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WOLFGANG P. SCHMID

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Diesem Heft liegen zwei Prospekte  
des Verlages Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, bei.  
Wir bitten um Beachtung

### Gothic -ba

The Gothic adverbial suffix *-ba*, as in *ubila-ba* 'badly' or *hardu-ba* 'hardly, severely', is isolated within Germanic (Feist 1939, s.v.). Moreover, attempts to link it with forms in other Indo-European languages have not been successful at finding a cognate that is both functionally and phonologically wholly satisfactory.

For example, Osthoff (KZ. 23, p. 93 ff.) has linked Gothic *-ba* with the deadjectival feminine abstract noun suffix (IE. \*-bhā) found in OCS. *zvlo-ba* 'evil, badness', whereas Krahe & Meid (1967, p. 139) have seen in *-ba* a reflex of an adjectival suffix \*-bho- in Latin *acer-bu-s* 'bitter', Greek στέρι-φο-ς 'firm; barren'. In each case, the functional motivation for a transfer from a nominal or adjectival formative to a productive adverbial use is lacking—in addition, it is not made clear in these proposals which IE case-form underlies Goth. *-ba*.

A better etymology from a functional standpoint is that adopted by Prokosch (1938, p. 265) connecting *-ba* with the IE. \*-bh- cases, many of which serve a purely adverbial function (e.g. Skt. inst. pl. *-bhīs*, Arm. *-vh'* < \*-bhīs) and particularly with the related Greek suffix -φι (IE. \*-bhi) which, in addition to being a case-suffix (e.g. inst. *l-φι* 'with force' or loc. ορεσ-φι 'on the mountains; cf. Chantraine [1973, p. 244 ff.]) also has a use as an adverbial formative in, for example, νόσ-φι 'apart, besides', λιχρι-φι-ς (with secondary *-s*) 'crosswise, sideways', and πάμ-φι (< \*πάντ-φι) 'all in all, wholly'. However, the only possible \*-bh-form which could match up with Goth. *-ba* is the questionable reconstruction \*-bhoi for the pronominal dative singular as in OCS. *te-bě* and possibly Latin *ti-bi* 'to you'—Old Prussian *tibbei* and Oscan *tfei*, Umbrian *tufe* suggest a reconstruction \*-bhei instead, which would not be expected to give Goth. *-ba*. Moreover, the connection with \*-bhe/oi is suspect functionally because the dative is a grammatical-relation case, not truly an adverbial case. Furthermore, Greek -φι in itself does not provide a good

match for *-ba* because Gothic final *-a* and Greek final *-i* do not regularly correspond; for example, one would expect a final \*-i to be lost in Gothic, as in 3 Sg. *nimip* < \*ném-e-ti 'takes'.

Considerations such as these led Feist (op. cit.) to declare regarding *-ba* that its "Ursprung [ist] dunkel". What is needed, then, is an etymon for *-ba* which avoids the functional and phonological difficulties discussed above.

It turns out that there exists in Greek a form, apparently overlooked up till now, which provides a better match for Goth. *-ba* than the other proposed cognates. This is the particle -φα, an adverbial-forming particle which has heretofore itself been without a good etymology.<sup>1</sup> It is found in the adverbial μέσ-φα 'until; (in the) meantime' and possibly also in the adjective πρόσ-φα-τος 'fresh, recent', if, as suggested by Schwyzer (1939, 1, p. 630 n. 1; 1, p. 503 Zus. 2), this adjective presupposes an adverb \*πρόσ-φα.

In order for Greek -φα to match up with Goth. *-ba* phonologically, one has to reconstruct a preform \*-bhā, or better, \*-bhaH<sub>2</sub> (< \*-bheH<sub>2</sub>), with final \*-ā developing regularly to -a in final position in Gothic (cf. feminine ō-stem nominative singular -a e.g. *gib-a* 'gift' < \*-ā) and the Greek representing a generalization of a sandhi variant in which \*-H<sub>2</sub> was lost in final position before vowel-initial words. This same development may be assumed for the IE. thematic neuter plural \*-ā (< \*-a-H<sub>2</sub> < \*-e-H<sub>2</sub>; for \*-H<sub>2</sub>, cf. the athematic neuter plural ending \*-ə<sub>2</sub> as in Skt. *bhárant-i* = Greek φέροντ-α) seen in Vedic *yug-ā*, which gave -a in Gothic (e.g. *waurd-a* 'words') and -α in Greek (e.g. ζυγ-ά 'yokes')—in fact, the parallel between -φα/-ba and the neuter plural developments suggests that the \*-ā in \*bhā is the IE. neuter plural ending used adverbially, as it is in Greek adverbs like πολλά 'often', μεγάλα 'greatly', σοφώτατα 'most wisely', and Latin forms like *multa* 'much' or *quia* 'because'. Thus a connection of Gothic *-ba* with Greek -φα is functionally satisfying and moreover does not require any *ad hoc* assumptions regarding the phonology—what-

<sup>1</sup> The best that Schwyzer (1939, 1 p. 630 n. 1) can suggest is that μεσφα may be from \*μεσφι with the -α analogical after τοφρα.

ever accounts for the *-a*: *-α* correspondence in the neuter plural can account for it in *-ba*: *-φα*.<sup>2</sup>

Further connections of the reconstructed adverbial suffix *\*-bhā*, however, are unclear. The identification of this form as a neuter plural makes the connection with the adjectival suffix *\*-bho-* attractive, though the long-recognized connection of neuter plurals with feminine singular abstracts means that the suffix in OCS. *zlo-ba* cannot be excluded either. Still, one has to wonder why one of these particular suffixes should have come to acquire an adverbial use. Thus the link with *\*-bhi* (Greek *-φι*) may be preferable, and the by-form *μέσ-φι* (LSJ. s.v.) for *μέσ-φα*, if not a folk-etymological reformation of *μέσ-φα* based on the suffix *-φι*, makes it appear as if *-φα* and *-φι* are to be connected. In that case, then, it may be necessary to admit that *\*bhā* is an early contamination of the adverbial suffix *\*-bhi* with the neuter plural ending *\*-ā* (i.e. *\*-aH₂*), due to the adverbial function of the neuter plural. In any case, even though the question of further connections may never be resolved, this proposed equating of Gothic *-ba* and Greek *-φα* at least provides an etymology for these two otherwise isolated formatives.

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<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the *-α* in Greek in thematic neuter plurals is a morphological substitution of the athematic ending *\*-ə₂* for the expected thematic ending *\*-ā*; in that case, then, it is still possible to recognize in *-ba/-φα* the neuter plural ending with language-specific morphological development giving Germanic *\*-ā* versus Pre-Greek *\*-α < \*-ə₂*.

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Department of Linguistics,  
204 Cunz Hall,  
The Ohio State University,  
Columbus, Ohio, 43210,  
U.S.A.

Brian D. Joseph