

Names and Historical Germanic Phonology: the Bilingual Sixth Century Ravenna Deeds

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GERMANIC PERSONAL AND PLACE-NAMES AS written by Latin and Greek authors have been particularly important for early historical Germanic phonology, since in that period, the beginning of our era, no Germanic texts are extant. The name forms were, therefore, used to establish phonological facts such as the circumstances of the change of IE **ō* to Gmc. **ā* (Caesar's *Marcomanni, Ariovistus, Langobardi*); the quality of Gmc. **o* (from IE **a*, *Bacenis*); the relative chronology of the Germanic change of **e* to **i* before nasals or *i* in the next syllable (e. g., Velleius Paterculus' *Sigimerus* of A. D. 30, Caesar's *Tencteri*, etc.).¹ O. Höfler (1958) tried to prove a second consonant shift in East Germanic languages by the writing of stops by scribes in Ostrogothic, Visigothic, and Burgundian names.²

The controversy engendered by too optimistic an interpretation of the spellings as found in Germanic names has led to a scholarly consensus that it is not feasible to use this name material (and this applies to other Germanic loans as well) without careful evaluation of a variety of factors, particularly scribal and phonetic variations in the borrowing language, e.g., in Latin itself, and also consideration of the various possibly underlying source forms, including non-Germanic, e. g., Celtic, or heterodialectal ones, etc. Closer study revealed that the very process of sound substitution in the borrowing language was quite complex, even if it seemed safe to assume basically a spoken not a written source: phonetic, even phonologically and structurally (phonotactically) determined imitation for the Germanic sound (e. g., by a Latin one) turned out to be just one type of substitution. Another type of substitution could involve also the entire morpheme or word, particularly if similar morphemes existed in the borrowing language (Penzl 1972, p. 39f.).

The Names in the Ravenna Deeds

Scholarly analysis would seem considerably facilitated if in a text beside the Latin (or Greek) name-form also the underlying Germanic form, from which it

¹ See Marchand (1959), Penzl (1967); Penzl (1972), p. 40f.

² Höfler assumed much more than just a "Prädisposition" toward a consonant shift as Braune-Eggers (1975), p. 82f. (§3, Anm. 2) put it.

was presumably derived, were available: thus a direct comparison could be made. The only early monuments where both the Latin and the corresponding Germanic name-forms are found are two sixth century deeds from Ravenna; Latin name-forms appear there in the body of the text and Gothic name-forms in the signatures within formulaic statements (such as: "I the scribe Merila signed with my own hand, etc.>"). One of these papyri is now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples. The other one used to be in Arezzo, is now lost and only available through a seventeenth century transcription published in 1731. The Naples deed involved the sale of property, apparently marshland, by all clerics of the church of St. Anastasia in Ravenna to one purchaser called Peter the Defender. The Arezzo deed concerns the sale of an elaborate estate to someone named *Alamod*. These sales occurred before 554, when, after the victory of the East Roman army, all Goth-owned property, including that owned by the Gothic Arian church, was to be returned to its former owners who had lost it by expropriation after the Gothic conquest.³

The list below contains the total pertinent name material in the Ravenna deeds;⁴ the left column (a) lists the names in the main body of the contract, the right column (b) the names among the signatures:

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>
<i>Naples</i>	(1) Optarit	Ufitahari
	(2) Vitalianus	+
	(3) Suniefridus	Sunjaifriþas
	(4) Petrus	=
	(5) Uuiliarit	+
	(6) Paulus	=
	(7) Minnulus	Uuillienane
	(8) Danihel	Igila
	(9) Theudila	Theudila
	(10) Mirica	Merila
	(11) Sindila	+ signum Sinthilanis
	(12) Costila	+
	(13) Gudelivus	+
	(14) Guderit	+
	(15) Hosbut	+
	(16) Benenatus	+
	(17) Uuiliarit	Wiljarip
	(18) Amalatheus	0
	(19) 0	Alamoda

³ This was Justinian's *constitutio pragmatica* of August 13, 554. (Scardigli 1973, pp. 294, 298f.).

⁴ Plates 116-121 in Tjäder (1954) contain a reproduction of the deed of Naples. The text of both deeds was printed by Scardigli (1973), pp. 275-280. Streitberg (1950), p. 479f. printed only the Gothic signatures. Marini (1805), pp. 179ff., 344-350, did not include them.

<i>Arezzo</i>	(20)	Caballariae	Kaballarja (place-name)
	(21)	Angelfrid	0
	(22)	Gudilebus	Gudilub; Gudilivo (abl.)
	(23)	Alamud	Alamoda

Thus altogether 17 names (1-17) appear as signers (column b) in the Naples deed, of whom eight (2, 5, 11-16) only affixed their signs. Six of the clerics used Latin and four (1, 3, 10, 17) Gothic language and script. *Amalatheus* (18) appears only in the contract part, *Alamoda* (19), not a signer himself, only in the signature part. Some name forms are in Latin only (2, 4, 6, 16); additional ones occur in the Arezzo deed, and are not listed here. The etymology of *Hosbut* (15) is not clear.⁵

Some Gothic names show one lexical morpheme and the hypocoristic suffix *-ila* (*Igila*, *Theudila*, *Merila*, *Sindila*, also *Costila*); the others have the typical bipartite structure of Germanic names with two lexically definable morphemes. We shall list them alphabetically according to their initial or noninitial occurrences:

- Ala-* (19, 23) "all": Wrede (1891), p. 144; Feist (1939), p. 33 (*ala-brunsts*); Schramm (1957), p. 102 ("Vorstellung des Umfassenden").
- Amala-* (18) "intense, industrious": Schönfeld (1911), p. 15; Schramm (1957), p. 149 (ON *aml* "eifrig, heftig").
- Angel-* (21) "Angle"? (tribal name): Wrede (1891), p. 144; Schönfeld (1911), p. 21 (*Anglii*); Schramm (1957), p. 149.
- Gude-* (13, 14), *Gudi-* (22) "God": Schönfeld (1911), p. 111 (*Goda*); Feist (1939), p. 224; Schramm (1957), p. 104.
- Ig-* (8b) "fearful, awesome"?: Wrede (1891), p. 144 (ON *igull* "hedgehog"); Feist (1939), p. 290f.; Schramm (1957), p. 35 ("Ablautvariante" of *Agi-*), p. 148 (Goth. *agis* "Schrecken").
- Mer-*, *Mir-* (10) "known, famous": Wrede (1891), pp. 58, 161; Schönfeld (1911), p. 167f. (*Miro*). Feist (1939), p. 355; Schramm (1957), p. 32.
- Sinth-*, *Sind-* (11) "campaign, journey": Wrede (1891), p. 92; Schönfeld (1911), p. 202 (*Sendefara*); Schramm (1957), p. 166 (**sinþaz* "Kriegsgang, Kriegsgänger").
- Sunjai-*, *Sunie-* (3): "truth": Schönfeld (1911), p. 218 (*Sunhivadus* "*Streiter für die Wahrheit*"); Feist (1939), p. 459.
- Theud-* (9) "people": Schönfeld (1911), p. 227 (*Theuda*); Feist (1939), p. 476 (*Theudila* "Koseform eines Kurznamens *Theuda*").
- Uuilia-*, *Wilja-* (5, 17), *Uuillie-* (7b) "will, wish": Wrede (1891), p. 87ff.; Schönfeld (1911), p. 265 (*Wilia*, *Viliarit*); Feist (1939), p. 564.
- friþ-*, *-frid* (3, 21) "protection, peace": Wrede (1891), p. 141; Schönfeld (1911), p. 93; Schramm (1957), pp. 31f., 64.
- hari* (1b) "army": Schönfeld (1911), p. 126.
- leb-* (22), *-liv-* (13, 22b), "descendant": Grienberger (1900), p. 100; Schönfeld (1911), p. 68 (*Dagalaifus*); Schramm (1957), p. 163

⁵ Wrede (1891), pp. 127, 144 calls *Minnulus* (7), *Costila* (12), *Hosbut* (15) "keltisch."

- (**laibax* “Nachkomme, Sproß”).
- lub* (22b) “dear, beloved”: Grienberger (1900), p. 100; Wrede (1891), p. 142f.; *Schönfeld* (1911), p. 114 (*Gudeliva*); Feist (1939), p. 224 (*Gudilub*) quotes NHG *Gottlieb*; Schramm (1957), p. 164 (**liubaz* “lieb, geliebt”).
 - mod*-(19b, 23b), -*mud* (23a) “courage, character”: Feist (1939), pp. 34, 365f. (Goth. *mops*); Schramm (1957), p. 164 “(*-*modaz*, Bahuvrihiendglied zu ahd. *muot* “Mut, Gesinnung”).”
 - nan* (þ) (7b) “daring, bold”: Schönfeld (1900), p. 170 (*Nandum*); Feist (1939), p. 43 *ana-nanþjan* “Mut fassen”; Schramm (1957), p. 165 (**nanþaz* “wagend”).
 - riþ*- (17b), -*rit* (1, 5, 14, 17a) “ruling, counselling”: Wrede (1891), p. 87ff.; Grienberger (1900), p. 241f.; Schönfeld (1911), p. 265 (*Viliarit*); Feist (1939), p. 564 (OE *Wildrēd*, OHG *Willarat*, *Willirat*); Schramm (1957), pp. 43, 165 (**rēdaz* “waltend, ratend”; **ridaz* “reitend”).
 - theus* (18) “servant [of God]”: Schönfeld (1911), p. 11 (*Alatheus*); Schramm (1957), p. 72 (**þewaz*, Goth. *þius* “Knecht”).

The comparison of the corresponding Latin and Gothic name-forms thus justifies scholarly caution in drawing phonological conclusions from Germanic name-forms in Latin texts. The names can disagree: entirely, in one of the two parts, or in their suffixes. We find what appear to be double names in this bilingual document: to *Minnulus* (7a) in the contract corresponds *Uuillienan[fe]* (7b) in the signature part; to *Danihel* (8a) of the contract a strange *Igila* (8b). Were the two names together in use? It is unlikely that *Igila* could mean “hedgehog” (Germ. *Igel*) and be a kind of nickname used to authenticate the correctness of the signature.⁶

The Latin name-form *Optarit* (1a) with the frequent part -*rit*, also found in (5, 14), is different from the second part of the Gothic *Ufitahari* (1b). This confusion is found elsewhere⁷ but was this a mistake, for which the scribe of the contract is responsible? In the deed of Arezzo the recorded signature *Gudilub* (22b) differs from the Latin *Gudilebus* (22a) and *Gudilivo*; the Naples deed has *Gudelivus*, *Gudelivi* (13). Both versions offer good etymologies (see-*leb*-, -*lub* above). The first editor Massmann (1838) corrected *Gudilub* to *Gudilaib* to make it agree with the other forms; also Scardigli (1973) considers *Gudilub* a copying error by the transcriber G. B. Doni (1594-1647).

The forms *Mirica* (10a) in the Latin contract and *Merila* (10b) in the Gothic signature formula show different diminutive suffixes. -*ila* is more common in Gothic names than -*ika* (see 8, 9, 11, 12 above). Did the person named use both forms, one in Latin, the other in Gothic, or is one more formal, the other more colloquial? (Cf. Feist 1939, p. 362).

⁶ Wrede (1891), p. 144 considered it as possibly a “Scherz- oder Spottbenennung,” which Feist (1939) dismissed as “wenig glaubhaft.”

⁷ Schönfeld (1911), p. 39: Langobardic *Authari* appears also as *Autharit* and *Autharic*; p. 265f. *Wiliarius* beside *Ouliaris* shows a confusion between -*arius* and -*ris* (for Gmc. -*riþ*). Tjäder (1972) discusses the form *Viliaric* found in a sixth century MS of Orosius in Florence with the notation, *confectus codex in statione magistri Viliaric antiquarii*: this may be our *Wiljariþ*.

The Phonological Interpretation: The Vowels

We can ask the question: what, if anything, in these name forms is usable and useful for the historical phonology of Gothic? Let me review the available material. Wulfila's fourth century Visigothic translation of the gospels and epistles is available to us in MS most probably written during the Ostrogothic empire in Italy, i. e., in the first decades of the sixth century. We do not know for certain whether, as has been assumed, the very clerics of St. Anastasia's church in Ravenna have had anything to do with the copying of Visigothic manuscripts (cf. Scardigli 1973, p. 296). We do not really know either how their spoken Ostrogothic dialect differed from Wulfila's Visigothic dialect of the fourth century. We can see, however, that they wrote in Wulfila's language and used his alphabet and orthography.

One feature generally attributed to the scribes of the Codex Argenteus, our source for the gospels, because of its sporadic and very limited appearance in specific spots, is the occasional replacement of *e* by *ei* or *i* or of *o* by *u*. Scholars have thus assumed that the change of $\bar{e} \rightarrow \bar{i}$ and $\bar{o} \rightarrow \bar{u}$ constitutes a feature of the Ostrogothic dialect of the scribes which they introduced into the Codex. Our name evidence confirms quite unequivocally the fact that Gmc. $*\bar{e}$ and Gmc. $*\bar{o}$ have been raised to high vowels. Particularly the pair *Mirica* and *Merila* shows that the sound written *e* in the name *Merila* in the traditional Wulfilan manner is \bar{i} to Latin ears; \bar{i} in *Uuiliarit*, *Viliarit* and *Wiljarīþ* (5, 17) agree; here the very common Latin *-rit*, *-rith* forms may have influenced the Gothic spelling. Or do we have a shortening of \bar{i} to \bar{i} in the second part of the compound name? There is no word with the traditional Gothic spelling *ei* attested in the deeds.

The Latin form *Alamud* (23a) is welcome corroborating evidence for the value [u:] of Wulfilan *o* as kept in the spelling of dative form *Alamoda* (23b) which occurs also three times (19b) in the Naples deed, where the mysterious deacon is not mentioned in the Latin contract text at all (Scardigli 1973, p. 282f.). J.-O. Tjäder does not think that *alamoda* is a name.⁸

It is doubtful whether the replacement of Gothic *u* in *Ufitahari* by *o* in *Optarit* (1) but by *u* in other names (*Suniefridus* (3), *Gudelivus* (12), *Guderit* (14) offers any indication of Gothic allophonic variation of the phoneme /u/.

Phonological Interpretation: the Consonants

The loss of final *s* in names like *Ufitahari*, *Wiljarīþ* has been widely commented on by scholars.⁹ The tendency toward loss of *-s* (from Gmc. $*-z$) in absolute final position can be observed after *r* in Wulfila's Gothic; this "rule" seems now generalized in the Ravenna dialect. More remarkable, however, is the preservation of *-s* in the form *Sunjaifriþas*; *-as* for a nom. sing. masc. is not found in Germanic text except for names in early Runic inscriptions (*Dagas*, etc.), never in Wulfila's Gothic. The Latin name seems to imitate morphologically the Germanic name by a four-syllable form *Suniefridus* (3), but there is *Angelfrid*

⁸ He considers *alamoda* to be the rendering of Latin *conministri* corresponding to the *gahlaibaim* for Latin *conlverti* (lines 55, 100).

⁹ The influence of the *s*-less vocative form was also considered.

(21) in the Arezzo deed. Is the *-as* form the traditional Ostrogothic one characterized by the preservation of the vowel *a* as well as of *-s*?

The Latin spelling with *-v-* [*Gudelivus, Gudelivi* (13)] corresponding to Gothic medial *-b-*, points to its spirantal pronunciation which is also assumed for Wulfila's Gothic in intervocalical position.

The Latin form *Optarit* may be due to a scribe's misinterpretation of spoken *Ufūtahari* as **Ufūtarīþ* with a weak syllable-initial *h* (Schönfeld 1911, p. xxii). Could Gothic *þ* also be weak in final position? The usual Latin replacement by dentals as in *Vuiliarit* (5), *Guderit* (14) differing from syllable-initial *th* [*Theudila* (9), *Amalatheus* (18)], does not support this. The graphic variation between *Sindila* (11a) with *d* and *Sinthilanis* (11b) with the *th* suggesting the spirant foreign to Latin, may reflect the usual Latin substitution for the Gothic sound.

The development *ja>je>i*, outside of the main stress in medial position, may be illustrated by the name forms *Wiljarīþ* (*Vuiliarit*), also in final position by Arezzo's *Kaballarja* (20b) with a *ja* intact; then *Sunjaifriþas* (Lat. *Sunie-*) with the convenient transcription of Gothic *ai* for *e* and the forms *Gudilub* and *Gudilebus* (22). *Gudelivus, Gudelivi* (13) with *e* for *i* may indicate an even further lowering of the vowel.

Conclusion

Our comparison of the corresponding Gothic and Latin name forms has yielded some evidence for the use of double names in a bilingual context (e. g., *Danihel* and *Igila*), some for morpheme replacement (*Mirica: Merila*), and also some phonological data. They support the need for caution in evaluation in general, but conveniently confirm other comparative, diachronic, orthographic evidence. We find evidence in the spelling of the name forms for raising of the Gothic long middle vowels *ē* and *ō*; weakness of *h*; loss of final *s* and of medial */j/*; spirantal character of medial */b/*. We take these developments to be features of the Ostrogothic dialect of sixth century Ravenna.

It appears that some individuals preferred for "official use," so to speak, quite an archaic form for their names: *Sunjaifriþas, Merila* (with old *e*), others, however, a less formal shape *Wiljarīþ, Gudilub*). The five-syllable *Ufūtahari* only sounds formal but shows in its second syllable the colloquial intrusion of the vowel [i].

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