

Germc. **gaiza-* 'spear'. But a century earlier the name of the Gothic leader *Rada-gaisus* (year 406) was written with <ai> in contemporary Latin sources.³⁵ The original <au> is seldom preserved (*Meribaudō*, *Raunis*, *Bautone*), usually we find Lat. <o> (*Rosemud*, *Ostrogotho*, *Osuin*, *Oderic*, *Oderit*, *Odoin*, *Oduulf*) and in a case the late variant <u> (*Ustarric*).³⁶

On the other hand, Gothic short vowels [i, u] were often Romanized as <e, o> respectively. Thus we find such alternating forms as *Ardeca* and *Ardica* (Tjäder P43), *Fili-* and *Feli-thanc* (Tjäder P13), *Gevisa* and *Ghiveric*, *Giberit*.³⁷ The same letter exchange in *Mathe-suentha* (Jordanes) and *Amala-suintha* (Cassiodorus), in the name *Seda* (< Goth. *sidus* 'habit')³⁸ and in *Sende-fara* (Rugo V, 149) formed from the same root as *Sindila* (Tjäder P34). Examples of Gothic short [u] rendered with Latin <o> are: *Droct-arius* (< Germc. **druhti-*), *Optarit* corresponding to Gothic *Ufitahari* (< Goth. *ufta* 'often'), *Gomoverda* (< Goth. *guma* 'man'),³⁹ etc.

Optarit is also an example of the frequent loss of internal *-h-* in Romanization, other examples being *Droct-arius*, *Wili-arium*, *Gunt-elda*, *Gundi-ildi*, *Ranilda*. Initial *h-* is also frequently dropped in Latin writing, as in the Gothic names *Ariver*, *Arigemus*.⁴⁰

In Latin sources sometimes a <z, tz> spelling occurs in Gothic personal names. It could represent Goth. [-tj-] in such names as *Mazenis* (*Variae* I 5, < Germc. **matjan-* 'to eat') and perhaps in *Sitza*, *Sitzane* (Tjäder P49, if < Goth. **sitjan-* 'sit, inhabit'). This might be the result either of Late-Latin pronunciation of Gothic names,⁴¹ or of Gothic internal development leading to a pala-

³⁵ Reichert I 547.

³⁶ Reichert I 505; Tjäder P43; Reichert I 131, 575, 538, 528; Tjäder P36; Reichert I 529, 533, 739.

³⁷ *Gevisa* in Ennodius *Epistolae* 3, 20 XC (year 504); *Ghiveric*, *Giberit* in papyrus Tjäder P43 (year 542).

³⁸ Inscription of 541, Ravenna: *Seda cubicularius regis Theoderici* (Rugo III, 27).

³⁹ *Droctarius* from an inscription of Ivrea (525-545; Rugo V, 151); Lat. *Optarit* = Goth. *Ufitahari* (both in Tjäder P34); *Gomoverda*: inscription from Imola (Donati-Susini no. 3-4).

⁴⁰ The four masculine names are formed with Goth. *harjis*, respectively on an inscription from Ivrea (Rugo V, 151), in Cassiodorus' *Variae* V 23, inscription from Salona (Dalmatia, *CIL* III 9563), and *Variae* III 36. The three feminine names, formed with Germc. **hildi-* 'battle', are recorded on a Como inscription (Rugo V, 78), in Tjäder P7, and in *Variae* X 26. Parallel variant spellings with *h-* are to be found in the corresponding name forms *Gundi-hildi* (Tjäder P7) and *Rani-hildae* (Tjäder P8).

⁴¹ In the sixth century Lat. *-ti-* had already undergone the affrication process leading to [-ts-]. The Gothic transcription of the Latin loanword *kawtsjon* < Lat. *cautio*, *-onis* (Tjäder P34, year 551) is clear evidence for this; see note 49.