan*, OS *sweltan*, MDu. *swelten*, OE *sweltan*, OIcl. *svelta*.

15 *fagino*: 1stsg.pres.ind. to *faginon* w. v. 2 ‘to rejoice’; OHG *feginōn*, OS *faganon*, OE *fægnian*, OIcl. *fagna*; derivation from the root in OS *fagan*, OE *fægen*, OIcl. *feginn* ‘happy’.

16 *Pomas*: nom. m. personal name ‘Thomas’ (< loanword Gr. *Thōmās*). — *haitada*: 3rdsg.ind.pass.pres. to *haitan* st. v. 7 ‘to name, to call; (pass.) to be named’; Run. (3.sg.pres.ind.) **haite** (spear shaft from Kragehul, 470–490), (nom.sg.m. pret.part.) **haitinaz** (stone from Kalleby, 160–460/70), OHG *heizan*, OS, ODu. *hētan*, OE *hātan*, OFris. *hēta*, *heita*, OIcl. *heita*. — *Didimus*: nom. m. personal name ‘Didymos’ (this is the only attestation of the name) (loanword < Gr. *Dídymos*). — *gahlaibam*: dat.pl. to *gahlaiba** m. *n*-st. ‘comrade’ (the dative plural is also attested as *gahlaibaim* and *gahlaibim*); OHG *gileibo*; derivation from the root in Goth. *hlaiþs* (*-þ-*) m. *a*-st. ‘bread’.

17 *bigat*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *bigitan* st. v. 5 ‘to find’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *gezzan*, OS, ODu., OE *-gietan*, OFris. *-jeta*, OIcl. *geta*. — *fidwor*: acc. to *fidwor* num. ‘four’ (in compositions *fidur-* [*fidurdogs* adj. *a*-st. ‘four-day’, *fidurfalþs** adj. *a*-st. ‘fourfold’, *fidurragini** n. *ja*-st. ‘office of a four-prince’]) (Crimean Goth. *fyder*); OHG *fior*, OS *fi(u)war*, *fior*, ODu. *fier*, OE *fēower*, OFris. *fiū(we)r*, *fīwer*, *fiō(we)r*, *fiā(we)r*, OIcl. *ffórir*. — *hlaiwa*: dat.sg. to *hlaiw* n. *a*-st. ‘grave’; Run. (nom.sg.) **hlaiwa** (stone from Bø, 160–560/70), OHG *lēo*, OS *hlēu*, ODu. (only in toponyms) *lēo*, OE *hlēw*, *hlāw*; borrowed in OCS *chlěvъ* ‘stable, shed’; to the same root also belong e.g. OHG *linēn*, OS *hlinon*, ODu. *lēnen*, OE *hlinian*, *hleonian*, NWestFris. *leune*, NDan. *læne* ‘to lean’.

18 *Iairusaulwmiam*: dat. to *Iairusaulwmeis* m.pl. *i*-st. resident name ‘residents of Jerusalem’ (the dative is also attested as *Iairusaulwmim* [Mk 3:8, 7:1]); the resident name is used here for the city name). — *fimftaihunim*: dat. to *fimftaihun** num. ‘fifteen’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *finfzehan*, OS *fifteen*, MDu. *vichtien*, *viftien*, OE *fiftēne*, OFris. *fiftīne*, (different formation) OIcl. *fimtán*.

19 *gaqemun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *gaqiman** st. v. 4 ‘to come together’; compound with *qiman* st. v. 4 ‘to come’. — *gaþrafstidedeina*: 3rdpl.pret.opt. to *gaþrafstjan* w. v. 1 ‘to bring comfort, to encourage’; compound with *þrafstjan** w. v. 1 ‘to comfort (oneself), to admonish’.

20 *sunsei*: conj. ‘as soon as’; compound with Goth. *suns* adv. ‘soon, suddenly, at once’ and Goth. *ei* conj. ‘(so) that’. — *wipraiddja*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *wipragaggan** defect. st. v. 7 ‘to meet’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go’.

21 *meins*: nom.sg.m. poss.pron. ‘mine’; Run. (gen.sg.m.) **minas** (stone from Vetteland, 160–460/70), (acc.sg.m.) **minino** (stone from Kjøllevik, 375/400–520/30), (nom.sg.f.) **minu** (stone from Opedal, 160–375/400), OHG, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *mīn*, OIcl. *minn*.

- 22** *bishvah*: acc.sg.n. to *bishvazuh* pron. ‘whoever’; compound with Goth. *bis* gen.sg.m. to *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’ and Goth. *hazuh* pron. ‘everyone’.
- 23** *usstandip*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *usstandan* st. v. 6 ‘to rise up, to set out’; compound with Goth. *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’.
- 24** *usstassai*: dat.sg. to *usstass* f. *i*-st. ‘resurrection’ (with loss of the ending *-s* in the nominative singular after *-ss*); derivation from the root in Goth. *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’. — *spedistin*: dat.sg.m. w. v. *spedists** superl.adj. *a*-st. ‘last’; superlative formation to the root in OHG *spāti*, MLG, Early MDu. *spāde* ‘late’.
- 25** *libains*: nom.sg. f. *i*-st. ‘life’; derivation from the root in Goth. *liban* w. v. 3 ‘to live’. — *pauh*: 1. conj. ‘as, or’, 2. adv. ‘yes, well, about’; compound with Goth. *pau* 1. part. ‘as; or’, 2. adv. ‘yes, well, about’ and Goth. *-(u)h* enclit. particle ‘and’. — *ga-ba-daupniþ*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *gadaupnan* w. v. 4 ‘to die’ with enclitic conj. ‘if’ between *ga-* and *-daupniþ* (this is the only attestation of the word). — *libaid*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *liban* w. v. 3 ‘to live’ (with analogical *-d* instead of *-þ*; the expected spelling e.g. in Joh 11:26); OHG *lebēn*, OS *libbian*, ODu. *livon*, OE *libban*, *lifian*, OFris. *libba*, *leva*, *lewa*, OIcl. *lifa*.
- 26** *hazuh*: nom.sg.m. pron. ‘everyone’; compound with Goth. *has* interrog. /indef.pron. ‘who?; anyone’ and Goth. *-(u)h* enclit. particle ‘and’. — *aiw*: adv. ‘ever’ (only in negative sentences); OHG *eo*, *io*, OS *io*, ODu. *ie*, OE *ā*, *ō*, OFris. *jē*, OIcl. *a*, *ei*, *ey*; actually acc.sg. to *aiws** m. *a/i*-st. ‘time, eternity’.
- 27** *jai*: interj. ‘yes, verily, indeed’; next to (originally a different case form) Goth. *ja* adv. ‘yes’; OHG *ja*, OS *ja*, *gia*, *jā*, Early MDu. *ja*, OE *ge*, *gēa*, *iā*, OFris. *ie*, *ge*, *dzie*, OIcl. *já*. — *Xristus*: nom. m. name ‘Christ’ (loanword < Gr. *Christós*).
- 28** *wopida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *wopjan* w. v. 1 ‘to call’; OHG *wuofen*, OIcl. *ópa*; next to a strong verb OHG *wuofan*, OS *wōpian*, ODu. *wuopan*, OE *wēpan*, OFris. *wēpa* ‘to shout’; either originally a strong verb, which has become partly weak, or derivation from the root in OHG *wuof*, OS *wōp*, ODu. *wuop*, OE *wōp*, OIcl. *óp*, that became secondarily strong due to influence of the meaning related strong verb ‘to shout, to call’ (see *hropjan*). — *þiubjo*: adv. ‘furtively, secretly’; adverbial formation to an unattested adjective Goth. **þiubjis* *ja*-st. ‘secretly’, itself derived from Goth. **þiufs* (*-b-*) m. *a*-st. ‘thief’ (in the nominative singular only the analogical spelling <þiubs> is attested four times); Run. **-þeubaz** (bracteate of Trollhättan II, ca. 500), OHG *diob*, OS *thiof*, Early MDu. *dief*, OE *pēof*, OFris. *thiāf*, OIcl. *þjófr*. — *laisareis*: nom.sg. m. *ja*-st. ‘teacher’; OHG *lērari*, MLG *lērēr(e)*, *lærer*, Early MDu. *lerere*, *lerre*; derivation from the root in Goth. *laisjan* w. v. 1 ‘to teach’.
- 29** *sprauto*: adv. ‘quickly, soon’; adverbial formation to an unattested adjective Goth. **sprauts* *a*-st. ‘quick’.
- 30** *nip*: conj. ‘and not, neither, not’; with assimilation of *-h -þ-* to *-þ -þ-*. — *nauhþanuh*: adv. ‘still’; compound with Goth. *nauhþan* adv. ‘still’ and Goth. *-(u)h* enclit. particle ‘and’. — *weihsa*: dat.sg. to *weihs** n. *a*-st. ‘village, hamlet’; SouthG (in place names) *Wiß-*, *Weiß-*; cf. Lat. *vīcus* ‘group of houses, village, spot, quarter’ (borrowed in OHG *wīch*, OS, ODu. *wīk*, OE *wīc*, OFris. *wīk* ‘dwelling place, village’). — *þarei*: adv. ‘where’; compound with Goth. *þar* adv. ‘there’ and Goth. *ei* conj. ‘(so) that’.
- 31** *þrafstjandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *þrafstjan** w. v. 1 ‘to comfort (oneself), to admonish’. — *greitai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *gretan* st. v. 7 ‘to weep, to complain’ (the spelling of the expected *-e-* with *-ei-* occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably due to a sound development of *ē* to *ī* in Late Gothic).
- 32** *draus*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *driusan** st. v. 2 ‘to fall’; OS *driusan*, OE *drēosan*. — *weiseis*: 2ndsg.pret.opt. to *wisan* irreg. st. v. ‘to be (there), to exist’ (the spelling of the expected *-e-* with *-ei-* occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably due to a sound development of *ē* to *ī* in Late Gothic). — *gaswulti*: 3rdsg.pret.opt. to *gaswiltan* st. v. 3 ‘to die’; compound with Goth. *swiltan** st. v. 3 ‘to be dying’.
- 33** *greitandein*: acc.sg.f. pres.part. to *gretan* st. v. 7 ‘to weep, to complain’ (the spelling of the expected *-e-* with *-ei-* occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably due to a sound development of *ē* to *ī* in Late Gothic). — *Iudaiuns*: acc.pl. to *Iudaius* m. *u/i*-st. demonym ‘Jew’. — *þaiei*: nom.pl.m. to *saei* rel.pron. ‘which’. — *qemun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *qiman* st. v. 4 ‘to come’. — *inrauhtida*:

3rdsg.pret.ind. to *inrauhtjan** w. v. 1 ‘to become enraged’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from the root in OE *rēoc* ‘angry, grim’ (other connections – e.g. to the root in OHG *rouchen* ‘to fumigate, to sacrifice’ – remain uncertain). — *ahmin*: dat.sg. to *ahma* m. *n*-st. ‘spirit’; derivation from the root in Goth. *aha* m. *n*-st. ‘sense, mind’. — *inwagida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *inwagian** w. v. 1 ‘to set in motion’; compound with Goth. *wagian* w. v. 1 ‘to shake’. — *sik*: acc. refl.pron. ‘oneself’; OHG *sih*, OS *sik*, ODu. *sig*, *sich*, OFris., OIcl. *sik*.

34 *hvar*: adv. ‘where?’; OHG *war*, OS *hwar*, OIcl. *hvar*. — *lagideduþ*: 2ndpl.pret.ind. to Goth. *lagjan* w. v. 1 ‘to put (on/down)’; Run. (3rdpl.pres.opt.) **lAgi** (stone from Eggja, 575–675/700), OHG *leggen*, OS *leggian*, ODu. *leggen*, OE *leccan*, OFris. *ledza*, *lidza*, OIcl. *leggja*; derivation from the root in Goth. *ligan** st. v. 5 ‘to lie’. — *hiri*: adv. imp. ‘here; come!’; probably to Goth. *hi*-* pron. ‘this’ (see *himma*).

35 *tagrida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *tagrjan** w. v. 1 ‘to weep’ (this is the only attestation of the word); MHG *zeheren*; derivation from the root in Goth. *tagr** n. *a*-st. ‘tear’; OE *teagor* next to (with grammatical change) OHG *zahar*, OE *tēar*, *tæhher*, OFris. *tār*, OIcl. *tár*.

36 *haiwa*: adv. ‘(some)how’; OHG *wēo*. — *frioda*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *frijon* w. v. 2 ‘to love’ (-*j*- can be omitted in the spelling between *i* and vowel).

37 *izei*: nom.sg.m. rel.pron. ‘he, who’; compound with Goth. *is* anaphor.pron. ‘he’ and Goth. *ei* conj. ‘(so) that’. — *uslauk*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *uslukan** st. v. 2 ‘to open (up)’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *-lūchan*, OS, ODu. *-lūkan*, OFris. *lūka*, OE *lūcan*, OIcl. *l(j)úka*. — *blindin*: dat.sg.m. to *blinds* adj. *a*-st. ‘blind’; OHG *blint*, OS *blind*, ODu. *blint*, OE, OFris. *blind*, OIcl. *blindr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *blandan* st. v. 7 ‘to mix’.

38 *hulundi*: nom.sg. f. *jō*-st. ‘cave’; actually nominalized pres.part.f. of the root in OHG, OS *helan*, Early MDu. *helen*, OE *helan*, OFris. *hela* ‘to hide’ (see *huljan*). — *ufarlagida*: nom.sg.f. pret.part. to *ufarlagjan** w. v. 1 ‘to cover up’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *lagjan* w. v. 1 ‘to put (on/down)’. — *ufaro*: adv. ‘above/over that’; derivation from the root in Goth. *ufar* prep. + acc./dat. ‘above’.

39 *afnimip*: 3rdpl.pres.ind. to *afniman* st. v. 4 ‘to take away’; compound with Goth. *niman* st. v. 4 ‘to take (up), to receive, to catch’. — *daupins*: gen.sg.m. sw. to *daups* (-*p*-) adj. *a*-st. ‘dead’ (with analogical *-*p*- after Goth. *daupus* m. *u*-st. ‘death’); OHG *tōt*, OS *dōd*, ODu. *dōt*, OE *dēad*, OFris. *dād*, *dēd*, *dōd*, OIcl. *dauðr*; derivation from the root in OIcl. *deyja* ‘to die’. — *ju*: adv. ‘already, now’; the quantity of the vowel *u* is uncertain because the Germanic languages show both long and short vowels; OHG *ju*, OS *giu*, *iu*, ODu. *iu*, OE *gēo*, *gōo*, *iū*, OFris. *jū*. — *fuls*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘foul, rotten’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *fūl*, MLG *vūl*, ODu., OE, OFris. *fūl*, OIcl. *full*; derivation from the root in OIcl. (pret.part.) *fúinn* ‘rotten’. — *fidurdogs*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘four days’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with the compositional form of Goth. *fidwor* num. ‘four’ and a derivation from the root in Goth. *dags* m. *a*-st. ‘day’.

40 —.

41 *iup*: adv. ‘upwards’; without exact correspondences; to the root in Goth. *uf* prep. + dat./acc. ‘under’. — *andhausides*: 2ndsg.pret.ind. to *andhausjan** w. v. 1 ‘to obey; to hear’; compound with Goth. *hausjan* w. v. 1 ‘to hear’.

42 *sinteino*: adv. ‘always, at all times’; adverbial formation to Goth. *sinteins** adj. *a*-st. ‘daily’. — *bistandandeins*: gen.sg.f. pres.part. to *bistandan** st. v. 6 ‘to stand around, to surround’; compound with Goth. *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’.

43 *stibnai*: dat.sg. to *stibna* f. *ō*-st. ‘voice’; OE *stefn*, OFris. *stifne* (with dissimilation) next to OHG *stimma*, *stimna*, OS *stemn(i)a*, ODu. *stimma*, OE *stemn*, OFris. *stemme*.

44 *urrann*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *urrinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run out, to go out’; compound with Goth. *rinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run’. — *daupa*: nom.sg.m. sw. to *daups* (-*p*-) adj. *a*-st. ‘dead’. — *gabundans*: nom.sg.m. pret.part. to *gabindan* st. v. 3 ‘to bind’; compound with Goth. *bindan** st. v. 3 ‘to bind’; OHG *bintan*, OS *bindan*, Early MDu. *binden*, OE *bindan*, OFris., OIcl. *binda*. — *faskjam*: dat.pl. to *faskja** / *faski** m. *ja*-st. / n. *ja*-st. ‘band, bandage’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (< Lat. *fascia* ‘band, bandage’;

also borrowed into OHG *fāska*, *fāski*, MDu. *vasche*). — *wlits*: nom.sg. m. *i*-st. ‘face; look, shape’; OS *wliti*, ODu. *wlit*, OE, OFris. *wlite*, OIcl. *litr*; derivation from the root in OE *wlitan*, OIcl. *lita* ‘to see, to watch’. — *auralja*: dat.sg. to *aurali** n. *ja*-st. ‘sudarium’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (< Lat. *orārium* ‘sudarium’). — *bibundans*: nom.sg.m. pret.part. to *bibindan** st. v. 3 ‘to tie around’; compound with Goth. *bindan** st. v. 3 ‘to bind’. — *andbindiþ*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *andbindan* st. v. 3 ‘to solve’; compound with Goth. *bindan** st. v. 3 ‘to bind’. — *letiþ*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *letan** st. v. 7 ‘to let, to permit, to allow, to leave (behind)’; Run. (1stpl.pres.imp.) **latam** (rune bone 1 from the Unterweser, 1st half 5. Jh.³), OHG *lāzan*, OS, ODu. *lātan*, OE *lētan*, OE westsächs. *lāetan*, OFris. *lēta*, *lāta*, OIcl. *láta*; the adjective Goth. *lats** ‘casual, lazy’ also belongs to this root.

45 *Judaiei*: gen.pl. to *Iudaius* m. *ul*-st. demonym ‘Jew’ (the spelling of the expected *-e-* with *-ei-* occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably due to a sound development of *ē* to *ī* in Late Gothic).

— *at*: prep. + dat. ‘at, to, from’; OHG *az*, *iz*, OS, ODu. *at*, OE *æt*, OFris. *et*, *it*, OIcl. *at*.

1.10. John 13:21–30: Jesus, the Favorite Disciple, and the Traitor

21 *pata qipands Iesus indrobnoda ahmin jah weitwodida jah qap: amen amen, qipa izwis þatei ains izwara galeweiþ mik. 22 þanuh sehun du sis misso þai siponjos, þagkjandans bi hvarjana qepi. 23 was-uh þan anakumbjands ains þize siponje is in barma Iesus, þanei frijoda Iesus. 24 bandwid-uh þan þamma Seimon Paitrus du fraihnan has wesi, bi þanei qap. 25 anakumbida þan jains swa ana barma Iesus qap-uh imma: frauja, has ist? 26 andhof Iesus: sa ist þammei ik ufdaupjands þana hlaif giba. jah ufdaupjands þana hlaif gaf Iudin Seimonis, Skariotau. 27 jah afar þamma hlaiba þan galaip in jainana Satana. qap þan du imma Iesus: þatei taujis, tawei sprauto. 28 þatuh þan ainshun ni wissa þize anakumbjandane, duhe qap imma. 29 sumai mundedun, ei unte arka habaida Iudas, þatei qepi imma Iesus: bugei þize þaurbeima du dulþai, aiþþau þaim unledam ei ha gibau. 30 biþe andnam þana hlaib jains, suns galaip ut. was-uh þan nahts, þan galaip ut.*

21 *indrobnoda*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *indrobnan** w. v. 4 ‘to be bewildered’; compound with Goth. *drobnan* w. v. 4 ‘to be bewildered’. — *weitwodida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to Goth. *weitwodjan** w. v. 1 ‘to witness, to testify’; derivation from Goth. *weitwoþs** (*-d-*) m. cons.st. ‘witness’. — *galeweiþ*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *galewjan* w. v. 1 ‘to betray’; compound with Goth. *lewjan** w. v. 1 ‘to betray’; OHG *-lā(w)en*, OE *lāwan*; the relationship to Goth. *lews** / *lew** m. *a*-st. / n. *a*-st. ‘opportunity, occasion’ remains unclear (back formation to the verb or derivational basis?).

22 *misso*: adv. ‘each other’; OIcl. *mis* ‘wrong, false’; probably a derivation from the root in OHG *missi*, OS *mis(s)(i)-*, MDu. *mis*, OFris. *mis-*, OE *mis-*, OIcl. *miss* ‘wrong, false, mis-’; derivation from the root in OHG *mīdan*, OS, ODu. *mīthan*, OE *mīdan*, OFris. *-mītha*, *-mia* ‘to avoid, to conceal’. — *þagkjandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *þagkjan* w. v. 1 ‘to think, to consider’; OHG *denken*, OS *thenkian*, ODu. *thenken*, OE *þencan*, OFris. *t(h)anza*, *t(h)enza*, *t(h)inka*, *t(h)inza*, *tenka*, OIcl. *þekkja*. — *hvarjana*: acc.sg.m. to *hvarjis* pron. ‘who’; OIcl. *hverr*; derivation from the preform of Goth. *har* adv. ‘where?’.

23 *barma*: dat.sg. to *barms** m. *i*-st. ‘bosom, womb’; (with different formation) OHG, OS, Early MDu. *barm*, OE *bearm*, OFris. *barm-* (in *barmbraccum* ‘lapdog’), OIcl. *barmr* (borrowed from Germanic into Finnic *parma*); derivation from the root in Goth. *bairan* st. v. 4 ‘to carry, to suffer, to give birth’.

24 *fraihnan*: inf. st. v. 5 ‘to ask’ (with analogical *-h-*); next to OS, OE *fregnan*, OIcl. *fregna*.

25 —.

26 *ufdaupjands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *ufdaupjan** w. v. 1 ‘to immerse’; compound with Goth. *daupjan* w. v. 1 ‘to baptize’; OHG *toufen*, OS *dōpian*, ODu. *dōpen*, OE *diēpan*, OFris. *dēpa*, OIcl. *deypa*;

derivation from the root in Goth. *diups** adj. *a-st.* ‘deep’; OHG *tiof*, OS *diop*, ODu. *diep*, OE *dēop*, OFris. (adv.) *diāpe*, *diēpe*, OIcl. *djúpr*. — *Iudin*: dat. v. *Iudas* m. personal name ‘Judas’ (< Gr. *Ioudas*). — *Skariotau*: dat. to *Iskariotes* m. personal name ‘Iscaiot’ (this is the only attestation without an initial *I-*) (< Gr. *Iskariōtēs*).

27 *Satana*: nom. m. personal name ‘Satan’ (the nominative occurs also as *Satanas*) (< Gr. *Satanās*).

28 *ainshun*: nom.sg.m. pron. ‘somebody, anyone’ (the pronoun only occurs negated with the negation Goth. *ni* ‘not’); compound with Goth. *ains* adj. *a-st./num.* one’ and Goth. *-hun*, syllable used to form certain pronouns.

29 *arka*: acc.sg. to *arka** f. *ō-st.* ‘ark, box, pouch’ (< Lat. *arca* ‘[money] box’). — *þaurbeima*: 1stpl.pres.opt. to *þaurban** pret.pres. ‘to need’; OHG *durfan*, OS, ODu. *thurvan*, OE *þurfan*, OFris. *t(h)urva*, *t(h)orva*, OIcl. *þurfa*. — *unledam*: dat.pl.m. w. to ⁺*unleþs* (*-d-*) adj. *a-st.* ‘poor’ (the nominative singular is only attested as <unleds> [Lk 16:20] with analogical *-d-*); OE *unlæd*; derivation from the root in OE *læþ*, OIcl. *láo* ‘land(ownership)’.

30 *andnam*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *andniman* st. v. 4 ‘to take up, to receive’; compound with Goth. *niman* st. v. 4 ‘to take (up), to receive, to catch’.

1.11. John 13:36–38: The announcement of Peter’s denial

36 *þanuh qap du imma Seimon Paitrus: frauja, had gaggis? andhaffjands Iesus qap: þadei ik gaggja, ni magt mik nu laistjan; iþ biþe laisteis.* **37** *þaruh Paitrus qap du imma: frauja, duþe ni mag þuk laistjan nu? saiwala meina faur þuk lagja.* **38** *andhof Iesus: saiwala þeina faur mik lagjis? amen amen qipa þus, þei hana ni hrukeiþ, unte þu mik afaikis kunnan þrim sinþam.*

36 *had*: adv. ‘where to’ (next to this attestation with *-d* five times also *-þ* is found); derivation from the root in Goth. *has* interrog./indef.pron. ‘who?; anyone’. — *þadei*: adv. ‘where’; compound with as simplex unattested Goth. *þad-* (derivation from the dental form of the pronominal stem in the paradigm of Goth. *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’; for the formation cf. *had*) and Goth. *ei* conj. ‘(so) that’.

37 *saiwala*: acc.sg. to *saiwala* f. *ō-st.* ‘soul’; OHG *sēla*, OS *sēola*, ODu. *siela*, OE *sāwol*, OFris. *sēle*.

38 —.

1.12. John 18:1–11: Arrest of Jesus

1 *þata qipands Iesus usiddja miþ siponjam seinaim ufar rinnon þo Kaidron, þarei was aurtigards, in þanei galaip Iesus jah siponjos is.* **2** *wiss-uh þan jah Iudas sa galewjands ina þana stad, þatei ufta gäiddja Iesus jainar miþ siponjam seinaim.* **3** *iþ Iudas nam hansa jah þize gudjane jah Fareisaie andbahtans, iddj-uh jaindwairþs miþ skeimam jah haizam jah wepnam.* **4** *iþ Iesus witands alla þoei qemun ana ina, usgaggands ut qap im: hana sokeiþ?* **5** *andhaffjandans imma qeþun: Iesu, þana Nazoraiu. þaruh qap im Iesus: ik im. stop-uh þan jah Iudas sa lewjands ina miþ im.* **6** *þaruh swe qap im þatei ik im, galipun ibukai jah gadrusun dalap.* **7** *þaproh þan ins aftra frah: hana sokeiþ? iþ eis qeþun: Iesu, þana Nazoraiu.* **8** *andhof Iesus: qap izwis þatei ik im; jabai nu mik sokeiþ, letiþ þans gaggan.* **9** *ei usfullnodedi þata waurd þatei qap, ei þanzei atgaft mis, ni fraqistida ize ainummehun.* **10** *iþ Seimon Paitrus habands hairu, uslauk ina jah sloh þis auhumistins gudjins skalk jah afmaimait imma auso*

taihswō; sah þan haitans was namin Malkus. 11 þaruh qap Iesus du Paitrau: lagei þana hairu in fodr. stikl þanei gaf mis atta, niu drigkau þana?

1 *rinnon*: acc.sg. to *rinno** f. *n*-st. ‘(mountain) torrent’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *rinna* ‘water pipe’; derivation from the root in Goth. *rinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run, to walk’. — *Kaidron*: acc. v. *Kaidron** river name ‘Kidron’ (this is the only attestation of the name) (< Gr. *Kédrōn*). — *aurtigards*: nom.sg. m. *i*-st. ‘garden’; OE *ortgeard*, *orceard*; compound with Goth. *aurti*- (< Lat. *hortus* ‘garden’; ODu. *ort*- [in *ortbōm* ‘garden tree’, *ortfogal* ‘tame bird’, *ortpunt* ‘garden bed’]; cf. the derivation in OHG *orzōn* ‘to cultivate, to tend’) and Goth. *gards* m. *i*-st. ‘house, family; court’.

2 *stad*: acc.sg. to *staps* (-*d*-) m. *i*-st. ‘place; hostel’ (with analogical -*d* instead of -*þ*). — *ufta*: adv. ‘often’; (based on different formations) OHG *ofto*, OS *ofto*, *ohto*, *oft*, MDu. *ofte*, *oft*, OE *oft*, OFris. *ofta*, *ofte*, *ōfta*, *ōfte*, OIcl. *opt*. — *gaidþja*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gagaggan** defect. st. v. 7 ‘to come together’; compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go’.

3 *hansa*: acc.sg. to *hansa* f. *ō*-st. ‘swarm, maniple, cohort; crowd’; OHG *hansa*, MLG *hense*, *hanse* (borrowed in ODu. *hansa*, NWestFris. *hanze*-), OE *hōs* (borrowed from Germanic into MLat. *hansa* ‘commercial association’, Finn. *kansa* ‘people’, Estn. *kaas[a]* ‘husband, wife, companion’). — *Fareisaie*: gen.pl. to *Fareisaius* m. *u/i*-st. name ‘Pharisee’ (< Gr. *Pharisaïos*). — *andbahtans*: acc.pl. to *andbahts* m. *a*-st. ‘servant’ (loanword from Celtic; cf. Lat.-Gall. *ambactus* ‘servant’); OHG *ambaht*, MDu. *ambacht*, OE *ambeht*, *embeht*, OIcl. *ambátt*, *ambótt*. — *jaindwairþs*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘turned there’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *jaind* adv. ‘there’ and Goth. -*wairþs* ‘turned’; OHG -*wert*, as, -*werd*, OIcl. -*verðr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *wairþan* st. v. 3 ‘to become’. — *skeimam*: dat.pl. to *skeima** m. *n*-st. ‘lamp, light’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG, OS, ODu. *skīmo*, OE *scīma*, OIcl. *skími*; derivation from the root in Goth. *skeinan* st. v. 1 ‘to shine, to glow’. — *haizam*: dat.pl. to *hais** n. *a*-st. ‘torch’ (this is the only attestation of the word); cf. (different formation) OHG, MLG, MDu. *hei* ‘heat, dryness’. — *wepnam*: dat.pl. to *wepn** n. *a*-st. ‘weapon’; OHG *wāfan*, OS, ODu. *wāpan*, OE *wāpen*, OFris. *wēpen*, OIcl. *vápn*.

4 —.

5 *stop-uh*: combination of Goth. *stop*- 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’ (with -*þ* instead of the expected -*d* due to its position before a vowel) and Goth. -(*u*)*h* enclit. Particle ‘and’.

6 *ibukai*: nom.pl.m. to *ibuks** adj. *a*-st. ‘facing backward’; probably (despite different vocalism) to OHG *abuh*, OS *abuh*, OIcl. *ofugr* ‘wrong’. — *gadrusun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *gadriusan* st. v. 2 ‘to fall down’; compound with Goth. *driusan** st. v. 2 ‘to fall’.

7 —.

8 —.

9 *usfullnodedi*: 3rdsg.pret.opt. to *usfullnan** w. v. 4 ‘to be fulfilled’; compound with Goth. *fullnan** w. v. 4 ‘to become full’. — *atgaft*: 2ndsg.pret.ind. to *atgiban* st. v. 5 ‘to give to’; compound with Goth. *giban* st. v. 5 ‘to give’. — *fraqistida*: 1stsg.pret.ind. to *fraqistjan* w. v. 1 ‘to spoil, to kill’; compound with Goth. *qistjan* w. v. 1 ‘to spoil’; OHG *quisten*; derivation from the root in OHG, MLG, MDu. *quist* ‘harm, ruin’.

10 *hairu*: acc.sg. to *hairus* m. *u*-st. ‘sword’; OS *heru*- (in *herudrōrag* ‘sword-blooded’), OE *heoru*, OIcl. *hiqrr*. — *sloh*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *slahan** st. v. 6 ‘to beat’; Run. (nom.sg.m. pres.part.) **slaginaz** (stone from Möjbro, 160–560/70), OHG, OS *slahan*, ODu. *slān*, OE *slēan*, OFris. *slā*, OIcl. *slá*, *sló*. — *auhumistins*: gen.sg.m. w. to *auhumists* superl.adj. ‘highest’; OE *ȳmest*. — *skalk*: acc.sg. to *skalks* m. *a*-st. ‘servant’; OHG, OS, ODu. *skalk*, OE *scealc*, OFris. *skalk*, OIcl. *skalkr*. — *afmaitait*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *afmaitan** st. v. 7 ‘to cut off, to hew off’; compound with Goth. *maitan** st. v. 7 ‘to cut, to hew’; OHG *meizan*, OIcl. *meita*. — *auso*: acc.sg. to *auso* n. *n*-st. ‘ear’; next to (with grammatical change) OHG, OS, ODu. *ōra*, OE *ēare*, OFris. *āre*, *ār*, OIcl. *eyra*. — *taihswō*: acc.sg.n. to *taihswo** adj. w. ‘right’; OHG *zeso*, MDu. *tesuwe*. — *Malkus*: nom. m. personal name ‘Malchus’ (< Gr. *Málchos*).

11 *fodr*: acc.sg. to *fodr** n. *a*-st. ‘sheath’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *fuotar*, MLG *vöder* (borrowed into OIcl. *fóðr*), Early MDu. *voeder*, OE *fōdor*, OFris. *fōder*. — *stikl*: acc.sg. to *stikls* m. *a*-st. ‘cup, chalice’; (different formation) OHG *stichil* ‘thorn’, *stechal* ‘chalice’, ODu. *stekil* ‘sting’, OE *sticel* ‘sting’, OIcl. *stikill* ‘tip of a drinking horn’; derivation from the root in OHG *stechan*, OS, ODu. *stekan*, OFris. *steak* ‘to sting’. — *drigkau*: 1stsg.pres.opt. to *drigkan* st. v. 3 ‘to drink’; OHG *trinkan*, OS, ODu. *drinkan*, OE *drincan*, OFris. *drinka*, OIcl. *drekka*.

1.13. John 18:25–27: The Denial of Peter

25 *ip Seimon Paitrus was standands jah warmjands sik. þaruh qeþun du imma: niu jah þu pize siponje þis is? ip is afaiaik jah qap: ne, ni im. 26 qap sums þize skalke þis maistins gudjins, sah niþjis was þammei afmaimait Paitrus auso: niu þuk sah ik in aurtigarda miþ imma? 27 þaruh aftra afaiaik Paitrus, jah suns hana hrukida.*

25 *warmjands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *warmjan** w. v. 1 ‘to warm (oneself)’; OHG *wermen*, OS *wermian*, MDu. *warmen*, OE *wyrman*, OIcl. *verma*; derivation from the root in OHG, OS, ODu. *warm*, OE *wearm*, OFris. *warm*, OIcl. *varmr* ‘warm’. — *ne*: neg. ‘no’; probably originally the emphasized variant of Goth. *ni* neg. ‘not’.

26 *maistins*: gen.sg.m. w. v. *maists* ‘the greatest’, superl. to Goth. *mikils* adj. *a*-st. ‘big’; OHG *meist*, OS, ODu. *mēst*, OE *māest*, *māst*, OFris. *māst*, *mēst*, OIcl. *mestr*. — *niþjis*: nom.sg. m. *ja*-st. ‘relative’; OE *niþpas* pl., OIcl. *niðr*.

27 —.

1.14. John 18:28–40: Jesus before Pilate

28 *ip eis tauhun Iesu fram Kajafin in praitoriaun. þaruh was maurgins. ip eis ni iddjedun in praitoria, ei ni bisaulnodedeina ak matidedeina pasxa. 29 þaruh atiddja ut Peilatus du im jah qap: ho wrohe bairiþ ana þana mannan? 30 andhofun jah qeþun du imma: nih wesi sa ubiltojis, ni þau weis atgebeima þus ina. 31 þaruh qap im Peilatus: nimip ina jus jah bi witoda izwaramma stojip ina. ip eis qeþun-uh du imma Iudaieis: unsis ni skuld ist usqiman manne ainummehun. 32 ei waurd frauþins usfullnodedi, þatei qap, bandwjands hileikamma dauþau skulda gaswiltan. 33 <þaruh> galaiþ in praitauria aftra Peilatus jah wopida Iesu qap-uh imma: þu is þiudans Iudaie? 34 andhof Iesus: ab-u þus silbin þu þata qipis þau anþarai þus qeþun bi mik? 35 andhof Peilatus: waitei ik Iudaius im? so þiuda þeina jah gudjans anafulhun þuk mis; ha gatawides? 36 andhof Iesus: þiudangardi meina nist us þamma fairhau; ip us þamma fairhau wesi meina þiudangardi, aiþþau andbahtos meinai usdauidedeina, ei ni galewiþs wesjau Iudaium. ip nu þiudangardi meina nist þapro. 37 þaruh qap imma Peilatus: an nuh þiudans is þu? andhafjands Iesus <qap>: þu qipis ei þiudans im ik. ik du þamma gabaurans im jah du þamma qam in þamma fairhau ei weitwodjau sunjai. hazuh saei ist sunjos, hauseiþ stibnos meinaizos. 38 þaruh qap imma Peilatus: ha ist so sunja? jah þata qipands <aftra> galaiþ ut du Iudaium jah qap im: ik ainohun fairino ni bigita in þamma. 39 ip ist biuhti izwis ei ainana izwis fraletau in pasxa; wileid-u nu ei fraletau izwis þana þiudan*

Iudaie? 40 *ip eis hropidedun aftra allai qibandans: ne pana, ak Barabban; sah pan was sa Barabba waidedja.*

28 *tauhan*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *tiuhan* st. v. 2 ‘to draw, to lead (away)’; OHG *ziohan*, OS *tiohan*, ODu. *tiān*, OE *tēon*, OFris. *tiā*, OIcl. pret.part. *toginn*. — *Kajafin*: dat. to *Kajafa* m. personal name ‘Caiaphas’ (< Gr. *Kaīáphas*). — *praitoriaun*: acc.sg. to *praitoriaun* n./f. ‘praetorium’ (the accusative singular is also attested as *praitoria*, *praitauria*) (< Gr. *praitōrion*). — *maurgins*: nom.sg. m. *a*-st. ‘morning’; OHG *morgan*, Lgb. *morgin-* (in *morgingab* ‘morning gift’), OS, ODu. *morgan*, OE *morgen*, *margen*, *mergen*, *myrgen*, OFris. *morn*, OIcl. *morginn*, *morgunn*, *merginn*, *myrginn*. — *bisaulnodedeina*: 3rdpl.pret.opt. to *bisaulnan** w. v. 4 ‘to be defiled’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); here also belongs Goth. *bisauljan** w. v. 1 ‘to defile’; derivations from the root in OHG *sol* ‘puddle of excrements’, MLG, MDu. *sol* ‘puddle, pond, mud’, OE *sol*, *solu* ‘excrement, mud’.

29 *Peilatus*: nom. m. personal name ‘Pilate’ (< Gr. *Peilātos*). — *wrohe*: gen.pl. to *wrohs** f. *i*-st. ‘accusation’; MLG *wrōge*.

30 *ubiltojis*: nom.sg.m. adj. *ja*-st. / nom.sg. m. *ja*-st. ‘malicious; wrongdoer’; compound with Goth. *ubil-* (see *ubils*) and Goth. *-tojis*, derivation from the root in Goth. *taujan* w. v. 1 ‘to do, to make’.

31 *witoda*: dat.sg. to *witop* (-*d*-) n. *a*-st. ‘law’; OHG *wizzōd* ‘law; Testament, sacrament, communion’, MLG *wit*, *wet(te)* ‘law’, ODu. *witut* ‘law’, OFris. *witat* ‘host [bread]’; derivation from the root in OS *witōn*, OE *witian* ‘to determine, to establish’. — *stojip*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *stojan* w. v. 1 ‘to judge’; OHG *stowen* ‘to accuse’. — *skuld*: nom.sg.n. pret.part. to *skulan** pret.pres. ‘to be guilty, must’; cf. OHG, OS *skulan*, ODu. *sullan*, OE *sculan*, OFris. *skela*, *skila*, *skolla*, OIcl. *skola*. — *usqiman*: inf. st. v. 4 ‘to kill, to give death’; compound with Goth. *qiman* st. v. 4 ‘to come’.

32 —.

33 —.

34 *ab-u*: combination of Goth. *ab-* (with missing final devoicing of *-b-* due to its position before a vowel) = *af* prep. + dat. ‘from, from – away, from – here’ and Goth. *-u* enclit. interrog. particle.

35 *waitei*: adv. ‘perhaps, about’; compound with Goth. *wait* 1stsg.pres.ind. to *witan* pret.pres. ‘to know’ and Goth. *ei* conj. ‘(so) that’. — *piuda*: nom.sg. f. *ō*-st. ‘people’; OHG *diot(a)*, OS *thiod(a)*, ODu. *thiet*, OE *pēod*, OFris. *thiād*, OIcl. *þióð*. — *anafulhun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *anafilhan* st. v. 4 ‘to hand over, to deliver; to lease; to recommend’; compound with Goth. *filhan* st. v. 4 ‘to bury, to hide’; OHG *fel(a)han*, OS *-fel(a)han* (in *bifel[a]han* ‘to command, to grant, to hand over, to entrust, to consecrate, to bury’), ODu. *-felan* (in *bifelan* ‘to entrust, to leave; to command’), OE *fēolan*, OFris. *-fela*, *-fala*, *-fola*, *-fēla* (in *bifela*, *bifala*, *bifola*, *bifēla* ‘to entrust; to hand over; to recommend; to command, to instruct; to bury’), OIcl. *fel(g)a*.

36 *usdaudidedeina*: 3rdpl.pret.opt. to *usdaudjan** w. v. 1 ‘to strive’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from Goth. *usdaups** (-*d*-) adj. ‘eager’; probably to Goth. *daupus* m. *u*-st. ‘death’ (‘being outside of death’) or of Goth. *daups* (-*p*-) adj. *a*-st. ‘dead’ (‘alive, lively’). — *paþro*: adv. ‘therefore, from there; thereon’; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-þro* from the dental stem of the demonstrative pronoun Goth. *sa* ‘this, the’.

37 *an*: adv. ‘because, now’; cf. Lat. *an* ‘whether, because, about ...?’. — *nuh*: adv. ‘then’; compound with Goth. *nu* . adv. ‘well, now’, 2. conj. ‘well, therefore, consequently’ and Goth. *-(u)h* enclit. particle ‘and’. — *gabaurans*: nom.sg.m. pret.part. to *gabairan* st. v. 4 ‘to give birth, to compare’; OHG, OS *giberan*, OE *geberan*; compound with Goth. *bairan* st. v. 4 ‘to carry, to suffer, to give birth’.

38 *fairino*: gen.pl. to *fairina** f. *ō*-st. ‘fault; accusation’; OHG, OS *firina*, OE *firen*, OFris. *firne*, *ferne*, (different formation) OIcl. *firn*.

39 *biuhti*: nom.sg. n. *ja*-st. ‘habit’; derivation from the root in Goth. *binauhan** pret.pres. ‘to be allowed, may’ (see *ganohs**). — *fraletau*: 1stsg.pres.opt. to *fraletan* st. v. 7 ‘to let, to release, to dismiss, to forbear, to admit, to allow, to forgive, to condescend’; compound with Goth. *letan** st. v. 7 ‘to let, to permit, to

allow, to leave (behind)’. — *wileid-u*: combination from Goth. *wileid-* 2ndpl.pres.opt. to *wiljan* athem. V. ‘to want’ (with missing final devoicing of *-d-* due to its position before a vowel) and Goth. *-u* enclit. interrog. particle.

40 *ne*: probably wrong spelling for Goth. *ni* neg. ‘not’. — *Barabban*: acc. to *Barabba(s)* m. personal name ‘Barabbas’ (the nominative is also attested as *Barabbas*) (< Gr. *Barabbās*). — *waidedja*: nom.sg. m. *n*-st. ‘criminal, robber’; derivation of an unattested substantive Goth. **waideps* f. *i*-st. ‘misdeed’, a compound with Goth. *wai-* ‘bad, evil’ (see *wajamerjan*) and Goth. *-deps* f. *i*-st. ‘deed’, attested in Goth. *gadeps** (*-d-*) f. *i*-st. ‘deed’, Goth. *missadeps* (*-d-*) f. *i*-st. ‘misdeed’ and Goth. *wailadeps** (*-d-*) f. *i*-st. ‘benevolence’; OHG *tāt*, OS *dād*, ODu. *dāt*, OE *dēd*, OFris. *dēde*, *dēd*, *dād*, OIcl. *dáð*; derivation from the root in OHG *tuon*, OS *duan*, *dōn*, OE *dōn*, OFris. *duā(n)* ‘to do, to make’; for the formation cf. MHG *übeltæte*, OE *yfeldæda* ‘malefactor’.

1.15. John 19:1–5: The mocking and flagellation of Jesus

1 þanuh þan nam Peilatus Iesu jah usblaggw. 2 jah þai gadrauhteis uswundun wipja us þaurnum jah galagidedun imma ana haubid jah wastjai þaurpurodai gawasidedun ina, 3 jah qepun: hails, þiudans Iudaie! jah gebun imma slahins lofin. 4 atiddja aftra ut Peilatus jah qap im: sai, attiuha izwis ina ut, ei witeiþ þatei in imma ni ainohun fairino bigat. 5 þaruh usiddja ut Iesus bairands þana þaurneinan waip jah þo þaurpurodon wastja. jah qap im: <sai> sa ist sa manna.

1 *usblaggw*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *usbliggwan** st. v. 3 ‘to beat black and blue’; compound with Goth. *bliggan** st. v. 3 ‘to beat’; OHG *bliuwan*, OS *-bleuwan* (in *ūtbleuwan** ‘to knock aut’), MDu. *blouwen*. **2** *gadrauhteis*: nom.pl. to *gadrauhts* m. *i*-st. ‘soldier’; derivation from the root in Goth. *driugan** st. v. 2 ‘to go to war’. — *uswundun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *uswindan** st. v. 3 ‘to weave’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *wintan*, OS *windan*, Early MDu. *winden*, OE *windan*, OFris. *winda*, OIcl. *vinda* ‘to wind’. — *wipja*: acc.sg. to *wipja** f. *ō*-st. ‘wreath’; derivation from the root in Goth. *weipan** st. v. 1 ‘to wreath, to crown’; OHG pret.part.pass. *-wifan* (in *biwifan* ‘unfortunate, damned’). — *þaurnum*: dat.pl. to *þaurnus** m. *u*-st. ‘thorn’; (with different formation) OHG *dorn*, OS, ODu. *thorn*, OE *þorn*, NWestFris. *doarn*, OIcl. *þorn*. — *galagidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *galagjan** w. v. 1 ‘to lie down’; compound with Goth. *lagjan* w. v. 1 ‘to put (on/down)’. — *haubid*: acc.sg. to *haubiþ* (*-d-*) n. *a*-st. ‘head’ (with analogical *-d* instead of *-þ*) (Crimean Goth. *hoef*); OHG *houbit*, OS *hōvid*, ODu. *hōvit*, OE *hēafod*, OFris. *hāved*, *hāvid*, OIcl. *haufuð* (with a diphthong whose explanation is uncertain) next to (with monophthong) OE *hæfod*, *hafud*, OIcl. *hofuð*. — *wastjai*: dat.sg. to *wasti** f. *jō*-st. ‘dress, (pl.) clothing’; derivation from the root in Goth. *wasjan** w. v. 1 ‘to clothe; to get dressed’. — *þaurpurodai*: dat.sg.f. pret.part. to *þaurpuron** w. v. 2 ‘to dye with purple’ (< Lat. *purpurāre* ‘to make purple’). — *gawasidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *gawasjan** w. v. 1 ‘to clothe with’; compound with Goth. *wasjan** w. v. 1 ‘to clothe; to get dressed’ (with analogical *-s-* instead of expected *-z-*); OHG *werien*, OE *werian*, OIcl. *verja*.

3 *slahins*: acc.pl. to *slahs** m. *i*-st. ‘blow; plague’ (with analogical *-h-* instead of expected **-g-* after Goth. *slahan** st. v. 6 ‘to beat’); OHG *slag*, OS *slegi*, ODu. *slag*, OE *slege*, OFris. *slei*, OIcl. *slagr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *slahan** st. v. 6 ‘to beat’. — *lofin*: dat.sg. to *lofa** m. *n*-st. ‘palm’; MLG *lōf*, *loef* m. ‘windward side, luff’, ODu. **luof* (*lof*) ‘rudder blade, tiller’, OE *lōf* ‘flat hand’, OIcl. *lōfi* ‘open hand, palm’.

4 *attiuha*: 1stsg.pres.ind. to *attiuhan* st. v. 2 ‘to pull in, to bring about, to bring on’; compound with Goth. *tiuhan* st. v. 2 ‘to draw, to lead (away)’.

5 *þaurneinan*: acc.sg.m. w. v. *þaurneins** adj. *a*-st. ‘of thorns’; OHG *durnīn*, MLG *dōrnen*, ODu. *thornīn*, OE *þyrnen*, OFris. *thornen*; derivation from the root in Goth. *þaurnus** m. *u*-st. ‘thorn’. — *waip*: acc.sg. to *waips* m. *a*-st. ‘wreath’; OHG *weif*, OIcl. *veipr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *weipan** st. v. 1 ‘to wreath, to crown’.

1.16. Luke 1:26–38: The Announcement of Jesus’ Birth

26 *þanuh þan in menop saihstin insandiþs was aggilus Gabriel fram guda in baurg Galeilaias sei haitada Nazaraib*, 27 *du magapai in fragibtim abin, þizei namo Iosef, us garda Daweidis, jah namo þizos magapais Mariam*. 28 *jah galeiþands inn sa aggilus du izai qap: fagino, anstai audahafta, frauja miþ þus; þiupido þu in qinom*. 29 *iþ si gasaihandei gablahsnoda bi innatgahtai is jah þahta sis hveleika wesi so goleins [þatei swa þiupida izai]*. 30 *jah qap aggilus du izai: ni ogs þus, Mariam, bigast auk anst fram guda*. 31 *jah sai, ganimis in kilþein jah gabairis sunu jah haitais namo is Iesu*. 32 *sah wairþiþ mikils jah sunus hauhistins haitada, jah gibid imma frauja guþ stol Daweidis attins is*. 33 *jah þiudanop ufar garda Iakobis in ajukduþ, jah þiudinassaus is ni wairþiþ andeis*. 34 *qap þan Mariam du þamma aggilau: haiwa sijai þata, þandei aban ni kann?* 35 *jah andhafjands sa aggilus qap du izai: ahma weihs atgaggip ana þuk, jah mahts hauhistins ufarskadweid þus, dupe ei <jah> saei gabairada weihs haitada sunus gudis*. 36 *jah sai, Aileisabaiþ niþjo þeina, jah so inkilþo sunau in aldomin seinamma, jah sa menops saihsta ist izai sei haitada stairo*, 37 *unte nist unmahteig guda ainhun waurde*. 38 *qap þan Mariam: sai, þiwi frauþins, wairþai mis bi waurda þeinamma. jah galaib fairra izai sa aggilus*.

26 *menop*: dat.sg. to *menops* (*-þ*-) m. cons.st. ‘month’; OHG *mānōd*, OS *mānuth*, ODu. *mānoth*, OE *mōnaþ*, *mōnþ*, OFris. *mōnath*, *mōneth*, *mōn(a)d*, OIcl. *mánaðr*, *mánoðr* (originally in the same paradigm as Goth. *mena* m. ‘moon’ [only nom.sg. Mk 13:24]). — *saihstin*: dat.sg.m. to *saihsta** num ‘the sixth’; OHG, OS *sehto*, ODu. *sesto*, OE *siexta*, OFris. *sexta*, OIcl. *sétti*. — *aggilus*: nom.sg. m. *u*-st. ‘angel’ (< Gr. *ángelos*, Lat. *angelus*). — *Gabriel*: nom. m. personal name ‘Gabriel’ (< Gr. *Gabriel*). — *Galeilaias*: gen.sg. to *Galeilaia** f. country name ‘Galilee’ (< Gr. *Galilaía*). — *Nazaraib*: nom. indecl. place name ‘Nazareth’ (< Gr. *Nazaréth*).

27 *magapai*: dat.sg. to *magaps* (*-þ*-) f. *i*-st. ‘virgin’; OHG *magad*, OS *magath*, ODu. *magith*, OE *mæg(e)þ*, OFris. *megeth*, *megith*, *maged*, *māgd*, *meid*. — *fragibtim*: dat.pl. to *fragifts** f. *i*-st. ‘bestowal, (pl.) betrothal’ (with etymological *-b-*); derivation from Goth. *fragiban* st. v. 5 ‘to forgive’. — *abin*: dat.sg. to *aba* m. irreg. *n*-st. ‘husband, spouse’; OHG personal name *Abo*, Lgb. personal name *Abo*, OE personal name *Aba*, *Afa*, OIcl. *afi*. — *Iosef*: nom. m. personal name ‘Joseph’ (< Gr. *Iōséph*). — *Daweidis*: gen. to *Daweid* m. personal name ‘David’ (< Gr. *Daueíd*). — *Mariam*: nom. f. personal name ‘Mary’ (< Gr. *Mariám*).

28 *inn*: adv. ‘into’; OHG *in*, OS *inn*, OE *in(n)*, OIcl. *inn*; derivation from Goth. *in* prep. + dat./acc. (for the designation of place / direction) ‘in, on, on, to, while, after to’, + gen. ‘because of, for the sake of, for, through’. — *anstai*: dat.sg. to *ansts* f. *i*-st. ‘joy, thanks, mercy, favour, bounty’; cf. OHG, OS, ODu. *anst*, OE *ēst*, ? OFris. *enst*, OIcl. *qst*, *ást*; derivation from the root in OHG *unnan*, OS *-unnan*, MDu. *onnen*, OE *unnan*, OIcl. *unna* ‘to grant, to deign’. — *audahafta*: nom.sg.f. to *audahafts** adj. *a*-st. ‘happy’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation with dem Suffix Goth. *-hafts* from the as a simplex unattested form Goth. *auda-*; Run.-OHG *aod-* (in personal name *aodliþ* [ivory ring from Pforzen, ca. 600]), ? OHG *ōt* ‘wealth, fortune’, Lgb. (in personal names) *Aud(a)-*, OS *ōd* ‘wealth, possession’, OE *ēad* ‘wealth, possession’, OIcl. *auðr* ‘wealth, possession’. — *þiupido*: nom.sg.f. sw.

pret.part. to *þiupþjan** w. v. 1 ‘to bless’; derivation from the root in Goth. *þiup* (-þ-) n. *a*-st. ‘the good (thing)’. — *qinom*: dat.pl. to *qino* f. *n*-st. ‘woman’; OHG, OS, ODu. *quena*, OE *cwene*, Saterfris. *kwene*, OIcl. *kona*, *kvinna*; next to Goth. *qens* f. *i*-st. ‘wife’.

29 *gaþlahsnoda*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gaþlahsnan** w. v. 4 ‘to frighten’ (this is the only attestation of the word); further etymology unclear. — *innatgahtai*: dat.sg. to *innatgahts** f. *i*-st. ‘entrance’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from Goth. *innatgaggan* st. v. 7 ‘to come in, to enter’. — *hveleika*: nom.sg.f. to *hveleiks* adj. *a*-st. ‘what sort/kind of?, which?, of what type?’ (with incorrect -e- instead of -i-). — *goleins*: nom.sg. f. *i*-st. ‘greeting’; derivation from the root in Goth. *goljan* w. v. 1 ‘to greet’.

30 —.

31 *ganimis*: 2ndsg.pres.ind. to *ganiman* st. v. 4 ‘to take away, to receive, to get; to learn’; compound with Goth. *niman* st. v. 4 ‘to take (up), to receive, to catch’. — *kilþein*: acc.sg. to *kilþei** f. *n*-st. ‘womb’; probably derivation from the root in OE *cild* ‘child’.

32 *hauhistins*: gen.sg.m. w. superl. to *hauhs** adj. *a*-st. ‘high’; Lat.-Gmc. demonym *Chauci*, OHG, OS *hōh*, ODu. *hō*, *hōg*, OE *hēah*, *hēh*, OFris. *hāch*, *hēch*, *heich*, *hōch*, OIcl. *hár*. — *gibid*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *giban* st. v. 5 ‘to give’ (with analogical -d instead of -þ). — *stol*: acc.sg. to *stols* m. *a*-st. ‘chair, throne’; OHG *stuol*, OS *stōl*, ODu. *stuol*, OE, OFris. *stōl*, OIcl. *stóll*; derivation from the root in Goth. *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’.

33 *Iakobis*: gen. to *Iakobus* m. personal name ‘Jacob’ (< Gr. *Iákōbos*) (the genitive is also attested as *Iakobaus*). — *ajukdup*: acc.sg. to *ajukdups** f. *i*-st. ‘eternity’; derivation with the suffix Goth. -*dups* from Goth. *ajuk-*; (with different formation) OE *ēce*, *āce* ‘eternal’; compound with the roots in Goth. *aiws** m. *a/i*-st. ‘time, eternity’ and Goth. *qius* adj. *wa*-st. ‘lively’; OHG *quek*, OS *quik*, ODu. *quic*, OE *cwic*, *cwyc*, OFris. *quik*, OIcl. *kvikr*, *kykr*. — *andeis*: nom.sg. m. *ja*-st. ‘end’; OHG *enti*, OS, ODu. *endi*, OE *ende*, OFris. *e(i)nde*, *ein(d)*, OIcl. *endir*, *endi*.

34 *þandei*: conj. ‘as long as; there; if; because’ (more often the word occurs in the form *þande*); derivation from Goth. *þan* 1. adv. ‘then, thereupon’, 2. adversative conj. ‘but, however’, 3. conj. ‘when, as long as; as’.

35 *weihs*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘holy’; OHG *wīh*, OS *wīh-*, OE *wīg-*; in most Germanic languages only in remnants (cf. e.g. G *Weih-nachten* ‘Christmans’, *Weih-rauch* ‘incense’) and replaced by equivalents of the adjective ‘holy’. — *ufarskadweid*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *ufarskadwjan** w. v. 1 ‘to overshadow’ (with analogical -d instead of -þ) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from the root in Goth. *skadus* m. *u*-st. ‘shadow’; OHG *skato*, OS *skado*, ODu. ⁺*skado*, OE *scead(u)*, NWestFris. *skaad*, *skâd*. — *duþe*: adv./conj. ‘therefore, for that reason, to that’; compound with Goth. *du* prep. + dat./inf. ‘to, for, in’ and Goth. *þe* instr.sg.n. to *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’.

36 *Aileisabaip*: nom. f. personal name ‘Elizabeth’ (< Gr. *Elisábet*, Lat. *Elisabeth*). — *niþjo*: nom.sg. f. *n*-st. ‘relative’ (this is the only attestation); feminine motion formation to Goth. *niþjis* m. *ja*-st. ‘relative’. — *inkilþo*: nom.sg. f. *n*-st. ‘pregnant woman’; derivation from the compound with Goth. *in* prep. + dat./acc. (for the designation of place / direction) ‘in, on, on, to, while, after to’, + gen. ‘because of, for the sake of, for, through’ and Goth. *kilþei** f. *n*-st. ‘womb’. — *aldomin*: dat.sg. to *aldumo** n. *n*-st. ‘(old) age’ (with incorrect -o- for -u-) (this is the only attestation of the word); probably nominalized comparative of Goth. *alþeis* adj. *ja*-st. ‘old’ (different formation Crimean Goth. *alt*); (different formation) OHG *alt*, OS *ald*, ODu. *alt*, OE *eald*, OFris. *ald*, *old*. — *stairo*: nom.sg. f. *n*-st. ‘the barren one’; cf. OHG *stero*, ‘ram’.

37 *unmahteig*: nom.sg.n. to *unmahteigs* adj. *a*-st. ‘faint, weak; impossible’; compound with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and Goth. *mahteigs* adj. *a*-st. ‘powerful’.

38 —.

1.17. Luke 2:1–20: Birth of Jesus

1 warþ þan in dagans jainans, urrann gagrefts fram kaisara Agustau, gameljan allana midjungard. 2 soh þan gilstrameleins frumista warþ at [wisandin kindina Swriais] raginondin Saurim Kwreinaiau. 3 jah iddjedun allai, ei melidai weseina, harjizuh in seinai baurg. 4 urrann þan jah Iosef us Galeilaia, us baurg Nazaraip, in Iudaian, in baurg Daweidis sei haitada Beplahaim, duþe ei was us garda fadreinais Daweidis, 5 anameljan miþ Mariin sei in fragiftim was imma qeins, wisandein inkilþon. 6 warþ þan, miþþanei þo wesun jainar, usfullnodedun dagos du bairan izai. 7 jah gabar sunu seinana þana frumabaur jah biwand ina jah galagida ina in uzetin, unte ni was im rumis in stada þamma. 8 jah hairdjos wesun in þamma samin landa, þairhwakandans jah witandans wahtwom nahts ufaro hairdai seinai. 9 iþ aggilus frauþins anaqam ins jah wulþus frauþins biskain ins, jah ohtedun agisa mikilamma. 10 jah qap du im sa aggilus: ni ogeiþ, unte sai, spillo izwis faheid mikila, sei wairþiþ allai managein, 11 þatei gabaurans ist izwis himma daga nasjands, saei ist Xristus frauja, in baurg Daweidis. 12 jah þata izwis taikns: bigitid barn biwundan jah galagid in uzetin. 13 jah anaks warþ miþ þamma aggilau managei harjis himinakundis hazjandane guþ jah qiþandane: 14 wulþus in hauhistjam guda jah ana airþai gawairþi in mannam godis wiljins. 15 jah warþ, biþe galipun fairra im in himin þai aggiljus, jah þai mans þai hairdjos qeþun du sis misso: þairhgaggaima ju und Beplahaim jah saiþaima waurd þata waurþano, þatei frauja gakannida unsis. 16 jah qemun sniumjandans jah bigetun Marian jah Iosef jah þata barn ligando in uzetin. 17 gasaiþandans þan gakannidedun bi þata waurd þatei rodip was du im bi þata barn. 18 jah allai þai gahausjandans sildaleikidedun bi þo rodidona fram þaim hairdjam du im. 19 iþ Maria alla gafastaida þo waurda, þagkjandei in hairtin seinamma. 20 jah gawandidedun sik þai hairdjos mikiljandans jah hazjandans guþ in allaize þizeei gahausidedun jah gasehun swaswe rodip was du im.

1 *gagrefts*: nom.sg. f. *i*-st. ‘decision, regulation’; further etymology uncertain. — *kaisara*: dat.sg. to *kaisar** m. *a*-st. ‘emperor’ (< Lat. *Caesar*). — *Agustau*: dat.sg. to *Agustus** m. personal name ‘Augustus’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (< Lat. *Augustus*); the form with Goth. *A-* is probably based on a vulgar Latin variant with *A-* for *Au-* and to a spelling error. — *gameljan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to write’; compound with Goth. *meljan* w. v. 1 ‘to write’; OE *mælan* ‘to mark’, OIcl. *mæla* ‘to paint’; derivation from the root in Goth. *mela* n. pl. *a*-st. ‘writing’; OHG *māl* ‘externally visible sign, dot’, OS *-māl* (in *hōvidmāl* ‘head image’), MDu. *mael* ‘mark, sign, birthmark, OE *mæl* ‘mark, sign, ornament, cross, weapon’, OIcl. *mál* ‘sign, spot, mark’. — *midjungard*: acc.sg. to *midjungards** m. *i*-st. ‘the inhabited earth, world’; OHG *mittingart*, OE *middangeard*; compound with an otherwise unattested substantive Goth. **midjuma* f. *ō*-st. ‘middle’ (cf. Goth. *miduma** f. *ō*-st. ‘middle’) and Goth. *gards* m. *i*-st. ‘house, family; court’.

2 *gilstrameleins*: nom.sg. f. *i*-st. ‘entry in the tax list’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *gilstr** n. *a*-st. ‘tax’ (OHG *gelstar*), a derivation from the root in Goth. *-gildan* st. v. 3 (only in *fragildan** st. v. 3 ‘to repay’, *usgildan* st. v. 3 ‘to repay’) (OHG *geltan*, OS *geldan*, Early MDu. *ghelden*, OE *gielðan*, OFris. *jelda*, *jilda*, *julda*, *jēlda*, *jōlda*, *gelda*, OIcl. *gjalda*) and an as a simplex unattested word Goth. **meleins* f. *i*-st. ‘writing, script’, a derivation from Goth. *meljan* w. v. 1 ‘to write’. — *frumista*: nom.sg.f. to *frumists* adj. superl. ‘first’; derivation with dem superlative forming suffix Goth. *-ists* from Goth. *fruma* comp. adj./num. ‘first’. — *kindina*: dat.sg. to *kindins* m. *a*-st. ‘governor’; derivation from the root in OIcl. *kind* ‘gender, tribe’, to which (different formation) also OHG *kind*

‘child’ belongs (inherited or as a loanword from OHG also OS *kind*, ODu. *kint*, OFris. *kind*). — *Swriais*: gen.sg. to *Swria** f. country name ‘Syria’ (< Gr. *Syría*) (this is the only attestation of the word); the sequence *wisandin kindina Swriais* is an original gloss to *at raginondin Saurim Kwreinaiau* that got into the text. — *raginondin*: dat.sg.m. pres.part. to *raginon** w. v. 2 ‘to be governor’; derivation from the root in Goth. *ragin** n. a-st. ‘council, advice, decision’; Run. **ragina-** (in **raginakudo** ‘descended from the gods’ [stone from Noleby, 460/70–560/70]), OS *regin-* (in *regin[o]giskapu* ‘decrees of divine providence, destiny’), OIcl. *regin* ‘gods’, besides also as a reinforcing prefix in OHG *regan-* (in *reganblind* ‘completely blind’), OS *regin-* (in *reginskatho* ‘great evildoer’, *reginthiof* ‘nefarious thief’), Lat.-ODu. *rachin-* (in *rachinburgius* ‘judge in court, witness for a proper charge’), OE *regen-* (e.g. in *regenheard* ‘very hard’, *regenþeof* ‘arch thief’). — *Saurim*: dat.pl. to *Saur* m. i-st. resident name ‘Syrian’ (< Gr. *Súros*, Lat. *Surus*). — *Kwreinaiau*: dat. to *Kwreinaius** m. personal name ‘Quirinus’ (< Gr. *Kyrénios*).

3 —.

4 *Beþlahaim*: nom. place name ‘Bethlehem’ (< Gr. *Bēthleém*). — *fadreinais*: gen.sg. to *fadrein* n. a-st. ‘descent, family’ (with *-ais* instead of *-is* [cf. *fadreinis* EphAB 3:15] either analogically after the abstract nouns on *-eins* or spelling mistake); nominalization of an adjective present in OE *fæderen* ‘paternal’; derivation from the root in Goth. *fadar** m. a-st. ‘father’; OHG *fater*, Lgb. *fader-* (in *faderfio* ‘father’s good’), OS *fadar*, ODu. *fader**, OE *fæder*, OFris. *feder*, *fader*, OIcl. *faðir*.

5 *anameljan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to write down’; compound with Goth. *meljan* w. v. 1 ‘to write’. — *qeins*: nom.sg. (for *qens*) f. i-st. ‘wife’ (the spelling of the expected *-e-* with *-ei-* occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably due to a sound development of *ē* to *ī* in Late Gothic); OS *quān*, OE *cwēn*, OIcl. (poet.) *kvæn*, *kvön*.

6 *mipþanei*: conj. ‘during’ (once also the spelling *mipþane* [Lk 2:43] is attested); compound with Goth. *mip* 1. prep. + dat. ‘with, at, under’, 2. adv. ‘with, at the same time’, *þan* 1. adv. ‘then, thereupon’, 2. adversative conj. ‘but, however’, 3. conj. ‘when, as long as; as’ and Goth. *ei* conj. ‘(so) that’.

7 *frumabaur*: acc.sg. to *frumabaur* m. i-st. ‘firstborn’; compound with Goth. *fruma* comp. adj./num. ‘first’ and Goth. *baur** m. i-st. ‘the born one’; OE *byre* ‘son, child, descendant’, OIcl. *burr* ‘sun’; derivation from the root in Goth. *bairan* st. v. 4 ‘to carry, to suffer, to give birth’. — *biwand*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *biwindan** st. v. 3 ‘to wrap around’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic) (see *uswindan**). — *uzetin*: dat.sg. to *uzeta** m. n-st. ‘crib’; derivation from the root in Goth. *itan* st. v. 5 ‘to eat’; OHG *ezzan*, OS, ODu., OE *etan*, OFris., OIcl. *eta*. — *rumis*: gen.sg. to *rum** m./n. a-st. ‘room, space’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *rūm*, OIcl. *rúm*; nominalization of Goth. *rums* adj. a-st. ‘spacious’; OHG *rūmi*, MLG *rûm* (*rûm*), ODu. (in place names), OE *rūm*, Early NWestFris. *ruum*, OIcl. *rúmr*.

8 *hairdjos*: nom.pl. to *hairdeis* m. ja-st. ‘shepherd’; OHG *hirti*, OS *hirdi*, Early MDu. *herde*, OE *hi(e)rde*, OIcl. *hirðir*; derivation from the root in Goth. *hairda* f. *ō*-st. ‘flock’. — *samin*: dat.sg.n. to *sama* pron. ‘the same’; OHG *samo*, OIcl. *sami*, *samr*. — *landa*: dat.sg. to *land** n. a-st. ‘land, country, region’; Run. **lada-** (in personal name [nom.sg.] **ladawarijaz** [stone A from Tørvika, 375/400–560/70]), OHG *lant*, OS *land*, Lgb. (in personal names) *Land(a)-*, ODu. *lant*, OE *land*, OFris. *lond*, OIcl. *land*. — *þairhwakandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *þairhwakan** st. v. 6 / w. v. 3 ‘to watch through’; compound with Goth. *wakan** st. v. 6 / w. v. 3 ‘to wake, to be watchful’; cf. either OIcl. (part.) *vakinn* ‘wake’ or OHG *wachēn*, OIcl. *vaka* ‘to be awake’ (see also *uswakjan**). — *witandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *witan* w. v. 3 ‘to watch out, to guard, to herd, to keep’; OHG *-wizzēn* (in *giwizzēn*, *irwizzēn* ‘to watch out’), OE *-witian* (in *bewitian* ‘to observe, to determine’), OIcl. *vita*; derivation from the root in Goth. *witan* pret.pres. ‘to know’. — *wahtwom*: dat.pl. to *wahtwo** / *wahtwa** f. n-st. / f. *ō*-st. ‘guard’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG, OS, ODu. *wahta*, NWestFris. *wacht*; derivation from the root in Goth. *wakan** st. v. 6 / w. v. 3 ‘to wake, to be watchful’.

9 *anaqam*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *anaqiman** st. v. 4 ‘to join’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *qiman* st. v. 4 ‘to come’. — *biskain*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *biskeinan** st. v. 1 ‘to light

up' (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *skeinan* st. v. 1 'to shine, to glow'; OHG, OS, ODu. *skīnan*, OE *scīnan*, OFris. *skīna*, OIcl. *skína*. — *agisa*: dat. sg. to *agis* n. *a-st.* 'fear'; OE *ege* next to (different formation) OHG, OS *egiso*, OE *egesa*, NNorw. *egse* 'excitement'; derivation from the root in Goth. *ogan** pret.pres. 'to fear'.

10 *spillo*: 1stsg.pres.ind. to *spillon** w. v. 2 'to announce'; OHG *-spellōn* (in *gotspellōn* 'to preach the gospel'), Early MDu. *spellen*, OE *spellian*, OIcl. *spjalla*; probably derivation from the root in Goth. *spill** n. *a-st.* 'tale, fable'. — *faheid*: acc.sg. to *faheps* (*-d-*) f. *i-st.* 'joy' (the spelling of the expected *-e-* with *-ei-* occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably due to a sound development of *ē* to *ī* in Late Gothic; with analogical *-d* instead of *-b*); further etymology unclear.

11 *nasjands*: nom.sg. m. *nd-st.* 'Saviour' (with analogical *-s-* instead of expected *-z-* after Goth. *nasjan* w. v. 1 'to save', itself with analogical *-s-* after its derivation basis in Goth. *ga-nisan* st. v. 5 'to recover, to be saved'); OS *neriand*, OE *neriend*; actually pres.part. to Goth. *nasjan* w. v. 1 'to save'.

12 *bigitid*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *bigitan* st. v. 5 'to find' (with analogical *-d* instead of *-b*). — *barn*: acc.sg. to *barn* n. *a-st.* 'child' (Crimean Goth. <baar> [for ⁺*barn*?]); OHG, OS *barn*, MDu. *baren*, OE *bearn*, OFris. *bern*, OIcl. *barn*; derivation from the root in Goth. *bairan* st. v. 4 'to carry, to suffer, to give birth'. — *galagid*: nom.sg.n. pret.part. to *galagjan** w. v. 1 'to lie down' (with analogical *-d* instead of *-b*).

13 *anaks*: adv. 'suddenly'; further etymology uncertain. — *harjis*: gen.sg. to *harjis* m. *ja-st.* 'army'; Lat.-Gmc. (in personal name/god's names) *Hari-*, *Chario-*, Run. **-harjaz** (in personal name [nom.sg.] **swabaharjaz** [stone from Rö, ca. 160–375/400]), OHG *heri*, Lgb. *hari-*, *heri-* (in *harigauuere* 'army equipment', *hariscild* 'ambush by a group of armed men', *harimannus* 'soldier, warrior', *haritraib* 'deliberate raid'), Run.-preOS (acc.sg.?) **hari** (rune bone 3 from the Unterweser, 1st half 5. Jh.[?]), OS, ODu. *heri*, OE *here* OFris. *here*, *hiri*, *hēr*, OIcl. *herr*. — *himinakundis*: gen.sg.m. to *himinakunds** adj. *a-st.* 'of heavenly descent'; compound with Goth. *himins* m. *a-st.* 'heaven' and an original adjective Goth. **kunds a-st.* 'descending' that early developed into a suffix; Run. **-kudo** (in **raginakudo** 'descended from the gods' [stone from Noleby, 460/70–560/70]), OHG *-kunt*, OS *-kund*, OE *-cund*, OIcl. *-kundr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *kindins* m. *a-st.* 'governor'. — *hazjandane*: gen.pl.m. pres.part. to *hazjan* w. v. 1 'to laud, to praise'; OHG *harēn*, OE *herian*.

14 *hauhistjam*: dat.pl. to *hauhisti** n. *ja-st.* 'highest altitude'; derivation from the root in Goth. *hauhs** adj. *a-st.* 'high'. — *gawairpi*: nom.sg. n. *ja-st.* 'peace'; derivation from the root in Goth. *wairpan* st. v. 3 'to become'. — *godis*: gen.sg.m. to *gops* (*-d-*) adj. *a-st.* 'good, capable, beautiful'; OHG *guot*, Lgb. (in personal names) *God(e)-*, OS *gōd*, ODu. *guot*, OE, OFris. *gōd*, OIcl. *góðr*.

15 *pairhgaggaima*: 1stpl.pres.opt. to *pairhgaggan* defect. st. v. 7 'to go through, to pass by; to go around, to roam'; compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 'to go'. — *und*: prep. + acc./dat. 'until; for, to'; OHG *unt*, OS *und*, *unt*, OE *op*, OFris. *und*, OIcl. *und-*. — *gakannida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gakannjan* w. v. 1 'to proclaim'; compound with Goth. *kannjan* w. v. 1 'to make known'.

16 *sniumjandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *sniumjan** w. v. 1 'to hurry'; OHG *sniumen*, ODu. *-sniumen*; derivation from the root in OHG, OS *sniumi* 'quick', itself a derivation from the root in Goth. *sniwan** st. v. 5 'to hurry'; OE *snēowan*.

17 *rodip*: nom.sg.n. pret.part. to *rodjan* w. v. 1 'to talk, to speak'; OIcl. *ræða*.

18 —.

19 *gafastaida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gafastan* w. v. 3 'to keep, to preserve'; compound with Goth. *fastan* w. v. 3 'to hold, to guard, to observe; to fast'; OHG *fastēn*, MLG, Early MDu. *vasten*, OE (with transition into w. v. 1) *fæstan*, OFris. (with transition into w. v. 2) *festia*, OIcl. (with transition into w. v. 2) *fasta*; derivation from the root in OHG *festi*, OS *fast*, *festi*, ODu. *fast*, OE *fæst*, OFris. *fest*, *fast*, OIcl. *fastr* 'firm, fastened'.

20 *gawandidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *gawandjan* w. v. 1 'to turn (to)'; compound with Goth. *wandjan** w. v. 1 'to turn'; OHG *wenten*, OS *wendian*, ODu. *wenden*, OE *wendan*, OFris. *wenda*, OIcl. *venda*; derivation from the root in Goth. *-windan* st. v. 3 'to wind' (see *uswindan**).

1.18. Luke 3:21–22: Baptism of Jesus

21 *warþ þan, biþe daupida alla managein, jah at Iesu ufdaupidamma jah bidjandin usluknoda himins, 22 jah atiddja ahma sa weiha leikis siunai swe ahaks ana ina, jah stibna us himina warþ qibandei: þu is sunus meins sa liuba, in þuzei waila galeikaida.*

21 *ufdaupidamma*: dat.sg.m. pret.part. to *ufdaupjan** w. v. 1 ‘to baptize’; compound with Goth. *daupjan* w. v. 1 ‘to baptize’. — *usluknoda*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *usluknan** w. v. 4 ‘to open (up)’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from the root in Goth. *uslukan** st. v. 2 ‘to open (up)’.

22 *leikis*: gen.sg. to *leik* n. *a*-st. ‘body, womb; corpse; meat’; OHG *līh*, OS *līk*, Early MDu. *lijc*, OE *līc*, OFris. *līk*, OIcl. *līk*; nominalization of an in the Germanic languages unattested adjective (comparable with Lith. *lýgus* ‘same’). — *siunai*: dat.sg. to *siuns* f. *i*-st. ‘face; vision, seeing; shape’; OS *siun*, OE *sīen*, OFris. *siūne*, *siōne*, OIcl. *sjón*, *sýn*; derivation from the root in Goth. *saihan* st. v. 5 ‘to see’. — *ahaks*: nom.sg. m./f. cons.st./*i*-st. ‘tame (white) dove’; further etymology unclear. — *liuba*: nom.sg.m. w. v. *liufs* (*-b-*) adj. *a*-st. ‘dear’; Run. (nom.sg.f.) **liubu** (stone from Opdeal, 160–375/400), **-leubaz** (personal name (nom.sg.) **skipaleubaz** [stone from Skärkind, 375/400–460/70]), Run.-preOHG nom.sg.m. / (acc.sg.n.) **leob** (bow brooch 1 from Weimar, 525–550; bow brooch 2 from Weimar, ca. 550), OHG *liob*, Lgb. (in personal names) *Leob-*, *Leup-*, OS *liof*, ODu. *lief*, OE *lēof*, OFris. *liāf*, *liēf*, OIcl. *ljúfr*. — *þuzei*: dat.sg. to *þuei* rel.pron. ‘who you’. — *waila*: adv. ‘well, good’ (with uncertain explanation of the sound *-ai-*); OHG *wela*, *wola*, OS *wel(a)*, *wola*, ODu. *wela*, OFris. *wel*, *wal*, *wol*, OE *wel(l)*, OIcl. *vel*; derivation from the root in Goth. *wiljan* athem. V. ‘to want’. — *galeikaida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *galeikan* w. v. 3 ‘to please’; compound with Goth. *leikan** w. v. 3 ‘to please, to be pleasant’; OHG *līchēn* next to (different formation) OS, ODu. *līkon*, OE *līcian*, OFris. *likia*, OIcl. *líka*; derivation of an in the Germanic languages unattested adjective, whose nominalization is present in the group of Goth. *leik* n. *a*-st. ‘body, womb, flesh’.

1.19. Luke 5:12–16: Cleansing of a Leper

12 *jah warþ, miþþanei was is in ainai baurge, jah sai, manna fulls þrutsfillis jah gasaihbands Iesu driusands ana andwairþi bad ina qibands: frauja, jabai wileis, magt mik gahrainjan. 13 jah ufrakjands handu attaitok imma qibands: wiljau, wairþ hrains. jah suns þata þrutsfill aflaiþ af imma. 14 jah is faurbaud imma ei mann ni qeþi; ak gagg jah ataugei þuk silban gudjin jah atbair imma fram þizai gahraineinai þeinai þatei anabaud Moses du weitwodipai im. 15 usmernoda þan þata waurd mais bi ina, jah garunnun hiuhmans managai hausjon jah leikinon fram imma sauhte seinaiþo. 16 iþ is was afleiþands ana aupidos jah bidjands.*

12 *fulls*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘full’; OHG *fol*, Lgb. *ful-*, *-fol*, OS *full*, ODu. *fol*, OE *full*, OFris. *ful*, *fol*, OIcl. *fullr*. — *andwairþi*: acc.sg. to *andwairþi* n. *ja*-st. ‘presence; face, person’; derivation from the root in Goth. *wairþan* st. v. 3 ‘to become’. — *bad*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *bidjan* st. v. 5 ‘to pray, to beg’ (with analogical *-d* instead of *-þ*).

13 *aflaiþ*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *afleiþan** st. v. 1 ‘to go away’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic) (see *usleiþan*).

14 *faurbaud*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *faurbiudan** st. v. 2 ‘to forbid’ (with analogical *-d* instead of *-þ*) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic) (see *anabiudan**). — *gahraineinai*: dat.sg. to *gahraineins** f. *i/ō*-st. ‘cleansing’; derivation from Goth. *gahrainjan* w. v. 1 ‘to clean’. — *anabaud*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *anabiudan** st. v. 2 ‘to offer, to command’ (with analogical *-d* instead of *-þ*).

15 *usmernoda*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *usmernan** w. v. 4 ‘to spread’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from the root in Goth. *merjan* w. v. 1 ‘to announce, to make known’. — *mais*: comp.adv. ‘more’; OHG, OS, ODu. *mēr*, OE *mā*, *māe*, OFris. *mā(r)*, *mē(r)*, OIcl. *meir*. — *garunnun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *garinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to converge, to come together; to run, to achieve’; compound with Goth. *rinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run, to walk’. — *hiuhmans*: nom.pl. to *hiuhma* m. *n*-st. ‘heap, crowd’; probably derivation from the root in Goth. *hauhs** adj. *a*-st. ‘high’. — *hausjon*: inf. w. v. 2 ‘to hear’; probably with variation of the conjugation class identical with Goth. *hausjan* w. v. 1 ‘to hear’. — *leikinon*: inf. w. v. 2 (for ⁺*lekinon*) ‘to heal from’ (the spelling of the expected *-e-* with *-ei-* occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably due to a sound development of *ē* to *ī* in Late Gothic); OHG *lāchinōn*, OS *lāknōn*, OE *lācnian*, OIcl. *lækna*; derivation from the root in Goth. *lekeis* m. *ja*-st. ‘doctor’; OHG *lāchi*, OE *lāce*, OFris. *lētza*, *leitza*, ODan. *læki*, *lækæ*. — *sauhte*: gen.pl. to *sauhts** f. *i*-st. ‘illness’; OHG, OS, ODu. *suht*, OE *-siht(e)* (in *ūtsiht[e]* ‘diarrhea’), OFris. *sechte*, *siochte*, OIcl. *sótt*; derivation from the root in Goth. *siukan* st. v. 2 ‘to be sick, to be ill’.

16 *aupidos*: acc.pl. to *aupida** f. *ō*-st. ‘desert’; derivation from the root in Goth. *aups** / *auþeis** (*-þ-*) adj. *a-* / *ja*-st. ‘barren’.

1.20. Luke 5:17–26: Healing of a Paralytic and the Authority to Forgive Sins

17 *jah warþ in ainamma dage, jah is was laisjands. jah wesun sitandans Fareisaieis jah witodalaisarjos, þaiei wesun gaqumanai us allamma haimo Galeilaias jah Iudaias jah Iairusaulwmon; jah mahts frauþins was du hailjan ins. 18 jah sai, mans bairandans ana ligra mannan saei was usliþa, jah sokidedun haiwa ina innatbereina jah galagidideina in andwairþja is. 19 jah ni bigitandans haiwa innatbereina ina in manageins, ussteigandans ana hrot and skaljos, gasatidedun ina miþ þamma badja in midjaim faura Iesua. 20 jah gasaihands galaubein ize qap du þamma usliþin: manna, afleitanda þus frawaurhteis þeinos. 21 jah dugunnun þagkjan þai bokarjos jah Fareisaieis qipandans: has ist sa, saei rodeiþ naiteinins? has mag afletan frawaurhtins, alja ains guþ? 22 ufkunnands þan Iesus mitonins ize andhaffands qap du im: hwa biþagkeiþ in hairtam izwaraim? 23 hwapar ist azetizo qipan: afletanda þus frawaurhteis, þau qipan: urreis jah gagg? 24 aþþan ei witeid þatei waldufni habaid sa sunus mans ana airþai afletan frawaurhtins, qap du þamma usliþin: du þus qipa, urreis jah ushaffands þata badi þeinata gagg in gard þeinana. 25 jah sunsaiw usstandands in andwairþja ize, ushaffands ana þammei lag, galaiþ in gard seinana mikiljands guþ. 26 jah usfilmei dissat allans, jah mikilidedun guþ jah fullai waurþun agisis qipandans þatei gasaiham wulþaga himma daga.*

17 *laisjands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *laisjan* w. v. 1 ‘to teach’ (with analogical *-s-* instead of expected *-z-* after Goth. *lais* pret.pres. ‘I know’); OHG *lēren*, OS *lērian*, ODu. *lēren*, OE *lēran*, OFris. *lēra*; derivation from the root in *lais* pret.pres. ‘I know’ (only PhilB 4:12 [2x]). — *witodalaisarjos*: nom.pl. to *witodalaisareis** m. *ja*-st. ‘law teacher’; compound with Goth. *witop* (*-d-*) n. *a*-st. ‘law’ and Goth. *laisareis* m. *ja*-st. ‘teacher’. — *Iairusaulwmon*: gen.sg. to *Iairusaulwma* f. place name ‘Jerusalem’

(< Gr. *Ierosoluma*). — *hailjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to heal’; OHG *heilen*, OS *hēlian*, ODu. *hēlen*, OE *hælan*, OFris. *hēla*, OIcl. *heila*; derivation from the root in Goth. *hails* adj. *a*-st. ‘healthy, whole; be greeted’.

18 *innatbereina*: 3rdpl.pret.opt. to *innatbairan** st. v. 4 ‘to bring into’; compound with Goth. *bairan* st. v. 4 ‘to carry, to suffer, to give birth’. — *galagidideina*: 3rdpl.pret.opt. to *galagjan** w. v. 1 ‘to lie down’ (with incorrect *-di-* for *-de-*).

19 *hrot*: acc.sg. to *hrot* n. *a*-st. ‘roof, house’; MLG *-rote* (in *honichrote* f. ‘honeycomb’), MDu. *rote* ‘honycomb’, OIcl. *hrót* next to (with ablaut) OHG *rāza* ‘honycomb’, ODu. *rāta* ‘honycomb’. — *skaljos*: acc.pl. to *skalja** f. *jō*-st. ‘brick’ (this is the only attestation of the word); MLG *schelle* ‘case, shell’, MDu. *schelle* ‘shell, mussel’, OE *sciell*, *scyll* ‘shell, mussel’, OIcl. *skel* ‘shell, mussel’. — *gasatidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *gasatjan* w. v. 1 ‘sit down, put down, lie down’; compound with Goth. *satjan** w. v. 1 ‘to set’; OHG *sezzen*, OS *settian*, ODu. *setten*, OE *settan*, OFris. *setta*, OIcl. *setja*; derivation from the root in Goth. *sitan* st. v. 5 ‘to sit’. — *badja*: dat.sg. to *badi** n. *ja*-st. ‘bed’; OHG *beti*, OS *bedd*, ODu. *beddi*, OE, OFris. *bed(d)*, OIcl. *beðr*; derivation from the root in Hitt. *paddai* ‘digs’, Lat. *fodere* ‘to dig’, OSC *bosti* ‘to prick’. — *midjaim*: dat.pl.m. to *midjis** adj. *ja*-st. ‘middle’ (the adjective is only inflected strong); OHG *mitti*, OS, ODu. *middi*, OE *midd(e)*, OFris. *midde*, *medde*, OIcl. *miðr*.

20 *afleitanda*: 3rdpl.pres.ind.pass. v. *afletan* st. v. 7 ‘to dismiss, to send away; to forsake, to leave behind’ (the spelling of the expected *-e-* with *-ei-* occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably due to a sound development of *ē* to *ī* in Late Gothic).

21 *naiteinins*: acc.pl. to *naiteins** f. *i*-st. ‘blasphemy’; derivation from the root in Goth. *ganaitjan** w. v. 1 ‘to abuse, to scold’ (das Simplex *naitjan** w. v. 1 ‘to scold, to insult’ is perhaps present in Mk 12:4; some emend a 3rdsg.pret.ind. *naitida* from attested <naiswor>); cf. oi *nindanti* ‘they blame’, YAv. *nāist* ‘(s)he reviled’, Arm. *anēc* ‘(s)he cursed’, Lith. *niesti* ‘to detest’. — *alja*: conj. ‘except’; cf. Lat. *aliās* ‘at another time; otherwise’.

22 *ufkunnands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *ufkunnan* irreg. w. v. 3 ‘to recognize’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *kunnēn* ‘to try, to examine, to recognize, to learn about, to experience’, OE *cunnian* ‘to try, to explore’; derivation from the root in Goth. *kunnan* pret.pres. ‘to know’. — *bipagkeip*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *bipagkjan** w. v. 1 ‘to consider’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *þagkjan* w. v. 1 ‘to think, to consider’.

23 —.

24 *witeid*: 2ndpl.pres.opt. to *witan* pret.pres. ‘to know’ (with analogical *-d* instead of *-þ*). — *habaid*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *haban* w. v. 3 ‘to have, to possess; to hold, to mean; to become’ (with analogical *-d* instead of *-þ*).

25 —.

26 *usfilmei*: nom.sg. f. *n*-st. ‘fright’; derivation from Goth. *usfilma** adj. w. ‘frightened, appalled’; derivation from the root in OE *-felo* (in *ealfelo* ‘terrible’), OIcl. *fel-* (in *felmsfullr* ‘frightened’). — *dissat*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *dissitan** st. v. 5 ‘to seize’; compound with Goth. *sitan* st. v. 5 ‘to sit’. — *wulpaga*: acc.pl.n. to *wulpags** adj. *a*-st. ‘herrlich’; derivation from the root in Goth. *wulpus* m. *u*-st. ‘glory’.

1.21. Luke 9:1–6: Sending Out the Twelve

1 *gahaitands þan þans twalif apaustauluns atgaf im maht jah waldufni ufar allaim unhulþom jah sauhtins gahailjan*. 2 *jah insandida ins merjan þiudangardja gудis jah gahailjan allans þans unhailans*. 3 *jah qap du im: ni waiht nimaiþ in wig; nih waluns nih matibalg nih hlaib nih skattans, nih þan tweihnos paidos haban*. 4 *jah in þanei gard gaggaiþ, þar saljiþ jah þaproh usgaggaiþ*. 5 *jah swa managai swe ni andnimaina izwis, usgaggandans us þizai baurg jainai*

jah mulda af fotum izwaraim afhrisjaip du weitwodipai ana ins. 6 usgaggandans þan þairhiddjedun and haimos wailamerjandans jah leikinondans and all.

1 *gahaitands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. v. *gahaitan** st. v. 7 ‘to summon; to promise; to profess to’; compound with Goth. v. *haitan* st. v. 7 ‘to name, to call; to be named’. — *apaustauluns*: acc.pl. to *apaustaulus* m. *u/i*-st. ‘Apostle’ (< Lat. *apostulus*). — *unhulþom*: dat.pl. to *unhulþo* f. *n*-st. ‘fiend, demon’; either motion formation to Goth. *unhulþa* m. *n*-st. ‘fiend, devil’ (OS *unholdo*, OE *unholda*; cf. OHG *holdo* ‘friend, follower, disciple, helper’, OFris. *holda* ‘friend, relative’) or derivation from an unattested adjective Goth. **unhulps a*-st. ‘hostile’ (OHG, OS, OE *unhold*). — *gahailjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to manufacture’; compound with Goth. *hailjan* w. v. 1 ‘to heal’.

2 *merjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to announce, to make known’; OHG *māren*, OS *mārian*, MDu. *maren*, OE *mēran*, OFris. *mēra*, OIcl. *mæra*; derivation from the root in Goth. (in personal names) *Mer-*, *Mir-*, *-mer*, *-miro/us*; cf. Lat.-Gmc. *Mer-*, *Mar-*, *-mer(-)*, *-mir(-)*, *-mar(-)*, Vandal. *-maris*, *-mer*, *-mir(o)*, OHG *-mār*, Lgb. *Māro-*, *-mār(us)*, OS *-mēr*, *-mār*, OE *-mēer*, OFris. *-mer*, OIcl. *-marr* (on the other hand Goth. *-mereis** [only in *wailamereis** ‘laudable’]; Run. [-] **mariz** [chape from Torsbjerg, 210/20–250/60], OHG *māri*, Lgb. [in personal names] *Mārio-*, *-māri[us]*, OS *māri*, Early MDu. *mare*, OE *mēre*, OFris. *mēre*, OIcl. *mærr* are back formations from the root in Goth. *merjan*). — *unhailans*: acc.pl.m. w. to *unhails** adj. *a*-st. ‘ill, sick’; formation with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ from Goth. *hails* adj. *a*-st. ‘healthy, whole; be greeted’.

3 *nih*: conj. ‘and not, neither, not’; compound with Goth. *ni* neg. ‘not’ and Goth. *-(u)h* enclit. particle ‘and’. — *waluns*: acc.pl. to *walus** m. *u*-st. ‘staff, rod’ (this is the only attestation of the word); MLG *wal*, OFris. *walu-* (in *walubera* ‘pilgrim’, actually ‘rod bearer’), OIcl. *vǫlr*; cf. OE *walu* ‘strip after a blow’. — *matibalg*: acc.sg. to *matibalgs** m. *i*-st. ‘(food) bag’; compound with Goth. *mats* m. *i*-st. ‘food, provisions’ and Goth. *balgs** m. *i*-st. ‘skin’ (OHG, OS *balg*, Early MDu. *balch*, OE *bielg*, *byl[i]g*, *bæl[i]g*, OIcl. *belgr*; derivation from the root in OHG, OS, ODu., OE *belgan* ‘to be angry’, originally ‘to swell’). — *tweihnos*: acc.f. to *tweihnai** num. ‘both, two each’; OE (dat.) *-twēonum* (in *betwēonum* ‘between’), OFris. *twīna*, *twīn(e)* ‘two things, two’; derivation from the root in Goth. *twai* num. ‘two’. — *paidos*: acc.pl. to *paida** f. *ō*-st. ‘robe, undergarment’; OHG *pfeit*, OS *pēda*, OE *pād* (either < Gr. *baítē* ‘dress [of goatskin]’ or both from a third language).

4 *þar*: adv. ‘there’; OIcl. *þar*; derivation from the dental stem of the demonstrative pronoun Goth. *sa* ‘this, the’.

5 *mulda*: acc.sg. to *mulda** f. *ō*-St ‘dust’; OHG *molta*, Early MDu. *moude*, OE *molde*, OFris. *molde*, *moude*, OIcl. *mold*; derivation from the root in Goth. *malan** st. v. 6 ‘to grind’; OHG, OS *malan*, MDu. *malen*, OFris. *mela*, *māla*, OIcl. *mala*. — *afhrisjaip*: 2ndpl.pres.opt. to *afhrisjan** w. v. 1 ‘to shake off’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OS *hrissian* ‘to tremble’, OE *hrissan* ‘to shake, to move; to be shaken, to clink’.

6 *wailamerjandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *wailamerjan* w. v. 1 ‘to declare glad tidings’; compound with Goth. *waila* adv. ‘well, good’ and Goth. *merjan* w. v. 1 ‘to announce, to make known’. — *leikinondans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *lekinon* w. v. 2 ‘to heal from’ (the spelling of the expected *-e-* with *-ei-* occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably an expression of a Late Gothic sound development from *ē* to *ī*).

1.22. Luke 9:10–17: The Return of the Twelve and the Feeding of the Five Thousand

10 *jah gawandjandans sik apaustauleis usspillodedun imma, swa filu swe gatawidedun. jah andnimands ins afiddja sundro ana stap auþjana baurgs namnidaizos Baidasaiidan. 11 ip þos*

manageins finþandeins laistidedun afar imma, jah andnimands ins rodida du im þo bi þiudangardja gudis jah þans þarbans leikinassaus gahailida. 12 þanuh dags juþan dugann hneiwan. atgaggandans þan du imma þai twalif qeþun du imma: fralet þo managein, ei galeiþandans in þos bisunjane haimos jah weihsa saljaina jah bugjaina sis matins, unte her in auþjamma stada sium. 13 þanuh qap du im: gibip im jus matjan. ip eis qeþun du imma: nist hindar uns maizo fimfhlaibam, jah fiskos twai, niba þau þatei weis gaggandans bugjaima allai þizai manasedai {managein} matins. 14 wesun auk swe fimf þusundjos waire. qap þan du siponjam seinaim: gawaurkeip im anakumbjan kubituns, ana harjanoh fimf tiguns. 15 jah gatawidedun swa jah gatawidedun anakumbjan allans. 16 nimands þan þans fimfhlaibans jah twans fiskans, insaihwands du himina gapiupida ins jah gabrak jah gaf siponjam du faurlagjan þizai managein. 17 jah matidedun jah sadai waurþun allai; jah ushafan warþ, þatei aflifnoda im gabruko, tainjons twalif.

10 *usspillodedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *usspillon** w. v. 2 ‘to announce, to tell’; compound with Goth. *spillon** w. v. 2 ‘to announce’. — *sundro*: adv. ‘separated, special, alone’; OHG *suntar*, OS *sundar*, Early MDu. *sonder*, OE *sundor*, OFris. *sunder*, OIcl. *sundr* ‘special, apart, in two’. — *auþjana*: acc.sg.m. to *auþs** / *auþeis** (-þ-) adj. *a-* / *ja*-st. ‘deserted’; either to OIcl. *auðr* or to OHG *ōdi*, MLG *ōde*, OE *īepe*, Insular Fris. *ias*, OIcl. *eyði-*. — *namnidaizos*: gen.sg.f. pret.part. to *namnjan** w. v. 1 ‘to name’; OHG *nemnen*, OS *nemnian*, Early MDu. *nennen*, OE *nemn(i)an*, OFris. *namna*, *nema*, *nanna*, OIcl. *nefna*; derivation from the root in Goth. *namo* n. *n*-st. ‘name’. — *Baidsaiidan*: acc.sg. to *Beþsaeida* f. place name ‘Bethsaida’ (the first element is also attested in the forms *Baiþ-* and *Bed-*) (< Gr. *Bēthsaidá*).

11 *finþandeins*: nom.pl.f. pres.part. to *finþan** st. v. 3 ‘to recognize, to experience’; OHG *findan* (-t-), OS *findan* (*fīthan*), ODu., OE *findan*, OFris. *finda*, OIcl. *finna*. — *þarbans*: acc.pl.m. w. to *þarbs** adj. *a*-st. ‘necessary; (w.) neede’; OHG (sw.) *darbo*, OE (sw.) *þearfa*, OIcl. *þarfr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *þaurban** pret.pres. ‘to need’. — *leikinassaus*: gen.sg. to *lekinassus** m. *u*-st. ‘cure, healing’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (the spelling of the expected -e- with -ei- occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably an expression of a Late Gothic sound development from *ē* to *ī*); derivation from Goth. *lekinon* w. v. 2 ‘to heal from’.

12 *hneiwan*: inf. st. v. 1 ‘to incline’; OHG *nīgan*, OS *hnīgan*, Early MDu. *nighen*, OE *hnīgan*, OFris. *hnīga*, OIcl. *hnīga*. — *bisunjane*: adv. ‘all around’; frozen genitive plural of unattested Goth. **bisunja* m. *n*-st. ‘the one, who live around, neighbor’, a nominalization from an unattested adjective Goth. **bisunjis* adj. *ja*-st. ‘being around’; compound with Goth. *bi* prep. + acc./dat. ‘at, around; in(side); regarding; about, according to; on’ and Goth. *-sunjis*, derivation from the root in Goth. *ist*. — *matins*: acc.pl. to *mats* m. *i*-st. ‘food, provisions’; OHG *maz*, OS *mat*, *meti*, OE *mete*, OFris. *met(e)*, *meit*, OIcl. *matr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *mitan** st. v. 5 ‘to measure’. — *siun*: 1stpl.pres.ind. to *wisan* irreg. st. v. ‘to be (there), to exist’ (the spelling with -j-, i.e. *sijum*, is also used).

13 *maizo*: nom.sg.n. comp. to *mikils* adj. *a*-st. ‘big’ (see *mais*). — *fimf*: dat. to *fimf* num. ‘five’; the dative *fimf hlaibam* shows ablative use and is dependent on the comparative *maizo*, i.e. in the sense of ‘more than five loaves’. — *niba*: conj. ‘if not, unless, except’; (partially different formation) OHG *nibu*, *nube*, *noba*, OS *neva*, OE *nefne*, *nemne*, OIcl. *nefa*; compound with the preform of the negation Goth. *ni* ‘not’ and Goth. *iba* 1. interrog. particle ‘but not?’, 2. prohibitive particle ‘that not’, belonging to Goth. *jabai* conj. ‘if’. — *managein*: the word is a variant to *manasedai* that got into the main text.

14 *kubituns*: acc.pl. to *kubitus** m. *u*-st. ‘table company, group’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (< Lat. *cubitus*, ‘lying [at the table]’). — *tiguns*: acc.pl. to *tigjus** m.pl. *u*-st. (num.) ‘tens, decade’; OHG *-zug*, OS *-tig*, MDu. *-tich*, OE *-tig*, OFris. *-tich*, *-tech*, OIcl. *tiger*, *teger*; derivation from the root in Goth. *taihun* num. ‘ten’.

15 —.

16 *insaihands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *insaihan* st. v. 5 ‘to look (up), to gaze’; compound with Goth. *saihan* st. v. 5 ‘to see’. — *gapiubida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gapiuþjan* w. v. 1 ‘to give the blessing’; compound with Goth. *þiuþjan** w. v. 1 ‘to bless’. — *gabrak*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gabrikan** st. v. 4 ‘to break’; compound with Goth. *brikan** st. v. 4 ‘to break, to destroy, to fight’; OHG *brechan*, OS *brekan*, Early MDu. *breken*, OE *brecan*, OFris. *breka*. — *faurlagjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to submit, to lay before’; compound with Goth. *lagjan* w. v. 1 ‘to put (on/down)’.

17 —.

1.23. Mark 1:1–8: John the Baptist

1 *anastodeins aiwaggeljons Iesuis Xristaus sunaus gudis*. 2 *swe gameliþ ist in Esaiin praufetau: sai, ik insandja aggilu meinana faura þus, saei gamanweiþ wig þeinana faura þus*. 3 *stibna wopjandins in auþidai: manweiþ wig frauþins, raihtos waurkeiþ staigos gudis unsaris*. 4 *was Iohannes daupjands in auþidai jah merjands daupein idreigos du aflageinai frawaurhte*. 5 *jah usiddjedun du imma all Iudaialand jah Iairusaulwmeis, jah daupidai wesun allai in Iaurdane ahai fram imma, andhaitandans frawaurhtim seinaim*. 6 *was-uþ þan Iohannes gawasiþs taglam ulbandaus jah gairda filleina bi hup seinana jah matida þramsteins jah miliþ haiþiwisk {wilþi}*. 7 *jah merida qiþands: qimiþ swinþoza mis sa afar mis, þizei ik ni im wairþs anahneiwards andbindan skaudaraip skohe is*. 8 *aþþan ik daupja izwis in watin, iþ is daupeiþ izwis in ahmin weihamma*.

1 *anastodeins*: nom.sg. f. *i*-st. ‘beginning’; derivation from Goth. *anastodjan** w. v. 1 ‘to begin, to start’. — *aiwaggeljons*: gen.sg. to *aiwaggeljo* f. *n*-st. ‘Gospel’ (either < Vulg.Lat. [dat.sg.] *evangelio* or < Gr. [dat.sg.] *ewangeliō*). — *Xristaus*: gen. to *Xristus* m. name ‘Christ’. — *sunaus*: gen.sg. to *sunus* m. *u*-st. ‘son’ (the genitive singular is also attested three times as *sunus*).

2 *Esaiin*: dat.sg. to *Esaias* (next to *Esaeias*) m. personal name ‘Isajah’ (< Gr. *Ēsaías*). — *gamanweiþ*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *gamanwjan** w. v. 1 ‘to prepare to’; compound with Goth. *manwjan* w. v. 1 ‘to prepare, to get ready’.

3 *manweiþ*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *manwjan* w. v. 1 ‘to prepare, to get ready’; derivation from Goth. *manwus* adj. *u*-st. ‘ready’. — *raihtos*: acc.pl.f. to *raihts** adj. *a*-st. ‘right, straight, fair’; OHG *reht*, Lgb. (in personal names) *Ret(t)*-, OS, ODu. *reht*, OE *riht*, OFris. *riucht*, *riocht*, OIcl. *réttr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *rikan** st. v. 5 ‘to accumulate’; OHG *rechan*, MLG *rāken*, MDu. *reken* (*reecken*), NWestFris. *-rekke* (in *berekke* ‘to cover the fire under ashes’), ME *rēken* ‘to cover, to bury, to hide’. — *staigos*: acc.pl. to *staiga** f. *ō*-st. ‘way’; OHG *steiga* ‘climb’; derivation from the root in Goth. *steigan** st. v. 1 ‘to climb’.

4 *Iohannes*: nom.sg. m. personal name ‘John’ (< Gr. *Iōánnēs*). — *daupein*: acc.sg. to *daupeins* f. *i*-st. ‘washing, baptism’; OHG *toufi*, OS *dōpi*, OFris. *dēpene*; derivation from the root in Goth. *daupjan* w. v. 1 ‘to baptize’. — *idreigos*: gen.sg. to *idreiga** f. *a*-st. ‘remorse, penance’; either back formation to Goth. *idreigon** w. v. 2 ‘to feel remorse, to do penance’ or derivation from an unattested adjective Goth. **idreigs* *a*-st. ‘repentant’; further etymology unclear. — *aflageinai*: dat.sg. to *aflageins** f. *i*-st. ‘decree’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from Goth. *aflagjan* w. v. 1 ‘to put down’; compound with Goth. *lagjan* w. v. 1 ‘to put (on/down)’.

5 *Iudaialand*: nom. n. region name ‘Judean land’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *Iudaia** f. region name ‘Judea’ and Goth. *land** n. *a*-st. ‘land, country, region’. — *Iaurdane*: dat. v. *Iaurdanus** m. *u*-st. river name ‘Jordan’ (< Gr. *Iordánēs*) (the dative is also attested as *Iaurdanau*).

[Mk 10:1] and *Jaurdanau* [Sk 4:1]). — *ahai*: dat.sg. to *aha* f. *ō*-st. ‘river, body of water’; OHG, OS *aha*, ODu. (almost only in toponyms) *ā*, *ē*, OE *ēa*, OFris. *ā*- (in *āburch* ‘river weir, river dike’), OIcl. *ǫ*, *á*. — *andhaitandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *andhaitan* st. v. 7 ‘to confess, to praise’; compound with Goth. *haitan* st. v. 7 ‘to name, to call, (passive) to be named’.

6 *was-up*: = *was-uh*; with assimilation of *-h* – *p*- to *-p* – *p*-. — *taglam*: dat.pl. to *tagl** n. *a*-st. ‘hair’; OHG *zagal*, mnd. *tagel*, ODu. (only in toponyms) *tagal*, OE *tæg(e)l*, OIcl. *tagl*. — *ulbandaus*: gen.sg. to *ulbandus** m. *u*-st. ‘camel’ (< Vulg.Lat. form **olipant-* or **olifant-* to Lat. *elephā[n]s* ‘elephant’); OHG *olbent(a)*, OS *olvundio*, ODu. *olvent*, OE *olfend(e)*, OIcl. *ulfaldi*. — *gairda*: acc.sg. to *gairda** f. *ō*-st. ‘belt’; OIcl. *gjörð*; derivation from the root in Goth. *-gairdan** st. v. 3 (in *bigairdan** st. v. 3 ‘to gird’, *ufgairdan** st. v. 3 ‘to gird up’); cf. the weak verbs with the meaning ‘to gird’ OHG *gurten*, MLG *görden*, ODu. *gurden*, OE *gyrdan*, OIcl. *gyrða*; striking is the change of case between *taglam* and *gairda*, both of which depend on *gawasjan** (an interpretation of *gairda* as nominative singular with suppressed *was*, i.e. ‘clothed with camel hair and [it was] a leather belt around his hip’ [note from Carla Falluomini]). — *filleina*: acc.sg.f. to *filleins** adj. *a*-st. ‘of leather’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *fillīn*, OE *fellen*; derivation from the root in Goth. *-fill* (in *prutsfill* n. *a*-st. ‘leprosy’). — *hup*: acc.sg. to *hups** m. *i*-st. ‘hip’; OHG *huf*, MLG *huf*; MDu. *hope*, OE *hype*, NWestFris. *heup* next to (with expressive nasalization) OIcl. *-huppr*. — *bramsteins*: acc.pl. to *bramstei** f. *n*-st. ‘grasshopper’ (this is the only attestation of the word); probably derivation from the root in OS *thrimman* ‘to be restless’. — *miliþ*: acc.sg. to *miliþ** n. *a*-st. ‘honey’ (this is the only attestation of the word); cf. (most likely without dental) OHG *mili-* (in *militou* ‘mildew’), OS *mili-* (in *milidou* ‘mildew’), OE *mil-*, *mele-* (in *mildeaw*, *meledeaw* ‘mildew’). — *haiþiwisk*: acc.sg.n. to *haiþiwisks** adj. *a*-st. ‘wild’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from the root in Goth. *haiþi** f. *jō*-st. ‘field’; OE *hæþ*, OIcl. *heiðr* next to OHG *heida* ‘heath, terrain, wasteland, heather, thyme’, OS *hētha* ‘heath, heather, thyme’, ODu. *hētha* ‘heath, wasteland’, NWestFris. *heide* ‘heath’. — *wilþi*: acc.sg.n. to *wilþeis* adj. *ja*-st. ‘wild’; OHG, OS *wildi*, ODu. *wilthi*, OE, OFris. *wilde*, OIcl. *villr*; the Gothic word is an original gloss of *haiþiwisk* that got into the text.

7 *swinþoza*: nom.sg.n. comp. to *swinþs** (*-p*-) adj. *a*-st. ‘strong, vigorous, healthy’; MHG *swint*, OS *swīth*, ODu. (adv.) *swītho*, OE *swīþ*, OFris. (adv.) *swīthe*, OIcl. *svinnr*, *sviðr*. — *wairþs*: nom.sg.m. (*-p*-) adj. *a*-st. ‘worth, worthy, fit’; OHG *werd*, OS *werth*, MDu. *wert*, OE *weorð*, OFris. *werth*, OIcl. *verðr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *wairþan* st. v. 3 ‘to become’. — *anahneiwards*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *anahneiwan** st. v. 1 ‘to incline’; compound with Goth. *hneiwan* st. v. 1 ‘to incline’. — *skaudaraip*: acc.sg. to *skaudaraip** n. *a*-st. ‘belt’; compound with the as simplexes unattested elements Goth. *skauda-* ‘sheath’ (MHG *schōte* ‘pod’, MLG *schōde* ‘seed pod, pea; sheath of a horse’, MDu. *schōde* ‘pod’, OIcl. *skauð* ‘sword sheath; [pl.] foreskin of a horse’) und Goth. *-raip* ‘band’ (OHG *reif* ‘rope; ring, circle’, MLG *rēp* ‘rope’, Early MDu. *reep* ‘rope; strip of land’, OE *rāp* ‘rope’, OIcl. *reip* ‘rope’). — *skohe*: gen.pl. to *skohs** m. *a*-st. ‘shoe; sandal’; OHG *skuoh*, OS *skōh*, ODu. *skuo*, OE *scōh*, OFris. *skōch*, OIcl. *skór*.

8 —.

1.24. Mark 1:14–20: The Beginning of Jesus’ Ministry in Galilee. The Calling of the First Disciples

14 *ip afar patei atgibans warþ Iohannes, qam Iesus in Galeilaia merjands aiwaggeljon piudangardjos gudis*, **15** *qipands patei usfullnoda pata mel jah atnehida sik piudangardi gudis: idreigop jah galaubeip in aiwaggeljon*. **16** *jah harbonds faur marein Galeilais gasah Seimonu jah Andraian broþar is, þis Seimonis, wairpandans nati in marein; wesun auk fiskjans.*

17 jah qap im Iesus: hirjats afar mis, jah gatauja igqis wairpan nutans manne. 18 jah suns afletandans po natja seina laistidedun afar imma. 19 jah jainpro inngaggands framis leitolata gasah Iakobu pana Zaibaidaiaus jah Iohanne bropar is, jah pans in skipa manwjandans natja. 20 jah suns haihait ins. jah afletandans attan seinana Zaibaidaiu in pamma skipa mip asnjam, galipun afar imma.

14 —.

15 *atnehvida*: 3.sg.pret.ind. to *atnehjan** w. v. 1 ‘to approach’; compound with Goth. *nehjan** w. v. 1 ‘to approach’; OHG *nāhen*, OS *nāhian*, ODu. *nāken* next to (with grammatical change) OE *nāegan* ‘to address’; derivation from the root in Goth. *nehv* adv. ‘near’. — *idreigop*: 2ndsg.pres.ind. to *idreigon** w. v. 2 ‘to feel remorse, to do penance’ (see *idreiga**).

16 *harbonds*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *harbon** w. v. 2 ‘to wander’; OHG *warbōn*, OS *hwarvon*, OE *hwearfian*, OIcl. *hvarfa*; derivation from the root in Goth. *hairban** st. v. 3 ‘to wander’. — *Seimonu*: acc. v. *Seimon* m. personal name ‘Simon’ (< Gr. *Simōn*) (the accusative is also attested as *Seimon* and *Seimona*). — *Andraian*: acc. to *Andraias* m. personal name ‘Andreas’ (< Gr. *Andréas*). — *Seimonis*: gen. to *Seimon* m. personal name ‘Simon’ (once the genitive is also attested as *Seimonaus* [Joh 6:8]). — *wairpandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *wairpan* st. v. 3 ‘to throw’; compound with Goth. *wairpan* st. v. 3 ‘to throw’; OHG *werfan*, OS, ODu. *werpan*, OE *weorpan*, OFris. *werpa*, OIcl. *verpa*. — *nati*: acc.sg. to *nati** n. *ja*-st. ‘net; circular throw net’; OHG *nezzi*, OS *net(ti)*, ODu. *netti*, OE *net(t)*, OFris. *nette*, *nitte*, OIcl. *net*. — *fiskjans*: nom.pl. to *fiskja** m. *ja*-st. ‘fisherman’; derivation from the root in Goth. *fisks** m. *a*-st. ‘fish’.

17 *hirjats*: adv. imp. ‘here; come!’ (see *hiri*). — *nutans*: acc.pl. to *nuta** m. *n*-st. ‘catcher, fisherman’; derivation from the root in Goth. *niutan** st. v. 2 ‘to reach, to be glad’; OHG *niozan*, OS *niotan*, OFris. *niāta*, *niēta*, OIcl. *njóta*.

18 —.

19 *jainpro*: adv. ‘there’; derivation with adverb forming suffix Goth. *-pro* of the root in Goth. *jains* dem.pron. ‘that one’. — *inngaggands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *inngaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go in’; compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go’. — *framis*: comp. ‘further’; OIcl. *fremr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *fram* 1. adv. ‘further’, 2. prep. + dat. ‘from; since; for, at; around, about, for’. — *Zaibaidaiaus*: gen. to *Zaibaidaius** m. personal name ‘Zebedeus’ (< Gr. *Zebedaios*). — *Iohanne*: acc. to *Iohannes* m. personal name ‘John’ (the accusative is also attested as *Iohannen* and *Iohannein*).

20 *asnjam*: dat.pl. to *asneis* m. *ja*-st. ‘hireling, day labourer’; OHG *asni*, OE *esne*; derivation from the root in Goth. *asans* f. *i*-st. ‘summer, harvest (time)’; next to (with grammatical change) OHG *aran*, OS *aran*- (in *aranfimba* ‘grain heap’) next to (different formation) OHG *arn*, MDu. *arn(e)*, OFris. *ern*.

1.25. Mark 3:13–19: The Calling of the Twelve Apostles

13 jah us<s>taig in fairguni jah athaihait panzei wilda is, jah galipun du imma. 14 jah gawaurhta twalif du wisan mip sis, jah ei insandidedi ins merjan 15 jah haban waldufni du hailjan sauhtins jah uswairpan unhulpons. 16 jah gasatida Seimona namo Paitrus; 17 jah Iakobau pamma Zaibaidaiaus jah Iohanne bropr Iakobaus jah gasatida im namna Bauanairgais, patei ist: sunjus peihons; 18 jah Andraian jah Filippu jah Barpaulaumaiu jah Matpau jah Poman jah Iakobu pana Alfaiaus jah Paddaiu jah Seimona pana Kananeiten 19 jah Iudan Iskarioten, saei jah galewida ina.

13 —.

14 —.

15 —.

16 —.

17 *Iohanne*: dat. to *Iohannes* m. personal name ‘John’ (the dative is also attested as *Iohannen*, *Iohannau*). — *Bauanairgais*: name ‘Boanerges’ (< Gr. *Boanergés*) (this is the only attestation of the name). — *peihons*: gen.sg. to *peihō** f. n-st. ‘thunder’; further etymology is unclear.

18 *Barpaulaumaii*: acc. to *Barpaulaumaius** m. personal name ‘Bartholomew’ (< Gr. *Bartholomaios*). — *Matpau*: acc. to *Matpauis* m. personal name ‘Matthew’ (the nominative is only attested once as *Matpauis* [Ver 1:5]) (< Gr. *Matthaios*). — *Alfaiaus*: gen. to *Alfaius** m. personal name ‘Alphaus’ (the genitive is also attested as *Alfaius*) (< Gr. *Alphaios*). — *Paddaii*: acc. to *Paddaius** m. personal name ‘Thaddaus’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (< Gr. *Thaddaios*). — *Seimona*: acc. to *Seimon* m. personal name ‘Simon’ (see *Seimonu* [Mk 1:16]). — *Kananeiten*: acc. v. *Kananeites** m. resident name ‘Canaanite’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (< Gr. *Kananitēs*).

19 *Iskarioten*: acc. v. *Iskariotes* (auch *Iskarioteis*) m. personal name ‘Iscaiot’.

1.26. Mark 7:31–37: Healing of a Deaf

31 *jah aftra galeipands af markom Twre jah Seidone qam at marein Galeilaie miþ tweihnaim markom Daikapaulaios*. 32 *jah berun du imma baudana stammana jah bedun ina ei lagidedi imma handau*. 33 *jah afnimands ina af managein sundro, lagida figgrans seinans in ausona imma jah spewands attaitok tuggon is* 34 *jah ussaihwands du himina gaswogida jah qap du imma: aiffapa, þatei ist: uslukn*. 35 *jah sunsaiw usluknodedun imma hliumans, jah andbundnoda bandi tuggons is jah rodida raihtaba*. 36 *jah anabaup im ei mann ni qeþeina. hvan filu is im anabaup, mais þamma eis meridedun* 37 *jah ufarassau sildaleikidedun qipandans: waila allata gatawida jah baudans gatauiþ gahausjan jah unrodjandans rodjan*.

31 *Twre*: gen. to *Twreis** pl. m. demonym ‘Tyrians’ (the demonym appears instead of the city name) (< Gr. *Túros*). — *Seidone*: gen. to *Seidoneis** pl. m. demonym ‘Sidonians’ (the demonym appears instead of the city name) (< Gr. XXXX). — *Daikapaulaios*: gen. to *Daikapaulis** name for 10 cities east and south of the Sea of Galilea (< Gr. *Dekápolis*).

32 *baudana*: acc.sg.m. to *baups* (-d-) adj. a-st. ‘deaf; mute’; etymologically unclear. — *stammana*: acc.sg.m. to *stamms** adj. a-st. ‘babbling, stammering’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG, OE *stam* (-mm-); of the same root as OHG *stam* (-m-), OIcl. *stamr* ‘stammering’. — *lagidedi*: 3rdsg.pret.opt. to *lagjan* w. v. 1 ‘to put (on/down)’.

33 *figgrans*: acc.pl. to *figgrs** m. a-st. ‘finger’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG, OS, ODu. *finger*, OE, OFris. *finger*, OIcl. *fingr*; regularly seen as a derivation from the root in Goth. *fimf* num. ‘five’. — *spewands*: nom.sg.m. to *speiwan* st. v. 1 ‘to spit (at)’ (with incorrect -e- for -ei-); OHG, OS *spīwan*, MDu. *spuwen*, OE *spīwan*, OFris. *spīa*, OIcl. *spýja*. — *tuggon*: dat.sg. to *tuggo* f. n-st. ‘tongue’; OHG *zunga*, OS, ODu. *tunga*, OE, OFris. *tunge*, OIcl. *tugga*.

34 *ussaihwands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *ussaihan* st. v. 5 ‘to look up; to look at’; compound with Goth. *saihan* st. v. 5 ‘to see’. — *gaswogida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gaswogjan** w. v. 1 ‘to sigh’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OE *swægan* ‘to sound’. — *aiffapa*: ‘open!’ (< Gr. *ephphathá*) (this is the only attestation of the word).

35 *hliumans*: nom.pl. to *hliuma* m. n-st. ‘hearing’; (different formation) OHG *liumunt* ‘tidings, (good/bad) reputation, fame, acclaim, favour, praise, opinion, rumor’, MLG *lemunt*, *lūmunt*, *līmunt*

‘tidings, reputation, fame’, MDu. *lumont* ‘reputation’, OIcl. *hljóð* ‘listening, silence, noise’, OIcl. *hljómr* ‘loud noise’. — *andbundnoda*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *andbundnan** w. v. 4 ‘to be released’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from the root in Goth. *bindan** st. v. 3 ‘to bind’. — *bandi*: nom.sg. f. *jō*-st. ‘band, bondage’; OS *bendi*, OE *bend*, OFris. *bende*; derivation from the root in Goth. *bindan** st. v. 3 ‘to bind’. — *raihtaba*: adv. ‘right, correct’; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-ba* to Goth. *raihts** adj. *a*-st. ‘right, straight, fair’.

36 *qeþeina*: 3rdpl.pret.opt. to *qipan* st. v. 5 ‘to say; to mean, to designate’ (with incorrect *-e-* instead of *-i-*). — *han*: adv. ‘when; how much; how; about how much’; derivation from the root in Goth. *has* interrog./indef.pron. ‘who?; anyone’.

37 *ufarassau*: dat.sg. to *ufarassus* m. *u*-st. ‘abundance, excess’; probably derivation from Goth. *ufar* prep. + acc./dat. ‘above’. — *unrodjandans*: acc.pl.m. to *unrodjands* pres.part. ‘no speaking, mute’; derivation from Goth. *rodjan* w. v. 1 ‘to speak, to talk’.

1.27. Mark 8:22–26: Healing of a Blind

22 *jah qemun in Bepaniin jah berun du imma blindan jah bedun ina ei imma attaitoki. 23 jah fairgreipands handu þis blindins ustauh ina utana weihsis jah speiwands in augona is, atlagjands ana handuns seinos frah ina ga-u-ha-sehi? 24 jah ussaihands qap: gasaiha mans, þatei swe bagmans gasaiha gaggandans. 25 þaþroh aftra galagida handuns ana þo augona is jah gatawida ina ussaihan; jah aftra gasatiþs warþ jah gasah bairhtaba allans. 26 jah insandida ina du garda is qibands: ni in þata weihs gaggais, ni mannhun qibais in þamma weihsa.*

22 *Bepaniin*: dat. v. *Bepania* place name ‘Bethany’ (see also *Bepanias* [Joh 11:1]).

23 *fairgreipands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *fairgreipan* st. v. 1 ‘to seize’; compound with Goth. *greipan* st. v. 1 ‘to seize, to grab’; OHG *grīfan*, OS, ODu., OE *grīpan*, OFris. *grīpa*, OIcl. *grípa*. — *ustauh*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *ustiuhan* st. v. 2 ‘to lead out/away, to carry away; to pay; to carry out, to complete’; compound with Goth. *tiuhan* st. v. 2 ‘to draw, to lead (away)’. — *utana*: adv. ‘(from the) outside’; (+ gen.) ‘outside’; derivation from the root in Goth. *ut*: adv. ‘out’. — *atlagjands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *atlagjan** w. v. 1 ‘to put on/at’; compound with Goth. *lagjan* w. v. 1 ‘to put /on/down’. — *ana*: adv. ‘on, moreover’ (identical with Goth. *ana* prep. + dat./acc. [to denote place/direction] ‘on, in, over’).

24 *bagmans*: acc.pl. to *bagms* m. *a*-st. ‘tree’; OHG *boum*, OS, ODu. *bōm*, OE *bēam*, OFris. *bām*, OIcl. *baðmr*.

25 *bairhtaba*: adv. ‘shiny, open’; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-ba* to Goth. *bairhts** adj. *a*-st. ‘bright, evident’; OHG *beraht*, Lgb. (in personal names) *Bert-*, *Pert-*, *-bert*, *-pert*, OS, ODu. *berht*, OE *beorht*, OIcl. *bjartr* adj. ‘bright’.

26 *mannhun*: dat.sg. to *mannahun* m. irreg. cons.st./pron. ‘someone’; derivation from Goth. *manna* m. irreg. cons.st. ‘man’ and Goth. *-hun*, syllable to form certain pronouns; the pronoun occurs only with the negation particle, then altogether in the meaning ‘nobody’.

1.28. Mark 10:1–12: Of Marriage and Divorce

1 *jah jainþro usstandands qam in markom Iudaias hindar laurdanau; jah gaqemun sik aftra manageins du imma, jah, swe biuhts <was>, aftra laisida ins. 2 jah duatgaggandans Fareisaieis frehun ina, skuld-u sijai mann qen afsatjan, fraisandans ina. 3 iþ is andhaffands*

qap: hwa izwis anabaup Moses? 4 ip eis qepun: Moses uslaubida unsis bokos afsateinai meljan jah afletan. 5 jah andhaffands Iesus qap du im: wipra harduhairtein izwara gamelida izwis po anabusn. 6 ip af anastodeinai gaskaftais gumein jah qinein gatawida gup. 7 in-uh pis bileipai manna attin seinamma jah aiþein seinai, 8 jah sijaina po twa du leika samin, swaswe þanaseiþs ni sind twa, ak leik ain. 9 þatei nu gup gawap, manna þamma ni skaidai. 10 jah in garda aftra siponjos is bi þata samo frehun ina. 11 jah qap du im: sahazuh saei afletip qen seinah jah liugaip anþara, horinop du þizai. 12 jah jabai qino afletip aban seinana jah liugada anþaramma, horinop.

1 *Iaurdanau*: dat. to *Iaurdanus** m. u-st. river name ‘Jordan’ (see also *Iaurdane* [Mk 1:5]). — *biuhts*: nom.sg.m. adj. a-st. ‘used’; derivation from the root in Goth. *-nauhan** (in *binauhan** pret.pres. ‘to be allowed, may’).

2 *afsatjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to depose, to dismiss’; compound with Goth. *satjan** w. v. 1 ‘to set’.

3 —.

4 *bokos*: acc.pl. to *boka* f. *ō*-st. ‘letter of the alphabet; (pl.) writing, letter, book, document’; OHG *buocha*, OS *bōka* ‘beech’ next to OHG *buoh* ‘book, document’, OS *bōk* ‘book, writing board’, ODu. *buok* ‘book’, OE *bōc* ‘book, writing, document, Bible’, OFris. *bōk* ‘book; Mass Book, Missal; Bible’, OIcl. *bók* ‘book; Latin language; embroidered bedcloth’. — *afsateinai*: gen.sg. to *afsateins** f. i-st. ‘letter of divorce; deposition’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from Goth. *afsatjan* w. v. 1 ‘to depose, to dismiss’.

5 *harduhairtein*: acc.sg. to *harduhairtei** f. n-st. ‘hardheartedness’; derivational compound with Goth. *hardus* adj. u-st. ‘hard, strict’ (OHG *hart*, *herti*, Lgb. [in personal names] *-ardus*, OS *hard*, ODu. *hart*, OE *heard*, OFris. *herd*, *hird*, *hard*, OIcl. *harðr*) and Goth. *hairto* n. n-st. ‘heart’. — *anabusn*: acc.sg. to *anabusns* f. i-st. ‘commandment’; OS *anabūsan*; cf. OE *býsen* ‘example, pattern; instance, simile, rule, command’, OIcl. *býsn* ‘miracle’; derivation from the root in Goth. *-biudan** ‘to offer’ (see *anabiudan**). 6 *gaskaftais*: gen.sg. to *gaskafts* f. i-st. ‘creation; creature’; OHG *giscaft*, OS *giskaft*, OE *gesceaft*; derivation from the root in Goth. *-skapjan** (probably only in Goth. *gaskapjan** st. v. 6 ‘to create’; cf. however, *skapja[m]* in *de convivi[i]s barbaris*); OHG *skepfen*, OS *skeppian*, Early MDu. *scheppen*, OE *scieppan*, OFris. *skeppa*, OIcl. *skepja*. — *gumein*: acc.sg. to *gumein** n. a-st. ‘male, man’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from an unattested adjective Goth. **gumeins* a-st. ‘male’, itself derived from Goth. *guma* m. n-st. ‘man’. — *qinein*: acc.sg. to *qinein** n. a-st. ‘female, woman’; derivation from an unattested adjective Goth. *qineins** a-st. ‘female’, itself derived from Goth. *qino* f. n-st. ‘woman’.

7 *bileipai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *bileipan** st. v. 1 ‘to leave (behind)’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic) (see *usleipan*). — *aiþein*: dat.sg. to *aiþei* f. n-st. ‘mother’; OHG *-eidī* (in *fuotareidī* ‘nurse’) next to (different formation) Lat.-Gmc. (dat.sg.) *-edae* (in matron name *Gamaledae* ‘old/venerable mother’), OIcl. *eiða*.

8 *þanaseiþs*: adv. ‘further, still’; compound with Goth. *þana-* (derived from the dental stem of the demonstrative pronoun Goth. *sa* ‘this, the’) and Goth. *-seiþs* ‘later’; OIcl. *síðr*; formation to the same root as in in Goth. *seiþus** / *seiþu* adj. u-st. / n. u-st. ‘late’ / ‘eveniung’.

9 *gawap*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gawidan** st. v. 5 ‘to tie together, to join’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *wetan*. — *skaidai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *skaidan** st. v. 7 ‘to divorce, to separate’; OHG *skeidan*, OS, ODu. *skēthan*, OE *scādan*, OFris. *skētha*, *skēda*.

10 —.

11 *sahazuh*: nom.sg.m. pron. ‘whoever’; compound with Goth. *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’ and Goth. *hazuh* pron. ‘everyone’. — *liugaip*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *liugan** st. v. 2 ‘to lie’; OHG, OS *liogan*, ODu. *liegan*, OE *lēogan*, OFris. *liāga*, *liēga*, OIcl. *ljúga*. — *horinop*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *horinon* w. v. 2 ‘to whore, to

commit adultery'; derivation from the root in Goth. *hors* m. *a*-st. 'fornicator, adulterer'; ? Run. (nom.sg.) *horaz* (bracteate 1 from Fyn, 440–560), OIcl. *hórr* m. 'fornicator'.

12 *liugada*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *liugan* w. v. 3 'to marry'; derivation from the root in Goth. *liuga** f. *ō*-st. 'marriage'.

1.29. Mark 14:53–65: Jesus before the Sanhedrin

53 *jah gatauhun Iesu du auhumistin gudjin; jah garunnun miþ imma auhumistans gudjans allai jah þai sinistans jah bokarjos. 54 jah Paitrus fairrapro laistida afar imma, unte qam in garda þis auhumistins gudjins; jah was sitands miþ andbahtam jah warmjands sik at liuhada. 55 iþ þai auhumistans gudjans jah alla so gafaurds sokidedun ana Iesu weitwodipa du afdaupjan ina jah ni bigetun. 56 managai auk galiug weitwodidedun ana ina, jah samaleikos þos weitwodiþos ni wesun. 57 jah sumai usstandandans galiug weitwodidedun ana ina qipandans: 58 þatei weis gahausidedum qipandan ina þatei ik gataira alh þo handuaurhton jah bi þrins dagans anþara unhanduaurhta gatimrja. 59 jah ni swa samaleika was weitwodipa ize. 60 jah usstandands sa auhumista gudja in midjaim frah Iesu qipands: niu andhafjis waiht, hwa þai ana þuk weitwodjand? 61 iþ is þahaida jah waiht ni andhof. aftra sa auhumista gudja frah ina jah qap du imma: þu is Xristus sa sunus þis þiubeigins? 62 iþ is qap-uh: ik im; jah gasaihiþ þana sunu mans af taihswon sitandan mahtais jah qimandan miþ milhmam himinis. 63 iþ sa auhumista gudja disskreitands wastjos seinos qap: hwa þanamais þaurbum weis weitwode? 64 hausideduþ þo wajamerein is: hwa izwis þugkeiþ? þaruh eis allai gadomidedun ina skulan wisan dauþau. 65 jah dugunnun sumai speiwan ana wlit is jah huljan andwairþi is jah kaupatjan ina; jah qeþun du imma: praufetei! jah andbahtos [gabaurjaba] lofam slohun ina.*

53 *gatauhun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *gatiuhan** st. v. 2 'to draw away, to lead away'; compound with Goth. *tiuhan* st. v. 2 'to draw, to lead (away)'. — *sinistans*: nom.pl.m. w. superl. to *sineigs* adj. *a*-st. 'old' (the adjective appears only nominalized as 'the old one'); in the positive there is a suffixal extension with the suffix Goth. *-eigs*; OI *sána-*, Av. *hana-*, Gr. *hénos*, Arm. *hin*, Oir. *sen*, Lith. *sėnas*, with a suffix also in Lat. *senex*.

54 *fairrapro*: adv. 'from far away'; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-pro* from Goth. *fairra* adv. 'remote; far from, away from'.

55 *gafaurds*: nom.sg. f. *i*-st. 'assembly, high council'; derivation from the root in Goth. *faran** st. v. 6 'to wander, to trek'. — *afdaupjan*: inf. w. v. 1 'to kill'; compound with got *daupjan** w. v. 1 'to kill'; OHG *tōden*, OS *-dōdian* (in *bidōdian* 'to put to death'), OE *-diedan* (in *ādiedan* 'to kill'), OIcl. *deyða*; derivation from the root in Goth. *daups* (*-þ-*) adj. 'dead'.

56 *galiug*: acc.sg. to *galiug** n. *a*-st. 'lie; (pl.) idol'; derivation from the root in Goth. *liugan** st. v. 2 'to lie'. — *samaleikos*: nom.pl.f. to *samaleiks** adj. *a*-st. 'same'; OHG *samalīh*, OE (adv.) *samlīce*, OIcl. *samlíkr*.

57 —.

58 *gataira*: 1stsg.pres.ind. to *gatairan* st. v. 4 'to tear, to destroy, to undo' (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *zeran*, OE *teran*. — *alh*: acc.sg. to *alhs* f. cons.st. '(Jewish) temple'; OS *alah*, OE *ealh*, *alh*. — *handuaurhton*: acc.sg.f. to *handuaurhts** adj. *a*-st. 'made by hand'; compound with Goth. *handus* f. *u*-st. 'hand' and Goth. *-aurhts** 'made, wrought', a derivation from the root in Goth. *waurkjan* w. v. 1 'to make, to take effect'. — *unhanduaurhta*: acc.sg.f. to *unhanduaurhts** adj. *a*-st. 'not made by hand'; compound with the negation Goth. *un-* 'un-, not' and Goth. *handuaurhts** adj. *a*-st. 'made by hand'. — *gatimrja*: 1stsg.pres.ind. to *gatimrjan** w. v. 1 'to build'; compound with Goth.

⁺*timrjan* w. v. 1 ‘to build, to carpenter’ (only attested as <timbrjan> [Lk 14:28.30]); OHG *zimbaren*, OS *timbrian*, ODu. *timbren*, OE *timbran*, OFris. *timbra*, OIcl. *timbra*; derivation from the root in OHG *zimbar*, OS *timbar*, MDu. *timmer*, OE, OFris. *timber*, OIcl. *timbr* ‘timber’; derivation from the root in Goth. *gatiman** st. v. 4 ‘to fit, to suit’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *zeman*, ODu. *teman*.

59 —.

60 —.

61 *ḡahaida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *ḡahan** w. v. 3 ‘to silence’; OHG *dagēn*, OS *thagian*, OIcl. *ḡegja*. — *ḡiuḡeigins*: gen.sg.m. w. to *ḡiuḡeigs* adj. *a*-st. ‘good, praised’; derivation from the unattested adjective Goth. Adj. **ḡiuḡ* (*-ḡ-*) *a*-st. ‘good’.

62 *milhmam*: dat.pl. to *milhma* m. *n*-st. ‘cloud’; OSwed. *moln*.

63 *disskreitands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *disskreitan** st. v. 1 ‘to tear’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); nhd. dial. *schrissen*, *schreissen*. — *ḡanamais*: adv. ‘further, more’; cf. OHG *dana mēr*, *mēr dan*, OS *than mēr*, MDu. *meer dan*, OE *ḡon mā*, OIcl. *ḡá en meira*. — *ḡaurbum*: 1stpl.pres.ind. to *ḡaurban** pret.pres. ‘to need’. — *weitwode*: gen.pl. to *weitwoḡs** (*-d-*) m. cons.st. ‘witness’; only in Gothic attested stem PGmc. **ueiṡuōd-*, originally a nominalized and lexicalized part.perf.act. PIE **ueiḡd-uos-* (obl. *-t-*); cf. OI *vidvás-*, Gr. *eidós* ‘knowing’; formation to the root in Goth. *witan* pret.pres. ‘to know’.

64 *wajamerein*: acc.sg. to *wajamereins* f. *i*-st. ‘blasphemy’; derivation from Goth. *wajamerjan* w. v. 1 ‘to blaspheme’. — *ḡugkeiḡ*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *ḡugkjan** w. v. 1 ‘to believe, to mean, to apply’; OHG *dunken*, OS *thunkian*, ODu. *thunken*, OE *ḡyncan*, OFris. *thinka*, *tinsa*, OIcl. *ḡykkja*; derivation from the root in Goth. *ḡagkjan* w. v. 1 ‘to think, to consider’. — *ḡadomidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *ḡadomjan* w. v. 1 ‘to judge, to decide’; compound with Goth. *domjan* w. v. 1 ‘to judge, to decide’.

65 *huljan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to cover, to veil, to envelop’; OHG *hullen*, OS *-hullian*, MDu. *hullen*, OE *-hylian*, OFris. *-hella*, OIcl. *hylja*; derivation from a strong verb continued in OHG *helan*, OS *helan*, Early MDu. *helen*, OE *helan*, OFris. *hela*. — *kaupatjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to cuff, to slap’; further etymology unclear. — *praufetei*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *praufetjan** w. v. 1 ‘to divine, to prophesy’; derivation from Goth. *praufetus* m. *u*-st. ‘prophet’. — *ḡabaurjaba*: adv. ‘gladly’; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-ba* from the unattested adjective Goth. **ḡabaurjis* *a*-st. ‘beneficial’; cf. OE *-byre* (in *ambyre* ‘auspicious, fitting [of wind]’); back formation from the root in OHG *giburien*, OS *giburian*, ODu. *giburen*, OE *gibȳrian* ‘to add, to happen, to occur’.

1.30. Mark 15:6–20: Condemnation and Mocking of Jesus

6 *ip and dulḡ ḡarjoh fralailot im ainana bandjan ḡanei bedun*. 7 *was-uh ḡan sa haitana Barabbas miḡ ḡaim miḡ imma drobjandam ḡabundans, ḡaiei in auhjodau maurḡr gatawidedun*. 8 *jah usgaggandei alla managei dugunnun bidjan, swaswe sinteino tawida im*. 9 *ip Peilatus andhof im qipands: wileid-u fraleitan izwis ḡana ḡiudan Iudaie?* 10 *wissa auk ḡatei in neipis atgebun ina ḡai auhumistans gudjans*. 11 *ip ḡai auhumistans gudjans inwagidedun ḡo managein ei mais Barabban fralailoti im*. 12 *ip Peilatus aftra andhaffands qaḡ du im: ḡa nu wileiḡ ei taujau ḡammei qipip ḡiudan Iudaie?* 13 *ip eis aftra hropidedun: ushramei ina*. 14 *ip Peilatus qaḡ du im: ḡa allis ubilis gatawida? ip eis mais hropidedun: ushramei ina*. 15 *ip Peilatus wiljands ḡizai managein fullafahjan, fralailot im ḡana Barabban, ip Iesu atḡaf usbliggwands, ei ushramiḡs wesi*. 16 *ip gadrauhteis gatauhun ina innana gardis, ḡatei ist praitoriaun, jah ḡahaihaitun alla hansa* 17 *jah gawasidedun ina paurpurai jah atlagidedun ana ina ḡaurneina wipja uswindandans* 18 *jah dugunnun ḡoljan ina: hails, ḡiudan Iudaie!* 19 *jah slohun is haubiḡ rausa jah bispiwun ina jah lagjandans kniwa inwitun ina*. 20 *jah biḡe*

bilailaikun ina andwasidedun ina bizai paupurai jah gawasidedun ina wastjom swesaim. jah ustauhun ina ei ushramidedeina ina.

6 *bandjan*: acc.sg. to *bandja* m. *n*-st. ‘prisoner’; derivation from the root in Goth. *bindan** st. v. 3 ‘to bind’.

7 *Barabbas*: nom. m. personal name ‘Barabbas’ (the nominative is also found as *Barabba*). — *drobjandam*: dat.pl.m. pres.part. to *drobjan** w. v. 1 ‘to cloud, to confuse, to agitate’; OHG *truoben*, OS *drōvian*, OE *drēfan*; derivation from the root in OHG *truobi*, OS *drōvi*, Early MDu. *droeve*, OE *drōf* ‘cloudy’. — *auhjodau*: dat. sg. to *auhjodus** m. *u*-st. ‘noise’; derivation from Goth. *auhjon** w. v. 2 ‘to make noise’; onomatopoeitic? — *maurpr*: acc.sg. to *maurpr** n. *a*-st. ‘murder’; OE *mordor*; cf. the derivation OHG *murdro* ‘murderer’; derivation from the root in OHG *mord*, Lgb., OS, ODu. *morth*, OE *mord*, OFris. *morth*, *mord*, OIcl. *morð* ‘murder’.

8 —.

9 *fraleitan*: inf. st. v. 7 (for *fraletan*) ‘to let, to set free, to dismiss, to refrain, to allow, to forgive, to condescend’ (the spelling of the expected *-e-* with *-ei-* occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably due to a sound development of *ē* to *ī* in Late Gothic).

10 *neipis*: gen.sg. to *neip** n. *a*-st. ‘envy’; OHG *nīd*, OS *nīth*, ODu. *nīth*, OE *nīþ*, OFris. *nīth*, *nīt*, *nīd*, OIcl. *níð*.

11 —.

12 —.

13 *ushramei*: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *ushramjan* w. v. 1 ‘to crucify’; compound with Goth. *hramjan** w. v. 1 ‘to crucify’; MDu. *remmen* ‘to brake, to inhibit’, OE *hremman* ‘to brake, to inhibit’, ? OIcl. *hremma* ‘to grasp, to clamp, to press’ (from Germanic as a loanword in MLat. *ad-chramire* ‘to confirm’); derivation from the root in OHG *rama*, *ram* ‘support, pillar, loom, torture grate, torture rack’, OS *hrama* ‘torture rack’, Early MDu. *rame* ‘frame, drying rack’, OFris. *rām* ‘frame’, NNorw. *ram* ‘house gable, attic’.

14 —.

15 *fullafahjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to satisfy; to serve, to content’; compound with Goth. *fulla-* (see *fulls*) and Goth. *-fahjan*, a derivation from the root in Goth. *faheps* (*-d-*) f. *i*-st. ‘joy’.

16 *innana*: adv. ‘from within, into, into the interior’; derivation from Goth. *in* prep. + dat./acc. (for the designation of place / direction) ‘in, on, on, to, while, after to’, + gen. ‘because of, for the sake of, for, through’.

17 *paupurai*: dat.sg. to *paupura** f. *ō*-st. ‘purple’ (< Lat. *purpura* f. ‘purple [color], purple-colored/purple-dyed fabric, purple wool’).

18 *goljan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to greet’; Run.-preOHG 3rdsg.pret.ind. **golida** (fibula from Frei-Laubsheim, 540–590), OFris. *gēla* ‘to pursue, to hunt’ (likely from ‘to rouse by shouting’), OIcl. *gæla* ‘to please, to comfort’; derivation from the root in Run. **gAlande** ‘screaming’ (stone from Eggja, 575–675/700), OHG *galan* ‘to sing, to conjure up, to charm, to sing magic chants’, OE *galan* ‘to sing, to conjure up, to charm, to sing magic chants’, OIcl. *gala* ‘to shout, to crow, to howl, to gossip, to sing, to do magic, to begg, to flatter’.

19 *rausa*: dat.sg. to *raus** n. *a*-st. ‘pipe’; ODu. *rōs* next to (with grammatical change) OHG *rōr*, OS *rōr-* (in *rōrdumbil* ‘bittern’), MDu. *roer*, OE *-rier-* (in [sæ-]rī[e]ric ‘reeds’), OFris. *rēr*, OIcl. *reyr*, *reyrr*. — *bispiwun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *bispeiwan** st. v. 1 ‘to spit on’; compound with *speiwan* st. v. 1 ‘to spit (at)’. — *kniwa*: dat.sg. to *kniu** n. *wa*-st. ‘knee’; OHG *kneo*, *kniu*, OS, ODu. *knio*, OE *cnēo*, OFris. *knī*, *knē*, OIcl. *kné*.

20 *bilailaikun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *bilaikan* st. v. 7 ‘to mock’; compound with Goth. *laikan** st. v. 7 ‘to jump, to hop’; OE *lācan*, OIcl. *leika*. — *andwasidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *andwasjan** w. v. 1 ‘to undress’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *wasjan** w. v. 1 ‘to dress, to clothe; to

get dressed'. — *swesaim*: dat.pl.f. to *swes* adj. 'own, belonging'; OHG, OS *swās*, OE *swæs*, OFris. *swēs*, OIcl. *sváss*.

1.31. Mark 15:21–41: Crucifixion and Death of Jesus

21 jah undgripun sumana manne, Seimona Kwreinaiu, qimandan af akra, attan Alaiksandraus jah Rufaus, ei nemi galgan is. **22** jah attauhun ina ana Gaulgauþa staþ, þatei ist gaskeirip hairneins staþs. **23** jah gebun imma drigkan wein miþ smwrna; ip is ni nam. **24** jah ushramjandans ina disdailjand wastjos is wairpandans hlauta ana þos, harjizuh hwa nemi. **25** was-uh þan heila þridjo, jah ushramidedun ina. **26** jah was ufarmeli fairinos is ufarmelip: sa þiudans Iudaie. **27** jah miþ imma ushramidedun twans waidedjans, ainana af taihswon jah ainana af hleidumein is. **28** jah usfullnoda þata gamelido þata qipando: jah miþ unsibjaim rahniþs was. **29** jah þai faurgaggandans wajameridedun ina, wiþondans haubida seina jah qipandans: o sa gatairands þo alh jah bi þrins dagans gatimrjands þo, **30** nasei þuk silban jah atsteig af þamma galgin! **31** samaleiko jah þai auhumistans gudjans bilaikandans ina miþ sis misso miþ þaim bokarjam qebun: anþarans ganasida, ip sik silban ni mag ganasjan. **32** sa Xristus, sa þiudans Israelis, atsteigadau nu af þamma galgin, ei gasaihaima jah galaubjaima. jah þai miþushramidans imma idweitidedun imma. **33** jah biþe warþ heila saihsto, riqis warþ ana allai airþai und heila niundon. **34** jah niundon heilai wopida Iesus stibnai mikilai qipands: ailoe, ailoe, lima sibakþanei, þatei ist gaskeirip: guþ meins, guþ meins, duhe mis bilaist? **35** jah sumai þize atstandandane gahausjandans qebun: sai, Helian wopeip. **36** þragjands þan ains jah gafulljands swam akeitis, galagjands ana raus, dragkida ina qipands: let, ei saihvam qimai-u Helias athaffan ina. **37** ip Iesus aftra letands stibna mikila uzon. **38** jah faurahah als disskritnoda in twa iupapro und dalap. **39** gasaihands þan sa hundafaps sa atstandands in andwairþja is þatei swa hropjands uzon, qap: bi sunjai, sa manna sa sunus was gudis. **40** wesun-up þan qinons fairrapro saihvandeins, in þaimei was Marja so Magdalene jah Marja Iakobis þis minnizins jah Iosezis aipei jah Salome. **41** jah þan was in Galeilaia, jah laistidedun ina jah andbahtidedun imma; jah anþaros managos þozei miþiddjedun imma in Iairusalem.

21 *undgripun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *undgreipan* st. v. 1 'to seize'; compound with Goth. *greipan* st. v. 1 'to seize, to grab'. — *Kwreinaiu*: acc.sg. to *Kwreinaius** m. resident name 'resident of Cyrene' (this is the only attestation of the word) (< Gr. *Kyrēnaïos*). — *akra*: dat.sg. to *akrs* m. *a*-st. 'field'; OHG *ackar*, OS, ODu. *akkar*, OE *æcer*, OFris. *ekker* OIcl. *akr*. — *Alaiksandraus*: gen. to *Alaiksandrus* m. personal name 'Alexander' (< Gr. *Aléksandros*). — *Rufaus*: gen. to *Rufus** m. personal name 'Rufus' (< Lat. *Rufus*, Gr. *Roûphos*). — *galgan*: acc.sg. to *galga* m. *n*-st. 'stake, cross'; OHG, OS *galgo*, Early MDu. *galghe*, OE *g(e)alga*, OFris. *galga*, OIcl. *galgi*.

22 *Gaulgauþa*: acc. to *Gaulgauþa* toponym 'Golgotha' (< Gr. *Golgothā*). — *gaskeirip*: nom.sg.n. pret.part. to *gaskeirjan** w. v. 1 'to explain' (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); MLG *schîren*, Early MDu. *schieren*, OE *scîran*, OFris. *skîria*, OIcl. *skîra*; derivation from the root in Goth. *skeirs** adj. 'clear'. — *hairneins*: gen.sg. to *hairnei* f. *īn*-st. 'brain skull'; probably derivation from the root in OIcl. *hverna* 'cookware', itself derived from the root in OHG *wer*, OE *hwer*, OIcl. *hverr* 'boiler'.

23 *wein*: acc.sg. to *wein* n. *a*-st. 'wine' (< Lat. *vīnum*; OHG, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *wīn*, OIcl. *vín*). — *smwrna*: dat.sg. to *smwrn** n. *a*-st. 'myrrh' (< Gr. *smýrna*); the construction *wein miþ smwrna* is a loan translation from Gr. *esmyrnisménon oînon* 'wine mixed with myrrh'.

24 *disdailjand*: 3rdpl.pres.ind. to *disdailjan** w. v. 1 ‘to distribute, to divide’; compound with Goth. *dailjan* w. v. 1 ‘to share, to inform’. — *hlauta*: dat.sg. to *hlauts* m. *i*-st. ‘fate, inheritance’; OHG *lōz*, OS *hlōt*, OE *hlīet*, OIcl. *hlautr* next to (with different formation) OHG *luz*, ODu. *lot*, OE *hlyt*, OFris. (*h*)*lot*, OIcl. *hlutr*; derivation from the root in OHG *liozan*, OS *hliotan*, OE *hlēotan*, OIcl. *hljóta* ‘to cast lots, to draw lots’.

25 *bridjo*: nom.sg.f. to *bridja* num. ‘third’; OHG *dritto*, OS *thriddio*, ODu. *thriddo*, OE *pridda*, OFris. *thredda*, OIcl. *priði*.

26 *ufarmeli*: nom.sg. n. *ja*-st. ‘headline, title’; either derivative compound with Goth. *ufar* prep. + acc./dat. ‘above’ and Goth. *mela* n.pl. *a*-st. ‘writing, script’ or back formation from Goth. *ufarmeljan** w. v. 1 ‘to overwrite’. — *ufarmelip*: nom.sg.n. pret.part. to *ufarmeljan** ‘to overwrite’; compound with Goth. *meljan* w. v. 1 ‘to write’.

27 *hleidumein*: dat.sg.f. to *hleiduma** comp.adj. ‘left’; derivation from the root in Goth. *hlaiw* n. *a*-st. ‘grave’.

28 *unsibjaim*: dat.pl.m. to *unsibjis* adj. *ja*-st. ‘unlawful, ungodly’; OHG *unsibbi* ‘unfriendly, not related by blood’; cf. OE *ungesibb* ‘hostile’; compound with the preform of the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and a derivation from the root in Goth. *sibja** f. *jō*-st. ‘relationship’; OHG *sibba*, OS *sibbia*, Early MDu. *sibbe*, OE *sib(b)*, OFris. *sibbe*, OIcl. (pl.) *sifjar*. — *rahnips*: nom.sg.m. pret.part. to *rahnjan** w. v. 1 ‘to calculate, to take for, to reckon, to count’; derivation from the root in Goth. *ragin** n. *a*-st. ‘council, advice, decision’.

29 *faurgaggandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *fauragaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go ahead, to preside’; compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go’. — *wipondans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *wipon** w. v. 2 ‘to shake’ (this is the only attestation of the word); cf. perhaps OI (Vedic) *vyathate* ‘staggers’. — *o*: interj. ‘ah!’; MHG *ō*, OIcl. *ó*, *á*.

30 —.

31 *ganasida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *ganasjan* w. v. 1 ‘to save, to establish’; compound with Goth. *nasjan* w. v. 1 ‘to save’.

32 *Israelis*: gen. to *Israel* m. country name ‘Israel’ (< Gr. *Israēl*). — *mipushramidans*: nom.pl.m. pret.part. to *mipushramjan** w. v. 1 ‘to crucify together’; compound with Goth. *hramjan** w. v. 1 ‘to crucify’. — *idweitidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *idweitjan* w. v. 1 ‘schmähen’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *itawīzen*, OE *edwītan*; denominal verb from Goth. *idweit** n. *a*-st. ‘disgrace, shame’; OHG *it(a)wīz*, ODu. *edwīt*, OE *edwīt*; derivation from the root in Goth. *inweitan** st. v. 1 ‘to revere, to greet’; for Goth. *id-* see *ip*.

33 *niundon*: acc.sg.f. to *niunda** num. ‘the ninth’; OHG *niunto*, OS *nigundo*, *nigūtho*, Early MDu. *neghende*, OE *nigōþa*, OFris. *niugenda*, *niogenda*, OIcl. *níundi*.

34 *ailoe*: ‘Eli’ (< Gr. *elōi*). — *lima*: ‘lema’ (< Gr. *limá*). — *sibakþanei*: ‘sabachthani’ (< Gr. *sibakthanei*).

35 *atstandandane*: gen.pl.m. pres.part. to *atstandan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand by, to enter’; compound with Goth. *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’. — *Helian*: acc. v. *Helias* (the nominative is also attested as *Heleias*) m. ‘Elia’ (< Gr. *Ēlías*, *Ēleías*).

36 *þragjands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *þragjan** w. v. 1 ‘to walk’; OE *þrægan*. — *gafulljands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *gafulljan** w. v. 1 ‘to fulfil’; compound with Goth. *fulljan** w. v. 1 ‘to fill’. — *swam*: acc.sg. to *swamms** m. *a*-st. ‘sponge’ (once the accusative singular is attested as <swamm> [Mt 27:48]); OHG *swam(m)*, MLG *swam(p)*, MDu. *swam*, OE *swomm*. — *akeitis*: gen.sg. to *akeit(s)** m./n. *a*-st. ‘vinegar’ (once the genitive singular is also attested as <aketis> [Mt 27:48]) (< Lat. *acētum*). — *dragkida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *dragkjan** w. v. 1 ‘to water’; causative formation to Goth. *drigkan* st. v. 3 ‘to drink’. — *athafjan*: inf. st. v. 6 ‘to take down’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *hafjan** st. v. 6 ‘to lift’.

37 *uzon*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *uzanan** st. v. 6 ‘to exhale’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); cf. OI (Vedic) *ániti* ‘breathes’, air. *-ana* ‘stays, waits, stops’, toch. B *anāṣṣām* ‘breathes in’.

38 *faurahah*: nom.sg. n. *a*-st. ‘curtain’ (this is the only attestation of the word; once also a nominative singular <*faurhah*> [Mt. 27:51] is attested, which, unless one assumes a typo, requires an independent lemma *faurhah*); derivation from unattested Goth. **faurahahan* st. v. 7 ‘to hang before’; compound with Goth. *hahan** st. v. 7 ‘to hang’; (partly with secondary -*ng*-) OHG, OS *hāhan*, ODu. *hān*, OE *hōn*, OFris. *huā*, OIcl. *hanga*; for Goth. -*hah* ‘hanging’ cf. OHG -*hāh* (in *bruohhāh* ‘belt’). — *als*: gen.sg. to *alhs* f. kons.st. ‘(Jewish) temple’ (with loss of -*h*- presumably because of its weak articulation in [Late] Gothic). — *dissskritnoda*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *dissskritnan** w. v. 4 ‘to tear’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from Goth. *dissskreitan** st. v. 1 ‘to tear’. — *iupapro*: adv. ‘from above’; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. -*pro* from Goth. *iup* adv. ‘upwards’.

39 *hundafaps*: nom.sg. (-*d*-) m. *i*-st. ‘captain over one hundred men’; compound with Goth. *hunda* n.pl. ‘hundred’ and Goth. -*faps* (the simplex is not attested in Gothic) m. *i*-st. ‘lord’ (Run. [dat.sg.] *faþai* [bow brooch from Charnay, 560–590]).

40 *wesun-up*: consisting of Goth. *wesun-* and Goth. -(*u*)*h* (with assimilation of -*h* – *p*- to -*p* – *p*-). — *Magdalene*: nom. f. personal name ‘Magdalene’ (< Gr. *Magdalēnē*). — *minnizins*: gen.sg.m. comp. to *leitils* adj. *a*-st. ‘small, little’; OHG *minniro*, OS *minnero*, MDu. *minder(e)*, OFris. *minnera*, OSwed. *mindre*, *myndre*, *mynnere*; derivation from the root in Goth. *mins* adv. ‘less’; OHG *min*, OS *minn*, ODu., OE *min*, OFris. *min(n)*, *men*, *mēn*, OIcl. *minnr*, *miðr*. — *Iosezis*: gen. to *Ioses** m. personal name ‘Jones’ (< Gr. *Iōsēs*). — *Salome*: nom. f. personal name ‘Salome’ (< Gr. *Salōmē*).

41 *andbahtidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *andbahtjan* w. v. 1 ‘to perform, to serve’; OHG *ambahten*, OE *ambehtan*; derivation from the root in Goth. *andbahts* m. *a*-st. ‘servant’. — *mipiddjedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *mipgaggan** defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go along with’; compound with Goth. *gaggan* defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go’. — *Iairusalem*: acc. to *Iairusalem* f. place name ‘Jerusalem’ (< Gr. *Ierusalēm*).

1.32. Mark 15:42–47: Burial of Jesus

42 *jah juþan at andanahtja waurþanamma, unte was paraskaiwe, saei ist fruma sabbato*, **43** *qimands Iosef af Areimapaia, gaguds ragineis, saei was <jah> silba beidands þiudangardjos gudis, anananþjands galaiþ inn du Peilatau jah baþ þis leikis Iesus*. **44** *iþ Peilatus sildaleikida ei is juþan gaswalt; jah athaitands þana hundafap frah ina jûþan gadauþnodedi*. **45** *jah finþands at þamma hundafada fragaf þata leik Iosefa*. **46** *jah usbugjands lein jah usnimands ita biwand þamma leina jah galagida ita in hlaiwa, þatei was gadraban us staina, jah atwalwida stain du daura þis hlaiwis*. **47** *iþ Marja so Magdalene jah Marja Iosezis sehun har galagiþs wesi*.

42 *andanahtja*: dat.sg. to *andanahti* n. *ja*-st. ‘evening’; derivational compound with the prefix Goth. *anda-* ‘opposite, against’ und Goth. *nahts* f. cons.st. ‘night’. — *paraskaiwe*: nom.sg. f. ‘preparation day’ (< Gr. *paraskeuē*). — *fruma*: nom.sg.m. comp. adj./num. ‘first’; OE *frum* ‘originally, first’, OFris. *frum-*, OIcl. *frum-*. — *sabbato*: nom.sg. m. ‘Sabbath’ (< Gr. dat.sg. *sabbátōi*).

43 *Areimapaia*: dat. to *Areimapaia** m. place name ‘Arimathea’ (< Gr. *Arimathaía*). — *gaguds*: nom.sg.m. (for **gagups*) adj. ‘decent, honorable’ (with analogical -*d* instead of -*p*); derivational compound with the prefix Goth. *ga-* ‘together with’ and Goth. *guþ* n. *a*-st. ‘God’. — *ragineis*: nom.sg. m. *ja*-st. ‘counselor, councillor, guardian’; cf. (with different vowel in the suffix) OIcl. *rōgnir* ‘ruler’; derivation from the root in Goth. *ragin** n. *a*-st. ‘council, advice, decision’. — *beidands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *beidan* st. v. 1 ‘to wait for’; OHG *bītan*, OS, ODu., OE *bīdan*, OFris. *bīda*, OIcl. *bíða*. — *anananþjands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *anananþjan** w. v. 1 ‘to take courage, to dare’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *nenden*, OS *nāthian*, ODu. *nenden*, OE *nēðan*, OFris. *nētha*, OIcl. *nenna*.

44 *jūþan*: compound with Goth. *ju*: adv. ‘already, now’, Goth. *-u-*: enclit. interrog.pron. and Goth. *þan*: 1. adv. ‘then, thereupon’, 2. adversative conj. ‘but, however’, 3. conj. ‘when, as long as; as’.

45 *fragaf*: 3.sg.pret.ind. to *fragiban* st. v. 5 ‘to forgive’; compound with Goth. *giban* st. v. 5 ‘to give’. — *Iosefa*: dat.sg. to *Iosef* m. personal name ‘Joseph’ (with analogical *-f-* from the nominative singular; once the dative is attested as *Ioseba* [Sk 2:1]).

46 *usbugjands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *usbugjan** w. v. 1 ‘to purchase’; compound with Goth. *bugjan** w. v. 1 ‘to buy’; OS *buggian*, OE *bycgan*, OIcl. *byggja*; perhaps derivation from the root in Goth. *biugan** st. v. 2 ‘to bend’; OHG *biogan* next to OS *būgan*, Early MDu. *būghen*, OE *būgan*, NWestFris. *bûg(j)e*, OIcl. *búga**. — *lein*: acc.sg. to *lein** n. *a*-st. ‘canvas’; Run. (nom.sg.) **lina** (scraper / scraping knife from Fløksand, 310/20–375/400), OHG, OS *līn*, ODu. *līn-*, OE *līn*, OFris. *līn-*, OIcl. *lín*; either (like Oir. *lín*, Alb. Gheg *lí*, Tosk *li*) a loanword from or etymologically related to Lat. *līnum*; cf. (with ablaut) Gr. *línōn*, Lith. *līnas*, NRuss. *lěn*. — *usnimands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *usniman** st. v. 4 ‘to take out, to take away’; compound with Goth. *niman* st. v. 4 ‘to take (up), to receive, to catch’. — *gadraban*: the form is uncertain; regularly it is seen as the nom.sg.n. pret.part. to *gadraban** st. v. 6 ‘to chisel out, to hew out’ (this would be the only attestation of the word) (the simplex would be unattested in Gothic); cf. aksl. *drobiti* ‘to shatter’; however, as the Old High German parallel in Otfrid 4,35,36 gives the text: *in sinaz grab, in felison irgrabanaz* ‘into his grave, dug out in rocks’, some assume that <*gadraban*> is a spelling mistake for ⁺*gagraban*; in that case nom.sg.n. pres.part. to *gagraban** st. v. 6 ‘to dig’ (this would also be the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *graban* st. v. 6 ‘to dig’; OHG *graban*, OS, ODu. *gravan*, OE *grafan*, OFris. *greva*, *grewa*, *grēva*, *griōwa*, OIcl. *grafa*. — *atwalwida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *atwalwjan** w. v. 1 ‘to roll on’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OE *wielwan*; presumably a derivation from the root in Goth. *wilwan* st. v. 3 ‘to rob’.

47 —.

1.33. Mark 16:1–8: The Message of Jesus’ Resurrection

1 *jah inwisandins sabbate dagis Marja so Magdalene jah Marja so Iakobis jah Salome usbauhtedun aromata, ei atgaggandeins gasalbodedeina ina. 2 jah filu air þis dagis afarsabbate atiddjedun du þamma hlaiwa at urrinnandin sunnin. 3 jah qepun du sis misso: has afwalwjai unsis þana stain af daurom þis hlaiwis? 4 jah insaihandeins gaumidedun þammei afwalwiþs ist sa stains; was auk mikils abraba. 5 jah atgaggandeins in þata hlaiw gasebun juggalaup sitandan in taihswai biwaibidana wastjai heitai; jah usgeisnodedun. 6 þaruh qap du im: ni faurhteip izwis, Iesu sokeip Nazoraiu þana ushramidan; nist her, urrais, sai þana stap þarei galagidedun ina. 7 akei gaggip qipid-uh du siponjam is jah du Paitrau þatei faurbigaggip izwis in Galeilaian; þaruh ina gasaihiþ, swaswe qap izwis. 8 jah usgaggandeins af þamma hlaiwa gaplauhun; diz-uh-þan-sat ijós reiro jah usfilmei, jah ni qepun mannhun waiht; ohtedun sis auk.*

1 *inwisandins*: gen.sg.m. pres.part. to *inwisan** irreg. st. v. ‘to be near’; compound with Goth. *wisan* irreg. st. v. ‘to be (there), to exist’. — *aromata*: acc.pl. n. ‘spices’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (< Gr. *arōmata*). — *gasalbodedeina*: 3rdpl.pret.opt. to *gasalbon** w. v. 2 ‘to anoint’; compound with Goth. *salbon* w. v. 2 ‘to anoint’.

2 *air*: adv. ‘early’; OHG, OS, ODu. *ēr*, OE *āer*, *ār*, OIcl. *ær*, OFris. *ēr*. — *afarsabbate*: gen.pl. to *afarsabbato** m. ‘After Sabbath’; compound with the prefix Goth. *afar-* prep. + acc./dat. ‘after; behind’ and Goth. *sabbato* m. ‘Sabbath’. — *sunnin*: dat.sg. to *sunno* f./n. *n*-st. ‘sun’; OHG, OS *sunna*, *sunno*, ODu. *sunna*, OE, OFris. *sunne*, OIcl. *sunna*; next to Goth. *sauil* n. *a*-st. ‘sun’; OIcl. *sól*.

3 *afwalwjai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *afwalwjan** w. v. 1 ‘to roll away’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic; see *atwalwjan**). — *daurom*: dat.pl. to *dauro** f. ‘(double) gate, door’; derivation from the root in Goth. *daur* n. *a*-st. ‘door’.

4 *abraba*: adv. ‘very’; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-ba* to Goth. *abrs* adj. *a*-st. ‘strong, violent’; OIcl. *afr-* (in *afr[h]endr* ‘with a strong hand’).

5 *juggalaup*: acc.sg. to *juggalaups* (-*d*-) m. *i*-st. ‘youth’; compound with Goth. *jugga-* to Goth. *juggs** adj. ‘young, youthful’ (OHG, OS, ODu. *jung*, OE *g[e]long*, *giong*, *gung*, *ging*, OFris. *jung*, *iong*, OIcl. *ungr*) and Goth. *-laups* m. *i*-st. ‘shape, form’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic) (derivation from the root in OHG *liut*, OS *liud*, ODu. *liut*, OE *lēod*, OFris. *liūde*, *liōde*, *lūde*, OIcl. *lydr* ‘people’; derivation from the root in Goth. *liudan** st. v. 2 ‘to grow’; OHG *liotan*, OS *liodan*, OE *leodan*). — *taihswai*: dat.sg. to *taihswa** f. *wō*-st. ‘the right one’; OHG *zesawa*; nominalization from the root in Goth. *taihswa** adj. sw. ‘(on the) right’. — *biwaibidana*: acc.sg.m. pret.part. to *biwaibjan** w. v. 1 ‘to encircle, to surround’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OE *wāfan*. — *heitai*: dat.sg.f. to *heits** adj. ‘white’; OHG *wīz*, OS *hwīt*, ODu. *wīt*, OE, OFris. *hwīt*, OIcl. *hvitr* next to MLG *witt*, ODu. *wit*, OFris. *wit*. — *usgeisnodedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *usgeisnan** w. v. 4 ‘to be shocked, to be amazed’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from the root in Goth. *usgaisjan** w. v. 1 ‘to frighten’; cf. OI (Vedic) *hināsti* ‘hurts’.

6 —.

7 *qīpid-uh*: compound with Goth. *qīpid-* (with missing final devoicing of *-d-* due to its position before a vowel) and Goth. *-(u)h*. — *faurbigaggip*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *faurbigaggan** defect. st. v. 7 ‘to go in front’; compound with Goth. *gaggan* st. v. 7 ‘to go’.

8 *diz-uh-pan-sat*: composed of Goth. *dissat*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *dissitan** st. v. 5 ‘to seize’ (with missing final devoicing of *-z-* due to its position before a vowel), Goth. *-(u)h-*, and Goth. *-pan-*. — *reiro*: nom.sg. f. *n*-st. ‘tremor, earthquake’; derivation from the root in Goth. *reiran** w. v. 3 ‘to shake’; intensive formation from the root in Goth. *rinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run, to walk’.

1.34. Mark 16:9–20: Apparitions of the Risen Christ and Ascension

9 *usstandands pan in maurgin frumin sabbato ataugida <sik> frumist Marjin pizai Magdalene, af pizaiei uswarp sibun unhulpons. 10 soh gaggandei gataih paim miþ imma wisandam, qainondam jah gretandam. 11 jah eis hausjandans patei libaiþ jah gasaihans warþ fram izai, ni galaubidedun. 12 afar-uh pan pata twaim ize ataugiþs warþ in anþamma farwa, gaggandam du wehsa: 13 jah jainai galeiþandans gataihun paim anþaraim; niþ paim galaubidedun. 14 bi spedistin pan anakumbjandam paim ainlibim ataugida, jah idweitida ungalaubein ize jah harduhairtein, unte paim gasaihbandam ina urrisanana, ni galaubidedun. 15 jah qap du im: gaggandans in þo manaseþ alakjo, merjaiþ þo aiwaggeljon allai pizai gaskaftai. 16 jah sa galaubjands ufdaupiþs ganisiþ; iþ saei ni galaubeiþ, afdomjada. 17 aþþan taikns paim galaubjandam pata afargaggiþ: in namin meinamma unhulpons uswairpand, razdom rodjand niujaim, 18 waurmans nimand, jah jabai ingibe ha drigkaina, ni þauh im agljai; ana unhailans handuns uslagjand, jah waila wairþiþ im. 19 þanuh þan frauja Iesus afar patei rodida du im, usnumans warþ in himin jah gasat af taihswon gudis. 20 iþ jainai usgaggandans meridedun and allata miþ frauþin gawaurstwin jah pata waurd tulgjandin þairh þos afargaggandeins taiknins. amen.*

9 *sibun*: num. ‘seven’; OHG *sibun*, OS *sibun*, ODu. *sivon*, OE *seofon*, OFris. *si(u)gun*, *sawen*, *saun*, OIcl. *sjau*.

10 *qainondam*: dat.pl.m. pres.part. to *qainon* w. v. 2 ‘to cry, to beweeep, to mourn, to bewail’; OE *cwānian*, OIcl. *kveina*.

11 —.

12 *afar-uh*: combination of Goth. *afar-* prep. + acc./dat. ‘after; behind’ and Goth. *-(u)h* enclit. Part. ‘and’. — *farwa*: dat.sg. to *farw** n. *a*-st. ‘appearance, form’ (this is the only attestation of the word); (with other formations) OHG *far(a)wa*, *farawī*, OS *far(a)wi*, Early MDu. *varwe*, OFris. *ferve*, *ferwe*, *farwe*. — *wehsa*: dat.sg. to *weihs** n. *a*-st. ‘village, hamlet’ (with incorrect *-e-* instead of *-ei-*).

13 —.

14 *ainlibim*: dat. to *ainlif** (*-b-*) num. ‘eleven’; OHG *einlif*, OS *ēllevan*, Early MDu. *elf*, OE *en(d)lefan*, *endlifan*, OFris. *andlova*, *allewa*, *ellewa*, OIcl. *ellifu*. — *ungalaubein*: acc.sg. to *ungalaubeins** f. *i*-st. ‘disbelief, disobedience’; compound with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and Goth. *galaubeins* f. *i*-st. ‘belief’.

15 *alakjo*: adv. ‘total’ (used as reinforcement); (different formation) OHG *alang*, *along* ‘entirely’, OS *alung* ‘entirely, forever’, OFris. *along*, *alang* ‘entirely, forever’ and OE *eallunga*, *eallunga* ‘entirely’, OIcl. *qllungis* ‘quite, completely’; derivations from the root in Goth. *alan** st. v. 6 ‘to grow’.

16 *ganisip*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *ganisan* st. v. 5 ‘to recover, to be saved’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *nesan*, OS, ODu. *-nesan* (in *ginesan*), OE *nesan*, NWestFris. *-nēze* (in *genēze*).

17 *niuajaim*: dat.pl.f. to *niuajis* adj. ‘new’; OHG, OS, ODu. *niuwi*, OE *nī(e)we*, OFris. *nī*, OIcl. *nýr*.

18 *waurmans*: acc.pl. to *waurms* m. *a*-st. ‘worm, snake’; OIcl. *ormr* next to (with different formation) OHG, OS, ODu. *wurm*, OE *wyrm*, OFris. *wirm*. — *ingibe*: gen.pl. to *ingif** n. *a*-st. ‘poison’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with dem Prefix Goth. *in-* prep. + dat./acc. (for the designation of place / direction) ‘in, on, on, to, while, after to’, + gen. ‘because of, for the sake of, for, through’ and a derivation from Goth. *giban* st. v. 5 ‘to give’. — *agljai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *agljan** w. v. 1 ‘to damage’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *egilen*, MLG *ēchelen*, *eggelen*, OE *eglian*; derivation from the root in Goth. *aglus** adj. ‘difficult’ (only acc.sg.n. *aglu* [Mk 10:24]); OE *egle*.

19 —.

20 *gawaurstwin*: dat.sg. to *gawaurstwa* m. *n*-st. ‘coworker’; derivation from Goth. *waurstw* n. *a*-st. ‘work, deed, effectiveness’. — *tulgjandin*: dat.sg.m. pres.part. to *tulgjan* w. v. 1 ‘to consolidate, to strengthen’; derivation from the root in Goth. *tulgus* adj. ‘firm, constant’; cf. OS *tulgo*, OE *tulge* ‘very’.

2. From the Old Testament

2.1. Nehemiah 5:14–18: Nehemiah in the Service for his People

14 *jah fram þamma daga ei anabaup mis ei weisjau fauramapleis ize in Iudaia, fram jera ·k· und jer ·l· jah anþar Artar]ksairksaus þiudanis ·ib· jera, ik jah broþrjus meinai hlaif fauramapleis meinis ni matidedum. 15 ip fauramapljos þaiei weisun faura mis kauridedun þo managein jah nemun at im hlaibans jah wein jah nauhþanuh silubris sikle ·m·; jah skalkos ize frauinodedun þizai managein; ip ik ni tawida swa faura andwairþja agisis gudis. 16 jah waurstw þizos baurgswaddjaus inswinþida, jah þaurp ni gastaistald, jah þiwos meinai jah allai þai galisandans du þamma waurstwa. 17 jah Iudaieis jah þai fauramapljos ·r· jah ·n· gumane jah þai qimandans at unsis us þiudom þaim bisunjane unsis ana biuda meinamma andnumanai weisun. 18 jah was fraquman dagis hizuh stiur ·a· lamba gawalida ·q· jah gaits [·a·] gamanwida was mis; jah bi ·i· dagans gaf wein allai þizai filusnai jah allai þizai managein;*

jah ana þo alla hlaif fauramaþleis meinis ni sokida, in þis ei ni kauridedjau þo managein in þaim waurstwam ...

14 *weisjau*: 1stsg.pret.opt. to *wisan* irreg. st. v. ‘to be (there), to exist’ (the spelling of the expected -e- with -ei- occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably due to a sound development of *ē* to *ī* in Late Gothic). — *fauramaþleis*: nom.sg. m. *ja*-st. ‘president, lord, custom official, synagogue leader, governor’; either derivation from Goth. *fauramaþli** n. ‘supreme command’ or from an unattested verb Goth. **fauramaþljan* w. v. 1 ‘to speak first/before’. — *jera*: dat.sg. to *jer** n. *a*-st. ‘year’; OHG *jār*, OS *gēr*, *jār*, Early MDu. *jaer*, OE *gēar*, *gēr*, *gær*, OFris. *iēr*, *jēr*, OIcl. *ár*. — *Arta[r]ksairksaus*: gen. to *Artaksairksus** m. personal name ‘Artaxerxes’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (< Gr. *Artaxerxēs*). — *fauramaþleis*: gen.sg. to *fauramaþli** n. *ja*-st. ‘supreme command’; back formation from the unattested verb Goth. **fauramaþljan* w. v. 1 ‘to speak first/before’; compound with Goth. *maþljan** w. v. 1 ‘to speak’ (nur 1stsg.pres.ind. *maþlja* [Joh 14:30]); OHG *mahalen*, OS *mahlian*, MDu. *malen*, OE *mæðlan*, *mælan*, OIcl. *mæla*; derivation from the root in Goth. *maþl** n. *a*-st. ‘meeting place, market’ (only dat.sg. *maþla* [Mk 7:4]); Lat.-Gmc. Matrone name *Machal-inehae*, OHG *mahal*, Lgb. -*mahal* (in *gamahalos* pl. ‘oath helpers’), OS *mahal*, ODu. *māl*- (in *māldag* ‘wedding day’), OE *mædel*, *meðel*, *mæl*, OIcl. *mál*.

15 *weisun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *wisan* irreg. st. v. ‘to be (there), to exist’ (the spelling of the expected -e- with -ei- occurs more frequently in the manuscripts and is probably due to a sound development of *ē* to *ī* in Late Gothic). — *kauridedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *kaurjan** w. v. 1 ‘to press, to bother’; derivation from the root in Goth. *kaur*s* / *kaur*us* adj. *i/ja*- / *u*-st. ‘heavy, troublesome’ (only nom.pl.f. *kaurjos* [2.KorB 10:10]); cf. OI *gurú*-, Av. *gouru*-, Gr. *barys*. — *silubris*: gen.sg. to *silubr** n. *a*-st. ‘silver’; (partly with different form of the suffix) OHG *sil(a)bar*, OS *silubar*, ODu. *silver*, OE *siolfor*, *seolfor*, OFris. *selver*, *selover*, OIcl. *silfr*. — *sikle*: gen.pl. to *sikls** m. ‘shekel’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (< Gr. *siklos*). — *m*: num. ‘fourty’. — *fraujinodedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *fraujinon* w. v. 2 ‘to rule over’; derivation from the root in Goth. *frauja* m. *n*-st. ‘lord, master’.

16 *waurstw*: acc.sg. to *waurstw* n. *a*-st. ‘work, deed, effectiveness’; derivation from Goth. *waurkjan* w. v. 1 ‘to make, to take effect’. — *baurgswaddjaus*: gen.sg. to *baurgswaddjus* f. *u*-st. ‘city wall’; compound with Goth. *baurgs* f. cons.st. ‘tower, castle, city’ and Goth. -*waddjus* f. *u*-st. ‘wall’ (only attested as part of a compound); OE *wæg*, OIcl. *veggr*. — *inswinþida*: 1stsg.pret.ind. to *inswinþjan* w. v. 1 ‘to strengthen’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OE *swīþan*; derivation from the root in Goth. *swinþs** (-þ-) adj. *a*-st. ‘strong, vigorous, healthy’. — *þaurp*: acc.sg. to *þaurp** n. *a*-st. ‘cultivated land, field’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *dorf*, OS *therp*, *threp*, ODu. *thorp*, OE *þorp*, *þrop*, OFris. *thorp*, *therp*, OIcl. *þorp*. — *gastaistald*: 1stsg.pret.ind. to *gastaldan* st. v. 7 ‘to acquire, to get’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OE *stealdan*. — *þiwos*: nom.pl. to *þius** m. *wa*-st. ‘servant’; Run. -*þewaz* (in [nom.sg. personal name/name] *o wīþubewaz* ‘servant of Ullr, shining servant’ [chape from Thorsberg, 210/220–250/260]), OHG -*dio* (in *dioheit* ‘humility, lowliness’), OE *þēow*, OIcl. (in personal names) -*þér*, -*þír*.

17 *r*: num. ‘hundred’ (see *hunda*). — *n*: num. ‘fifty’. — *gumane*: gen.pl. to *guma* m. *n*-st. ‘man’; WestGoth. (in personal names) *Gum(e)*-, *Gom(e)*-, Burgund. (personal name) *Guma*, OHG *gomo*, Lgb. (in personal names) *Gume*-, OS *gumo*, *gomo*, ODu. -*gomo* (in *brūdigomo* ‘bridegroom’), OE *guma*, OFris. -*goma*, -*gama* (in *breidgoma*, *bregama* ‘bridegroom’), OIcl. *gumi*. — *biuda*: dat.sg. to *biuþs** (-d-) m. *a*-st. ‘table’; OHG *biot*, OS *biod*, OE *bēod*, OIcl. *bjóðr*; probably derivation from the root in Goth. -*biudan** ‘to offer’ (see *anabiudan**).

18 *fraquman*: nom.sg.n. pret.part. to *fraqiman** st. v. 4 ‘to consume, to spend, to squander’; compound with Goth. *qiman* st. v. 4 ‘to come’. — *stiur*: nom.sg. m. *a*-st. ‘(young) bull, calf’; OHG *stior*, MLG *stēr*, ODu. *stier*, OE *stēr*, OFris. *stiār*, OIcl. *stjórr*. — *a*: num. ‘one’ (see *ains*). — *lamba*: nom.pl. to *lamb** n. *a*-st. ‘sheep’; OHG, OS *lamb*, ODu. *lamp*, OE *lamb*, OFris. *lam*, OIcl. *lamb*. — *gawalida*:

nom.pl.n. pret.part. to *gawaljan** w. v. 1 ‘to choose’; compound with Goth. *waljan** w. v. 1 ‘to choose’; OHG *wellen*, OIcl. *velja*; derivation from the root in Goth. *wiljan* athem. v. ‘to want’. — ‘q’: num. ‘six’ (= Goth. *saihs**); OHG, OS *sehs*, ODu. *sehs*, *ses*, OE *siex*, OFris. *sex*, *six*, *ses*, OIcl. *sex*. — *gaits*: nom.sg. f. cons.st. ‘goat’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *geiz*, OS, ODu. *gēt*, OE *gāt*, OIcl. *geit*. — ‘i’: num. ‘ten’ (= Goth. *taihun*); OHG *zehan*, OS *tehan*, ODu. *tēn*, OE *tīen*, OFris. *tiān*, OIcl. *tío*. — *filusnai*: dat.sg. to *filusna** f. *ō*-st. ‘multiplicity, quantity, abundance’; derivation from Goth. *filu* adv. ‘a lot of, much; very’.

2.2. Nehemiah 6:15–19: The Wall is Completed

15 *jah ustauhana warþ so baurgswaddjus ·e· jah ·k· daga menopis Alulis, ·n· dage jah ·b·* 16 *jah warþ, swe hausidedun fiands unsarai allai, jah ohtedun allos þiudos þos bisunjane unsis, jah atdraus agis in augona ize abraba; jah ufkunþedun þatei fram guda unsaramma warþ usfullip þata waurstw.* 17 *jah in dagam jainaim managai weisun þize reikjane Iudaie, þaiei sandidedun aipistulans du Tobeiin, jah Tobeias du im.* 18 *managai auk in Iudaia ufaipjai weisun imma, unte megs was Saixaineiins, sunaus Aieirins, jah Ioanan sunus is nam dauhtar Maisaullamis, sunaus Barakeiins, du qenai.* 19 *jah rodidedun du imma waila in andwairþja meinamma, jah waurda meina spillodedun imma, jah aipistulans insandida Tobeias ogjan mik.*

15 *Alulis*: gen.sg. to *Alul** m. personal name ‘Elul’ (< Gr. *Aloul*).

16 *fiands*: nom.pl. to *fijands* m. *nd*-st. ‘enemy’ (more common are the spellings with *-ija-*); (partly with ablaut of the suffix) OHG *fī(j)ant*, OS *fīond*, ODu. *fīunt*, OE *fīond*, OFris. *fīand*, *fīund*, OIcl. *fjandi*; derivation from the root in Goth. *fī(j)an* w. v. 3 ‘to hate’; OHG *fīēn*, MLG *vīen*; itself a derivation from Goth. *faian** st. v. 7 ‘to blame’; cf. OI. (Vedic) *pṛyati* ‘rebukes, scolds, insults’. — *atdraus*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *atdriusan** st. v. 2 ‘to fall into’; compound with Goth. *driusan** st. v. 2 ‘to fall’. — *usfullip*: nom.sg.n. pret.part. to *usfulljan* w. v. 1 ‘to fulfil, to complete, to replace, to summarize’; compound with Goth. *fulljan** w. v. 1 ‘to fill’.

17 *reikjane*: gen.pl.m. w. to *reiks** / *reikeis** adj. *ilja-* / *ja*-st. ‘noble, distinguished’; OHG *rīchi*, OS *rīki*, Early MDu. *rike*, OE *rīce*, OFris. *rīk*, OIcl. *rīkr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *reiks* m. cons.st. ‘ruler’. — *sandidedun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *sandjan* w. v. 1 ‘to send’; OHG *senten*, OS *sendian*, ODu., OE *sendan*, OFris., OIcl. *senda*; derivation from the root in OHG *sinnan* ‘to travel’, OE *sinnan* ‘to wander’, OFris. *sinna* ‘to contemplate, to tend’. — *aipistulans*: acc.pl. to *aipistula** m. *n*-st. ‘letter’ (< Lat. *epistula*). — *Tobeiin*: dat. v. *Tobeias* m. personal name ‘Tobiah’ (< Gr. *Tōbías*).

18 *ufaipjai*: nom.sg.m. to *ufaips** / *ufaipais** (*-p-*) adj. *ilja-* / *ja*-st. ‘bound by oath’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation formed with the prefix *uf-* ‘up’ from Goth. *aips** (*-p-*) m. *a*-st. ‘oath’. — *megs*: nom.sg. m. *a*-st. ‘son-in-law’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG, OS *māg*, Early MDu. *maech*, OE *mæg*, OFris. *mēch*, OIcl. *mágr*; probably derivation from the root in Goth. *magus* m. *u*-st. ‘boy’. — *Saixaineiins*: gen. to *Saixaineia** m. personal name ‘Shekaniah’ (< Gr. *Sechenia[s]*). — *Aieirins*: gen. to *Aieira** m. personal name ‘Arah’ (< Gr. *Ēira*). — *Ioanan*: nom. m. personal name ‘Jehohanan’ (< Gr. *Iōanan*). — *dauhtar*: acc.sg. to *dauhtar* f. *r*-st. ‘daughter’; Run. (nom.pl.) *dohtriz* (stone from Tune, 375/400–520/30), OHG *tohter*, OS *dohtar*, ODu. *dohter*, OE *dohtor*, OFris. *dochter*, *dōchter*, OIcl. *dóttir*. — *Maisaullamis*: gen. to *Maisaullam** m. personal name ‘Meshullam’ (< Gr. *Mesollám*). — *Barakeiins*: gen. to *Barakeias** m. personal name ‘Berekiah’ (< Gr. *Barachías*).

19 *ogjan*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to terrify’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OE *-ēgan* (in *onēgan* ‘to fear’), OIcl. *ógja*; derivation from the root in Goth. *ogan** pret.pres. ‘to fear’.

3. From the Pauline Epistles

3.1. Second Epistle to the Thessalonians

inc: ^A*aipistaule Pawlaus du Paissalauneikaium b anastodeip.*

^B*du Paissalauneikaium anpara.*

1:1 ^{A+B}*Pawlus jah Silbanus jah Teimaupaius aikklesjon Paissalauneikaie in guda attin unsaramma jah frauin Iesu Xristau.*

1:2 ^{A+B}*ansts izwis jah gawairpi fram guda attin unsaramma jah frauin Iesu Xristau.*

1:3 ^{A+B}*awiliudon skulum guda sinteino in izwara, broprjus, swaswe wairp ist, unte ufarwahseip galaubeins izwara jah managnip friapwa ainharjizuh allaize izwara in izwis misso;*

1:4 ^A*swaei weis silbans in izwis hopam in aikklesjom gudis in stiwitjis izwaris jah galaubeinai in allaim wrakjom izwaraim jah aglom pozei uspulai,*

^B*swaei weis silbans izwis hopam in aikklesjom gudis in stiwitjis izwaris jah galaubeinai in allaim wrakjom izwaraim jah aglom pozei uspulai,*

1:5 ^A*taikn garaihtaizos stauos gudis du wairpans briggan izwis piudangardjos gudis, in pizozei jah pulai;*

^B*taikn garaihtaizos stauos gudis du wairpans briggan izwis piudangardjos gudis, in pizozei jah winni;*

1:6 ^A*swepauh jabai garaiht ist at guda usgildan paim gapreihandam izwis aggwipa,*

^B*swepauh ...*

1:7 ^A*jah izwis gapulandam iusila mip uns in andhuleinai frauins unsaris Iesuis af himinam mip aggilum mahtais is,*

1:8 ^A*in funins lauhmonjai gibandins fraweit ni kunnandam guþ jah ni ufhausjandam aiwaggeljon frauins unsaris Iesuis Xristaus,*

1:9 ^A*paiei fraweit andnimand, fralust aiweinon fram andwairþja frauins jah fram wulþau mahtais is,*

1:10 ^A*pan qimip ushauhnan in paim weiham seinaim, jah sildaleiknan in allaim paim galaubjandam, unte galaubida ist weitwodei unsara du izwis in daga jainamma.*

1:11 ^A*du pammei jah bidjam sinteino bi izwis ei izwis wairpans briggai pizos laþonais guþ unsar jah fulljai alla leukain þiuþeinai seinaiþos jah waurstw galaubeinai in mahtai,*

1:12 ^A*ei ushauhnai namo frauins unsaris Iesuis Xristaus in izwis jah jus in imma bi anstai gudis unsaris jah frauins unsaris Iesuis Xristaus.*

2:1 ^A*apþan bidjam izwis, broprjus, in qumis frauins unsaris Iesuis Xristaus jah gaqumpais unsaraizos du imma,*

2:2 ^A*du ni sprauto wagjan izwis fram ahin nih drobnan, nih þairh ahman nih þairh waurda nih þairh aipistaulein swe þairh uns, <swe> þatei instandai dags Xristaus.*

2:3 ^A*ni hashun izwis usluto hamma haidau, unte niba qimip afstass faurþis, jah andhulids wairþai manna frawaurhtais, sunus fralustais,*

2:4 ^A*sa andstandands jah ufarhafjands sik ufar all qipanaize guþ aipþau [allata] blotinassu, swaei <ina> in alh gudis gasitan, ustaiknjandan ...*

...

2:16 ^Bap^Bpan silba frauja unsar Iesus Xristus jah guþ jah atta unsar saei frijoda uns jah atgaf gaplaiht aiweina jah wen goda in anstai,

2:17 ^Bgaprafstjai hairtona izwara jah gatulgjai in allaim waurstwam jah waurdam godaim.

3:1 ^Bpata anþar gabidjaiþ jah bi unsis, broþrjus, ei wurd frauþins þragjai jah mikiljaidau, swaswe jah at izwis,

3:2 ^Bjah ei uslausjaindau af gastojanaim jah ubilaim mannam; ni auk ist allaim galaubeins.

3:3 ^Bap^Bpan triggws frauja saei gatulgeiþ izwis jah galausjai izwis af þamma ubilin.

3:4 ^Bap^Bpan gatrauam in frauþin in izwis, ei þatei anabudum izwis, jah taujiþ jah taujan habaiþ.

3:5 ^Biþ frauja garaihtjai hairtona izwara in friapwai gudis jah in usþulainai Xristaus.

3:6 ^Bap^Bpan anabiudam izwis, broþrjus, in namin frauþins unsaris Iesus Xristaus, ei gaskaidaþ izwis af allamma broþre hairbandane ungatassaba jah ni bi anafilham þoei andnemup at uns.

3:7 ^A... ist galeikon unsis, unte ni ungatewidai wesum in izwis,

^Bsilbans auk kunnup haiwa skuld ist galeikon unsis, unte ni ungatewidai wesum in izwis,

3:8 ^Anih arwjo hlaif matidedum at hamma, ak winnandans arbaidai naht jah daga waurkjandans, ei ni kauridedeima hana izwara.

^Bni arwjo hlaib matidedum at hamma, ak winnandans arbaidai naht jah daga waurkjandans, ei ni kauridedeima hana izwara.

3:9 ^{A+B}ni þatei ni habaidedeima waldufni, ak ei uns silbans du frisahtai gebeima <izwis> du galeikon unsis.

3:10 ^Ajah auk þan wesum at izwis, þata izwis anabudum, ei jabai has ni wili waurkjan, nih matjai.

^Bjah auk þan wesum at izwis, þata izwis anabudum, ei jabai has ni wili waurkjan, ni matjai.

3:11 ^{A+B}hausjam auk sumans hairbandans in izwis ungatassaba, ni waiht waurkjandans, ak fairweitjandans.

3:12 ^Apaimuh swaleikaim anabiudam jah bidjam in frauþin Iesua Xristau, ei miþ rimisa waurkjandans seinana hlaif matjaina.

^Bpaimuh swaleikaim anabiudam jah bidjam in frauþin Iesua Xristau, ei miþ rimisa waurkjandans seinana hlaib matjaina.

3:13 ^{A+B}ap^Bpan jus, broþrjus, ni wairþaiþ usgrudjans waila taujandans.

3:14 ^{A+B}iþ jabai has ni ufhausjai waurda unsamma þairh þos bokos, þana gatarhjaiþ; ni blandaþ izwis miþ imma, ei gaskamai sik.

3:15 ^Ajan ni swaswe fijand ina rahnjaiþ, ak talzjaiþ swe broþar.

^Bjah ni swaswe fijand ina rahnjaiþ, ak talzjaiþ swe broþar.

3:16 ^{A+B}ap^Bpan silba frauja gawairþeis gibai izwis gawairþi sinteino in allaim stadim; frauja miþ allaim izwis.

3:17 ^{A+B}so goleins meinai handau Pawlaus, þatei ist bandwo ana allaim aipistaulem meinaim; swa melja.

3:18 ^{A+B}anst frauþins unsaris Iesus Xristaus miþ allaim izwis. amen.

exp: ^Bdu Þaissalauneikaium anþara ustauh.

inc: *aipistaule*: nom.sg. f. *n*-St ‘letter’ (< Gr. *epistolē*). — *Pawlaus*: gen. to *Pawlus* m. personal name ‘Paul’ (< Gr. *Paūlos*). — *Paissalauneikaium*: dat.pl. to *Paissalauneikaius** m. *u*-st. resident name ‘Thessalonian’ (< Gr. *Thessalonikeús*) (^A-ei- : ^B-e- either different renderings of Gr. -i- and -ei- or -e- is misspelled for -i- or -ei-). — *anastodeip*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *anastodjan** w. v. 1 ‘to begin, to start’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from the root in Goth. *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’.

1:1 *Silbanus*: nom. m. *u*-st. personal name ‘Silvanus’ (< Lat. *Silvanus*). — *Teimaupaius*: nom. m. *u*-st. personal name ‘Timothy’ (< Gr. *Timótheos*). — *aikklesjon*: dat.sg. to *aikklesjo* f. *n*-st. ‘congregation, house of worship’ (< Gr. *ekklēsia*).

1:2 —.

1:3 *ufarwahseip*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *ufarwahsjan** st. v. 6 ‘to grow exceedingly, to multiply greatly’ (these are the only attestations of the word); compound with Goth. *wahsjan* st. v. 6 ‘to (let) grow, to multiply’. — *managnip*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *managnan** w. v. 4 ‘to be abundant’; derivation from Goth. *manags** adj. *a*-st. ‘some, much’. — *friapwa*: nom.sg. f. *ō*-st. ‘love’ (next to spellings with -ija-); (?) OE *frēod* f. ‘love, friendship’; derivation from the root in Goth. *freis* adj. *ja*-st. ‘free’. — *ainharjizuh*: gen.sg.m. to *ainharjizuh* pron. ‘everyone’; compound with Goth. *ains* adj. *a*-st./num. ‘one’ and Goth. *harjizuh*: nom.sg.m. pron. ‘everyone’.

1:4 *swaei*: conj. ‘so that, therefore, so’; compound with Goth. *swa* adv. ‘so’ and Goth. *ei* conj. ‘(so) that’. — *in*: missing in ^B. — *hopam*: 1stpl.pres.ind. to *hopan* st. v. 7 ‘to boast’; OE *hwōpan*. — *stiwitjis*: gen.sg. to *stiwiti** n. *ja*-st. ‘patience, patient endurance’; further etymology uncertain. — *wrakjom*: dat.pl. to *wrakja* f. *ō*-st. ‘persecution’; OHG *recha-* (in *rechagern* ‘vengeful’), OFris. *wretse*; derivation from the root in Goth. *wrikan** st. v. 5 ‘to persecute’; OHG *rechan*, OS *wrekan*, ODu. *-wrekan* (in *giwrekan* ‘to revenge, to take revenge’), OE *wrekan*, OFris. *wreka*, *wraka*, *wrēka*, OIcl. *reka*. — *aglom*: dat.pl. to *aglo* f. *n*-st. ‘tribulation’; derivation from the root in Goth. *aglus** adj. ‘difficult’. — *uspulaip*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *uspulan* w. v. 3 ‘to endure, to suffer, to accept’; compound with Goth. *þulan* w. v. 3 ‘to tolerate’.

1:5 *garaihtaizos*: gen.sg.f. to *garaihts* adj. *a*-st. ‘just’; OHG *gireht*, MLG, MDu. *gerecht*; compound with the prefix Goth. *ga-* ‘together, with’ and Goth. *raihts** adj. *a*-st. ‘right, straight, fair’. — *stauos*: gen.sg. to *staua* f. *ō*-st. ‘court, verdict, dispute’; OHG *stūa-* (in *stūatago* ‘last judgement’), OE *stōw*, OFris. *stō*, OIcl. *-stó* (in *eldstó* ‘hearth’). — ^A*pulaip*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *þulan* w. v. 3 ‘to tolerate’; OHG *dolēn*, OIcl. *þola*. — ^B*winnip*: 2ndpl.pres.ind. to *winnan* st. v. 3 ‘to suffer’; OHG, OS, ODu., OE *winnan*, OFris. *winna*, OIcl. *vinna*.

1:6 *swēpauh*: adv. ‘yes, at least, indeed’; OE *swāpēah*; compound with Goth. *swe* adv., conj. ‘how; as, there’ and Goth. *þauh* 1. conj. ‘as, or’, 2. adv. ‘yes, well, about’. — *usgildan*: inf. st. v. 3 ‘to repay’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic) (see *gilstrameleins*). — *gapreihandam*: dat.pl.m. pres.part. to *gapreihan** st. v. 1 ‘to harass’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *þreihan** st. v. 1 ‘to push’; (with analogical -ng-) OHG *dringan*, OS *thringan*, Early MDu. *dringhen*, OE *þringan*, OIcl. *þryngva*. — *aggwiþa*: acc.sg. to *aggwiþa* f. *ō*-st. ‘narrowness, distress’; OHG *engida*, (?) OS *engitha*, OIcl. *øngd*; derivation from the root in Goth. *aggwus** adj. *u*-st. ‘narrow’; (different formation) OHG, OS *engi*, Early MDu. *enghe*, OE *enge*, NWestFris. *eang*, OIcl. *øngr*, *øngr*.

1:7 *gapulandam*: dat.pl.m. pres.part. to *gapulan* w. v. 3 ‘to endure’; compound with Goth. *þulan* w. v. 3 ‘to tolerate’. — *iusila*: acc.sg. to *iusila* f. *ō*-st. ‘recreation’; derivation from the root in Goth. *iusiza* comp. adj. ‘better’ (only GalA 4:1). — *andhuleinai*: dat.sg. to *andhuleins** f. *i*-st. ‘revelation’; derivation from Goth. *andhuljan* w. v. 1 ‘to reveal’.

1:8 *funins*: gen.sg. to *fon* n. irreg. *n*-st. ‘fire’; OIcl. *funi*, (different formation) OHG *funko*, MLG *vunke*, MDu. *vonke*, megl. *fönke*, *funke* ‘spark’ next to OHG, OS *fiur*, ODu. *fuir*, OE *fȳr*, OFris. *fiūr*, *fiōr* ‘fire’. — *lauhmonjai*: dat.sg. to *lauhmuni* f. *jō*-st. ‘lightning’ (with incorrect -o- for -u-); (different formation) OS *liomo* ‘ray, glow’, OE *lēoma* ‘ray, glow’, OIcl. *ljómi* ‘shine, light, sword’. — *fraweit*: acc.sg. to *fraweit* n. *a*-st. ‘penalty’; derivation from Goth. *fraweitan* st. v. 1 ‘to avenge, to establish justice’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic) (see *inweitan**).

1:9 *fralust*: acc.sg. to *fralusts* f. *i*-st. ‘perish’; OHG, OS *farlust*; derivation from the root in Goth. *fraliusan** st. v. 2 ‘to lose’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *firliosan*, OS *farliosan*, ODu. *farliesan*, OE *forlēosan*, OFris. *forliāsa*; *s*-derivation from the root in Gr. *lýō* ‘I set lose, I free’, Lat. *luō* ‘I atone, I pay’. — *aiweinon*: acc.sg.f. w. v. *aiweins** adj. ‘eternal’; OHG *ēwīn*, OS *ēwin*; derivation from the root in Goth. *aiws** m. *a/i*-st. ‘time, eternity’.

1:10 *ushauhnan*: inf. w. v. 4 ‘to be glorified’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from Goth. *hauhs** adj. *a*-st. ‘high’. — *sildaleiknan*: w. v. 4 ‘to be admired’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from Goth. *sildaleiks** adj. *a*-st. ‘amazing, wonderful’. — *weitwodei*: nom.sg. f. *n*-st. ‘testimony, bearing witness’; derivation from Goth. *weitwops** (*-d-*) m. cons.st. ‘witness’.

1:11 *laponais*: gen.sg. to *lapons* f. *i*-st. ‘invitation, calling, consolation, redemption’; derivation from Goth. *lapon* w. v. 2 ‘to invite’; OHG *ladōn*, OS, ODu. *lathon*, OFris. *lathia*, *ladia*, *laia*, OE *lāþian*, OIcl. *laða*; derivation from the root in Goth. *lapa-* (in *lapaleiko* adv. ‘gladly’). — *fulljai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *fulljan** w. v. 1 ‘to fill’; derivation from the root in Goth. *fulls* adj. ‘full’. — *leikain*: acc.sg. to *leikains** f. *i*-st. ‘delight, descretion; intent’; derivation from Goth. *leikan** w. v. 3 ‘to please, to be pleasing’. — *þiupēinai*: gen.sg. to *þiupēins* f. *i*-st. ‘goodness, blessing’; derivation from Goth. *þiupþjan** w. v. 1 ‘to bless’.

1:12 —.

2:1 *qumis*: gen.sg. to *qums* m. *i*-st. ‘coming, appearance of Christ before the court, presence’; OS *kumi*, OE *cyme*, OFris. *keme*; derivation from the root in Goth. *qiman* st. v. 4 ‘to come’. — *gaqumþais*: gen.sg. to *gaqumþs** (*-þ-*) f. *i*-st. ‘gathering, meeting, union’; derivation from Goth. *gaqiman** st. v. 4 ‘to come together’.

2:2 *wagian*: inf. w. v. 1 ‘to shake’; OHG *weggen*, OS *weggian*, MDu. *weggen*; derivation from the root in Goth. [†]*wigan* st. v. 5 ‘to move’. — *ahin*: dat.sg. to *aha* m. *n*-st. ‘sense, mind’; further etymology unclear. — *drobnan*: inf. w. v. 4 ‘to become dismayed’ (this is the only attestation of the word); Derivation from the root in OHG *truobi*, OS *drōbi*, Early MDu. *droeve*, OE *drōf* ‘cloudy’. — *instandai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *instandan** st. v. 6 ‘to be imminent’; compound with Goth. *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’.

2:3 *hashun*: nom.sg.m. indef.pron. ‘anyone’ (the pronoun is found in Gothic only negated in combination with the negation Goth. *ni* ‘not’); compound with Goth. *has* interrog. /indef.pron. ‘who?; anyone’ and Goth. *-hun*, syllably to form certain pronouns. — *usluto*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *usluton** ‘to seduce, to lead astray’; compound with Goth. *luton** w. v. 2 ‘to deceive’. — *haidau*: dat.sg. to *haidus** m. *u*-st. ‘way’; OHG *heit*, OS *hēd* ‘office, rank’, ODu. *-heid(e)*, OE *hād*, *hæd* m. ‘person, rank, status’, OFris. (only as suffix) *-hēd*, *-heid* ‘-ness’, OIcl. *heiðr* m. ‘honor, rank, reward’. — *afstass*: nom.sg. f. *i*-st. ‘falling away’; derivation from Goth. *afstandan** st. v. 6 ‘to stand off, to fall away, to let go’; compound with Goth. *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’. — *faurþis*: adv. ‘before, earlier’; compound with Goth. *faur* 1. adv. ‘ahead’, 2. prep. + acc. ‘before, along(side); for; for the sake of, about, regarding’ and Goth. *þis* gen.sg.n. to *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’; OHG *fore des* ‘before that’. — *andhulids*: nom.sg.m. pret.part. to *andhuljan* w. v. 1 ‘to reveal’ (with analogical *-d-* instead of *-þ-* [so Joh 12:38]); compound with Goth. *huljan* w. v. 1 ‘to cover, to veil, to envelop’.

2:4 *andstandands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *andstandan* st. v. 6 ‘to oppose, to resist, to conflict’; compound with Goth. *standan* st. v. 6 ‘to stand’. — *ufarhaffands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *ufarhaffan** st. v. 6 ‘to exalt’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *haffan** st. v. 6 ‘to lift’. — *blotinassu*: acc.sg. to *blotinassus** m. *u*-st. ‘reverence’; derivation from Goth. *blotan* st. v. 7 ‘to revere’; OHG *bluoan*, OE *blōtan*, OIcl. *blóta*. — *ustaiþnjandan*: acc.sg.m. pres.part. to *ustaiþnjan* w. v. 1 ‘to designate, to distinguish, to prove’; compound with Goth. *taikþnan** w. v. 1 ‘to show’; (partly different formations) OHG *zeichanen*, OS *tēknian*, ODu. *tēkanen*, OE *tācnan*, OFris. *tēknia*, OIcl. *teikna*; derivation from Goth. *taikns* f. *i*-st. ‘sign, wonder’.

2:16 *gaþlaiht*: acc.sg. to *gaþlaihts** f. *i*-st. ‘consolation’; derivation from Goth. *gaþlaihan* st. v. 1/5/7 ‘to admonish, to comfort’. — *aiweina*: acc.sg.f. *aiweins** adj. ‘eternal’. — *wen*: acc.sg.f. to *wens* f. *i*-st. ‘hope’; OFris., OE *wēn*, OIcl. *ván* next to (different formation) OHG, OS, ODu. *wān*; derivation from

the root in Goth. *unwunnands* pres.part. ‘distressed, troubled’ (only nom.sg.m. PhilB 2:26); (different formations) OHG *wonēn*, OS *wonōn*, ODu. *wonon*, OE *wunian*, OFris. *wunia*, *wenia*, OIcl. *una* ‘to stay, to dwell, to be content’.

2:17 *gatulgjai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *gatulgian* w. v. 1 ‘to fasten, to strengthen’; compound with Goth. *tulgian* w. v. 1 ‘to consolidate, to strengthen’.

3:1 *gabidjaiþ*: 2ndpl.pres.opt. to *gabidjan** st. v. 5 ‘to pray’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *bidjan* st. v. 5 ‘to pray, to beg’.

3:2 *uslausjaindau*: 1stpl.opt.pass.pres. v. *uslausjan** w. v. 1 ‘to redeem, to liberate’; compound with Goth. *lausjan* w. v. 1 ‘to set loose, to rescue; to raise money, to collect money’. — *gastojanaim*: dat.pl.m. to *gastojans** adj. ‘condemned’, ‘judged’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from the root in Goth. *stojan* w. v. 1 ‘to judge’.

3:3 *triggws*: nom.sg.m. adj. *wa*-st. ‘faithful’; OIcl. *tryggr* next to (different formation) OHG, OS *triuwi*, frühmdl. *trouwe*, OE *triewe*, OFris. *triūwe*. — *galausjai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *galausjan* w. v. 1 ‘to redeem, to liberate’; compound with Goth. *lausjan* w. v. 1 ‘to set loose, to rescue; to raise money, to collect money’.

3:4 *gatrauam*: 1stpl.pres.ind. to *gatrauan** w. v. 3 ‘to trust’; compound with Goth. *trauan* w. v. 3 ‘to trust, to have confidence’; OHG *trū(w)ēn*, OS *trūon*, MDu. *truwen*, OE *trūwian*, OIcl. *trúa*; derivation from the root in Goth. *triggws* adj. *wa*-st. ‘faithfull’.

3:5 *garaihtjai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *garaihtjan* w. v. 1 ‘to prove as just, to judge, to steer’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *rihten*, OS *rihtian*, ODu. *rihten*, OE *rihtan*, OFris. *riuchta*, OIcl. *rétta*; derivation from the root in Goth. *raihts** adj. *a*-st. ‘right, straight, fair’. — *friapwai*: dat.sg. to *frijaþwa* f. *ō*-st. ‘love’ (in the dative singular also spellings with *-ija-* are attested). — *uspulainai*: dat.sg. to *uspulains** f. *i*-st. ‘patience’; derivation from Goth. *uspuhan* w. v. 3 ‘to endure, to suffer, to accept’.

3:6 *gaskaidaiþ*: 2ndpl.pres.opt. to *gaskaidan** st. v. 7 ‘to retract’; compound with Goth. *skaidan** st. v. 7 ‘to divorce, to separate’. — *hairbandane*: gen.pl.m. pres.part. to *hairban** st. v. 3 ‘to wander’; OHG *werban*, OS *hwervan*, Early MDu. *werven*, OE *hweorfan*, OFris. *(h)werva*, OIcl. *hverfa*. — *ungatassaba*: adv. ‘messy’; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-ba* to Goth. *ungatass** adj. *a*-st. ‘disorderly, unbridled’; MDu. *ongetes*; compound with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and unattested Goth. **gatass* adj. *a*-st. ‘orderly’; MDu. *getes*. — *anafilham*: dat.pl. to *anafilhan** n. *a*-st. ‘tradition, what is entrusted, recommendation’; derivation from Goth. *anafilhan* st. v. 4 ‘to hand over, to deliver; to lease; to recommend’.

3:7 *galeikon*: inf. w. v. 2 ‘to compare, to equate, to imitate’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); (different formation) OHG *gilichen*, MLG *geliken*, Early MDu. *gheliken*, OE *gelican*, OIcl. *glikja*; derivation from the preform of Goth. *galeiks* adj. *a*-st. ‘similar’. — *ungatewidai*: nom.pl.m. to *ungatewips** (*-d-*) pret.part. ‘jumbled, random’ (these are the only attestations of the word); formation with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and Goth. *-gatewips* nom.sg.m. pret.part. to *gatewjan** w. v. 1 ‘to determine by choice, to prescribe’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from the root in Goth. *tewa** f. *ō*-st. ‘order’; Lgb. *zāwa*.

3:8 *arwjo*: adv. ‘for free’; (different formation) OHG *ar(a)wūn*, *arawingon*, *arawingūn*, OE *earwunga*; derivation from the root in OS *aru* ‘ripe, mature’, OIcl. *qrr* ‘willingly, quickly’. — ^A*hlaif*, ^B*hlaib*: acc.sg. to *hlaifs* (*-b-*) m. *a*-st. ‘bread’ (in ^B with analogical *-b* instead of *-f*). — *arbaidai*: dat.sg. to *arbaiþs* (*-d-*) f. *i*-st. ‘work, tribulation, hindrance’; OHG *ar(a)beit*, OS *arved*, *arvid*, ODu. *arbeit*, *arvith* next to (different formation) OHG *ar(a)beiti*, OS *arvedi*, *arvidi*, MDu. *arebede*, OE *earfod(e)*, OFris. *arbeid*, *arbēd*, OIcl. *erfiði*, *ærfæði*.

3:9 *frisahtai*: dat.sg. to *frisahts* f. *i*-st. ‘(dark) picture, example, riddle’; further etymology unclear. — *gebeima*: 1stpl.pret.opt. to *giban* st. v. 5 ‘to give’ (with incorrect *-e-* for *-i-*).

3:10 ^A*nih*: ^B*ni* (see *nih*, *ni* [or in ^B with loss of *-h* due to the weak articulation of *h* in [Late-]Goth. ?]).

3:11 *fairweitjandans*: acc.pl.m. pres.part. to *fairweitjan* w. v. 1 ‘to gaze intently, to gape’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic) (see *idweitjan*).

3:12 ^Ahlaif: ^Bhlaib (see 2.ThessAB 3:8).

3:13 *usgrudjans*: nom.pl.m. to *usgrudja** ‘despondent, discouraged’; further etymology uncertain.

3:14 *gatarhjaip*: 2ndpl.pres.opt. to *gatarhjan* w. v. 1 ‘to mark’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from the root in OHG *zor(a)ht*, OS, OE *torht* ‘bright, clear, shining’. — *blandaip*: 2ndpl.pres.opt. to *blandan* st. v. 7 ‘to mix’; OHG *blantan*, OS pret.part. *giblandan*, Early MDu. *blanden*, OE *blandan*, OIcl. *blanda*. — *gaskamai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *gaskaman** w. v. 3 ‘to shame’ (*gaskaman** *sik* ‘to be shamed’) (these are the only attestations of the word); compound with Goth. *skaman** w. v. 3 ‘to shame’; (partly with different formations) OHG *skamēn*, *skamōn*, MHG *schemen*, MLG *schāmen*, ODu. *skamon*, OE *sceamian*, OIcl. *skamma*, *skemma*; (at least partly) derivation from the root in OHG, OS *skama*, Early MDu. *scame*, OE *sc(e)omu*, OFris. *skome*, OIcl. *skom(m)* ‘shame’.

3:15 ^Ajan: copula ‘and’; with assimilation of *-h – n-* to *-n – n-*: ^Bjah: copula ‘and’. — *talzjaip*: 2ndpl.pres.opt. to *talzjan** w. v. 1 ‘to teach, to draw, to school’; probably derivation from the root in Goth. *-tals** (in *untals** adj. ‘unsubmissive, insubordinate, disobedient, uneducated, foolish’); OHG *zal* ‘quick, fast’, OS *-tal* (in *gital* ‘quick, fast’), OE *-tæl* (in *getæl* ‘quick, fast’); formation to the same root as in OHG *zala*, OS *tala*, frühmnl. *tale*, OE *talū*, OFris. *tale*, *tele*, OIcl. *tala* ‘tale, narrative, speech’.

3:16 —.

3:17 *bandwo*: nom.sg. f. *n*-st. ‘sign’; Lgb. *bando* ‘flag’ (borrowed from Germanic as MLat. *bandum* n. ‘banner’, OProv. *banda*, OFr. *bande*, Span. *banda* ‘troop, gang’); further etymology unclear.

3:18 —.

exp: —.

3.2. The Epistle to Titus

inc: ^Bdu Teitau anastodeip.

1:1 ^BPawlus, skalks gudis, ip apaustaulus Iesuis Xristaus bi galaubeinai gawalidaize gudis jah ufkunþja sunjos sei bi gagudein ist, 1:2 ^Bdu wenai libainais aiweinons poei gahaihait unliugands guþ faur mela aiweina, 1:3 ^Bip ataugida mela swesamma waurd sein in mereinai, sei gatrauida ist mis bi anabusnai nasjandis unsaris gudis, 1:4 ^BTeitau, walisin barna bi gamainjai galaubeinai, ansts jah gawairþi fram guda attin jah Xristau Iesu nasjand unsaramma. 1:5 ^Bin þizoei waihtais bilaip þus in Kretai, in þize ei wanata atgaraihtjais jah gasatjais and baurgs praizbwtairein, swaswe ik þus garaidida, 1:6 ^Bjabai has ist ungafairinonds, ainaizos qenais aba, barna habands galaubeina, ni in usqissai usstiureins aipþau ungahairba. 1:7 ^Bskal-up þan aipiskaupus ungafairinops wisan, swe gudis fauragaggja, ni hauhhairts, [ni bihaitja,] ni þwairhs, ni weinnas/weinuls, ni slahals, ni aglaitgastalds; 1:8 ^Bak gastigods, bleiþs, andapahts, garaihts, weihs, gaþaurbs,

1:9 ^A... waurdis triggwis, ei mahteigs sijai jah gaplaihan in laiseinai hailai jap þans andstandandans gasakan.

^Bandanemeigs bi laiseinai waurdis triggwis, ei mahteigs sijai jah gaplaihan in laiseinai hailai jah þans andstandandans gasakan.

1:10 ^Asind auk managai ungahairbai, lausaiwaurdai, lutondans, þishun þai us bimaita,

^Bsind auk managai ungahairbai, lausawaurdai, lutondans, þishun ...

1:11 ^Aþanzei skal gasakan, þaiei gardins allans uswaltjand laisjandans þatei ni skuld ist, in faihugairneins. 1:12 ^Aqap auk sums ize, swes ize praufetus: Kretes sinteino liugnans, ubila unbiarja, wambos latos. 1:13 ^Aso ist weitwodei sunjeina. in þizoei fairinos gasak ins hassaba, ei hailai sijaina in galaubeinai, 1:14 ^Ani atsaihandans judaiwiskaize spilli jah anabusne manne

afwandjandane sis sunja. 1:15 ^A*appan all hrain hrainjaim, ip bisaulidaim jah ungalaubjandam ni waiht hrain, ak bisaulida sind ize jah aha jah mipwissei. 1:16* ^A*guþ andhaitand kunnan, ip waurstwam inwidand, andasetjai wisandans jah ungalaubjandans, jah du allamma waurstwe godaize uskusanai {ungakusanai}.*

inc: *Teitau*: dat. to *Teitus* m. personal name ‘Titus’ (< Gr. *Títos*).

1:1 *ufkunþja*: dat.sg. to *ufkunþi** n. *ja*-st. ‘understanding; derivation from unattested Goth. **ufkunþs* adj. *a*-st. ‘recognized’ to Goth. *ufkunnan* irreg. w. v. 3 ‘to recognize’. — *gagudein*: dat.sg. to *gagudei* f. *n*-st. ‘piety’; derivation from Goth. ⁺*gagups* (-*d*-) adj. ‘decent, honorable’.

1:2 *unliugands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. ‘not lying’ (this is the only attestation of the word in Gothic); compound with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and Goth. *liugan** st. v. 2 ‘to lie’.

1:3 *mereinai*: dat.sg. to *mereins** f. *i*-st. ‘proclamation, sermon’; derivation from Goth. *merjan* w. v. 1 ‘to announce, to make known’.

1:4 *walisin*: dat.sg.n. to *walisa** sw. adj. ‘genuine, sincere’; (?) OHG *waliro* (reading uncertain); derivation from the root in Goth. *wiljan* athem. V. ‘to want’. — *gamainjai*: dat.sg.f. to *gamains* adj. ‘mutual, common’; OHG *gimein(i)*, OS, ODu. *gimēni*, OE *gemāne*, OFris. (*ge*-)*mēne*.

1:5 *Kretai*: dat. to *Kreta** f. country name ‘Crete’ (< Gr. *Krētē*). — *wanata*: acc.sg.n. to *wans** adj. ‘deficient, absent’; OHG, OS, ODu. *wan*, OE *wan*, OFris. *won-* (e.g. in *wongare* ‘poor clothing’), OIcl. *vanr*. — *atgaraihtjais*: 2ndsg.pres.opt. to *atgaraihtjan** w. v. 1 ‘to put in order’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); derivation from the root in Goth. *raihts** adj. *a*-st. ‘right, straight, fair’. — *praizbwtairin*: acc.sg. to *praizbwtairi** f. *n*-st. ‘college of elders’ (< Gr. *presbytērion*). — *garaidida*: 1stsg.pret.ind. to *garaidjan** w. v. 1 ‘to command, to decree, to determine’; compound with Goth. *raidjan** w. v. 1 ‘to decree, to prescribe’.

1:6 *ungafairinonds*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. ‘impeccable, blameless’; formation with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and the pres.part. to unattested Goth. **gafairinon* w. v. 2 ‘to blame’; compound with Goth. *fairinon** w. v. 2 ‘to blame’; derivation from Goth. *fairina** f. *ō*-st. ‘fault; reproach’. — *galaubeina*: acc.pl.n. to *galaubeins** adj. ‘believing’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from Goth. *galaubjan* w. v. 1 ‘to believe’. — *usqissai*: dat.sg. to *usqiss** f. *i*-st. ‘indictment, accusation’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (with loss of the ending -*s* in the nominative singular after -*ss*); derivation from Goth. *usqipan* st. v. 5 ‘to spread a gossip’; compound with Goth. *qipan* st. v. 5 ‘to say; to mean, to designate’. — *usstiureins*: gen.sg. to *usstiurei* f. *n*-st. ‘license, debauchery’; derivation from an also by Goth. *usstiuriba* adv. ‘rampant’ presupposed word Goth. **usstiur(ei)s* adj. *ilja*-st. ‘being outside of the rudder’ = ‘being out of control’; cf. MLG *unstüre* ‘wildness, impetuosity’. — *ungahairba*: acc.pl.n. to *ungahairbs** adj. *a*-st. ‘unsubmissive, disobedient’; compound with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and Goth. *gahairbs** adj. ‘obedient’, itself a compound with the prefix Goth. *ga-* ‘together, with’ and Goth. *-hairbs** (only in *heilahairbs** adj. ‘lasting only for a while, transitory’); derivation from Goth. *hvirban** st. v. 3 ‘to wander’.

1:7 *skal-up*: combination of Goth. *skal* 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *skulan** pret.pres. ‘to be guilty, must’ and Goth. -(*u*)*h* enclit. particle ‘and’ (with assimilation of -*h* - *þ*- to -*þ* - *þ*-). — *aipiskaupus*: nom.sg. m. *u*-st. ‘bishop’ (< Gr. *epískopos*). — *ungafairinops*: nom.sg.m. pret.part. ‘impeccable, blameless’ (for the formation see *ungafairinonds*). — *hauhhairts*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘haughty’; OE *hēahheort*; derivational compound with Goth. *hauhs** adj. *a*-st. ‘high’ and Goth. *hairto* n. *n*-st. ‘heart’. — *bihaitja*: nom.sg. m. *jan*-st. ‘braggard, boaster’; cf. OHG *-heizo* (in *skuldheizo* ‘sheriff’), OS *-hētio* (in *skulthētio* ‘sheriff’), OE *-etta* (in *ōretta* ‘warrior’); derivation from Goth. *bihait** n. *a*-st. ‘slander’; derivation from unattested Goth. **bihaitan* st. v. 7 ‘to threaten’; OHG *biheizan*, OS *bihētan*, Early MDu. *beheten*, OE *behātan*; compound with Goth. *haitan* st. v. 7 ‘to name, to call, (pass.) to be named’. — *pwairhs*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘angry’; OS *thwerh*, OE *þweorh*, OIcl. *þverr*. — **weinnas/weinuls**: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st., either (for ⁺*weinnahs*) ‘having wine in abundance’ (either compound with Goth. *wein* n. *a*-st.

‘wine’ and an otherwise unattested Goth. **nahs* adj. ‘enough’ [with loss of *-h-* presumably because of its weak articulation in (Late) Goth.]; OE *neah-* [in *neahhige* ‘often’]; derivation from the root in Goth. *ganohs** adj. ‘enough, much’; or suffixal derivation from Goth. *wein* n. *a-st.* ‘wine’) or (as *weinnas*) ‘addicted to drinking’ with the root of an otherwise unattested Goth. **nasa* f. *ō-st.* ‘nose’ (cf. for the relation Goth. *-hairts* [in *hauhhairts* adj. *a-st.* ‘haughty’] to Goth. *hairto* n. *n-st.* ‘heart’); OHG *nasa*, OS *nasa-* (in *nasadruppo* ‘sniffles’), ODu. *nasa*, OE *nasu*, OFris. *nose*, OIcl. *nps*; derivation from Goth. *wein* n. *a-st.* ‘wine’. — *slahals*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a-st.* ‘violent’; derivation from Goth. *slahan** st. v. 6 ‘to beat’. — *aglaitgastalds*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a-st.* ‘dirty, profit-seeking’; compound, probably with an *a-* as a simplex unattested adjective Goth. **aglaiteis* adj. *ja-st.* ‘dirty, shameful’ (OHG *agaleizi* ‘busy, eager’) and a derivation from the root in Goth. *gastaldan* st. v. 7 ‘to acquire, to get’.

1:8 *gastigods*: nom.sg.m. (for ⁺*gastigops*) adj. *a-st.* ‘hospitable’ (all three attestations [also in 1.TimA 3:2, 1.TimB 3:2] show analogical *-d-* instead of *-p-*); compound with Goth. *gasts* m. ‘foreigner’ (Lat.-Gmc. [in personal names] *Gasti-*, Run. [in personal names] *-gastiz*, OHG *gast*, Lat.-Lgb. [in personal name] *-gast[i]us*, OS, Early MDu. *gast*, OE *gæst*, *g(i)est*, OFris. *jest*, *gast*, OIcl. *gestr*) and Goth. *gops* (*-d-*) adj. *a-st.* ‘good, capable, beautiful’. — *bleips*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a-st.* ‘merciful, affectionate’; OHG *blīdi*, OS *blīthi*, Early MDu. *blīde*, OE *blīde*, OIcl. *blīðr*. — *andapahts*: nom.sg.m. adj. ‘sober, sensible’; derivation from the root in Goth. *þagkjan* w. v. 1 ‘to think, to consider’. — *gapaurbs*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a-st.* ‘abstinent’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from the root in Goth. *þaurban** pret.pres. ‘to need’.

1:9 *andanemeigs*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a-st.* ‘clinging’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from Goth. *andniman* st. v. 4 ‘to take up, to receive’. — *laiseinai*: dat.sg. to *laiseins* f. *i-st.* ‘teaching’; derivation from Goth. *laisjan* w. v. 1 ‘to teach’. — *mahteigs*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a-st.* ‘powerful’; derivation from Goth. *mahts* f. *i-st.* ‘power, strength, fortune’. — *gablaihan*: inf. st. v. 1/5/7 ‘to admonish, to comfort’ (because of the evidence the exact verbal class of the verb remains uncertain); further etymology uncertain. — ^A*jaþ* : ^B*jah*: copula ‘and’; in ^A with assimilation of *-h-* *p-* to *-p-* *-p-*.

1:10 ^A*lausaiwaurdai* : ^B*lausawaurdai*: nom.pl.m. to *lausawaurds** adj. *a-st.* ‘performing empty chatter, talking nothing’ (in ^A the compositional fugue displays here, as is more often the case, the form *-ai-* instead of *-a-*; it is uncertain whether these are purely spelling mistakes or reflexes of a more recent usage in Gothic) (these are the only attestations of the word); compound with Goth. *laus* adj. *a-st.* ‘loose, empty’ and Goth. *waurd* n. *a-st.* ‘word’. — *lutondans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *luton** w. v. 2 ‘to deceive’ (these are the only attestations of the word); (different formation) OHG *lūzēn*, MLG *lūten*, OE *lūtian*, OIcl. *lūta* ‘to keep hidden, to hide’; derivation from the root in Goth. *liuts* adj. *a-st.* ‘hypocritical’; (different formation) OHG *luzzi*, OS *lut*, OE *lyt* ‘little’. — *þishun*: adv. ‘mostly, excellent’; compound with Goth. *þis* gen.sg.n. to *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’ and Goth. *-hun*, syllable used to form certain pronouns.. — *bimaita*: dat.sg. to *bimait* n. *a-st.* ‘circumcision’; derivation from Goth. *bimaitan* st. v. 7 ‘to circumscribe’; compound with Goth. *maitan** st. v. 7 ‘to cut, to hew’.

1:11 *uswaltjand*: 3rdpl.pres.ind. to *uswaltjan** w. v. 1 ‘to overthrow’; compound with Goth. *waltjan** w. v. 1 ‘to roll from one side to the other’ (only 3rdpl.pret.ind. *waltidedun* [Mk 4:37]); OHG *welzen*, MDu. *welten*, OE *wælta*, OIcl. *velta*; derivation from the root in aisl *velta* st. v. ‘to roll from one side to the other’; formation from the same root as in Goth. *wulan** st. v. 4 ‘to boil, to seethe’; (different formation) OHG, OS *wellan*, OIcl. *vella*. — *faihugairneins*: gen.sg. to *faihugairns** f. ‘greed’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from Goth. *faihugairns** adj. *a-st.* ‘greedy’; compound with Goth. *faihu* n. *u-st.* ‘money’ (OHG *fihu*, Lgb. *-fio* [in *faderfio* ‘father’s good’, *mētfio* ‘bridal gift that the bridegroom has to give at the engagement’], OS *fehu*, ODu. *fē*, OE Westsaxon *feoh*, *fēo*, northumbrian *feh*, OFris. *fiā*, *fē*, OIcl. *fē* ‘cattle, property, money’) and Goth. *-gairns* adj. *a-st.* ‘eager, willing’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic) (OHG, OS *gern*, MDu. [adv.] *gerne*, OE *georn*, OIcl. *gjarn*).

1:12 *Kretes*: nom.pl. m. demonym ‘Cretan’ (< Gr. *Krētes*). — *liugnians*: nom.pl. to *liugnja* m. *jan-st.* ‘liar’; derivation from Goth. *liugn** n. *a-st.* ‘lie’; derivation from the root in Goth. *liugan** st. v. 2 ‘to lie’. — *unbiarja*: nom.pl. to *unbiari** n. *ja-st.* ‘wild animal’ (this is the only attestation of the word);

further etymology uncertain. — *wambos*: nom.pl. to *wamba* f. *ō*-st. ‘belly, womb’; OHG, OS, ODu. *wamba*, OE *womb*, OFris. *wamme*, OIcl. *vomb*. — *latos*: nom.pl.f. to *lats** adj. *a*-st. ‘casual, lazy’; OHG *laz*, OS, Early MDu. *lat*, OE *læt*, OFris. *let*, OIcl. *latr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *letan** st. v. 7 ‘to let, to permit, to allow, to leave (behind)’.

1:13 *sunjeina*: nom.sg.f. to *sunjeins* adj. *a*-st. ‘true, truly’; derivation from Goth. *sunja* f. *jō*-st. ‘truth’. — *hassaba*: adv. ‘sharp, severe’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-ba* from an unattested adjective Goth. **hass* ‘sharp, severe’; OHG *was*, OS *hwass*, OE *hwæs*, OIcl. *hvass*; derivation from the root in OHG *wāzan*, OS *-hwātan* (in *farhwātan* ‘to curse’), Early MDu. *-waten* (in *verwaten* ‘to curse’), OIcl. *hváta* ‘to bump’. — *hailai*: nom.pl.m. to *hails* adj. *a*-st. ‘healthy, whole; be greeted’ (Snaedal: dat.sg.f. [zu galaubeinei?]).

1:14 *atsaihvandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. v. *atsaihvān** st. v. 5 ‘to beware’; compound with Goth. *saihvān* st. v. 5 ‘to see’. — *judaiwiskaize*: gen.pl.n. to *judaiwisks* adj. *a*-st. ‘Jewish’ (loan formation after Gr. *ioudaîkós*). — *spilli*: gen.pl. to *spill** n. *a*-st. ‘tale, fable’ (with incorrect *-i* for *-e*); OHG, OS, ODu. *spel*, OE *spell*, OIcl. *spjall*. — *afwandjandane*: gen.pl.m. pres.part. to *afwandjan* w. v. 1 ‘to turn away’; compound with Goth. *wandjan** w. v. 1 ‘to turn’.

1:15 *bisaulidaim*: dat.pl.m. pret.part. to *bisauljan** w. v. 1 ‘to defile’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic) (see *bisaulnan**). — *ungalaubjandam*: dat.pl.m. to *ungalaubjands* pres.part. ‘unbelieving, disobedient’; compound with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and the pres.part. to Goth. *galaubjan* w. v. 1 ‘to believe’. — *waiht*: nom.sg. n. ‘thing, item, something’ (only with the negation Goth. *ni* ‘not’ meaning ‘nothing’); in unclear relation to Goth. *waihts* f. cons.st./i-st. ‘thing, item, something’. — *mipwissei*: nom.sg. f. *n*-st. ‘consciousness, conscience’; ultimately derivation from Goth. *mipwitan** pres.part. ‘to be conscious’ (only 1stsg.pret.ind. *mipwait* [1.KorA 4:4]); compound with Goth. *witan* pret.pres. ‘to know’.

1:16 *andasetjai*: nom.pl.m. to *andasets** adj. *ilja*-st. ‘despicable’; MHG *antsæze*, OE *andsæte*; derivation from the root in Goth. *sitan* st. v. 5 ‘to sit’. — *uskusanai*: nom.pl.m. pret.part. to *uskiusan* st. v. 2 ‘to try out, to discard’; compound with Goth. *kiusan** st. v. 2 ‘to check’; OHG, OS *kiosan*, MDu. *kiesen*, OE *cēosan*, OFris. *kiāsa*, *tziāsa*, OIcl. *kjósa*. — *ungakusanai*: nom.pl.m. to *ungakusans** pret.part. ‘not probable, reprehensible’ (the word is a gloss that got into the text); compound with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and the pret.part. to Goth. *gakiusan* st. v. 2 ‘to try out’; compound with Goth. *kiusan** st. v. 2 ‘to check’.

4. From the Skeireins

4.1. Page 3

1 „... <ma>naga wesun jainar; þaruh qemun jah daupidai wesun. ni nauhþanuh galagiþs was in karkarai Iohannes.“ þatuh þan qipands, aiwaggelista ataugida, ei so garehsns bi ina neha andja was þairh Herodes birunain. akei faur þata, at bajopum dauþjandam, jah ainþaþarammeh seinā anafilhandam dauþein, miþ sis misso sik andrunnun, sumai ni kunnandans, hapaþr skuldedi maiza. „þaþroh þan warþ sokeins 2 us siponjam Iohannes miþ Iudaium bi swiknein“, in þizei ju jah leikis hraineino inmaidips was sidus, jah so bi guþ hrainei anabudana was. ni þanaseiþs judaiwiskom ufarranneinim jah sinteinom dauþeinim brukjan usdauþjaina: ak iohanne hausjandans þamma faurrinnandin aiwaggeljon. was-uh þan jah frauja þo ahmeionon anafilhands dauþein; eiþan garaihtaba warþ bi swiknein sokeins

gawagida. unte witop þize unfaurweisane missadede ainazos 3 raidida: azgon kalbons gabrannidaizos utana bibaurgeinaiš afar-uh þan þo in wato wairpandans hrain jah hwssopon jah wullai raudai ufartrusnjandans, swaswe gadob þans ufar miton munandane. iþ iohannes idreigos daupein merida jah missadede aflet þaim ainfaþaba gawandjandam gahaihait, iþ frauþins at afleta frawaurhte jah fragift weihis ahmins; jah fragibands im þatei sunjus þiudangardjos wairþaina. 4 swaei sijai daupeins iohannes ana midumai twaddje ligandei, ufarþeihandei raihtis witodis hrainein, iþ minnizei filaus aiwaggeljons daupeinai. in-uh þis bairhtaba uns laiseiþ qipands: „aþþan ik in watin izwis daupja. iþ sa afar mis gagganda swinþoza mis ist þizei ik ni im wairþs anahneiwands andbindau skaudaraip skohis is. sah þan izwis daupeiþ in ahmin weihamma.“ bi garehsnai nu ...

1 *karkarai*: dat.sg. to *karkara** f. *ō*-st. ‘dungeon’ (< Lat. nom.pl. *carcara* to Lat. *carcer*). — *aiwaggelista*: nom.sg. m. *n*-st. ‘evangelist’ (< Gr. *euangelistēs*, Lat. *evangelista*). — *garehsns*: nom.sg. f. *i*-st. ‘certain time; determination, plan’; further etymology uncertain. — *Herodes*: gen.sg. to *Herodes*, -is m. personal name ‘Herod’ (the genitive singular is also attested as *Herodis* [Mk 8:15]) (< Gr. *Hērōdēs*). — *birunain*: acc.sg. to *birunains** f. *i*-st. ‘stalking, assault, attack’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from an unattested verb Goth. **birunan* w. v. 3 ‘to conspire’; compound with an unattested verb Goth. **runan* ‘to whisper’; OHG *rūnēn*, MLG, Early MDu. *runen*, OE *rūnian*, OIcl. *rúna* next to OHG, OS *rūnōn*; derivation from the root in Goth. *runa* f. *ō*-st. ‘secret, decision, deliberation’; OHG, OS *rūna*, MDu. *rune* (*ruun*, *ruen*), OE *rūn*, OIcl. *rún*. — *bajopum*: dat. v. *bajopþs* (-þ-) pron. ‘both’; unclear derivation from Goth. *bai* pron. ‘both’; OHG *bei-*, *bē-* (in *beide*, *bēde* ‘both’), OS *bē-* (in *bēthie* ‘both’), ODu. *bē-* (in *bētho* ‘both’), OE *bā*, OFris. *bē-* (in *bēthe* ‘both’), OIcl. (gen.) *beggja*, *bá-* (in *báðir* ‘both’). — *ainhaþarammeh*: dat.sg.m. to *ainhaþaruh** pron. ‘each of the two’; compound with Goth. *ains* adj. *a*-st./num. ‘one’, Goth. *haþar* interrog.pron. ‘who of the two’, and Goth. -(u)h enclit. particle ‘and’. — *andrunnun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *andrinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to quarrel’; compound with Goth. *rinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run, to walk’. — *sokeins*: nom.sg. f. *i*-st. ‘quarrel’; derivation from Goth. *sokjan* w. v. 1 ‘to search, to dispute’.

2 *Iohannes*: gen. to *Iohannes* m. personal name ‘John’ (the genitive is also attested as *Iohannis*). — *swiknein*: acc.sg. to *swikneins** f. *i*-st. ‘cleansing’; derivation from an unattested verb Goth. **swiknjan* w. v. 1 ‘to clean’; OE *geswican* ‘to cleanse from an indictment’; derivation from the root in Goth. *swikns** adj. *a*-st. ‘pure, innocent’; OIcl. *sykn*. — *hraineino*: gen.pl. to *hraineins** f. *i*-st. ‘cleansing’; derivation from Goth. *hrainjan** w. v. 1 ‘to clean’. — *inmaidipþs*: nom.sg.m. pret.part. to *inmaidjan* w. v. 1 ‘to transform’; compound with Goth. *maidjan** w. v. 1 ‘to swap’; derivation from the root in Goth. *misso* adv. ‘each other’. — *sidus*: nom.sg. m. *u*-st. ‘custom’; OHG *situ*, OS *sidu*, ODu. *sido*, *sidu*, OE *sidu*, *seodu*, *siodu*, OFris. *side*, *sid*, OIcl. *siðr*. — *hrainei*: nom.sg. f. *n*-st. ‘purity’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *reinī*; derivation from the root in Goth. *hrains* adj. *i/ja*-st. ‘pure’. — *ufarranneinim*: dat.pl. to *ufarranneins** f. *i*-st. ‘sprinkle’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from an unattested verb Goth. **ufarrannjan* w. v. 1 ‘to sprinkle’; compound with Goth. -*rannjan** (only in *urrannjan** w. v. 1 ‘to let rise’ [only 3rdsg.pres.ind. *urranneiþ* (Mt 5:45)]); OHG *rennen*, OS *rennian*, Early MDu. *rennen*, OE *ærnan*, OFris. *renna*, *rinna*, OIcl. *renna* (cf. also Run. [nom.sg.] **ranja** m. *jan*-st. ‘runner’ [lance head from Dahmsdorf, 160–375/400]); derivation from the root in Goth. *rinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run, to walk’. — *brukjan*: inf. anom. v. ‘to use’; OHG *brūchan*, OS *brūkan*, Early MDu. *brūken*, OE *brūcan*, OFris. *brūka*. — *faurrinnandin*: dat.sg.m. pres.part. to *faurrinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to precede’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *rinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to run, to walk’. — *ahmeinson*: acc.sg.f. sw. to *ahmeins** adj. *a*-st. ‘spiritual’; derivation from Goth. *ahma* m. *n*-st. ‘spirit’. — *eiþan*: conj. ‘therefore, so’; compound with Goth. *ei* conj. ‘(so) that’ and Goth. *þan* 1. adv. ‘then, thereupon’, 2. adversative conj. ‘but, however’, 3. conj. ‘when, as long as; as’.

— *garaihtaba*: adv. ‘justly, rightly’; derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-ba* from Goth. *garaihts* adj. *a*-st. ‘just’. — *gawagida*: nom.sg.f. pret.part. to *gawagian* w. v. 1 ‘to set in motion, to encourage, to stimulate’; compound with Goth. *wagian* w. v.1 ‘to shake’. — *unfaurweisane*: gen.pl.m. w. to *unfaurweis** adj. *a*-st. ‘unintentionally, without forthought’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’, the prefix Goth. *faur-* ‘before’, and the only as compositional form attested Goth. *-weis* ‘wise’; OHG, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *wīs*, OIcl. *víss*; derivation from the root in Goth. *witan* pret.pres. ‘to know’. — *missadede*: gen.pl. to **missadeþs* (*-d-*) f. *i*-st. ‘misdeed’ (only nom.sg. with analogical *-d-* *missadeds* [RömA 11:12]); OHG *missitāt*, OS *missdād*, ODu. *misdāt*, OE *misdād*, OFris. *misdēde*; compound with Goth. *missa-*, belonging to the root in Goth. *misso* adv. ‘each other’ and Goth. *-deþs* (see *waidedja*).

3 *raidida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *raidjan** w. v. 1 ‘to decree, to prescribe’; MHG *reiten* ‘to make, to prepare’, MLG *rēden*, Early MDu. *-reiden* (in *bereiden* ‘to make, to prepare’), OE *rēdan* ‘to prepare’, OFris. *rēda* ‘to prepare, to procure’, OIcl. *-reiða* (in *greiða* ‘to arrange, to prepare, to make, to help’); derivation from the root in Goth. *garaiþs** (*-d-*) adj. *a*-st. ‘arranged’; OHG *gireiti*, MLG *gerēt*, *gerede*, Early MDu. *ghereet*, OE *gerāde*, *gerād*, OFris. *rēde*, OIcl. *greiðr* ‘ready’. — *azgon*: acc.sg. to *azgo** f. ‘ash’; next to OHG *aska*, MLG *asche*, ODu. *aska*, OE *æsce*, *asce*, *æxe*, NWestFris. *jiske*, OIcl. *aska*. — *kalbons*: gen.sg. to *kalbo** f. *n*-st. ‘heifer’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *kalba*; motion feminine to the root in OHG *kalb*, OS (acc.pl.) *kaluiro*, ODu. *calf*, OE *cealf*, OFris. *kalf*, *kāl* ‘calf’. — *gabranidaizos*: gen.sg.f. pret.part. to *gabranjan** w. v. 1 ‘to burn’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *brennen*, OS *brennian*, Early MDu. *bernen*, OE *baernan*, OFris. *berna*, *barna*, OIcl. *brenna*; derivation from the root in Goth. *brinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to burn’. — *bibaurgeinais*: gen.sg. to *bibaurgeins** f. *i*-st. ‘camp’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from an unattested verb Goth. **bibaurgian* w. v. 1 ‘to protect’; derivation from the root in Goth. *baurgs* f. cons.st. ‘tower, castle, city’. — *hwssopon*: dat.sg. to *hwssopo** f. *n*-st. ‘Hyssop’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (< Gr. *hýssōpos*). — *wullai*: dat.sg. to *wulla** f. *ō*-st. ‘wool’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *wolla*, MLG *wulle*, frühmdl. *wolle*, OE *wull*, OFris. (*w*)ulle, *ul*, OIcl. *ull*. — *raudai*: dat.sg.f. to *raups** (*-d-*) adj. *a*-st. ‘read’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *rōt*, OS *rōd*, ODu. *rōt*, OE *rēad*, OFris. *rād*, OIcl. *rauðr*. — *ufartrusnjandans*: nom.pl.m. pres.part. to *ufartrusnjan** w. v. 1 ‘to sprinkle’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); further etymology uncertain. — *gadob*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gadaban* st. v. 6 ‘to occur; to fit’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); cf. OE *gedafen* ‘suitable, fitting’. — *aflet*: acc.sg. to *aflet** n. *a*-st. ‘remission, forgiveness’; derivation from Goth. *afletan* st. v. 7 ‘to dismiss, to send away; to forsake, to leave behind’. — *ainfalþaba*: adv. ‘simple’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation with the adverb forming suffix Goth. *-ba* from Goth. *ainfalþs** adj. *a*-st. ‘simple’ (only nom.sg.n. *ainfalþ* [Mt 6:22]); (with grammatical change) OHG *einfalt*, OS *ēnfald*, MDu. *eenvout*, OE *ānfeald*, OFris. *ēnfald*, OIcl. *einfaldr*; compound with Goth. *ains* adj. *a*-st./num. ‘one’ and Goth. *-falþs*, derivation from the root in Goth. *falþan** st. v. 7 ‘to fold, to roll up’ (only 3rdsg.pret. *faifalþ* [Lk 4:20]); OHG *faldan*, MLG *völden*, *valden*, Early MDu. *vouden*, *valden*, OE *f(e)aldan*, NWestFris. *fâldzje*, OIcl. *falda*.

4 *midumai*: dat.sg. to *miduma** f. *ō*-st. ‘center’; OIcl. *mjoðm* ‘hip, midsection of the body’; nominalization of the adjective present in OHG *metamo* ‘middle’, OE *medume*, *medeme*, *meodume* ‘mediocre, ordinary, small, sufficient, considerable, peculiar, suitable, complete’, OFris. (superl.) *medemesta* ‘middle’; derivation from the root in Goth. *midjis** adj. *ja*-st. ‘middle’. — *ufarþeihandei*: nom.sg.f. pres.part. to *ufarþeihan** st. v. 1 ‘to exceed’; compound with Goth. *þeihan* st. v. 1 ‘to thrive, to make progress’; OHG *dīhan*, OS *thīhan*, *thian*, MDu. *diēn*, *dijen*, *dihen*, OE *þēon*, *þion*, OFris. *thīgia*. — *filaus*: adv. ‘by much, much’; actually gen.sg.n. to the root in Goth. *filu* adv. ‘a lot of, much; very’.

1 „so nu faheps meina usfullnoda: jains skal wahsjan ip ik minznan.“ eipan nu siponjam seinaim þaim bi swiknein du Judaium sokjandam jah qipandam sis: „rabbei saei was miþ þus hindar Jaurdanau, þammei þu weitwodides. sai sa daupeiþ jah allai gaggand du imma.“ nauh unkunnandans þo bi nasjand, in-uh þis laiseiþ ins qipands: „jains skal wahsjan ip ik minznan.“ aþþan so bi ina garehsns du leitolamma 2 mela raihtis bruks was jah fauramanwjandei saiwalos þize daupidane; fralailot aiwaggeljons mereinai. ip frauþins laiseins anastodjandei af iudaia jah und allana midjungard gapaih and hvarjano þeihandei und hita nu jah aukandei all manne du gudis kunþja tiuhandei. in-uh þis jah skeirs wisandei mikildups. jai frauþins wulþaus kannida qipands: „sa iupaþro qimands ufaro allaim ist.“ ni þatei ufaro wisandan sware kannidedi, ak jah swalauða is mikildupais 3 maht insok jah himinakundana. jah iupaþro qumanana qipands, ip sik airþakundana jah us airþai rodjandan, in þize wistai manna was, jabþe weihs jabþe prauftetus wisands jag garaihtein weitwodjands. akei us airþai was jah us waurdahai wistai rodjands. ip sa us himina qumana, jabai in leika wisan þuhta, akei „ufaro allaim ist. jah þatei gasah jag gahausida þata weitwodeiþ jah þo weitwodida is ni ainshun nimip.“ jah þauhjabai us 4 himina ana airþai in manne garehsnais qam, akei ni þe haldis airþeins was nih us airþai rodjands, ak himinakunda anafilhands fulhsnja þoei gasah jag gahausida at attin. þo nu insakana wesun fram iohanne ni in þis þatainei ei frauþins mikilein gakannidedi, ak du gatarhjan jah gasakan þo afgudon haifst Sabailiaus jah Markailiaus þaiei ainana ananapidedun qipan attan jah sunu. ip anþar weiha ...

1 *wahsjan*: inf. st. v. 6 ‘to (let) grow, to multiply’; perhaps with direct correspondence in OIcl. *vexa* w. v., OSwed. *væxa* w. v. next to (with reformation to a thematic verb without -j-) OHG, OS *wahsan*, ODu. *wassan*, OE *weaxan*, OFris. *waxa*, OIcl. *vaxa*. — *minznan*: inf. w. v. 4 ‘to decrease’; derivation from Goth. *mins* adv. ‘less’. — *Jaurdanau*: dat. to *Iaurdanus** m. u-st. river name ‘Jordan’ (with *J-*, next to *I-* in the transmission; see *Iaurdanau* [Mk 10:1]). — *nauh*: adv. ‘still’; OHG, OS *noh*, Early MDu. *noch*, OFris. *noch*, *nach*; compound with a preform of Goth. *nu* 1. adv. ‘well, now’, 2. conj. ‘well, therefore, consequently’ and Goth. -(u)h enclit. particle ‘and’. — *unkunnandans*: nom.pl.m. to *unkunnands* pres.part. ‘not knowing, ignorant’; compound with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and the present participle of Goth. *kunnan* pret.pres. ‘to know’.

2 *bruks*: nom.sg.f. adj. i-st. ‘useful’; OHG *brūchi*, OE *brȳce*; derivation from the root in Goth. *brukjan* anom. V. ‘to use’. — *fauramanwjandei*: nom.sg.f. pres.part. to *fauramanwjān** w. v. 1 ‘to prepare’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *manwjān* w. v. 1 ‘to prepare, to get ready’. — *gapaih*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *gapeihan** st. v. 1 ‘to get ahead’; compound with Goth. *þeihān* st. v. 1 ‘to thrive, to make progress’. — *hvarjano*: acc.sg.m. to *hvarjizuh* pron. ‘everyone’ (the final -h is not written because of its weak pronunciation in [Late] Goth.). — *aukandei*: nom.sg.f. pres.part. to *aukan** st. v. 7 ‘to increase’; OHG -ouchan (in *zuouchan* ‘to add’), OS *ōkan* ‘to impregnate’, Early MDu. *oken* ‘to increase’, OFris. *āka* ‘to increase (an amount)’, OIcl. *auka* ‘to increase, to strengthen, to aggravate, to surpass’. — *kunþja*: dat.sg. to *kunþi* n. ja-st. ‘tidings, knowledge’; OIcl. *kynni* ‘mark, generation’; derivation from the root in Goth. *kunþs* (-þ-) adj. a-st. ‘known’; OHG *kund*, OS *kūth*, ODu. *kunt*, OE *cūþ*, OFris. *kūth*, *kūd*, OIcl. *kunnr*. — *skeirs*: nom.sg.f. to *skeirs** i-st. ‘clear, distinct’; ? OHG *skīr(i)*, MHG *schīr*, OS *skīr(i)*, ODu. *skieri*, OE *scīr*, OFris. *skire*, OIcl. *skírr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *skeinān* st. v. 1 ‘to shine, to glow’. — *mikildups*: nom.sg. (-þ-) f. i-st. ‘size’; derivation from Goth. *mikils* adj. a-st. ‘big’. — *kannida*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *kannjan* w. v. 1 ‘to make known’; OHG -kennen, OS -kennian, ODu. *kennen*, OE *cennan*, OFris. *kenna*, *kanna*, OIcl. *kenna*; derivation from the root in Goth. *kunnan* pret.pres. ‘to know’. — *sware*: adv. ‘without reason, in vain’ (once the word is also found as *swarei* [2.KorB 6:1]); further etymology uncertain. — *swalauða*: nom.sg.f. to *swalauþs* (-d-) adj. a-st.

‘so big’; compound with Goth. *swa* adv. ‘so’ and Goth. *-laups* (see *juggalaups*; cf. also Goth. *helaups** [-d-] adj. *a*-st. ‘how big’).

3 *insok*: 3.sg.pret.ind. to *insakan** st. v. 6 ‘to introduce, to advise, to advocate, to designate’; compound with Goth. *sakan* st. v. 6 ‘to quarrel; to blame, to scold’. — *airpakundana*: acc.sg.m. to *airpakunds** adj. *a*-st. ‘of earthly descent’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *airpa* f. *ō*-st. ‘earth, land’ and Goth. **kunds* adj. *a*-st. ‘descended’ (see *himinakunds*). — *wistai*: dat.sg. to *wists** f. *i*-st. ‘essence, nature’; OHG, OS, OE *wist*, OIcl. *vist*. — *japþe*: conj. ‘and if’ (*japþe* ... *japþe* ‘be it that ... or that, whether ... or whether, either ... or’); assimilated from **jahþe*, consisting of Goth. *jah* copula ‘and’ and Goth. *þe* instr.sg.n. to *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’. — *jag*: copula ‘and’; with assimilation of *-h* – *g*– to *-g – g*–. — *garaihtein*: acc.sg. to *garaihte* f. *n*-st. ‘justice, commandment’; derivation from Goth. *garaihts* adj. *a*-st. ‘just’. — *waurdahai*: dat.sg.f. to *waurdahs** adj. *a*-st. ‘reasonable’ (this is the only attestation of the word); cf. OS *-wurdig* (in *ēnwurdig*, *samwurdig* ‘unanimously’), OE *wordig*, OIcl. *orðigr*, *orðugr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *waurd* n. *a*-st. ‘word’. — *weitwodida*: acc.sg. to *weitwodipa* f. *ō*-st. ‘(giving) testimony’ (here once with incorrect *-d-* instead of *-þ-*) — *pauhjabai*: conj. ‘even if’; compound with Goth. *pauh* 1. conj. ‘as, or’, 2. adv. ‘yes, well, about’ and Goth. *jabai* conj. ‘if’.

4 *þe*: adv. ‘all the’; originally instr.sg.n. to Goth. *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’. — *haldis*: adv. ‘more’ (only in the sequence *ni þe haldis* ‘not so much more, by no means’); OHG *halt*, OS *hald* (only in *than hald ni* ‘just as little’), OIcl. *heldr*. — *airþeins*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘earthly, earthen’; OHG *erdin*; derivation from the root in Goth. *airpa* f. *ō*-st. ‘earth, land’. — *fulhsnja*: acc.pl. to *fulhsni** n. *ja*-st. ‘concealment’; OIcl. *fylgsni*; derivation from the root in Goth. *filhan* st. v. 4 ‘to bury, to hide’. — *þatainei*: adv. ‘only’ (*ni þatainei* ... *ak* ‘not only ... but’); compound with Goth. *þatain*, itself containing the elements Goth. *þata* acc.sg.n. to *sa* dem.pron. ‘this, the’, Goth. *ain* acc.sg.n. to *ains* adj. *a*-st./num. ‘one’, and Goth. *ei* conj. ‘(so) that’. — *mikilein*: acc.sg. to *mikilei** f. *n*-st. ‘size’; OHG *michilī*, OS, ODu. *mikili*, OE *micelu*; derivation from the root in Goth. *mikils* adj. *a*-st. ‘big’. — *afgudon*: acc.sg.f. w. to *afgups** (-d-) adj. *a*-st. ‘godless’; cf. (probably borrowed from Gothic) OHG *abgot*, OS *afgod*, ODu. *afgot*, OFris. *afgod* ‘idol’; compound with the prefix Goth. *af-* ‘off, away’ and Goth. *gub* n. *a*-st. ‘god’. — *haifst*: acc.sg. to *haifsts** f. *i*-st. ‘quarrel’; OE *hæst* ‘violence’, OFris. *hāst* ‘haste, anger; hurry’, OIcl. *heifst* ‘hate, dispute’ next to (different formation) OIcl. *heift*, *heipt* ‘hate, dispute’. — *Sabailliaus*: gen. to *Sabaillius** m. *u*-st. personal name ‘Sabellius’ (the head of the Roman Monarchians; < Lat. *Sabellius*). — *Markailliaus*: gen. to *Markaillius** m. *u*-st. personal name ‘Marcellus’ (Marcellus of Ankyra; < Lat. *Marcellus*) (this is the only attestation of the name). — *weiha*: nom.sg. m. *n*-st. ‘priest’; either derivation from unattested Goth. **weih* n. *a*-st. ‘temple’ (OHG, OS, OE *wīh*, OIcl. *vé*; derivation from the root in Goth. *weihs* adj. *a*-st. ‘holy’) or derivation immediately from Goth. *weihs* adj. *a*-st. ‘holy’.

5. Codex Bononiensis

5.1. Page 1

1 *nasei unsis frauja gub unsar [jah galis unsis u]s þiudom, in þamei nu bauam ... [bisun]jane unsis, iþ ussindo unsib[jaim jah frawau]rhtaim wisandam. bisunjane uns[ibj]a[i gag]gand, akei þu frauja bairgais unsis jah gawitais unsis faura kunja þamm[a] du aiwa; in-uh þis jah sa audaga praufetus Daweid armaleiko bikunþjands kuni manne nu ubilaize frauþin jah skapa [h]ropeib qipanda: „nasei mik frauja unte fairl[ag] weihs aipþau airkns.“ nasei mik frauja unte [ni]st saei nasjai ufar þuk frauja, nih airus nih agg[i]lus nih andbahts nih ahma, ak silba*

*frauja qam du nasjan unsis. swa auk jah Pawlus qipib: „wainahs ik manna has mik lauseib us þamma leika d[a]uþaus þis?“ nih witob nih praufeteis nih stauos nih þiudanos nih reiks. in his? in þizei witob trudan warþ, stauam fra[t]rudan warþ, praufetum usquman warþ, weihaim gamaurþib warþ. [i]n[r]iurida aipþau frawardida ... einana ... n[is]t, saei waurkjai þiup, nist un[d] ainana. allai ushniwun sama[na unb]r[ukj]ai wau[r]þun. in-uh þis ik, þa(n) qab, in allaim wailadede is awiliudo guda meinamma þair<h> Iesu Xristu, saei ist [n]asjands allaiz[e] manne, þishun þize ga[l]aubjandane. sa a[u]k, þan qab, ganasjib managein 2 seinu af frawaurhtim ize. a... in tojam apaustaule sama [Lukas insok] qipanda: nist auk, þan qab, [namo anþar uf] himina atgiban mannam, in [þammei skulum] ganisan weis, alja in namin [þein]a[mma]. þeinaizos [þ]an naseinai nist marka nih mitads. þeinaizos naseinai nist wokrs nih fairlet. nasei mik frauja, þuei Nauel us swaleikamma midjasweipainai watin g[a]nasides, þuei Lod us Saudaumos gawargeinai g[an]asides, þuei Israel us Faraoni jah wairam se[*in*]aim ganasides, þuei jainans þrins magu[n]s Ananeian, Azareian, Mesael us þiudana ganut<an>ans jah us agisleikamma auhna funins brinnandin ganasides, þuei Daniel us b[a]ljondane laiwane munþam manwjane du fraslindan ganasides. þu nu, þan qab, frauja jah mik nasei ei hopau qipanda: „in guda [n]aseins meina jah wulþus [m]eins jah frauþins is[t] naseins jah ana managein þeinai [þi]uþeins þeina.“ n[a]sei nu mela fraistubnjós al[l]ans þans wenjandans du þus, þuei ja[h P]aitr[u] sugqanana standandan in marein ganasides. at Paitrau qipandin: „nasei unsis“, þan qa<þ>, „frauþ[a] fraqistnam.“ bi þanei jah Lukas insok qipa[n]da in tojam: „insandei d[u] lauppein jah athait Seimona saei ananamn[ja]da Paitrus.“*

1 *bauam*: 1stpl.pres.ind. to *bauan* irreg. w. v. 3 ‘to dwell, to inhabit’; OHG *bū(w)an*, *bū(w)en*, OS *būan*, ODu. *būwon*, OE *bū(i)an*, *būwan*, OFris. *būwa*, *bōwa*, OIcl. *búa*. — *ussindo*: adv. ‘most, especially’; derivation from unattested Goth. **ussinþs* adj. *a*-st. ‘being outside of the road; derivational compound with the prefix Goth. *us-* ‘from’ and Goth. *sinþs** / *sinþ** (*-þ*) m. / n. *a*-st. ‘times’. — *frawaurhtaim*: dat.sg.m. to *frawaurhts* adj. *a*-st. ‘sinful’; derivation from the verb in Goth. *frawaurkjan** w. v. 1 ‘to commit a sin; (+ *sis*) to sin’ (cf. Goth. *-waurhts** ‘made, wrought’ in *handuwaurhts** adj. *a*-st. ‘made by hand’). — *bairgais*: 2ndsg.pres.opt. to *bairgan** st. v. 3 ‘to hide’; OHG *bergen*, OS *-bergen* (in *gibergan* ‘to preserve’), ODu. *bergen*, OE *beorgan*, OFris. *bergia*, OIcl. *bjarga*. — *gawitais*: 2ndsg.pres.opt. to *gawitan** w. v. 3 ‘to guard’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *witan* w. v. 3 ‘to watch out, to guard, to herd, to keep’. — *kunja*: dat.sg. to *kuni* n. *ja*-st. ‘generation, tribe’; Lat.-Germ. (in personal names) *Cuni-*, Run. *kuni-* (personal name [dat.sg.] *kunimudiu* [bracteate 1 from Tjurkö, 440–560]), OHG *kunni*, Lgb. (in personal names) *Cuni-*, OS *kunni*, ODu. *cunni*, OE *cynn*, OIcl. *kyn*. — *audaga*: nom.sg.m. sw. to *audags* adj. *a*-st. ‘blessed’; OHG *ōtag*, OS *ōdag*, OE *ēadig*, OIcl. *auðigr*, *auðigr* ‘rich’; derivation from the root in Goth. *audahafts** adj. *a*-st. ‘happy’. — *Daweid*: nom. m. personal name ‘David’ (< Gr. *Daueíd*). — *armaleiko*: adv. ‘contrite, pitiful’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *armalīcho*, MLG *armlike*, Early MDu. *armelike*, OE *earmlīce*, OIcl. *armliga*; derivation from unattested Goth. **armaleiks* adj. *a*-st. ‘poor, miserable’; OHG *armalīh*, OS *armlik*, MDu. *armelijc*, OE *earmlīc*, OIcl. *armliǵr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *leik* n. *a*-st. ‘body, womb; corpse; flesh’ to Goth. *arms** adj. *a*-st. ‘deplorable, poor’; OHG, OS, ODu. *arm*, OE *earm*, OFris. *erm*, *arm*, OIcl. *armr*. — *bikunþjands*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *bikunþjan** w. v. 1 ‘to announce, to show’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *kunden*, OS *kūthian*, ODu. *kunden*, OE *cýþan*, OFris. *kētha*, *kēda*, OIcl. *kynna*; derivation from the root in Goth. *kunþs* (*-þ*) adj. *a*-st. ‘known’. — *skapa*: dat.sg. to *skap** m. *a*-st. ‘creator’; derivation from the root in Goth. *gaskapjan** st. v. 6 ‘to create’; next to OHG *skaf*, OS *skap*, OE *-sceap*, OIcl. *skap* ‘creation’. — *qipanda*: nom.sg.m. w. to *qipān* st. v. 5 ‘to say; to mean, to designate’ (syntactically *qipands* is to be expected).

— *fairlag*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *fairligan** st. v. 5 ‘to forsake, to lie far away’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *ligan** st. v. 5 ‘to lie’. — *airkns*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘holy’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *erkan* ‘outstanding, venerable, solid, determined, really’, OS (in personal names) *Ercan*-, OE (in personal names) *E(o)rcon*-. — *airus*: nom.sg. m. *u*-st. m. ‘messenger, legation’; OS *ēr*, OE *ār*, OIcl. *árr*. — *wainahs*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘miserable’; OHG *wēnag*, MLG *wēnich*, *weinich*, ODu. *wēnig*; derivation from Goth. *wai* interj. ‘woe!’. — *stauos*: nom.pl. to *staua* f. *ō*-st. ‘court, verdict, dispute’ (since a word meaning ‘judge’ is to be expected here, it can perhaps be assumed that here actually *stauans* [form not yet documented], nom.pl. to Goth. *staua* m. *n*-st. ‘judge’ is meant; cf. Ver 19:30 acc.pl. *horos* and *motarjos*, which stand for *horans* [form otherwise not attested], acc.pl. to *hors* m.a st. ‘fornicators, adulterer’ and *motarjans* [form otherwise not documented], acc.pl. to *motareis* m. *ja*-st. ‘customs officer’; but these instances are only case mistakes, not gender mistakes; perhaps there is a *stauos* as a nom.pl. for an unattested word Goth. **staus* m. *a*-st. ‘judge’ standing next to *staua* m. *n*-st. ‘judge’). — *reiks*: nom.pl. to *reiks* m. cons.st. ‘ruler’ (loanword from Celtic; cf. Gaul. in personal names -*rīx*, OIr. *rí* ‘king’). — *trudan*: nom.sg.n. pret.part. to *trudan* st. v. 4 ‘to kick’; OIcl. *troða* next to (different formation) OHG *tretan*, MLG *trēden*, ODu., OE *tredan*, OFris. *treda*. — *stauam*: dat.pl. to *staua* m. *n*-st. ‘judge’ (or to **staus* m. *a*-st. ‘judge’ [see above]?); derivation from the same root as in Goth. *staua* f. *ō*-st. ‘court, verdict, dispute’. — *fratrudan*: nom.sg.n. pret.part. to *fratrudan** st. v. 4 ‘to tread, to replace’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *trudan* st. v. 4 ‘to kick’. — *gamaurþip*: nom.sg.n. pret.part. to *gamaurþjan** w. v. 1 ‘to kill’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *murden*, *morden*, MLG *mörden*, Early MDu. *morden*, OIcl. *myrða*; derivation from the root in Goth. *maurþr** n. *a*-st. ‘murder’. — *inriurida*: either 3rdsg.pret.ind. or nom.sg.m. w. pret.part. or nom./acc.pl.n. pret.part. to *inriurjan** w. v. 1 ‘to spoil’ (the exact interpretation remains unclear due to the text gap) (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *riurjan** w. v. 1 ‘to perish’ (only 3rdpl.pres.ind. *riurjand* [1.KorA 15:33]); OIcl. *ryra* ‘do decrease’; derivation from the root in Goth. *riurs** adj. *i*-st. ‘perishable, mortal’; OFris. *rī*, OIcl. *ryrr* ‘minor, insignificant’. — *frawardida*: either 3rdsg.pret.ind. or nom.sg.m. w. pret.part. or nom./acc.pl.n. pret.part. to *frawardjan** w. v. 1 ‘to spoil’ (the exact interpretation remains unclear due to the text gap) (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *werten*, OS *-werdian* (in *āwerdian* ‘to spoil’), OE *wyrdan*; derivation from the root in Goth. *wairþan* st. v. 3 ‘to become’. — ...*einana*: not interpretable (the exact interpretation of the complete passage remains unclear due to the text gap). — *þiup*: acc.sg. to *þiup* (-þ-) n. *a*-st. ‘the good (thing)’; nominalization of an unattested adjective Goth. **þiup* *a*-st. ‘good’; cf. OIcl. *þýðr* ‘friendly, mild, kind’. — *ushniwun*: 3rdpl.pret.ind. to *ushneiwan** st. v. 1 ‘to incline’; compound with Goth. *hneiwan* st. v. 1 ‘to incline’. — *samana*: adv. ‘together, at the same time’; OHG, OS *saman*, OFris. *samane*, OIcl. *saman* next to OHG *samin*, OE *samen*, OFris. *samin*, *semin*; derivation from the root in Goth. *sama* pron. ‘the same’. — *unbrukjai*: nom.pl.m. to *unbruks** adj. *ilja*-st. ‘unusable’; compound with the negation Goth. *un*- ‘un-, not’ and Goth. *bruks* adj. *ilja*-st. ‘usable’. — *wailadede*: gen.pl. to *wailadeþs** (-d-) f. *i*-st. ‘benevolence’; formation with Goth. *waila* adv. ‘well, good’ and Goth. *-deþs* f. *i*-st. ‘deed’ (see *waidedja*). — *þair<h>*: prep. + acc. ‘through’ (<h> instead of the expected -hh- has its origin in the weak pronunciation of *h* in [Late] Goth.).

2 *a...*: not interpretable. — *Lukas*: nom. m. personal name ‘Luke’ (< Gr. *Loukās*). — *qibanda*: syntactically *qibands* is expected (see above). — *uf*: prep. + dat./acc. ‘under’; OHG *oba* ‘above’, OE intensive prefix *of-* (in *ofhyngrod* ‘very hungry’) next to *ufe-* (in *ufeweard* ‘upper’), OIcl. *of* ‘on, over’. — *naseinais*: gen.sg. to *naseins* f. *i*-st. ‘salvation’; derivation from Goth. *nasjan* w. v. 1 ‘to save’. — *mitads*: nom.sg. (für ⁺*mitaþs*) f. cons.st. ‘measure’ (with analogical -d- instead of -þ-); derivation from the root in Goth. *mitan** st. v. 5 ‘to measure’. — *wokrs*: nom.sg. m. *a*-st. ‘interest’; OHG *wuochar*, MLG *wōker*, *wūker*, ODu. *wuoker*, OE *wōcor*, OFris. *wōker*, OIcl. *ókr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *wahsjan* st. v. 6 ‘to (let) grow, to multiply’. — *fairlet*: nom.sg. n. *a*-st. ‘leave’; derivation from an unattested verb Goth. **fairleten* st. v. 7 ‘to leave (behind)’; compound with Goth. *letan** st. v. 7 ‘to let, to permit, to allow, to leave (behind)’. — *þuei*: nom.sg. rel.pron. ‘who you’; compound with Goth. *þu*

pers.pron. ‘you’ and Goth. *ei* conj. ‘(so) that’. — *Nauel*: acc. v. *Nauel* m. *a*-st. personal name ‘Noah’ (reformed < Gr. *Nōē*). — *midjasweipainais*: gen.sg. to *midjaweipains* f. *i*-st. ‘deluge, the Flood’; compound with Goth. *midja*-, derivation from the root in Goth. *midjis** adj. *ja*-st. ‘middle’ and as simplex unattested Goth. *-sweipains* f. *i*-st. ‘sweeping, rinsing’; cf. OE *swēpen*, OFris. *swēpene* ‘sweeping’; derivation from an unattested verb Goth. **sweipan* w. v. 3 ‘to sweep, to rinse’; cf. (different formation) OHG *sweifan* ‘to fight’, OS *-swēpan* (in *farswēpan* ‘to expel’), OE *swāpan* ‘to sweep, to move swinging’, OIcl. *sveipa* ‘to throw, to envelop’. — *Lod*: acc. to *Lop** m. personal name ‘Lot’ (with analogical *-d* instead of **-þ*) (< Lat. *Loth*). — *Saudaumos*: gen. to *Saudauma*^(*) f. *ō*-st. place name ‘Sodom’ (the classification of nom. *Saudauma* [RömA 9:29] remains open; next to it there is a genitive plural *Saudaumje* [Mt 11:24] to a nominative plural *Saudaumeis**) (< Gr. *Sódoma*). — *gawargeinai*: dat.sg. to *gawargeins** f. *i*-st. ‘condemnation’; derivation from Goth. *gawargjan** w. v. 1 ‘to condemn to’. — *Faraoni*: dat.sg. to *Farao* m. ‘Pharao’ (< Gr. *Pharaō*). — *maguns*: acc.pl. to *magus* m. *u*-st. ‘boy’; OHG *maga*-, OS *magu*, ODu. *maga*-, OE *mago*, OFris. *mage*, OIcl. *mogr*. — *Ananeian*: acc. v. *Ananias** m. personal name ‘Hananiah’ (< Gr. *Ananías*). — *Azareian*: acc. v. *Azarias** m. personal name ‘Azariah’ (this is the only attestation of the name) (< Gr. *Azariás*). — *Mesael*: acc. v. *Mesael** m. personal name ‘Mishael’ (this is the only attestation of the name) (< Gr. *Misaél*). — *ganut<an>ans*: acc.pl.m. pret.part. to *ganiutan** st. v. 2 ‘to seize, to catch’ (transmitted *ganutans* [nom.sg.m. pret.part.] probably cannot be connected syntactically); compound with Goth. *niutan** st. v. 2 ‘to reach, to be glad’. — *agisleikamma*: dat.sg.m. to *agisleiks** adj. *a*-st. ‘terrible, awful, terrifying’; OHG *egislīh*, OS *egislīh*, ODu. *egislīk*, OE *egeslīc*; compound with Goth. *agis* n. *a*-st. ‘fear’ and Goth. *-leiks* (see *leik*). — *auhna*: dat.sg. to *auhns** m. *a*-st. ‘oven’; (?) NIcl. *ónn* m. next to OHG *ofan*, OS *ovan*, Early MDu. (as a name) *oven*, OE *of(e)n*, OFris. *owen*, *oun*, OIcl. *ofn*, *omn* next to OIcl. *ogn*. — *brinnandin*: dat.sg.m. pres.part. v. *brinnan** st. v. 3 ‘to burn’; OHG, OS, ODu. *brinnan*, OE *beornan*, *birnan*, OFris. *burna*, OIcl. *brinna*, *brenne*. — *Daniel*: acc. v. *Daniel** personal name m. ‘Daniel’ (< Gr. *Daniél*). — *baljondane*: gen.pl.m./n. pres.part. to *baljon** w. v. 2 ‘to roar, to scream’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *bellōn*; derivation from the root in OHG *bellan*, MLG, MDu. *bellen*, OE *bellan* next to (different formation) OIcl. *belja* ‘to roar, to scream’. — *laiwane*: gen.pl. to *laiwa** / *laiwo** m. / n. *n*-st. ‘lion’ (because of the borrowing OCS *lvnъ* there must also have been a form Goth. **liwa*) (< Lat. *leō*; OHG *le(w)o*, MLG *lōuwe*, *lowe*, *lou*, *lewe*, *lauwe*, ODu. *lewo*, OE *lēo*, OFris. *lawa*, OIcl. *leó*, *león*, *ljón*). — *munþam*: dat.pl. to *munþs* (-þ-) m. *a*-st. ‘mouth’; OHG *mund*, OS *mūth*, ODu. *munt*, OE *mūþ*, OFris. *mūth*, OIcl. *munnr*, *muðr*. — *manwjane*: gen.pl.m./n. w. v. *manwus* adj. *u*-st. ‘ready’; in the end derivation from the root in Goth. *munan** pret.pres. ‘to mean, to believe’ (semantic development of the adjective via ‘having in mind’, ‘willing’). — *fraslindan*: inf. st. v. 3 ‘to devour, to swallow’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *slintan*, OS *-slindan* (in *farslindan* ‘to devour’), Early MDu. *slinden*. — *qīpanda*: syntactically *qīpands* is to be expected (see above). — *wenjandans*: nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *wenjan** w. v. 1 ‘to wait, to hope for’; OHG *wānen*, OS *wānian*, ODu. *wānen*, OE *wēnan*, OFris. *wēna*, OIcl. *væna* ‘to mean, to think’; derivation from the root in Goth. *wens* f. *i*-st. ‘hope’. — *sugqanana*: acc.sg.m. pret.part. to *sigqan** st. v. 3 ‘to sink, to perish’; OHG, OS *sinkan*, Early MDu. *sinken*, OE *sincan*, OFris. *-sinka* (in *bisinka* ‘to sink down’), OIcl. *sökkva*, *søkkva*. — *qīpanda*: syntactically *qīpands* is to be expected (see above). — *Iauppein*: dat. v. *Iauppei** place name ‘Joppa’ (this is the only attestation of the name) (< Gr. *Ióppē*). — *ananamnjada*: 3.sg.ind.pass.pres. to *ananamnjan** w. v. 1 ‘to name (oneself)’; compound with Goth. *namnjan** w. v. 1 ‘to name’.

5.2. Page 2

1 [hi]minis jah wairþa galeiks þamma hauhistin. akei jainþro dalap atdraga þuk, þan qap, imma frauja allwaldands. unte guþ hauhairtaim andstandiþ, iþ haunidaim gib iþ anst. bi þanei

gameliþ ist, haiwa usdraus us himina auzandil<s>, sa in maurgin urrinnanda, bi þanei frauja qap: „gasahw Satanan swe lauhmunja dri[u]sandan us himina.“ in his? in hauh<h>airteins sein[a]izos. in-uh þis qipþ praufetus bi ina: „ni gabauþ in midjamma garda meinamma taujands hauh<h>airtein“; þannu in þamma faurasuggwanin liuþa. þan qap þatei ni sijai guþ swe allai hausideduþ praufetu insakan jah qipan: qap unfroþs in hairtin seinamma: nist guþ. sa sama ist jah unsibjis bi þamma qipanin. qap unsibjis ei frawaur<k>jai in sis silbin. sa sama ist jah fijands bi þamma gamelidin. fijands manna þata gatawida þin[s]jan du diabaulu. jabai nist guþ, has gataih þus þata namo, has gakannida þus? akei in þammei afaikiþ in þamma sik afdomeiþ jah gawargeiþ. jabai nist guþ, bi hana [q]ap airus: „jah gatawida guþ þana mannan ...“ 2 ... da anþar du imma: jabai nist guþ bi hana qap Esaeias: „sai magapþs in kilþein ganimiþ jah gabairiþ sunu jah haitan<d> namo is Inmanuel“, þatei ist gaskeiriþ miþ unsis guþ. jabai nist guþ bi hana qap praufetus: „guþ meins ni fairjais þuk af mis“ jah anþara managa; akei ni wilda galaubjan skap[a] jah dagand allaizo wiste, saei daig ainharj[a]mmeh hairtona ize, saei fraþjiþ in alla waurstwa ize. swa wesun sumai, þaiei habaidedun hiwi gagudeins, iþ maht izos inwidandans, þaiei iddjedun in wastjom lambe, iþ innapro þan s<i>nd wulfos wilwandans. swaleiks was sa unselja Kaein, saei usqam swesamma broþr. galeiks was diabulau sa afguda Farao, saei qap ni kann þana frauja jah Israel ni fraleta; in-uh þis jah in marein ufsaggids warþ. swaleiks was jah sa unselja Nabukaudaunausaur, saei qap du jainaim þrim magum: iþ has ist guþ, saei usþinsai izwis us handum meinaim? [i]nuh þis jah inmaidipþ warþ du jiuhta jah matida hawi swe [a]uhsa jah

1 *galeiks*: nom.sg.m. adj. *a*-st. ‘similar’; OHG *gilīh*, OS *gilīk*, ODu. *gelīk*, OE *gelīc*, NWestFris. *gelyk*, OIcl. *glikr*; compound with the prefix Goth. *ga-* ‘together, with’ and the in the Germanic languages not directly attested adjective, whose nominalization is attested in the word group of Goth. *leik* n. *a*-st. ‘body, womb; corpse, flesh’. — *atdraga*: 1stsg.pres.ind. to *atdragan** st. v. 6. ‘to carry’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *dragan** st. v. 6 ‘to carry, to load’ (only 3rdpl.pres.ind. *dragand* [2.TimB 4:3]); OHG *tragan*, OS, ODu., OE *dragan*, OFris. *drega*, *draga*, *dreiga*, OIcl. *draga*. — *allwaldands*: nom.sg. m. *nd*-st. ‘Almighty’; OHG *al(a)waltanti*, OS *alowaldand*, OE *eallwealdende*, OIcl. *allsvaldandi*; compound with Goth. *alls* adj. *a*-st. ‘all, everyone, whole’ and the not as a simplex attested word Goth. *-waldands* m. *nd*-st. ‘ruler’ (also in Goth. *gardawaldands* m. *nd*-st. ‘landlord’; cf. OHG personal name *Waltant*), a derivation from the root in Goth. *waldan* st. v. 7 ‘to rule’. — *hauhairtaim*: dat.pl.m. to *hauhhairts* adj. *a*-st. ‘haughty’ (<h> instead of the expected *-hh-* has its origin in the weak pronunciation of *h* in [Late] Goth.). — *haunidaim*: dat.pl.m. pret.part. to *haunjan* w. v. 1 ‘to make low’; OHG *honēn*, MLG *hōnen*, ODu. *hōnen*, OE *hȳnan*, *hēnan*, OFris. *hēna*; derivation from the root in Goth. *hauns* adj. *a*-st. ‘low, humble’; OE *hēan* next to (different formation) OHG *hōni* ‘disgraceful, despicable’. — *usdraus*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *usdriusan** st. v. 2 ‘to fall out’; compound with Goth. *driusan** st. v. 2 ‘to fall’. — *auzandil<s>*: nom.sg. m. *a*-st. ‘Lucifer’ (with *s* omitted because of the *s* in the following word *sa*); the usual, semantically convincing, immediate connection with OHG personal name *Aurendil*, *Örentil*, Lgb. personal name *Auriwandalo*, OE *ēarendel* ‘morning star’, OIcl. personal name *Aurvandill* remains difficult for phonetic reasons. — *hauhairteins*: gen.sg. to *hauhhairtei* f. ‘haughtiness’ (<h> instead of the expected *-hh-* has its origin in the weak pronunciation of *h* in [Late] Goth.); derivation from Goth. *hauhhairts* adj. *a*-st. ‘haughty’. — *gabauþ*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *gabauan* irreg. w. v. 3 ‘to set up a dwelling’; compound with Goth. *bauan* irreg. w. v. 3 ‘to dwell, to inhabit’. — *hauhairtein*: acc.sg. to *hauhhairtei* f. ‘haughtiness’ (<h> instead of the expected *-hh-* has its origin in the weak pronunciation of *h* in [Late] Goth.). — *þannu*: adv. ‘yes, well, that’s why’; compound with Goth. *þan* 1. adv. ‘then’, 2. adversative conj. ‘but’, 3. conj. ‘when, as long as; as’ and Goth. *nu* 1. adv.

‘well, now’, 2. conj. ‘well, accordingly, consequently, thus’. — *faurasuggwanin*: dat.sg.n. pret.part. to *faurasigggwan** st. v. 3 ‘to sing’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *siggwan* st. v. 3 ‘to sing, to read, to recite’ (Crimean Goth. *singhen*); OHG, OS, ODu., OE *singan*, OFris. *siunga*, *sionga*, OIcl. *syngja*, *syngva*. — *liuþa*: dat.sg. to *liuþ** (-þ-) n. *a*-st. ‘song’ (this is the only attestation of the word); OHG *liod*, OS *-lioth* (in *winilioth* ‘folk song, worldly song’), Early MDu. *liet*, NWestFris. *liet*, OE *lēoþ*, OIcl. *ljóð*. — *unfroþs*: nom.sg.m. (-d-) adj. *a*-st. ‘ignorant’; compound with negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and Goth. *froþs* (-d-) adj. *a*-st. ‘wise, clever’; OHG *fruot*, OS *frōd*, Early MDu. *vroet*, OE, OFris. *frōd*, OIcl. *fróðr*; derivation from the root in Goth. *frapjan* st. v. 6 ‘to think, to recognize, to understand’. — *fijands*: **nom.sg.m. pres.part. to *fijan* w. v. 3 ‘to hate’ / nom.sg. m. *nd*-st. ‘enemy’**. — ***þinsan***: inf. st. v. 3 ‘to pull’; OHG *dinsan* ‘to drag, to pull’, OS *-thinsan* (in *farthinsan* ‘to withdraw’), ODu. *thinsan* ‘to drag, to pull’. — *diabaulu*: dat.sg. to *diabulus* m. *u*-st. ‘devil’ (the dative singular also occurs as *diabulau* and *diabaulau* vor; spelling error for *diabulau* [see below]?). — *gawargeiþ*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *gawargjan** w. v. 1 ‘to condemn’ (the simplex is not attested in Gothic); OHG *-wergen* (in *furwergen* ‘to curse’), OS *-wargian* (in *giwargian* ‘to torment’), OE *wiergan* ‘to curse’, OFris. *wergia* ‘to kill’; derivation from the root in Goth. *-wargs* (in *launawargs** adj. *a*-st. ‘ungrateful’); OHG, OS, ODu. *warg*, OE *wearg*, OIcl. *vargr* ‘wolf, outlaw’.

2 da: not interpretable. — *Esaeias*: nom. m. personal name ‘Isaiah’ (next to *Esaias*). — *Inmanuel*: acc. to *Inmanuel** m. personal name ‘Immanuel’ (this is the only attestation of the name) (< Gr. *Emmanouēl*); the Gothic transliteration is noticeable. — *fairjais*: 2ndsg.pres.opt. to *fairjan** w. v. 1 ‘to withdraw, to go away’; OHG *firren*, OS *firrian*, ODu. *firron*, OE *firran*, OIcl. *firra*; derivation from the root in Goth. *fairra* adv. ‘remote; far from, away from’. — *managa*: nom./acc.pl.n. to *manags** adj. *a*-st. ‘some, much’; the syntax here is uncertain; either *sind* ‘there are’ or *qap* ‘he spoke’ must be added. — *dagand*: dat.sg. to *dagands** m. *nd*-st. ‘light bringer’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from an unattested verb Goth. **dagan* w. v. 3 ‘to dawn, to become day/light’; OHG *tagēn*, MLG, MDu. *dagen*, OIcl. *daga* next to (different formation) OE *dagian*; derivation from the root in Goth. *dags* m. *a*-st. ‘day’ (perhaps the Gothic word is a loan translation of Lat. *illuminator* ‘illuminator’). — *daig*: 3rdsg.pret.ind. to *digan** (or *deigan** with <i> for <ei>?) st. v. 1 ‘knead, form from clay’; cf. OI (konjunk.) *pári* ... *déhat* ‘will put on’, Arm. *dizanem* ‘pile up’, Lat. *fingere* ‘to form, to shape’, Lith. *žĩėsti* ‘to form (from clay)’, OCS *zъdati* ‘to build, to create’, toch. B (verbal adj.) *tsikale* ‘shaping’. — *frapjip*: 3rdsg.pres.ind. to *frapjan* st. v. 6 ‘to think, to recognize, to understand’; cf. Lith. *pràsti* ‘to understand, to comprehend’. — *hiwi*: acc.sg. to *hiwi** n. *ja*-st. ‘shape, appearance’; OE *hīew*, *hī(o)w*, ? OIcl. *hý* ‘down, complexion’. — *innapro*: adv. ‘from within’; derivation with adverb forming suffix Goth. *-pro* from the root in Goth. *in* prep. + dat./acc. (to designate place/direction) ‘in, on, at, towards, during, after’, + gen. ‘because of, for the sake of, for, through’. — *wulfos*: nom.pl. to *wulfs* (-f-) m. *a*-st. ‘wolf’; OHG *wolf*, OS, ODu., OE *wulf*, OFris. *wolf*, OIcl. *ulfr*. — *unselja*: nom.sg.m. w. to *unsels** adj. *i*-st. ‘evil, bad’; *unsēle*; compound with the negation Goth. *un-* ‘un-, not’ and Goth. *sels** adj. *i*-st. ‘good, kind’; OIcl. *scēll*. — *Kaein*: nom. m. personal name ‘Cain’ (this is the only attestation of the name) (< Gr. *Káin*). — *diabulau*: dat.sg. to *diabulus* m. *u*-st. ‘devil’ (the dative singular is also attested as *diabaulu* [see above]). — *ufsagqids*: nom.sg.m. pret.part. to *ufsagqjan** w. v. 1 ‘to sink’ (with analogical *-d-* instead of *-þ-*); compound with Goth. *sagqjan** w. v. 1 ‘to lower’; OHG *senken*, OS *senkian*, MDu. *senken*, OE *sencan*, OFris. *senza*, *santza*, OIcl. *sökkva*, *sökkja*; derivation from the root in Goth. *sigqan** st. v. 3 ‘to sink, to perish’. — *Nabukaudaunausaur*: nom. m. personal name ‘Nabucodonosor’ (this is the only attestation of the name) (< Gr. *Nabouchodonósor*). — *uspinsai*: 3rdsg.pres.opt. to *uspinsan** st. v. 3 ‘to pull away, to pull out’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with Goth. *þinsan* st. v. 3 ‘to attract, to pull’. — *jiuhta*: dat.sg. to *jiuhts** m. *a*-st. ‘draf animal’ (this is the only attestation of the word); derivation from the root in Goth. *juk** n. *a*-st. ‘team’; OHG *joh*, OS, ODu. *juk*, OE *geoc*, *geoht*, *ioc*, NWestFris. *jok*, *jūk*, OIcl. *ok* ‘yoke, team’. — *auhsa*: nom.sg. m. *n*-st. ‘ox’; OHG *ohso*, OS *ohsin-* (in *ohsineri*, *ohsinhirdi* ‘oxheard’), ODu. *osso**, OE *oxa*, OFris. *oxa*, *ōxa*, OIcl. *oxi*, *uxi*.

6. From the Mangup Gothic Inscriptions

6.1. Fragment 1.1

*has gup mikils swe gup unsar? þu is gup waurkjands sildaleika ainn[s] usstop und aiwins us
daupaim jah in midj[ungard(a)] ...*

sildaleika: acc.pl.n. to *sildaleiks** adj. ‘amazing, wonderful’ (here probably nominalized adjective). — *ainn[s]*: nom.sg.m. (for *ains*) adj./num. ‘one’ (the word form is written with incorrect *-nn*; or does <nn> stand for ⁺ns?). — *daupaim*: dat.pl.m. to *daups* (-þ-) adj. *a*-st. ‘dead’ (here nominalized adjective).

6.2. Fragment 1.2

frauja hilf skal[ki]s þe[ini]s þis wi...

hilp: 2ndsg.pres.imp. to *hilpan* st. v. 3 ‘to help’; OHG *helfan*, OS, ODu., OE *helpan*, OFris. *helpa*, *hilpa*, *holpa*, OIcl. *hjalpa*. — *wi...*: unclear (several additions are conceivable).

6.3. Fragment 1.4

frauja hilf skalkis þei[nis] Damja[na]us us winag... jah frawaurtis

Damja[na]us: gen. to *Damjanus** m. *u*-st. personal name ‘Damian’ (this is the only attestation of the name) (< Gr. *Damianós*). — *winag...*: unclear; perhaps a place name. — *frawaurtis*: gen.sg.m. to *frawaurhts* adj. *a*-st. ‘sinfull’ (with loss of *h* because of ist weak articulation in [Late] Gothic) (perhaps nominalized adjective).

7. Deeds of Sale

7.1. Deed of Sale from Naples

1 *Ik Ufitahari, papa, ufmelida handau meinai, jah andnenum skilliggans .j., jah faurþis þairh
kawtsjon miþ diakuna alamoda unsaramma jah miþ gahlaibaim unsaraim andnenum
skilliggans .rk. wairþ þize saiwe.*

2 *Ik Sunjaifriþas, diakon, handau meinai ufmelida, jah andnenum skilliggans .j., jah faurþis
þairh kawtsjon miþ diakona alamoda unsaramma jah miþ gahlaibaim unsaraim andnenum
skilliggans .rk. wairþ þize saiwe.*

3 *Ik Merila, bokareis, handau meinai ufmelida, jah andnenum skilliggans .j., jah faurþis pairh kawtsjon miþ diakuna alamoda unsaramma jah miþ gahlaibim unsaraim andnenum skilliggans .r.k. wairþ þize saiwe.*

4 *Ik Wiljarip, bokareis, handau meinai ufmelida, jah andnenum skilliggans .j., jah faurþis pairh kawtsjon miþ diakuna alamoda unsaramma jah miþ gahlaibaim unsaraim andnenum skilliggans .r.k. wairþ þize saiwe.*

1 *Ufitahari*: nom. m. personal name ‘Ufitahari’ (this is the only attestation of the name). — *papa*: nom.sg. m. *n*-st. ‘Presbyter, clergyman’ (< Gr. *pápas*). — *ufmelida*: 1stsg.pret.ind. to *ufmeljan** w. v. 1 ‘to sign’; compound with Goth. *meljan* w. v. 1 ‘to write’. — *skilliggans*: acc.pl. to *skilliggs** m. *a*-st. ‘gold coin’; OHG, OS *skilling*, Early MDu. *schellinc*, OE *scilling*, OFris. *skilling*, OIcl. *skillingr*. — *.j.*: num. ‘sixty’. — *kawtsjon*: acc.sg. to *kawtsjo** f. *ō*-st. ‘guarantee’ (< Lat. *cautiō*). — *diakuna*: dat.sg. to *diakon* m. ‘deacon’ (the dative singular is also attested as *diakona*) (< Lat. *diaconus*). — *alamoda*: dat.sg. to *alamops** (-*d*-) m. *a*-st. ‘representative’ (the word is here most likely not a personal name and therefore not to be equated with *Alamoda* in the deed of sale from Arezzo [7.2.]); compound with Goth. *ala*-, the compositional form of Goth. *alls* adj. *a*-st. ‘all, everyone, whole’ and Goth. *mops** (-*d*-) m. *a*-st. ‘wrath’ (however, for the semantics of Goth. *alamops** the older meaning [for Goth.] ‘mind, soul’ lies at hand); Lat.-Germ. in personal names *Mod*-, *-mod*, OHG *muot*, OS *mōd*, ODu. *muot*, OE, OFris. *mōd*, OIcl. *móðr* ‘mind, soul, anger, wrath’. — *gahlaibaim*: dat.pl. to *gahlaiba** m. *n*-st. ‘comrade’ (with adjustment of the ending to the following word *unsaraim*?; next to dat.pl. *gahlaibam* [Joh 11:16] and *gahlaibim* [Urk 1:3]). — *.rk.*: num. ‘one hundred and twenty’. — *wairþ*: acc.sg. to *wairþ** n. *a*-st. ‘price’; OHG *werd*, OS *werth*, OE *weorþ*, OFris. *werth*, OIcl. *verð*; substantivation of Goth. *wairþs* (-*þ*-) adj. *a*-st. ‘worth, worthy, fit’. — *saiwe*: gen.pl. to *saiws** m. *i*-st. ‘sea, marshland’; OHG *sēo*, OS *sē(o)*, ODu. *sēo*, *sēu*, OE *sā*, OFris. *sē*, OIcl. *sær*, *sjór*, *sjár*.

2 *Sunjaifriþas*: nom. m. personal name ‘Sunjafrid’ (this is the only attestation of the name) (the compositional vowel <ai> instead of the expected *-a-* is striking; cf. on this *lausaiwaurdai* [TitA 1:10 next to *lausawaurdai* (TitB 1:10)], *seinaigairnai* [2 TimA 3:2]; possibly a later language form). — *diakona*: dat.sg. to *diakon* m. ‘deacon’ (also dative singular *diakuna* [Urk 1:1] occurs).

3 *Merila*: nom. m. *n*-st. personal name ‘Merila’ (this is the only attestation of the name). — *gahlaibim*: dat.pl. to *gahlaiba** m. *n*-st. ‘comrade’ (probably spelling mistake for *gahlaibaim* [Urk 1:1.2.4]; next to dat.pl. *gahlaibam*).

4 *Wiljarip*: nom. m. personal name ‘Wiljarip’ (this is the only attestation of the name).

7.2. Deed of Sale from Arezzo

1 *Ik Gudilub, diakon, þo frabauhtaboka fram mis gawaurhta þus diakon Alamoda fidwor unkjane husis Kaballarja ..., jah skilliggans .rlg. andnam, jah ufmelida.*

1 *Gudilub*: nom. m. personal name ‘Gudilub’ (this is the only attestation of the name). — *frabauhtaboka*: acc.sg. to *frabauhtaboka** f. *ō*-st. ‘Verkaufsurkunde’ (this is the only attestation of the word); compound with unattested Goth. **frabauhts* f. *i*-st. ‘sale’, derivation from Goth. *frabugjan* w. v. 1 ‘to sell’ (compound with Goth. *bugjan** w. v. 1 ‘to buy’) and Goth. *boka* f. *ō*-st. ‘letter of the alphabet; (pl.) writing, letter, book, document’. — *diakon*: nom. (probably in the sense of a vocative) instead of the expected dative form. — *Alamoda*: voc. to *Alamoda** m. *n*-st. personal name ‘Alamod’ (this is the only attestation of the name). — *unkjane*: gen.pl. to *unkja** m. *n*-st. ‘Ounze (land measure)’ (this is the only attestation of the word) (< MLat. *uncia*). — *husis*: gen.sg. to *hus** n. *a*-st. ‘house’ (this is the only

attestation of the word) (the transmitted form <hugsis> is not connectable to other word material) (Crimean Goth. *hus*); OHG, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *hūs*, OIcl. *hús*. — *Kaballarja*: nom. f. estate name ‘Caballaria’ (< Lat. *Caballaria*). — *.rlg.*: num. ‘one hundred and thirty-three’.

8. Translations of the texts not (directly) derived from the Bible

8.1. 4.1. Skeireins, page 3

1 “...many (waters) were there; there they came and were baptized. For John was not yet put in prison.” And saying the same thing, the evangelist showed that the destiny concerning him was near the end by the snaring of Herod. But before that, when both baptized and each commended his baptism, some quarreled with one another, not knowing which of the two should (be) greater. “And therefore, there was a dispute 2 between John’s disciples and the Jews concerning the cleansing”, because the custom of cleansing the body had already been changed and cleanliness was commanded before God. No further did they zealously use the Jewish sprinklings and daily ablutions, but listening to John, the forerunner of the gospel. And the Lord was there also, recommending spiritual baptism; hence the controversy about the cleansing was justly aroused. For the law concerning one of the misdeeds of the unpredictable 3 decreed: Taking the ashes of a calf burned outside the camp, and after that throwing them into clean water and strewn with hyssop and red wool, as suited those who had wished above the thought [= as it suited those who wanted to forget?]. But John made known the baptism of repentance, and he promised remission of iniquities to the simple-minded, but also the bestowal of the Holy Spirit for the remission of sins (on the part) of the Lord; and forgiving them to become sons of the kingdom. 4 So the baptism of John would be intermediate between the two, surpassing the purity of the true law, but much less than the baptism of the gospel. And that’s why he teaches us openly, saying, “But I baptize you in water. But the one who goes after me is stronger than I, which I am not worthy to bend over and untie the strap of his shoe. He is the one who baptizes you in the Holy Spirit.” Now, about the plan...

8.2. 4.2. Skeireins, page 4

1 “This joy of mine has now been fulfilled: that one shall increase, but I shall decrease.” Therefore, then his disciples, the one disputing with the Jews concerning purification, saying to him: “Rabbi, who was with you beyond the Jordan, for whom you witnessed. Behold, he is baptizing, and all are going to him.” Not yet knowing that concerning the Saviour, and therefore he teaches them, saying: “He shall increase, but I shall decrease.” But the plan concerning him was workable for a short 2 time namely and preparing the souls of the baptized; he dismissed (them) to preach the gospel. But the teaching of the Lord, beginning in Judea, was also progressing around the whole world, progressing over everyone hitherto and multiplying, drawing all of men to the knowledge of God. And therefore, the size also being clear. Surely, he made known the glory of the Lord, saying: “He who is coming from above is above all.” Not

that he made known (him) without cause (as) being above, but also the great power of his greatness ³ he signified and (him) of heavenly descent. And saying (him) came from above, but speaking of earthly birth and from the earth, because in essence he was a man, whether holy or prophetic, and bearing witness to righteousness. But he was of the earth and speaking from (his) rational nature. But this one (is) come from heaven, although he was supposed to be (also) in the flesh; but “he is above all. And what he saw and heard he testified to, and no one accepts this testimony from him.” And although he came to earth from ⁴ heaven because of the plan for the people, he was not all that earthly nor of the speaking from earth, but handing over hidden things from heavenly descent, which he saw and heard from the father. Now these were signified by John, not only to proclaim the greatness of the Lord, but to signify and refute the ungodly strife of Sabellius and Marcellus, who dared to call one the Father and the Son. But the other priest ...

8.3. 5.1. Codex Bononiensis, page 1

1 Save us, Lord our God, and gather us from the nations where we now dwell ... around us, but especially from those who are ungodly and sinful. The ungodly go round about, but thou, O Lord, save us and guard us from this generation unto eternity; and therefore, also the blessed prophet David, contritely showing the generation of the now wicked men, calls the Lord and Creator, saying: “Save me Lord, for far away lay the holy or sanctified one.” Save me Lord, for there is not (one) who may save (me) over you, Lord, neither a messenger, nor an angel, nor a servant, nor the spirit, but the Lord himself came to save us. For Paul also says: “I wretched man, who will save me from this body of this death?” Neither the law, nor the prophets, nor the judgments/judges, nor the kings, nor the rulers. Why? Because the law was trampled on, the judges were opposed, the prophets were put to death, the saints were attacked [= the saints were killed]. He/it spoiled / spoiled or he / it rotted / rotted ... not is (one) who wants to do the good, is not up to one. All titled, at the same time they became unusable. And that’s why, **he then said**, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for all his blessings, who is the Saviour of all people, mostly of those who believe. Because this one, **he then said**, saves his crowd ² from the sins of these. ... in the works of the apostles the same Luke indicated, saying: For there is not, **he then said**, given any other name under heaven given among men, by which we shall be saved, except in thy name. Then there is no limit and no measure to your salvation. There is no interest nor abandonment of your salvation. Save me Lord, you saved Noah from such waters of the Deluge, you saved Loth from the condemnation of Sodom, you saved Israel from the Pharaoh and his men, you saved those three boys, Hananiah, Azariah, Misael, taken from among the people, also from the terrible burning furnace of fire, you rescued Daniel from the mouths of the roaring lions ready to devour. You now, **he then said**, Lord, save me too, that I may cry out, saying: “In God (is) my salvation and my glory and the Lord’s is salvation and on your multitude (is) your blessing.” Save now in the time of temptation all those who hoped in you, who also rescued Peter who was drowned and standing in the sea. When Peter said, “Save us,” **he then said**, “Lord, we perish.” About whom Luke also referred, saying in the works, “Send to Joppa, and call Simon, who is named Peter” ...

8.4. 5.2. Codex Bononiensis, page 2

1 ... of heaven and I become like the Highest. But from there I will carry you downwards, said to him the Lord Almighty. For God opposes the proud but gives grace to the humble. About whom is written how Lucifer, rising in the morning, fell out of heaven, about whom the Lord said, "I saw Satan falling from heaven like lightning." Why? Because of his pride. That is why the Prophet said concerning him: "He who is proud in my middle house does not make a dwelling place"; so therefore, then he said in that sung first hymn that there was no God, as you all heard the prophet refer to and say: "The foolish one said in his heart, there is no God." This same one is also ungodly as to what he said. The ungodly said that he would commit a sin in himself. This same is also an enemy as to this writing. A hating person caused this to go to hell. If there is no God, who declared this name to you, who declared (it) to you? **But because he denies (him), he curses and condemns himself.** If there is no God, as to whom the messenger said: "And God made this man ...". 2 ... another to him: If there is no God as concerning whom Isaiah said: "Behold, the virgin conceives in the womb and gives birth to a son, and they call his name Emmanuel", which is explained 'with us God'. If there is no God, concerning whom the Prophet said: "My God, you may not depart from me" and many other things; but he did not **want** to believe in the creator and enlightener of all beings, who kneaded the hearts of each one, who understands in all their works [= understands all their works]. So were some who had the appearance of piety, but denying the power of it, who walked in the clothing of sheep, but from within they are then ravenous wolves. Such was that wicked Cain, who gave death to his own brother. Like the devil was that ungodly Pharaoh, who said, I do not know this Lord, and I will not release Israel; and that is why he was sunk in the sea. Such was the wicked Nabukodonsor, who said to those three boys: But who is God who can pull you out of my hands? That is why he was turned into a draft animal and ate hay like an ox and ...

8.5. 6.1. Crimean Biblical Gothic Inscriptions, fragment 1.1

Which god (is) great as our God? You are the God, working miracles. One rose unto eternity from the dead and into the world ...

8.6. 6.2. Crimean Biblical Gothic Inscriptions, fragment 1.2

Lord, help your servant of the ...

8.7. 6.3. Crimean Biblical Gothic Inscriptions, fragment 1.4

Lord, help your servant Damian from ... and sinful/sinner.

8.8. 7.1. Deed of Sale from Naples

1 I Ufitahari, presbyter, signed with my hand, and we received sixty shillings, and previously by the guarantee with the deacon our agent, and with our comrades we received one hundred and twenty shillings, the price of these marshlands.

2 I Sunjafrid, deacon, signed with my hand, and we received sixty shillings, and previously by the guarantee with the deacon, our representative, and with our comrades, we received one hundred and twenty shillings, the price of these marshlands.

3 I Merila, scribe, signed with my hand, and we received sixty shillings, and previously by the guarantee with the deacon, our representative, and with our comrades, we received one hundred and twenty shillings, the price of these marshlands.

4 I Wiljarip, scribe, signed with my hand, and we received sixty shillings, and previously by the guarantee with the deacon, our representative, and with our comrades, we received one hundred and twenty shillings, the price of these marshlands.

8.9. 7.2. Deed of Sale from Arezzo

1 I Gudilub, deacon, prepared the deed of sale from myself to you, deacon Alamod, for four ounces of the house of Kaballaria ... and I received one hundred and thirty-three shillings, and signed.

III. PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF GOTHIC

1. Gothic as a member of the Indo-European and Germanic language family

As a Germanic language, Gothic is genetically related to most languages spoken in Europe in the past and today and to several languages outside of Europe. In this case, genetically related means that these languages, which are related to one another, continue while changing many individual elements a prehistoric language, which is not documented in textual evidence but can only be regained through reconstruction. This language is called the Indo-European parent language (IE), better Proto-Indo-European (or PIE); in Germany (and German speaking areas) mostly the term Indogermanisch (Urindogermanisch [(ur)idg.]) is used. Their reconstruction is the result of comparing the corresponding elements of the individual languages with each other. Since individual language elements are constantly changing over time, the oldest phases of the individual languages are fundamentally more important for the reconstruction of PIE than the later ones.

The individual PIE languages can partly be combined into groups. If a language belongs to a group is historically determined (e.g., through migration and thus language community) and for no sufficiently attested language doubtful. The language family consists of the following groups and individual languages (= branches):

1. Anatolian (= Anat.): The Anatolian language group supplies the oldest documents of the PIE languages, probably already from the 19th century BC. The entire Anatolian language branch is extinct. It includes the languages Hittite (= Hitt.), Luwian (= Luw.), Palaian (= Pal.), Lycian (= Lyc.), Lydian (= Lyd.), Carian (= Car.), Pisidic (= Pis[id].) and Sidetic (= Sid[et].).
2. Greek (= Gr.): The Greek language branch is attested in documents from the 16th century BC, with the stages Mycenaean (= Myc.), Ancient Greek (= Gr.) with Homeric (= Hom.), Middle Greek (= MGr.) and New Greek (= NGr.).
3. Indo-Iranian (= IIr.) or Aryan (= Ar.): The Indo-Iranian language branch is documented since the 15th century BC and includes:
 - Indian (= Indo-Aryan) with the stages Old Indic (= OInd.) with its oldest language phase Vedic (= Ved.), Middle Indic (= MInd.), Classical Sanskrit (= Skt.) and New Indic (= Nind.);
 - Iranian with Avestan (= Av.), with the stages/dialects Old Avestan (= OAv.) and Young Avestan (= YAv.), Old Persian (= OPers.), Middle Persian (= MPers.), New Persian (NPers.) and others Iranian languages (such as Kurdish [= Kurd.], Sogdian [= Sogd.]).
4. Italic (= Ital.): The Italic language branch, which is attested since the 6th century BC, consists of two large subgroups:

- Latino-Faliscan with Latin (= Lat.), which includes the stages Old Latin (= OLat.), Classical Latin (= Class. Lat.) and Vulgar Latin (= Vulg. Lat.), from which the Romance languages (Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Provençal, French, Italian, Raetoromanic, Rumanian) emerged, and Faliscan (= Fal[isc].);
 - Sabellian (= Sabell.) with Oscan (= Osc.), Umbrian (= Umbr.), and Southern Picenian (= SPic.).
5. Germanic (= Germ.): (see below).
 6. Celtic (= Celt.): The Celtic language branch that is attested since the 3rd century BC consists of two large groups:
 - Mainland Celtic with Gaulish (= Gaul.), Celtiberian (= Celtib[er].) and Lepontic (= Lepont.);
 - Insular Celtic with the subgroups Pictish (= Pict.) (if actually a PIE language), Goidelic (= Goid[el].), including Irish (= Ir.) with the phases Ogam Irish (= OgIr.), Old Irish, (= OIr.), Middle Irish (= MIr.) and New Irish (= NIr.), and Britannic (= Brit[an].), including Cymric (= Cymr.) with the phases Old Cymric (= OCymr.), Middle Cymric (= MCymr.) and New Cymric (= NCymr.), Cornish (= Corn.) with the phases Old Cornish (= OCorn.), Middle Cornish (= MCor.) and New Cornish (= NCor.) and Breton (= Bret.) with the phases Old Breton (= OBret.), Middle Breton (= MBret.) and New Breton (= NBret.).
 7. Armenian (= Arm.): The attestation of Armenian begins in the 5th century AD; Armenian includes the stages Old Armenian (= OArm.), Middle Armenian (= MArm.) and New Armenian (= NArm.).
 8. Tocharian (= Toch.): Documented between the 6th and 8th century AD in the dialects Tocharian A (= Toch. A) and Tocharian B (= Toch. B).
 9. Slavonic (= Slav.): The Slavonic language branch, which is documented since the 9th century AD, has the following subgroups:
 - South Slavonic with Old Church Slavonic (= OCS) or Old Bulgarian (= OBulg.) with the continuants Middle Bulgarian (= MBulg.) and New Bulgarian (= NBulg.), Serbian (= Serb.) and Croatian (= Croat.), because of the close relationship often summarized as a single language group Serbo-Croatian (= Serb.-Croat.), Slovene (= Slov[en].) and Macedonian (= Mac.);
 - East Slavonic with Russian (= Russ.), divided into the stages Old Russian (= ORuss.) and New Russian (= NRuss.), Belarusian (= BRuss.) and Ukrainian (= Ukr.);
 - West Slavonic with Polish (= Pol.), Sorbian (= Sorb.) with the dialects Upper Sorbian (= Upper Sorb.) and Lower Sorbian (= Lower Sorb.), Czech (= Cz.) and Slovak (= Slov), the latter two due to the close relationship often grouped together as a language group Czech-Slovak (= Cz.-Slov.), as well as some smaller languages such as Polabian (= Pol[ab].), Pomoranian (= Pom[or].), Slowinski (= Slowin.) and Kashubian (= Kasch[ub].).
 10. Baltic (= Balt.): The Baltic language branch has been transmitted since the 14th century AD. It consists of the languages Old Prussian (= OPruss.), Lithuanian (= Lith.) with the stages Old Lithuanian (= OLith.) and New Lithuanian (= NLith.) with the dialects High Lithuanian or Aukštaitic and Low Lithuanian or Žemaitic and of Latvian (= Latv.) with the stages Old Latvian (= OLatv.) and New Latvian (= NLatv.).

11. Albanian (= Alb.): Albanian, which has been handed down since the 15th century AD, is made up of the dialects Tosk and Gheg.
12. Remnant/debris languages: This group includes those languages that are only incompletely attested, such as: Illyrian (= Illyr.), Thracian (= Thrac.), Venetic (= Venet.), Phrygian (= Phryg.), Lusitan (= Lus[it].) and Messapic (= Mess[ap.]).

Even at the beginning of the written tradition, Germanic itself was no longer a uniform language, but appeared in different, already differentiated dialects. Gothic belongs to East Germanic and is the only one of the East Germanic languages handed down through literary monuments; the others are only known from the transmission in names. Next to East Germanic stand West Germanic and North Germanic.

The entire Germanic language branch, which has been attested since the 1st century, consists of the following subgroups:

- East Germanic (= East Germ.): In addition to Gothic (= Goth.), above all Vandalic (= Vandal.) and probably also the Burgundian (= Burg[und].);
- West Germanic (= West Germ.), which includes five languages: 1. High German (= HG), with the phases Old High German (= OHG), which probably also includes Longobardic (= Lgb.), Middle High German (= MHG) and New High German (= NHG); 2. Low German (= LG) with the phases Old Saxon (= OS) or Old Low German (= OLG), Middle Low German (= MLG) and New Low German (= NLG), 3. Dutch (= Du.) with the phases Old Low Franconian (= OLFranc.) or Old Dutch (= ODu.), Middle Dutch (= MDu.) and New Dutch (= NDu.), 4. English (= E) with the phases Old English (= OE), Middle English (= ME) and New English (= NE) and 5. Frisian (= Fris.) with the phases Old Frisian (= OFris.), Middle Frisian (= MFris.) and New Frisian (= NFrisk.), comprising West Frisian (= West Fris.), East Frisian (= East Fris.), and North Frisian (= North Fris.);
- North Germanic (= North Germ.) with the two language groups West Norse, including Icelandic (= Icl.) with the phases Old Icelandic (= OIcl.) and New Icelandic (= NIcl.), Faroese (= Far.) and Norwegian (= Norw.) with the phases Old Norwegian (= ONorw.) and New Norwegian (= NNorw.), as well as East Norse, including Swedish (= Swed.) with the phases Old Swedish (= OSwed.), Middle Swedish (= MSwed.) and New Swedish (= NSwed.), Gutnian (= Gut.) and Danish (= Dan.) with the phases Old Danish (= ODan.), Middle Danish (= MDan.) and New Danish (= NDan.); the exact position of Elfdalian (= Elfdal.) is disputed.

2. Phonology

2.1. The phoneme system of Proto-Indo-European

2.1.1. For the most recent phase of PIE the following phonemes (including the conditioned variants) must be assumed:

Vowels:	short:	<i>*i</i>	<i>*e</i>	<i>*a</i>	<i>*o</i>	<i>*u</i>
	long:	<i>*ī</i>	<i>*ē</i>	<i>*ā</i>	<i>*ō</i>	<i>*ū</i>

Semivowels:	unsyllabic:	<i>*ɨ</i>	<i>*ɥ</i>
	syllabic:	<i>*i̥</i>	<i>*u̥</i>

[Diphthongs:	with <i>*i̥</i> :	<i>*ei̥</i>	<i>*ai̥</i>	<i>*oi̥</i>
	with <i>*u̥</i> :	<i>*eu̥</i>	<i>*au̥</i>	<i>*ou̥</i>]

Resonants:

Liquids	unsyllabic:	<i>*r</i>	<i>*l</i>
	syllabic:	<i>*ɾ</i>	<i>*ɭ</i>
Nasals:	unsyllabic:	<i>*m</i>	<i>*n</i>
	syllabic:	<i>*m̥</i>	<i>*n̥</i>

Plosives/Occlusives	voiceless	voiced	voiced aspirated
Labials:	<i>*p</i>	<i>*b</i>	<i>*bʰ</i>
Dentals:	<i>*t</i>	<i>*d</i>	<i>*dʰ</i>
Palatals:	<i>*k̑</i>	<i>*ġ</i>	<i>*ġʰ</i>
Velars:	<i>*k</i>	<i>*g</i>	<i>*gʰ</i>
Labiovelare:	<i>*kʷ</i>	<i>*gʷ</i>	<i>*gʷʰ</i>

Fricatives:

Sibilants:	voiceless:	<i>*s</i>		
	voiced:	<i>*z</i>		
Laryngeals:		<i>*h₁</i>	<i>*h₂</i>	<i>*h₃</i>

Notes on the individual phonemes:

1. Many or most of the PIE **a* and **o* came into being later in the basic language through the recoloring of **e* by a laryngeal, other **o* already earlier through the effect of the qualitative ablaut (see 2.1.2.). In addition, however, an independent occurrence of **a*, **o* in isolated words (e.g., onomatopoeics, slur and loan words) is to be expected.
2. The vowels **i* and **u* are next to a vowel (i.e. in the non-syllable peak) realized as consonantal **i̥*, **u̥* (cf. PIE **pedios* = Gr *pezós*, OInd. *pádyas*).
3. The vowels **i* and **u* produce in combination with **a*, **e*, **o* the *i*-diphthongs and the *u*-diphthongs; one could also describe the combination of **a*, **e*, **o* with **r*, **l*, **m* and **n* as diphthongs.
4. Many **ē*, **ō* and most **ā*, **ī*, **ū* have arisen from the sequence of short vowel and tautosyllabic laryngeal, perhaps only post-PIE. Some other **ā*, **ē*, **ō* are the contraction products of two short vowels that were the result of morphological innovations (e.g., **ē*, **ō* < **ee*, **oo* in the conjunction of thematic verbal stems); some **ē*, **ō* are the result of stretching (see 2.1.2.). In addition, independent long vowel phonemes in isolated words are to be expected.

5. The liquids and nasals **r*, **l*, **m*, **n* are syllabic (sonantic) between non-vowels (i.e. in the syllable peak) **r̥*, **l̥*, **m̥*, **n̥* (liquida or nasalis sonans).
6. The sibilant **s* is usually an unvoiced *s* but has a voiced allophone *z* before voiced occlusives (PIE **ni-zd-os/m* ‘nest’ = Lat. *nīdus*, OHG *nest*; **-zd-* belongs to the verbal root PIE **sed-* ‘to sit’).
7. The occlusives (plosives, mutae) can be divided into labials, dentals, palatals, velars, and labiovelars according to their place of articulation and into tenses **p*, **t*, **k̑*, **k*, **kʷ*, mediae **b*, **d*, **g̑*, **g*, **gʷ* and mediae aspiratae **bʰ*, **dʰ*, **g̑ʰ*, **gʰ*, **gʷʰ*.
8. The labiovelars **kʷ*, **gʷ*, **gʷʰ* are unitary phonemes; when they are spoken, the closure formed by the back of the tongue (*dorsum*) and soft palate (*velum*) is broken, with the lip (*labia*) being rounded.
9. The laryngeals, the phonetic nature of which is not certain, are three non-vocalic phonemes that have disappeared almost without exception in the individual languages; therefore, they are denoted by the symbols **h₁*, **h₂* and **h₃*. If it is not clear which laryngeal is present, the cover symbol *H* is used.
10. Still in PIE **e* was colored to **a* by adjacent **h₂*, to **o* by adjacent **h₃*, while remaining next to **h₁*. This new **a* coincided phonetically with the rare sound **a*, which only occurs in a few elementary words and later in loanwords. Whether **o* was phonetically identical to the ablaut-*o* (see 2.1.2.) is questionable.

2.1.2. In the syllables of a PIE word there is a (regulated) alternation of certain vowel values (zero included), which is called *ablaut*. A syllable can appear in several variants that differ in the value of the vowel. This vowel change can take place in certain ablaut values. The basic scheme of the PIE ablaut is:

	<i>e</i> -grade	<i>o</i> -grade
full grade	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
lengthened grade	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>
zero-grade	<i>∅</i>	

cf. Gr. full grade: (acc.sg.) *pa-tér-a* ‘the father’ : (acc.sg.) *eupá-tor-a* ‘the good father’
lengthened grade: (nom.sg.) *pa-téȓ* ‘father’ : (nom.sg.) *eupá-tōȓ* ‘good father’
zero-grade: (gen.sg.) *pa-tr-ós* ‘of the father’

The relationship between full grade, lengthened grade and zero-grade is called quantitative ablaut, the relationship between *e*-grade and *o*-grade as qualitative ablaut. The occurrence of the different ablaut grades within a word, and thus the value of the ablaut vowel, is governed partly by word stress and partly by morphological categories.

2.1.3. Part of the phoneme system in PIE is also an accent opposition between accented and unaccented word syllable. The accent was probably in late PIE melodic (emphasizing syllables by changing their pitch level). Differently than in Germ. the accent in PIE could be basically fall on every syllable of a word (free/mobile accent) and differentiate the meaning of the word,

cf. PIE **b^hóros* ‘the offering’ > Gr. *phóros* : PIE **b^horós* ‘carrying’ > Gr. *phorós*; PIE **d^hróg^hos* ‘run(track)’ > Gr. *tróchos* : PIE **d^hrog^hós* ‘runner, wheel’ > Gr. *trochós*.

2.2. From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic

2.2.1. Vocalism

The PIE vocalism is initially preserved unchanged in PGmc. During PGmc. the following developments take place:

1. Collapse of PIE **a* and **o* in (late) PGmc. **a*:

- PIE. **ad* ‘to, at, on’ (> Lat. *ad*[-], Osc., South Pic. **ad**-, Umbr. **ař**-, OIr. *ad*-) > (late) PGmc. **at* > Goth. *at*, OHG *az*, OS, ODu. *at*, OE *æt*, OFris., OIcl. *at*
- PIE **h₂eǵro-* ‘field, plain’ (> OInd. *ajras*, Gr. *agrós*, Lat. *ager*, Umbr. *ager*) > (late) PGmc. **akra-* > Goth. *akrs*, OHG *ackar*, OS, ODu. *akkar*, OE *æcer*, OFris. *ekker*, OIcl. *akr*
- PIE **g^hosti-* ‘stranger’ (> Lat. *hostis*, [if not a loanword from Germ.] OCS *gostь*) > (late) PGmc. **gasti-* > Lat.-Germ. (in personal names) *Gasti-*, Run. (in personal names) **-gastiz**, OHG *gast*, Lat.-Lgb. (in personal names) *-gast(i)us*, OS, Early MDu. *gast*, OE *gæst*, *g(i)est*, OFris. *jest*, *gast*, OIcl. *gestr*
- PIE **h₂osdo-* ‘branch’ (> Gr. *ózos*, Arm. *ost*) > (late) PGmc. **asta-* > Goth. *asts*, OHG, OS, MDu. *ast*

2. Collapse of PIE **ā* and **ō* in (late) PGmc. **ō*:

- PIE **b^hreh₂ter-* ‘brother’ (> OInd. *bhrātár-*, Av. *brātár-*, Gr. *phrátēr*, Arm. *elbayr*, Lat. *frāter*, OIr. *bráth[a]ir*, OPruss. *brāti*, OCS *brat[r]ь*, Toch. A *pracar*, B *procer*) > (late) PGmc. **brōþar-* > Goth. *broþar*, Crimean Goth. *bruder*, OHG *bruoder*, OS *brōthar*, ODu. *bruother*, OE *brōðor*, OFris. *brōther*, OIcl. *bróðir*
- PIE **seh₂gie/o-* ‘to seek’ (> Hitt. *sākiya-*, Lat. *sāgīre*) > (spät)PGmc. **sōkīe/a-* > Goth. *sokjan*, OHG *suohhen*, OS *sōkian*, ODu. *suoken*, OE *sēcan*, OFris. *sēka*, *sēza*, OIcl. *sækja*
- PIE **b^hloh₁to-* ‘that which gushes’ (> Mlr. *bláth*, Cymr. *blawd* ‘blossom’) > (late) PGmc. **blōþ/ða-* > Goth. *bloþ*, OHG *bluot*, OS *blōd*, ODu. *bluot*, OE, OFris. *blōd*, OIcl. *blóð*
- PIE **g^hōd^ho-* ‘fitting’ (> Lith. *guōdas* ‘honour, veneration, hospitality’, Latv. *gūods* ‘honour, fame’) > (late) PGmc. **gōða-* > Goth. *gops*, OHG *guot*, Lgb. (in personal names) *God(e)-*, OS *gōd*, ODu. *guot*, OE, OFris. *gōd*, OIcl. *góðr*

3. PIE **e* in two cases becomes late PGmc. **i*: a. Before a combination of *n* + consonant; b. Before an **i* in the following syllable (*i*-mutation):

- PIE **b^hend^he/o-* ‘to bind’ (cf. OInd. *badhnāti* [< **b^hnd^h-n-*]; YAv. *bandaiieiti* [< **b^hond^h-eje/o-*]) > PGmc. **bende/a-* > late PGmc. **binde/a-* > Goth. *bindan**, OHG *bintan*, OS *bindan*, Early MDu. *binden*, OE *bindan*, OFris., OIcl. *binda*
- PIE **uend^he/o-* ‘to twist, to twine, to turn, to braid’ (> Umbr. *-uendu* ‘must turn’; cf. OCS *-vęsti* ‘bind’ [< PIE **uend^hie/o-*]; Toch. AB [3.sg.med.] *wäntär* ‘wrap’ [< PIE **uend^he-/tro-*]) > PGmc. **uende/a-* > late PGmc. **uinde/a-* > Goth. *-windan*, OHG *wintan*, OS *windan*, Early MDu. *winden*, OE *windan*, OFris. *winda*, OIcl. *vinda*
- PIE **h₁esti* ‘(s)he is’ (> Hitt. *ēszi*, Lyc. *esi*, OInd. *ásti*, Av. *astī*, Gr. *estí*, Lat. *est*, OIr. *is*, OLith. *ęsti*, OPruss. *est*, OCS *jesti*) > PGmc. **esti* > late PGmc. **istⁱ* > Goth., OHG *ist*, OS, OE, OSwed. *is*
- PIE **med^hio-* ‘in the middle’ (> OInd. *mádhya-*, OAv. *maidīa-*, YAv. *maidīia-*, Gr. *mésos*, Arm. *mēj*, Lat. *medius*, OIr. *mide*) > PGmc. **medja-* > late PGmc. **midja-* > Goth. *midjis**, OHG *mitti*, OS, ODu. *middi*, OE *midd(e)*, OFris. *midde*, *medde*, OIcl. *miðr*

4. The same developments as with the individual sounds can also be found with the diphthongs.

PIE **aj* and **oj* fall therefore together in late PGmc. **aj* and PIE **au* and **ou* in late PGmc. **au*; likewise, PIE **ej* develops (via a kind of *i*-mutation result **ij*) to late PGmc. **ī*:

- PIE **(g^h)aid-* ‘goat, ram’ (> Lat. *haedus*, Sabin. *fēdus*) > (late) PGmc. **gait-* > Goth. *gaits*, OHG *geiz*, OS, ODu. *gēt*, OE *gāt*, OIcl. *geit*
- PIE **h₂eikti-* ‘property’ (> Av. *īšti-* ‘skill, ability’) > (late) PGmc. **aiχti-* > Goth. *aihts**, OHG *ēht*, OS *ēht*, OE *æht*, OIcl. *ætt*, *átt*
- PIE **h₁oihto-* ‘oath’ (> OIr. *óeth*) > (late) PGmc. *aiþa-* > Run. **aiþa-**, Goth. *aiþs**, OHG *eid*, Lgb. (pl.) *aidos*, OS *ēth*, Early MDu. *eet*, OE *āþ*, OFris. *ēth*, *ēd*, OIcl. *eiðr*
- PIE **stoiño-* ‘stone’ (cf. [if not a loanword from Germ.] OCS *stěna* ‘wall’ [< PIE **stoiñeh₂*]) > (late) PGmc. **staiña-* > Run. (acc.sg.) **staina**, Goth. *stains*, OHG *stein*, OS, ODu. *stēn*, OE *stān*, OFris. *stēn*, OIcl. *stein*
- PIE **h₂euge/o-* ‘to multiply, to grow’ (> Lith. *augti*, Arm. *ačem*) > (late) PGmc. **auke/a-* > Goth. *aukan**, OHG *-ouchan*, OS *ōkan*, Early MDu. *oken*, OFris. *āka*, OIcl. *auka*
- PIE **kauno-* ‘low, humble’ (> Gr. [Hesych] *kaunós* ‘bad’) > (late) PGmc. **χauna-* > Goth. *hauns*, OE *hēan*
- PIE **(h₁)roud^ho-* ‘red’ (> Lat. dial. *rūfus*, OIr. *riúad*, Lith. *raũdas*, NRuss. [outdated] *rúdyj*) > (late) PGmc. **rauða-* > Goth. *rauþs**, OHG *rōt*, OS *rōd*, ODu. *rōt*, OE *rēad*, OFris. *rād*, OIcl. *rauðr*
- PIE **h₂kousje/o-* ‘to listen’ (> Gr. *akouō*) > (late) PGmc. **χauzije/a-* > Goth. *hausjan*, OHG *hōren*, OS *hōrian*, ODu. *hören*, OE *hīeran*, OFris. *hēra*, *hera*, OIcl. *heyra*
- PIE **b^heid^he/o-* ‘to confide in, to trust’ (> Gr. *peithomai*, Lat. *fīdere*, OCS *běditi*) > (late) PGmc. **bīde/a-* > Goth. *beidan*, OHG *bītan*, OS, ODu., OE *bīdan*, OFris. *bīda*, OIcl. *bíða*
- PIE **steig^he/o-* ‘to climb, to step’ (> Gr. *steichō*, OIr. *tiagu*) > (late) PGmc. **stīge/a-* > Goth. *steigan**, OHG, OS, ODu., OE *stīgan*, OFris. *stīga*, OIcl. *stīga*

5. The PIE syllabic nasals and liquids **ŕ*, **l*, **ṛ* and **ṛ* have become **ur*, **ul*, **um* and **un* in PGmc.:

- PIE **uṛǵie/o-* ‘to perform, to do’ (> Av. [3.pl.] *vər̥zīnti*, myk. *wo-ze*) > PGmc. **uurrkīe/a-* > Goth. *waurkjan*, OHG *wurchen*, OE *wyrcan*, OIcl. *yrkja*
- PIE **p̥l̥h₁no-* ‘full’ (> OInd. *pūrṇá-*, Av. *pərəna-*, OIr. *lán*, Lith. *pilnas*, OCS *plъnъ*) > PGmc. **fulna-* > **fulla-* > Goth. *fulls*, OHG *fol*, Lgb. *ful-*, *-fol*, OS *full*, ODu. *fol*, OE *full*, OFris. *ful*, *fol*, OIcl. *fullr*
- PIE **gʷṛ̥nti-* ‘the going, coming’ (> OInd. *gáti-*, Gr. *básis*; cf. Lat. *in-ventiō* [with *m* > *n* before *t*]) > PGmc. **kʷumdi-* > Goth. *-qumps**, OHG *cumft*, MLG *-kumpst*, ODu. *kumst*, OIcl. *-kund*
- PIE **n̥-* negation particle ‘un-, not’ (> OInd. *a-*, Gr. *a-*, Lat., OIr. *in-*) > PGmc. **un-* > Goth., OHG, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *un-*, Run. **un-**

6. In late PGmc. the sequence PGmc. **anχ^(w)* became due to nasal atrophy and replacement stretching late PGmc. **aχ^(w)*, which is later denasalized; because of this a new phoneme **ā* comes up:

- PIE **konke/o-* ‘to hang’ (Hitt. *gānki*, OInd. *śāṅkate*) > PGmc. **χanχe/a-* > late PGmc. **χaxe/a-* > Goth. *hahan*, OHG, OS *hāhan*, ODu. *hān*, OE *hōn*, OFris. *huā*
- PIE **kank-* ‘branch, twig, stake’ (> OInd. *śaṅkú-*) > PGmc. **χanχ-* > late PGmc. **χax-* > Run.Norw. (acc.sg.) **haha**, OIcl. *hár* (however, cf. the loanword Finn. *kanki*)

7. Maybe still in late PGmc. a second long *e*-sound of mixed origin comes into existence, denoted $*\tilde{e}^2$ to distinguish it from the inherited $*\tilde{e}$. They develop in the single Germanic languages except for Gothic differently ($*\tilde{e}$ is therefore also sometimes named $*\tilde{e}^1$). That there is no difference between $*\tilde{e}^1$ and $*\tilde{e}^2$ in Gothic can indicate that either both sounds coincided, or the difference is covered by the spelling:

- late PGmc. * $\chi^{\bar{e}}r$ ‘here’ > Goth. *her*, OHG *hiar*, OS *hēr*, *hier*, *hūr*, ODu. *hier*- (in *hiera* ‘here’), OE *hēr*, OFris. *hūr*, OIcl. *hér*
- Vulg. Lat. *mēsa* ‘table’ (< Lat. *mensa*) > late PGmc. * $m\bar{e}^{\bar{s}}sa/\bar{o}$ - > Goth. *mes*, OHG *mias*, *meas*, OE *mēse*, *mȳse*

Therefore, in late PGmc. the vocalic system looks like this:

Vowels:	short:	<i>*a</i>	<i>*e</i>	<i>*i</i>	<i>*u</i>
	long:	<i>*q</i>	<i>*ē</i>	<i>*ē²</i>	<i>*ī</i> <i>*ō</i> <i>*ū</i>

Diphthongs: **ai* **au* **eu*

2.2.2. Consonantism

1. The PIE palatals coincided with the velars very early on. In the following they are therefore treated as a single group.
2. The characteristic feature that separates the Germanic languages from all other PIE languages is the Germanic (or: first) sound shift, also named Grimm's Law after Jacob Grimm, who was the first one to systematically formulate the sound shift. It comprises the systematic changes in the articulation type of the PIE occlusives. It consists of the following parts:

The mostly differing results in OHG are the outcome of another, namely the OHG (or: second) sound shift (that cannot be treated here).

- The PIE voiced aspirated occlusives, PIE $*b^h$, $*d^h$, $*g^h/\hat{g}^h$, $*g^{wh}$, became voiced fricatives in the PGmc., i.e., to PGmc. $*\bar{b}$, $*\bar{d}$, $*\bar{g}$ and $*\bar{g}^w$. Already in PGmc. the voiced fricatives develop into the voiced mediae $*b$, $*d$ and $*g$ after nasals (later also elsewhere):
 - PIE $*b^h\acute{e}re/o-$ 'to carry' (> OInd. *bhárati*, OAv. *baraitī*, Phryg. *-beret*, Gr. *phérō*, Arm. *berem*, Lat. *ferre*, OIr. *-beir*, Lith. *beĩti*, OCS *bǫrati*, Toch. A *pärtär*) > PGmc. $*\bar{b}ere/a-$ > Goth. *bairan*, OHG, OS, ODu., OE *beran*, OFris., OIcl. *bera*
 - PIE $*d^h\acute{e}h_1ti-$ 'act' (> Lyd. *ta[a]c-* 'votive tablet, votive offering', YAv. *dāiti-* 'the giving, donating', Lith. *dėĩtis* 'the burden to be borne', OCS *-děti* [in *blagoděti* 'grace, favour']) > PGmc. $*\bar{d}ēdi-$ > Goth. *-deþs**, OHG *tāt*, OS *dād*, ODu. *dāt*, OE *dāed*, OFris. *dēde*, *dēd*, *dād*, OIcl. *dáð*
 - PIE $*se\acute{g}^hes-$ 'overcoming, violence, victory' (> OInd. *sáhas*, Av. *hazah-*) > PGmc. $*segaz/-iz-$ > (with various transformations) Goth. *sigis*, OHG (in personal names) *Sigur-*, *Sigar-*, *sigi*, *sigu*, OS *sigi-* (in *sigidrohtin* 'victorious lord'), MDu. *sege*, OE *sigor*, *sige*, OFris. *sī*, OIcl. *sigr*
 - PIE $*seng^{wh}e/o-$ 'to sing' (> Cymr. *dehongli* 'state, explain, translate', OCS *setb* 'say, said') > PGmc. $*seng^we/a-$ > late PGmc. $*sing^we/a-$ > Goth. *siggwan*, Crimean Goth. *singhen*, OHG, OS, ODu., OE *singan*, OFris. *siunga*, *sionga*, OIcl. *syngja*, *syngva*
- The PIE voiceless occlusives $*p$, $*t$, $*k/\hat{k}$, $*k^w$ developed (presumably via aspirated voiceless occlusives) in PGmc. into the toneless spirants $*f$, $*þ$, $*χ$, $*χ^w$ ($*χ$ is like *ch* in NHG *doch*):

- PIE **péku-* ‘cattle’ (> OInd. *paśu-*, *paśú-*, Av. *pasu-*, Lat. *pecū*, Lith. *pėkus*) > PGmc. **feχu-* > Goth. *faihu*, OHG *fihu*, Lgb. *-fio*, OS *fehu*, ODu. *fē*, OE (westsaxon) *feoh*, *fēo*, (northhumbrian) *feh*, OFris. *fiā*, *fē*, OIcl. *fē*
 - PIE **tṛn-* ‘thorn’ (> OInd. *tṛṇa-* ‘grass stalk’, OCS *trъnъ*) > PGmc. **burn-* > Goth. *þaurus**, OHG *dorn*, OS, ODu. *thorn*, OE *þorn*, NWFr. *doarn*, OIcl. *þorn*
 - PIE **kápiē/o-* ‘to grab, to grasp’ (> Gr. *káptō*, Lat. *capere*) > PGmc. **χafīe/a-* > Goth. *hafjan**, OHG *heffen*, OS *hebbian*, ODu. *heven*, OE *hebban*, OFris. *heffa*, OIcl. *heffa*
 - PIE **k^wo-* ‘who’ (> OInd. *káh*, OAv. *kō*, YAv. *kō*, OPers. *kas-*, Lith. *kàs*, OCS *kъ-*) > PGmc. **χ^wa-* > Goth. *has*, OHG *(h)wer*, OS *hwē*, *hwie*, ODu. *wie*, OE *hwa*, OFris. *(h)wa*, OSwed. *hvar*
- If the sound shift would have resulted in a sequence of two voiceless spirants, the second component does not participate in the sound shift. Thus, in the combinations PIE **sp*, **st*, **sk* and PGmc. **ft* (< PIE labial + **t*) and **χt* (< PIE velar + **t*) the second component is preserved as **p*, **t* and **k*:
- PIE **spīuHe/o-* ‘to spit’ (> OInd. *ṣṭhīvati*, Gr. *ptūō*, Lat. *spuere*, Lith. *spiáuti*, OCS *pljъvati*) > PGmc. **spīwe/a-* > Goth. *speiwan*, OHG, OS *spīwan*, MDu. *spuwen*, OE *spīwan*, OFris. *spīa*, OIcl. *spýja*
 - PIE **sth₂ti-* ‘standing’ (> OInd. *sthiti-*, Gr. *stásis*) > PGmc. **stapi-* > Goth. *staps*, OHG *stat*, OS *stedi*, Early MDu. *stat*, *stede*, OE *stede*, OFris. *sted*, OIcl. *staðr*
 - PIE **skab^he/o-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’ (> Lat. *scabere*, OLith. *skàbti*) > PGmc. **skaþe/a-* > Goth., OHG *skaban*, OS *skavan*, Early MDu. *scaven*, OE *sc(e)afan*, NWFr. *skave*, OIcl. *skafa*
 - PIE **kapto-* ‘caught’ (> Lat. *captus*, OIr. *cacht*) > PGmc. **χafta-* > Goth. *haft**, OHG, OS *haft*, OE *hæft*
 - PIE **nok^wt-* ‘night’ (> OInd. *nákt-*, Gr. *nýx*, Alb. *natë*, Lat. *nox*, OIr. *-nocht*, Lith. *naktis*, OCS *noštъ*) > PGmc. **naχt-* > Goth. *nahts*, OHG, OS, ODu. *naht*, OE *niht*, *neaht*, OFris. *nacht*, OIcl. *nátt*, *nótt*
- The change of the medialvoiceless occlusive PIE **p*, **t*, **(k^l)* and **k^w* to PGmc. **f*, **þ*, **χ* and **χ^w* occurs only if the preceding syllable carried the accent in PIE. If that wasn't the case, PGmc. **f*, **þ*, **χ*, **χ^w* (and **s*) became PGmc. **þ*, **ð*, **g*, **g^w* (and **z*). This sound change is named Verner's Law after its discoverer Karl Verner:
- PIE **sep(t)ṇ* ‘seven’ (> OInd. *saptá*, Av. *hapta*, Gr. *heptá*, Alb. *shtatë*, Arm. *ewf n*, Lat. *septem*, OIr. *secht*, Lith. *septyni*, OCS *sedmъ*, Toch. A *ṣpät*) > PGmc. **sebun* > Goth., OHG *sibun*, OS *sibun*, ODu. *sivon*, OE *seofon*, OFris. *si(u)gun*, *sawen*, *saun*, OIcl. *sjau*
 - PIE **ph₂tér-* ‘father’ (> OInd. *pitár-*, Av. *pitar-*, Gr. *patér*, Arm. *hayr*, Lat. *pater*, OIr. *athair*, Toch. A *pācar*, B *pācer*) > PGmc. **faðer-* > Goth. *fadar**, OHG *fater*, Lgb. *fader-*, OS *fadar*, ODu. *fader*, OE *fæder*, OFris. *feder*, *fader*, OIcl. *faðir*
 - PIE **h₂e-h₂ik-mé* ‘we have forgotten’ (cf. OInd. [3.pl.] *īṣire*) > PGmc. **aigum* > Goth. *aigum*, OHG *eigun*, OS *ēgun*, OE *āgon*, OFris. *aghen*, OIcl. *eigum*

- PIE **h_{1/3}aiHsó-* ‘with ore’ (cf. OInd. *áyas-*, Lat. *aes* [< PIE **h_{1/3}áiHes-*]) > PGmc. **aiza-* > Goth. *ais**, OHG *ēr*, OE *ār*, *ær*, OIcl. *eir*

This law causes the so-called grammatical change, best noticeable in but not limited to the inflection of Germanic strong verbs. Since the stem was stressed in the singular of the preterite and the ending in the plural, there is in the verbs a regular alternation of voiceless and voiced consonants in the stem.

- The PIE voiced occlusives **b*, **d*, **ḡ* and **g^w* lose their voice and become the voiceless tenues **p*, **t*, **k* and **k^w*:
 - PIE **sleh₁be/o-* ‘to be limp’ (> Lith. *slōbti*) > PGmc. **slēpe/a-* > Goth. *slepan*, Crimean Goth. *schlipen*, OHG *slāfan*, OS *slāpan*, MDu. *slāpen*, OE *slāpan*, OFris. *slēpa*
 - PIE **dekṇ* ‘ten’ (> OInd. *dāśa*, Av. *dasa*, Gr. *déka*, Arm. *tasn*, Lat. *decem*, OIr. *dech*, Lith. *dešim-t*, OCS *desę-tb*, Toch. A *śāk*, B *śak*) > PGmc. **texun* > Goth. *taihun*, OS *tehan*, ODu. *tēn*, OE *tīen*, OFris. *tian*, OIcl. *tío*
 - PIE **ḡnh₃to-* ‘known’ (cf. Gr. *gnōtós*, OIr. *gnáth*, Lith. *-žintas* [< PIE **ḡnh₃tó-*]) > PGmc. **kunþa-* > Goth. *kunþs* (-þ-), OHG *kund*, OS *kūth*, ODu. *kunt*, OE *cūþ*, OFris. *kūth*, *kūd*, OIcl. *kunnr*
 - PIE **g^weme/o-* ‘to come’ (> OInd. [conjunc.] *gámat*, OAv. [conjunc.] *jama’tī*, Lith. *giñti*) > PGmc. **k^weme/a-* > Goth. *qiman*, OHG *queman*

In PGmc. the consonant system therefore looks like this:

Semi-vowels: **i* **u*

Resonants:

Liquids: **r* **l*

Nasals: **m* **n*

Fricatives:	voiceless:	<i>*f</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*p</i>	<i>*χ</i>	<i>*χ^w</i>
	voiced:	<i>*b</i>	<i>*z</i>	<i>*d</i>	<i>*g</i>	<i>*g^w</i>
Plosives:	voiceless:	<i>*p</i>		<i>*t</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>*k^w</i>
	voiced:	<i>*b</i>		<i>*d</i>	<i>*g</i>	<i>*g^w</i>

2.2.3. Accent

In the early stages of PGmc. the free (mobile) word accent of the PIE was still preserved, as Verner's Law clearly shows. During PGmc. the word accent was shifted to the first syllable of the word, which is mostly the stem syllable. The movable (mobile) accent becomes a fixed accent. This fixation of the accent on the first syllable of a word causes a weakening of the vowels of the then unstressed syllables, which, starting from the end syllables, also affects the middle syllables during the development of the single Germanic languages.

In addition to the stem syllable, the first syllable of a word can bear the accent if there is a prefix before the noun, see e.g. Goth. *andawaurdi**, OHG *antworti*, OS *andwordi*, OE *andwyrde*, OFris. *ondward*, *-werd*, OIcl. *andyrdi* 'answer'; Goth. *frawaurhts*, OS *farwurht*, OE *forwyrht* 'sin'.

In contrast to the nominal prefix compounds, the verbal prefix compounds bear the stress not on the prefix but on the stem syllable. The reason for this is that the two components in the noun grew together earlier than in the verb. This is evident from the fact that on the one hand the prefixes in nouns and verbs can have a different form (cf. Goth. *andahait** 'confession' ↔ *andhaitan* 'to confess publicly') and that on the other hand between the prefix and the verb stem an element can sometimes be inserted (cf. e.g., Goth. 3.sg.pret.ind. *at-uh-gaf* 'to-and-gave' = 'and gave to' to Goth. *atgiban* 'to give to').

2.3. From (late) Proto-Germanic to Gothic

2.3.1. Vocalism

Between PGmc. and Gothic the following changes in the vowel system take place:

- The PGmc sounds **a*, **i*, **u*, **q* (> **ā*), **ē*, **ī* (written <ei> after the Greek model), **ō* and **ū* have been preserved. Since the graphs <e> and <o> only stand for the long vowels *ē* and *ō*, their length is commonly not indicated in the transcription of Gothic words. The diphthongs PGmc **ai*, **au* also remained unchanged.
 - It is widely believed that the PGmc. diphthongs **ai* and **au* have become monophthongs (open *ē* and *ō*) in Gothic. In view of the entire transmission, this is unlikely, at least for the language at the time of Wulfila itself, unlike for Late Gothic.
- PGmc. **e* became generally *i* in Gothic (but see below):

- PGmc. **geþe/a-* ‘to give’ > Goth. *giban* (OHG *geban*, OS, ODu. *gevan*, OE *giefan*, OFris. *jeva*, OIcl. *gefa*)
 - PGmc. **ete/a-* ‘to eat’ > Goth. *itan* (OHG *ezzan*, OS, ODu., OE *etan*, OFris., OIcl. *eta*)
- PGmc. **e* (which had already become **i* before the transmission) and **i* become in the position before Goth. *r*, *h* and *h* an open *e* ([ɛ], written <ai>) and PGmc. **u* becomes an open *o* ([ɔ], written <au>). This process is called breaking:
 - PGmc. **uira-* ‘man’ > Goth. *wair* (OHG, OS *wer*, ODu. *wera-*, OE *wer*, OFris. *wer-*, OIcl. *verr*)
 - PGmc. **rehta-* ‘right’ > pre-Goth. **riht-* > Goth. *raihts** (> OHG *reht*, Lgb. [in personal names] *Ret(t)-*, OS, ODu. *reht*, OE *riht*, OFris. *riucht*, *riocht*, OIcl. *réttr*)
 - PGmc. **seχ^we/a-* ‘to see’ > pre-Goth. **siχwe/a-* > Goth. *saihan* (OHG, OS *sehan*, ODu. *sian*, OE *sēon*, OFris. *sia[n]*, OIcl. *séa*, *sjá*)
 - PGmc. **burg-* ‘castle’ > Goth. *baurgs* (OHG, OS *burg*, Early MDu. *borch*, OE *burg*, OFris. *burch*, OIcl. *borg*)
 - PGmc. **uχsan-* ‘ox’ > Goth. *auhsa* (OHG *ohso*, OS *ohsin-*, ODu. *osso**, OE *oxa*, OFris. *oxa*, *ōxa*, OIcl. *oxi*, *uxi*)
 - There are no sure examples for the development of PGmc. **u* before **χ^w*.
 - Broken *ai* appears synchronously in Gothic also before other consonants, e.g., in *aiþþau* ‘or’ (with *þþ* probably from **χþ*) or in the reduplication syllable of the preterite, e.g., in *saiso* ‘sowed’ (either analogous to *haihait* ‘was called’ or due to weak stress).
 - The breaking of *i* and *u* did not take place in younger compounds, e.g., *nih* ‘and not’ (from *ni* ‘not’ + *-[u]h* ‘and’), *nuh* ‘then’ (from *nu* ‘now’ + *-[u]h* ‘and’).
 - Mainly in older literature, the result of the breaking is sometimes given as *ái* and *áu* to distinguish it from the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, which are then written as *ái* and *áu*.
- Just like PGmc. **e* became Goth. *i*, also PGmc. **eɥ* developed to Goth. *iu*:
 - PGmc. **teuχe/a-* ‘to pull’ > Goth. *tiuhan* (OHG *ziohan*, OS *tiohan*, ODu. *tiān*, OE *tēon*, OFris. *tiā*, OIcl. [pret.part.] *toginn*)
 - PGmc. **leuþa-* ‘dear’ > Goth. *liufs* (Run. [nom.sg.f.] **liubu**, [in personal names] **-leubaz**, Run.-pre-OHG [nom.sg.m./acc.sg./n.] **leob**, OHG *liob*, Lgb. [in personal names] *Leob-*, *Leup-*, OS *liof*, ODu. *lief*, OE *lēof*, OFris. *liāf*, *liēf*, OIcl. *ljúfr*)
 - In PGmc. **ē* and **ō* were open sounds (cf. the development of PGmc. **ē* to North/West-Gmc. **ā*), however, in Gothic they became closed sounds, which is shown by the spellings <ei> and <u> next to <e> and <o> in the manuscripts.

- In hiatus like in *saian* ‘to sow’, *waian** ‘to blow’, *staua* ‘court’ oder *bauan* ‘to build’ that continue PGmc. **ē(i) + vowel*, **ū(i) + vowel* and *ū + vowel*, <ai> and <au> have the sound value of an open *ē* ([ɛ:]) and *ō* ([ɔ:]).

In Gothic the vowel system therefore looks like this:

Vowels:

short: <a> [a] <ai> [ɛ] <i> [ɪ] <au> [ɔ] <u> [ʊ]

long: <a> [a:] <ai> [ɛ:] <e> [e:] <au> [ɔ:] o [o:] <u> [u:]

Diphthongs: <ai> [aɪ] <au> [aʊ] <iu> [ɪʊ]

2.3.2. Consonantism

- The consonant inventory of PGmc. remained mostly unchanged in Gothic.
- The geminated semi-vowels PGmc. **ij* and **ju* developed into Goth. *ddj* (perhaps [ʃ:]) and *ggw* ([g:w]):
 - PGmc. (gen.) **tūaijōn* ‘of two’ > Goth. *twaddje* (with secondary ending *-e*) (OHG *zweiio*, OS *twēi[i]o*, OE *twēg[e]a*, OIcl. *tveggja*)
 - PGmc. **uajju-* ‘wall’ > Goth. *-waddjus* (OE *wæg*, OIcl. *veggr*)
 - PGmc. **trejja-* ‘firm, faithful’ > Goth. *triggws* (OIcl. *tryggr* besides OHG, OS *triuwi*, frühmdl. *trouwe*, OE *triewe*, OFris. *triūwe*)
 - PGmc. **blejja/a-* ‘to beat’ > Goth. *bliggwan** (OHG *bliuwan*, OS *-bleuwan*, MDu. *blouwen*)
- The voiced fricatives PGmc. **b*, **d* and **z* that appear in Gothic as , <d> and <z>, become, when they get to stand into final position or before a final *s* (regardless of its origin) by final hardening the respective corresponding voiceless fricatives Goth. <f>, <þ> and <s>. On the other hand, PGmc. **g* that is written as Goth. <g>, remains at least graphically unchanged; the reason for this is unclear (no need for a graphic distinction or no possibility for one since Goth. *h* had already become an aspirate or PGmc. **g* had already become **g* before final hardening occurred). Cf. inf. *giban* ‘to give’ : pret. *gaf* ‘gave’, gen.sg.m. *godis* : nom.sg.m. *gops* ‘good’, gen.sg. *riqizis* : nom.sg. *riqis* ‘darkness’, but gen.sg. *dagis* : nom.sg. *dags* ‘day’.

- In compounded forms, the originally voiced final fricative is retained for phonetic reasons, cf. *qibid-uh* ‘and (s)he speaks’ next to *qibip* ‘(s)he speaks’. Also otherwise, because of analogy from forms with an internal voiced fricative, the voiced fricative is found instead of the voiceless.
- An alternation of voiced and voiceless fricative (Thurneysen’s Law) is found in early Gothic behind an unaccented vowel insofar as a voiced fricative appears after an unvoiced syllable and a voiceless fricative after a voiced syllable:
 - *-b-* : *-f-*: *fastubni** ‘posture, fasting’ : *waldufni* ‘force’
 - *-d-* : *-p-*: *aupida* ‘desert’ : *mildipa** ‘leniency’
 - *-z-* : *-s-*: (dat.sg.) *hatiza* ‘hate’ : (dat.sg.) *agisa* ‘fear, terror’
 - *-g-* : *-h-*: *wulþags** ‘splendid’ : *bairgahei** ‘mountainous area’
- This law is already dissolved in Wulfilan Gothic by analogy, cf.: *diupipa* ‘depth’, *hauhiþa* ‘height’, *modags* ‘angry’.
- In word formation there is a synchronic descriptive change from *p* or *b* to *f*, *k* or *g* to *h* and *t*, *þ* or *d* to *s* before a suffix starting with *t*:
 - *-p-* : *-f-*: *gaskapjan** ‘to create’ : *gaskafts* ‘creature’
 - *-b-* : *-f-*: *fragiban* ‘to give, to bestow, to donate’ : *fragifts** ‘conferment, (pl.) engagement’
 - *-k-* : *-h-*: *siuks* ‘sick, weak’ : *sauhteis** ‘sickness’
 - *-g-* : *-h-*: *mag* ‘I can’ : *mahts* ‘power, strength, fortune’
 - *-t-* : *-s-*: *haitan* ‘to name, to call’ : (2.sg.pret.ind.) *haihaist*
 - *-þ-* : *-s-*: *qipan* ‘to say’ : (2.sg.pret.ind.) *qast*
 - *-d-* : *-s-*: *gildan* ‘to be valid’ : (acc.pl.) *gilstra* ‘tax’
- The change in the labials and velars is the result of the described processes in 2.2.2.
- In the case of the dentals, the change from PIE dental + *t* to *ss* is the original one; remnants of this change appear still in Gothic, cf.: *qipan* ‘to say’ : *gaqiss* ‘according’, *witan* ‘to know’ : (1./3.sg.pret.ind.act.) *wissa*. The sequence *st*, on the other hand, is the result of paradigmatic analogy, on which basis forms such as Goth. **waiss* ‘you know’ were reformed after forms like Goth. *namt* ‘you took’ to Goth. *waist*.

In Gothic the consonant system therefore looks like this:

Sonorants:

Semi-vowels:	<j> [j]	<w> [w]
Liquids:	<l> [l]	<r> [r]
Nasals:	<m> [m]	<n> [n] ~ <g> [ŋ]

Obstruents:

Voiced plosives:	<p> [p]	<t> [t]		<k> [k]
Voiced plosive/fricatives:	 [b, ʙ]	<d> [d, ð]	<z> [z-ʒ]	<ddj> [ʃ:] [?] <g> [g, ɣ [?] , χ [?]]
voiceless fricatives:	<f> [f/ɸ]	<þ> [θ]	<s> [s-ʃ]	<h> [h, χ [?]]

The letters <q> and <h> are in Gothic probably no longer labiovelars, but have become the combinations [kw] and [hw, χw[?]] (cf. Norbert Wagner. 2006. „Zu Goth. *h*, *q* und *ai*, *au*“. *Historische Sprachforschung / Historical Linguistics* 119, 286–291). The sequence <ggw> is partly to be interpreted as [g[?]w].

2.3.3. Accent

The accent of Gothic is probably largely identical with the one of late PGmc. (cf. 2.2.3.).

3. Morphology

There are sometimes gaps in the paradigms caused by the fragmentary testimony of Gothic. They indicate that there is no transmitted evidence for that specific grammatical form.

3.1. Declination

- Of the three numbers in PIE (singular, dual, plural) only two are present in Gothic in the nouns: singular and plural; the dual is preserved only in the personal pronouns and (formally) in remainders in the numeral. Of the eight cases of PIE (nominative, accusative, vocative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative) in Gothic the nominative, genitive, and accusative are directly continued, the vocative and instrumental only in leftovers. In the Gothic dative the former locative and dative have fallen together, the ablative became extinct (but is indirectly preserved in the adverbs ending in -o). The three genera of the PIE (masculine, feminine, and neuter) are continued unchanged.

3.1.1. Declination of the nouns

- In the inflected forms of the noun, the inflectional stem and the case endings must be distinguished. According to the ending of the stem in Gothic – as well as in the other Old

Germanic languages – a distinction is made between the vocalic (according to Jacob Grimm: strong) and the consonantic (according to Jacob Grimm: weak) declension.

- The vocalic declension is divided according to the stem vowel into *a*-stems (pure *a*- next to *ja*- and *wa*-stems), *ō*-stems (pure *ō*- next to *jō*- and *wō*-stems), *i*-stems and *u*-stems.
- Of the consonantal stems, the class of *n*-stems (*an*-, *ōn*- and *ein*-) is by far the most common; there are also a few smaller stem classes (*r*-, *nd*- and consonantal stems).
- Because of the small size of the Gothic text corpus, it happens that not all cases of a word are recorded. Hence it is sometimes not possible to determine the stem class and gender of a word with certainty. As a rule, the other Germanic languages are then used for classification, which, however, does not always offer security.

3.1.1.1. Vocalic declension

• *a*-declension

The Gothic *a*-stems contain like the *ja*- and *wa*-stems only masculine and neuter nouns. Apart from the nom.sg. and nom./acc.pl., the inflection of both genders is identical. The Gothic *a*-stems continue PGmc. *a*-stems, they in turn PIE *o*-stems. In these there was only a qualitative ablaut of the suffix between PIE **o* : **e*, which is represented in PGmc. as **a* : **e* and in Gothic as *a* : *i*. Paradigms of the masculine and neuter *a*-stems: 1) *dags* m. ‘day’, *hlaifs* m. ‘bread’. 2) *waurd* n. ‘word’, *haubiþ* n. ‘head’:

		masculine		neuter	
sg.	nom.	<i>dags</i>	<i>hlaifs</i>	<i>waurd</i>	<i>haubiþ</i>
	gen.	<i>dagis</i>	<i>hlaibis</i>	<i>waurdis</i>	<i>haubidis</i>
	dat.	<i>daga</i>	<i>hlaiba</i>	<i>waurda</i>	<i>haubida</i>
	acc.	<i>dag</i>	<i>hlaifs</i>	<i>waurd</i>	<i>haubiþ</i>
	voc.	<i>dag</i>	<i>hlaif</i>		
pl.	nom.	<i>dagos</i>	<i>hlaibos</i>	<i>waurda</i>	<i>haubida</i>
	gen.	<i>dage</i>	<i>hlaibe</i>	<i>waurde</i>	<i>haubide</i>
	dat.	<i>dagam</i>	<i>hlaibam</i>	<i>waurdam</i>	<i>haubidam</i>
	acc.	<i>dagans</i>	<i>hlaibans</i>	<i>waurda</i>	<i>haubida</i>

1. Like *dags* ‘day’, many masculines inflect, e.g.: *aiþs** ‘oath’, *asts* ‘branch’, *daigs* ‘dough’, *doms** ‘verdict’, *fisks** ‘fish’, *fugls** ‘bird’, *gazds* ‘spike’, *himins* ‘heaven’, *hunds* ‘dog’, *kindins* ‘commander’, *skalks* ‘servant’, *skohs** ‘shoe, sandal’, *stains* ‘stone’, *tains** ‘twig’, *þiudans* ‘king’, *waurms* ‘snake’, *wigs* ‘way’, *wulfs* ‘wolf’.

2. Like *hlaifs* ‘bread’, inflect: *laufs** ‘leaf’ (nom.pl. *laubos* [Mk 13:28]) und *mops** ‘rage’ : gen.sg. *modis*.
3. Like *waurd* ‘word’, many neuters inflect, e.g.: *akran* ‘fruit’, *barn* ‘child’, *bloþ* ‘blood’, *daur* ‘door’, *gulþ** ‘gold’, *haurn** ‘horn’, *huzd* ‘treasure’, *juk** ‘yoke’, *land* ‘land’, *leik* ‘body’, *neip** ‘envy’, *sair* ‘pain’, *salt* ‘salt’, *skip** ‘ship’, *tagl** ‘hair’, *tagr** ‘tear’.
4. Like *haubiþ* ‘head’, inflect: *awiliuþ** ‘thanks’ (dat.pl. *awiliudam*), *dius** ‘animal’ (dat.pl. *diuzam*), *liuhap* ‘light’ (gen.sg. *liuhadis*) und *riqis* ‘darkness’ (gen.sg. *riqizis*).

For the change between *f* : *b, þ* : *d* and *s* : *z* cf. 2.3.2.

In the nom.sg.m. the final *-s* is deleted in two cases: 1. after *s, ss* or *z*; 2. after a sequence of short vowel + *r* (therefore e.g. Goth. *drus* ‘fall’ < PGmc. **ðruziz* [OE *dryre*], Goth. *wair* ‘man’ < PGmc. **uiraz* [OHG, OS *wer*, ODu. *wera-*, OE *wer*, OFris. *wer-*, OIcl. *verr*]).

A fluctuation between an *a-* and *i-*st. shows the word Goth. nom.sg. *wegs* ‘wave’ (Mt 8:24), dat.sg. *wega* (Lk 8:24) in the plural: nom.pl. *wegos* (Mk 4:37), dat.pl. *wegim* (Mt 8:24).

Historical explanation of the endings:

- Sg.: Nom. m.: Goth. *-s* (cf. EastGmc. Run. *-s*) < PGmc. **-az* (cf. Run. *-az*). Gen. m./n.: Goth. *-is* < (pronominal ending) PGmc. **-es^a* (or PGmc. **-ez^a* because of *anþariz-uh* ‘and of the other’ [Mt 11:3]) (cf. OHG *-es*; next to PGmc. **-as^a* [cf. Run. *-as*, OS *-as*, early OE *-æs*]). Dat. m./n.: Goth. *-a* either < PGmc. (loc.sg.) **-ai* (cf. perhaps Run. *-ai*, *-e*); or < PGmc. (instr.sg.) **-ē* (cf. perhaps Run. *-e*) or < PGmc. (instr.sg.) **-ō* (cf. OHG, OS *-u*). Acc. m.: Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. **-aⁿ* (cf. Run. *-a*). Voc. m.: Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. **-e*. Nom./Acc. n.: Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. **-aⁿ* (cf. Run. *-a*).
- Pl.: Nom. m.: Goth. *-os* < PGmc. **-ōs* (cf. OS *-os*, OE *-as*; next to PGmc. **-ōz* [cf. Run. *-az*, OHG *-ā*, OIcl. *-ar*]). Gen. m./n.: Goth. *-e*, most likely an internal EastGmc. neologism (perhaps after the *e*-color in the gen.sg.) instead of PGmc. **-ōⁿ* (cf. OHG, OS *-o*, OE, OFris., OIcl. *-a*). Dat. m./n.: Goth. *-am* either < PGmc. (dat.pl.) **-amaz* or < PGmc. (instr.pl.) **-amiz* (cf. Lat.-Gmc. matron name *-ms* in *Aflims*, *Vatvims*, OHG, OS, OE, OFris. *-um*, OIcl. *-om*). Acc. m.: Goth. *-ans* < PGmc. **-anz* (cf. Run. *-a*, OHG, OIcl. *-a*). Nom./Acc. n.: Goth. *-a* < PGmc. **-ō* (cf. Run. *-u*).

ja-stems

The *ja*-stems differ from the pure *a*-stems because of differences in some endings. In the masculine *ja*-stems the endings differ, depending on whether the stem is short or long. This is ultimately because the suffix PGmc. **-ja-* appears after a long-syllabic or polysyllabic stem as **-ija-* (Siever’s variant). Both variants developed differently over time. In the case of the neutral *ja*-stems, the short-syllabic type has prevailed in the gen.sg., where a difference in the ending would also be expected. Hence both stems of the neutral *ja*-stems inflect the same. Paradigms of the masculine and neuter *ja*-stems: 1) Short-syllabic: *harjis* m. ‘army’, *kuni* n. ‘gender’. 2) Long /polysyllabic: *hairdeis* m. ‘shepherd’, *reiki* n. ‘empire’:

masculine		neuter	
short-syllabic	long -syllabic	short-syllabic	long -syllabic

sg.	nom.	<i>harjis</i>	<i>hairdeis</i>	<i>kuni</i>	<i>reiki</i>
	gen.	<i>harjis</i>	<i>hairdeis</i>	<i>kunjis</i>	<i>reikjis</i>
	dat.	<i>harja</i>	<i>hairdja</i>	<i>kunja</i>	<i>reikja</i>
	acc.	<i>hari</i>	<i>hairdi</i>	<i>kuni</i>	<i>reiki</i>
	voc.	<i>hari</i>	<i>hairdi</i>		
pl.	nom.	<i>harjos</i>	<i>hairdjos</i>	<i>kunja</i>	<i>reikja</i>
	gen.	<i>harje</i>	<i>hairdje</i>	<i>kunje</i>	<i>reikje</i>
	dat.	<i>harjam</i>	<i>hairdjam</i>	<i>kunjam</i>	<i>reikjam</i>
	acc.	<i>harjans</i>	<i>hairdjans</i>	<i>kunja</i>	<i>reikja</i>

1. Like *harjis* ‘army’, only *nipjis* ‘relative’ inflects.
2. Like *hairdeis* ‘shepherd’ inflect e.g.: *andeis* ‘end’, *asneis* ‘wage worker’, *faura-mapleis* ‘chief’, *faur-stasseis** ‘chief’, *haiteis* ‘wheat’, *siponeis* ‘pupil’ and the noun ending in *-areis* (e.g. *bokareis* ‘scribe’, *laisareis* ‘teacher’, *motareis* ‘tax collector’).
3. Like *kuni* ‘gender’ and *reiki* ‘empire’ inflect e.g.: *andwairpi* ‘presence’, *arbi* ‘heritage’, *badi** ‘bed’, *fairguni* ‘mountain’, *fani** ‘mud’, *galigri** ‘consummation of the marriage’, *garuni** ‘council’, *gawaurki* ‘business’, *gawi** ‘district’ (Gen.Sg. *gaujis*), *hawi* ‘hay’ (dat.sg. *hauja*), *hiwi** ‘shape, appearance’ (acc.sg. *hiwi* [2TimAB 3:5]; gen.sg. *hiujis**) *nati** ‘net’, *taui** ‘act’ (dat.sg. *toja*), *piubi** ‘theft’, *wadi* ‘deposit’ and the neuters ending in *-ubni*, *-ufni*.

Besides the the usual ending gen.sg. *-jis* of the long-syllabic neuters the ending *-eis*, which is to be expected but most probably based on innovation, is documented for some words: *fauramapleis* (Neh 5:14.18) to *fauramapli** ‘presidency’, *trausteis* (EphAB 2:12) to *trausti** ‘alliance’. There is a vacillation between the two forms in *andbahtjis* (4x) next to *andbahteis* (Lk 1:23) to *andbahti* ‘office’, *gawairpjis* (8x) next to *gawairpeis* (7x) to *gawairpi* ‘peace’, *waldufnjis* (3x) next to *waldufneis* (Sk 7:1) to *waldufni* ‘violence’.

Historical explanation of the aberrant endings:

- Sg.: Nom. m.: Goth. *-jis* < PGmc. **-īaz* (cf. Run. *-jaz*, OS *-i*, OE *-e*), Goth. *-eis* < PGmc. **-ījaz* (cf. Run. *-ijaz*, OHG, OS *-i*, OE *-e*, OIcl. *-er*). Gen. m./n.: Goth. *-jis* < PGmc. **-īes^a* (cf. OHG *-es*, OS *-ies*), Goth. *-eis* < PGmc. **-īies^a* (cf. OHG *-es*, OS *-ies*, OE, OIcl. *-es*). Acc. m.: Goth. *-i* (only in long-syllabic stems) < PGmc. **-ījaⁿ* (cf. Run. *-ija*, OHG, OS *-i*, OE, OIcl. *-e*). Nom./acc. n.: Goth. *-i* < PGmc. **-īaⁿ* (> Run. *-ja*, OHG, OS *-i*), Goth. *-i* < PGmc. **-ījaⁿ* (cf. OHG *-i*, OE, OIcl. *-e*). Voc. m.: Goth. *-i* (only in long-syllabic stems) < PGmc. **-īj^e*.

wa-stems

The *wa*-stems are also distinguished from the pure *a*-stems because of special developments. The paradigmatic forms generally agree with those of the pure *a*-stems, however, the short-syllabic *wa*-stems show in the nom.sg. / acc.sg. the ending *-us* / *-u* in the masculine and *-u* / *-u* in the neuter, the long-syllabic ones on the other hand *-ws* / *-w* and *-w* / *-w*. Paradigm of the masculine and neuter *wa*-stems: 1) *pūs** m. ‘servant’. 2) *waurstw* n. ‘work’:

		masculine	neuter
sg.	nom.	<i>þius</i>	<i>waurstw</i>
	gen.	<i>þiwis</i>	<i>waurstwis</i>
	dat.	<i>þiwa</i>	<i>waurstwa</i>
	acc.	<i>þiu</i>	<i>waurstw</i>
	voc.	<i>þiu</i>	
pl.	nom.	<i>þiwos</i>	<i>waurstwa</i>
	gen.	<i>þiwe</i>	<i>waurstwe</i>
	dat.	<i>þiwam</i>	<i>waurstwam</i>
	acc.	<i>þiwans</i>	<i>waurstwa</i>

1. Aside from *þius** ‘servant’, only *snaiws* ‘snow’ and probably also *aiws** ‘time, eternity’ count as masculine *wa*-stems.
2. Like *waurstw* ‘work’ also inflect: *alew** ‘oil’, *farw** ‘shape’, *fraiw* ‘seed’, *gaidw** ‘lack’, *hlaiw** ‘grave’, *kniu** ‘knee’, *lew* ‘opportunity’, *sarwa** ‘weapons’, *þiwadw* ‘bondage’ und *weinatriu* ‘vine’.

The word *aiws** ‘time, eternity’ shows a vacillation between *wa*- and *i*-stem: gen.sg. *aiwis* (8x), dat.sg. *aiwa* (15x), acc.sg. *aiw* (18x), gen.pl. *aiwe* (6x) : dat.pl. *aiwam* (7x), acc.pl. *aiwins* (Mt 6:13).

- *ō*-declension

The Gothic *ō*-stems contain only feminines. The pure *ō*-stems, the *wō*-stems and the short and long syllabic *jō*-stems are distinguished.

The Gothic *ō*-stems continue PGmc. *ō*-stems, these in turn PIE *eh₂*-stems, in which the already marginal PIE suffix ablaut no longer played a role. Since the *wō*-stems and the short-syllabic *jō*-stems, unlike the long-syllabic *jō*-stems, show no differences to the pure *ō*-stems, they are also treated under the pure *ō*-stems. Paradigm of the feminine *ō*-, *wō*- and short-syllabic *jō*-stems: 1) Pure *ō*-stems: *giba* ‘gift’. 2) *wō*-stems: *triggwa* ‘loyalty’. 3) Short-syllabic *jō*-stems: *sunja* ‘truth’:

		<i>ō</i> -	<i>wō</i> -	<i>jō</i> -
sg.	nom.	<i>giba</i>	<i>triggwa</i>	<i>sunja</i>
	gen.	<i>gibos</i>	<i>triggwos</i>	<i>sunjos</i>
	dat.	<i>gibai</i>	<i>triggwai</i>	<i>sunjai</i>
	acc.	<i>giba</i>	<i>triggwa</i>	<i>sunja</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>gibos</i>	<i>triggwos</i>	<i>sunjos</i>
	gen.	<i>gibo</i>	<i>triggwo</i>	<i>sunjo</i>
	dat.	<i>gibom</i>	<i>triggwom</i>	<i>sunjom</i>
	acc.	<i>gibos</i>	<i>triggwos</i>	<i>sunjos</i>

1. Like *giba* ‘gift’, many fems inflect, e.g.: *ahva* ‘river’, *airpa* ‘earth’, *bida* ‘plea’, *bota** ‘benefit’, *fera** ‘side, area’, *groba** ‘pit’, *hansa* ‘group’, *heila* ‘time, hour’, *idreiga** ‘penance’, *kara* ‘sorrow’, *laiba** ‘leftover’, *saiwala* ‘soul’, *stibna* ‘voice’, *tewa** ‘order’, *piuda* ‘people’, *wamba* ‘belly’, *winna** ‘suffering’ and the adjective abstracts on *-ipa* and *-ida* (e.g. *mildipa** ‘compassion’ and *wairpida* ‘proficiency’).
2. Like *triggwa* ‘loyalty’, inflect: *bandwa** ‘sign’, *fijapwa** ‘enemity’, *frijapwa* ‘love’, *nidwa* ‘rust’, *salipwos* ‘hostel’ (only pl.), *taihswa** ‘the right’, *ubizwa** ‘hall’, *wulwa** ‘robbery’.
3. Like *sunja* ‘truth’, inflect: *banja** ‘wound’, *brakja* ‘battle’, *halja* ‘hell’, *ludja** ‘face’, *plapja** ‘road’, *sibja** ‘kin’, *skalja** ‘brick’, *winja** ‘pasture’, *wipja** ‘wreath’ and *wrakja* ‘persecution’.

The acc.sg. of *heila** ‘hour’ is in closed final before the enclitic element *-hun* transmitted as *heilo-hun* (GalA 2:5 [*heilohum* B]), which is phonetically the older form.

Historical explanation of the endings:

- Sg.: Nom: Goth. *-a* < PGmc. **-ō* (cf. Run. *-u*, OE *-u*). Gen.: Goth. *-os* < PGmc. **-ōs* (next to PGmc. **-ōz* [cf. OHG, OS *-a*, early OE *-æ*, OE *-e*, OIcl. *-ar*]). Dat.: Goth. *-ai* < PGmc. **-ōi* (cf. early OE *-æ*, OE *-e*). Acc.: Goth. *-a* presumably from the nominative, next to *-o* (in *heilo-*; see above) < PGmc. **-ōʳ* (cf. Run. *-o*, OHG, OS *-a*, OE *-e*).
- Pl.: Nom.: Goth. *-os* < PGmc. **-ōs* (next to PGmc. **-ōz* [OHG, OS *-a*, OE *-e*, OIcl. *-ar*]). Gen.: Goth. *-o* < PGmc. **-ōʳ* (cf. OS *-o*, OE, OIcl. *-a*). Dat.: Goth. *-om* < either PGmc. (dat.) **-ōmaz* or (instr.) **-ōmiz* (cf. OHG *-om*, OS, OE *-um*, OIcl. *-om*). Acc.: Goth. *-os* < PGmc. **-ōz* (cf. Run. *-oz*, [later] *-az*, OHG *-ā*, OS *-a*, *-e*, OE *-e*, OIcl. *-ar*).

Long-syllabic *jō*-stems

The long-syllabic *jō*-stems are distinguished from the other *ō*-stems because of the different form in the nom.sg. They continue a PIE type in which the suffix in nom./acc.sg. appeared in the zero-grade form **-ih₂-*, while in the other cases it appeared in the full grade **-īeh₂-*. Probably already in PGmc. the zero-grade suffix only appears in the nom.sg. as PGmc. **-ī-* while in acc.sg. the full-grade PGmc. **-īōn-* is introduced. Paradigm of long-syllabic feminine *jō*-stems: 1) *bandi* ‘shackle’, *mawi* ‘girl’:

sg.	nom.	<i>bandi</i>	<i>mawi</i>
	gen.	<i>bandjos</i>	<i>maujos</i>
	dat.	<i>bandjai</i>	<i>maujai</i>
	acc.	<i>bandja</i>	<i>mauja</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>bandjos</i>	<i>maujos</i>
	gen.	<i>bandjo</i>	<i>maujo</i>
	dat.	<i>bandjom</i>	<i>maujom</i>
	acc.	<i>bandjos</i>	<i>maujos</i>

1. Like *bandi* ‘shackle’, such words inflect that either have a long root syllable or those with the suffix PGmc. **-iǵō-* in the third syllable, like: *aihatundi** ‘thornbush’, *frijondi** ‘girlfriend’, *gabundi** ‘band’, *haiti** ‘command’, *haiþi** ‘field’, *hoftuli* ‘boast, fame’, *laudi** ‘shape’, *manauli** ‘shape’, *Saurini* ‘Syrian’, *þiudangardi* ‘kingdom’, *uswandi** ‘turn away’, *wasti** ‘clothing’ and the verbal abstract nouns ending in *-ubni*, *-ufni*.
2. Like *mawi* (so with a short stem syllable), only *þiwi* ‘maid’ inflects.

- *i*-declension

The Gothic *i*-stems only contain masculines and feminines. The Gothic *i*-stems continue PGmc. and ultimately PIE *i*-stems. While the endings of the masculine and feminine *i*-stems were still identical in PIE, this is the case in PGmc. and in Gothic only in the plural. In the singular the masculine *i*-stems form the genitive and dative already in PGmc. after the masculine *a*-stems. The *i*-stems formerly also contained neutres. However, the former neutral *i*-stem **mari* ‘sea’ is in Gothic transformed into a feminine *ein*-stem *marei* (but cf. still the reflex *mari-* in the compound *marisaiws** ‘lake’). Paradigms of the masculine and feminine *i*-stems: 1) *gasts* m. ‘guest’. 2) *mahts* f. ‘power, strength, fortune’:

		masculine	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>gasts</i>	<i>mahts</i>
	gen.	<i>gastis</i>	<i>mahtais</i>
	dat.	<i>gasta</i>	<i>mahtai</i>
	acc.	<i>gast</i>	<i>maht</i>
	voc.	<i>gast</i>	
pl.	nom.	<i>gasteis</i>	<i>mahteis</i>
	gen.	<i>gaste</i>	<i>mahte</i>
	dat.	<i>gastim</i>	<i>mahtim</i>
	acc.	<i>gastins</i>	<i>mahtins</i>

1. Like *gasts* ‘guest’ inflect e.g.: *arms* ‘arm’, *balgs** ‘hose’, *barms** ‘lap’, *baur** ‘the born’, *brupfaps* ‘groom’, *gards* ‘house, family; court’, *hups** ‘hip’, *juggalaups* (-d-) ‘young man’, *laists** ‘track’, *mats* ‘food’, *muns* ‘thought’, *saggws** ‘song’, *saups** (-d-) ‘sacrifice’, *staps** (-d-) ‘place; hostel’, *þlauhs* ‘flight’.
2. Like *mahts* ‘power, strength, fortune’, many feminines inflect, e.g.: *asans* ‘harvest’, *dails** ‘part’, *naups* ‘necessity’, *qens* ‘wife’, *sokns** ‘issue’, *taikns* ‘sign’, *wens* ‘hope’, the adjective abstract nouns ending in *-duþs* and the verbal abstract nouns ending in *-þi-*, *-di-*, *-ti-*.

The word *haims** f. ‘village’, whose singular goes after the *i*-stems forms the plural after the *ō*-stems: gen. *haimo*, dat. *haimom*, acc. *haimos*.

Historical explanation of the endings:

- Sg.: Nom. m./f.: Goth. *-s* < PGmc. **-iz* (cf. Run. *-iz*, OHG [sometimes after a short syllable], OS [after short syllable] *-i*, OIcl. *-r*). Gen. f.: Goth. *-ais* < PGmc. **-aiȝ* (cf. OIcl. *-ar*). Dat. f.: Goth. *-ai* < PGmc. **-ai* (cf. OHG, OS *-i*, OE *-e*). Acc. m./f.: Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. **-iⁿ* (cf. Run. *-i*, OS [after short syllable] *-i*, OE [after short syllable] *-e*). Voc. m.: Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. **-i*.
- Pl.: Nom. m./f.: Goth. *-eis* < PGmc. **-iȝiz* (cf. OHG, OS *-i*, OE [sometimes] *-i*, *-e*, OIcl. *-er*). Gen. m./f.: Goth. *-e* (identic to the ending of the *a*-st.). Dat. m./f.: Goth. *-im* < either PGmc. **-imaz* or **-imiz* (cf. OHG *-im*); Acc. m./f.: Goth. *-ins* < PGmc. **-inz* (cf. OHG, OS *-i*, OE [sometimes], OIcl. *-e*).

This group also includes the abstract nouns derived from the weak verbs on *-eins* (from the weak verbs 1), *-ons* (from the weak verbs 2) and *-ains* (from the weak verbs 3), such as *naseins* ‘rescue’ (from *nasjan* ‘to rescue’), *laþons* ‘invitation’ (to *laþon* ‘to invite’) and *libains* ‘life’ (to *liban* ‘to live’). However, the nom./gen.pl. of the words ending in *-eins* is formed after the f. *ō*-stems. Paradigm of the feminine *i*-stems ending in *-eins*, *-ons*, and *-ains*: *naiteins** ‘blasphemy’, *laþons* ‘invitation’, *libains* ‘life’:

sg.	nom.	<i>naiteins</i>	<i>laþons</i>	<i>libains</i>
	gen.	<i>naiteinai</i>	<i>laþonai</i>	<i>libainai</i>
	dat.	<i>naiteinai</i>	<i>laþonai</i>	<i>libainai</i>
	acc.	<i>naitein</i>	<i>laþon</i>	<i>libain</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>naiteinos</i>	<i>laþoneis</i>	<i>libaineis</i>
	gen.	<i>naiteino</i>	<i>laþone</i>	<i>libaine</i>
	dat.	<i>naiteinim</i>	<i>laþonim</i>	<i>libainim</i>
	acc.	<i>naiteinins</i>	<i>laþonins</i>	<i>libainins</i>

From time to time there are interferences between these abstracts and the adjectiv abstract nouns ending in *-ei* (see 3.1.1.2.); so, the gen.sg. of *wajamerein* ‘blasphemy’ is transmitted in Joh 10:33 as *wajamerein*.

- *u*-declension

The Gothic *u*-stems contain nouns of all three genders. The masculines and feminines have identical inflection. The Gothic *u*-stems continue PGmc. and PIE *u*-stems. The Gothic *u*-stems show a juxtaposition of *-u-* and *-au-* in the singular, which, according to the general opinion, goes back to secondary mixing of different PIE inflection types. However, the distribution of forms in the transmission (see below) does not directly support this view. Paradigm of the masculine, feminine and neuter and *u*-stems: 1) *sunus* m. ‘son’. 2) *handus* f. ‘hand’. 3) *faihu** ‘wealth’:

		masculine	feminine	neuter
sg.	nom.	<i>sunus</i> (-aus)	<i>handus</i> (-aus)	<i>faihu</i>
	gen.	<i>sunaus</i> (-us)	<i>handaus</i> (-us)	
	dat.	<i>sunau</i> (-u)	<i>handau</i> (-u)	<i>faihau</i>
	acc.	<i>sunu</i> (-au)	<i>handu</i> (-au)	<i>faihu</i>
	voc.	<i>sunu, sunau</i>		
pl.	nom.	<i>sunjus</i>	<i>handjus</i>	
	gen.	<i>sunawe</i>	<i>handawe</i>	
	dat.	<i>sunum</i>	<i>handum</i>	
	acc.	<i>sununs</i>	<i>handuns</i>	

1. Like *sunus* ‘son’ inflect e.g.: *airus** ‘messenger’, *fotus* ‘foot’, *hairus* ‘sword’, *magus* ‘boy’, *stubjus** ‘dust’, *þaurmus** ‘thorn’, die verbal nouns with the suffixes *-þu-*, *-du-*, *-tu-* (cf. e.g. *daupus* ‘death’, *sidus* ‘custom’, *wahstus** ‘growth’), die nouns with the suffixes *-(in)assus* (cf. e.g. *ibnassus* ‘equality’, *drauhtinassus* ‘war campaign’) and *-odus*, *-opus* (cf. e.g. *auhjodus** ‘noise’, *gabaurjopus** ‘lust’).
2. Like *handus* ‘hand’ certainly only inflect: *kinnus** ‘cheek’ und *-waddjus* ‘wall’ (in *baurgswaddjus* ‘city wall’ und *grunduwaddjus* ‘foundation wall’).
3. Like *faihu** ‘wealth’ certainly only inflects: *pairu* ‘spike’; probably also *leipu** ‘fruit wine’.

The loan words and foreign names inflected after the *u*-stems also show forms after the *i*-stems in the plural, cf. for example nom.pl. *aggiljus* next to *aggileis* ‘angels’.

The number of inflected subforms is very small: nom.sg. in *-aus*: 8x, gen.sg. in *-us*: 15x; dat.sg. in *-u*: 10x (11x if *diabaulu* [Bon 2:1] is not a misspelling for *diabulau* [as in Bon 2:2]); acc.sg. in *-au*: 20x; only in the voc.sg. the distribution is more even: 10x on *-u* : 8x on *-au*. The secondary forms are found more frequently in Cod. A (17x), Cod. B (14x), Kal (4x) and Lk (14x); in Mark 2 more.

Historical explanation of the endings:

- Sg.: Nom. m./f.: Goth. *-us* < PGmc. **-uz* (cf. Run. *-uz*, OHG, OS, OE *-u*, OIcl. [if possible, with mutation of the root vowel] *-r*). Gen. m./f.: Goth. *-aus* < PGmc. **-auz* (cf. Run. *-oz*, OHG *-o*, OE *-a*, OIcl. *-ar*). Dat. m./f./n.: Goth. *-au* < PGmc. **-eu* (next to PGmc. **-iui* [cf. Run. *-iu*, OHG *-iu*, OIcl. *-e*]), Goth. *-u* < PGmc. **-ū²*. Acc. m./f.: Goth. *-u* < PGmc. **-uⁿ* (cf. Run. *-u*, OHG, OS, OE [after short syllable] *-u*). Voc. m.: Goth. *-u* < PGmc. **-u*, Goth. *-au* < PGmc. **-au*; Nom./Acc. n.: Goth. *-u* < PGmc. **-u* (cf. Run. *-u*, OHG, OS, OE *-u*, OIcl. [if possible, with mutation of the root vowel] *-Ø*).
- Pl.: Nom. m./f.: Goth. *-jus* < PGmc. **-iuz* (next PGmc. **-i[i]uz* [cf. OIcl. *-er*]). Gen. m./f.: Goth. *-awe* (with analogical *-e*) < PGmc. **-iuaⁿ*. Dat. m./f.: Goth. *-um* < either PGmc. **-umaz* or **-umiz* (cf. OS, OE *-um*, OIcl. *-om*). Acc. m./f.: Goth. *-uns* < PGmc. **-unz* (cf. OE [rare] *-u*, OIcl. *-o*).

3.1.1.2. Consonantal declension

- *n*-declension

The *n*-stems contain masculines, neutres, and feminines. The pure *n*-stems (masculines with the suffix *-an/-in-*, neuters with *-on/-an/-in-* and feminines with *-on-*), the masculine, neuter, and feminine *jan/jōn*-stems as well as the feminine *ein*-stems are distinguished. Since the *jan/jōn*-stems do not show any differences to the pure *n*-stems, apart from the *j* that appears continuously before the ending, they are also treated under these (the expected difference between the short and long syllabic stems does not exist). The suffix in PIE was zero grade **-n-*, full grade **-en/-on-*, lengthened grade **-ēn/-ōn-*. While in the masculine the evening out of the suffix forms is carried out only imperfectly, in the feminines the lengthened grade **-ōn-* completely won through. The neuters are – as usual – consistent with the masculines except in the nom./acc. Paradigm of masculine, neuter, and feminine *n*-stems: 1) *atta* m. ‘father’. 2) *hairto* n. ‘heart’. 3) *qino* f. ‘woman’:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>atta</i>	<i>hairto</i>	<i>qino</i>
	gen.	<i>attins</i>	<i>hairtins</i>	<i>qinons</i>
	dat.	<i>attin</i>	<i>hairtin</i>	<i>qinon</i>
	acc.	<i>attan</i>	<i>hairto</i>	<i>qinon</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>attans</i>	<i>hairtona</i>	<i>qinons</i>
	gen.	<i>attane</i>	<i>hairtane</i>	<i>qinono</i>
	dat.	<i>attam</i>	<i>hairtam</i>	<i>qinom</i>
	acc.	<i>attans</i>	<i>hairtona</i>	<i>qinons</i>

1. Many masculines go like *atta* ‘father’, including: *ahma* ‘mind’, *gadaila* ‘participant’, *guma* ‘man’, *hana* ‘rooster’, *hiuhma* ‘crowd’, *hliuma* ‘hearing’, *magula* ‘little boy’, *mena* ‘moon’, *nuta** ‘catcher, fisherman’, *skula* ‘debtor’, *staua* ‘judge’, *swaihra* ‘father-in-law’, *weiha* ‘priest’; the denominal personal designations with the suffix PGmc. **(i)jan-* show the same endings, e.g.: *arbja* ‘heir’, *fiskja** ‘fisherman’, *frauja* ‘lord, master’, *haurnja** ‘horn blower’, *skilja** ‘butcher’, *timrja* ‘carpenter’, *waurstwja* ‘worker’.
2. Like *hairto* ‘heart’, few words inflect: *auga-dauro** ‘window’, *augo* ‘eye’, *auso* ‘ear’, *barnilo* ‘little child’, *fon* ‘fire’, *kaurno* ‘grain’, *namo* ‘name’, *pairko** ‘hole’, *wato* ‘water’; the loan word *sigljo* ‘seal’ (< Lat. *sigillum*) shows no difference in its inflection.
3. Like *qino* ‘woman’, many feminines inflect, including: *azgo** ‘ash’, *brinno* ‘fever’, *gatwo** ‘alley’, *mawilo* ‘little girl’, *reiro* ‘tremble’, *stairno** ‘star’, *swaihro* ‘mother-in-law’, *tuggo* ‘tongue’, *uhtwo** ‘dawn’; words formed with the suffix PGmc. **(i)jōn-* show no difference in their inflection, e.g.: *aikklesjo* ‘church’, *aiwaggeljo* ‘gospel’, *arbjo* ‘heiress’, *brunjo** ‘armor’, *nibjo* ‘relative’, *rapjo* ‘account’, *sakjo** ‘quarrel’, *tainjo** ‘basket’.

Two masculines and three neutres show divergent forms that are the result of older suffix ablaut:
a. *aba* m. ‘man’ has the gen.pl. *abne* and the dat.pl. *abnam*; b. *auhsa* m. ‘ox’ has the gen.pl. *auhsne* and den acc.pl. *auhsnuns*; c. *fon* n. ‘fire’ has the gen.sg. *funins* and the dat.sg. *funin*; i.e. *namo* n. ‘name’ has the nom./acc.pl. *namna*, the gen.pl. *namne*, and the dat.pl. *namnam*; e. *wato* n. ‘water’ has the dat.pl. *watnam*.

Historical explanation of the endings:

- Sg.: Nom. m.: Goth. *-a* < PGmc. **-ēⁿ/-ōⁿ* (cf. Run. *-a²*, *-o*, OHG, OS *-o*, ?OIcl. *-i*). Nom./Acc. n.: Goth. *-o* is an analogical formation after the plural *hairto-na*. Nom. f.: Goth. *-o* < PGmc. **-ōⁿ* (cf. Run. *-o*, OHG, OS *-a*, OE *-e*, OIcl. *-a*). Gen. m./n.: Goth. *-ins* < PGmc. **-ena/ez* (cf. OHG, OS *-en*); Gen. f.: Goth. *-ons* < PGmc. **-ōna/iz* (cf. OHG *-ūn*, OS *-un*, OIcl. *-o*). Dat. m./n.: Goth. *-in* < PGmc. (loc.sg.) **-enⁱ* (cf. OHG *-in*, OS *-en*). Dat. f.: Goth. *-on* < PGmc. (loc.sg.) **-ōnⁱ* (cf. OHG *-ūn*, OS *-un*). Acc. m.: Goth. *-an* either (with analogical spread of **-a-* from the nom./acc.pl.) < PGmc. **-enuⁿ* or < PGmc. **-anuⁿ* (cf. OHG *-an*). Acc. f.: Goth. *-on* < PGmc. **-ōnuⁿ* (cf. OHG *-ūn*, OS *-un*).
- Pl.: Nom. m.: Goth. *-ans* < PGmc. **-aniz* (cf. OS, OE *-an*). Nom./Acc. n.: Goth. *-ona* < PGmc. **-ōnō* (cf. OE *-an*, OIcl. *-o*). Nom. f.: Goth. *-ons* < PGmc. **-ōniz* (cf. OHG *-ūn*, OS *-un*). Gen. m./n.: Goth. *-ane* (with secondary *-e* and with suffix *-a-* from the nom./acc.Pl.; the old form of the suffix only in *abne*, *auhsne*, *namne*) < PGmc. **-na^{n(?)}* (cf. OE, OIcl. *-na*). Gen. f.: Goth. *-ono* < PGmc. **-ōnōⁿ* (cf. OHG *-ōno*, OS *-ono*, OE *-ena*). Dat. m./n.: Goth. *-am* < PGmc. (dat./instr.) **-anmi/az* (cf. OS *-an*, *-un*, *-on*, OE *-um*, OIcl. *-om*). Dat. f.: Goth. *-om* < PGmc. (dat./instr.) **-ōnmi/az* (cf. OHG *-ōm*, OS *-on*, OE *-um*, OIcl. *-om*). Acc. m.: Goth. *-ans* is a replacement of the ending PGmc. **-anuns* by the nom.pl. like in most/all Germanic languages (or created by haplology?) (cf. OHG *-on*, *-un*, OS *-an*, *-on*, *-un*, OE *-an*). Acc. f.: Goth. *-ons* is replacement of the ending PGmc. **-ōnuns* by the form of the nom.pl. like in most/all Germanic languages (or created by haplology?) (cf. OHG *-ūn*, OS *-un*, OE *-an*, OIcl. *-or*).

In their inflection completely parallel to the feminine *n*-stems are the feminine *ein*-stems, which are usually adjective abstract nouns. Paradigm of feminine *ein*-stems: 1) *managei* f. ‘crowd’:

sg.	nom.	<i>managei</i>	pl.	nom.	<i>manageins</i>
	gen.	<i>manageins</i>		gen.	<i>manageino</i>
	dat.	<i>managein</i>		dat.	<i>manageim</i>
	acc.	<i>managein</i>		acc.	<i>mangeins</i>

1. Like *managei* ‘crowd’, inflect e.g.: *aglaitei* ‘fornication’, *aipei* ‘mother’, *bairhtei* ‘clarity, revelation’, *baurpei** ‘burden’, *bleipei* ‘goodness’, *diupei* ‘depth’, *frodei** ‘prudence’, *gagudei* ‘piety’, *hairnei** ‘skull’, *kilpei** ‘womb’, *laggei* ‘length’, *magapei** ‘virginity’, *marei* ‘sea’, *mikilei** ‘size’, *pairstei** ‘thirst’, *pramstei** ‘grasshopper’.

Since the formation in *-ei* has similarities with those of the *i*-stems in *-eins* (see 3.1.1.1.) (acc.sg. *-ein*, gen.pl. *-eino*), inflectional transitions between the two occurred (see also above); it is sometimes difficult to decide to which class a word belongs; thus (dat.sg.) *ufarmaudein* ‘forgottenness’ (Sk 6:4) points to *ufarmaudei**, but because of the counterpart *gamaudeins** ‘remembrance’, a lemma *ufarmaudeins** seems more likely.

Thrice a nom.sg. in *-ein* is transmitted: 1. *gagudein* ‘piety’ (1.TimB 4:8; *-ei* A); 2. *liuhadein* ‘enlightenment’ (2.KorB 4:4; *-eins* A); 3. *wiljahalpein* ‘favour’ (KlB 3:25); uncertain is *kaurein* ‘heavyness, fullness’ (2.KorB 4:17), which can also be an acc.sg

- *r*-declension

The Gothic *r*-stems include both masculines as well as feminines. The declension of both genera is completely the same. The *r*-stems mainly continue kinship designations with the suffix PIE **-ter-*, to which the word for ‘sister’ (PIE **syésōr*) has been added secondarily. Paradigm of masculine and feminine *r*-stems: 1) *broþar* m. ‘brother’. 2) *dauhtar* f. ‘daughter’:

		masculine	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>broþar</i>	<i>dauhtar</i>
	gen.	<i>broþrs</i>	<i>dauhts</i>
	dat.	<i>broþr</i>	<i>dauht</i>
	acc.	<i>broþar</i>	<i>dauhtar</i>
	voc.	<i>broþar</i>	<i>dauhtar</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>broþrjus</i>	<i>dauhtrijus</i>
	gen.	<i>broþre</i>	<i>dauhtre</i>
	dat.	<i>broþrum</i>	<i>dauhttrum</i>
	acc.	<i>broþruns</i>	<i>dauhttruns</i>

1. Like *broþar* m. ‘brother’ and *dauhtar* f. ‘daughter’ also inflect: *fadar** m. (only once as voc.sg. [GalA 4:6]; otherwise it is superseded by *atta*) and *swestar* f. ‘sister’.

Historical explanation of the endings:

- Sg.: Nom.: Goth. *-ar* < PGmc. **-er* (taken over from the ending of the voc.sg.) (next to PGmc. **-ēr* [cf. OHG *-er*, OS, OE *-ar*, *-er*, OIcl. *-ir*]). Gen.: Goth. *-rs* < PGmc. **-ra/es* (cf. OHG, OS, OE *-er*). Dat.: Goth. *-r* < PGmc. (loc.sg.) **-ri* (cf. OHG *-er*, OS *-er*, *-or*, OE *-er*, OIcl. *-r*). Acc.: Goth. *-ar* < PGmc. **-erun* (cf. OHG *-er*, OS, OE *-er*); Voc.: got *-ar* < PGmc. **-er* oder *-ar* (> cf. ? Run. *-ar*).
- Pl.: Nom.: Goth. *-rjus* is taken over from the corresponding ending of the *u*-st. Gen.: Goth. *-riwe* is taken over from the corresponding ending of the *u*-st. Dat.: Goth. *-rum* < PGmc. **-ruma/iz* (with metathesis) ← **-urma/iz* (cf. OS, OE *-rum*, OIcl. [if possible, with mutation of the root vowel] *-rum*). Acc.: Goth. *-runs* < PGmc. **-runz*.

- *nd*-declension

The masculines belonging to this declension are substantivated present participles, some of which still show the inherited consonantal inflection on *-nd-*. Paradigm: 1. *nasjands* m. ‘Saviour’ (← ‘rescuer’):

sg.	nom.	<i>nasjands</i>	pl.	nom.	<i>nasjands</i>
	gen.	<i>nasjandis</i>		gen.	<i>nasjande</i>
	dat.	<i>nasjand</i>		dat.	<i>nasjandam</i>
	acc.	<i>nasjand</i>		acc.	<i>nasjands</i>

voc. *nasjand*

1. Like *nasjands* ‘Saviour’ also inflect: *allwaldands* ‘the allmighty’, *bisitands** ‘neighbor’, *dagands** ‘light bringer’, *daupjands* ‘baptist’, *fi(j)ands* ‘enemy’, *frijonds* ‘friend’, *fraujinonds** ‘ruler’, *gardawaldands* ‘lord of the house’, *gibands* ‘giver’, *talzjands** ‘teacher’.

fraweitands ‘avenger’ and *midumonds* ‘mediator’ also belong here, although only the nom.sg. is transmitted, since the dependent gen.pl. (*fraweitands frauja ist allaize* ‘the Lord is the avenger of all’ [1.ThessB 4:6] and *midumonds gudis jah manne* ‘a mediator between God and men’ [1.TimAB 2:5]) imply the forms to be substantives.

merjands ‘proclaimer’ is also to be placed here since the word corresponds to Gr. *kérus* ‘herald’.

Historical explanation of the endings:

- Sg.: Nom.: Goth. *-s* < PGmc. **-s/z*. Gen.: Goth. *-is* is taken over from the corresponding ending of the *a*-st. Dat.: Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. (loc.sg.) **-i*. Acc.: Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. **-un* (or taken over from the corresponding ending of the *a*-st.). Voc.: got *-Ø* is taken over from the corresponding ending of the *a*-st.
- Pl.: Nom.: Goth. *-s* < PGmc. **-iz*. Gen.: Goth. *-e* is taken over from the corresponding ending of the *a*-st. Dat.: Goth. *-am* is taken over from the corresponding ending of the *a*-st. Acc.: Goth. *-s* is taken over from the ending of the nom.pl.
- Root nouns, stems with a dental suffix

This group contains masculines and feminines.

Root nouns are nouns in which the inflectional ending is directly attached to the root without a stem-forming element (cf. Lat. *rēx* ‘king’ [< **rēg-s*], *rēg-is*). In Gothic this class is in sharp decline. In the inflection the Gothic root nouns do not differ from the stems with a dental suffix, so they can be treated together.

The feminines to be classified here have in the nom./acc.sg. become identical with the *i*-stems and have mostly also adopted the ending of *i*-stems in the dat.pl. Paradigm: 1) *baurgs* f. ‘city’:

sg.	nom.	<i>baurgs</i>	pl.	nom.	<i>baurgs</i>
	gen.	<i>baurgs</i>		gen.	<i>baurge</i>
	dat.	<i>baurg</i>		dat.	<i>baurgim</i>
	acc.	<i>baurg</i>		acc.	<i>baurgs</i>

1. Like *baurgs* ‘city’ also inflect: *alhs* ‘temple’, *brusts* ‘breast’, *gaits* ‘goat’, *miluks* ‘milk’, *mitaps* ‘measure’, *nahts* ‘night’, *spaurds** ‘racetrack’.

dulps ‘fest’ and *waihts* ‘thing’ normally follow the inflection of the *i*-stems; however, there are also consonantal forms: dat.sg. *dulp* (Joh 7:14 [spelling error?]); acc.pl. *waihts* (Sk 2:4).

Historical explanation of the endings:

- Sg.: Nom.: Goth. *-s* < PGmc. **-s/z*. Gen.: Goth. *-s* < PGmc. **-i/az/s* (cf. OIcl. [if possible, with mutation of the root vowel] *-r*). Dat.: Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. (loc.sg.) **-i*. Acc.: Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. **-un* (or taken over from the ending of the acc.sg. of the *i*-st.?).
- Pl.: Nom.: Goth. *-s* < PGmc. **-iz* (cf. OIcl. [if possible, with mutation of the root vowel] *-r*). Gen.: Goth. *-e* is taken over from the corresponding ending of the *a*-st. Dat.: Goth. *-im* is taken over from the corresponding ending of the *i*-st. Acc.: Goth. *-s* is taken over from the ending of the nom.pl.

The four masculines, which show consonantal inflection, do not completely agree in their inflection:

1. *manna* m. ‘man’ follows in some cases the *n*-st.:

		cons.st.	<i>n</i> -st.			cons.st.	<i>n</i> -st.
sg.	nom.		<i>manna</i>	pl.	nom.	<i>mans</i>	<i>mannans</i>
	gen.	<i>mans</i>			gen.	<i>manne</i>	
	dat.	<i>mann</i>			dat.		<i>mannam</i>
	acc.		<i>mannan</i>	acc.	<i>mans</i>		<i>mannans</i>

2. From *menops* m. ‘month’ are attested: nom.sg. *menops* (Lk 1:36), gen.sg. *men<opis>* (Neh 6:15), dat.sg. *menop* (Lk 1:26), dat.pl. *menopum* (GalA 4:10), acc.pl. *menops* (Lk 1:24.56, 4:25).
3. From *reiks* m. ‘ruler’ are attested: nom.sg. *reiks* (Mt 9:18, Joh 12:31, 16:11), gen.sg. *reikis* (Mt 9:23), dat.sg. *reik* (EphAB 2:2), nom.pl. *reiks* (Joh 7:26, RömAC 13:3), gen.pl. *reike* (Lk 18:18, Joh 7:48, Sk 8:3[2x].4[2x]), dat.pl. *reikam* (Joh 12:42).
4. From *weitwops** m. ‘witness’ are attested: acc.sg. *weitwod* (2.KorAB 1:23), gen.pl. *weitwode* (MtC 26:65, Mk 14:63, 1.TimA 5:19, 1.TimAB 6:12, 2.KorAB 13:1), nom.pl. *-weitwods* (in *galiugaweitwods* ‘false witnesses’ [Lk 18:20, Mk 10:19]), acc.pl. *-weitwods* (in *galiugaweitwods* ‘false witnesses’ [1.KorA 15:15]).

To this group also belongs the pronoun nom. *bajops* ‘both’ (Lk 5:38, EphAB 2:18), dat. *bajopum* (Mt 9:17, Sk 2:4, 3:1).

3.1.2. Declension of the pronouns

3.1.2.1. Personal pronouns and reflexive pronoun

The pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person, which still show the dual, have no gender distinction. To these personal pronouns comes the reflexive pronoun for the 3rd person, which also does not know any number differentiation. Paradigms: 1) *ik* ‘I’. 2) *þu* ‘you’. 3) *sik* ‘oneself’:

Person		1.	2.	reflexive pronoun
sg.	nom.	<i>ik</i>	<i>þu</i>	–
	gen.	<i>meina</i>	<i>þeina</i>	<i>(seina)</i>
	dat.	<i>mis</i>	<i>þus</i>	<i>sis</i>
	acc.	<i>mik</i>	<i>þuk</i>	<i>sik</i>
du.	nom.	<i>wit</i>	–	–
	gen.	–	<i>igqara</i>	<i>(seina)</i>
	dat.	<i>ugkis</i>	<i>igqis</i>	<i>sis</i>
	acc.	<i>ugkis</i>	<i>igqis</i>	<i>sik</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>weis</i>	<i>jus</i>	–
	gen.	<i>unsara</i>	<i>izwara</i>	<i>seina</i>
	dat.	<i>uns, unsis</i>	<i>izwis</i>	<i>sis</i>
	acc.	<i>uns, unsis</i>	<i>izwis</i>	<i>sik</i>

The *-s* in the nom.pl. of the 1st/2nd person is the result of final devoicing (see 2.3.2.), as can be seen from the spellings *weiz-up-þan* and *juz-up-þan* hervorgeht.

In the dat.pl. the two forms *uns* and *unsis* appear about equally often (66x *uns* : 59x *unsis*), in the acc.pl. on the other hand, *uns* is recorded much more often (124x *uns* : 24x *unsis*).

Historical explanation of the forms:

- Sg.: Nom.: 1.: Goth. *ik* either < PGmc. (stressed) **ek* (cf. Run. **ek**, OS, OIcl. *ek*) or < PGmc. (unstressed) **ik* (cf. Run. **ik**, OHG *ih*, OS *ik*, OE *ic*, OFris. *ik*) or < PGmc. **eka*ⁿ (cf. Run. **eka**, **-eka**, Run.dän. **iak**, anorw., OSwed. *iak*). 2.: Goth. *þu* < PGmc. **þu* (cf. OHG *du*, OS *t[h]ū*, OE *ðu*, OIcl. *þu*, *tu*). Gen.: 1./2./3.: identical with the acc.pl.n.[?] of the possessive pronoun. Dat.: 1. Goth. *mis* either < PGmc. (stressed) **mez* (cf. ? Run. <**me**>**z**, OHG *mer*, OS, OE [partly with secondary lengthening] *me*, OIcl. [with secondary lengthening] *mér*) or < PGmc. (unstressed) **miz* (cf. ? Run. <**mi**>**z**, OHG *mir*, OS [partly with secondary lengthening] *mi*). 2.: Goth. *þus* (with analogical vowel from the nom.) either < PGmc. (stressed) **þez* (cf. [partly with secondary lengthening] OE *þe*, OIcl. [with secondary lengthening] *þér*) or < PGmc. (unstressed) **þiz* (cf. OHG *dir*, OS [with secondary lengthening] *þī*). 3. Goth. *sis* likely < PGmc. (stressed) **sez* (theoretically, also PGmc. [unstressed] **siz* is possible) (cf. OIcl. [with secondary lengthening] *sér*). Acc.: 1. Goth. *mik* either < PGmc. (stressed) **mek* (cf. OE *mec*) or < PGmc. (unstressed) **mik* (cf. OHG *mih*, OS, OIcl. *mik*). 2. Goth. *þuk* (with analogical vowel from the nom.) either < PGmc. (stressed) **þek* (cf. OE *þec*) or < PGmc. (unstressed) **þik* (cf. OHG *dih*, OS, OIcl. *þik*). 3. Goth. *sik* either < PGmc. (stressed) **sek* or < PGmc. (unstressed) **sik* (cf. OHG *sih*, OIcl. *sik*).
- Du.: Nom.: 1.: Goth. *wit* either < PGmc. (stressed) **uēt* or < PGmc. (unstressed) **uit* (cf. OS, OE *wit*, OIcl. *vit*). Gen.: 2.: Goth. *igqara* identical with the acc.pl.n.[?] of the possessive pronoun. Dat.: 1.: Goth. *ugkis* < PGmc. **unkiz* (consisting of **unk-* [cf. OS *unk*, OE *unc*] + [dat.sg.] **-iz*) (cf. OIcl. *okkr*). 2.: Goth. *igqis* < PGmc. **inkuiz* (consisting of **inku-* [cf. OS *ink*, OE *inc*] + [dat.sg.] **-iz*) (cf. OIcl. *ykkir*).

- Pl.: Nom.: 1.: Goth. *weis* < PGmc. **uīz* (cf. OHG [with shortening in unstressed position] *wir*, OIcl. *vér*, [with shortening in unstressed position and loss of **-z* with partly secondary lengthening in stressed position] OS *wī*, OE *we*). 2.: Goth. *jus* < PGmc. **iūz* (cf. [with reformation after **uīz* to **iūz* partly with development in unstressed position] OHG *ir*, OS *gī*, *ge*, OE *ge*, OIcl. *ér*). Gen.: 1.: Goth. *unsara* identical with the acc.pl.n.[?] of the possessive pronoun. 2.: Goth. *izwara* identical with the acc.pl.n.[?] of the possessive pronoun. Dat./Acc.: 1.: Goth. *uns*, *unsis* (with *-is* after *m-is*) < PGmc. **uns* (cf. OHG *uns*, OS *ūs*, OE *ūs*, OIcl. *oss*). 2.: Goth. *izwis* < PGmc. **izuiz* < **uizuiz* (with doubling) < **uiz* (to avoid coincidence with **uiz* < **uīz*) (cf. OIcl. [with dissimilation of **-z-* > **-ð-*] *yþr*, [with dissimilatory loss of **-z-*] OHG *iu*, *eu*, OS *eu*, *iu[u]*, OE *ēow*).

3.1.2.2. Possessive adjective

From the stems of the personal pronoun and the reflexive pronoun the possessive adjective is derived:

- Sg.: 1st person: *meins* m., *mein* (*meinata*) n., *meina* f. ‘mine’.
 2nd person: *beins* m., *bein* (*beinata*) n., *beina* f. ‘your’.
 3rd person: *seins** ‘his, her’.
- Du.: 2nd person: dat.sg.f. (Mt 9:29) *iggarai* (nom.sg. *iggar** ‘both your’).
- Pl.: 1st person: *unsar* m., *unsar* n., *unsara* f. ‘our’.
 2nd person: *izwar* m., *izwar* n., *izwara* f. ‘your’.
 3rd person: *seins** ‘his, her’.

The inflection of the possessive adjectives is completely identical with that of the strong adjectives. Weak forms do not occur.

Historical explanation of the forms:

- The forms with Goth. *-n-* are extensions with the suffix PGmc. **-na-* < PIE **-no-* to the PIE forms of the loc.sg. **me-i*, **te-I*, and **se-i*.
- The forms with Goth. *-ar-* are extensions with the suffix PGmc. **-ara-* < PIE opposites forming suffix **-ero-* from the corresponding personal pronouns.

3.1.2.3. Anaphoric pronoun of the 3rd person

The pronoun of the 3rd person (anaphoric pronoun) is differentiated by gender. Paradigm: 1) *is*, *ita*, *si* ‘he, it, she’:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>is</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>si</i>
	gen.	<i>is</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>izos</i>
	dat.	<i>imma</i>	<i>imma</i>	<i>izai</i>

	acc.	<i>ina</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>ija</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>eis</i>	<i>ija</i>	(<i>ijos</i>)
	gen.	<i>ize</i>	(<i>ize</i>)	<i>izo</i>
	dat.	<i>im</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>im</i>
	acc.	<i>ins</i>	(<i>ija</i>)	<i>ijos</i>

Historical explanation of the forms:

- Sg.: Nom.m.: Goth. *is* < PGmc. **iz* or **ez* (cf. Run. **is**, **ez**, OHG *er*). Nom./Acc.n.: Goth. *ita* < PGmc. **it* (cf. OHG *iz*, OS *it*) + particle PGmc. **-ō*ⁿ. Nom.f.: Goth. *si* < PGmc. **si* (cf. OHG *si*). Gen.m./n.: Goth. *is* < PGmc. **isa* or **esa* (cf. OHG *es*, OS *is*, *es*). Gen.f.: Goth. *izos* < PGmc. **izōz* (cf. OHG, OS *ira*). Dat.m./n.: Goth. *imma* < PGmc. **izmō* (or **izmē*[?]) (cf. [with assimilation and simplification] OHG, OS *imu*). Dat.f.: Goth. *izai* < PGmc. **izaī* (cf. OE [with *-ie-* from the acc.sg. and secondary *h-*] *hiere*; next to [with replacement of the ending with **-ō* of the instr.sg.] OHG, OS *iru*). Acc.m.: Goth. *ina* < PGmc. **inō*ⁿ (cf. ? OHG *in*, OS *ina*). Acc.f.: Goth. *ija* < PGmc. **iġō*ⁿ (cf. [with secondary *h-*] > OE *hīe* next to [with *s-* from the nom.sg.f.] OHG, OS *sia*).
- Pl.: Nom.m.: Goth. *eis* < PGmc. **iġiz* (next to [with different reformations] OHG *sie*, OS *sia*, *sea*, OE *hīe*). Nom.n.: Goth. *ija* < PGmc. **iġō* (next to [with different reformations] OHG *sio*, OS *siu*, *sea*, OE *hīe*). Gen.m.: Goth. *ize* (with replacement of the ending with *-e*) < PGmc. **izō*ⁿ (cf. OHG, OS *iro*). Gen.f.: Goth. *izo* < PGmc. **izō*ⁿ (cf. OHG, OS *iro*). Dat.m./n./f.: Goth. *im* < PGmc. **imi/az* (cf. OHG, OS *im*). Acc.m.: Goth. *ins* < PGmc. **ins*. Acc.f.: Goth. *ijos* (with replacement of the ending after the nom.pl.f. *ijos**) < PGmc. **iġōns*.

3.1.2.4. Demonstrative pronouns

- The simple demonstrative pronoun *sa* m., *þata* n., *so* f. is used both as a true demonstrative and as a translation for the Greek article (*ho* m., *tó* n., *hē* f.). Paradigm: 1) *sa* m., *þata* n., *so* f. ‘this, the; that, the; that, the’:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>sa</i>	<i>þata</i>	<i>so</i>
	gen.	<i>þis</i>	<i>þis</i>	<i>þizos</i>
	dat.	<i>þamma</i>	<i>þamma</i>	<i>þizai</i>
	acc.	<i>þana</i>	<i>þata</i>	<i>þo</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>þai</i>	<i>þo</i>	<i>þos</i>
	gen.	<i>þize</i>	<i>þize</i>	<i>þizo</i>
	dat.	<i>þaim</i>	<i>þaim</i>	<i>þaim</i>
	acc.	<i>þans</i>	<i>þo</i>	<i>þos</i>

The final *-a* of the bisyllabic forms is elided before enclitic elements that start with a vowel.

The instr.sg.n. *þe* is no longer used as a case in its own right. Independently, it only stands once before the comparative: *ni þe haldis* (Sk 4:4) ‘thereby no longer’ > ‘nevertheless’; also, in the adverbial combinations and conjunctions *bi þe* ‘later, then; while, as, if’, *du-þe*, *du-þ-þe* ‘to, therefore’, *jaþ-þe* ‘and if’.

Historical explanation of the forms:

- Sg.: Nom.m.: Goth. *sa* < PGmc. **sa* (cf. OIcl. [with secondary lengthening] *sá*). Nom./Acc.n.: Goth. *þata* < PGmc. **þat* (cf. OHG *daz*, OS *that*, OE *þæt*, OIcl. *þat*) + particle PGmc. **-ōn*. Nom.f.: Goth. *so* < PGmc. **sō* (cf. OIcl. *sú*). Gen.m./n.: Goth. *þis* < PGmc. **þez/s^a* (cf. OHG *des*, OS *þes*). Gen.f.: Goth. *þizos* < PGmc. **þezōz* (with reformation from PGmc. **þeziōz*; cf. OHG *dera*, OS *thera*). Dat.m./n.: Goth. *þamma* < PGmc. **þezmō* or **þezmē* (cf. OHG *demu*, OS *themu*). Dat.f.: Goth. *þizai* < PGmc. **þezai* (with reformation from PGmc. **þeziāi*). Acc.m.: Goth. *þana* < PGmc. *þanōn* (cf. OS *thana*, OE *þone*). Acc.f.: Goth. *þo* < PGmc. **þōn* (cf. OE *þā*, OIcl. *þá*).
- Pl.: Nom.m.: Goth. *þai* < PGmc. **þai* (cf. OHG *dē*, OS *thē*, OE *þā*). Nom./Acc.n.: Goth. *þo* < PGmc. **þō*. Nom./Acc.f.: Goth. *þos* < PGmc. **þōz* (cf. OE *þā*, OIcl. *þár*). Gen.m./n.: Goth. *þize* (with replacement of the ending with *-e*) < PGmc. **þezōn* (cf. OHG *dero*, OS *thero*). Gen.f.: Goth. *þizo* < PGmc. **þezōn* (cf. OHG *dero*, OS *thero*). Dat.m./n./f.: Goth. *þaim* < PGmc. **þaiṃi/az* (cf. OHG *dēm*, OS *them*, OE *þām*, OIcl. *þeim*). Acc.m.: Goth. *þans* < PGmc. **þanz/s* (cf. OE *þā*, OIcl. *þá*).
- A reinforced demonstrative pronoun arises by addition of the enclitic particle *-(u)h* ‘and’ to the simple demonstrative pronoun. It is a real demonstrative pronoun and is not used to translate the Greek article. Paradigm: 1) *sah* m., *þatuh* n., *soh* f. ‘this/that one’:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>sah</i>	<i>þatuh</i>	<i>soh</i>
	gen.	<i>þizuh</i>	<i>þizuh</i>	—
	dat.	<i>þammuh</i>	<i>þammuh</i>	—
	acc.	<i>þanuh</i>	<i>þatuh</i>	—
pl.	nom.	<i>þaih</i>	—	—
	gen.	—	—	—
	dat.	—	—	—
	acc.	<i>þanzuh</i>	—	—

The instr.sg.n. *þeh* only appears in *bi-þeh* adv. ‘later, then; while, as, when’.

- A defective pronoun **hi-* ‘this’ occurs only in a few forms (in the dat.sg.m./n. *himma*, acc.sg.m. *hina*, and acc.sg.n. *hita*) and only in determinations of time: *himma daga* ‘today’, *fram himma (nu)* ‘from now on’, and *hina dag* ‘until today’, *und hita (nu)* ‘until now’.

Historical explanation of the form:

- The pronoun continues the PIE pronominal stem **ki-/ke-*, to which are attached the same endings of the simple demonstrative pronoun.
- The pronoun *jains* m., *jainata* n., *jaina* f. ‘that one’ is inflected as a strong adjective. In the neuter however, the nominal (endless) form is not found (but there is only one instance [acc.sg.n.] *jainata* [Lk 15:14]).

Historical explanation of the form:

- The pronoun continues the PIE relative pronoun **ie/o-*. The Germanic form goes back (comparable to some other personal pronouns) to a PIE loc.sg. **io-i* to which the suffix **-no-* was added.

3.1.2.5. Relative pronouns

- In Gothic there is no synthetic relative pronoun, but an uninflected relative particle *ei*. This is found:
 1. Conjunctive in dependent clauses meaning ‘with, (on) that’.
 2. Seldom relational, cf. KolB 1:9: *duppe jah weis, fram þamma daga ei hausidedun, ni heilaidedum faur izwis bidjandans* ‘therefore from the day we heard it we did not rest from praying for you’.
- The relative particle *ei* combines with the demonstrative pronoun *sa* m., *þata* n., *so* f. ‘this, the’ to form the relative pronoun of the 3rd person ‘which’. Paradigm: 1) *saei* m., *þatei* n., *soei* f. ‘which’:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>saei</i>	<i>þatei</i>	<i>soei</i>
	gen.	<i>þizei</i>	<i>þizei</i>	<i>þizozei</i>
	dat.	<i>þammei</i>	<i>þammei</i>	<i>þizaiei</i>
	acc.	<i>þanei</i>	<i>þatei</i>	<i>þoei</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>þaiei</i>	<i>þoei</i>	<i>þozei</i>
	gen.	<i>þizeei</i>	<i>þizeei</i>	—
	dat.	<i>þaimei</i>	<i>þaimei</i>	<i>þaimei</i>
	acc.	<i>þanzuh</i>	<i>þoei</i>	<i>þozei</i>

The final *-a* in some forms of the demonstrative pronoun is elided before *ei*.

The instr.sg.n. *þeei* is only used as a conjunction ‘because of that’ and is only found after the negation *ni* ‘not’.

A secondary form of *þatei* is *þei*, which is only used in connection with *þishah* ‘everything which’ and as a conjunction ‘that’.

- In the same capacity as the nom.sg.m. *saei* also a form *izei* is used, instead of the nom.sg.f. *soei* also *sei* (< **si-ei*). Some times, *izei* also stands as nom.pl.m. (instead of the non-existing **eizei*). Here the relative particle *ei* is added to the personal pronoun of the 3rd person *is* m., *ita* n., *si* f. ‘he, it, she’. This relative pronoun is already becoming obsolete in ancestral Gothic.

- If the relative clause refers to a 1st or 2nd person, the relative particle *ei* is attached to the respective personal pronoun:
 1. 1st singular: nom. *ikei* ‘(I), who’.
 2. 2nd singular: nom. *þuei*, dat. *þuzei*, acc. *þukei* ‘(you), who’.
 3. 2nd plural: nom. *juzei*, dat. *izwizei* ‘(you), who’.

3.1.2.6. Interrogative pronouns

- The interrogative pronoun knows in Gothic, unlike the situation in the other Germanic languages, a separate feminine. There is no plural. After *has*, a noun appears usually in the (partitive) genitive, while the pronoun takes on the gender of the noun. Adjectival usage is quite rare (*has þiudans* ‘which king’ [Lk 14:31]; *has manna* ‘which man’ [Lk 15:4]). Paradigm: 1) *has* m., *hva* n., *hvo* f. ‘who?’:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>has</i>	<i>hva</i>	<i>hvo</i>
	gen.	<i>his</i>	<i>his</i>	—
	dat.	<i>hamma</i>	<i>hamma</i>	<i>hizai</i>
	acc.	<i>hana</i>	<i>hva</i>	<i>hvo</i>
	instr.	—	<i>he</i>	—

The instr.sg.n. of the interrogative pronoun is the instrumental still actively in use (in total in 10 instances). It is used:

1. Absolute (cf. *he wasjaip* ‘with what you clothe yourselves’ [Mt 6:25]).
2. Before the comparative (cf. *he managizo* ‘how much more’ [Mt 5:47]).

In addition, *he* appears in adverbial combinations with the prepositions *bi* and *du* (*bihe* ‘on what’; *dulve* ‘why’).

From the pronominal stem PGmc. * χ^w a- by means of adjectival suffixes are further derived:

1. *harjis* ‘which’, inflected like a strong adjective; the noun dependent on *harjis* stands in the genitive (exception: *harjos anabusnins* ‘which commandments’ [1.ThessB 4:2]).
2. *hapar* ‘who of two’, also inflected like a strong adjective; in one instance it is combined with a dependent genitive (*hapar nu þize* ‘who of these two’ [Lk 7:42]).

From a variant stem PGmc. * χ^w i- Goth. *hi*- in *hileiks* ‘like what?’ is derived that is inflected like a strong adjective.

Historical explanation of the forms:

- Sg.: Nom.m.: Goth. *has* < PGmc. * χ^w az (cf. OE *hwā*). Nom./Acc.n.: Goth. *hva* < PGmc. * χ^w an (with analogical *-n from the n. a-st.) < PGmc. * χ^w at (cf. OHG *hwaz*, OS *hwat*, OE *hwæt*, OIcl. *hvat*). Nom.f.: Goth. *hvo* (if really inherited and not rebuilt) < PGmc. * χ^w ō. Gen.m./n.: Goth. *his* < PGmc. * χ^w ez/s^a (cf. OHG *hwes*, OS *hwes*, OE *hwæs*, OIcl. *hves*). Dat.m./n.: Goth. *hamma* < PGmc. * χ^w azmō or * χ^w azmē. Dat.f.: Goth. *hizai* (if really inherited and not rebuilt) < PGmc. * χ^w ezai. Acc.m.: Goth.

hana < PGmc. * χ^w *anō*ⁿ (cf. OE *hwone*). Acc.f.: Goth. *ho* (if really inherited and not rebuilt) < PGmc. * χ^w *ōn*.

3.1.2.7. Indefinite pronouns

- The indefinite pronoun ‘any’ is Goth. *sums* m., *sum*, *sumata** n., *suma* f. (Goth. *sums* < PGmc. **suma*- [OHG, OS *sum*, Early MDu. *som*, OE *sum*, OFris. *sum*, *som*, OIcl. *sumr*]), inflected like a strong adjective and is used both like an adjective and a noun (‘someone’).
- When *manna*, *has* and *ains* are connected with the enclitic particle *-hun*, they serve as indefinite pronouns. They always have the negation *ni* ‘not’ with them and in this combination they mean ‘nobody, no one’:
 1. Of *manna* are documented: *ni mannahun*, *ni manshun*, *ni mannhun*, *ni mannanhun*.
 2. Of *has* are documented: *ni hashun* (also auch *ni hanhun* adv. ‘never’).
 3. The most common is *(ni) ainshun* ‘no one’. The transmitted forms of *ainshun* deviate from those of the simplex word *ains*: long vowels of *ains* that were shortened in final position have been preserved by the particles (in covered final position). Paradigm:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>ainshun</i>	<i>ainhun</i>	<i>ainohun</i>
	gen.	<i>ainishun</i>	—	—
	dat.	<i>ainummehun</i>	—	<i>ainaihun</i>
	acc.	<i>ain(n)ohun</i>	<i>ainhun</i>	<i>ainohun</i>

- The term ‘any’ is denoted by the addition of the enclitic particle *-(u)h* ‘and’ to *has* or *harjis*. As with *ainshun*, the inflection differs from that of the simple words. Paradigm: 1) *hazuh* m., *hah* n., *hoh* f. ‘any’:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>hazuh</i>	<i>hah</i>	<i>hoh</i>
	gen.	<i>hizuh</i>	<i>hizuh</i>	—
	dat.	<i>hammeh</i>	<i>hammeh</i>	—
	acc.	<i>hanoh</i>	<i>hah</i>	<i>hoh</i>
pl.	acc.	<i>hanzuh</i>	—	—

The instr.sg.n. of *hazuh* is only found as *heh* adv. ‘anyway, only’.

Paradigm: 1) *harjizuh* m., *harjatoh* n.:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>harjizuh</i>	<i>harjatoh</i>	–
	gen.	<i>harjizuh</i>	<i>harjizuh</i>	–
	dat.	<i>harjammeh</i>	<i>harjammeh</i>	–
	acc.	<i>harjanoh</i>	–	<i>harjoh*</i>

- To express ‘everyone whoever’ is used: 1. *(sa)hazuh saei (izei)*; 2. *þishazuh saei/þei/ei*.

3.1.3. Declension of the adjectives

The stem of the PIE adjectives could (like that of the nouns) end on a consonant as well as on a vowel (cf. Lat. *longus* ‘long’ : *felix* [= *felik-s*] ‘happy’). Towards Germanic the consonantal inflection of the adjectives has been lost, the vowel inflection has been preserved. On the other hand, Germanic developed a new inflection class according to which (apart from a few exceptions [see below]) all adjectives can be declined, the weak declension, which follows the *n*-stems of the noun. The two types of declination, the strong and the weak one, stand in systematic contrast to each other: the strong forms indicate indefiniteness, while the weak forms indicate definiteness. So, in the adjectives the first attempt to mark the definiteness of the noun phrase arises – long before the article develops. In Gothic the weak inflection is used after the pronoun *sa*, *so*, *þata* and only rarely in other usages; the strong inflection is used in all other cases.

3.1.3.1. Strong adjectives

The strong inflection of the adjectives was probably originally completely identical to the vocalic inflection of the noun. In Germanic – as in the other German languages – the adjective adopted inflection endings of the pronominal adjectives. The nom./acc.sg.n. has two endings, one nominal and one pronominal (*-ata*).

As is the case with the nouns, the adjectives are divided into several vocalic declensions. There are:

1. Adjectives of the *a/ō*-declension (with the subgroup of the *ja/jō*- declension).
2. Adjectives of the *i*-declension.
3. Adjectives of the *u*-declension.

Adjectives of the *i*- and *u*-declension are rare in Gothic, because firstly their number in PGmc. was already low, and secondly, most case forms have gone over to the *ja/jō*-inflection.

Only strong inflection have:

1. The pronominal adjectives (except *sama* ‘the same’ and *silba* ‘himself’).
 2. The cardinals *ains* ‘one’ and the ordinal *anþar* ‘the second’.
 3. The adjectives *alls* ‘all’, *fulls* ‘full’, *ganohs** ‘enough’, *halbs** ‘half’ and *midjis** ‘the middle one’.
- Inflection of the strong *a/ō*-stems. Paradigm: 1) *blinds* m., *blind(ata)* n., *blinda* f. ‘blind’ (the forms with a pronominal ending are underlined):

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>blinds</i>	<i>blind</i> , <u><i>blindata</i></u>	<i>blinda</i>
	gen.	<i>blindis</i>	<i>blindis</i>	<u><i>blindaizos</i></u>
	dat.	<u><i>blindamma</i></u>	<u><i>blindamma</i></u>	<i>blindai</i>
	acc.	<u><i>blindana</i></u>	<i>blind</i> , <u><i>blindata</i></u>	<i>blinda</i>
pl.	nom.	<u><i>blindai</i></u>	<i>blinda</i>	<i>blindos</i>
	gen.	<u><i>blindaize</i></u>	<u><i>blindaize</i></u>	<u><i>blindaizo</i></u>
	dat.	<u><i>blindaim</i></u>	<u><i>blindaim</i></u>	<u><i>blindaim</i></u>
	acc.	<i>blindans</i>	<i>blinda</i>	<i>blindos</i>

1. This group includes the majority of the Gothic adjectives, e.g.: *airþakunds** ‘earthly’, *aiweins** ‘eternal’, *ansteigs* ‘gracious’, *arms** ‘poor’, *barizeins** ‘of barley’, *diups** ‘deep’, *funisks** ‘fiery’, *galeiks* ‘similar’, *gumakunds** ‘male’, *hails* ‘healthy’, *handugs* ‘clever’, *hauhs** ‘high’, *jains* ‘that one’, *juggs** ‘young’, *mahteigs* ‘mighty’, *mannisks** ‘human’, *siuks* ‘sick’, *snutrs** ‘wise’, *stainahs** ‘stony’, *swinþs** ‘strong’, *triggws* ‘loyal’, *þeins* ‘your’, *ubils* ‘wicked’.

This declension is also followed by the pronominal adjectives, *jains* ‘that one’, the superlative and the preterital participles.

In Sk the dat.pl.f. ends in all three cases in *-om* after the f. *ō*-st. (*missaleikom* ‘different’ [Sk 2:4], *judaiwiskom* ‘Jewish’ [Sk 3:2] and *sinteinom* ‘daily’ [Sk 3:2]), probably to mark the gender more clearly.

Final devoicing (see 2.3.2.) can also occur in the adjective as well as the drop of *-s* in the nom.sg. (see 3.1.1.1.).

Most strong forms of the *ja/jō*-stems adjectives agree with those of the *a/ō*-stems, except that there is a *-j-* before the ending. Deviating forms occur only in the nom.sg.m. of the short-syllabic and long-syllabic adjectives, which end in *-jis* and *-eis* (*midjis* ‘middle’, *wilþeis*

‘wild’), the nom.sg.n. that ends in *-i* (only recorded for the long-syllabic adjectives [*wilpi*]) and the nom.sg.f. that ends on *-i* (only recorded for the long-syllabic adjectives [*wilpi*]).

1. Like *midjis** ‘middle’ certainly inflect: *aljis** ‘another’, *fullatojis* ‘perfect’, *harjis* ‘which’, *niujis* ‘new’, *ubiltojis* ‘malicious’.
2. Like *wilpeis* ‘wild’ certainly inflect: *alpeis* ‘old’, *fairneis** ‘old’, *wopeis** ‘pleasant’.

- The declension of the strong *i*-stems adjectives follows in the nom.sg. the form of the *i*-stems nouns. In the other documented cases they have adopted the inflection of *ja/jō*-stems.

Paradigm of the strong *i*-st.: 1) *hrains* m. ‘pure’:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>hrains</i>	<i>hrain</i> , –	<i>hrains</i>
	gen.	<i>hrainis</i>	<i>hrainis</i>	–
	dat.	<i>hrainjamma</i>	<i>hrainjamma</i>	<i>hrainjai</i>
	acc.	<i>hrainjana</i>	<i>hrain</i> , –	<i>hrainja</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>hrainjai</i>	<i>hrainja</i>	<i>hrainjos</i>
	gen.	<i>hrainjaize</i>	<i>hrainjaize</i>	<i>hrainjaizos</i>
	dat.	<i>hrainjaim</i>	<i>hrainjaim</i>	<i>hrainjaim</i>
	acc.	<i>hrainjans</i>	<i>hrainja</i>	<i>hrainjos</i>

1. Like *hrains* ‘pure’ inflect e.g.: *aljakuns* ‘of other sex’, *analaugns** ‘hidden’, *anasiuns** ‘visible’, *andanems* ‘pleasant’, *andasets** ‘vile’, *bruks* ‘useful’, *gafaur*s ‘honorable’, *gamains* ‘common’, *samakuns* ‘kin’ *sels* ‘kind’, *skeirs** ‘clear’, *unfaur*s* ‘chatty’, *unsels** ‘nasty’.

- The declension of the strong *u*-stem adjectives follows in the nom.sg. the form of the *u*-stem nouns. In the other documented cases they have adopted the inflection of *ja/jō*-stems.

Paradigm of the strong *u*-stems: 1) *hardus* m. ‘hard’:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>hardus</i>	<i>hardu</i> , <i>hardjata</i>	<i>hardus</i>
	gen.	–	–	–
	dat.	–	–	–
	acc.	<i>hardjana</i>	<i>hardu</i> , <i>hardjata</i>	<i>hardja</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>hardjai</i>	–	<i>hardjos</i>
	gen.	<i>hardjaize</i>	<i>hardjaize</i>	<i>hardjaizo</i>
	dat.	<i>hardjaim</i>	<i>hardjaim</i>	<i>hardjaim</i>
	acc.	<i>hardjans</i>	–	<i>hardjos</i>

1. Like *hardus* ‘hard’ certainly inflect: *aggwus** ‘narrow’, *aglus** ‘difficult’, *manwus* ‘ready’, *qairrus* ‘gentle’, *seipus** ‘late’, *tuglus* ‘firm’, *twalibwintrus* ‘twelve years old’, *paursus* ‘dry’ and *plaqus* ‘soft’.

Goth. *filu* ‘a lot of, much; very’ is only used as a substantive and an adverb, plus as an adverbial genitive *filaus* ‘by much’. It is a former substantive.

3.1.3.2. Weak adjectives

Due to the origin of the weak inflection, it is completely identical with the inflection of the substantival *n*-stems. Masculine and neuter inflect thus like *atta* ‘father’ and *hairto* ‘heart’, the feminine normally like *qino* ‘woman’. Paradigm: 1) *blinda* m., *blindo* n., *blindo* f., blind‘:

		mask.	neutr.	fem.
sg.	nom.	<i>blinda</i>	<i>blindo</i>	<i>blindo</i>
	gen.	<i>blindins</i>	<i>blindins</i>	<i>blindons</i>
	dat.	<i>blindin</i>	<i>blindin</i>	<i>blindon</i>
	acc.	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindo</i>	<i>blindon</i>
pl.	nom.	<i>blindans</i>	<i>blindona</i>	<i>blindons</i>
	gen.	<i>blindane</i>	<i>blindane</i>	<i>blindono</i>
	dat.	<i>blindam</i>	<i>blindam</i>	<i>blindom</i>
	acc.	<i>blindans</i>	<i>blindona</i>	<i>blindons</i>

According to this paradigm., all weak adjectives inflect. However, all other adjectives except the pure *a*-stems have a *-j-* before the ending, thus inflecting after the masculine/neuter *jan-* and feminine *jōn-*stems: *ja-st.*: *niujs* ‘new’: nom.sg.m. *niuja*, n. *niujo*, f. *niujo*; *wilpeis* ‘wild’: nom.sg.m. *wilþja*, n. *wilþjo*, f. *wilþjo*; *i*-stems: *hrains* ‘pure’: nom.sg.m. *hrainja**, n. *hrainjo*, f. *hrainjo*. There are no securely documented *u*-stems.

In the case of the long-syllabic *ja*-sems, the form with *-ji-* (as in the noun) always appears in the cases that have an *-i-* (gen./dat.sg.m./n.); only once does a form with *-ei-* appear: gen.sg.f. *unseleins* ‘evil, wicked’ (EphB 6:16; *unseljins* A).

3.1.3.3. Declension of the participles

- The present participle has abandoned the old *nd*-inflection and inflects like a weak adjective, but the feminine is formed after the f. *ein*-stems (*managei*), since the feminine inflected in PIE as *-ih₂-/-jeh₂-*stems. The nom.sg.m. however, usually ends in *-s* (here the weak form is

rarer), occasionally also the nom.sg.f. Paradigm of the present participle: *gibands* m. ‘giving’:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>gibands</i> <i>gibanda</i>	<i>gibando</i>	<i>gibandei</i> <i>gibands</i>
	gen.	<i>gibandins</i>	<i>gibandins</i>	<i>gibandeins</i>
	dat.	<i>gibandin</i>	<i>gibandin</i>	<i>gibandein</i>
	acc.	<i>gibandan</i>	<i>gibando</i>	<i>gibandein</i>
	pl. nom.	<i>gibandans</i>	<i>gibandona</i>	<i>gibandeins</i>
pl.	gen.	<i>gibandane</i>	<i>gibandane</i>	<i>gibandeino</i>
	dat.	<i>gibandam</i>	<i>gibandam</i>	<i>gibandeim</i>
	acc.	<i>gibandans</i>	<i>gibandona</i>	<i>gibandeins</i>

The rarer weak form in the nom.sg.m. occurs almost exclusively after *sa* ‘this, the’; the more common form on *-s* is arguably the rest of the former *nd*-inflection.

In at least two places a nom.sg. on *-ands* as an attribute of a feminine noun, certainly in *nimands frawaurhts* ‘the sin, taking’ (RomA 7:8) and *frawaurhts ... nimands* ‘the sin ...taking’ (RomA 7:11). This could be an archaism kept from the original consonantal declension.

- The preterite participle is inflected like a normal adjective both strong and weak. Paradigm of the strong/weak preterite participle of the strong verbs: 1) *gibans* m., *giban/gibanata* n., *gibana* f. ‘given’; Paradigm of the strong/weak preterite participle of the weak verbs: 1) *nasip̃s* m., *nasip̃/nasidata* n., *nasida* f. ‘saved’:

		masculine	neuter	feminine
strong	nom.sg.	<i>gibans</i>	<i>giban, gibanata</i>	<i>gibana</i>

weak	nom.sg.	<i>gibana</i>	<i>gibano</i>	<i>gibano</i>

strong	nom.sg.	<i>nasip̃s</i>	<i>nasip̃, nasidata</i>	<i>nasida</i>

weak	nom.sg.	<i>nasida</i>	<i>Nasido</i>	<i>nasido</i>

3.1.3.4. The comparison of the adjectives

- The regular PIE comparison includes the comparative that has a suffix with the ablaut grades full grade **-ies-/iōs-*, lengthened grade **-īēs-/iōs-*, zero-grade **-is-*, and a superlative with the suffix PIE **-ista-* (consisting of the zero-grade variant **-is-* of the comparative to which the suffix **-to-* was added).

- Of these ablaut grades the PGmc. comparative only continues the zero-grade variant **-is-*, which is present in the forms **-is-* and **-iz-*. This suffix is followed by the *n*-suffix, so that the comparative inflects like a weak adjective, except that the feminine goes according to the feminine *ein*-stems (*managei*).
- Besides this form there exists in PGmc. a second comparative formation with the suffix **-ōs-/ōz-*, also extended with the *n*-suffix. This formation came up more recently and is analogically formed after the adverbs. Pattern: Goth. *neh* ‘close’ : *nehvis* ‘closer’ = *sniumundo* ‘quick’ : $X \rightarrow X = *sniumundois > sniumundos$ ‘quicker’. This new formation that arose in the adverbs was then also transferred to the adjectives.
- In Gothic the forms *-iz-* and *-oz-* are found. While the form *-iz-*, which is far more common, occurs in adjectives of all stem classes, the form *-oz-* is only found in *a*-stem adjectives. Paradigm: *managiza* m. ‘bigger, more’, *frodoza* m. ‘wiser’:

		masculine	neuter	Feminine
sg.	nom.	<i>managiza</i>	<i>managizo</i>	<i>managizei</i>
		<i>frodoza</i>	<i>frodozo</i>	<i>frodozei</i>
	gen.	<i>managizins</i>	<i>managizins</i>	<i>managizeins</i>
		<i>frodozins</i>	<i>frodozins</i>	<i>frodozeins</i>
...

- The superlative is inflected like a true adjective, so both strong and weak. It is formed by addition of the suffix PGmc. **-to-* to both comparative suffixes. This results in Gothic in two formations:
 1. Goth. *-ista-*: *managists** m. to *manags** m. ‘some’.
 2. Goth. *-osta-*: *armosts** m. to *arms* m. ‘poor’.
- Besides these formations another one is continued in Gothic. In the PIE there is a superlative formation **(t)mHo-* which is found in Gothic in six words derived from local adverbs: *aftuma** ‘the last’, *auhuma* ‘the higher’, *fruma* ‘the first’, *hleiduma** ‘the left’, *iftuma** ‘the following’ and *innuma* ‘the innermost’. Since they do not have a positive next to them, they have gotten in Gothic the validity of a comparative and are also inflected like a comparative.

New superlatives with the suffix **-ista-* are formed to some of these formations: *aftumists*, *auh(u)mists*, *frumists*. The words *hindumists** ‘the outermost’ and *spedumists** ‘the last’ are formed in the same way and therefore suggest undocumented words **hinduma* and **speduma*.

- As in the other PIE languages, there are also in Gothic some adjectives which form their comparative and superlative from another stem (suppletive comparison):

positive	comparative	superlative
<i>gōps</i> (-d-) ‘good’	<i>batiza*</i> <i>iusiza</i>	<i>batists*</i>
<i>ubils</i> ‘evil’	<i>wairsiza</i>	—
<i>mikils</i> ‘great’	<i>maiza</i>	<i>maists</i>
<i>leitils</i> ‘little’	<i>minniza</i>	<i>minnists*</i>

After the comparative the used comparison word is Goth. *pau* ‘than’.

3.1.3.5. Formation of the adjective adverbs

- The ordinary way got form an adverb to an adjective in Gothic is by addition of the suffix *-ba* to the stem of the adjective: *ubilaba* to *ubils* ‘evil’, *sunjaba* to *sunjis** ‘true’, *analaugniba* to *analaugns** ‘hidden’, *harduba* to *hardus* ‘hard’. This formation is unique to Gothic.
- As in the other Germanic languages, Gothic has (but rarely) the formation of an adverb to an adjective with the suffix *-o* (< PIE abl.sg. *-ōd*): *galeiko* to *galeiks* ‘similar’ (cf. OHG *gilīcho*, OS *gilīko*, MDu. *gelike*, OE *gelīce*, OIcl. *glīka*).
- For the adverb of the comparative, the nom./acc.sg.n. is used, either with the PIE suffix *-ios-* > Goth. *-is-* (cf. Goth. *hauhis* ‘higher’) or with the PIE suffix **-is-* > Goth. *-s-* (cf. Goth. *mins* ‘less’). With the secondary formation Goth. *-os-* there are only *sniumundos* ‘quicker’ and *aljaleikos* ‘different’.
- For the adverb of the superlative, the nom./acc.sg.n. is used: Goth. *maist* ‘most’, *frumist* ‘first’.

3.1.4. Numerals

The Gothic numerals have survived only sparsely. The reason for this is on the one hand the source situation itself, on the other hand the use of the individual Gothic letters in their function with numerical values.

3.1.4.1. Cardinals

The numbers from ‘1’ to ‘3’ are declined in all cases and genders:

1. ‘1’: *ains* m., *ain*, *ainata* n., *aina* f. (< PGmc. **aīna*- [OHG *ein*, OS, ODu. *ēn*, OE *ān*, OFris. *ān*, *ēn*, OIcl. *einn*) is overall inflected like a strong adjective (there are no weak forms). The numeral also shows plural forms (only masculine) with the meaning ‘only’.
2. ‘2’: *twai* m., *twa* n., *twos* f. appears only in the plural. Paradigm:

	masculine	neuter	feminine
nom.	<i>twai</i>	<i>twa</i>	<i>twos</i>
gen.	<i>twaddje</i>	<i>twaddje</i>	–
dat.	<i>twaim</i>	<i>twaim</i>	<i>twaim</i>
acc.	<i>twans</i>	<i>twa</i>	<i>twos</i>

The numeral is inflected in PIE as a dual (OInd. *d[u]váu*, *d[u]vā́*, YAv. *duua*, Gr. *dýō*, Lat. *duō*, OIr. *dau*, OCS *dvъa*). In Gothic the numeral was transformed except in the genitive (Goth. *twaddje* [with secondary ending -e] < PGmc. **tuaijō* ‘of two’ [OHG *zweiio*, OS *twēi(i)o*, OE *twēg(e)a*, OIcl. *tveggja*]) after the strong adjectives and the pronouns.

The collective binary ‘both, every two’ is expressed by *bai*, which inflects like *twai* (attested are the nom.m. *bai*, dat.m. *baim*, acc.m. *bans*, nom./acc.n. *ba*). In the same sense, inflected as a consonantal stem, exists *bajops* ‘both’ (see 3.1.1.).

3. ‘3’: This number also appears only as a plural. It is inflected like an *i*-stem (OHG *drī*, OS *thria*, *thriu*, ODu. *thrī*, OE *þrī[e]*, *þrȳ*, OFris. *thrē*, OIcl. *þrír*). Paradigm:

	masculine	neuter	feminine
nom.	–	–	–
gen.	<i>þrije</i>	–	–
dat.	–	<i>þrim</i>	–
acc.	<i>þrins</i>	<i>þrija</i>	<i>þrins</i>

The numerals from ‘4’ to ‘19’ are unisex and are usually not declined. However, if the numeral is not adjectival immediately before the corresponding noun or when it is used as a noun, inflected forms appear in the genitive and dative after the *i*-stems: genitive on -e, dative on -im. The following forms are transmitted:

4. ‘4’: *fidwor* (nom./gen./dat./acc.), **fidworim* (dat.; Mk 2:3 [conjecture for <fidworin>]) (< PGmc. **feduōr* [Crimean Goth. *fyder*, OHG *fior*, OS *fī(u)war*, *fior*, ODu. *fier*, OE *fēower*, OFris. *fiū(we)r*, *fīwer*, *fiō(we)r*, *fīā(we)r*, OIcl. *ffórir*).

The stem of ‘4’ appears in compounds as *fidur-* (< PGmc. **fedur-*): *fidurdogs* ‘four days’, *fidurfalþs** ‘fourfold’, *fidurragini** ‘four reigns’.

5. ‘5’: *fimf* (nom./dat./acc.) (< PGmc. **fenf*^e [Crimean Goth. ⁺*fynf* [<fyuf>], OHG *fimf*, OS, ODu., OE, OFris. *fif*, OIcl. *fimm*]).
6. ‘6’: *saihs* (dat./acc.) (< PGmc. **seχs* [OHG, OS *sehs*, ODu. *sehs*, *ses*, OE *siex*, OFris. *sex*, *six*, *ses*, OIcl. *sex*]).
7. ‘7’: *sibun* (nom./dat./acc.) (< PGmc. **seβun* [OHG *sibun*, OS *siβun*, ODu. *sivon*, OE *seofon*, OFris. *si(u)gun*, *sawen*, *saun*, OIcl. (with transformation after ‘8’) *sjau*]).
8. ‘8’: *ahtau* (nom.) (originally dual; PGmc. **aχtau* [Crimean Goth. *athe*, OHG, OS *ahto*, Early MDu. *achte*, OE *eahta*, OFris. *achta*, OIcl. *átta*]); to this comes also the compound *ahtaudogs* ‘eight days’.
9. ‘9’: *niun* (nom./acc.), *niune* (gen.) (< PGmc. **neγun* [Crimean Goth. *nyne*, OHG *niun*, OS *nigun*, ODu. *nigon*, OE *nigon*, OFris. *niugen*, OIcl. *níu*]).
10. ‘10’: *taihun* (nom./dat./acc.) (< PGmc. **teχun* [OHG *zehan*, OS *tehan*, ODu. *tēn*, OE *tīen*, OFris. *tiān*, OIcl. *tío*]); to that comes also the compound *taihunteweis** ‘having ten rows’.
11. ‘11’: *ainlif** (nom), *ainlibim* (dat.) (< PGmc. **aɪnlib-* [OHG *einlif*, OS *ēllevan*, Early MDu. *elf*, OE *en(d)lefan*, *endlifan*, OFris. *andlova*, *alleva*, *elleva*, OIcl. *ellifu*]).
12. ‘12’: *twalif*, *twalib* (nom./dat./acc.), *twalibe* (gen.), *twalibim* (dat.) (< PGmc. **tuɪaɪlib-* [OHG *zwelif*, OS *twelif*, ODu., OE *twelf*, OFris. *twelef*, *twelif*, OIcl. *tólf*]); to this also comes the compound *twalibwintrus* ‘twelve years old’.
13. ‘14’: *fidwortaihun** (nom.), *fidwortaihun* (acc.) (OHG *fiorzehan*, OS *fiertein*, Early MDu. *viertien*, OE *fēowertēne*, OFris. *fiūwertēne*, [besides with PGmc. **tēχan*] OIcl. *flog[o]rtán*).
14. ‘15’: *fimftaihun** (nom.), *fimftaihunim* (dat.) (OHG *finfzehan*, OS *fiftein*, Early MDu. *vijftien*, OE *fiftēne*, OFris. *fiftīne*, [besides with PGmc. **tēχan*] OIcl. *fimtán*).

From ‘20’ to ‘60’ the tens are formed with the plural of *tigus** ‘ten, decade’ (< PGmc. **tegu-*; nom. *tigjus**, gen. *tigiwe*, dat. *tigum*, acc. *tiguns*) before which the units are placed. The counted objects are in the genitive. The following are documented:

1. ‘20’: *mip twaim tigum þusundjo* (dat.; Lk 14:31).
2. ‘30’: *jere þrije tigiwe* (gen.; Lk 3:23), *þrins tiguns silubr(e)inaize* (acc.; Mt 27:3.9).
3. ‘40’: *fimf sinþam fidwor tiguns* (acc.; 2.KorB 11:24), *dage fidwor tiguns* (acc.; Lk 4:2, Mk 1:13).

4. ‘50’: *fim*<*f*> *tiguns* (acc.; Lk 16:6), *fimf tiguns* (acc.; Lk 7:41, 9:14), *fimf tiguns jere* (acc.; Joh 8:57).
5. ‘60’: *spaurde saihs tigum* (dat.; Lk 24:13), *saihs tigum jere* (dat.; 1.TimAB 5:9).

The tens from ‘70’ to ‘100’ show a formation ending in *-tehund* (next to *-taihund*). The units are joined with *jah* ‘and’. The counted objects are in the genitive. The following are documented:

1. ‘70’: *sibuntehund* (nom. [Lk 10:17]; acc. [Lk 10:1]).
2. ‘80/84’: *ahtautehund* (acc. [Lk 16:7]), *jere ahtautehund jah fidwor* (gen. [Lk 2:37]).
3. ‘98/99’: ⁺*niuntehund jah .h.* (acc. [Neh 7:21]; conjecture for <niunhund>), *niuntehund jah niun* (acc. [Lk 15:4]), *in niuntehundis jah niune garaihtaize* (gen. [Lk 15:7]).
4. ‘100’: *taihuntetund lambe* (acc. [Lk 15:4]), *taihuntaihund kase* (acc. [Lk 16:6]), *taihuntaihund mitade* (acc. [Lk 16:7]); here also belongs *taihuntaihundfalþ* ‘hundredfold’ (acc. [Lk 8:8]).

The hundreds are formed with the pl.n. *hunda* (nom./acc. *hunda*, dat. *hundam*) (< PGmc. **χunda*” [OHG *hunt*, OS *hund*, ODu. *chunna*, OE *hund*]). The following are documented:

1. ‘200’: *twaim hundam skatte* (dat. [Joh 6:7]).
2. ‘300’: *prija hunda skatte* (acc. [Mk 14:5]).
3. ‘500’: *fi*<*m*>*f hundam taihuntewjam broþre* (dat. [1.KorA 15:6]), *skatte fimf hunda* (acc. [Lk 7:41]).
4. ‘973’: *niun hunda .ug.* (nom. [Neh 7:39]).
5. Fragmentary: ...*hunda .m.e.* (nom. [Neh 7:13]).

In *taihuntewjam* an adjective *taihun-teweis** ‘having ten rows’ can be seen. With the help of this form the hundreds are designated as ten-part, compared to the twelve-part Germanic great hundred (‘120’).

The numeral *pusundi* ‘1000’ (< PGmc. **pūsund*-; OHG *dūsunt*, OS *thūsundig*, ODu. *thūsunt*, OE *pūsend*, OFris. *thūsend*, OIcl. *pús[h]und*) is a feminine noun that inflects like *bandi*. The counted objects are in the genitive. The plural is *pusundjos* (e.g. *fidwor pusundjos* ‘4000’ [Mk 8:9]); here also belongs the compound *pusundifaps* ‘leader of a thousand’.

3.1.4.2. Ordinals

The first two ordinals are etymologically distinct from the respective cardinals:

1. '1st': *fruma* m., *frumo** n., *frumei* f. 'the first' inflects like a weak adjective (only twice recorded acc.pl.: *frumans* 'the first ones' [Mk 10:31]) (< PGmc. **fruma*- [OE *frum* 'originally, first', OFris. *frum*- ,first-', OIcl. *frum*- 'first-']); next to it is *frumists* 'the first' (< PGmc. **frumista*-).
2. '2nd': *anþar* m./n., *anþara* f. 'the second, other' is inflected like a strong adjective (< PGmc. **anþara*- [OHG *andar*, OS *ōðar*, ODu. *andar*, OE *ōþer*, OFris. *ōther*, OIcl. *annarr*]).

All other ordinals are based on the respective cardinal numerals and are inflected as a weak adjective. The following are documented:

1. '3rd': *þridja* (16x).
2. '5th': **fimfta* (in *fimfta-taihunda** '15th').
3. '6th': *saihsta* (4x).
4. '8th': *ahtuda** (dat.sg.m. in *daga ahtudin* [Lk 1:59]).
5. '9th': *niunda** (4x).
6. '10th': *taihunda** (acc.sg.f. *taihundon dail* [Lk 18:12]).
7. '15th': *fimftataihunda** (dat.sg.n. in *jera þan fimftataihundin* [Lk 3:1]).

3.1.4.3. Other numerals

- The numeral *tweihnai** appears once as a collective 'both' ([dat.f.] *miþ tweihnaim markom* 'between both borders' [Mk 7:31]) and as a distributive 'two each' ([acc.f.] *nih þan tweihnos paidos haban* 'and not <shall you> have two shirts each' [Lk 9:3]).
- Distributive numbers are either formed by *hazuh*, *harjizuh* 'each' or with the preposition *bi* 'at, around' (cf. *twans hanzuh* [Mk 6:7] or *bi twans* [1.KorA 14:27] 'two each').
- Multiplicatives are formed with the element *-falps** (*-p-*) (cf. e.g., *taihuntaihundfalps** 'hundredfold').
- Iterative numeral adverbs (answering the question 'how often?') are expressed by the cardinal numerals followed by the dat.sg./pl. *sinþa*, *sinþam* (to *sinþs** / *sinþ** m. / n. *a-st.* 'time' [cf. OHG *sint*, OS *sīth*, OE *sīþ*, OIcl. *sinn*]) (cf. e.g., *sibun sinþam* 'seven times' [Lk 17:4]).

Of the former iteratives only *twis-* is found as a compositional first element, cf. *twisstass** ‘conflict’.

3.2. Conjugation

Of the two PIE diatheses (*genera verbi*), active (to designate an activity or quality emanating from the subject) and mediopassive (to designate an activity that takes place around the subject or affects the subject), only the first one is preserved in all Germanic languages, the latter one, restricted to the passive use, only in Gothic (and there only preserved in the present).

The later tenses were originally used in the PIE to denote action. There are three tense-aspect-stems: present stem (imperfective aspect) to designate the course of an action, aorist stem (perfective aspect) to designate a specific (momentary) action and perfect stem (stative aspect) to designate the state reached. Towards PGmc. these develop into two tenses: present to denote the general tense, especially the present, and preterite to denote the past tense.

The PIE had four moods: indicative to express the reality of an action, subjunctive to express a will or a determination, optative to indicate a desire or a possibility, and imperative to express a command. Of these four moods in PGmc. only three are preserved, namely the indicative, the optative (which took over the function of the subjunctive) and the imperative.

The three numbers, singular, dual, and plural and the three persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd) in the PIE remained in PGmc.; the dual however, is on the wane.

Of the numerous PIE participles in Germanic only two are preserved: a present participle with active sense and a preterite participle in a double form (with the suffixes PIE **-to-* and **-no-*), predominantly with passive sense. There is also a verbal noun with the suffix PIE **-no-* that develops into the infinitive.

The Gothic verbal system therefore knows the following forms:

- Two diatheses: 1. Active with a rich variety of forms; 2. Passive, which is only used in some forms of the present indicative and optative (however, these forms are very commonly used in the Bible translation).

The missing forms of the passive are replaced by the preterite participle with the corresponding forms of *wairþan* ‘to become’ or *wisan* ‘to be’.

- Two tenses: 1. Present tense; 2. Past tense (= perfect), the general tense of the past.

The non-existent future is usually represented by the present, but sometimes also paraphrased with auxiliary verbs (*skal* ‘shall’, *haban* ‘to have’, *duginnan* ‘to begin’).

The Gothic preterite translates both the Greek imperfect and the Greek aorist (sometimes also the Greek perfect).

- Three moods: 1. Indicative; 2. Optative (= subjunctive); 3. Imperative (only in the present tense).

The optative is found in independent sentences to express a wish, a regulation (here in competition with the imperative) and a possibility. The prohibitive in the 2nd person is expressed by *ni* ‘not’ + optative. The optative in potential or dubitative sense is found more frequently in interrogative sentences. In hypothetical conditional clauses always the preterite optative is used.

- Three numbers: 1. Singular; 2. Plural; 3. Dual (however, the 3rd person is missing here).

The dual stands against the Greek template since the Greek doesn’t have dual forms.

- Three verbal nouns: 1. Present infinitive; 2. Present participle; 3. Past participle.

From a Germanic-Gothic point of view, the verbs are divided according to the type of the formation of their preterite forms. This results in three verbal categories: a. Strong verbs; b. Weak verbs; c. Special formations:

- a. The strong verbs form their preterite without a suffix, merely by changing the root vowel and/or by reduplication. This results in the following subgroups:
 - The ablauting verbs form their preterite through a regular vowel change in comparison to the present (keyword: ablaut); cf. *qima* ‘I come’ : *qam* ‘I came’.
 - The reduplicated verbs form their preterite with a reduplication syllable without a change in the root vowel; cf. *haita* ‘I am called’ : *haihait* ‘I was called’.
 - The reduplicated-ablauting verbs form their preterite by combining both possibilities; cf. *leta* ‘I let’ : *lailot* ‘I let’.

b. The weak verbs (in the vast majority derived verbs) form their preterite with the help of a suffix that begins with dental; cf. *nasja* ‘I save’ : *nasida* ‘I saved’. After the Gothic form of this suffix, the weak verbs are divided into the following subgroups:

- Suffix *-i-*: *nas-j-a* ‘I save’ : *nas-i-da* ‘I saved’.
- Suffix *-o-*: *salb-o* ‘I anoint’ : *salb-o-da* ‘I anointed’.
- Suffix *-ai-*: *hab-a* ‘I have’ : *hab-ai-da* ‘I had’.
- Suffix *-no-*: *full-na* ‘I fill’ : *full-no-da* ‘I filled’.

c. Remains of old formations that do not fit into the classification of strong and weak verbs.

They are:

- The preterite-presents.
- The verb ‘to be’ (*im* ‘I am’).
- The verb ‘to want’ (*wiljau* ‘I want’).
- Various other verbs.

The division of the verbs into thematic and athematic verbs, which is important in other PIE languages, is trivial for Gothic.

3.2.1. The strong verbs

For the classification of each strong verbs, four stems are required, in which the vowel alternates in a fixed manner depending on the exact class of the verb: the entire present is formed from the first stem (present active and present passive, infinitive, and present participle), from second stem the preterite indicative singular, from the third stem the preterite indicative dual/plural as well as the complete preterite optative, from the fourth stem the preterite participle.

3.2.1.1. The ablauting verbs

The purely ablauting verbs form their tense stems only through the regular change of the root vowel, the so-called ablaut (2.1.2.). There are in total six such ablaut series. This allows the verbs to be divided into six ablaut classes. In the first five classes, each of the four stems mentioned above has its own ablaut grade. In the sixth class, on the other hand, there is one ablaut grade for the entire present and preterite participle, another for the entire preterite. This results for Gothic in the following scheme:

	Pres.	pret.ind.sg.	pret.ind./opt.du./pl.	pret.part.
Class 1	<i>ei</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>i (ai)</i>	<i>i (ai)</i>
Class 2	<i>iu</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>u (au)</i>	<i>u (au)</i>
Class 3	<i>i (ai)</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>u (au)</i>	<i>u (au)</i>
Class 4	<i>i (ai)</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>u (au)</i>
Class 5	<i>i (ai)</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i (ai)</i>
Class 6	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>

ai next to *i* and *au* next to *u* are not original ablaut forms; *ai* and *au* are here the result of Gothic breaking of *i* and *u* (see 2.3.1.) and therefore only secondary variants.

The root structure of the respective classes is for PGmc. as follows (C = consonant, V = vowel, R = resonant):

Class 1	CViC
Class 2	CVuC
Class 3	CVRC
Class 4	CVR
Class 5	CVC
Class 6	CVC/R

To classify a verb into an ablaut class, the grammars of the old Germanic languages indicate the following four forms: a. 1st singular present indicative; b. 1st singular preterite indicative; c. 1st plural preterite indicative; d. Preterite participle.

- Class 1

The verbs of class 1 show the ablaut pattern *ei – ai – i (ai) – i (ai)*:

<i>greipan</i> ‘to seize’	<i>greipa</i>	<i>graip</i>	<i>gripum</i>	<i>gripans</i>
<i>-teihan</i> ‘to show’	<i>-teiha</i>	<i>-taih</i>	<i>-taihum</i>	<i>-taihans</i>

Like *greipan** ‘to seize, to grab’ also inflect: *beidan** ‘to wait’, *beitan** ‘to bite’, *dreiban* ‘to drive’, *(-)hneiwan* ‘to incline’, *keinan** ‘to germinate’, *bi-leiban** ‘to stay’, *-leipan* ‘to go’, *ur-reisan* ‘to get up’, *skeinan* ‘to shine, to glow’, *dis-skreitan** ‘to tear’, *-smeitan** ‘to smear’, *sneiþan** ‘to cut’, *speiwan* ‘to spit’, *steigan** ‘to rise’, *sweiban** ‘to stop’, *weipan** ‘to wreath, to crown’, *fra-weitan* ‘to avenge one’s rights’, *in-weitan** ‘to worship’.

Like *-teihan** ‘to show’ also inflect: *leiþan* ‘to borrow’, *þeihan* ‘to thrive’, *þreihan** ‘to urge’, *(-)weiþan* ‘to fight’.

Historical explanation:

The ablaut *ei – ai – i (ai) – i (ai)* continues PGmc. **ī – *ai – *i – *i*.

- Class 2:

The verbs of class 2 show the ablaut pattern *iu – au – u (au) – u (au)*:

<i>-biudan*</i> ‘to grab’	<i>-biuda</i>	<i>-baup</i>	<i>-budum</i>	<i>-budans</i>
<i>tiuhan</i> ‘to lead (away)’	<i>tiuha</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>tauhum</i>	<i>tau hans</i>

Wie *-biudan** ‘to grab’ also inflect: *biugan** ‘to bend’, *driugan** ‘to do military service’, *driusan** ‘to fall’, *giutan** ‘to pour’, *hiufan** ‘to moan’, *dis-hniupan** ‘to tear’, *kiusan** ‘to check’, *kriustan** ‘to crunch’, *liudan** ‘to grow’, *liugan** ‘to lie’, *fra-liusan** ‘to lose’, *niutan* ‘to obtain’, *siukan* ‘to be sick’, *af-skiuban** ‘to push away’, *sliupan** ‘to slip’, *us-priutan** ‘to harass’.

Like *tiuhan* ‘to lead (away)’ only inflects *pliuhan* ‘to flee’.

A deviation in the present vowel shows *-lukan* ‘to close’ (probably with *-ū-*, cf. OHG *-lūchan*, OS, ODu. *-lūkan*, OFris. *lūka*, OE *lūcan*, OIcl. *ljjúka*); this is likely the result of secondary lengthening in analogy to the verbs from class 1.

Historical explanation:

The ablaut *iu – au – u (au) – u (au)* continues PGmc. **eū – *aū – *u – *u*.

- Class 3

The verbs of class 3 show the ablaut pattern *i (ai) – a – u (au) – u (au)*:

<i>bindan*</i> ‘to bind’	<i>binda</i>	<i>band</i>	<i>bundum</i>	<i>bundans</i>
<i>wairpan</i> ‘to throw’	<i>wairpa</i>	<i>warp</i>	<i>waurpum</i>	<i>waurpans</i>

Wie *bindan** ‘to bind’ also inflect: *bliggwan** ‘to beat’, *brinnan** ‘to burn’, *drigkan* ‘to drink’, *filhan* ‘to hide’, *finpan** ‘to experience’, *-gildan* ‘to apply’, *du-ginnan** ‘to begin’, *hilpan* ‘to help’, *-hinpan** ‘to catch’, *af-linnan** ‘to give way’, *rinnan** ‘to run’, *siggwan* ‘to sing’, *sigqan** ‘so sink’, *fra-slindan** ‘to devour’, *spinnan** ‘to spin’, *stigqan* ‘to thrust’, *swiltan** ‘to be dying’, *ana-trimpan** ‘to step towards’, *(-)pinsan* ‘to pull’, *wilwan* ‘to rob’, *-windan** ‘to wind’, *winnan* ‘to suffer’; also with different consonantism *priskan** ‘to thresh’, *ga-wrisqan** ‘to bring fear’.

Like *wairpan* also inflect: *bairgan** ‘to shelter’, *-gairdan** ‘to gird’, *hairban** ‘to wander’, *-swairban** ‘to wipe’, *ga-pairsan** ‘to wither’, *wairpan* ‘to become’.

Next to the present stem *briggan* ‘to bring’ that belongs to this class there is a weak ablauting preterite *brahta*.

Historical explanation:

The ablaut *i (ai) – a – u (au) – u (au)* continues PGmc. **e – *a – *u – *u*.

- Class 4

The verbs of class 4 show the ablaut pattern *i (ai) – a – e – u (au)*:

<i>niman</i> ‘to take’	<i>nima</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nemum</i>	<i>numans</i>
<i>bairan</i> ‘to carry’	<i>baira</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>berum</i>	<i>baurans</i>

Like *niman* ‘to take’ also inflect: *qiman* ‘to come’, *stilan** ‘to steal’, *ga-timan** ‘to suit’, and with deviating consonantism *brikan** ‘to break’.

Like *bairan* ‘to carry’ also inflects *-tairan* ‘to tear’.

A zero-grade present stem occurs in: *trudan* ‘to tread’ (with *fra-trudan**) and *wulan** ‘to boil’.

Historical explanation:

The ablaut *i (ai) – a – e – u (au)* continues PGmc. **e – *a – *ē – *u*.

- Class 5

The verbs of class 5 show the ablaut pattern *i (ai) – a – e – i (ai)*:

<i>qipan</i> ‘to say’	<i>qipa</i>	<i>qap</i>	<i>qepun</i>	<i>qipans</i>
<i>saihan</i> ‘to see’	<i>saiha</i>	<i>sah</i>	<i>sehum</i>	<i>saihans</i>

Like *qipan* ‘to say’ also inflect: *bidjan* ‘to ask’ (–*j*– only in the present stem: *bidja*, *bap*, *bedun*, *bidans**; an analogical *j*–less present is transmitted in *bidan* [1.KorA 7:5] and *usbida* (RömA 9:3)), *giban* ‘to give’, *bi-gitan* ‘to obtain’, *hlifan** ‘to steal’, *stehlen**, *itan* ‘to eat’, *ligan** ‘to lie’, *-lisan** ‘to collect’, *mitan* ‘to measure’, *ga-nisan* ‘to recover’, *rikan** ‘to accumulate’, *sitan* ‘to sit’, *ga-widan** ‘to tie together’, *in-widan** ‘to deny’, *ga-wigan** ‘to move’, *wisan* ‘to stay’, *wrikan** ‘to follow’.

Like *saihan* ‘to see’ also inflects *fraihnan* ‘to ask’ (with *-n*– only in the present stem: *fraihna*, *frah*, *frehun*, *fraihans*).

Historical explanation:

The ablaut *i (ai) – a – e – i (ai)* continues PGmc. **e – *a – *ē – *e*.

- Class 6

The verbs of class 6 show the ablaut pattern *a – o – o – a*:

<i>slahan*</i> ‘to beat’	<i>slaha</i>	<i>sloh</i>	<i>slohum</i>	<i>slahans</i>
--------------------------	--------------	-------------	---------------	----------------

Like *slahan** ‘to beat’ also inflect: *alan** ‘to nourish’, *uz-anan** ‘to exhale’, *ga-daban* ‘to occur’, *ga-dragan** ‘to heap up’, *farān** ‘to wander’, *frapjan* ‘to understand’, *graban* ‘to dig’, *haffjan** ‘to lift’, *hlahjan** ‘to laugh’, *af-hlapan** ‘to load’, *malan** ‘to grind’, *sakan* ‘to quarrel’, *skaban* ‘to scrape’, *ga-skapjan** ‘to create’, *ga-skapjan** ‘to harm’, *standan* ‘to stand’ (with *-n*– only in the present stem:

standa, *stop*, *stopun*; without a preterite participle, which is not formed by a durative verb), *swaran* ‘to swear’, *þwahan* ‘to wash’, *wahsjan* ‘to (let) grow’ (the *-j-* appears only in the present stem in the verbs *frapjan*, *hafjan**, *hlahjan**, *ga-skapjan**, *ga-skapjan** and *wahsjan*).

Historical explanation:

The ablaut *a – o – o – a* continues PGmc. **a – *ō – *ō – *a*.

3.2.1.2. The reduplicated verbs

The reduplicated verbs are also referred to as class 7 (strong verbs 7).

Most of the Gothic reduplicated verbs form the preterite by means of a reduplication syllable placed in front of the verbal stem without changing the root vowel. The reduplication syllable consists of the root-initial consonant and the reduplication vowel <ai>, which has the validity of a short [ε]; cf. *maitan* ‘to cut off’ : *maimait*. If the root syllable begins with two consonants, only the first appears in the reduplication syllable; cf. *fraisa** ‘I try’ : *faifrais** (*us-faifraisi* [1.ThessB 3:5]). The composite onsets *st* and *sk* (there is no evidence for *sp*) and *h* are exceptions: they retain both consonants in the reduplication syllable; cf. *ga-stalda* ‘I acquire’ : *ga-staistald* (Neh 5:16), *skaida** ‘I part’ : *af-skaiskaid* (GalB 2:12), and *hopan* ‘to boast’ : *haihop* (2 CorAB 7:14). If the root starts with a vowel, only the reduplication vowel is prefixed; cf. *auka** ‘I increase’ : *ana-ai auk* (4x).

The preterite participle is formed without a reduplication syllable; cf. *haitans*, *fraisans*.

In North and West Germanic, the reduplication is only present in isolated residues; cf. OIcl. *róa* ‘to row’ : *rera*, OE *hātan* ‘to be called’ : *hehton*, OHG *skrīan* ‘to shout’ : *skrirun*.

These reduplicated verbs can be divided into five classes according to their root vowels, which remain unchanged throughout the paradigm: 1. *ai*; 2. *au*; 3. *a*; 4. *e*; 5. *o*. The inflection is the same for all of them.

1. Class 1: *af-aikan* ‘to deny’, *fraisan** ‘to cause’, *haitan* ‘to be called’, *laikan** ‘to jump’, *maitan** ‘to cut, to hew’, *skaidan* ‘to divide’, *ga-plaihan* ‘to caress’.
2. Class 2: *aukan** ‘to increase’, *us-hlaupan** ‘to jump up’, *stautan** ‘to push’, *waldan* ‘to rule’.
3. Class 3: *blandan* ‘to mix’, *fahan* ‘to catch’, *falpan** ‘to fold’, *hahan** ‘to hang’, *haldan* ‘to hold’, *saltan** ‘to salt’, *ga-staldan* ‘to acquire’.
4. Class 4: *uf-blesan* ‘to inflate’, *slepan** ‘to sleep’.
5. Class 5: *blotan* ‘to revere’, *flokan** ‘to mourn’, *hopan* ‘to boast’.

Not of all verbs listed here a reduplicated preterite is transmitted; some are classified in this group based on the situation in the other Germanic languages.

According to the other Germanic languages, the verb *bauan* ‘to dwell’ also belonged here; in Gothic however, only the 3rd singular present indicative active follows the conjugation of the strong verbs; besides this, it forms a weak preterite *bauaida* (2.TimA 1:5); also the verbal noun *bauains* ‘dwelling’ indicates weak conjugation (class 3).

The verb *gaggan* ‘to go’, which according to the other Germanic languages was reduplicated, once forms a newly created weak preterite *gaggida* (Luke 19:12); otherwise, the preterite is suppletive (*iddja*). The only documented form of the preterite participle *us-gaggana* (Mark 7:30).

Several verbs with the present vowels *e* and *ai* show *o* in the preterite and also have a reduplication syllable. The preterite participle has the same vowel as in the present. After the present vowel, these verbs are divided into two classes:

1. Class 1: *gretan* ‘to cry’, *letan* ‘to let’, *ga-redan** ‘to take precaution’, *tekan* ‘to touch’.
2. Class 2: *saian* ‘to sow’, *waian** ‘to blow’.

3.2.1.3. The paradigm of the strong verbs

The personal endings in the finite verb and the forms of the infinite verb are attached in all strong verbs (whether ablauting, reduplicated, or reduplicated-ablauting) to the four stems in the same way.

Minor deviations in the endings are the result of 1. final hardening (see 2.3.2.) and 2. some changes caused by the collision of consonants in the 2nd singular preterit indicative (see 2.3.2.).

For this reason, the following examples suffice for all three subgroups of the strong verbs. Paradigm of strong verbs. Examples: 1) *niman* ‘to take’. 2) *-biudan* ‘to offer’. 3) *haitan* ‘to call, to name; (pass.) to be called’:

			active present		
ind.	sg.	1.	<i>nima</i>	<i>biuda</i>	<i>haita</i>
		2.	<i>nimis</i>	<i>biudis</i>	<i>haitis</i>
		3.	<i>nimiþ</i>	<i>biudiþ</i>	<i>haitiþ</i>
	du.	1.	<i>nimos</i>	<i>biudos</i>	<i>haitos</i>
		2.	<i>nimats</i>	<i>biudats</i>	<i>haitats</i>
	pl.	1.	<i>nimam</i>	<i>biudam</i>	<i>haitam</i>
		2.	<i>nimiþ</i>	<i>biudiþ</i>	<i>haitiþ</i>
		3.	<i>nimand</i>	<i>biudand</i>	<i>haitand</i>

opt.	sg.	1.	<i>nimau</i>	<i>biudau</i>	<i>haitau</i>
		2.	<i>nimais</i>	<i>biudais</i>	<i>haitais</i>
		3.	<i>nimai</i>	<i>biudai</i>	<i>haitai</i>
	du.	1.	<i>nimaiwa</i>	<i>biudaiwa</i>	<i>haitaiwa</i>
		2.	<i>nimaits</i>	<i>biudaits</i>	<i>haitaits</i>
	pl.	1.	<i>nimaima</i>	<i>biudaima</i>	<i>haitaima</i>
		2.	<i>nimaiþ</i>	<i>biudaiþ</i>	<i>haitaiþ</i>
		3.	<i>nimaina</i>	<i>biudaina</i>	<i>haitaina</i>
	imp.	sg.	2.	<i>nim</i>	<i>biuþ</i>
3.			<i>nimadau</i>	<i>biudadau</i>	<i>haitadau</i>
du.		2.	<i>nimats</i>	<i>biudats</i>	<i>haitats</i>
		pl.	1.	<i>nimam</i>	<i>biudam</i>
2.			<i>nimiþ</i>	<i>biudiþ</i>	<i>haitiþ</i>
inf.			<i>niman</i>	<i>biudan</i>	<i>haitan</i>
part.			<i>nimands</i>	<i>biudands</i>	<i>haitands</i>
preterite					
ind.	sg.	1.	<i>nam</i>	<i>baup</i>	<i>haihait</i>
		2.	<i>namt</i>	<i>baust</i>	<i>haihaist</i>
		3.	<i>nam</i>	<i>baup</i>	<i>haihait</i>
	du.	2.	<i>nemuts</i>	<i>buduts</i>	<i>haihaituts</i>
		pl.	1.	<i>nemum</i>	<i>budum</i>
	2.		<i>nemuþ</i>	<i>buduþ</i>	<i>haihaituþ</i>
	3.		<i>nemun</i>	<i>budun</i>	<i>haihaitun</i>
opt.	sg.	1.	<i>nemjau</i>	<i>budjau</i>	<i>haihaitjau</i>
		2.	<i>nemeis</i>	<i>budeis</i>	<i>haihaiteis</i>
		3.	<i>nemi</i>	<i>budi</i>	<i>haihaiti</i>
	pl.	1.	<i>nemeima</i>	<i>budeima</i>	<i>haihaiteima</i>
		2.	<i>nemeiþ</i>	<i>budeiþ</i>	<i>haihaiteiþ</i>
		3.	<i>nemeina</i>	<i>budeina</i>	<i>haihaiteina</i>
part.		<i>numans</i>	<i>budans</i>	<i>haitans</i>	
passive present					
ind.	sg.	1./3.	<i>nimada</i>	<i>biudada</i>	<i>haitada</i>
		2.	<i>nimaza</i>	<i>biudaza</i>	<i>haitaza</i>
	pl.	1./2./3.	<i>nimanda</i>	<i>biudanda</i>	<i>haitanda</i>
opt.	sg.	1./3.	<i>nimaidau</i>	<i>biudaidau</i>	<i>haitaidau</i>
		2.	<i>nimaizau</i>	<i>biudaizau</i>	<i>haitaizau</i>
	pl.	1./2./3.	<i>nimaindau</i>	<i>biudaindau</i>	<i>haitaindau</i>

Historical explanation of the endings:

1. Present indicative active

- Sg.: 1. Goth. *-a* < PGmc. **-ō* (cf. Run. *-u*, OHG, OS *-u*, early OE (angl.) *-u*, OE *-e*, OIcl. *-Ø*). 2. Goth. *-is* either < PGmc. **-isⁱ* (cf. OHG, OS *-is*, OE *-es*) or < PGmc. **-izⁱ* (cf. OIcl. *-r*). 3. Goth. *-þ* (cf. however, *-id-uh*, *faura-qimid* [Lk 1:17]) < PGmc. **-idⁱ* (cf. OHG *-it*, OS *-id*).
- Du.: 1. Goth. *-os* (with unclear sound development) < PGmc. **-auiz*. 2. Goth. *-ats* (the *-t-* is not explained with certainty) < PGmc. **-ap/ðiz* (with analogical PGmc. **-a-*).

- Pl.: 1. Goth. *-am* < PGmc. **-ami/az* (cf. OIcl. *-om*). 2. Goth. *-ip* (cf. however, *-id-uh*) < urgerm **-id^h*. 3. Goth. *-and* < PGmc. **-and^h* (cf. OHG *-ant*).
2. Present optative active
- Sg.: 1. Goth. *-au* < PGmc. **-a(i)uⁿ* (cf. OIcl. *-a*). 2. Goth. *-ais* either < PGmc. **-aⁱs* (cf. OHG *-ēs*, OS *-es*) or < PGmc. **-aiz* (cf. OE *-e*, OIcl. *-er*). 3. Goth. *-ai* < PGmc. **-aiþ/ð* (cf. OHG, OS, OE, OIcl. *-e*).
 - Du.: 1. Goth. *-aiwa* < PGmc. (with secondary lengthening) **-aiuē*. 2. Goth. *-aits* (the *-t-* is not explained with certainty) < PGmc. **-aiþ/ðiz*.
 - Pl.: 1. Goth. *-aima* < PGmc. (with secondary lengthening) **-aimē* (cf. OHG *-ēm*, OIcl. *-em*). 2. Goth. *-aiþ* either < PGmc. **-aið^h* (cf. OHG *-ēt*, OIcl. *-ep^h*) or < PGmc. **-aiþⁱ* (cf. OIcl. *-ep^h*). 3. Goth. *-aina* (with *-a* from the 1st plural) < PGmc. **-ain^{b/d}* (cf. OHG *-ēn*, OS, OE *-en*, OIcl. *-e*).
3. Present imperative active
- Sg.: 2. Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. **-i* (cf. OHG, OS, OE, OIcl. *-Ø*). 3. Goth. *-adau* (innovation [with secondary *-a-* (from the plural^h)]).
 - Du.: 2. Goth. *-ats* taken over from the corresponding indicative form.
 - Pl.: 1. Goth. *-am* taken over from the corresponding indicative form (like in OHG and OIcl.). 2. Goth. *-ip* taken over from the corresponding indicative form (like in OHG, OS, OE and OIcl.). 3. Goth. *-andau* (innovation).
4. Present infinitive active
- Goth. *-an* < PGmc. **-anaⁿ* (cf. OHG, OS, OE *-an*, OIcl. *-a*).
5. Present participle active
- Goth. *-and-* < PGmc. **-and-* (cf. OHG *-ant-*, OS *-and-*, OE *-end-*, OIcl. *-and-*).
6. Preterite indicative active
- Sg.: 1. Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. **-a* (cf. OHG, OS, OE, OIcl. *-Ø*). 2. Goth. *-t* < PGmc. (with analogical spread of **-t* in the position after **-s-*) **-ta* (cf. OIcl. *-t*). 3. Goth. *-Ø* < PGmc. **-e* (cf. OHG, OS, OE, OIcl. *-Ø*).
 - Du.: 2. Goth. *-uts* (the *-t-* is not explained with certainty) < PGmc. **-uþ/ðiz* (with analogical **-u-* [from the 1st dual or from the plural]).
 - Pl.: 1. Goth. *-um* < PGmc. **-um* (cf. OHG *-um*, OIcl. *-om*). 2. Goth. *-uþ* < PGmc. (with analogical **-u-* from the 1st/3rd plural) **-uð* (cf. OHG *-ut*, OIcl. *-op*); 3. Goth. *-un* < PGmc. **-un^{b/d}* (cf. OHG, OS *-un*, OE *-on*, OIcl. *-o*).
7. Preterite optative active:
- Sg.: 1. Goth. *-jau* (with the ending of the present optative added) < PGmc. **-iⁿ* (cf. OHG, OS *-i*, OE *-e*, OIcl. [with the same remodeling as in Gothic] *-a*). 2. Goth. *-eis* either < PGmc. **-īs* (cf. OHG *-īs*, OS *-is*) or < PGmc. **-iz* (cf. OE *-e*, OIcl. *-er*). 3. Goth. *-i* < PGmc. **-i^{b/d}* (cf. OHG, OS *-i*, OE, OIcl. *-e*).
 - Pl.: 1. Goth. *-eima* < PGmc. (with secondary lengthening) **-īmē* (cf. OHG *-īm*, OIcl. *-em*). 2. Goth. *-eiþ* < PGmc. **-iþ/ðⁱ* (cf. OHG *-īt*, OIcl. *-ep*). 3. Goth. *-eina* (with *-a* from the 1st plural preterite or the 3rd plural present) < PGmc. **-īn^{b/d}* (cf. OHG *-īn*, OS *-in*, OE *-en*, OIcl. *-e*).
8. Preterite participle active
- Goth. *-an-* < PGmc. **-ana-* (cf. OHG, OS *-an-*, OE *-en-*).
9. Present indicative passive
- Sg.: 1/3: Goth. *-ada* (the form of the 3rd singular is transferred to the 1st singular) < PGmc. **-adaⁱ*. 2. Goth. *-aza* < PGmc. **-azaⁱ*.
 - Pl.: 1/2/3. Goth. *-anda* (the form of the 3rd plural is transferred to the 1st/2nd plural) < PGmc. **-andaⁱ*.
10. Present optative passive

- The optative formans *-ai-* is followed by endings that show in all forms *-au* that stems from the optative active.

3.2.2. The weak verbs

The weak verbs have no vowel change; they form their preterite and preterite participle by means of a dental suffix *-d-* (nom.sg.m. preterite participle *-þs*). Due to the form of the dental formation, the Gothic weak verbs are divided into four classes:

- Class 1: Formation with the suffix PGmc. **(i)ie/a-*. In this class are mainly causatives to primary verbs (cf. *wandjan** ‘to turn’ to *-windan** ‘to wind’), some intensives (cf. *draibjan** ‘to bother’ to *dreiban** ‘to drive’), and factitives to adjectives (cf. *hrainjan** ‘to clean’ to *hrains* ‘pure’).
- Class 2: Formation with the suffix PGmc. **-ō(iē/a)-*. In this class are mainly denominative verbs (cf. *fiskon* ‘to fisch’ to *fisks** ‘fish’) alongside some deverbatives (likely intensives) (cf. *harbon* ‘to go about’ to *hairban* ‘to go about’).
- Class 3: Formation with the suffix *-ai/-iē/a-*. In this class are mainly deverbatives with durative meaning (cf. *haban* ‘to have’ [to PIE **kap-* ‘to grasp, snatch’]) and denominatives with inchoative meaning (cf. Goth. *arman** ‘to have pity’ to *arms** ‘poor’).
- Class 4: Formation with the suffix PGmc. **-na/ō-*. In this class are verbs with intransitive-inchoative meaning (cf. *fullnan** ‘to become full’ to *fulls* ‘full’).

While the four classes of the weak verbs show in the present considerable differences in their inflection, which are caused by their different way of forming, the formation and inflection of all four classes is the same in the preterit. They also form the preterite participle in the same way.

3.2.2.1. The preterite of the weak verbs

Since the weak verbs could not show ablaut, it was not possible for them to form a perfect tense in the usual way. A typologically common way to form new tenses is to combine a nominal form of the verb as a carrier of meaning with an auxiliary verb for appropriate tense marking, i.e., the formation of analytic or periphrastic forms. The Germanic preterite of the weak verbs is formed periphrastically with forms of the verbal root PIE **d^heh₁-* ‘to put, to do’.

There are two possibilities for the derivation from the dental element: either the root aorist PIE $*d^heh_1-/*d^hh_1-$ > PGmc. $*dē-/*d-$ (in that case the ablaut of the 1st singular would have to be secondary in Germanic) or the imperfect PIE $*d^hed^hoh_1-/*d^hed^hh_1-$ > PGmc. $*(de)đō-/*(de)đ-$ (then the ablaut of the 2nd/3rd singular would have to be secondary in Germanic). In Gothic in the present indicative dual/plural and in the entire optative these forms were mixed with the preterite of the full verb that, however, is not recorded in Gothic (cf. Goth. *-dedum* : OHG *tātum*, Goth. *-dedup* : OHG *tātut*, Goth. *-dedun* : OHG *tātun*).

The endings formed with the dental suffix *-d-*, added to the respective verbal stem are for all weak verbs identical: *nasida** ‘I rescued’, *salboda** ‘I anointed’, *habaida* ‘I had’, *fullnoda** ‘I became full’. Since the paradigms are identical, it suffices to show the inflection with just one example. Paradigm: 1) *nasida** ‘I rescued’:

		indicative	optative
sg.	1.	<i>nasida</i>	<i>nasidedjau</i>
	2.	<i>nasides</i>	<i>nasidedeis</i>
	3.	<i>nasida</i>	<i>nasidedi</i>
du.	1.	—	—
	2.	<i>nasideduts</i>	—
pl.	1.	<i>nasidedum</i>	<i>nasidedeima</i>
	2.	<i>nasidedup</i>	<i>nasidedeip</i>
	3.	<i>nasidedun</i>	<i>nasidedeina</i>

Historical explanation of the endings:

Preterite indicative active

- Sg.: 1. Goth. *-da* < PGmc. either $*-dō$ or $*-dē$ (cf. Run. *-do*, OHG *-ta*, OS, OE *-de*, OIcl. *-ða*). 2. Goth. *-des* < PGmc. $*-dēz$ (cf. OS, OE *-des*, OIcl. *-ðir*). 3. Goth. *-da* < PGmc. $*-dē'$ (cf. Run. *-de*, OHG *-ta*, OS, OE *-de*, OIcl. *-ði*).
- Du.: 2. *-deduts* from *-ded-* like in the plural to which *-uts* like in the strong verbs was added.
- Pl.: 1. Goth. *-dedum* either < PGmc. $*-dēdum^e$ or preGoth. 3rd singular preterite indicative active $*-dē$ to which PGmc. $*-dume$ (cf. OHG *-tum*, OS *-dun*, OE *-don*, OIcl. *-ðum*) was added. 2. Goth. *-dedup* either < PGmc. $*-dēdud^e$ or preGoth. 3rd singular preterite indicative active $*-dē$ to which PGmc. $*-dude$ (cf. OHG *-tut*, OIcl. *-ðuð*) was added. 3. Goth. *-dedun* either < PGmc. $*-dēdun^i$ or or preGoth. 3rd singular preterite indicative active $*-dē$ to which PGmc. $*-dunt$ (cf. OHG *-tun*, OS *-dun*, OE *-don*, OIcl. *-ðu*) was added.

Preterite optative active

- The endings contain the element *-ded-* to which the corresponding endings of the strong verbs are added.

The preterite participle is formed in Gothic with the suffix *-d-* (nom.sg.m. *-ps*) < PGmc. $*-da-$ (> OHG *-t-*, OS, MDu., OE, OFris. *-d-*, OIcl. *-þ-*; < PIE $*-tó-$ [OIcl. *-ta-*, Gr. *-tos*,

Lat. *-tus*]): *nasip̃s**, *salbop̃s**, *habaĩp̃s** (the verbs of class 4 do not form a preterite participle). For the inflection see 3.1.3.3.

Some weak verbs of class 1 form their preterite and preterite participle weak, but without the vowel *-i-* (the verbal root always ends in *-g/k*):

	infinitive	preterite	preterite participle
‘to use’	<i>brukjan</i>	<i>bruhta</i>	
‘to buy’	<i>bugjan*</i>	<i>bauhta</i>	<i>-bauhts</i>
‘to think’	<i>pagkjan</i>	<i>pahta</i>	<i>-pahts</i>
‘to seem’	<i>bugkjan*</i>	<i>puhta</i>	<i>-puhts</i>
‘to make’	<i>waurkjan</i>	<i>waurhta</i>	<i>-waurhts</i>

To this group also belongs the preterite of the strong verb 3 *briggan* ‘to bring’ : *brahta*. These are old formations without a vowel.

3.2.2.2. The present of the weak verbs

In the present, the four classes of the weak verbs show considerable differences in their inflection, which are caused by their different way of forming.

The verbs of class 1 fall into two groups, one in which the verbal root has a short stem and one in which the verbal root has a long stem. Verbs with a short stem, so with a short root syllable (e.g. *nasjan* ‘to save’) and roots that end in a long vowel (e.g. *stojan* ‘to judge’), preserve in the 2nd/3rd singular present, 2nd plural present, and 2nd plural imperative the sequence *-ji-*, verbs with a long stem, so with a long root syllable ending in a consonant (e.g. *sokjan* ‘to search’) and verbs with a polysyllabic base (e.g. *mikiljan** ‘to praise’), show in 2nd/3rd singular present, 2nd plural present, and 2nd plural imperative the sequence *-ei-*. Paradigms: weak verbs 1: *nasjan* ‘to save’, *stojan* ‘to judge’, *sokjan* ‘to search’; weak verbs 2: *salbon* ‘to anoint’; weak verbs 3: *haban** ‘to have’; weak verbs 4: *fullnan** ‘to become full’:

				active present				
				class 1		class 2	class 3	class 4
ind.	sg.	1.	<i>nasja</i>	<i>stoja</i>	<i>sokja</i>	<i>salbo</i>	<i>haba</i>	<i>fullna</i>
		2.	<i>nasjis</i>	<i>stojis</i>	<i>sokeis</i>	<i>salbos</i>	<i>habais</i>	<i>fullnis</i>
		3.	<i>nasjĩp̃</i>	<i>stojĩp̃</i>	<i>sokeĩp̃</i>	<i>salbop̃</i>	<i>habaĩp̃</i>	<i>fullnĩp̃</i>
du.		1.	<i>nasjos</i>	<i>stojos</i>	<i>sokjos</i>	—	<i>habos</i>	—
		2.	<i>nasjats</i>	<i>stojats</i>	<i>sokjats</i>	—	—	—

opt.	pl.	1.	<i>nasjam</i>	<i>stojam</i>	<i>sokjam</i>	<i>salbom</i>	<i>habam</i>	<i>fullnam</i>
		2.	<i>nasjiþ</i>	<i>stojiþ</i>	<i>sokeiþ</i>	<i>salboþ</i>	<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>fullniþ</i>
		3.	<i>nasjand</i>	<i>stojand</i>	<i>sokjand</i>	<i>salbond</i>	<i>haband</i>	<i>fullnand</i>
	sg.	1.	<i>nasjau</i>	<i>stojau</i>	<i>sokjau</i>	<i>salbo</i>	<i>habau</i>	<i>fullnau</i>
		2.	<i>nasjais</i>	<i>stojais</i>	<i>sokjais</i>	<i>salbos</i>	<i>habais</i>	—
		3.	<i>nasjai</i>	<i>stojai</i>	<i>sokjai</i>	<i>salbo</i>	<i>habai</i>	<i>fullnai</i>
	du.	1.	—	—	—	—	—	—
		2.	—	—	—	—	—	—
	pl.	1.	<i>nasjaima</i>	<i>stojaima</i>	<i>sokjaima</i>	<i>salboma</i>	<i>habaima</i>	<i>fullnaima</i>
		2.	<i>nasjaiþ</i>	<i>stojaiþ</i>	<i>sokjaiþ</i>	<i>salboþ</i>	<i>habaiþ</i>	<i>fullnaiþ</i>
		3.	<i>nasjaina</i>	<i>stojaina</i>	<i>sokjaina</i>	<i>salbona</i>	<i>habaina</i>	<i>fullnaina</i>
imp.	sg.	2.	<i>nasei</i>	—	<i>soksei</i>	<i>salbo</i>	<i>habai</i>	<i>fulln</i>
		3.	<i>nasjadau</i>	<i>stojadau</i>	<i>sokjadau</i>	—	—	—
	du.	2.	—	—	—	—	—	—
	pl.	1.	<i>nasjam</i>	<i>stojam</i>	<i>sokjam</i>	—	—	—
		2.	<i>nasjiþ</i>	<i>stojiþ</i>	<i>sokseiþ</i>	<i>salboþ</i>	<i>habaiþ</i>	—
		3.	—	—	—	—	<i>habandau</i>	—
inf. part.			<i>nasjan</i>	<i>stojan</i>	<i>sokjan</i>	<i>salbon</i>	<i>haban</i>	<i>fullnan</i>
			<i>nasjands</i>	<i>stojands</i>	<i>sokjands</i>	<i>salbonds</i>	<i>habands</i>	<i>fullnands</i>

passive
present

ind.	sg.	1./3.	<i>nasjada</i>	<i>stojada</i>	<i>sokjada</i>	<i>salboda</i>	<i>habada</i>
		2.	<i>nasjaza</i>	<i>stojaza</i>	<i>sokjaza</i>	—	—
	pl.	1./2./3.	<i>nasjanda</i>	<i>stojanda</i>	<i>sokjanda</i>	<i>salbonda</i>	<i>habanda</i>
opt.	sg.	1./3.	<i>nasjaidau</i>	<i>stojaidau</i>	<i>sokjaidau</i>	<i>salbodau</i>	<i>habaidau</i>
		2.	<i>nasjaizau</i>	<i>stojazau</i>	<i>sokjaizau</i>	—	<i>habaizau</i>
	pl.	1./2./3.	<i>nasjaindau</i>	<i>stojaindau</i>	<i>sokjaindau</i>	<i>salbondau</i>	<i>habaindau</i>

1. Like *nasjan* ‘to save’ inflect e.g.: *hazjan* ‘to praise’, *hugjan* ‘to think’, *huljan* ‘to cover, to veil, to envelop’, *lagjan* ‘to lay’, *satjan** ‘to set’, *ga-tamjan* ‘to tame’, *uf-þanjan** ‘to stretch’, *us-wakjan** ‘to wake up’, *waljan** ‘to choose’, *warjan** ‘to fight back’, *wasjan** ‘to clothe’.
2. Like *stojan* ‘to judge’ inflect e.g.: *ana-niujan** ‘to renew’, *ga-qiujan** ‘to make alive’, *siujan** ‘to sew’, *straujan** ‘to scatter’, *taujan* ‘to do’.
3. Like *sokjan* ‘to search’ inflect e.g.: *andbahtjan* ‘to serve’, *glitmunjan** ‘to shine’, *haurjan** ‘to blow the horn’, *hausjan* ‘to hear’, *hnaiwjan** ‘to humble’, *hrainjan** ‘to clean’, *meljan* ‘to write’, *merjan* ‘to proclaim’, *siponjan** ‘to be a student’.
4. Like *salbon* ‘to anoint’ inflect e.g.: *faginon* ‘to rejoice’, *fraujinon* ‘to rule’, *idreigon** ‘to feel remorse, to do penance’, *karon** ‘to worry’, *miton* ‘to think’, *ga-paidon** ‘to clothe’, *reikinon* ‘to be master’, *skalkinon* ‘to be servant’, *sunjon** ‘to excuse’, *þiudanon* ‘to be king’.
5. Like *haban* ‘to have’ inflect e.g.: *fijan* ‘to hate’, *hahan** ‘to hang’, *liban* ‘to live’, *liugan* ‘to marry’, *saurgan* ‘to worry’, *ana-silan* ‘to become silent’, *trauan* ‘to trust’, *þahan** ‘to be silent’, *þulan* ‘to tolerate’.

6. Like *fullnan** inflect e.g.: *and-bundnan* ‘to be separated’, *ga-daupnan* ‘to die’, *ga-frisahtnan** ‘to be formed’, *mikilnan* ‘to grow up’, *fra-qistnan** ‘to perish’, *ga-skaidnan** ‘to divorce’, *dis-skritnan* ‘to tear’, *ga-wairþnan* ‘to reconcile’, *ga-waknan** ‘to wake up’.

The endings in the present are basically the same as in the strong verbs. The differences can be explained by the interaction between the stem-forming element and the ending.

3.2.3. Other verb formations

3.2.3.1. Preterite-presents

Most of the preterite-presents are formally former PIE perfect formations, which were functionally reinterpreted as present tenses because of their present meaning while retaining the preterite form (cf. PIE perf. **uóǵd-h₂a* ‘I have seen, I know’ > Goth. *wait*). Therefore, most of these verbs can be assigned to the classes of the strong verbs. Most of them form a new preterite and preterite participle with a dental, but without *-i-*; the preterite is inflected like a weak preterite.

1. Class 1:

- *wait* ‘I know’, 1st plural *witum*, present optative *witjau*, preterite indicative *wissa*, preterite optative *wissedjau*, present participle *witands*, infinitive *witan* (< PGmc. **uait* : **uitum* : **uissōⁿ*; cf. OHG *weiz* : *wizzum* : *wissa/wista*; OS *witan* : *wēt* : *witun* : *wissa*; OE *wāt* : *witon* : *wisse/wiste*; OIcl. *veit* : *vitom* : *vissa*).
- *lais* ‘I know’ (only this form in Phil 4,12B [2x]) (< PGmc. **lais*).

2. Class 2:

- *daug* ‘it benefits’ (only this form in 1.KorA 10:23, 2.TimB 2:14) (< PGmc. **daug* : **dugum* : **duxtōⁿ*; cf. OHG *toug* : *tugum* : *tohta*; OS **dugan* : *dōg* : *dugun* : **dohta*; OE *dēag* : *dugon* : *dohte*).

3. Class 3:

- *kann* ‘I know’, 1st plural *kunnum*, present optative *kunnjau*, preterite indicative *kunþa*, preterite optative *kunþedjau*, preterite participle (adj.) *kunþs*, infinitive *kunnan*, present participle *kunnands* (< PGmc. **kann* : **kunnum* : **kunþōⁿ*; cf. OHG *kann* : *kunnum* : *konda*; OS **kunnan* : *kann* : *kunnen* : *konsta*; OE *can[n]* : *cunnon* : *cūðe*; OIcl. *kann* : *kunnom* : *kunna*).

- *þarf* ‘I need’, 1st plural *þaurbum*, present optative (1st plural) *þaurbeima*, preterite indicative *þaurfta*, preterite participle (adj.) *þaurfts*, present participle *þaurbands* (< PGmc. **þarf* : **þurbum* : **þurftō*ⁿ; cf. OHG *darf* : *durfum* : *dorfta*; OS **thurban* : *tharf* : *thurbun* : *thorfta*; OE *þearf* : *þurfon* : *þorfte*; OIcl. *þarf* : *þurfom* : *þurfta*).
- *ga-dars* ‘I dare’, 1st plural *ga-daursum*, present optative *ga-daursjau*, preterite indicative *ga-daursta*, infinitive *ga-daursan* (< PGmc. **ðarz* : **ðurzum* : **ðurstō*ⁿ; cf. OHG *gi-tar* : *gi-turum* : *gi-torsta*; OS **durran* : *gi-dar* : **durrun* : *gi-dorsta*; OE *dear[r]* : *durron* : *dorste*).

4. Class 4:

- *skal* ‘I shall’, 1st plural *skulum*, present optative *skuljau*, preterite indicative *skulda*, preterite optative *-skuldedi*, preterite participle (adj.) *skulds* (< PGmc. **skal* : **skulum* : **skulđō*ⁿ; cf. OHG *skal* : *skulum* : *skolta*; OS **skulan* : *skal* : *skulun* : *skolda*; OE *sceal* : *sculon* : *sc[e]olde*; OIcl. *skal* : *skolom* : *skylda*).
- *man* ‘I think’, 2nd plural *-munuþ*, present optative *-muni*, preterite indicative *munda*, preterite participle *munds*, infinitive *-munan*, present participle *munands* (< PGmc. **man* : **munum* : **mund/pō*ⁿ; cf. OS *[-]munan : [-]man : *[-]munun : [-]munsta; OE *man* : *munon* : *munde*; OIcl. *man* : *munom* : *munþa*).
- *ga-nah* ‘it suffices’, *bi-nah* ‘it is permitted, it is lawful’; only impersonal 3rd singular; her also belongs the preterite participle neuter *bi-nauht* (1.KorA 10:23) and the adjective *bi-uhsts* ‘accustomed’ (< PGmc. **naχ*).

5. Class 5: Without transmitted forms.

6. Class 6:

- *ga-mot* ‘he finds room’, 1st plural *motum**, present optative (1st plural) *ga-moteima*, preterite indicative (3rd plural) *ga-mostedun* (< PGmc. **mōt* : **mōtum* : **mōstō*ⁿ; cf. OHG *muoz* : *muozun* : *muosa*; OS **mōtan* : *mōt* : *mōtun* : *mōsta*; OE *mōt* : *mōton* : *mōste*).
- *og* ‘I fear’, 1st plural *ogum**, present optative (2nd singular) *ogeis*, preterite indicative *ohta*, present participle *ogands* (< PGmc. **ōg*).

Outside the ablaut forms are the following two verbs:

- *mag* ‘I can’, 1st plural *magum*, present optative *magjau*, preterite indicative *mahta*, preterite optative *mahtedi*, preterite participle *mahts*, present participle *magands* (< PGmc. **mag* : **magum* : **maχtō*ⁿ; cf. OHG *mag* : *ma/ugum* : *ma/ohta*; OS **mugan* : *mag/mah* : *mugun* : *ma/ohta*; OE *mæg* : *magon* : *meahte*; OIcl. *má* : *megom* : *mátta*).

- *aih* ‘I have’, 1st plural *aigum* and *aihum*, present optative (3rd singular) *aigi*, preterite indicative (3rd singular) *aihta*, preterite optative (2nd singular) *aihtedeis*, present participle *aigands* and *aihands**, infinitive *-aihan* (< PGmc. **aiχ* : **aigum* : **aiχtōⁿ*; cf. OHG – : *eigun* : –; OS *ēgan* : **ēh* : *ēgun* : *ēhta*; OE *āg* : *āgon* : *āhte*; OIcl. *á* : *eigom* : *átta*).

3.2.3.2. The verbs ‘to be’, ‘to want’, and ‘to go’

- The verb ‘to be’ only forms the present indicative and present optative from the root PIE **h₁es-/*h₁s-* > PGmc. **es-/*s-* ‘to be’; the flexion is athematic, which means that there is no thematic vowel between the verbal stem and the ending. For all other forms the strong verb class 5 *wisan* ‘to be’ is used. A preterite participle does not occur. Paradigm:

		present	
		indicative	optative
sg.	1.	<i>im</i>	<i>sijau</i>
	2.	<i>is</i>	<i>sijais</i>
	3.	<i>ist</i>	<i>sijai</i>
du.	1.	<i>siju</i>	–
	2.	–	–
pl.	1.	<i>sijum</i>	<i>sijaima</i>
	2.	<i>sijub</i>	<i>sijaiþ</i>
	3.	<i>sind</i>	<i>sijaina</i>
inf.		<i>wisan</i>	
part.		<i>wisands</i>	
		preterite	
		indicative	optative
sg.	1.	<i>was</i>	<i>wesjau</i>
	2.	<i>wast</i>	<i>weseis</i>
	3.	<i>wast</i>	<i>wesi</i>
...	...	usw.	usw.

Historical explanation of the forms:

- Present indicative: Sg. 1. Goth. *im* < PGmc. **ezmⁱ* (cf. OE *eom*, OIcl. *em* [compared with that contaminated in OHG *b-im*, OS *biu-m*, OE *bēo-m*]). 2. Goth. *is* < PGmc. **ezⁱ* (cf. OE *eart*, OIcl. *er-t* [with *e-* from the 1st singular and *-t* from the preterite-presents]). 3. Goth. *ist* < PGmc. **estⁱ* (cf. OHG *ist*, OS *is[t]*, OE *is*, OIcl. *es* [with *e-* from the 1st singular and *-t* because of unstressedness]); Pl. 3. Goth. *sind* < PGmc. **sendⁱ* (cf. OHG *sint*, OS, OE *sind* [(analogically to the 1st plural) OIcl. *ero*]). Perhaps from the form 3rd plural present indicative *sind* a verbal stem *si-* was reanalyzed (analogue to *bair-a-nd* : *si-nd*), which served as the basis for the remaining forms.
- Historically, the present of the verb ‘to want’ is an optative from the root PIE **uelh₁-* ‘to choose’, in the manner of the athematic preterite optative of the strong and weak verbs. The

weak preterite inflects like *nasida** but is formed without a vowel *-i-*. A preterite participle does not exist. Paradigm:

present			
sg.	1.		<i>wiljau</i>
	2.		<i>wileis</i>
	3.		<i>wili</i>
du.	1.		—
	2.		<i>wileits</i>
pl.	1.		<i>wileima</i>
	2.		<i>wileiþ</i>
	3.		<i>wileina</i>
inf.			<i>wiljan</i>
part.			<i>wiljands</i>
preterite			
ind.	sg.	1./3.	<i>wilda</i>
	pl.	1.	<i>wildedum</i>
		2.	<i>wildeduþ</i>
		3.	<i>wildedun</i>
opt.	sg.	3.	<i>wildedi</i>
	pl.	2.	<i>wildedeiþ</i>

- The verb *gaggan* ‘to go’, which according to the form of the present and the preterite participle (only *us-gaggana* [Mk 7:30]) as well as according to the other Germanic languages was a reduplicated verb, once has a weak preterite *gaggida* (Lk 19:12). Usually, however, the preterite of *gaggan* is represented by the suppletive form *iddja* ‘I went’, which inflects like a weak preterite (so 1st/3rd singular *iddja*, 1st plural *iddjedum*, 3rd plural optative *-iddjedeina* etc.).

The suppletive forms continue in the end the verbal root PIE **h₁ej-* ‘to go’.

3.3. Uninflected words

For the adjective-adverbs see 3.1.3.5.

3.3.1. Prepositions, prefixes

The Gothic prepositions govern one case (dative or accusative) or two cases (dative and accusative). Only *in* ‘in’ can govern three cases (genitive, dative, and accusative). The genitive is otherwise only dependent of adverbial prepositions.

- Prepositions with the dative: *af* ‘of’, *alja* ‘except’, *andwairpis* ‘opposite’, *du* ‘to’, *fairra* ‘far from’, *faura* ‘before’, *fram* ‘of, from’, *miþ* ‘with’, *nehva* ‘near by’, *undaro* ‘under’, *us* ‘out, of – away’.
- Prepositions with the accusative: *and* ‘along, to’, *faur* ‘in front of, for’, *inu(h)* ‘without’, *neh* ‘close to’, *pairh* ‘through’, *undar* ‘under’, *wipra* ‘against, before, at’.
- Prepositions with the dative and accusative: *afar* ‘after’ (with the accusative only in temporal meaning), *at* ‘at, to’ (with the accusative only in temporal meaning), *ana* ‘on’, *bi* ‘at, around’, *hindar* ‘behind, over’, *uf* ‘under’, *ufar* ‘over, above’, *und* with dative ‘to, for’, with accusative ‘until, up to’.
- The following adverbial prepositions govern the genitive: *hindana* ‘behind’, *innana* ‘within’, *utana*, *utapro* ‘outside’; the genitive and dative governs *ufaro* ‘over’.
- Prepositions with the genitive, dative, and accusative: *in*: with genitive ‘on account of’, with dative/accusative ‘in, into’.

The instrumental case stands with *bi* and *du* in the adverbs: *bipe(h)* ‘after’, *bihe* ‘to what’, *dupe* ‘to that’, *duve* ‘to what’.

Only in compositions, mostly verbal ones, stand *dis-*, *fair-*, *fra-*, *ga-*, and *twis-*.

3.3.2. Conjunctions

Gothic knows the following conjunctions:

- Copulative: *jah* or enclitic *-(u)h* ‘and’, *jah – jah* ‘both – and’, *nih, jah ni* ‘and not, also not’, *ni(h) – ni(h)* ‘neither – nor’.
- Disjunctive: *aipþau* ‘or’, *andizuh – aipþau* ‘either – or’, *japþe – japþe* ‘be it that – or’, *pau(h)* ‘or’.
- Adversative: *apþan*, weakened *iþ*, *iþ – uh*, *þan* ‘but’, *apþan (raihtis, auk, þan) – iþ (þan, apþan)* ‘although – but’, *ak* ‘but’, *akei* ‘but (yet)’.
- Consecutive: *apþan*, *eipþan*, *þannu*, *þanuh*, *þaruh* ‘thus, therefore, so’, *swaei*, *swe*, *swaswe* ‘so that’.
- Causal: *auh*, *allis*, *raihtis* (usually not in the first position of a sentence) ‘because, namely’, *unte* ‘then, because’.
- Interrogative: *niu* ‘not?’, enclitic *-u* (question particle), *an nuh* ‘so yes?’, *þau* ‘by any chance’, *nibai* ‘if not?’, *hwaiwa* ‘how’.

- Final: *patei*, *pei*, *ei* ‘that, so that’.
- As a conjunction to *that*-sentences: *patei*, *pei*, less often *ei*.
- Conditional: *jabai*, *pande* ‘if’, *niba(i)* ‘if not’.
- Temporal: *pan*, *bipe*, *swe* ‘when’, *afar patei* ‘after’, *mip-panei* ‘whilst’, *sunsei* ‘as soon as’, *unte*, *pande*, *und patei* ‘until (that), as long as’.
- Comparative: *swe* ‘as’, *swaswe* ‘so as’, *swe (swaswe) – swa(h)*, *swa jah* ‘as – so as’.
- Concessive: *swepauh* ‘indeed, however’, *swepauh ei*, *pauhjabai*, *(jah) jabai* ‘even though’.

3.3.3. Interjections

In Gothic texts appear: *o* ‘oh’, *sai* ‘see’, *wai* ‘woe’, *hiri* ‘hereto’, dual *hirjats*, plural *hirjip*, inflected like an imperative.

List of Words Treated Etymologically in the Texts

<i>aba</i> Lk 1:27	<i>aiwaggeljo</i> Mk 1:1	<i>atta</i> Mt 6:9
<i>abraba</i> Mk 16:4	<i>aiweins*</i> 2.Thess 1:9	<i>atwalwjan*</i> Mk 15:46
<i>abrs</i> Mk 16:4	<i>aiws*</i> Mt 6:13	<i>apþan</i> Mt 9:6
<i>af</i> Mt 6:13	<i>ajukduþs*</i> Lk 1:33	<i>audags</i> Bon 1:1
<i>afaikan</i> Mt 26:72	<i>ak</i> Mt 6:13	<i>audahafts*</i> Lk 1:28
<i>afar</i> Mt 8:1	<i>akei</i> Joh 6:9	<i>augjan*</i> Mt 8:4
<i>afarsabbato*</i> Mk 16:2	<i>akeit(s)*</i> Mk 15:36	<i>augo</i> Joh 6:5
<i>afguþs*</i> Sk 4:4	<i>akrs</i> Mk 15:21	<i>auhjodus*</i> Mk 15:7
<i>afhrisjan*</i> Lk 9:5	<i>alakjo</i> Mk 16:15	<i>auhjon*</i> Mk 15:7
<i>aflageins*</i> Mk 1:4	<i>alamops*</i> (-d-) Urk 1:1	<i>auhns*</i> Bon 1:2
<i>aflet*</i> Sk 3:3	<i>alan*</i> Mt 8:32	<i>auhsa</i> Bon 2:2
<i>aflifnan*</i> Joh 6:12	<i>aldumo*</i> Lk 1:36	<i>auhumists</i> Joh 18:10
<i>afsateins*</i> Mk 10:3	<i>alhs</i> Mk 14:58	<i>auk</i> Mt 26:73
<i>afstass</i> 2.Thess 2:3	<i>allis</i> Mk 15:14	<i>aukan*</i> Sk 4:2
<i>aftra</i> Mt 26:72	<i>alls</i> Mt 8:32	<i>aurali*</i> Joh 11:44
<i>aggilus</i> Lk 1:26	<i>allwaldands</i> Bon 2:1	<i>aurtigards</i> Joh 18:1
<i>aggwiþa</i> 2.Thess 1:6	<i>alþeis</i> Lk 1:36	<i>auso</i> Joh 18:10
<i>aggwus*</i> 2.Thess 1:6	<i>amen</i> Mt 6:13	<i>aupida*</i> Lk 5:16
<i>agis</i> Lk 2:9	<i>an</i> Joh 18:37	<i>aups*</i> / <i>auþeis*</i> Lk 9:10
<i>agisleiks*</i> Bon 1:2	<i>ana</i> Mt 6:10	<i>auzandil<s></i> Bon 2:1
<i>aglaitgastalds</i> Tit 1:7	<i>anabiudan*</i> Mt 8:4	<i>awiliudon</i> Joh 6:11
<i>agljan*</i> Mk 16:18	<i>anabusns</i> Mk 10:5	<i>awiliuþ</i> Joh 6:11
<i>aglo</i> 2.Thess 1:4	<i>anafilh*</i> 2.Thess 3:6	<i>azets*</i> Mt 9:5
<i>aglus*</i> Mk 16:18	<i>anaks</i> Lk 2:13	<i>azgo*</i> Sk 3:3
<i>aha</i> 2.Thess 2:2	<i>anakumbjan</i> Joh 6:10	<i>badi*</i> Lk 5:19
<i>ahaks</i> Lk 3:22	<i>anananþjan*</i> Mk 15:43	<i>bagms</i> Mk 8:24
<i>ahma</i> Joh 11:33	<i>anastodeins</i> Mk 1:1	<i>bai</i> Sk 3:1
<i>ahmeins*</i> Sk 3:2	<i>anastodjan*</i> 2.Thess inc	<i>bairan</i> Mt 8:4
<i>aha</i> Mk 1:5	<i>and</i> Mt 8:32	<i>bairan</i> Mt 9:2
<i>aiffapa</i> Mk 7:34	<i>andanahti</i> Mk 15:42	<i>bairgan*</i> Bon 1:1
<i>aikklesjo</i> 2.Thess 1:1	<i>andanemeigs</i> Tit 1:9	<i>bairhtaba</i> Mk 8:25
<i>ainfalþaba</i> Sk 3:3	<i>andasets*</i> Tit 1:16	<i>bairhts*</i> Mk 8:25
<i>ainfalþs*</i> Sk 3:3	<i>andapahts</i> Tit 1:8	<i>baitraba</i> Mt 26:75
<i>ainharjizuh</i> 2.Thess 1:3	<i>andbahtjan</i> Mk 15:41	<i>baitrs*</i> Mt 26:75
<i>ainhaparuh*</i> Sk 3:1	<i>andbahts</i> Joh 18:3	<i>bajops</i> Sk 3:1
<i>ainlif*</i> Mk 16:14	<i>andbundnan*</i> Mk 7:35	<i>balgs*</i> Lk 9:3
<i>ains</i> Mt 26:69	<i>andeis</i> Lk 1:33	<i>baljon*</i> Bon 1:2
<i>ainshun</i> Joh 13:28	<i>andhuleins*</i> 2.Thess 1:7	<i>balsan</i> Joh 11:2
<i>aipiskaupus</i> Tit 1:7	<i>andwairþi</i> Lk 5:12	<i>balwjan</i> Mt 8:29
<i>aipistaule</i> 2.Thess inc	<i>ansts</i> Lk 1:28	<i>bandi</i> Mk 7:35
<i>aipistula*</i> Neh 6:17	<i>anþar</i> Mt 26:71	<i>bandja</i> Mk 15:6
<i>air</i> Mk 16:2	<i>apaustaulus</i> Lk 9:1	<i>bandwjan*</i> Joh 13:24
<i>airkns</i> Bon 1:1	<i>arbaiþs</i> 2.Thess 3:8	<i>bandwjan*</i> Mt 26:73
<i>airþa</i> Mt 6:10	<i>arka*</i> Joh 13:29	<i>bandwo</i> 2.Thess 3:17
<i>airþakunds*</i>	<i>armaleiko</i> Bon 1:1	<i>barizeins*</i> Joh 6:9
<i>airþeins</i> Sk 4:4	<i>arms*</i> Bon 1:1	<i>barms*</i> Joh 13:23
<i>airus</i> Bon 1:1	<i>aromata</i> Mk 16:1	<i>barn</i> Lk 2:12
<i>aipai</i> Mk 10:7	<i>arwjo</i> 2.Thess 3:8	<i>barnilo</i> Mt 9:2
<i>aips*</i> Mt 26:72	<i>asans</i> Mk 1:20	<i>bauan</i> Bon 1:1
<i>aipþau</i> Joh 6:19	<i>asneis</i> Mk 1:20	<i>baur*</i> Lk 2:7
<i>aiw</i> Joh 11:26	<i>at</i> Joh 11:45	<i>baurgs</i> Mt 8:33
<i>aiwaggelista</i> Sk 3:1	<i>atgaraihtjan*</i> Tit 1:5	<i>baurgswaddjus</i> Neh 5:16

<i>baups</i> Mk 7:32	<i>digan*</i> (<i>deigan*</i> ?) Bon 2:2	<i>fijands</i> Neh 6:16
<i>beidan</i> Mk 15:43	<i>disskreitan*</i> Mk 14:63	<i>filaus</i> Sk 3:4
<i>bi</i> Mt 8:33	<i>disskritnan*</i> Mk 15:38	<i>filhan</i> Joh 18:35
<i>bibaurgeins*</i> Sk 3:3	<i>diups*</i> Joh 13:26	<i>filleins*</i> Mk 1:6
<i>bidjan</i> Mt 6:9	<i>domjan</i> Mt 26:74	<i>filu</i> Mt 8:28
<i>bigairdan*</i> Mk 1:6	<i>doms</i> Mt 26:74	<i>filusna*</i> Neh 5:18
<i>bigitan</i> Joh 11:17	<i>dragan*</i> Bon 2:1	<i>fimf</i> Joh 6:10
<i>bihaitja</i> Tit 1:7	<i>dragkjan*</i> Mk 15:36	<i>fimftaihun*</i> Joh 11:18
<i>bikunþjan*</i> Bon 1:1	<i>draushna*</i> Joh 6:12	<i>finþan*</i> Lk 9:11
<i>bilaibjan*</i> Joh 6:12	<i>drigkan</i> Joh 18:11	<i>fiskja*</i> Mk 1:16
<i>bimait</i> Tit 1:10	<i>driugan*</i> Joh 19:2	<i>fisks*</i> Joh 6:9
<i>binauhan*</i> Joh 6:7	<i>driusan*</i> Joh 11:32	<i>fodr*</i> Joh 18:11
<i>bindan*</i> Joh 11:44	<i>driuso*</i> Mt 8:32	<i>fon</i> 2.Thess 1:8
<i>birunains*</i> Sk 3:1	<i>drobjan*</i> Mk 15:7	<i>fotus</i> Joh 11:2
<i>bisauljan*</i> Joh 18:28	<i>drobnan</i> 2.Thess 2:2	<i>frabauhtaboka*</i> Urk 2:1
<i>bisauljan*</i> Tit 1:15	<i>du</i> Mt 8:4	<i>fragifts*</i> Lk 1:27
<i>bisaulnan*</i> Joh 18:28	<i>duginnan*</i> Mt 26:74	<i>fragildan*</i> Lk 2:2
<i>bisunjane</i> Lk 9:12	<i>dube</i> Mt 9:4	<i>fraiþnan</i> Joh 13:24
<i>biswairban*</i> Joh 11:2	<i>dulþs</i> Joh 6:4	<i>fraisan*</i> Mt 6:13
<i>bipe</i> Joh 6:12	<i>dupe</i> Lk 1:35	<i>fraistubni*</i> Mt 6:13
<i>biugan*</i> Mk 15:46	<i>ei</i> Mt 8:4	<i>fraliusan*</i> 2.Thess 1:9
<i>biuhti</i> Joh 18:39	<i>eipþan</i> Sk 3:2	<i>fralusts</i> 2.Thess 1:9
<i>biuhts</i> Mk 10:1	<i>fadar*</i> Lk 2:4	<i>fram</i> Mt 8:24
<i>biuþs*</i> Neh 5:17	<i>fadrein</i> Lk 2:4	<i>framis</i> Mk 1:19
<i>biwaibjan*</i> Mk 16:5	<i>faginon</i> Joh 11:15	<i>fragistnan</i> Mt 8:25
<i>blandan</i> 2.Thess 3:14	<i>faian*</i> Neh 6:16	<i>fraslindan</i> Bon 1:2
<i>bleipþs</i> Tit 1:8	<i>faihu</i> Tit 1:11	<i>frapþan</i> Bon 2:2
<i>bliggwan*</i> Joh 19:1	<i>faihugairns*</i> Tit 1:11	<i>frauja</i> Mt 8:2
<i>blinds</i> Joh 11:37	<i>faihugairns*</i> Tit 1:11	<i>fraujinon</i> Neh 5:15
<i>blotinassus*</i> 2.Thess 2:4	<i>fairguni</i> Mt 8:1	<i>frawardjan*</i> Bon 1:1
<i>boka</i> Mk 10:3	<i>fairhus</i> Joh 11:9	<i>frawaurhts</i> Bon 1:1
<i>boka</i> Mt 9:3	<i>fairina*</i> Joh 18:38	<i>frawaurhts</i> Mt 9:2
<i>bokareis</i> Mt 9:3	<i>fairinon*</i> Tit 1:6	<i>fraweit</i> 2.Thess 1:8
<i>briggan</i> Mt 6:13	<i>fairjan*</i> Bon 2:2	<i>freis</i> Joh 11:3
<i>brikan*</i> Lk 9:16	<i>fairlet</i> Bon 1:2	<i>fri(j)apwa</i> 2.Thess 1:3
<i>brinnan*</i> Bon 1:2	<i>fairra</i> Mt 8:30	<i>frijon</i> Joh 11:3
<i>broþar</i> Joh 6:8	<i>fairrapro</i> Mk 14:54	<i>frijonds</i> Joh 11:11
<i>brukjan</i> Sk 3:2	<i>falþan*</i> Sk 3:3	<i>frisahts</i> 2.Thess 3:9
<i>bruks</i> Sk 4:2	<i>faran*</i> Joh 6:19	<i>frops</i> Bon 2:1
<i>bugjan</i> Joh 6:5	<i>farjan*</i> Joh 6:19	<i>fruma</i> Mk 15:42
<i>bugjan*</i> Mk 15:46	<i>farw*</i> Mk 16:12	<i>frumabaur</i> Lk 2:7
<i>dagands*</i> Bon 2:2	<i>faskja*</i> / <i>faski*</i> Joh 11:44	<i>frumists</i> Lk 2:2
<i>dags</i> Mt 6:11	<i>fastan</i> Lk 2:19	<i>fulhsni*</i> Sk 4:4
<i>dailjan</i> Joh 6:11	<i>faur</i> Mt 8:29	<i>fullafahjan</i> Mk 15:15
<i>dails*</i> Joh 6:11	<i>faura</i> Mt 26:69	<i>fulljan*</i> 2.Thess 1:11
<i>daimonareis</i> Mt 8:28	<i>fauragaggja</i> Tit 1:7	<i>fullnan*</i> Joh 6:13
<i>dalap</i> Mt 8:1	<i>faurahah</i> Mk 15:38	<i>fulls</i> Lk 5:12
<i>dals*</i> / <i>dal*</i> Mt 8:1	<i>fauramapleis</i> Neh 5:14	<i>fuls</i> Joh 11:39
<i>dauhtar</i> Neh 6:18	<i>fauramapli*</i> Neh 5:14	<i>gabairan</i> Joh 18:37
<i>daupeins</i> Mk 1:4	<i>faurhtjan*</i> Mt 8:26	<i>gabaurjaba</i> Mk 14:65
<i>daupjan</i> Joh 13:26	<i>faurhts*</i> Mt 8:26	<i>gabranþjan*</i> Sk 3:3
<i>daur</i> Mt 26:71	<i>faurþis</i> 2.Thess 2:3	<i>gabruka*</i> Joh 6:13
<i>daupþjan*</i> Mk 14:55	<i>fi(j)an</i> Neh 6:16	<i>gadaban</i> Sk 3:3
<i>daups</i> Joh 11:39	<i>fidurdogs</i> Joh 11:39	<i>gadaupþnan</i> Mt 8:32
<i>daupus</i> Joh 11:4	<i>fidwor</i> Joh 11:17	<i>gadraban*</i> Mk 15:46
<i>diakon</i> Urk 1:1	<i>figgrs*</i> Mk 7:33	<i>gadrauhts</i> Joh 19:2

gafaurds Mk 14:55
gaggan Mt 8:4
gagrefsts Lk 2:1
gagudei Tit 1:1
[†]*gaguþs* Mk 15:43
*gahlaiba** Joh 11:16
*gahraineins** Lk 5:14
*gahairbs** Tit 1:6
*gairda** Mk 1:6
gaits Neh 5:18
galaubeins Mt 9:2
*galaubeins** Tit 1:6
galaubjan Mt 8:26
galeikon 2.Thess 3:7
galeiks Bon 2:1
galga Mk 15:21
*galiug** Mk 14:56
gamains Tit 1:4
*gamaurbjan** Bon 1:1
gamotjan Mt 8:28
*ganaitjan** Lk 5:21
*ganauhan** Joh 6:7
ganisan Mk 16:16
*ganohs** Joh 6:7
*gaqumps** 2.Thess 2:1
garaihtaba Sk 3:2
garaihtei Sk 4:3
garaihtjan 2.Thess 3:5
garaihts 2.Thess 1:5
*garaiþs** Sk 3:3
gards Mt 9:6
garehsns Sk 3:1
gaskafts Mk 10:6
*gaskapjan** Mk 10:6
*gaskeirjan** Mk 15:22
gastaldan Neh 5:16
[†]*gastigops* Tit 1:8
*gastojans** 2.Thess 3:2
gasts Tit 1:8
*gaswogjan** Mk 7:34
gatairan Mk 14:58
gatarhjan 2.Thess 3:14
*gateihan** Mt 8:33
*gatewjan** 2.Thess 3:7
gapaurbs Tit 1:8
*gaplahsnan** Lk 1:29
gaplaihan Tit 1:9
*gaplaihts** 2.Thess 2:16
*gatiman** Mk 14:58
gaumjan Joh 6:5
gawairþi Lk 2:14
*gawargeins** Bon 1:2
*gawargjan** Bon 2:1
gawaurstwa Mk 16:20
*gawi** Mt 8:28
*gawidan** Mk 10:9

giba Mt 8:4
giban Mt 6:11
*gilstr** Lk 2:2
gilstrameleins Lk 2:2
goleins Lk 1:29
goljan Mk 15:18
gops Lk 2:14
graban Mk 15:46
greipan Mk 8:23
gretan Mt 26:75
gudja Mt 8:4
guma Neh 5:17
*gumein** Mk 10:6
guþ Mt 8:29
haban Mt 8:2
*haffjan** Joh 6:5
*hahan** Mk 15:38
*haidus** 2.Thess 2:3
*haifsts** Sk 4:4
hailjan Lk 5:17
hails Joh 11:12
*haims** Joh 11:1
hairda Mt 8:30
hairdeis Lk 2:8
hairto Mt 9:4
hairus Joh 18:10
*hais** Joh 18:3
haitan Joh 11:16
*haiþi** Mk 1:6
*haiþiwisks** Mk 1:6
haldan Mt 8:30
haldis Sk 4:4
hana Mt 26:74
handus Mt 8:3
*handuwaurhts** Mk 14:58
hansa Joh 18:3
*harduhairtei** Mk 10:5
hardus Mk 10:5
harjis Lk 2:13
haubip Joh 19:2
hauheins Joh 11:4
hauhhairtei Bon 2:1
hauhhairts Tit 1:7
*hauhisti** Lk 2:14
hauhjan Joh 11:4
*hauhs** Lk 1:32
haunjan Bon 2:1
hauns Bon 2:1
hausjan Mt 8:27
hausjon Lk 5:15
hawi Joh 6:10
hazjan Lk 2:13
her Mt 8:29
*hi-** Mt 6:11
hilpan Kr 1:2
*himinakunds** Lk 2:13

himins Mt 6:9
hindar Mt 8:28
hiri Joh 11:34
hiuhma Lk 5:15
*hiwi** Bon 2:2
hlaifs Mt 6:11
hlaiw Joh 11:17
*hlaiwasna** Mt 8:28
hlauts Mk 15:24
*hleiduma** Mk 15:27
hliuma Mk 7:35
hneiwan Lk 9:12
horinon Mk 10:11
hors Mk 10:11
hrainei Sk 3:2
*hraineins** Sk 3:2
*hrainjan** Mt 8:2
hrains Mt 8:3
*hramjan** Mk 15:13
hropjan Mt 8:29
hrops Mt 8:29
hrot Lk 5:19
*hrukjan** Mt 26:74
hruks / hruk** Mt 26:75
*hugjan** Joh 11:13
*hugs** Joh 11:13
huljan Mk 14:65
hulundi Joh 11:38
hunda Joh 6:7
hundafaps Mk 15:39
*hups** Mk 1:6
*hus** Urk 2:1
*hwssopo** Sk 3:3
had Joh 13:36
*hairban** 2.Thess 3:6
hairnei Mk 15:22
haiwa Joh 11:36
han Mk 7:36
har Joh 11:34
*harbon** Mk 1:16
harjis Joh 13:22
harjizuh Joh 6:7
has Mt 8:26
hashun 2.Thess 2:3
hassaba Tit 1:13
hapar Mt 9:5
hapro Joh 6:5
hazuh Joh 11:26
heila Joh 11:9
*heits** Mk 16:5
hileiks Mt 8:27
hopan 2.Thess 1:4
*ibuks** Joh 18:6
*idreiga** Mk 1:4
*idweit** Mk 15:32
idweitjan Mk 15:32

ik Joh 6:20
in Mt 6:9
*ingij** Mk 16:18
inkilbo Lk 1:36
inn Lk 1:28
innana Mk 15:16
*innatgahts** Lk 1:29
innapro Bon 2:2
*inrauhtjan** Joh 11:33
inswinþjan Neh 5:16
*inweitjan** Mt 8:2
*inwidan** Mt 26:75
is Mt 8:24
ist Mt 6:13
itan Lk 2:7
ip Mt 8:24
*iumjo** Mt 8:1
iup Joh 11:41
iupapro Mk 15:38
iusila 2.Thess 1:7
izei Joh 11:37
izwar Mt 9:4
ja Joh 11:27
ja Mt 6:10
jabai Mt 8:2
jah Mt 6:10
jai Joh 11:27
jainar Mt 26:71
jaind Joh 11:8
jaindwairþs Joh 18:3
jains Mt 8:28
jainpro Mk 1:19
japþe Sk 4:3
*jer** Neh 5:14
*jiuhts** Bon 2:2
ju Joh 11:39
judaiwisks Tit 1:14
juggalaups Mk 16:5
*juggs** Mk 16:5
*juk** Bon 2:2
jus Mt 6:9
juþan Joh 6:17
jûþan Mk 15:44
*kaisar** Lk 2:1
*kalbo** Sk 3:3
kannjan Sk 4:2
*karkara** Sk 3:1
kaupatlan Mk 14:65
*kaurjan** Neh 5:15
*kaur** / *kaurus** Neh 5:15
*kawtsjo** Urk 1:1
*kilþei** Lk 1:31
kindins Lk 2:2
*kiusan** Tit 1:16
*kniu** Mk 15:19
*kubitus** Lk 9:14

kuni Bon 1:1
kunnan Mt 26:72
kunþi Sk 4:2
kunþs Sk 4:2
lagjan Joh 11:34
*laikan** Mk 15:20
laisareis Joh 11:28
laiseins Tit 1:9
laisjan Lk 5:17
laistjan Mt 8:1
*laists** Mt 8:1
*laiwa** / *laiwo** Bon 1:2
*lamb** Neh 5:18
*land** Lk 2:8
*lats** Tit 1:12
lapon 2.Thess 1:11
lapons 2.Thess 1:11
*laugnjan** Mt 26:70
lauhmuni 2.Thess 1:8
laus Mt 6:13
*lausawaurds** Tit 1:10
lausjan Mt 6:13
leik Lk 3:22
*leikains** 2.Thess 1:11
*leikan** Lk 3:22
*lein** Mk 15:46
leitils Mt 8:26
lekeis Lk 5:15
*lekinassus** Lk 9:11
⁺*lekinon* Lk 5:15
*letan** Joh 11:44
*lewjan** Joh 13:21
*lews** / *lew** Joh 13:21
libains Joh 11:25
liban Joh 11:25
*ligan** Mt 9:2
*ligrs** Mt 9:2
*lisan** Joh 6:12
lipus Mt 9:2
*liudan** Mk 16:5
liufs Lk 3:22
*liuga** Mk 10:12
liugan Mk 10:12
*liugan** Mk 10:11
liugnja Tit 1:12
liuhap Joh 11:9
*liup** Bon 2:1
liuts Tit 1:10
*lofa** Joh 19:3
*lutan** Tit 1:10
*magan** Mt 8:2
magaps Lk 1:27
magula Joh 6:9
magus Bon 1:2
mahteigs Tit 1:9
mahts Mt 6:13

*maidjan** Sk 3:2
mais Lk 5:15
maists Joh 18:26
*maitan** Joh 18:10
*malan** Lk 9:5
*managnan** 2.Thess 1:3
*manags** Mt 8:1
manaseþs Joh 6:14
manna Mt 8:2
mannahun Mk 8:26
manwjan Mk 1:3
manwus Bon 1:2
marei Mt 8:24
marka Mt 8:34
*mapl** Neh 5:14
*mapljan** Neh 5:14
*matibalgs** Lk 9:3
matjan Joh 6:5
mats Lk 9:12
maurgins Joh 18:28
*maurþr** Mk 15:7
megs Neh 6:18
meins Joh 11:21
mel Mt 8:29
mela Lk 2:1
meljan Lk 2:1
mena Lk 1:26
menops Lk 1:26
*mereins** Tit 1:3
merjan Lk 9:2
midjaweipains Bon 1:2
*midjis** Lk 5:19
*midjungards** Lk 2:1
*miduma** Sk 3:4
mikildups Sk 4:2
*mikilei** Sk 4:4
*mikiljan** Mt 9:8
mikils Mt 8:24
milhma Mk 14:62
*miliþ** Mk 1:6
mins Mk 15:40
minznjan Sk 4:1
⁺*missadeþs* Sk 3:2
misso Joh 13:22
*mitan** Mt 9:4
⁺*mitaps* Bon 1:2
mip Mt 26:69
mipþanei Lk 2:6
mipwissei Tit 1:15
*miton** Mt 9:4
mitons Mt 9:4
*mops** Urk 1:1
*mulda** Lk 9:5
*munan** Joh 6:15
*munan** Mt 26:75
munþs Bon 1:2

nahts Joh 11:10
*naiteins** Lk 5:21
*namnjan** Lk 9:10
namo Mt 6:9
naseins Bon 1:2
nasjan Mt 8:25
nasjands Lk 2:11
*nati** Mk 1:16
nauh Sk 4:1
nauhpan Joh 6:17
nauhpanuh Joh 11:30
ne Joh 18:25
neh Joh 6:4
neha Joh 6:4
*nehjan** Mk 1:15
*neip** Mk 15:10
ni Mt 6:13
niba Lk 9:13
nih Lk 9:3
niman Mt 9:6
niþjis Joh 18:26
niþjo Lk 1:36
niu Joh 11:9
niujis Mk 16:17
*niunda** Mk 15:33
*niutan** Mk 1:17
nu Mt 6:9
nuh Joh 18:37
*nuta** Mk 1:17
o Mk 15:29
*ogan** Mt 9:8
ogjan Neh 6:19
*paida** Lk 9:3
papa Urk 1:1
paraskaiwe Mk 15:42
pasxa Joh 6:4
*paurpura** Mk 15:17
*paurpuron** Joh 19:2
praitoriaun Joh 18:28
*praizbwtairi** Tit 1:5
*praufetjan** Mk 14:65
praufetus Joh 6:14
qainon Mk 16:10
qens Lk 2:5
qiman Mt 6:10
*qinein** Mk 10:6
qino Lk 1:28
qistjan Joh 18:9
qipan Mt 8:2
qius Lk 1:33
qums 2.Thess 2:1
*rabbei** Joh 11:8
*ragin** Lk 2:2
ragineis Mk 15:43
*raginon** Lk 2:2
*rahnjan** Mk 15:28

*raidjan** Sk 3:3
raihtaba Mk 7:35
raihtis Mt 9:5
*raihts** Mk 1:3
rapjo Joh 6:10
*raus** Mk 15:19
*raups** Sk 3:3
razda Mt 26:73
reiks Bon 1:1
*reiks** / *reikeis** Neh 6:17
reiro Mk 16:8
*rikan** Mk 1:3
rimis 2.Thess 3:12
*rinnan** Mt 8:28
*rinno** Joh 18:1
riqis Joh 6:17
*riurjan** Bon 1:1
*riurs** Bon 1:1
rodjan Lk 2:17
*rohsns** Mt 26:69
rums Lk 2:7
*rums** / *rum** Lk 2:7
runa Sk 3:1
runs Mt 8:32
sa Mt 8:27
sabbato Mk 15:42
saei Joh 6:9
*sagqjan** Bon 2:2
sahbazuh Mk 10:11
sai Mt 8:2
saian Joh 6:14
*saihs** Neh 5:18
*saihsta** Lk 1:26
saihan Mt 8:4
saiwala Joh 13:37
*saiws** Urk 1:1
sakan Mt 8:26
salbon Joh 11:2
salipwos Joh 11:6
saljan Joh 11:6
sama Lk 2:8
samaleiko Joh 6:11
*samaleiks** Mk 14:56
samana Bon 1:1
sandjan Neh 6:17
*satjan** Lk 5:19
⁺*saps* (-d-) Joh 6:12
*sauhts** Lk 5:15
sauil Mk 16:2
*seins** Mt 9:1
*seipus** / *seipu* Joh 6:16
*sels** Bon 2:2
seps Joh 6:14
*sibja** Mk 15:28
sibun Mk 16:9
sidus Sk 3:2

siggwan Bon 2:1
*siggan** Bon 1:2
*sikls** Neh 5:15
silba Mt 8:4
*sildaleikjan** Mt 8:27
sildaleiknan 2.Thess 1:10
*sildaleiks** Mt 8:27
*silubr** Neh 5:15
sineigs Mk 14:53
sinteino Joh 11:42
*sinteins** Mt 6:11
*sinps** / *sinp** Mt 26:75
siponeis Mt 8:23
sitan Mt 26:69
siukei Joh 11:4
siuks Joh 6:2
siuns Lk 3:22
skadus Lk 1:35
*skaidan** Mk 10:9
*skalja** Lk 5:19
skalks Joh 18:10
*skaman** 2.Thess 3:14
*skap** Bon 1:1
skatts Joh 6:7
*skaudaraip** Mk 1:7
skeima Joh 18:3
skeinan Lk 2:9
*skeirs** Sk 4:2
*skilliggs** Urk 1:1
skip Mt 8:23
*skohs** Mk 1:7
*skohst** Mt 8:31
*skuft** Joh 11:2
skula Mt 6:12
*skula** Mt 6:12
*skulan** Joh 18:31
slahals Tit 1:7
*slahan** Joh 18:10
*slahs** Joh 19:3
*sleips** / *sleideis** Mt 8:28
*slepan** Mt 8:24
*sleps** Joh 11:13
*smwrn** Mk 15:23
*sniumjan** Lk 2:16
*sniwan** Lk 2:16
sokeins Sk 3:1
sokjan Joh 11:8
*spaurds** Joh 6:19
*spedists** Joh 11:24
speiwan Mk 7:33
*spill** Tit 1:14
*spillon** Lk 2:10
sprauto Joh 11:29
*staiga** Mk 1:3
stains Joh 11:8
stairo Lk 1:36

*stamms** Mk 7:32
standan Mt 26:73
staps Joh 6:10
staua 2.Thess 1:5
staua Bon 1:1
*steigan** Mt 9:1
stibna Joh 11:43
stiggqan Joh 11:9
stikls Joh 18:11
stiur Neh 5:18
*stiwiti** 2.Thess 1:4
stojan Joh 18:31
stols Lk 1:32
sums Mt 9:3
sundro Lk 9:10
sunja Mt 26:73
sunjeins Tit 1:13
sunno Mk 16:2
suns Mt 8:3
sunsaiw Joh 6:21
sunsei Joh 11:20
sunus Mt 8:29
swa Mt 6:9
swaei 2.Thess 1:4
swalaups Sk 4:2
swaleiks Mt 9:8
*swamms** Mk 15:36
swaran Mt 26:72
sware Sk 4:2
swaswe Mt 6:12
swe Mt 6:10
*swein** Mt 8:30
swes Mk 15:20
swepauh 2.Thess 1:6
*swikneins** Sk 3:2
*swikns** Sk 3:2
swikunpaba Joh 11:14
swikunps Joh 11:14
*swiltan** Joh 11:14
*swinps** Mk 1:7
swistar Joh 11:1
*tagl** Mk 1:6
*tagr** Joh 11:35
*tagrjan** Joh 11:35
*taihswa** Joh 18:10
*taihswa** Mk 16:5
taihun Neh 5:18
*taiknjan** 2.Thess 2:4
taikns Joh 6:2
*tainjo** Joh 6:13
*tains** Joh 6:13
*talzjan** 2.Thess 3:15
taui Bon 1:2
taujan Joh 6:2
*tekan** Mt 8:3
*tewa** 2.Thess 3:7

*tigjus** Lk 9:14
⁺*timrjan* Mk 14:58
tiuhan Joh 18:28
trauan 2.Thess 3:4
triggws 2.Thess 3:3
trudan Bon 1:1
tuggo Mk 7:33
tulgjan Mk 16:20
tulgus Mk 16:20
twai Mt 8:28
twalif Joh 11:9
*tweihnai** Lk 9:3
þadei Joh 13:36
þagkjan Joh 13:22
*þahan** Mk 14:61
þairh Mt 8:28
þan Mt 8:1
þanamais Mk 14:63
þanaseips Mk 10:8
þandei Lk 1:34
þannu Bon 2:1
þanuh Mt 8:26
þar Lk 9:4
*þarbs** Lk 9:11
þarei Joh 11:30
þaruh Mt 9:3
þatainei Sk 4:4
þatei Mt 6:12
þapro Joh 18:36
þaproh Joh 11:7
þau Mt 9:5
þauh Joh 11:25
þauhjabai Sk 4:3
*þaurban** Joh 13:29
*þaurneins** Joh 19:5
*þaurnus** Joh 19:2
*þaurp** Neh 5:16
þe Sk 4:4
þei Joh 6:7
þeihan Sk 3:4
*þeiho** Mk 3:17
þeins Mt 6:9
þinsan Bon 2:1
þishun Tit 1:10
þishvazuh Joh 11:22
þiubjo Joh 11:28
þiuda Joh 18:35
þiudangardi Mt 6:13
þiudans Joh 6:15
þiudinassus Mt 6:10
⁺*þiufs* Joh 11:28
*þius** Neh 5:16
þiup Bon 1:1
þiubeigs Mk 14:61
þiubeins 2.Thess 1:11
*þiubþjan** Lk 1:28

þiwi Mt 26:69
þliuhan Mt 8:33
*þrafstjan** Mt 9:2
*þragjan** Mk 15:36
*þramstei** Mk 1:6
*þreihan** 2.Thess 1:6
*þreis** Mt 26:75
þridja Mk 15:25
þrutsfill Mt 8:2
þu Mt 6:9
þuei Bon 1:2
*þugkjan** Mk 14:64
þulan 2.Thess 1:5 (A)
þusundi Joh 6:10
þwairhs Tit 1:7
ubils Mt 6:13
ubiltojis Joh 18:30
uf Bon 1:2
*ufaiþs** / *ufaiþeis** Neh 6:18
ufar Joh 6:1
ufarassus Mk 7:37
ufarmeli Mk 15:26
ufaro Joh 11:38
*ufarranneins** Sk 3:2
*ufarskadwjan** Lk 1:35
*ufartrusnjan** Sk 3:3
*ufgairdan** Mk 1:6
ufkunnan Lk 5:22
*ufkunþi** Tit 1:1
*ufrakjan** Mt 8:3
ufta Joh 18:2
-(u)h Mt 8:30
*ulbandus** Mk 1:6
*unbiari** Tit 1:12
*unbruks** Bon 1:1
und Lk 2:15
*unfaurweis** Sk 3:2
unfroþs Bon 2:1
ungafairinonds Tit 1:6
ungafairinops Tit 1:7
*ungahairbs** Tit 1:6
*ungakusans** Tit 1:16
*ungalaubeins** Mk 16:14
ungalaubjands Tit 1:15
*ungatass** 2.Thess 3:6
ungatassaba 2.Thess 3:6
*ungatewiþs** 2.Thess 3:7
*unhails** Lk 9:2
*unhanduaurhts** Mk 14:58
unhulþa Lk 9:1
unhulþo Lk 9:1
*unkja** Urk 2:1
unkunnands Sk 4:1
⁺*unleþs* Joh 13:29
unliugands Tit 1:2
unmahteigs Lk 1:37

unrodjands Mk 7:37
unsar Mt 6:9
*unsels** Bon 2:2
unsibjis Mk 15:28
*untals** 2.Thess 3:15
unte Mt 6:13
unwunnands 2.Thess 2:16
urraisjan Mt 8:25
*urrannjan** Sk 3:2
urreisan Mt 8:26
us Mt 8:28
*usdaudjan** Joh 18:36
*usdaups** Joh 18:36
*usfilma** Lk 5:26
usfilmei Lk 5:26
*usgaisjan** Mk 16:5
*usgeisnan** Mk 16:5
usgildan Lk 2:2
*usgrudja** 2.Thess 3:13
ushauhnan 2.Thess 1:10
usleipjan Mt 8:28
uslipa Mt 9:2
*uslukan** Joh 11:37
*usluknan** Lk 3:21
*usmernan** Lk 5:15
*usqiss** Tit 1:6
ussindo Bon 1:1
usstass Joh 11:24
usstiurei Tit 1:6
*uswakjan** Joh 11:11
*uswindan** Joh 19:2
ut Mt 26:75
uta Mt 26:69
utana Mk 8:23
*uzanan** Mk 15:37
*uzeta** Lk 2:7
wagjan 2.Thess 2:2
wahsjan Sk 4:1
*wahtwo** / *wahtwa** Lk 2:8

wai Mt 9:3
*waian** Joh 6:18
waidedja Joh 18:40
waiht Tit 1:15
waihts Joh 6:12
waila Lk 3:22
*wailadeþs** Bon 1:1
wainahs Bon 1:1
waips Joh 19:5
wair Joh 6:10
wairpan Mk 1:16
*wairþ** Urk 1:1
wairpan Mt 6:10
wairþs Mk 1:7
waitei Joh 18:35
wajamerjan Mt 9:3
*wakan** Lk 2:8
waldan Mt 9:6
waldufni Mt 9:6
*walisa** Tit 1:4
*waljan** Neh 5:18
*waltjan** Tit 1:11
*walus** Lk 9:3
wamba Tit 1:12
*wandjan** Lk 2:20
*wans** Tit 1:5
*warmjan** Joh 18:25
*wasjan** Joh 19:2
*wasti** Joh 19:2
*wato** Mt 8:32
waurd Mt 26:75
*waurdahs** Sk 4:3
waurkjan Joh 6:10
waurms Mk 16:18
waurstw Neh 5:16
wegs Mt 8:24
weiha Sk 4:4
*weihnan** Mt 6:9
weihs Lk 1:35

*weihs** Joh 11:30
wein Mk 15:23
*weipan** Joh 19:2
weis Mt 6:12
weitwodei 2.Thess 1:10
weitwodipa Mt 8:4
*weitwodjan** Joh 13:21
*weitwops** Mk 14:63
*wenjan** Bon 1:2
wens 2.Thess 2:16
*wepn** Joh 18:3
⁺*wigan* Mt 8:24
wigs Mt 8:28
wilja Mt 6:10
wiljan Mt 8:2
wilþeis Mk 1:6
wilwan Joh 6:15
winds Mt 8:26
winnan 2.Thess 1:5 (B)
*wipja** Joh 19:2
wis Mt 8:26
*wists** Sk 4:3
witan Lk 2:8
witan Mt 9:4
*wipon** Mk 15:29
wipra Mt 8:34
*witodalaisareis** Lk 5:17
witop Joh 18:31
wlits Joh 11:44
wokrs Bon 1:2
wopjan Joh 11:28
wrakja 2.Thess 1:4
*wrikan** 2.Thess 1:4
*wrohs** Joh 18:29
*wulan** Tit 1:11
wulfs Bon 2:2
*wulla** Sk 3:3
wulþus Mt 6:13