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Morphosyntactic Structures – Part 1: General Features



## Roadmap

- Translation effects
- Linearization overview
- Gender and agreement
- Number
- Case
- Possession
- Definiteness



# **Translation Effects**



### Translation effects

- Gothic corpus is largely ultimately based on Greek texts
- None of the 5000+ Greek NT manuscripts preserves the exact source
- Effects of Greek are particularly striking in linearization
- Divergences (when real) may show 'genuine' Gothic syntax
- Correspondences may be due to:
  - 1) Gothic grammar coinciding with that of Greek
  - 2) Gothic grammar tolerating Greek patterns, even if less standard
  - 3) Gothic grammar being artificially calqued onto Greek



## Translation effects (Mark 4:39)

| kaì diegertheì:                | s epetímēsen | tōi               | anémō | i kaì  | eĩper | tẽi     | thalássēi                  |  |  |  |
|--------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|-------|--|-------|---------|----------------------------|--|--|--|
| and woken.up                   | rebuked      | the               | wind  | and  | said  | the.DAT | sea.DAT                    |  |  |  |
| jah urreisands gasōk           |              |                   | winda | jah  | qaþ   | du      | marein:                    |  |  |  |
| and rising                     | rebuked      |                   | wind  | and  | said  | to      | sea.DAT                    |  |  |  |
| siṓpa,                         | pephímōso    |                   |       |  |       |         |                            |  |  |  |
| be.silent.IMP                  | be.silent.M  | be.silent.MID.IMP |       |  |       |         | 'And riging he rebuked the |  |  |  |
| gaslawai,                      | afdumbn!     |                   |       | 'And rising he rebuked the<br>wind and said to the sea:<br>be still and silent!' |       |         |                            |  |  |  |
| be.silent.IMP silent.INCHO.IMP |              |                   |       |  |       |         |                            |  |  |  |



#### Translation effects (Matthew 5:38)

| ēkoúsate                | hóti    | erréthē:    | ор       | hthalmòn                         | antì d | ophthalmoũ |  |  |  |
|-------------------------|---------|-------------|----------|----------------------------------|--------|------------|--|--|--|
| hear.AOR.2PL            | COMP    | say.AOR.PA  | S.3SG ey | ye.ACC.SG                        | for    | eye.GEN.SG |  |  |  |
| hausideduþ              | þatei   | qiþan ist:  | αι       | ugo                              | und    | augin,     |  |  |  |
| hear.PST.2PL            | COMP    | say.PP be.  | .3SG ey  | ye.ACC.SG                        | for    | eye.DAT.SG |  |  |  |
| kaì odónta anti odóntos |         |             |          |                                  |        |            |  |  |  |
| and tooth.AC            | C.SG fo | or tooth.GE | N.SG     | 'You have heard that it is said: |        |            |  |  |  |
| jah tunþu und tunþau    |         |             |          | an eye for an eye, and a tooth   |        |            |  |  |  |
| and tooth.AC            | C.SG fo | or tooth.DA | T.SG     | for a tooth.'                    |        |            |  |  |  |



### Translation effects

- Gothic translators adjusted the text for grammatical reasons
- Assumption: corpus is largely grammatical
- Caveat: the corpus may not be typical or entirely idiomatic



# **Linearization Overview**



#### Linearization: verbs

- Verb placement is often influenced by Greek
- Synthetic Greek verbs (*erréthe*) usually rendered VERB-AUX (*qiþan ist*)
- Majority of surface forms V1 or V2, but V-final may be basic/unmarked
- Fronting processes include imperatives, *wh*-questions, negation, focus
- Overt subjects typically precede the verb; objects usually follow



### Linearization: other

- Attributive and possessive adjectives typically follow nouns
- Genitives typically follow the modified noun
- Quantifiers and determinatives typically precede nouns
- Prepositions used exclusively
- In loose, traditional terms, may be in transition from 'OV' type to 'VO' type



## Gender, Number, and Case



### Gender

- Nouns are assigned to one of three gender classes
  - Masculine, feminine, neuter
- Adjectives, pronouns, and determinatives agree in gender, case, and number
- An animate neuter noun may agree according to natural gender
  - *us-dribans* warþ unhulþō out-drive.PP.MASC.NOM.SG became demon.FEM.NOM.SG 'the demon was driven out'
- Conjoined animate masculine + feminine subjects trigger neuter agreement

was losef jah aiþei is sildaleikjandona was Joseph and mother his marvel.PTCP.N.NOM.PL 'Joseph and his mother were marveling'



## Number

- Core distinction is singular versus plural; dual is more peripheral
- Number is widely marked
- Triggers adjectival/pronominal/determinative agreement (like gender)
- Verbs also agree with nominative subjects
- Verbal agreement often only with first of postverbal conjoined subjects

*was losef jah aiþei is sildaleikjandona* was Joseph and mother his marvel.PTCP.N.NOM.PL 'Joseph and his mother were marveling'



#### Case

- Triggers adjectival/pronominal/determinative agreement (like gender)
- Agreement mismatches are rare
- Often governed (by verb, preposition, adjective)
- Genitive and dative have a range of independent uses
  - See now Miller 2019, pp. 113-157



#### Case - Dative

- Historical syncretism of dative, locative, and instrumental
- Dative absolute (see clausal syntax)
- Instrumental typically with bare dative:

sumai-þ-þanlöfamslöhunsome-and-then with.palm.DAT.PL struck'And then some struck him with the palms of their hands'Comitative is prepositional with miþþamma miþ twaim tigum þūsundjōgaggandinhimwith twotensthousand.GEN.PLgo.PTCP.DAT.SG

'him coming with twenty thousand (troops)'



#### Possession

- Predicated possession has two competing constructions
- 'MIHI EST' type:

bateisaurgamisist mikilaCOMP sorrow.FEM.NOM me.DAT isgreat.FEM.NOM'that I have great sorrow/that there is to me great sorrow'

'HAVE' type (with haban or aigan\*):

*jah þan jūs auk nū saurga habaiþ* and then you.NOM.PL therefore now sorrow.ACC.SG have.2PL 'and therefore you all now have sorrow'



#### Possession

In attributed possession, a possessing noun is typically genitive

*haubiþ Iōhannis þis daupjandins* head.NOM John.GEN DET.GEN baptize.PTC.GEN 'the head of John the Baptist'

In some instances of inalienable possession, the possessor may be dative

Iōhannau ik haubiþ afmaimait 'John.DAT I head.ACC cut.off 'I have cut John's head off'



## Reference

- Determined adjectives usually have some definite reference
- This is marked by weak endings instead of strong laistidēdun aftar imma twai blindans (Mt 9:27) 'two blind (men) followed after him' du-at-iddjedun imma þai blindans (Mt 9:28) 'the blind (men) approached him' blindai us-saihvand (Mt 9:29) 'blind (people) will see'
- Comparatives, most ordinals, and certain specific adjectives inflect weak



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## Thank you for your attention!