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*IBAI MAG BLINDS BLINDANA TIUHAN?* (LUKE 6,39).  
PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS AND SYNTACTIC STRATEGIES  
IN THE GOTHIC LEFT SENTENCE PERIPHERY

Nowadays it is commonly accepted that in the old and modern Indo-European languages the so-called left periphery of the sentence marks the interface between syntax and discourse/context features. The present paper deals with the analysis of the left sentence periphery in Gothic. For this purpose the behaviour of the following linguistic elements will be analysed: (a) interrogative particles; (b) sentence introducers in relative clauses; (c) textual connectors. On the basis of the consideration – corroborated through interlinguistic comparison – that the discourse layer finds a specific formalization in the syntactic structure, the main aim of the present study is to investigate how and to what extent a different pragmatic function of the aforementioned elements correlates with a specific syntactic representation. The interference role of the Greek and Latin source texts will also be taken into consideration, mainly in order to ascertain whether the grammaticalization processes which those elements underwent were either induced or implemented by the models. Finally, it will be proved that a deeper understanding of the sentence structure can fruitfully be applied to text-based hermeneutics, since it allows to better recognize those variation phenomena within the Gothic language which are detectable in the lucky – albeit scanty – evidence provided by the double-recension textual portions.

*Lo studio della sintassi ci offre una buona messe di spunti  
destinabili a rimuovere la visione statica del gotico cui  
la documentazione nel suo carattere quasi unitario ci costringe.<sup>1</sup>*

1. Recent syntactic research has come to the conclusion that from the theoretical point of view clauses can be organized in roughly three layers. The lowest one is the lexical projection normally headed by the Verb (V); at a higher level, there is the inflectional layer headed by the Inflection (I); finally, there is the highest functional portion of sentence structure which is headed by the

<sup>1</sup> Piergiuseppe Scardigli, *Lingua e storia dei Goti*, Firenze 1964, p. 174; cf. Id., *Die Goten. Sprache und Kultur*, München 1973, p. 148.

Complementizer (C) and links the clause either to the matrix sentence or to the discourse.

(1)

C-PROJECTION (link to a matrix sentence or to discourse / outwards oriented)
I-PROJECTION (tense, number, person, structural case / inwards oriented)
V-PROJECTION (verb plus its arguments)

Each layer of this tripartite organization has been shown to be split into sub-units. Thus, for example, Larson has postulated a more finely grained architecture of Verb Phrase (VP) which has ultimately led to the introduction of new functional elements.<sup>2</sup> Pollock has focused his attention on the Inflection Phrase putting forward several arguments in favour of splitting up the Inflection.<sup>3</sup> Rizzi has convincingly argued that the highest functional portion, the C-system, needs to be subdivided too.<sup>4</sup> His research has led to the so-called ‘split-CP Hypothesis’ that postulates a distinction of ForceP for the syntactic representation of illocutionary force, TopP for topical material, FocP for focused material, and FinP which is largely motivated by the fact that complementizers are sensitive to the finiteness or non-finiteness of the selected IP. As will be discussed in the next section, these components

<sup>2</sup> Richard Larson, “On the Double Object Construction”, *Linguistic Inquiry* 14 (1988), pp. 223-249.

<sup>3</sup> It has been proposed to separate projections for tense (TP), agreement (AGRsP, AGRoP), negation (NegP) and various others. Jean-Y. Pollock, “Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP”, *Linguistic Inquiry* 20 (1989), pp. 365-424.

<sup>4</sup> Luigi Rizzi, “The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery”, in *Elements of Grammar*, ed. by Liliane Haegeman, Dordrecht 1997, pp. 281-337.

encode different functions, since some are fixed while others are activated only when needed.

In this article, the attention will be limited to the C-system of the Gothic language, and even within this boundary a comprehensive discussion is not pursued. The study will concentrate on three main element types that are hosted in the CP, and that convey its core function of linking the clause either to its matrix or to the ongoing discourse; namely the elements which introduce non-canonical interrogatives,<sup>5</sup> relative pronouns and discourse particles. Thus, the main aim of this paper is to highlight the diverse discourse features encoded in the Gothic left sentence periphery. In this respect, aspects such as the relative frequency of a construction will be taken into account only when strictly necessary for the discussion of the core subject, given also that the number of frequency studies published since the 19th century is huge.<sup>6</sup>

2. The analysis of the C-system proposed by Rizzi postulates a fixed component, involving the heads specifying Force and Finiteness, and an accessory component involving the heads of Topic and Focus, which are activated when needed, i.e. when there is a topic or focus constituent to be accommodated in the left periphery of the clause.<sup>7</sup>

This means that the primary role of the complementizer system is the expression of Force (the position in which the various clause types are signalled: declarative, interrogative, exclamative, relative, comparative, different types of adverbial clauses, etc.) and Finiteness (the specification distinguishing at least between finite and non finite clauses). According to Rizzi, we may think of Force and Finiteness as two distinct heads closing off the complementizer system upwards and downwards, respectively (and perhaps coalescing into a single head in the simplest cases). The need for two distinct positions becomes apparent when the Topic/Focus field is activated. The sequence of CP-projections proposed by Benincà,<sup>8</sup> who slightly modi-

<sup>5</sup> While a canonical question requests an answer, a non-canonical question does not, since its function is to express a certain attitude of the speaker towards the propositional content of the clause.

<sup>6</sup> A brief survey on this topic is available in Raffaella Del Pezzo, “*Letip þo barna gaggan du mis ...*”. Esempi di ipotassi nella lingua gotica”, in *Intorno alla Bibbia gotica*, a cura di V. Dolcetti Corazza e R. Gendre, Alessandria 2008, pp. 165-174.

<sup>7</sup> Rizzi, “The Fine Structure ...”.

<sup>8</sup> Paola Benincà, “The Position of Topic and Focus in the Left Periphery”, in *Current Studies in Italian Syntax*, ed. by G. Cinque and G. Salvi, Amsterdam 2001, pp. 39-64.

fies Rizzi's one on the basis of the assumption that inside the CP we find at least one projection higher than ForceP, is the following:

(2) *DiscourseP – ForceP – TopicP – FocusP – FinitenessP*

As will be shown below, in Gothic, just like in many other ancient Indo-European languages, it is possible to find strategies to mark different structural positions within the CP domain in order to convey different information both on a semantic and a pragmatic level.<sup>9</sup>

Whilst aware of the theoretical difficulties of assessing these structural positions in a language which is no longer spoken by natives and is attested only through a limited written corpus,<sup>10</sup> it is nonetheless my conviction that, since Gothic is a natural language, much can be done through a comprehensive study of word order and sentence structure. Furthermore, Gothic enjoys a privilege, in that at least Wulfila's translation permits a stricter comparison with the alloglot models (mainly Greek and, to a minor extent, Latin) which he has supposedly taken as the basis for his work. This does not mean that Gothic and Greek may be uncritically compared; the fact remains that the models used by Wulfila for his translation are unknown, though Bernhardt and Streitberg have tried to reconstruct the Greek source text.<sup>11</sup> Obvi-

<sup>9</sup> G. Ferraresi / M. Goldbach, "Discourse Particles in Some Ancient Indo-European Languages", in *Indogermanistik, Germanistik, Linguistik*, hrsg. von Maria Kozińska et al., Hamburg 2004, pp. 75-92; on Sanskrit: Mark Hale, *Wackernagel's Law in the Rigveda*, unpubl. manuscript, University of Concordia 1995; on Hittite: Andrew Garrett, *The Syntax of Anatolian Pronominal Clitics*, PhD diss., Harvard University 1990; on Archaic Latin and various older forms of Germanic: Paul Kiparsky, "Indo-European Origins of Germanic Syntax", in *Clause Structure and Language Change*, ed. by A. Battye and I. Roberts, Oxford 1994, pp. 140-169; see also: Benjamin W. Fortson, *Indo-European Language and Culture*, Oxford 2004, in particular p. 145; T. Foster / W. van der Wurff, "From Syntax to Discourse: The Function of Object-Verb Word Order in Late Middle English", in *Studies in Middle English Linguistics*, ed. by J. Fisiak, Berlin 1997, pp. 135-156; A. van Kemenade / B. Los, "Discourse Adverbs and Clausal Syntax in Old and Middle English", in *The Handbook of the History of English*, ed. by A. van Kemenade and B. Los, Oxford 2006, pp. 224-248.

<sup>10</sup> For a synthetic overview of the Gothic manuscripts, and for references, see: Carla Faluomini, "I manoscritti dei Goti", in *Intorno alla Bibbia gotica*, a cura di V. Dolcetti Corazza e R. Gendre, Alessandria 2008, pp. 211-248.

<sup>11</sup> Ernst Bernhardt, *Vulfila oder die gothische Bibel. Mit dem entsprechenden griechischen Text und mit kritischem und erklärendem Commentar nebst dem Kalender, der Skeireins und den gotischen Urkunden*, Halle 1875; Wilhelm Streitberg (Hrsg.), *Die gothische*

ously, the lack of a reliable reconstruction of the model makes it harder to determine whether the apparent deviations actually convey something about syntax or style, or simply reflect an alternative reading in the unknown base text. Yet, much can be done from the methodological point of view. In this respect, the theoretical framework one chooses to adopt turns to be crucial, since it is endowed with a heuristic value.<sup>12</sup> What has successfully been made in the last few decades, within a more formal syntactic theory,<sup>13</sup> is to compare not single lexical items, but rather either ‘systems’ (e.g. the pronominal system) or syntactic phenomena as a whole (e.g. passivization, reflexivization, relativization), thus allowing a higher degree of abstraction that has led to both more fine-grained generalizations and safer cross-linguistic comparison. This is exactly the theoretical framework which will be adopted in this study.

Unless stated otherwise, the examples will be taken from Piergiuseppe Scardigli’s enlarged and revised edition of Streitberg’s *Gotische Bibel*.<sup>14</sup> Streitberg’s attempt to reconstruct the unknown Greek source, printed on the left-hand pages of his edition, has been criticized since it is considered too dependent on the theories of Hermann von Soden. According to the latter, the Gothic

*Bibel*, I. *Der gotische Text und seine griechische Vorlage. Mit Einleitung, Lesarten und Quellennachweisen sowie den kleineren Denkmälern als Anhang*, Heidelberg 1908. 2. verb. Aufl., Heidelberg 1919. See also: Friederich Kauffmann, “Der Stil der gotischen Bibel”, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 48 (1919), pp. 7-80, 165-235 and 349-388. The Gothic biblical translation is apparently based on the Antiochene-Byzantine recension of Lucian the Martyr (ca 312), which was a Greek text dominant in the diocese of Constantinople. There are also traces of influence from Latin translations of the Bible dating back to the pre-Vulgate era: “Der griechische Text, den er [= Vulfila] für das Neue Testament benutzte, scheint in der Hauptsache antiochenisch gewesen zu sein, aber mit vielen westlichen Lesarten und mit einigen alten nicht-westlichen”. Caspar R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*. II. *Übersetzungen*, Leipzig 1902, p. 730.

<sup>12</sup> “[...] however good a description of data may be, if it is not grounded in a formal syntactic theory it misses important correlations”. Gisella Ferraresi, *Word Order and Phrase Structure in Gothic*, Leuven / Paris / Dudley (MA) 2005, p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Giuseppe Longobardi, “Problemi di sintassi gotica. Aspetti teorici e descrittivi”, tesi di laurea, Università di Pisa, 1978; Wayne Harbert, *Gothic Syntax. A Relational Grammar*, PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1978; Gisella Ferraresi, “Die Stellung des gotischen Verbs im Lichte eines Vergleichs mit dem Althochdeutschen”, tesi di laurea, Università Ca’ Foscari Venezia, 1992; Thórhallur Eythórsson, *Verbal Syntax in the Early Germanic Languages*, PhD diss., Cornell University, Ithaca (NY), 1995.

<sup>14</sup> Wilhelm Streitberg (Hrsg.), *Die gotische Bibel*, I. *Der gotische Text und seine griechische Vorlage. Mit Einleitung, Lesarten und Quellennachweisen sowie den kleineren Denkmälern als Anhang*, 7. Aufl., mit einem Nachtrag von Piergiuseppe Scardigli, Heidelberg 2000.

version was almost entirely based on the Antiochene-Byzantine recension known as the *Koine*, thus disregarding the possible alternative readings whose presence is nonetheless undeniable.<sup>15</sup> For this reason, it has been chosen to compare the Gothic text with Nestle and Aland's *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th edition), which relies considerably on manuscripts of the Alexandrian text-type.<sup>16</sup> The English text provided as an 'interlinear translation' is the authorized King James version of the Bible, now available at the Oxford Text Archive website.<sup>17</sup>

3. In Gothic, canonical *yes/no* questions and *wh*-questions are introduced, respectively, by a null element (John 6,61: *qap du im: þata izwis gamarzeiþ?* lit. '[he] said to them: that you trouble?') and a *wh*-element which typically occurs at the beginning of the clause (*was* 'who', *hva* 'what', *duhe* 'why', *hwapar* 'which [out of two]', *hwarjis* 'which [out of more than two]'). However, many other particles can be found in interrogatives which play a crucial role in the structuring of the information for the organization of the textual units, as well as for the interaction management (that is, the management of the mutual exchanges between the participants to the discourse).

4. The enclitic particle *-u* marks *yes/no* questions in both direct and indirect speech.<sup>18</sup> In direct speech, at a first and quite superficial glance it seems to fulfil the role of word-order in English ('interrogative inversion'), or of the *do*-support.<sup>19</sup> In indirect speech, it is equivalent to English 'if' or 'whether'.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cf. B. F. Westcott / F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*. II. *Introduction, Appendix*, London 1882, p. 158.

<sup>16</sup> Nestle / Aland (eds), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, post Eberhard et Erwin Nestle ed. vice-sima septima revisa, communiter ediderunt Barbara et Kurt Aland [...], Stuttgart 1999; Klaus Wachtel, "Varianten in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments", in *Varianten – Variants – Variantes*, hrsg. von C. Jansohn und B. Plachta, Tübingen 2005, pp. 25-38.

<sup>17</sup> <<http://ota.ahds.ac.uk>>. Useful tools to browse the Gothic Bible are available at the "Wulfila Project" website, hosted by the University of Antwerpen: <<http://www.wulfila.be/>>.

<sup>18</sup> The interrogative particle *-u* has an exact correspondence in Vedic *u* 'and, also'.

<sup>19</sup> There may not be enough evidence to let us safely assume that *-u* can cliticize to a *wh*-constituent, since the analysis of the form *hwapþan* in *hwapþan habais þatei ni namt?* (Cor. I 4,7) as 'what-*u*-*uh*-þan' is only tentative, being an isolated sequence whose underlying structure is more likely to be the following: 'what-*uh*-þan'. As for *-uh*, see below (§ 8).

<sup>20</sup> *-u* also occurs in both clauses of the independent, disjunctive questions that bear no specific interrogative pronoun: *þu(u) is sa qimanda þau anþaranu wenjaima?* 'Are you the one who is coming, or are we to expect another?'

The practice of forming questions with an enclitic in this way seems to be a genuine feature of Gothic, not reflected in the Greek model. Usually, Gothic preserves the word order of the Greek in such questions, differing only in the insertion of the enclitic, as shown in the examples below (direct interrogatives 3a-c; indirect interrogatives 4a-b):<sup>21</sup>

(3)

a. Mark 10,38:

<sup>CA</sup> *ip̃ Iesus qaβuh du im: ni wituts hvis bidjats: magutsu driggkan stikl panei ik driggka, jah daupeinai βizaiei ik daupjada, ei daupjaindau?*

‘But Jesus said unto them, Ye know not what ye ask: can ye drink of the cup that I drink of? and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?’

ὁ δὲ ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, οὐκ οἶδατε τί αἰτεῖσθε. δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω, ἢ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι;

b. Luke 9,54:

<sup>CA</sup> *gasaihvandans þan siponjos is Iakobus jah Iohannes qeβun: frauja, wileizu ei qibaima, fon atgaggai us himina jah fraqimai im, swe jah Heleias gatawida?*

‘And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did?’

ιδόντες δὲ οἱ μαθηταὶ ἰακώβος καὶ ἰωάννης εἶπαν, κύριε, θέλεις εἶπωμεν πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναλῶσαι αὐτούς[, ὡς καὶ ἡλίας ἐποίησεν];<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> CA = Uppsala, Universitetsbibliothek, DG 1 + Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz (‘Codex Argenteus’). The digital version of the facsimile edition of the Codex Argenteus (*Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis. Iussu senatus Universitatis phototypice editus*, cur. O. von Friesen et A. Grape, Uppsala 1927) is now available at the following website: <<http://www.ub.uu.se/arv/codexeng.cfm>>.

<sup>22</sup> The addition quoted in square brackets can be found in the so-called ‘Byzantine Textform’ as recently published by Robinson and Pierpont (*The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform 2005*, compiled and arranged by M. A. Robinson and W. G. Pierpont, Southborough (MA) 2005 [1st ed. 1991], p. 148). The Nestle / Aland edition (see above, § 2, fn. 16), which reflects a predominantly Alexandrian text-base, does not include this reading.

c. John 18,22:

<sup>CA</sup> *īþ þata qīþandin imma, sūms andbahte <at>standands gaf slah lofin Iesua qabuh: swau andhafjis þamma reikistin gudjin?*

‘And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying: Answerest thou the high priest so?’

ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος εἷς παρεστηκὼς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἔδωκεν ῥάπισμα τῷ ἰησοῦ εἰτόν, οὕτως ἀποκρίνη τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ;

(4)

a. John 7,17:

<sup>CA</sup> *jabai huas wili wiljan is taujan, ufkunnaiþ bi þo laisein framuh guda sijai, þau iku fram mis silbin rodja.*

‘If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself.’

ἐάν τις θέλῃ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν, γνώσεται περὶ τῆς διδαχῆς πότερον ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἢ ἐγὼ ἀπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ λαλῶ.

b. Matthew 27,49:

<sup>CA</sup> *īþ þai anþarai qeþun: let, ei saihvam, qimaiu Helias nasjan ina.*

‘The rest said, Let be, let us see whether Elias will come to save him.’

οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἔλεγον, ἄφες ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔρχεται ἡλίας σώσων αὐτόν.

Three syntactic properties of this particle are crucial:

- (a) it generally occurs after the first prosodic word;
- (b) it is in complementary distribution with non-clitic complementizers;
- (c) it is optional, since we find *yes/no* questions also without *-u*.<sup>23</sup>

As for the first two properties, a clue to the nature of the incorporation is given by the existence of ‘near-inseparable’ prefixes, which are attested not only in Gothic, but also in Old Irish (Celtic) and Old Lithuanian (Baltic). According to Thórhallur Eythórsson, this type of prefixes represents an intermediate stage between the archaic Indo-European (IE) preverbs and the

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Philip Scherer, “The Gothic Interrogative and the Problem of the Enclitic *-u*”, *Word* 24 (1968), pp. 418-426; Oscar F. Jones, “The Interrogative particle *-u* in Germanic”, *Word* 14 (1958), pp. 213-223.



inseparable prefixes.<sup>24</sup> The relevant point here seems to be that in Gothic, Old Irish and Old Lithuanian second position clitics (i.e. those elements that follow the so-called ‘Wackernagel’s Law’) attach to a finite verb which is fronted to initial position *in clauses not introduced by a lexical complementizer*. In the case of prefixed verbs the clitics occur ‘infix’d between the prefix and the finite verb (Prefix-clitic-Verb):

(5)

a. Mark 8,23:

<sup>CA</sup> *jah fairgreipands handu þis blindins ustauh ina utana weihsis jah speiwands  
in augona is, atlagjands ana handuns seinos frah ina gauhvasehi?*

‘And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town; and when he had spit on his eyes, and put his hands upon him, he asked him if he saw ought.’

καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ τυφλοῦ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς κώμης,  
καὶ πτύσας εἰς τὰ ὄμματα αὐτοῦ, ἐπιθείς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ, ἐπηρώτα αὐτόν,  
εἴ τι βλέπεις;

b.

*frah ina [ga-u-hva-sehvi*

asked him P-Q-something-see.3sg.opt.

‘He asked him if he saw anything’

On the other hand, in many early IE languages (other than Gothic), the clauses containing a lexical complementizer show the following order: Comp-clitic-Prefix-Verb, i.e. the clitics generally occur to the left of the prefixed verb. How can we account for the mismatch exhibited by the verbs with ‘near-inseparable’ prefixes? A hypothesis is that the compounding occurs syntactically, given the aspectual function of many of the prefixes in question.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Thórhallur Eythórsson, *Verbal Syntax* ....

<sup>25</sup> Thórhallur Eythórsson, “Functional Categories, Cliticization and Word Order in the Early Germanic Languages”, in *Studies in Germanic Syntax II*, ed. by Höskuldur Thráinsson *et al.*, Dordrecht 1996, pp. 109-139.

It may be assumed that these elements are the lexical content of a functional projection Aspect Phrase (AspP). By successive head raising the verb moves from its base position in VP up to the head of AspP, where the aspectual prefix is base generated. Then the prefix-head complex moves further up to C, where the clitics adjoin to the leftmost lexical head. Thus, the prefix-verb complex moves together to a higher functional head position (C), where the clitics may attach to the prefix as the leftmost head. At later stages the “near-inseparable” prefix base-generated in Asp was reanalysed as a verbal prefix, added to the verb in the lexicon.<sup>26</sup>

As for the optionality of the use of *-u* in interrogatives, it is interesting to note that, when introduced by a *verbum dicendi/rogandi*, a good amount of *yes/no* questions in Gothic bears no interrogative mark at all:

(6)

John 6,61:

<sup>CA</sup> *ip witands Iesus in sis silbin þatei birodidedun þata þai siponjos is, qap du im: þata izwis gamarzeiþ?*

‘When Jesus knew in himself that his disciples murmured at it, he said unto them, Doth this offend you?’

εἰδὼς δὲ ὁ ἰησοῦς ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅτι γογγύζουσιν περὶ τούτου οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, τοῦτο ὑμᾶς σκανδαλίζει;

Thus, if some (or at least partial) conclusions had to be drawn, matching all the pieces of information gathered so far, it could be maintained that the presence of this clitic modifies the interrogative force adding an ‘emotive flavour’, so that the clause acquires a different interpretation. More specifically, the interrogative turns into a *surprise* or *disapproval* question, i.e. in a clause that is uttered for expressing either astonishment or disappointment on the part of the speaker.<sup>27</sup>

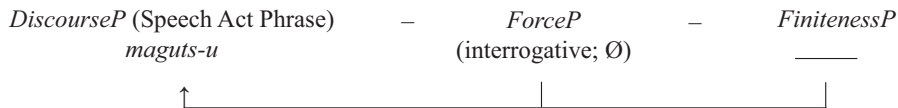
Contrary to what is postulated by Ferraresi, who assumes that this clitic should be placed in the CP Focus-projection, it could be considered as an element more likely related to discourse features, which encodes the sentence roles of ‘speaker’ and ‘hearer’. Therefore the presence of a Speech

<sup>26</sup> Is this perhaps the trigger for the change from aspectual *ga-* (encoded in grammar) to the *ga-* that codifies actionality (encoded in the lexicon)? Cf. Alfredo Trovato, “Sulla funzione del prefisso *ga-* nella morfologia verbale del gotico”, in this volume.

<sup>27</sup> Ferraresi, *Word Order ...*, p. 149.

Act Phrase could be postulated, say within the DiscourseP domain, which handles the reference to Speaker and Addressee (or to first and second person features):<sup>28</sup>

(7)



An argument in favour of this hypothesis is that *-u* cliticizes to any constituents that appear in first position, included those which can be taken to be Hanging Topics (HT).<sup>29</sup> HTs are canonically placed in the Discourse Phrase, i.e. a projection which is higher than FocusP: *þau [ainzu ik jah Barnabas] ni habos waldufni du ni waurkjan?* (Cor. I 9,6) ‘Or [I only and Barnabas], have not we power to forbear working?’.

The fact that *-u* is in complementary distribution with non-clitic complementizers points to the possibility that the phonetically unrealized ForceP-head (Ø) is identified through sufficiently specific inherent features due to the presence of a *verbum dicendi/rogandi* in the matrix clause.

This analysis seems to find confirmation in the embedded clauses, where Gothic shows verb fronting with *yes/no* questions in contrast to the Greek as a strategy to avoid using a complementizer (which would block the introduction of *-u*):<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The possibility that *-u* can be generated in different heads, depending on the non-canonical interrogative type it has to mark, shouldn’t be neglected. A detailed discussion of this subject, however, goes far beyond the boundaries of the present study.

<sup>29</sup> By Hanging Topics are meant those topical elements which are not completely integrated in the syntactic structure of the sentence. They differ from left dislocated elements in that the latter are integrated in the sentence. In many languages, Left Dislocation movement requires the presence of a resumptive pronoun in the following part of the clause; for example Ital. *La pipa* (LD), *la fumi?* vs *La pipa ...* (HT), *ho lasciato quella nuova sul tavolo*. Structurally, it has been suggested that Hanging Topics activate a DiscourseP-projection. Cf. Benincà, “The Position of Topic and Focus ...”.

<sup>30</sup> A = Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S 36 sup. + Torino, Biblioteca Universitaria Nazionale F. IV. 1Fasc. 10 (‘Codex Ambrosianus A’); B = Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S 45 sup. (‘Codex Ambrosianus B’). The independent behaviour of Gothic in these contexts is echoed in

(8)

a. Luke 14,31:

<sup>CA</sup> *aipþau has þiudans gaggands stigqan wipra anþarana þiudan du wigan  
<i>na, niu gasitands faurþis þankeiþ, siaiu mahteigs miþ taihun þusund-  
jom gamotjan þamma miþ twaim tigum þusundjo gaggandin ana sik?*

‘Or what king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?’

ἢ τίς βασιλεὺς πορευόμενος ἐτέρῳ βασιλεῖ συμβαλεῖν εἰς πόλεμον οὐχὶ καθίσας πρῶτον βουλευέσεται εἰ δυνατός ἐστιν ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ὑπαντῆσαι τῷ μετὰ εἴκοσι χιλιάδων ἐρχομένῳ ἐπ’ αὐτόν;

b. Mark 3,2:

<sup>CA</sup> *jah witaidedun imma hailidediu sabbato daga, ei wrohidedeina ina.*

‘And they watched him, whether he would heal him on the sabbath day; that they might accuse him.’

καὶ παρετήρουν αὐτόν εἰ τοῖς σάββασιν θεραπεύσει αὐτόν, ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν αὐτοῦ.

c. Cor. II 2,9:

<sup>A+B</sup> *dubþe gamelida ei ufkunnau kustu izwarana, sijaidu in allamma ufhausjandans.*

‘For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things.’

εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἔγραψα ἵνα γνῶ τὴν δοκιμὴν ὑμῶν, εἰ εἰς πάντα ὑπήκοοί ἐστε.

The example reported in (8c) shows that, as far as word order is concerned (see, in particular, the fronted position of the verb *sijaidu*), A and B are in perfect accordance with each other against the Greek. This can be taken as proof in favour of the substantial autonomy of the ‘core grammar’ of the Gothic language from its model(s), since it seems to resist a lot of interference phenomena.<sup>31</sup>

Scardigli’s words: “er [= Wulfila] gab sich dem Vorbild anheim, *soweit dies nur möglich war*” (italics mine). Scardigli, *Die Goten*. ..., p. 112.

<sup>31</sup> On the notion of ‘core grammar’ see Noam Chomsky, *Knowledge of Language. Its Nature, Origin, and Use*, New York 1986.

5. Rhetorical force in non-canonical questions is conveyed through non-clitic particles to be found in the leftmost position of the clause, namely *ibai/(jau)* if a negative answer is expected (cf. Lat. *num*)<sup>32</sup> and *niu* < \**ni-u*<sup>33</sup> if a positive answer is expected (cf. Lat. *nonne*).<sup>34</sup>

(9)

a. Luke 6,39:

<sup>CA</sup> *qarpuh þan gajukon im: ibai mag blinds blindana tiuhan? niu bai in dal gadriusand?*

‘And he spake a parable unto them, Can the blind lead the blind? shall they not both fall into the ditch?’

εἶπεν δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς: μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὀδηγεῖν; οὐχὶ ἄμφοτεροὶ εἰς βόθυνον ἐμπεσοῦνται;

b. Cor. I 9,1:

<sup>A</sup> *Niu im apaustaulus? niu im freis? niu Iesu Xristau fraujan unsarana sahu? niu waurstw meinata jus sijuþ in fraujin?*

‘Am I not an apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? are not ye my work in the Lord?’

οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐλεύθερος; οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος; οὐχὶ ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα; οὐ τὸ ἔργον μου ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν κυρίῳ;

c. Skeireins 8,5:

<sup>Lat5750</sup> [...] *Sai, jau ainshun þize reike galaubidedi imma aiþþau þize Fareisaie [...]*

‘Look, none of the rulers or Pharisees have believed in him, have they?’

Interestingly enough, a remarkable variation appears in one of the rare occurrences of double transmission of a verse belonging to the *Epistles*:

<sup>32</sup> Another way of asking a rhetorical question when the answer ‘no’ is expected makes use of a lexical strategy (e.g. *waitei ik Iudaius im?* (John 18,35) lit. ‘Maybe I am a Jew?’) which will not be treated here.

<sup>33</sup> Winfred Ph. Lehmann, *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary*, based on the third edition of the *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache* by Sigmund Feist, Leiden 1986, p. 265.

<sup>34</sup> Lat5750 = Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. lat. 5750, ff. 57/58, 59/60, 61/62.

d. Cor. II 13,5:

<sup>A</sup> *silbans fraisip sijaidu in galaubeinai; silbans izwis kauseip, þau niu kunnup izwis þatei Iesus Xristus in izwis ist? nibai aufto ungakusanai sijup.*

<sup>B</sup> *izwis silbans fragip sijaidu in galaubeinai; silbans izwis kauseip, þauh niu kunnup þatei Iesus Xristus in izwis ist? ibai aufto ungakusanai sijup?*

‘Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves. Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?’

ἑαυτοὺς πειράζετε εἰ ἐστὲ ἐν τῇ πίστει, ἑαυτοὺς δοκιμάζετε: ἢ οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκετε ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι ἰησοῦς χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν; εἰ μὴτι ἀδόκιμοὶ ἐστέ.

While A reads *nibai* (actually, an exclamative clause which expresses surprise on the part of the speaker and which would probably have required the proper punctuation mark according to contemporary use), B reads *ibai*, thus allowing for an interpretation that turns the exclamative into a rhetorical question where a negative answer is expected. The illocutionary force of the sentence has thus changed. This example, as well as others that will be discussed below, illustrates that – scanty as the evidence may be – a comprehensive study of the variant reading available can help shed some new light on how the Gothic text underwent a slight process of reuse and reinterpretation through time.

Unlike *-u*, these non-clitic particles are obligatorily present since they contribute to the interpretation of the interrogatives as rhetorical questions. Thus, from the theoretical point of view it is plausible to place them in the Force domain.<sup>35</sup>

From the cross-linguistic point of view an analogy has been drawn with the German modal particles, in particular with *schon*, which contributes to the interpretation of a *wh*-question as a rhetorical one: *Wer wird die Treppe putzen?* ‘Who will clean the stairs?’ vs *Wer wird die Treppe schon putzen?* ‘Nobody will clean the stairs = I shall have to do it myself’.<sup>36</sup>

To contradict an *ibai*-rhetorical question and say ‘actually yes’, the particle *raihtis* is used, which finds a possible functional parallel in the German *doch*:

<sup>35</sup> Ferraresi, *Word Order ...*, p. 146. It should also be mentioned that if it is selected by a verb of fearing, *ibai* works as a complementizer, since it introduces a subordinate clause. This use is limited to the *Epistles*; therefore it is considered more recent than the interrogative meaning. Cf. Longobardi, *Problemi di sintassi gotica ...*

<sup>36</sup> Ferraresi, *ibid.*, p. 145.

(10)

Rom. 10,18:

<sup>A</sup> *akei qiba: ibai ni hausidedun? raihtis: and alla airþa galaiþ drunjus ize jah and andins midjungardis waurda ize.*

‘But I say, Have they not heard? O yes, they did, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.’

ἀλλὰ λέγω, μὴ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; μενοῦνγε, εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.

6. Another question particle, *an*, may appear at the leftmost position of the clause. The whole Gothic Bible shows just five occurrences of *an*, all listed below:

(11)

a. Luke 3,10:

<sup>CA</sup> *jah frehun ina manageins qibandans: an hva taujaima?*

‘And the people asked him, saying, What shall we do then?’

καὶ ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ ὄχλοι λέγοντες, τί οὖν ποιήσωμεν;

b. Luke 10,29:

<sup>CA</sup> *ip is wiljands uswaurhtana sik domjan qap du Iesua: an has ist mis nehundja?*

‘But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?’

ὁ δὲ θέλων δικαιῶσαι ἑαυτὸν εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν ἰησοῦν, καὶ τίς ἐστίν μου πλησίον;

c. Luke 18,26:

<sup>CA</sup> *qebun þan þai gahausjandans: an has mag ganisan?*

‘And they that heard it said, Who then can be saved?’

εἶπαν δὲ οἱ ἀκούσαντες, καὶ τίς δύναται σωθῆναι;

d. John 9,36:

<sup>CA</sup> *andhofjains jah qap: an has ist, frauja, ei galaubjau du imma?*

‘He answered and said, Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him?’

ἀπεκρίθη ἐκεῖνος καὶ εἶπεν, καὶ τίς ἐστίν, κύριε, ἵνα πιστεύσω εἰς αὐτόν;

e. John 18,37:

<sup>CA</sup> *paruh qab imma Peilatus: an nuh biudans is þu?*

‘Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then?’

εἶπεν οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ πιλάτος, οὐκοῦν βασιλεὺς εἶ σύ;

The interrogative element is followed by *nuh* once (John 18,37, the whole translating the complex Greek particle οὐκοῦν); in the remaining occurrences it is followed by another interrogative: *hva*, *huas*. It is generally agreed that the particle *an* refers back to what has just been said as a sort of conclusion or request for clarification; on these grounds, a close parallel with the English *then* and the German *denn* has been drawn (e.g. *Wie heißen sie denn?* ‘What is their name, then?’).<sup>37</sup> Though the parallel is undeniable, it is probable that the Gothic particle conveys features more likely linked to the Discourse domain, rather than simply to the Force domain, which is already visible due to the presence of the *wh*-element in the majority of cases and the interrogative inversion in one instance (John 18,37). Therefore, it will be assumed that *an* encodes the attitude of the speaker towards the addressee, in that an explanation is asked for. Consequently, contrary to Ferraresi,<sup>38</sup> it is postulated that this element should be located into the aforementioned Speech Act Phrase.

Thus, to sum up, the situation presents itself as follows:<sup>39</sup>

(12)

<i>DiscourseP</i> (Speech Act Phrase)	–	<i>ForceP</i>	–	<i>FinitenessP</i>
-u (surprise, disappointment)		<i>ibai</i> (rhetorical questions –)		
<i>an</i> (request for explanation)		<i>niu</i> (rhetorical questions +)		

7. Gothic relative clauses are introduced by the complementizer *ei* (an invari-

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Jörg Meibauer, *Modaler Kontrast und konzeptuelle Verschiebung*, Tübingen 1994; Werner Abraham, ‘The Grammaticalization of the German Modal Particles’, in *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, ed. by E. C. Traugott and B. Heine, vol. II, Amsterdam 1991, pp. 331-380.

<sup>38</sup> Ferraresi, *Word Order ...*, pp. 172-174.

<sup>39</sup> This is a tentative scheme, since the exact positions within every single node needs to be further defined.



able element), which mostly appears cliticized either on a demonstrative pronoun or on a personal pronoun (both inflective elements). Thus, in the majority of cases the demonstrative forms a phonological unity with the particle:

(13)

John 9,19:

<sup>CA</sup> *jah frehun ins qipandans: sau ist sa sunus izwar þanei jus qipip þatei blinds gabaurans waurþi? haiwa nu saihvip?*

‘And they asked them, saying, Is this your son, *who* ye say that he was born blind? how then doth he now see?’

Not infrequently, case attraction is found in relative constructions, namely a linguistic phenomenon in which the relative word shows the same case as the antecedent in the matrix clause, instead of the case assigned by the predicate of the embedded clause. The choice of which case is realized depends on the relative obliqueness of the cases involved. The obliqueness hierarchy criterion states that case-conflict is won by the most oblique case: genitive overrides dative, which overrides accusative, which overrides nominative. In other words, the more oblique of the two cases is the one which gets realized, while the lower case fails to be overtly licensed. The examples (based on Harbert’s influential essay on Gothic relative clauses) are the following:<sup>40</sup>

(14)

a. *ip þamm-ei leiti fraletada leiti frijod*  
 but whom.DAT little is.forgiven little loves  
 ‘But (the one) whom little is forgiven loves little’ (Luke 7,47)

b. *þo-ei ist us Laudeikaion jus ussiggwaid*  
 which.ACC is from Laodicea you read  
 ‘And read (the one) which is from Laodicea’ (Col. 4,16)

In (14a), the relative pronoun receives dative case inside the relative clause and should receive nominal case from the main clause. Since dative is more

<sup>40</sup> Wayne Harbert, “Gothic Relative Clauses and Syntactic Theory”, in *On Germanic Linguistics: Issues and Methods*, ed. by I. Rauch *et al.*, Berlin 1992, pp. 109-146 (p. 111).

oblique than nominative, the relative pronoun appears in the dative form. On the other hand, in (14b) the internal case of the relative pronoun, nominative, is less oblique than its external case, accusative, so the relative pronoun appears in the accusative form. The same phenomenon is found in other older Indo-European languages (Greek included) as well as in other Germanic languages, as shown below:<sup>41</sup>

(15)

OE *wæpengewrixles* [*þæs* *þe* [*hi* .... *wið*  
 weapon-trading.GEN which.GEN that they against  
*Eadweardes afaran* \_\_\_ *plegodon*]]  
 Eadward's sons played  
 'in the trading of blows which they had played against the sons of  
 Eadward'

(Battle of Brunanburh, ms. D, 51-52)

(16)

OHG *Mit worton* [*then* Ø [*er* *thie altun forasagon* \_\_\_ *zaltun*]]  
 with words.DAT which.DAT before the old prophets told  
 'with words, which previously the old prophets had told'

(Otfrid, 17,38)

(17)

OS *thes uuïdon rikeas giuuanð,*  
 the.GEN wide kingdom.GEN end  
 [*thes* Ø [*he* \_\_\_ *giuualdan scal*]]  
 which.GEN he hold will  
 'the end of the kingdom over which He will rule'

(Héliand, 268)

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Marina Buzzoni, "L'adozione di modelli formali nella linguistica germanica: prospettive ecdotiche ed ermeneutiche", in *La linguistica germanica oggi: bilanci e prospettive*, atti del XXXIV Convegno AIFG, Genova, 6-8.6.2007, a cura di C. Händl e C. Benati, Genova 2008, pp. 69-89.

The difference between the other Germanic languages and Gothic basically consists in that only the latter shows a subset of relatives in which case-conflict is regularly resolved by reference to markedness, namely: (a) the free relatives without a phonologically realized noun head, as shown in 14a-b,<sup>42</sup> (b) a few instances of relatives with lexical noun heads in which the invariable element (*ei/izei/sei*)<sup>43</sup> is separated from the preceding pronoun:

(18)

Matthew 7,15:

<sup>CA</sup> *atsaihvīþ sweþauh faura liugnapraufetum þaim izei qimand at izwis in wastjom lambe, iþ innaþro sind wulfos wilwandans.*

‘Beware of false prophets those that come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.

προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασιν προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰσὶν λύκοι ἄρπαγες.

Example (18) provides evidence in favour of the hypothesis that attraction of this type is native to Gothic, since it occurs independently of the Greek in which the pronoun features the nominative case licensed by the embedded clause.

In Old English, Old High German, and Old Saxon case attraction seems instead to be either endowed with a higher degree of optionality or triggered by semantic features like aspect, (in)definiteness, multiple valence.<sup>44</sup> The far more predictable syntactic behaviour of Gothic seems to correlate with two factors. As for the free relative clauses, it has been suggested that the pronoun should be interpreted not as a relative inside of CP, but as “the demonstrative head of the NP and that the Spec[ifier]-C position, the position of the relative pronoun, is occupied by a phonologically null-relative operator, OP.”<sup>45</sup> As

<sup>42</sup> Examples like [*bishammeh [saei habaiþ] gibada imma*] (Mark 4,25) lit. ‘to whom who has, to him will be given’ = ‘For he that hath, to him shall be given’ demonstrate that, when the noun head is phonologically realized, the pronoun (*saei*) can take the case requested by the relative clause. The presence of the resumptive personal pronoun *imma* in the matrix clause shows that *bishammeh* is a dislocated constituent.

<sup>43</sup> The last two forms are built on the personal pronoun: *izei* < \**is* (m.) + *ei*; *sei* < \**si* (f.) + *ei*. They may appear both as variable elements, thus as relative third person sg. pronouns, and as invariable ones, thus used also in plural contexts too; see (18) below.

<sup>44</sup> Jiri Janko, “Case Attraction Construction in Old High German”, in *New Insights in Germanic Linguistics III*, ed. by I. Rauch and G. F. Carr, New York etc. 2002, pp. 67-105.

<sup>45</sup> Harbert, “Gothic Relative Clauses ...”, p. 112.

for the relative clauses with lexical noun heads, a clue to a possible interpretation of the phenomenon is given by the fact that in these sentences attraction takes place only when the relative pronoun is separated by the relative particle. According to Karin Pittner:<sup>46</sup>

[t]his probably holds because the relative pronoun is released from its subordinating function and therefore it is less necessary to indicate by case assignment that it belongs to the relative clause. In other words, elements with the feature [+C] are neither subject to case attraction nor to deletion. If there are separate words to lexicalize [+C], the relative pronoun does not bear this feature and therefore can be attracted or deleted under certain circumstances.

This hypothesis links the phenomenon with the notion of C-visibility progressively taking over case-visibility, as shown by Pittner for the history of German. Fortunately, the following contrastive examples taken from the Gothic seems to point to a similar developing pattern, since the witness which appears to be slightly younger on palaeographical grounds (that is, B) is also the one which regularly presents the transparent form *izei* against the more opaque *ize* reported in A. Furthermore, as expected since the relative relation is expressed through two separate words, (19a) shows attraction of the pronoun, while in (19b) the pronoun is deleted:

(19)

a. Cor. II 5,21:

<sup>A</sup> *unte hana ize ni kunþa frawaurht, faur uns gatawida frawaurht, ei weis waurþeima garaihte gudis in imma.*

<sup>B</sup> *unte hana izei ni kunþa frawaurht, faur uns gatawida frawaurht, ei weis waurþeima garaihte gudis in imma.*

‘For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.’

τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ.

<sup>46</sup> Karin Pittner, “The Case of German Relatives”, *The Linguistic Review* 12 (1995), pp. 197-231 (p. 222).

b. Cor. II 8,16:

<sup>A</sup> *abþan awiliuþ guda, ize gafþo samon usdaudein faur izwis in hairto Teitaus;*

<sup>B</sup> *abþan awiliud guda, izei gafþo samon usdaudein faur izwis in hairto Teitaus;*

‘But thanks be to God, which put the same earnest care into the heart of Titus for you.’

χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῷ δόντι τὴν αὐτὴν σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τίτου,

c. Eph. 2,17:

<sup>A</sup> *jah qimands wailamerida gawairþi izwis juzei fairra jah gawairþi þaim ize nehva;*

<sup>B</sup> *jah qimands wailamerida gawairþi izwis juzei fairra jah gawairþi þaim izei nehva;*

‘And came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh.’

καὶ ἔλθων εὐηγγελίσαστο εἰρήνην ὑμῖν τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς ἐγγύς,

This leads to a second diachronic remark. The ‘relative’ use of the self-standing particle *ei* can be traced back to – at least – two different genealogical stages, as its different syntactic function indicates.

The first stage is the one in which *ei* encodes ‘temporal and modal features’; it is restricted to a few phrases like: *jah ni magands rodjan und þana dag ei wairþai þata* ‘[thou shalt be dumb] and not be able to speak, until the day that this should happen’ (Luke 1,20); *fram þamma daga ei anabaþuþ mis* ‘from the time that it befell me’ (Neh. 5,14). In these contexts *ei* behaves like a sort of ‘universal connector’ and its function seems to be coherent with the reconstructed etymology, since it has been interpreted as deriving from a locative form of the Indo-European pronominal root *\*/e/-*.<sup>47</sup>

The second stage is represented by the cliticization of *ei* to the demonstrative/personal pronoun in order to form a ‘relative connector’. Here, case attraction is found only in free relative clauses, since there is no separate lexicalizer of the feature [+C].<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the use of Latin *quod* (in sentences like: *tertius est dies quod audivi*, Plin. jr., *Ep.* iv,27); Armenian *et’e, t’e*; Old Slavonic *da*; Persian *ki*. Émile Benveniste, “La conjonction *ei* dans la syntaxe gothique”, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 47 (1951), pp. 52-56; Giuseppe Longobardi, “Nota sulla funzione coordinante del got. *ei*”, *Studi e saggi linguistici* 20 (1980), pp. 221-231; Paolo Ramat, *Introduzione alla linguistica germanica*, 2a ed. riv., Bologna 1988, p. 130.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Harbert, “Gothic Relative Clauses ...”; Pittner, “The Case of German Relatives”.

The third and final stage is the one in which *ei* (*/izei/sei*) occurs as a single item and bears the feature [+C] in order to make the force of the subordinate clause visible. Only at this stage, in lexical noun head relative clauses, can the pronoun either be attracted or deleted according to the aforementioned obliqueness hierarchy criterion, since it becomes less necessary to express by Case assignment its role within the subordinate clause.<sup>49</sup> Thus, *ei* belongs properly to the CP-domain in that it connects the embedded clause to the matrix sentence. The ‘universal connector’ has been reanalyzed as a ‘subordinating conjunction’.

8. The Gothic left sentence periphery seems to be populated by quite a huge number of so-called ‘discourse particles’, whose specific function within the economy of the whole text has often been underestimated (the only exceptions being Klein and the fourth chapter of the volume recently published by Gisella Ferraresi).<sup>50</sup>

For the sake of brevity, it shall be assumed that ‘discourse particles’ are those items which do not operate in the referential (or truth-conditional) domain, i.e. they do not display lexical semantics in the narrow sense and therefore cannot be used to denote elements of the propositional content of the sentence. Another assumption made, based on previous studies of ancient Indo-European languages, is that<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The frequent occurrence of *dar/thar* (a particle whose original meaning is locative) in Old and Middle High German relatives showing case attraction (even against the Latin model, when present) points to the same developing pattern: OHG *annuzi mines fater thes dar in himile ist* vs Lat. *faciem patris meis qui in caelis est* (Tatian 153,6); *sin suester thes thar tot uuas* vs Lat. *soror eius qui mortuus fuerat* (Tatian 232,30); this pattern probably developed through constructions like *enti quad za dem dar uaron* (Monsee-Wiener Mt 26,71), where the invariable element still keeps the original locative meaning. For a discussion about the diachronic variations in the licensing of the case attraction construction in OHG, see Janko, “Case Attraction ...”. This is also in line with Kiparsky’s theoretical assumptions in “Indo-European Origins ...”, where an expansion of the category which he labels C into two distinct positions – each with a precise function – is postulated.

<sup>50</sup> Jared S. Klein, “Gothic *paruh*, *panuh* and *-(u) pan*”, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 99 (1994), pp. 253-276; Ferraresi, “Word Order ...”, pp. 125-176. Latin particles are extensively treated in Caroline Kroon, “Discourse Particles, Tense, and the Structure of Latin Narrative Texts”, in *Latin in Use. Amsterdam Studies in the Pragmatics of Latin*, ed. by R. Risselada, Amsterdam 1998, pp. 37-61; see also Caroline Kroon, *Discourse Particles in Latin. A Study of nam, enim, autem, vero and at*, Amsterdam 1995. On Hittite: Folke Josephson, *The Function of Sentence Particles in Old and Middle Hittite*, Uppsala 1972.

<sup>51</sup> Ferraresi, “Word Order ...”, p. 127.

[...] sentence particles of various languages are always concerned with the same syntactic spectrum, namely the C-system (classically P1 and P2 elements) [...]. Most particles occur in declarative main clauses. Their frequency and varieties diminish in subordinate clauses, in *wh*-constructions and in non-*realis* mood. This signifies that sentence function and modality, i.e. categories that go beyond the sentential syntax, influence the distribution of the particles.

These items are of crucial importance within the economy of the whole text, since they are the means by which the information structure of the sentences is conveyed (e.g. new information vs old information; prominent vs less prominent events in the main story-line, etc.) and the ‘narrator’ interacts with the reader/hearer.

Previous research has mainly focused on those particles which signal thematic continuity vs discontinuity. This line of reasoning has led, for example, to the conclusion that Go. *iþ* marks topic discontinuity – being thus comparable with Lat. *autem* –, but is also endowed with a contrastive function. On the other hand, Go. *ak* – similar to *iþ* in its adversative meaning – differs from it as for the explanatory function with respect to what has been said before:<sup>52</sup>

(20)

a. John 7,7:

<sup>CA</sup> *ni mag so manaseþs fijan izwis, iþ mik fijaip; unte ik weitwodja bi ins þatei waurstwa ize ubila sind.*

‘The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil.’

οὐ δύναται ὁ κόσμος μισεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἐμὲ δὲ μισεῖ, ὅτι ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά ἐστιν

b. John 15,21:

<sup>CA</sup> *ak þata allata taujand izwis in namins meinis, unte ni kunnun þana sandjandan mik.*

‘But all these things will they do unto you for my name’s sake, because they know not him that sent me.’

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Klein, “Gothic *þaruh*, ...”, pp. 253-276; Ferraresi, *ibid.*, pp. 150-155.

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσουσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου, ὅτι οὐκ οἶδασιν τὸν πέμψαντά με.

The following example is striking, in that it illustrates how the same textual unit found in two witnesses of the *Epistles*, A and B, has undergone reanalysis on the part of the B-scribe, who replaced *ip* with *ak*. The latter was probably felt more appropriate since no shift in the discourse topic takes place in this sentence (*arbaidjai* does not signal discontinuity with respect to *ni hlifai*; rather, it adds further information to the ongoing discourse):

(20)

c. Eph. 4,28:

<sup>A</sup> *saei hlefī, þanaseiþs ni hlifai, ip mais arbaidjai, waurkjands swesaim handum þiuþ, ei habai dailjan þaurbandin.*

<sup>B</sup> *saei hlefī, þanaseiþs ni hlifai, ak mais arbaidjai, waurkjands swesaim handum þiuþ, ei habai dailjan þaurbandin.*

‘Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.’

ὁ κλέπτων μηκέτι κλεπτέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ κοπιᾶτω ἐργαζόμενος ταῖς [ιδίαις] χερσὶν τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἵνα ἔχη μεταδιδόναι τῷ χρεῖαν ἔχοντι.

Syntactically speaking, *ip* and *ak* seem to activate a Topic-projection within the CP.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, the clitic *-uh*, etymologically related to Sanskrit *ca*, Latin *-que* and Greek *-τε*,<sup>54</sup> is said to be endowed with a discourse-continuative function, in that it introduces a new element in the discourse.<sup>55</sup> Thus, *-uh* is not simply a ‘coordinating particle’, but rather a cohesive element working at a textual level, as shown by the fact that it can co-occur with *jah* ‘and’ in the same clause domain, also independently of the Greek:

<sup>53</sup> Ferraresi, *ibid.*, pp. 172-173.

<sup>54</sup> Berthold Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 2. Teil, Strassburg 1987.

<sup>55</sup> Klein, “Gothic *þaruh*, ...”.



(21)

Eph. 4,8:

<sup>A</sup> *in þizeī qīþīþ: ussteigands in hauhiþa ushanþ hunþ jah atuhgaf gibos mannam.*

‘Wherefore he saith, When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.’

διὸ λέγει, ἀναβάς εἰς ὕψος ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

It should be noticed, however, that the use of the two conjunctions in the same environment is typical of the *Epistles* rather than of the *Gospels*. This seems to corroborate Klein’s hypothesis that *-uh* underwent a change both in usage and in the semantics which resulted in an augmentation of its occurrences (both with and without *jah*), probably due to its being reanalyzed as a discourse organizational particle according to the following functional development: conjunction → element endowed with a discourse-continuative value → cohesive clitic.<sup>56</sup>

What is not so often discussed is the fact that this ‘variation’ is appreciable within the Gothic corpus itself, in which some readings of B differ from the correspondent readings of A only for the presence of *-(u)h*:

(22)

a. Eph. 4,27:

<sup>A</sup> *ni gibīþ staþ unhulþin.*

<sup>B</sup> *nih gibaiþ staþ unhulþin.*

‘Neither give place to the devil.’

μηδὲ δίδοτε τόπον τῷ διαβόλῳ.

b. Cor. II 12,2:

<sup>A</sup> *wait mannan in Xristau faur jera ·id·, jabþe in leika ni wait, jabþe inu leik ni wait, guþ wait, frawulwanana þana swaleikana und þridjan himin;*

<sup>B</sup> *wait mannan in Xristau faur jera fidwortaihun, jabþe in leika ni wait, jabþe inuh leik ni wait, guþ wait, frawulwanana þana swaleikana und þridjan himin;*

<sup>56</sup> *-uh* plays a role in segmenting the text into hierarchical units. The fact that *-uh*, unlike *jah*, can only connect two sentences and not single constituents within the same sentence (*attan jah aiþein* ‘father and mother’ (John 6,42) vs the ungrammatical *\*attan-uh aiþein*) demonstrates that the two conjunctions act at different textual levels. Cf. Klein, “Gothic *þaruh* ...”, pp. 260-276.

‘I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such an one caught up to the third heaven.’

οἶδα ἄνθρωπον ἐν χριστῷ πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων – εἴτε ἐν σώματι οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα, ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν – ἀρπαγέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ.

c. Cor. II 12,3:

<sup>A</sup> *jah wait pana swaleikana mannan, jabbe in leika jabbe inu leik ni wait, guɓ wait,*

<sup>B</sup> *jah wait pana swaleikana mannan, jabbe in leika jabbe inuh leik nih wait, guɓ wait,*

‘And I knew such a man, (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth:)

καὶ οἶδα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον – εἴτε ἐν σώματι εἴτε χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα, ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν –

From the structural point of view, sequences like: *ip Iesus iddjuh* (Luke 7,6) ‘but Jesus went-uh’, *ip is qabuh* (John 9,17) ‘but he said-uh’, *ip Iesus uzuh-hof augona iup* (John 11,41) ‘but Jesus lifted up his eyes’ – i.e. *ip* + definite NP + V-uh – speak in favour of a position of this element in a lower part of the CP-domain (at least lower than the Topic-position activated by *ip*). More precisely, -uh should be set somewhere between Topic/FocusP and FinP.

9. If the notions of Topic/Focus have been employed also in the study of ancient texts – albeit with different degrees of formalization –, a much disregarded subject is how the notions of ‘foreground’ and ‘background’ are encoded.

Hopper argues for the distinction between background events and foreground events in narrative, signalled by variation along the qualities of the subject – such as animacy or humanness –, the predicate verb – such as aspect or tense marking –, and the voice of the clause.<sup>57</sup> A paradigmatic example showing how these notions are grammaticalized is to be found in Swahili, where the predicate conveying foreground actions is regularly accompanied

<sup>57</sup> Paul J. Hopper, “Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse”, in *Discourse and Syntax*, ed. by Talmy Givón, New York 1979, pp. 213-241; P. J. Hopper / S. A. Thompson, “Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse”, *Language* 56 (1980), pp. 251-299.

by the clitic *-ka-*, while the predicate conveying background actions is regularly accompanied by the clitic *-ki-*.<sup>58</sup>

(23)

*Tu-ka-enda kambi-ni, hata usiku tu-ka-toroka*

we-ka-passed to the camp and by night we-ka-went away

*tu-ka-safiri siku kadha tu-ki-pitia miji fulani*

we-ka-travelled many days we-ki-walked through various villages

‘(Foreground) We returned to the camp and by night we went away, we travelled many days (→ Background) during which we walked through various villages.’

The Gothic language shows at least two elements that codify these discourse functions, i.e. *paruh* which acts both as a *foregrounding* particle (at a presentational level) and as a *turntaking* particle (at an interactional level); *-uh pan* which codifies *background* and *scene-setting* events, often set aside from the chronological development of the narration.<sup>59</sup>

(24)

John 6,18:

<sup>CA</sup> *ih marei winda mikilamma waiandin urraisida was.*

‘And the sea arose by reason of a great wind that blew.’

ἦ τε θάλασσα ἀνέμου μεγάλου πνέοντος διεγείρετο.

John 6,19:

<sup>CA</sup> *paruh farjandans swe spaurde ·k· jah ·e· aiþþau ·l· gasaihvand Iesu gaggandan ana marein jah nehva skipa qimandan jah ohtedun sis.*

‘So when they had rowed about five and twenty or thirty furlongs, they see Jesus walking on the sea, and drawing nigh unto the ship: and they were afraid.’

ἐληλακότες οὖν ὡς σταδίους εἴκοσι πέντε ἢ τριάκοντα θεωροῦσιν τὸν ἰησοῦν περιπατοῦντα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ πλοίου γινόμενον, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν.

<sup>58</sup> Hopper, “Aspect and Foregrounding ...”.

<sup>59</sup> *Pan* can also be a complementizer (in which case it occupies the first position) and an adverb (in which case it takes any positions within the clause). As a particle, it always takes the second position.

John 6,20:

<sup>CA</sup> *haruh is qarḅ <im>: ik im, ni ogeiḅ izwis.*

‘But he saith unto them, It is I; be not afraid.’

ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς, ἐγὼ εἰμι, μὴ φοβεῖσθε.

John 6,21:

<sup>CA</sup> *haruh wildedun ina niman in skip, jah sunsaiw ḅata skip warḅ ana airḅai ana ḅoei eis iddjedun.*

‘Then they willingly received him into the ship: and immediately the ship was at the land whither they went.’

ἤθελον οὖν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ εὐθέως ἐγένετο τὸ πλοῖον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς ἣν ὑπήγον.

Within this portion of the text, the events such as the apostles seeing Jesus, or what He says to them, and His reception on the ship are portrayed in the foreground, quite independently of the Greek.

(25)

John 6,3:

<sup>CA</sup> *usiddja ḅan ana fairguni Iesus jah jainar gasat miḅ siponjam seinaim.*

‘And Jesus went up into a mountain, and there he sat with his disciples.’

ἀνῆλθεν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐκάθητο μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ.

John 6,4:

<sup>CA</sup> *wasuh ḅan nehva pasxa, so dulḅs Iudaie.*

‘And the passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh.’

ἦν δὲ ἐγγύς τὸ πάσχα, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἰουδαίων.

John 6,5:

<sup>CA</sup> *haruh ushof augona Iesus jah gaumida ḅammei manageins filu iddja du imma, qarḅuh du Filippau: hwapro bugjam hlaibans, ei matjaina ḅai?*

‘When Jesus then lifted up his eyes, and saw a great company come unto him, he saith unto Philip, Whence shall we buy bread, that these may eat?’

ἐπάρας οὖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ ἰησοῦς καὶ θεασάμενος ὅτι πολλὸς ὄχλος ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει πρὸς φίλιππον, πόθεν ἀγοράσωμεν ἄρτους ἵνα φάγωσιν οὗτοι;

John 6,6:

<sup>CA</sup> *þatuh þan qab fraisands ina; iþ silba wissa þatei habaida taujan.*

‘And this he said to prove him: for he himself knew what he would do.’

τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγεν πειράζων αὐτόν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ᾔδει τί ἔμελλεν ποιεῖν.

If one compares the structure of (24) with (25), one realizes that in (25) the informational units which build up the text are structured in quite a different way. One single sequence is marked with *þaruh* and thus appears in foreground. The surrounding verses, marked by *-uh þan*, codify background events. In particular, the last one (*þatuh þan qab*) provides a comment and a motivation for the actions described in the previous verse: while *-uh* is endowed with an anaphoric value and links the predication to what has already been said, *þan* displays a cataphoric value and links the predication to what follows. Therefore, these discourse elements allow the hearer/reader to zoom in and out of the narrative time line; their role is thus crucial for the interpretation of how the information is given. Failing to recognize their relevance not only implies a drastic impoverishment of the communicative value of the text, but also makes it more difficult for the addressee to sort out its meaning.<sup>60</sup>

One may consider the grammatical signals associated with natural language clauses as the mental processing instructions that guide the speech comprehender toward constructing a coherent, structured mental representation of the text.

10. As a final remark, it may be assumed that the left periphery of the Gothic sentence shows a structure at least as rich as, and for some specific features (e.g. the interrogative clitic *-u* and the particle *an*) even richer than, the other ancient Germanic languages.

There is evidence that many linguistic phenomena encoded in this domain of the Gothic sentence are native to this Germanic language, since they occur both independent of, and often in contrast to,<sup>61</sup> the Greek. Interestingly enough, if one compares classical Greek to New Testament Greek, one realizes that the latter makes little use of both particles and clitics. Klein and Condon have noticed that in the Gothic of the *Gospels* not a single occurrence

<sup>60</sup> Talmy Givón, “Coherence in Text vs. Coherence in Mind”, in *Coherence in Spontaneous Texts*, ed. by M. A. Gernsbacher and T. Givón, Amsterdam 1995, pp. 59-115 (p. 62).

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, the opposite ‘subordinating’ strategy (Gothic: verb fronting + *-u* ~ Greek: use of a complementizer) shown in the examples reported in (8a-c).

of *-uh* corresponds to the etymologically related Greek  $-\tau\epsilon$ . Just 13 out of the 176 occurrences of *-uh* translate *kai*; the others either translate various Greek particles or are present independently of the model.<sup>62</sup>

Scanty as it may be, the evidence provided by a thorough comparison between the double-recension portions of the Gothic text of *Pauline Epistles* allows us to postulate a certain degree of linguistic variation between the witnesses as far as the encoding of pragmatic information is concerned.<sup>63</sup>

The most commonly used grammars of the Gothic language,<sup>64</sup> as well as almost all of the glossaries and dictionaries at our disposal<sup>65</sup> fail to record the specific pragmatic value of the particles, clitics and conjunctions which appear in the CP-domain; thus they omit many crucial aspects of the communicative component of the sentences that build up a text (unfortunately, this linguistic layer is hardly present also in recent volumes based on a more formal theoretical framework).<sup>66</sup> This is probably due to the fact that the ‘translational’ nature of the Gothic works has made scholars focus their attention mainly on the bookish character of this language. Nonetheless, important findings have emerged from the preliminary study of Gothic discourse in terms of the means of combining textual units and other types of narrative organization, as found in Klein, Klein / Condon, and Ferraresi.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, it is definitely desirable to pursue the investigation further. This sets a clear agenda for future research.

<sup>62</sup> J. S. Klein / N. L. Condon, “Gothic *-(u)h*: A Synchronic and Comparative Study”, *Transactions of the Philological Society* 91 (1993), pp. 1-62 (p. 3).

<sup>63</sup> It goes without saying that an analysis of the variant reading pertaining to the lexicon is beyond the purposes of this paper which is focused on syntax and pragmatics. Cf. Wolfgang Griepentrog, *Synopse der gotischen Evangelientexte*, München 1988.

<sup>64</sup> For example: William H. Bennett, *An Introduction to the Gothic Language*, New York 1980; Wilhelm Braune, *Gotische Grammatik; mit Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnis*, Tübingen 1973; Wolfgang Krause, *Handbuch des Gotischen*, Munich 1968; Joseph Wright, *Grammar of the Gothic Language*, London 1954; Wilhelm Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1910.

<sup>65</sup> Glossaries are contained in the grammars listed above; the most consulted dictionaries of the Gothic language include: Lehmann, *A Gothic Etymological ...*; Gerhard Köbler, *Gotisches Wörterbuch*, Leiden 1989.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Irmengard Rauch, *The Gothic Language: Grammar, Genetic Provenance and Typology, Readings*, New York 2003 (§ 8.6 “Syntactic Considerations”, pp. 94-95).

<sup>67</sup> Klein, “Gothic *paruh ...*”; Klein / Condon, “Gothic *-(u)h*: ...”; Ferraresi, “Word order ...”.

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