Eirik Welo (ed.)

Indo-European syntax and pragmatics: contrastive approaches

Contents

INTRODUCTION

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[1] INTRODUCTION

This book presents a selection of papers from the workshop on Indo-European (IE) syntax which was held at the University of Georgia in Athens, Georgia in May 2009. The workshop was organized by the PROIEL project at the University of Oslo and by professor Jared Klein at the University of Georgia.[1]

The aim of this book is not to give a general picture of the syntax of the Indo-European languages nor to propose reconstructions of Proto-Indo-European syntax. Rather, the papers presented here study the interaction of grammar and discourse structure at various levels: word order, the use and historical development of words and grammatical constructions.[2] These phenomena are also at the heart of the PROIEL project itself.

[2] RESULTS

In this section, we present some of the major insights from the papers. While the relationship between grammar and discourse structure can be said to form a common theme for the papers collected here, the authors approach this question from different angles. Some focus on language comparison, relying on translations or text corpora containing material from several languages. Other discuss problems in a single language.

The IE languages show differences in many parts of their grammars. One way of highlighting differences between the grammatical systems of different languages is the use of translations. This method is put to good use in the paper by OLGA THOMASON on the translation of *prepositions* in several old IE Bible translations. Her detailed investigation takes as its starting-point the Greek prepositions ἐν 'in' and εἰς 'into' (from earlier *en-s). The translation languages Gothic, Old Church Slavic (OCS) and Classical Armenian all possess a reflex of the IE preposition *en which also underlies the Greek prepositions. In a tidy universe, the Gothic, OCS and Armenian reflexes of IE *en would be used to translate Greek ἐν/εἰς whenever these occurred. In reality, the reflexes in the various languages are associated with a range of meanings which do not always overlap. Thomason's use of examples shows clearly how the reflexes

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[1]   Thanks to professor Klein and to the University of Georgia for all practical help and for providing generous hospitality and enjoyable company during the conference.

[2]   See Bakker & Wakker (2009) for some recent studies of Classical Greek along similar lines.

of *en* have come to occupy different positions within the grammatical systems of the descent languages. Of course, separate investigations of the prepositional systems of the various languages would ultimately give the same result. The use of translations, however, makes the differences stand out very clearly.

Possessive constructions are another area in which the IE languages show interesting grammatical differences. In JULIA MCANALLEN's paper on these constructions in Old Church Slavic, the fact that the OCS texts are translations from the Greek is again exploited to show up important shades of meaning in the Slavic constructions. McAnallen identifies three distinct ways of expressing predicative possession in OCS:

- a verb meaning 'have'

- a dative NP + the copula verb

- a prepositional phrase (*u* + genitive) + the copula verb

She then looks at the possessive constructions in the Greek Bible text to see which OCS construction is chosen to translate them. Incidentally, New Testament Greek also has several ways of expressing predicative possession:

- a verb meaning 'have'

- a dative NP + the copula verb

McAnallen concludes that while the verb 'have' is at once the most frequent and the most flexible way of expressing predicative possession, the 'dative + NP' construction is used in fixed expressions. The use of the preposition *u* + the copula verb is used actively to emphasize the impermanence of possession.

The comparison with the Greek NT text shows that, given the literal approach to translation evidenced by all the early IE Bible translations, a Greek possessive construction is almost always translated with a similar one in OCS. Apparent divergences between Greek and OCS are in most cases due to idiomatic expressions. The cases involving *u* + genitive are especially interesting in this regard since OCS may express a distinction which is not overtly differentiated in Greek.[3]

The *definite article* provides a third example of a category which (when it exists at all) is used differently in different languages. ANGELIKA MÜTH contrasts the use of the definite article in Greek with its use in the Armenian Bible translation. Again, while there are many overlapping functions between the two languages, there are also clear areas of divergence. The use of the definite article with proper names is a case in point.

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[3]   Further research may be needed into the ways in which Greek may express different types of possession.

Consider the name 'Jesus' in the New Testament. In the Greek Gospels, Jesus is mentioned by name close to 800 times. In slightly more than half of the cases, his name is accompanied by the definite article: *ho Iêsous*. In the Classical Armenian translation, on the other hand, the name 'Jesus' is always bare (with a single exception). The pattern is repeated with Pilate: in Greek, his name carries the definite article in 80% of the cases. In Armenian, the name is always bare. This is not, however, the whole story about proper names: some Biblical names are never used with the article, neither in Greek nor in Armenian. Clearly, the definite article has a wider range of functions in Greek than in Armenian. More specifically, Greek uses the definite article in several "semantic" functions, e.g. with proper names, unique reference nouns, etc., where Armenian prefers to leave it out. As far as the "anaphoric" use of the article is concerned, Greek and Armenian are more similar to each other.

BRIDGET DRINKA takes a different approach to the role of translations in linguistic development. In her paper, she discusses *periphrastic constructions* in the Greek NT and its old IE translations. While tracing the spread of these constructions, she focuses on their symbolic meaning as part of the Word of God. Preserving the linguistic *form* of a holy text is seen as a way of showing reverence for it. When grammatical constructions are associated with religious meaning in this way, this in turn makes it possible to exploit these constructions in original texts to signal the membership of the author in the Christian community, ultimately giving rise to a Christian style of expression. In her paper, Drinka shows that this process took place at least twice in the history of the NT. First, the evangelists, and especially Luke, consciously adopted features of the language of the *Septuaginta*, the Greek translation of the Old Testament, thereby signalling the continued relevance of the Old Testament for the understanding of their own writings. Secondly, the early translators of the Bible took pains to replicate the periphrastic constructions frequently found in the text of the NT. Finally, the importance of the early translations of the Bible in the various speech-communities of Europe may have contributed to the development of periphrastic present and perfect constructions in the modern European languages.

In his paper, JARED KLEIN explores the syntax of *negation* and *polarity* in the languages of the major old IE Bible translations: Latin, Gothic, OCS and Classical Armenian. Starting out from the Greek NT, Klein investigates the linguistic realization of various aspects of negation, ranging from simple negative statements through negative commands, questions, adverbial clauses (purpose, result, conditional, causal) to relative clauses.

Klein proceeds by discussing the modal categories of the languages. This is important since the functions of the categories are not necessarily the same. For example, the descendant of the Proto-IE optative is used as an imperative in OCS and as a subjunctive in Gothic. Also, the languages employ different means in order to express the functional category 'future tense': the present indicative (Gothic),

the subjunctive (Armenian), or the perfective present or periphrastic constructions (OCS).

The investigation shows some interesting differences between the various translations and the Greek original. In particular, the distinction in Greek between specific/definite 'who' and non-specific/indefinite 'whoever' is not always reflected in the translations.[4]

The picture which emerges from Klein's study is, as he notes in his conclusion, remarkably stable from language to language. Since the wish to preserve the syntax of the original text may be one major source for this similarity, as convincingly illustrated in Bridget Drinka's paper, it should be pointed out that the conclusions based on data collected from comparing a translation with its original ought to be checked against original texts whereever possible.

This method is followed by CHIARA GIANOLLO in her paper on *genitive modifiers* in Greek and Latin. Taking the Vulgate translation of the Greek NT as her starting-point, she further draws on data from other Late Latin texts. Combining data from these two different sources, she is able to conclude that while the word order of genitive modifiers is to a large extent the same in the two languages, this should not be seen just as the result of faithful translation. The evidence from Late Latin non-biblical texts shows that developments in Latin grammar allowed the Bible translators to replicate the NT Greek linguistic structures without doing violence to their own language. A further question, posed but not answered by the author, is whether the parallel development, seen in both Late Latin and in Koine Greek, towards postposed genitive modifiers should be attributed to language contact and bilingualism or seen as independent of each other.

An important topic concerning the interaction between grammar and discourse structure, viz. *word/constituent order*, is dealt with in SVETLANA PETROVA's paper. In Old High German (OHG) there are two constructions which both function in a similar way to indicate discourse structure: Verb-Subject order and the *tho*-V2 construction. The constructions are similar in that they both involve a subject in postverbal position. In the *tho*-construction, however, the particle *tho* is placed clause-initially, followed by the verb. The author investigates the factors that influence the choice between VS order and the *tho*-V2 construction in Old High German texts. She discusses a set of factors which influence the choice between the two constructions, including:

- argument structure

- lexical semantics

- Aktionsart

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[4]   Note that in New Testament Greek, this distinction is no longer as clear-cut as in Classical Greek. Thus, the choices made by the translators may also tell us something about their understanding of the Greek text.

- information structure

The choice of construction cannot, she argues, be attributed to any single factor. Rather, the factors combine to influence the choice to different degrees. Petrova concludes that e.g. the properties of Aktionsart and Information Structure in particular are closely linked to VS order. She also concludes that the discourse status of *tho* directly affects its position in the clause: when its status is *new* or *indefinite*, it may not be clause-initial, thus precluding the *tho*-V2 construction from appearing.

The distinction between subordination and coordination is another grammatical feature which clearly plays a role in marking discourse structure. DAN COLLINS discusses *absolute constructions* in OCS and old East Slavic texts. The main focus of the paper is on the use of absolute constructions in contexts where they should not be used according to traditional grammar, e.g. when the subject of the absolute construction is coreferential with the main clause subject, or when the absolute construction functions as a main clause in its own right. Collins argues that these cases should not be viewed simply as grammatical mistakes or translation errors. Rather, we should look for the factors which motivate the use of the construction in precisely these contexts. The traditional definition of absolute constructions fails to realize that we need to understand the contextual features which characterize the construction as well as its formal features. The seemingly aberrant uses of absolute constructions should rather be incorporated into the description of the syntactic possibilities of the construction. The use of absolute constructions are often motivated by the need to demarcate discourse structure rather than by purely syntactic considerations.

MARI HERTZENBERG's paper concerns the uses of the demonstrative *ipse* in the Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible. On the basis of Classical Latin texts and the more recent testimony of the Romance languages, it is possible to distinguish between Classical Latin uses and uses pointing in the direction of later Romance languages.

In Classical Latin, *ipse* was used as an intensifier with the meaning 'self'. In the Romance languages, however, *ipse* has developed in several ways:

- demonstrative pronoun/adjective

- definite article

- third person pronoun

Hertzenberg discusses several cases where it it reasonable to interpret *ipse* not as an intensifying adjunct but rather as an unemphatic personal pronoun. Apart from two examples, which both allow for alternative explanations, *ipse* is not found in the Vulgate as a definite article. This is surprising, the author argues, given the usage of other late Latin texts. As an explanation, we may suppose either that *ipse*

was not a definite article in Jerome's grammar, or, on the other hand, that it was, but that he chose to keep his translation closer to Classical Latin with regard to this grammatical feature.

In his paper, BRIAN JOSEPH discusses the meaning and etymology of the Albanian particle *po.* This particle marks progressivity, as shown in (1):

(1)   Agimi *po* këndon
        'Agim is singing.'

Although the question of the etymology of *po* cannot be settled once and for all, there are several plausible alternatives. The question why Albanian developed this progressive marker in the first place is discussed in the context of language contact. In both the Slavic and Greek neighbouring languages of Albanian, the aspectual no-tion of progressivity plays an important role in the verbal system, and this may have supported the overt marking of progressivity in Albanian as well. Joseph em-phasizes the complex interplay between Indo-European inheritance, contact with other Balkan languages and general linguistic principles, which all have played a part in the development of this grammatical marker towards its present state.

To sum up, the papers selected for this volume cover a wide range of interrelated topics and approaches:

- prepositions

- possessive constructions

- the definite article

- periphrastic constructions

- negation/polarity

- genitive modifiers

- word order/clause types

- absolute constructions

- pronouns

- aspectual particles

All of the topics listed above are important areas in which grammar interacts with discourse. Undoubtedly, future research will deepen our understanding of the precise nature of this interaction, its regularities and limits. We will set yet other ways in which these and other grammatical categories function within the larger structures of discourse. Nonetheless, the categories discussed in the papers in the

following pages are central among the pragmatic resources which languages draw on.

[3] THE PROIEL PROJECT

The papers presented at the Athens workshop deal with many aspects of Indo-European syntax but focus especially on the old Indo-European Bible translations. The idea of using these translations as a starting point for research into the comparative syntax of (some of) the older Indo-European languages is not new in itself,[5] but has been taken up again in a new context through the construction of the PROIEL corpus of Bible translations at the University of Oslo.[6]

The PROIEL database contains the text of the Greek New Testament (NT) combined with translations into Latin (the Vulgate), Gothic, Old Church Slavic and Classical Armenian. The texts of the PROIEL corpus are annotated on various levels:

- lemmatization

- morphology

- syntax (dependency grammar trees)

- givenness (information structure)

The texts are also aligned word by word (the alignment was done automatically). Thus, for every Greek word in the corpus, we have information about its features and syntactic function as well as its relationship to words in the translated versions. Likewise, the non-Greek words contain information about which Greek words of the original NT they translate.

The information added by the annotation is stored in a database which makes it possible to search for complex combinations of features. This opens up new possibilities for detailed (and quantifitative) study of Indo-European syntax. The PROIEL corpus is publicly available and may be used for all kinds of research focusing either on the Bible or on the languages of the NT and its translations.[7]

The PROIEL project itself was motivated by a desire to know how the various old Indo-European languages exploit the resources of their grammatical systems in order to express pragmatic categories like *topic* and *focus* and other elements contributing to discourse coherence. The project starts from the premise that the translation languages try to recreate the structure of the Greek NT text with regard not only to lexical and syntactic structures but also to textual coherence, the project poses the question of how the grammatical systems of Latin, Gothic, OCS and Armenian differ from Greek in their ability to express aspects of textual coherence.

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[5] See e.g. the studies by Cuendet (1924, 1929) and Klein (1992a, 1992b).
[6] The corpus is publicly available at `http://foni.uio.no:3000/`.
[7] For further discussion of how the corpus was made, cf. the papers Haug et al. (2009a) and Haug et al. (2009b).

Consider again the example of definiteness marking. We have good reason to believe that Proto-IE, like Classical Latin, did not mark definiteness by means of a definite article. In Greek, on the other hand, such an article developed well before the time when the NT was written.[8] Of the translation languages in the corpus some have a definite article (Armenian) while others do not (Latin, Gothic, OCS). Accordingly, we may use the PROIEL corpus to try and answer the question: how did the Bible translators deal with the Greek article, how did they analyze its functions, and, for the languages which lacked a definite article of their own, what resources of their own grammar did they employ to express the meaning contributed by the definite article in Greek?[9]

Our data on how the Greek definite article is translated throws light also on the development of the definite article in Late Latin and Romance. The Latin Vulgate Bible translation is one important source of information about how the demonstratives *ipse* and *ille* developed into definite articles. As in the case of Classical Armenian, however, the translation also provides information about distinctions in the use of the category in the lanuage of the original.

Another area of grammatical difference is the system of participles. All old IE languages have (inflecting) participles, and some of these may be inherited from PIE. The participles are not, however, used in the same way in every language. In a paper on the use and translation of Greek participles, Dag Haug showed how the participles in Greek fullfil several different discourse functions, and how they are translated differently according to their function.[10]

As we have seen, using translations in linguistic research offers many advantages, chief among which are the fact that we are allowed to see how languages behave in a controlled environment: the original and the translation are in some sense the 'same' text. There are, however, also problems involved in the use of translations, and some of these are specifically related to the use of *Biblical* translations.

One problem is common to all texts which are transmitted over time: the transmission process generates errors. Words are added or left out, misplaced or misspelled. This means that we cannot always be sure that what we read is in fact a grammatical sentence of the lanuage we study. The problem is more acute whenever we are dealing with constructions of low frequency. As far as Greek and Latin are concerned, we are often able to use the vast amounts of other texts as a control. For some of the other languages in the corpus, most notably Gothic and Old Church Slavic, the lack of non-translated texts makes it difficult to evaluate the langauge of the texts that we actually have.

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[8]   Although Homer does not use the article consistently in his poems, they contain clear indications of the way in which the old demonstrative pronoun would develop into a definite article by the time of Classical Greek.

[9]   See the paper by Angelika Müth in this volume.

[10] The paper was given at the Athens conference, but was already scheduled to appear elsewhere. It can be read in Haug (Forthcoming 2012).

A problem related to comparing translations with their original is that we cannot be sure that the version of the translation we happen to have was made on the basis of the version of the original that we happen to have. As a quick glance at the critical apparatus of any Greek Bible text will demonstrate, the textual transmission of the Greek NT is complicated: there are text families and endless variation in detail. In the case of the Gothic Bible, even though the translation was ultimately made from a Greek original, the translator may have been influenced by Latin versions as well. The Armenian translation of the NT perhaps was first made from a Syriac text and then at a later stage corrected against a Greek text. Naturally, all these facts must be taken into account as possible sources of error affecting the value of the translations for syntactic research.[11]

More directly related to the linguistic side of Bible translation is the question of *literalness.* To what extent were the early Bible translators willing to go beyond the borders of their own grammar in order to replicate the structure of the source text? In this context, we should not forget, as Bridget Drinka convincingly showed in her paper at the conference, that the Greek NT as a text was holy to its readers, and that this holiness extended also to its linguistic form. While this fact is most clearly visible in the case of the word order of the text, we cannot be sure that it did not also extend to other areas, e.g. lexical semantics. In the great majority of cases, the translators did their utmost to preserve the word order of the original text. This creates problems for a linguistic evaluation of the word order of the translations, not least because we may reasonably infer that word order in all the older IE languages was quite free. For Gothic, Armenian and OCS, as we cannot use non-translated texts as a control, it is difficult to use the word order in the Bible translations in these languages as linguistic data.[12] Thus, it is only in the cases where a translation deviates from the word order that we may feel reasonably sure that the translator had a linguistic reason for not replicating the word order of his source.[13]

To conclude, in spite of the limitations discussed above, the old Indo-European Bible translations provide important source material for the comparative study of Indo-European syntax. Above all, the controlled context provided by an original text and its translations allows us to study in detail how grammar, and, more specifically, syntax interacts with discourse structure in order to make texts as cohesive as possible.

The development of electronic text corpora which include rich annotation of

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[11]   See Metzger (1977) for a detailed presentation and discussion.

[12]   In the case of Gothic, we may argue for the grammaticality of some word orders by using data from the other old Germanic languages. In the case of Armenian, we have original texts only slightly newer than the translation of the Gospels, but these all come from a written culture heavily influenced by the Bible translations anyway.

[13]   Although, again we cannot be sure that the translation was made from a source with the same word order as the current version of the Greek NT or that the original word order of either the translation or the source text has not been changed in the process of manuscript transmission.

grammatical information promises to make the investigation of these phenomena even more practical, by giving researchers access to complex searches and precise quantitative data. Even though the number of old IE texts available in this format is still small, we may expect a steady growth in the amount of material available for study in the coming years.

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CATEGORIES OF DEFINITENESS
IN CLASSICAL ARMENIAN

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[1] THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEFINITENESS MARKERS

The development of definite articles from demonstrative pronouns is a phenomenon often quoted as a standard example for the process of grammaticalization (cf. e.g. Lyons 1999, 331–334). In many of the modern European languages that have an article-like marker of definiteness this definite article goes back to a further demonstrative, e.g. French *le*, Italian *il*, Spanish *el* < Vulgar Latin *ille*, English *the* < OE *þæt* 'that one',[1] German *der, die, das* < OHG *dër, diu, daʒ* 'that one' (sometimes used as definite article already in OHG times). This development can in many cases be described as a combination of two functional processes (Manolessou & Horrocks 2007, 224ff.). First a (usually distal) demonstrative pronoun employed attributively as NP determiner gradually looses its demonstrative sense keeping only the definite semantic content. Often this development will take its starting-point either in certain "key environments" or with somehow specified NPs (e.g. re-topicalized agents within narrative contexts, or NPs with superlative, ordinal or contrastive arguments, etc.). In a second step, the grammaticalized article spreads its usage from "established" contexts into new employments where it is first optional (motivated by specific contextual requirements) and later becomes an obligatory grammatical marker.

[1.1] *Greek*

As recently discussed by Manolessou & Horrocks (2007), the case of Greek provides an especially illuminating example of this development. Even though both of the above mentioned processes—(i) gradual loss of demonstrative meaning in certain environments and (ii) spread of the article usage into other contexts—belong to the 'Dark Ages' within the history of Greek, it is possible to trace the development in its general lines (see Table 1 on page 12).

Mycenean Greek, the oldest attested stage of the language, does not show any evidence for a definite article. The forms *ho, hê, tó* < PIE **so, *seh₂, *to-* have merely the function of an anaphoric pronoun meaning 'that one'. In the Homeric poems

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[1] The etymological original of *the* is OE *sē* (masc.). The initial *s-* is replaced by *þ-* analogically to the neuter form *þæt* which is from the 13th century on the only form. Later the inflection disappears and the definite article develops. The actual demonstrative *þæt* is continued in Modern English *that*.

Mycenean	14.–16. century BC	no definite article
Homeric Greek	ca. 800 BC	demonstrative *ho, hê, tó* mainly used as anaphoric pronoun; already article-like use in NPs determined by ordinals, superlatives, contrastive attributes
Classical Greek	ca. 800-300 BC	"fully developed" article, used to convey pragmatic definiteness
Modern Greek	since ca. 15th c. AD	an article (definite or indefinite) is obligatory in almost all argument NPs

TABLE 1: The article in the history of Greek

(written down first around 800 BC after a long prehistory of oral tradition), the same pronoun is still used mainly anaphorically, but can also occur as a noun determiner having mainly the function of re-topicalizing a previously mentioned noun. When occuring in NPs with ordinal, superlative or contrastive head nouns, however, one can already find an article-like usage in the sense of the later marker of definiteness (cf. the Homeric examples in Manolessou & Horrocks 2007, 228f.). In Classical Greek we find a "fully developed" article mainly used to convey pragmatic definiteness (cf. section [2] below). In contemporary spoken Modern Greek, the use of articles (either definite or indefinite) is obligatory in almost all argument NPs (with the exception of predicatives).

[1.2] *Armenian*

The situation in Classical Armenian, as described by Klein (1996), is quite different, regarding both formal and functional aspects. In general, one has to do with a triple system of proximal, medial and distal deixis/definiteness which we find among other IE languages most similarly in Latin (*hic, iste, ille*). The core elements, Arm. *-s-* (proximal), *-d-* (medial), *-n-* (distal) occur as enclitics –s, *-d*, *-n* affixed to nouns and are in Classical Armenian considered to be definite articles denoting a certain personal affinity: *-s* refers to the first person/the speaker, *-d* to the second person/the addressee, while the by far most frequent *-n* seems to be a rather neutral, "simply definite" article. The very same triple distribution is found in the Armenian system of anaphorics (*sa/da/na* 'this one [here]/that one [by you]/that one [over there]'), demonstratives (*ays/ayd/ayn*), identity pronouns (*soyn/doyn/noyn*), as well as in several adverbs (e.g. *ayspês/aydpês/aynpês* 'this/that there/that way', etc.). Be-

cause these three elements occur in a range of pronominal stems as well, one may ask whether the clitics *-s, -d, -n* were the original base for a further evolution of the several demonstrative stems or if the development was rather the other way around, i.e. that the demonstrative series *sa/da/na, ays/ayd/ayn, soyn/doyn/noyn* existed primarily and the clitic articles *–s/-d/-n* were later 'abstracted' from these forms. I will not go into further detail about this question here, but arguments may be found for both directions of development. The "condensation" from original demonstrative stems to single clitic elements *-s-/-d-/-n-* is corroborated by the fact that corresponding demonstrative stems exist in related IE languages as well (cf. Skt. *sa*, Lat. *is-te*, OCS *onŭ*, etc.). A secondary abstraction of the Armenian clitics *–s/-d/ -n* might have been effected by contact with surrounding Caucasian languages which have partially similar triple systems of nominal deixis. For example, Udi, the modern descendant of Caucasian Albanian, a language which was certainly in contact with Classical Armenian, has three deictic elements, *-m-* (proximal) / *-ka-* (medial) / *-t'e-* (*-s(e)-*) (distal), which are functionally similar to the Armenian clitic articles, cf. Schulze (2008).

The principle of article affixation seems in general to be to a certain degree sensitive to language contact. Among IE languages, affixed articles often occur within coherent geographic areas such as the Scandinavian language area or the Balkan Sprachbund (Romanian, Albanian) (Dryer 2005). The same holds true for Armenian which genetically belongs to the IE language family but at the same time contains many traits presumably influenced by the surrounding Caucasian language area (e.g. the lack of grammatical gender).

In this paper I will approach the question of which semantic and pragmatic types of nominal definiteness we find in the language stage of Classical Armenian as attested in the 5th century translation of the New Testament. Before I discuss the Armenian data I will present some elementary categories of semantic and pragmatic definiteness as differentiated in standard approaches (section [2]), and briefly address the concept of a "development path" of definiteness along stages as proposed by Greenberg (1978) (section [3]). In section [4], I show how this category system works for the language of the Classical Armenian Bible translation compared to the Greek text. In the conclusion I return to the question of whether Armenian provides any additional evidence for Greenberg's concept of the unidirectional development of definite articles.

[2]   CATEGORIES OF DEFINITENESS

Löbner's (1985) categorization system of nominal definiteness is based on the distinction between the functional, relational and sortal concepts. Sortal nouns simply classify objects (e.g. *girl*), while relational nouns have arguments (e.g. a *daughter* must be the daughter of someone). Functional nouns are relational nouns that identify the referent unambigously (e.g. '*mother* (of X)' cannot refer to more than

Lexically inherent definiteness	proper nouns, 1st/2nd person pronouns, unique reference nouns (e.g. *the sun, the Prime minister*)
Generic reference nouns	e.g. *The dog is man's best friend.*; in abstract situations without any real-world referent: *Sie geht in die Kirche* but *She goes to church*
NPs with superlative, ordinal or polar contrastive arguments	*the tallest boy* (i.e. of the set of *x* boys) *the third occasion* (i.e. of the set of *n* occasions) *the other book* (i.e. of the set of two books)

TABLE 2: Semantic definiteness

one individual).

Another basic assumption is the distinction between *semantic* and *pragmatic* definiteness. Semantic definites refer to functional concepts independently of the situation, while the reference of pragmatic definites crucially depends on the particular situation they are embedded in.

I will start by discussing *semantic definiteness* (see Table 2). Proper names, 1st/2nd person pronouns and unique reference nouns (e.g. *the sun, God, the Prime Minister*) denote functional concepts which are inherently definite by virtue of their lexical meaning alone. The uniqueness of a noun, however, can be limited to the scope of a specific universe which it is uttered in, e.g. *the Prime minister* can basically refer to a range of individual Prime ministers, but would still have a unambiguous referent within the certain universal context it is used in.

Common nouns that are otherwise non-functional are regarded to be semantically definite when used generically (i.e. when referring to a whole class/genre, e.g. *The dog is man's best friend.*) Here, languages typically differ with respect to the use of the definite article (cf. the discussion on page 19 below).

Another kind of semantic definiteness arises when a noun is determined by superlative, ordinal or polar contrastive attributes (e.g. *the tallest man*, i.e. of the set of men, *the third occasion*, i.e. of the set of occasions, *the other book*, i.e. of the set of two books).

Pragmatic definites, by contrast, acquire unambigous reference within the particular linguistic (or extralinguistic) context in which they are used. There are different kinds of pragmatic definiteness. Definites may be used to express *anaphoricity*, as in (1):

(1)   a.   A key was stolen from the office. Two days later *the* key was used to obtain entry to the building.

b.   A girl entered the room. *The* girl was about seven years old.

Definites may also be *cataphoric* (or *endophoric*), e.g. when used with specifying relative clauses or attributes:

(2)   *the* prize that she won last year

Finally, definites may have a *deictic* function in cases where the definite description refers directly to constituent features of the extralinguistic situation:

(3)   Mind *the* gap!

Since the use of the definite article with pragmatic definites is thus 'motivated' by certain features of the context, it is to be expected that a language will first develop and then quickly generalize the article in precisely those environments where it is functional. Consequently, if the usage of the definite article with pragmatic definites is still optional in a given language, its main function may still be a semantic one.

[3]   "STAGES" WITHIN THE SPREAD OF THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

As proposed by Greenberg (1978) and adapted to the example of Greek by Manolessou & Horrocks (2007), there seems to exist a regular "path" of development from the emergence of definite articles onto a further expansion/gradual spread of usage:

(4)   Stage 0: no definite article (other means are employed to convey the notion of definiteness);

Stage 1: the article emerges from a (usually distal) demonstrative;

Stage 2: the article becomes more generalised, e.g. into non-definite, but specific uses, with resistence from proper names, generics, predicate nominals, incorporated objects etc.;

Stage 3: the "article" loses all inherent semantic content, becoming simply a marker of e.g. class (gender), number, or mere nominality.

This path of development is supposed to be unidirectional and to reflect both the synchronic variation *between* different languages and the diachronical variation between several stages of development *within* a given language. That is, there will e.g. not be a use of the definite article with proper names unless the definite article is at the same time also used with common nouns, or it will not be used on possessives unless it is also a used with generic reference nouns. Any extension of article usage over time will take place in categories other than "simple definite".

		Definite	Bare	Total (Gosp.)
Jesus	Greek *Iêsous*	431	357	788 (NT)
	Cl.Arm. *Yisows* (*YS*, *YI*, *YĒ*, *YIW*)	1	552	553
Pilate	Greek (*Pontios*) *Peilatos*	43	8	51
	Cl.Arm. (*Ponce*) *Piłatos*	0	50	50

TABLE 3: Jesus and Pilate

[4] TYPES OF DEFINITENESS IN GREEK AND ARMENIAN

In the following I will give a quantitative overview of how Greek and Classical Arme-
nian make use of the definite article within the functional categories of definiteness
presented in section [2].

[4.1] *Semantic definiteness in Armenian*

Proper nouns

Among the unambiguous[2] proper names found in the NT, Jesus and Pilate may serve
as good examples (see Table 3).

Greek and Armenian follow different rules in the use of the definite article. Even
though proper names generally contain an "inherent definiteness", instances with
the definite article in the Greek version clearly predominate compared to instances
without the article. The Armenian translation, on the other hand, seems to avoid
any kind of article on proper names.[3]

However, there seem to be exceptions with proper names for especially sacred
(or respected) persons, such as the prophets Eliah and Moses who are in many cases
mentioned in one and the same sentence (e.g. Mt 17:3 *kai idou ôphthê autois Môusês
kai Hêleias sunlalountes met' autou*).

Eliah never appears with the definite article, neither in the Greek nor in the
Armenian version. The instances of Moses are all bare in the Armenian text and
overwhelmingly bare in the Greek one. The five Greek instances of Moses with the
definite article (Mt 23:2, Jn 7:22 [twice], Jn 7:23, Jn 9:28) are clearly influenced by
other (rather pragmatic) factors. Consider, e.g., the re-topicalization in example
(5): Moses is first introduced in the context as a bare noun and then referred back

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[2] One has to pay attention to the fact that many proper names occuring in the NT can refer to at least two
individuals within the biblical universe (e.g. John = 1. John the Baptist, 2. the son of Zebedee, 3. the father
of Peter; Herod = 1. Herod the Great, 2. the tetrarch introduced e.g. at the beginning of Mt 14; Joseph = 1.
the husband of Mary, the mother of Jesus, 2. the brother of Jesus, 3. a rich man of Arimathaea (Mt 27:57–61),
besides, there are at least two other persons named Joseph mentioned in the Acts).

[3] The only instance of *YS* with article -n is clearly motivated by its position within a relative clause. Cf. Jn
9:11: *Na et patasxani ˙ ayr mi orowm *YS*-n asen ˙ kaw arar cepʿeacʿ z-ačs im ˙ ew asê cʿis ertʿï Siłovam ew lowa čʿogay
lowacʿay. ew tesaném ː.* 'He replied, "The man they call Jesus made some mud and put it on my eyes. He told
me 'Go to Siloam and wash.' I went, I washed, and I see."'.

		Definite	Bare	Total (Gospels)
Eliah	Greek *Hêleias*	0	27	27
	Cl.Arm. *Ēłia*	0	27	27
Moses	Greek *Môusês*	5	30	35
	Cl.Arm. *Movsês*	0	35	35

TABLE 4: Eliah and Moses

		Definite	Bare	Total (Gosp.)
Jerusalem	Greek *Hierousalêm, Hierosolyma*	4	62	66
	Cl.Arm. *Erowsałēm* (*EM*, *ĒM*, *EĒM*)	0	65	65
Jordan	Greek *Iordanês*	15	0	15
	Cl.Arm. *Yordanan*	0	15	15

TABLE 5: Jerusalem and Jordan

to with the (anaphoric) article in the following verses:

(5)　ou *Môusês* dedôken humin ton nomon? [...] *ho Môusês* dedôken humin tên peritomên (oukh hoti ek *tou Môuseôs* estin all' ek tôn paterôn)
'Did not *Moses* give you the law? [...] *Moses* therefore gave unto you circumcision (not because it is of *Moses*, but of the fathers).' (Jn 7:19–22)

Regarding place names, Jerusalem and Jordan provide representative examples, as shown in Table 5. The city of Jerusalem is referred to by two variants of the name, the sacral name *Hierusalḗm* used by Jewish authors (showing up mainly in the Acts) and the profane name *Hierosólyma* addressed to non-Jewish readers (Blass & Debrunner 1979, 45).

Among the total 66 instances of Jerusalem in the Greek text, only four are definites while the same name never has an article in the Armenian translation. The four Greek instances with article are all forms of *Hierosoluma* and all of them occur in John (Jn 2:23, 5:2, 10:22, 11:18). In contrast stands the example of the river Jordan which is always definite in Greek and never definite in the Armenian text.

It thus seems that Armenian avoids the definite article with proper nouns (which are definite qua their lexical meaning) while Greek seems to already employ the definite article in a rather pragmatic way (e.g. in order to re-topicalize a referent introduced earlier, etc.).

		Definite	Bare	Total (Gospels)
'God' (sg.)	Greek *theos*	688	209	897 (NT)
	Cl.Arm. *Astowac*	5 (7)	311 (309)	316
'sun'	Greek *hêlios*	10	2	12
	Cl.Arm. *aregakn*	0 (1)	9 (8)	9
'death'	Greek *thanatos*	2	26	28
	Cl.Arm. *mah*	1 (2)	28 (27)	29
'gospel'	Greek *euaggelion*	12	0	12
	Cl.Arm. *awetaran*	10 (9)	9 (10)	19

TABLE 6: Unique reference nouns

Unique reference nouns

Among common nouns having a unique reference within the biblical universe, the notions of 'God' (sg.), 'sun', 'death' and 'gospel' can be taken as representative examples. The numbers are given in Table 6.

The Armenian *Astowac* 'God' seems to be treated in the same way as a proper noun avoiding the definite article.

In the case of Cl.Arm. *aregakn* 'sun' there is only one instance with the definite article *-n* (only manuscript E, missing in M). Here the article obviously refers to the whole idiomatic infinitive construction *ï mtanel aregakan-n* 'in the setting of sun':

(6)   Opsias de genomenês hote edu *ho hêlios...*
        ew ibrew erekoy ełew ï mtanel *aregakan-n* (M: aregakan)...
        'And at even, when *the sun* did set...' (Mk 1:32)

A very similar distribution appears for the unique reference noun 'death'. The only example for definiteness both in Greek and Armenian is Jn 11:13 where the definite article may be motivated by the following possessive pronoun, referring to Lazarus (Gk gen.sg. *autou* = Cl.Arm. *nora*):

(7)   eirêkei de ho Iêsous peri *tou thanatou* autou
        Aył *YS* vasn *mahow-n* nora asêr
        'Howbeit Jesus spake of his *death*.' (Jn 11:13)

The 12 instances of Greek *euaggelion* in the Gospels are all definite. The Armenian equivalent *awetaran* occurs 20x in the Gospels. This number includes, however, the 8 bare opening/closing phrases *awetaran ǝst Matʿeosi*, etc., at the beginning/end of each Gospel which are lacking in the Greek text. Among the 12 remaining instances there are 2(1) bare instances corresponding to definites in Greek. One of these, shown in (8), is found in a manuscript variant, the second, shown in (9), is part of a

genitival syntagm, where the absence of the article is unexpected.

(8) êlthen ho Iêsous eis tên Galilaian, kêrussôn *to euaggelion* tou theou
     ékn *YS* ï Gałiłea : K'arozêr *z-awetaran-n* (M: z-awetaran) *AY*
     'Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the *gospel* of the kingdom of God.' (Mk 1:14)

(9) Arkhê *tou euaggeliou* Iêsou Khristou
     Skizbn *awetarani* *YS* *K'I*
     'The beginning of the *gospel* of Jesus Christ, the Son of God' (Mk 1:1)

Generic reference nouns
Generic reference nouns do not refer to individuals but to generic classes or kinds. In principle all common nouns can have a generic reading (with a certain emphasis on animate nouns such as *anthrôpos*, etc.), and therefore a quantitative approach is not appropriate. In order to get a first approximate picture we can have a look at some random examples of NPs with generic reference:

(10) *hê psukhê* pleion estin tês trophês...
     zi *ogi* aṙawél ē k'an z-kerakowr...
     'The life is more than meat...' (Lk 12:23)

(11) gegraptai, ouk ep' artô monô zêsetai *ho anthrôpos*...
     greal ê · t'e oč' hac'iw miayn kec'c'ê *mard*...
     'It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone...' (Mt 4:4)

In both examples the generic reference of the NP is indicated by the definite article in Greek (*hê psukhê/ho anthrôpos*) while the Armenian counterparts (*ogi/mard*) occur as bare nouns. In fact languages often behave differently in whether and how they express kind reference. Often one and the same language has more than one way of expressing such a generic reference, e.g. English and German (see Table 7)[4] (with differences in the degree of acceptance/frequency).

Classical Armenian apparently does not use the definite article for denoting generic reference. The same seems to be true for reference to ethnic groups (such as 'the Jews' in (12)) or categorical groups (such as 'the dead' in (13)).

(12) hoti hê sôtêria ek *tôn Ioudaiôn* estin
     zi p'rkowt'iwn ï *hrêic'* ê
     'for salvation is from *the Jews*.' (Jn 4:22)

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[4] In English, *The man* is only acceptable in cases where the NP is textually anaphoric, hence definite, not generic.

English	German
Man does not live on bread alone.	*Mensch lebt nicht vom Brot allein.
*The man does not live on bread alone.	Der Mensch lebt nicht vom Brot allein.
A man does not live on bread alone.	Ein Mensch lebt nicht vom Brot allein.
Men do not live on bread alone.	Menschen leben nicht vom Brot allein.
The men do not live on bread alone.	Die Menschen leben nicht vom Brot allein

TABLE 7: Generic reference

(13)   hôsper gar ho patêr egeirei *tous nekrous*...
        Zi orpês hayr yarowcʻanê *z-meṙeals*...
        'For just as the Father raises *the dead*...' (Jn 5:21)

Nouns determined by superlative, comparative or ordinal attributes
Nouns determined by superlative attributes have definite articles in Greek. The corresponding Armenian "absolute superlatives",[5] in contrast, usually lack the definite article, cf. examples (14) and (15):

(14)   ti emoi kai soi, Iêsou huie tou *theou tou hupsistou*;
        zi? Kay im ew kʻo *YS* ordi *AY* barjeloy
        'What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son *of the most high God*?' (Mk 5:7)

(15)   eph' hoson epoiêsate heni toutôn tôn adelphôn mou *tôn elakhistôn*, emoi epoiêsate
        orovhetew ararêkʻ miowm y-ełbarcʻs aysocʻik *pʻokʻrkancʻ*. inj ararêkʻ
        'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of *the least* of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' (Mt 25:40)

The same goes for NPs determined by ordinal attributes such as 'the first, the second, the third', shown in examples (16) and (17). Greek here always uses the definite article while the Armenian version translates without the article:

(16)   kan *en tê deutera*, kan *en tê tritê phulakê* elthê...
        ew etʻe *y-erkrord* . kam *y-errord pahow* ekecʻē...
        'And if he shall come *in the second watch*, or come *in the third watch*...' (Lk 12:38)

(17)   kai *tê hêmera tê tritê* anastêsetai.
        ew *y-erir awowr* yaricʻḗ
        'and *the third day* he shall rise again.' (Lk 18:33)

[5]   Lacking a morphological comparison system, Armenian renders Greek superlatives by lexical adjectives with superlatival meaning.

Interestingly, if the attribute occurs as a nominalized head noun, Armenian employs
the article in order to specify/define the referent:

(18)   *ho de meizôn* humôn estai humôn diakonos.
         Ew *mec-n* ï jênǰ ełicʻi jer spawór
         'But *he that is greatest* among you shall be your servant.' (Mt 23:11)

The same holds for nominalized comparatives:

(19)   all' ho meizôn en humin ginesthô hôs *ho neôteros*
         ayl or mec-n ē ï jez. ełicʻi ibrew *z-krtsér-n*
         '...but he that is greatest among you, let him be as *the younger.*' (Lk 22:26)

Nouns determined by polar contrastive attributes
Regarding the use of the definite article in NPs consisting of a contrastive attribute
such as 'the other', Greek and Armenian behave exactly the same way. In these cases,
the definite article is obligatory:

(20)   ho de Petros eistêkei pros tê thura exô. exêlthen oun *ho mathêtês ho allos* ho
         gnôstos tou arkhiereôs...
         Ew Petros kayr aṙ dran-n artakʻoy :. El *miws ašakert-n* or êr canawtʻ kʻahanaya-
         peti-n...
         'But Peter stood at the door without. Then went out *that other disciple*, which
         was known unto the high priest...' (Jn 18:16)

(21)   ên de ekei Mariam hê Magdalênê kai *hê allê Maria*
         And êr Mariam Makdałenacʻi · ew *miws Mariam-n*
         'And there was Mary Magdalene, and *the other Mary.*' (Mt 27:61)

[4.2]   *Pragmatic definiteness in Armenian*
When it comes to defining the use of the definite article within textual-pragmatic
relations such as anaphoric or cataphoric definiteness, the situation is less clear. In
anaphoric expressions the use of the article is compulsory in both Greek and Arme-
nian. Regarding cataphoric deixis, however, the two seem to go separate ways with
Greek sometimes having the article and sometimes omitting it, while the Armenian
equivalent always exhibits it.

Anaphoric definiteness
(22)   kai epedothê autô biblion tou prophêtou Hêsaïou, kai anaptuxas *to biblion*
         heuren topon hou ên gegrammenon·
         Ew etown nma girs z-Ēsayay margarēi. ew yareaw ǝntʻeṙnówl; ew ibrew
         ebacʻ *z-girs-n* . egit z-áyn tełi y-orowm greal-n ēr;

'And they gave him the book of the prophet Isaiah. And he arose to read. And when he opened the book, he found the place where it was written,' (Lk 4:17)

(23)   kai autos ên hestôs para tên limnên Gennêsaret, kai iden duo ploiaria hes-
tôta para *tên limnên*

ew ink'n kayr ar̄ covaki-n Gennēsaret'ay; ew etes erkows naws zi kayin ar̄ *covaki-n*

'He stood by the lake of Gennesaret and saw two ships standing by the lake.' (Lk 5:1–2)

Cataphoric (endophoric) definiteness

A special—and much more frequent—sub-category of cataphoric deixis is the so-called endophoric deixis: A new, previously unmentioned item is determined by a following attribute, often a restrictive relative clause. The following examples require some brief annotations.

(24)   kai egeneto hôs êggisen eis Bêthphagê kai Bêthanian *pros to oros to kaloume-
non* elaiôn...

Ew ełew ibrew merjec'aw ï Bēt'p'agē ew ï Bēt'ania mawt *ï lear̄n-n or koč'i* jit'eneac'...

'And it came to pass, when he was come nigh to Bethphage and Bethany, *at the mount called* the mount of Olives...' (Lk 19:29)

In (24), Greek and Armenian both make use of the definite article in an NP which is immediately followed by a determining attribute. The attribute is, however, not of the same kind. Greek has a participle (*kaloumenon*) while Armenian—which usually translates Greek participles by finite constructions—makes use of a subordinate relative clause (*or koč'i*).

(25)   kai mnêsthênai diathêkês hagias autou, *horkon* hon ômosen pros Abraam
ton patera hêmôn...

ew yišel z-owxt-n iwr sowrb; *z-erdowmn-n* (M: z-erdowmn) z-or erdowaw Abrahamow hawr merowm

'and to remember his holy covenant; *The oath* which he sware to our father Abraham...' (Lk 1:72–73)

In example (25), Armenian and Greek differ from each other, although the syntax is identical. Both versions exhibit a subordinate relative clause as the determining attribute of the NP 'the oath'. The Armenian NP, however, is accompanied by a definite article (*z-erdowmn-n*) while the Greek one lacks it (*horkon*). Note that the Armenian manuscript M does not have the article (*z-erdowmn*). The genuine Armenian expression, however, is probably that with the article (as in manuscript E), because

it is the *lectio difficilior* in that it differs from the Greek archetype.

The question arises whether the use of the article within Greek is defined by the sort of attribute (participle vs. relative clause). This is, of course, a question concerning Greek pragmatics, and stands outside the comparison with Armenian, which makes use of a relative clause in both cases.

Inferable definiteness

If the definiteness of a NP is inferable from general (world-)knowledge, the article is used in Greek as well as in Armenian. Example (26) illustrates such inferable definiteness:

(26)   kai iden duo ploiaria hestôta para tên limnên· *hoi de halieis* ap' autôn apo-
        bantes eplunan *ta diktua*
        ew etes erkows naws zi kayin aṟ covaki-n ; ew *jknorskʻ-n* eleal ï nocʻanē
        lowanayín *z-gorcis-n*
        'And (he) saw two ships standing by the lake: but the fishermen were gone
        out of them, and were washing their nets.' (Lk 5:1–2)

Here the existence of ships automatically presupposes the existence of a crew, which then gets the definite article (*hoi...halieis* 'the fishermen'), even though it has not been mentioned before. The same goes for the nets. They, too, are an entirely new item, which nonetheless occur with definite article because their existence is inferable from the existence of the fishermen throwing them.

"Associative definiteness"

A special form of definiteness that is not easily positioned within the continuum used here, and which is actually rather rare within the New Testament corpus, can be tentatively called "associative definiteness". It is akin to inferable definiteness in that it is also based on common world-knowledge involving fixed associative images and scenes of a known or traceable situation. Cf. example (27):

(27)   êdê de kai *hê axinê* pros *tên rhizan tôn dendrôn* keitai
        Baycʻ ahawasik *tapár* aṟ *armi-n caṟocʻ* kay
        'And now also *the axe* is laid unto *the root* of *the trees*.' (Lk 3:9)

[5]   CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, the use of the definite article in semantic and pragmatic categories in the Greek and Classical Armenian New Testament translation has been compared. The evidence quoted in the paper can only serve as first approximation of some tendencies within these categories, and of course in all cases further investigation is necessary. It can be stated that Greek and Classical Armenian agree in their use of the definite article only in NPs determined by contrastive attributes (such as Greek

allos, Arm. *miws*). In all other categories the systems of both languages differ. Generally, Armenian avoids the definite article with proper nouns and nouns with unique reference, while definite articles with proper names in Greek are common (with the exception of sacred or especially "respected" persons such as prophets). If the definite article is present in Greek, it is often motivated by pragmatic factors (e.g. re-topicalization, etc.). There is obviously no evidence in Armenian for the use of the definite article as a marker of generic reference, nor for the use in NPs determined by superlative, comparative or ordinal attributes.

Concerning Greenberg's "scales of definiteness", it can be argued that the definite article in Classical Armenian in its earliest attested stage is much less developed than in New Testament Greek. However, in order to decide whether there is any evidence for a development at all in the case of Armenian it would be necessary to look at the usage of the definite article in later stages of the language, e.g. in Middle Armenian texts, and to compare directly the New Testament translations of both varieties of modern Armenian spoken today. For a more precise description of the function of the definite article in Classical Armenian it is obvious that syntactic criteria must also be taken into consideration (e.g. the special environment within possessive phrases, etc.), as well as the presence or absence of the Classical Armenian *nota accusativi z-*, which may condition the use of definite markers in important ways.

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THE PUZZLE OF ALBANIAN PO

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[1] PRELIMINARIES

Albanian has an aspectual marker *po* that is used in marking progressive (continuative) aspect; it is described in grammars, e.g. in Newmark et al. (1982, 36), as denoting "a momentary action in progress". It occurs in the present with present tense forms, as in (1a) and also in the past, with the imperfect tense, as in (1b):

(1)   a.   Agimi *po* këndon 'Agim is singing'
        b.   Agimi *po* këndonte 'Agim was singing'

The value of *po* becomes clear when a sentence like (1a) is contrasted with a simple present tense without *po* that then denotes a general state, as in (2):

(2)   Agimi këndon 'Agim sings' (habitually, i.e. 'is a singer')

It should be noted that there is an alternative way of expressing progressivity, described as follows by Newmark et al. (1982, 36): "an action already in progress [can be] constructed with the verb *jam* ['be'] in the present or imperfect followed by a gerundive introduced by *duke*" and exemplified by (3):

(3)   a.   I   huaji   ishte   duke kaluar   kafshën
               the stranger-NOM was-3SG PROG move-PPL animal-ACC.DEF
               'The stranger was moving the beast'
        b.   Agimi është duke kënduar 'Agim is singing' (cf. (1a))

Although from these descriptions there is no reason to doubt that *po* is a progressive marker, there is some further independent supporting evidence. Newmark et al. (1982, 66) note that "verbs which designate actions or states that normally characterize the subject for an indefinite time are rarely, if ever, accompanied by... *po*", and this includes the verbs *dua* 'want' and *di* 'know', which do not happily occur in progressive forms in other languages, such as standard English. Thus on cross-linguistic grounds, the progressive nature of sentences with this verbal modifier *po* seems clear.

Still, there is more to be said. Thus, I offer here a fuller consideration of the nature of *po*, both as to its function and as to its origin. I argue that to fully understand how *po* functions in Albanian, or more accurately, how it came to function

as it does, one needs to examine this form from a Balkan, an Indo-European, and a cross-linguistic perspective, as aspects of all three ways of placing Albanian into a larger linguistic context contribute towards an insightful account of *po.* This investigation thus leads to a consideration of the etymology of the form and how it developed within Albanian and in relation to other phenomena in neighboring languages.

Of particular interest is the fact that even though there are numerous striking parallels between Albanian and other languages in the Balkans, e.g. Greek and Romanian (and similar facts can be found for Slavic), with regard to the structuring of the "verbal complex", i.e. the string of elements that occur with the verb in the marking of negation, tense, mood, voice, and argument structure, nonetheless *po* stands out as unusual in certain respects. The parallels in question are illustrated by the sentences in (4) and (5), from Albanian, dialectal Greek, and Daco-Romanian, respectively; this exercise could be extended with data from other Balkan languages, including Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Romani, though the examples in (4) and (5) suffice to make the point that the languages match up morphemic-slot-by-morphemic-slot with regard to various preverbal elements that modify the verb in some way. Structurally, therefore, even if the content of the particular morphemes serving as exponents of the relevant categories differs for each language, the slots are the same and thus the verbal complexes converge in terms of their form:

(4)   a.   s' do të   j   a- jep   (Albanian)
              NEG FUT SUBJVE him-IO it-DO give-1SG

        b.   ðe θe na   tu   to   ðóso   (dialectal Greek)
              NEG FUT SUBJVE him-IO it-DO give-1SG

        c.   nu o să   i   -l   dau   (Daco-Romanian)
              NEG FUT SUBJVE him-IO it-DO give-1SG
              'I will not give it to him'

(5)   a.   të   mos j   a   jep?   (Albanian)
              SUBJVE NEG him-IO it-DO give-1SG.SUBJUNC

        b.   na   min tu   to   ðóso? (Greek)
              SUBJVE NEG him-IO it-DO give-1SG

        c.   să   nu i   -l   dau?   (Daco-Romanian)
              SUBJVE NEG him-IO it-DO give-1SG
              'Should I not give it to him?'

Moreover, "convergence" is precisely the right characterization for the facts in (4) and (5), since the means by which these modifying categories were realized in earlier stages of these languages was quite different; Ancient Greek, for instance, expressed future tense via a suffix on the verb stem, and the placement of weak object pronouns (treated here as markers of argument structure) operated within the do-

main of the clause and was not bound to the verb as it is in the modern language.

What is interesting about Albanian *po* is that despite such cross-language parallelism in the verbal complex, this Albanian element is unique among the Balkan languages. That is, no other language shows a (more or less) free preverbal form that marks aspect and specifically a type of imperfectivity (in the sense of signaling an on-going event), that is, progressivity; Slavic, for instance, generally uses bound preverbs and stem-forming suffixes to mark different aspects, while Greek uses stem-forming suffixes, and Romanian does not formally distinguish aspect at all.[1]

[2] DISTRIBUTION WITHIN ALBANIAN

There are two relevant dimensions to the matter of the distribution within Albanian of *po*. First, there is the question of how it is represented lexically and functionally, since within Albanian, there is actually a wide range of meanings and thus functions associated with the form [po]. Without taking a stand on whether they are all the "same" element synchronically, a vexed issue for any language when there are homophonic forms serving distinct functions,[2] we can discern the following uses, based on the characterizations given in Newmark (1998, 680); the illustrative meanings given follow Newmark:

(6) a. Particle:
         – affirmative particle: 'yes; indeed'
         – confirmative tag in questions: 'is that right?'
         – confirmative identifier: 'exactly; precisely; the very'
         – indicator of momentaneous (on-going) activity: 'be VERB-ing'
     b. Interjection:
         –'oh say! Say! But say!'

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[1] Albanian, of course, offers *duke* (and dialect variants) as another instance of a more or less free preverbal form marking progressivity, though with *duke*, one has to factor in the need for a co-occurring participle, so that *duke* by itself does not mark aspect. It can be noted too that in modern Tsakonian Greek, there is a direct continuation of the Hellenistic Greek 'be' + *participle* construction, which, though signaling a simple present in New Testament Greek, presumably originated with a progressive sense, that is, 'I am (one-who-is-in-a-state-of) seeing' (see, e.g., Decker 2007). The Tsakonian formation continues the simple present meaning, with no hint of progressivity, despite the periphrastic origin (so that *emi oru*, from earlier εἰμὶ ὁρών, means not 'I-am seeing', but rather simply 'I see'). Thus even though aspect is marked in many Balkan languages, *po* is unlike its functional counterparts.

[2] One can compare the question of whether all the forms *to* in English (leaving aside *two* and *too*!), namely the prepositional *to*, the infinitival *to*, the word-formative *to* (as in *today*), and so on, constitute manifestations of one and the same element. It is not easy to give a definitive answer here. For what it is worth, Newmark (1998, s.v.) lists them all in one dictionary entry but that could conceivably be merely a space-saving move (which dictionaries might engage in out of economic motivation), and not something based on an analytic judgment.

c. Conjunction:
– 'but'
– in conditional clauses: 'if; if only'

Second, there is the issue of the dialect distribution of *po*, focusing attention on the aspectual verbal progressivity function. It turns out that this particular *po* occurs in both Tosk (southern) and Geg (northern) Albanian, a fact that suggests strongly that it presumably is old within Albanian. Still, though represented in Tosk generally, as part of the standard language (*gjuha standarde*) for instance, progressive *po* is not found in outlying Tosk dialects, being absent from Arvanitika (in Greece) and Arbëresh (in southern Italy), where forms of *duke* (*tuke*, *tue*) occur with participials in progressives instead (a construction that is also an option in the standard language – see (2) above).

This distribution raises some questions about what the proto-Albanian status of *po* is, and thus invites an examination of the etymology of *po*, since the determination of the etymological starting point for *po*, in any or all of its uses, can in principle have an illuminating effect on our understanding of the paths of development *po* took and even on its synchronic behavior. As becomes clear in the next section, however, there is little in the way of definitive etymological light to be shed on *po*. Nonetheless, the investigation does yield some interesting and useful insights into the development of *po*.

[3] ETYMOLOGY

There is a seemingly obvious external source for an aspectual marker in a Balkan language with the shape *po*,[3] namely the Slavic aspectual prefix *po*. However, at first glance, this presents a rather difficult starting point for aspectual *po*, on semantic grounds. That is, it would seem to be able to be ruled out as a source of Albanian *po*, as Slavic *po* is generally a perfectivizing marker not an imperfectivizing one. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that there are some functions for *po* to be found in various Slavic languages that make this possible source at least a plausible one, even if not necessarily compelling. In particular, while mainly perfectivizing, *po* shows some uses in various Slavic languages, including some South Slavic languages, that are imperfectivizing, or associated with imperfectivity,[4] as in Russian *po-kupat'* 'to buy' vs. perfective *kupit'* or Slovene *pobolévati* 'keep getting sick, but not seriously' (IMPF). Moreover, there are some uses that mark duration, especially for relatively brief periods of time, a notion that can be construed as imperfective or progressive in the sense that while bounded the action is viewed as on-going even if just for short time; some examples are, again, Russian *po-stojat'* 'to stand a little' but

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[3]   See below in section [4] and especially footnote 14 regarding the question of apparent homophony between Albanian *po* and Slavic *po*.

[4]   I say this since the change in the suffix may well be involved in the imperfective/perfective derivation here.

also, more important for the Balkans, Serbian *po-plakati* 'to weep for a while' and *po-plivati* 'to swim for a while', Bulgarian *po-vârvja* 'go for while', and the Slovene use of *po* in what Greenberg (2006, 93–4) calls "attenuation", as in *pobolévati*, cited above, and *posedéti* 'sit for a while'. Finally, Dmitrieva (1991, 71) has shown that in Old Russian the preverb *po* combines with verbs of distributive, delimitative, and ingressive meanings, for which the semantics offer a parallel to the function proposed for Albanian aspectual/progressive *po*. Putting all of these together, Slavic *po* gains some degree of plausibility as a good source of the Albanian progressive *po* (and see below, section [4], for more on Slavic).

Still, these functions of Slavic *po* do not equate exactly with progressivity per se and in any case it is not clear how widespread they are in any South Slavic language, though as noted they are not unknown in that branch. Still, the way Newmark et al. describe Albanian *po*, namely marking "a momentary action in progress", with its reference to momentariness combined with some durativity, makes especially the South Slavic limited duration use of Slavic *po*, as in the examples cited above (*poplakati*/*poplivati*, etc.), a reasonable functional match for the Albanian.

Nonetheless, an external (borrowing) source for Albanian *po* as a grammatical element is far from a compelling etymology, given that most Slavic elements in Albanian are lexical in nature,[5] so that one has to consider also possible Albanian-internal sources. Here it can be mentioned that aspectual *po* has often been connected by scholars to the affirmative particle use, namely the word for 'yes'. This connection is suggested by the listing in Mann (1932, 192) and the more comprehensive one in Newmark (1998), given above in (6), where all *po*'s are under one entry. It is also the case that Newmark et al. (1982, 36, 66) repeatedly refer to *po* as an "emphatic" element, presumably by way of linking it to the affirmative semantics of *po* 'yes, indeed; exactly'. Moreover, this connection is stated overtly in Orel (1998, 337, s.v. *po*): "The same adverb [affirmative *po*] is used as a particle of progressive forms". This connection does require a fairly significant semantic and functional shift, but before that is taken up, it is worthwhile considering what the source of affirmative *po* is.

As it happens, somewhat frustratingly perhaps but not unexpectedly when one is dealing with etymology, the origins of the affirmative use of *po* are not entirely clear. Several possibilities have come up over the years. Meyer (1891, 346), for instance, links it to the adversative element *por* 'but', a use found for *po* itself as well (see (6c) above). Orel (1998, 337), following Meyer, says that the formal issue standing in the way of this connection, namely the loss of word-final *-r*, is explainable "by the permanent unstressed position of the conjunction", and ultimately takes this Albanian conjunction to be a borrowing from Latin *porrō* 'then; moreover; but'. Camarda (1864, I:314) offered a different view, comparing *po(r)* with Sanskrit *apara*

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[5]   Though see section [4] below for a contact-based account of *po* involving Slavic.

'later; posterior', but this connection seems somewhat forced on the semantic side and has not met with much approval.

The important thing to note, however, is that even if any of these suggestions are right, they do not really get one any closer to an understanding of the origins of aspectual/progressive *po*. As a result, it might be better to look to the affirmative sense in and of itself.

In this regard, Eric Hamp has made an important suggestion.[6] In particular, he has suggested that affirmative *po* is from an original asseverative marker **pēst* (via the regular loss of a word-final consonant cluster and the regular development of Indo-European **ē* into Albanian *o*), which itself derives from PIE **pe* (as in Latin *quip-pe* (< **quid-pe*) 'why so?; of course'[7]) combined with **est*, an apparent 3SG injunctive mood form of 'be'. Literally, therefore, in this account affirmative *po* was originally "it is thus" (or the like).[8]

This account gives affirmative *po* an important Indo-European grounding in categories and formations likely to have been inherited into Albanian from PIE, even if combined innovatively within Albanian, and moreover takes this function of *po* as primary. In any case, though, going from either emphatic (as Newmark calls affirmative *po*) or originally asseverative *po* to a grammatical element marking "a momentary action in progress" requires some motivation, some connection between emphasis or affirmation and progressivity. The link may simply be that affirmation focuses (or can focus) on the here and now, on the present (i.e. "it is so at this very moment"); keeping in mind that the present is an always-moving target as one sec-

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[6] This suggestion has a somewhat strange history of its own. In October of 1983, while I was attending a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) in Kansas City, in the course of a conversation Eric Hamp was having with Ronelle Alexander of the University of California, Berkeley, that I was privileged to be in on, I distinctly remember him offering the etymology I mention here for affirmative *po* (and can even see him in my mind's eye writing on a blackboard in the meeting room we were in as he was talking about it). In the years since then, this idea was never published, and when I once asked Eric about it, he did not remember ever having said such a thing, though he admitted that it could well be right. I know that I certainly did not make that up myself, since in 1983 I did not know enough about Albanian to be able to advance such an etymology. Thus I am happy to be able to put Eric's idea forward here and to acknowledge my debt to him for it (and for so much else that I have learned about Albanian over my many years of knowing him).

[7] Although Latin *–pe* by itself may seem like slim evidence for a PIE form, even with the usual comparison with Lithuanian *kaĩp* 'how?', there is now the further evidence of Anatolian forms such as Cuneiform Luvian/Hieroglyphic Luvian *pa-/-ppa* to corroborate the PIE reconstruction. See De Vaan (2008, 452–3) for details.

[8] A few comments are in order at this point, and I thank one anonymous reviewer for suggesting these necessary clarifications. First, it is likely (see Praust 2003) that PIE did not have an injunctive of 'be' (injunctive function for that verb being filled by nominal sentences with no overt verb). Thus the **est* referred to here may not have been a PIE form per se, but rather represents an Albanian creation (possibly even an imperfect formation) that was based on the PIE injunctive category (with past tense endings and no indicative past tense prefix (the "augment")), along the lines of the development of the Albanian verbal system outlined by Klingenschmitt (2004, 225ff.) (who comments, p. 229, on the "ursprüngliche Existenz einer 3. Sg. **ie* [for Albanian] < Impf. **es-t*") and Matzinger (2006, 124). Second, although a preform **est* looks like a suitable starting point for the Tosk 3SG *është* / Geg *âsht* 'is', this rather is from a prefixed form **en-esti*, as argued by Hamp (1980).

ond slips into the next and into the next and so on, the focus is thus on something that is on-going, exactly as progressive *po* does. Originally, therefore, *po* may have been calling attention to something going on before one's very eyes, something true in that sense.[9]

As a typological parallel to this view of the development of *po*, one can compare English *just*, which, like one sense of *po* (see (6a)), can mean 'exactly, precisely', as in *The chef added just the right amount of salt*, and which, often joined with *now*, occurs with progressives to refer essentially to "a momentary action in progress", as in *I am just (now) stepping off of the plane.* It is interesting that there are uses of *just now* in some varieties of English that border on grammatical use as an aspectual for progressives. As Hock & Joseph (2009, 356) note, examples like (7) occur in Indian English:

(7)   I am just now going home

and although "the use of *just now*... at this point is not obligatory, we find here the makings of a complete and systematic shift in the formation of the present-tense system", with constructions like (7) corresponding to British English progressives, while those without *just now* correspond to the simple present tense:

(8)   Indian English vs. British English
        I am knowing this vs. I know this
        I am going to school vs. I go to school
        I am just now going home vs. I am going home

The emergence of an aspectually progressive sense from *po*, therefore, could have involved a similar sort of shift.[10]

Still, more is involved here, since in the (standard) English *just* parallel, the independent adverbial quality of *just* is retained; note for instance that it can occur elsewhere in the sentence, as in *I just am stepping off the plane (now)/Just now I am step-*

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[9]   The connection of 'be' with 'truth' in Indo-European is perhaps worth remembering here; as discussed most thoroughly in Watkins 1967, 1970, 1987, PIE *H_1es- 'be' figures in various forms in Indo-European legal language where the meanings are tied to matters of truth and evidence (in a legal sense) more generally; as Joseph 2003, in his summary of Watkins's work, puts it: "Especially relevant here are Skt. *satya*- 'true; truth', Lat. *sons* 'guilty', OIc. *sannr* 'true; guilty', Hitt. *asan* '(it) is (so)' (in public confession). One can speculate that such derivatives might indicate that 'be', at least in a legal context, could mean 'must be' or 'be evident', with 'truth' as one side of what the evidence shows things to be and 'guilty' as the other (cf. Benveniste 1960 on PIE 'be' as originally 'really, actually be, exist')".

[10]   It must be admitted, however, that the labels that are conventionally used here may be inadequate for the job at hand. Even though "progressive" is, and has been, used for *po* (witness Newmark et al.'s reference to action "in progress"), the momentaneous sense evident in the description of *po* in Newmark et al. is somewhat at odds with progressivity. In more traditional aspectual terms, is this imperfective, referring to an on-going action, or perfective, referring to a particular limited point? Some of the traditional distinctions may reflect a dichotomy that is too grossly demarcated. The same concern could be raised, of course, for Slavic, with regard to verbs that Dickey (2007, 331) refers to as "perfective verbs prefixed in *po*- that express the indefinite (usually brief) duration of an action".

ping off ...) whereas Albanian *po* seems really to be a grammatical part of the verbal complex. Moreover, one has to wonder about the prosody, since (presumably) emphatic/affirmative *po* would be accentually prominent, yet such is not the case with the progressive marker (whereas English *just* retains its accentual properties in this "momentary action in progress" use).

[4]   PO IN ITS (FULLER) BALKAN CONTEXT

The etymological speculations discussed in the previous section are admittedly a bit inconclusive, so that we cannot fully understand how *po* developed or from what source. Still, the important matter of why it developed in the first place and moreover why it developed in the way that it did can receive some illumination when language contact and the interactions Albanian may have had with neighboring languages are taken into account.

As to why it developed as it did, one possible explanation is that what might be called "Balkan typology" can be invoked. That is, it is reasonable to assume that once an aspectual marker like *po* were to arise in Albanian, its exclusively preverbal placement is explainable by reference to the prevailing typology of the operators — especially, tense and mood, though even voice, if the Albanian past tense nonactive marker u (as in *u lodha* 'I got tired') is added into the mix — that occur in the verbal complex more generally. In particular, given the predominantly prefixing structure in Albanian, as elsewhere in the Balkans, as shown in (4) and (5) above, one would naturally expect a new operator, a form of aspectual modification of the verb, to likewise occur preverbally.

Alternatively, as a non-Balkan account, one can note first that in addition to productive and presumably relatively new preverbs in Albanian, such as the reversative *zh-* as in *zhdukem* 'disappear' (vs. *dukem* 'appear'), there are some apparently old preverbs embedded in what otherwise appear to be primary verbs. For instance, *marr* 'take' seems to reflect **me-Hr̥-n-*, where *me-* must be a preverb, attached to the root **H(e)r-*, as found in Greek ἄρνυμαι 'take', and the **-n-* reflects the Indo-European **-n-* presential suffix, as seen in the *–nu-* of the Greek form.[11] If the use of such preverbs in proto-Albanian had a perfectivizing value, as they could for instance in Proto-Slavic, and as possibly also in Gothic,[12] the preverbal placement of aspectual *po* would be consistent with inherited typology for the marking of modifying verbal categories.

With regard to the question of why such an aspectual marker should have developed at all in Albanian, language contact offers an important perspective on the

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[11]   The **-n-* combines with the preceding *–r-* to give the *–rr-* in the present, whereas in the past tense, where the presential **-n-* would necessarily be absent, the form is *mora* 'took', with, expectedly, a single *–r-*.

[12]   If so, this could be construed as a feature that allies Albanian with other Northern European Indo-European languages; Hamp has argued, for instance, that the Winter's Law lengthening of vowels before voiced stops found in Balto-Slavic can be seen in some Albanian developments too.

emergence of overt marking for progressive aspect. In particular, there are numerous facts from neighboring languages that seem to be highly relevant.

First, in Macedonian, although the language has been working from a more highly developed overall aspectual system (in South Slavic more generally if not already in Common Slavic) as a starting point, one finds the secondary imperfectivizing suffix *–uva-*, from Proto-Slavic **-ova-*, occurring to a greater degree than in other Slavic languages (and especially more so than in Bulgarian). All Slavic languages have a reflex of this Proto-Slavic suffix, but colloquial Macedonian has generalized its use considerably, going beyond what is recognized as appropriate even in the standard language.[13]

Second, Greek has always, starting at least in Ancient Greek, had a distinction between imperfective (presential) and perfective (aoristic), a distinction that is generally encoded by different stems (e.g. Present/Imperfective in –ιζ- vs. Aorist/Perfective in –ισ-). In the Middle Greek period there was much reshaping of the marking of the different stems (Horrocks 1997, 233–46), usually by reuse (that is, the spread, with some reanalysis) of an Ancient Greek suffix. One fairly productive overt mark that arose innovatively (partly an adaptation of the earlier –νυ- present suffix) for imperfective aspect on many verbs was the suffix *–n-.* This suffix generally imperfectivized an aorist stem, and was deployed in what Horrocks (1997, 235) calls "the new principle of substituting imperfective [-*n*-] for aorist [-*s*-]". Some examples, which in some instances involved the reshaping of the imperfective part of an Ancient Greek (AGk) opposition of characterized present vs. differently characterized aorist, include the following:

(9)   *li-n-o* 'loose' (vs. perfective (aoristic) stem *li-s-*) [AGk λυ-/λυ-σ-]
        ðilo-n- 'declare' (vs. perfective (aoristic) stem *ðilo-s-*) [AGk δηλο-/δηλω-σ-]
        svi-n- 'extinguish' (vs. perfective (aoristic) stem *svi-s-*) [AGk σβεννυ-/σβε-σ-]
        fer-n- 'bear' (imperf. variant of once bi-aspectual *fer-*) [AGk φερ-/ἐνεγκ-]
        stel-n- 'send' (vs. perfective (aoristic) *stil-*) [AGk στελλ-/στειλ-]
        ðix-n- 'show' (vs. perfective (aoristic) *ðik-s-*) [AGk δεικ-νυ-/δεικ-σ- (δειξ-)]

However, this marking is not consistent for all verbs, in that many presents lack the *–n-*, e.g. *γraf-o* 'I write, I am writing', or enter into other marking schemes, as with *-iz-/-is-*. Still, the upshot is that imperfective aspect has a far more consistent overt mark in Modern Greek than it had in any earlier stages, and it is a mark that was absent earlier in many of the verbs that now have it. It is thus innovatively spreading, and has been for some time.

Third, within post-Classical times, Greek has extended the imperfective/perfective opposition into the future tense, since there is now a distinction between *θa γraf-o* 'I will be writing' and *θa γrap-s-o* 'I will write' which was not possible in Ancient

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[13]   Victor Friedman (personal communication).

Greek with its monolectal and, according to Goodwin (1875, 19), aspectually neutral future, e.g. γράψω. This distinction developed most definitively and most systematically only with the *want*-based (and pan-Balkan) periphrastic future of Medieval Greek, where it is solidly entrenched and continues, as just noted, into contemporary Greek; the earlier post-Classical future periphrasis with *have* (ἔχω) did not allow for imperfective/perfective differentiation, and though such a distinction has been claimed (e.g. by Jannaris 1897, 443–4 for the other post-Classical future-referring periphrasis, the construction with μέλλω 'be about to'), Markopoulos (2009, 30–33) has demonstrated that such is not the case.

If we take progressivity to be one of the dimensions of imperfectivity, as in Comrie (1976), where imperfective is broken down into habitual and continuous, and continuous into nonprogressive and progressive, these three sets of facts mean that in the multi-lingual Balkan context in which Albanian (and the other Balkan languages) existed in the Medieval period, not only was imperfectivity overtly marked in some languages but also that overt marking was spreading. The emergence of a means of signaling one type of imperfectivity in a language that did not otherwise have an overt means of marking aspect can surely happen independently, but the coincidence of relevant developments in adjacent languages might be considered to be difficult to ignore; thus, external influence could well have played a role, though perhaps just a facilitating one, helping along an internally originating process.

What this last possibility would mean in terms of how the development of *po* was implemented is that either Albanians exposed to Greek or Balkan Slavic imported a foreign category into their verbal system, or else Greeks or Balkan Slavs learning Albanian imposed their aspectual category onto their Albanian. But it must be asked why in each case *po* would be selected if it were not already showing signs of such use in Albanian. That is, it is hard to see what the basis would be for innovating an aspectual use for, say, affirmative *po*, if it could not already be used in that way. Thus, it would appear that the best interpretation of what happened is that in this case, contact between Albanian speakers and speakers of other languages in the Balkans helped along an already-emerging native process, a scenario which has been argued, e.g. by Friedman (2003), to be operative in the emergence of marking for evidentiality in the Balkans (where Turkish was the catalyst).

Balkan Slavic might actually be the more suitable catalytic agent in this case, in the light of the perfective but (brief) durational preverb *po-* found (see section 3) in Serbian and elsewhere in South Slavic. Moreover, while aspectual/progressive *po* is found (as noted above) in both Tosk and Geg Albanian, it is missing from the peripheral Tosk dialects, in particular Arvanitika and Arbëresh, and this distribution is consistent with taking Slavic to be a catalyst, inasmuch as Slavic influence on Albanian was weakest in those outlying dialect areas. And, the presumably rela-

tively recent homophony between Slavic *po-* and Albanian *po*[14] is exactly the sort of chance occurrence that can have significance in language contact situations. Janse (2009) has argued for such an effect in certain uses of the Cappadocian Greek 1Pl person-marking ending *–misti* based on the formal similarity with Turkish temporal marking (past tense) suffixes *–mIş-tI*, and he points to similar sorts of effects in other language contact situations.[15]

[5]   CONCLUSION

From the perspective of Proto-Indo-European, it is particularly interesting that Albanian has innovatively developed an overt marking for a new category associated with imperfectivity, where there apparently was no such marking and perhaps even no such category in the system previously.[16] Proto-Indo-European is generally reconstructed[17] with an aspectual system, but one of limited scope, showing marking for stativity (the classical "perfect" formation generally with reduplication and a special set of endings), and in the past tense, a distinction between perfective (the classical "aorist") and imperfective (the "imperfect" tense, based on the present stem). But there does not seem to be a basis for reconstructing an overt imperfective marking in present tense forms.[18] The development of *po* in Albanian thus shows how the Indo-European system can be embellished, and more generally how aspectual categories and aspectual marking can develop and come to play an important role in the verbal system.

Moreover, from a methodological standpoint, the discussion here highlights the importance, for assessing developments in Albanian, of remembering that the language must be considered in its three "personae", that is, as a member of the set of human languages, as a Balkan language, and as an Indo-European language. All three play a role in this account, in that, as with so much in the Balkans, a combination of language typology, language history, and language contact come together

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[14]   Albanian *o* from **ē* is probably not all that old a change at least when compared with other developments in the phonology. Note that PIE **o* gave Albanian *a* (as in *natë* 'night' < **nok^wt-*) so that *o* is somewhat new to the Albanian phonological system. And, of course, in some parts of the Slavic world, as in Russian, orthographic "*po*" has a lower and less rounded back vowel than the Albanian.

[15]   Janse writes (p.96): "The conflation of formally, but not functionally identical elements is attested in other contact languages. Russenorsk, for instance, has one all-purpose preposition *på* which is clearly chosen because of the formal, but not functional, similarity between the Norwegian preposition *på* and the Russian preposition *po* (Hock 1991, 523; Winford 2003, 274). Sango has only one locational/temporal preposition, viz. *nà*, which has formal, but not functional, counterparts in Ngbandi and other Ubangian languages, and also in Kitúba, a Bantu-based contact language, and other Bantu languages in general (Pasch 1997, 248)."

[16]   Note that in the Greek and Macedonian cases discussed in section [4] (see example (9), e.g.), what was involved was an extension of an already-existing aspectual marker, not the innovation of an altogether new category where one did not exist before. The reason for the "perhaps" regarding the category is that the *duke* + participle formation, if old enough, would give a basis for assuming a category indicating progressivity before the emergence of *po*.

[17]   See Fortson IV 2009, 83 for a recent summary of the conventional wisdom on aspect in Proto-Indo-European.

[18]   Rather, there were various ways of making "characterized" present tense system stems, e.g. with the nasal affix noted above, but no consistent marking.

to illuminate, even if not to fully explain, Albanian *po*.

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THE SACRAL STAMP OF GREEK: PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS IN NEW TESTAMENT TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN, GOTHIC, AND OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

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[1] INTRODUCTION

Among the sociolinguistic forces at work in the languages of the world, religious affiliation and the accompanying reverence for the symbols of that affiliation must rank among the most powerful. Religious texts serve as repositories of cultural tradition and become, for their followers, reliquaries of the very word of God. Besides the conservatizing, archaizing pressures which often grow up within a religious tradition, these texts also act as conduits for cultural and linguistic innovation as they spread, through transmission and translation, to surrounding populations. The New Testament (NT) represents just such a cultural conduit, providing not only a blueprint for Christian social behavior but also a pattern for Christian linguistic expression, providing a new lexicon, a special syntax, a style of its own, simple and spare. It was this style, these lexical and syntactic patterns, which came to be imbued with social value to connote membership in the Christian community, and which came to be imitated, sometimes subtly, sometimes blatantly, by translators of the New Testament.

This paper explores the role that this reverence for the Sacred Word has played in the development and spread of syntactic and stylistic patterns of the New Testament, in particular the periphrastic progressive and perfect constructions. Κοινή Greek provided the model which early translators of Latin, Gothic, Old Church Slavonic, and other languages aspired to emulate, creating what Psaltes (1913) termed a "sacral stamp", a linguistic emblem of membership in the Christian community. A striking example of the role of the "sacral stamp" is provided by Luisa Amenta (2003) in her examination of the modeling of the progressive periphrastics in Latin upon the patterns of Greek. She documents the abundant use of the progressive in the Greek NT itself, in the Latin Vulgate translation, and in the Christian writings which followed from these:

(1)   ἦν δὲ διδάσκων ἐν μιᾷ τῶν συναγωγῶν ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν   [Gκ]
        Erat autem docens in synagoga eorum sabbatis.   [Lᴀᴛ]
        '(he) was teaching in one of the synagogues on the Sabbath' (Luke 13:10)

Amenta concludes that this structure, springing from the "lexical, syntactic, and stylistic patrimony" of the NT, had become a symbol of membership, distinguishing insiders from outsiders (2003, 17).

Several related questions can be posed: Do other constructions found in Latin Vulgate translations of the NT, such as periphrastic perfects and participles, bear this "sacral stamp" of Greek, similar to that described by Amenta? To what extent is this adherence to Christian, ultimately Greek, linguistic norms evident in other translations, particularly those of Gothic and Old Church Slavonic? What larger conclusions can be drawn which will help illuminate the subsequent paths these constructions took in eastern and western Europe? The data is presented here chronologically, beginning with syntactic and stylistic influences which were transmitted from Hebrew to NT Greek itself through the mediation of the Septuagint, followed by the impact that the Greek model had on translations into Latin, Gothic, and Old Church Slavonic.

A preliminary holistic look at the data reveals how committed the early translators of the Bible were to the replication of the original Greek in their renditions. Evidence such as the following demonstrates an extremely close adherence to the original Greek objective complement-style perfect in the various translations:[1]

(2)   a.   'a certain man had a fig tree planted (in his vineyard)' (Luke 13:6)

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[1]   The history of the Greek periphrastic perfect can be briefly summarized as follows: Classical Greek formed, alongside its synthetic perfects and periphrastic perfects in *be*, a periphrastic perfect with *have* + active aorist participle in which the participle had subject orientation:

(i)   (Κρέων) τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας   ἔχει
        (K.)-ɴᴏᴍ him ᴘᴛᴄ dishonored-ɴᴏᴍ holds/has
        '(K.) has treated him scornfully.' (Sophocles, *Antigone* 22)

By the time of the κοινή, however, this construction had fallen into disuse, and had been replaced by a less grammaticalized structure with *have* + object + participial objective complement, as seen in this passage of Atticistic literature:

(ii)   τοὺς μὲν ἀδελφοὺς   [...] εἶχε   [...] κεκρυμμένους
        the ᴘᴛᴄ brothers-ᴀᴄᴄ.ᴘʟ had/kept   hidden-ᴀᴄᴄ.ᴘʟ
        'She kept her brothers hidden.' (Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 35.4)

It is this less-grammaticalized object-oriented *have* construction which is found in the Greek NT, and which is widely imitated in the translations to be studied here. Over time, a more grammaticalized version arose, as witnessed in the 6th c. writing of Gregory of Tours, cf. example (35) on page 54. See Aerts 1967; Drinka 2003, 2007 for further details.

b. συκῆν   εἶχέν   τις
    fig_tree-F.ACC.SG have-IMPERFECT.ACT.3SG someone
    πεφυτευμένην
    plant-PERF.PASS.PTCP.F.ACC.SG

c. arborem   fici habebat   quidam
    tree-F.ACC.SG fig have-IMPERFECT.ACT.3SG someone
    plantatam
    plant-PERF.PASS.PTCP.F.ACC.SG

d. smokovĭnico   iměaše   edinŭ [...]
    fig_tree-F.ACC.SG have-IMPERFECTIVE.ACT.3SG one   [...]
    vŭsaždeno
    plant-PAST.PASS.PTCP.F ACC.SG

The Vulgate of Jerome (c. 346–420 AD) follows the pattern set up in Greek strictly, and the *have* constructions of OCS are also translated virtually word for word, not with the expected resultative *l*-participle, but rather with a past passive participle, in direct imitation of the Greek original. What we will conclude is that Greek had more responsibility than is usually recognized for establishing the various patterns of periphrastic progressive and perfect use both in eastern and in western Europe.

[2]   THE SACRAL STAMP OF THE SEPTUAGINT ON THE EVANGELISTS

Before assessing the role of Greek and Latin influence on syntactic and stylistic patterns in subsequent Christian writing, we must first acknowledge a remarkable fact: the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles themselves bear a "sacral stamp." There is clear evidence that Luke consciously adopted the archaic, solemn style of the Septuagint (LXX), the literal Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible[2], which gave his narrative, as Wifstrand claims (2005, 42), "an aura of sacred history, making it appear as the sequel and fulfillment of the Old Testament." For example, the LXX rendition of 1Samuel 2:26 clings to the Hebrew original very closely:

(3)   a.   wəhanna'ar šəmû'ēl hōlēḵə   wəḡāḏēl   wāṭōḇ   gam
           and-youth   Samuel was-growing and-stature and-favor also
           'im-yəhwâ wəḡam   'im-'ănāšîm:
           with-Lord and-also with-men
           'Now the boy Samuel was growing in stature and in favor both with the Lord and with men.'   [HEBR]

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[2]   See Horrocks 1997, 57 for a discussion of the varying degrees of this literalness in the LXX: some books, such as Lamentations, are extremely literal; others, like those of the Pentateuch, use what seems to be contemporary κοινή. Esther is written in a "consciously literary" style, while 4 Maccabees is characterized as "positively Atticizing". Horrocks also observes that Hebraisms were incoporated into the Greek more often "where the obscurity or formulaic language of the original led to literalness."

b.   καὶ τὸ παιδάριον Σαμουηλ ἐπορεύετο   καὶ ἐμεγαλύνετο καὶ
     and the child   Samuel   was-continuing and was-growing and
     ἀγαθὸν καὶ μετὰ κυρίου καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων
     good   and with Lord   and with men
     'Now the boy Samuel was continuing and growing in stature and in favor
     both with the Lord and with men' (LXX; 1Sam 2:26)

Luke fashions his description of the boy Jesus upon this passage, adopting the im-
perfect aspect of the verb and making abundant use of the conjunction, but formally
sorting out the nouns referring to Jesus's growth from those referring to the wit-
nesses:

(4)   καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτεν ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι παρὰ θεῷ καὶ ἀν-
      θρώποις
      'And Jesus kept increasing in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and
      men' (Luke 2:52)

Luke apparently does not rely on Hebrew directly as a model, but on the semiti-
cized Greek of the LXX.[3] He frequently employs forms which are no longer in use
in the contemporary κοινή but which harken back to the time of the translation of
the LXX between the 3rd and 1st c. BC:

(5)   καὶ τῇδε ἦν ἀδελφὴ καλουμένη μαριάμ
      'She had a sister called Mary' (lit. 'to this one was a sister called Mary') (Luke
      10:39)

According to Wifstrand (2005, 38), in the entire NT ὅδε (dative τῇδε) appears as a
simple demonstrative pronoun 'this one here' only in this passage and in the ancient
formula τάδε λέγει in Revelation; elsewhere in the κοινή it has grammaticalized into
an indefinite demonstrative, 'this or that'. The archaic usage in this passage can be
traced directly to LXX models like the following:

(6)   καὶ τῇδε ἦν δίδυμα ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς
      'there were twins in her womb' (lit. 'to this one were twins in her womb')
      (Gen 25:24)

Wifstrand (2005, 36) suggests that when Luke used a form which was no longer
current, he may have known it from the LXX alone, such as the obsolete ὀρθρίζω
'get up early'. Other examples include the very telling distribution of (καὶ) ἐγένετο
(δέ) 'and it came to pass': it appears three times in Mark, six times in Matthew, but
over fifty times in Luke's writing, both in the Gospel and in the Acts of the Apostles.

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[3]   Moulton & Howard (1920, 480), however, suggest that parts of the first two chapters of Luke may have been
      translated directly from Hebrew.

In the LXX, it appears hundreds of times. Unlike the other evangelists, Luke made a conscious choice to associate his narrative with the style of the LXX, which had assumed a "sacred status" among Hellenized Jews and the first Christians (Wifstrand 2005, 40–41).

With regard to the use of periphrastic constructions, specifically the progressive, the LXX provides a clear model for the construction, based upon a Semitic construction using the "*waw*-conversive" plus the perfective form of the verb *hyy* 'be'.[4]

Ceglia (1998, 31) provides the following examples from Hebrew, illustrating the progressive, habitual, and ingressive uses of the periphrastic, respectively, copied exactly in the LXX:[5]

(7) Progressive use   [HEBR, GK]

    a. wa-yəhî   bōneh   ʿîr
        CONV-PREF-be-3SG.M construct-PART.SG.M city-SG

    b. καὶ ἦν οἰκοδομῶν πόλιν
        'and he was constructing a city' (LXX; Gen 4:17)

(8) Habitual use   [HEBR, GK]

    a. wə-han-naʿar hāyâ   məšārēt   ʾet-yəhwâ
        and-ART-boy be-3SG.M serve-PART.ACT.SG.M ACC-God

    b. καὶ τὸ παιδάριον ἦν λειτουργῶν τῷ προσώπῳ κυρίου
        'and the boy was ministering to God' (LXX; 1Sam 2:11)

(9) Ingressive use   [HEBR, GK]

    a. wi-yə-hî   m-a-bədîl
        and-PREF-be-3SG PART-CAUS-separate-M.SG

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[4] The Hebrew *waw*-conversive, a specialized use of the conjunction *waw*, reverses the aspectual reference of a verb, making perfective verbs imperfective, and imperfective verbs perfective. This usage appears frequently in biblical prose narratives where the first verb is perfective and the following verbs are imperfective but are to be construed as perfective through the operation of the conversive. When *hyy* 'be' in the perfective appears in this construction, it indicates durativity (Lehmann et al. 1999, 11, 145). Compare the following Hebrew passages with the LXX renditions:

    (i) a. wayəhî šəmûʾēl maʿăleh hāʿōlâ
         'and so it was that Samuel offered-PRFV → was offering-IMPRFV up the burnt offering' [HEBR]
         'now Samuel was offering up the burnt offering'
         καὶ ἦν Σαμουηλ ἀναφέρων τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν
         'now Samuel was offering up the burnt offering' (LXX; 1Sam 7:10)
      b. wayəhî dāwid bāʾ ʿad-hārōʾš
         'and so it was that David came-PRFV → was coming-IMPRFV to the summit'   [HEBR]
         'it happened as David was coming to the summit'
         καὶ ἦν Δαυιδ ἐρχόμενος ἕως τοῦ Ροως
         'and David was coming to the summit' (LXX; 2Sam 15:32)

[5] Ceglia's Hebrew transcription is slightly modified here, for uniformity. CONV = conversive; PREF = preformative; FACT = factitive.

b.   καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον
'and let it be separating [the waters from the waters]' (LXX; Gen 1:6)

While the progressive meaning seen in (7) can be found in Greek in limited fashion as early as Herodotus, the habitual and ingressive meanings of (8) and (9) represent innovations in Greek based on the model of Hebrew, since classical Greek would have used an imperfect and an aorist, respectively, in these contexts (Ceglia 1998, 33).

The similar tendency towards verbal function of participles in the papyri and private letters also suggests the influence of Semitic, both direct and indirect, a trend which points to the pervasiveness of these structures in the Judeo-Greek Umgangssprache (Amenta 2003, 33–4; 65–6):

(10)   ἐὰν ᾖ περιγινόμενόν (τι) ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὠνῶν
'if (this) were being_superior among the other purchases' (*Papyri Revenue Laws* 19, 8 (258a))

Luke is by far the most frequent user among the Evangelists of the periphrastic *be* + present participle construction for aspectual purposes (Amenta 2003, 135), and he, at the same time, demonstrates the most thorough knowledge of Semitic roots.[6] It seems likely, then, that Luke's frequent use of periphrasis may represent an additional attempt, like those mentioned above, to bring a stylistic feature of the LXX into his Greek.

While the periphrastic progressive is fairly well represented, the periphrastic perfect does not find its predecessor in the Semiticized Greek of the LXX. A close examination of all verbs in 1Samuel, for example, yielded no trace of this construction. What did, instead, emerge from 1Samuel as the means of expressing the anterior[7] was the synthetic aorist, as exemplified in the lyrical prayer of Hannah, mother of Samuel, as she places her son in the service of the Lord in the temple (1Samuel 2: 1-10):

(11)   1. καὶ εἶπεν ἐστερεώθη ἡ καρδία μου ἐν κυρίῳ
ὑψώθη κέρας μου ἐν θεῷ μου
ἐπλατύνθη ἐπὶ ἐχθροὺς τὸ στόμα μου
εὐφράνθην ἐν σωτηρίᾳ σου [...]
4. τόξον δυνατῶν ἠσθένησεν
καὶ ἀσθενοῦντες περιεζώσαντο δύναμιν
5. πλήρεις ἄρτων ἠλαττώθησαν
καὶ οἱ πεινῶντες παρῆκαν

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[6]   As Wifstrand notes (2005, 29), "it is remarkable that Luke, the evangelist most steeped in Greek culture and even eager to display it, is at the same time the most flagrant Semitiser among them."

[7]   The term "anterior" refers to an action or state which began in the past but which is still relevant in the present.

γῆν ὅτι στεῖρα <u>ἔτεκεν</u> ἑπτά
καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐν τέκνοις <u>ἠσθένησεν</u>

1.Then [Hannah] said "My heart <u>has been fortified (exults)</u> (AOR.PASS.3SG) in the Lord;
My horn (strength) <u>has been exalted</u> (AOR.PASS.3SG) in the Lord,
My mouth <u>has been enlarged</u> (speaks boldly)(AOR.PASS.3SG) against my enemies,
(Because) I <u>have been gladdened</u> (rejoiced) (AOR.PASS.1SG) in Your salvation.
[...]
4. The bow of the mighty <u>has weakened</u> (AOR.ACT.3SG),
But those weakened <u>have girded on</u> (AOR.MID.3PL) strength.
5. Those who were full <u>have been hired out</u> (AOR.PASS.3PL) for bread,
But those who were hungry <u>have ceased</u> (AOR.ACT.3PL) [to hunger].
Even the barren <u>has given birth</u> (AOR.ACT.3SG) to seven,
But she who has many children <u>has languished</u> (AOR.ACT.3SG)."
(1Sam 2:1–5)

Remarkably, the same tenor and lyrical style—and the same verb tense—is used by Mary, mother of Jesus, in the prayer that mirrors that of Hannah, the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55). Mary, like Hannah, uses aorists to extol the Lord for all he has done[8]:

(12)   46. καὶ εἶπεν μαριάμ μεγαλύνει ἦ ψυχή μου τὸν κύριον
47. καὶ <u>ἠγαλλίασεν</u> τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπί τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρι μου
48. ὅτι <u>ἐπέβλεψεν</u> ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ
ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μακαριοῦσιν με πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί
49. ὅτι <u>ἐποίησέν</u> μοι μεγάλα ὁ δυνατός
καὶ ἄγιον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ
46. And Mary said: "My soul exalts the Lord,[9]
47. And my spirit <u>has rejoiced</u> (AOR.ACT.3SG) in God my Savior.
48. For he <u>has had regard</u> (AOR.ACT.3SG) for the humble state of his servant;
For behold, from this time on all generations will call me blessed.
49. For the Mighty One <u>has done</u> (AOR.ACT.3SG) great things for me;
And holy is his name." (Luke 1:46–49)

Thus, while the periphrastic perfect, found in most modern European translations of these prayers and represented here in the English translation, is not yet in evidence, the sacral stamp of the LXX is still clearly to be seen.

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[8] The extent to which the LXX and, ultimately, Luke replicate the syntax of Hebrew is also clearly visible in this series of verb-initial clauses, reflecting the normal Verb-Subject-Object order of Hebrew.

[9] Note that English, too, partakes of the "sacral stamp", in elevating these familiar lines by means of archaic language, such as that found in the King James version: "My soul doth magnify the Lord/And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour."

[3]   THE SACRAL STAMP OF GREEK ON LATIN

As mentioned above, the *be* + present participle construction was pervasive in the NT; it was, in fact, within the NT that the frequency of the construction increased significantly (Amenta 2003, 64):[10]

(13)   ὡσ γάρ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τρώγοντες καὶ πίνοντες γαμοῦντες καὶ γαμίζοντες
       'For as in those days before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage' (Matthew 24:38)

(14)   καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα
       'and Jesus was beginning at about thirty years' (Luke 3:23)

(15)   οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν
       'were not our hearts burning within us' (Luke 24:32)

As also noted above, the semantic range of this construction was broader than that found in classical Greek, since it could now refer not only to progressivity and durativity, but also to ingressiveness as in (14)[11] and to imperfectivity, a function previously reserved for the synthetic imperfect alone (Amenta 2003, 74; 110).

Granted that the *be* + present participle construction had taken on special social value in Greek, to what extent can the perfect periphrasis likewise be seen as connoting membership? Unlike the rather abundant progressives, the *have* periphrastic perfects constitute a fairly small category in the New Testament, with only 16 tokens, but when the 13 periphrastic perfects formed with *be* + active perfect participle are added to these, the category emerges as somewhat substantial. While in Classical Greek, there is evidence of a more grammaticalized *have* perfect + active aorist participle (cf. ftnote 1 and Drinka 2003), in the NT the perfect is limited to the less fully grammaticalized objective complement variety (cf. Aerts 1967), where *have* retains its possessive value, and the participle is object-oriented:[12]

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[10]   Note the similarity of (13) to 1Samuel 30:16:

   (i)   a.   wǝhinnēh nǝṭušîm ʿal-pǝnê ḵāl-hā'āreṣ 'ōḵǝlîm wǝšōṯîm wǝḥōḡǝḡîm
               'and, behold, they [were] spread[ADJ] over the face of all the earth, eating and drinking and celebrating'   [HEBR]
          b.   καὶ ἰδοὺ οὗτοι διακεχυμένοι ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες καὶ ἑορτάζοντες
               'and, behold, they [were] spread over the face of all the earth, eating and drinking and celebrating' (LXX)

       Rather uncharacteristically, Luke does not replicate the periphrastic progressive in his version of this story (Luke 17:27), but uses synthetic imperfects: ἤσθιον ἔπινον ἐγάμουν ἐξεγαμίζοντο 'they were eating, drinking, marrying, being given in marriage'.

[11]   Amenta (2003, 110) identifies this innovative usage aptly as "durativization".

[12]   A fully grammaticalized perfect, such as that found in most modern western European languages, would include a completely auxiliated *have* and a subject-oriented participle: "Have you hardened your heart?"; "A certain man had planted a fig tree".

(16)   πεπωρωμένην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν
         'Have you still your heart hardened?' (Mark 8:17)

(17)   (=(2)) συκῆν εἶχέν τις πεφυτευμένην
         'a certain man had a fig tree planted' (Luke 13:6)

The most common form of the participle for the Greek *have* construction is the perfect passive participle[13], as illustrated in (16) and (17); this participle also frequently occurs in the *be* periphrastic perfects, as in (18):

(18)   ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη καὶ τί ἐστιν πεποιηκώς
         '[the tribune] demanded who he was, and what he had done' (Acts 21:33)

Thus, while the category is small, it merits our attention, especially since it represents a companion periphrastic construction to the more robust periphrastic progressive category.

Turning to the role that Greek played in shaping Latin verbal periphrasis in NT translations, we note, as mentioned above, that the Vulgate of Jerome closely follows the periphrastic progressive pattern of NT Greek:[14]

(19)   (=(13))
         ὡς γάρ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τρώγοντες καὶ πί-
         νοντες γαμοῦντες καὶ γαμίζοντες   [Gκ]
         sicut enim erant in diebus ante diluvium comedentes et bibentes, nubentes
         et nuptum tradentes   [Lᴀᴛ]
         'For as in those days before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage' (Matthew 24:38)

(20)   (=(14))
         καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα   [Gκ]
         Et ipse Jesus erat incipiens quasi annorum triginta   [Lᴀᴛ]
         'and Jesus was beginning at about thirty years' (Luke 3:23)

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[13]   The other much less frequently-attested participle type used in the Greek *have* construction is the present mediopassive participle.

[14]   It should be noted that Jerome's task was not to create a new translation of the Greek NT, but to correct the inaccuracies in earlier Old Latin translations by comparing them to the Greek. Jerome did not coin new words, and often kept expressions from the Old Latin versions which closely, if not perfectly, approximated the Greek (Metzger 1977, 354). It appears that Jerome was more fastidious in his revisions in earlier work than later, frequently replacing participials for Old Latin finite verbs in Matthew, for example, in imitation of Greek, but doing so less frequently in later work (Metzger 1977, 353). It should also be noted that controversy exists around Jerome's role in the translation of the NT beyond the Gospels: it is possible that another translator working in Rome before 390 was responsible for translating the rest of the NT (Loewe 1969, 108).

(21)   (=(15))
        οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν <u>καιομένη ἦν</u> ἐν ἡμῖν   [Gᴋ]
        Nonne cor nostrum <u>ardens erat</u> in nobis   [Lᴀᴛ]
        '<u>were</u> not our hearts <u>burning</u> within us' (Luke 24:32)

In these and many other examples throughout the NT, the Greek pattern is precisely replicated in the Vulgate.

With regard to the *have* perfects, Jerome also follows the Evangelists without fail: for each of the 16 Greek examples of the objective-complement *have* perfect, the Vulgate copies the pattern exactly (22=16, 23=2,17):

(22)   <u>πεπωρωμένην</u> <u>ἔχετε</u>   τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν
        <u>caecatum</u>   <u>habetis</u> cor   vestrum
        'Have you still your heart <u>hardened</u>?' (Mark 8:17)   [Gᴋ, Lᴀᴛ]

(23)   συκῆν   <u>εἶχέν</u> τις   <u>πεφυτευμένην</u>
        arborem fici <u>habebat</u> quidam <u>plantatam</u>
        'a certain man <u>had</u> a fig tree <u>planted</u>' (Luke 13:6)   [Gᴋ, Lᴀᴛ]

The translation is not only literal, but syntactically identical.[15]

Remarkably, out of a sample of 100 examples of *have* in the Vulgate, only one *have* periphrastic was formed which did not have a Greek model.[16] In contrast, the Vulgate translation conforms much less strictly to the Greek *be* + active perfect participle construction. In fact, most of the Latin translations of this form do not form a periphrastic in imitation of Greek, but use other constructions, such as synthetic forms:

(24)   ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη καὶ τί <u>ἐστιν πεποιηκώς</u>
        interrogabat quis esset et quid <u>fecisset</u>
        '[the tribune] demanded who he was, and what he <u>had done</u>' (Acts 21:33)

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[15]   Note, however, the interesting lexical variation in Mark 8:17: Greek πεπωρωμένην, 'petrified, hardened' vs. Vulgate *caecatum* 'blinded'. The form is rendered as *obtusum/a + est/sunt* in a number of pre-Vulgate Latin versions, but as *caecatum + habetis* in the Vulgate and in the Codex Brixianus (f) (Vetus, cf. Jülicher 1970, 69). The construction resembles Greek in the use of the *have* auxiliary, but reinterprets the meaning of the participle; in the Gothic translation, the participle shows yet another variant: *daubata + habaiþ*, lit. 'deaf, stubborn' (Lehmann 1986, 88) (cf. ex. (46) below). It may be significant that the next verse makes reference to both of these conditions: "Having eyes, do you not see? Having ears, do you not hear?" The very similar translation of Isaiah 6:10 is also telling:

(i)   <u>ἐπαχύνθη</u> γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν (LXX)
       <u>Excaeca</u> cor populi hujus, et aures ejus aggrava, et oculos ejus claude (Vulgate)
       'Make the hearts of this people insensitive, their ears dull, and their eyes dim'

[16]   The original Greek expression was, in fact, a progressive periphrastic like those studied by Amenta: Gal. 1:23: μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν = *tantum autem auditum habebant* 'but they only kept hearing'.

An additional intriguing fact can be mentioned here: among the ten letters of St. Jerome which I examined for this feature, there were 17 uses of *have*, but only one which could be considered an objective complement-type periphrastic:

(25)   si hoc munusculum placuerit, <u>habemus</u> etiam alia <u>condita</u>, quae cum plurimis orientalibus mercibus ad te, si spiritus sanctus adflaverit, navigabunt.
'If my little gift should please you, we <u>have</u> others also <u>stored up</u> which (if the Holy Spirit shall breathe favorably), shall sail across the sea to you with all kinds of eastern merchandise.' (Jerome, *Ad Paulum senem Concordiae*, §3)

Jerome, then, as a rule, is not using the same style in his letters that he does in his Bible translations. Remarkably, this very passage, read in the context of the entire letter, gives us a clue as to why this dissimilarity in style exists. The letter, dated 374 AD, is written to the elderly owner of a theological library, asking for some commentaries and informing him that a copy of Jerome's recently completed life of Paul the Hermit was being sent to him.

(26)   in quo propter simpliciores quosque multum in dejiciendo sermone laboravimus. Sed nescio quomodo, etiam si aqua plena sit, tamen eumdem odorem lagena servat, quo dum rudis esset, imbuta est.
'I have taken great pains to bring my language down to the level of the simpler sort. But, somehow or other, though you fill it with water, the jar retains the odor which it acquired when first used.' (Jerome, *Ad Paulum senem Concordiae*, §3)

The style of the entire letter is notably learned and even, perhaps, haughty. Even while capable of bringing his language "down to the level of the simpler sort," Jerome clearly enjoys demonstrating his abilities to argue in the high style of a skilled rhetorician. What we can grasp from this fact is that the style that Jerome uses in his translations is an acquired style, purposefully assumed to replicate the tenor, the voice of the evangelists. And that voice, that style was Greek in its essence, whether comprised of well-endowed categories like the progressive, or less frequently used ones, like the perfect.

In another letter, this one to Pammachus (*Epist.* 57), dated 395, Jerome articulately defends his style of translation,[17] criticized by some for its non-literalness, all while confirming his reverence for the sacred status of scriptural syntax:

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[17]   Cf., e.g., Jerome's graceful description of the challenges of translation, as he refers to his own introduction to his translation of Eusebius of Cæsarea: "It is hard to preserve in a translation the charm of expressions which in another language are most felicitous. Each particular word conveys a meaning of its own, and possibly I have no equivalent by which to render it, and if I make a circuit to reach my goal, I have to go many miles to cover a short distance." (*Epistola* LVII, §5)

(27)   Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum, absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.
'For I myself not only admit but freely proclaim that in translating from the Greek, except in the case of the holy scriptures where the very order of the words is a mystery, I render sense for sense and not word for word.' (Jerome, *Ad Pammachium de optimo genere interpretandi* [*Epistola* LVII, §5])

Jerome, then, is committed to preserving, within his translation, the sacrality, the "mystery", which is resident not just in the words themselves, but within the "very order of those words".[18]

Christian writers who wrote in Latin before the translation of the Vulgate likewise show, in resemblance to their Greek scriptural predecessors, many *be* progressives and a few *have* perfects. Bishop Lucifer of Cagliari (4th c. AD), in his diatribe against the Emperor Constantus and his Arian heresy, denounces overly elaborate language, and speaks in favor of simple speech:

(28)   noster sermo est communis contra uester politus ornatus
'our speech is common; on the other hand, yours [is] refined, ornate' (Luciferi Calaritani, *Moriundum esse pro Dei Filio*, lines 755-61)

Lucifer produces a number of periphrastic progressives (cf. Amenta 2003 for numerous examples):

(29)   quia post tantum facinus perpetratum sis uiuens hactenus ut uixerit Saul
'so that after such a crime committed, you are living thus far as Saul lived' (Luciferi Calaritani, *De regibus apostaticis* 2:210)

(30)   Non est, inquam, nouum, si tu in hac pertinacia sis perstans
'It is not, I say, new if you are persisting in this obstinacy' (Luciferi Calaritani, *De regibus apostaticis* 5:375)

Lucifer uses numerous participles, as well as the verb *habeo*, and an occasional instance of the joining of the two into an objective complement-style *have* periphrastic:

(31)   peritus habeasque dictatorum designatum numerum
'(you yourself) an expert and also having a group of secretaries so designated' (Luciferi Calaritani, *Moriundum esse pro Dei Filio*, lines 747-8)

In contrast, examining the language of contemporary works which did not spring from the Christian tradition, we have the opportunity to determine the extent to which Christianity did or did not have an effect on the language. The *Mulomedicina*

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[18] Sutcliffe (1969, 96), however, questions this translation of the term *ordo verborum*, suggesting, instead, 'the precise character of the words', based on Jerome's usage of this term elsewhere.

Chironis, which probably dates to the 4th c. AD (Herman 1997, 23), is a technical text which lies outside the Christian tradition. While many present participles exist in this text, they are used adjectivally, not as part of the periphrastic verbal construction, as witnessed by the wide separation between the *be* verb and the participle in the following example:

(32)   sunt enim venae a visceribus descendentes
        'they are, in fact, veins descending from the intestines' (*Mulomedicina Chironis*, Liber I:IX:26)

In the sections of the *Mulomedicina* which I examined for perfect constructions (427-454), there were no *have* auxiliaries, and, in fact, very few instances of *habeo* at all (all non-grammaticalized, such as *si vermes habeat...* 'if he has worms...'); there was, in addition, an apparent preference for infinitives to participles. The language is noun-heavy, and simple in construction, as is suitable for its practical purpose. It is evident that this text is written in a different style from that of the NT, and relies on different linguistic traditions.

Two additional works, *Romana* and *Getica*, both written by Jordanes in the 6th c. AD, also provide valuable evidence of Latin writing within the Greek tradition but outside of the Christian tradition. Remarkably, these works provide no examples at all of the periphrastic progressive, either adjectival or aspectual (Amenta 2003, 106), and among the 12 examples of *habeo* in the *Romana* and 52 examples in the *Getica*, only one possible example of a periphrastic perfect exists:

(33)   Quam adversam eius valitudinem captans Balamber rex Hunnorum in Ostrogotharum parte movit procinctum, a quorum societate iam Vesegothae quadam inter se intentione seiuncti habebantur[3pl. pass. imperf]
        'Balamber, king of the Huns, took advantage of his ill health to move a force into the land of the Ostrogoths, from whom the Visigoths were already held separated because of some dispute.' (*Getica* XXIV 130)

The passive character of *habebantur* suggests that the form must be interpreted as 'hold', rather than as a more grammaticalized *have* auxiliary.

Within the Christian tradition of the 6th c. A.D., by contrast, further grammaticalization has occurred in both the progressive and the perfect periphrastics, as seen in the writing of Gregory of Tours:

(34)   erat regnum cum iustitia regens, sacerdotes venerans, ecclesias munerans, pauperes relevans et multis multa beneficia accommodans
        'he was ruling the kingdom with justice, honoring priests, funding churches, comforting the poor, and providing various benefits to many' (Greg. Tur. *His. Franc.* 3, 25)

Among the perfects, we note fuller auxiliation of *have* and more complete subject-orientation of the participle, resulting in what can be considered a precursor to the *have* perfects found across western Europe in the ensuing centuries:

(35)   episcopum...<u>invitatum habes</u>
         'you <u>have invited</u> the bishop' (Greg. Tur. *Vit patr.* 3,1)

In sum, Greek has provided a powerful model, leaving its mark most directly on Jerome's translations, but also upon the writings of later Christian writers, as well. The virtual lack of the periphrastic progressive and the scarce evidence for the periphrastic perfect in writings by authors outside the Christian tradition points to a connotation of membership that these structures, especially the progressive periphrasis, conveyed.

[4]   THE SACRAL STAMP OF GREEK AND LATIN ON GOTHIC

In the 4th century, Wulfila, who was probably the son of a Cappadocian mother and a Gothic father, translated the Bible into Gothic. His Arian theological stance is not very visible, except perhaps in the translation of one telling phrase from the original Greek (Metzger 1977, 377): while Greek and Latin characterize Christ as one "equal with God", Wulfila restates this characterization as "being like God":

(36)   ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι <u>ἴσα θεῷ</u>   [Gκ]
         saei in gudaskaunein wisands ni wulwa rahnida wisan sik <u>galeiko guda</u> [Co-
         dex Ambrosianus B]   [Gотн]
         qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se <u>æqualem
         Deo</u>   [Lат]
         'who, although he existed in the form of God, did not regard <u>being equal
         with God</u> (<u>being like God</u>) a thing to be grasped' (Philippians 2:6)

The largest accumulation of surviving Gothic texts actually do not come from the Balkans where Wulfila wrote, but from Northern Italy, where the Ostrogothic chieftain, Theodoric, had invaded and where a scribal tradition fostered by the ruling Goths grew up in the fifth and sixth centuries (Metzger 1977, 377). The paleographic evidence points to the unified nature of this effort, and to the wealth of material resources invested in its production: five of the surviving eight documents were written on purple parchment in silver and some gold ink. Only the splendid Codex Argenteus (CA) and one other leaf found in Egypt (Fragmentum Got. Giessenense) survived the scraping off of the precious ink and the recycling of the valuable parchment as palimpsests (Metzger 1977, 377–81).[19]

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[19]   See Metzger 1977, 378–80 for a complete account of the "romantic" and remarkable history of the Codex
         Argenteus. The four Codices Ambrosiani ([A], [B], [C]. and [D], all palimpsests) were found in Milan at the
         Ambrosian Library, but may have been rewritten at Bobbio (Metzger 1977, 381).

Wulfila's translation tends to replicate the structures and lexicon of the Greek very precisely. As Friedrichsen states, the fundamental principle followed in Wulfila's translation is that every word is translated, in the same order:

> No other feature of the Gothic Version is more characteristic of the translator's style than this. Every word of the Greek text, excepting the definite article, is normally represented in the Gothic, even particles like μέν, δέ, ἄν, and others (Friedrichsen 1926, 15)

The following example provides an illustration of how faithful Gothic is to the Greek model in the translation of participles and other structures:

(37) καὶ παρεκαλεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ λέγων ὅτι τὸ θυγάτριόν μου ἐσχάτως ἔχει ἵνα ἐλθὼν ἐπιθῇς αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας ὅπως σωθῇ καὶ ζήσεται [Gĸ]
jah baþ ina filu, qiþands þatei dauhtar meina aftumist habaiþ, ei qimands lagjais ana þo handuns, ei ganisai jah libai. [CA] [Goth]
et deprecabatur eum multum, dicens: Quoniam filia mea in extremis est, veni, impone manum super eam, ut salva sit, et vivat. [Lat]
'...and implored him earnestly, saying, "My little daughter is at the point of death; coming/come, lay Your hands on her, so that she will get well and live."' (Mark 5:23)

In this passage, the Gothic rendition resembles Greek more fully than the Latin does: it uses a *have* construction in the idiomatic expression (ἐσχάτως ἔχει = 'at the last point, extreme' [adv.]), precisely as Greek does, while Latin uses *be* instead (cf. the underlined forms vs. the double-underlined forms); Gothic copies both participles, 'saying' and 'coming' (wavey underline), but Latin uses the finite imperative 'come' (dotted underline); both Gothic and Latin copy the marked syntax of the Greek in saying, literally, "and he exhorted him much, saying that: '...'". It is clear, then, that Greek played an essential role in providing a model for Gothic syntactic and stylistic patterns.

It should be noted, however, that, while the influence of Greek is pervasive, the Gothic text does still retain a number of essential Germanic features such as inflections and some temporal-aspectual distinctions. Aspect or Aktionsart was apparently marked somewhat independently from Greek, based more on the exigencies of the context than on the Greek model. For example, in the following passage, Greek uses ἀκούσῃ, an aorist active subjunctive 3sg, but Gothic does not follow suit with a perfective *ga*-form or a compound:

(38) μὴ ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν κρίνει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον καὶ γνῷ τί ποιεῖ [Gĸ]
ibai witoþ unsar stojiþ mannan, nibai faurþis hauseiþ fram imma jah ufkunnaiþ hva taujai? [CA] [Goth]

Numquid lex nostra judicat hominem, nisi prius <u>audierit</u> ab ipso, et cog-
noverit quid faciat?   [LAT]
'Our Law does not judge a man unless it first <u>hears</u> from him and knows
what he is doing, does it?' (John 7:51)

Gothic does not copy Greek's subtle use of aspectual nuance here: the perfective
meaning of "hears purposely, listens to" in Greek appears not to be attended to in
Gothic. Conversely, Gothic may use an aspectually charged *ga*-prefix without the
model of an aorist or other perfective usage in Greek:[20]

(39)   ἵνα <u>βλέποντες</u> μὴ <u>βλέπωσιν</u> καὶ <u>ἀκούοντες</u> μὴ <u>συνιῶσιν</u>   [GK]
        ei <u>saihvandans</u> ni <u>gasaihvaina</u>, jah <u>gahausjandans</u> ni <u>fraþjaina</u> [CA] [GOTH]
        ut <u>videntes</u> non <u>videant</u>, et <u>audientes</u> non <u>intelligent</u>   [LAT]
        'so that <u>seeing</u> they may not <u>see</u>, and <u>hearing</u> they may not <u>understand</u>'
        (Luke 8:10)

In the first half of the sentence, Gothic replicates the use of the subjunctive in Greek
by means of the optative, but sets up an aspectual contrast not present in the Greek:
'in carrying out the act of seeing, they may not accomplish the act of seeing.' The
prefixed present participle *gahausjandans*, likewise, implies perfectivity not seen in
the Greek.[21]

Similarly, Gothic shows some tense distinctions at variance with Greek. As Klein
notes (1992, 368), Gothic translates an aorist as a present in the Magnificat:[22]

(40)   46. καὶ <u>εἶπεν</u> Μαριάμ, <u><u>μεγαλύνει</u></u> (PRES.ACT.3SG) ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν κύριον
        jah <u>qaþ</u> Mariam: <u><u>mikileid</u></u> (PRES.ACT.3SG) saiwala meina fraujan
        'And Mary said: "My soul exalts the Lord,
        47. καὶ <u>ἠγαλλίασεν</u> (AOR.ACT.3SG) τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπί τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρί μου
        jah <u><u>swegneid</u></u> (PRES.ACT.3SG) ahma meins du guda nasjand meinamma.
        And my spirit has rejoiced/rejoices in God my Savior.

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[20]   See Scherer 1954, Krause 1968, 213–15, Lloyd 1979, Lehmann 1986, 133 for a discussion of various views on
       the aspectual value of the Gothic prefix *ga-*.

[21]   The LXX rendition of Isaiah 6:9 upon which this verse is based copies the Hebrew exactly, and sets up more
       structural parallelism than Luke's refashioning, relying on the Aktionsart distinction in the lexemes βλέπω
       'look' and ὁράω 'see' (with a suppletive aorist) to construct the contrast:

       (i)   ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε
               'with hearing you will hear, but you will not understand; looking you will look, but you will not see'

       Both συνῆτε and ἴδητε are 2pl aorist active subjunctives; used with two negative particles (οὐ μὴ), they
       imply emphatic negation, so that a more accurate translation would be 'hearing you will hear; there is no
       way that you will understand; looking you will look; there is no possibility that you will see'. The passage
       from Isaiah is quoted exactly in Matthew 13:14 and Acts 28:26, but, unfortunately, the Gothic translation is
       not extant for any of these verses.

[22]   The present tense is marked with a double underline, the aorist/past with a single underline.

48. ὅτι ἐπέβλεψεν (AOR.ACT.3SG) ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μακαριοῦσίν με πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί

unte insahv (PAST.ACT.3SG) du hnaiweinai þiujos seinaizos; sai allis, fram himma nu audagjand mik alla kunja.

For he has had/had regard for the humble state of his servant; For behold, from this time on all generations will call me blessed.

49. ὅτι ἐποίησέν (AOR.ACT.3SG) μοι μεγάλα ὁ δυνατός καὶ ἅγιον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ

unte gatawida (PAST.ACT.3SG) mis mikilein sa mahteiga, jah weih namo is.

For the Mighty One has done/did great things for me; and holy is his name.'"

(Luke 1:46–49)

As can be seen in these verses, Wulfila tends to follow Luke in translating presents as presents and aorists as perfective preterites, but he does not do so in verse 47, where a Greek aorist ἠγαλλίασεν is translated as a present, *swegneid*. While it is surely true, as Klein points out (1992, 368), that the preterite would not as successfully convey the immediacy of Mary's joy as the present does, it must also be noted that preterites are used in the following two lines to render aorists. Furthermore, aorists in the κοινή frequently expressed anterior meaning at this time as perfects and aorists began to fall together (Horrocks 1997, 118), so that a present translation, while rare, would not be entirely unlicensed. In the last analysis, it seems best to recognize, with Klein, that some variability in the temporal-aspectual system did exist in the Gothic version, but that imitation of Greek syntactic patterns was far more common.

As noted with regard to the synthetic aorists, Gothic tends to follow Greek consistently in rendering the synthetic perfects of Greek as perfective preterites, as well (Krause 1968, 216):

(41)   τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἐξεκλάσθησαν (STAT.AOR) σὺ δὲ τῇ πίστει ἔστηκας (PERF)   [GK]
Ungalaubeinai usbriknodedun, iþ þu galaubeinai gastost [A]   [GOTH]
propter incredulitatem fracti sunt. Tu autem fide stas   [LAT]
'because of unbelief, they were broken off, while you by faith have stood.'
(Rom 11:20)

As concerns the translation specifically of the periphrastic progressives and perfects in Gothic, we find, once again, very frequent use of the progressive in imitation of the Greek, and careful modeling of the objective complement-style perfect, as well. Evidence for the pervasiveness of the progressive is provided by abundant examples of *be* + present participle:

(42) ἦσαν γὰρ πάντες προσδοκῶντες αὐτόν   [GK]
      wesun auk allai beidandans is [CA]   [GOTH]
      erant enim omnes exspectantes eum   [LAT]
      'for they had all been waiting for him' (Luke 8:40)

These occur even with stative verbs, as (43) and (44) illustrate:

(43) ἦν γὰρ ἔχων κτήματα πολλά   [GK]
      was auk habands faihu manag. [CA]   [GOTH]
      erat enim habens multas possessiones.   [LAT]
      'for he was one who owned much property' (lit. 'he was having') (Mark
      10:22)

(44) καὶ ἦν ὄχλος πολὺς τελωνῶν καὶ ἄλλων οἳ ἦσαν μετ' αὐτῶν κατακεί-
      μενοι   [GK]
      jah was managei motarje mikila jah anþaraize, þaiei wesun miþ im anakumb-
      jandans.[23] [CA]   [GOTH]
      et erat turba multa publicanorum, et aliorum qui cum illis erant discum-
      bentes.   [LAT]
      'and there was a great crowd of tax collectors and others who were reclining
      [at table] with them' (Luke 5:29)

Further evidence of the pervasive use of the progressive is even provided by the
above-mentioned Gothic-Latin bilingual Bible fragment from Giessen (Fragmentum
Got. Gissensis),[24] for among the few fragmentary lines in the Gothic portion can be
found the ending of a present participle, -ndans. Streitberg (1971, 496–8) recon-
structs the line as follows:

(45) καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦσαν πορευόμενοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς κώμην [GK]
      jah sai twai ize wesun gaggandans in þamma daga in haim   [GOTH]
      Et ecce duo ex illis ibant ipsa die in castellum   [LAT]
      'And behold, two of them were going that very day to a village' (Luke 24:13)

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[23] The Gothic participle *anakumbjandans* 'reclining at table' represents a remarkable example of a mixed
      calque, with a refashioning of the prefix, presumably *anda-, based upon Greek ἀνα- and a replication of
      the Latin stem in *discumbentes*, probably to signify a method of gathering at table which was foreign to the
      Goths (see Lehmann 1986, 31 for discussion and references).

[24] The double-leaf, 6th c. Fragmentum Got. Gissensis, found in Egypt, is also important for demonstrating the
      existence of Latin-Gothic bilingual Bibles, the other example of which is the 6th c. Wolfenbüttel palimpsest
      (Codex Carolinus). Friedrichsen (1926, 184 et passim) claims that the Latin Palatinian and Brixian codices,
      on the one hand, and the Gothic Codex Argenteus, on the other, likewise began as bilingual Bibles, a claim
      quickly dismissed by Burkitt (1927). While it may not be possible to view the Codex Palatinus in this precise
      role, it is surely the case that Gothic was influenced by Latin, and, to a lesser extent, Latin by Gothic. See
      Burton (2002) for an assessment of the validity of Friedrichsen's claims.

Gothic copies the periphrastic construction, while Latin opts for a synthetic imperfect. Likewise, we find Greek objective-complement perfects well-replicated in Gothic:

(46) (=(16), (22))
πεπωρωμένην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν [Gκ]
daubata habaiþ hairto izwar [CA] [Goth]
caecatum habetis cor vestrum [Lat]
'Have you still your heart hardened?'[25] (Mark 8:17)

(47) κύριε, ἰδοὺ ἡ μνᾶ σου, ἣν εἶχον ἀποκειμένην ἐν σουδαρίῳ [Gκ]
frauja, sai, sa skatts þeins þanei habaida galagidana in fanin [CA] [Goth]
Domine, ecce mna tua, quam habui repositam in sudario [Lat]
'Master, here is your mina, which I kept put away in a handkerchief' (Luke 19:20)

(48) καὶ ταῦτα λαλῶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἵνα ἔχωσιν τὴν χαρὰν τὴν ἐμὴν πεπληρωμένην ἐν ἑαυτοῖς [Gκ]
jah þata rodja in manasedai, ei habaina fahed meina usfullida in sis. [CA] [Goth]
et hæc loquor in mundo, ut habeant gaudium meum impletum in semetipsis. [Lat]
'and these things I speak in the world so that they may have my joy fulfilled in themselves.' (John 17:13)

It has frequently been stated that Gothic did not have a *have* perfect per se: Meillet (1970, 70) suggests that this lack of a periphrastic perfect implies that the Germanic languages developed their *have* perfects late, based on the influence of Vulgar Latin.[26] Benveniste (1971, 178–9), on the other hand, rejects the role of Latin, and claims that the "structural conditions for this innovation were present in Germanic"; he predicts that Gothic would probably have eventually developed a *have* perfect on its own.[27] Several remarks are in order here. First of all, it is not quite accurate to say that no *have* perfect exists in Gothic at all. As we have seen illustrated above, Gothic copies the objective-complement-style *have* perfect precisely from NT Greek. What can be said with more precision is that Gothic shows no sign of independent usage of the more grammaticalized *have* perfect: every instance in Gothic of the objective complement perfect is based on a Greek exemplar.

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[25] See again ftnote 15 for a discussion of this lexical variation.
[26] "An important procedure, not yet utilized by Gothic and doubtlessly owing in the beginning to imitation of Vulgar Latin models, is that which consists of uniting the participle with the verb 'to have.' "
[27] According to Benveniste (1971, 178–9), the development of the *have* perfect was an "autonomous development in Germanic and owes nothing to the influence of Latin."

There exist, however, at least two intriguing exceptions to the above statement, and these exceptions may have significant implications for our understanding of the development of the perfect in the Germanic languages, and the role that Latin played in this development. Consider the following example from 1Timothy:

(49) ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων <u>κεκαυτηριασμένων</u> τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν   [Gк]
      in liutein liugnawaurde jah <u>gatandida habandane</u> swesa miþwis-
      sein [A]   [Goth]
      in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, et <u>cauteriatam habentium</u> suam con-
      scientiam   [Lat]
      'by means of the hypocrisy of liars, <u>having been seared</u> in their own con-
      science (as with a branding iron)' (1Timothy 4:2)

The morphological features of the participles are as follows:

(50)   a.   κεκαυστηριασμένων
            brand-GEN.PL.PERF.PASS.PTCP
            'having been branded' (agrees with ψευδολόγων 'of those speaking
            lies')   [Gк]
       b.   gatandida   habandane
            burn-ACC.SG.FEM.PAST.PTCP have-GEN.PL.PRES.PTCPLE
            (*gatandida* agrees with *miþwissein* 'conscience', *habandane* agrees with
            liugnawaurde 'of those speaking lies', compound calqued on Gk. ψευδο-
            λόγων)   [Goth]
       c.   cauteriatam   habentium
            brand-ACC.SG.FEM.PAST.PASS.PTCP have-GEN.PL.PRES.PTCPLE
            (*cauteriatam* agrees with *conscientiam* 'conscience', *habentium* agrees
            with *loquentium mendacium* 'of those speaking lies')   [Lat]

What is especially noteworthy here is that Greek has provided the model of a synthetic perfect participle, but Gothic and Latin have resorted to the use of a periphrastic perfect participle, and have done so in precisely the same way;[28] that is, while the Greek perfect essentially encapsulates the anterior meaning 'having been branded' in its synthetic perfect form, Latin and Gothic construct this semantic equivalence by means of a *have* perfect, each following exactly the same pattern. This periphrastic *have* perfect is not the objective complement construction seen throughout the Greek NT and thoroughly imitated by Jerome and Wulfila, but rather a more grammaticalized *have* perfect, similar to that found in the 6th c. writing of Gregory of Tours (cf. (35), repeated here as (51)) which resembles the later perfects of Europe:

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[28]   Also to be noted is the fact that both Latin and Gothic have added a conjunction 'and' in the middle of the
        sentence, a feature which further distinguishes them from the Greek.

(51)   (= (35))
episcopum...invitatum habes
'you have invited the bishop' (Greg. Tur. *Vit patr.* 3,1)

Connections with the objective-complement-style perfect are still to be noted in both (49) and (51), since the participles still agree with the objects. Thus, these passages could be construed as meaning 'having their conscience seared' and 'have the bishop invited'. The fact that the perfects from Timothy replace a synthetic perfect, however, and that the auxiliary and participle are contiguous suggests that they are more grammaticalized than *have* constructions found elsewhere in the NT.

What could explain this exceptional use of a more grammaticalized *have* perfect, conforming to later, Latinate patterns rather than Greek ones? As mentioned above, the scribal tradition which fostered the greatest production of Gothic texts was located in northern Italy in the 5th and 6th centuries, and it seems clear that the influence of this western tradition is reflected here. Especially influential were two Old Latin codices referred to above, the 4th-5th c. Codex Palatinus and the 6th c. Codex Brixianus, both of which show signs of having been influenced by Gothic, as well.[29] The Gothic Codex Argenteus has especially close ties to the Codex Brixianus, as witnessed not only by their identical script, but also by numerous linguistic similarities (Kauffmann 1900; Burkitt 1900; Streitberg 1971, xlii-xliv; Hunter 1969, 349).[30] The Gothic Codex Ambrosianus, from which the example from Timothy is drawn, appears to have an especially strong affinity to the Latin tradition of the west (Friedrichsen 1939; Stutz 1972). In fact, it is in the letters to the Colossians, 1Timothy, and 2Timothy that the largest preponderance of Latin influences occur among the Epistles (Friedrichsen 1939, 181).

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[29]   The influence of Gothic on the Latin of the Palatinian version (e) can be seen, for example, in Luke 1:9:

    (i)   κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἱερατείας ἔλαχεν τοῦ θυμιᾶσαι εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου   [Gκ]
          bi biuhtja gudjinassaus hlauts imma urrann du saljan, atgaggands in alh fraujins [CA]   [Gотн]
          secundum consuetudinem sacerdotii, sors (+illi *e*) exiit ut incensum poneret, ingressus in templum
          Domini   [Lat]
          'according to the custom of the priesthood, it fell to him by lot to burn incense, entering into the
          temple of the Lord'

    The Gothic version adds *imma*, 'to him' because the infinitive *du saljan* requires it. Since Latin uses a finite clause (*ut...*), it does not require the pronoun. But in the Palatinian version, an extraneous *illi* is added, clearly demonstrating reliance on the Gothic pattern (Friedrichsen 1926, 174). Examples of Gothic influence on the Codex Brixianus (f) include, for example, the conflation of Alexandrian ἐφοβήθησαν 'they feared' with Byzantine ἐθαύμασαν 'they marvelled' in Matthew 9:8, producing Gothic *ohtedun sildaleikjandans* 'marvelling they feared', copied in the Codex Brixianus as *admirantes timuerunt* but not found in any other Latin rendering (Burkitt 1900; Hunter 1969, 350).

[30]   The fact that the Codex Brixianus was bound with a preface to a Gothic-Latin bilingual Bible, and that reference is made there to the *wulþres*, special Gothic marginal glosses, tied specifically to the CA, suggests strongly that these two works originally constituted a bilingual bible (Hunter 1969, 349). The influence of the Vulgate is also evident: according to Burkitt (1900), the Codex Brixianus resembles the Vulgate about 90%.

It may, indeed, be possible to use this small clue to draw a larger conclusion: that Wulfila followed Greek precisely in forming objective complement perfects, but that Gothic scribes of the 6th c., located in Northern Italy, were influenced by later Latin trends of their own time (Friedrichsen 1926, 161), and produced a more grammaticalized, Latinized version of the perfect. The remarkable similarity of the Gothic and Latin patterns thus constitutes further evidence of Latin influence, as described above.

Similar evidence is provided by an additional verse from 2Timothy:

(52)   καὶ ἀνανήψωσιν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου παγίδος ἐζωγρημένοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ
        ἐκείνου θέλημα   [Gĸ]
        jah usskarjaindau us unhulþins wruggon, fram þammei gafahanai habanda
        afar is wiljin. [A]   [Goth]
        jah usskarjaindau us unhulþins wruggon, fram þammei gafahanai tiuhanda
        afar is wiljin. [B]   [Goth]
        et resipiscant a diaboli laqueis, a quo captivi tenentur ad ipsius volunta-
        tem   [Lat]
        'and they may come to their senses [and escape] from the snare of the devil,
        having been held captive by him to do his will.' (2Timothy 2:26)

Once again, Latin and the two extant versions of Gothic from Codex Ambrosianus A and B agree in constructing periphrastic replacements for the complex synthetic Greek form, the A version closely replicating the Latin *captivi tenentur*, though using *have* rather than *hold* as the auxiliary, the B version focusing more pointedly on the leading away of captives.[31] In both cases, the Gothic is based squarely on the Latin, with the A version constructing a more grammaticalized *have* perfect similar to that found in example (49) from 1Timothy 4:2.[32]

What can we conclude from these findings? I suggest that these manuscripts are providing small but significant evidence that the absence of grammaticalized *have* perfects in the archaic layers of Gothic is no anomaly, as implied by Benveniste, but that this absence reflects the non-productivity of perfects in the earlier-attested Germanic languages. It is only when Gothic comes in contact with Latin that more grammaticalized western European-style *have* perfects develop. The data, then, support the views of Meillet, that Latin had much to do with the development of the

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[31]   The B variant was clearly influenced by a nearby parallel passage, 2Timothy 3:6 (Friedrichsen 1939, 250; Streitberg 1971, 436):

        (i)   αἰχμαλωτίζοντες γυναικάρια   [Gĸ]
                frahunþana tiuhand qineina [AB]   [Goth]
                captivas ducunt mulierculas   [Lat]
                'captivating (leading away captive) weak women'

[32]   Other signs of direct Latin influence in this verse in both the A and B versions are the use of the relative pronoun *þammei* and the order of the words (Friedrichsen 1939, 213).

category in Germanic. Here we may be witnessing, in microcosm, how that influence occurred: Gothic tends to imitate the objective-complement style of perfects of NT Greek, but in several cases where Latin influence is clearly in evidence, the use of the *have* perfect resembles the more grammaticalized version. The versions of Gothic, then, may be providing evidence not only for the effect of a Greek pattern, but also, in several key examples, of a more grammaticalized Latin model.

Finally, with regard to the larger issue at hand, evidence for the "sacral stamp," this adoption of a more grammaticalized *have* perfect may also have been partially motivated by a desire on the part of the Latin and Gothic translators to render the aspectual nuance of the Greek participles with greater precision. The translators could simply have used past passive participles (e.g., 'burned', 'captured') but, by inserting the *have*, they insisted upon the anteriority of the event implied by the Greek synthetic perfect (e.g., 'having been burned', 'having been captured'). The impetus for providing a more nuanced paraphrase seems, again, to be due to a reverence for the Sacred Word.

[5]   THE SACRAL STAMP OF GREEK ON OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

The early influence of Greek is also extensive in Old Church Slavonic translations of the Bible. As Růžička (1963, 3) notes, OCS texts consisted almost completely of translations of Greek religious texts, and these tended to be extremely literal because of the high esteem in which the originals were held. The first Slavic literary language was thus shaped according to the syntactic patterns and stylistic norms of Greek. Hannick (1972, 424) and Tzitzilis (1999, 605) also draw attention to the influence that Greek played in the Slavic translations of the 9th–12th c.

In the 6th c., the Slavs and other nomadic tribes entered the Balkan peninsula, settling in areas which were less intensely hellenized or romanized (Schaller 1975, 61; Banfi 1985, 135; Asenova 1999, 213). OCS developed in the ambience of Greek culture and language, and, as has been seen elsewhere, contact with Greek played an essential role in the development of various participial constructions in that language. Růžička (1963, 365) summarizes the role of Greek in the strongest terms:

> Die Vorbildwirkung des Griechischen auf das Partizipialsystem der alt-slavischen Übersetzungen war von einer Stärke, die in der Geschichte großer Literatursprachen wenige Beispiele kennt.[33]

The Greek New Testament, along with later medieval Byzantine texts, provided OCS writers with abundant syntactic, semantic, and stylistic models of participial usages. Růžička (1963, 17) presents a rich array of examples of such influence, illustrating how OCS translators patterned their participle and periphrastic usage on

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[33]   "The role model effect of Greek on the participial system of OCS translations was of a strength which has seldom occurred in the history of the major literary languages."

that of their Greek models. Among the numerous progressives can be listed the following:

(53)   (=(13), (19))
        ὡς γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τρώγοντες καὶ πί-
        νοντες γαμοῦντες καὶ γαμίζοντες   [Gκ]
        sicut enim erant in diebus ante diluvium comedentes et bibentes, nubentes
        et nuptum tradentes   [Lat]
        ĕkože bo bĕachǫ, vŭ dĭni prĕžde potopa, ĕdǫšte i pijǫšte, ženęšte sę i posaga-
        jǫšte   [OCS]
        'For as in those days before the flood they were eating and drinking, marry-
        ing and giving in marriage' (Matthew 24:38)

(54)   (= (42))
        ἦσαν γὰρ πάντες προσδοκῶντες αὐτόν   [Gκ]
        wesun auk allai beidandans is [CA]   [Goth]
        erant enim omnes exspectantes eum   [Lat]
        bĕachǫ bo vĭsi čajǫšte ego   [OCS]
        'for they had all been waiting for him' (Luke 8:40)

(55)   (=(15), (21))
        οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν   [Gκ]
        Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis   [Lat]
        ne srdce li naju gorę bĕ vŭ naju   [OCS]
        'were not our hearts burning within us' (Luke 24:32)

The syntactic parallelism across languages is unmistakable: in each example, the components of the progressive construction are placed in exactly the same position. Růžička (1963, 204) points to a morphosyntactic differentiation not evident in the Greek which is, however, found in the distribution of the auxiliary in OCS: *bĕachǫ* functions as a full verb and can be separated from the participle, while *bĕ*, being fully grammaticalized, has no independent semantic value and is not separable.[34] This tendency is to be noted in most cases, as illustrated above, but exceptions exist:

(56)   (=(14), (20))
        καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα   [Gκ]
        jah silba was Iesus swe jere þrije tigiwe uf gakunþai[35] [CA]   [Goth]

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[34]   The auxiliary *byti* is, however, not grammaticalized to the point of being deletable, as the copula is. Růžička goes on to identify the *bĕ* form as an "intensive imperfect" (Růžička 1963, 202–3; 216).

[35]   The challenge of interpreting the Greek also causes difficulty in Gothic, where *uf gakunþai* translates ἀρχόμενος in an unclear way, perhaps meaning 'under obedience' (Streitberg 1971, 99).

Et ipse Jesus <u>erat incipiens</u> quasi annorum triginta   [LAT]
itŭ <u>bě</u> isŭ. ěko trĭmi desęty lětŭ. <u>načinaję</u>.   [OCS]
'and Jesus <u>was beginning</u> at about thirty years' (Luke 3:23)

Růžička (1963, 173–4) explains that the participle *načinaję* here formally modifies the validity of the entire predication *bě trĭmi desęty lětŭ* 'he was thirty years old', making *bě* the preferable choice.

A similar faithfulness to the Greek model is to be found in the construction of the *be* perfects, as witnessed even by the use of the *že* particle in imitation of the Greek δέ as in the following example of a pluperfect:

(57)   a.   κατακολουθήσασαι   δὲ   αἱ
           follow_after-AOR.ACT.PTCP.F.NOM.PL PTCL DEF.ART.F.NOM.PL
           γυναῖκες   αἵτινες   <u>ἦσαν</u>
           woman-F.NOM.PL who-F.NOM.PL be-IMPERFECT.ACT.3PL
           <u>συνεληλυθυῖαι</u>   ἐκ   τῆς
           come_with-PERF.ACT.PTCP.F.NOM.PL out_of DEF.ART-F.GEN.SG
           Γαλιλαίας   αὐτῷ
           Galilee-F.GEN.SG him-DAT.SG
   b.   vŭ slědŭ že šĭdŭšę
           in tracks PTCL follow-IMPERFECTIVE.ACT.PTCP.F.NOM.PL
           ženy,   ježe   <u>běacho</u>   sŭ   nimĭ
           woman-F.NOM.PL who-F.NOM.PL be-IMPERFECT.ACT.3PL with him
           <u>prišĭly</u>   ot   galileję
           come-PAST.ACT.PTCP.PL from Galilee
           'Following after, the women who had come with him from Galilee…'
           (Luke 23:55)

The OCS translator copies both the initial aorist participle construction to describe the women who were following and the Greek pluperfect construction in *be* + perfect active participle (ἦσαν συνεληλυθυῖαι) by using the imperfect form of *be* + past active *l*-participle (*běachǫ prišĭly*). It is clear that both participial formations illustrated here conform precisely to that of the Greek original.[36] By contrast, the Latin rendition of the *be* perfect, as mentioned above, does not construct a pe-

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[36]   Růžička does not focus on the role of the *l*-perfect in his book, nor on periphrastic perfects in general; he excludes the *l*-perfects from consideration because they constitute "eine einheitliche und syntaktisch wenig problematische Verwendung im Altslavischen" ("a uniform and not very problematic use, syntactically, in OCS") (Růžička 1963, vi). That the unified nature of this perfect is due to its antiquity is confirmed by Meillet (1922, 42), who notes that the *l*-perfect surely dates back to Proto-Slavic, although it represents an innovation from an Indo-European standpoint (*pace* Večerka (1993, 88), who regards the replacement of the synthetic IE perfect with the *l*-perfect as occurring in dialectal Indo-European). Trost (1972, 93–99) illustrates the flexibility which OCS translators demonstrate in their rendering of subtle semantic distinctions of the Greek models in their *l*-perfect constructions.

riphrastic perfect, but uses a synthetic pluperfect, *venerant:*[37]

(58) subsecutae autem mulieres, quae
follow_after-PASS.PTCP.F.NOM.PL PTCL woman-F.NOM.PL who-F.NOM.PL
cum eo <u>venerant</u> de Galilaea
with him come-PLUPERFECT.ACT.3PL from Galilee
(Luke 23:55)

The introductory participle is also noteworthy: while Greek and Old Church Slavonic have past active participles at their disposal, Latin has only the perfect deponent participle, identical in form to the perfect passive participle, to connote both pastness and activeness at once. As a deponent verb, then, *subsecutae* accurately replicates the aorist active participle of Greek. However, if a transitive verb had been used, such a precise replication could not have occurred, since the perfect participles of transitive verbs in Latin are passive. The limited range of participles in Latin in comparison with those of Greek and OCS may have larger than expected implications: the preference for *be* perfects in the East and their more attenuated use in the West may be connected to divergent tendencies already visible in OCS and Vulgar Latin.[38]

The identification of OCS preterite participles with Greek aorist and perfect participles greatly increased their productivity, and extended their semantic range (Růžička 1963, 370). Passive participles also came to play a larger predicative role in OCS than elsewhere in Slavic through direct Greek influence (Růžička 1963, 265; 369). Importantly for our discussion, but not surprisingly, the objective complement *have* constructions of the New Testament were also translated virtually word for word, not with an *l*-participle, but rather with a past passive participle, in direct imitation of the Greek original:

(59) (=(2), (17), (23))

a. συκῆν <u>εἶχέν</u> τις
fig_tree-F.ACC.SG have-IMPERFECT.ACT.3SG someone
<u>πεφυτευμένην</u> ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι αὐτοῦ
plant-PERF.PASS.PTCP.F.ACC.SG in the vineyard his

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[37] This verse is not attested in Gothic.

[38] For example, in 1Corinthians 15:19, Gothic and Latin render the perfect participle of the Greek periphrastic *be* perfect as a present active participle, preserving the active voice but losing the reference to anteriority:

(i) εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἐν Χριστῷ <u>ἠλπικότες ἐσμὲν</u> μόνον   [Gκ]
jabai in þizai libainai [ainai] in Xristau <u>wenjandans sijum</u> þatainei [A]   [Goth]
si in hac vita tantum in Christo <u>sperantes sumus</u>   [Lat]
'If we have hoped/were hoping in Christ in this life only'

b. smokovĭnico   iměaše   edinŭ vŭ vinogradě
fig_tree-F.ACC.SG have-IMPERFECTIVE.ACT.3SG one   in vineyard
svoemĭ vŭsaždeno
his   plant-PAST.PASS.PTCP.F.ACC.SG
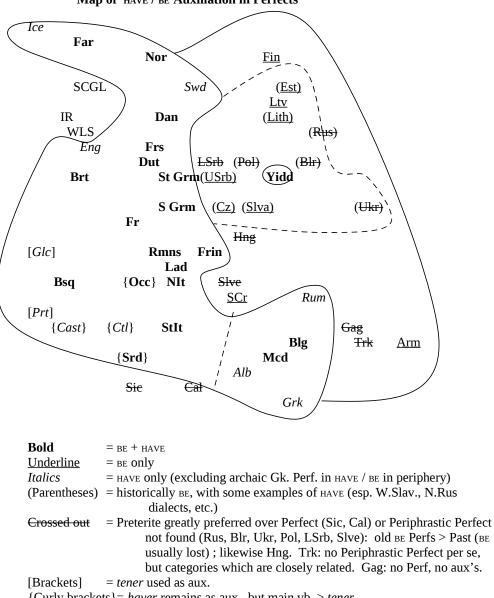'A certain man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard' (Luke 13:6)

As we have seen with regard to Latin and Gothic, the OCS *have* constructions are better viewed as objective complement-type perfects than as fully grammaticalized perfects; accordingly, the *have* has more possessive semantic value than a pure auxiliary would. Related to this fact, it is significant that it is the *be* construction which takes hold in the East, as mentioned above, in traditions under the sway of Byzantine Greece, not the grammaticalized *have* construction. It is, in fact, this very tendency in the East to use the *be*-auxiliary to form the perfect vs. the propensity towards *have/be* in the West which has left its mark on the distribution of perfect auxiliaries in Europe today: as the map in figure 1 on page 68 indicates, the distribution appears to follow confessional lines fairly closely, with *be*-perfects occurring especially in languages influenced by Greek Orthodoxy, and *have/be*-perfects appearing predominantly in languages under the sway of Roman Catholicism. This role of religious affiliation as an essential force in the formation of the European perfect is explored in more detail in Drinka (Forthcoming).

[6] CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we have seen that the sacral stamp of Greek, and upon Greek, has operated on a large scale, as well as in the minute details. Greek has set the tone and provided the template. Translators have shaped their style and syntax according to these patterns, as they endowed their own words with the archaic sounds of the past that connoted reverence and membership in the Christian community. We have seen how this tradition of harkening back to ancient patterns has been documented even for the evangelists themselves, and above all for Luke.

With regard specifically to the periphrastic structures focused on in this paper, we have noted the increased productivity above all of the periphrastic progressive in NT Greek, based especially on the model of the Septuagint. This construction comes to be copied in the Vulgate, and is found especially in Latin writings which spring from the Christian tradition. Writings which were not connected to Christianity, even if they were influenced by Greek, did not participate in this trend. What we can conclude, with Amenta (2003), is that this structure had become a symbol of membership in the Christian community, and that the Vulgate itself served as a conduit of this structure into the European written tradition. The eager adoption of these structures in Gothic and Old Church Slavonic bears witness to the power of the "sacral stamp" of Greek.

The periphrastic perfect also grew in use, but less robustly; it apparently has no

Map of ʜᴀᴠᴇ / ʙᴇ Auxiliation in Perfects

Ice

Far

Nor   Fin

SCGL   *Swd*   (Est)

                             Ltv

IR   **Dan**   (Lith)

WLS   (Rus)

Eng   **Frs**

               Dut   L̶S̶r̶b̶ (P̶o̶l̶)   (B̶l̶r̶)

Brt   **St Grm**(USrb)   (Yidd)

               S Grm (Cz) (Slva)   (U̶k̶r̶)

               Fr

[*Glc*]   **Rmns** **Frin**

                     Lad   H̶n̶g̶

Bsq   {**Occ**} **NIt**

                              S̶l̶v̶e̶

[*Prt*]   SCr   *Rum*

     {*Cast*}   {*Ctl*}   **StIt**

                                          Blg   G̶a̶g̶

          {**Srd**}   **Mcd**   T̶r̶k̶   Arm

     S̶i̶c̶   C̶a̶l̶   *Alb*

                              Grk

Bold	= ʙᴇ + ʜᴀᴠᴇ
<u>Underline</u>	= ʙᴇ only
Italics	= ʜᴀᴠᴇ only (excluding archaic Gk. Perf. in ʜᴀᴠᴇ / ʙᴇ in periphery)
(Parentheses)	= historically ʙᴇ, with some examples of ʜᴀᴠᴇ (esp. W.Slav., N.Rus dialects, etc.)
C̶r̶o̶s̶s̶e̶d̶ ̶o̶u̶t̶	= Preterite greatly preferred over Perfect (Sic, Cal) or Periphrastic Perfect not found (Rus, Blr, Ukr, Pol, LSrb, Slve): old ʙᴇ Perfs > Past (ʙᴇ usually lost) ; likewise Hng. Trk: no Periphrastic Perfect per se, but categories which are closely related. Gag: no Perf, no aux's.
[Brackets]	= *tener* used as aux.
{Curly brackets}	= *haver* remains as aux., but main vb. > *tener*
CAPS	= ʙᴇ (+ 'after') + verbal noun (Ir, Wls, ScGl)

FIGURE 1: *Have/be* auxiliation in perfects

predecessor in the LXX. The objective complement-style *have* perfect was imitated precisely in Latin, Gothic, and Old Church Slavonic, while the *be* perfect was only rendered literally in OCS, where past and perfect active participles were available, as in Greek.

Gothic provides essential evidence which can help us unravel the complex history of the perfect in Europe: as mentioned above, Gothic tends to imitate the less grammaticalized, objective-complement style of perfects of NT Greek, but in several cases where Latin influence is clearly in evidence, the use of the *have* perfect resembles the more grammaticalized version to be found in western Europe later. Gothic, then, may be providing evidence of two strata of influence, the earlier owing to the model of Greek, the later to the influence of Latin. This fact provides indirect but key evidence supporting the claim made by Meillet (1970) that Latin played an essential role in the development of the Germanic perfects.

In general, we can conclude that the influence of Greek on the syntactic and stylistic patterns which eventually developed in eastern and western Europe was substantial. The progressive, a clear mark of a "Christian accent", was directly copied in each of the traditions examined here; the perfect, on the other hand, was interpreted in western Europe through the lens of Latin.

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NATIVE SYNTAX AND TRANSLATION EFFECTS: ADNOMINAL ARGUMENTS IN THE GREEK AND LATIN NEW TESTAMENT

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ABSTRACT

A comparative study of the syntax of adnominal arguments in the Greek original and in the Latin Vulgate translation of the Gospels shows that word order in this domain is strikingly parallel in the two languages. The fact that faithfulness in translating evidently extends to syntax, leveling Latin to the Greek model, must not lead to the conclusion that the language of the Latin translation is *artificially* shaped in conformity to the Greek; rather, it shows that Latin, at this diachronic stage, shared with New Testament Greek some significant parametric settings pertaining to nominal syntax.

[1] INTRODUCTION

[1.1] *The focus of this work*

Bible translations offer to the linguist a unique opportunity to investigate a natural parallel corpus characterized by a potentially optimal combination of factors, among which the homogeneity of pragmatic contexts and the expected faithfulness on the part of the translator are of particular import to syntactic investigation.

However, scholars are also well aware of the main impediment which often frustrates their attempts when dealing with this class of documents: faithfulness in translating sacred texts, because of the awe of the model felt by the translators and by the community they serve, typically proceeds so far as to override in many important respects the native characteristics of the translation's language. Thus, for instance, Plater & White (1926, 29) remark upon the 'almost slavish literalness' of the Old Latin translations of biblical texts and even suggest that the earliest Latin versions might have been interlinear translations of the Greek original. Metzger (1977, 323) expresses a particularly definite stand in this respect: 'The style of the translation in pre-Jerome versions is totally lacking in polish, often painfully literal, and occasionally even of dubious Latinity. It is not difficult to understand how such characteristics arose from interlinear renderings of the Greek text which sought to preserve the letter of the sacred text. Such concern led to many important consequences, the first being a strong exotic quality in both vocabulary and syntax.'

Bible translations are, thus, a class of texts for which distinguishing between features of native syntax and features arising through interference by translation effects is a particularly complex task. Moreover, in the case of Latin, a further complicating factor is represented by the intricate socio-linguistic setting from which the translations originate. By the last decades of the 4th century—when Jerome was working at the *Vulgata*—the divide between the standard classicist language and sub-élite registers had become deep (cf. Adams 2003, esp. chapter 8, for an overview). Often 'exotic' constructions and lexical items occurring in biblical translations turn out to find parallels in contemporary documents written in the 'colloquial register of the educated' (Clackson & Horrocks 2007, 286), i.e. the *sermo humilis* which was gaining a broader written representation in connection to the social and cultural changes brought about by the Christian revolution. That is, some linguistic peculiarities that had previously been attributed to translation effects, or to a special register of 'Christian Latin', can better be interpreted as properties of the evolving native language (cf. Clackson & Horrocks 2007, 284-292 for discussion).

In this paper I present an attempt to distinguish between translation effects and native syntax in the case of one specific phenomenon: the distribution of genitives expressing adnominal arguments in the late variety of Latin used in the *Vulgata* translation from the Greek. The focus on this phenomenon is motivated by two observations. On the one hand, a sensible differentiation in the linear ordering of genitives with respect to the Classical Latin situation can be observed: while Classical Latin is characterized by a mixed GN/NG system, the variety used in the *Vulgata* presents an overwhelmingly NG ordering (cf. section [2]). On the other hand, this state of affairs finds a remarkable correspondence in the distribution of genitives found in the Greek original (cf. section [3]).

The question which arises here is whether the Latin NG order has to be explained as a direct effect of the Greek model. I will argue that the similarities in the syntax of genitives between New Testament Greek and Latin find a *stylistic* motivation in the ideological criteria governing the translation technique of sacred texts, but also represent a *grammatically significant* phenomenon, in that they are brought about by 'natural' changes affecting the native syntax of Latin.

My empirical basis is represented by (i) a quantificational evaluation of translation effects by means of a comparative study of the language of the four Gospels in the Greek original and in the *Vulgata* translation (section [3]); (ii) a comparison of the data coming from the *Vulgata* with those of earlier and contemporary Latin texts, commonly considered instances of the 'new' colloquial register (section [4]).

The examination of the first set of evidence will show that, although the parallelism between the Greek and the Latin texts in the realization of adnominal arguments is largely predominant, a particular Greek construction can be singled out, where variation with respect to the model appears to be significant in the Latin version. This construction, which involves genitive extraposition and reanalysis at

a clausal level, is perceived by the Latin translator as alien to his native competence, and is therefore not straightforwardly reproduced in the Latin word order.

The comparison with non-translated texts, on the other hand, will demonstrate that the NG order found in the *Vulgata* finds a parallel in earlier and contemporary native documents. This hints to the existence of a 'real' syntactic change, i.e. to a profound reorganization of the internal structure of the nominal phrase, moving from the mixed GN/NG grammar of Classical Latin to the NG grammar of Late Latin. Accordingly, I will propose that the NG order found in the *Vulgata* is not the ephemeral result of interference through translation effects, but is consistent with a more general tendency of the non-conservative colloquial register, which can be argued to have been so pertinacious as to be transmitted to the Romance languages.

[1.2]   *The Latin text*

Methodological advances in the diachronic study of syntax strongly point to the importance of adopting an I-language perspective when dealing with historical data: ideally, even when working with closed written corpora, the primary goal of the investigation should consist in the description of individual systems of linguistic competence, of the mental grammars of single speakers, as the only scientifically approachable entities (cf. Lightfoot 2006, Crisma & Longobardi 2009). Only once (modules of) individual mental grammars have been adequately described, is it possible to proceed further in accounting for variation within linguistic communities, and for its import in the process of language change. This task is particularly difficult when dealing with texts of such a complex history as the Gospels in the *Vulgata* translation.

The extent to which they represent an individual competence, namely Jerome's, is a matter of endless debate. If it is true that Jerome 'was destined to fix the literary form of the Bible of the entire Western Church' (Metzger 1977, 332), it is also necessary to consider that he relied on previous translations of the Gospels, which go under the name of Old Latin, and which are of a very heterogeneous nature. To quote Metzger again, 'the Old Latin was a living creature, constantly growing' (*ib.*, 325).

In his address to Pope Damasus, Jerome explicitly declares the twofold aim which guides his revision of the Old Latin translations: to correct mistakes in interpretation and to base the Latin version on the best Greek textual tradition.[1] The excellence of his achievements in both respects is commonly acknowledged by New Testament scholarship. However, there is also agreement on the fact that Jerome did not translate the Gospels anew, but rather revised the Old Latin versions (cf. Metzger 1977, 352-362, Aland & Aland 1989, 191, Elliott 1992). His original work as translator is clearly detectable only in those Old Testament canonical books that he translated directly from the Hebrew. No consensus, on the other hand, is reached

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[1]   Hier., *Praefatio Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri in Evangelio*, Weber et al. (1994, 1515f.).

on the precise evaluation of Jerome's revision in the case of the language of the Old Latin Gospels, and especially on Jerome's actual responsibility for most *grammatical* choices. While systematic substitutions of lexical items are relatively easy to detect (cf. among others Meershoek 1966, Burton 2000, 191-199), it is much more complicated to assess Jerome's responsibility for specific constructions and word-order patterns. Just to give an example of two extreme views on the topic, according to Plater & White (1926, 29), Jerome did not change the 'slavish' literalness of the Old Latin Gospels. Burton (2000, 192), on the other hand, goes as far as to suggest that, in translating, 'Jerome's technique in the Vulgate Gospels is often more literal than that of his Old Latin models', and he adduces evidence for motivated differences in word order between the Old Latin texts and Jerome's Vulgate (Burton 2000, 197f.). Metzger (1977, 353) reports H. J. Vogels' calculations, according to which Jerome would have changed the Latin translation in approximately 3,500 passages, for both stylistic and philological reasons. These quantificational efforts, however, must be considered tentative, in light of the fact that there is no certainty with respect to both the Old Latin and the Greek text(s) used by Jerome (cf. Metzger 1977, 352-374, Aland & Aland 1989, 190-192).

From this very cursory introduction it should be clear that the task of carrying out an examination of Jerome's translation technique has to deal with some serious issues concerning the state of the available documentation. Another problem is represented by Jerome's multifaceted competence of Latin: as will be discussed in section [4], the language used in biblical translations differs from the register adopted in Jerome's literary production in some important respects, including word order and the frequency of discontinuous constituents. In principle, this fact could be interpreted in two opposite ways: as proving the artificialness of the Latin biblical language, or as witnessing a situation of *diglossia*, whereby two distinct varieties stemming from the same language co-exist as structurally and functionally separate systems within a community and, often, within the competence of individual speakers.

My data suggest that this second explanation is on the right track, and that the heterogeneity observable in Jerome's corpus of works is due to the fact that he mastered two distinct varieties of Latin, one governed by the system of rules of Classical Latin, and the other one represented by the 'new' *sermo humilis*, i.e. the colloquial, sub-élite variety (cf. also Adams 1976, 82-83, for a similar perspective on the problem). However, a thorough discussion of Jerome's diglossia would require the exam of a much wider sample of texts and, especially, linguistic phenomena, in order to assess whether we are dealing with a difference between *stylistic registers* or rather between *grammatical systems.* I will therefore start from a somewhat weaker stance, which will be further motivated in section [2]: I will assume that Jerome will have included in the translation of the Gospels that he edited only constructions which he considered to be *grammatical*, although maybe far from the stylistic register in

which he had been educated in his classicist rhetorical training. In this way, we can consider Jerome's language in the Vulgate as an I-language, i.e. as a system of principles and parameter settings.

[1.3]   *Criteria for data collection*

In order to come as close as possible to Jerome's original version of the Vulgate, the edition used for data collection in this work is the Stuttgart Vulgate (Weber et al. 1994).[2] In collecting data on genitive constructions, I adopted the following criteria:[3]

(1)   a.   in general, only genitives which semantically qualify as arguments of the nominal head (possessive, subjective and objective genitives) or which instantiate a contextually determined relation with the head noun (a subclass of epexegetical genitives) are included;

   b.   partitive genitives and genitives of quality are not in the corpus;

   c.   genitives and possessive adjectives are counted separately;

   d.   only constructions where the head is a noun are counted (e.g. no genitives which depend on verbs or adjectives);

   e.   items which occur in nominal phrases with a gapped noun (ellipsis) are disregarded;

   f.   items which are discontinuous with respect to their head noun are not counted.

The semantic restrictions imposed on the search (1a)–(1b) are motivated by cross-linguistic evidence pointing to a different structural configuration for the DPs containing arguments or quasi-arguments and the DPs containing the genitive constituents excluded from the corpus. In particular, partitive genitives enter into a quantificational structure, where they express the set over which the head of the construction quantifies. Genitives of quality are instead attributive adjuncts.

   Examples of argumental genitives are given in (2a)–(2c), displaying respectively a possessive, a subjective, and an objective genitive. The two latter types are most often found with deverbal nominalizations:

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[2]   Due to this choice, many of the cited examples display orthographical conventions which are likely to be unfamiliar to some readers, such as for instance the absence of punctuation, the use of lower case for ethnic adjectives, some inconsistency with proper names. This stems from the decision of the Stuttgart Vulgate's editors to conservatively mirror in the text the orthography of Mediaeval manuscripts. The English translations of the New Testament passages generally correspond to the Revised Standard Version, but are sometimes modified to provide a more literal rendering. The Greek text follows the Nestle-Aland edition (Nestle et al. 1993).

[3]   I will use the following abbreviations, most of which are standard in typological studies and formal syntactic research: D: determiner (article); A: adjective; G: genitive; G^{agr}: possessive adjective; N: noun; P: phrase; DP: determiner phrase (nominal phrase).

(2)   a.   in domo Simonis leprosi
             'in the house of Simon the leper' (Mt 26:6)
       b.   in praedicatione Ionae
             'at the preaching of Jonah' (Mt 12:41)
       c.   a constitutione mundi
             'since the foundation of the world' (Mt 13:35)

It is in many cases debatable whether epexegetical genitives ('*génitif explicatif ou de définition*' in Ernout & Thomas 1953, 'appositive genitive' in Blass & Debrunner 1961) qualify as quasi-arguments or rather as attributive adjuncts. The class of uses subsumed under this label by the grammars is quite heterogeneous, as insightfully discussed by de Groot (1957). I included in my collection only a subset of what is traditionally comprised in the category, namely those genitives which have with the head noun a relation that can be paraphrased as 'belonging to N, having to do with N', i.e. a relation similar to that of possession (what de Groot 1957 calls 'conjunctive genitive'). Examples are given in (3):

(3)   a.   vestimentum de pilis camelorum
             'clothing made of camel's hair'(Mt 3:4)
       b.   lilia agri
             'the lilies of the field' (Mt 6:28)
       c.   tempus fructuum
             'the time of the fruits' (Mt 21:34)

The reason for including, in addition to purely argumental genitives, also this subset of epexegetical genitives lies in (i) the fact that genitives expressing such generic relation or connection to the head noun have been shown by cross-linguistic research to have the same structural characteristics as possessive, subjective, and objective genitives (see Giorgi & Longobardi 1991, who apply to this kind of genitives the notion of 'R-relation', which partially overlaps with the traditional notion of epexegetical genitive); (ii) the practical problem encountered when trying to consistently distinguish between possessive and epexegetical genitives, since the two interpretations are often difficult to tell apart. In order to avoid arbitrary choices, it seemed preferable to include them in the corpus.

The exclusion, on the other hand, of genitives of quality may be argued to lead to an underestimation of Greek influence on Latin syntax. It is often noticed, in fact, that the frequency of this kind of construction was substantially enhanced by its presence in the Greek model, in turn heavily influenced by Hebrew in this respect (cf. Plater & White 1926, 93, Blass & Debrunner 1961, 91f.).

Although I don't have precise quantitative data on this, it can safely be said that the inclusion of genitives of quality, and of partitive genitives, would not lead to change the estimate of the overwhelming tendencies observable in the linear or-

dering of genitive constituents. Here, however, the focus of interest with respect to genitive constituents is represented by their function as expression of adnominal arguments or quasi-arguments. It is therefore preferable to keep the data sample homogeneous in this respect.[4]

A comment is also in order with respect to the issue of discontinuity (1f). First, it is necessary to distinguish between *discontinuity* proper (linear order of the DP disrupted by the occurrence of DP-external elements) and *non-adjacency* (occurrence of other DP-internal elements in between the head and the adjective or the genitive). If the latter phenomenon is very important in order to detect the relative ordering of constituents and, thus, the internal syntactic configuration of the Latin DP, only the former qualifies as *hyperbaton*, i.e. as a displacement operation motivated by discourse factors at the clausal level. Thus, for example, differently from e.g. Bauer (2009), a non-adjacent genitive in a NAG sequence is not classified as discontinuous with respect to its head, and is therefore included in the corpus.

Secondly, as in Bolkestein (1998, 2001), some DP-external elements have not been considered as inducers of real syntactic discontinuity: this is the case of discourse particles typically occurring in the second position of the sentence (e.g. *autem, enim, quidem, vero*), of some forms of the personal pronouns (those with a purely anaphoric function, not introducing a new referent, a contrastive topic or a focused element), and of forms of the copula *esse*. The position of these elements is not entirely determined by syntactic structure, but is influenced by phonological and prosodic factors (cf. Adams 1994a,b on the placement of the copula and of unstressed personal pronouns, and the recent evaluation in Bauer 2009, 294-299, concerning 'second-position' placement in Latin).

In light of these criteria, discontinuous constituents in the Latin Gospels are very few. They are excluded because the basic pre- or post-nominal position of genitives cannot be safely assessed, and a decision in this respect would be dependent on theory-internal considerations; the same can be said in the case of ellipsis of the head noun (1e).

[2]   THE DATA FROM THE LATIN GOSPELS

In this section I present the data on the distribution of genitive constituents that I collected for the *Vulgata* translation of the four Gospels. The main goal here is to summarize to what extent the Latin variety employed in these texts differs from the Classical one with respect to DP-internal syntax. In section [3] I will discuss

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[4]   A reviewer points out that a looser semantic relationship of some genitives with the head noun may result in a looser syntactic cohesion of the nominal constituents which host them. This perspective has been explored in its typological implications by Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2005), and in reference to Latin by Lehmann (1991). My data on the nominal syntax of the Greek and Latin New Testament are not particularly telling in this respect, given the general cohesion observed in the nominal group. However, a difference in distributional constraints between argumental and non-argumental genitives is certainly observable in Classical Latin, cf. Gianollo (2005).

Genitives	NG	GN
Evangelium sec. Matthaeum	577 (97.1%)	17 (2.9%)
Evangelium sec. Marcum	267 (97.1%)	8 (2.9%)
Evangelium sec. Lucam	572 (97.9%)	12 (2.1%)
Evangelium sec. Ioannem	322 (94.1%)	20 (5.9%)

TABLE 1: Position of genitives in the Latin Gospels

possible translation effects on these constructions, by means of a systematic comparison with the Greek original, and in section [4] I will shortly present the data coming from other diastratically and/or diachronically comparable 'native' (non-translated) Latin texts.

[2.1]   *Genitives*

Table 1 shows the data relative to the position of genitive constituents with respect to the head noun in the four Latin Gospels.

In Gianollo (2007) I report data from Classical Latin texts, which, when compared to the situation found in the *Vulgata*, allow one to single out two crucial structural differences:

a) Whereas Classical Latin had a 'mixed' system of equally possible pre- and post-nominal orders, the Latin found in the *Vulgata* has overwhelmingly shifted towards the post-nominal construction. It is particularly relevant that the observed shift in positioning does not correlate with a change in morphological marking, since the inflectional system is intact.

b) Whereas in Classical Latin two arguments of the same head noun could be simultaneously expressed (i.e. a genitive of the subject and a genitive of the object could co-exist within the same DP), this possibility has been lost in the Latin found in the *Vulgata*.[5]

The mixed NG/GN system of Classical Latin has been investigated from a variety of perspectives, and a number of factors governing the distribution of genitives have been singled out, having to do with syntactic constraints on the relative ordering of arguments, semantic cohesion, information structure, structural complexity of the genitive constituent, prosody, stylistic effects.[6] None of these factors, however, has proved to be bounding with respect to a pre- or post-nominal positioning

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[5]   But cf. discussion in [2.2] and [3.3].

[6]   Cf. most prominently Marouzeau (1922), Adams (1976), de Jong (1983), Pinkster (1990), Elerick (1991), Bolkestein (1998), Devine & Stephens (2006), Bauer (2009), Viti (2010), Magni (2011).

Possessive adjectives	NG^{agr}	G^{agr}N
Evangelium sec. Matthaeum	371 (98%)	8 (2%)
Evangelium sec. Marcum	149 (98%)	3 (2%)
Evangelium sec. Lucam	337 (97.4%)	9 (2.6%)
Evangelium sec. Ioannem	210 (91.3%)	20 (8.7%)

TABLE 2: Position of possessive adjectives in the Latin Gospels

of genitives. What is particularly relevant for our present purposes is that in Classical Latin (i) any argument of the head noun could be expressed either by a pre-nominal or by a post-nominal genitive (cf. Gianollo 2005, 57-64); (ii) informational focus could be connected to either the pre- or the post-nominal position. Devine & Stephens (2006, 380-384) argue for the existence of two basic positions for Classical Latin genitives—one pre-nominal and one post-nominal—and of a third, derived position reached by a pragmatically motivated leftward movement of the genitive constituent. They notice, however, that '[i]n fact, it is almost the case that any pragmatic value can occur in any of the three posited syntactic positions, whether the complement moves or not.' (Devine & Stephens 2006, 380).

These observations on the Classical Latin system take us back to the problem of Jerome's multifaceted competence, discussed in section [1.2]. As an accomplished speaker educated in the classicist rhetorical tradition, he had perfect command of the factors mentioned above, and this is apparent in his original literary production, where NG and GN orders alternate to a ratio comparable to that of Classical Latin documents (cf. the data in section [4]). However, in principle, a text in which any argumental relation and any pragmatic value were expressed by a post-nominal genitive was compatible with his core Classical Latin grammar, although far from the learned stylistic register. What has to be assessed is why Jerome opts for the almost univocal post-nominal positioning of genitives in the *Vulgata*. I will propose an answer to this question by evaluating first the extent of parallelism with respect to the Greek original (section [3]) and secondly the overlapping with some contemporary native Latin texts (section [4]). Before proceeding with these steps, I present below the data concerning possessive adjectives in the *Vulgata*.

[2.2]   *Possessive adjectives*

The distribution of possessive adjectives in the four Latin Gospels is shown in Table 2. This table shows that, in the Latin of the *Vulgata*, the pre-nominal positioning of the possessive adjectives clearly represents a marked order. This tendency was already observable in earlier Latin texts: in Petronius' *Satyricon*, for instance, post-nominal possessive adjectives are 84% of the total, and they reach 90% in the episode

of the *Cena Trimalchionis* (cf. Gianollo 2005, 123-127).[7]

The situation is paralleled by the Greek, where the possessive adjective proper, however, has become extremely rare and is normally substituted by the genitive form of personal pronouns and of αὐτός (cf. section [3.3]).

The possibility of coordinating a possessive adjective with a nominal genitive suggests that they occupy the same structural position, the possessive adjective being only morphologically distinct in virtue of its sharing agreement features with the head noun:

(4)   a.   conservus tuus sum et fratrum tuorum
      b.   σύνδουλός σού εἰμι καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου
           'I am a fellow servant with you and your brethren' (Rev 19:10)

(5)   Deus tuus et seminis tui post te
      'God to you and to your descendants after you' (Gn 17:7)

(6)   possessio tua et filiorum tuorum
      'an inheritance to you and to your children' (Josh. 14:9)

However in the Gospels there is an instance in which a post-nominal possessive adjective co-occurs with a non-coordinated post-nominal genitive, both in Latin and in Greek, thus representing an exception to the ban on double argument realization observed otherwise:

(7)   a.   sanguis meus novi testamenti
      b.   τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης
           'my blood of the covenant' (Mt 26:28, Mk 14:24)

It may be noticed that part of the Greek manuscript tradition—most notably, the received Byzantine text accepted by the Greek Orthodox Church—inserts a doubled determiner (τὸ) before the full genitive in (7), a fact which perhaps could hint to the uneasiness of the reader when faced with this rare construction. I will come back to this problem in section [3.3], when a clearer picture of the syntax of pronominal genitives in Greek will have emerged.

[3] THE GREEK ORIGINAL AND TRANSLATION EFFECTS

[3.1] *Distinguishing translation effects*

Quantitative studies on translation effects in biblical texts, such as e.g. Nunnally (1992) and Taylor (2008) for English, have shown that contact effects of translation on native constructions do not usually bring about real syntactic borrowing, but

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[7]   Interestingly, in Petronius the shift affecting the positioning of possessive adjectives does not correlate with a parallel shift for nominal genitives, which still show the even pre- vs. post-nominal distribution observed in Classical texts.

have a potentially significant statistical import on the frequency of certain constructions. Taylor (2008) distinguishes between two different phenomena, *direct* and *indirect* translation effects. Direct effects amount to the exact reproduction of a matching structure, with outcomes ranging from ungrammatical glossing to frequency enhancement of a native construction. Indirect effects result in the priming of a particular construction, even in absence of a direct matching source for each instance in the translated text, and thus, again, in frequency enhancement. Since, as we will see, in our sample Latin genitive constructions almost always find a straightforwardly matching structure in the Greek original, we will be mainly concerned with direct translation effects: in order to assess their impact, in the following paragraphs the Latin order of genitives and possessive adjectives will be systematically compared with the Greek model.

Before going to the data, however, I will shortly discuss an important aspect of what Jerome himself says with respect to his translation technique and the more general debate between the *sensus pro sensu* and the *verbum pro verbo* approach.

It is well known that what Jerome does in his translation practice does not always correspond to the criteria that he explicitly declares in his works (cf. the comments in Brown 1992, 104-120). From his statements on translation technique, it appears that 'Jerome had two sets of principles for translating literature into Latin: one for the Bible, where a word for word rendering was required, and one for other literature, where a sense for sense translation was needed.' (Brown 1992, 109).[8] However, while the second set of principles is more thoroughly respected, the difficulty in the application of the stricter requirements imposed on Bible translation appears clearly from the study of Jerome's actual practice, which highlights a number of factors (the nature of the languages, the classical rhetorical tradition, and theological considerations *in primis*) which would lead Jerome to abandon the word for word translation in some passages (cf. again Brown 1992, 111-120). What is evident from Jerome's practice and from his declarations is that the respect for the language into which the text is translated is a fundamental necessity, coming second only to the preservation of sense:

(8)   Eadem igitur interpretandi sequenda est regula, quam saepe diximus, ut, ubi non fit damnum in sensu, linguae, in quam transferimus, εὐφωνία et proprietas conservetur

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[8]   The most famous statement in this respect is contained in the *Epistula* 57, also known as *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi: Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.*'I not only admit but proclaim freely that when translating from Greek (except in the case of holy scripture, where even the order of the words is a mystery) I translate sense for sense and not word for word' (Hier. *Ep.* 57.5.2; transl. Brown 1992, 105).

'However, we should always follow the rule which I have repeated so often; viz. that where there is no difference in the sense, we should translate idiomatically and use euphonious language' (Hier., *Ep.* 106.55; transl. Brown 1992, 115)

A passage in the *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* on the necessity to cope with sometimes irreducible differences between languages is particularly relevant here:

(9)   Quanta enim apud Graecos bene dicuntur, quae, si ad verbum transferamus, in Latino non resonant, et e regione, quae apud nos placent, si vertantur iuxta ordinem, apud illos displicebunt!
       'There are many phrases which are charming in Greek, which, if translated word for word, do not sound well in Latin; and conversely there are many which are pleasing to us in Latin which—assuming that the word order is not altered—would not please in Greek.' (Hier., *Ep.* 57.11.4; transl. Brown 1992, 107)

The statements above confirm the assumption guiding this work, namely that Jerome reviewed the Latin translations of the Gospels accepting in his version only constructions which he considered to be grammatical according to his native competence. We may therefore exclude, in principle, heavy borrowing of foreign syntactic constructions in the translation of genitive structures. In sections [3.2]–[3.3] I will try to show that this expectation is, in fact, borne out by the analysis of the data, and there is no syntactic *interference* in this respect. What we might expect, instead, is some degree of interference in the enhancement of the frequency of native constructions. In this case, however, we must ascertain whether the rise in frequency happens unconsciously in the practice of translation or is rather due to another kind of effect, syntactic *imitation*, i.e. to an artistic or more broadly ideological choice ('the Biblical style'), influenced by the prestige of the model. Finally, by means of comparison with native texts, we want to understand to what extent the effects above are made possible by syntactic *convergence*, i.e. by parallel developments of Latin and Greek, which enable the translation language to match corresponding structures in the model thanks to a pre-existing similarity in its native grammatical resources. After discussing the data in the next paragraph, in section [4] I will present my conclusions on these issues.

[3.2]   *Genitives*

In this section I will deal with two classes of data: first, I will comment on the results of the parallel examination of genitive ordering in the Greek and Latin version of the Gospel of John and on this basis I will analyze Latin post-nominal constructions in relation to their model; then, I will concentrate on the pre-nominal instances found in the four Latin Gospels, in order to better understand the factors which lead the

Latin translation to deviate from the unmarked post-nominal order.

The first observation which stems from the comparison of the Greek and Latin texts is that the presence of the overt definite determiner in Greek facilitates the structural analysis of Greek genitives: the article in definite DPs represents a useful 'place-marker' which delimitates phrase boundaries, thus helping distinguish various structural sources for genitive constituents. We can, in fact, identify four constructions, all of which were also possible in Classical Greek (cf. Manolessou 2000):

(10)   a.   post-nominal genitive (NG): ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου 'the Son of man' (Jn 12:34)

       b.   double-definiteness genitive (DOUBL): ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ 'the word of the cross' (1Cor 1:18)

       c.   pre-nominal genitive (GN): ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός 'the carpenter's son' (Mt 13:55)

       d.   extraposed genitive (EXTR): τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γένεσις 'the birth of Jesus Christ' (Mt 1:18)

In Table 3 I classify the Greek data coming from the Gospel of John according to these four categories (abbreviated, respectively, NG, DOUBL, GN, EXTR), and the Latin data according to the usual NG/GN distinction (repeated from Table 1). It could well be that the situation is more complex also in the case of Latin genitives, and that at least the pre-nominal ones originate from two different structural sources, a basic DP-internal pre-nominal position and a derived DP-peripheral one. In fact I defend this thesis for Late Latin in Gianollo (2005), and a similar proposal by Devine & Stephens (2006) concerning Classical Latin has been mentioned in [2.1]. Since, however, Latin has no such place-marker as the Greek definite article, we can only be sure that we are dealing with extraposition when the DP is discontinuous. This is true also for Greek constructions occurring in indefinite DPs or in predicative position, where there is no article: they will be counted by default into the NG and GN categories, as there is usually no way to distinguish them from the EXTR and DOUBL constructions.

Due to our focus on the Latin translation, Table 3 operates a somewhat arbitrary distinction, from the point of view of Greek, in that it does not take into account the genitive of personal pronouns, which corresponds to a possessive adjective in Latin (see [3.3]). Accordingly, also genitive forms of the pronoun αὐτός are counted here only when they are translated by genitive forms of the pronoun *is* and not by *suus*.

The difference of 4 between the totals is due to the fact that Latin (i) in two cases has a genitive construction translating a Greek lexeme with no parallel in Latin (θεοσεβής and ἀρχιερεύς); (ii) in the two remaining cases a Latin genitive does not correspond to a Greek one due to syntactic reasons independent of genitive syntax

Greek (n = 338)				Latin (n = 342)	
NG	DOUBL	GN	EXTR	NG	GN
304	0	7	27	322	20

TABLE 3: Translation of Greek genitives: the Gospel of John

proper.[9]

We can already see from Table 3 a first important aspect in which the Latin translation keeps faithful to the original: it uniformly chooses a genitive construction when the Greek has one. A more fine-grained analysis is in order, to evaluate the faithfulness with respect to word order in this domain.

Post-nominal orders

In principle, Latin NG orders could either correspond to a NG construction (10a) or to a double-definiteness genitive (10b) in Greek. However, the latter type is not attested in the Gospel of John, and is overall very rare in New Testament Greek (cf. Blass & Debrunner 1961, 142).[10] Double definiteness is instead quite frequent with possessive adjectives, as will be discussed in [3.3].

In the Gospel of John, the cases in which there is disagreement between Latin and Greek with respect to post-nominal genitives, i.e. the cases in which a NG order in the Latin translation corresponds to a GN order in the Greek, are 16 (4.7% of the total Latin genitives). Of these, only 2 are represented by full nominal genitives; the other 14 are all genitive forms of the pronouns αὐτός/*is*. The constructions in which they occur in the Greek belong to the extraposed type in 13 of the cases (the remaining case is found in a determinerless DP in predicative position, and cannot be safely analyzed as extraposed). The Greek pre-nominal construction involving the genitive of αὐτός will be dealt with in [3.3], since it parallels the distribution of enclitic genitives of the personal pronouns. For the moment let us conclude by noticing, once again, the substantial faithfulness of the Latin translation, but also the fact that Latin presents a higher number of post-nominal orders: importantly, the difference is mainly due to the preference for a post-nominal positioning of the genitive of *is*.

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[9]   In Jn 18:26, there is incorporation of the relative in Greek: Lat. *eius cuius* corresponds to Greek οὗ. In Jn 21:2 the elliptical Greek construction οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου sc. υἱοί has not been counted, due to (1e), but corresponds to a NG construction in Latin, *filii Zebedaei*.

[10] The doubled determiner introducing a genitive, still common in Classical Greek, has not survived in Modern Greek, which instead frequently employs double-definiteness constructions with adjectival modifiers.

Prenominal genitives	total	comparable	different order
Evangelium sec. Matthaeum	17	10	2
Evangelium sec. Marcum	8	5	0
Evangelium sec. Lucam	12	4	1
Evangelium sec. Ioannem	20	19	1

TABLE 4: Prenominal genitives in the Latin Gospels

Pre-nominal orders

Pre-nominal genitives, as stated in section [2.1], represent the marked order in Latin. The comparison with the original of the Gospel of John in Table 3 (on page 88) has highlighted a similar ratio for Greek as well. Table 4 shows the results of a comparison between the Latin GN orders and the correspondent Greek structures in all the Gospels.

Sources of variation with respect to the model here are twofold: (i) in some cases Latin has a pre-nominal genitive which does not correspond to a genitive construction in Greek; (ii) when there is a matching Greek genitive, in a handful of cases Latin changes the order with respect to the model, opting for a GN construction.

The cases in which a Latin pre-nominal genitive is not comparable with a genitive construction in Greek are interesting from the point of view of translation technique. All but one case among the collected instances fall into two categories, which are determined by lexical factors:

a) cases in which a Greek term is properly translated into Latin with a lexicalized, often compound-like, GN idiom: σεισμός 'earthquake' corresponds to *terrae motus*; νομικός or νομοδιδάσκαλος 'scholar of the law' to *legis doctor*, *legis peritus*; ἀλεκτοροφωνία 'cockcrow' to *galli cantus*; συκῆ 'fig tree' to *fici arbor* (but sometimes also *arbor fici*, e.g. Mt 24:32); θεοσεβής 'worshipper of God' to *Dei cultor*. Out of the total 19 incomparable GN constructions in Latin, 16 (84.2%) belong to this type (all instances in Luke and John receive this explanation).

b) cases in which there is lexical incompatibility beyond the DP-domain, namely Latin does not have a verb which translates the Greek one and the translator is forced to use a periphrasis. There are two instances of this kind: Mt 9:20 *mulier quae sanguinis fluxum patiebatur* for γυνὴ αἱμορροοῦσα 'a woman who had suffered from an hemorrhage'; Mt 16:26 *animae vero suae detrimentum patiatur* lit. 'shall suffer damage of his soul' for τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ lit. 'shall be damaged in his soul'.

A genuine syntactic motivation is more likely to underlie the remaining case:

(11)   a.   omnis Iudaeae regio
               'all the country of Judaea'
        b.   πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα (Mk 1:5)

In (11a) the Latin translates with an epexegetical genitive a Greek geographical adjective. It is plausible that the Latin genitive is pre-nominal to parallel the Greek word order. In other passages, similar constructions are rendered with an adjective also in Latin: e.g. Jn 3:22 *in iudaeam terram*, corresponding to εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γῆν. The epexegetical genitive with place names is quite frequent in the Latin of the Vulgate, and alternates with the more Classical appositional construction (cf. in the same passage Mk 1:5 *in Iordane flumine*), with which it started to compete since late Republican times (Ernout & Thomas 1953, 42).[11]

In the few instances in which the Latin GN corresponds to a NG order in Greek, the contexts in which the expressions appear suggest a motivation of genitive preposing in terms of information-driven displacement. Take for instance the case in (12):

(12)   a.   Si praecepta mea servaveritis manebitis in dilectione mea sicut et ego
               Patris mei praecepta servavi et maneo in eius dilectione
        b.   ἐὰν τὰς ἐντολάς μου τηρήσητε, μενεῖτε ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ μου, καθὼς ἐγὼ
               τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ πατρός μου τετήρκα καὶ μένω αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ
               'If you keep my commandments, you will abide in my love, just as I have
               kept my Father's commandments and abide in his love.' (Jn 15:10)

In this passage, Jesus is contrastively comparing his own commandments to his Father's commandments, and his own love to his Father's love. In the Greek, only one of the semantically contrastive genitives is pre-nominal. The Latin version is more symmetrical in displacing both genitives to the left of the head noun.

On the other hand, also in this case, a post-nominal genitive would have been, in principle, possible in Latin, and it is not easy to understand why the strategy of genitive preposing is adopted by the translation only in these few occurrences, and not in many other places where similar pragmatic conditions would have made it possible.

In the Gospel of John, where most instances of parallel GN orders are found, 11 out of the 19 comparable constructions are represented by forms of the pronoun αὐτός translated by Latin *eius/eorum*. In these cases, differently from what we have

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[11]   As a reviewer correctly notes, cases of this kind are particularly tricky with respect to the distinction between argumental and non-argumental, modifier-like genitives. In fact, as we just saw, these constructions were preferably expressed with an adjective in Classical Latin, and in the language of the *Vulgate* they alternate between a genitival and an adjectival realization. Although their syntactic status is not entirely clear, I preferred to include them in my corpus in order not to run into the risk of underestimating the number of GN orders.

seen in the section on post-nominal orders (page 88), the translator chooses to con-
form to the Greek construction, which is always of the extraposed type and involves
cliticization to a DP-external host. The uneven behavior of the Latin translation in
this respect is likely to be due to the syntactic nature of the extraposed genitive in
New Testament Greek, which is fundamentally alien to the Latin system, as will be
argued in the next section.

[3.3]   *Possessive adjectives*

The possessive adjectives, which were already rare in Classical Greek, have prac-
tically disappeared from the language of the New Testament. When they occur,
they tend to have, as in Classical Greek, an emphatic meaning (cf. Humbert 1954,
60f., Blass & Debrunner 1961, 148f.).[12] The Gospel of John is noteworthy for retain-
ing a relatively high number of possessive adjectives (32 in attributive function).
A particularly interesting fact, which deserves further research, is that possessive
adjectives clearly behave differently from nominal genitives in Greek: they only
come in two of the configurations seen for genitives in (10), namely (i) prenomi-
nally, but always DP-internally (following the article); (ii) post-nominally, but only
in the double-definiteness construction (i.e. if post-nominal they have to be pre-
ceded by the doubled article).

(13)   a.   ὁ ἐμὸς καιρός = meum tempus 'my time' (Jn 7:8)
         b.   ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμός = tempus meum 'my time' (Jn 7:6)

These observations suggest that Greek possessive adjectives have, in fact, an ad-
jectival syntax: as in Classical Greek, an adjective in attributive function, if post-
nominal, must occur with a copy of the article of the matrix DP (if the DP is definite).
Latin straightforwardly ignores the doubled determiner in these cases, recognizing
in it a feature which is unamenable to the structure of its grammar (cf. Calboli 2009).
Rather, the translation is sensitive to word order: in John, the Greek pre-nominal
instances are paralleled by a Latin $G^{agr}N$ order in all but one case; the same can be
said for the post-nominal constructions, which match with just one exception.

   In the great majority of cases, however, Latin possessive adjectives correspond
to enclitic genitive forms of the personal pronouns or, in the case of the third per-
son, to genitive forms of αὐτός. The form αὐτοῦ, despite being written with the ac-
cent, displays a clitic behavior (cf. Horrocks 2007, 623): this is evident, for instance,
in Mt 27:60 ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ, where the genitive pronoun is preposed
due to its cliticization to the adjective. No special emphasis on the pronoun—which
would otherwise suggest a movement driven by information structure—is, in fact,
detectable, and the Vulgate here answers with an unmarked post-nominal construc-

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[12]   In even rarer instances, the adjective ἴδιος is used to express possession, and is translated in Latin by either
         proprius or *suus*.

tion (*in monumento suo novo*). Blass & Debrunner (1961, 148) state that the positions available for the enclitic genitive pronouns in New Testament Greek are the same as in Classical Greek: they either occur immediately after the noun (with no repetition of the article), or surface pre-nominally in case another pre-nominal modifier, to which they can cliticize, is present. They can also precede the determiner of the matrix DP, cliticizing to DP-external elements.

Interestingly, an increase in the frequency of the latter structure is evident in New Testament Greek. Our data on the Gospel of John show that, for the first and second person, there are 26 pre-nominal instances analyzable as extraposition. Moreover, out of the 27 extraposed genitives of Table 3, 24 are represented by forms of αὐτός. In these cases the extraposition is best analyzed in terms of cliticization to a DP-external host (but see Gianollo In press for the complex interplay of prosodic, syntactic, and semantic factors).

Horrocks (2007, 628f.) comments on this construction and attributes to it a very crucial role in the diachronic process leading to the demise of the dative and the rise of genitive forms to express indirect objects in Greek: genitive clitics, properly belonging to the thematic grid of the noun, in cliticizing to the verb preceding the DP would end up in the position typically occupied by direct and indirect objects. An increase in the construction in post-Classical Greek would have led to a reanalysis of the genitive clitic as performing the function of an 'ethical' dative (*dativus commodi et incommodi*), thus paving the way to the generalized substitution of morphologically genitive to morphologically dative forms. The example in (14) clearly shows a possible 'bridging context' already in Classical Greek:

(14)   οὐδ᾽ ἐτεθορύβητό μου ἡ ψυχή
         'nor did my soul become agitated' (Plato, *Symp.* 215e)

Example (15) represents a clear-cut case from New Testament Greek in which an 'ethical' interpretation of the displaced genitive clitic is likely:

(15)   a.   καὶ ἐπέχρισεν αὐτοῦ τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
         b.   et linuit lutum super oculos eius
                'and anointed the man's eyes with the clay' (Jn 9:6)

A similar analysis of the genitive constituent seems to hold also in some, much rarer cases where a full nominal genitive is extraposed, giving rise to the few instances of discontinuity found in the corpus:

(16)   a.   καὶ τῶν κολλυβιστῶν ἐξέχεεν τὸ κέρμα καὶ τὰς τραπέζας ἀνέτρεψεν
         b.   et nummulariorum effudit aes et mensas subvertit
                'and he poured out the coins of the money-changers and overturned their tables' (Jn 2:15)

In light of the ban on multiple genitive realization within a DP observed in Modern Greek and apparently active already in New Testament Greek, it is possible that also in complex structures as e.g. in (17a) we are in fact dealing with a re-categorization of the genitive constituent as the indirect argument of the verb, and not with an instance of 'double genitive':[13]

(17)   a.   οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος
       b.   cuius ego non sum dignus ut solvam eius corrigiam calciamenti
            'the thong of whose sandal I am not worthy to untie' (Jn 1:27)

The special behavior of clitic genitives takes us back to the exception to the restriction on genitive iteration discussed in [2.2]. If it is true that the example in (7) is distinct from the cases seen here, because (i) the clitic is internal to the DP, and (ii) an 'ethical dative' interpretation is out of the question, it is also remarkable that one of the genitives is represented by a clitic (μου). Alexiadou (2009) notices that in Modern Greek, a language in which the ban on genitive iteration is otherwise active, the prohibition can be overcome if one of the arguments is realized by a pronominal clitic. It seems, therefore, that the special syntactic behavior of clitics allows them to escape the boundaries imposed on the realization of multiple adnominal arguments by some grammatical systems.

In the Latin translations (16b)–(17b) the Vulgate reproduces the exact linear order found in Greek. However, this is not the general tendency: we have already seen in section [2.1] for the instances involving αὐτός that in half of the cases the Latin does not follow the Greek order. This, is, in fact, the syntactic domain where the greatest amount of variation with respect to the model is observable in the Latin text.

The Latin reaction to this kind of constructions seems to hint to the translator's awareness of the irreconcilable difference between the two languages in this respect. Further support to this impression also comes from cases in which a morphologically dative constituent, which can be interpreted as a *dativus commodi*, is rendered in Latin with a possessive adjective. This shows that the translator is sensitive to the semantic similarity between some Greek datives and certain genitives, and reacts according to his native grammar:

(18)   a.   εἰς καύχημα ἐμοὶ εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ
       b.   ad gloriam meam in die Christi
            'for my glory in the day of Christ' (Phil 2:16)

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[13]   An alternative analysis of this construction where αὐτοῦ is complement to ὑπόδημα rather than to ἱμάς (i.e. 'the strap of his sandal' rather than 'his sandal strap') is also possible. It is certainly the correct analysis for the parallel passages in Mk 1:7 and Lk 3:16: λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ, cf. Lat. *solvere corrigiam calciamentorum eius.*

When dealing with a construction clearly extraneous to the Latin grammar the translator is not behaving slavishly with respect to the model, but shows the ability to find a compromise, sacrificing the semantic nuance of 'affectedness' expressed by the Greek extraposed constructions in order to preserve the propriety of its native language.

In the case of the 'ethical' extraposed genitive of the Greek, thus, we witness a situation in which the Latin translation, in a remarkable number of cases, puts grammatical propriety before faithfulness to the model.

[4]   IMITATION, INTERFERENCE, PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT?

In the previous paragraph, we have singled out a syntactic context in which the Latin translation and the Greek original show a remarkable number of discrepancies with respect to the ordering of genitives. We have explained such discrepancies by arguing that, while the two languages have substantially parallel resources for the realization of genitives DP-internally, they differ in the way in which genitives interact with clausal syntax. Namely, in New Testament Greek, genitives (most often pronominal ones) may be extracted out of the DP and end up in the position typically occupied by indirect objects. The Latin translator does not slavishly follow the Greek in this construction, which is alien to his native competence, but decides on a case-by-case basis, and deviates from the model significantly more often than in other contexts.

Having acknowledged a certain degree of autonomy of the Latin translator in reacting to possible sources of syntactic interference, we are left with the overwhelming similarities that the Greek model and the Latin translation show in the domain of the syntax of adnominal genitives. To this we must add the substantial differences with respect to the syntax of genitives in Classical Latin. In this paragraph, I will present some data which will contribute to the evaluation of the role of syntactic imitation in bringing about the observed similarity, by comparing the situation found in the *Vulgata* to what is witnessed by contemporary non-translated Latin texts.

Many scholars have noticed and variously commented upon the remarkable differences in register in Jerome's production, in particular the major divide between Jerome's works as a translator of biblical texts and the rest of his literary corpus. This sort of observations contributed to strengthening the impression of artificiality raised in some philologists by the language of the *Vulgata*. A cursory comparison of the data coming from the Gospels with the distribution of genitives in texts belonging to Jerome's literary production will clarify the point.

The ratio of NG/GN orders in the small sample of Jerome's writings shown in Table 5 on page 95 is substantially the same as that found in Classical Latin. Also the relatively high rate of discontinuous constituents patterns with the Classical usage: there are respectively 9, 7 and 6 cases of genitive-noun discontinuity in the short

Genitives	NG	GN
Hier., *Epistula* CXXVII	53 (53.5%)	46 (46.5%)
Hier., *Vita Malchi*	31 (43%)	41 (57%)
Hier., *De Viris Illustribus* I-X	80 (60.6%)	52 (39.4%)

TABLE 5: Genitive orders in Jerome

Genitives	NG	GN
Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis	101 (84.2%)	19 (15.8%)
Peregrinatio Egeriae	505 (93.5%)	35 (6.5%)

TABLE 6: Genitive orders in *Passio* and *Peregrinatio*

texts presented above. Should we conclude that the shift towards the NG order that is typical of the Latin of the Gospels is uniquely due to the influence of the Greek model, and that Jerome in his translations is artificially imitating the Greek linear order for artistic and ideological reasons?

While it is impossible to approach the problem of Jerome's diglossia in a systematic way within the limits of this paper, it is useful to concentrate on another set of data, coming from two texts, the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (beginning of the third cent. CE) and the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* (fourth cent. CE), which are examples of the 'new' *sermo humilis*, i.e. the colloquial sub-élite variety that at this stage diverged in many important respects from the standard language (cf. Clackson & Horrocks 2007, 229-264).

Table 6 shows the overall distribution of genitives in the two documents.

These texts have been written by native speakers of Latin and are not translations. They display a distribution of genitives which patterns with the situation found in the Vulgate Gospels. The data from the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* are even more striking in this respect once the sections written by the narrator to introduce and conclude the work are separated from those written by the martyrs, as shown in Table 7.

Genitives	NG	GN
Narrator (1-2; 14-21)	57 (79.2%)	15 (20.8%)
Perpetua (3-10)	41 (91.1%)	4 (8.9%)
Saturus (11-13)	3 (100%)	0 (0%)

TABLE 7: Genitive orders in the sections of the *Passio*

Possessive adjectives	NG^{agr}	G^{agr}N
Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis	45 (86.5%)	7 (13.5%)
Peregrinatio Egeriae	96 (95%)	5 (5%)

TABLE 8: Possessive adjectives in *Passio* and *Peregrinatio*

The fact that the narrator employs pre-nominal genitives more often can be attributed to his desire for an elevated style, complying with the standard rhetorical rules; it is probably not accidental that also Perpetua's pre-nominal genitives occur only in the beginning and closing paragraphs of her narration. In both the *Passio* and the *Peregrinatio*, many of the pre-nominal orders are found in formulaic expressions (e.g. *turbarum beneficio* 'to the benefit of the crowd' (*Passio* 3.6), *pullorum cantus* 'cockcrow' (*Per. Eg.* 36.1), *loci notiores* 'accustomed to the place' (*Per. Eg.* 16.3)). A parallel situation is found with possessive adjectives, as shown in Table 8.

No instances of multiple genitives, i.e. of the simultaneous expression of two arguments of the same head, are found in the texts. Discontinuity between a genitive and its head noun is a rare phenomenon: there are only 3 cases in the *Passio* and 8 cases in the *Peregrinatio*, in all of which the element inducing discontinuity is a verbal form. In general, the internal syntax of the DP is quite simple, but there are examples of more complex structures, where genitives co-occur with adjectives modifying the head noun and with functional items such as demonstratives and quantifiers. While elements like adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers have a distribution that is comparable to the Classical Latin situation (cf. Gianollo 2005, 170-179 for a more comprehensive analysis of these aspects in Egeria's DP syntax), genitives and possessive adjectives have steadily shifted towards the post-nominal position.

The data thus indicate that the post-nominal positioning of genitives is a major real change in the history of Latin: texts which are not stylistically informed by classicist stylistic rules, but rather reproduce the evolving colloquial language and find their formal model in the style of the sacred texts and of the Church Fathers, witness a clear-cut trend in this respect. Adams (1976) suggests that this trend may have started even earlier, during the second century CE. In Gianollo (2007) I have proposed to analyze the outcome of this massive shift in terms of a parameter-resetting operation which involves a reanalysis of the Classical Latin post-nominal construction, and which brings about, among other things, a more fixed position for the genitive constituent and its non-reiterability. I have also proposed that the parallel development of post-nominal genitives in the Romance languages might receive a principled historical explanation by assuming that the late variety of Latin overwhelmingly characterized by the NG order is, in fact, the precursor of the early Romance varieties (cf. Gianollo 2009 on Old French). Due to the focus of this paper,

I refer to these previous works for the argumentation. Here, abstracting away from the structural analysis, it is sufficient to notice the loss in variability affecting the linear distribution of genitives.

In light of the data coming from earlier and contemporary native texts, which show the same distribution of genitives and possessive adjectives as that found in the Latin translation of the Gospels, the most plausible hypothesis with respect to the syntax of adnominal arguments in the *Vulgata* is to assume that the translator does not mechanically reproduce the Greek linguistic model, but makes use of the remarkably similar structures provided by his native grammar, or at least by the native grammar of the greatest part of his audience. The respect for the model constrains the translator in the application of the conservative register belonging to the classical rhetorical tradition, and guides him towards a new Christian style, based on the *sermo humilis*.

[5]   CONCLUSION

The comparison between the Latin *Vulgata* translation of the Gospels and the Greek original has highlighted a substantial parallelism in the realization of adnominal arguments, but has also singled out a domain—clitic 'ethical' genitives—in which the Latin translator does not straightforwardly follow the Greek. This fact has been explained by noticing that, while in other aspects of the syntax of genitives Greek and Latin share very similar resources, this specific construction is alien to the native grammar of Latin, and forces the translator to diverge from the model in many cases.

Secondly, I have tried to show that DP-internal syntax in the *Vulgata* translation of the Gospels displays the same features of native Late Latin texts with respect to the realization of adnominal arguments. I have therefore proposed that the parallelism with the Greek original in DP-internal word order might be due to the application of a 'new' genuine variety of Latin, and not primarily to imitation of the Greek model.

If this conclusion can be accepted, the next problem to address is how to explain the actual similarities observable in the new Late Latin grammatical system and in the Greek *koiné* represented e.g. by the New Testament, which also shows, in comparison to Classical Greek, a shift from a 'mixed' NG/GN system to a uniformly NG one (transmitted to Modern Greek). Namely, are these similarities due to syntactic interference (i.e. to the effect of extensive contact and bilingualism) or rather to syntactic convergence (i.e. to independent parallel developments)? An answer to this question is beyond the limits of the present contribution, but is of extreme importance for our knowledge of the history of Greek and Latin, and for our understanding of the role of contact in language change.

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THE PRAGMATICS OF "UNRULY" DATIVE ABSOLUTES IN EARLY SLAVIC

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ABSTRACT

This chapter examines some uses of the dative absolute in Old Church Slavonic and in early recensional Slavonic texts that depart from notions of how Indo-European absolute constructions should behave, either because they have subjects coreferential with the (putative) main-clause subjects or because they function as if they were main clauses in their own right. Such "noncanonical" absolutes have generally been written off as mechanistic translations or as mistakes by scribes who did not understand the proper uses of the construction. In reality, the problem is not with literalistic translators or incompetent scribes but with the definition of the construction itself; it is quite possible to redefine the Early Slavic dative absolute in a way that accounts for the supposedly deviant cases. While the absolute is generally dependent semantically on an adjacent unit of discourse, it should not always be regarded as subordinated syntactically. There are good grounds for viewing some absolutes not as dependent clauses but as independent sentences whose collateral character is an issue not of syntax but of the pragmatics of discourse.

[1] INTRODUCTION

In previous literature, the Early Slavic dative absolute has generally been viewed as a subordinate clause dependent on a matrix clause, like the converbs (adverbial participles) of the modern Slavic languages.[1] As defined in an authoritative handbook of Old Church Slavonic, the dative absolute is "a participial subordinate clause expressing various types of attendant circumstance" (Lunt 2001, 149). This is in accordance with a typologically-oriented definition of absolute constructions in European languages as clause-linkage in which a non-finite clause is "linked and subordinated to a main clause," "in construction with the main clause or the V[erb] P[hrase] thereof" (König & van der Auwera 1990, 337). A more detailed description of the Early Slavic dative absolute specifies the nature of the subordinative relation as well as syntactic constraints on the construction: "the participial expression of subordination of one clause to another in appositive or adverbial function,

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[1] A clause is understood here as "any syntagm containing one predication" (Lehmann 1988, 182). On converbs in Russian, see Weiss (1995). On converbs in other European languages, including Slavic languages, see Nedjalkov (1998).

where the subjects of the two clauses differ [emphasis in the original]" (Corin 1995, 266).[2] Still other studies of the construction specify that the absolute participial clause is "embedded" in the matrix clause.[3] Dative absolutes have often been viewed as equivalent to finite adverbial clauses subordinated with conjunctions like *egda* 'when'—for example, "Dem Casus absolutus (Cas. abs.) entspricht ein mit Konjunktion eingeleiterer Nebensatz" (Reiter 1997, 243). However, it is not always clear whether such comparisons are meant to imply that absolutes are likewise syntactically dependent, or simply that they can convey the same kind of dependent semantic relations as finite adverbial clauses with explicit subordinators.[4]

Undoubtedly these definitions of the dative absolute adequately describe the majority of the tokens in Early Slavic texts, provided one assumes a priori that all participial clauses are subordinated. Nevertheless, there is a significant residue of absolutes that do not follow the given rules, because their subjects are coreferential with the subjects of their putative main clauses, because they seem not to have main clauses to which they can be subordinated, or in general because they occur where standard descriptions of Old Church Slavonic syntax would predict finite verbs (e.g., in coordination with finite clauses, or after explicitly subordinating conjunctions or subjunctions like *egda*). In the literature, such misfits are generally treated as irregularities; some scholars even write them off as mistakes by inept, slavish translators or by incompetent scribes who did not understand the proper use of a bookish, alien, or moribund construction. Undoubtedly the Early Slavic translators and scribes did make mistakes on occasion (like modern writers without careful editing). However, before we dismiss a sizable number of examples of a widespread construction—examples that make sense in their context—we should re-examine the rules or constraints that they supposedly flout.

In the following sections, I will re-examine some examples of the Early Slavic dative absolute that violate the standard definition of the construction. I will show that, if we jettison certain pre-conceived notions of what an absolute should be, these supposedly irregular cases actually turn out to be quite regular. The real problem is not that the absolutes are unruly but that the rules that have been formulated are too narrow. To make the definition of the dative absolute more inclusive, it will be necessary to decouple the issues of semantic dependency and syntactic subordi-

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[2]   See further Corin (1995, 259–60, 261). On the absolute as a subordinate clause, see, e.g., Večerka (1961, 49), Večerka (1996, 186: "zweitrangigen Prädikate"), Berent (1973, 147, "syntactic nonindependence"), Gebert (1987, 565), Minčeva (1991, 449), Reiter (1997, 243), Leafgren (2002, 147).

[3]   See Mrazek (1963, 260: "complex nominal condensators, i.e., devices for the compressed transmission of a more complicated idea in the frame of a single sentence"), Berent (1973, 151, "superficially embedded", "nominal subordinate clauses"), see also Berent (1975, 11).

[4]   For instance, after providing several instances of the construction, Schmalstieg (1982, 186) states, "in all of the examples given above the action of the expression in the dative absolute is subordinate to the action of the main clause." Judging from the references to "the action," this is an observation about the semantic relation between the two propositions; judging from the the reference to "the main clause," it is an observation about their syntactic relation.

nation (hypotaxis). As I will argue, the putative syntactic constraints on dative absolutes are not definitional for the construction; they are simply tendencies based on patterns of discourse cohesion and applicable mostly to narrative. Scholars have mistaken them for rules under the influence of absolute constructions elsewhere in Indo-European and/or prescriptive notions derived from the behavior of participial clauses in modern languages.

In section [2], I will define the term Early Slavic, justify the use of translations from Greek as representatives of Early Slavic writing, and explain why the origin of the dative absolute is irrelevant for the subsequent discussion. Following these preliminaries, in section [3], I will give a brief overview of dative absolutes that are "unruly" in having subjects coreferential to those of adjacent, putatively governing clauses. In section [4], I will provide evidence that some "unruly" dative absolutes function as independent rather than subordinate clauses; I will also look at some cases of nominative absolutes (section [4.5]). In section [5], I will further explore the significance of decoupling the secondary semantic status of dative absolutes from the notion of syntactic subordination. I will conclude by offering a preliminary redefinition of the dative absolute construction and the meaning of the dative case that it reflects (section [6]).

[2]   METHODOLOGICAL PRELIMINARIES

Three issues need to be discussed at the outset. The first is the definition of *Early Slavic*. I use this term as a shorthand for writings in Old Church Slavonic and its recensions that were composed in the first hundred or so years of Slavic literacy, either by SS. Cyril and Methodius and their disciples in the mid- to late ninth century or by bookmen of the First Bulgarian Kingdom in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Given the prolonged tradition of textual transmission in Slavia Orthodoxa, such compositions can appear in manuscripts from the late Middle Ages or beyond; however, I will draw examples mainly from manuscripts that date from the earliest period of attestation (late tenth to twelfth centuries). Restricting the material to relatively early manuscripts does not, of course, rule out the possibility that changes were made in the copying process; it is simply a way of imposing limits on a potentially enormous database.

The second issue is the fact that much of the data I will use comes from translations rather than original Early Slavic compositions. This is inevitable, given the nature of the Church Slavonic corpus. It is important to keep in mind that, after the initial translation was made, most of the users of the text would not know or care whether it was translated or not; it was simply a Church Slavonic text conveying Christian teachings.[5] In its intended sphere of usage, the translation functioned entirely independently of its source text; it was no different for the audi-

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[5]   I owe this insight to Roland Marti.

ence—readers, hearers, and copyists—than a text written by a Slavic author, which would undoubtedly imitate the language of authoritative translations. For these users, the fact that many dative absolutes happen to translate Greek genitive absolutes would have been as irrelevant as the fact that many nominative participles translate Greek nominative participles; they would not have rejected either construction as foreign (even if they were uncommon or absent in their spoken language). For this reason, I would argue, coherent translated passages can and must serve as legitimate input for historical-pragmatic research on Early Slavic. Undoubtedly, constructions that are etymological Hellenisms do occur in Early Slavic texts; however, rather than being dismissed a priori, they should be viewed as part of the model written language for the intended users of the texts.[6]

The third issue is the ultimate origin of the dative absolute construction. This is as irrelevant to a pragmatic discussion as the issue of translation. There has, of course, been a long controversy over whether the dative absolute was inherited—either as a continuation of a Proto-Indo-European construction or as an einzelsprachlich development—or a calque of the Greek genitive absolute.[7] (There is also a compromise position that it was an "immanent" structure activated in Slavic under Greek influence.[8]) In my view, the preponderence of evidence indicates that it was inherited, like the absolute constructions in Sanskrit, Avestan, Baltic, Germanic,[9] Italic, Greek, Armenian, Tocharian, and possibly also Hittite, but its origin has no bearing on my present purpose, which is to account for seemingly problematic aspects of its behavior in actual discourse.[10] Even if the dative absolute were non-Slavic in origin, that would not obviate the need to account for its synchronic usage, as if it were an unassimilated barbarism or occasionalism. In fact, if the dative absolute was a contact-influenced innovation, as some scholars have

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[6]   In her presentation "The Sacral Stamp of Greek" at the International Workshop on Indo-European Syntax and Pragmatics, Bridget Drinka aptly characterized similar Hellenisms in Gothic as "devotional" rather than "slavish." She noted that, in the new literacies that arose as part of Christianization, reverence for the Scriptures led to the imitation and assimilation even of non-native syntactic features as "emblems of membership in the Christian community."

[7]   See, *inter alia*, Andersen (1970), Berent (1973, 148–150), Coleman (1989, 353–60), Corin (1995, 255–56), Grković-Major (2001, 17). As Ramat (1994, 261) notes, "Both infinitives and absolute constructions are consistent with the old IE type and may therefore be typologically ascribed to the parent language."

[8]   This is the position of Večerka (1997, 375), who argues that the dative absolute, as an adjunct participial construction, was neither fully native or fully artificial but rather a contact-influenced innovation on the basis of existing conjunct participles: "Although their domestic roots cannot be excluded (e.g. in connected constructions, as in *reče imŭ prišĭdŭšiimŭ*), according to which the secondary adverbial meaning of the dative construction ("he said to them to-having-come" —> "he said when they came") was generalized and transferred to "disconnected" constructions too, the spread of absolute constructions in OCS was obviously called forth by the aim to make OCS translations communicatively adequate to the Greek originals, where absolute constructions were frequent, on the basis of "pseudo-identification" of the OCS dative with the Greek genitive."

[9]   The origin of the Gothic absolute has also been controversial. See Dewey & Syed (2009) for evidence that it was not borrowed and that case variation in the construction was systematic and motivated.

[10] See Hristova (2004) for a detailed discussion of the controversy and new evidence in favor of the position that the dative absolute was an inherited construction.

claimed, it was spectacularly successful in ways most other features of borrowed syntax (e.g., *accusativus cum infinitivo* constructions) were not; it quickly became a pervasive characteristic of learned writing throughout medieval Slavia Orthodoxa, and its variation was subject to rules, in the manner of native constructions.

[3] SWITCH-REFERENCE VS. CO-REFERENCE IN THE DATIVE ABSOLUTE

It has sometimes been claimed that absolute clauses should exhibit switch-reference, i.e., should not co-refer with elements in the clauses on which they are semantically dependent (which have been considered, in syntactic terms, their "main" or "matrix" clauses). For example, in a cross-linguistic study, König & van der Auwera (1990, 337) define the absolute construction as "a reduced clause without a finite verb" that is "linked and subordinated" to a main clause, with which it does not share any arguments ("absolute deranking," *ibid.*, 338). However, a total ban on co-reference fails to hold water not only in Early Slavic but also in other Indo-European languages. Indeed, König & van der Auwera (1990, 340) also observe that absolute constructions generally require some kind of connection with their main clauses; in English, for example, absolutes with tenuous links to their main clauses tend to be less acceptable than those with clear connections (see also Berent 1975, 20).

A weaker version of the co-reference constraint holds that the subject of the absolute, at least, must refer to an entity different from the main-clause subject; however, even this does not pass muster in Early Slavic or, indeed, for some Indo-European languages of more ancient attestation.[11] To be sure, the majority of dative absolutes in Early Slavic do in fact exhibit the switch-reference predicted by the supposed constraint; subject co-reference more typically belongs to the functional sphere of the semantically similar free adjunct, i.e., agreeing participle. For this reason, scholars have approached absolutes and free adjunct participles as if, in proper usage, they should occur in a clear-cut complementary distribution: "Exceptions to the subject non-identity condition imply neutralization of the sole syntactic feature which differentiates the function of absolute and non-absolute participial constructions" (Corin 1995, 268; cf. also Večerka 1961, 49; *idem* 1996, 190). Violations of this supposedly "'cardinal'" constraint (Corin 1995, 266) have been viewed either as outright mistakes or as reflections of the "decadence" of a moribund construction. Thus Bauer (2000, 280) treats "the lack of co-reference with the subject of the finite verb" as evidence that the Slavic dative absolute was inherited from Proto-Indo-European rather than borrowed; she further asserts that "only in later instances does co-reference occur." This supposed break-down of the dative absolute fits well into Bauer's scheme of Indo-European moving from active typology, where agreement relations dominate, to nominative typology, where transitivity relations dominate (Bauer 2000, 335, 337).

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[11]   On Koine Greek, see Whaley (1990, 461–464). On Latin, see Hoff (1989), Ramat (1994, 263), Sluiter (2000, 391, note 17). There are also co-referential dative absolutes in Baltic (Stanislav 1933–1934, 13).

	Absolutes	Coreferentials	% Total
OCS Gospels + Suprasliensis	1186	69–72	5.8–6.1%
OCS Gospels	554	10	1.8%
Suprasliensis	632	59–62	9.3–9.8%

TABLE 1: Proportion of co-referentials to total dative absolutes in canonical texts.

Nevertheless, co-referential dative absolutes are attested even in the earliest texts, not just in later instances, as Bauer claims; there is no written evidence for a stage of Slavic without the possibility of co-reference. As shown in Table 1, co-referential dative absolutes constitute 5.8%–6.1% of the total number of dative absolutes in the Old Church Slavonic canon.[12] Admittedly, there are relatively few (1.8% of the total) in the Gospels, late tenth- and early eleventh-century manuscripts whose protographs are thought to have been translated by the bilingual Byzantine Constantine-Cyril in the 860s with supplements for the tetraevangelion by his brother Methodius prior to 885. However, the rate of co-referentiality is 9.3–9.8% in the longest of the Old Church Slavonic texts, Codex Suprasliensis, an eleventh-century miscellany whose protograph was presumably compiled by native Slavic translators in Bulgaria in the early tenth century (see T. Slavova in Petkanova 2003, 500).

Some scholars have cited the higher percentage of co-referential dative absolutes in Suprasliensis as evidence that they represent an innovative type, or even as a symptom of the "decadence" of the dative absolute construction as a whole. While there is a gap of two or three generations between the protographs of the Gospels and Suprasliensis, it is far from clear that the difference in the number of co-referential absolutes is due to a syntactic reanalysis occurring in the interval. There are many more and more varied contexts for absolutes (co-referential or otherwise) in Suprasliensis than in the Gospels; in addition, the patristic and Byzantine texts in Suprasliensis tend to be far more complex stylistically than the Gospels, where the majority of examples of co-referentials occur in the most elaborate book, Luke (see Collins 2004, 166). We should also take into account that the focus of Slavonic literary activity had moved from the Byzantine bilinguals of the Moravian Mission to native Slavic translators of the Kingdom of Bulgaria. Arguably, one could ascribe the increase in the co-referential type in tenth-century translations to growing nativization, of assimilation to a Slavophone milieu.

If we look at works composed during the initial periods of Slavic literacy that are

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[12]   The total number of absolutes in the Old Church Slavonic Gospels and Suprasliensis is taken from Stanislav (1933–1934, 13, 88–90).

	Absolutes	Coreferentials	% Total
Life of Methodius and *Encomium*	17	3	17.6%
Izbornik of 1076	65	15	23.1%
Sinai Patericon (first 100 folia)	170	47	27.6%

TABLE 2: Proportion of co-referentials to total dative absolutes in non-canonical texts.

attested outside the Old Church Slavonic canon,[13] we find further evidence for the early occurrence of co-referential dative absolutes. As shown in Table 2, three out of 17 absolutes (slightly less than one in five) has the same subject as the clause to which it is most closely linked semantically in the *Extended Life of Methodius* and the *Encomium to Ss. Cyril and Methodius*, original Slavic texts probably composed by one of Methodius' Slavic disciples after his death in 885.[14] Two of four dative absolutes are co-referential in *About the Letters*, a short apology for Slavic literacy thought to have been composed in Bulgaria in the late ninth century.[15] The proportion is nearly one in four in the *Izbornik of 1076*, an Old East Slavic miscellany of patristic and Byzantine readings whose protograph dates to the reign of the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon (893–927), and more than one in four (counting one ambiguous case as non-co-referential) in the first 100 folia of the *Sinai Patericon*, a translation of John Moschus' *Leimōn pneumatikos* thought to have been made in the late ninth or early tenth century.[16] This is quite similar to the proportion in an original Old East Slavic text composed more than a century later, the *Primary Chronicle* (*Povest' vremennyx let*); there, as attested in its oldest copy (the Laurentian Codex of 1377), coreferentials constitute 72 of the 282 dative absolutes, or 25.5% of the total (L. Grave, cited in Vorob'ev 1973, 92).[17] On the other hand, there is a smaller proportion in the thirteenth–fifteenth-century Serbian Church Slavonic texts examined by Grković-Major (2007, 242, 248), where 13.6% of the absolutes involving present active participles and 13.7% of those involving past active participles feature subjects co-referential with the semantic main clause.

[13]   The generally accepted definition of Old Church Slavonic is based on a phonological criterion—the predominance of nasal vowel letters where the corresponding nasal vowels are etymologically expected.

[14]   See M. Jonova and V. Velinova in Petkanova (2003, 387–88, 413). These texts are first attested in the Old East Slavic *Uspenskij Sbornik* of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (fol. 109c–118d; Kotkov 1971, 198–212, 198–212).

[15]   See D. Petkanova in Petkanova (2003, 556). For a reconstruction of the text based on collation of a large number of later witnesses, see Veder (1999). The two co-referential absolutes occur at 5:3 and 5:4 in Veder's reconstruction (1999, 104–105).

[16]   See S. Nikolova in Petkanova (2003, 354). The *Sinai Patericon* is first attested in an eleventh-century Old East Slavic manuscript (Golyšenko & Dubrovina 1967).

[17]   The *Primary Chronicle* was compiled in its final form in the early twelfth century by the Kievan monk Nestor, based in part on texts composed in the eleventh century.

Whether or not the use of same-subject dative absolutes reflects a change in progress, there is a synchronic explanation for their distribution in Early Slavic. As I have shown in previous research (Collins 2004), the seeming violations reflect a discourse principle of subject discontinuity, which can be realized by various factors, sometimes apparently working in conspiracy. The principle is an extension of the pattern seen in the "canonical" type of dative absolute, in which the two subjects are entirely discontinuous in that they have different referents. As I have covered the topic in detail elsewhere, I will treat it relatively briefly here.

Subject discontinuity can be seen as a factor in cases in which the absolute clause is distanced or stranded from the finite clause to which it is oriented. The presence of intervening phrases or clauses weakens the cohesion between the coreferential subjects and so promotes the choice of the dative absolute rather than a free adjunct (agreeing) participle.[18] This can be seen clearly in example (1).[19]

(1)   i priimŭ b[ogo]ljubivyi c[a]rĭ donesŭšęę kńigy. <u>samomou sǫštou koup'no sŭ</u>
       <u>s[vę]tyimŭ sŭboromŭ. vĭ nikajeonĭstěěmŭ gradě vüfinijě. na x[rist]oborĭca</u>
       <u>arija.</u> blagodarivŭ b[og]a. vĭzvěsti že i kŭ s[vę]tououmou sŭboru. jaže otŭ
       b[og]a vĭ xer'sonĭstěěmĭ gradě. vĭ lětěxŭ jego čudesa sŭtvorivŭšaa sę
       'And, the God-loving emperor$_{[NOM-SG]}$ having received$_{[PAP-NOM-SG]}$ those who
       had brought the writings—[he] himself$_{[DAT-SG]}$ <u>was$_{[PRAP-DAT-SG]}$ together with</u>
       <u>the Holy Council against the heretic Arius in the Nicaean city of Bithynia</u>—having given thanks$_{[PAP-NOM-SG]}$ to God, informed$_{[AOR-3SG]}$ the Holy Council of the
       miracles that had been done by God in the city of Chersonesus in his times.'
       (*Suprasliensis* 541: 25–542: 1; Zaimov & Capaldo 1982–1983, vol. 2, 543, 545)

In (1), 'emperor' is the referent of all three of the participial clauses that precede the finite aorist *vĭzvěsti*; however, the second of the three clauses is a dative absolute (which effectively makes the first a nominative absolute). The absolute is separated from the finite clause by another participial clause ("having given thanks to God"), as well as by a string of three prepositional phrases ("together with the Holy Council against the heretic Arius in the Nicaean city Bithynia"). A further possible distancing factor is the appearance of a comitative phrase after the verb 'be' within the dative absolute ("together with the Holy Council"), which introduces additional potential subjects into the discourse.

Subject discontinuity can also be a factor when the subject of the absolute clause plays a different semantic role than the co-referring subject in the finite clause.

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[18]   Similarly, Hoff (1989, 415) identifies intervening clauses as one of the factors found in co-referential ablative absolutes in Latin.

[19]   The following abbreviations are used in the glosses in the English translation: AOR = aorist; DAT = dative; GEN = genitive; IMPERF = imperfect; INF = infinitive; NOM = nominative; PAP = past active participle; PL = plural; PPP = past passive participle; PRAP = present active participle; SG = singular.

Generally, this involves a change in the degree of agency, as in (2).[20]

(2)   šestĭ voinŭ piōnija nošaaxǫ strĭmoglavĭ. <u>ne mogǫštemŭ že imŭ jego drŭžati.</u>
       kolěnoma tŭkaaxǫ po rebromŭ.
       'Six soldiers were carrying[IMPERF-3PL] Pionius head downwards; <u>as they[DAT-PL]</u>
       <u>were not able[PRAP-DAT-PL]</u> <u>to hold him,</u> they pushed[IMPERF-3PL] him in the ribs
       with their knees.' (*Suprasliensis* 137:16–19; Zaimov & Capaldo 1982–1983, vol.
       1, 293)

Here the Church Slavonic translation involves a reinterpretation of a Greek *accusa-*
tivus cum participio (μὴ δυνάμενους '[those] not being able') on both a grammatical
and a semantic level (3).

(3)   ἔξ διωγμῖται τὸν Πιόνιον ἐβάσταζον κατὰ κεφαλῆς, ὡς μὴ δυνάμενους κατ-
       έχειν αὐτὸν τοῖς γόνασι λακτίζειν εἰς τὰς πόδας αὐτῶν ὀκλᾶσαι.
       'Six cavalrymen carried Pionius head downwards, so that those not able to
       hold him were able to kick [him] with their knees so that he would fall to
       their feet.'[21]

    In the Greek text, the referent of the participial subject is not 'six calvarymen'
(ἔξ διωγμῖται) but other, unnamed subjects; in the Slavonic version, the addition
of the anaphoric pronoun *imŭ* 'they[DAT]' suggests identity with the previous sub-
ject, 'six soldiers' (*šestĭ voinŭ*). The agency of these referents decreases from the
first, finite clause ("were carrying") to the second, absolute clause ("were unable").
The presence of an intervening clausal element, the embedded infinitive *drŭžati*
'to hold', may also contribute to the discontinuity, in accordance with the pattern
noted above.
    The same factor can be seen at work in (4a), in which the dative absolutes are
translations of Greek ἐν τῷ + infinitive constructions (4b).[22]

(4)   a.   <u>i vŭzvrativŭši mi sę. i idǫšti vŭ manastirĭ.</u> omrĭkoxŭ na městě semĭ.
             'And, <u>when I[DAT] turned back[PAP-DAT-SG] and was going[PRAP-DAT-SG] to the</u>
             <u>monastery,</u> [I] was benighted[AOR-1SG] in this place.' (*Suprasliensis* 515:
             27–29; Zaimov & Capaldo 1982–1983, vol. 2, 515).

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[20]   Cf. the example quoted in Collins (2004, 173), where a co-referential dative absolute clause translates an
        agreeing nominative subject of extremely low agency, τὸ ἄχυρον κοῦφον ὄν: *plěvamŭ lĭgkamŭ sǫštamŭ. oudobĭ*
        větromŭ otŭnoşętŭ sę . "The chaff being light, it is easily carried off by the wind" (*Suprasliensis* 127:25–27;
        Zaimov & Capaldo 1982–1983, vol. 1, 273.

[21]   I am grateful to Brian Joseph for his help in translating this passage.

[22]   This is a frequent translation equivalence (Stanislav 1933–1934, 13–14). In some previous studies, it has been
        suggested that the Slavic translators mechanically used the dative absolute in translating ἐν τῷ + infinitive,
        so that the appearance of co-referential absolutes was due to slavish imitation. However, it should noted
        that the dative absolute is actually a felicitous translation of the Greek construction, which generally has
        temporal meaning.

b. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστρέφειν με καὶ ἀπιέναι ἐν τῷ ἀσκητηρίῳ ὄψισεν μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.

'And when I turned back and set out for the monastery, I was benighted in this place.'

In (4a), the Slavonic translation opts for the personal verb *omrĭkoxŭ* in the finite clause, even though impersonal constructions were available to render Greek ὄψισεν μοι (e.g., *sŭluči sę* 'it occurred[AOR]' plus the infinitive). The shared referent of the three conjoined subject serves as the agent of motion in the two participial phrases, but an experiencer (and a fairly helpless one, to boot) in the finite clause.

The operation of the subject discontinuity principle suggests that the purported switch-reference condition is not a syntactic rule but rather a statistically prevalent tendency influenced by discourse-pragmatic factors of cohesion and topic continuity. There would seem to be no reason for the tradition that co-referential absolutes are grammatically incorrect, apart from the imported expectation that grammatically correct absolutes should have different subjects than the main clause, which led to the circular conclusion that the scribes who used co-referential absolutes did so in error. One suspects that the switch-reference condition would not have been formulated as a hard-and-fast rule if the Early Slavic dative absolute had been described without preconceptions derived from the (supposed) behavior of absolutes in other Indo-European languages—in particular, Greek and Latin.[23]

The notion that dative absolutes and free adjunct participles should be in complementary distribution syntactically seems to be based on the assumption that they have the same essential function; however, this is not the case. Unlike agreeing participles,[24] absolutes involve a subject that can be viewed as a separate topic

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[23] The prescription on co-reference has quite an ancient tradition in grammars of the classical languages. According to Sluiter (2000, 391), the idea was first formulated in the *Institutiones* of the Latin grammarian Priscian (ca. 500), who defined the absolute construction as "an ablative of one noun and a participle... combined with a verb and a nominative of a different noun, with transition... of persons [*cum transitione personarum*]." Despite this prescription, there is no evidence that the co-referential type would have broken Priscian's head; the grammarian himself cited, without demur, an absolute that exemplified subject co-reference rather than "transition of persons" (*ibid.*; for the example, see *ibid.*, 391–92, note 17). The eleventh-century scholar Alberic of Montecassino, the inventor of the term *absolutus*, made the co-reference constraint even more stringent by insisting that the subject of the absolute could not be congruent with any main-clause constituent (*ibid.*, 394).

[24] This does not preclude agreeing participles with explicit subjects—so-called nominative absolutes, which have likewise been treated as irregular constructions; cf. Večerka (1996, 185–86). While these require separate study, they may be elaborations of left-shifted topics, when they are not the result of stranding, as in example (1), above. It cannot be assumed that they express the same syntactic relations as dative absolutes, as claimed by Večerka (*ibid.*, 190). For example, nominative absolutes tend to occur in titles (prayer rubrics) in the Old Church Slavonic *Euchologium Sinaiticum*: *mol[itva] na voiskǫ idǫšte trapezǫ* 'a prayer [as men are] going[PRAP-NOM-PL] to war' (19a1; Nahtigal 1942, 42). For similar examples, see *ibid.*, 37 (17a1), 85 (37a21) and, from a different euchologium, *ibid.*, 341.

in the discourse (Hoff 1989, 408; König & van der Auwera 1990, 340).[25] This makes them a viable strategy when there is any form of discontinuity between two clauses that can disrupt interclausal cohesion. This may explain why dative absolutes (as well as agreeing participial clauses) are often conjoined to the adjacent clauses with coordinating conjunctions, i.e., explicit cohesive devices, as in (4a), above—a phenomenon that has often been treated as a further irregularity in the construction.[26]

[4]   SYNTACTICALLY INDEPENDENT DATIVE ABSOLUTES

Examining co-referential dative absolutes in the Old Church Slavonic Gospels, Nečásek (1957, 25) suggests that they may actually be syntactically independent (non-subordinated) units ("coordinated main clauses, abbreviated by dative absolutes"). Gebert (1987, 568) notes that participials, including absolutes, that are "coordinated with a principal verb" have sometimes been analyzed as independent verbs. Other scholars have noted apparently independent cases in texts attested outside of the Old Church Slavonic canon.[27] In some studies, these non-subordinated absolutes are viewed as post-Old Church Slavonic innovations; for example, Remneva (1989, 34, 40) argues that the use of the dative absolute as a "simple sentence" was "its most distinctive East Slavic feature." However, there are two problems with this claim. First, it ignores the fact that apparently independent cases are also found outside the East Slavic area, in the South Slavic recensions. Second, it does not account for the presence of independent dative absolutes in Old East Slavic texts copied from tenth-century Bulgarian originals, that is, from texts composed during the Old Church Slavonic period.

Identifying a given absolute construction as non-subordinated raises a methodological problem. As Worth (1994, 30) rightly notes of complex dative absolutes in Old East Slavic chronicles, "the greater the number of predications, and the more complex these predications are, the less easily they are interpreted as all equally backgrounded to some single subsequent finite clause..." At the same time, in connected discourse, adjacent or nearby clauses are likely to have semantic relations, possibly made explicit by cohesive devices; these can be interpreted as a form of

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[25]   Occasionally, one can find absolutes with null subjects that can be recovered from the previous context, i.e., reflect the zero anaphora that is typical in cases of topic continuity; see, for example, *Sinajskij Paterik* 14r2–6, 18v8, and perhaps also 47r17 and 88v9 (Golyšenko & Dubrovina 1967, 63, 72, 129, 212). In these cases, there is generally some disruption in topic continuity between the absolute and the following clause.

[26]   On conjoined dative absolutes, see Večerka (1961, 50–51), Alekseev (1987), Gebert (1987, 568), Remneva (1989, 35, 39), Corin (1995, 262–64, 274–76, "lack of conjunction" is a "canonical" constraint, *ibid.*, 279). According to Corin (1995, 264), "circumstances in OCS, together with the typological facts of the modern Slavic languages, thus justify our positing a general rule that the DA was not introduced by conjunctions, either subordinating or coordinating." It is unclear what the "circumstances in OCS" are in this instance, and projecting "the typological facts of the modern Slavic languages" backwards nine or ten centuries is surely a dubious procedure.

[27]   See Corin (1995, 279–80) on Old East Slavic and Grković-Major (2007, 242–43, 248–49) on Serbian Church Slavonic.

dependency. This can be seen in (5), an excerpt from the scribe's colophon to the Ostomir Gospel (1056–57), the oldest dated Slavic text, which is written in the East Slavic recension.[28]

(5)   napisaxŭ že eü[an]g[e]lie se. rabou b[o]žiju narečenou sǫštou vŭ kr[ĭ]štenii
       iosifŭ. a mirĭsky ostromirŭ. blizokou sǫštou izęslavou kŭnęzou. izęslavou
       <u>že kŭnęzou togda prědrĭžęštou obě vlasti</u> i o[tĭ]ca svoego jaroslava. i brata
       svoego volodimira.
       '[I] wrote[AOR-1SG] this Gospel for God's servant[DAT-SG], [who] is[PRAP-DAT-SG] na-
       med[PPP-DAT-SG] in baptism Iosif, but in the world Ostromir, [who] is[PRAP-DAT-SG]
       close[DAT-SG] to Prince Izjaslav[DAT-SG]; <u>Prince Izjaslav[DAT-SG] at that time held</u>
       [PRAP-DAT-SG] <u>both realms</u>—both [that] of his father Jaroslav and [that] of his
       brother Volodimir.' (Kirillin 1988, fol. 294b15–c3).

The italicized clause in (5) is treated as an independent absolute by Nečásek (1957, 25) and Remneva (1989, 34), neither of whom cite the preceding passage. While these scholars may be correct in claiming that *izęslavou že kŭnęzou togda prě-drĭžęštou obě vlasti* is not subordinated, there would seem to be no principled way to prove this. Alternatively, it could be interpreted as syntactically dependent either on the preceding participial relative clause *blizokou sǫštou izęslavou kŭnęzou* or on the initial finite clause *napisaxŭ že eü[an]g[e]lie se*. It is certainly dependent on those clauses semantically; its function is to situate the writing of the manuscript in time (during the reign of Izjaslav) and to situate the scribe's patron, who commissioned the manuscript, in social space (as close to a prince who holds two thrones).

Such principled uncertainty is likely to exist in most coherent discourse, and especially in narrative, where the temporal ordering provides a clear superordinate structure. The sheer length and elaboration of a passage may raise the suspicion that the absolute clause it contains is functioning as an independent clause. However, this is impossible to prove objectively without knowing the scribe's tolerance for syntactic complexity; the judgment should not depend on the Sprachgefühl of the linguist.

To prove beyond reasonable doubt that a given absolute was independent, we need to look for verifiable evidence in scribal usage. In the following case-studies, I will make use of three criteria to establish the syntactic independence of the dative absolutes: 1) the presence of graphic indications that the scribe felt that the absolute construction was separate and independent; 2) the absence of another clause that could serve as a matrix on the syntactic level; and 3) discourse organization that assigns the absolute to the same or a higher level of structure than its putative matrix clause(s).

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[28]   For the sake of consistency, I have transliterated the graphemes ѧ, ѫ, ѭ, and щ as ę, ǫ, jǫ, and št, respectively, for both Old Church Slavonic and Old East Slavic. Their phonetic values in Old East Slavic were probably [æ], [u], [(j)ü], and [šč].

[4.1]   *Case-study 1: An absolute as a complete paragraph*

A dative absolute construction that is independent by the first two criteria can be found in example (6). This passage comes from the *Izbornik of 1076*, a collection of excerpts translated from Greek edificatory and hagiographical works attested in an Old East Slavic manuscript, which evidently reflects a Bulgarian protograph (or protographs) of the early tenth century; no Greek compilation of this kind is known (see K. Ivanova in Petkanova 2003, 211–212). The passage in question, which is quoted in its entirety here, comes from the "100 Discourses" ascribed to Gennadius of Constantinople; it is the tenth of 24 answers to the question whether it is always proper to take communion.

(6)   "—Oučjaštju ny oukazaniju· jako iže sŭ nebrěženijemĭ pričęstejutĭ sja s[vja]ty-
        ixŭ tainaxŭ· ne tŭkmo otŭpouštenije grěxovŭ ne dajetŭ sja imŭ: nŭ i pače
        naskačetĭ na nja dijavolŭ· město prijemlja otŭ nixŭ nebrěženie ixŭ dělja:"—
        '¶The instruction[DAT-SG] teaches[PRAP-DAT-SG] us that those who partake of the
        Holy Gifts [sc. the Eucharist] with neglect, not only is remission of sins not
        given to them, but also the devil will attack them all the more, receiving a
        place from them because of their neglect.¶' (*Izbornik of 1076*, 212r2-12).

There are multiple graphic signals in the manuscript to indicate that (6) was perceived as an independent unit of discourse. First, it is separated from both the preceding and the following answers by the kind of punctuation that generally marks a section in the *Izbornik*, double commas plus parágraphos (represented by pilcrows in the English translation).[29] Second, its initial letter is capitalized and written in cinnabar ink, another sign of the beginning of a new section. In other words, the passage in (6) is explicitly presented as a complete textual unit comparable to a modern section or paragraph, like the 9 prior and 14 subsequent arguments in the complex of answers to the initial question. All of the arguments except (6) include non-embedded clauses with finite verbs; thus the absolute construction is treated as a parallel to finite constructions in the structure of the discourse.

Moving now to the second criterion, it can be seen that the absolute construction in (6) is not dependent on or an adjunct to any single clause either in its own paragraph or in the one preceding it; indeed, there is no "main" or "matrix" clause within the paragraph in (6) on which the initial absolute construction could depend syntactically. The introductory dative absolute *oučęštju ny oukazaniju*, literally "the instruction teaching us", is actually the matrix clause for the remainder of the section, the explication proper; the embedding is signalled overtly by *jako* 'that', the

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[29]   Within certain of the sections are some subsections, which are marked by non-terminal punctuation—interpunct or colon; however, one apparent subsection beginning on 21r4 is presented with terminal punctuation. The final answer, representing the end of the section (the answers) features heavier punctuation—a dotted obelos (÷), colon, double-comma, and paragraphos (215v4). This is followed by a new question, explicitly labelled as such in cinnabar ink.

usual complementizer for reported speech in Slavonic (see Collins 1996).[30] Thus there is no basis for arguing that the absolute construction is ancillary within its own paragraph.

As an answer, (6) clearly has a semantic relation, not dependent but dyadic, with a unit in the preceding discourse, the initial question, which occurs occurs eleven pages previously (206v7–11). In addition, it has a semantic relation with the paragraph immediately preceding it, which compares those who take communion carelessly to Judas becoming possessed by the devil when he took bread sinfully at the Last Supper (*Izbornik of 1076*, 211v9–212r2). This New Testament reference (cf. John 13:27) is the "instruction" (*oukazaniju*) mentioned at the beginning of (6), so the two paragraphs are linked not only by adjacency and their common relation to the question but also by an explicit lexical cohesive device; in fact, (6) serves as an interpretation of part of the previous answer.[31] Semantically, then, (6) can be construed with the section preceding it; however, its notional relation is not to any particular proposition in that section but to the paragraph in its entirety (or, at least, to the entire narrative about Judas within that paragraph). This presumably explains why it was appropriate to use an absolute construction—as a signal that the passage in (6) was perceived as ancillary in its context, an elaboration of the previous discourse.

In short, the dative absolute in (6) is presented as a graphically separate and independent unit and thus fulfills the first criterion. Moreover, it is not subordinated to any "main clause," as the standard definitions of absolute clauses would have it, but has to be construed with entire stretches of discourse; thus it fulfills the second criterion. Arguably, it may also fulfill the third criterion, if it is viewed it is as parallel and equal to the other answers in its set, which, from a modern perspective, are syntactically finite and independent.

[4.2]   *Case-study 2: Absolutes dependent on larger-than-clause units*

The absence of a syntactic matrix—that is, the ability of absolutes to depend on units larger than the clause—is further illustrated in (7), a passage from the second-oldest dated Slavic manuscript, the *Izbornik of 1073*. Also known as *Simeon's Miscellany*, the *Izbornik* is an Old East Slavic copy of a Bulgarian manuscript dating from the reign of Tsar Simeon (893–927).[32] In the given instance, two dative absolutes are used to introduce multiclausal stretches of reported speech (biblical quotations):

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[30]   The typical discourse effect of complementizing reported speech in this way (a "separate: dominant" arrangement, see Thompson 1996, 519) is to foreground the attribution. In the present case, though the use of the participle may somewhat reduce this foregrounding, the biblical authority (*oukazaniju*) is still presented as a salient part of the overall message.

[31]   Some of the other sections marked with terminal punctuation likewise follow from the preceding text, as may be expected in a single, continuous discourse complex.

[32]   This provenience is shown, *inter alia*, by two excerpts from an encomium to Simeon; though these were readdressed to Grand Prince Svjatoslav of Kiev, there is a scraped portion where the underlying text includes Simeon's name and title (see K. Ivanova in Petkanova 2003, 450). The compilation is believed to have been made in Bulgaria; no Byzantine anthologies of this type are known to exist (*ibid.*).

(7)   187 Otŭ ap[osto]l[ĭ]skyxŭ zapovědi:. <u>Zakonopoložĭnikou mōüsii rekŭšǫ kŭ</u>
<u>izdrailitomŭ</u>· se daxŭ prědŭ licĭmĭ vašimĭ poutĭ žizni· i poutĭ sŭmrĭtĭnyi. da
polĭz'nǫjǫ izberi žiznĭ da živeši· <u>i pror[o]kou ilii g[lago]ljuštǫ · kŭ ljudĭmŭ·</u>
dokolě xramlete na ōboju kolěnou vašejǫ · ašte b[og]ŭ jest' i g[ospod]ĭ· xodite
vŭslědŭ jego· vŭ podobou g[lago]laše g[ospod]ĭ i[su]sŭ nik'to že ne može dvě-
ma g[ospodo]ma robotati· ili bo jedinogo vŭznevidi a drougago vŭzljubi·
'187 From the Commandments of the Apostles. <u>The law-giver Moses</u>[DAT-SG]
<u>said</u>[PPP-DAT-SG] to the Israelites, "Lo, I set you the path of life before your face,
and the path of death; choose a useful life that you may live." <u>And the prophet</u>
<u>Elijah</u>[DAT-SG] <u>says</u>[PRAP-DAT-SG] to the people, "How long will you limp on both
knees? If God is the Lord, walk in His path." <u>Similarly, the Lord Jesus</u>[NOM-SG]
<u>said</u>[IMPERF-3SG], "No one can serve two masters; for he will hate one and love
the other..."' (*Izbornik of 1073*, 93b15–c5).

This passage is the beginning of a new reading in the miscellany; it has its own
title *Otŭ ap[osto]l[ĭ]skyxŭ zapovědi* "From the Commandments of the Apostles"), as
well as a section number (187) and large initial letter Z (the beginning of the read-
ing proper) in cinnabar ink in the margin. The reading that precedes it deals with
another topic and is explicitly taken from a different source, John Climacus' *The Lad-
der of Divine Ascent*. Thus there is no preceding main clause on which the two dative
absolutes could depend syntactically, nor is there any preceding discourse on which
they could depend semantically.[33]

Likewise, the discourse following (7) does not seem to contain any "main clauses"
to which the two absolutes could be syntactically subordinated. The clauses that
come directly after the absolutes belong to non-embedded (non-complementized)
passages of direct speech; these function as package deals, inset units of discourse,
which are framed in their entirety by the participial constructions. Thus the abso-
lutes cannot be said to depend syntactically or semantically on any particular "main
clauses" or other elements within the reported speech.

If we look at the larger discourse structure, we see that the two absolutes in
(7) are part of a series of three coordinated clauses introducing reported speech
(biblical quotations). The final member of this series (*vŭ podobou g[lago]laše g[ospod]ĭ*
i[su]sŭ "Similarly, the Lord Jesus said") contains a finite verb rather than a participle
and is presented as a semantic parallel to the previous two by means of the adver-
bial *vŭ podobou* 'similarly'. If we took the stand that the absolutes must depend on
a main clause, we would be forced to treat this finite clause as their head, as there
is no other candidate in their vicinity. However, it is difficult to establish a rele-
vant semantic link between the three introductory clauses 'X having said "...", and

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[33]   The title *Otŭ ap[osto]l[ĭ]skyxŭ zapovědi* "From the commandments of the Apostles," a stand-alone preposi-
tional phrase, is on a different (meta)level in the discourse and thus cannot serve as the syntactic or se-
mantic host of the absolute constructions.

Y saying "…", Z said "…"'; the real connection lies in the message of the inset quotations that they introduce. Moreover, the organization of the discourse suggests that all three members of the series have identical functions—to introduce thematically similar biblical texts that will lend authority to the subsequent passage, which contains instructions on how one should behave. In other words, the three highlighted clauses are functionally equal in the discourse organization, despite their use of different kinds of predicates; they all provide support for the hortatory passage that follows, like the biblical passages that are read before a church homily.[34] Thus, if the absolutes are to be construed with (regarded as dependent on) any element in the text, it is to the entire discourse that follows them discontinously, rather than to any specific syntactic unit in their immediate co-text.

[4.3]   *Case-study 3: Absolutes as preambles to questions*

In question-and-answer passages, absolutes that are syntactically independent—i.e., have to be construed with units larger than a clause—are commonly used to introduce biblical passages or other authoritative statements that serve as preambles for questions. This is illustrated in (8), a numbered entry in a synaxarion (table of contents) found in the *Izbornik of 1073*.[35] I have added subscript numbers in the translation to disambiguate the three third-person referents in this passage.

(8)   ·:· ·:· ·:·
          105 Afanasijevo g[ospod]ou g[lago]ljuštǫ. kŭ s[vę]tyimŭ svoimŭ. jeliko že ašte i sŭvęžete boudetĭ sŭvęzano. ašte k'to razgněvajetĭ mouža s[vę]ta. ti da posŭletĭ jazou ili běsŭ ili sŭmĭrtĭ. ili ino kako tomlenije. vŭ domŭ jego može li si č[e]l[o]v[ě]kŭ tŭi moliti inogo s[vę]t[aje]go ouběžati otŭvěta s[vę]t[aje]go togo mouža ·:·
          Otŭvětŭ ·:· ·:· ·:·
          '¶¶¶
          105 Athanasius' [discourse]: the Lord[DAT-SG] saying[PRAP-DAT-SG] to his holy ones, "However much you bind will be bound," if someone₁ angers a holy man₂, so that he₂ sends a disease or demon or death or some other torment to his₁ house, can that man₁ beseech another holy one₃ to escape the sentence of that holy man₂?¶
          Answer¶¶¶' (*Izbornik of 1073*, 125b29–c14)

This passage, like examples (6) and (7), is demarcated graphically as an independent unit. Like the other entries in the synaxarion of the *Izbornik*, it is singled out by a text number (105) and initial letter (the *A* of *Afanasijevo*) written in cinnabar

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[34] The fact that the third clause contains a finite verb does not necessarily imply that it is more salient in the discourse than the participial constructions; the verb is imperfective in aspect and imperfect in tense—categories that are associated with backgrounding functions.

[35] Similar examples can be found in the same manuscript at 124c27–d1, 125a9, 125c16, and 125d1.

ink in the left margin. It follows and ends with major boundary punctuation—three diamond colons (signified by pilcrows in the translation). The synaxarion entry consists of the entire question followed by lighter boundary punctuation—a single diamond colon—plus the lone word *Otŭvětŭ* ("Answer").

In addition to being graphically separate, example (8) is independent of the entries surrounding it both syntactically and semantically. In the structure of the synaxarion, each entry is a parallel item in a set subsumed under a category at a higher level of discourse, much like the units in a modern table of contents or unnumbered bullet-list. Thus the passage in (8) constitutes an entire text, which is semantically complete within the parameters of the synaxarion genre.

The dative absolute *g[ospod]ou g[lago]ljuštọ* "the Lord saying" in (8) introduces two clauses of reported speech (a quotation from Matthew 16:19); this is followed by a conditional construction serving as the protasis of a question. Though the function of the reported-speech construction is to provide background information for the question, there is no direct semantic link between the two units; the New Testament quotation serves as a presupposition, an axiom against which the problem is set. In order to connect the quotation and the question, one has to go through a complex process of inferencing:

  (i) the Lord gave the Power of Binding (excommunicating) and Loosing (restoring to communion) to His Apostles;

 (ii) present-day clerics have inherited this power through the Apostolic Succession;

(iii) if there are two clerics, both ordained in the Apostolic Succession, both have inherited the Power of Binding and Loosing;

(iv) these are the presuppositions for the question: if I am "bound" (excommunicated) by one cleric with this power, can I be "loosed" (restored to communion) by another cleric with the same power?

The main cohesive device in (8) is lexical—the recurrence of the adjective 'holy', which occurs in the absolute clause and then repeatedly in the question, though with different referents. The content of the reported speech introduced by the dative absolute "feeds" or relates to each of the clauses in the question; the key to understanding the whole is to apply that content to all of the "holy ones" mentioned. However, despite these semantic links, there is no clear syntactic connection between the absolute and any single clause in the complex question; forcing such a connection actually distorts the discourse structure, in which relevant information—the absolute plus reported speech—must be related to (construed with) the entire subsequent co-text.

[4.4]   *Case-study 4: A dative absolute in metadiscourse*

A further instance of a dative absolute that cannot be clearly linked to a matrix clause appears in the exegetical passage in (9). In this excerpt from the *Izbornik of 1073*, a passage from the *Book of Proverbs* (30:18–19) is interspersed with terse Christological interpretations, one of which is an apparently independent dative absolute.

(9)   troje jestĭ nemoštĭno mi razouměti· a četvora ne razouměją · slěda orĭlou lět-
      ęštou· xristosovo vŭšĭstije · i potii [sic] zmiinŭ po kameni· dijavolŭ· ne obrěte
      bo slěda grěxovĭnaago na tělesi x[ri]s[to]vě· i pouti lodija po vodě plovoušti·
      crĭkŭvi aky vŭ poučině žitĭja sego· naděždeją jaže vŭ x[ri]s[t]a kr[e]s[t]ĭmĭ
      pravimě i poutii moužę vŭ jǫnosti· roždenaago otŭ svętaago d[ou]xa· i otŭ
      d[ě]v[i]ca·
      'Three things it is impossible for me to understand, and a fourth$_{[GEN-SG]}$ I do
      not understand: the track$_{[GEN-SG]}$ of an eagle flying (Christ's coming); and a
      serpent's paths$_{[GEN-PL]}$ over a rock (the Devil$_{[NOM-SG]}$; for he did not find a trace
      of sin on Christ's body); and the path$_{[GEN-SG]}$ of a boat sailing through the
      water (like the Church$_{[DAT-SG]}$ being governed$_{[PAP-DAT-SG]}$ in the gulf of this life
      by hope in Christ, by the Cross); and the paths of a man$_{[GEN-PL]}$ in youth (the
      One$_{[GEN-SG]}$ born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin).' (*Izbornik of 1073*, 156c1–20)

In texts like the thirteenth-century Bulgarian Church Slavonic *Bologna Psalter* (Dujčev 1968), commentary of the kind given in parentheses in (9) is written in a separate column, parallel with the main text, so that it is more transparently independent. In (9), by contrast, the interpretations are interpersed in and written continuously with the main text, with only interpuncts as separators. Thus the first criterion for establishing independence, graphic separateness, does not apply in this example.

In the exegetical genre, the interpolated commentary does not always occur in the form of finite clauses, but that does not imply that they consist of sentence fragments. Rather, the genre has its own specialized syntax, which allows not only finite sentences but also non-finite clauses and independent noun phrases—parentheticals that function like glosses or like the captions on pictures (which, to paraphrase Charles Sanders Peirce, are complete sentences, "but in a different language").[36] Thus, in (9), the first three interpretations in are not grammatically integrated with the biblical text. The first two are noun phrases in the nominative, the second of which is elaborated by a finite clause, like a left-dislocated topic; their counterparts in the biblical passages are noun phrases in the genitive (direct objects under negation). It would be a misunderstanding of the genre to treat this mismatch as anacoluthon, since the interpolated comments are not part of the same sentence as the biblical text.

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[36]   My source for this quotation is Henning Andersen (personal communication).

The third interpretation in (9) consists of a dative absolute clause introduced by the comparative conjunction *aky* 'as, like'.[37] The subject of the absolute is the noun *crĭkŭvi* 'church', which is preposed as a topic parallel to the nominative nouns in the first two interpretations; the entire participial phrase is grammatically independent from the explicated clause. (If there were a matrix for the comparative clause, it would have to be an equational predicate, an *id est—*This is like the church being governed...—* which would be predictable from the discourse structure of the genre.) Even if the dative absolute were treated as an appositive to the item that it explicates, *pouti lodija po vodě plovoušti* "the paths of a boat sailing through the water," it would still not be grammatically integrated, since it would parallel a genitive object; moreover, it be subordinated to a noun phrase rather than a clause. Such an analysis would miss the point that the exegetical comments in (9) are syntactic parentheticals functioning as metadiscourse rather than as part of the basic text.[38]

[4.5]   *Case-study 5: Nominative absolutes in metadiscourse*

Metadiscourse in Early Slavic texts can also appear in the form of nominative absolute participial constructions, which can also be syntactically independent. As seen in (10), from the eleventh-century Old Church Slavonic *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, independent participles of this kind refer to a higher level of discourse—the speech event in which a hypothetical text is to be performed.[39]

(10)   g[ospod]ju pom[olim sę] ·/. o rabou b[o]žĭju seju · <u>imę r[ekŭ]</u> i o x[risto]vě sŭvŭkoupleni eju ·
         'Let us pray to the Lord concerning these two servants of God—<u>having said</u> [PAP-NOM-SG] <u>the name</u>—and about their union in Christ.' (*Euchologium Sinaiticum* 9b 1–2; Nahtigal 1942, 20)

In this excerpt, the participial clause *imę rekŭ* 'having said the name' functions as a directive, which is indirect in that it presupposes that the desired given speech act has already been performed (hence the use of the past rather than present active participle). It is addressed to the clerics who will perform the prayer in which

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[37]   The grammar of the preceding clause (the biblical text) is not entirely clear. The present active participle *plovoušti* 'sailing' does not agree in case with *lodija*, the genitive singular of *lodii/lodija* 'boat'; it can be interpreted as an adverbialized participle (a type common in this text), a nominative absolute, or a dative singular feminine participle that should agree with *lodija* but has been attracted to the adjacent word *vodě* as the result of a perseverative error (or to the following word *crĭkŭvi* as an anticipatory error). This may have influenced the choice of a dative clause for *crĭkŭvi* 'church' in the exegetical portion, although that word is the logical counterpart of genitive 'boat' in the explicated text.

[38]   The fourth interpretation, a genitive noun phrase, could in fact be interpreted as grammatically integrated with the explicated text, in apposition to the word *moužę* 'man[GEN-SG]'. However, given the structure of the prior discourse, it is more likely to function as an independent phrase, an adnominal possessor to an understood (deleted) *pǫtije* 'path[NOM-PL]', in parallel with the first three comments ("[paths, sc. the paths] of the One born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin").

[39]   The *Euchologium Sinaiticum* includes ten cases of the metacomment *imę rekŭ* inset in prayers of various kinds (Nahtigal 1942, xxxix).

it is inset, that is, the discourse on which is a metacomment. The function of the euchologium genre dictates that the prayers contained therein will be recited aloud during occasional rites (i.e., not during regular services). Thus the rubrics to the prayers, e.g., *mol[itva] egda xotẹšte vinogradŭ saditi* 'prayer$_{[NOM-SG]}$ when [people are] wanting$_{[PRAP-NOM-PL]}$ to plant a vineyard' (*Euchologium Sinaiticum* 13b19–20; *ibid.*, 30) can be considered implicit indirect directives to the clerical readers: Say the following prayer on the specified occasion.[40] The indirect command conveyed by *imẹ rekŭ* can be understood as a continuation of this same implicit speech act: Here say the beneficiary's name, and then continue the prayer. While the participial clause is clearly semantically dependent, it has no syntactic matrix clause; its proper reading depends on the hermeneutics of the euchologium genre as a whole.

A similar metatextual nominative absolute can be found in (11), a text belonging to a strikingly different register and genre—a business letter from twelfth-century Novgorod, written in the Old Novgorodian (northwestern East Slavic) dialect.

(11)   ot mě:stja:tĭ : ko ga:vo:šĭ i : ko : so:di:lĭ : po:py:ta:i:ta mi : konja : a̲ ̲:̲ ̲m̲ě̲:̲s̲t̲j̲a̲:̲t̲a̲
         ̲:̲ ̲s̲j̲a̲ ̲:̲ ̲v̲a̲:̲m̲a̲ ̲p̲o̲k̲l̲a̲n̲j̲a̲ a:že : va : cĭ:to : na:do:bĭ : a solita : k̲o̲ ̲m̲o̲n̲ĭ̲ : a
         gramotuo : vodaita a uo pavla : skota poprosi:ta a mĭ:stja
         'From Městjata to Gavŭša and Sŭdila. Seek out a horse for me. (A̲n̲d̲ ̲M̲ě̲s̲t̲j̲a̲t̲a̲
         $_{[NOM-SG]}$ b̲o̲w̲s̲$_{[PRAP-NOM-SG]}$ t̲o̲ ̲y̲o̲u̲.) If you need anything, send to me. And give
         a letter [to my messenger], and ask money from Pavel, and Městja[ta]'[41]
         (*Novgorod birchbark letter* no. 422, 1140s–1150s; Zaliznjak 2004, 297)

As Gippius observes (2004, 212), while references to the addressees are consistently in the second person, references to the author are in the first person in the informative portions of the letter, but in the third person in the politeness formula *a : mě:stja:ta : sja : va:ma poklanja* 'Městjata bowing to you' (which perhaps recurs in abbreviated form at the end of the letter). In Gippius' plausible interpretation (*ibid.*), this nominative absolute is metadiscourse: Městjata is telling his messenger to bow as he reads the requests in the letter to the addressees. The messenger is to perform this gesture not in his personal capacity but as Městjata's proxy—hence the third-person reference to the author.

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[40] The case of the abbreviated word *mol* 'prayer' is, strictly speaking, ambiguous; it could also be analyzed as an accusative, that is, the direct object of the implicit verb of command: [Say this] prayer…Cf. the phrase *tvorẹ mol[i]tvọ sijọ* 'making$_{[PRAP-NOM-SG]}$ this prayer$_{[ACC-SG]}$', which follows explicit instructions on 19b12–13 (Nahtigal 1942, 44; see a similar case at 20b8–9, *ibid.*, 47). However, in such cases of clear accusatives, there is always an explicit verb present. In other euchologia, the word 'prayer' in titles, when unaccompanied by a verbal head, is explicitly nominative, e.g., *mol[i]tva cěloujọšte kr[e]stŭ* 'prayer$_{[NOM-SG]}$ [when people are] kissing the Cross' (*ibid.*, 341). Cf. also the title *mol[itva] na poklonenie kolěnoma. byvajọšti. vŭ s[vẹ]tọjọ pẹtĭdesẹtĭncjọ.* 'prayer for the bending of knees, happening$_{[PRAP-NOM-SG]}$ on Holy Pentecost', where the participle *byvajọšti* seems to be a feminine agreeing with the nominative case (*Euchologium Sinaiticum* 59b15–17; *ibid.*, 154).

[41] There has been debate over whether this letter is missing a second page (thus Zaliznjak 2004, 297) or whether the incomplete name at the end is an abbreviated closing formula (thus R. Faccani, cited in Gippius 2004, 212).

Dative absolutes like those in (1)–(4) and (6)–(9), above, are certainly not typical or, indeed, prototypical (central) instances of the construction, but that does not imply that they were mistakes ("uncanonical"). Making a value judgment of that kind would be an exercise in covert prescriptivism, with expectations derived from inadequate descriptions and/or the contraband norms of other Indo-European languages.[42] My goal in discussing such non-(proto)typical examples has been to cast doubt on the standard definition of the dative absolute as a clause that is necessarily subordinated to a matrix clause. Examples like (1)–(4) show that the non-coreference requirement is not a syntactic rule but an observation about the prototype, based not on syntax but on the same kinds of discourse tendencies that motivate overt pronominalization and other intersentential topic-continuity devices. Examples like (6)–(9) suggest that the claim that dative absolutes must have "matrix" or "main" clauses, i.e., syntactic controllers on which they are dependent, is likewise an observation about discourse tendencies rather than a syntactic rule that would be true across the board.

It might be objected that that dative absolute constructions cannot be syntactically independent because they do not include finite verbs. In fact, finiteness cannot be taken as a necessary condition for syntactic independence in Early Slavic, as is shown, inter alia, by so-called "main clause," i.e., syntactically independent, infinitives like (12a) and (12b).[43] The infinitive in Slavic is in its origin a dative noun and so forms "an interesting parallel" to the dative absolute (Berent 1973, 149).

(12)   a.   nŭ to jemou jestĭ dělo ne lěniti sę nŭ g(lago)lati kŭ vĭvĭsěmŭ [sic]· a ne g[lago]lavŭšju <u>soudŭ prijati jemou</u>·
            'But it is his business not to be idle but to speak to everyone, or else, not having spoken[PAP-DAT-SG], <u>he</u>[DAT-SG] [is] <u>to receive</u>[INF] judgment.' (*Izbornik of 1076*, 258v1–4)

       b.   *Aže kogo ouranętĭ. poloutory grivny ser.ebra. aže boudětе bez věka: : <u>tako platiti</u>. ou smolěneske. i ou rizě. i na gočkomĭ berezě::*
            'If someone is wounded, [the penalty is] one and a half grivnas of silver, if he is left without strength. [One is] <u>to pay</u>[INF] thus in Smolensk and in Riga and on the Gotland Coast.' (*Smolensk Treaty of 1229*, Copy A, ll. 20–22; Avanesov 1963, 21)

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[42]   Sometimes the prescriptivism is overt rather than covert. For example, Veder (1999, 104, 138) states that the presence of a preposed conjunction *jako* "mars" a dative absolute in Xrabŭr's *About the Letters* and that only one of the four dative absolutes there was "properly used" or "used correctly," even though his text-critical methodology indicates a ninth- or early tenth-century provenance for the given readings.

[43]   This is sometimes treated (e.g., in Duridanov 1991, 399) as ellipsis of 'be', but the verb 'be' is simply a copula marking tense in the given construction. Moreover, it is difficult to accept the idea of a main verb that is omitted independently of any gapping process.

Independent infinitives can be found not only in church texts in the Slavonic register, like (12a), but also in "vernacular" texts with little or no influence from ecclesiastical syntax, like (12b), which comes from an Old East Slavic treaty. In this construction, free adjunct participles occur regularly in the dative, like *ne g[lago]la-vŭšju* "not having spoken" in (12a), so that there is no formal distinction between agreeing and absolute adjuncts apart from the presence of explicit subjects, which, as noted above, is actually optional even for dative absolutes.

If the hypotaxis/parataxis distinction is viewed as a continuum rather than a dichotomy, dative absolutes fall closer to the pole of parataxis than more clearly subordinated clauses. It can be noted that they have most of the properties of prototypical independent clauses, including independent illocutionary force, polarity, word order, voice, and aspect (Lehmann 1988, 193–96). While dative absolutes express relative rather than independent tense relations,[44] the same is true of retrospective tense-forms that are finite (perfects, pluperfects, and future perfects). Finally, like all other tensed forms in Early Slavic, the modality of dative absolutes can always be understood as indicative. (All these remarks would seem to apply to nominative absolutes as well.)

Claiming that dative absolutes can function as independent clauses is not the same as claiming that they must. In fact, as examples (13a) and (13b) show, some absolutes are explicitly dependent, in that they follow subordinating conjunctions.[45] (In Early Slavic, as in the modern Slavic languages, such conjunctions usually introduce finite clauses.)

(13)   a.   <u>dońeliže na mnogy dni vŭ al' čĭbě i molitvě prěbyvajǫštou slavĭnououmou tomou sergju.</u> sŭvrŭšeně vŭzmože běsŭ izgŭnati iz ńego
            'while that glorious Sergius[DAT-SG] <u>remained[PRAP-DAT-SG]</u> <u>for many days in hunger and prayer</u>, [he] became completely able[AOR-3SG] to drive the demon from him.' (*Suprasliensis* 567: 18–20; vol. 2, 585)
        b.   <u>nĭ jako i prŭvomu suštu pismeni azĭ . i ōt b[og]a danou rodu slověn'-skomu na ōtvrŭstĭe oustĭ . vŭ razumŭ oučeštim se boukvam</u> . velikomĭ razdviženïemĭ oustĭ vŭz'glasit se .

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[44]   Gebert (1987, 569) makes the relative tense of participles in absolute constructions a matter of syntactic dependency, "…le participe présent des CA manifeste toujours la valeur temporelle correspondant à celle du verbe principal tandis que le participe passé dans ces constructions indique toujours un événement précédent par rapport à celui qui est exprimé par le verbe principal." However, if absolute constructions are viewed as potentially independent clauses, it would be more accurate to say that their tense is relative not to that of a "main verb," i.e., a syntactic unit, but to the adjacent or nearby proposition to which they are semantically ancillary. In any case, relative tense in Early Slavic is not determined by syntax but by the semantics of discourse; thus verbs marked for retrospective tense (perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect) can appear in independent as well as dependent clauses.

[45]   For similar cases of nominative absolutes after subordinating conjunctions, see Nahtigal (1942, 30, (13b19–20), 341).

'But as *az* is both the first letter and given by God to the Slavic people to open the mouths and the understanding of those studying the letters, [it] is articulated with a great opening of the mouth...' (*On the Letters*; HM.SMS.463, fol. 87v8–12).[46]

Such explicitly subordinated dative absolutes have been viewed as late developments, part of the putative decay of the construction.[47] However, as examples (13a) and (13b) show, they actually occur in the earliest texts, including some, like (13b), that are not translations from Greek. Such cases are not particularly surprising, given that absolutes can occur in some of the other syntactic environments associated with finite clauses—always provided we do not try to force the Early Slavic dative absolute into constraints characteristic of absolutes in other Indo-European languages.

Unlike examples (6)–(9) most examples of the dative absolute—those that I have called (proto)typical—can indeed be construed with an adjacent or nearby clause in such a way that they can be paraphrased as subordinate clauses (or serve as the translational equivalents of Greek subordinate clauses; see Večerka 1961, 47–48). However, given the "unruly" cases, it is important to recognize that this dependency relation is not inherently hypotactic but rather actuated on the level of discourse pragmatics. The same absolutes can equally be paraphrased paratactically, as independent clauses; their relation to the adjacent clauses is indeterminate. If there is any interclausal subordination, it is semantic rather than syntactic. Moreover, in some cases, as discussed above, the absolute is subordinated to units of discourse larger than the clause.

This is not to say that the syntactic properties of the dative absolute are irrelevant, at least if we take the view that morphological cases have inherent meaning. The combination of dative (typical for non-agent and other secondary subjects) and non-finite verbal forms is a signal to interpret the absolute clause as secondary in the discourse.[48] The precise way in which it is secondary is for the most part left indeterminate.[49] In narrative, the secondariness of the absolute typically signals

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[46]   *On the Letters* is thought to date to the late ninth or early tenth-century (see above). HM.SMS.463 is a fifteenth-century manuscript of the Serbian recension, Resava orthography. In this manuscript, the text of *On the Letters* includes traces of the Glagolitic alphabet, which suggests a Central Balkan prototype from prior to the twelfth century. I am grateful to the monks of Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos for their permission to cite this manuscript from the microfilm held at the Hilandar Research Library of The Ohio State University.

[47]   On explicitly subordinated absolutes, see Stanislav (1933–1934, 22–24), Večerka (1961, 49), Vorob'ev (1973, 93), Corin (1995, 274–76). Corin considers Old East Slavic cases "a qualitative difference from OCS" (*ibid.*, 275); Remneva (1989, 39–40) claims that they are a post-thirteenth-century development.

[48]   Such secondary status can also be signaled by the nominative case of participles and by finite verbs like the imperfect and retrospective (perfect) tenses.

[49]   On the indeterminacy of absolute constructions, see Večerka (1961, 48), Berent (1973, 148, 152), Berent (1975, 20), Gebert (1987, 566), König & van der Auwera (1990, 337, 342), Minčeva (1991, 449), Ramat (1994, 263), Corin (1995, 261).

backgrounding.[50] However, there are other types of secondary status. For exam-ple, in (14), from the Old East Slavic *Life of Feodosij of the Caves*, probably composed in the late eleventh century, the two conjoined dative absolutes have the function of a summarizing wrap-up:

(14)   ·:· Sicevo pr[ě]p[o]d[o]bĭnomou i prěblaženomou o[tĭ]cju našemou feodosiju. pasouščju stado svoje. sŭ vĭsękyimĭ bl[a]gočĭstijemĭ i čistotoju. i ješče že i žitije svoe sŭ vŭzdřžanijemĭ i podvigŭmĭ ispravljajuščju ·:·
         'In this way our very holy and very blessed father Feodosij[DAT-SG] shepherd-ed[PRAP-DAT-SG] his flock, with every kind of piety and purity, and likewise directed[PRAP-DAT-SG] his own life with abstinence and heroism.' (*Uspenskij Sbornik*, late twelfth or early thirteenth century, 57d14–24; Kotkov 1971, 120)

This passage, like (6), is marked graphically as a fully separate unit of discourse, preceded and followed by major-division punctuation (diamond colons). It follows a short tale of how Abbot Feodosij's prayers prevented bandits from plundering a village owned by the monastery (*ibid.*, 57c2–25), and it precedes a new section de-tailing how he dealt with an upheaval on the Kievan throne. Evidently, then, it caps off one theme (Feodosij's protection of monastic property) before the transition to the next (Feodosij's role in Kievan politics). This coda function indicates that it is semantically secondary to the previous passage, even though it is entirely indepen-dent on the syntactic level.[51]

[6] CONCLUSIONS

It would seem that the standard definition of the Early Slavic dative absolute as a subordinate clause is taking an observation about discourse semantics and dressing it in syntactic clothing. The Early Slavic dative absolute construction can be rede-fined as a clause consisting of a dative participle and, when personal, a dative sub-ject; it has the discourse function of signaling that the proposition that it expresses is secondary in its discourse context. The relation between the absolute and the unit (in some cases, larger than a clause) to which it is most closely linked in semantic terms is not always subordination in the syntactic sense. The traditional notion that Slavic dative absolutes are subordinate clauses is evidently contraband from other Indo-European languages, perhaps influenced by the fact that typical absolutes can

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[50]   On absolutes as a backgrounding strategy, see Berent (1975, 11), König & van der Auwera (1990, 337), Corin (1995, 259–61, 268-69).

[51]   Corin (1995, 279), who cites (14) as evidence for putative syntactic differences between the Old Church Slavonic and Old East Slavic dative absolute constructions, rightly notes that "there is no main or matrix clause!" However, in concluding that "…under this most innovative interpretation the D[ative] A[bsolute] represents merely a stylistically marked alternative to a finite main clause, available to authors at their discretion in appropriate (presumably bookish or literary) contexts" (*ibid.*, 280), he overlooks the secon-dariness of the passage in the overall discourse.

be translated into modern languages by explicitly hypotactic clauses.

Andersen's (1970) explanation that the dative absolute reflects a Balto-Slavic dative of subordination seems to be valid both for the prehistory of the construction and for its synchronic meaning. However, it is evident that the meaning of subordination, which began in intraclausal relations, was extended (probably through syntactic reanalyses) to allow the use of datives even in syntactically independent clauses. Andersen himself presents the invariant meaning of the dative absolute in semantic rather than syntactic terms—"to present a narrated event as subordinate to another narrated event" (*ibid.*, 8). To avoid confusion with syntactic subordination, this meaning can be termed dative of secondary status. It can be seen not only in governed datives, e.g., the secondary subjects of embedded predicates and the subjects of infinitives, but also in ungoverned dative absolutes, which are semantically secondary in ways that are left up to the intended interpreters to construe—to adjacent or nearby clauses, to entire passages of neighboring discourse, or to the infrastructure of the disourse itself.

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NEGATION AND POLARITY
IN THE GREEK, GOTHIC, CLASSICAL ARMENIAN,
AND OLD CHURCH SLAVIC GOSPELS:
A PRELIMINARY STUDY

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[1] INTRODUCTION

In the field of Indo-European syntax it is of course sound procedure to examine the earliest attested languages and texts, Hittite, Vedic Sanskrit, and Homeric Greek, in order to arrive at an assessment via reconstruction of the likely features of the syntax of the proto-language. But even in this seemingly straightforward procedure there lurks the difficulty that, whereas the texts of Homer and the Rigveda reflect archaic types of poetic production, the Hittite corpus consists overwhelmingly of prose. If we consider the syntax of prose and poetry to be in some degree incommensurate, then the circumstances of our comparison are not ideal. On the other hand, we find among a small group of middle attested Indo-European dialects exactly the opposite situation: in Germanic, Armenian, and Slavic the earliest (or sole) attested material consists of translations from the Greek New Testament. In these instances, then, we have the same text and hence the materials for a ready-made comparative syntax that simply awaits research in order to be made available as a component to be fed into the comparative method together with the results from other Indo-European dialects for the purpose of syntactic reconstruction. Despite these favorable circumstances, however, the comparative syntax of the Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic gospels (for it is precisely these texts that they all share) has attracted exceedingly little attention. In fact, the only person to have devoted significant attention to this area prior to the twenty-first century was the Swiss scholar Cuendet, who wrote monographs on the use of the imperative and word order in these texts (1924 and 1929, respectively). Recognizing the obvious advantages for comparative syntax presented by this material, I conceived in 1987 a project to analyze these texts for comparative syntactic purposes and have pursued it ever since with many interruptions. My contributions have so far involved only Gothic and Classical Armenian (Klein 1992a, 1992b, 1994, 1996, 1997; Klein & Condon 1993). In addition, over the past twenty years a number of unpublished theses and dissertations have been produced under my direction at the

University of Georgia (in one instance elsewhere with me as co-director) as part of this project, mostly involving Gothic but with frequent inclusion of the Old English gospels (cf. Condon 1990, Kim 1992 [Old English], Tunkle 2000, Govberg-Afros 2002 [Gothic and Old English], Martin 2004 [Old English], Bucsko 2008, Pennington 2010 [Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old English]). In one instance (Thomason 2006) the material of Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian, and Old Church Slavic has been utilized. In recent years Dag Haug has conceptualized a computerized European version of this project at Oslo University (called *Pragmatic Resources in Old Indo-European Languages* [PROIEL]) in which the Latin Vulgate also plays a prominent role.[1] It appears therefore that the comparative syntax of these languages is finally getting the attention it deserves.

[2] THE CORPUS

The first step which must be taken in the consummation of this project is the accumulation of a body of comparative data. Currently no quadrilateral discussion of this material exists in the scholarly literature, aside from the works of Cuendet and Thomason previously noted. The data for such a discussion must therefore be wrung from the texts themselves. Once this material has been gathered and categorized, real syntactic analysis can begin. Pursuant to this goal, I will present here a preliminary study of the comparative syntax of negation and the related issue of negative polarity items. Its modest goal is to expose the comparative facts descriptively and venture a few preliminary analyses across a range of construction types, focusing especially on the formal exponents of these, including modality. With regard to the associated issue of negative polarity, this is not the place to expatiate upon this topic, on which a substantial literature now exists (cf. *inter alios* Fauconnier 1975, Ladusaw 1980, Horn 1989, Zwarts 1995). In this paper we will understand negative polarity items to refer to certain pronominal or adverbial elements that occur in negative contexts, including items translatable in English as 'nobody, never, nothing,' etc. For an in-depth study of negative polarity in the Classical Armenian gospel text cf. Klein 1997.

The corpus on which this analysis is based encompasses the Gospels of Matthew 1:1–11:25 and Mark, chapters 1-9 or just under 20% of the Gospel text in its entirety. For the Greek text, I have used the 26th edition of Nestle & Aland (1979), for Gothic the sixth edition of Streitberg's *Gotische Bibel* (1971), and for Old Church Slavic Jagič's edition of the 11th century *Codex Marianus* (1960) with occasional variant readings taken from his edition of the *Codex Zographensis* (late 10th/early 11th century) (1954). For Classical Armenian I have used Künzle's critical edition of the 10th century *Ēǰmiacin* manuscript (1984). The Armenian and Old Church Slavic texts are complete for the parts I have studied for this paper, although Jagič was forced to

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[1]   See http://foni.uio.no:3000.

use the 13th century *Dečani tetraevangelium* to provide the text of Matthew 1:1-5:24, which is lacking in both the Marianus and the Zographensis; but the Gothic text is lacking for Mt 1:1-5:15 with brief lacunae between 6:32-7:12 and again between 10:1-23. In Mark as well Gothic lacks 6:31-54. I have broken down the negation into eleven or so categories representing for the most part different clause types with special consideration given to various negative polarity markers.

[3] EXPONENTS OF NEGATION AND POLARITY

Before presenting the comparative data, we begin by enregistering the basic exponents of negation and polarity in the four languages we are investigating, followed by an overview of their systems of modality and expression of futurity. These are features which will characterize all the passages which we shall subsequently cite and discuss.

The basic exponents of negation in the four languages are as follows:

(1)   ou(k); modal mḗ ; sequential oúte, oudé; mḗte, mēdé   [GK]
        ni; sequential nih   [GOTH]
        oč'; modal mi   [ARM]
        ne; sequential ni   [OCS]

While Greek and Classical Armenian retain the Indo-European distinction of indicative and modal negation, Gothic and Old Church Slavic employ a single form in both indicative and modal clauses.[2] In the case of sequential negation only Classical Armenian shows no univerbated form but simply employs *ew* 'and' plus the relevant negation.

We next list the basic negative polarity items found in our corpus. The most striking of these is the Armenian set, where a series in *-k'* is opposed to a positive polarity series in *–mn* (*oč' ok'* 'nobody' vs. *mi omn* 'a certain one, somebody'). The relationship between these two is exactly like that of English *any* vs. *some* (cf. Klein 1997). Only Slavic, as we shall see, shows a pure negation *ne* in certain non-overtly-negative classical negative polarity contexts:

(2)   'Nobody, nothing'
        ou/mēdeís, ou/mēdén   [GK]
        ni...manna/ʰʋashun, ni...waiht   [GOTH]
        oč' ok', oč' inč' (contrast positive mi omn, imn)   [ARM]
        niktože, ničtože   [OCS]

	Greek[1]	Gothic	Cl. Armenian	OCS
Indicative	+	+	+	+
Imperative	+	+	+	+[2]
Subjunctive	+	+[3]	+	−
Future	+	−[4]	−[5]	−[6]

[1] The optative is moribund and is not represented in our subcorpus.   [2] Etymologically optative.
[3] Etymologically optative.
[4] Present indicative serves as future.   [5] Subjunctive serves as future.   [6] Perfective present serves as future; periphrastic future with *imati* 'have' + infinitive.

TABLE 1: Modal categories

Finally, we note that although New Testament Greek, Classical Armenian, and Gothic all possess a subjunctive beside an indicative and imperative, OCS lacks this third modal category. NT Greek of course still employs the optative in reduced measure compared to its classical counterpart; but no examples of this mood occur in the negative clauses in our subcorpus. Although the Gothic subjunctive is etymologically an optative, we shall refer to it in this paper as a subjunctive. Of the four languages only Greek possesses a grammatical category called "future tense". In Gothic the present indicative is capable of signaling future value, and the same is true of the perfective present in OCS. In Classical Armenian the subjunctive, in addition to signaling a range of values normally associated with this mood, signals the future as well. These facts are synopsized in Table 1.

[3.1]   *Simple negative statement*
We turn now to the various contexts of negation in comparative perspective. The first of these is the simple negative statement showing nonmodal negation + indicative mood in all four languages (3a). In the case of a future statement (3b) Greek juxtaposes the indicative and modal negations *ou* and *mḗ* and uses the subjunctive mood. Gothic responds with a present in future value and Armenian with *oč'* + subjunctive qua future. In OCS the periphrastic verb *imati* + infinitive here signals future value:

(3) a. Mt 6:24 'You cannot serve God and mammon'[3]
         ou dúnasthe theōî douleúein kaì mamōnāî   [Gᴋ]
         ni maguþ guda skalkinon jah mammonin   [Gᴏᴛʜ]
         oč' karēk' AY caȓayel ew mamonai   [Aʀᴍ]
         ne možete bogu rabotati. i mamoně   [OCS]
     b. Mt 5:20 'You shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven'
         ou mề eisélthēte eis tền basileían tôn ouranôn   [Gᴋ]
         ni þau qimiþ in þiudangardjai himine   [Gᴏᴛʜ]
         oč' mtanic'ēk' yark'ayowt'iwn erknic'   [Aʀᴍ]
         ne imate vŭniti vŭ cěsarĭstvo nebesĭnoje   [OCS]

Example (3b) follows a negative conditional clause ('if/unless your justice is greater than [that] of the scribes and Pharisees') and only Gothic is sensitive to the apodotic nature of the context, employing its apodotic particle þau 'then'.

Turning now to some typical negative polarity contexts, we find instances involving the meanings 'nobody, nothing, no longer, and never', together with combinations of these. Examples are seen in (4a)–(4g):

(4) a. Mk 2:22 'And nobody puts new wine into old bottles'
         kaì oudeìs bállei oînon néon eis askoùs palaioús   [Gᴋ]
         ni manna giutiþ wein juggata in balgins fairnjans   [Gᴏᴛʜ]
         Ew oč' ok' arkanē gini nor i tiks hins   [Aʀᴍ]
         i nikŭtože ne vŭlivaatŭ vina nova vĭ měxy vetŭxy   [OCS]
     b. Mk 9:39 'For there is nobody who shall do a miracle in my name and straightway speak evil of me'
         oudeìs gàr estin hòs poiḗsei dúnamin epì tōî onómatí mou kaì dunḗsetai takhù kakologêsaí me   [Gᴋ]
         ni mannahun auk ist saei taujiþ maht in namin meinamma jah magi sprauto ubilwaurdjan mis   [Gᴏᴛʜ]
         zi oč' ok' ē or aȓnē zawrowt'iwns yanown im . ew karic'ē hayhoyel zis   [Aʀᴍ]
         niktože bo estŭ iže sŭtvoritŭ silǫ o imeni moemĭ. i vŭzmožetŭ vŭskorě zŭlosloviti mę   [OCS]
     c. Mt 9:16 'Nobody puts a piece of unfulled cloth upon an old garment'
         oudeìs dè epibállei epíblēma hrákous agnáphou epì himatíōi palaiōî [Gᴋ]
         aþþan ni ƕashun lagjiþ du plata fanan þarihis ana snagan fairn-jana   [Gᴏᴛʜ]

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oč' ok' arkanē kapert ant'ap' i veray hnac'eal jorjoy   [ARM]
niktože bo ne pristavlĕatŭ pristavleniĕ plata ne bĕlena rizĕ
vetŭsĕ   [OCS]

d. Mt 10:26 'For nothing is hidden which will not be revealed'
oudèn gár estin kekalumménon hò ouk apokaluphthḗsetai   [GK]
ni waiht auk ist gahuliþ þatei ni andhuljaidau   [GOTH]
zi oč' inč' ē i cacowk or oč' yaytnesc'i   [ARM]
Ničtože bo estŭ pokrŭveno eže ne otŭkrŭveno bǫdetŭ   [OCS]

e. Mt 7:23 'And then I will profess to them that I have never known you'
kaì tóte homologḗsō autoîs hóti oudépote égnōn humâs   [GK]
jah þan andhaita im þatei ni ƕanhun kunþa izwis   [GOTH]
ew yaynžam asac'ic' c'nosa et'e oč' erbek' gitei zjez   [ARM]
i togda ispovĕmĭ imŭ ĕko nikoliže znaxŭ vasŭ   [OCS]

f. Mt 9:33 'Never has such a thing appeared in Israel'
oudépote ephánē hoútōs en tōî Israḗl   [GK]
ni aiw swa uskunþ was in Israela   [GOTH]
ew oč' erbek' erewec'aw ayspisi inč' yIŁI   [ARM]
nikoliže avi sę tako vŭ Israeli   [OCS]

g. Mk 9:8 'And immediately looking around, they no longer saw anybody'
kaì eksápina periblepsámenoi oukéti oudéna eîdon   [GK]
jah anaks insaiƕandans ni þanaseiþs ainohun gaseƕun   [GOTH]
Ew yankarcaki hayec'eal aysr andr . oč' ews zok' owrek' tesin   [ARM]
i vŭnezaapǫ vĭzĭrĕvŭše nikogože ne vidĕšę (Zog: kŭ tomu)   [OCS]

The greatest degree of variation here is seen in Gothic. Most basic is (4a), where Gk. *oudeís* 'nobody' corresponds to Goth. *ni manna*, Arm. *oč' ok'*, and OCS *nikŭtože*. Notice here the OCS usage of a genitive object, *vina nova*, in a negative clause, as well as the double negative, *nikŭtože ne*, seen in none of the other languages. Other Gothic options for this value include *ni mannahun* (4b) and *ni ƕashun* (4c). The contrast of (4b) and (4c) in OCS (*niktože* vs. *niktože...ne*) suggests that the double negative does not appear with the present tense of the verb *byti*, at least when the latter follows the negation. Another interesting feature of OCS seen here is that this language alone of the four we are investigating possesses no compositional negation or privative prefix but employs its independent negation *ne* in the phrase *ne bĕlena* 'unfulled' as opposed to Gk. *agnáphou* and Armenian *ant'ap'*. Gothic here uses a separate lexical item *þarihs*. In the meaning 'nothing' (4d) Gk. *oudén* corresponds to Goth. *ni wait*, Arm. *oč' inč'*, and OCS *ničtože*, again with single negation and present tense of *byti*. For 'never' Gk. *oudépote* shows two Gothic correspondences: *ni ƕanhun* (4e) and *ni aiw* (4f). In both instances Arm. has *oč' erbek'* and OCS *nikoliže*. Finally, the double negative polarity combination 'no longer anybody' is seen in (4g), where Gk. *oukéti oudéna* goes with Goth. *ni þanaseiþs ainohun*, Arm. *oč' ews zok' owrek'* and

OCS *nikogože ne.* Here Armenian shows yet a third negative polarity item, the local *owrek'* 'anywhere' not found in the other texts, whereas OCS of the Marianus, which again shows a double negative, does not capture the *oukéti* 'no longer' of Greek. (It is, however, captured by *kŭ tomu* in the Zographensis.)

[3.2]   *Negative commands*

The second clause type we shall investigate consists of negative commands. Here Greek shows both *mḗ* + impv. and *mḗ* + aor. subj. in simple commands as well as a separate category, often called "Gesetzessprache" in which Greek renders biblical commands from the Hebrew Bible via *ou* + future. The reason for this is that Biblical Hebrew employs the imperfect tense in these instances, and one usage of the Hebrew imperfect is future, the value which this verbal category assumes in all later stages of the language, including the Rabbinical Hebrew contemporaneous with the Greek NT. Since Hebrew employs its nonmodal negation in these constructions (*lo'* rather than *'al*), Greek responds with *ou* rather than *mḗ* in these instances. In simple negative commands Gothic employs *ni* with either the subjunctive or the imperative, Armenian responds with *mi* + either subjunctive or imperative, and OCS generally shows *ne* + impv:

(5)   a.   Mt 6.16 'Don't be like the hypocrites, of sad countenance'
             mè gínesthe hṓsper hoi hupokritaì skuthrōpoí   [Gᴋ]
             ni wairþiþ swaswe þai liutans gaurai   [Gᴏᴛʜ]
             mi linik' ibrew zkełcaworsn trtmealk'   [Aʀᴍ]
             ne bǫděte ěko i hüpokriti (Zog: sětujǫšte)   [OCS]
       b.   Mt 6.13 'And do not lead us into temptation'
             kaì mè eisenégkēis hēmâs eis peirasmón   [Gᴋ]
             jah ni briggais uns in fraistubnjai   [Gᴏᴛʜ]
             ew mi tanir zmez i p'orjowt'iwn   [Aʀᴍ]
             i ne vĭvedi nasŭ vŭ napastĭ   [OCS]
       c.   Mt 10.26 'Therefore do not fear them'
             mè oûn phobēthête autoús   [Gᴋ]
             ni nunu ogeiþ izwis ins   [Gᴏᴛʜ]
             Mi aysohetew erknč'ic'ik' i noc'anē   [Aʀᴍ]
             ne uboite sę ubo ixŭ   [OCS]
       d.   Mt 6.3 'Let your left hand not know what your right hand is doing'
             mè gnṓtō hē aristerá sou tí poieî hē deksiá sou   [Gᴋ]
             ni witi hleidumei þeina ƕa taujiþ taihswo þeina   [Gᴏᴛʜ]
             mi gitasc'ē jax k'o zinč' gorcē aǰ k'o   [Aʀᴍ]
             da ne čjuetŭ šjuica tvoě. čĭto tvoritŭ des'nica tvoě   [OCS]

    e.   Mt 5.33 'Do not swear falsely'

        ouk epiorkḗseis   [Gk]

        ni ufarswarais   [Goth]

        mi erdnowc'ows sowt   [Arm]

        ne vŭ lŭžǫ klŭneši sę   [OCS]

Examples (5a) and (5b) show, respectively, an imperative and a subjunctive in Greek, and in each instance Armenian and OCS show imperatives. Gothic, however, apes the Greek mood in each case. In (5c), where Greek shows a subjunctive, Armenian shows a subjunctive as well. In this case the Gothic *ogeiþ* is a preterite present and therefore shows no opposition between subjunctive and imperative. In (5d) OCS shows *da ne* + indicative, even though OCS possesses a third person imperative, while Armenian must respond with a subjunctive because it lacks a third person imperative; and again the Gothic preterite present admits only a subjunctive qua imperative. An example of Gesetzessprache is seen in (5e). Here the pres. ind. is to be understood as a future in OCS; but the Armenian subjunctive must be modal because of its negation. In Gothic the present subjunctive is regularly employed in this usage category.

    Polarity items within negative commands are seen in (6a)–(6b):

(6)   a.   Mk 1.44 'See that you say nothing to anybody'

             hóra mēdenì mēdèn eípēis   [Gk]

             saiƕ ei mannhun ni qiþais waiht   [Goth]

             zgoyš ler mi owmek' inč' asic'es   [Arm]

             bljudi sę nikomuže ničesože ne rĭci   [OCS]

    b.   Mk 9.25 'I command you: go out from him and no longer enter into him'

             egṓ soi epitássō, ékselthe eks autoû kaì mēkéti eisélthēis eis autón [Gk]

             ik þus anabiuda: usgagg us þamma jah þanaseiþs ni galeiþais in ina   [Goth]

             es tam k'ez hraman . el i dmanē . ew ayl ews mi mtanic'es i da   [Arm]

             azŭ ti veljǫ iziti iz nego. i k tomu ne vĭnidi vĭ nĭ   [OCS]

Example (6a) shows both animate and inanimate polarity in a context where the negative command is treated as a complement clause following an imperative. Gothic alone shows an overt complementizer *ei*, and Greek, Gothic and Armenian all show subjunctives in the complement clause. Lacking such a category, OCS employs an imperative. Notice again here in OCS the independent negation in addition to that in the polarity items. (6b) shows a "no longer/anymore" type of polarity, and Arm. shows *ayl ews mi*, lit. 'not further other', while OCS shows *k tomu*, lit. 'henceforth', not itself a negative polarity item.

[3.3] *Questions*

The next set of negative clause types we shall examine are questions. Greek has two types of non-*wh* negative question constructions: those expecting a positive reply and those expecting a negative reply. In the first type Greek shows *ou* or *oukhí* followed by the indicative, Gothic shows *niu* (with the Gothic interrogative particle *u*) + ind., Armenian shows either *oč'* or *oč' apak'ēn* + ind., and OCS shows *ne li* + ind. (with the OCS interrogative particle *li*):

(7)   Negative questions expecting a positive reply

    a.   Mt 5.46 'Do not the tax-collectors do the same?'

        oukhì kaì hoi telônai tò autò poioûsin;   [Gk]

        niu jah þai þiudo þata samo taujand?   [Goth]

        oč' apak'ēn ew mak'sawork' znoyn gorcen   [Arm]

        ne i mytare li tožde tvorętŭ   [OCS]

    b.   Mt 7.22 'Have we not prophesied in thy name?'

        ou tôî sôî onómati proephēteúsamen   [Gk]

        niu þeinamma namin praufetidedum   [Goth]

        oč' yanown k'o margarēac'ak'?   [Arm]

        ne vŭ tvoe li imę proročĭstvovaxomŭ   [OCS]

In the second question type Gk. *mḗ* or *mḗti* + ind. corresponds to Goth. *ibai* + ind., Arm. *mit'e* or *mi et'e* + subj., and OCS *eda* + ind.:

(8)   Negative questions expecting a negative reply

    a.   Mt 9:15 'Can the sons of the bridal canopy weep so long as the bride-groom is with them?' (lit. The sons of the bridal canopy can't weep..., [can they]?)

        mḕ dúnantai hoi huoì toû numphônos pentheîn eph' hóson met' autôn estin ho numphíos;   [Gk]

        ibai magun sunjus bruþfadis qainon und þata hweilos þei miþ im ist bruþfaþs?   [Goth]

        mi et'e mart' inč' ic'ē mankanc' aṝagasti sowg aṝnowl . minč' p'esayn ənd nosa ic'ē   [Arm]

        eda mogǫtŭ synove bračŭnii plakati sę. donĭdeže sŭ nimi estŭ ženixŭ   [OCS]

    b.   Mt 7:16 'Do they collect grape clusters from thorns or figs from thistles?' (lit. They don't collect grape clusters...[do they]?)

        mḗti sullégousin apò akanthôn staphulàs ḕ apò tribólōn sûka;   [Gk]

        ibai lisanda af þaurnum weinabasja aiþþau af wigadeinom smakkans?   [Goth]

Mit'e k'ałic'en? i p'šoy xałoł kam i tataskē t'owz   [Arm]
eda obemljǫtŭ otŭ trŭniě grozny. li otŭ rěpič smokŭvi   [OCS]

In the second of these Gothic turns the Greek impersonal into a passive.

A single example of a simple negative *wh*-question is found in our corpus:

(9)   Mk 8:21 'How do you not yet understand?'
       pôs oúpō suníete;   [Gk]
       ƕaiwa ni nauh fraþjiþ?   [Goth]
       isk ziard? oč' imanayk'   [Arm]
       kako ne razuměste   [OCS]

This also shows the Greek negative polarity item *oúpō* 'not yet'. Here all the transla-
tions show neg. + ind., but only Gothic is sensitive to the polarity item, rendering it
as *ni nauh*. OCS alone among these passages renders the verb in the past: 'How have
you not understood?'

[3.4]   *Negative purpose clauses*
We now turn to negative purpose clauses. Here Gk. *hópōs mḗ* + subj. and *hína mḗ*
+ subj. correspond to Gothic *ei ni* + subj., Arm. *zi mi* + subj., and OCS *da ne* + ind.
Examples are the following:

(10)   a.   Mt 6.18 'In order that you should not appear to men as fasting'
              hópōs mè̀ phanēîs toîs anthrṓpois nēsteúōn   [Gk]
              ei ni gasaiƕaizau mannam fastands   [Goth]
              zi mi erewesc'is mardkan ibrew zpahoł   [Arm]
              da ne aviši sę člověkomŭ postę sę   [OCS]
        b.   Mk 3.9 'In order that they should not press upon him'
              hína mè̀ thlíbōsin autón   [Gk]
              ei ni þraiheina ina   [Goth]
              zi mi nełesc'en zna   [Arm]
              da ne sŭtǫžajǫtŭ emu   [OCS]

Another type of negative purpose clause may be captured by the English rendi-
tion 'lest'. In this category Gk. *mḗpote* + subj. corresponds to Goth. *ibai ƕan* + subj.,
Arm. *gowc'ē* or *zi mi erbek'* + subj., and OCS *da ne* + ind. or *eda kogda* + ind.:

(11)   a.   Mt 5.25 'Lest your adversary give you over to the judge'
              mḗpoté se paradōî ho antídikos tōî kritēî   [Gk]
              ibai ƕan atgibai þuk sa andastaua stauin   [Goth]
              gowc'ē matnic'ē zk'ez awsoxn dataworin   [Arm]
              da ne prědastŭ tebe sǫdii   [OCS]

b. Mk 4.12 'Lest they turn [from their ways] and [their] sins be forgiven
them'
mḗpote epistrépsōsin kaì aphethḗi autoîs tà hamartḗmata   [Gκ]
ibai ƕan gawandjaina sik jah afletaindau im frawaurhteis   [Goth]
zi mi erbek' darjc'in ew t'ołc'i noc'a   [Arm]
eda kogda obratętŭ sę i otŭpustętŭ sę imŭ grěsi   [OCS]

The difference between (11a) and (11b) on the Armenian and OCS level is that
both languages are in the second instance sensitive to the polarity value 'ever' (-
pote) in Gk. mḗpote (Arm. erbek', OCS kogda). This is captured in both passages by the
ƕan of Gothic. Armenian gowc'ē of (11a) is the relexicalized 3rd pers. sg. subjunctive
of the verb of existence gol, lit. 'it may be, perhaps'. Gothic ibai, too, may originally
have meant 'it may be so' (on which more below).

[3.5]   *Negative result clauses*
Negative result clauses show Gk. *hṓste mḗ* + infinitive matched by Goth. *swaswe ni* +
ind., Arm. *orpēs zi (o)č'* + ind., and OCS *ěko ne* + ind. Cf. (12a), which also presents
the polarity item 'anyone' and a double negation in OCS (*ne...niktože*). The polarity
context 'no longer' is seen in (12b), where Gothic presents the item *juþan* not yet
seen in any passages so far cited. Here the sense of Armenian *minč'* is something on
the order of 'to the point that':

(12)   a. Mt 8.28 'So that nobody was able to pass through that way'
hṓste mḕ iskhúein tinà pareltheîn dià tês hodoû ekeínēs   [Gκ]
swaswe ni mahta manna usleiþan þairh þana wig jainana   [Goth]
orpēs zi č'ēr hnar anc'anel owmek' ənd ayn čanaparh   [Arm]
ěko ne možaaše niktože minǫti pǫtemĭ těmĭ   [OCS]
b. Mk 1.45 'So that he was no longer able to enter into the city openly'
hṓste mēkéti autòn dúnasthai phanerôs eis pólin eiseltheîn   [Gκ]
swaswe is juþan ni mahta andaugjo in baurg galeiþan   [Goth]
minč' oč' ews karoł linel nma yaytnapēs i k'ałak' mtanel   [Arm]
ěko k tomu ne možaaše ěvě vŭ gradŭ vĭniti   [OCS]

[3.6]   *Negative conditional clauses*
Negative conditional clauses involve Gk. *ei* or *eàn mḗ* + subj. The simplest case in-
volves a protasis of a negative condition, where Gothic responds with either *nibai*,
niba, or *jabai ni* + ind., Armenian with *et'e oč'* or *apa t'e oč'* + subj., and OCS with *ašte
ne* + ind.:

(13)   a.   Mt 5.20 'If your justice be not greater than [that] of the scribes and
             Pharisees, you will not enter into the kingdom of heaven'
             eàn mḕ perisseúsēi humôn hē dikaiosúnē pleîon tôn grammatéōn kaì
             Pharisaíōn, ou mḕ eisélthēte eis tḕn basileían tôn ouranôn   [Gk]
             nibai managizo wairþiþ izwaraizos garaihteins þau þize bokarje jah
             Farisaie, ni þau qimiþ in þiudangardjai himine   [Goth]
             et'e oč' aṙawelowc'ow ardarowt'iwn jer aweli k'an zdprac'n ew zP'arisec'woc'
             oč' mtanic'ēk' yark'ayowt'iwn erknic'   [Arm]
             ašte ne izbǫdetŭ pravda vaša pače knižnikŭ i Farisei. ne imate vŭniti
             vŭ česaṛĭstvo nebesĭnoje   [OCS]

       b.   Mk 7.3 'If they do not frequently wash their hands, they don't eat'
             eàn mḕ puknà nípsōntai tàs kheîras, ouk esthíousin   [Gk]
             niba ufta þwahand handuns, ni matjand   [Goth]
             et'e oč' bṙnalir lowanan zjeṙs . hac' oč' owten   [Arm]
             ašte ne umyjǫtŭ rǫku tŭrǫšte ne ědętŭ   [OCS]

       c.   Mt 6.15 'If you do not forgive men their sins, neither will your father
             forgive your sins'
             eàn dè mḕ aphête toîs anthrṓpois tà paraptṓmata autôn, oudè ho patḕr
             humôn aphḗsei tà paraptṓmata humôn   [Gk]
             iþ jabai ni afletiþ mannam missadedins ize, ni þau atta izwar afletiþ
             missadedins izwaros   [Goth]
             Apa t'e oč' t'ołowc'owk' mardkan zyanc'ans noc'a . ew oč' hayrn jer
             t'ołc'ē jez zyanc'ans jer   [Arm]
             ašte li ne otŭpuštaete člověkomŭ sŭgrěšeni ixŭ. ni otĭcŭ vašŭ otŭ-
             pustitŭ sŭgrěšenii vašixŭ   [OCS]

It seems quite likely that the Gothic subordinators *jabai* and *nibai/niba* represent remnants of a thematized present optative of the 'be'-verb (PIE *$bhuH_2$) in the earliest Germanic[4] with the original values 'and it be', 'it not be', respectively, with perhaps prosodic-based shortening in *niba*. The third of these passages follows a positive statement of the exact same condition with inverse result, and Gk. *dé*, Goth. *iþ*, and OCS *li* mark the nexus with the preceding material. In two other passages the negative condition follows a question or a positive universal statement where its value can be captured by English 'except'. In these instances Armenian shows either *et'e oč'* or *bayc' et'e*, respectively, 'if not' or 'but if'. In both instances OCS responds with *tŭkŭmo* 'only, except':

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[4]   That is, to the same stem (probably *bhw[-e-]) that appears as the base of the Latin future and imperfect in
      –*bit* and -*bat*, respectively.

(14) a. Mk 2.7 'who can forgive sins except the one God?'
        tís dúnatai aphiénai hamartías ei mḕ heîs ho theós;   [Gk]
        ƕas mag afletan frawaurhtins niba ains guþ?   [Goth]
        o? karē t'ołowl zmełs . et'e oč' mi AC   [Arm]
        kto možetŭ otŭpuštati grěxy. tkmo edinŭ bogŭ   [OCS]

    b. Mk 6.4 'No prophet is without honor except in his native land'
        ouk éstin prophétēs átimos ei mḕ en tēî patrídi autoû   [Gk]
        nist praufetus unswers niba in gabaurþai seinai   [Goth]
        oč' ē margarē anarg . bayc' et'e i gawaṙi iwrowm   [Arm]
        něstŭ prorokŭ bečĭsti. tŭkŭmo vŭ svoemĭ otĭčĭstvii   [OCS]

In neither of these cases does the negative condition involve a full clause, and this is the reason Greek shows simply *ei* 'if' rather than *eán*, which almost always requires a subjunctive.

In two additional instances negative conditionals involving complete clauses are much more complex:

(15) a. Mk 2.21 'otherwise it takes the fullness from it, the new from the old'
        ei dè mḗ, aírei tò plḗrōma ap' autoû tò kainòn toû palaioû   [Gk]
        ibai afnimai fullon af þamma sa niuja þamma fairnjin   [Goth]
        apa t'e oč' aṙnow lrowt'eambn iwrov norn i hnoy anti   [Arm]
        ašte li že ni vŭzĭmetŭ konecŭ otŭ neję novoe. otŭ vetŭxaago   [OCS]

    b. Mt 6.1 '[Be careful not to perform your almsgiving before men, so as to be seen by them,] otherwise you do not have a reward from your father'
        ei dè mḗge, misthòn ouk ékhete parà tōî patrì humôn   [Gk]
        aiþþau laun ni habaiþ fram attin izwaramma   [Goth]
        gowc'ē ew varjs oč' əndownic'ik' i hawrē jermē   [Arm]
        ašte li že ni mŭzdy ne imate. otŭ otĭca vašego   [OCS]

The difficulties in these passages lie in the relationship between their underlying semantic structures and their formal expressions in Greek. In (15a) the preceding clause says 'Nobody sews a patch of unfulled cloth upon an old garment'. The expected continuation of this would be 'for if one does, the new takes the fullness from the old'. However, the first clause may be underlyingly analyzed as possessing two predicates: a higher predicate 'It is not the case that X' and a lower predicate 'somebody sews a patch of unfulled cloth, etc.'. The Greek *ei dè mḗ* 'and if not' negates the higher predicate, producing a double negative ('If it is not not the case that X') and leaving the lower predicate unaffected. This structure is calqued by both Classical Armenian and OCS (the latter, however, with alternative conjunction *li*); but Gothic responds in its own idiomatic fashion by assuming the truth of the lower predicate via *ibai* 'it be so' (originally the affirmative antonym of *nibai* 'it not be').

In (15b) as well there are two predicates: higher 'Be careful to X' and lower 'you do not perform your almsgiving...' Here again Greek negates the higher predicate ('If it is not the case that you are careful'). But in this instance Gothic too denies the higher predicate, not through negation but implicitly through the use of an alternative conjunction 'or' (*aiþþau*).[5] OCS treats this passage just as it does (15a); but the Armenian of (15b) behaves exactly like the Gothic of (15a), assuming the truth of the lower predicate. In fact, the Armenian of (15b) and the Gothic of (15a) constitute an exact match in every regard but etymologically. We have already stated our view that the -*bai* of Gothic *ibai* represents an etymological thematic optative to *$bhuH_2$, and we may here add that the initial *i-*, a proximal deictic in Indo-European terms, must represent a particle of assertion 'thus, so'. Armenian *gowc'ē* is likewise a subjunctive of a verb of existence, here *gol* 'be', PIE *H_2wes 'spend the night, dwell', cf. Gothic *wisan* 'be'. Its original value is therefore 'it be (so)', just like that of Gothic *ibai*.

[3.7]   *Negative causal clauses*

Negative causal clauses are seen in (16a)–(16d):

(16)   a.   Mk 4.6 'And because it did not have a root, it dried out'
              kaì dià tò mề ékhein hrízan eksēránthē   [GK]
              jah unte ni habaida waurtins gaþaursnoda   [GOTH]
              ew zi oč' goyin armatk' . c'amak'ec'aw   [ARM]
              i zane ne iměše korenič usŭše   [OCS]
        b.   Mk 8.33 'Get behind me, Satan; for you do not ponder the matters of God'
              húpage opísō mou, satanâ, hóti ou phroneîs tà toû theoû   [GK]
              gagg hindar mik, Satana, unte ni fraþjis þaim gudis   [GOTH]
              ert' yets im satanay . zi oč' xorhis dow zAYsn   [ARM]
              idi za mŭnojǫ Sotono. ěko ne mysliši ě (Zog. ěže) sǫtŭ božěa   [OCS]
        c.   Mk 9.6 'for he did not know what he should answer'
              ou gàr ēídei tí apokrithêi (θ, etc. elálei 'he was saying'; A, D, etc. lalḗsei
              'he would say'; W, etc. laleî 'he is saying')   [GK]
              ni auk wissa ƕa rodidedi   [GOTH]
              k'anzi oč' gitēr zinč' xawsēr   [ARM]
              ne věděaše bo čto glagoletŭ   [OCS]
        d.   Mt 9.13 'For I have not come to call the just but sinners'
              ou gàr êlthon kalésai dikaíous all' hamartōloús   [GK]
              niþ-þan qam laþon uswaurhtans ak frawaurhtans   [GOTH]

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[5]   It should be noted that English 'otherwise', which we have employed to translate both (a) and (b), also denies the higher predicate in each instance.

zi oč' eki koč'el zardars . ayl zmeławors   [Arm]
ne pridŭ bo pravedĭnikŭ prizŭvatŭ. nŭ grěšŭniky   [OCS]

These clauses seem to present a scale of strength from strongly to weakly causal, and all languages but Classical Armenian appear to be sensitive to this distinction. Clearly strongest is the type seen in (16a), where Gk. *dià tò mḗ* + inf. corresponds to Goth. *unte ni* + ind., Arm. *zi oč'* + ind., and OCS *zane ne* + ind. The Greek, Gothic, and OCS subordinating conjunctions just noted are the strongest causal conjunctions in their respective languages, and this strength is pragmatically indicated as well by the fronting of cause before result. Less strong is the causal value of (16b), where both Gk. *hóti ou* + ind. and OCS with *ěko ne* + ind. are sensitive to this gradation, but not Gothic and Armenian. Weakest of all is the causal value of Gk. *ou gár* + ind. seen in (16c) and (16d). The first of these passages, which shows an indirect question as the complement of the verb 'know', is preceded by the episode of the transfiguration of Jesus, after which Peter proposes to make booths for Jesus, Elijah, and Moses. None of the versions follow the text presented by Nestle-Aland, but Gothic and Armenian seem to preserve the reading *elálei* of θ, etc. and OCS the reading *lalései* of A, D, etc., less likely *laleî* of W, etc. The second example follows Jesus' adjuration to the disciples to go and learn the meaning of the biblical statement "I desire mercy and not sacrifice"; and in fact the parallel pericopes in Mark and Luke show no causal conjunction here at all. The weaker causal nexus of these passages is picked up by the Gothic and OCS translators. Gothic shows *ni auk* + ind. and *niþ-þan* + ind., the second of which is not causal but merely conjunctive. Similarly, OCS captures the Gk. *gár* by its own fairly weak conjunction *bo*. Peculiar is Classical Armenian, where *k'anzi* seen in (16c) is in fact the strongest causal conjunction in the language.

[3.8]   *Negative relative clauses*
Passages involving negative relative clauses are seen in (17a)–(17d):

(17)   a.   Mt 10.26 'For nothing is hidden which will not be revealed'
               oudèn gár estin kekalumménon hò ouk apokaluphthḗsetai   [Gk]
               ni waiht auk is gahuliþ þatei ni andhuljaidau   [Goth]
               zi oč' inč' ē i cacowk or oč' yaytnesc'i   [Arm]
               Ničtože bo estŭ pokrŭveno eže ne otŭkrŭveno bǫdetŭ   [OCS]
         b.   Mk 4.22 'For there is not anything hidden which will not become clear'
               ou gár estín ti kruptòn hò eàn mḕ phanerōthēî   [Gk]
               nih allis ist ƕa fulginis þatei ni gabairhtjaidau   [Goth]
               zi č'ē inč' i cacowk . or t'e oč' yaytnesc'i   [Arm]
               něstŭ bo ničŭtože taino eže ne avitŭ sę   [OCS]

    c.   Mk 9.1 'There are some of those standing here who will not taste of death'

        eisín tines tôn hôde hestēkótōn hoítines ou mḕ geúsōntai thaná-
tou   [Gκ]

        sind sumai þize her standandane þai ize ni kausjand dauþaus [Goth]

        en omank' i soc'anē or ast kan . ork' mi čašakesc'en zmah   [Arm]

        sǫtŭ edini otŭ sŭde stoję̄štiixŭ. iže ne imǫtŭ vŭkusiti sŭmrŭti   [OCS]

    d.   Mk 6.11 'And however many as don't receive you ...'

        kaì hósoi àn mḕ déksōntai humâs ...   [Gκ]

        jah swa managai swe ni andnimaina izwis ...   [Goth]

        Ew or oč' ǝnkalc'in zjez ...   [Arm]

        i eliko ašte ne priimǫtŭ vasŭ ...   [OCS]

These passages show some subtleties in Greek depending on the degree of indefiniteness of the relative clause; and these are often not reflected in the translations. Thus, (17a) and (17b) differ in Greek in the fact that the first shows relative pronoun + *ou* + fut. and the second relative pronoun + *eàn mḗ* + subj. Presumably, the latter is to be understood as less definite than the former, an inference that is echoed also by a detail: in the first passage Greek shows the orthotonic *oudén* 'nothing' in the opening clause, while in the second it has the enclitic *ti* in the first clause. A hypothesis that immediately presents itself is that the enclitic signals a more indefinite value than the orthotonic. But Gothic alone of the translation languages is sensitive to this, opposing indefinite pronominal *ƕa* to nominal *waiht*. OCS here shows an interesting variation between (17a) and (17b) which may turn out to be significant: in (17a) *ničtože* precedes the copula without an independent negation, as seen earlier; but in (17b) *ničŭtože* follows the present tense of *byti* in existential value, and an independent negation is soddered onto the verb in the form *něstŭ*. The difference appears to be like that of English 'nothing is' but 'there is not anything'. But (4c) cited earlier had *niktože bo estŭ* in the value 'there is nobody', so we may be dealing with a syntactic feature related solely to the position of *estŭ* relative to the negative universal. Note that Gk. *eàn* in (17b) is not the same item as the conditional particle seen in (13), but is a substitute for *án*, as frequently in the NT. The Armenian translator alone feels obliged to capture this with *t'e*, a less frequent variant of its own conditional particle *et'e*. Related to these passages is (17c), which shows the typical Greek apparatus for signaling future negation (*ou mḗ* + subj.), here within a "qualifying" relative clause introduced by *hoítines* and following an indefinite clause. This clause in Greek is equivalent to a prediction and as such is matched by the Gothic present indicative qua future and OCS periphrastic future involving *imati* + infinitive. But Armenian with its modal negation treats this as falling short of a definite outcome. Here the Gothic *þai ize* (= *izei*) seems to be a calque on Gk. *hoítines*. Finally, (17d) shows the indefinite Greek relative *hósoi àn mḗ* + subj. The value of *hósoi* is cap-

tured in Gothic by *swa managai swe* and in OCS by *eliko ašte* + ind. Armenian, on the other hand, shows a simple headless relative *or* in indefinite value.

We include in this category several passages in which Greek shows *mḗ* + ppl., but at least two of the translational versions show relative clauses:

(18)   a.   Mt 7.19 'Every tree not producing good fruit is cut down'

        pân déndron mè poioûn karpòn kalòn ekkóptetai   [Gᴋ]

        all bagme ni taujandane akran god usmaitada   [Gᴏᴛʜ]

        Amenayn caṝ or oč' aṝnē ptowł bari hatani   [Aʀᴍ]

        vĭsěko drěvo eže ne tvoritŭ ploda dobra. posěkajǫtŭ   [OCS]

    b.   Mt 7.21 'Not everyone saying to me, "Lord, Lord" will enter the kingdom of heaven'

        ou pâs ho légōn moi . kúrie, kúrie, eiseleúsetai eis tḕn basileían tôn ouranôn   [Gᴋ]

        ni ƕazuh saei qiþiþ mis: frauja, frauja! inngaleiþiþ in þiudangardja himine   [Gᴏᴛʜ]

        Oč' amenayn or asē c'is TR TR mtc'ē yark'ayowt'iwn erknic'   [Aʀᴍ]

        Ne vĭsěkŭ glagolę̇i mĭně. gospodi gospodi vĭnidetŭ vŭ cěsarĭstvie nebesĭskoe   [OCS]

These passages show an interesting scope variation in the universal quantifier 'every/everyone'. In (18a) Gk. *pân* has broad scope over the negation, and this is matched in the translation languages, of which Armenian and OCS show relative clauses. In (18b) Gk. *pâs* functions within the negation, and here, too, the translations place their universal quantifier after the negation. This results in a change in the form of negation in Greek and a change in the quantifier in Gothic.

[3.9]   *Sequential negation*

We turn now to instances of sequential negation. A wide range of structures is represented, and these can be broken down into nominal, phrasal, and clausal types. Strictly nominal conjoined sequences are seen in (19a) and (19b):

(19)   a.   Mt 6.20 'where neither moth nor corrosion [lit. consumption] ruins'

        hópou oúte sḕs oúte brôsis aphanízei   [Gᴋ]

        þarei nih malo nih nidwa frawardeiþ   [Gᴏᴛʜ]

        owr oč' c'ec' ew oč' owtič apakanen   [Aʀᴍ]

        ideže ni črŭvĭ ni tilě tilitŭ   [OCS]

    b.   Mt 9.13 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice'

        éleon thélō kaì ou thusían   [Gᴋ]

        armahairtiþa wiljau jah ni hunsl   [Gᴏᴛʜ]

        zołormowt'iwn kamim ew oč' zzoh   [Aʀᴍ]

        milostyni xoštǫ a ne žrŭtvě   [OCS]

In the first of these the archaic Greek sequence *oúte* N₁ *oúte* N₂ is matched by Goth. *nih* N₁ *nih* N₂, Arm. *oč'* N₁ *ew oč'* N₂, and OCS *ni* N₁ *ni* N₂. The Gothic sequence represents PIE *ne kʷe, with the same enclitic conjunction reflected in Greek *te*. Classical Armenian has lost this old conjunction and therefore shows its only conjoined negation structure *oč'...ew oč'*. OCS shows its serial negation *ni*, ultimately *ne* + conjunction *i*, which we have seen in a number of passages already cited. This passage shows pure serial conjunction. The same is not true of (19b), which is implicitly oppositional with its positive/negative component. Here Greek shows the sequence N₁ *kaì ou* N₂ with orthotonic, static (i.e. non-serial) conjunction; and this is matched by the equivalent orthotonic dyad N₁ *jah ni* N₂ in Gothic and the invariant sequential *ew oč'* in Armenian. OCS, on the other hand, captures the implicit nuance of this structure with the oppositional rather than serial *a ne*.

Phrasal conjunction involving four conjoined prepositional phrases following a negative infinitival clause is seen in (20), where Gk. *mḗte* is iterated across every conjoined member, but Gothic shows the enclitic conjunction only in members 2-4. Similar in format is Armenian, whereas OCS shows four iterations of *ni*:

(20)   Mt 5.34-36 'But I say to you not to swear at all: neither by heaven...nor by earth...nor by Jerusalem; nor should you swear by your head'
         egṑ dè légō humîn mè omósai hólōs, mḗte en tōî ouranōî...mḗte en tēî gēî...
         mḗte eis Hierosóluma...mḗte en tēî kephalēî sou omósēis   [Gᴋ]
         aþþan ik qiþa izwis ni swaran allis, ni bi himina...nih bi airþai...nih bi Iairu-
         saulwmai...nih bi haubida þeinamma swarais   [Goᴛʜ]
         Ayɫ es asem jez . amenewin mi erdnowl . mi yerkins... Ew mi yerkir...ew mi
         yĒM...ew mi i glowx k'o erdnowc'ows   [Aʀᴍ]
         azŭ že glagoljǫ vamŭ. ne klęti sę otŭnǫdŭ ni nebesemĭ...ni zemlejǫ...ni Ieru-
         salemŭmŭ...ni glavojǫ svoejǫ klŭni sę   [ᴏᴄs]

Word-level conjunction involving verbs is seen in (21a)–(21b):

(21) a. Mt 6.20 'where thieves do not dig through and steal'
          hópou kléptai ou diorússousin oudè kléptousin   [Gᴋ]
          þarei þiubos ni ufgraband nih stiland   [Goᴛʜ]
          ew oč' goɫk' akan hatanen ew goɫanan   [Aʀᴍ]
          ideže tatie ne podŭkopavajǫtŭ. ni kradǫtŭ   [ᴏᴄs]
      b. Mt 6.28 'they do not toil nor spin'
          ou kopiāî oudè nḗthei   [Gᴋ]
          nih arbaidjand nih spinnand   [Goᴛʜ]
          oč' ǰanay ew oč' niwt'ē   [Aʀᴍ]
          ne truždajǫtŭ sę ni prędǫtŭ   [ᴏᴄs]

In the first of these passages Greek shows the structure *ou...oudé* with the quasi-enclitic *dé* which is a vibrantly living conjunction in the NT, whereas *te* is largely moribund in this text. Gothic responds exactly with its *ni...nih*, and OCS equivalently with *ne...ni*. The Armenian rendition is independent with its single negation. This passage is a continuation of (19a) and suggests that perhaps on its way to obsolescence Gk. *te* was first reduced to nominal conjunctive value. We cite (21b) because of its contrast with (21a) on the Gothic level, showing that the Goths had their own intuitions about where serial negation was appropriate (*nih...nih* : *ou...oudé* [b] vs. *ni...nih* : *ou...oudé* [a]).

A more complex sequence is the following:

(22)   Mk 8.18 'Having eyes, do you not see and having ears, do you not hear? And you do not remember...
ophthalmoùs ékhontes ou blépete kaì ôta ékhontes ouk akoúete; kaì ou mnēmoneúete...   [Gk]
augona habandans ni gasaiƕiþ, jah ausona habandans ni gahauseiþ jah ni gamunuþ...   [Goth]
ač'k' gon ew oč'? tesanēk'. akanǰk' en ew oč' lsēk'. ew oč' imanayk' takawin ew oč' yišēk'...   [Arm]
oči imǫšte ne vidite. i uši imǫšte ne slyšite. i ne pomĭnite li...   [OCS]

In this passage Greek shows the structure O_1 ppl_1 *ou* V_1 *kaì* O_2 ppl_1 *ou* V_2 *kaì* *ou* V_3. Gothic exactly follows the Greek here, as does OCS, which therefore does not treat the verbs as serial but rather as three completely independent clauses, hence *ne* rather than *ni*. OCS also understands the last part of the structure as a question (note the particle *li*). Armenian shows multiple variations from the other versions, including the rendition of both participles by finite verbs, the addition of the verb *imanal* 'understand', and the introduction of the negative polarity item *takawin* 'yet'.[6]

We complete our discussion of sequential negation by citing three passages in which the negation is not straightforwardly sequential, but rather adverbial:

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[6]   The final part of this structure is confusing when presented in isolation from its following verse. The King James Version does indeed treat the last clause as a question. But in Greek it is possible to take the question as continuing into the next verse, in which case the *wh*-word *pósous* 'how many?' would have to be understood as posing an indirect question: 'And do you not remember, when I broke the five [pieces of] bread into five thousand, how many baskets full of fragments you picked up?' Nestle-Aland's text punctuates the Greek in precisely this way, as does Streitberg's Gothic text, at least for the stretch 'when I broke...you picked up?' [Streitberg treats *jah ni gamunuþ* as part of the prior sentence and hence as standing outside the question]. But both the Armenian and OCS texts show a full stop after 'five thousand', continuing with a conjunction 'and' followed by a direct *wh*-word (*kani?*, *koliko*). The Armenian text is in any event deficient in not translating Greek *éklasa* 'I broke'. Consequently, the OCS best captures the pragmatic value of the phrase 'And do you not remember', while going its own way in assessing the relationship between this clause and the indirect question which follows.

(23)   a.   Mk 5.3 'who had his dwelling in the tombs, and nobody was able to
              bind him even with chains'
              hòs tḕn katoíkēsin eîkhen en toîs mnḗmasin, kaì oudè halúsesin oudeìs
              edúnato autòn dêsai   [GK]
              saei bauain habaida in aurahjom: jah ni naudibandjom eisarneinaim
              manna mahta ina gabindan   [GOTH]
              oro ew bnakowt'iwn iwr isk i gerezmans ēr. ew oč' šłt'ayiwk' ok' ews
              karēr kapel zna   [ARM]
              iže žilište imēaše vŭ grobēxŭ. i ni želēznomŭ ǫžemĭ ego niktože ne
              možaaše sŭvęzati   [OCS]

        b.   Mk 2.2 'And straightway many gathered, so that there was no longer
              any room, even by the door'
              kaì euthéōs sunékhthēsan polloí, hṓste mēkéti khōreîn mēdè tà pròs
              tḕn thúran   [GK]
              jah suns gaqemun managai, swaswe juþan ni gamostedun nih at
              daura   [GOTH]
              ew žołovec'an bazowmk' .   minč'ew tełi ews oč' linel ew oč' aṙ
              drann   [ARM]
              i abĭe sŭbŭrašę sę mŭnodzi. ěko kŭ tomu ne vĭměštaaxǫ sę ni prědŭ
              dverĭmi   [OCS]

        c.   Mt 6.15 'If you do not forgive men their sins, neither will your father
              forgive your sins'
              eàn dè mḕ aphête toîs anthrṓpois tà paraptṓmata autôn, oudè ho patḕr
              humôn aphḗsei tà paraptṓmata humôn   [GK]
              iþ jabai ni afletiþ mannam missadedins ize, ni þau atta izwar afletiþ
              missadedins izwaros   [GOTH]
              Apa t'e oč' t'ołowc'owk' mardkan zyanc'ans noc'a . ew oč' hayrn jer
              t'ołc'ē jez zyanc'ans jer   [ARM]
              ašte li ne otŭpuštaete člověkomŭ sŭgrěšeni ixŭ. ni otĭcŭ vašŭ otŭ-
              pustitŭ sŭgrěšenii vašixŭ   [OCS]

In (23a) the second conjunct in Greek shows *kaì oudè...oudeís*, where *oudè* is to
be understood as adverbial '(not) even'. Hence, the Greek shows a double nega-
tion from an English perspective. In OCS this value is captured translationally by *ni*,
while *niktože ne mogaaše* shows the usual double negation we have learned to expect
in these cases. Gothic shows *jah ni...mann*, ignoring the Greek *oudè*, and Armenian,
instead of repeating *ew*, the usual way of saying 'even' in this language, employs *ews*,
as if to say 'and nobody was able anymore'. In (23b) and (23c) one finds adverbial
negation following a result clause which in the first instance contains negative po-
larity *mēkéti* 'no longer'. Here Gk. *mēdè tà pròs tḕn thúran* is translated in Gothic as *nih
at daura*, in Armenian as *ew oč' aṙ drann*, and in OCS as *ni prědŭ dverĭmi*, all of which

say 'not even at the door'. Finally, in (23c) the two clauses are not coordinated but rather the first is the protasis of a negative condition and the second is the apodosis. Gk. *oudé* can be understood as meaning 'neither' here; and to this Gothic rather reacts with *ni* + the apodotic particle *þau* signaling resultative 'then' and Armenian with the calque *ew oč'* , here probably to be understood adverbially as 'also not', as is OCS *ni.*

[3.10]   *Minor categories*

There remain only three sparsely attested negative categories that we shall now address. The first of these is the bare negative used in a reply (24). Here Gothic alone shows a special negation *ne*, while OCS employs its serial negator *ni.* Armenian in this passage shows a special use of its postposed definite article *–n* in quotative value:

(24)   Mt 5.37 'Let your word be "aye, aye; nay, nay".'
         éstō dè ho lógos humôn naí naí, oú oú   [Gk]
         sijaiþ-þan waurd izwar: ja, ja; ne, ne   [Goth]
         Ayɫ eɫic'i jer ban . ayon . ayo . ew oč'n . oč'   [Arm]
         bǫdi že slovo vaše ei ei. i ni ni   [OCS]

Finally, it is well known that both complements of comparatives and clauses of prior circumstance are negative polarity contexts. Cf. English *John is smarter than anybody (else) I know* or *The police apprehended the suspect before he could harm anybody* with negative polarity *anybody* rather than positive *somebody.* Similarly, with actual negation, French *Il est plus riche qu'on ne pense* or *Il existait un monde où l'artiste trouve avant qu'il ne cherche* (J. Cocteau). Of the languages in our study, OCS alone shows an overt polarity negation in these contexts, either freestanding or in univerbation with a following morpheme (25a)–(25b). Cf. the use of *nor* for *than* in some English dialects (*He is taller nor I am*):

(25)   a.   Mk 9.45 'It is better for you to enter into life lame than having two feet,
                to be cast into Gehenna'
                kalón estín se eiseltheîn eis tền zōền khōlón, ề toùs dúo pódas ékhonta
                blēthênai eis tền géennan   [Gk]
                dobrěa (Zog.: -ěe) ti estǔ vǔniti vǔ životǔ xromu. neže dvě nodzě
                imǫšte (Zog.: imǫštju). vǔvrǔženu byti vǔ ħeonǫ   [OCS]
         b.   Mt 1.18 'Before the two had come together, she was found to be preg-
                nant by the holy spirit'
                prìn ề suneltheîn autoùs heuréthē en gastrì ékhousa ek pneúmatos
                hagíou   [Gk]
                prěžde daže ne sǔnidosta sę obrěte sę imǫštii vǔ črěvě bě otǔ duxa
                svęta   [OCS]

[4] CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, I must emphasize that although the material presented in this article is comprehensive for the parts of the text it has covered, some 80% of the text has yet to be canvassed. This will no doubt yield some additional categories and perhaps some new relationships among the means employed to express negation in the various languages of our survey. However, it is unlikely to change greatly the picture presented here, which is remarkable for its consistency from language to language. Once the total range of data concerning negation and polarity in the entire extant text of the Gospels in all four languages has been gathered, analyzed, and presented, an important chapter in the comparative grammars of these languages will have been achieved.

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PREDICATIVE POSSESSION
IN OLD CHURCH SLAVIC BIBLE TRANSLATIONS

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abstract

Three different encoding strategies for predicative possession were available in Old Church Slavic (OCS). The verb *iměti* 'have' was the most frequent and least semantically and syntactically restricted strategy. Two additional existential constructions were used to express predicative possession: 1) the dative predicative possessive construction (PPC): a dative possessor, a 'be' verb (may be null), and a nominative possessum (genitive under negation); and 2) the *u* + genitive PPC: a possessor in the "locative" prepositional phrase *u* 'at/near' + genitive, a 'be' verb (may be null), and a nominative possessum (genitive under negation). The dative PPC is well-attested with a number of fixed constructions and with a particular set of possessums, e.g. kinship relations and abstract possessums. The *u* + genitive PPC is only marginally attested for encoding predicative possession, appearing in a few contexts in order to emphasize the transient temporal nature of the possessor-possessum relationship.

[1] INTRODUCTION

Predicative or sentential possession is the encoding of possession on the level of the clause. In the majority of (Western) European languages, predicative possession is simply encoded by a 'have' verb. In English, for example, predicative possession is expressed with the verb *have*, e.g. *Jane has a book.* However, in many other languages (in and outside of Europe), another construction type is used, e.g. an existential construction with the verb 'be' and the possessor in an oblique noun phrase. Such was the case in Proto Indo-European (PIE), which used a 'be' verb and a dative possessor with the possessum in the nominative case controlling verb agreement (Meillet 1923, 9; Vondrák 1908, 363). This construction was carried over into several PIE daughter languages, e.g. *mihi est* in Latin. 'Have' verbs developed in the histories of the independent Indo-European languages: first in Greek, then elsewhere (Isačenko 1974, 44–45).

The earliest Slavic texts include 9th century translations of the first four books of the New Testament from Greek into OCS (a Bulgarian dialect of Late Proto-Slavic (LPS)). These texts provide evidence that there were three encoding options for

predicative possession in OCS, which are shown in (1)–(3). The most frequent construction in OCS is the verb *iměti* 'have' in (1). Two other constructions used in LPS were existential PPCs with the possessum in the nominative case controlling verb agreement. In the first of these constructions, shown in (2), the possessor was in the dative case. Another encoding strategy for predicative possession in OCS was the *u* + genitive prepositional construction shown in (3). *U* is a preposition meaning 'at' or 'near', and governs the genitive case.[1] Though some scholars (e.g. Veenker 1967) assume that this PPC developed only in Russian or East Slavic, textual evidence from not only East Slavic, but also OCS (Xodova 1966; Mirčev 1971), Old Czech (McAnallen Forthcoming), Old Serbian and Croatian (Vasilev 1973), and Middle Bulgarian (Mirčev 1971), demonstrate that *u* + genitive was already used to encode predicative possession throughout the dialects of Late Proto-Slavic, though it was a peripheral construction that was restricted in its usage.

(1)   ašte biste   imě-li   věrǫ   ěko zrŭno   gorjušęno...
        if   COND.2PL have-PTCP.PL faith-ACC.SG as   grain-ACC.SG mustard-ACC.SG
        'if ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed' (Lk 17:6)[2]

(2)   ašte bǫdetŭ   eter-u   člověk-u   100 ovecĭ...
        if   be-FUT.3SG certain-DAT.SG person-DAT.SG 100 sheep-GEN.PL
        'if a man have an hundred sheep' (Mt 18:12)[3]

(3)   ašte bǫdetŭ   ou eter-a   člověk-a   100 ovecĭ...
        if   be-FUT.3SG at certain-GEN.SG person-GEN.SG 100 sheep-GEN.PL
        'if a man have an hundred sheep' (Mt 18:12)[4]

Both NT Greek and Latin of the Vulgate employ a 'have' verb and a dative PPC, i.e. constructions parallel to (1) and (2) in OCS, for predicative possession. Greek and Latin, however, have no location-based encoding strategy comparable to *u* + genitive in (3).

In many areas of syntax, including predicative possession, OCS Bible translations preserve the source syntax of New Testament (NT) Greek quite faithfully. Consequently, examples of predicative possession that deviate from the NT Greek source syntax are not numerous. However, the fact that divergent examples occur and, perhaps more importantly, that certain consistencies arise among the divergences shows that the texts were not translated slavishly, and furthermore validates their

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[1] Stassen (2009) puts both dative PPCs and location-based PPCs of the type *u* + genitive together under the category "Locational Possessives." I understand the reason for this grouping for a large-scale typological survey, but find it necessary to analyze the two constructions separately in a fine-grained analysis of predicative possession within one language.

[2] *Codex Marianus*; 'have' verb also in Greek original, cf. (5a).

[3] *Codex Marianus*; non-PPC construction in Greek original, cf. (9a).

[4] *Codex Assemanianus* (Xodova (1966) brought this example to my attention); non-PPC construction in Greek original, cf. (9a).

relevance for studying early Slavic semantics and syntax. There is no doubt that NT Greek influenced early Slavic writing (Mrázek 1963, 243); in the domain of predicative possession, however, Greek influenced the frequency of Slavic constructions but did not dictate the full range of encoding strategies in OCS. In the cases where Slavic diverges from the Greek, it is possible to make some determination about the functional domains of the Slavic constructions as distinct from Greek. As I argue below, the motivations for the deviations can be attributed primarily to the different semantic range of the encoding strategies in OCS versus Greek. That is, OCS carved out the semantic space of predicative possession somewhat differently than NT Greek. Not only semantic, but also syntactic differences emerge in the OCS divergences from the Greek original. This is especially clear when Slavic uses a PPC where Greek does not, which consistently results in an increase in the number of arguments in the Slavic construction (two in OCS versus one in Greek). This is addressed in section [2.4] below.

[2] EXAMPLES OF PREDICATIVE POSSESSION IN OCS

The OCS Bible translations used in this analysis are the first four books of the New Testament from *Codex Marianus.* Examples from other codices—in particular other Glagolitic codices: *Assemanianus* and *Zographensis*, and the somewhat later OCS codices written in Cyrillic: the *Ostromir Gospel* and the *Savvina Kniga*—are used when they differ significantly from *Codex Marianus.* All texts are compared to the NT Greek source text.

The majority of PPCs in OCS match NT Greek. As (4) shows, there are dative PPCs in both Greek and OCS, and OCS *iměti* 'have' corresponds to Greek *ekho* in (5).[5] Note that for examples in all the tables below, the relevant PPC is underlined, and the possessum is italicized where relevant. Passages not containing a PPC that correlate to passages containing a PPC are doubly underlined.

(4) a. καὶ <u>οὐκ ἦν</u>   <u>αὐτοῖς</u>   *τέκνον* καθότι ἦν   ἡ
        and NEG was-IMPF.3SG them-DAT.PL child   because was-IMPF.3SG ART
        Ἐλισάβετ   στεῖρα   καὶ ἀμφότεροι προβεβηκότες ἐν
        Elisabeth-NOM.SG barren-NOM.SG and both   advanced-PTCP in
        ταῖς   ἡμέραις αὐτῶν   ἦσαν
        the-DAT.PL day-DAT.PL them-GEN.PL were-IMPF.3PL

     b. i   <u>ne bě</u>   <u>ima</u>   *čędo* poneže bě   elisavetĭ
        and not was-AOR.3SG them-DAT.DU child for   was-AOR.3SG Elisabeth
        neplody   i   oba zamatorěvŭša   vĭ dĭnexŭ   svoixŭ
        fruitless-NOM.SG and both advanced-NOM.DU in day-LOC.PL REFL.LOC.PL

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[5]   All subsequent OCS examples correspond to *Codex Marianus* unless indicated otherwise.

běašete
were-IMPF.3DU
'And <u>they did not have</u> *a child* for Elisabeth was infertile and both were advanced in their days.' [lit. 'there was no child to them'] (Lk 1:7)

(5)   a.   εἶπεν   δὲ ὁ κύριος εἰ ἔχετε   πίστιν   ὡς
say-AOR.3SG and ART Lord   if have-PRS.2PL faith-ACC.SG as
κόκκον   σινάπεως   ἐλέγετε   ἂν τῇ
grain-ACC.SG mustard-GEN.SG say-IMPF.2PL PRT ART.DAT.SG
συκαμίνῳ   ταύτῃ   ἐκριζώθητι   καὶ φυτεύθητι
sycamine_tree-DAT.SG this-DAT.SG uproot-IMP.AOR and plant-IMP.AOR
ἐν τῇ   θαλάσσῃ καὶ ὑπήκουσεν ἂν ὑμῖν
in ART.DAT.SG sea-DAT.SG and obey-AOR.3PL PRT you-DAT.2PL

      b.   reče   že gŭ   ašte <u>biste</u>   <u>iměli</u>   *věrǫ*
say-AOR.3SG thus Lord-NOM.SG if   COND.2PL have-PTCP.PL faith-ACC.SG
ěko zrŭno   gorjušĭno   glali   biste   oubo
as   grain-ACC.SG mustard-ACC.SG speak-PTCP COND.2PL even
sükamině   sei   vĭzderi sę i vŭsadi   sę
sycamine_tree-DAT.SG this-DAT.SG pluck-IMP REFL and plant-IMP REFL
vŭ more   i   posloušala bi   vasŭ
in sea-ACC.SG and obey-PTCP COND.3SG you-ACC.PL
'The Lord said, "If you <u>have</u> *faith* as a grain of mustard, you would say to this sycamine tree: 'pluck yourself and plant yourself in the sea," and it would obey you."' (Lk 17:6)

Table 1 on page 159 gives all occurrences of PPCs in the Book of Luke for OCS *Codex Marianus* and NT Greek. Since NT Greek is the source language for the Bible text, the table is structured to display this directionality: from source text to translated text.

     Despite the large number of constructions in OCS that match the NT Greek source text, divergences do occur. These divergences fall into one of the following three groups:

   A. Greek PPC → no PPC in OCS

   B. Greek PPC → different PPC in OCS

   C. No PPC in Greek → PPC in OCS

   In sections [2.1]–[2.3] below I discuss examples from each of these three groups in turn.

PPC in source text	NT Greek	→	PPC in OCS Codex Marianus
'Have' PPC	77	→	67 Have (+1 ambig.)
		→	9 No PPC
Dative PPC	16 (+4 ambig.)	→	14 Dative (+4 ambig.)
		→	1 Have
		→	1 No PPC
No PPC	NA	→	7 Have
		→	2 Dative (+2 ambig.)
		→	1 *u* + gen. (+1 ambig.)

TABLE 1: Inventory of PPCs in the Book of Luke

[2.1] *Divergence Type A: Greek PPC → No PPC in OCS*

In divergence type A Greek uses a PPC, but Slavic does not. There are nine instances of this type of divergence in *Codex Marianus.* Five of the nine divergences in *Codex Marianus* are accounted for by one systematic replacement: the verb *trěbovati* 'need, require' in OCS for the construction 'have need' in NT Greek, as shown in example (6).

(6) a. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς οὐ
        and answer-PTCP ART Jesus-NOM.SG say-AOR.3SG to them-ACC.PL NEG
        χρείαν *ἔχουσιν* οἱ
        need-ACC.SG have-PRS.3PL the_ones-NOM.PL
        ὑγιαίνοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλὰ οἱ
        being_healthy-PTCP.NOM.PL doctor-GEN.SG but the_ones-NOM.PL
        κακῶς ἔχοντες
        ill-ADV have-PTCP.NOM.PL
        'And answering Jesus said to them, "The one who are healthy do not <u>have</u> *need* of a doctor, but rather the ones <u>having</u> illness."'
    b. i otŭvěštavŭ isĭ reče kŭ nimŭ ne
        and answering-PTCP Jesus said-AOR.3SG to them-DAT NEG
        <u>trěboujǫtŭ</u> sŭdravii vrača nŭ
        require-PRS.3PL healthy_ones-PTCP.NOM.PL doctor-ACC.SG but
        <u>bolęščei</u>
        sick_ones-PTCP.NOM.PL
        'And in reply Jesus said to them, "It is not the healthy that <u>require</u> a doctor, but the <u>sick</u>."' (Lk 5:31)

Another systematic replacement is exemplified by the second occurrence of 'have' in (6): OCS substitutes the verb *bolěti* 'be ill' for Greek *kakōs ekhein* 'be ill/poor' (lit. 'have badly') (also in Lk 7:2).

[2.2] *Divergence Type B: Greek PPC → Different PPC in OCS*

Group B is the least frequent divergence type in OCS. The single example from *Codex Marianus* is (7), where a Greek dative PPC is translated with the Slavic verb 'have'.

(7) a.   εἶπεν   δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς   δότε   αὐτοῖς
           say-AOR.3SG and to   them-ACC.PL give-IMP.AOR them-DAT.3PL
           φαγεῖν   ὑμεῖς οἱ   δὲ εἶπαν   οὐκ εἰσὶν
           eat-INF.AOR you-2PL they-NOM.PL but say-AOR.3PL NEG be-PRS.3PL
           ἡμῖν   πλεῖον ἢ ἄρτοι   πέντε καὶ ἰχθύες   δύο εἰ μήτι
           us-DAT.1PL more than loaf-NOM.PL 5   and fish-NOM.PL 2   if not
           πορευθέντες ἡμεῖς   ἀγοράσωμεν εἰς πάντα   τὸν
           go-PTCP.AOR.PL we-NOM.1PL buy-SBJV.AOR.1PL for all-ACC.SG ART.ACC.SG
           λαὸν   τοῦτον   βρώματα
           people-ACC.SG this-ACC.SG food-ACC.PL
           'He said to them, "Give them something to eat," and they said, "We <u>have</u>
           here <u>no</u> *more than five loaves of bread and two fish*, unless we are to go and
           buy for all these people foods."' [lit. 'to us there is no more than...']

     b.   reče   že kŭ nimŭ   dadite   imŭ vy   ěsti   oni že
           said-AOR thus to them-DAT give-IMP them you-PL eat-INF they but
           rěšę   <u>ne</u> <u>imamŭ</u> sŭde *vęšte pęti xlěbŭ   i   rybou*
           saying NEG have-1PL here more 5-GEN bread-GEN.PL and fish-GEN.DU
           dŭvojǫ   ašče oubo ne my šĭdŭše   vo vĭsę ljudi
           two-GEN.DU if   for   NEG we going-PTCP in all-ACC people-ACC
           siję   koupimŭ brašŭna
           these-ACC.PL buy-1PL   food-ACC.PL
           'He said to them, "Give them something to eat," and they said, "We <u>have</u>
           here <u>no</u> *more than five loaves of bread and two fish*, unless we are to go and
           buy for all these people foods."' (Lk 9:13)

[2.3] *Divergence Type C: No PPC in Greek → PPC in OCS*

In still other examples, OCS uses a PPC where Greek does not, corresponding to type C in the list above. In *Codex Marianus* there are ten cases of this type of divergence in the Book of Luke, most often when *iměti* 'have' in OCS is used to translate a non-PPC construction in Greek. This type of divergence is exemplified by (8).

(8)   a.   καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπός τις <u>ἦν</u> <u>*ὑδρωπικὸς*</u>
           and behold man-NOM.SG some-NOM.SG was-IMPF.3SG dropsical-NOM.SG
           ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ
           before   him-GEN.SG
           'And behold, a <u>*dropsical*</u> man <u>was</u> before him.'

      b.   i   se člˇvku edinŭ <u>imy</u> *vodŭnyi*   *trǫdŭ*   bě
           and here person single has-PTCP water-ACC.SG illness-ACC.SG was-AOR
           prědŭ nimĭ
           before him-INS.SG
           'And behold, a man <u>having</u> *a water illness* was before him' (Lk 14:2)

The predicate in the Greek example 'was dropsical' is translated into OCS using a
PPC with *iměti*: 'having water illness'.

   This last example and the set of divergences in group C as a whole exhibit an
important point: OCS readily uses *iměti* 'have' in multiple contexts, even in passages
where it is not dictated by the Greek original. This clearly shows that *iměti* was not
only a well-developed construction for expressing predicative possession in LPS, but
that it was also the most semantically and syntactically flexible PPC in OCS.

   In (9), a Greek non-PPC[6] is consistently translated in OCS with a PPC, but not
always with the same PPC. The rare *u* + genitive construction appears in OCS *Codex
Assemanianus* (9b) and a dative PPC appears in OCS *Codex Marianus* (9c).

(9)   a.   Τί   ὑμῖν   δοκεῖ   ἐὰν <u>γένηταί</u>
           What-ACC.SG you-DAT.2PL think-PRS.3SG if   happen-SBJ.AOR.3SG
           <u>τινι</u>   <u>ἀνθρώπῳ</u> ἑκατὸν πρόβατα   καὶ πλανηθῇ
           ART.DAT.SG man-DAT.SG 100   sheep-NOM.PL and wander-SBJ.AOR.3SG
           ἓν   ἐξ αὐτῶν   οὐχὶ ἀφεὶς   τὰ
           one-NOM.SG of them-GEN.3PL NEG leave-PTCP.AOR.NOM.SG ART.ACC.PL
           ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἐπὶ τὰ   ὄρη
           ninety   nine on ART.ACC.PL mountain-ACC.PL
           πορευθεὶς   ζητεῖ   τὸ   πλανώμενον
           go-PTCP.AOR.NOM.SG seek-PRS.3SG ART.ACC.SG wandering_one-ACC.SG
           'What do you think: if there <u>happen upon any man</u> one hundred sheep
           and one of them wanders away, should he leave ninety nine in the moun-
           tains and go look for the one that wandered?'

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[6]   This interpretation of the Greek syntax is based on published translations and interlinears, e.g. in the
      PROIEL database http://foni.uio.no:3000/; that is, nominative 'sheep' is interpreted as the subject
      of the verb 'happen/become' and dative 'man' is its object, as opposed to the alternate interpretation with
      the verb 'happen' as the main verb with a complement clause consisting of the nominative 'sheep', dative
      'man' and a zero copula, or: 'if it happens that a man has a hundred sheep'.

    b. čĭto sę vamŭ   mĭnitŭ ašte <u>bǫdetŭ</u>   <u>ou etera</u>
       what REFL you-DAT.PL think if   be-FUT.3SG at certain-GEN.SG
       <u>člověka</u>   p ovecĭ   i   zablǫditŭ   edina otŭ
       person-GEN.SG 100 sheep-GEN.PL and lose-PRES.3SG one   from
       nixŭ   ne ostavitŭ li devęti desętŭ i devęti na
       them-GEN NEG remain-INF Q 9-GEN.SG 10-GEN.PL and 9-GEN.SG in
       goraxŭ   i šedŭ ištetŭ   zablǫždĭšęję
       mountain-LOC.PL and go-PTCP look-PRS.3SG lost-one-PTPL.GEN.SG
       'What do you think, if <u>a certain man has</u> one hundred sheep and one of
       them is lost, should he not leave ninety nine in the mountains, and go
       out to look for the lost one?' [lit. 'if by a certain man are one hundred
       sheep'][7]
    c. ašte <u>bǫdetŭ</u>   <u>eter-u</u>   <u>člověk-u</u>   100 ovec'
       if   be-FUT.3SG certain-DAT.SG person-DAT.SG 100 sheep-GEN.PL
       '...if <u>a man has</u> 100 sheep...' [lit. 'if to a certain man are 100 sheep'][8] (Mt
       18:12)

These examples suggest that OCS consistently interprets this as a relevant context
for predicative possession, even when predicative possession is not encoded in the
Greek source text.

    A frequently reoccurring sub-construction that falls within the realm of the da-
tive PPC is the construction for designating an individual's name. The dative PPC
for naming is attested in OCS, Old Czech, Old Russian and also in NT Greek and Latin
(McAnallen Forthcoming). Occasionally this construction is used in OCS when a dif-
ferent construction is used in NT Greek, thus falling into group C. Such an example
is (10) where OCS uses the dative naming PPC, but Greek instead uses genitive αὐτοῦ
for the pronominal "possessor" of the name.

(10)   a. <u>Ἰωάννης</u>   <u>ἐστὶν</u>   <u>τὸ</u>   <u>ὄνομα</u>   <u>αὐτοῦ</u>
       John-NOM.SG is-PRS.3SG ART.NOM.SG name-NOM.SG him-GEN
       '<u>John is the name of him</u>'
    b. <u>ioanŭ</u>   <u>estŭ</u>   <u>imę</u>   <u>emou</u>
       John-NOM.SG is-PRS.3SG name-NOM.SG him-DAT.SG
       '<u>He has the name John</u>' (Lk 1:63)

All type C divergences display contexts where predicative possession is appropriate
in Slavic even when it is not formally encoded in the Greek original.

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[7] *Codex Assemanianus.*
[8] *Codex Marianus.*

[2.4] *Syntax of PPC Divergences*

Divergences in the OCS translations of Greek passages reveal both semantic and syntactic information about predicative possession in Slavic. The semantic space carved out by each possessive construction is discussed in section [3], focusing in particular on the two existential types of encoding for predicative possession.

Here I will briefly summarize the syntactic significance of the divergences. But first I must introduce Khodova's idea of "semantic shifts" that facilitate concomitant syntactic reinterpretations (1966, 107). In particular for predicative possession she argues that the the *u* + genitive PPC matches the general meaning of *iměti* 'have', which prompts a syntactic change whereby the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase becomes the oblique subject argument of the impersonal existential construction, paralleling the nominative possessor of *iměti*. The change in status from a canonical prepositional phrase to an oblique subject argument is syntactically important, since oblique subject arguments often exhibit control properties normally associated only with direct arguments and never with arguments in prepositional phrases (cf. Aikhenvald et al. 2001). For the present discussion, this change in status is most relevant when addressing divergence type C discussed in section [2.3] above. In most of the cases where a Greek non-PPC is translate with a Slavic PPC, the number of arguments in the construction simultaneously increases. Most frequently an OCS PPC with two arguments replaces a Greek copular or comitative construction with one argument. This suggests that Slavic has come to rely on two-argument constructions, such as PPCs, where one-argument constructions are sufficient in the Greek original. Examples are (8), (9), and (10) above and (11) and (12) in section [3.1] below.

[3] SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS OF PPCS IN EARLY SLAVIC BIBLE TRANSLATIONS

What can be inferred about predicative possession in LPS from early Slavic Bible translations? Some information about the semantic environments and pragmatics of the constructions can be gleaned from the texts by isolating each construction and analyzing both the contexts in which it occurs and, crucially, where it diverges from the Greek original. It will be shown that certain semantic consistencies arise from each encoding strategy for predicative possession.

[3.1] *U + genitive PPC*

The *u* + genitive construction—the rarest of the PPCs in the early Bible texts—always represents a deviation from the Greek original, since a location-based PPC was not available in Greek. The *u* + genitive PPC is often tied to its locative origin, appearing in passages where the sense of possession overlaps considerably with the locative meaning of the *u* preposition (*u* 'at/near'). In a discussion of *u* + genitive PPCs in OCS, Xodova (1966) describes this property of the *u* + genitive construction as follows:

> The specific situation created by the correlation of lexical components [i.e. *u* + genitive and 'be' verb] results here in the possibility of adding to the locative sense the sense of possession, of ownership of the object situated in the proximity to the person. In some cases, designation of the person becomes designation of the owner and the locative sense disappears. (Xodova 1966, 106[9])

This fact about the *u* + genitive PPC can make examples ambiguous and thus difficult to interpret. In (11) there is a strong locative reading for the *u* + genitive prepositional phrase (as opposed to an exclusively possessive reading); the NT Greek original uses the comitative preposition παρ' 'with'. In (12) there is a somewhat ambiguous dative PPC in NT Greek, which is translated in OCS *Savvina Kniga* using an *u* + genitive PPC with an ablative shading (12b); cf. OCS *Codex Marianus*, where the verb *vŭzĭmati* 'take/get' (12c) is used instead and (12d) where the *Ostromir Gospel* stays faithful to the Greek original by using a dative PPC.

(11) a. ἐν αὐτῇ   δὲ τῇ   οἰκίᾳ   μένετε
          in same-DAT.3SG and ART.DAG.SG house-DAT.SG stay-IMP.2PL
          ἔσθοντες   καὶ πίνοντες   <u>τὰ</u>   <u>παρ'</u> <u>αὐτῶν</u>
          eat-PTCP.NOM.PL and drink-PTCP.NOM.PL ART.ACC.PL with them-GEN.PL
          ἄξιος   γὰρ ὁ   ἐργάτης   τοῦ
          worthy-NOM.SG for ART.NOM.SG workman-NOM.SG ART.GEN.SG
          μισθοῦ   αὐτοῦ   μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας   εἰς
          pay-GEN.SG him-GEN.SG NEG move-IMP.2PL from house-GEN.SG to
          οἰκίαν
          house-ACC.SG
          'And stay in the same house, eating and drinking <u>the things with them</u>, for the laborer deserves his wages; do not go from house to house.' [lit. 'that which is among them'] (Lk 10:7)
      b. vŭ tomĭ   že domou   prěbyvaite ědǫšte   i
          in this-LOC.SG very house-LOC.SG remain-IMP eat-PTCP and
          pijǫšte *ěže*   <u>sǫtŭ</u>   <u>ou nixŭ</u>   dostoinŭ
          drink-PTCP which-ACC.PL is-PRS.3PL by them-GEN.PL enough-NOM.SG
          bo estŭ   dělatelĭ   mĭzdy   svoję   ne
          for is-PRS.3SG laborer-NOM.SG reward-GEN.SG REFL.GEN.SG NEG
          prěxodite iz   domou   vŭ domŭ
          go-IMP   from house-GEN.SG to house-ACC.SG
          'Stay in the same house, eating and drinking *the things* <u>they have</u>, for the laborer deserves his wages; do not go from house to house.'[10]

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[9]   I thank an anonymous reviewer for assistance with the translation.
[10]   Xodova (1966, 107).

(12)   a.   καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ   οἱ   μαθηταί   πόθεν
            and say-PRS.3PL him-DAT.SG ART.NOM.PL disciple-NOM.PL whence
            ἡμῖν   ἐν ἐρημίᾳ   ἄρτοι   τοσοῦτοι   ὥστε
            us-DAT.PL in desert-DAT.SG loaf-NOM..PL many-NOM.PL so_that
            χορτάσαι   ὄχλον   τοσοῦτον
            satisfy-INF.AOR crowd-ACC.SG great-ACC.SG
            'And the disciples said to him, "Whence in the desert have we *so many*
            loaves so as to satisfy a crowd so great?"' [lit. 'are there to us']
       b.   i   glšę emou   oučenici   ego   otŭ kŭde ou
            and said him-DAT.SG disciple-NOM.PL his-GEN.SG from where by
            nasŭ   vŭ poustě   městě   xlěbŭ   toliko   jako
            us-GEN.PL in empty-LOC.SG place-LOC.SG loaf-GEN.PL so_many as
            nasytiti   narodŭ   kolikŭ
            satisfy-INF crowd-ACC.SG such-ACC.SG
            'And his disciples said to him, "whence in the desert have we *so many*
            loaves so as to feed such a crowd?"' [lit. 'are there among us']
       c.   ...otŭ kǫdě vĭzĭmemŭ   na poustě   městě   xlěby
            from where take-PRS.1PL on empty-LOC.SG place-LOC.SG loaf-ACC.PL
            nasytiti   toliko   naroda
            satisfy-INF so_many crowd-GEN.SG
            '..."whence in the desert can we get enough loaves to satisfy such a
            crowd?"'[11]
       d.   ...otŭkǫdou namŭ   vŭ poustě   městě   xlěbŭ
            from_where us-DAT.PL in empty-LOC.SG place-LOC.SG bread-GEN.PL
            toliko...
            so_many
            '..."whence in the desert have we *so many loaves*?"...' [lit. 'to us are so
            many loaves'][12] (Mt 15:33)

Owing to its origin the the *u* + genitive construction exhibits a restricted semantic
range for its possessor and possessum arguments, with the possessor always human
and the possessum typically a concrete inanimate object. Possessor and possessum
arguments for all *u* + genitive PPCs in OCS Bible translations are in Table 2 on page
166.[13]

     The path of grammaticalization of this construction: location > location/pos-
session > possession, is clear from Khodova's explanation (and is addressed in mul-
tiple cross-linguistic studies on the grammaticalization of the location type of pred-
icative possession, cf. Heine (1997) and references therein). But perhaps more could

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[11]   *Codex Marianus.*
[12]   *Ostromir Gospel.*
[13]   Highly ambiguous examples discussed by Xodova (1966) and Mirčev (1971) are not included in the count.

Possessors	Possessums
personal pronouns	100 sheep (Mt 18:12, OCS *Assemanianus*)
a certain person (Mt 18:12, OCS *Assemanianus*)	a lot of bread (Mt 15:33, OCS *Savvina Kniga*)
	relative pronoun 'which' referring to things to eat and drink (Lk 10:7, OCS *Marianus*, *Zographensis*)
	peace (Jn 17:5)

TABLE 2: Semantics of possessors and possessums: *u* + genitive PPC

be said of the contexts in which the construction occurs in LPS. After all, only four clear examples of *u* + genitive PPCs appear in the Slavic Bible texts, with the remaining examples too ambiguous to be used in making any determination about the semantic domain of the construction.

The possessors in the examples are all human, two of which are pronominal. The possessums are: '100 sheep', 'a lot of bread', a relative pronoun referencing 'things to eat and drink', and 'peace'. All examples aside from 'peace' are alienable: food/provisions and livestock. But perhaps more importantly all of these examples are temporary, even fleeting, indications of possession.[14] A particularly suitable passage for exhibiting this point is Matthew 18:12 (9), where the translator of OCS *Codex Assemanianus* reinterprets the non-PPC in Greek as a case of possession in Slavic, and uses the marginal *u* + genitive encoding option. The 'sheep' are by their very nature as mortal creatures impermanent possessions and in (9) their transitory nature is further reinforced by the focus on the stray sheep who may or may not return to the flock.

Stassen (2009, 19) describes temporary possession as focused on exerting control over an object for some period of time, where ownership is less of a concern than having access to to a commodity or having it available to make use of. Stassen (2009, 25) identifies 'have' and comitative or 'with' PPCs as regularly originating in impermanent possession, but it also seems quite probable that this is a common origin for location-based PPCs as well. After all, location (at least for humans with respect to objects) frequently changes and is thus inherently impermanent, and so a PPC stemming from a locative existential phrase would seem to naturally encode temporary possession before expanding to encode possession more generally. This accounts for the appearance of 'peace' as the possessum in the last *u* + genitive PPC from John 17:5 in Table 2. In the passage, emphasis is placed on the transitory na-

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[14]   An anonymous reviewer was instrumental in helping me hone in on this analysis.

ture of the 'peace' and the fact that it did not previously exist and could quite easily cease to exist again in the future.

[3.2] *Dative PPC*

Occasionally examples using the existential PPC types (dative PPC for Slavic, Greek, and Latin, *u* + genitive PPC for Slavic) do not unambiguously express predicative possession. Mrázek (1963, 244) asserts that the existential dative (and consequently the existential *u* + genitive) construction is sensitive to the number of elements in the construction, whereas the number of constituents is typically not a concern with the verb 'have'. Specifically, Mrázek does not count four-constituent dative existential constructions as PPCs, preferring to interpret them as a copular construction with an external possessor. One such example is from the Book of Luke 6:6: *I rǫka desnaa emou bě souxa* 'he had a crippled right hand' /'his right hand was crippled' (lit. 'and hand.NOM right.NOM him.DAT was crippled.NOM'). In most cases I agree that these constructions are not examples of predicative possession and that the dative noun or pronoun is more felicitously interpreted as an external possessor. However, there are exceptions to this generalization, in particular when a change in word order can promote a predicative possessive reading (cf. McAnallen Forthcoming).

In contrast to the *u* + genitive PPC discussed above in section [3.1], the dative PPC is typically not found with transient and concrete alienable possessions in OCS. This may be a result of the different formal encoding of the construction. Instead of being a location-based construction, the meaning of the dative PPC often overlaps with the recipient (or goal) reading associated with the Slavic dative case. Therefore, several dative + 'be' constructions can be interpreted in multiple ways: as a PPC, as a construction where the dative argument is either literally or metaphorically affected by the nominative argument, as a construction where there is some directed purpose or intention to the dative argument, or as a mixture of these senses.

It is instructive to look at examples where the dative PPC occurs in Slavic in order to more precisely determine its range of usage. Table 3 on page 168 lists the possessors and possessums for dative PPC constructions in OCS (which largely coincide with Greek). Dative PPC examples are more numerous than *u* + genitive (sixteen unambiguous dative PPCs appear in the Book of Luke), therefore ambiguous cases are excluded in the table and fewer details about book and verse are provided. A tally of each semantic type is given after the possessors and possessums for the Book of Luke (possessums are counted as a unit, e.g. 'joy and gladness' counts as one abstract possessum). Examples are from the Book of Luke unless otherwise indicated.

The overwhelming majority of possessors are pronominal. Bauer (2000) reports this same tendency for *mihi est* dative PPCs in Latin (non-biblical) texts. All of the possessums in dative PPCs are either human, animate, abstract entities, or places. The most concrete possessums in Table 3 are places and sheep. But note that the

Possessors	Possessums
personal pronouns (most frequent by far): 11/16	kinship relations: child, son, daughter, sister: 4/16
relative pronouns: 3/16	debtors (Lk 7:41): 1/16
demonstrative pronouns: 1/16	abstract states and concepts, e.g. joy, gladness, thanks, care, praise, worship, compassion: 5/16
creditor (Lk 7:41): 1/16	places, e.g. room in an inn (Lk 2:7), storehouse, barn (Lk 12:24): 2/16
a certain person (Mt 18:12)	names (fixed construction): 4/16
	sheep (Mt 18:12)

TABLE 3: Semantics of possessors and possessums: dative PPC

example with sheep is the same example (Matthew 18:12) for which *Codex Assemanianus* uses an *u* + genitive instead of the dative PPC (9).

Thus it can be concluded that the dative PPC in OCS is used primarily with possessums that are kinship relations and abstract states and concepts, and is avoided with concrete, countable possessums.[15] A particularly suitable passage for exhibiting this point is Luke 9:13, example (7), which contains a dative PPC in both the Greek and Latin texts, but neither the OCS *Codex Marianus* nor *Zographensis* use a dative in this passage.[16] OCS avoided the dative PPC, defaulting to *iměti* 'have'. The reason for this appears to be that OCS resists using the dative PPC in instances where possession is temporary and the possessed item is concrete and alienable.

[3.3]   *Iměti 'have'*

The semantics and pragmatics of *iměti* 'have' in Slavic are harder to pin down, since it was the most frequent, perhaps even default, construction by the latest period of LPS. This apparent default status of *iměti* is likely due as much to its syntactic flexibility as to its wide semantic range. That is, *iměti* was the only Late Proto-Slavic PPC used in non-finite contexts, such as participles and infinitives. *Iměti* was also more often relied upon in constructions with more complex object phrases, e.g. nouns plus infinitives, such as: 'have something to say to you', 'has the power to forgive sins', and 'had nothing to set before him'. Additionally, as LPS and OCS were pro-drop languages, there is often no overt subject with *iměti*. This syntactic flexibility of *iměti* is unknown for the existential PPC types in early Slavic.

[15]   Note that dative external possessors in most modern Slavic languages also tend to prefer the same types of "possessums" as their predicative possessive counterparts, e.g. kinship relations and other inalienable relations (cf. Cienki 1993 and references therein).

[16]   This passage is missing from *Codex Assemanianus* and the *Ostromir Gospel*.

Furthermore, the verb *iměti* had a monopoly on a number of frequently occurring fixed expressions in the early biblical language, just as the dative PPC had a monopoly on the naming construction in (10). Such expressions include 'have power' and 'if ye have ears to hear, then hear'. These expressions functioned much like the syntactic flexibility of *iměti* in that they both reinforce and are reinforced by the prevalence of *iměti* in OCS.

[3.4] *Summary of semantic range of Slavic PPCs*

While there was some semantic overlap for the three different PPCs in LPS, their usage was not equivalent. *Iměti* had clearly gained primary status, with both semantic and syntactic flexibility not attested for either the dative or *u* + genitive PPCs. The dative construction was often used for a possessive meaning that overlapped with the role of recipient or goal and the *u* + genitive PPC was often used in contexts where possession had a strong locative sense.

The rise of 'have' as the primary construction for predicative possession was not only a trend in early Slavic, but also in the histories of other Indo-European languages. Kulneff-Eriksson (1999) reports that *ekho* increases in frequency over time, gradually taking over the territory of the older *esti moi* construction. This trend continues into *koine* Greek of the New Testament where *ekho* is far more frequent than the dative.

The situation was much the same in the history of Latin, according to Bauer (2000) and Löfstedt (1963). *Habeo* increased in frequency at the expense of the older PIE dative PPC. Bauer (2000, 186) writes, "...the use of *mihi est* became more restricted over time as the occurrence of concrete nominative nouns in that context decreased. Whereas at first only concrete nouns seemed to be no longer used in *mihi est* constructions—with the exception of a few poetic archaisms—abstract nouns in the later period also became less frequent."

Isačenko (1974) argues that PPC types represent broader language types, i.e. 'have' vs. 'be' languages. European languages—especially Western and Central European languages—have typically shifted to become 'have' languages in their histories. It then seems that the rise of *iměti* in Slavic in prehistoric times must be at least partially attributable to areal pressures. A separate but related question is the influence of the source texts on PPCs in the early Slavic Bible texts. The source texts were likely influential in determining the frequency of the different PPCs, perhaps causing *iměti* to be over-represented in the texts (in comparison to its status in the Slavic vernaculars). Nevertheless, it is clear that *iměti* was the dominant construction for predicative possession in OCS, based on its syntactic and semantic flexibility as well as its usage independent of NT Greek and Latin usage.

[4] CONCLUSION

Old Church Slavic employed three encoding strategies for predicative possession. The verb *iměti* 'have' was the most frequently used and least syntactically and semantically restricted strategy by the time of OCS; the dative PPC was prominent in a number of fixed expressions, e.g. the naming construction, and with kinship relations and abstract possessums; and the peripheral *u* + genitive PPC appeared when the focus was on impermanent possession. The *u* + genitive encoding strategy was in fact the germ of a potential PPC: its frequency too low and semantic range too restricted to be called a full-fledged PPC in OCS. Its marginal status in Late Proto-Slavic is certainly one of the reasons why it was not more successful as a PPC outside of East Slavic where this peripheral native Slavic construction expanded as a result of contact influences (McAnallen Forthcoming).

The language of the Bible is strictly codified, making the study of syntactic and semantic nuances of Biblical examples in the domain of predicative possession a highly philological problem. However, using a multi-pronged methodological approach that is sensitive to both textual and contextual factors, I have been able to use Bible translations to make a number of conclusions about the syntax and pragmatics of predicative possession in Old Church Slavic, and by extension Late Proto-Slavic. In this analysis, I have considered the textual traditions that Slavic inherited from Greek, which nevertheless retain inherently Slavic characteristics. There are a few "quirks" in the Slavic translations that deviate from the original Greek or Latin usage, and which reveal the native Slavic system of constructions for expressing predicative possession. In piecing together information about these quirks—the few instances where Slavic diverges from the source language—it is possible to make some determination about the semantics, and occasionally syntax (e.g. where OCS replaces a single argument non-PPC with a two-argument PPC), of different constructions for predicative possession in early Slavic, in contrast to the Greek system.

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CLASSICAL AND ROMANCE USAGES OF IPSE IN THE VULGATE

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[1] INTRODUCTION

In Classical Latin *ipse* was an intensifier used to add emphasis to a noun or pronoun, roughly equivalent to the English intensifier *himself.* In the modern Romance languages, on the other hand, reflexes of *ipse* do not have this function. Rather, *ipse* has developed into a demonstrative pronoun/adjective, a definite article and a third person personal pronoun.[1]

Jerome's Vulgate translation of the New Testament represents an intermediate stage between Classical Latin and modern Romance as far as *ipse* is concerned. Here, Classical Latin usages of *ipse* appear alongside new and more Romance-like usages. The present paper is an investigation of how *ipse* is used in the Vulgate.[2]

[2] CLASSICAL USAGES OF IPSE IN THE VULGATE

As mentioned in the introduction, in Classical Latin *ipse* is an intensifier, and it has a contrastive value. It is used (i) to point out remarkability, viz. that a person is to a certain extent not expected to participate in the action or state denoted by the verb, or (ii) to indicate that intervention by others in the action or state in question is excluded, that is 'he himself in person, as opposed to others and without the intervention of others' (Bertocchi 1996, 539–546). (1) and (2) are typical classical examples, from Cicero and Caesar, respectively. The former is an example of type (i) of *ipse*, the latter of type (ii):

(1)   Ancillae   tuae   credidi   [...] tu
       handmaid-DAT.F.SG your-DAT.F.SG believe-PRF.IND.1SG   you-NOM.M.SG
       mihi   non credis   ipsi?
       I-DAT.M.SG not believe-PRS.IND.2SG ipse-DAT.M.SG
       'I believed your handmaid, and you won't believe *me* (myself)?' (Cic. *Orat.* 2,276)

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[1]   *ipse* underlies e.g. the Spanish demonstrative *ese*. Definite articles and personal pronouns derived from *ipse* are found chiefly in Sardinian, Southern Italian and dialects of Catalan, Gascon and Provençal. Yet, personal pronouns derived from *ipse* are not completely absent in other Romance varieties either, cf. e.g. Italian *esso*.

[2]   The study is based on data from the PROIEL corpus, available online at http://foni.uio.no:3000.

(2)   Id   opus   inter   se   Petreius   atque
        DEM.ACC.N.SG task-ACC.N.SG between REFL.ACC.M.PL Petreius-NOM and

Afranius   partiuntur   ipsique
Afranius-NOM divide-PRS.IND.3PL ipse-NOM.M.PL-and

perficiundi   operis   causa
accomplish-GERUNDIVE.GEN.N.SG task-GEN.N.SG reason-ABL.F.SG

longius   progrediuntur.
far-COMPARATIVE go-PRS.IND.3PL

'Peter and Afranius divided this task between themselves, and went in person farther (sc. from their camp) for the purpose of accomplishing the task.' (Caes. *Civ.* 1,73,4)

Syntactically, *ipse* in this function, viz. as an intensifier, does not itself appear in argument positions, but only as an adjunct to a noun or a pronoun, which may be either overtly expressed or pro-dropped. Of course in (2) *ipsi* is clearly a candidate for being the subject of the clause, and one might ask why not *ipsi*, rather than a null pronoun, should be interpreted as the subject. The reason for this is that *ipse* needs something to modify, and thus it cannot occur alone, without a noun or pronoun for it to modify.[3] A further argument in favour of the adjunct analysis of *ipse* is the occurrence of sentences like (3):

(3)   Galba   [...] constituit   cohortes   duas   in
        Galba-NOM.M.SG   decide-PRF.IND.3SG cohort-ACC.F.PL two-ACC.F.PL in

Nantuatibus   conlocare   et   ipse   cum
Nantuates-ABL.M.PL station-INF.PRS.ACT and ipse-NOM.M.SG with

reliquis   eius   legionis   cohortibus   in
other-ABL.F.PL DEM.GEN.F.SG legion-GEN.F.SG cohort-ABL.F.PL in

vico   Veragrorum   [...] hiemare
village-ABL.M.SG Veragri-GEN.M.PL   winter-INF.PRS

'Galba decided to station two cohorts among the Nantuates, and to winter in person with the other cohorts of that legion in a village of the Veragri' (Caes. *Gal.* 3,1)

Here, *ipse* belongs with the infinitive *hiemare*. *Hiemare* is a control infinitive in this sentence, and control infinitives cannot have overt subjects. *ipse* can therefore only be an adjunct, whereas the subject of the infinitive is provided by structure sharing with the subject of the main clause. Only later, with the original contrastive/intensifying force weakened, do we find *ipse* in argument positions.

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[3]   The same holds for English *himself* (as an intensifier, not as a reflexive pronoun). It is not possible to say **himself did it*, only *he did it himself* or *he himself did it*.

Such classical usages of *ipse* still exist in the Vulgate, and they are not uncommon.[4] Examples may be seen in number (4) through (7). In (4) and (5) I take *ipse* to be an adjunct of the reflexive pronoun *se*:

(4) Qui suam uxorem diligit,
REL.NOM.M.SG POSS.REFL.ACC.F.SG wife-ACC.F.SG love-PRS.IND.3SG

se <u>ipsum</u> diligit
REFL.ACC.M.SG ipse-ACC.M.SG love-PRS.IND.3SG

'He that loveth his wife loveth himself.' (*Eph.* 5:28) (type (i) above)

(5) Numquid interficiet semet <u>ipsum,</u> quia
Q kill-FUT.3SG REFL.ACC.M.SG-PARTICLE ipse-ACC.M.SG because

dicit: Quo ego vado vos non
say-PRS.IND.3SG whither I-NOM.M.SG go-PRS.IND.1SG you-NOM.PL not

potestis venire
can-PRS.2PL come-INF.PRS

'Will he kill himself? because he saith, Whither I go, ye cannot come.' (Jn 8:22) (type (ii) above)

Interestingly, in nearly half of the examples in which *ipse* functions as an adjunct dependent on a pronoun in the Vulgate, the originally intensifying particle *met* is also present, as in (5). *Met* seems to be almost semantically empty in most cases; it does not reinforce the pronoun to any great extent, contrary to what is the case in Classical Latin. Rather, this kind of construction, viz. personal pronoun + *met* + *ipse* resembles closely what is to develop into the modern Romance forms *même* (French), *mismo* (Spanish), *medesimo* (Italian) etc., 'the same', 'self'. In fact, these forms are all derived from a construction consisting of a personal pronoun (which is eventually dropped), *met* and a colloquial "superlative" form of *ipse*, namely *ipsimus*.

In (6) and (7), on the other hand, I analyze *ipse* as an adjunct to a null pronoun and a proper noun, respectively:

(6) Perambulabat autem magis sermo de
spread-through-IMPF.IND.3SG but more talk-NOM.F.SG about

illo: Et conveniebant turbae multae
DEM.ABL.M.SG and gather-IMPF.IND.3PL crowd-NOM.F.PL many-NOM.F.PL

ut audirent, et curarentur ab
in.order.to hear-IMPF.SBJV.3PL and heal-IMPF.SBJV.PASS.3PL from

infirmitatibus suis. <u>ipse</u> autem
weakness-ABL.F.PL POSS.REFL.ABL.F.PL ipse-NOM.M.SG but

secedebat in deserto, et orabat.
withdraw-IMPF.IND.3SG in desert-ABL.N.SG and pray-IMPF.3SG

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[4] *ipse* is used in a classical way in 212 out of the 527 occurrences that I have been looking at.

'But so much the more went there a fame abroad of him: and great multitudes came together to head, and to be healed by him of their infirmities. And he withdrew himself into the wilderness, and prayed.' (Lk 5:15-16) (type (i) above)

(7) ipse   enim David   dicit   in Spiritu
     ipse-NOM.M.SG for   David-INDECL say-PRS.IND.3SG in spirit-ABL.M.SG
     Sancto
     holy-ABL.M.SG
     'For David himself said by the Holy Ghost' (Mk 12:36) (type (ii) above)

[3] NEW, ROMANCE-LIKE USAGES OF IPSE IN THE VULGATE

As mentioned in the introduction, in the Romance languages *ipse* and its reflexes have developed into both a demonstrative pronoun/adjective, a third person pronoun and a definite article. In the Vulgate, there seems to be no example in which *ipse* functions as a demonstrative, equal or similar to e.g. modern Spanish *ese*. As a personal pronoun, on the other hand, *ipse* is frequently used, and I will start by looking at this use of *ipse*, before I address the question as to whether or not *ipse* functions as a definite article in the Vulgate.

[3.1] *Ipse as a personal pronoun*

To my claim that *ipse* frequently functions as a personal pronoun in the Vulgate the objection might be raised that this use of *ipse* is only due to Greek influence. *Ipse* normally renders *autos* in the Greek text. Like *ipse*, *autos* is an intensifier more or less equivalent to English 'himself'. Contrary to the classical use of *ipse*, however, *autos* also commonly acts as a third person personal pronoun, in Classical as well as in later Greek.[5] Since *ipse* in the vast majority of instances renders *autos* in the Greek original, it may be argued that *ipse* occurs as a third person pronoun only because Jerome automatically, as it were, translated *autos* by *ipse*, not only when *autos* is an intensifier, but also in its occurrences as a personal pronoun. Yet, although *ipse* almost always corresponds to *autos*, vice versa, from the point of view of the Greek text, *autos* does not always correspond to *ipse*. In other words, Jerome did not uncritically render all instances of *autos* by *ipse*, which indicates that there must have been in the Latin of Jerome's time some rules governing the use or not of *ipse* as a third person pronoun. This means that the use of *ipse* as a personal pronoun was an authentic feature of the Latin language of Jerome's time and not merely a result of

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[5]   In Classical Greek only in the oblique cases (e.g. Smyth 1956, 92–93). In Modern Greek *autos* is used as a personal pronoun in all cases, and this is the situation in New Testament Greek as well (Blass & Debrunner 1961, 145).

Greek influence.[6]

In the following the examples of *ipse* as a personal pronoun are classified according to their syntactic function in the clause. *ipse* seems in fact to have somewhat different semantic/pragmatic functions depending on its syntactic function in the clause.

Ipse as subject

Most commonly,[7] *ipse* is used as a third person subject pronoun, e.g. in the following examples:

(8) et quocumque introierit,   dicite   domino
     and wheresoever go.in-FUT.PRF.3SG say-IMPERATIVE.2PL goodman-DAT.M.SG
     domus,   quia magister   dicit: Ubi   est
     house-GEN.F.SG that master-NOM.M.SG say-PRS.IND.3SG where be-PRS.IND.3SG
     refectio   mea,   ubi   pascha   cum
     guestchamber-NOM.F.SG my-NOM.F.SG where passover-ACC.N.SG with
     discipulis   meis   manducem?   Et ipse
     disciple-ABL.M.PL my-ABL.M.PL eat-PRS.SBJV.1SG and ipse-NOM.M.SG
     vobis   demonstrabit cenaculum   grande,
     you-DAT.PL shew-FUT.IND.3SG upper.room-ACC.N.SG large-ACC.N.SG
     stratum
     prepare-PTCP.PRF.PASS.ACC.N.SG
     'And wheresoever he shall go in, say ye to the goodman of the house, The master saith, Where is the guestchamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples? And he will shew you a large upper room furnished and prepared.' (Mk 14:14-15)

(9) pariet   autem filium: et vocabis   nomen
     give.birth-FUT.3SG but son-ACC.M.SG and call-FUT.2SG name-ACC.N.SG
     eius   Iesum: ipse   enim salvum   faciet
     DEM.GEN.M.SG Jesus-ACC ipse-NOM.M.SG for safe-ACC.M.SG make-FUT.3SG
     populum   suum   a   peccatis   eorum.
     people-ACC.M.SG POSS.REFL.ACC.M.SG from sin-ABL.N.PL DEM.GEN.M.PL
     'And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins.' (Mt 1:21)

Semantically, it seems that *ipse* in these examples has lost most of its original value. In (8) the point is neither that 'he himself, who is not expected to do so, will

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[6] Of course the use of *autos* as a third person pronoun may have influenced the use of *ipse* in the same function, but the crucial point is that this would not have been possible if the Latin grammar itself did not allow for such a use of *ipse.*

[7] In 186 out of a total number of 319 personal pronoun examples.

shew you' nor that 'he himself, and no other, will shew you.' Similarly, in (9) 'you shall name him Jesus because he himself shall save his people' is not the most obvious reading. Still, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the emphatic effect does not seem to be lost altogether here, especially in (9) (cf. also Jamieson, Fausset & Brown 1871 on Matthew 1:21). This emphatic effect, however, is not necessarily to be sought in the semantics of *ipse*, but possibly results from other factors. Latin is a pro-drop language, and thus overtly expressed subjects are by nature emphatic/stressed. Furthermore, the presence of the particle *enim*, commonly used for corroboration or accentuation (Lewis & Short 1879 s.v. *enim*), may also contribute to the emphatic effect in (9). In any case, personal pronouns may well be emphatic without this changing them into something other than a personal pronoun. In conclusion, then, I take *ipse* to be a third person pronoun in (8) and (9).

Ipse as a (possibly emphatic) personal pronoun in subject function commonly indicates a topic shift.[8] As may be seen in (8) and (9), *ipse* typically picks up a referent that is already present in the context, but only in the background, as it were, and makes it the topic. This use of *ipse* in the Vulgate seems to be the one closest to the original Classical Latin usages of *ipse*, cf. the section on reanalysis on page 181.

Syntactically *ipse* functions as the subject of the sentence. Given their semantic and pragmatic properties personal pronouns are in fact not suitable for functioning as adjuncts.

Ipse as direct/indirect object

In a small number of instances,[9] *ipse* acts as a third person pronoun in the function of direct or indirect object. The following are two of these examples:

(10)   Et   habebant   pisciculos   paucos.   Et   ipsos
        and have-IMPF.3PL small.fish-ACC.M.PL few-ACC.M.PL and ipse-ACC.M.PL
        benedixit   et   iussit   adponi
        bless-PRF.3SG and order-PRF.3SG serve-INF.PRS.PASS
        'And they had a few small fishes: and he blessed them (i.e. the fish), and commanded to set them also before them.' (Mk 8:7)

(11)   Pontifex   ergo interrogavit   Iesum   de
        high.priest-NOM.M.SG then ask-PRF.IND.3SG Jesus-ACC about
        discipulis   suis   et de   doctrina
        disciples-ABL.M.PL POSS.REFL.ABL.M.PL and about doctrine-ABL.F.SG
        eius.   Respondit   ei   Iesus: ...Quid me
        DEM.GEN.M.SG answer-PRF.IND.3SG DEM.DAT.M.SG Jesus-NOM why I-ACC

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[8]   The concept of topic is not easily defined (for some properties of topic and comment cf. e.g. Jacobs 2001). Here I use the term in a simplified manner, to refer to the entity which the sentence is about.

[9]   I have found twelve examples. *ipse* is a direct object in ten out of these examples, an indirect object in two.

interrogas? Interroga eos qui
ask-PRS.IND.2SG ask-PRS.IMPERATIVE.2SG DEM.ACC.M.PL REL.NOM.M.PL
audierunt quid locutus
hear-PRF.IND.3PL what-ACC speak-PTCP.PRF.PASS.DEM.NOM.M.SG
sum ipsis.
be-PRS.IND.1SG ipse-DAT.M.PL
'The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his doctrine. Jesus answered him: ...Why askest thou me? Ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them.' (Jn 18:19-21)

In (10), the reading 'he blessed themselves, who were not expected to be blessed' is not good. In fact, this meaning of *ipse* seems to occur most easily with animates. Also 'he blessed themselves, and no others' is hardly appropriate here, even though this meaning of *ipse* does not require animacy (Bertocchi 1996, 543). Also in (11), 'what I have said unto them' is by far a more natural reading than 'what I have said unto themselves'. *Ipse* does not carry any stress, neither in (10) nor in (11), and it seems to have lost its original value completely. I take it to be a personal pronoun also in these examples, as I did in (8) and (9). As the direct or indirect object of a clause *ipse* has a simple anaphoric function, referring back to a previously mentioned referent, without necessarily making the referent the topic.

The examples in which *ipse* is a personal pronoun in direct object function are rare, but they should not be ignored as they are interesting in light of some claims set forth by Lyons (1999) and Vincent (1997; 1998)—and possibly counterexamples to these claims. Reflexes of *ipse* are not used as object clitics in modern Romance, not even in those varieties that show definite articles derived from *ipse*.[10] According to Lyons (1999, 335): "there is *no evidence at any period* of pronominal clitics derived from *ipse* [italics added]", and Vincent tries to account for the absence of *ipse* as an object clitic in Romance saying that "[t]he implicit value of focus and contrast make [*ipse*] inappropriate for use as a (proto-)clitic" (1997, 162), and, similarly, that "[l]a strada evolutiva [di *ipse*] porta [...] dall'originaria funzione contrastiva [...] *senza mai deviare nella direzione di ripresa atonica* richiesta da un proto-clitico [italics added]" (1998, 418). I have already argued that in (10) and (11) *ipse* is unstressed/atonic. This seems to be the case in the other object examples as well. Of course the fact that a word is unstressed does not automatically make it a clitic. Yet, it should be noted that in all but one example *ipse* occupies the position immediately preceding the verb, a fact suggesting that it does attach procliticaly to the verb. Although we, basing ourselves on ten examples only, cannot conclude with certainty that *ipse* acts as a clitic object pronoun in the Vulgate, *ipse* at least closely resembles a clitic, and in any case it is clearly used atonically. Thus, the claims by Lyons and Vincent

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[10]   In general, the distribution among the Romance languages of personal pronouns derived from *ipse* follows the distribution of definite articles derived from *ipse*.

seem to be too categorical. Especially the assumption that *ipse* did never deviate in the direction of "ripresa atonica" ([Vincent 1998](), 418) is wrong. Consequently, what needs to be explained may not be the complete absence of the use of *ipse* as an atonic object pronoun/object clitic, but rather its disappearance at some time after the time of the Vulgate. This is a topic for further research.

Ipse as the complement of a preposition
In the Vulgate *ipse* is used as a personal pronoun after prepositions as well.[11] (12) and (13) illustrate this use:

(12) Dissensio   itaque facta   est   in
      division-NOM.F.SG thus   make-PTCP.PRF.PASS.NOM.F.SG be-PRS.IND.3SG in
      turba   propter   eum.   Quidam   autem ex
      crowd-ABL.F.SG because.of DEM.ACC.M.SG certain-NOM.M.PL but   out.of
      <u>ipsis</u>   volebant   adprehendere   eum
      ipse-ABL.M.PL want-IMPF.IND.3PL seize-INF.PRS.ACT DEM.ACC.M.SG
      'So there was a division in the crowd because of him. Some of them wanted to seize him.' (Jn 7:44)

(13) Videntes   autem hii   qui   circa
      see-PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL but   DEM.NOM.M.PL REL.NOM.M.PL around
      <u>ipsum</u>   erant   quod   futurum
      ipse-ACC.M.SG be-IMPF.IND.3PL REL.NOM.N.SG be-PTCP.FUT.ACT.NOM.N.SG
      erat,   dixerunt   ei:
      be-IMPF.IND.3SG say-PRF.IND.3PL DEM.DAT.M.SG
      'When those who were around him saw what was about to take place, they said to him' (Lk 22:49)

   Note especially the parallel use of *ei*, dative of *is*, in (13). Classical Latin lacked a third person personal pronoun in the pronominal system. The neutral demonstrative *is* thus often filled this slot—without bearing any notion of demonstrativity. Both *ipsum* and *ei* refer to Jesus, and it is indeed hard to see any difference in meaning between them. Rather, *ipsum* seems to be used as a personal pronoun exactly in the same way as *ei*. This is undoubtedly an argument in favour of analyzing *ipse* as a personal pronoun in this and similar examples. Also in such uses, as the complement of a preposition, *ipse* has an anaphoric function.

Ipse as a genitive modifier
Finally, *ipse* also functions as a personal pronoun in the genitive case.[12] The following are two examples:

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[11]   There are 74 examples of this use.
[12]   There are 43 examples.

(14) Ecce merces operarium [...] clamet et clamor
behold hire-NOM.F.SG labourer-GEN.M.PL cry-PRS.3SG and cry-NOM.M.SG
ipsorum in aures Domini Sabaoth
ipse-GEN.M.PL into ear-ACC.F.PL lord-GEN.M.SG Sabaoth-INDECL
introiit.
enter-PRF.3SG
'Behold, the hire of the labourers crieth: and the cries of them which have
reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.' (Jas. 5:4)

(15) Nolite turbari. Anima enim
do.not-IMPERATIVE.2PL trouble-INF.PRS.PASS soul-NOM.F.SG for
ipsius in eo est.
ipse-GEN.M.SG in DEM.ABL.M.SG be-PRS.3SG
'Trouble not yourselves; for his life is in him.' (Acts 20:10)

In (14) the intended meaning can be neither 'the exclamations of themselves,
who were not expected to cry', because we already know that they cry, nor 'the
exclamations of themselves and of no others' because there is no one else crying in
this context. As to (15) it is certainly not remarkable that someone's life is in that
person, and it is also difficult to imagine someone else's life being in someone. Thus
the readings 'the life of himself, who is not expected to have a life' or 'the life of
himself and not someone else's life' do seem somewhat strange. In other words, I
take *ipse* to be a personal pronoun, and it is used anaphorically.

The syntactic change from adjunct to argument—a case of reanalysis
As already mentioned, in Classical Latin, *ipse* functions syntactically as an adjunct.
Note especially that in examples like (16) *ipse* is not an argument. We have a null
pronoun in the argument position—this is usual in Latin, not only in subject func-
tion, but in other functions as well—whereas *ipse*, as in (1) through (7) above, is an
adjunct.

(16) Caesar [...] in hiberna in Sequanos
Caesar-NOM to winter.quarter-ACC.N.PL to Sequanus-ACC.M.PL
exercitum deduxit; hibernis Labienum
army-ACC.M.SG conduct-PRF.IND.3SG winter.quarter-DAT.N.PL Labienus-ACC
praeposuit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam[...]
put.in.charge-PRF.IND.3SG ipse-NOM.M.SG to hither-ACC.F.SG Gaul-ACC.F.SG
profectus est
go-PTCP.PRF.PASS.DEP.NOM.M.SG be-PRS.IND.3SG
'Caesar conducted his army into winter quarters among the Sequani. He
appointed Labienus over the winter-quarters, and went himself to Hither
Gaul.' (Caes. *Gal.* 1.54.2)

In other words, when *ipse* develops into a personal pronoun, not only a semantic, but also a syntactic shift takes place. The development of the third person personal pronouns in the Romance languages has received relatively little attention in the literature. Scholars have focused on the development of the definite articles (Trager 1932; Aebischer 1948; Abel 1971; Löfstedt 1982; Nocentini 1990; Renzi 1979; Vincent 1997, 1998, among others), whereas works discussing exclusively or chiefly the development of the third person pronouns are harder to find, especially works concerned with the syntactic aspects of the development (but see Harris 1980; Vincent 1997, 1998; Giusti 2001). I therefore focus on the syntax and ask how the syntactic change from adjunct to argument took place.

Harris & Campbell (1995) (also Campbell 2004, who bases his account on Harris & Campbell 1995) assume that there are three possible mechanisms behind a syntactic change, namely reanalysis, extension and borrowing. I believe that reanalysis is the mechanism relevant in our case. Harris & Campbell (1995, 50), following Langacker's (1977, 58) definition, give the following definition of syntactic reanalysis: "Reanalysis is a mechanism which changes the underlying structure of a syntactic pattern and [...] does not involve any modification of its surface manifestation. [boldface removed]" Crucially, reanalysis depends upon the possibility of more than one syntactic analysis of a surface string.

As mentioned above in the section on *ipse* as subject (page 177), the topic changing function of *ipse* as personal pronoun resembles most closely the original, Classical Latin use of *ipse*. In fact, when indicating a topic shift and when there is no overtly expressed element available for *ipse* to modify, *ipse* is often ambiguous between the old and the new interpretation, both semantically and syntactically. The following is an example from the Vulgate:

(17)   Et   omnis   turba   quaerebant   eum
       and whole-NOM.F.SG multitude-NOM.F.SG seek-IMPF.IND.3PL DEM.ACC.M.SG
       tangere   quia   virtus   de   illo
       touch-INF.PRS.ACT because virtue-NOM.F.SG from DEM.ABL.M.SG
       exiebat,   et   sanabat   omnes.   Et   ipse
       go.out-IMPF.IND.3SG and heal-IMPF.IND.3SG all-ACC.M.PL and ipse-NOM.M.SG
       elevatis   oculis   in discipulos
       lift.up-PTCP.PRF.PASS.ABL.M.PL eye-ABL.M.PL in disciple-ACC.M.PL
       suos   dicebat.
       POSS.REFL.ACC.M.PL say-IMPF.IND.3SG
       'And the people all tried to touch him, because power was coming from him
       and healing them all. He / he himself (not expected to do so) looking at his
       disciples, said' (Lk 6:19-20)

We find this kind of examples in Classical Latin as well:

(18) De   reliquis   rebus   a   te   iam
      about other-ABL.F.PL matter-ABL.F.PL from you-ABL.M.SG now

      exspectare   litteras   debemus,   quid
      expect-PRS.INF.ACT letter-ACC.F.PL must-PRS.IND.1PL what-ACC.N.SG

      <u>ipse</u>   agas,   quid   noster   Hirtius,
      ipse-NOM.M.SG do-PRS.IND.2SG what-ACC.N.SG our-NOM.M.SG Hirtius-NOM

      quid   Caesar   meus   […]
      what-ACC.N.SG Caesar-NOM my-NOM.M.SG

      'We should now expect letters from you about the matters, what you/you
      yourself (and not others) do, what our Hirtius does and what my Caesar
      does' (Cic. *Fam.* 11,8,2)

In both (17) and (18) *ipse* has the pragmatic role of indicating a topic shift. Se-
mantically it may be taken either as an intensifier, in which case it is syntactically
an adjunct, or as a personal pronoun, in which case it functions syntactically as the
subject. Since examples in which *ipse* indicates a topic shift often allow for more
than one analysis, both semantically and syntactically, I believe that the reanalysis
of *ipse* as a personal pronoun took place precisely in such contexts.

[3.2] *Ipse as a definite article?*

The most obvious candidates for the use of *ipse* as a definite article are examples
in which *ipse* corresponds to the definite article in the Greek text. There are two
occurrences of *ipse* in which it renders the Greek definite article. These are shown
in (19) and (20):

(19) <u>ipsa</u>   vero civitas   auro   mundo
      ipse-NOM.F.SG but city-NOM.F.SG gold-ABL.N.SG pure-ABL.N.SG

      simile   vitro   mundo
      similar-ABL.N.SG glass-DAT.N.SG pure-DAT.N.SG

      'But the city (itself?) was made of pure gold, like clear glass.' (Rev. 21:18)[13]

(20) quae   sunt   omnia   in interitu
      REL.NOM.N.PL be-PRS.IND.3SG all-NOM.N.PL in destruction-ABL.M.SG

      <u>ipso</u>   usu   secundum praecepta   et
      ipse-ABL.M.SG use-ABL.M.SG after   commands-ACC.N.PL and

      doctrinas   hominum
      teaching-ACC.F.PL man-GEN.M.PL

      'All of these things will be destroyed with the use (itself?), after the com-
      mands and teachings of men.' (Col. 2:22)[14]

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[13]   Translates *kai hê polis khrusion katharon homoion hualô katharô.*
[14]   Translates *ha estin panta eis phthoran têi apokhrêsei kata ta entalmata kai didaskalias tôn anthrôpôn.*

Yet, despite the fact that *ipse* corresponds to the definite article in Greek here, we should not be lead to automatically conclude that *ipse* must be a definite article also in the Latin translation. We have to look at the context and the Latin text itself in order to decide upon the best analysis of *ipse*. Looking closely at the text and the context, a definite article interpretation is by no means the only one possible in these two examples. The context in (19) does allow for the interpretation 'itself': 'The city itself (which is not expected to be made of gold) was made of pure gold...' There is also a syntactic argument in favour of not analyzing *ipse* as an article in (19): The particle *vero* intervenes between *ipsa* and *civitas*. Generally, articles are not free words, but clitics (if they are not suffixes), and therefore cannot be separated from the noun to which they belong by any element not belonging to the noun phrase, cf. the ungrammaticality of such patterns in many languages: *the however city*, *la però città*, etc. As to (20), on the other hand, nothing in the syntax prevents *ipse* from being analyzed as an article. Semantically, the intensifier interpretation is perhaps less plausible here than in (19), but it is clearly not excluded.

So the fact that *ipse* renders the definite article in Greek, does not necessarily mean that *ipse* is best analyzed as a definite article in Latin. Vice versa, we should not exclude the possibility that *ipse* may have to be analyzed as a definite article in examples where it does not correspond to the definite article in the Greek text. Yet, there seems to be no example in which this is the case. In conclusion, then, there is no unambiguous example of *ipse* as a definite article in the Vulgate.

The obvious question to ask, then, is: What is the reason for the absence of *ipse* as definite article in the Vulgate? This is not an easy question to answer. In fact, I would expect the almost omnipresent Greek article to influence the frequency of use of *ipse*—and other demonstratives as well—as definite articles in the Vulgate. The old Bible translations are generally very literal and stay close to the Greek original. One could therefore expect Jerome to have felt tempted to insert "something" in the Latin text in those cases in which Greek shows the definite article. Yet, this was apparently not the case.[15] It is reasonable to assume that Jerome would not adopt any features of Greek that were impossible in the native Latin grammatical system. One possible reason for the (almost complete) absence of definiteness markers in the Vulgate, then, could be that explicit marking of definiteness was not yet an incorporated part of the Latin grammar. However, in the coeval text commonly known as the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* or the *Itinerarium Egeriae*,[16] according to e.g. Aebischer (1948) and Nocentini (1990), there is an abundant use of both adnominal *ille* and adnominal *ipse*. Admittedly, no one, it seems, claims *ipse* to be a pure definite

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[15]   Interestingly, also *ille*, the other source of definite articles in Romance, rarely occurs as a marker of definiteness in the Vulgate.

[16]   As to the exact dating of the *Peregrinatio* different views have been presented, but most scholars now seem to agree upon the late fourth or early fifth century as the correct date (see e.g. Maraval 1982 and references therein for discussion). Jerome was born around 345 and died in 420.

article in the *Peregrinatio*. Yet, adnominal *ipse* is indeed frequently present in this text, and often redundantly, especially if interpreted as having its original intensive/contrastive value (Trager 1932). So *ipse* does seem to assume some article-like functions in the *Peregrinatio*. For instance, according to Renzi (1979, 260), *ipse* is used anaphorically to point out a referent previously mentioned in the text (e.g. *per ualle illa...Uallis autem ipsa* 'through that/the? valley...but the valley'), a function commonly assumed by definite articles.

So how can we then explain the rarity of definite articles in the Vulgate? Or put differently, how can we explain the fact that *ipse* for Egeria was an element far more similar to a definite article than it was for Jerome? One possible explanation is differences in style. In the *Peregrinatio*, the overuse of demonstratives has been linked to Egeria's enthusiasm and vivid interest in telling her experiences; in the more vivid parts of the account the use of demonstratives increases, whereas when the tone is more neutral, the use of demonstratives decreases (Trager 1932, 9–57, also Lapesa 1961, 26, following Trager). The Bible, on the other hand, is characterized by a neutral and objective language in all its parts; the authors do not reveal any vivid interest in or enthusiasm for what they report. If, then, an overuse of demonstratives is a feature that goes with more vivid and colloquial language, this may explain why such a use of demonstratives is absent from the Vulgate, namely because Jerome wanted to preserve the neutral tone. Also, Jerome possibly wanted to keep close to classical norms, at least to a greater extent than Egeria. Generally, in most languages, obsolete language forms and constructions are preserved more easily in the Bible than in other registers of the language. Jerome's Latin is thought to be close to spoken registers of the language, but still, the Vulgate is clearly more "classical" than the *Peregrinatio*.

Furthermore, the difference between Jerome and Egeria in the use of demonstratives could be due to diatopic variation within the Latin speaking territory. Jerome was born in Stridon, in the Roman province of Dalmatia. As to Egeria, e.g. Väänänen (1987), seeing several Iberian features in Egeria's Latin, opts for Iberian origins. There is, however, no general agreement about the Iberianity of Egeria's Latin, and Löfstedt (1959, 44–48), for instance, finds it impossible to establish with certainty the country of Egeria's birth on the basis of linguistic phenomena. Yet, to my knowledge, no one has suggested a homeland for Egeria outside of the Iberian Peninsula or modern France. No matter the exact homeland of Egeria it thus seems clear that Egeria and Jerome do have different origins. Synchronically, within a speech community there is always diatopic variation (as well as other types of variation). Therefore, Jerome and Egeria being of different origins, Jerome's Latin might well have been different from Egeria's in several respects, including the article-like use of demonstratives (on regional diversification in Latin, see e.g. Adams 2007). Diachronically, a linguistic change is not catastrophic and does not affect all speakers and places at the same time, but spreads gradually through the speech community.

It is possible, then, that *ipse* (and other demonstratives) had begun to be used in article-like ways in the area where Egeria was born, but that this use had not yet spread to other parts of the empire.

[4] CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, we have seen that *ipse* in the Vulgate is used partly as in Classical Latin, viz. as an intensifier that syntactically functions as an adjunct. Also, *ipse* is used in some ways that are proper to the modern Romance languages: as a personal pronoun in various syntactic relations. When *ipse* develops into a personal pronoun, both a semantic and a syntactic shift takes place. I believe that the mechanism behind the syntactic change from adjunct to argument was reanalysis, and that instances of *ipse* as a marker of topic shift were the contexts which allowed for a syntactic reanalysis to take place.

In the modern Romance languages reflexes of *ipse* also act as demonstrative pronouns and definite articles. *Ipse* does not occur as a demonstrative in the Vulgate. Likewise, there are no clear examples of *ipse* as a definite article. The fact that *ipse* rarely, if ever, occurs as a definite article in the Vulgate is surprising for two reasons: (i) the fact that Greek has a definite article that is frequently used could well have lead to the use of demonstratives as a strategy for rendering the Greek article in Latin, and (ii) the fact that the coeval text *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* often shows demonstratives in article-like functions. The almost complete absence of definite articles in the Vulgate may be due to stylistic factors or diatopic variation within the Latin speaking territory.

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*EN-PHRASES AND THEIR MORPHOSYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC PARTICULARS

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ABSTRACT

Prepositions constitute a problematic category because they tend to have complex semantic and syntagmatic properties, vary in case governance and are frequently in variation with each other. Reflexes of the Indo-European *en* are well attested and remain productive in Greek, Classical Armenian, Gothic and Old Church Slavic among other languages. Correspondences of Greek *en/eis* with Gothic *in*, Armenian *i* and Old Church Slavic *vŭ* occur in many instances in the canonical Gospels of the New Testament. However, Greek *en/eis* is frequently translated with other constructions in these languages that range from prepositional phrases that contain prepositions non-cognate with *en* and nominal constructions to clausal structures. This investigation examines such correlations and points out morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors that promote these correspondences. Case syncretism and changes in the prepositional governance are among the leading reasons that prompt translators to look for translational means other than the cognate constructions. As expected, differences in the inventory of prepositions available in the languages being examined and diversity in the division of semantic space by the prepositional phrases also add to the variety of possible renditions of Greek *en/eis*. Among pragmatic factors that influence the translation are the compositional marking of a certain concept, the complexity of an event/situation being marked, and the pragmatic appropriateness of a certain formation.

[1] INTRODUCTION

Prepositions (and adpositions in general) remain a controversial topic in linguistics. Their status as a syntactic category is not completely defined. While some researchers consider them a functional category, others prefer to analyze them as a lexical category (Cover & van Riemsdjik 2001). Furthermore, there is no agreement on which linguistic items should be considered as prepositions and which ones should not (Asbury et al. 2008, 3–5). Another problem is connected with prepositional governance, variations in possible case assignments by the same preposition and the role of case in the prepositional phrase (PP) (Creissels 2009, 609–13). PPs may carry out several syntactic functions: they can be predicates, arguments and

adjuncts. On the one hand, PPs serve as complements of another phrase (often a verbal or noun phrase); on the other hand, they assign a case to a phrase which is a complement of a preposition itself. Thus, in (1) below the PP *en têi Dekapólei* complements the verb *kērússein*. At the same time, the noun phrase *têi Dekapólei* complements the preposition *en*.

Due to the semantic richness of PPs, semantic labels are sometimes incorporated into the proposed syntactic (functional) structures of PPs (den Dikken 2006; Koopman 2000). Van Valin suggests that two types of syntactic structure exist: relational and nonrelational structure (Van Valin 1999, 150). Nonrelational structure specifies the hierarchical organization of various phrases, clauses, sentences. Relational structure is preoccupied with relations that exist among sentence constituents. These relations could be semantic (agent, patient, etc.), syntactic (subject, object, etc.) or pragmatic (topic, focus, presupposition). The focus of this article is primarily on relational structure.

IE *en* (Watkins 2000, 23) is one of the oldest and most frequent prepositions found in the IE language family. It has cognates in many IE languages including Greek (Gk) *en/eis* (< *ens*), Gothic (Goth) *in*, Classical Armenian (Arm) *i* and Old Church Slavic (OCS) *vŭ*. If one examines the New Testament translations in these languages, it becomes clear that Gk *en/eis*, Goth *in*, Arm *i* and OCS *vŭ* are the most frequent counterparts. This outcome is not surprising given the fact that these prepositions have the same origin and are used within the same or similar contexts:[1]

(1)   kai érksato kērússein <u>en têi Dekapólei</u>   [Gk]
        jah dugann merjan <u>in Daikapaulein</u>   [Goth]
        ew sksaw k'arozel <u>i Dekapołin</u>   [Arm]
        i načętŭ propovědati <u>vŭ Dekapoli</u>   [OCS]
        'and he began to preach in Decapolis' (Mk 5:20)

However, Goth *in*, Arm *i* and OCS *vŭ* are not the only equivalents of Gk *en/eis*. For example, in OCS Gk *en*+Dat is also translated with the help of phrases with prepositions which are not reflexes of IE *en*. Cf. the Gk correspondences with OCS *na* (governing the locative in (2a) and the accusative in (2b)) and *po* (governing the dative in (2c)) in the following examples:

(2)   a.   homoía estìn paidíois kathēménois <u>en taîs agoraîs</u>   [Gk]
              podobĭnŭ jestŭ dětištemŭ sědęštemŭ <u>na trŭžištixŭ</u>   [OCS]
              'it is like children who sit in the markets' (Mt 11:16)

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[1]   In a number of passages, just like in (1) PPs with *en* reflexes express spatial relations connected with Containment metaphor. This metaphor is understood as viewing a certain location (landmark) as a containment with boundaries and appears to be crucial for the development of the semantics of *en* reflexes in various languages including Gk, Goth, Arm, and OCS. See, for example, the discussion of the development of different semantic roles of *en* reflexes in Ancient Greek in Luraghi (2003, 82–94, 107–117).

b.   hína héna apolúsō humîn <u>en tôi páskha</u>   [Gᴋ]
      da jedinogo vamŭ otŭpuštǫ <u>na pasxǫ</u>   [OCS]
      'so that I will release to you one man at the Passover' (Jn 18:39)

c.   hupestrṓnnuon tà himátia heautôn <u>en têi hodôi</u>   [Gᴋ]
      postilaaxǫ rizy svoję <u>po pǫti</u>   [OCS]
      'they spread out their garments along the way' (Lk 19:36)

In addition, Gk PPs with *en/eis* are sometimes rendered with nominal phrases (e.g., nouns in the dative, the accusative and the genitive in Goth), adjectival phrases (e.g., adjectives with a possessive suffix in OCS) and even clausal structures (e.g., clauses with the conjunctions *jegda* or *jako* in OCS and with the conjunctions *zi* and *əndēr* in Arm). Such correspondences will be also exemplified and analyzed throughout the discussion.

This study concentrates on the examination of the correspondences where a Gk *en/eis* is matched with a non-PP in Goth, Arm and OCS. The aim of this investigation is to analyze an intricate mechanism and interrelations of different morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors that influence the translation of PPs and to show how they endorse correlations between Gk *en/eis* and a non-PP in Goth, Arm and OCS despite the genetic relatedness and morphosyntactic and semantic closeness of Gk *en/eis*, Goth *in*, Arm *i* and OCS *vŭ*. The examined corpus includes the canonical gospels of the New Testament in Biblical Greek and corresponding translations into Goth, Arm and OCS. The focus is on the internal relationship between syntax, morphology, semantics and pragmatics.

[2]   ᴍᴏʀᴘʜᴏsʏɴᴛᴀᴄᴛɪᴄ ᴄᴏɴsᴛʀᴀɪɴᴛs

Despite their relatedness Gk *en/eis*, Goth *in*, Arm *i* and OCS *vŭ* do not have the same syntactic, morphological or semantic loads in the languages in question. Let's examine the variety of the semantic functions of PPs with Gk *en/eis*, Goth *in*, Arm *i* and OCS *vŭ* summarized in table 1 on page 192.[2]

     Table 1 shows that there is a slight difference in case governance of *en* reflexes in Gk, Goth, Arm and OCS. Namely, in Gk *en* governs Dat and *eis* is combined with nominals in Acc. In Goth and in Arm the case assignment for the *en* reflexes is tripartite: Goth *in* governs Dat, Acc and Gen, while Arm *i* takes Loc, Acc and Abl. Finally, OCS *vŭ* governs two cases—Loc and Acc. The third case assignments in Goth and Arm are results of various changes of a different nature that took place in these languages. Goth *in*+Gen appears to be reserved for the designation of Beneficiary (Behalf) and it seems that it is this semantic function that is responsible for the existence of this construction. The origin of *i*+Abl has been variously explained. We

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[2]   In table 1 and henceforth the following abbreviations are used: Dat—the dative case, Acc—the accusative case, Gen—the genitive case, Abl—the ablative case, Loc—the locative case, Ins—the instrumental case, Voc—the vocative case. The symbol ++ marks the function with which a P is used most frequently.

		Gk en+Dat	Gk eis+Acc	Goth in+Dat	Goth in+Acc	Goth in+Gen	Arm i+Loc	Arm i+Acc	Arm i+Abl	OCS vŭ+Loc	OCS vŭ+Acc
space	location	++	+	++	+		++	+	+	++	+
	direction	+	++	+	++			++	+	+	++
	path	+		+			+				
	source							++			
time		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
comitative		+									
causal	agent/force	+							+		
	instrument	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+
	cause	+	+	+					+	+	+
recipient		+	+	+			+	+			+
beneficiary		+				++		+			
possessor		+		+					+		
purpose			+		+	+	+	+		+	+
patient		+	+	+		+	+	+	+		
manner		+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
topic		+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+

TABLE 1: Semantic load of various reflexes of *en* in Gk, Goth, Arm and OCS.

follow the proposal of Meillet who considered *i*+Abl to have the same origin as OCS *isŭ/izŭ* 'from', thus, the unification of *i*+Acc, *i*+Loc with *i*+Abl is a result of merger (Meillet 1936, 95–96).[3] In this light, it is clear that the designation of Source by Arm *i*+Abl is not the result of an unusual semantic extension, but rather the preservation of the main meaning of the original. Synchronically, of course, Classical Arm *i* presents an intriguing case of the semantic merger of the three most significant spatial concepts – Location, Direction and Source.

It is not surprising that Gk *eis*+Acc, Goth *in*+Acc, Arm *i*+Acc and OCS *vŭ*+Acc primarily designate Direction, since this meaning is primary for Acc (cf. data in table 2 on page 193). Note that in Gk the saliency of the concepts Location and Direction led to further disambiguation of these notions which resulted in lexicalization (Gk *en* vs. *eis*). Table 2 shows that the reflexes of *en* in Gk, Goth, Arm and OCS agree at least in regards to their spatial usages: their semantics remain concentrated on the denotation of Direction, however, all of them receive a semantic extension to mark Location.

The primary function of Gk *en*+Dat, Goth *in*+Dat, Arm *i*+Loc and OCS *vŭ*+Loc is the denotation of Location (as seen in table 3 on page 194). Just like in the case of *en* reflexes governing Acc, this function goes in line with original meaning of Loc which mainly marks a space where an action takes place. The repetition and persistence with which PPs governing Acc refer to Direction and those governing Loc (and cases that the locative have merged into) mark Location are remarkable. This tendency provides valid grounds for typological conclusions about the saliency of these two functions for human cognition. At the same time, since languages tend to mark these notions using the same preposition one should keep in mind the closeness of these concepts. Note that Gk is the only language among the examined ones that attempts to produce a further distinction between Location and Direction on

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[3]   For a more detailed discussion of the origin of *i*+Abl see also Thomason (2005).

		Gk *eis*+Acc	Goth *in*+Acc	Arm *i*+Acc	OCS *vŭ*+Acc
space	location	+	+	+	+
	direction	++	++	++	++
	path				
	source				
time		+	+	+	+
comitative					
causal	agent/force				
	instrument	+		+	+
	cause	+			+
recipient		+		+	+
beneficiary				+	
possessor					
purpose		+	+	+	+
patient		+		+	
manner		+	+	+	+
topic		+		+	+

TABLE 2: Semantic load of *en reflexes governing Acc in Gk, Goth, Arm and OCS.

		Gk *en*+Dat	Goth *in*+Dat	Arm *i*+Loc	OCS *vŭ*+Loc
space	location	++	++	++	++
	direction	+	+		+
	path	+	+	+	
	source				
time		+	+	+	+
comitative		+			
causal	agent/force	+			
	instrument	+	+	+	+
	cause	+	+		+
recipient		+	+	+	
beneficiary		+			
possessor		+	+		
purpose				+	+
patient		+	+	+	
manner		+	+	+	+
topic		+	+	+	+

TABLE 3: Semantic load of **en* reflexes governing Dat in Gk and Goth and governing Loc in Arm and OCS

the level of form, since it makes *en*+Dat and *eis*+Acc synchronically distinct not only because of the case assignments, but also because of the different forms of the Ps (Luraghi 2009, 291–292).

Table 3 demonstrates the richness of the semantics of **en* reflexes governing Dat in Gk and Goth and governing Loc in Arm and OCS. Partially this diversity of the semantic function exists as a result of syncretism of case systems which leads to rearrangement of the functions of the cases. For example, it is a well-known fact that Dat in Gk and Goth is a result of multi-leveled syncretism. Thus, in Gk the IE Dat, Loc and Ins merged and in Goth the IE Dat, Loc, Ins and Abl merged. Therefore, the semantics of the Dat in Goth and Gk are enriched with meanings of these cases: Ins brings in the denotation of Means and Agent (and further Comitative), Dat—the meaning of Recipient, Loc marks Location and Abl tends to express Source (Meier-Brügger 2003, 261–73, Luraghi 2009, 286–288). Table 3 shows that the semantics of **en* reflexes governing Dat in Gk and Goth are extended to some of these functions as opposed to **en* reflexes governing Loc in Arm and OCS. For example, Gk *en*+Dat regularly marks Beneficiary (largely due to the input of the IE Dat), while its common counterparts Arm *i*+Loc and OCS *vŭ*+Loc do not receive such an extension and the

translators had to find other means to accommodate this meaning as exemplified in (3) below:

(3)   kalòn érgon ērgásato <u>en emoí</u>   [Gk]
        þannu goþ waurstw waurhta <u>bi mis</u>[4]   [Goth]
        zi gorc bari gorceac' da <u>yis</u>[5]   [Arm]
        dobro bo dělo sŭděla <u>o mǐně</u>   [OCS]
        'for she did a good deed for me' (Mk 14:6)

Similarly, in the instances where Gk *en*+Dat regularly expresses a comitative function (due to the input of the IE Ins) Arm and OCS answer with PPs other than Arm *i*+Loc and OCS *vŭ*+Loc. Goth also has a P which is not cognate to Gk *en*+Dat, but this is because of the different distribution of the semantic space in this language (Goth *miþ*+Dat is the preferred construction in such passages):

(4)   ei dunatós estin <u>en déka khiliásin</u> hupantêsai   [Gk]
        siaiu mahteigs <u>miþ taihun þusundjom</u> gamotjan   [Goth]
        et'e karoł ic'ē <u>tasn hazaraw</u> zdēm ownel   [Arm]
        ašte silĭnŭ jestŭ <u>sŭ desętǫjǫ tysǫštǐ</u> sŭrěsti   [OCS]
        'if he is able with ten thousand to meet' (Lk 14:31)

Arm and OCS were not as greatly affected by syncretism as Gk and Goth. In OCS only the Abl merged with the Gen, whereas in Arm only the Voc has been lost (just as it was in Gk, Goth and OCS). Thus, it is not surprising that in a number of cases Gk *en*+Dat/*eis*+Acc are translated by nominal constructions (NPs) in OCS and Arm. In Goth one also finds instances of correspondences with NPs, however, they are not as frequent as in OCS and Arm and appear to be semantically limited. For example, Goth Dat renders Gk *en*+Dat in several passages, but in all of them this PP marks Location 'in'[6] as a result of a metaphoric extension (connected with the vision of human bodies or clothes as Containment (shown in (5a) and (5b) respectively):

(5)   a.   dialogízontai <u>en heautoîs</u>   [Gk]
            mitodedun <u>sis</u>   [Goth]
            'they pondered within themselves' (Mk 2:8)
        b.   ánthrōpon <u>en malakoîs</u> ēmphiesménon   [Gk]
            mannan <u>hnasqjaim wastjom</u> gawasidana   [Goth]
            'a man clothed in soft raiment' (Mt 11:8)

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[4]   Note that Goth *in*+Dat is not extended to the denotation of Beneficiary either, but this instance is not parallel to those in Arm and OCS, because here Goth practically allocates *in*+Gen along with other PPs (e.g. *bi*+Dat in the example in (3) for the designation of Beneficiary).

[5]   Note that Arm responds with *i*+Acc and not *i*+Loc here, because, of course, for *i*+Acc the denotation of Beneficiary is an expected extension since it regularly marks Recipient and Purpose.

[6]   Note once again the input of the IE Loc which has merged into Goth Dat (see the discussion earlier).

Gk *eis*+Acc is rarely matched with Acc in Goth. It occurs only in passages where
the Gk PP is combined with a verb of speech and has a Malefactive function as in
(6a) (directional accusative) or where the complement of the Gk *eis* was the noun
aiṓn 'space of time, duration' and the PP expresses the meaning 'forever' as in (6b)
(temporal accusative):

(6)   a.   hòs d' àn blasphēmḗsēi <u>eis tò pneûma tò hágion</u>   [Gκ]
               aþþan saei wajamereiþ <u>ahman weihana</u>   [Goth]
               'but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit' (Mk 3:29)
        b.   kaì ou mḕ apólōntai <u>eis tòn aiôna</u>   [Gκ]
               jah ni fraqistnand <u>aiw</u>   [Goth]
               'and they will never perish' (Jn 10:28)

As expected, in Arm and OCS correspondences of Gk *en*+Dat/ *eis*+Acc with NPs
are more regular. Ins becomes an absolute leader among cases in Arm and OCS when
it comes to render Gk *en*+Dat. NPs in this case correspond to Gk *en*+Dat not only in
instances where the Gk construction has causal functions (Means, Agent), the origi-
nal meaning of Ins, as exemplified by (7a), but also where the Gk PP expresses spatial
notions (e.g., Path which is also expressed by the Ins as illustrated in (7b)). Note also
how in (7a) the Goth variant agrees with the Gk original in rendering causal seman-
tics. Such concurrence, of course, is due to the parallel case syncretism in these
languages and it is not unexpected that the correspondence Gk *en*+Dat : Goth *in*+Dat
: Arm Ins : OCS Ins with causal functions occurs repeatedly and becomes one of the
most stable correspondences involving **en* reflexes.

(7)   a.   kaì ḗgeto <u>en tôi pneúmati</u> en têi erḗmōi   [Gκ]
               jah tauhans was <u>in ahmin</u> in auþidai   [Goth]
               ew varēr <u>hogwovn</u> yanapat   [Arm]
               i vedĕaše sę <u>duxomĭ</u> vŭ pustynjǫ   [OCS]
               'and he was led by the Spirit in the desert' (Lk 4:1)
        b.   êlthen gàr Iōánnēs pròs humâs <u>en hodôi dikaiosúnēs</u>   [Gκ]
               zi ekn Yovhannēs <u>čanaparhaw ardarowt'ean</u>   [Arm]
               pride bo kŭ vamŭ Ioannŭ Krĭstitelĭ <u>pǫtĭmĭ pravĭdĭnomĭ</u>   [OCS]
               'for John (OCS: John the Baptist) came to you (Arm: ø) through the righ-
               teous way' (Mt 21:32)

Gk *eis*+Acc corresponds to the OCS and Arm Dat in a number of occurrences
where this PP marks Beneficiary (or Malefactive), a regular function for Dat, as
shown in (8a), or Goal, as illustrated in (8b). Note the closeness of these functions
which differ primarily because the former is associated with the notion of animacy
and the latter does not. These are not the only functions which the correspondence

set Gk *eis*+Acc : Arm Dat : OCS Dat covers,[7] but they are the most frequent ones.

(8)   a.   ei mḗti poreuthéntes hēmeîs agorásōmen <u>eis pánta tòn laòn toûton</u>
        brṓmata   [Gk]
        bayc' et'e ert'ic'owk' gnesc'owk' bawakan <u>žołovrdeand</u> kerakowr [Arm]
        'unless we go and buy (Arm: sufficient) food for all these people' (Lk
        9:13)
        allà taûta pánta poiḗsousin <u>eis humâs</u>   [Gk]
        nŭ si vĭsja sŭtvorętŭ <u>vamŭ</u>   [OCS]
        'but they will do all this to (=against) you' (Jn 15:21)

    b.   <u>eis oudèn</u> iskhúei   [Gk]
        <u>oč' imik'</u> azdic'ē   [Arm]
        'it will be good for nothing' (Mt 5:13)
        misthṓsasthai ergátas <u>eis tòn ampelôna autoû</u>   [Gk]
        najętŭ dělatelŭ <u>vinogradu svojemu</u>   [OCS]
        'to hire workers for his vineyard' (Mt 20:1)

There are also instances where Gk *en*+Dat/ *eis*+Acc are rendered with constructions other than their prepositional cognates, but those are not due to specifics of the case systems in the languages in question. Consider the following examples:

(9)   a.   kaì zēteî autòs <u>en parrēsìa</u> eînai   [Gk]
        jah sokeiþsik <u>uskunþana</u> wisan   [Goth]
        ew xndrē ink'n <u>hamarjak</u> linel   [Arm]
        i ištetŭ samŭ <u>avě</u> byti   [OCS]
        'and he himself seeks to be open (Goth: to be known)' (Jn 7:4)

    b.   kaì ho patèr humôn ho <u>en toîs ouranoîs</u>...   [Gk]
        ei atta izwar sa <u>in himinam</u>...   [Goth]
        zi ew hayrn jer or <u>yerkins</u> ē...   [Arm]
        da i otĭcĭ vašĭ <u>nebesĭskyi</u>...   [OCS]
        'and your Father who [is] in heaven (OCS: and your heavenly Father)'
        (Mk 11:25)

In (9a) *en*+Dat is rendered by an adverb in Arm and OCS and by an adjective in its strong masculine accusative singular form (derived from a preterit participle based on a preterit-present verb *kunnan*) in Goth. In (9b) the Gk relative clause construction is simplified in OCS (even though relative constructions are also used in OCS) and the whole clause is translated with the help of an adjective that contains a possessive suffix *-ĭsk-*. Such correspondences are common in the New Testament. Note that Arm and Goth follow the Gk original without any changes. Examples like these,

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[7]   Gk *eis*+Acc is matched with the Dat in Arm and OCS in a few instances where this Gk PP expresses directional notions, topic or has a temporal meaning.

showing interference of the lexical and grammatical means available in a given language are important parts of the text that demonstrate the creativity of translators and their attempts to deliver the meaning of the original passage, stay true to it, but not at the expense of the linguistic specifics of their own languages.

Passages where the complement of the Gk *en/eis* is an infinitive receive a discrete treatment in Goth, Arm and OCS. In all four languages there are examples of infinitives serving as a subject or as a complement of a finite verb, however, not all of them allow constructions where an infinitive becomes the complement of a P. Undoubtedly, this is connected with the nature of an infinitive as a category and its morphosyntactic specifics in each language.

Thus, in Gk infinitives are fully incorporated in the verbal stem system, they have voice and tense. Gk inflects not the infinitive itself, but the preceding article. Goth and Arm form their infinitives from the present stems, but Arm inflects its infinitives while Goth does not. In most cases OCS infinitives are formed directly from the roots and none of them are inflected. Morphological specifics of infinitives in Gk, Goth and Arm allow them to occur as a complement of Ps. These languages make use of such constructions with different frequencies. Gk PPs with an infinitive as a complement are used either to mark Purpose or to express temporal values. Thus, Gk *en*+infinitive denotes Time 'while, during' (Gk *pro*+infinitive expresses Time 'before'), while Gk *eis*+infinitive designates Purpose (Gk *pros*+infinitive also has this function).

OCS does not allow an infinitive to be the complement of P and has to use other means to translate the Gk original in such cases. Thus, Gk *en*+infinitive is repeatedly translated into OCS with the dative absolute construction (consisting of a participle and a noun/pronoun, both in the dative case, and typically expressing accompanying circumstances) which is regularly used in this language to mark a period of time during which something happened:

(10)   ephobéthēsan dè <u>en tôi eiseltheîn</u> autoùs eis tèn nephélēn   [Gᴋ]
         ubojašę že sę <u>vŭšĭdŭšemŭ</u> imŭ vŭ oblakŭ   [OCS]
         'they feared when they were entering the cloud' (Lk 9:34)

Less frequently, Gk *en*+infinitive is matched with relative clauses introduced by the OCS conjunctions *jegda* as in (11a) or *jako* as in (11b):[8]

(11)   a.   kaì egéneto <u>en tôi epaneltheîn</u> autón   [Gᴋ]
               i bystŭ <u>jegda</u> vŭzvrati sę   [OCS]
               'and when he came back' (Lk 19:15)

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[8]   Gk *pro*+infinitive designating Time 'before' is translated in a similar fashion. It is matched in OCS with relative clauses introduced by the OCS conjunction *prěžde*.

    b.   kaí egéneto <u>en tôi kataklithênai</u> autón met' autôn   [Gκ]
           i bystŭ <u>jako</u> vŭzleže sŭ nima   [OCS]
           'and when he was at a table with them' (Lk 24:30)

Similarly, Gk *eis*+infinitive is rendered with the help of either OCS relative clauses of purpose with the conjunction *da* (cf. its cognate Gk *dē* 'when') as exemplified by (12a) or with the infinitive alone as shown in (12b):

(12)   a.   <u>eis tò</u> <u>thanatôsai</u> autón   [Gκ]
           <u>da</u> i ubĭjǫtŭ   [OCS]
           'to (OCS: so that they) kill him' (Mk 14:55)
    b.   kaí dúnamis kuríou ên <u>eis tó iâsthai</u> auton   [Gκ]
           i sila gospodĭnja bĕ <u>cĕliti</u> ję   [OCS]
           'and the power of the Lord was to cure him' (Lk 5:17)

In Goth only one P is found with an infinitive as its complement—*du.* Therefore, it is not surprising that Goth *du*+infinitive becomes the only counterpart of Gk *eis*+infinitive marking Purpose:[9]

(13)   kaí dúnamis kuríou ên <u>eis tó iâsthai</u> autón   [Gκ]
    jah mahts fraujins was <u>du hailjan</u> ins   [Goth]
    'and the power of the Lord was to heal him' (Lk 5:17)

Gk *en*+infinitive is rendered with clausal structures with such conjunctions as *miþþanei,* as illustrated in (14a) or *biþe* (less frequently), as shown in (14b):[10]

(14)   a.   kaì <u>en tôi katēgoreîsthai</u> autòn hupò tôn arkhieréōn   [Gκ]
           jah <u>miþþanei</u> wrohiþs was fram þaim gudjam   [Goth]
           'but when he was accused by the chief priests' (Mt 27:12)
    b.   kaí egéneto <u>en tôi epaneltheîn</u> autón   [Gκ]
           jah warþ <u>biþe</u> atwandida sik aftra   [Goth]
           'when he returned' (Lk 19:15)

Arm tends to reply to Gk *en*+infinitive or *eis*+infinitive with the cognate set *i*+infinitive (in the locative case) and *i*+infinitive (in the accusative case) as exemplified in (15a) and (15b) respectively:

(15)   a.   ephobḗthēsan dè <u>en tôi eiseltheîn</u> aútoùs eís tên nephélēn   [Gκ]
           ew erkean <u>i mtaneln</u> noc'a ənd ampov   [Arm]
           'and they were afraid when they went into (Arm: under) the cloud' (Lk 9:34)

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[9]   Gk *pros*+infinitive designating Purpose is also translated into Goth with *du*+infinitive.
[10]   Gk *pro*+infinitive is also translated into Goth with the help of subordinate clauses with the conjunction *faurþizei.*

b. kaì dúnamis kuríou ēn <u>eis tò iâsthai</u> autón   [Gᴋ]
    ew zawrowt'iwn TN ēr <u>i bžškel</u> znosa   [Aʀᴍ]
    'and the power of the Lord was to heal him (Arm: them)' (Lk 5:17)

But other means are also available and, as in the case with OCS, the Arm translator sometimes uses clausal structure or infinitive alone to render the meaning of the Gk *en/eis*+infinitive. But in addition to that, Arm has Ps other than *i* that can take an infinitive as a complement. Thus, Gk *en*+infinitive in several passages is translated with Arm *ənd*+infinitive (in its accusative form) as shown in (16a). It is also sometimes rendered with a temporal clause introduced by the conjunctions *minč'(ew)* or *ibrew* as illustrated in (16b) and (16c) respectively:

(16) a. <u>en dé</u> <u>tôi hupágein</u> autón   [Gᴋ]
          ew <u>ənd ert'aln</u> nora   [Aʀᴍ]
          'and when he was leaving...' (Lk 8:42)

      b. kaí egéneto <u>en tôi poreúesthai</u> eis Ierousalḕm   [Gᴋ]
          ew ełew <u>minč'ew</u> ert'ay na yĒM   [Aʀᴍ]
          'and when he went to Jerusalem' (Lk 17:11)

      c. kaí <u>en tôi eisagageîn</u> toús goneîs tó paidíon   [Gᴋ]
          ew <u>ibrew</u> acin cnawłk'n zmanowkn   [Aʀᴍ]
          'and when the parents brought in the child' (Lk 2:27)

Gk *eis*+infinitive is occasionally translated with the infinitive alone in Arm:

(17) kaí paradṓsousin autón toîs éthnesin <u>eis tó empaîzai</u>   [Gᴋ]
      ew matnesc'en zna het'anosac' <u>aypanel</u>   [Aʀᴍ]
      'and they will give him to the Gentiles to be mocked' (Mt 20:19)

From the examined instances we see that the translators in Goth, Arm and OCS strived to remain true to the text of the original and preserve the clausal meaning of the constructions *en/eis*+infinitive. The fact that we find a different set of correspondences in examples where an infinitive becomes a complement of a P supports the propositions of those linguists that argue that infinitival constructions are sentential and not just a type of a simple VP (Koster & May 1982).

[3]   SEMANTIC CONSTRAINTS

In a number of passages Gk *en*+Dat and *eis*+Acc are rendered with non-cognate PPs in Goth, Arm and OCS due to semantics factors. Having examined all such instances in the canonical gospels of the New Testament we can argue with certainty that in such cases no matter what kind of semantics Gk *en*+Dat and *eis*+Acc may have, they can be translated by the non-cognate PPs which may be of different kinds, but all of them will have one thing in common: the function expressed by Gk *en*+Dat and

eis+Acc will be either their primary semantic role or at least a frequent one.

[3.1]   *Gk en+Dat/eis+Acc: primary function translated by primary function*

In the instances Gk *en*+Dat and *eis*+Acc are used with their primary functions (the denotation of Location 'in' and Direction 'into' respectively) they are translated with non-cognate PPs in Goth, Arm and OCS which also have the designation of Location 'in' and Direction 'into' as their main/recurrent semantic roles. These are the passages where Gk *en*+Dat is rendered with Goth *ana*+Dat, Arm *ənd*+Acc/Loc and OCS *na*+Loc (as exemplified in (18a)–(18c)) and Gk *eis*+Acc is translated with Goth *du*+Dat, Arm *z-*+Acc and OCS *na*+Acc[11] (as illustrated by (18d)–(18f)).

(18)   a.   oi patéres hēmôn tò mánna éphagon <u>en têi erḗmōi</u>   [Gᴋ]
                attans unsarai manna matidedun <u>ana auþidai</u>   [Gᴏᴛʜ]
                'our fathers ate the manna in the wilderness' (Jn 6:31)

         b.   kaì <u>èn hólēi têi oreinêi</u> tês Ioudaías   [Gᴋ]
                ew <u>ənd amenayn leṙnakołmnn</u> Hrēastani   [Aʀᴍ]
                'and in (=throughout) the whole mountain region of Judea' (Lk 1:65)

         c.   hóti ho misthòs humôn polùs <u>en toîs ouranoîs</u>   [Gᴋ]
                jako mĭzda vaša mŭnoga <u>na nebesĭxŭ</u>   [OCS]
                'for your reward is great in heaven' (Mt 5:12)

         d.   húpage <u>eis tòn oîkón sou</u>   [Gᴋ]
                gagg <u>du garda þeinamma</u>   [Gᴏᴛʜ]
                'go to your house' (Mk 5:19)

         e.   kaì pâs <u>eis autèn</u> biázetai   [Gᴋ]
                ew amenayn ok' <u>zna</u> bṙnabarē   [Aʀᴍ]
                'and everyone rushes into it' (Lk 16:16)

         f.   hópōs ekbálēi ergátas <u>eis tòn therismòn autoû</u>   [Gᴋ]
                da izvedetŭ dĕlatelję <u>na žętvǫ svojǫ</u>   [OCS]
                'so that he send out workers into his harvest' (Mt 9:38)

For example, in (18d) and (18e) Gk *eis*+Acc corresponds to Goth *du*+Dat (another regular marker of Direction in Goth) and Arm *z-*+Acc only because these constructions are in free variation with the respective *en* cognates. The factor that sponsors the correspondence Gk *en* cognate : Goth/Arm/OCS non-cognate is of a purely semantic nature and connected with differences in the inventory of the prepositional systems in the respective languages. This disparity gives rise to different assignments of semantic functions to the members of the prepositional systems in these languages. These types of correspondences support the idea of the idiomatic nature of the Goth, Arm and OCS translations since the translators seem to make the

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[11]   There are some other factors that influence the choice of P in this kind of correspondences. They are discussed in section [4] below.

choice of the constructions that they use not only based on the text of the original, but also on the basis of the resources available to them in the languages with which they are working.

[3.2]   *Gk en+Dat/eis+Acc: secondary function translated by primary function*

As expected, we find a number of passages where Gk *en*+Dat/ *eis*+Acc used with their secondary functions are translated into Goth, Arm and OCS with the help of phrases with non-cognate Ps. As it is stated in section [3], in such instances the Gk constructions are rendered with non-cognate PPs for which the semantics expressed by the Gk counterpart are primary or as a minimum frequent. Examples of this type once again support the idea of the idiomatic nature of Goth, Arm and OCS translations. Compare the following passages:

(19)   a.   ei dunatós estin <u>en déka khiliásin</u>   [Gᴋ]
               siaiu mahteigs <u>miþ taihun þusundjom</u>   [Gᴏᴛʜ]
               'whether he is able with ten thousand' (Lk 14:31)
        b.   kai periêgen <u>en hólēi têi Galilaíāi</u>   [Gᴋ]
               ew šrǰēr ȲS <u>ənd amenayn kołmn Gałiłeac'woc'</u>   [Aʀᴍ]
               'and he (Arm: Jesus) went throughout the whole region of Galilee' (Mt 4:23)
        c.   <u>en gàr toútōi</u> ho lógos estìn alēthinòs   [Gᴋ]
               <u>o semĭ</u> bo slovo jestŭ istinĭnoje   [OCS]
               'for about this the word is true' (Jn 4:37)

     In (19a) the comitative function of Gk *en*+Dat is rendered with Goth *miþ*+Dat for which this meaning is primary. The Gk passage in (19b) where *eis*+Acc denotes Path (a less frequent function for this construction) is translated in Arm with *ənd*+Acc (a regular marker of Path in this language). OCS regularly designates topic with *o*+Loc and that is why this PP becomes a counterpart of Gk *en*+Dat in (19b). All these instances in (19) exemplify how synchronic peculiarities in the distribution of the semantic load in each of these languages increase the number of possible counterparts for Gk *en*+Dat/ *eis*+Acc, in other words, how internal content affects the external form.

[4]   ᴘʀᴀɢᴍᴀᴛɪᴄ ꜰᴀᴄᴛᴏʀꜱ

Reasons for translation of Gk *en*+Dat/ *eis*+Acc by means other than their cognates could be not only purely grammatical (which were illustrated earlier), but could also reflect personal preferences, the interpretations of a translator and the pragmatic complexity of a concept and the translator's vision of the notion which is being discussed in a certain passage. Consider (20) where Gk *eis*+Acc is rendered with OCS *na*+Acc:

(20)   anébē eis tò óros   [Gᴋ]
         vŭzide na gorǫ   [OCS]
         'he went up onto the hill' (Mt 14:23)

It is feasible to suggest that (20) is an example that shows how the same situation can be interpreted through the accentuation of different domains. Thus, OCS *na*+Acc does not only act as a marker of Direction, it also specifies the notion Surface whereas Gk *eis*+Acc designates Direction and accentuates the notion of Containment. It would be wrong to propose that Gk is not sensitive to the division between Containment and Surface, because one frequently finds *epí*+Acc in passages expressing motion on top of some surface: e.g. *pâs ho pesṑn ep' ekeînon tòn líthon* 'everyone falling upon that stone' (Lk 20:18). It appears that the opposition Surface vs. Containment is not absolute in Gk in a sense that the PPs that are selected to designate these concepts do not do so exclusively. In other words, both constructions—Gk *eis*+Acc and *epí*+Acc—can mark direction connected with the notions Containment and Surface. The difference is of a quantitative nature. Gk *eis*+Acc expresses the first meaning more frequently whereas Gk *epí*+Acc tends to designate the second function with greater regularity.

We find a similar opposition in Goth where the opposition Containment vs. Surface is expressed by PPs *in*+Acc vs. *ana*+Acc, in Arm where this set is marked by PPs *i*+Acc vs. *i veray*+Gen respectively and in OCS where these notions are set apart by *vŭ+Acc* and *na+Acc* respectively. Undoubtedly, in cases like (20) the meanings of the NPs are responsible for the endorsement of the concepts Surface and Containment, but nominal semantics are not the only items that contribute here. One cannot predict the usage of Ps based on the lexical input of nominal constituents. Namely, it would be wrong to claim that if an NP denotes Surface (desert, road, etc.) then Gk *epí*, Goth *ana*, OCS *na* will be necessarily used (as it happened in the OCS translation in (20)). In addition, it is important to note that the prefix in Gk verb *an-* 'upwards, above, on the top' is also connected with the notion Surface whereas the OCS *vŭz-* 'upwards' does not exhibit such an obvious connection. And, of course, Ps also have their own semantic valency that in turn influences their syntactic particulars. Thus, our data supports the main proposition of various models of Construction Grammar suggesting the undivided continuum between form and meaning where meaning is induced by a concept and realized by a pragmatic meaning.

This proposition is also supported by the ideas expressed by Nikitina (2008) where she points out the importance of pragmatics in such cases. Having analyzed variation in spatial goals markers, Nikitina concluded that even if a language has lexicalized means to mark a certain concept (English prepositions *into* expressing goal in her case) a speaker does not have to denote this notion exclusively by this lexeme. This notion could be marked in a compositional manner; so that it is not a P, for example, but other members of a construction (verbs, particles) contribute to

the whole picture. Thus, the meaning is inferred not just from one particular component of a passage, but from a combination of sentence members whose meaning is restrained by such factors as context and the conceptualization of the event in question. In our case the conceptual pair Surface–Containment could be marked not only by the PPs mentioned above, but also, of course, by NPs or prefixes (for example, in (20) Surface is signaled by the Gk prefix *an-*) and then a translator is given a choice in his selection of a P since the concept is already marked by something else.

While rendering a passage, a translator analyzes the text based on his own prior experiences of the surrounding world and communications. Thus, using the semantic complexity and relativity of the concept in question, a translator has the option of choosing a point of view (rendition). This is another reason why in spite of a high frequency of correspondences between Gk *en/eis* and their cognates in the languages under consideration, one finds a number of correspondences between Gk *en/ eis* and non-cognate PPs. Factors related to the conceptualization of situation/event/entity also influence the translation. Compare the following correspondences:

(21)   a.   kathísas dé <u>en tôi ploíōi</u> edídasken toùs ókhlous   [Gκ]
            jah gasitands laisida <u>us þamma skipa</u> manageins   [Goth]
            'and sitting he taught people in (Goth: from) the boat' (Lk 5:3)

       b.   hóti tò <u>en anthrṓpois</u> hupsēlòn   [Gκ]
            zi or <u>aṙaǰi mardkan</u> barjr ē   [Arm]
            'for what is high among (Arm: before) men' (Lk 16:15)

       c.   outhèn heûron <u>en tôi anthrṓpōi toútōi</u> aítion   [Gκ]
            ne obrětŭ ni jedinoję <u>o člověcě semĭ viny</u>   [OCS]
            'I have not found a single fault in (OCS: about) this man' (Lk 23:14)

In (21a)–(21c) the original Greek text receives different renditions which occur not because of some grammatical particular of a language into which the manuscript is being translated. The reason is of a pragmatic nature connected with the complexity of the conceptualization of the situation in question and the fact that many situations can be viewed from different perspectives. These perspectives are made possible by contiguity of ideas, events, and experiences. And it is for this reason that translators reinterpret the original Gk passages, thus increasing the level of variation in means used to translate Gk *en*+Dat/ *eis*+Acc. Going back to (20), here we can also find an instance of such a rendition. The general conceptualization of an event is also at play here, since going up the hill will result in being on its top (Surface), however, a person/object which is moving up the hill is comparatively small and (especially from the distance) could be viewed as being a part/inside of the hill (Containment). The passages in (20) and (21) show that pragmatic and semantic factors are closely interconnected and it is difficult at times to draw strict

boundaries between them.

The pragmatic appropriateness/inappropriateness of a certain construction in a particular context is another factor that affects translation. Compare the following correspondence set:

(22)   ouaì dè taîs <u>en gastrì ekhoúsais</u>   [Gᴋ]
        gore že <u>neprazdǐnyimǔ</u>   [OCS]
        'and alas to those who are with child' (Mt 24:19)

The Gk *en*+Dat expressing the meaning 'with child' is rendered with the OCS adjective 'pregnant' (lit. 'not empty') not because OCS does not have a construction structurally parallel to that of Gk. In fact it does and we find Gk *en*+Dat translated with a construction with OCS *vǔ* in several passages, cf. (23):

(23)   sullḗmpsēi <u>en gastrì</u>   [Gᴋ]
        začǐneši <u>vǐ črěvě</u>   [OCS]
        'you shall conceive in the womb' (Lk 1:31)

However, it is likely that the translator chose the rendition with the adjective because a literal interpretation of the Gk phrase is seen by him as culturally inappropriate. Apparently, only Northern Slavic languages demonstrate the semantic extension '(with) a stomach' > 'pregnant' and Old Russian *brjuxataja* 'pregnant' is considered to be a rude term (Trubachev 1976).

[5] CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen, Gk *en*+Dat/*eis*+Acc receives an abundant selection of correspondences in Goth, Arm and OCS despite the fact that there exist cognate Ps in these languages that have relatively similar grammatical functions. The assortment of correlations ranges from phrases with Ps which are non-cognate with Gk *en*+Dat/*eis*+Acc and NPs in a variety of case forms to clausal structures. This variety is made possible for a number of reasons which are morphological, syntactic, semantic or pragmatic in nature. As it is demonstrated in this article, it is not uncommon to find instances where several of these factors influence the translation at the same time, demonstrating the complexity of the interrelations among them. The main factors that affect the translation include discrepancies in prepositional case governance and results of syncretism, differences in the inventory of prepositions available in a given language and as its outcome diversity in division of semantic space by PPs. Several pragmatic aspects that sometimes affect the choice of translational means, such as the possibility of a compositional marking of a certain concept, the complexity of an event/situation being marked, and the pragmatic appropriateness of a certain construction should also be taken into account.

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MODELING WORD ORDER VARIATION IN DISCOURSE: ON THE PRAGMATIC PROPERTIES OF VS ORDER IN OLD HIGH GERMAN

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ABSTRACT

In Old High German, verb-initial matrix declarative clauses display a variety of functions which are broadly related to discourse structure. However, the *tho*-V2 construction also correlates with the factors triggering verb-initial placement. The paper shows that the preference of the one pattern over the other cannot be explained in terms of a single, straightforward criterion. Rather, several factors influencing the choice process have to be distinguished. The paper tests the effect of these factors by using methods and tools developed to capture variability in sociolinguistics.

[1] INTRODUCTION

The present paper examines the factors that govern the selection of two functionally related word order patterns in matrix declarative clauses in Old High German (henceforth OHG). Both patterns display a post-verbal subject in the surface, i.e. VS order. In the first case, the inflected verb is in clause-initial position, preceding all remaining constituents (henceforth V1). In the second one, the sentence particle or adverb *tho*[1] (spelled also *thô* and *thó* in the manuscripts) 'then' is placed clause-initially, followed by the inflected verb in second position. This word order pattern will be referred to as *tho*-V2. The obligatory inversion of the subject and the subsequent second position of the inflected verb, immediately after the clause-initial *tho*, are commonly assumed to result from the verb-second constraint typical of modern German and obviously established already in the earliest attested periods of the language (cf. Axel 2007).

Research interested in the role of information structure in word order variation in OHG has recognized that the functions of the patterns described above are to a high extent equivalent, and that they in a similar way contribute to grounding and cohesion in discourse (Betten 1987; Petrova & Solf 2008; Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2011). More precisely, both patterns are used to indicate temporal succession of events and

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[1]   This is the cognate of OE *þa* which also regularly triggers subject-verb inversion in OE (cf. Kemenade 1987; Fuss 2003; Fuss & Trips 2009).

progress in narration. A more recent investigation by Donhauser & Petrova (2009), however, shifted the attention to a variety of conditions that seem to favor the use of the one pattern over the other. They observe that the two patterns function differently if we take into consideration the lexical class of the verb, the fine structure of the discourse, and the temporal properties of *tho*.

The main issue of the present study is to examine the interaction of these conditions by using software developed to model variability in language. Data showing variation of the two patterns in OHG are analyzed with respect to various relevant factors described in the previous literature. After that, the results of a variable rule analysis are presented that has been conducted by using Goldvarb X (Sankoff & Tagliamonte 2005), which is an established tool for modeling variability in sociolinguistics.

[2]   REMARKS ON THE CORPUS

OHG (c. 750–1050) is attested in a variety of vernacular translations from Latin and in heroic or religious poems. At the same time, no authentic prose texts from this period are handed down to us, which makes research on word order more than problematic (Fleischer 2006). In what is available, we have to assume that the attested word order patterns and constructions are not representative of native OHG grammar but rather influenced by the syntax of the Latin original or by metrical considerations.

A number of authors, however, e.g. Ruhfus (1897), Donhauser (1998), Dittmer & Dittmer (1998) have proposed a solution to this data problem. They have assumed that OHG translations provide native evidence in those cases where the vernacular text changes the constituent order of the corresponding Latin clause. Taking this restriction as a starting point, we can obtain the largest corpus of potential native structures by analyzing the OHG Tatian translation (St. Gallen Cod. 56), which provides 340 folia of bilingually attested material, thus allowing a systematic comparison of the Latin original and the OHG translation. The text is dated back to the middle of the 9th century. A number of recent philological investigations have provided important insights into the translation technique implemented in this codex and have emphasized the high value of this record for investigations on OHG word order (Masser 1997; Fleischer et al. 2008).

Project B4 of the Collaborative Research Center on Information Structure at the Humboldt University Berlin[2] has provided a database of clauses differing from the word order of the Latin structure in a relevant part of the Tatian codex (on the design and annotation principles of this corpus, cf. Petrova et al. 2009). For the purpose of this study, I extracted from this database all declarative clauses which display the two patterns to be discussed in this paper. Concerning V1 declaratives, I con-

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[2]   http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sprachgeschichte/forschung/informationsstruktur/index.php.

centrated on examples containing the adverb *tho* in clause-internal position, as a systematic comparison of the properties of post-verbal *tho* with those of pre-verbal *tho* in the *tho*-V2 construction will become relevant for the analysis. Also among the group of verb-initial declaratives, I ignored coordinate non-initial conjuncts in which the verb is in first position due to ellipsis of the subject. Similarly, potential cases of topic-drop leading to superficial V1 have been left out of consideration. All examples are cited by manuscript page and line number according the text edition by Masser (1994).

[3]   THE FUNCTIONS OF VS ORDER IN OHG

[3.1]   *Previous accounts on verb-initial declaratives in OHG*

Recent generative work on the structure of the left periphery in OHG analyzed verb-initial declaratives as matrix clauses in which the finite verb moves to C^0 but Spec,CP (traditionally called the prefield of the clause) remains empty (Axel 2007). Evidence for verb fronting to C is provided by the fact that the inflected verb appears to the left of elements that mark the right and left edge of the VP in asymmetric SOV/V2 languages like modern German. Take, e.g., verbal particles which in basic order immediately precede the verb (1) but which are regularly stranded in root contexts (2a). Additionally, we can observe that the verb appears above pronouns and light adverbs in root clauses. Under the assumption that these elements occupy the so-called Wackernagel domain, i.e. the left edge of the middlefield, immediately below C^0, we may conclude that verb fronting in root clauses targets a position in the C-domain of the clause, as represented in (2b). At the same time, no XP-movement to Spec,CP takes place in these cases, suggesting that filling of the prefield in matrix declaratives was still optional in OHG:

(1)   mit thiu her uzgieng   zí erdu
       when   he out-PRT-go-3SG.PRET to land-DAT.SG
       'when he went out to the shore'
       Lat. & cum egressus ess& ad terram   (T 87,2)

(2)   a.   árstuont   siu tho   úf
            rise-3SG.PRET she then-PRT up-PRT
            'She arose then'
            Lat. & surrexit   (T 84,14)
       b.   [CP C árstuont$_i$ [VP siu tho úf t$_i$]]

This situation allows for some important conclusions concerning the development of V2 in German. A notable observation is that the generalization of the different components of the verb-second rule, i.e. verb fronting to C and XP-movement to Spec,CP, does not occur simultaneously but rather proceeds successively, in a gradual fashion. In view of the facts presented above we can hypothesize that in the

classical OHG period, verb fronting is already firmly established, while XP-movement to the prefield is obviously not obligatory yet. Note that merging of expletive 'es' as a basic property of the V2 rule has not emerged yet in OHG but is attested towards the Middle High German period (Axel 2007). From the analysis of V1 declaratives, we can obtain insight into the factors that prevent movement to Spec,CP in the historical stages of German.

Numerous facts on the distribution of V1 declaratives in OHG are provided in traditional historical descriptions of German word order, e.g. Braune (1894), Ruhfus (1897), Diels (1906), Maurer (1924) and Behaghel (1932). The authors report on a multitude of functions of V1 clauses, pointing out a number of heterogeneous syntactic, semantic and discourse-related factors which correlate with verb-initial order in matrix declaratives in OHG. First, they recognize that V1 is preferred with a number of semantically non-related classes of predicates, such as existential 'be', verbs of motion, verbs of saying before citation, impersonal predicates, etc. Second, V1 is identified as a typical text-opening strategy, also regularly applied at episode onsets within a text. Additionally, the authors relate V1 to various effects of foregrounding, expressivity and unexpectedness.

In the more recent literature, there have been attempts at explaining the functions of verb-initial declaratives in OHG in terms of one single, very general criterion. As will become clear from the overview, none of them provides a satisfactory explanation of V1 in OHG.

Hypothesis 1: Verb-initial order as a non-native pattern signalling foreign speech

Robinson (1994) examines verb-initial declaratives in the OHG Isidor translation (c. 800). His comparison of V1 clauses in the OHG text with their Latin counterpart shows that independent evidence for matrix V1-order is rare in the Isidor text. Furthermore, Robinson discovers that Latin V1 is retained in biblical citations more often than in explanatory parts of the treatise. From this he concludes that V1 is a non-native pattern used in the translation of biblical citations as a signal of foreign speech.

Robinson's explanation is untenable with respect to the following counterarguments. First, as already outlined above, we find V1 in matrix clauses which deviate from the word order of the Latin original and must therefore be considered a genuine OHG pattern, cf. (3). Second, V1 is attested in the remaining early Germanic languages as well. It is a well-know property of Old Norse prose syntax, documented in various grammar books (e.g. Nygaard 1966, § 228; Heusler 1977, § 508) and studied extensively in the literature (Sigurðsson 1990; Leiss 2000 among others). But also in the Germanic records that are closer to the time of the OHG period[3] do we find evidence for V1 in matrix declarative clauses, e.g. in Old English (OE) (Pintzuk 1996,

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[3]   Recall that Old Norse prose is attested from the 12th century on, cf. Ranke & Hofmann (1988, 13–18).

379) and Old Saxon (OS) (Linde 2009). Below, I provide examples from the OE Blick-ling Homilies (Morris 1967), cf. (4), and from the OS Heliand (Sievers 1935), (5):

(3)   giengung   thô   zuo   gotes   engila
       go-3PL.PRET then-PRT to-PRT Lord-GEN.SG angel-NOM.PL
       'The angels of the Lord appeared'
       Lat. Et ecce angeli accesserunt   (T 50,30)

(4)   Secgge   ic þe   nu   eac
       say-1SG.PRES I you-DAT.SG now also
       'now I also tell you'   (BlickHom 201)

(5)   Lag   thar ên felis   bioban
       lay-3SG.PRET there a stone upon
       'there was a stone upon'   (Heliand 4075)

It is justified to assume, then, that V1 represents a common Germanic pattern in matrix declarative clauses.

Hypothesis 2: Verb-initial order in clauses with no thematic material
Lenerz (1984) proposed an account according to which V1 in OHG is typical for pre-sentational constructions which are fully rhematic, i.e. which convey no thematic information suitable to be placed pre-verbally in the clause (cf. also Ramers 2005). However, we can provide counterevidence against such a view. First, verb-initial declaratives with existential 'be' can also contain given information, e.g. *in thero landskeffi* 'in that region' in (6), while novel information is conveyed in the subject expression *hirta* 'shepherds' only. Moreover, apart from presentational sentences and existential constructions, we encounter evidence for verb-initial declaratives whose subjects are pronouns (7) or anaphoric DPs (8):

(6)   uuarun   thô   hirta   In thero   landskeffi
       be-3PL.PRET then-PRT shepherd-NOM.PL in DEM.DAT.SG.FEM region
       'There were shepherds in that region'
       Lat. Et pastores erant In regione eadem   (T 35,29)

(7)   quamun   sie thó
       come-3PL.PRET they then-PRT
       'Then they came'
       Lat. & uenerunt   (T 55,27)

(8) uuard   tho   giheilit   ther   kneht in
     PASSAUX.3SG.PRET then-PRT heal-PAST.PART DET.NOM.SG boy   in
     thero   ziti
     DET.DAT.SG.FEM moment-DAT.SG
     'And the boy was healed in this very moment'
     Lat. & sanatus est puer in illa hora   (T 84,7)

This means that we are in need of an explanation of V1-order in declaratives that is able to account for subject-verb inversion with both given and novel subjects in the clause.

Hypothesis 3: Verb-initial order with unaccusative verbs

According to the third hypothesis, VS-orders in general, and V1 order in Germanic in particular, are typical for intransitive unaccusative verbs whose subjects are underlying objects, thus realized in the canonical post-verbal object position in the surface, cf. Lenerz (1992). However, our database provides examples of verb-initial declaratives with transitive verbs selecting accusative objects as in (9a)–(9b):

(9) a. Intfiengun   sie tho   thes   heilantes   lichamon
         receive-3PL.PRET they then-PRT DET.GEN.SG Saviour-GEN.SG body
         'They took then the body of the Saviour'
         Lat. Acceperunt autem corpus ihesu   (T 321,29)
     b. Quad   her tho   zi then   giladoten   /
         tell-3SG.PRET he then-PRT to DET.DAT.PL invited-DAT.PL
         ratissa
         parable-ACC.SG
         'He told to the invited people the following parable'
         Lat. Dicebat autem & ad Inuitatos / parabolam   (T 180,9)

This suggests that transitive verbs are equally possible in clause-initial position in OHG.

Hypothesis 4: V1 and narrative inversion in Germanic

In the context of the remaining Germanic languages, V1 declaratives are related to the notion NARRATIVE INVERSION. It has been claimed by Santorini (1989) for Yiddish and Sigurðsson (1990) for Icelandic that V1 in declarative clauses implies a close relation to the previous statement. Therefore, V1 declaratives are said to be restricted to discourse continuative contexts and to be excluded from discourse-initial ones. But this account is untenable for the early Germanic languages on empirical grounds. In Petrova (2006) it has been shown that V1 declaratives are regularly used to introduce new discourse units not only in OHG but also in OE and OS. Furthermore, clause-initial placement of the inflected verb regularly corresponds

to graphical means of marking episode boundaries like capital initials, chapter numbers or marginal notes, as shown for the OHG Tatian text in Figure 1 on page 224.

[3.2] *A discourse-based approach to VS order in OHG*

Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2010, 2011) present a discourse-based approach aiming at a unified explanation of verb-initial declaratives in OHG. Their argumentation goes as follows: As also pointed out in the previous literature, V1 systematically appears in presentational clauses and existential constructions. The basic function of these constructions is to introduce NEW REFERENTS to the discourse. In theoretical terms, such types of clauses are subject to a further specification with respect to information structure, namely, they lack a topic-comment structure (Drubig 1992; Sasse 1995). Rather, the entire clause is in the scope of assertion, or in focus. Likewise, the remaining types of verb-initial declaratives can be unified under the property of triggering wide-scope assertion and no topic-comment division. This interpretation is prompted by the lexical semantics of the predicates as well as by the property of V1 clauses to appear discourse-initially. Motion verbs, verbs of saying before citation, phase verbs and transformative/inchoative predicates, as well as discourse-initial contexts are equally incompatible with the type of discourse linking that Asher & Lascarides (2003) call ELABORATION. Rather, clauses with these properties assert a NEW STATE OF AFFAIRS, or the initiation of a new phase in the discourse. In other words, these types of V1 declaratives are used to introduce a new situation to the discourse.

However, the functions described for verb-initial declaratives in OHG are also common to another, very frequently attested pattern, namely to the *tho*-V2 construction. It can be seen from the examples below that this pattern also occurs with existential 'be' (10), as well as with the verb classes described for V1. I present examples of motion verbs (11), verbs of saying before citation (12), and a transformative predicate (13):

(10) tho   uuas   man In hierusalem
      then-PRT be-3SG.PRET man in Jerusalem
      'There was a man in Jerusalem'
      Lat. homo erat In hierusalem   (T 37,23)

(11) thó   giengun   scalca   zuo / thes   híuuiskes
      then-PRT go-3PL.PRET slave-NOM.PL to-PRT DET.GEN.SG family-GEN.SG
      fater
      father
      'Then, the slaves of the father of the family came'
      Lat. accedentes serui / patris familias autem   (T 108,28–29)

(12) thô   quad   maria
      then-PRT say-3SG.PRET Mary
      'Then, Mary said'
      Lat. Dixit autem maria   (T 29,4)

(13) thó   uuvrdun   sie gifulte   alle / in theru
      then-PRT PASSAUX.3PL.PRET they fill-PAST.PART.PL all   in DET.DAT.SG
      samanungu gibuluhti
      synagogue   anger-DAT.SG
      'Then, all in the synagogue became filled with anger'
      Lat. & repleti sunt omnes / in sinagoga ira   (T 115,7)

Wide-scope assertion, and the lack of topic-comment structure can therefore be
identified as the common function of VS order in both V1 and *tho*-V2 declaratives
in OHG. This, in turn, implies that we encounter variation between two syntactic
patterns used to express non-elaborative relations between utterances in coherent
discourse in OHG.

   In the remainder of this paper, I will address how to assess this variation by
identifying and testing the influence of different factors and their combinations on
the choice between V1 and *tho*-V2 in declarative clauses in OHG.

[4] FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CHOICE BETWEEN V1 AND THO-V2

[4.1] *Argument structure*

VS order in general, and verb-initial declaratives in particular, are a pertinent object
of investigation not only in diachronic linguistics but in contemporary typological
studies as well. The results of a recent exhaustive examination of VS order in a va-
riety of Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages are summarized in Sasse
(1995). Here, an important distinction is made between VS orders proper, and cases
in which the clause-initial placement of a particular constituent obligatorily trig-
gers inversion of the subject. These two sub-classes are therefore comparable to
the patterns examined for OHG in this study.

   One of the factors that according to Sasse (1995) favors the use of VS construc-
tions from a typological perspective is MONOARGUMENTALITY. This is a cover term
used for a number of formally heterogeneous constellations in which the predicate
selects only one nominal argument. Next to strict intransitives, the class of monoar-
gumental predicates also includes passive and medio-passive constructions, reflex-
ives as well as predicates which select a clausal argument.

   Predicates of this kind constitute the major part of the evidence for V1 declara-
tives in the OHG corpus. Data for V1 order with strict intransitives and with passives
were given in (3), (6), (7) and (8) above. Here, I provide examples of V1 with reflex-
ives (14) as well as with matrix verbs selecting clausal arguments (15):

(14) gioffonota   sih thô   sliumo   sîn mund
      open-3SG.PRET REFL then-PRT suddenly his mouth
      'His mouth was opened suddenly'
      Lat. apertum est autem ilico ós eius   (T 30,32)

(15) gisahun   tho   thie buohhara   inti pharisei   / thaz her
      see-3PL.PRET then-PRT DET scribe-NOM.PL and Pharisee-NOM.PL   that he

      áz   mit then   suntigon
      eat-3SG.PRET with DET.DAT.PL sinful-DAT.PL
      'the scribes and the Pharisees saw that he had supper with the sinful people'
      Lat. & uidentes scribe & pharisei...   (T 91,13–14)

Therefore, we will examine the relevance of the factor MONOARGUMENTALITY for the choice between V1 and *tho*-V2 in the data.

[4.2] *Lexical semantics*

Sasse (1995) outlines a number of LEXICAL CLASSES OF PREDICATES reported to correlate with VS order cross-linguistically. Among these are existential verbs, verbs denoting the appearance/disappearance of a referent, psych-verbs,[4] verbs of utterance/emotions, etc. OHG is completely consistent with the situation found cross-linguistically. I already provided examples of clauses with existential 'be' in (6) and of verbs denoting the appearance of a referent (cf. (3) and (7) above). Apart from this, V1 is also attested in OHG in clauses denoting the withdrawal of a referent from the scene, cf. (16). Finally, verb-initial order is regularly found with psych-verbs (17) as well as with verbs of utterance (18):

(16) arfuor   tho   / fon Iru   ther engil
      depart-3SG.PRET then-PRT   from she-DAT.SG.FEM DET angel
      'the angel left her'
      Lat. & decessit / ab illa angelus   (T 29,6–7)

(17) uuard   thô   forhta ubar alle Iro   nahiston
      become-3SG.PRET then-PRT fear   above all her-DAT.PL relative-DAT.PL
      'all her relatives were caught by fear'
      Lat. & factus est timor super omnes uicinos eorum   (T 31,2)

(18) quad   her thô
      say-3SG.PRET he then-PRT
      'then he said'
      Lat. ait   (T 47,19)

A further remarkable property of the predicates triggering VS cross-linguistically is

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[4] Psych(ological) verbs are a class of predicates whose argument structure involves an Expriencer as a subject, like *like*, *hate*, *worry/become worried* or *fear*.

that they do not form a natural class but are semantically heterogeneous. As Sasse points out, in none of the languages examined is "VS [...] explicitly confined to or automatically triggered by a well-defined homogeneous semantic class of predicates" 1995, 23. OHG is obviously no exception in this respect. However, Donhauser & Petrova (2009) observe a peculiar mismatch between the frequencies with which the different classes of VS-triggering predicates appear in the V1 and the *tho*-V2 construction in OHG. Whereas V1 seems to impose no restrictions on the lexical class of the predicate, *tho*-V2 appears to be especially frequent with verbs of saying before citation. Therefore, the lexical class of the predicate is an important feature to be tested in relation to the choice between V1 and *tho*-V2 in OHG.

[4.3]   *Aktionsart*

A further semantic factor reported to correlate with verb-initial order in modern languages allowing VS is related to aspectuality, more precisely to the AKTIONSART of the predicate. Sornicola (1995) reports that matrix verbs containing one of the features [+Ingressive], [+Punctual], [+Resultative] strongly favor VS order in Spanish and Italian.

In the literature on early Germanic, it has often been assumed that there is a close relation between the aspectual semantics of the verb and its position in the clause (see Hopper 1979 on OE). In its most explicit form, this hypothesis is advocated by Leiss (2000), who claims that clause-initial verb placement is a perfectivization strategy in Old Norse. It is hard to generalize this function for all cases involving a clause-initial verb in OHG, e.g. for existential 'be'. But apart from this, it is obvious that verbs in clause-initial position often display the prefix *gi-* (19), which is considered an overt marker of perfectivity in OHG (cf. Schrodt 2004, 2–4). Furthermore, we find in clause-initial position verbs that are inherently perfective (20) as well as the verb *beginnan* 'to begin' (21) including related verbs expressing the initiation of a new state of affairs. It is especially revealing that verbs which are standardly used in a stative/durative meaning like *gilouban* 'to believe'[5] in (22) receive an inchoative reading if used clause-initially. In the translation of (22), the context requires the use of additional lexical means of enforcing the interpretation that the utterance is not about a general attitude of the disciples to Jesus but about a single occasion in which they became convinced by his words:

(19)   giforhtun   sie   In   thô   In mihhilero   forhtu
        fear-3SG.PRET they   he-ACC then-PRT in great-DAT.SG fear-DAT.SG
        'and they were caught by great fear'
        Lat. & timuerunt timore magno   (T 36,2)

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[5]   Note that the prefix *gi-* in *gilouban* 'to believe' cannot be interpreted as a perfectivization marker as the compound verb is regularly attested in its usual durative meaning.

(20) uuard tho gitan / mihhil stilnessi
PASSAUX.3SG.PRET then-PRT do-PAST.PART great calm
'it [the weather] became very calm'
Lat. & facta est / tranquilitas magna (T 86,24–25)

(21) bigondun tho thenken / thie buohhara inti
begin-3PL.PRET then-PRT think-INF DET scribes-NOM.PL and
pharisei
Pharisees-NOM.PL
'The scribes and the Pharisees began to think'
Lat. & ceperunt cogitare / scribae & pharisei (T 89,14–15)

(22) giloubtun in inan thó sine iungiron
believe-3PL.PRET in he-ACC then-PRT his disciple-NOM.PL
'his disciples became convinced by his words/started to believe in his words'
Lat. crediderunt in eum discipuli eius & (T 56,10)

[4.4] *Temporal properties of referential* tho

Donhauser & Petrova (2009) observe a further difference between the V1 and *tho*-V2 construction in OHG which relates to the information-structural properties of *tho* as a temporal adverbial. In those cases where reference to a time interval can be clearly established, the following properties of *tho* can be distinguished: On the one hand, *tho* can refer to a novel, indefinite time interval introduced as the topic time[6] of a new episode. In this case, *tho* represents new information in the discourse. In (23), e.g., *tho* is identical with the temporal adjunct *in anderemo sambaztag* 'on another Sabbath' which establishes the topic time of a new episode. On the other hand, *tho* may refer to the situation time of the utterance, which is embedded in the topic time of the previous event or section. Cf. (24), in which *tho* refers to a time span already established in the preceding section (here, the presentation in the temple, Lk 2:21–39). *Tho* represents contextually given information in this case.

(23) uuas thó giuuortan in anderemo
PASSAUX.3SG.PRET then-PRT become-PAST.PART in another-DAT.SG
sambaztag
Sabbath
'It happened on another Sabbath'
Lat. Factum est in alio sabbatum autem (T 106,6)

(24) tho uuas man In hierusalem
then-PRT be-3SG.PRET man in Jerusalem
'A man lived in Jerusalem at that time'
Lat. homo erat in hierusalem (T 37,23)

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[6]   I use the terms 'topic time' and 'situation time' in the way argued for by Klein (1994).

According to the analysis of Donhauser & Petrova (2009), the information-structural properties of *tho* correlate with its syntactic position in the clause. On a broad scale, novel *tho* prototypically appears post-verbally, thus giving rise to V1 in the surface, while given *tho* is canonically realized pre-verbally, thus leading to subject inversion in the clause.

A further sub-case has to be distinguished in which *tho* does not refer to the entire interval introduced in the previous discourse but rather to a section within it. In this case, *tho* is information-structurally accessible by virtue of the fact that it is in a part-whole relation to a previously established entity in the discourse. In most of the cases, accessible *tho* behaves like given *tho*.

Consider the small discourse in (25) which demonstrates the prototypical distribution of *tho* found in Tatian. The first clause opens a new episode in the story. In the Latin text, this is marked by capitalization of the initial in *Et* 'and' as well as by concordance notes signalling the change to another part of the New Testament (cf. Figure 1 on page 224). In this clause, *tho* refers to a new, indefinite time interval established as the topic time of the entire section, and follows the clause-initial verb *gieng* 'he went'. In the subsequent dialogue part, *tho* refers to the situation time of each clause, which takes successive sub-intervals of the pre-established topic time. The adverb *tho* is information-structurally accessible and occupies the initial position in the clause.

(25)   #1 gieng tho zuo / ein buochari inti quad imo [...] /#2 tho quad imo ther heilant [...] / #3 tho quad her zi andaremo man [...]
        '#1 After that, a certain scribe came and said to Him [...] #2 Then, the Saviour said to him [...] #3 Then, He said to another man [...]'
        Lat. #1 Et accedens / unus scriba. ait illi [...] / #2 & dicit ei ihesus [...] / Ait autem ad alterum   (T 85,21–29)

Certainly, the information-structural properties of *tho* are difficult to tag, in that there are instances varying between the different categories in this factor group, thus demanding the personal judgement of the annotator. Take, e.g. (14), repeated as (26), referring to the story about the Nativity of John the Baptist, namely to the event when Zacharias is given back his voice (Lk 1:59–79):

(26)   gioffonota   sih thô   sliumo   sîn mund
        open-3SG.PRET REFL then-PRT suddenly his mouth
        'His mouth was opened suddenly'
        Lat. apertum est autem ilico ós eius   (T 30,32)

On the one hand, *tho* can be related to the situation time in which voice is restored to Zacharias. This prompts an interpretation of *tho* as accessible because it is part of the previously established topic time interval. Alternatively, we can interpret

this clause as introducing a new phase in the narrative, namely the one in which Zacharias is able to speak again. This time interval is by no means identical with the topic time of the previous part of the narrative, so novelty of *tho* seems justified here as well. Because of these ambiguities, the factors motivating the assignment of the category 'new' to *tho* should be explained in some detail.

In its most explicit form, novel *tho* is part of the introductory clause of a completely new story. More precisely, *tho* is coreferent with an overt temporal adverbial establishing a new time span as in (23), or it is interpreted as an indefinite time adjunct, as in the opening conjunct in (25). In the latter case, proper translations are 'once', 'some day' etc. But apart from this, *tho* can also establish the topic time of a sub-section, as in (6) above, which introduces a new sub-episode in the story about the Nativity of Christ (Lk 2:1–20), or as in (9b), where we remain within an on-going dispute between Jesus and the Pharisees, but where a new parable starts (Lk 14:7–10). Finally, *tho* can establish a new phase within an episode, e.g. a turning point in the narrative, which initiates a series of subsequent events. This applies to the examples in (2a), (7), (17), (20), (22) above.

At the same time, there are exceptions in which post-verbal *tho* is accessible (18) or given (8). Note that in the latter instance, *tho* quite explicitly refers to the definite interval *in theru ziti* 'at this very moment', which is clearly given.

[5] VARIABLE RULE ANALYSIS

I conducted a variable rule analysis using the statistics package Goldvarb X (Sankoff & Tagliamonte 2005). I tagged for the above mentioned factors 65 V1 clauses with post-verbal *tho* and 97 *tho*-V2 clauses which I extracted from the Tatian database described in section [2]. I defined as a dependent variable the type of pattern involved in the clause. The factors that I distinguished within the independent variables, also called factor groups, are given in Table 1 on page 222.

The outputs that are of importance for the interpretation of the results are significance, factor weight, and step-up/step-down analysis.

Let us look at the results for significance and factor weight, cf. Table 2 on page 222. The first output shows us whether or not a factor group is statistically significant at the .05 level. It is important to know that this output applies for the entire factor group, i.e. it does not indicate which particular factor within a factor group causes the effect on the dependent variable. This is rather provided by factor weight. This output indicates the degree to which each individual factor influences the presence of the dependent variable in the data set. Factor weight is expressed as a probability between 0 and 1 for each factor within each factor group, with 0.5 and below indicating no effect on the choice process.

The results of the statistical analysis show that each factor group examined in the study has a highly significant effect on the dependent variable, i.e. all factor groups include factors that have a strong favoring effect on the choice of V1 over

Independent factor groups	Factors
Argument structure	monoargumental predicates
	non-monoargumental predicates
Lexical semantics	existential *be*
	verbs of saying
	motion verbs
	rest
Aktionsart	[+Ingress] [+Punct] [+Result]
	unmarked contexts
Information-structural properties of *tho*	new
	given
	accessible
Total of factors	11

TABLE 1: Overview of independent factor groups

Independent factor groups	Significance	Factors	Factor weight
Argument structure	p=0.001	monoargumental predicates	0.596
		non-monoargumental predicates	0.404
Lexical semantics	p<0.001	existential *be*	0.889
		verbs of saying	0.251
		motion verbs	0.974
		rest	0.655
Aktionsart	p<0.001	[+Ingress] [+Punct] [+Result]	0.817
		unmarked contexts	0.445
Information-structural properties of *tho*	p<0.001	new	0.942
		given	0.299
		accessible	0.419

TABLE 2: Results for significance and factor weight

tho-V2 in the corpus. Let us look at the individual factor weights which the software produced for each group.

For argument structure, we have one value above 0.5. But this does not automatically indicate a strong effect of the factor on the dependent variable (cf. Tagliamonte 2006, 145). Rather, we have to compare the values obtained for all factors in the group. In this case, we can see that the values for the two factors are close to each other, and that one of them is only slightly above 0.5. This means that although the significance of the factor group is statistically very high, the effect of the individual factors is not particularly strong on the choice of V1 over *tho*-V2 in the corpus.

However, within the remaining factor groups, we can isolate factors that are extremely relevant for the use of V1, and such that clearly disfavor V1. Let us look at lexical semantics first. Here, all factors except verbs of saying have a strong favoring effect on V1 in OHG, most significantly motion verbs and existential 'be'. This confirms the observation made initially by Donhauser & Petrova (2009) that *tho*-V2 shows a strong preference for verbs of saying, while other predicates correlating with VS order in OHG are more or less equally represented with V1 declaratives.

Furthermore, the outputs for Aktionsart confirm that features like [+Ingressive], [+Punctual] and [+Resultative] correlate with V1 more regularly than with *tho*-V2. Finally, the examination of the information-structural properties of *tho* yields an important result for our analysis: if *tho* refers to a novel, indefinite time interval, then the probability to have V1 in the surface is significantly higher than with the other factors distinguished in this group.

A powerful feature of Goldvarb X is the step-up/step-down analysis which tests all possible combinations of factor groups to find out those which yield the most statistically significant results. In other words, the program identifies those combinations which allow for the most factor groups to be included while staying below p=.05. Let us look at the output of the step-up/step-down analysis for our corpus data. The most statistically significant result (p=0.025) is identified for the combination of *tho* representing a novel time interval with a verb which is non-specified for verb class and which is unmarked for Aktionsart. This shows that not only is each factor group significant but also the combination of the three is below the threshold for statistical significance. But at the same time, it can be deduced that that novelty of *tho* is the factor that contributes to the statistically significant results of the step-up/step-down analysis, since given and accessible *tho* have low factor weights.

[6]   CONCLUSION

The results of the statistical analysis confirmed the significance of the factors related to V1 in the previous literature. But now we are in a position to make more precise statements on the validity of the factors reflected before. Accordingly, while monoargumentality turns out to play a role in the selection of both patterns, prop-

erties related to Aktionsart and information structure are very strong factors for the use of verb-initial declaratives in OHG.

The analysis also led to results concerning factors that disfavor V1 in the data set. E.g., among the lexical classes favoring VS order in OHG in general, verbs of saying are more strongly associated with *tho*-V2 than with V1.

Another result can be read off the variable rule analysis. It demonstrates the high significance of the information structural properties of *tho* for the choice of V1 in discourse: the novelty of the time interval referred to by *tho* triggers V1 significantly more often even in those contexts in which other relevant factors for V1 do not apply. This, in turn, is consistent with previous observations on the role of information structure for syntactic variation in the left periphery of matrix clauses in OHG. It has been shown elsewhere that with expressions referring to individuals, movement to Spec,CP in OHG is related to those phrases which show properties of canonical sentence topics, i.e. referentiality, givenness/specificity, definiteness/identifiability etc. (cf. Petrova & Solf 2008, Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2011). From the perspective of the present study, we can extend this generalization to expressions referring to situations: novelty and indefiniteness of the time interval referred to by the temporal adverbial *tho* prevent its movement to Spec,CP, while canonical properties of topicality like reference to a contextually given and identifiable interval favor its initial positioning in the clause.

APPENDIX

FIGURE 1: St. Gallen Cod. 56; 85, 21–24; Codices Electronici Sangallenses http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/csg/0056/85/medium

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