

## Greek Diminutives in Gothic<sup>1</sup>

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

As a broad generalization, the use of diminutives increased in the Greek language from non-attestation in Homer to the plentiful use of modern times. The New Testament stands in the midst of this trend, and employs diminutives in roughly the same proportions as other Koine Greek texts (Swanson 1958). The diminutives of the New Testament have not been extensively studied, but competent treatments have appeared in grammars (eg Moulton & Howard 1929: 344-6, 375, 380) and articles (eg Elliot 1970: 391-8). An important contribution is that of D. C. Swanson, who in addition to situating the New Testament usage of diminutives in the Koine context, gave a summary of opinion on the subject down to 1958, before offering his own contributions.

Greek diminutives are formed with derivational suffixes attached to previously existing nouns. Unfortunately, the most common of these, *-ion* and *-ís (-íd)*, are also used in creating other derived forms. The situation is further complicated by the inexactness of the term 'diminutive', and the tendency of diminutives to lose their linguistic markedness over time (eg English 'baby', once the diminutive of 'babe', itself the diminutive of 'baban', all meaning 'infant').<sup>2</sup>

Swanson therefore divides words with potentially diminutive endings into three conceptual categories: 1) deterioratives (expressing disdain) and hypocoristics (expressing affection); 2) true diminutives (expressing smallness), along with faded diminutives; and 3) words with other meanings altogether. Faded diminutives are those which once held a sense of smallness, but no longer clearly or necessarily do.<sup>3</sup> With these distinctions in mind,

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<sup>1</sup> The author is grateful to the editor and anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions; any mistakes of course remain his own.

<sup>2</sup> Often, the base noun will have taken on a secondary meaning, such that the diminutive begins to appear as the unmarked, natural way of expressing a thought: Once *país* has the common secondary meaning of 'servant', *paidíon* becomes the obvious word for child.

<sup>3</sup> The distinction between 1) and 2) is somewhat artificial, especially in the matter of faded diminutives: Faded hypocoristics and faded deterioratives are equally possible, if perhaps not relevant

Swanson then offers a list (the same as Moulton's some years previously) of all the potentially diminutive nouns in the New Testament, grouping 1) and 2) together, and separating out 3), which are relevant neither to his study nor to the present investigation.

In order to investigate the outcome of Greek diminutives in Gothic, the Gothic rendering of all the words in Swanson's group of 1) and 2) has been checked. Some members of Swanson's list appear exclusively in the sections of New Testament lost in Gothic, and must regrettably therefore be ignored. The list of diminutives whose Gothic translation is attested is as follows: *gunaikáron* 'silly woman', *thugátrion* 'little daughter', *thurís* 'window', *ichthúdition* 'fish', *korásion* 'maid, girl', *kerátion* 'carob pod', *klinídion* 'bed', *kunáron* 'domestic dog', *neanískos* 'young man', *onáron* 'young donkey', *opsáron* 'small fish', *paidíon* 'child', *paidáron* 'child', *paidískē* 'servant girl', *pinakídion* 'writing tablet', *ploiáron* 'ship', *pterúgion* 'gable, pinnacle', *strouthíon* 'sparrow', *tekníon* 'child', *psichíon* 'crumb', *psōmíon* 'morsel', *ōtáron* 'ear', and *ōtíon* 'ear'.

Greek diminutives are not generally translated by Gothic diminutives,<sup>4</sup> nor do(es) the Gothic translator(s)<sup>5</sup> ever render a Greek diminutive with an equivalent Gothic base word (cf Seebold 1975: 157), modified by an adjective meaning 'small'. The base form behind some diminutives either does not appear in the New Testament, or not in those portions surviving in Gothic. In these cases, if the Gothic translation is not in and of itself remarkable, then little can be said. When both base and diminutive are present, often the Gothic translator takes no notice of the diminutive status of a given Greek word, and gives it the same translation as the Greek simplex form. In other cases, the diminutive is treated as an entirely separate lexeme, and translated with a Gothic word unrelated to that used to render

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in the New Testament.

<sup>4</sup> For the formation of Gothic diminutives (and the state of the art as to the history of the Gothic text), see Miller 2019 especially 391.

<sup>5</sup> It is highly likely that many hands contributed to the Gothic Bible. Even if the ancient sources that attribute the translation to the historical Wulfila are substantially correct, they do not rule out his supervision of a workshop of multiple translators, or subsequent modifications. Cf eg Ratkus 2018. Equally, there seems at some point to have been a process of editorial regularization. The present paper does not contribute to or depend upon discussions of multiple translators, and uses the conventional 'Wulfila' to refer to the man, workshop, or process behind the text we have.

the Greek simplex.<sup>6</sup> Finally, where a Gothic diminutive is employed in translation, it is only ever to render some of the instances of the Greek word, and furthermore, as will be shown, is part of a Gothic pattern of diminutive use.

## 2.0 TRANSLATIONS

### 2.1 Greek Diminutives with no corresponding Simplex

Chart 1

<u>Greek Diminutive</u>	<u>Greek Simplex</u>	<u>Attestations in Gothic Material</u>	<u>Gothic</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
<i>korásion</i>		Mt 9:24.25; Mk 5:42, 6:22.28b	<i>mawi</i>	Maid, girl
		Mk 5:41	<i>mawilo</i>	
	<i>kórē</i>	Not in New Testament		
<i>neanískos</i>		Mk 14:51b, 16:5; Lk 7:14	<i>juggalaups</i>	Young man
	<i>neanías</i>	Not in surviving Gothic Bible		
<i>opsáron</i>		Jn 6:9.11	<i>fisks*</i>	Fish
	<i>ópson</i>	Not in New Testament		'boiled'; anything eaten with bread
<i>pterúgion</i>		Lk 4:9	<i>gibla*</i>	Gable / pinnacle
	<i>ptéruξ</i>	Not in surviving Gothic Bible		Wing
<i>strouthíon</i>		Mt 10:29.31	<i>sparwa*</i>	Sparrow
	<i>strouthós</i>	Not in New Testament		
<i>psichíon</i>		Mk 7:28, Lk 16:21 <sup>7</sup>	<i>drauhsna</i>	Crumb
	<i>psíx</i>	Not in New Testament		Morsel
<i>psōmíon</i>		Jn 13:26b.27.30	<i>hlaifs</i>	Gk: morsel; Go: bread
	<i>psōmós</i>	Not in New Testament		Morsel

Unsurprisingly, this group of diminutives is on the whole unremarkable, apart from

<sup>6</sup> This may call into question the inclusion of the words on Swanson's list of deterioratives, hypocoristics, and true diminutives, but that is not the purpose of the present investigation.

<sup>7</sup> This reading is characteristic of the Byzantine family of New Testament manuscripts, which broadly includes the Gothic Version (cf Robinson & Pierpont 2005: 167); otherwise simply *apò tōn piptóntōn* 'from the fallings' without a noun to modify (cf Nestle-Aland 2012).

the variation in the translation of *korásion*, which will be treated in conjunction with the material of Chart 8.

In some Greek manuscripts, *neanískos* appears twice in Mk 14:51, and it is this tradition that is followed by the Gothic Version. *Psichíon* and *psōmíon* are illustrative of the strange matrix of Gothic words for small items of food. The latter is John's word for the 'sop' with which Jesus indicates Judas as his betrayer. The Gothic *hlaifs* with which it is translated is also used for whole loaves, as at John 6:9, and for bread, as in the Lord's Prayer (Gk *ártos* in both cases), which senses it has in many other places throughout the New Testament. To the Gothic audience, only context would show that Jesus handed Judas a small piece of bread at the Last Supper, and not a loaf. *Drauhсна*, meanwhile, also translates *klásma* at John 6:12, although this is rendered with *gabruka* 'fragment' at Mark 8:8.19.20 and Luke 9:17, all from accounts of Jesus feeding the many.

## 2.2 Diminutive and Simplex with same Gothic Translation

Chart 2

Greek Diminutive	Greek Simplex	Attestations	Gothic	English Translation
<i>thugátrion</i>		Mk 5:23, 7:25	<i>dauhtar</i>	Daughter
	<i>thugátēr</i>	Mt 9:18.22, 10:35.37; Jn 12:15; Lk 1:5, 2:36, 8:42.48.49; Mk 5:34.35, 6:22, 7:26.29.30 <sup>8</sup> IICor 6:18; Neh 6:18		
<i>ichthúdion</i>		Mk 8:7	<i>fisks</i>	Fish
	<i>ichthús</i>	Lk 5:6, 9:13.16		
<i>ploiáron</i>		Mk 3:9; Jn 6:22.23	<i>skip</i>	Ship, boat
	<i>plōion</i>	Mt 8:23.24; Jn 6:17.18.19.21.22.24		
<i>ōtáron</i>		Mk 14:47; Jn 18:10	<i>auso</i>	Ear
<i>ōtíon</i>		Jn 18:26		
	<i>oūs</i>	Mt 10:27; Lk 1:44, 4:21, 8:8, 9:44, 14:35; Mk 4:9.23, 7:33, 8:18; 1Cor		

<sup>8</sup> A reading of Mark 7:30 including *thugátēr* is characteristic of the Byzantine family of New Testament manuscripts, which broadly includes the Gothic Version (cf Robinson & Pierpont 2005: 88); otherwise, *paidíon*.

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*Ichthúdion*, *ploiáron*, *ōtáron* and *ōtíon* appear to be clear examples of faded diminutives. There is no discernible semantic distance between them and the simplex on which they are built. Indeed, in the case of *ploiáron*, John switches from simplex to diminutive and back again within chapter six, all to describe the same vessel. *Thugátrion* might be thought to retain some sense of smallness or dearness, but there is alternative in both accounts in which it appears with *thugátēr* to refer to the same girl, so its significance cannot have been great.

### Chart 3

<u>Greek Diminutive</u>	<u>Greek Simplex</u>	<u>Attestations</u>	<u>Gothic</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
<i>kerátion</i>		Lk 15:16	<i>haur̃n</i>	Carob pod
	<i>kéras</i>	Lk 1.69		Horn

The diminutive of Greek *kéras* 'horn' was used for the vaguely horn-shaped pod of the carob tree (and provides the first word of its Linnean name *Ceratonia siliqua*). The Gothic translation of *kerátion* as *haur̃n*, cognate with English 'horn', also used to translate *kéras*, has been regarded as surprising since the 19<sup>th</sup> century (cf Jellinek 1893: 319). Three explanations are possible: 1) the translator was not paying attention to the sense of his text at this point, and translated without giving thought to the nonsense of eating horns; 2) the carob tree did not grow far enough north that the Goths were familiar with it, such that Wulfila did not recognize *kerátion* as anything but the diminutive of *kéras*, despite its incongruity in the story; or 3) because of the same similarity to horns which prompted the Greeks to call the carob pod *kerátion*, the Goths called it *haur̃n*.

### Chart 4

<u>Greek Diminutive</u>	<u>Greek Simplex</u>	<u>Attestations</u>	<u>Gothic</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
<i>kunáron</i>		Mk 7:27.28	<i>hunds</i>	Domestic dog
	<i>kúōn</i>	Lk 16:21; Ph 3:2		Dog

*Kunáron* seems<sup>9</sup> to mean domestic dogs, as opposed to the stray and feral dogs of

<sup>9</sup> This statement is made in several Biblical and theological dictionaries (eg the entry by O. Michel in

the Near East, called *kúōn*: An authentic case of diminutive morphology making an important distinction.

Example 2      *ip Iesus qap du izai: let faurpis sada wairpan barna, unte ni gob ist niman*  
 Mark 7:27-28    *hlaib barne jah wairpan hundam. ip si andhof imma jah qap du imma: jai*  
                       *frauja; jah auk hundos undaro biuda matjand af drauhsnom barne.*  
                       *kai élegen autē, áphes prōton chortasthēnai tà tékna, ou gár estin kalòn*  
                       *labein tòn árton tōn téknōn kai tois kunaríois balein. hē dé apekríthē kai*  
                       *légei autō, kúrie, kai tà kunária hupokátō tēs trapézēs esthíousin apò tōn*  
                       *psichíōn tōn paidíōn.*  
 But Jesus said unto her, Let the children first be filled: for it is not good to take the children's bread, and to cast it to the (house-)dogs. And she answered and said to him, Yes, Lord: yet the house-dogs under the table eat of the children's crumbs.

Jesus' saying at Mark 7, at least as it appears in Gothic and English,<sup>10</sup> is one of His harshest. In the pejorative reading encouraged by the English and Gothic translations, Jesus uses an insulting term for the Gentiles thought to have been common among Jews.<sup>11</sup> 'Dogs' would here imply those outside the community of God's household. Jesus refuses to exercise His power for a woman because of her race, a particularly grievous act in the modern consciousness. In the reading encouraged by the Greek diminutive, things are slightly different: Jesus takes the insult-word, no doubt known to the woman, and moderates it by casting it in the diminutive and so referring to house-dogs; the thrust of the children / dogs comparison becomes the priority of the children, not their exclusive rights. Both the children and the pet dogs belong in the house and are entitled to food.<sup>12</sup> This distinction is lost for the Goths, who, perhaps may not have had such negative associations with the simplex term, or may have read the saying in the most pejorative sense.

Chart 5

<u>Greek Diminutive</u>	<u>Greek Simplex</u>	<u>Attestations</u>	<u>Gothic</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
<i>onárium</i>		Jn 12:14	<i>asilus</i>	Young donkey

Kittel & Friedrich 1985: 494), but no further source is cited. It is plausible, and in keeping with ancient terminology for things like geographical regions (where 'small' or 'lesser' describes the Romanized, domesticated portion of a larger territory like Germania, Asia, or Scythia).

<sup>10</sup> In the AV, NIV, ESV, ASV, RSV, NAB, etc.

<sup>11</sup> Which may appear in the Scriptures at Philippians 3:2, using of course *kúōn*.

<sup>12</sup> Thus, Jesus requires her to acknowledge the priority of the Chosen People before he will work any miracle, not unlike Naaman bathing in the Jordan rather than the rivers of Damascus. Full discussion and citations in Keener 1999: 414-418.

	<i>ónos</i>	Jn 12:15; Lk 19:30		Donkey
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Gothic *asilus* is likely a borrowing from Latin *asinus* 'donkey', or its diminutive *asellus*.

It is used equally of the Greek base word *ónos* and its diminutive *onárion*, however, in circumstances where the diminutive must have force.

Example *bigat þan Iesus asilu, gasat ana ina, swaswe ist gameliþ: ni ogs þus, dauhtar*  
 2 *Sion, sai, þiudans þeins qimip sitands ana fulin asilaus.*  
 John *heurōn dē ho iēsōūs onárion ekáthisen ep' autó, kathōs estin gegramménon, mē*  
 12:14-15 *phoboũ, thugátēr siōn: idou ho basileús sou érchetai, kathémenos epì pōlōn*  
*ónou.*  
 And Jesus, when he had found a (Gk: young) ass, sat thereon; as it is written,  
 Fear not, daughter of Sion: behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt.

Gothic shares the borrowing of *asinus* / *asellus* with most of the languages of Northern Europe, where the donkey is not native.<sup>13</sup> The Goths at least must have encountered the word through the Roman military. In any case, the Vulgate preserves the distinction, translating *ónos* with *asinus*, and *onárion* with *asellus*.<sup>14</sup>

### 2.3 Multiple Gothic Translations

Chart 6

Greek Diminutive	Greek Simplex	Attestations	Gothic	English Translation
<i>thurís</i>		2Cor 11:33	<i>augadauro</i>	Window
	<i>thúra</i>	Mt 6:6; 1Cor 16:9; 2Cor 2:2; Col 4:3; Neh 7:1	<i>haurds</i>	Door (in sense of panel)
		Jn 10:1.2.7.9; Mk 1:33, 2:2, 11:4, 15:46	<i>daur</i> <sup>15</sup>	Door (in sense of doorway)
		Mt 27:60; Jn 18:16; Mk 16:3	<i>daurons</i>	Two-winged door?
<i>klinídion</i>		Lk 5:19.24	<i>bad</i> <sup>16</sup>	Bed
	<i>klínē</i>	Mt 9:2.6; Lk 5:18, 8:16, 17:34; Mk 4:21, 7:4.30	<i>ligrs</i> <sup>17</sup>	Bed, mat

<sup>13</sup> Indeed, Gothic was very likely the vector of transmission for this word into the Baltic and Slavic tongues (cf Lehmann 1986: 45).

<sup>14</sup> Certain other early Latin translations (sometimes called *Vetus Latina* or *Itala*) have *asinus* in John 12:14 for *onárion*. It is not clear that *asellus* exemplifies normal diminutive semantics in the Classical language (Housman 1930).

<sup>15</sup> Also renders *pulōn* at Mt 26:71; Lk 16:20: Hill & Archer (1987) define *pulōn* as 'properly, the passage which led from the street through the front part of the house to the inner court,' closed by a heavy *púlē* at the streetward end.' *Púlē*, meanwhile is also rendered by Gothic *daur* at Mt 7:13.14; Lk 7:12.

<sup>16</sup> Otherwise, *krá battos*: mat, camp-bed

<sup>17</sup> Also renders *koitē* at Rom 13:13, in the sense of fornication.

<i>pinakídion</i>		Lk 1:63	<i>spilda</i> <sup>18</sup>	Writing-tablet
	<i>pínax</i>	Mk 6:25.28	<i>mes</i>	Dish, charger

In all three of these cases, the Gothic translation of the diminutive differs from that of the simplex. In all three of these cases, however, the Greek diminutive expresses an idea substantially different from the root word. Their inclusion in this study is entirely due to their presence on Marchand's and Swanson's lists. They are clearly borderline cases at best, and there is nothing to observe about the Gothic translations of the diminutives.

Given that the semantic distinctions among these words are not related to the category of diminutives, in general the present study will not review them. It is perhaps noteworthy that the Greek simplex *thúra* is among the rare Greek words with three outcomes in the Gothic Version. The compilers of modern dictionaries of Gothic (eg Streitberg 2000: 56, Lehmann 1986: 179) have sought to distinguish *haurds* from the other two on etymological grounds: Derived from a Proto-Indo-European root meaning 'twist, weave', the word clearly comes to mean 'door' through a meaning like 'screen'. While closet doors such as those in Matthew 6:6 are regularly woven, it is ridiculous to suppose that the figurative doors of I Corinthians 16:9 or II Corinthians 2:12 must be woven. A far better explanation of the variants is that *haurds* refers to a door panel, while *daur* refers to the doorway (the aperture itself); in every case apart from Luke 7:12, this is uncomplicatedly the sense of the words. Meanwhile, the traditional translation of Gothic *daurons* is 'double door'<sup>19</sup>, although this is irrelevant to most of its attestations, such as the door to Jesus' tomb at Matthew 27:60. It is more likely that the *daurons* refers to a larger or grander entrance.

#### Chart 7

<u>Greek Diminutive</u>	<u>Greek Simplex</u>	<u>Attestations</u>	<u>Gothic</u>	<u>English Translation</u>
<i>gunaikáron</i>		2 Tim 3:6	<i>qinein</i>	Silly woman
	<i>guné</i>	Mt 5:28; 9:20.22; 11:11; 27:55; Jn 16:21; Lk 1:28.42, 4:26, 7 <i>passim</i> , 8:43.47, 15:8; Mk 5:25.33, 7:25.26, 10:12, 15:40;	<i>qino</i>	Woman

<sup>18</sup> Also used at 2Cor 3:3 for tablet of law (*pláx*)

<sup>19</sup> Streitberg 2000: 25, presumably because the word is a *plurale tantum*.



		1Cor 7:16, 9:5, 11 <i>passim</i> ; Gal 4:4; Col 3:18; 1Tim 2 <i>passim</i> , 3:11; Skeireins VII:b		
		Mt 5:31.32, 27:19; Lk 1 <i>passim</i> , 3:19, 8:3, 14:20.26,16:18, 17:32, 18:29, 20 <i>passim</i> ; Mk 6:17.18, 10 <i>passim</i> , 12 <i>passim</i> ; 1Cor. 7 <i>passim</i> ; Eph. 5 <i>passim</i> ; Col 3:19 1Tim 3 <i>passim</i> ; Tit 1:6; Neh 6:18	<i>qens</i>	Wife

*Gunē* is another Greek simplex given multiple translations in Gothic, although here the distinct meanings of 'wife' and 'woman' are obvious to English speakers. Although *gunaikáron*, as a New Testament *hapax*, does not have multiple Gothic translations, its Gothic rendering *qinein* is of interest. The word is also used to translate *thēlus* 'female' at Mark 10:6 (beside *gumein* for *ársēn* 'male'), although *qinakunds* is used for the same word in same formulation at Gal 3:28 (beside *gumakunds*, also found at Luke 2:23). The nouns *qinein* and *gumein* are derived from the adjectives *\*qineins* and *\*gumeins*, which in turn are derived from the simplex nouns *qino* and *guma*. The semantic trajectory is *qino* 'woman' > *qineins* 'female (adjective)' > *qinein* 'female (noun)'. Thus, *qinein* in this sense is the functional synonym of *qinakunds*, and the variation between the two is not particularly surprising.<sup>20</sup> It is the use of *qinein* to translate the Greek pejorative diminutive *gunaikáron* which arouses more interest. It is possible that the Gothic translator recognized in *gunaikáron* a formation often used with de-adjectival nouns, and selected the Gothic word with the same derivation (cf Casaretto 2004: 329). This would be an almost unique translation decision in the Gothic New Testament, however. It is thus more economical to assume that the noun 'female' could have an occasional pejorative sense in Gothic just as it can in modern English and French.

#### Chart 8

<u>Greek</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Attestations</u>	<u>Gothic</u>	<u>English</u>
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<sup>20</sup> Except on the view of P. Scardigli (1973: 72), where *qinein* and all similar words are Gothic diminutives (presumably making the *gunaikáron* translation the semantically primary one, and the *thēlus* the secondary).

Diminutive	Simplex			Translation
<i>paidáron</i>		Jn 6:9 (cf Skeireins VII:a)	<i>magula</i>	Child cf Ger <i>Kindlein</i>
<i>paidíon</i>		Jn 16:21; Lk 1:59.66.80, 2:17.27.40, 7:32, 9:47.48, 18:16.17; Mk 5:39.40.41, 7:28, 9:24. 36.37, 10:13.14.15	<i>barn</i>	Child
		Lk 1:76	<i>barnilo</i>	Child cf Ger. <i>Kindlein</i>
<i>paidískē</i>		Mt 26:69; Mk 14:66.69; Jn 18:17; Gal 4:22.23.30b.31	<i>þiwi</i>	Servant girl
	<i>paīs</i>	Mt 8:6.8.13; Lk 1:54.69, 7:7,	<i>þiumagus</i>	Servant
		Lk 2:43, 9:42, 15:26	<i>magus</i>	Child
		Lk 8:51.54	<i>mawi</i>	Girl
<i>tekníon</i>		Jn 13:33	<i>barnilo</i>	Child cf Ger. <i>Kindlein</i>
<i>téknon</i>	Mt 9:2, Mk 2:5, 10:24, 15:31; Gal 4:19; 1Tim 1:18			
	Mk 7:27, Mk 10:29.30, 12:19; Lk 1:7.17, 3:8, 7:35, 14:26, 18:29, Lk 19:43, 20:31; Jn 8:39; Rm 9:7.8b; 1Cor 7:14; 2Cor 12:14b; Gal 4:25.27.28.31; Eph 2:3, 5:1.8; Phil 2:22; Col 3:20.21; 1Thes 2:7; 1Tim 1:2, 3:4.12, 5:4; 2Tim 1:2, 2:1; Tit 1:4.6	<i>barn</i>	Child	
	Lk 2:48	<i>magus</i>		
	2Cor 6:13	<i>frasts</i>		

*Paīs* and *téknon* are both fundamentally words for 'child', and are thus in a semantic field easily associated with diminutives. In some cases, like Mark 7:27-28, the words and their derivatives alternate seamlessly. *Paīs*, what is more, is a standard word for 'servant, slave', in common with usages such as German *Knabe / Knappe*, French *garçon*, and in some times and places, English 'boy'. The Gothic renderings of *paīs* as *þiumagus* and *magus* reflect this distinction: *Magus* means child, and the *þiu* element (also present in *þiwi*) indicates servanthood. *Mawi* is used in Luke 8 since the child in question, Jairus' daughter, is clearly a girl. The feminine diminutive *paidískē* recalls the sense of 'servant', as is clear from passages like Mark 14:66 and Galatians 4:22, and receives the Gothic translation *þiwi* 'servant girl'. *Paidáron* and *paidíon*, on the other hand, are derived from *paīs* in its sense of 'child'. *Paidáron* is taken by the Gothic translator as a true diminutive, and given the

rendering *magula* 'little boy'.

Example 3      *ist magula ains her, saei habaiþ ·e· hlaibans barizeinans jah ·b· fiskans; akei*  
John 6:9      *þata hva ist du swa managaim?*  
                  *Éstin paidáron hōde hòs ékhei pénte ártous krithínous kai dúo opsária; allà*  
                  *taũta tí estin eis tosoútous?*  
                  There is a (small) boy here, who has 5 barley loaves and 2 fishes; but what  
                  is that among so many?

The emphasis in 6:9 is on the meagreness of what is to hand: but five loaves and two fish, the packed lunch of a small child. Whether it was the uniqueness of *paidáron* in the corpus or the context of the verse which conditioned the Gothic translation, it was a discriminating choice.

*Paidíon*, on the other hand, seems to be a faded diminutive, used to make the 'child' sense of *paĩs* perfectly clear, without any particular connotations of smallness or dearness. It shares its standard translation of *barn* with *téknon*. *Téknon* is also translated *magus* in Luke chapter 2, where both *téknon* and *paĩs* are used of the boy Jesus, and as *frasts\** in II Corinthians chapter 6. The use of *frasts\** is not easily susceptible to analysis, since it is both a *hapax legomenon* in Gothic, and a word of uncertain etymology; indeed, since its only appearance is in the dative plural as *frastim*, the cited nominative singular is a reconstruction.

The remaining variation in the Gothic renderings is indicative of native Gothic diminutive use. *Paidíon*, *tekníon*, and *téknon* are all translated as *barnilo*, the diminutive of *barn*, in situations where the child in question is addressed. The *Benedictus* makes this abundantly clear: Surrounded by *barn* renderings (Luke 1:59.66.80), the one time the child (John the Baptist) is directly addressed (Luke 1:76), *barnilo* is employed. Similarly, between 1 Timothy 1:2, where *téknon* is used to describe Timothy's relationship to Paul, and 1 Timothy 1:18, where *téknon* is in apposition to *Timóthee* (a vocative), the Gothic translator moves from *barn* to *barnilo*. It seems clear that children were not addressed simply as 'child' in Gothic; very likely such a usage would have seemed harsh or angry. Every case of *barnilo*

is accounted for in this pattern. Alike is the one occasion (Mark 5:41: 'Little girl, arise') where *korásion* is translated as *mawilo* instead. Two counterexamples can however be offered where a child seems to be addressed but the Gothic diminutive is not used:

Example 4      *barna, ufhausjaip fadreinam bi all; unte þata waila galeikaip ist in frauþin.*  
 Colossians      *tà tékna, hupakóúete tois goneūsin katà pánta, toūto gàr euárestón estin en*  
 3:20              *kuríþ.*  
                     Children, obey your parents in all things: for this is well pleasing unto the Lord.

The standard English translation of this passage and those surrounding it, all of which contain injunctions to particular groups, implies that 'children' is a vocative. In fact, however, as the use of the definite article in Greek indicates, the groups named ('children', 'wives', 'fathers', etc) are in the nominative case, and represent not addresses, but itemizings. This would be enough to account for the Gothic non-use of the diminutive, except that the Gothic translator seems to have taken at least one of the other groups as vocative: In the next verse, Colossians 3:21, *hoi patéres* is rendered *jus attans* 'Ye fathers', a clear vocative. Thus, either the rendering *barn* is inconsistent, or *jus attans* is; since *jus* is not added to any of the other formulations, it is probably safe to regard it as the aberration, meaning that no counter-example of the Gothic diminutive pattern is found here.

Example 5      *þu nu, barn mein waliso, inswinþei þuk in anstai þizai in Kristau Iesu*  
 2 Timothy      *sù oūn, téknon mou, endunamoū en tē cháríti tē en Christō iēsoū*  
 2:1              Thou therefore, my <true> child, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus

There can be no real doubt the author of the epistle is addressing the *téknon* in 2 Timothy 2:1. The Gothic translation presents two divergences, one from its general pattern, namely the use of *barn*, and one from the Greek original. It may be that the latter accounts for the former: The Gothic translator has interpolated the word *walisa*\* 'true, authentic' into the formulation 'my child', likely on analogy with 1 Timothy 1:2 and Titus 1:4 (cf Bammesberger 1980: 1). It is likely that *barn* is also an effect of the influence of these other verses. Additionally, it is possible that the hypocoristic effect of *walisa*\* was sufficient to remove whatever sting an undiminutivised word for child may have held in Gothic.

### 3.0 CONCLUSIONS

One way to view many of the translations of Greek diminutives in Gothic is as advertisements for the process that gives us the Gothic Version. Sufficient knowledge of the Greek of three centuries previous was included to disregard faded diminutives like *paidíon*, while preserving the sense of *paidáron*. It distinguished between the two meanings of words like *país* or *gunē*. Perhaps most notably, it introduced the native Gothic pattern of diminutive use in addressing children into the text. Alongside these credits, certain limitations would have to be noted. The lack of any recognition of the distinction between *ónos* and its diminutive *onáron* impoverishes the translation. Even without a Gothic simple / diminutive pair, an adjective modifying *asilus* could still have been used to convey the meaning to the Gothic audience. *Kunáron* and *kúōn* amount to a similar, if less clear cut (because the force of the diminutive is a theological conjecture) example of the translation failing to reproduce an original distinction. In this case, of course, the Gothic translator is in the company of the Authorized Version committees, and several other well-regarded renderings.

Another approach, perhaps preferable, is to focus on which Gothic linguistic phenomena assert themselves in the translation despite lacking Greek analogues, and which Greek phenomena do not. Here we may note that the contrasts *kunáron* / *kúōn* or *onáron* / *ónos* are not replicated in Gothic. It may be concluded that animal diminutives were not an important feature of the language. On the other hand, the use of the diminutive in forms of address for children (or perhaps, accounting for 2 Timothy 2:1, the avoidance of simple vocatives for 'child') seems to have been sufficiently fundamental in Gothic to appear in several contexts.

Thus, targeted considerations of linguistic phenomena such as the present study may contribute to scholarly understanding of the translation decisions, practices, and priorities of a text like the Gothic Version, and also begin to draw out patterns of natural language

usages unnoticed in standard accounts.

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