A STRUCTURAL SYNTAX OF THE GOTHIC

GOSPELS OF LUKE AND MARK

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Biographical Sketch

Ronald Nicholas Werth was born April 26, 1938, in Smederevska Palanka, near Belgrade, Yugoslavia. In 1947, he came to West Germany with his parents and, in 1952, he emigrated to the United States. In June 1961, he received the B.A. degree in English from Fordham University, New York City. Previously, he had spent one academic year (1959-60) at the University of Paris (Sorbonne). Supported by a National Defense Education Act (Title IV) fellowship, he entered the Graduate School of Cornell University in September, 1961. He was a teaching assistant in the academic year 1964-65, and was on the staff of the summer school in 1963 and 1964, teaching elementary German courses. He is a member of the Linguistic Society of America and the Modern Language Association. He was married in June, 1963 to Elizabeth Anna Nadler, and their first child, Astrid Nadja, was born September 15, 1964.
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VIN

Intransitive verb other than Vn or Vpv

Vn

Verb with -n- as stem-formative

VOC

Vocative

VPV

Verb in passive voice

VT

Transitive verb

X1, X2, ...

Used as a variable sign in T rules to refer to the constituents specified by the structural description

Z

Nominal satellite expression

1

First person

2

Second person

3

Third person

< or >

'Is attributive to' (tip points from modifier to center)

↔

'Is in apposition with'

*

Non-attested form

(Symbols used in PS and T rules are explained 0.2).

The graph v is used for h_v, and p = \frac{3}{7}.
0. Introduction.

0.1 Review of Scholarship.

In recent years, a number of important contributions have been made by American linguists to the study of Gothic phonology. Numerous articles by such scholars as William H. Bennett, Eric P. Hamp, Oscar F. Jones, James W. Marchand, William G. Moulton, and Herbert Penzl have not only brought the field of Gothic phonology up to date, but, by virtue of their excellence and thoroughness, discourage further intensive study.¹

Gothic morphology has not been as extensively treated as phonology, but it has received a great deal of attention, and very recently (1964) a doctoral dissertation was written at the University of Illinois by Ronald Eugene Buckalew in which generative theory is applied to the description of Gothic morphology.² Although Buckalew's work is certainly not the last word on Gothic morphology, it succeeds in bringing the field up to date. Mention also should be made of the third volume of Sravnitel'naia grammatika germanskix jazykov (1963), which treats comparative Germanic morphology.³

Syntax has always been a stepchild of Gothic studies. It was not until 1846 that a treatment of Gothic syntax appeared, although phonology, morphology, and the lexicon had been extensively treated before then. Since the appearance of Gabelentz and Loebe's work in 1846, only Le Marchant Douse and Streitberg have published large-scale investigations of Gothic syntax. Although we cannot deny the value of piecemeal discussion, a single overall treatment of Gothic syntax is clearly desirable. In addition, there is no synchronic description
of Gothic syntax with an explicit methodology. Since such a description was considered to be a desideratum, the present dissertation represents an attempt to provide it.

The first raison d'être of this work, therefore, is to present an analysis of Gothic syntax in which the methodology is largely explicit. The value of explicit methodology has long been recognized. In his "Methodenlehre," Hermann Paul writes:

Das Wesen der wissenschaftlichen Methode besteht eben darin, dass man genaue Rechenschaft über das eingeschlagene Verfahren zu geben vermag und sich der Gründe, warum man so und nicht anders verfährt, deutlich bewusst ist.4

Leonard Bloomfield, in his "A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language," 5 also points out the importance of explicit methodology. In fact, we cannot stress too much the necessity for such statements. If the method used by the investigator is not specified by him, it may be difficult, if not impossible, to infer it from his work. Thus, the motivation for particular decisions and for the recognition of particular entities may be obscure. There can be little progress in methodology where the methods used are not stated and thus not available for discussion.

Before we continue with an explanation of the methodology employed in the present study, it may be well to review from a methodological standpoint the major works on Gothic syntax up to the present. There are a great number of smaller studies which treat individual aspects of Gothic syntax, such as the case system, the article, aspect, tense, use of the subjunctive, absolute constructions, simple and complex sentences, coordination and subordination, and word order. For a complete listing of these works up to 1957, the reader is referred to the section on syntax in the Bibliographia Gotica.6 The more complete treatments of Gothic syntax fall into two categories: historical
and descriptive. Of the historical treatments, those of Delbrück and Hirt are the most noteworthy. In these works, Gothic syntax is discussed within the framework of comparative Germanic and Indo-European syntax. The three major descriptive studies of Gothic syntax (those of Gabelentz and Loebe, Le Marchant Douse, and Streitberg) have already been mentioned. Since this dissertation is also a descriptive treatment, it is justified only if it represents some improvement upon previous descriptions. For this reason, these three descriptive studies merit discussion.

The first, best, and most complete syntax of Gothic was written well over a hundred years ago (1846) by Gabelentz and Loebe. The section on syntax occupies almost half of their _Grammatik der gotischen Sprache_. The point of departure for their syntax is practically the same as that used in the present study, provided their term _Gedanke_ refers to 'meaning' rather than to 'concept' or 'idea'.

_Bisher sind die Wörter an und für sich betrachtet worden: da aber die Wörter in der Sprache keinen Selbstzweck, sondern den Zweck haben, dass sie Gedanken darstellen, dazu aber je in einer bestimmten Form auftreten und in einer gewissen Ordnung aneinander gereiht werden müssen: so ist jetzt nachzuweisen, in welcher Form und Ordnung die Wörter zur Darstellung eines bestimmten Gedanken auftreten und aneinander gereiht werden müssen._

Gabelentz and Loebe confine the scope of syntactic analysis to the study of the form (i.e., inflected form) and order of words within utterances; they do not specify by which means this goal will be achieved. Instead, they proceed with the syntax without explicitly stating their methodology. This does not mean that their syntax is devoid of methodology; it is contained implicitly in their every statement about Gothic syntax and in the organization of the material.

The approach used by Gabelentz and Loebe can best be illustrated
by a few examples. According to them, there are three kinds of attributive genitives: subjective, partitive, and objective. The genitive form gudis is analyzed as subjective in waurd gudis (L 4:4) 'the word of God,' and as objective in hida gudis (L 6:12) 'the prayer of (= to) God;' sweine in hairda sweine (Mk 5:11) 'a herd of swine' is considered to be a partitive genitive. Although Gothic offers good evidence for such distinctions, the authors do not state the motivation for such distinctions explicitly. The grammatical category of dative case is described as follows:

Der Dativus bezeichnet das Verhältniss der äussern, zufälligen Verbindung zweier Gegenstände, das Verhältniss des Nebeneinanderseins oder den Gegenstand der mittelbaren Wirksamkeit, wo das Subject entweder sich selbst in solcher Verbindung befindet oder in solche Verbindung zu kommen sucht...10

This description continues at length.

Further evidence of the authors' methodology can be gathered from their approach to the occurrence of finite verbs with or without personal pronouns as subjects.

Wenn das Personalpronomen Subject ist, so wird es nicht besonders ausgedrückt, weil es schon in der Verbalendung enthalten ist...11

This statement indicates the difference between Gabelentz and Loebe's approach and the approach used here. Since the verbal ending is inflected for subject reference, it makes sense to speak of an unexpressed subject when there is no cross-reference to the subject. In our description, however, the element or elements standing in cross-reference to the subject are defined as the subject, and a sentence without a subject cross-reference is considered to have no subject. The authors then go on to give several pages of exceptions to their statement. Some pages later, the following sentence is found:
The first statement proposes that the personal pronoun does not usually co-occur as subject with a finite verb, and that the co-occurrence of a personal pronoun subject with a finite verb is exceptional. The second statement modifies the first by proposing that, at least in the case of third person personal pronouns, the subject is normally expressed, and that the occurrence of the verb without a subject is exceptional.

An explicit methodology forces us to define our terms and to proceed from there by keeping within the bounds set by our definition. Although Gabelentz and Loebe usually offer definitions for key terms, these are often too vague or too general. A good example is their definition of the sentence: "Ein durch Wörter dargestellter Gedanke heisst ein Satz." This statement tells us something about the sentence, but it is not really a definition. The same statement could be made about phrases or units larger than sentences. Of course, Gabelentz and Loebe cannot be criticized for such a statement, since they are simply expressing a notion commonly accepted in nineteenth-century linguistic thought. This kind of description of the sentence was thought to have universal validity for all known languages. Since the languages under investigation belonged primarily to one language family, namely Indo-European, it is not surprising that such a notion should exist.

Forty years after Gabelentz and Loebe (1886), Thomas Le Marchant Douse included a brief, but excellent description of syntax in his introductory Gothic grammar. Like Gabelentz and Loebe, he does not establish an explicit methodology.

Wilhelm Streitberg's extensive treatment of Gothic syntax in his Gotisches Elementarbuch is the third important analysis of Gothic syntax.
The author of the most commonly used edition of the Gothic Bible is the chief exponent of the view that no syntactic analysis of Gothic can be made without constant comparison with and reference to the Greek model.

...[Es] ist stets von der griechischen Vorlage bei Beurteilung der gotischen Verhältnisse auszugehen. Es muss in jedem Falle untersucht werden, was als unmittelbare Nachahmung des griechischen Textes zu gelten habe und was beanspruchen könne, als echt germanisch betrachtet zu werden. Von besonderer Bedeutung für die Entscheidung dieser Grundfrage sind jene Fälle, wo die gotische Konstruktion in irgendeinem Punkte von der griechischen abweicht. Denn allein diese Abweichungen geben uns den Schlüssel zum Verständnis der wahren gotischen Syntax.  

Streitberg's assumption, that only divergences from the Greek model are to be considered as genuinely Gothic, is doubtful. Even when the Gothic text follows the Greek model closely (and this is most often the case), we have no reason to assume that it does not represent idiomatic Gothic usage; there is little evidence to the contrary. Be that as it may, the fact remains that Streitberg's method (the section quoted above is headed Methode) causes him to approach the Gothic text by way of the Greek model. His syntax is not so much a syntax of Gothic, as it is a syntax of Greek superimposed upon the Gothic evidence. Of course, there are no objections to such an approach as long as it does not distort the linguistic evidence offered by the target language. Streitberg's use of the Greek model, however, sometimes causes him to assume a plethora of differentiations greater than those inherent in the Gothic language. One example is his description of the dative case, for which he is able to adduce the following labels: dative of participation, dative of interest, dative of means, dative of time determination, dative of comparison, associative dative ('in soziativer Bedeutung'), objective dative, instrumental dative, adverbial dative,
dativus absolutus, dativus ethicus, dativus commodi, dativus incommodi.

True to his method, Streitberg is far more occupied with listing the exceptions, i.e., divergences from Greek, than he is concerned with a systematic analysis of Gothic syntax. Furthermore, he attempts to fit the Gothic evidence into the framework of traditional Greek, Latin, and even Sanskrit grammar, particularly in regard to terminology. His formulations of a Gothic sequence of tenses (358) and usage of mood (360 ff.) are dubious, since Gothic exhibits very little consistency in this respect (cf. 1.21.1).

When reading Streitberg's book, one often has the impression that one is to accept his statements without question, even when these statements are devoid of accompanying supporting evidence. However brilliant and imaginative the reasoning behind such statements might be, it would nevertheless be gratifying to see them supported by explicit evidence. On these grounds, Streitberg's well-known classification of verbal aspect (Aktionsart, 290 ff.) in Gothic must be rejected. Moreover, his analysis is based almost entirely on semantic criteria, with only hints of a formal grammatical classification.\(^{19}\)

Unlike Gabelentz and Loebe and Le Marchant Douse, Streitberg only rarely defines his terms, apparently assuming that his readers are familiar with them and the way in which he uses them. In view of the fact that his treatment is based on traditional, well-known models, this was probably not an unreasonable assumption. Streitberg's treatment of Gothic syntax is in two parts, the first devoted to the simple sentence, the second to the compound and complex sentence. Yet nowhere in this description of sentence structure is there a definition of the sentence. Again, it must be pointed out that it was not necessary for
Streitberg to define a term such as 'sentence,' since in the nineteenth century common grammatical terms had definitions accepted and known by almost all students of languages. These definitions, based on the Latinate model, were thought to have universal application. We have since learned that they are not as universally applicable as supposed, having little or no relevance for such non-Indo-European languages as Potawatomi or Mandarin Chinese.

In all three descriptions of Gothic syntax just discussed, there is the problem that they are based, as was common practice, on what might be called a generalized Latinate or Western model, although this is nowhere expressly stated and is merely inferred. It cannot be denied that the use of such a model, were it to be clearly outlined and stated, might be justifiable from a methodological standpoint. The main difficulty with the use of such a model is the possibility of inexact and, in fact, erroneous description. Many distinctions present in the target language might be overlooked, or the description might become cluttered by differentiations present in the model language, but not attested by the target language. This holds especially for Streitberg's treatment, where the Latin model contains admixtures of Greek and Sanskrit grammatical descriptions. We have come to use a more general procedural method today; such a method (explained below, 0.2) is used here. The use of some sort of descriptive model is not only justifiable but necessary in a treatment of syntax. There are two prerequisites for the use of such a model: (1) the model must be stated explicitly, and (2) the model must describe accurately the language under investigation. None of the works discussed fulfills both conditions.
0.2 Methodology.

Upon first approaching a body of text with a view towards syntactic analysis, the initial difficulty is the discovery and establishment of syntactic units. The basic premise of the methodology used here is that the Gothic text is divisible into a finite set of discrete elements, which are the syntactic elements or words of Gothic, and that these elements conform to clearly defined distributional patterns, constituting the phrases and sentences of Gothic. The first step is to isolate these discrete elements from the graphic sentences (cf. 3.1) which make up the text. The discovery procedure used here follows Zellig Harris' outline for the most part.

The process of recognizing recurrent sentence-partials initiates the discovery procedure. The graphic sentence, already delimited by the scribe, is the first smaller unit within the text and serves as the point of departure. Any part of any sentence is a sentence-partial. Consider, for example, the following graphic sentence, as it appears in the Codex Argenteus (except that it is transliterated):

\[ .\text{piübidoquinginom.} \] (L 1:42)

This segment may be divided in many ways. We may wish to call each single graph a partial:

\[ .\text{piübidoquinginom.} \]

Or we may wish to consider certain sequences of graphs as partials; for example:
Or we may want to consider the whole sentence as one unit.

Obviously, if we are to achieve any results whatsoever, our segmentation of sentence-partial is cannot be merely arbitrary, but must be based on a systematic comparison of all the graphic sentences in the text. After the examination of a considerable sampling of sentences, the principle of recurrence becomes apparent. Some segments of text are partially the same as other segments in that they share partials which are identical in graphic, and consequently phonological, shape; we shall call them recurrent partials.

To illustrate the principle of recurrence, let us examine another graphic sentence:

\[ \text{jahpiubidoakrangipauspeinis.} \quad (L \text{1:42}) \]

The partials biubido, qt, and in are identical in shape to partials in the previous sample sentence; they are, therefore, recurrent partials. This brings us to another essential fact of distribution: recurrent partials are syntactically significant only if they pattern significantly.

To quote Harris:

Another essential distributional fact is that some elements are similar to others in terms of certain tests, or are similar in the sense that if we group these similar elements into sets (similarity groupings), the distribution of all members of a set (in respect to other sets) will be the same as far as we can discover.\(^23\)

After examining a great many graphic sentences, certain patterns
(= similarity groupings) of recurrent partials begin to emerge. To return once more to our sample sentences: further examination will reveal that it is profitable to isolate piupido as a partial, but not qi, and that the in of the first sentence is not distributionally identical to the in in the second example.

The next step in our analysis is to determine whether and how a certain patterning of recurrent partials is syntactically significant. If the patterning reveals that one set of recurrent partials always occurs in combination with another set, it is safe to assume that one set is dependent upon the other, or that they are mutually dependent. We call this occurrence-dependence or co-occurrence. The partial aus (in the second sample sentence), for example, never occurs independently, but always with a preceding partial which patterns like qip, e.g. sun, diabul. Similarly, the partials qip, sun, diabul never occur independently, but always with a following partial which patterns like aus, e.g. us, au, u. Since both of these sets of similar elements always co-occur, we set them up as a single set of similar elements. The resulting elements, e.g. qipaus, qipau, sumus, sumu, diabulus, diabulaus, are syntactic elements or words of the language. A collation of all the recurrent partial patterns in the text yields all the syntactic elements in the text. The various sets of words established by this method are grouped according to morphological criteria (cf. section 1).

In this dissertation, the segmentation procedure just outlined is observed more in theory than in practice. At first, an attempt was made to discern significant patterns without reference to meaning, but it was soon abandoned. Since we know that the Gothic text is the translation of a Greek Vorlage, the meaning of Gothic words can be
established by consulting the Greek version of the Bible. While the first investigator of a hitherto unknown language, for which no translation is available, would doubtless have to follow this procedure or one very much like it, subsequent students of the language can accept the results of the initial investigation, provided these are trustworthy. In the case of Gothic, we are fortunate that the Gothic Bible has been the object of extensive scholarship and that there are several reliable editions of it. We have accepted the word divisions of Streitberg in his edition of the Gothic Bible, although there are some instances where his judgment might well be brought into question.

As between recurrent partials, so relations of occurrence exist also between syntactic elements. Cutting across morphological classification is a classification of syntactic elements according to distributional criteria. The environment of a syntactic element is the other elements with which it co-occurs. In the sentence, *ip Iesus cap* ('but Jesus said'), the environment of Iesus is *ip _ gap_. The words *is* ("he") and *si* ("she") in the sentences *ip is cap* and *ip si cap* have the identical environment. If two or more syntactic elements have the same privileges of occurrence, that is, have the same (or partially same) environments, we group them into one substitution set. In the examples above, the elements *Iesus, is, and si* have identical environments; hence, they are members of one substitution set, they belong to one distributional class. The first section of this dissertation establishes the morphological and distributional classes of Gothic words.

Once the syntactic elements have been isolated and classified, we formulate phrase structure rules and transformational rules describing,
not generating, their position and concatenation within phrases and sentences. In this dissertation, transformations are part of the descriptive apparatus, but the frame of reference of transformational theory is not adopted. The ability to generate any number of grammatical sentences is the goal of a transformational description.

'A grammar must be a predictive theory which will project an unlimited number of new sentences not in the original corpus.' 26 Transformational analysis, when applied to a restricted corpus, cannot fulfil this goal. Therefore, an approach is attempted in this dissertation which specifies that, although the rules are theoretically capable of projecting utterances not in the corpus, they are restricted in scope so as to describe only the utterances occurring in the Gothic text. This restriction placed on rules derived from a limited corpus of text is necessary for this reason: there is no way of testing the grammaticalness of an utterance not in the original Gothic corpus. One effective way of testing the grammaticalness of a generated utterance is to ask whether it is acceptable to a native speaker of the language. In the case of Gothic, this test is impossible.

The third section of this study is devoted to Gothic sentence structure and attempts to describe and classify the types of sentences found in L/Mk. At the outset, it must be stated that our concern is to establish only the simple sentences of Gothic. Syntax begins with the word, the lower size-level bound; it is difficult to determine the upper size-level bound. In Gothic, the boundaries of simple sentences and of simple clauses within compound sentences are almost always clearly defined. No doubt an investigation of linguistic units larger than the simple sentence would have been worthwhile and would
have yielded interesting results, but it would also have led to an increase in size and methodological framework beyond the scope of a doctoral dissertation. Moreover, given the linguistic data and Gothic punctuation, the establishment of larger syntactic units, such as compound and complex sentences, would have been a difficult procedure. The likelihood of recurrent patterning decreases in inverse proportion to the increase in size of syntactic units. Whenever reference is made to a grammatical sentence (for the distinction between graphic and grammatical sentences, cf. 3.1), what is meant is a simple grammatical sentence.

Three types of rules are used. The first type, used predominantly in the first section, describes the members of a substitution set; this type includes morphological and distributional rules. An example is the following rule:

$\text{SUB} \rightarrow \{N, A, PN\}$

This rule states that nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are members of the substitution set (or distributional class) of substantives.

The second type of rule is used chiefly in the second section, and includes modificational and constructional rules. These rules, usually called PS or phrase structure rules, are generative in the sense that they build larger syntactic units out of smaller ones. They are potential rules in the sense that not all possibilities included in the rule are actually realized in the text. This in no way impairs the validity of these rules. If every occurrence of a given construct in the corpus is accurately and completely described by the rule, and if the rule generates no contradictory constructs, the rule is valid. The following, for example, is the PS rule for the construction of
continuous prepositional phrases (cf. 2.32.1):

\[
P_{\text{pl}} \rightarrow P + \text{NOM}(p) + \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Gn} \\
\text{Dt} \\
\text{Ac}
\end{array} \right\}
\]

This rule states that a continuous prepositional phrase consists of (= is built from) a preposition followed by a nominal or nominal phrase in the genitive, dative, or accusative case. Of course, not all prepositions occur before all nominals or nominal phrases; only one preposition, in, may govern all three cases, some prepositions may govern two of the cases, others only one. The rule, in fact, predicts many combinations not attested in the Gothic text. PS rules of the type used here describe what occurs in the text and predict potential realizations outside the attested corpus.

Transformational (T) rules, the third type used, form the bulk of the third section, together with examples. Unlike the first two types of rules, T rules are never applied to terminal elements (i.e., elements to the right of the arrow). By a T rule, one string of non-terminal elements (i.e., elements to the left of the arrow) is related to another string; the second string is considered to be a transform of the first. A transformational rule consists of a structural description (SD) of the constituents of the first string, of a structural change (SC), which describes the nature of the relation between the two strings, and of a transform, which is the product of the transformation. Since the third section is concerned primarily with the types of major sentence-nuclei found in L/Mk, the strings of elements which may be transformed (= transformational elements) are limited to strings consisting of class FV (finite verb) and one or more of the non-terminal
elements subject, predicate, direct object, and indirect object.

T rules do not apply to sentences in their terminal or actual form, but rather to the underlying abstract strings which represent their constituents. The following rule relates sentence-type SB-FV to sentence-type FV-SB, its transformational product:

SD:  SB-FV
SC (T-3):  \[ X_1 - X_2 \rightarrow X_2 - X_1 \]
Transform:  FV-SB

(For examples, cf. 3.31.11 and 3.31.12).

To paraphrase this rule: Sentence-type FV-SB may be considered to be an inverted type of SB-FV, inasmuch as a permutation transformation (T-3) inverts the order of constituent elements. Note that the rule does not give instructions to replace the elements of the first string with those of the second; it only rearranges their order. \( X \) with subscript is a variable sign used in reference to the constituents specified by the structural description.

The symbols ‘\( \rightarrow \)’, ‘+’, ‘-’, ‘()’, and ‘\{ \}’ deserve a word of explanation. The arrow, when used in distributional and PS rules, is to be interpreted as an instruction to replace one element or set of elements by another. For example, the rule

\[ X \rightarrow Y \]

is to be interpreted as 'replace \( X \) by \( Y \)'. In transformational rules, the arrow is used to mean 'becomes by a structural change' or 'is related to (by structural change). The concatenation sign ' + ' is used to separate constituent elements of constructions specified by PS rules; ' - ' is used to separate constituent transformational elements.
Concatenation signs are occasionally suppressed, when there is no danger of confusion, especially when one or more of the constituents is enclosed by parentheses or braces. Parentheses are used to enclose optionally chosen items. The rule

$$X \rightarrow Y(Z)$$

means that the item to replace $X$ must consist of at least $Y$, and may consist of $Y$ and $Z$. Alternative replacements for a symbol are listed in braces either vertically without separating commas or horizontally with separating commas. Thus, to express the instruction 'replace $X$ by either $Y$ or $Z$,' we may write

$$X \rightarrow \{Y \} \quad \text{or} \quad X \rightarrow \{Y, Z\}$$

All other abbreviating symbols are explained in the list of abbreviations, or at the place of occurrence.

The sections of this dissertation have been numbered according to the following method. The three main sections are numbered 1, 2, and 3; further divisions within each section are marked by digits following the section number, with a maximum of two digits after the decimal point. This system, besides having the advantage of neatness, enables the reader to locate quickly the relation of each division to the structure as a whole. If the number of a particular subsection is read from right to left, the relation of that subsection to the next higher level is expressed, then the relation of that level to the level above it, and so on. For example, the number 2.13.2 indicates that temporal expressions (2.13.2) are one of a group of satellite expressions (2.13); satellite expressions are one of a group of
sentence-elements with case modification (2.1), which is one of the modification-types affecting sentence-elements discussed in section 2. If there are more than nine divisions at the same level, lower-case letters are used to continue the divisions (zero is used only in the Introduction). For example, 3.32.2a means that the sentence-type thus numbered is one of at least ten subtypes of the sentence-type numbered 3.32.2. Occasionally, upper-case letters are appended to a number to indicate an outline or series of illustrations. The outline of attributive phrases (2.31.1), for example, is numbered 2.31.1A.

0.3 The Text.

In Wulfila's translation of the Bible, we possess the earliest extensive document written in a Germanic tongue (Wulfila died ca. 382 A.D.). Since the Gothic language has recently been the object of intensive study in all areas except syntax (cf. 0.1), it was felt that a contribution might be made to help fill this gap. Because a view of all of Gothic syntax was thought to be necessary for an understanding of each syntactic entity, an attempt was made at first to write a syntactic description of the entire Gothic corpus. It soon became obvious, however, that such an undertaking was too large for a study of this kind. It was necessary to sacrifice completeness at some point: either to treat only a part of the corpus exhaustively or to treat the whole corpus superficially. The choice of the first alternative promised more fruitful results. The investigated text was restricted to the gospels of Luke and Mark as contained in the Codex Argenteus. They represent roughly one-third of the entire Gothic
corpus (L/Mk contains about 22,000 words, the entire corpus about 67,000). Because it retains the punctuation of the manuscript, Uppström's edition\textsuperscript{28} was used. For the rest, however, the readings in Streitberg's edition have generally been accepted.

Von Friesen and Grape and others\textsuperscript{29} have shown that the text of the Codex Argenteus was written by two different hands. The gospels of Matthew and John stem from one scribe, Luke and Mark from another. Hand II (L/Mk) is marked by more slender and angular letters than Hand I (M/J). Hand II prefers straight lines, Hand I curved lines. There are also certain differences in ornamentation.\textsuperscript{30} For purposes of linguistic analysis, either hand would by itself have the advantage of some uniformity, since written by a single scribe. The text of L/Mk was chosen as the object of this study for no particular reason other than that it represents a considerably larger sampling of the entire Gothic corpus than M/J.\textsuperscript{31}

English translations of those segments of the Gothic Bible appearing in this dissertation, following the usual practice, are based on the King James Version. The excellence of this version is generally accepted.\textsuperscript{32} Another reason for choosing it as a model for English translations of Gothic is that both the King James Version and the Gothic Bible are basically Antiochian text types.\textsuperscript{33} It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the King James Version in most cases serves as a fairly literal translation of the Gothic. Occasionally, I have provided my own translation, whenever a translation reflecting Gothic structure more faithfully than the one offered by the King James Version was thought desirable.
Section 1. Classification of Syntactic Elements.

The syntactic elements of Gothic fall into two classes: sentence-elements and non-elements.\footnote{1} A Gothic sentence consists of one or more sentence-elements. Any Gothic sentence can be expanded by the addition of one or more non-elements.

\[
\text{Element} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{SE} \\ \text{NE} \end{cases}
\]

A sentence-element consists of a word or a group of words acting as a single sentence-element through phrase expansion (cf. 2.3). In this section, we are concerned only with the morphological and distributional classification of non-expanded syntactic elements, the words of Gothic.

The criterion for grouping certain elements into a class of elements is twofold: morphological and distributional. If a group of elements shares the same inflectional categories, it constitutes a morphological class. Distributional classification is based on the test for substitutability: if certain elements share the same privileges of occurrence, i.e., if they occur in the same (or, at times, partially same) environment, they constitute a distributional class.\footnote{2}

1.1 Gothic non-expanded sentence-elements fall into four large classes, as determined by morphological and distributional criteria. These are finite verbs, nominals, infinitives, and satellites.

\[
\text{SE} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{FV} \\ \text{NOM} \\ \text{INF} \\ \text{SAT} \end{cases}
\]
1.11 The Finite Verb.

There are two chief inflectional stem-classes in Gothic, nominals and verbs. Verbs differ from nominals in syntactic function in many ways, chief among them the fact that a finite verb forms the fulcrum of any sentence in which it appears. An important distributional difference is that verbs are never phrase-elements; there is no verb phrase in Gothic. The statement, that the verb is the fulcrum of the sentence, must not be interpreted to mean that the verb is the center of the sentence, modified by the other sentence-elements, in the same sense that substantives are modified by other substantives in an attributive phrase. The statement means that, in a sentence containing a finite verb and one or more other sentence-elements, these elements are primarily in syntactic relation with the finite verb rather than with each other. The verb is the stabilizing syntactic element, the fulcrum of the sentence. In the hierarchy of Gothic sentence-elements the finite verb occupies the highest rank.

Although verbs are established as a separate distributional class in Gothic (cf. 3.2), some observations on Gothic verb morphology are in order, since they have syntactic relevance as well. Since the set of verbal endings differs from the set of nominal endings, a verbal form can be readily distinguished from a nominal form through inflectional criteria. Verbs are inflected for four inflectional categories: person-number, tense, voice, and mood. All these categories are contained (not always simultaneously) in a polymorphemic ending attached to the stem. There are three persons, the first, the second, and the third, and three numbers, singular, dual, and plural. Of syntactic significance is the fact that a sentence-subject always agrees in person, and almost always
in number, with the finite verb. There are two tenses, past and non-
past. Of the two voices, only the passive is inflectionally marked; all
verb forms unmarked for voice are active.

The three moods are the indicative, the subjunctive, and the im-
perative. Very little can be said with certainty about the usage of
these moods. Most frequently, verbs appear in the indicative. The im-
perative is used in commands, but often the subjunctive appears there.
The usage of the subjunctive is especially difficult to determine, since
it is quite inconsistent. The most definite statement that can be made
is that certain delimiting conjunctions (cf. 1.21.1) regularly are fol-
lowed by a verb in the subjunctive mood (though again not always). Im-
pressionistic statements about the usage of the subjunctive, as those of
Streitberg (304ff.) and Krause (208-10), can hardly be supported by
structural evidence.

All Gothic verbs, in any form (including the imperative), can co-
occur with a subject. But the distribution-class FV must be divided into
various subclasses, when co-occurrence with a direct object is considered.
Only certain verbs, which shall be called transitive verbs (Vt), can co-
occur with a direct object. Connective verbs (Vc) and all other verbs,
which shall be called intransitive verbs (Vi), cannot. All verbs, ex-
cept two transitive subclasses (Vt₂, Vt₃), are privileged to co-occur
with an indirect object. (For formal definitions of subject, predicate,
direct object, and indirect object, cf. 2.11).

On the basis of distributional criteria, we establish the following
subclasses of finite verbs.

\[ FV \rightarrow \{ Vc, Vi, Vt \} \]

1.11.1 Connective verbs.
Neither class Vc nor class Vi occurs with a direct object; but Vc differs from Vi in that only connective verbs co-occur with a predicate.

1.11.2 Intransitive verbs.

\[ Vc \rightarrow \text{wis-, atwis-, wairb-} \]
\[ \text{hait- (only passive forms) 'to be called'} \]

\[ \text{Vt} \rightarrow \{ Vn, Vpv, Vin \} \]

1.11.21 \[ Vn \rightarrow \text{gabnursn- fraidisn- gahailn- gadaubn-} \]
\[ \text{etc. 'to wither' 'to perish' 'to become healed' 'to die'} \]

This class includes all verbs with -n- as stem-formative (termed traditionally class 4 weak verbs).

1.11.22 \[ Vpv \rightarrow \text{Vstem+End-pv} \]

\[ \text{e.g. fralet+anda afrnim+ada} \]
\[ \text{etc. 'they are forgiven' 'it is taken away'} \]

This class includes all passive forms, except those of hait-, above, section 1.11.1.

1.11.23 \[ Vin \rightarrow \text{Group 1.} \]

\[ \text{gajag- (past stem idjj-) 'to go'} \]
\[ \text{afjagg- 'to go away'} \]
\[ \text{stagg- 'to go'} \]
\[ \text{fauragagg- 'to go ahead'} \]
\[ \text{innagagg- 'to go in(to)'} \]
\[ \text{usagagg- 'to go out'} \]
\[ \text{galeib- 'to go'} \]
\[ \text{afleib- 'to go away'} \]
\[ \text{innagleib- 'to go in(to)'} \]
\[ \text{usleib- 'to go out, off'} \]
\[ \text{rinn- 'to run'} \]
\[ \text{andrinn- 'to dispute (have a run-in)'} \]
\[ \text{frarinn- 'to fall among (cf. NHG sich verlaufen)'} \]
\[ \text{garinn- 'to come together'} \]
\[ \text{urrinn- 'to rise, fall upon, run out'} \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>farj-</td>
<td>'to drive, sail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atfarj-</td>
<td>'to sail to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atsteig-</td>
<td>'to climb down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ufarsteig-</td>
<td>'to climb over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ussteig-</td>
<td>'to climb up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qim-</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fauraqim-</td>
<td>'to go before'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hirj- (attested only in imperative)</td>
<td>'(to) come here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laik-</td>
<td>'to leap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aflinn-</td>
<td>'to leave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plinsj-</td>
<td>'to dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urreis-</td>
<td>'to rise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duntsniv-</td>
<td>'to hurry toward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gempluh-</td>
<td>'to flee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waltj-</td>
<td>'to roll'</td>
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<tr>
<td>valvis-</td>
<td>'to roll'</td>
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<tr>
<td>wrat-</td>
<td>'to travel'</td>
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<tr>
<td>stand-</td>
<td>'to stand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afstand-</td>
<td>'to depart from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gastand-</td>
<td>'to remain standing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usstand-</td>
<td>'to stand up, arise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drious-</td>
<td>'to fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadrious-</td>
<td>'to fall down'</td>
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<tr>
<td>sit-</td>
<td>'to sit'</td>
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<tr>
<td>gasit-</td>
<td>'to sit down'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ussit-</td>
<td>'to sit up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lig-</td>
<td>'to lie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ufliq-</td>
<td>'to faint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anakumbj-</td>
<td>'to lie down, recline'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sigga-</td>
<td>'to sink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasigga-</td>
<td>'to sink (down)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haba-</td>
<td>'to hang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anastodj-</td>
<td>'to begin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dustodj-</td>
<td>'to begin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dugimn-</td>
<td>'to begin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahsij-</td>
<td>'to grow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liud-</td>
<td>'to grow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kein-</td>
<td>'to sprout'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uskein-</td>
<td>'to sprout forth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawrisq-</td>
<td>'to bear fruit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peih-</td>
<td>'to thrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganis-</td>
<td>'to get well, be saved'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lib-</td>
<td>'to live'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wis2-</td>
<td>'to stay, remain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawis-</td>
<td>'to stay, remain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riqizj-</td>
<td>'to grow dark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anasil-</td>
<td>'to become still'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slav-</td>
<td>'to be silent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaslaw-</td>
<td>'to become silent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaslav-</td>
<td>'to become silent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bah-</td>
<td>'to be silent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabah-</td>
<td>'to become silent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slep-</td>
<td>'to sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaslep-</td>
<td>'to fall asleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweib-</td>
<td>'to cease'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganambj-</td>
<td>'to come to an end'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uzan-</td>
<td>'to expire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swilt-</td>
<td>'to die'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaswilt-</td>
<td>'to die'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mag-</td>
<td>'to be able'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mum-</td>
<td>'to intend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pagki-</td>
<td>'to think, consider'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puckj-</td>
<td>'to seem'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gatim-</td>
<td>'to agree (with)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wis3-</td>
<td>'to be merry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biwis-</td>
<td>'to be merry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>facin-</td>
<td>'to rejoice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweznj-</td>
<td>'to rejoice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gret-</td>
<td>'to weep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasvogj-</td>
<td>'to sigh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaun-</td>
<td>'to mourn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hropj-</td>
<td>'to call, cry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uh-hopj-</td>
<td>'to cry out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ufhopj-</td>
<td>'to cry out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huhwopj-</td>
<td>'to crow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vabi-</td>
<td>'to foam'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is difficult to determine all the intransitive verbs of class Vin occurring in L/Mk. The fact that a given verb does not appear with a direct object in our text does not in itself confirm that the verb is intransitive. It could well be that, although the verb is transitive, it does not happen to be attested with a direct object in our text (or, for that matter, in the entire corpus of Gothic documents). Only those verbs which consistently appear without direct object, or those, which by virtue of their meaning appear to be intransitive rather than transitive, can be safely classified as intransitive. In the listing above, an attempt has been made to group class Vin verbs according to semantic criteria. Group 1, the members of which are by far the most frequently attested, includes those intransitives in the general semantic category of motion verbs. Verbs of group 2 are semantically related by the fact that they all deal with a process of inception, development, or completion. Group 3 contains all other Vin verbs, with no particular semantic unifying factor. Whether this semantic grouping is valid or not, the fact remains that this list includes all those verbs in L/Mk, which are classifiable as intransitive, either with certainty or at least with a great degree of probability.

1.11.3 Transitive Verbs.
All remaining Gothic verbs are transitive, i.e., they are privileged to co-occur with a direct object. But this large class of transitives is again subdivided into smaller classes according to other distributional criteria.

\[ V_t \rightarrow \{ V_{t_1}, V_{t_2}, V_{t_3} \} \]

1.11.31 \[ V_{t_1} \rightarrow \text{gib, rodj, spill, gateih, gakannj, andhatj, gamelj, swar, fauragateih, fairhail, anbiud, bidj, gib} \_6 \]

\[ \text{atgib, fragib, usedib, gawargi, annhilh, disdailj, gadailj, abair, gabair, attih, biauk, skul, nim} \_7 \]

\[ \text{ganim, afnim, arlet, fralet, afhrisj, ushrisj, andbind, afnait, afslah, ufaneib, afwalvij, gasatj, ussatj, langj, urraisi} \_j \]

'to speak, say'
'to speak'
'to tell, relate'
'to report, announce'
'to make known'
'to reply, answer'
'to write'
'to swear'
'to foretell'
'to grant (cf. NHG verheissen)' 'to command'
'to ask (for), beg, pray'
'to give'
'to give to, deliver'
'to grant, forgive'
'to render'
'to sentence'
'to hand over, deliver'
'to divide among'
'to divide among'
'to bring'
'to bear'
'to fetch, bring'
'to increase, add to'
'to owe'
'to take'
'to take'
'to take away'
'to leave behind'
'to set free, allow, forgive'
'to shake off'
'to shake off'
'to untie, loose'
'to cut off'
'to cut off, kill'
'to cut up, slaughter'
'to roll away'
'to set, place'
'to set upon, plant'
'to lay'
'to raise'
Transitive verbs of class $V_{t1}$ occur with direct and indirect object simultaneously, or with direct object or indirect object separately, with the direct object usually in the accusative. Verbs with dative direct object are not attested in this class.

1.11.32 $V_{t2}$ $\longrightarrow$ Group 1.

- **bidj**- 'to ask (for), beg, pray'
- **hait**- 'to call'
- **gib**- 'to call, say'
- **namn**- 'to name'
- **rahn**- 'to deem (oneself)'
- **dom**- 'to deem (oneself)'
- **waurk**- 'to do, make'
- **bigit**- 'to find'
- **laiz**- 'to teach'

**Group 2.**

- **bidj**- 'to ask (for), beg, pray'
- **fraim**- 'to ask'
- **skam**- 'to be ashamed (of)'

This is a relatively small class of verbs, which occur with a double direct object, with both objects in the accusative case (Group 1), or with one in the accusative, the other in the genitive (Group 2). Bidj-
is in both groups. Bidj-, gip-, and waurnj- share membership in both classes Vt₁ and Vt₂. Members of class Vt₂ can also occur with a single direct object, which is then either in the accusative or genitive.

1.11.33 Vt₃ \rightarrow \begin{align*} Vt₃ & \rightarrow \{ Vt₃ \rightarrow dt \} \\ Vt₃ & \rightarrow gn \\ Vt₃ & \rightarrow ac \end{align*}

Verbs in class Vt₃ occur only with a single direct object, and without an indirect object. The direct object can be either in the dative, genitive, or accusative case.

1.11.33.1 Vt₃ -dt \rightarrow Group 1.

- tek-
- attek-
- wairp-
- sak-
- gesak-
- hausj-
- andhausj-
- ufhauj-
- gafraujin-
- wald-
- gawald-
- rarin-
- laistj-
- afaríaistj-
- votj-
- gavotj-
- kukj-
- balwj-
- frabj-
- gaumj-
- andbahtj-
- skalkin-
- avillud-
- biuj-
- andhait-
- andtil-
- hleibj-
- ufbrik-
- neiv-
- gaskabj-
- idveitj-
- bileip-
- gamotj-
- ufarsakadj-

' to touch'
' to touch'
' to throw'
' to rebuke'
' to rebuke'
' to hear'
' to hear, obey'
' to obey'
' to exercise lordship'
' to govern, dispose of'
' to exercise authority'
' to rule, govern'
' to follow'
' to follow behind'
' to threaten, charge'
' to threaten, charge'
' to kiss'
' to torment'
' to understand'
' to see, behold'
' to minister, serve'
' to serve'
' to give thanks'
' to bless'
' to praise, confess'
' to support'
' to stand by, help'
' to despise'
' to have a grudge'
' to hurt, cause damage'
' to reproach'
' to leave behind'
' to meet'
' to overshadow'
Verbs in class Vt₃ - dt are listed in two groups. Group 1 contains those verbs which co-occur with a dative direct object by selection, i.e., these verbs govern the dative. In Group 2, it is the prepositional prefix, rather than the verb stem, which selects or governs the case of the direct object. The prefixes af-, faur-, fra-, mib-, and us- are derived from the prepositions af, faura, fram, mib and us, all of which govern the dative. Proof of this is the fact that gim- (Vin), wis- (Vc), anakumbj- (Vin), gagg- (Vin), and fagin- (Vin) are all stems which occur without direct object when not prefixed.

1.11.33.2 Vt₃ - gn  →  beid-  'to await, wait for'
gafah- 'to seize, catch hold of'
greip- 'to seize, catch hold of'
gairn- 'to need, desire'
baurb- 'to need'
hab- 'to have'
hilp- 'to help'
hausj- 'to hear'
kausj- 'to taste (of)'
bileb- 'to leave behind'
sildaleikj- 'to marvel (at)'
gamun- 'to remember'
gaweis- 'to visit'

1.11.33.3 Vt3 - ac → all other verbs.

There is some overlapping in the three subclasses of class Vt3. To eliminate the somewhat vexing notion of overlapping membership, the verbs below could be grouped into individual subclasses of class Vt3. On the other hand, co-occurrence with a single direct object is the salient distributional privilege common to all members of class Vt3, so that the grouping into subclasses is to be understood not as a formal classification, but rather as a statement of the patterns of verb-direct object co-occurrence found in L/Mk. The verbs bileb- and hausj- occur with a direct object in all three cases. The following verbs occur with both dative and accusative direct objects: wairp-, uswairp-, usdreib-, hausj-, laistj-, biupj-, ufarskadw-, and weitwodj-. Three verbs, which normally govern a dative direct object, occur with the accusative once: fragistj- (L 17:27), usqistj- (Mk 12:9), usqim- (Mk 12:5). With all these verbs, usage of the dative varies freely with that of the accusative.

E.g.:

Accusative: jah fragistida allans: L 17:27
Dative: jah fragistida allaim. L 17:29

Gloss for both sentences: 'And it destroyed all.'

Accusative: ---warp milhma jah ufarskadwida insa. L 9:34
'There came a cloud and overshadowed them.'
Dative: 'jah warp milhna ufarskadvjands ins. Mk 9:7
'And there came a cloud overshadowing them.'

Gafah-, greip-, hab-, sildaleikj-, kausj-, and gamun- govern both gen-
itive and accusative.

To sum up: The direct object must be either in the accusative,
dative, or genitive case. The indirect object is always in the dative.
If a verb is followed only by a dative object, the following possibil-
ities present themselves:

(1) the verb is connective (Vc) or intransitive (Vi); the object is in-
direct;
(2) the verb is transitive and belongs to class Vt₁; the object is in-
direct;
(3) the verb is transitive and belongs to class Vt₃ - dt; the object
is direct.

The chart below summarizes the distribution of nuclear
nominal sentence-elements (excluding appositions) in respect to the
finite verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-class</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>PD</th>
<th>IO only</th>
<th>DO only</th>
<th>DO and IO</th>
<th>2 DO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vc</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vi: Vn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vpv</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vin</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt: Vt₁</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt₂</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt₃ - Dt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Gn</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Ac</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.
1.12 The Nominal.

Nominals are the only syntactic elements subject to case and gender modification. They alone may constitute satellite expressions with case modification (cf. 2.13), i.e., instrumental, temporal, directional, and absolute satellites. Only nominals can function as subjects, predicates, and objects in phrases and sentences.

Nominals fall into two large classes, substantives and participles.

\[
\text{NOM} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{SUB} \\ \text{PART} \end{cases}
\]

A. Morphological criteria.

1.12.1 The substantive.

All Gothic substantives (except for uninflected names and numerals) are inflected for case and number. The generic category of case includes the grammatical categories of nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive. The vocative has no inflectional morpheme of its own, but rather the nominative, accusative, or dative is used to express vocative function (cf. 2.12). The generic category of number includes a singular, a plural and, for the personal pronouns, a dual. Personal pronouns also are the only substantives which express the generic category of person, first, second, and third. In addition, Gothic substantives express masculine, feminine, and neuter gender, third person personal pronouns by selection (i.e., they belong to a specific gender category), all other substantives by inflection. First person, second person, and reflexive personal pronouns are indifferent as to gender. Personal pronouns are structurally roots; all grammatical categories are contained in the root. All other substantives convey grammatical information by a single suffixed inflectional morpheme, which expresses
all grammatical categories. There is a distinct set of inflectional suffixes for nouns, nonpersonal pronouns, and adjectives, so that on a purely morphological basis, Gothic substantives can be divided into three classes. 8

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SUB} \rightarrow & \{ N \} \\
& \{ A \} \\
& \{ PN \}
\end{align*}
\]

1.12.11 The noun.

Nouns are subdivided into two classes, common nouns, and names or proper nouns.

\[
\begin{align*}
N \rightarrow & \{ NC \} \\
& \{ NM \}
\end{align*}
\]

All nouns are inflected for case and number, but there are two distinct sets of inflectional endings for common and proper nouns. Some proper nouns are uninflected, e.g. Magdalene, Aîleisabaip, Nazaraip, Kafarnaum. There are many distributional differences, most of which can be located in table 2.

1.12.11.1 NC \(\rightarrow\) dag-
\(\begin{align*}
\text{gin-} \\
\text{barn-}
\end{align*}\)

'\text{day}'

'\text{woman}'

'\text{child}'

etc.

1.12.11.2 NM \(\rightarrow\) Johann-
\(\begin{align*}
\text{Jairusaulvm-} \\
\text{Aîleisabaip}
\end{align*}\)

'\text{John}'

'\text{Jerusalem}'

'\text{Elizabeth}'

etc.

1.12.12 The adjective.

Adjectives (except for uninflected numerals) are inflected for case, number, and gender. On the basis of their distribution within attributive constructions (cf. 2.31.1A), the Gothic adjectives can be subdivided into four distributional classes: possessive adjectives (Aps),
pronominal adjectives (Apn), numerical adjectives (Anum), and descriptive adjectives (Ads).

A \rightarrow \{ Apn, Aps, Anum, Ads \}

1.12.12.1 Apn \rightarrow \begin{align*}
\text{mein-} & \quad \text{"my"} \\
\text{bein-} & \quad \text{"thy"} \\
\text{sein-} & \quad \text{"his, her, its, their"} \\
\text{unsar-} & \quad \text{"our"} \\
\text{iwarz-} & \quad \text{"your"} \\
\end{align*}

1.12.12.2 Apn \rightarrow \begin{align*}
\text{all-} & \quad \text{"all, every, whole"} \\
\text{anpar-} & \quad \text{"other, another"} \\
\text{manag-} & \quad \text{"much, many, great"} \\
\text{ain-} & \quad \text{"one, alone, only"} \\
\text{sum-} & \quad \text{"some, certain"} \\
\text{faw-} & \quad \text{"few"} \\
\text{b-} & \quad \text{"both"} \\
\text{gilb-} & \quad \text{"self"} \\
\text{sam-} & \quad \text{"same"} \\
\text{samaleik-} & \quad \text{"similar"} \\
\text{galeik-} & \quad \text{"similar, same"} \\
\text{swaleik-} & \quad \text{"such"} \\
\text{veleik-} & \quad \text{"what kind of"} \\
\text{swalaud-} & \quad \text{"such great"} \\
\text{jain-} & \quad \text{"that, those" (NEG jener)} \\
\end{align*}

1.12.12.3 Anum \rightarrow \begin{align*}
\text{tw-} & \quad \text{"two"} \\
\text{pr-} & \quad \text{"three"} \\
\text{twalib-} & \quad \text{"twelve"} \\
\text{etc.} & \\
\end{align*}

Group 2.

1.12.12.4 Ads \rightarrow \begin{align*}
\text{fimf} & \quad \text{"five"} \\
\text{saihs} & \quad \text{"six"} \\
\text{taibun} & \quad \text{"ten"} \\
\text{etc.} & \\
\end{align*}

This class includes both inflected (Group 1) and uninflected (Group 2) numerals.

1.12.12.4 Ads \rightarrow \begin{align*}
\text{Group 1.} & \\
\end{align*}
mikil-
  hard-
  blind-
  lagg-
  eisarnein-
  etc.

'great, large'
'hard, austere'
'blind'
'long'
'iron'

Group 2.

giband-
  hausjand-
  qiban-
  gamelid-
  etc.

'saying'
'hearing'
'said'
'spoken'

Class Ads includes all other adjectives not yet listed or classified (descriptive adjectives), as well as participles used adjectivally (participial adjectives).

1.12.13 The pronoun.

By morphological and distributional criteria, pronouns are subdivided into three classes: deictic pronouns (dPN), interrogative pronouns (qPN), and personal pronouns (pPN). Personal pronouns are structurally mono-morphemic roots. Deictic and interrogative pronouns consist of a stem and an inflectional suffix containing the generic categories of case, gender, and number, but interrogatives have only a singular.

\[ \text{PN} \rightarrow \left\{ \text{dPN} \right\} \]
\[ \{ \text{qPN} \} \]
\[ \{ \text{pPN} \} \]

1.12.13.1 dPN \rightarrow p-
   h-

'this, that, the'
'this'

Of the deictic pronoun h-, only the dative singular masculine himma (e.g. in himma daga 'on this day') and the accusative singular neuter hita are attested.

1.12.13.2 qPN \rightarrow v-
   varj-
   vabar-

'who, etc.'
'who, etc.'
'who (of two), etc.'
The nominative (vabar) is the only form of vabar- attested.

1.12.13.3 Personal pronouns refer to the three parties in the communication situation: the person speaking (first person), the person spoken to (second person), and the person spoken about (third person). In a session, there is a pronoun which refers reflexively to the third person.

\[ pFN \longrightarrow \begin{cases} pPN_1 \\ pPN_2 \\ pPN_3 \\ pPN_r \end{cases} \]

1.12.13.31 The personal pronouns of the first person ('I, we, me, us') attested in L/Mk are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>weis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>meina</td>
<td>unsara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>mis</td>
<td>unsis, uns</td>
<td>ug(g)kis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>mik</td>
<td>uns, unsis</td>
<td>ug(g)kis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.12.13.32 The personal pronouns of the second person ('thou, thee, you') attested in L/Mk are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>bu</td>
<td>jus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td></td>
<td>izwara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>bus</td>
<td>izwis</td>
<td>ig(g)qis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>buk</td>
<td>izwis</td>
<td>ig(g)qis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.12.13.33 The personal pronouns of the third person ('he, she, it, him, her, they, them') attested in L/Mk are:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. Nominative</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>izos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>inma</td>
<td>imma</td>
<td>izai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>ija</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pl. Nominative</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>eis</td>
<td>ija</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>im</td>
<td>im</td>
<td>im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>ins</td>
<td>ija</td>
<td>ijos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.12.13.34 The third person reflexive pronouns are indifferent as to gender and number. They are:

- **Genitive**
  - seina
- **Dative**
  - sis
- **Accusative**
  - sîk

'himself, herself, itself, themselves'

1.12.13A Pronominal Derivational Constructions.

Through the addition of an enclitic particle (cf. 1.22.1), the syntactic function or distribution of deictic, interrogative, and non-reflexive personal pronouns can be altered in such a way as to yield relative, emphatic, or indefinite pronouns.

1.12.13A.1 Relativizing construction.

\[
\text{relPN} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{DPN} \\ \text{pPN} \end{array} \right\} + \text{-ei}, \text{ where pPN excludes pPN}_r
\]

- e.g. saei 'he who, whoever' = sa 'the, this, that' + -ei
- juzel 'you who' = juz 'you' + -ei

(cf. also 1.21.1)

1.12.13A.2 Intensifying construction.

10
empPN → \[ \begin{align*}
\text{dPN} & \begin{cases}
\left( \left( \frac{\text{sa-}}{\text{bis-}} \right) \ y- \ \left( \frac{-uh}{-h} \right) \right) + \ \left( \frac{-uh}{-h} \right)
\end{cases} \\
\text{e.g.} & \begin{align*}
\text{sah} & \quad \text{'that one'} & = \text{sa} + \text{-h} \\
\text{vazuh} & \quad \text{'everyone'} & = \text{vas} \ 'who' + \text{-uh} \\
\text{savazuh} & \quad \text{'everyone'} & = \text{sa} + \text{vas} + \text{-uh} \\
\text{bisvazuh} & \quad \text{'everyone'} & = \text{bis} + \text{vas} + \text{-uh} \\
\text{varjammeh} & \quad \text{'(to) everyone'} & = \text{varjamma} \ '(to) whom + \text{-h} \\
\text{ainvarjammeh} & \quad \text{'(to) everyone'} & = \text{ain-} \ 'one' + \text{varjamma} + \text{-h} \\
& \text{(cf. also 1.21.1)}
\end{align*}
\end{align*} \]

This construction produces emphatic or generalized pronouns.

1.12.13A.3 Generalizing construction.

\[ \text{indPN} \rightarrow \begin{cases}
\text{y-} \\
\text{ain-} \\
\text{mann-} \\
\end{cases} + \text{-hun} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \begin{align*}
\text{vashum} & \quad \text{'anyone'} = \text{vas} + \text{-hun} \\
\text{ainshum} & \quad \text{'anyone'} = \text{ains} \ 'one (man)' + \text{-hun} \\
\text{mannahum} & \quad \text{'anyone'} = \text{manna} \ 'man' + \text{-hun} \\
& \text{(cf. also 1.22.1)}
\end{align*}
\end{align*} \]

Only the interrogative pronoun y- may be suffixed by the generalizing particle -hun to yield an indefinite pronoun.

The enclitics overlap somewhat as to their effect on the pronouns. Both -ei (always) and -uh (often) relativize; both -hun (always) and -uh (often) generalize.

1.12.2 The participle.

\[ \text{PART} \rightarrow \begin{cases}
\text{PTC} \\
\text{PP} \\
\end{cases} \]

Gothic has two sets of participial stems, present and past, both of which are formed by affixing a derivational participle morpheme, either {and} for the present or {d} for the past, to the verb stem.
Present (PTC) or past (PP) participle forms consist of the participial stem and a suffixed inflectional morpheme expressing the categories of case, number, and gender. They are inflected like adjectives, and are distributionally classifiable with descriptive adjectives (cf. 1.12.12.4). (For participial distribution, cf. 2.31, 2.33, and table 2).

B. Distributional criteria.

Nominal elements are classified both by morphological and by distributional criteria. Significantly, the two often coincide. In the table below, the distributional privileges of Gothic nominals are summarized. The substantives are listed under columns 1 to 15, the participles under columns 16 and 17. Columns 1 and 2 list nouns, 3 to 6 adjectives, and 7 to 15 pronouns. (X indicates the presence, -- the absence of a distributional privilege).
### Table 2.

**DISTRIBUTIONAL PRIVILEGES OF WORD UNITS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distribution</th>
<th>1</th>
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<tr>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>Modifier in NG phrase</td>
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<td>Modifier of proper nouns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Modifier in constr. NC&lt;PN&lt;A</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center of attributive phrase with two or more modifiers</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NC, NM, Aps, Apn, Anum, Ads, dPN, pPN, relPN, empPN, indPN, PTC, PP are abbreviations for different parts of speech and phrases.
Although the table is self-explanatory, it seems appropriate to draw attention to the most important distributional differences. We shall do this by listing the respective distributional class or subclass, and then indicating the distributional feature which distinguishes it from other distributional classes. (It is important to remember that we are concerned here only with the distribution of word units in sentences and phrases; for the distribution of phrase units, cf. sections 2. and 3.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>The only privilege shared by all nominal elements is the occurrence as direct object. Only nominals occur in Gothic as direct objects of finite verbs, infinitives, and participles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>All and only substantive classes occur as prepositional objects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>Of the nominals, only the participles govern objects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTC</td>
<td>Of the participles, only present participles are modifiers in genitival (G) attributive phrases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Of the substantives, only nouns are centers of absolute (ABS) constructions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>Of the nouns, only common nouns function in temporal and directional satellite expressions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, PN</td>
<td>Only adjectives and pronouns are modifiers in non-genitival (NG) attributive constructions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>All and only adjective classes also occur as centers of non-genitival attributive phrases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apn</td>
<td>Of the adjectives, only pronominal adjectives occur as subjects in absolute participial phrases.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Class Ads: Of the adjectives, only descriptive adjectives are modifiers in the non-genitival attributive construction NC<PN<A.

Classes Aps, Anum: Among the adjectives, these are the two adjective classes which do not occur as indirect object.

Class Aps: Of the adjectives, only possessive adjectives do not occur as subjects or as centers of genitival attributive phrases.

Class Anum: Numerals are the only adjectives which do not occur as predicates or as modifiers in genitival attributive phrases.

Class pPN: Among pronouns, only personal pronouns do not function as centers of genitival attributive phrases or as modifiers in non-genitival attributive phrases.

Classes pPN₂, pPN₃: Of the personal pronouns, only the pronouns of the second and third persons are modifiers in genitival attributive phrases.

pPN₃: This is the only pronominal class whose members occur as subjects in absolute participial phrases.

pPN₁: This is the only pronominal class whose members do not occur as subjects.

qPN: Of the pronouns, only deictic pronouns (actually only the pronoun p-) occur as predicates and as modifiers of proper nouns.

qPN: Of the pronouns, only interrogative pronouns (actually only the instrumental ve 'with what') function as instrumental satellites.

relPN, empPN, indPN: The suffixed pronouns pattern as a group, except that
that no indefinite pronouns are attested as non-linked (NI) appositional elements, or as non-genitival attributes.

1.13 The Infinitive.

Gothic infinitives, formed from the verb stem by the addition of a derivational infinitive morpheme with allomorphs -an and -on, are uninflected. Infinitives are frequently introduced by the preposition du 'to'. For example:

\[\text{qiban} \quad \text{L 5:23} \]
\[\text{du qiban} \quad \text{Mk 2:9} \]
\[\text{to say}' \]
(For infinitive distribution, cf. 2.34).

1.14 The Satellite.

There are two kinds of syntactic elements in regard to sentence concord: those which participate in it, and those which do not. By sentence concord, we mean co-occurrent relationships between sentence elements. The finite verb, the nominal element, and the infinitive element belong to the first group; the second group contains the satellite and the non-element. Unlike non-elements, satellite elements are never pure markers, i.e., they are never used to mark grammatical relationships, but are always carriers of meaning (contentives). The term 'satellite' was chosen, since the elements so designated are the only sentence-elements not part of the sentence nucleus. The presence of a satellite element in no way alters sentence structure (although, of course, the meaning is affected). Its range of distribution is practically unrestricted: it can appear in any sentence of any type, major
or minor, in any position, any number of times (in our restricted cor-
pus, the number is naturally fixed at an upper limit).

Satellite expressions fall into three large subclasses:

(1) non-inflected stems, called adverbs (AV);

(2) nominal elements governed by prepositions, yielding prepositional
phrases (Pp): cf. 2.32.

(3) nominal elements with various case modifications (Z), yielding instru-
mental, temporal, directional, and absolute expressions: cf. 2.12.

\[ \text{SAT} \rightarrow \{ \text{AV, Pp, Z} \} \]

Since substitutability is the prime requisite for grouping various
sentence-elements into one distribution class, examples of each satel-
lite type are given below, with as nearly identical environments as it
was possible to find. (Satellites are underlined).

Adverb:

.\text{gab ban}. \text{L 4:24}
'\text{(He) said then}.'

.\text{paruh gab--}. \text{L 8:52}
'Then (he) said.'

.\text{(jah) galaip inn--}. \text{Mk 5:40}
'(And he) went \text{inside--}'

Prepositional Phrase:

.\text{gab du im}. \text{Mk 9:37}
'\text{(He) said to them}.'

...\text{du izai gab}. \text{L 1:28}
'to \text{her (he) said}.'

.\text{(jah) galaip in gard pis synagogafadis}. \text{Mk 5:38}
'(And he) went \text{into the house of the synagogue-ruler}.'

.\text{:jah) qemun in Iairikon.}. \text{Mk 10:46}
'(And they) came to \text{Jericho}.'

Instrumental:
(jah) stibnai mikilai gab. L 8:28
'(and) with a loud voice (he) said.'

Temporal:

--qemun dagis wig. L 2:44
'they came a day's journey.'

Directional:

--usleipam jainis stadis. Mk 4:35
'Let us go over to the other shore.'

Absolute:

---uspaggandin pan imma ana airba gamotida imma wair sums us baurg. L 8:27
'Him then going out onto the land (i.e., as he went out on land), (there) met him a certain man out of the city.'

(For other examples of satellite expressions, cf. 2.34, 2.15, 3. For examples of some of these same verbs in sentences without satellites, cf. 3.31.2).

1.14.1 The adverb.

All uninflected stems which are not conjunctions (1.21), particles (1.22), prepositions (2.1), infinitives (1.13), or proper nouns (1.12.11.2), all of which are listed or classified elsewhere, belong to the distributional class of adverbs.

Prepositions are listed and discussed in detail under 2.1.
1.2 The Non-Element.

Any Gothic sentence-type can be expanded by a non-element (NE). Non-elements fall into one of two uninflected stem-classes: conjunctions or particles. The term non-element should be understood to mean non-sentence-element: expansion by NE does not affect sentence structure in regard to word order and sentence concord. This is not to say that NE is of no syntactic significance. All conjunctions and the bulk of particles are syntactic markers; they 'serve not directly as carriers of meaning, but only as markers of the structural relationships between other forms.'

Conjunctions delimit sentences (C₁) and link phrases or words (C₂). Among other things, particles mark negations (e.g. ni) and questions (e.g. -u).

\[ \text{NE} \rightarrow \{C, Pt\} \]

1.21 Conjunctions.

Basically, there are two types of conjunctions: those which mark the end of one sentence and the beginning of another, called delimiters, and those which connect equivalent elements, called linkers.

\[ C \rightarrow \{C₁, C₂\} \]

1.21.1 Delimiters.

This type includes not only conjunctions proper, but the punctuation marks period (.) and colon (:). The inclusion of punctuation marks in this type makes good sense, since, when they isolate the grammatical sentences of the text, they perform exactly the same function as the verbal signals, the delimiting conjunctions. Of course, only those instances of punctuation are relevant here, which delimit grammatical sentences, rather than graphic sentences.
Sentences are delimited either by punctuation marks alone, or by one, two or three conjunctions, with or without preceding punctuation. Conjunctions can occupy up to the fourth position in the word order of the sentence. The following chart gives first the type of delimitation preceding each of the 4082 grammatical sentences, second the number of occurrences of each delimitational type, and third, textual citations for any type occurring less than three times. It will be noted that one of the types is given as # (zero). This indicates a total lack of delimitational marking; the only guide here is the pattern of sentence structure, a reliable one, and in a very few cases, intuition, a poor one.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Delimitation</th>
<th>Position of Conjunction</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences</th>
<th>Citations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
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<td>C</td>
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<td>b)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5.a)</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>:</td>
<td></td>
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<td>8.a)</td>
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<td>c)</td>
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<td>9.a)</td>
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<td>c)</td>
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<td>10.a)</td>
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<td>c</td>
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<td>b)</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
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<td>11.a)</td>
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<td>b)</td>
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<td>c</td>
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<td>12.</td>
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<td>c</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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</table>
In the case of zero delimitation, criteria other than delimitational marking must be used to determine sentence boundaries. The most important of these is word order. Certain elements always occur in first sentence position. They serve to isolate sentences in lieu of punctuation or conjunctions. The following elements regularly begin sentences:

1) interrogatives:
   a) adverbs
   b) pronouns
   c) adjectives

2) emphatics:
   a) adverbs
   b) pronouns
   c) prepositions
   d) adjectives

The following elements are completely reliable as delimitation substitutes, since they occur sentence-initially without exception.

1) interrogatives:
   a) all interrogative adverbs: vaiva 'how', van 'when, how', var 'where', bive 'whereby', duve 'why'.

E.g. with punctuation:

'van managans spreidans fullans gabruko usnemup. Mk 8:20
'How many baskets full of fragments did you take up?'

Without punctuation:

van bans fimf hlaibans gabrak: fimf pusundjom van managos tainjons fullos gabruko usnemup--- Mk 8:19
'When I broke the five loaves among five thousand, how many baskets full of fragments did you take up?'

van signals the beginning of a new sentence in the second example.

b) pronouns: vabar 'which of two'.

va bipakeup in hairtam izwaram. vabar ist azetizo qiban--- L 5:22-3
'What do you contemplate in your hearts? Which of two things is easier to say?'

. duve mitop bata in hairtam izwarim vupar ist azetizo du qiban—
Mk 2:8-9

'Why do you contemplate this in your hearts? Which of two things is easier to say?'

2) emphatics:

a) adverbs: paruh 'then', paruh 'then, there', ṭaprob 'from there, from then on, then', samaleikoh 'likewise', swah 'so'.

E.g. with punctuation:

. paruh is qap du im. L 4:43, 5:34
'Then he said to them.'

Without punctuation:

. laisari va taujaima paruh qap du im. L 3:12-13
'Master, what should we do? Then (he) said to them.'

b) pronouns: all forms of the deictic pronoun ṭ-++uh 'this, that (one)', savaz ++uh 'whoever', all forms of bisev++uh 'whoever'.

E.g. with punctuation:

. stains pammei uskuusun timrjans. sah warp du haubida waihstins.
L 20:17
'The stone, which (the) builders rejected, that one became (to) the head of the corner.'

Without punctuation:

---stains pammei uswaurpun ṭai timrjans sah warp du haubida waihstins.
Mk 12:10
'The stone, which (the) builders rejected, that one became (to) the head of the corner.'

The following elements occur sentence-initially with great regularity, so that they usually indicate sentence delimitation if no punctuation or conjunction is present.

1) interrogatives:

a) pronouns: all forms of y- 'who, etc.' and varj- 'who, etc.'

E.g. with punctuation:
va mui tauraji frauja pís weinagardis. Mk 12:9
"What therefore should the lord of the vineyard do?"

"vis habaqi manleikan jah ufarmeli. L 20:24
"Whose likeness and superscription does (it) have?"

Without punctuation:
"andhaqtak mik va tauraji. L 16:4
'I resolved what I should do.'

"jah qáb du im vis ist sa manleika jah so ufarmeleins. Mk 12:16
'And (he) said to them: Whose is this likeness and this superscription?'

In the following example (and several other times), va does not indicate a sentence boundary.

"ei aufto bigeti va ana imma. Mk 11:13
'if perhaps he might find something on it.'

b) adjectives:

e.g. "jah haqtaka sís veleika wesi so goleins. L 1:29
'And (she) considered in herself what sort of greeting this might be.'

2) emphatics:

a) adverbs: nauban-uh 'yet', bisvar-uh 'wherever'.

b) pronouns: forms of y-+uh 'whoever' and of varj-+uh, 'whoever'.

c) adjectives: e.g. sumni+h 'some' (Mk 8:28)

d) prepositions: ofar+uh, in+uh, uz+uh.

The particle -uh (-h after vowels), usually described as intensifying, is better classified as a conjunctive particle akin to -ei. Its relativizing function is particularly evident when it is suffixed to the interrogative pronouns y- and varj-, altering their meaning from 'who, what' to 'whoever, whatever' (cf. also 1.12.13a.2).

There are other ways of determining the sentence boundaries in the absence of delimitational marking. The verb qib- 'to speak, say' and other verbs similar in meaning (rodj- 'to speak, andhafj- 'to reply, answer', etc.) are usually followed immediately by a direct quote,
without being introduced by a punctuation mark or a conjunction. In this almost formulaic pattern, it is fairly simple to ascertain the end of the introductory sentence and the beginning of the quote. For example:

*Quote introduced by punctuation:*

\[ .amen qipa izwis. ni in Israela swaluda galaubein bigat. \quad L 7:9 \]
\[ 'Amen I \underline{say} to you: I have not found such faith in Israel.' \]

*Quote introduced by conjunction:*

\[ .akel qipa izwis \underline{patei} ju Helias qam--- \quad Mk 9:13 \]
\[ 'But I \underline{say} to you \underline{that} indeed Elias has come.' \]

*Quote introduced without delimitational marking:*

---\[ amen qipa izwis ni vashun ist--- \quad Mk 10:29 \]
\[ 'Amen I \underline{say} to you: there is no one.' \]

A vocative is always isolated from the text as a minor sentence, unless it co-occurs with an imperative verb.

Since a sentence can contain no more than one finite verb, the juxtaposition of two finite verbs, either adjacent or remote, can only indicate two separate sentences. The rule of thumb is: if two finite verbs are adjacent, or, if not adjacent, separated by elements other than punctuation marks or conjunctions, they are fulcrums of two different sentences, even in the absence of delimitational marking.

E.g.:

*Adjacent juxtaposition:*

\[ : jah bipe andanahti warp usiddja ut us \underline{bizai} baurg. \quad Mk 11:19 \]
\[ 'And when evening \underline{had} \underline{come}, (he) \underline{went} out of that city.' \]

\[ .sati\underline{dedun timriedu}n. \quad L 17:28 \]
\[ 'They \underline{planted}; they \underline{built}' \]

Immediately preceding these two sentences consisting only of a finite verb, there are two others, delimited by conjunctions.

\[ .bau\underline{htedun jah fr}bau\underline{htedun}. \quad L 17:28 \]
\[ 'They \underline{bought} and they \underline{sold}' \]
Remote juxtaposition:

jah warp in jainaim dagam gam Jesus fram Nazaraip Galeilaias.
'And it was in those days, (that) Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee.'

bipe pan frawas allamma warp huhrus abrs and gawi jainata. L 15:14
'And when he had spent everything, there arose a severe famine
throughout that country.'

If, in the case of zero delimitation, the above criteria are employed,
the instances of 'delimitation by intuition' are reduced to a minimum.

Delimiting conjunctions can be subdivided according to which pos-
tion they may occupy in the sentence. The following table lists all
class C₁ conjunctions occurring in L/M₂, and charts their distribution
relative to which sentence-positions they occupy. Unique occurrences
are cited.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONJUNCTION</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jah₁</td>
<td>'and, but'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>appan</td>
<td>'and, but'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ak₁</td>
<td>'but' (usually after negatives)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>akei</td>
<td>'but'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ip</td>
<td>'but, if'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aippuei₁</td>
<td>'or'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bau₁</td>
<td>'or'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<td>andizuh</td>
<td>'else'</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>(L16:13)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ibai₁</td>
<td>'else, otherwise, lest'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>niba₁</td>
<td>'except, unless'</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>II.</td>
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<tr>
<td>bân₁</td>
<td>'when'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bipei₁, bipeh</td>
<td>'when, after'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swe₁</td>
<td>'when, so that'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>mippanei</td>
<td>'while'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>faurpizei</td>
<td>'before'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(Mk14:72)</td>
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<tr>
<td>sunsei</td>
<td>'as soon as'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>(L19:41)</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>jabai</td>
<td>'if'</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>allis</td>
<td>'for'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(Mk12:25)x</td>
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<td>auk</td>
<td>'for'</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>raihtis</td>
<td>'for'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>unte</td>
<td>'because, for, until, while'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>þandei</td>
<td>'for, since'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>dufe₁</td>
<td>'for, since, in order that'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>'that, in order that'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þatei</td>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x (L9:13)</td>
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<tr>
<td>swaei</td>
<td>'so that'</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>swaswe₁</td>
<td>'so that'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(L17:26)</td>
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<tr>
<td>III. -ei</td>
<td>relativizer</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þei</td>
<td>relativizer</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Except for *ip*, all conjunctions in Group I occur only initially. With but one exception, Group II conjunctions appear only in the first three positions; *alîs, auk* and *raîhtîs* characteristically occur second or third. Conjunctions of Group I have traditionally been classified as coordinators, those of Group II as subordinators.

Group III consists of the two relativizing conjunctions, *bei* and the enclitic *-ei*. *-ei* is attached to forms of the deictic pronoun *p*-'that, this, the', sometimes to personal pronouns, and to the adverbs *bar* 'there' and *bad* 'thither' to form relative pronouns and adverbs; *p+-ei* 'who, which', *bar+ei* 'where', *bad+ei* 'whither'. The relative pronoun *sei* '(she) who' must be included here, since it is generally believed to be a contracted form of the feminine nominative singular of the third person personal pronoun, *si+ei*. It is used in preference to the corresponding deictic pronoun +*ei* (in *L/Mk*, *sei* occurs nine times, *so+ei* once). The conjunctive particle *bei* follows forms of the indefinite pronoun *bisv*-'whosoever, whatsoever' and the adverbs *bisvar*-'wheresoever' and *bisvad*-'whithersoever' to form relatives. Naturally, neither *-ei* nor *bei* occur sentence-initially; they are usually in second or third position. *-ei* is the only conjunction which frequently appears in fourth sentence position.

*-ei* and *bei* are bound markers; they have no meaning in themselves, but simply mark the preceding pronoun or adverb as relative. Relative pronouns or adverbs are always the first, or part of the first, element of the sentences in which they appear. With very few exceptions, relative pronouns are in grammatical agreement (case, number, or both) with the following, rather than with the preceding sentence.

Examples:
1) Pronoun -ei:

a) with -ei in second position:

As subject:

*.vas ist sa saei rodeip naiteinins. L 5:21
'Who is this who speaks blasphemies?'

*.jah sa menops sainsta ist izai seii baitsa staio--- L 1:36
'And this is the sixth month with her who was called barren.'

As object:

*.unte bigat drakman pamei fralaus: L 15:9
'For I have found the drachma which I had lost.'

b) with -ei in third position:

As subject:

*.jah saei habai matins. samaleiko tajai. L 3:11
'And he who (i.e., whoever) has foods, let him do likewise.'

*.savazuh saei andnimip pata barn ani namn memnamma mik andnimip. L 9:48
'Whoever receives this child in my name, receives me.'

As subject in the first sentence, object in the second:

*.jah saei ni habaiip jah patei habaiip afnimada imma. Mk 4:25
'And he who has not, even that which (i.e., what) he has will be taken from him.'

As object of preposition:

*.juis sumus meins sa liuba. in puzei waila galeikaida: L 3:22, Mk 1:11
'Thou art my beloved son, in (thee) whom I am well pleased.'

c) with -ei in fourth position:

As subject:

*.jah savazuh saei mik andnimip. andnimip pana sandjandand mik. L 9:48
'And whoever receives me, receives the one sending me.'

As object of preposition:

*.ip in pizei uspriutip mis so widuvo fraweita po. L 18:5
'But because (of this that) this widow worries me, I will vindicate her.'
2) Adverb +-ei:
   a) with -ei second:
      .jah galaip inn parei was bata barn ligando. Mk 5:40
      'And he went inside where the child was lying.'
   b) with -ei third:
      .jah padei inmgaleipai qipaits phamma heiwafraujin. Mk 14:14
      'And whithersoever he may go in, tell the landlord.'
   c) with -ei fourth:
      .jah bisvaduh padei iddja in haimos aippau baurge aippau in weihsa
      ana gagga lagidedun siukans--- Mk 6:56
      'And whithersoever he went, into villages or cities, or into the
      country, they laid the sick on the street.'

3) Pronoun +bei:
   a) with bei second (as object):
      ---wairpip imma bisvah bei qipip: Mk 11:23
      'It will happen to him whatever he says, i.e., whatever he says,
      will happen to him.'
   b) with bei third (as object):
      .jah svor izai patei bisvah bei bidjais mik gia a biss und halba
      piudangardja meina. Mk 6:23
      'And he swore to her: (that) whatever thou askest me, I shall give
      to you, up to half my kingdom.'

4) Adverb +bei:
   a) with bei second:
      .jah qap du im bisvaduh bei gaggaip in gard. par saljaip. Mk 6:10
      'And he said to them: whithersoever you go into a house, there re-
      main.'
   b) with bei third:
      .jah bisvaruh bei ina gafahip gawairpip ina. Mk 9:18
      'And wherever he seizes him, he throws him down.'

In the next two examples, the pronoun, although syntactically an ele-
ment of the following sentence, is linked by grammatical agreement with
the preceding sentence (by attraction).
.jah afdailja tashundon dail allis bize gastaldá. L 18:12
'And I mete out the tenth part of everything that I possess.'

Here the expected form is batei (accusative), but the genitive is used in agreement with allis.

..bidei mik biszvuh bei vileis. Mk 6:22
'Ask (of) me whatever you wish.'

Here, again, the expected form is the accusative, biszvah, since the verb wilj- never occurs with a genitive object. The verb bidj-, however, occurs with a double object, in which case one of the objects may be in the genitive.

Cross-cutting the classification of delimiting conjunctions by positional distribution is another grouping based on mood government. This sort of classification, however, must be highly tentative, since Gothic conjunctions exhibit very little consistency in this respect. Also, a distinction must be made between those conjunctions which determine the use of the subjunctive and those which happen to occur with a verb in the subjunctive mood. For example, if jah₂, a conjunction which never governs the subjunctive, occurs with it, there are two possibilities: the subjunctive mood was conditioned by a subjunctive-governing conjunction in the preceding sentence, or the subjunctive is being used in a situation where it would be used regardless of conjunctive government (perhaps where a wish or command is expressed).

Only faurpizei always conditions the subjunctive (but it occurs only three times in our text). There is a group of conjunctions which govern both the subjunctive and the indicative, apparently in free variation; these are bipe₁, ei, -ei, ibai₁, ib ('if'), jabai, pan₁, pei, and unte. All other delimiting conjunctions govern only the use of the indicative.
In the preceding table of delimiting conjunctions, some conjunctions are given with a subscript. This is to distinguish them from homonymous forms in other distributional classes. Many C₁ conjunctions are paralleled by homonyms among linking conjunctions and particles (cf. 1.21.2 and 1.22). Others are homonymous with adverbs: őpan<sub>e</sub> 'then', bipe<sub>e</sub> 'then, afterwards', dupe<sub>e</sub> 'therefore', jah<sub>3</sub> 'also', swe<sub>e</sub> 'about', bau<sub>e</sub> 'even' (Mk 6:56). These adverbs, in contrast to the corresponding conjunctions, almost never occur sentence-initially (for numerous examples of delimiting conjunctions, cf. section 3).

1.21.2 Linkers.

Conjunctions of class C₂ link syntactically equivalent elements, generally of the same distribution class. Linkers connect words with words, phrases with phrases, substantives with substantives, nouns with nouns, and so on. If two or more sentences are linked, the result is a compound sentence. But since we consider the simple sentence to be the basic syntactic unit in Gothic (cf. 3.2), we restrict the usage of class C₂ conjunctions to the linking of words and phrases only. Linked elements constitute a phrase. Linked substantival elements share the same case and usually the same number. They are in apposition with each other. L/Mk has the following linking conjunctions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jah&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'and'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aibbau&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'or'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bau&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'then, or'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ak&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'but'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swe&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'as, like'</td>
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<tr>
<td>svase&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'as, like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aljena&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'except'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niba&lt;sub&gt;e&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'except'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nibai</td>
<td>'except'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of each linking conjunction are given below.
nahtam jah dagam Mk 5:5  
'by night and by day'

mis jah bus Mk 5:7  
'to me and to you'

aibbau₂:

undaurnimat aibbau nahtamat L 14:12  
'a dinner or a supper'

sai her aibbau sai jainar L 17:23  
'behold here or behold there'

bau₂:

batei Saudaumjam in jainama daga sutizo wairpib bau pizai baurg jainai. L 10:12  
'(that) it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom than for that city.'

(Linked elements are proper noun and common noun phrase.)

.piup taujan bau umpiup taujan. L 6:9  
'to do good or to do evil'

(Two infinitive phrases).

ako₂:

:(unte ni galeipib imma) in hairto ak in wamba--- Mk 7:19  
'Because it does not enter (in respect to him) into his heart but into the belly---'

(Two prepositional phrases)

swe₂:

Linked substantival elements, NCₚ₊PNₚ

.(frijos) nevundjan peinana swe puk silban. Mk 12:31  
'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thy self.'

swaswe₂⁺.

NCₚ₊Aₚ

(jah gastob) so handus is svaswe so anpara. L 6:10  
'And his hand was restored just as the other one.'

alja₁:

PNₚ₊NMₚ
Jah ni aishun ize gahrainids was alja Naiman sa Saur. L 4:27
'And not one of them was cleansed except Naaman the Syrian.'

niba:

FN + Np (vas and ains gup).

'vas mag afletan fraurahtins niba ains gup. Mk 2:7
'Who can forgive sins except God alone?'

nibai:

FN + NP

'Jah ni fralailot ainhun ize mip sis afargaggn. nibai Paitru Jah
Iakobu jah Iohannen bropar Iakobis. Mk 5:37
'And he did not permit any of them to go along with him, except Peter
and James and John, the brother of James.'

1.22 Particles.

Pt → {Pt1, Pt2}

Gothic particles are either bound or enclitic (Pt1), or free or non-
enclitic (Pt2). They are pure markers (the enclitics and the negatives),
or contentives with very limited distributional ranges (the interjections).
The following particles occur in L/Mk:

1.22.1 Enclitics.

-1i conjunctive relativizing and

 conjunctive intensifying and
   generalizing particle
   generalizing particle
   generalizing particle
   generalizing particle
   (cf. 1.21.1)
   (cf. 1.21.1)

-u

The addition of -hun to the pronoun v- 'who', the adjective ain- 'one',
or the noun mann- 'man' results in an indefinite pronoun with the
meaning 'someone, anyone'(cf. also 1.12.13A.3). -u is attached, either
as suffix or infix, to the first word in a sentence to mark the sentence
as a question.

1.22.2 Non-enclitics.

1) Negative particles:
ni
ni + -h  marks the sentence as negative
ni + -u  marks disjunctive negations
marks negative questions
ibai  marks negative questions with an expected negative answer
iba  marks negative questions with an expected negative answer

e.g.

.ibai mag blinds blindana tiuhan.  L 6:39
"Can the blind lead the blind?"

The expected answer:  'Certainly not.'

2) Interjections:

jai  'yes'
ne  'no'
o  'oh!'
sai  'lo, behold!'
 vai  'woe!'
 amen  'amen, verily, truly!'

3) Relative particle:  pei (cf. 1.21.1).
Section 2. Modification of Sentence-Elements.

In section 1, sentence-elements and non-elements were classified according to morphological and distributional criteria. In this section, certain modifications are discussed, which affect only sentence-elements. These are modifications by case, which affect only nominals, modification by person and number, which affects nominals and finite verbs, and modification by phrase, which affects nominals, infinitives, and satellites. In all three modifications, syntactic function is expressed by inflectional suffix morphemes and distribution or, in the case of prepositions and adverbs, by distribution alone.

This section contains mainly modificational and constructional rules. In these rules, any nonterminal element (an element which appears to the left of the arrow), developed by the morphological and distributional rules of section 1, may function as a terminal element (an element which appears to the right of the arrow) or as a nonterminal element with modification. Modificational elements are terminal elements of a special type: they appear on both sides of the arrow, but always with another element. This is due to their function as markers: they mark the preceding element for case, person, number, or phrase modification, or for a combination of these. For example, the element N is modified in the following ways:

\[ N + \text{Gn}: \text{noun with genitive case modification} \]
\[ N + \text{Sg}: \text{noun with singular number modification} \]
\[ \text{Np}: \text{noun with phrase modification} \]
\[ \text{Np + Gn}: \text{noun with phrase and genitive case modification} \]

etc.
(As for symbolization, the functional dependence of modificational elements upon the preceding element may be expressed by either of the concatenational symbols + or -, or by no symbol at all).

2.1 Case Modification.

Of the Gothic syntactic elements, only nominals are subject to case modification. As has been stated before (1.12.1), Gothic nominals are inflected for four cases: nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative. Case modification is expressed by an inflectional suffix morpheme attached to the nominal stem. Given the fact that a nominal form consists of at least a stem and an ending, and that both are recurrent partials, the discovery procedure for case-modificational elements is based upon recurrent partial patterning (cf. 0.2). In other words, when dealing with a restricted corpus, the statement that there are four cases must be, and presumably can be, validated by discerning among the nominal endings four sets of patterns classifiable as representing the four grammatical categories of case. What follows, then, is essentially the establishment of the Gothic case system as based upon recurrent partial patterning. It is intended to serve as an illustration of the types of discovery procedures which were employed in this study, and which should be used whenever approaching a limited-corpus text such as the Gothic bible.

By definition, a preposition is always a phrase-element (cf. 2.3) and occurs only phrase-initially. In a prepositional phrase, the preposition is the governing element or determiner, its complement the governed element or determinee. In Gothic, the complement of the preposition, which shall be called the prepositional object, is always a
nominal or a nominal phrase. By examining the post-prepositional nominals occurring in L/Mk, it will be shown that:

1) it is the nominal nearest to the preposition in a prepositional phrase which is governed by it;

2) the preposition determines the shape of the stem for personal pronouns, the shape of the inflectional ending for all other nominals (except uninflected names and numerals);

3) there are three sets of inflectional patterns after prepositions, which correspond to the grammatical categories of genitive, dative, and accusative case.

Once again, the test for substitutability is used to determine the membership of an ending or a stem to one set or another.

The following prepositions occur in L/Mk; they are listed alphabetically, together with their most common meanings and number of occurrences in our text.

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<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<td>af</td>
<td>'from, away from, of'</td>
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<tr>
<td>afar</td>
<td>'after, according to'</td>
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<td>alja</td>
<td>'except'</td>
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<td>ana</td>
<td>'on, in, to'</td>
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<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>'throughout, along, at'</td>
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<td>at</td>
<td>'to, at, in, with'</td>
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<tr>
<td>bi</td>
<td>'according to, about, by, at, after'</td>
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<td>du</td>
<td>'to, into, at'</td>
<td>439</td>
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<td>firra</td>
<td>'away from'</td>
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<td>fur</td>
<td>'for, before'</td>
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<td>furra</td>
<td>'before, from, of'</td>
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<td>fram</td>
<td>'from, since, about'</td>
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<td>hindana</td>
<td>'beyond'</td>
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<td>hinder</td>
<td>'behind, beyond'</td>
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<td>in</td>
<td>'in, into; because of'</td>
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<td>innana</td>
<td>'within, inside'</td>
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<td>inuh</td>
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<td>'with'</td>
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<td>nev</td>
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<td>beirh</td>
<td>'through, by, according to'</td>
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<td>uf</td>
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<td>ufar</td>
<td>'over, above'</td>
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</table>
First, the distribution of pronominal forms after prepositions will be examined. Since only 43 pronominal forms occur post-prepositionally, each form will be considered individually. The prepositions hindana, innana, inuh, nev, neva, uf, ufaro, undar, undaro, utana, and utabro must be immediately omitted from consideration, since none of them is followed by a pronoun in L/Mk. In the table below, each occurring pronominal form is listed, along with the preposition or prepositions which precede it.
Table 5.
POST-PREPOSITIONAL PATTERNING OF PRONOUNS.

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Definite distributional patterns emerge from this table. If we classify items 1 - 43 according to which prepositions are found to precede them, then we arrive at three basic sets of distributional patterns. They are:

Set 1, which includes items 4 - 6, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22 - 24, 28, 30, 34 - 37, 42, 43. Items in this set are preceded by one (or more) of the following prepositions: af, afar, alja, ana, at, bi, du, fairra, faur, faura, fram, in, mip, ufar, us, wipra. The feature shared by all the pronouns in this set shall be called the dative case.

Set 2, which includes items 7 - 11, 13, 17, 18, 21, 25 - 27, 29, 31, 32, 38-41. Items in this set are preceded by one (or more) of the following prepositions: afar, ana, and, bi, faur, hindar, in, pairh, ufar, und, wipra. The feature shared by all the pronouns in this set shall be called the accusative case.

Set 3, which includes items 1 - 3, 14, 33. They are preceded by only in and fram. The feature shared by pronouns in this set shall be called the genitive case. The one occurrence of fram in this environment must be ruled an exception. It occurs in the phrase fram pis faurampleis synagogais (1 8:49) 'from the ruler of the synagogue,' where a word such as garda 'house' ('from the house of the synagogue-ruler') seems to have been omitted.1 We revise our previous statement, and state that members of set 3 are preceded only by in.

These same distributional patterns can now be analyzed from the point of view of prepositional government. Gothic prepositions govern three cases: the genitive, the dative, and the accusative. From the evidence gathered by examining post-prepositional pronouns, several types of prepositions can be established according to which case or cases they govern.
Type I: includes only in. This preposition, which has the highest occurrence-frequency of any preposition in L/Mk, occurs before most of the items (29 out of 43) and before pronouns of all three distributional sets. In other words, in may govern either the genitive, dative, or accusative.

Type II: includes at, alja, at, du, fairra, faura, fram, mib, us. These prepositions occur only before pronouns of set 2, i.e., they govern the dative case only.

Type III: includes and, hindar, pairh, und. These prepositions occur only before pronouns of set 3, i.e., they govern the accusative case only.

Type IV: includes all other prepositions, namely afar, ana, bi, faur, ufar, wipra. These prepositions occur before pronouns of set 2 or of set 3, i.e., they govern either the dative or the accusative.

It has now been established that there are at least three cases in Gothic. The classification of prepositions is, of course, tentative; before a final classification, other post-prepositional nominals must be examined.

Next, the distributional patterning of inflected post-prepositional adjectives will be considered. In the table below, each occurring adjective ending is listed, followed by the preposition or prepositions which govern it.
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<th>Table 6. POST-PREPOSITIONAL PATTERNING OF ADJECTIVE ENDINGS.</th>
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By and large, the evidence of post-prepositional adjectives confirms our earlier assumptions. Prepositions assumed to govern the dative only, at, du, faura, fram, mib, and us, occur only before items 4-9; and and und, assumed to be accusative-governing, occur only before items 11-14. In again has the largest distributional range, occurring before twelve of the seventeen endings. Items 4-9, then, are unambiguously dative, items 11-14 unambiguously accusative. Items 10 and 15 are clearly accusative, since they are preceded by prepositions which have been shown to govern the accusative or the dative.

(The argument is negative: if an ending is not preceded by even one of the prepositions that govern only the dative, all of which have high occurrence-frequencies, then that ending is definitely not dative).

Item 17, -ein, is preceded by at, governing only the dative, and painh, governing only the accusative. Either the classification of these prepositions must be changed, or the ending is simply ambiguous i.e., it represents homonymous dative and accusative morphemes. The latter is the correct assumption, since elsewhere at precedes clearly dative endings (5-8), and painh precedes a clearly accusative ending (14).

The remaining items, 1-3 and 16, are presumably genitive endings, since they are preceded only by in. Although du occurs once before -is, this is an exceptional case similar to the one described on page 70. In the phrase, du frauaurhtis mans (L 19:7) 'to the sinful man', the preposition is followed immediately by a genitive attributive to an omitted word such as gerta 'house'.

The preposition uf, not yet attested, precedes a clearly dative ending, -in, but we will suspend classification pending further evidence.

In the next table, the distributional patterning of post-prepositional inflected proper nouns is summarized in the usual manner.
Table 7.

POST-PREPOSITIONAL PATTERNING OF PROPER NOUN ENDINGS.

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The distribution of proper noun endings is too fragmentary to be very informative, and information gathered from proper noun endings can be misleading, since there are many difficulties of a phonological nature. However, by arguments similar to those already advanced in the explanatory remarks to the preceding two tables, the following facts can be established. Items 3 - 9 are clearly dative. Since hindar, previously classified as Type III, occurs before an unambiguously dative item (6), we change its classification to Type IV, which consists of prepositions governing either dative or accusative (compare fram Iaurdanau L 4:1, hindar Iaurdanau Mk 10:1). Items 1 and 2 are clearly genitive (by analogy with common noun endings; cf. below), so that the previously unattested hindana must be assumed to govern the genitive only, thereby constituting a separate prepositional type (Type V). There is, of course, the possibility of an explanation such as the one given for the occurrence of the genitive after du and fram. But, whereas du and fram occur with the genitive but once and with the dative at all other times, hindana is attested only with the genitive. Only item 10 is clearly accusative. All other endings are ambiguous, either dative, or accusative, or both. The distributional status of neva, previously unattested, is consequently uncertain.

Below, finally, we summarize the distributional patterning of post-prepositional common nouns.
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Table 8 (continued)
Of all the prepositions occurring in L/Mk, only alja and hindana do not occur before common nouns. The preposition in, once again, has by far the greatest range of distribution, occurring before all but two of the items. Common nouns show considerably more inflectional ambiguities than other nominals.

Items 1 - 5, all preceded by in, are clearly genitive. Items 6 - 17 are all dative, since each is preceded by Type II prepositions. Of these, items 6, 7, 9, and 12 are also homonymous accusative endings, since each is preceded by at least two Type III prepositions. Only items 8, 10, 11, 13 - 17 are unambiguous dative endings, since none is preceded by a Type III preposition. All remaining items, 18 - 29, are presumably accusative, since none is preceded by a preposition previously classified as governing only the dative (Type II). There is one exception: du occurs before -u (item22) once (du sunu meinamma, L 9:38), but this is doubtless an error for -au (cf. item 10), which is a dative ending.3

Several changes and additions must now be made in our preposition inventory. The preposition ut precedes both clearly dative (8, 10) and clearly accusative (18) items; it is classified as Type IV. Innana and utana occur only before the clearly genitive ending -is; they are added to Type V. The preposition ufaro occurs before the clearly genitive -a and the clearly dative -ai, so that it constitutes a separate prepositional type (Type VI).

All prepositions not yet classified occur in wholly or partially ambiguous environments. This ambiguity can be resolved in several ways. If a preposition is followed by two or more case endings, at least one of which is unambiguous, then this preposition is considered to govern that case, for which an unambiguous ending is attested. Undaro occurs before the unambiguous dative ending -um, and is therefore classified as
Type II; inuh occurs before the unambiguous accusative ending -u, and is therefore classified as Type III. For the same reason, faur and wibra are reclassified from Type IV to Type III. Faur precedes the clearly accusative pronominal form po; wibra occurs before mik, ina, ins, and vana, all clearly accusative pronominal forms. Both faur and wibra precede izvis, which is also preceded by Type II prepositions. Hence, izvis must be a homonymous form for both the dative and the accusative.

The reason for the classification of nev, neva, undar, and utapro and for the reclassification of at is somewhat different. At, nev, neva, and undar occur before zero common noun ending, neva also before -a; either ending can be accusative or dative. The only way to determine which case is involved is to adduce paradigmatic proof, an entirely valid procedure in view of the fact that the three oblique cases of Gothic, genitive, dative, and accusative, have already been established. At occurs before dulp (L 2:41) and mel (Mk 12:2), both accusatives (dative: in mela seinanna L 1:20; no dative of dulp- attested in L/Mk); at is therefore reclassified as Type IV. Nev occurs only before razn (L 15:25), an accusative (dative: in razna L 17:31); it is classified as Type III. Neva occurs before saiwa (L 5:1), a dative (no accusative of saiwa- attested in L/Mk), and Iairusalem (L 19:11), a dative (besides Iairusaulwmai Mk 3:22); neva is classified as Type II. Undar occurs only before ligra (Mk 4:21), an accusative (dative: ana ligra L 5:18, Mk 7:30); it is classified as Type III. Finally, the preposition utapro occurs only once, before mans (Mk 7:15), which is the genitive singular (dative menn, accusative menman); it is therefore Type V.

Now that all prepositions have been classified according to
case government, we summarize the prepositional types. $P_1$ governs only the dative, $P_2$ only the accusative, $P_3$ only the genitive, $P_4$ either the dative or the accusative, $P_5$ either the genitive or the dative, and $P_6$ the genitive, dative, or accusative.

$$P \rightarrow \{P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4, P_5, P_6\}$$

$P_1 \rightarrow \text{af, alja, du, fairra, faura, fram, mib, neva, undaro, us}$

$P_2 \rightarrow \text{and, faur, inuh, nev, pairh, und, undar, wipra}$

$P_3 \rightarrow \text{hindana, innana, utana, utabro}$

$P_4 \rightarrow \text{afar, ana, at, bi, hinder, uf, ufar}$

$P_5 \rightarrow \text{ufaro}$

$P_6 \rightarrow \text{in}$

In a prepositional phrase, the case of the nominal immediately following the preposition is governed by it. Three post-prepositional cases have been established for Gothic: the genitive, the dative, and
the accusative, the three oblique cases. Any case ending, which is not oblique (is not privileged to occur post-prepositionally), is nominative. In Gothic, then, the generic category of case is expressed by the grammatical categories nominative, genitive, dative and accusative.

2.11 Case Modification of Nuclear Nominal Elements.

The nucleus of the basic type of Gothic major sentences consists of a finite verb and a nominal element with case modification. Depending upon the type of case modification and distribution, the nuclear nominal element is called the subject, the predicate, the direct object, or the indirect object of the sentence. These same elements may also appear as constituents of participial and infinitive phrases.

(In all of the rules below, order is non-specified).

2.11.1 The subject.

\[
\begin{align*}
SB \rightarrow & \quad \text{NOM}(p) \\
& \quad \{ \begin{aligned}
N & \text{m in env.} \\
FV & \\
\{ \begin{aligned}
\text{INF} & \\
\text{(COMP)} & \\
\text{PART} & \\
G & \\
\text{(Gn)} & \\
\text{Dt} & \text{in env.} \\
\text{PART} & \text{(COMP)} \\
A & \\
\text{(Ac)} & \\
\end{aligned}
\end{aligned}
\end{align*}
\]

When co-occurring with a finite verb or an infinitive, the subject is in the nominative case. In a participial phrase, however, the subject may occur with any case modification (cf. 2.33 and 2.12.4). All Gothic verbs, infinitives, and participles can co-occur with a subject. If another nominal element in the nominative occurs in the same sentence, it is either in apposition with, and thus part of, the subject, or a predicate linked with the subject by a connective verb (cf. below, 2.11.2). The complement (COMP) is that part of a sentence
or a phrase which remains after the part specified by the rule. For example, the complement of the finite verb in the sentence-type SB-FV-SAT-DO-is SB, SAT, DO.

2.11.2 The predicate.

PD $\rightarrow$ NOM(p)+Nm in env. Vc+SB+\_

Only connective verbs (cf. 1.11.1) are privileged to co-occur with a predicate. Naturally, if a connective verb co-occurs with only one nominative nominal element, that element is subject, and not predicate, of the sentence. In L/Mk, only sentence predicates are attested.

2.11.3 The direct object.

DO $\rightarrow$ NOM(p)+\{Dt\} in env. \{INF\} \_

Only transitive verbs (cf. 1.11.3) and infinitives and participles derived from transitive verb stems are privileged to co-occur with a direct object. The direct object always appears in one of the oblique cases. This leads to some ambiguity in participial phrases, since the subject of a participial phrase may also be in an oblique case. In such instances, distributional and semantic criteria must be used to determine whether the nominal element involved is subject or object of the phrase.

2.11.4 The indirect object.

IO $\rightarrow$ NOM(p)+Dt in env. \{FV\} \_

where FV excludes Vt₂ and Vt₃.

All verbs, infinitives, and participles, excluding two transitive
subclasses (cf. 1.11.32 and 1.11.33) and the infinitives and participles derived from their stems, are privileged to co-occur with an indirect object. One further restriction on our rule is that no participles occur as indirect objects (although participial phrases do). Included as indirect objects are all dative expressions which have traditionally been classified variously as dative of reference, dative of respect, ethical dative, dative of comparison, and so on.

For examples of nuclear nominal elements cf. 2.33, 2.34, and all of section 3.

2.12 The vocative.

\[
\text{VOC} \rightarrow \text{NOM}(p) + \begin{cases} \{\text{Nn}\} & \text{in env.} \\ \{\text{Dt}\} & \{\text{FV-IMP} \rightarrow \text{(COMP)}\} \\ \{\text{Ac}\} & \# \end{cases}
\]

The vocative is not an inflectional category in Gothic. Rather, the nominative, dative, or accusative case is used to express vocative function. The vocative is not a case in Gothic, but rather a nominal sentence-element. It is not part of the sentence nucleus, but rather a restricted element like the infinitive. The vocative really has only two environments: it is a major sentence-element when co-occurring with a finite verb in the imperative mood, where its function closely resembles that of sentence-subject, and it constitutes a minor sentence (with zero environment) in all other instances. Occasionally, a vocative is expanded by an interjection. The following examples will serve as illustrations of vocative function.

(1) Vocative as major sentence-element:
a) where VOC = NOMp+Nm:

---usgagg ahma unhrainja us bamma mann. (NCp) Mk 5:8
'Go out, unclean spirit, out of that man!'

.o sa gatairands bo alh jah bi brins dagans patimrjands bo nasei 
    buk silban--- (2 PtCp) Mk 15:29/30
'Oh the one (= you who are) destroying the temple and building
it in three days, save thyself!'

b) where VOC = NOMp+Dt:

---sunnu Daweidis armai mik. (NCp) L 18:39, Mk 10:48
'Son of David, have mercy on me!'

c) where VOC = NOMp+Ac:

---Iesu sunu Daweidis armai mik. (NMp) L 18:38
'Jesus, son of David, have mercy on me!'

(2) Vocative as minor sentence:

a) where VOC = NOM+Nm:

(.atipan va mik bairid). frauja. frauja. (NC) L 6:46
'And why do you call me: Lord! Lord!'

(jah cap du imma) jai frauja. (NC) Mk 7:28
'And (she) said to him: Yes, Lord.'

b) where VOC = NOM+Ac:

.laisari (Moses gamelida uns.) (NC) L 20:28
'Master, Moses wrote to us.'
2.13 Satellite expressions.

Objective nominal elements are dependent either upon finite verbs, infinitives, or participles, or upon prepositions to determine case modification. There are other nominal sentence-elements with oblique case modifications, whose case is not determined by a governing element, but rather by their syntactic function as satellites (cf. 1.14). There is no question that satellite nominal expressions must be distinguished from objective nominal elements. Their distributional patterns contrast sharply. Satellites do not participate in sentence concord; objective elements are part of the sentence nucleus. Satellites occur with all finite verb-classes; objective elements do not. Slots vacated by nominal satellites can be filled by adverbs or prepositional phrases; this is not the case with objective nominal elements. Since such non-governed nominal elements pattern with adverbs and prepositional phrases, rather than with objective nominal elements, they are classified as satellites (Z).

\[ Z \rightarrow \{ \text{INSTR, TEMP, DIR, ABS} \} \]

2.13.1 Instrumental expressions.

\[
\text{INSTR} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{NC(p)} \\ \text{PN} \\ \text{A} \end{cases} + \begin{cases} \text{Dt} \\ \text{Gn} \end{cases}
\]

Instrumental satellites are predominantly common nouns and common noun phrases with dative case modification. Other substantives occur very rarely: the pronoun ve five times ('with what'), and the adjective unwpahanaim once: 'with unwashed (hands)', Mk 7:2. Ve, from the interrogative pronominal root v-, seems to be the sole survivor of an inflected instrumental in Gothic, the dative being varma, the genitive vis. Instrumentals with genitive modification occur with the verbs fulln-, gafulln-, gafullj- (passive), all of which mean 'to be
filled', gasobj- 'to fill with food, sate', and it- 'to eat, to fill oneself by eating', and with the adjective full- 'full'. Gasobj- also occurs with a dative instrumental.

There is convincing evidence that instrumental satellites are in variation with prepositional phrases governed by mib 'with'. Several times, the same satellite expression occurs both with and without preceding mib. Examples are (all dative):

(mib) stibnai mikilai 'with a loud voice':
hasjan gup stibnai mikilai L19:37
'to praise God with a loud voice'
mib stibnai mikilai hauhjands gup L 17:15
'with a loud voice glorifying God'

(mib) tagram 'with tears':
dugann natjan fotuns is tagram. L 7:38
'(She) began to wet his feet with tears.'
....sa atta pis bannis mib tagram gap. Mk 9:24
'The father of the child said with tears.'

Other examples of instrumental expressions are (with case indicated):

Word instrumentals:

. ip ik huhrau fraqistna. (Dt) L 15:17
'But I am dying of hunker.'

. jah slohun is haubip rauza. (Dt) Mk 15:19
'And they struck his head with a reed.'

inkilbo gunau (Dt) L 1:36
'pregnant with a son'

salta saltada (Dt) Mk 9:49
'(it) shall be salted with salt'

ye supuda (Instr) Mk 9:50
'with what shall it be seasoned?'

fulls brutsfillis (Gn) L 5:12
'full of leprosy'

benjo fulls (Gn) L 16:20
'full of sores'

. jah gairnida sad itan haurne--- (Gn) L 15:16
'And he longed to eat himself full (fill his belly) with the husks.'

.gredagans gasopida biube. (Gn) L 1:53
'He has filled the hungry with good things.'

.vaprot pans mag was gasopjan hlaibam ana aupidai. (Dt) Mk 8:4
'Whence can someone fill these (men) with loaves of bread in the desert?'

Phrase instrumentals:

.ak unbwanaim bandum matjam hlaif. (Dt) Mk 7:5
'But they eat bread with unwashed hands.'

.jah gawasiedun ina wastjom swessenim. (Dt) Mk 15:20
'And they clothed him in his own clothes.'

.jah naudibandjam eisarneinai gumbdans was. (Dt) Mk 5:4
'And he was bound with iron chains.'

jah ahmins weihis gafulljada. (Gn) L 1:15
'And he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost.'

.jah gafullnoda ahmins weihis Aileisabaip. (Gn) L 1:41
'And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost.'

ahmins weihis fulls (Gn) L 4:1
'Full of the Holy Ghost'

2.13.2 Temporal expressions.

\[ \text{TEMP} \rightarrow \text{NC(p)} + \begin{cases} \text{Dt} \\ \text{Ac} \end{cases} \]

Temporal satellites are restricted to nouns and noun phrases with oblique case modification. Dative temporals are the most common, followed by accusative and genitive temporals. The dative generally expresses point of time, the accusative duration of time, the genitive both. Some examples of temporal expressions are (with case indicated):

Point of time:

himma daga (Dt) L 2:11; 4:21; 19:5, 9
'on this day, today'

sabbato daga (Dt) Mk 1:22, 2:23, 3:2
'on the sabbath day'  

bridjin daga (Dt) L 18:33, Mk 10:34  
'on the third day'  

batei bizai naht twai wairpand ana ligra samin. (Dt) L 17:34  
'(that) in that night there shall be two (men) in one bed'  

witandans wahtwom nahts (Gn) L 2:8  
'keeping watch by night'  

Duration of time:  

.swa lagga veila swe mib sis haband brupfad. (Ac) Mk 2:19  
'for as long a time as they have the bridegroom with them'  

.jah ni wilda lagga veilai. (Dt) L 18:4  
'And he would not for a long time'  

alla naht pairharbaidjandans (Ac) L 5:5  
'(we) working all night'  

wisandei in runa blopis jera twalif (Ac) L 8:43  
'(She) being in (i.e. having) a flow of blood for twelve years'  

.was auk jere twalibe. (Gn) Mk 5:42  
'For she was for twelve years, i.e., she was twelve years old'  

2.13.3 Directional expressions.  

DIR ——> MC(p)+Gn  

This type of satellite occurs only three times in L/Mk (in all three cases, the Greek text has a prepositional phrase governed by if 'into, to'). Directional satellite expressions are found in the following three sentences:  

jah insandida ina haibjos seinaizos haldan sweina. L 15:15  
'And he sent him into his meadow to tend the pigs'  

---manna sums godakunds gaggida landis franiman sis piudangardja: L 19:12  
'A certain well-born man went into a country to win a kingdom for himself'  

---usleipam lainis stadia. Mk 4:35  
'Let us go over to the other shore'
2.13.4 Absolute expressions.

\[
\text{ABS} \rightarrow (\text{at}) \left\{ \text{PTC} \right\} + \text{COMP in env. } S = \text{Nucleus}
\]

The absolute expression is a special type of participial phrase. First, it differs distributionally from other participial phrases in that, as a satellite, it does not participate in sentence concord. The case modification of an absolute participial phrase is not determined by co-occurrence with other sentence-elements, particularly the finite verb, but rather by its syntactic role as satellite. In a sentence, for example, a participial phrase in the nominative always depends upon the finite verb; an absolute participial phrase, whether nominative or not, shows no such dependence. Although, occasionally, dative absolutes co-occur with the preposition at preceding, this again is no proof of grammatical dependence, since the majority of absolute expressions occur without any governing element. On the other hand, the presence of at always marks a participial phrase as absolute.

Secondly, absolute phrases differ structurally from other participial phrases. In a non-absolute participial phrase, a personal pronoun may never be the subject. A participial phrase in juxtaposition and grammatical agreement with a personal pronoun is in apposition with it (cf. 2.31.2); e.g.:

\[
S \rightarrow (\text{SB} + \text{SB-App}) - \text{FV-SAT, where SB-App} = \text{PTC}_p
\]

"ip is wiljands usvaurhtanas sik domjan qep du Iesua. L 10:29 "But he, wishing to justify himself, said to Jesus."

In absolute participial phrases, however, the subject is most frequently a personal pronoun of the third person. E.g.:

\[
S \rightarrow \text{SAT-FV-SAT-SB, where SAT} = \text{ABS} \rightarrow \text{SAT+SB+PTC}
\]

"nauhpanu hima rodjandin qemun fram ðamma awnagogafada qipandans---Mk 5:35
'With him still speaking (i.e., while he was still speaking),
they came from the synagogue-ruler, saying...'

In absolute expressions, as in all participial phrases, the subject
may be in any case, depending upon the case modification of the absolute
as a whole. From this example, it is also clear that the absolute
bears no grammatical relationship with any of the other sentence-ele-
ments.

Typically, the complement of an absolute participial phrase
consists of a subject and one or more satellites. The subject is most
often a personal pronoun of the third person, but other substantives
also occur as subject. The satellite, or one of the satellites, is
frequently one of the adverbs *pàng* 'then', *juban* 'already', *nauhban* or
*nauhpanuh* 'yet, still'. The absolute participle may also govern a
direct object.

There are 54 absolute expressions in L/1%, of which 46 are in
the dative, six in the accusative, and one each in the nominative and
genitive. (Since the absolute can appear with any case modification,
the rule for absolute phrase structure is unmarked for case). Forty-
eight have a present participle, six a past participle. *At* precedes
13 of the 46 dative absolutes (by contrast, Greek absolutes are never
preceded by prepositions). The majority of Gothic absolutes (all but
five) are paralleled by genitive absolutes in the Greek text.

The following types of absolute participial phrases are found.
Examples are given for each type.

(1) ABS → *(at) \{PTO\} \{PP\} \{SAT\} + SB

(order, except for *at*, non-specified)

a) where SB = pPN3
Dative:

inngaggandin imma in suma haimo (PTC) L 17:12
"as he was going into one of the villages"

Accusative:

6

inngaggandan ina in skip (PTC) Mk 5:18
"as he was going into the ship"

Dative:

gagandin ban imma (PTC) L 19:36
"as he was going then"

nauhaban imma rodiandin (PTC) L 8:49
"while he was still speaking"

nauhbanuh fairra imma wisandin (PTC) L 14:32
"while he was still far away"

b) where SB = NCp

Accusative:

atgaggandein inn dauhtar Herodiadius (PTC) Mk 6:22
"as the daughter of Herodias was coming in"

Dative:

at galeibandom ban baim airum Johannes (PTC) L 7:24
"as John's messengers (then) were going"

paqumanaim ban hiyum managaim (PP) L 8:4
"when great crowds (then) had come together"

at filu managai managein wisandein (PTC) Mk 8:1
"as there was a rather large crowd"

Genitive:

inwisandins sabbate dagis (PTC) Mk 16:1
"when the sabbath day was past"

Nominative:

(S ➔ ABS)

.Jah waurbans dags gatis (ban Herodis mela gabaurpajais seinaizos. nahtamat waurhta....) (PP) Mk 6:21
"And when a suitable day had come (when Herod, at the time of his birthday, made a supper...)"
There is no question that this is a nominative absolute. It is followed immediately by a delimiting conjunction (than), which introduces a new sentence, so that the absolute constitutes a minor sentence.

c) where SB = NC

Dative:

.(and) at thanja than waurbama. (PP) Mn 1:32
'(then) when evening had come'

at thanja than waurbama (PP) Mn 4:35
'(then) when evening had come'

:. (jah jupan) at thanja than waurbama. (PP) Mn 15:42
'(and already) when evening had come'

at thanja jupan wisandin (PTC) Mn 11:11
'as it was already evening'

d) where SB = NM

Dative:

:(jah) usleipandin Iesua in skipa. (PTC) Mn 5:21
'(and) as Jesus was crossing over by ship'

.(jah) at Iesu ufdapipam. (PP) L 3:21
'(and) when Jesus had been baptized'

e) where SB = A

laugnjandam than allaim (PTC) L 8:45
'when all denied then'

at allaim than sildaleikandam (PTC) L 9:43
'as all were marvelling then'

(2) ABS → (at)PTC(SAT)(SB) + DO

(order, except for at, non-specified)

Dative:

andbindandam than im bana fulan L 19:33
'as they were (then) untying the colt'

.raginondin Punliu Peilatu Judaia. L 3:1
'when Pontius Pilate was governing Judea'

.at raginondin Saurim Kweinaiau. L 2:2
'when Quirinius was governing the Syrians'
ustiuhandam bans dagans  L 2:43
'when they fulfilled the days'

Accusative:

.(jah) galeikandein Heroda jah ba'im mibanakumbjandam. Mk 6:22
'(and) when she pleased Herod and those reclining with (him)'

(3) **ABS —> PTC + SAT**

(with order and number of satellites non-specified)

Dative:

atgagrandin in gerd peinana  L 7:44
'as (I) was going into thy house'

Accusative:

naubhanu b'an fai'ra wisandan  L 15:20
'then, while he was still far away'

Finally, there is a type of absolute expression which does not fall into the general pattern described so far. In this type, one constituent element is a common noun phrase in the dative, the other a proper noun or proper noun phrase in the genitive. There are only three occurrences of this type, all of them  L 3:1.

**ABS —> NCₚ-Dt + NM-Gn**

.(jah) fidurragin'ja pis Galeilaias Herodeis.
'(and) with Herod (being) tetrarch of Galilee'

**ABS —> NMₚ(Gn) + NCₚ-Dt**

.Filippauzuh b'an brobrs is. fidurragin'ja pis Ituraia
trau neitidaus landis.
'(and) with Philip his brother (being) tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis'

.(jah) Lwsaniaw Abeilenes fidurragin'ja.
'(and) with Lysanias (being) tetrarch of Abilene.'

These are the only absolutes found in L/Mk that are not participial phrases. They constitute a special type not covered by the general rule.
2.2 Person and Number Modification.

All Gothic inflected elements, except for reflexive pronouns, are inflected for number. Finite verbs and first and second person personal pronouns are inflected for three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, all other nominals for two numbers, singular and plural. Finite verbs and personal pronouns are the only elements which express three persons, first, second, and third. All other inflected elements are neutral in respect to person. The most important syntactic function of the person-number category is that it marks the relationship between sentence-subject and finite verb. When a finite verb co-occurs with a subject, the subject agrees with the finite verb in person and number, if it is a non-reflexive personal pronoun, and in number only, if it is any other nominal.

\[
\text{SB + FV} \rightarrow \begin{cases}
\text{PPN} & \begin{cases}
&Sg & 1 \\
&Du & 2 \\
&Pl & 3
\end{cases} \\
\text{NOM} & \begin{cases}
&Sg & 1 \\
&Pl & 2
\end{cases}
\end{cases} + \begin{cases}
&Vc \\
&Vi \\
&Vt
\end{cases} + \begin{cases}
&Sg & 1 \\
&Du & 2 \\
&Pl & 3
\end{cases}
\]

(order non-specified)

In this rule, pPN excludes reflexive pronouns; NOM includes all nominals except personal pronouns. The rule describes only the person-number modification; case, phrase, tense and mood modifications are not taken into consideration. It has already been shown that the sentence-subject must be in the nominative case (cf. 2.11.1). It should also be mentioned that number concord is not always rigidly observed; occasionally, a finite verb in the plural co-occurs with a subject in the singular. Some examples of subject-verb concord follow (for conspicuous other examples, cf. section3). Person and number are indicated in parentheses.
pPN₁+ FV: 8

ik im (1 - Sg) L 1:19
'I am'

weis gehausidedum (1 - Pl) Mk 14:58
'we heard'

baurbun weis (1 - Pl) Mk 14:63
'(do) we need'

pPN₂+ FV:

bu is (2 - Sg) Mk 15:2
'thou art'

jus saivib (2 - Pl) L 10:23, 24
'you see'

pPN₃+ FV:

beb is (3 - Sg) L 9:29
'he prayed'

eis qebun (3 - Pl) L 9:13
'they said'

qPN+ FV:

vas ist (3 - Sg) L 10:22
'who is'

Apn+ FV:

managai sijum (1 - Pl) Mk 5:9
'many (we) are'

qebun sumai (3 - Pl) L 9:7
'some said'

NC+ FV:

managai anatramp (3 - Sg) L 5:1
'the crowd pressed'

setun (bi ina) managai (FV: 3 - Pl, SB: Sg) Mk 3:32
'the crowd sat (around him)'

NM+ FV:

Iesus qeb (3 - Sg) L 6:3
'Jesus said'
gap Jesus (3 - Sg) L 8:45
"said Jesus"

PTC + FV:

weirpald bleipjandans (2 - Pl) L 6:36
"be merciful"

PTCp + FV:

ingazzandans in po baurg bigitate (FV: 2 - Du, SB: Pl) Mk 11:2
"going into that city, you (two) will find"
2.3 Phrase Modification.

A sentence-element expanded by phrase modification functions as a single sentence-element. Therefore, a phrase always constitutes a single sentence-element. Sentence-elements are either words or phrases.

Just as a sentence is made up of sentence-elements, so a phrase is made up of phrase-elements. A phrase is a group of two or more words acting as a single syntactic unit within the sentence. A phrase is labelled as substantive, prepositional, participial, or infinitive in reference to the constituents or governing elements of the phrase.

2.31 The Substantive Phrase.

The elements of the substantive phrase are primarily substantives, but they also include participles functioning as adjectives (cf. 1.12.12.4). A general rule for the formation of the substantive phrase might be formulated as follows:

\[ \text{SUBp} \rightarrow \{N\} (p) + \{N\} (p) + \{A\} (p) + \{A\} (p) \]

Only the following fact is stated by the rule: a substantive phrase consists of two or more substantival elements, i.e., nouns, adjectives, or pronouns, or of two or more noun, adjective, or pronoun phrases, in any combination or seriation with, or course, an upper limit. Since the rule leaves the substantives unmarked for case modification, it includes every substantival construction-type found in L/Mk. However, after all substantive phrases were examined, it was found that our general rule also implies many constructions which do not occur in the
text. It is therefore necessary to specify the types of substantive phrases occurring in the text.

In the Gothic substantive phrase, there are two basic syntactic relationships: co-occurrence and co-determinacy. Corresponding to these relationships, there are two main construction-types: attribution and apposition.

\[ \text{SUBp} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{SUBp}_1 \\ \{ \text{SUBp}_2 \} \end{cases} \]

2.31.1 Attributive phrases.

An attributive phrase consists of two types of constituents: one or more modifying elements, called modifiers or attributes, and a modified element, called the center. There are two types of attributive phrases: Those in which the modifier appears in the genitive case, regardless of the case, number, and gender of the center (genitival attribution), and those in which the modifier has the same case, number, and gender as the center (non-genitival attribution).

\[ \text{SUBp}_1 \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{SUBp-G} \\ \{ \text{SUBp-NG} \} \end{cases} \]

2.31.1A Before continuing in our discussion of attributive phrases, it will be necessary to list and illustrate the types of attributive constructions found in L/Mk. This will be done in outline form. The normal order of a construction is the one more frequently attested, the inverted order the one less frequently attested. If the phrase is a prepositional object, the governing preposition will be given in parentheses. The case of the center will be indicated in parentheses following each example by Nm, Gn, Dt, or Ac. (In a non-genitival phrase, the case of the center is, of course, the case of the construction as
a whole). If a phrase functions as a 'satellite expression or a vocative, this will also be indicated. G is for genitival, NG for non-genitival attribution. For < or >, read 'is attributive to'; the tip of the symbol points from the modifier(s) to the center. Phrase modification is indicated by p. For the designations of substantive classes, cf. 1.12.1-1.12.13A.3.

2.31.1A.1 Attribution constructions with one modifier.

2.31.1A.11 Word modifier.

A. Modifier = noun: all constructions are of type G.

(1) Center = noun.

a) normal order: N<N.

NC<NC:

sunus mans (Nm) Mk 14:41
"the Son of Man"

(in) sunaus mans (Gn) L 6:22
"(for the sake of) the Son of Man"

(b1) sunu mans (Ac) L 18:31
"(about) the Son of Man"

sununa brupfadis (Ac) L 5:34
"the sons of the bridal chamber"

NC<NM:

sunaus Heleis 10 (Gn) L 3:23
"(of) the son of Heli"

sunau Daweidis (Dt;VOC) Mk 10:48
"son of David"

(faura) fotum Iesuis (Dt) L 8:35
"(before) the feet of Jesus"

NM<NC: not attested.

NM<NM:

Marja Iosezis (Nm) Mk 15:47
"Mary of Joses"
b) inverted order: N > N.

NC > NC:

usastassais sunjus (Nm) L 20:36
'sons of the resurrection'

leikis siunai (Dt: INSTR) L 3:22
'in the form of a body'

NM > NC:

Zevariins sunau (Dt) L 3:2
'(to) the son of Zacharias'

Iosezis aipei (Nm) Mk 15:40
'the mother of Joses'

NC > NM: not attested.

NM > NM: not attested.

(2) Center = noun phrase.

a) normal order: Np < N.

NCp < NC, where NCp = PN > NC:

sa sunus mans (Nm) L 5:24, 6:5; Mk 2:28
'the Son of Man'

(ane) bizai mikilein gudis (Dt) L 9:43
'(at) the greatness of God'

NCp < NC, where NCp = NC < A:

Continuous NCp:

hansa mikila manageina (Nm) L 6:17
'a great multitude of people'

Discontinuous NCp:

managei motarje mikila (Nm) L 5:29
'a great crowd of publicans'

NCp < NC, where NCp = A > NC:

Continuous NCp:
prija hunda skatte (Ac) Mk 14:5
'three hundred (of) coins'

Discontinuous NCp:

twai dulgis skulans (Nm) L 7:41
'two debtors of a debt'

NCp < NC, where NCp = PN > A > NC

bama frumistin daga azwme (Dt:TEMP) Mk 14:12
'on the first day of unleavened breads'

NCp < NM, where NCp = PN > NC:

sa sumus Marjins (Nm) Mk 6:3
'the son of Mary'

NCp < NM, where NCp = A > NC:

(and) allans bisisand galeilaias (Ac) Mk 1:28
'(throughout) all the region of Galilee'

NMp < NC: not attested.

NMp < NM: not attested.

b) inverted order: N > NP.

NC > NCp, where NCp = A > NC:

skatte fimf hunda (Ac) L 7:41
'five hundred (of) coins'

dage fikvor tigaus (Ac:TEMP) L 4:2, Mk 1:13
'(for) forty (of) days'

No other phrases are attested in the inverted order.

(3) Center = adjective.

a) normal order: A < N.

A < NC:

all mangeins (Nm) Mk 2:13
'all of the multitude'

sumana manne (Ac) Mk 15:21
'a certain man' (literally: 'a certain of men')

veiha fraujins (Nm) L 2:23
'the holy (one) of the Lord'
A < NM:

(af) allamma Iudaías (Dt) L 6:17
'(from) all of Judea'

sums Fareisaie (Nm) L 7:36
'a certain Pharisee'

sumai Fareisaie (Nm) L 6:2, 19:39
'certain (of the) Pharisees'

b) inverted order: N > A.

NC > A:

manne sums (Nm) L 15:11; 16:1,19
'a certain man'

qinono suma (Nm) Mk 5:25
'a certain woman'

NM > A: not attested.

(4) Center = adjective phrase.

a) normal order: Ap < N.

Ap < NC, where Ap = PN > A:

sa weiba gudis (Nm) L 4:34, Mk 1:24
'the holy (one) of God'

Ap < NC, where Ap = A > A:

twos juggons ahake (Ac) L 2:24
'two young pigeons'

Ap < NM, where Ap = PN > A:

beim frumistam Galeilaias (Dt) Mk 6:21
'(for) the first (men) of Galilee'

b) inverted order (N > Ap): not attested.

(5) Center = pronoun.

a) normal order: PN < N.

dPN < NC:

so laisseino (Nm) Mk 1:27
'this teaching' (literally: 'this, of teachings')
bo gudis (Ac) L 20:25, Mk 12:17
'the things of God'

dPN < NM:

bana Zaibaideiaus (Ac) Mk 1:19
'the (son) of Zebedee'

qPN < NC:

Continuous:

va waurde (Nm) L 4:36
'what a word' (literally: 'what of words')

Discontinuous:

.va (izwis) laune (1st). (Nm) L 6:32,33,34
'What thanks (is there for you)'

relPN < NC:

Continuous:

(in) boei baurge (Ac) L 10:8,10
'(into) whatever city'

Discontinuous:

batei (aflifnoda in) gabruko (Nm) L 9:17
'whatever fragments (remained to them)'

empPN < NC:

varjato hunsle (Nm) Mk 9:49
'every sacrifice'

indPN < NC:

Continuous:

ainshum manne (Nm) Mk 11:2
'any man' (literally: 'anyone of men')

Discontinuous:

.(ni) ainshum (auk 1st) manne--- (Nm) L 9:50
'(For there is not) any man....'

b) inverted order: N > PN.

NC > indPN:
waihte ainhun (Nm) L 10:19
'anything' (literally: 'any of things')

NM > PN: not attested.

B. Modifier = adjective.

(1) Center = noun.

(a) normal order: N < A.

Construction-type G.

NC < Apn:

(fauru) andvarbja alalize (Dt) Mk 2:12
'(before) the presence of all'

NC < Ads:

sumus hauhistics (Nm) L 1:32
'the Son of the Highest'

gub daubaise (Nm) Mk 12:27
'the God of the dead'

NM < A: not attested.

Construction-type NG.

NC < Aps:

gub ussar (Nm) Mk 12:29
'our God'

aipej beina (Nm) Mk 3:32
'thy mother'

attins meinis (Gn) L 2:49
'of my father'

(du) siponjam seisaim (Dt) L 6:20; 9:14,43; 10:21,23; 16:1; 20:45
'(to) his disciples'

(in) namin meinamme (Dt) Mk 9:39,41
'(in) my name'

NC < Apn:

manna sums (Nm) L 14:16; 19:12
'a certain man'

hiuhuans manganai (Nm) L 5:15; 14:25
'great multitudes'
(and) heurg alla (Ac) L 8:39
"(throughout) the whole city"

NC < Anum:

tenus twal (Nm) L 18:10
"two men"

jera twal (Ac: TEMP) L 8:43; Mk 5:25
"(for) twelve years"

unhulp mens ibun (Nm) L 8:2
"seven demons"

NC < Ads:

Continuous:

manna hardus (Nm) L 19:21, 22
"an austere man"

stibna mikilai (Dt: INSTR) L 1:42; 8:28; 19:37; Mk 1:26; 5:7
"with a loud voice"

mela lagga (Dt: TEMP) L 8:27
"(for) a long time"

akran uurrinando (Ac) Mk 4:8
"(the) rising fruit"

Discontinuous:

skura (windis) mikila (Nm) Mk 4:37
"a great storm of wind (= wind storm)"

NM < A: not attested.

b) inverted order (construction-type NG only): A > N.

Aps > NC:

meins siponeis (Nm) L 14:26, 27, 33
"my disciple"

(in) peinama namin (Dt) Mk 9:38
"(in) thy name"

Apn > NC:

alla hiuhma (Nm) L 1:10
"the whole multitude"

alla managei (Nm) L 7:29
"the whole multitude"
anubrampa sinpa (Dt:TEMP) Mk 14:72
'another time'

(in) jainaim dagam (Dt) L 5:35; 9:36; Mk 1:9
'in those days'

Anum > NC:

tawam sinbam (Dt:TEMP) L 18:12; Mk 14:72
'two times'

sibun sinbam (Dt:TEMP) L 17:4 (twice)
'seven times'

sibun unhulbons (Ac) Mk 16:9
'seven demons'

Ads > NC:

diupaizos airbos (Gn) Mk 4:5
'(of) deep earth'

lagrai veilai (Dt:TEMP) L 18:4
'(for) a long while'

A > NM: not attested.

(2) Center = noun phrase: construction-type G only.

a) normal order: Np < A.

NCp < Apn, where NCp = A > NC:

Continuous:

tebhundon dail allis (Ac) L 18:12
'the tenth part of everything'

Discontinuous:

frumista allaizo anabusns (Nm) Mk 12:29
'the first commandment of all'

seina silbins saivala (Ac) L 14:26
'his own soul' (literally: 'his soul of himself')

NMP < A: not attested.

b) inverted order (A > Np): not attested.

(3) Center = adjective.

a) normal order: A < A.
Construction-type G.

A → Apn:

spedista allaze (Nm) L 20:32
spedumista allaze (Nm) Mk 12:22
Translation for both: 'last of all'

Construction-type NG.

A → Apn:

allamma seinamma (Dt) Mk 5:26
'her all' (i.e., everything she had)

A → Apn:

blindu sums (Nm) L 18:35
'a certain blind (man)'

anbaros managos (Nm) L 8:3; Mk 15:41
'many other (women)'

b) inverted order: A → A.

Construction-type G.

Apn → A:

allaze aftumists (Nm) Mk 9:35
'last of all'

Construction-type NG.

Apn → A:

Continuous:

favaim siukaim (Dt) Mk 6:5
'a few sick (people)'

managans anbarans (Ac) Mk 12:5
'many other (men)'

anbarans sibuntehund (Ac) L 10:1
'another seventy (men)'

Discontinuous:

managubban (jah) anbar (Ac) L 3:18
'many another thing (also)'

c) order not clear:
baudana stemmama (Ac) Mk 7:32
'a deaf, stuttering (man)'

(4) Center = adjective phrase:construction-type G only.

a) normal order: Ap<A.

Ap<Aps, where Ap = PN>A:

baem maistaim seinaize (Dt) Mk 6:21
'(for) his greatest men (i.e., chiefs)'

b) inverted order (A>Ap): not attested.

(5) Center = pronoun:construction-type G only.

a) normal order: PN<A.

empPN<Ads:

vazuh gumakundaize (Nm) L 2:23
'everyone of those being male = every male'

varjamsee habandane (Dt) L 19:26
'(to) everyone of those having = (to) everyone who has'

b) inverted order (A>PN): not attested.

C. Modifier = pronoun.

(1) Center = noun.

Construction-type G.

a) normal order: N<PN.

NC<pPN3:

aipei is (Nm) L 2:52; Mk 3:31
'his mother' (literally: 'the mother of him')

blobis izos (Gn) L 8:44; Mk 5:29
'(of) her blood'

(du) siponjam is (Dt) L 5:30; Mk 16:7
'(to) his disciples'

attans ize (Ac) L 6:23,26
'their fathers'

NC<dPN:

(ni) wahtai pis (Dt) L 18:34
'nothing of this'
NM<PN: not attested.

b) inverted order: PN>N.

pPN3>NC:

is waurede (Gn) L 20:26
"of his words"

ize unselein (Ac) L 20:23
"their wickedness"

qPN>NC:

vis brober (Nm) L 20:28; Mk 12:19
"someone's brother"

relPN>NC:

bizei naho (Nm) L 1:27; 2:25; 8:41
"whose name"

PN>NM: not attested.

Construction-type NG.

a) normal order: PN>N.

dPN>NC:

sa manna (Nm) L 2:25
"the man"

so qino (Nm) Mk 5:33
"the woman"

basa bari (Nm) L 1:80
"the child"

(du) bamma mann (Dt) Mk 3:5
"(to) that man"

himma dara (Dt; TEMP) L 2:11; 4:21; 19:5,9
"(on) this day, today"

(und) bana dag (Ac) L 1:20
"(until) the day"

dPN>NM:

sa Kristus (Nm) Mk 15:32
"(the) Christ"
bis Fareisaius (Gn) L 7:36,37
'of the Pharisee'

bamma Iesua (Dt) L 6:11
'(to) that Jesus'

qPN > NC:

vas biudans (Nm) L 14:31
'which King'

relPN > NC:

(und) banei dag (Ac) L 17:27
'(until) which day'

b) inverted order: N < PN.

NC < dPN:

kunja bamma (Dt) Mk 8:12
'(to) this generation'

(in) dagam baim (Dt) L 6:12
'(in) those days'

NC < empPN:

daga vammeh (Dt: TEMP) L 16:19; 19:47; Mk 14:49
dag vanoh (Ac: TEMP) L 9:23
Translation for both: 'every day.'

NM < PN: not attested.

(2) Center = noun phrase: all constructions are type G,

a) normal order: Np < PN.

NCp < dPN:

Continuous, where NCp = PN > NC:

bai fraujans bis (Nm) L 19:33
'the owners of this = its owners'

Discontinuous, where NCp = PN > NC < A:

bata waldufni bize allata (Ac) L 4:6
'all the power of these'

NCp < pPN2, where NCp = PN > NC:

vas manna izwara (Nm) L 15:4
'which man of you'
NCp<PN3:
Continuous, where NCp = PN > NC:

so aibe (Nm) L 1:60; 2:48
'this mother' (literally: 'the mother of him')

(du) baim siponjam is (Dt) Mk 2:16
'(to) his disciples'

\[\text{pama attan is (Ac) Mk 9:21}
\]

'his father'

Discontinuous, where NCp = NC < A:

siponjos is ganohai (Nm) L 7:11
'many disciples of his'

NMp<PN: not attested.

b) inverted order (PN > Np): not attested.

(3) Center = adjective.

Construction-type G.

a) normal order: A < PN.

Continuous:

Apn < dPN:

ainamma bize (Dt) L 15:4
'one of these'

Discontinuous:

Apn < pPN3:

ains (pan) ize (Nm) L 17:15
'(then) one of them'

sumai (raihtis) ize (Nm) Mk 8:3
'(for) some of them'

b) inverted order (PN > A): not attested.

Construction-type NG.

a) normal order: PN > A.

dPN > Aps:

\[\text{pata izvar (Ac) L 16:12}
\]

'that (which is) yours'


b) inverted order: APN.

Apn < dPN:

all pata (Nm) L 18:31; Mk 7:18
'all that'

(bi) alla po (Ac) L 7:18
'(about) all these (things)'

Anum < empPN:

twans vanzuh (Ac) L 10:1; Mk 6:7
'two each (i.e., impairs)'

(4) Center = adjective phrase: construction-type G only.
a) normal order: Ap<PN.

Ap<pPN₃, where Ap = PN>A:

nee juhiza ize (Nm) L 15:12
'the younger of them'

bei mikilans ize (Nm) Mk 10:42
'the great of them = their great ones'

b) inverted order (PN>Ap): not attested.

(5) Center = pronoun: construction-type G only.

a) normal order: PN<PN. 11

qPN<dPN:

varjis bize (Gn) L 20:33
'(of) which of these'

qPN<pPN₂ (discontinuous):

vas (pan) izwara (Nm) L 17:7
'(then) who of you'

qPN<pPN₃:

Continuous:

varjamma ize (Dt) Mk 12:23
'(to) whom of them'

Discontinuous:

varjis (pau) ize (Nm) L 9:46
'who of them (perhaps)'

empPN<pPN₂:

varjizuh izwara (Nm) L 14:33
'everyone of you'

empPN<pPN₃:

ainvarjammeh ize (Dt) L 4:40
'(on) everyone of them'

indPN<dPN:

Continuous:

(du) ainaihun bizo (Dt) L 4:26
'(to) any of these (women)'
Discontinuous:

---(ni) ainshun (ist) pize... (Nm) L 18:29
'(there is not) anyone of these'

indPN < pPN₂:

ainshun ize (Nm) L 4:28
'anyone of them'

b) inverted order: PN > PN.

pPN₂ > qPN:

izwara vas (Nm) L 14:28
'who of you'

2.31.1A.12 Phrase modifier: all constructions are of type G.

A. Modifier = noun phrase.

(1) Center = noun.

a) normal order: N < Np.

NC < NCp, where NCp = PN > NC:

frauja bis weinagardis (Nm) Mk 12:9
'lord of the vineyard'

where NCp = NC < PN:

hiuma siponje is (Nm) L 6:17
'a multitude of his disciples'

where NCp = A > NC:

(in) andwairbja allaizos manageins (Dt) L 8:47
'(in) the presence of all the people'

where NCp = NC < A:

skufta haubidis seinis (Dt:INSTR) L 7:38
'with the hairs of her head'

where NCp = NC < NC:

(in) andwairbja aggele gudis (Dt) L 15:10
'(in) the presence of God's angels'

where NCp = NC < NM:

(us) garda fadreinais Daveidis (Dt) L 2:4
'(out of) the house of David's descendants'
where \( \text{NCp} = \text{PN} \rightarrow A \rightarrow \text{NC} \):

\[(\text{in}) \quad \text{garda bis auhumistins gudjins} \quad (\text{Dt}) \quad \text{Mk 14:54} \]
\['(\text{in}) \quad \text{the house of the high priest} \quad \text{'}\]

\( \text{NC} < \text{NMP} \), where \( \text{NMP} = \text{PN} \rightarrow \text{NM} \):

\[(\text{in}) \quad \text{garda bis Fareisaiaus} \quad (\text{Ac}) \quad \text{L 7:36} \]
\['(\text{into}) \quad \text{the house of the Pharisee} \quad \text{'}\]

where \( \text{NMP} \) is appositive:

\[(\text{in}) \quad \text{dagam Herodes piudanis Judeas} \quad (\text{Dt}) \quad \text{L 1:5} \]
\['(\text{in}) \quad \text{the days of Herod, King of Judea} \quad \text{'}\]

\( \text{NM} < \text{NCp} \): not attested.

\( \text{NM} < \text{NMP} \), where \( \text{NMP} \) is appositive:

\[\text{Marja Iakobis bis minnizens} \quad (\text{Nm}) \quad \text{Mk 15:40} \]
\['\text{Mary (mother) of James the lesser} \quad \text{'}\]

b) inverted order: \( \text{Np} \rightarrow \text{N} \).

\( \text{NCp} \rightarrow \text{NC} \), where \( \text{NCp} = \text{NC} \rightarrow A \):

\[\text{libainais aiweinons arba} \quad (\text{Nm}) \quad \text{L 10:25; 18:18; Mk 10:17} \]
\['\text{the heir of eternal life} \quad \text{'}\]

No other constructions with inverted order are attested.

(2) Center = noun phrase.

a) normal order: \( \text{Np} \rightarrow \text{Np} \).

\( \text{NCp} \rightarrow \text{NCp} \), where \( \text{[PN} \rightarrow \text{NC]} \rightarrow \text{[PN} \rightarrow \text{NC]} \):

\[\text{sa frauja bis weinaradis} \quad (\text{Nm}) \quad \text{L 20:13} \]
\['\text{the lord of the vineyard} \quad \text{'}\]

where \( \text{[PN} \rightarrow \text{NC]} \rightarrow \text{[NC} \rightarrow \text{PN]} \):

\[\text{sa brunna blobis izos} \quad (\text{Nm}) \quad \text{Mk 5:29} \]
\['\text{the flow (fountain) of her blood} \quad \text{'}\]

where \( \text{[A} \rightarrow \text{NC]} \rightarrow \text{[NC} \rightarrow \text{A]} \):

\[\text{(us) piupeigamma huzda hairstins seinis} \quad (\text{Dt}) \quad \text{L 6:45} \]
\['\text{(out of) the good treasure of his heart} \quad \text{'}\]

where discontinuous \( \text{[NC} \rightarrow \text{A]} \rightarrow \text{[PN} \rightarrow \text{NC]} \):

\[\text{managei pizos-baurga ganoha} \quad (\text{Nm}) \quad \text{L 7:12} \]
\['\text{a considerable crowd of this city} \quad \text{'}\]
NCp < NMP, where [A > NC] < [PN > NM]:

allai gaujans bize Gaddarene (Nm) L 8:37
'all the inhabitants (of the country) of the Gadarenes'

NMP < NCp and NMP < NMP: not attested.

b) inverted order (Np > Np): not attested.

(3) Center: adjective.

a) normal order: A < Np

A < NCp, where NCp = PN > NC:

sumai bize bokarje (Nm) L 20:39; Mk 2:6; 7:1
'some of the scribes'

(in) ainamma bize dage (Dt) L 8:22
'(on) one of these days'

where NCp = A > NC:

minnist allaize freiwe (Nm) Mk 4:31
'the smallest of all seeds'

where NCp = NC < A:

tramadra dage seinaize (Nm) L 1:7
'advanced in their days (i.e., in age)'

(in) sumamma dage jainaize (Dt) L 20:1
'(on) one of those days'

where NCp = NC < NC:

(by) all waurde gudis (Ac) L 4:4
'(by) all of God's words'

where NCp = NC < NM:

managans suniwe Israelis (Ac) L 1:16
'many of the sons of Israel'

where NCp = PN > A > NC:

ain bize swaleikaize barne (Ac) Mk 9:37
'one of such children (as) these'

where NCp = [PN > NC] < PN:

sumans bize siponje is (Ac) Mk 7:2
'some of his disciples'
where $NCp = NC < \sqrt{PN} > A > NC$:

*aina bujo bis ahuumistins gudjins* (Nm)  Mk 14:66
"one of the maids of the high priest"

$A < NMp$, where $NMp = PN > NM$:

*aumal bize Fareisaie* (Nm)  Mk 12:13
"some of the Pharisees"

b) inverted order:  $Np > A$.

$NCp > A$, where $NCp = A > NC$:

*aallaizro anabusne frumista* (Nm)  Mk 12:28
"the first of all commandments"

*aallaizre grase maist* (Nm)  Mk 4:32
"the greatest of all herbs"

$NMp > A$:  not attested.

(4) Center: pronoun.

a) normal order:  $PN < Np$.

$dPN < NCp$, where $NCp = NC < A$:

*(in) beain attins meinis* (Dt)  L 2:49
"(in) the (affairs) of my father"

$empPN < NCp$, where $NCp = NC < \sqrt{NC} < A$

*aivinvarjanoh faihuskulane fraujins seinis* (Ac)  L 16:5
"every one of his lord's debtors"

$indPN < NCp$, where $NCp = NC < A$

*aivinshum manne jainaize* (Nm)  L 14:24
"any one of those men"

$PN < NMp$:  not attested.

b) inverted order ($Np > PN$):  not attested.

B. Modifier = adjective phrase.

(1) Center = noun.


$NC < Ap$, where $Ap = dPN > Ads$:
handu bis blindins (Ac) Mk 8:23
'the hand of the blind (man)'

(af) biuda bis gabeigins (Dt) L 16:21
'(from) the table of the rich (man)'

NM < Ap: not attested.

b) inverted order: Ap > N.

Ap > NC, where Ap = NC > A (discontinuous):

hundafade (pan) sumis skalks (Nm) L 7:2
'the servant of a certain of the centurions = a certain centurion's servant'

Ap > NM: not attested.

(2) Center = noun phrase


NCp < Ap, where Ap = dPN > Ads:

sa sumus bis piupeigins (Nm) Mk 14:61
'the son of the blessed (one)'

b) inverted order: not attested.

(3) Center = adjective.


Apn < Ap, where Ap = dPN > Anum:

ains pize twalibe (Nm) Mk 14:10
'one of the twelve'

where Ap = dPN > Ads:

ainsana pize letililane (Ac) Mk 9:42
'one of these little (ones)'

sumai pize atstandandane (Nm) Mk 15:35
'some of those standing by'

b) inverted order (Ap > A): not attested.

2.3.1A.2 Attributive constructions with two modifiers; all are of type NG; only common nouns and adjectives occur as centers.

2.3.1A.21 Modifiers = two adjectives.

A. Center first.
(1) Center = noun.

NC < Apn < Aps:

(from) barnam seinaim allaim (Dt) L 7:35
'from all her children'

NC < Apn < Ads:

manna sums godakunds (Nm) L 19:12
'a certain well-born man'

NC < Ads < Aps:

trigwos weihaizos seinai'zos (Gn) L 1:72
'his holy covenant'

B. Center second.

(1) Center = noun.

Apn > NC < Aps:

allama sigina seinanna (Dt) L 8:43; 14:33
'all his (her) possessions'

(us) allai saiwalai peinai (Dt) L 10:27; Mk 12:30
'(with) all thy soul'

allans dagans unearans (Ac:TEMP) L 1:75
'(for) all our days'

Anum > NC < Aps:

taihum skalkans seinans (Ac) L 19:13
'ten (of) his servants'

Ads > NC < Apn:

ahumistans rudjans allai (Nm) Mk 14:53
'all the high priests'

(2) Center = adjective.

Apn > Ads < Ads (PTC):

(in) ainis fraurhtiis idreigondins (Gn) L 15:7
'(because of) one sinful (man) repenting'

C. Center third.

(1) Center = noun.

Apn > Apn > NC:
ains sums juguralaubs  (Nm)  Mk 14:51  'one certain young man'

swaleikaim manapaim gajukom  (Dt:INSTR)  Mk 4:33  'with many such parables'

Anum > Ads > NC:

taihun brutsfillai mans  (Nm)  L 17:12  'ten leprous men'

(2) Center = adjective.

Apn > Ads (PTC) > Ads:

(in) ainis tendergondins frawaurhtis  (Gn)  L 15:10  '(because of) one repenting sinful (man)'

2.31.1A.22  Modifiers = adjective and pronoun.

A. Center first.

(1) Center = noun.

NC < dPN < Ads:

weni bata niujo  (Nm)  Mk 2:22  'the new wine'

waure bata waurpano  (Ac)  L 2:15  'the word (which has) come to pass'

gudis bis bauhistins  (Gn)  Mk 5:7  'of the most high God'

(ana) airpai bizai godon  (Dt)  Mk 4:20  '(on) the good earth'

(2) Center = adjective: not attested.

B. Center second.

(1) Center = noun.

dPN > NC < Aps:

so aibe1 meina  (Nm)  Mk 3:34  'my mother' (literally: 'the mother mine')

sa atta beins  (Nm)  L 2:48  'thy father'

(us) bizai baurg izwarai  (Dt)  L 10:11  '(out of) your city'
In the text provided, there are several linguistic analyses of Arabic phrases, their English translations, and their biblical references. Here is a detailed transcription and analysis:

1. **his disciples** (Ac) Mk 8:33

2. **the whole city**

3. **(out of) that city** (literally: 'out of the city that')

4. **all the words**

5. **your tradition** (literally: 'that which has been handed down your')

C. **Center third.**

1. **Center = noun.**
   a) **order A > PN > NC:**
      i) **Apn > dPN > NC:**
         Continuous:
         - **all the people**
         - **all these words**
         - **both the ships**
      Discontinuous:
      - **(But Mary kept) all these words.**

b) **order PN > A > NC:**
   dPN > Aps > NC:


\[ \text{bāi beinai siponjos} \quad \text{(Nm)} \quad \text{L 5:33; Mk 2:18} \\
\text{‘thy disciples’ (literally: ‘the thy disciples’) } \\
\]

\[ \text{dPN > Apn > NC:} \]

\[ \text{Continuous:} \]

\[ \text{bāi anbarai mans} \quad \text{(Nm)} \quad \text{L 18:11} \\
\text{‘the other men’} \]

\[ \text{bīze swaleikaize barne} \quad \text{(Gn)} \quad \text{Mk 9:37} \\
\text{‘(of) such children (as) these’} \]

\[ \text{(in) bemma samin landa} \quad \text{(Dt)} \quad \text{L 2:8} \\
\text{‘(in) the same country’} \]

\[ \text{Discontinuous:} \]

\[ \text{bīzai (auk) samon mitadjon} \quad \text{(Dt: INSTR)} \quad \text{L 6:38} \\
\text{‘(for) with the same measure’} \]

\[ \text{dPN > Anum > NC:} \]

\[ \text{bāns twans wairans} \quad \text{(Ac)} \quad \text{L 9:32} \\
\text{‘the two men’} \]

\[ \text{bāns fimf hlaibans} \quad \text{(Ac)} \quad \text{L 9:16; Mk 8:19} \\
\text{‘the five loaves’} \]

\[ \text{dPN > Ads > NC:} \]

\[ \text{sa juhiza sunus} \quad \text{(Nm)} \quad \text{L 15:13} \\
\text{‘the younger son’} \]

\[ \text{sa qimanda biudans} \quad \text{(Nm)} \quad \text{L 19:38} \\
\text{‘the coming King’} \]

\[ \text{bāi suhumistans gudjans} \quad \text{(Nm)} \quad \text{L 19:47; Mk 11:27; 14:55; 15:1, 3,10,11,31} \\
\text{‘the high priests’} \]

\[ \text{bata niujo wein} \quad \text{(Nm)} \quad \text{L 5:37} \\
\text{‘the new wine’} \]

\[ \text{(ana) bīzai godon airbai} \quad \text{(Dt)} \quad \text{L 8:15} \\
\text{‘(on) the good earth’} \]

\[(2) \text{ Center = adjective.} \]

\[ \text{a) order A > PN > A:} \]

\[ \text{Apn > dPN > Aps:} \]
all pata mein (Nm) L 15:31
'all that (is) mine'

Apn > dPN > Ads:

allai bei gahausjandans (Nm) L 2:18
'all the (ones) hearing'

allans bans unhailans (Ac) L 9:2
'all the sick'

b) order PN > A > A:

dPN > Apn > Ads:

bo alla ubilona (Ac) Mk 7:23
'all these evil (things)'

2.31.1a.3 Attributive constructions with three modifiers.

Only one such construction is attested; it is of type NG.

Apn > dPN > NC < Aps:

alla bo waurda seina L 7:1
'all his words' (literally: 'all the words his').

All attributive constructions in L/Mk have now been listed and illustated. To list all instances of each particular construction would have been prohibitive; instead, each construction is represented by at least one example. Before proceeding to a more general discussion of substantival attribution, a few remarks about some specific constructions are in order.

Construction N < A.

The traditional statement of the grammars that forms of the possessive adjective sein- 'his, her, its, their' appear only in the oblique cases because they refer (back) to the subject is somewhat inaccurate. Forms of sein- appear in many sentences without a subject. At any rate, with noun and adjectives in the nominative, the genitive forms of the third person personal pronoun (is 'of him, it,' izos 'of her,' ize 'of them') are used as possessive attributes in place of sein-. With nouns
and adjectives in the oblique cases, both genitive forms of the third person personal pronoun and forms of sein- appear as attributes, but here the personal pronoun forms are not found in reference to the subject. For example:

.jah birodidedun bokarjos ize jah Fareisaieis du siponjam is. qipandans.  L 5:30
'And their scribes and the Pharisees murmured against his disciples, saying...'

.qap pan du siponjam seinaim.  L 9:43
'(He) said then to his disciples.'

Proper nouns are never modified by adjectives. This is one of the main distributional criteria for differentiating between common and proper nouns in Gothic. The one apparent exception, two occurrences of proper noun with ain-, can be easily explained. E.g.:

.jah anaks insaivandans ni panaseipn ainohnun gasevun. alja Jesu ainana mjp sis.  Mk 9:8
'And suddenly, looking about, they no longer saw anyone, save Jesus only with themselves.'

Here, ainana is not attributive to Jesu, but in apposition with it.

A parallel construction is found, where a personal pronoun is in apposition with ain- (personal pronouns can never function as constituents of non-genitival attributive phrases). E.g.:

.jah imma ainanna fullafahjais.  L 4:8
'And him only shalt thou serve.'

The sequence proper noun plus participial adjective or vice-versa (e.g. Jesus andhafjands  Mk 11:29, andhafjands Jesus  Mk 11:33, 'Jesus replying') is also best considered an appositive, rather than an attributive construction. Again, there is a parallel construction with a personal pronoun. The phrase is andhafjands (L 8:21), 'he replying,' is structurally equivalent to Jesus andhafjands.

Construction A<=>A.
The pattern is clear: all but one of the adjective phrases formed by this construction contain pronominal adjectives, as either center or modifier, or both. The one exception is baudana stammana, 'a deaf, stuttering (man)', which is a non-genitival phrase consisting of two descriptive adjectives. Should this really be an attributive phrase (one argument— a dubious one— is by comparative evidence: compare NHG der Taubstumme 'the deaf-mute'), then it is impossible to tell what is center and what is modifier. Perhaps it might be better to consider this an appositive phrase.

Construction N < PN.

In construction-type G, the normal order is N < PN, the inverted order PN > N; the reverse holds for construction-type NG. Proper noun centers are unattested in the inverted order (N < PN) of type NG.

There are only two occurrences of the nominative as case of the NG phrase-type NC < PN. They are:

aggiles pae (Nm) Mk 12:25
'\text{the angels}'

mahteis pae (Nm) Mk 13:25
'\text{the powers}'

Both of these phrases are immediately followed by the prepositional phrase in himinam 'in the heavens'. A parallel construction clearly shows apposition between the deictic pronoun and the preceding noun phrase:

\[ \sqrt{NC < A} \leftrightarrow dPN: \]

atta izwar sa in himinam (Nm) Mk 11:25, 26
'your father the (one) in the heavens'

(The sequence NC - A - PN never constitutes an attributive phrase). By analogy, we propose that the forms pae and pae in the above examples are appositive with, rather than attributive to, the preceding noun.
Construction NC< PN< A.

Only descriptive adjectives and forms of the deictic pronoun θ can function as modifiers in this construction.

It could be argued that this construction would be better analyzed as appositive. Phrases such as gudis pis hauhistins and Iakobis pis mininizis (Mk 15:40), 'of) James the lesser,' certainly support such an argument. There is, however, no compelling reason to propose that bata niujo is in apposition with wein or bizai godon with airpai, especially since there are exact parallels in other constructions. E.g.:

'the new wine:'

(1) NC< dPN< Ads: wein bata niujo
(2) dPN > Ads > NC: bata niujo wein

'the good earth:'

(1) NC< dPN< Ads: (ana) airpai bizai godon
(2) dPN > Ads > NC: (ana) bizai godon airpai

Constructions (1) and (2) are basically the same construction with two different orders: the 'normal' order (2) (compare PN> N), with the attributive bundle preceding the center, and the 'inverted' order (1) (compare N< PN), with the attributive bundle following the center.

When a proper noun is followed by a pronoun and an adjective in the same case, as in Iakobis pis mininizis, this construction will be considered appositive, since there is no parallel in the corresponding 'normal order' construction (PN> A> N), and, primarily, because adjectives never modify proper nouns.

In view of the preceding evidence, many important restrictions must be placed on the privileges of occurrence of substantival elements in attributive phrases. Genitival (type G) attributive phrases consist of a center and a modifier; non-genitival (type NG) attributive phrases consist of a center and one, two or three modifiers. The normal order
for genitival phrases is center + modifier; the normal order for non-
genitival phrases with one modifier is center + modifier, where the
modifier is an adjective, and modifier + center, where the modifier is
a pronoun.

In the hierarchical structure of the non-genitival attributive
phrase, the noun occupies the highest place, followed by the adjective,
then by the pronoun. In any such phrase containing a noun and an ad-
jective, or a noun and a pronoun, or a noun and both adjective and
pronoun, the noun is the center. If the phrase does not contain a
noun, but an adjective and a pronoun, the adjective is the center. In
any non-genitival phrase containing two adjectives, either as modifiers
or as center and modifier, at least one of them must be a pronominal
or a possessive adjective. Pronouns never occur as centers of non-
genitival phrases; an attributive phrase can have no more than one
pronominal modifier.

An attributive phrase with a noun or noun phrase as center is a
noun phrase; one with an adjective or adjective phrase as center is an
adjective phrase. Pronominal phrases can be neither centers nor modi-
fiers. An attributive pronominal phrase consists of a pronoun modified
by a noun or noun phrase, an adjective, or another pronoun. All attrib-
utive pronominal phrases are genitival. Only noun and adjective phrases
are found in the non-genitival type.

Nouns can be modifiers only in genitival constructions. Proper
nouns are modified only by other proper nouns in genitival constructions,
and only by forms of the deictic pronoun ḫ- in non-genitival constructions.
For instance, the word for God, ḫaθ-, is classified as a common noun,
since it behaves distributionally like a common noun rather than a
proper noun; it is modified by adjectives (e.g. *gub unsar* 'our God',
gub *daupaize* 'God of the dead') and by personal pronouns (e.g. *du
fraujin guda ize* L 1:16, 'to the Lord their God'). Neither proper
nouns nor pronouns ever occur as center in an attributive phrase with
two or more modifiers. The personal pronouns occur only as attributes
in genitival constructions. (For a summation of distributional criteria
for substantives, cf. 1.123).

Non-genitival phrases can have only word modifiers, never phrase
modifiers. The reason for this lies in the structural difference bet-
ween genitival and non-genitival phrases. Since our general rule does
not indicate this difference, it is now necessary to revise it so as
to differentiate, first of all, between genitival and non-genitival
attributive phrases. Order is not specified in the following two rules.
Also, all the restrictions of occurrence already mentioned are retained
as applicable to these rules.

2.31.11

\[
\text{SUBp-G} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\{A\} (P) \\
PN \\
\end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\{N\} (P) \\
PN \\
\end{array} \right\} \text{ Gn}
\]

2.31.12

\[
\text{SUBp-NG} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
A \\
PN \\
\end{array} \right\} (PN) + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
A' \\
N \\
\end{array} \right\} \left( \begin{array}{c}
A' \\
PN \\
\end{array} \right)
\]

The second rule requires some comment. A minimum of two and a maxi-
mum of four slots can be filled in strings derived from this rule.
Actually, there is only one instance of all four slots being filled
(cf. 2.31.1a.3). The slot filled by the phrase constituent \{A\} will
always be the center of the phrase, whether it occupies the first,
second, or third position in the phrase.
It is only beyond the two-word level that the structural difference between genitival and non-genitival constructions becomes obvious. At the two-word level, identical phrase markers result from derivations of both rules. For example:

Derivations from the first rule: \( N+N-Gn, N+PN-Gn, N-Gn+A \).

P markers:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Np} & \quad \text{Np} & \quad \text{Np} \\
\text{N} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{sumus} & \quad \text{mann} & \quad \text{aipêi} \\
\text{'the Son of Man'} & \quad \text{'a certain man'} & \quad \text{'his mother'}
\end{align*}
\]

Derivations from the second rule: \( N+A, PN+N, N+A \).

P markers:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Np} & \quad \text{Np} & \quad \text{Np} \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{sa} & \quad \text{manna} & \quad \text{aipêi} \\
\text{'the man'} & \quad \text{'a certain man'} & \quad \text{'thy mother'}
\end{align*}
\]

Although most of these phrase markers differ as to constituent elements, the resulting uninodal derivational tree is identical: the structure in all cases is either center \(<\) modifier or modifier \(>\) center.

Beyond the two-word level, the structure of a non-genitival phrase is always uninodal, that of a genitival phrase multinodal. Derivational trees from the second rule will always exhibit only one node, those from the first rule two or more nodes. Some examples are:

Derivations from the second rule: \( PN+N+A, A+N+A, A+PN+N+A \).

P markers:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Np} & \quad \text{Np} & \quad \text{Np} \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{sa} & \quad \text{manna} & \quad \text{aipêi} \\
\text{'my mother'} & \quad \text{'ten(of) his servants'} & \quad \text{'all his words'}
\end{align*}
\]
Derivations from the first rule.

(1) One-level bifurcation: cf. examples above.

(2) Two-level bifurcation.

Derivation: \( N_\text{p} + N - G_n \), where \( N_\text{p} = PN + N \).

P marker:

```
  \( \text{NP} \)
   \( \text{NP} \)
    \( \text{PN} \)
     \( N \)
      \( \text{sa > sumus} \)
       \( \text{the Son of Man} \)

\( \text{NP} \)
   \( \text{NP} \)
    \( \text{PN} \)
     \( N \)
      \( \text{so > sibe} \)
       \( \text{his mother} \)

\( \text{NP} \)
   \( \text{NP} \)
    \( \text{PN} \)
     \( N \)
      \( \text{twans < sibonje < seinaize} \)
       \( \text{two of his disciples} \)
```
Derivation: $N + \text{Np-Gn}$, where $\text{Np} = N + \text{PN-Gn}$.

P marker:

\[
\text{N}
\]

```
\text{hitma} \leftarrow \text{siponje} \leftarrow \text{is/}
\] 'a multitude of his disciples'
```

Derivation: $A + \text{Np-Gn}$, where $\text{Np} = \text{PN} + A + N$.

P marker:

\[
\text{A}
\]

```
\text{a} \leftarrow \text{bize > swaleikaize > berne/}
\] 'one of such children (as) these'
```

Derivation: $\text{Np} + \text{Np-Gn}$, where both $\text{Np} = \text{PN} + N$.

P marker:

\[
\text{Np}
\]

```
\text{sa} \leftarrow \text{frauja} \leftarrow \text{pis > weinagardis/}
\] 'the lord of the vineyard'
```

(3) Three-level bifurcation.
Derivation: $N + Np - Gn$, where $Np = NP + N - Gn$.

P marker:

Derivation: $N + Np - Gn$, where $Np = N + Np$ (apposition).

P marker:

Derivation: $PN + Np - Gn$, where $Np = N + Np - Gn$.

P marker:
Derivation:  \( A + Np - Gn \) where \( Np = Np + Np - Gn \).

P marker:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ainana} \\
\text{'one of the days of the Son of Man'} (L 17:22)
\end{array}
\]

(4) Four-level bifurcation.

Derivation:  \( N + Np - Gn \), where \( Np = N + Np \), etc.

P marker:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{mestodeins} \\
\text{'the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God'} (Mk 1:1).
\end{array}
\]

2.31.2 Appositive phrases.

Appositive phrases have neither a center nor a modifier. The elements in an appositive phrase simply stand in apposition. The case and, most often, the number of one element is determined by the case and number of the other element or elements, or vice-versa; in other words, case and number are co-determined. The elements in an appositive phrase
can be joined either by juxtaposition (non-linked apposition) or by linking conjunctions (linked apposition).

\[ \text{SUBp}_2 \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{SUBp-NL} \\ \text{SUBp-L} \end{cases} \]

2.31.21 Non-linked appositive phrases.

For the formation of non-linked appositive phrases, the general rule given for the formation of substantive phrases (cf. 2.31) is applicable, with the provision that all the constituent elements be in the same case. Another restriction on the rule is that not all strings derivable from it are actually attested in the text. The following types of non-linked appositive phrases are found in L/Mk. The examples given are not intended to be exhaustive, but only representative of certain construction-types. For the symbol \(\leftrightarrow\), read 'is appositive to.'

The rest of the abbreviative notations are the same as used in the outline of attributive phrases (cf. above, 2.31.1a). Once again, the case of the construction is indicated in parentheses.

2.31.21.1 Apposition of elements of same distributional class.

A. Apposition of nouns and noun phrases.

(1) Apposition of two elements.

a) \(N \leftrightarrow N\).

\(\text{NC} \leftrightarrow \text{NC}:\)

frauja gub \((\text{Nm})\) L 1:32
'the Lord God'

\(\text{NC} \leftrightarrow \text{NM}:\)

aggilus Gabriel \((\text{Nm})\) L 1:26
'the angel Gabriel'

\(\text{NM} \leftrightarrow \text{NC}:\)

Kristus ...frauja \((\text{Nm})\) L 2:11
'Christ the Lord'
NM ↔ NM:

Jesus Nazoraius (Nm) L 18:37
'Jesus (the) Nazarene'

b) N ↔ Np.

NC ↔ NCp:

frauia gub Israelis (Nm) L 1:68
'the Lord God of Israel'

frauia gub unsar (Nm) Mk 12:29
'the Lord our God'

(du) fraujin guda ize (Dt) L 1:16
'(to) the Lord their God'

fraujan gub heinana (Ac) L 4:8,12; 10:27; Mk 12:30
'the Lord thy God'

NC ↔ Np:
not attested.

NM ↔ NCp:

Kristus sunus gudis (Nm) L 5:41; 9:20
'Christ, the son of God'

Kristus sa sunus bis biufeigins (Nm) Mk 14:61
'Christ, the son of the blessed (one)'

Jesus sa magus (Nm) L 2:43
'Jesus the boy'

(at) Iohannen Zavariins sunau (Dt) L 3:2
'(to) John, the son of Zacharias'

NM ↔ Np:

Jesus sa Nazoraius (Nm) Mk 10:47
'Jesus the Nazarene'

(mip) Iesua bamma Nazorcinau (Dt) Mk 14:67
'(with) Jesus the Nazarene'

c) Np ↔ N.

NCp ↔ NC:
not attested.

NCp ↔ NM:

managein beinai Israelis (Dt) L 2:32
'thy people, Israel'
(Du) attam unsara'im  Abrahama (Dt) L 1:55
'(to) our fathers, (to) Abraham'

NMp ↔ NC: not attested.

NMp ↔ NM: not attested.


NCp ↔ NCp:

bai mans bai hairjus (Nm) L 2:15
'these men, the shepherds'

sa timria sa sumus Marjins (Nm) Mk 6:3
'the carpenter, the son of Mary'

laibos gabrukos sibun spwreidans (Ac) Mk 8:8
'rests of fragments, seven baskets'

NCp ↔ NMP: not attested.

NMp ↔ NCp:

sa Xristus sa biudans Israelis (Nm) Mk 15:32
'(the) Christ, the King of Israel'

Iesous Xristau sa sunaus gudia (Gn) Mk 1:1
'(of) Jesus Christ, the son of God'

NMp ↔ NM: not attested.

(2) Apposition of three or more elements.

(Note the punctuation of the following enumerative appositive phrase:)

NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NCp ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC:

...kalkinassjus. horinassjus maurbra. biubja faihufrikeins.
unseleins. liutei aglaitei. augo unsel. wajamereins. haunhairtei.
unwiti. (Nm) Mk 7:21-2
'adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wicked-
ness, deceit, lasciviousness, the evil eye, blasphemy, arrogance,
foolishness.'

Apposition of 75 noun phrases of type NC<NM in the genealogy, L 3:23-38.

B. Apposition of adjectives and adjective phrases.

(1) Apposition of two elements.

Ap ↔ Ap, where both adjectives are participial:
bata gamelido bata gibando (Nm) Mk 15:28
'the scripture (the one) saying' (literally: 'that which was written, the one saying')

(2) Apposition of three or more elements.

Apn ↔ Apn ↔ Apn:

galeik swaleikata manag (Ac) Mk 7:13
'many such like (things)'

Apn ↔ Apn ↔ Apn ↔ Apn:

anbar galeik swaleikata manag (Ac) Mk 7:8
'many other such like (things)'

Ads ↔ Ads ↔ Ads ↔ Ads:

...unledans gamaidans. haltans. blindans. (Ac) L 14:13
'the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind'

(The first two phrases above have been classified as appositive rather than attributive merely because they conform to no other attributive pattern. If our classification were based more on semantic, rather than formal, criteria, then these phrases might well be labelled attributive).

C. Apposition of pronouns.

empPN ↔ relPN:

savazuh saei (Nm) L 9:48 (twice); 18:14; Mk 9:37,42; 10:11,43
'everyone who = whoever'

vazuh saei (Nm) L 14:11; 16:18; 20:18
'everyone who = whoever'

No other appositive construction of pronominal elements is attested.

2.31.21.2 Apposition of elements of different distributional classes.

A. Apposition of noun and adjective elements.

NM ↔ A, where adjective is participial:

Jesus anhaf'ands (Nm) Mk 11:29
'Jesus replying'

NM ↔ Ap:
Iakobis bis minnizins (Gn) Mk 15:40
'(of) James the lesser'

NCp ← A, where adjective is participial:

pos managains finbandeins (Nm) L 9:11
'the crowds, realizing'

NCp ← Ap,
where Ap = dPN > A:

sunus meins sa liuba (Nm) L 3:22; 9:35; Mk 1:11; 9:7
'my son, the beloved = my beloved son'

sunus is sa albiwa (Nm) L 15:25
'his son, the older = his older son'

frawaurhteis izos pos managons (Nm) L 7:47
'her sins, the many = her many sins'

where Ap = A < NC(INSTR):

managana swpreidans fullans gabruko (Ac) Mk 8:20
'many baskets, full of fragments'

NMp ← Ap:

Judas Iskarioteis ains pize twalibe (Nm) Mk 14:10
'Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve'

A ← NC:

'silba airba (Nm) Mk 4:28
'the earth itself'

A ← NM:

silba Daweid (Nm) L 20:42; Mk 12:36,37
'David himself'

andbafjanda Jesus (Nm) Mk 11:33
'Jesus replying'

A ← NCp, where adjective is participial:

gahausjandans siponjos is (Nm) Mk 6:29
'his disciples, hearing'

Ap ← NMp:

sumana manne Seimona Kvreinau (Ac) Mk 15:21
'a certain man, Simon the Cyrenian'

NCp ← NC ← Ads ← NC, where NCp = dPN > Apn > NC:
bai anbarai mans wilwans inwindai horos (Nm) L 18:11
'the other men, robbers, unjust, adulterers'

B. Apposition of noun and pronoun elements.

NM ↔ PNp, where PNp = dPN < NM:

Marja so Iakobis (Nm) Mk 16:1
'Mary the (mother) of James'

Iakobu pana Zaibaidaiua (Ac) Mk 1:19
'James the (son) of Zebedee'

C. Apposition of adjective and pronoun elements.

(1) PN ↔ A.

pPN₁ ↔ Apn:

mik silban (Ac) L 7:7
'myself'

pPN₂ ↔ Apn:

izwis silbans (Ac) L 16:15
'yourself'

pPN₃ ↔ Apn:

is silba (Nm) L 5:1
'he himself'

si silbo (Nm) L 7:12
'she herself'

pPN₄ ↔ Apn:

sik silban (Ac) L 9:23; 14:11; Mk 8:34; 12:33; 15:31
'himself'

relPN ↔ Apn:

baili silbans (Nm) L 18:9
'who themselves'

pPN₃ ↔ Ads(PART):

is andhafjands (Nm) L 8:21
'he replying'

sia gahausjandans (Nm) Mk 14:11
'they hearing'
(2) \(A \leftrightarrow \overline{\text{pFN}}\):

\(\text{allans ins} \quad (\text{Ac}) \quad \text{L 6:10}\)
\('\text{all (of) them}'\)

\(\text{Ads} \leftrightarrow \overline{\text{pFN}}\):

\(\text{midjans ins} \quad (\text{Ac}) \quad \text{L 4:30}\)
\('\text{the midst (of) them}'\)

\((\text{in}) \quad \text{midjaim im} \quad (\text{Dt}) \quad \text{Mk 9:36}\)
\('\text{(in) the midst (of) them}'\)

(3) \(\overline{\text{pNP}} \leftrightarrow \text{Ap}\).

\(\overline{\text{dpN}} \leftrightarrow \overline{\text{dpN}} \rightarrow \text{Ads}\):

\(\overline{\text{so laiseino so niujo}} \quad (\text{Nm}) \quad \text{Mk 1:27}\)
\('\text{this new teaching}' (literally; 'this of teachings the new')\)

\(\overline{\text{so handuigeino so gibano (irmi)}} \quad (\text{Nm}) \quad \text{Mk 6:2}\)
\('\text{this wisdom given (to him)}'\)

Since there is some question, whether certain constructions should be labelled attributive or appositive, a set of distinguishing criteria is necessary. If two or more nouns or noun phrases juxtaposed within a phrase are in the same case and (usually) the same number, the phrase is appositive. In the case where both or all of the nouns or noun phrases are in the genitive case, the evidence of constructional patterns also becomes an important distinguishing criterion. For example, the phrase \(\text{sunaua mans} \quad (\text{L 6:22})\), in which both nouns are inflected for genitive case, singular number, and masculine gender, could be classified as either genitival attributive or appositive by purely formal criteria. However, by analogy with the phrase \(\text{sunus mans} \quad (\text{Mk 14:41}) \quad '\text{the Son of Man,' which is an attributive phrase, the phrase sunaua mans is also classified as attributive. There can be only one noun in a non-genitival attributive construction. In a genitival phrase, one of the noun elements must be in the genitive case. A phrase, in}
which a proper noun or proper noun phrase is juxtaposed with another substantival element of the same case, is usually an appositive phrase, unless all juxtaposed elements are genitive, in which case it could be either appositive or attributive, or when a proper noun is juxtaposed with a form of the deictic pronoun ḫ-, in which case it is attributive (cf. construction PN>N, 2.31.1A.11). The apposition of a proper noun with a participial adjective or an adjective phrase has already been discussed (cf. remarks to constructions N<A and NC<PN<A following 2.31.1A.3).

Forms of the adjective silb- 'self' never function as centers or modifiers in attributive constructions (unless part of an appositive phrase functioning as attributive modifier). The argument proceeds from pattern analogy. Since personal pronouns are never centers of attributive phrases, and since proper nouns are never modified by adjectives, any construction, in which silb- is juxtaposed with a personal pronoun (or, by analogy, another type of pronoun) or with a proper noun (or, by analogy, a common noun), is an appositive construction. The juxtaposition of adjective and third person personal pronoun (A ↔ PN) is also appositive, since personal pronouns are never centers, and since only genitive forms of the personal pronouns can be modifiers.

In case none of these distinguishing criteria are applicable, there is one further test for differentiating between appositive and non-genitival attributive constructions. In any non-genitival attributive phrase beyond the two-word level, any two or three words taken in succession yield a new non-genitival attributive phrase. For example, so aipei meina (Mk 3:34) yields *so aipei (cf. so qino Mk 5:33) and aipei meina (L 8:20; Mk 3:34); alla po waurda seina (L 7:1) yields
alla bo waurda (L 1:65), *bo waurda seina (cf. bo natja seina Mk 1:18), alla bo (L 7:18), bo waurda (L 9:44), and *waurda seina (cf. waurda meina L 6:47). These are essentially a series of deletion transformations, as the following transformational rule illustrates.

Phrase: alla bo waurda seina 'all his words.'

Structural Description: A-PN-N-A.

Structural Change: $X_1$-$X_2$-$X_3$-$X_4 \rightarrow X_1$-$X_2$-$X_3$

or \[ X_2$-$X_3$-$X_4 \]

or \[ X_1$-$X_2 \]

or \[ X_2$-$X_3 \]

or \[ X_3$-$X_4 \]

It is not necessary that the transforms be attested in the corpus; the rule is valid, as long as parallel phrases are attested (as, for example, so gino 'the woman,' parallel to *so aipei 'the mother'). If a substantive phrase is susceptible to such deletion transformations, it is attributive; if not, it is appositive.

Let us test another phrase: sunus is sa alpiza (L 15:25) 'his older son.' Only phrases of type sunus is (cf. aipei is L 2:52, 'his mother') and sa alpiza (cf. sa frumista L 19:16, 'the first') are possible; *sunus is sa, *is sa alpiza, and *is sa represent impossible phrase-types. Since the deletion transformation cannot be applied to this phrase, it is appositive.

2.31.22 Linked appositive phrases.

Another type of apposition is linkage. Again, the general rule for the formation of substantive phrases (cf. 2.31) is applicable, but with the addition that the various substantival elements be joined by linking conjunctions ($C_2$; cf. 1.21.2).
The elements linked share the same case and usually the same number.

Most substantives or substantival phrases can be in apposition by linkage. By far the most frequent are linked nouns and noun phrases. A few examples follow.

2.31.22.1 Apposition of elements of same distributional class.

A. Apposition of nouns and noun phrases.

1) Apposition of two elements.

a) \[ N \leftrightarrow N. \]

NC \( \leftrightarrow \) NC:

\[ \text{aglo aibba unwakja} \quad (\text{Nm}) \quad \text{Mk 4:17} \]

'affliction or persecution'

\[ \text{(et) guda jah marnam} \quad (\text{Dt}) \quad \text{L 2:52} \]

'(before) God and men'

\[ \text{(and) baursa jah haimos} \quad (\text{Ac}) \quad \text{L 8:1} \]

'(throughout) the cities and villages'

NM \( \leftrightarrow \) NM:

\[ \text{Fareissaijes jah witodalaisarjos} \quad (\text{Nm}) \quad \text{L 5:17} \]

'Pharisees and law-teachers'  

NM \( \leftrightarrow \) NM:

\[ \text{(bi) Iakobu jah Iohannen} \quad (\text{Ac}) \quad \text{Mk 10:41} \]

'(about) James and John'

b) \[ N \leftrightarrow Np. \]

NM \( \leftrightarrow \) NCP:

\[ \text{Iosef jah aibeis is} \quad (\text{Nm}) \quad \text{L 2:44} \]

'Joseph and his mother'

c) \[ Np \leftrightarrow N. \]

NCP \( \leftrightarrow \) NC:
(mib) mahtai managai jah vulbau (Dt) Mk 13:26
'(with) great power and glory'

NCp ↔ NM:

bokarjos ize jah Fareisaiels (Nm) L 5:30
'their scribes and the Pharisees'


NCp ↔ NCp:

aipei meina jah bai brobrius meinai (Nm) Mk 3:34
'my mother and my brothers'

bai ahookistsans gudjans jah alla so graeurds (Nm) Mk 14:55
'the high priests and all the council'

NMP ↔ NCp:

bai Fareisaiels jah bai bokarjos (Nm) Mk 7:5
'the Pharisees and the scribes'

(2) Apposition of three or more elements.

NC ↔ NC ↔ NC:

frodein jah wahstau jah anstai (Dt:INSTR) L 2:52
'in wisdom and stature and favor'

NMp ↔ NMP ↔ NM:

Marja so Magdalene jah Marja so Iakobis jah Salome (Nm) Mk 16:1
'Mary (the) Magdalene, and Mary the (mother) of James, and Salome'

NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC ↔ NC

(note punctuation!):

...gard aibbau brobruns. aibbau swistruns aibbau aipcein aibbau attan. aibbau gen. aibbau barna. aibbau haimoplja. (Mk 10:29
'house, or brothers, or sisters, or mother, or father, or wife, or children, or lands'

(For an example of extended enumerative apposition of proper nouns, cf. 3.

B. Apposition of adjectives.

Ads ↔ Ads:

(faura) snutrim jah frodaim (Dt) L 10:21
'(from) the wise and the prudent'
C. Apposition of pronouns and pronoun phrases.

(1) PN $\leftrightarrow$ PN.

$pPN_1 \leftrightarrow pPN_2$:

mis jah bus (Dt) L 8:28
'(ro) me and thee'

uns jah bus (Dt) Mk 1:24
'(to) us and thee'

(2) PNP $\leftrightarrow$ PNP.

$[\overline{DPN < NC}] \leftrightarrow [\overline{DPN < NC}]:$

(ni...) baim gudis ak baim manne (Dt) Mk 8:33
'(not) the things of God, but the things of man'

2.31.22.2 Apposition of elements of different distributional classes.

A. Apposition of noun and adjective elements.

NC $\leftrightarrow$ Ads:

(mib) motarijam jah fraowurhtaim (Dt) Mk 2:16
'(with) publicans and sinners'

NCp $\leftrightarrow$ Ads:

(mib) baim motarijam jah fraowurhtaim (Dt) Mk 2:16
'(with) the publicans and sinners'

Ap $\leftrightarrow$ NCp $\leftrightarrow$ NC:

...(fram) baim sinistam, jah baim ahuumistam gudjam jah bokarjam... (Dt) Mk 8:31
'(by) the elders, and the high priests, and the scribes!

2.32 The Prepositional Phrase.

A prepositional phrase consists of a preposition and a complement, which in Gothic is always a nominal or a nominal phrase. The case of the nominal element is governed by the preposition, and may be genitive, dative, or accusative (cf. 2.1). The order is fixed: the preposition is always the first element in the phrase. There are
continuous and discontinuous prepositional phrases.

\[ \text{PP} \rightarrow \{ \text{PP1} \} \]
\[ \{ \text{PP2} \} \]

2.32.1 Continuous prepositional phrases.

In a continuous prepositional phrase, the preposition is followed immediately by the element governed, either a nominal or a continuous nominal phrase.

\[ \text{PP1} \rightarrow \text{P + NOM}(p) + \{ \text{Gn} \} \]
\[ \{ \text{Dt} \} \]
\[ \{ \text{Ac} \} \]

All nominal word-elements are privileged to occur post-prepositionally except participles. All types of nominal phrases, including participial phrases, occur after prepositions. Below, continuous prepositional phrases are classified according to type of prepositional object. A frequency-count is given for each type. For each type, at least one example is given. Only unique examples are cited by verse; constructions occurring more than once are provided with a frequency-count. The case of the governed element (in a post-prepositional nominal phrase, the governed element is the nominal immediately following the preposition) is indicated in parentheses. The same abbreviative notations are used here as in the outlines of attributive and appositive substantive phrases.

2.32.11 Prepositional object = nominal.

A. where NOM = N:

Total: 505

(1) \text{P + NC:}

\[ \text{immana gardis} \quad (\text{Gn}) \quad \text{Mk 8:23} \]

'inside the house'
ana airbai (Dt) 7
'at the ground'

du airbai (Dt) L 14:35
'for the ground'

(2) P + NM:

at Iesua (Dt) 3
'to Jesus'

du Iesua (Dt) 7
'to Jesus'

dausa Iesua (Dt) L 5:19
'before Jesus'

mip Iesua (Dt) 2
'with Jesus'

B. where NOM = A:

Total: 44

ana allaim (Dt) L 1:65
'on all'

du allaim (Dt) L 9:23
'to all'

fram allaim (Dt) L 4:15
'by all'

ana alans (Ac) L 4:36
'on all'

bi daubans (Ac) Mk 12:26
'concerning the dead'

C. where NOM = PN:

Total: 557

in bizei (Gn) 7
'because of which'

du imma (Dt) 118
'to him'

mip imma (Dt) 18
'with him'

afar imma (Dt) 13
'after him'

bi ina (Ac) 12
'about him'
ana ina (Ac) 11
"upon him"

ina ina (Ac) 3
"in(to) him"

2.32.12 Prepositional object = nominal phrase.

A. Attributive phrases.

(1) Noun phrases. Total: 570

a) Genitival.

Only normal order genitival phrases occur after prepositions, since the element governed by the preposition is always the phrase center.

NC < NC:

in biudangarijos gudis (Gn) L 18:29
"because of the Kingdom of God"

in biudangarijai gudis (Dt) 2
"in the Kingdom of God"

in biudangarija gudis (Ac) 5
"into the Kingdom of God"

NC < NM:

du fotum Jesuis (Dt) Mk 5:22
"at Jesus' feet"

faura fotum Jesuis (Dt) 2
"before Jesus' feet"

NC < PN:

du fotum is (Dt) Mk 7:25
"at his feet"

faura fotum is (Dt) 2
"before his feet"

NC < NCp:

in andwairbja aggele gudis (Dt) L 15:10
"in the presence of the angels of God"

in andwairbja allaizos mangeins (Dt) L 8:47
"in the presence of all the people"
in gafahis pize fiske (Gn) L 5:9
'because of the catch of the fishes'

in gard pis synagogafadis (Ac) Mk 5:38
'into the house of the synagogue-ruler'

NC < NMP:
in gard pis Fareissiaus (Ac) L 7:36
'into the house of the Pharisee'

NCp < NC:
ana pizaj mikilein gudis (Dt) L 9:43
'at the greatness of God'

ana allai mahtai rifandis (Dt) L 10:19
'on all the power of the enemy'

and all gawi bisitande (Ac) L 4:14
'throughout all the neighboring region' (literally: 'region of neighbors')

NCp < NMP:
and allans gaujans Iaurdanaus (Ac) L 3:3
'throughout all the regions of the Jordan'

NCp < PN:
du baim siponjam is (Dt) Mk 2:16
'to his disciples'

b) Non-Genitival.

NC < A:
du siponjam seinaim (Dt) 7
'to his disciples'

mip siponjam seinaim (Dt) 3
'with his disciples'

A > NC:
in jaenampa daga (Dt) 4
'in that day'

us allai saiwalai (Dt) Mk 12:33
'with all the soul'

PN > NC:
in bizaḥ alḥ (Dt) 3
'in the temple'

baɪrḥ ḏo alḥ (Ac) Mk 11:16
'through the temple'

um ḏaḥa ḏag (Ac) L 1:20
'until the day'

PN > NM:

miḥ baim ḏerodīanum (Dt) Mk 3:6
'with the Herodians'

NC < PN:

in ḏagam baim (Dt) L 6:12
'in those days'

NC < A < A:

fram barnaḥ seinaim allaim (Dt) L 7:35
'by all her children'

NC < PN < A:

fram ḏaḥiḥ bamma ṣeinin (Dt) L 2:26
'by the Holy Ghost'

A > NC < A:

us allai saiwalai ṣeina'i (Dt) 2
'with all thy soul'

PN > NC < A:

us bizaḥ baurg izwarai (Dt) L 10:11
'out of your city'

PN > A > NC:

in bamma samin ṣamand (Dt) L 2:8
'in the same country'

(2) Adjective phrases.  

a) Genitival.

A < NCp:

us allammas baimo ḏaleiḥaias (Dt) L 5:17
'out of all the towns of Galilee'
bi all waurde gudis  (Ac)  L 4:4
"by all of God's words"

in ain pize skipe  (Ac)  L 5:3
"into one of the ships"

Ap < NC:

in bemma reikistin unhulbomo  (Dt)  Mk 3:22
"by the prince (= the most powerful) of devils"

b) Non-genitival.

PN > A:

bi pata samo  (Ac)  Mk 10:10
"about the same (thing)"

bi pata anpar  (Ac)  Mk 4:19
"about the other (thing)"

bi pana wodan  (Ac)  Mk 5:16
"concerning the possessed (man)"

bi bo rodidona  (Ac)  L 2:18
"concerning the (things) spoken"

A < PN:

bi alla bo  (Ac)  L 7:18
"about all these (things)"

(3) Pronoun phrases.  Total: 4

PN < NC:

in poei baurge  (Ac)  2
"into whatever city"

PN < PN:

du ainaizun bizo  (Dt)  L 4:26
"to one of these (women)"

PN < NCp:

in paizm attins meinis  (Dt)  L 2:49
"in the (things) of my father"

B. Appositive phrases.

(1) Non-linked.  Total: 30

A ↔ PN:
pəər h m idjənə ɪns (Ac)  L 4:30
'through the midst (of) them'

PN ↔ A:

in sis əsilbin (Dt) 2
'within himself'

in sis əsilbəm (Dt)  L 7:49
'within themselves'

NC ↔ NCp:

du əgua nasəland meinəma (Dt)  L 1:47
'at God my savior'

NM ↔ NCp:

wibrə Abraəam attən unsərənə (Ac)  L 1:73
'against (= to) Abraəam, our father'

in Hairodiadims qenais Filippus brotps seinis (Gn)  Mk 6:17
'because of Herodias, the wife of Phillip, his brother'

(2) Linked.  
Total: 35

NC ↔ NC:

ufərə waurə əja skauərpjomənə (Gn)  L 10:19
'upon serpents and scorpions'

NM ↔ NM:

in Twra əja Seidona (Dt)  L 10:13
'in Tyre and Sidon'

bi Twra əja Seidona (Ac)  Mk 3:8
'about Tyre and Sidon'

NCp ↔ NC:

in ahəmən weihamən əja funən (Dt)  L 3:16
'in (= with) the Holy Ghost and fire'

C. Participial phrases.  
Total: 9

e.g.: faura paim mipanakumbjandam pəus (Dt)  L 14:10
'in the presence of those reclining with thee'

2.32.2 Discontinuous prepositional phrases.

In a discontinuous prepositional phrase, the normal order of elements is disrupted by an intervening element (IE).
\[ Pp_2 \rightarrow P + \text{IE} + \text{NOM}(p) + \{\text{Dt}\} \]

The syntactic relationship between the preposition and its object is in no way affected by the intervening element; the only effect is seriatimal. The position of the intervening element is variable: it cannot precede the preposition, but it can occupy any post-prepositional position (except final position, of course).

The intervening element is most often a non-inflected element, either the enclitic intensifying particle -\text{uh} or an adverb (usually \text{pan}_2 'then'), or both together. There is one occurrence of a delimiting conjunction, \text{allis}, together with -\text{uh}. The particle is suffixed to the preposition; adverbs may take any non-final post-prepositional position. Other prepositional phrases and, in one instance, a sentence, also function as intervening elements. As formulated in our rule, a prepositional phrase can contain only one preposition. Therefore, one prepositional phrase cannot be a phrase element of another prepositional phrase. When one prepositional phrase occurs within another prepositional phrase, it acts as an intervening element, rendering the phrase discontinuous. Similarly, two or more prepositional phrases cannot be linked to form one prepositional phrase.

A total of 22 discontinuous prepositional phrases are found in L/Mk. They fall into the following types:

A. Intervening element in first post-prepositional position.

(1) IE = -\text{uh}, or -\text{uh} + \text{pan}_2.

a) where prepositional object = NC:

\text{uzuh himina} (Dt) L 20:4; Mk 11:30
'from heaven'
uzuh mammam (Dt) L 20:4; Mk 11:30
from men'

Compare the same two phrases without intervening element:

us himina (Dt) L 20:5; Mk 11:31
us mammam (Dt) L 20:6; Mk 11:32

b) where prepositional object = NCP:

inuh bizai veilai (Dt) L 10:21
'in that hour'

inuh pan bizai veilai (Dt) L 7:21
'then in that hour'

Compare the same phrase without intervening element:

in bizai veilai (Dt) L 20:19

c) where prepositional object = PN:

afaruh pan pata (Ac) Mk 16:12
afaruppan pata (Ac) L 10:1; 18:4

(where -uppan, with assimilation, is enclitic for -uh+pan)

Translation for both phrases: '(then) after this'

Compare the same phrase without intervening element:

afar pata (Ac) L 5:27; 8:1

(2) IE = -uh+allis, where prepositional object = NCP:

uzuh allis ufarfullein hairtins (Dt) L 6:45
'for out of the abundance of the heart'

B. Intervening element in second post-prepositional position.

(1) IE = adverb.

a) where prepositional object = NCP:

in jainaim pan dagam (Dt) Mk 8:1
'then, in those days'

Compare the same phrase without intervening element:

in jainaim dagam (Dt) L 9:36; Mk 1:9

b) where prepositional object = linked NCP:
du baim bisunjane haimom jah baurgim (Dt) Mk 1:38
'to the around (= surrounding) towns and cities'

in bos bisunjane haimos jah weihea (Ac) L 9:12
'into the surrounding towns and villages'

(2) IE = prepositional phrase, where prepositional object = PTCp:

mib baim mib imma drobjandam (Dt) Mk 15:7
'with those rebelling with him'

(3) IE = major sentence, where prepositional object = NCP:

in allaizo poze sevun mahte (Gn) L 19:37
'because of all the mighty deeds which they had seen' (literally: 'because of all, which they had seen, the mighty deeds')

C. Intervening element in third post-prepositional position.

IE = prepositional phrase, where prepositional object = NCP:

bi bos gfullaweisidons in uns waihtins (Ac) L 1:1
'concerning the events carried out among us' (literally: 'concerning the carried-out-among-us events').
2.33 The Participial Phrase.

Since participles occur as both centers and modifiers in non-genitival attributive phrases, they are classifiable as adjectives by distributional criteria. Like substantival elements, participles and participial phrases can occur as subject, predicate, direct object, prepositional object, and in apposition to any nominal sentence-element (cf. table 2). Within the participial phrase, however, the participle participates in the same constructions as the finite verb and the infinitive (except that the co-occurrence of a predicate in a participial phrase is not attested in L/Mk): it co-occurs with a subject, direct object, indirect object, with an infinitive or an infinitive phrase, with another participle or participial phrase, with or without a satellite. Unlike the infinitive, which is uninflected, the participle agrees with its subject in case, number, and gender. Because sentence function supersedes phrase function, participles have been classified as nominal elements. Their dual function, as adjectives in substantive phrases and in sentences, and as verb-like fulcrums in participial phrases, suggests the designation 'verbal adjectives'.

A participial phrase consists of a present or past participle and a complement.

\[
\text{PART}_p \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{PP} \\
\text{PTC}\end{array} \right\} + \text{COMP}
\]

Since the participial complement is for all purposes identical with that of infinitives and finite verbs, a classification of participial phrase types would correspond closely to the classification of infinitive phrase types and major sentence types. Hence, no attempt will be made to provide an exhaustive listing of participial phrase-types.
The following examples adequately illustrate the structure of Gothic participial phrases.

\[
\text{PART}_p \rightarrow \text{PTC + SAT (Pp)}
\]

\[
\text{atgaggands in alh frauhins. L 1:9 (he) going into the temple of the Lord}
\]

\[
\text{PART}_p \rightarrow \text{PTC + 3SAT}
\]

\[
\text{jah atgaggandeisunsaiv sniwmundo du pamma piudana. Mk 6:25 (and she) going straightway with haste to the king}
\]

\[
\text{PART}_p \rightarrow \text{PP + SAT (Pp)}
\]

\[
\text{galagid in uzetin L 2:12 (him) placed in the manger}
\]

\[
\text{PART}_p \rightarrow \text{SB + PTC + SAT (Pp)}
\]

\[
\text{bize galaubjandane du mis. Mk 9:42 of these believing in me}
\]

\[
\text{PART}_p \rightarrow \text{SB + SAT + PP}
\]

\[
\text{bæi ana stainahamma saianans (SAT:PP) Mk 4:16 those (which have been) sown on stony (ground)}
\]

\[
\text{bize faura haitanane (SAT:AV) L 14:24 of those (which have been) called forward}
\]

\[
\text{PART}_p \rightarrow \text{PTC + SB + SAT (INSTR)}
\]

\[
\text{urhumnandis jesu ahmin seinamma Mk 2:8 Jesus knowing in his spirit}
\]

\[
\text{PART}_p \rightarrow \text{PTC + DO + SAT (Pp)}
\]

\[
\text{wairpandans nati in marein. Mk 1:16 (them) casting a net into the sea}
\]

\[
\text{PART}_p \rightarrow \text{DO + PTC}
\]

\[
\text{waldufni habands Mk 1:22 (he) having power}
\]

\[
\text{PART}_p \rightarrow \text{SB + PTC + DO}
\]

\[
\text{faura baim mibanskumbjandam pus L 14:10 (in the presence of) those reclining with thee}
\]
PARTp \rightarrow IO + DO + PTC

fawaim siukaim handuns galagjands Mk 6:5
'(he) laying (his) hands on a few sick ones'

PARTp \rightarrow PTC + INFP, where INFP = DO + INF

wiljands bizai managein fullafahjan Mk 15:15
'(he) wishing to please the crowd.'

(For examples of participles as substantive modifiers, cf. 2.31.1A;
for examples of participles and participial phrases as nuclear
sentence-elements, cf. 3.).

One peculiarity of participial phrases is that the subject can
be in any case. This is due to the fact that participial phrases have
fundamentally the same privileges of occurrence as substantival ele-
ments. If, for example, a participial phrase occurs as prepositional
object, the participial subject appears in the case normally governed
by the preposition, and the participle shows case, number, and gender
agreement. For instance, the preposition faura 'before, in the pre-
sence of' governs the dative; in a participial phrase governed by faura,
the subject and participle appear in the dative: faura baim
mipanakumbjandam bus. Or, when a participial phrase is a genitive
modifier, both the subject and the participle are in the genitive case:
A < PARTp, where PARTp = SB + PTC

sumai < (pize atstandandane) Mk 15:35
'some of those standing by.'

2.34 The Infinitive Phrase.

An infinitive phrase consists of an infinitive and a complement.
An infinitive phrase is often introduced by the preposition du 'to'.

INFp \rightarrow (du)INF + COMP

The infinitive complement is identical with that of the finite verb,
except that the co-occurrence of an infinitive with a predicate is not
attested in L/Mk. An infinitive can co-occur with a subject, direct object, indirect object, with a participle or a participial phrase, with another infinitive or infinitive phrase, with or without a satellite. Hence a classification of infinitive phrase types would correspond closely to the classification of major sentence types. A few examples will illustrate this.

\[
\text{INF}_P \rightarrow (\text{du})\text{INF} + \text{SAT}, \text{ where SAT is PP:}
\]

\[
\text{at} \text{ sat} \text{ an} \text{ faura} \text{ fraul} \text{ in} \text{ L 2:22}
\]

'to present (him) before the Lord'.

\[
\text{du sitan af tal} \text{ hswon meina} \text{ ai} \text{ bbau af hleid} \text{ u} \text{ mein} \text{ Mk 10:40}
\]

'to sit on my right or on (my) left'.

\[
\text{INF}_P \rightarrow \text{ Sb} + \text{ INF}
\]

\[
\text{fauragaggi} \text{ ja wisan} \text{ L 16:2}
\]

'to be steward'.

\[
\text{INF}_P \rightarrow \text{ INF} + \text{ Sb}
\]

\[
\text{wis} \text{ an meins sipone} \text{ is} \text{ L 14:27}
\]

'to be my disciple'.

\[
\text{INF}_P \rightarrow (\text{du})\text{INF} + \text{DO}
\]

\[
\text{af} \text{ letan frawa} \text{ urhtins} \text{ Mk 2:7}
\]

'to forgive sins'.

\[
\text{bima} \text{ itan bata barn} \text{ L 1:59}
\]

'to circumcise the child'.

\[
\text{du bima} \text{ itan ina} \text{ L 2:21}
\]

'to circumcise him'.

\[
\text{INF}_P \rightarrow \text{ DO} + \text{ INF}
\]

\[
\text{ina gasa} \text{ ivyan} \text{ L 9:9}
\]

'to see him'.

\[
\text{INF}_P \rightarrow \text{ INF} + \text{ IO}
\]

\[
\text{giban unleda} \text{ im} \text{ Mk 14:5}
\]

'to give to the poor'.

\[
\text{INF}_P \rightarrow \text{ IO} + \text{ SAT} + \text{ INF}
\]

\[
\text{im in gajukom giban} \text{ Mk 12:1}
\]

'to speak to them in parables'.
\[ \text{INF}_p \rightarrow \text{INF} + \text{DO} + \text{IO} \]

\[ \text{man\textsc{\textbf{w}}jan womans imma} \quad \text{L 1:76} \]
\[ \text{'to make ready the ways for him'} \]

\[ \text{INF}_p \rightarrow \text{INF} + \text{IO} + \text{DO} \]

\[ \text{man\textsc{\textbf{w}}jan fraujin manage\textsc{\textbf{m}}n gafahrida} \quad \text{L 1:17} \]
\[ \text{'to make ready for the Lord a people prepared'} \]

\[ \text{INF}_p \rightarrow \text{DO} + \text{INF} + \text{IO} \]

\[ \text{kaisaragild giban kaisara} \quad \text{Mk 12:14} \]
\[ \text{‘to give tribute to Ca\textsc{\textbf{e}}\textsc{\textbf{g}}\textsc{\textbf{a}}r (i.e., the emperor)’} \]

\[ \text{INF}_p \rightarrow \text{INF} + \text{DO} + \text{INF}_p, \text{ where } \text{INF}_p = \underline{\text{du} + \text{INF} + \text{DO}} \]

\[ \text{haban waldurfi du hailjan saultins} \quad \text{Mk 3:15} \]
\[ \text{‘to have power to heal sicknesses’} \]

The peculiarity of infinitives or infinitive phrases is that they behave constructionally like finite verbs, but distributionally more like nominals. None of the above examples constitutes a sentence; each is a phrase, a sentence-element rather than a sentence. An infinitive or an infinitive phrase always co-occurs with a finite verb, a participle or participial phrase, or another infinitive or infinitive phrase. It is dependent upon its co-occurrence and forms part or all of the complement (for examples of infinitive complementation, cf. 3.3).

Infinitives have not been placed in the same distribution-class as substantives and participles (nominals), since they are non-inflected, and since their distribution contrasts with that of the nominals. Although infinitive sentence-elements frequently occur in the same environments as nominal complements, they also occur in environments which are impossible for nominal sentence-elements. One example is co-occurrence with connective verbs. In a sentence of type SB-Vc-PD-IO, no other nominal element can occur. (Connective verbs do not co-occur with direct objects). Infinitive sentence-elements, however, do occur
in sentences of this type in addition to the nominal elements. E.g.

(Infinitive phrases are underlined):

\[ S \longrightarrow SB-PD-Vc-IO \]

"unte is gods ist paim unfagram jah unseljam. L 6:35
"For he is kind to the unthankful and to the evil."

\[ S \longrightarrow Vc-IO-PD-SB-INF_p, \text{ where } PD = PTC_p \]

:-wesumppan imma nevandans sik allai motarjos jah frawaurtai hausjan imma. L 15:1
"Then all the publicans and sinners were nearing themselves (i.e., were drawing near) to him to hear him."

Intransitive verbs cannot occur with a direct object, but they occur frequently with infinitive complements. E.g.:

\[ S \longrightarrow Vin-INF_p, \text{ where } INF_p = INF+SAT: \]

jah dugann 
merjan in Daikapaulein. Mk 5:20
"And (he) began to proclaim in Decapolis."

\[ S \longrightarrow SAT-SB-Vin-INF_p, \text{ where } INF_p = INF+SAT: \]

:jah autra Jesus dugann laisjan at marein. Mk 4:1
"And again Jesus began to teach by the sea."

\[ S \longrightarrow Vin-SAT-SB-INF_p, \text{ where } INF_p = INF+SAT: \]

dugambpan Paitrus qipan du imma. Mk 10:28
"Then Peter began to speak to him."

The privileges of occurrence of infinitive sentence-elements are different from those of nominal elements and, in some cases, in contrast with them. For this reason, the infinitive and the infinitive phrase have been set aside as a separate sentence-element. It is best to think of the infinitive element as a restricted element which can occur in any major sentence-type, much like the vocative, but with the difference that the infinitive element can never constitute a minor sentence.
Section 3. The Sentence-Types of Gothic.

3.1 Graphic and Grammatical Sentences.

A preliminary description of the Gothic sentence might define it as any segment of text between punctuation marks (period and colon, as indicated by the Gothic scribes; cf. also 1.21.1). This is not meant to be a formal definition of the grammatical sentence in Gothic. It is, rather a definition based solely on scribal practice in the Codex Argenteus. The Codex Argenteus is written per cola et commata: the colon is used for the delimitation of larger segments, the period (or comma) to set off the smaller segments. These segments are the graphic sentences, as opposed to the grammatical sentences, of Gothic. In addition, gold and enlarged letters, spaces, paragraph signs, and colon plus horizontal line are occasionally used as punctuation devices.

The segments delimited by periods and/or colons are irregular and have apparently been drawn up according to semantic rather than grammatical criteria, i.e., they express thought-lines. Frequently, one simple grammatical sentence consists of several graphic sentences (as many as eleven: L 6:13-16; cf. below), or one graphic sentence consists of several grammatical sentences (as many as eight: L 15:30-1). The evidence suggests that the Gothic bible was written for the purpose of ceremonious reading, and that the usage of period and colon was determined by the contingencies of rhetorical emphasis and declamation.

This usage is particularly evident in enumerative passages, as, for example, L 6:13-16:

\[ \text{jah gawaljands us im twalib. banzei jah apaustulune namnida.} \\
\text{Seimon banei jah namnida Paitru jah Andraian brobar is. Takobu.} \\
\text{jah Johannen. Filippu jah Barthulomaiu. Bapaiu jah boman. Takobu} \\
\text{bana Alfaius. jah Seimon bana haitanan Zeloten. Judan Takobaus.} \\
\text{jah Judan Iskarioten.} \]
'And choosing twelve of them, whom also he named apostles: Simon, whom also he named Peter, and Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Matthew and Thomas, James the (son) of Alpheus, and Simon the one called Zelotes, Judas of James, and Judas Iscariot.'

The choosing of the twelve apostles certainly marks an auspicious event in the New Testament. For reasons of rhetorical emphasis, the names of the apostles are set off from the text by periods, either singly or in pairs. The parallel passage in Mark (Mk 3:16-19) is similarly punctuated.

Another example of delimitation for emphasis occurs Mk 12:30, where again a significant occasion is marked, namely Jesus' pronouncement of the principle of Christian love.

jah frfios fraujan gub peinana us allama hairtin peinamma.
jah us allai saiwalai peinai. jah us allai gahugdai peinai.
jah us allai mahtai peinai.
'And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.'

The parallel passage in Luke (L 10:27) is similarly punctuated.

Frequently, however, the scribal punctuation cannot be so easily explained. Segments of text are set off, which can hardly be accounted for by reason of rhetorical emphasis. In many instances, sentences are delimited in an apparently arbitrary manner. The punctuation of like or similar passages is often unaccountably inconsistent. For example:

jah andhafjands Jesus gab du im. nih ik izwis giba in vamma
valdunfje bata tauja. Mk 11:33
'And answering, Jesus said to them: Neither will I tell you, by which authority I do this.'

The parallel passage, L 20:8:

jah Jesus gab im ni ik izwis giba in vamma valdunfje. bata tauja:
'And Jesus said to them: Neither will I tell you, by which authority I do this.'

Of these two practically identical versions, the punctuation of the
first strikes the reader as more 'logical'.

Another example:

.nih bata gamelido ussuggwub stains barrei uswaupun pai timrjans
sah warb du haubida waihstins. Mk 12:10
'And did you not read that having been written (in this scripture):
The stone, which the builders rejected, (that one) became (to)
the head of the corner.'

The parallel version is found L 20:17, with a more 'logical' punctuation:

.appan va ist bata gamelido. stains bamei uskusun timrjans
sah warb du haubida waihstins.
'But what is that scripture: The stone, which the builders
rejected, (that one) became (to) the head of the corner.'

Yet another example:

.jah gab du bamma mann bamma gbaursana habandin handu. Mk 3:3
'And he said to the man having the withered hand' (literally:
'...to the man the withered having hand').

The almost identical version, L 6:8, has a rather puzzling punctuation:

.jah gab du bamma mann bamma bursja. habandin handu.
(Translation same as above).

The text contains numerous similar inconsistencies of punctuation.

The explanation for the presence of so many inconsistencies and
for all the peculiarities of Gothic punctuation is obvious. The segments
of text included between punctuation marks, i.e. the graphic sentences,
simply are not meant to represent the grammatical sentences of the
language. They may, of course, represent grammatical sentences, but they
are often only parts of grammatical sentences, or they include more than
one grammatical sentence. It would be futile to assume that graphic
sentences are identical to grammatical sentences, and then to attempt
a classification of Gothic sentence-types based on this assumption.
The result would be a bewildering and meaningless profusion of sentence-
types. The difficulties in writing rules to describe all these types
can well be imagined.
The only way of arriving at a sensible and ultimately valid classification of Gothic sentences is to isolate the grammatical sentences of the language (the criteria utilized in this process of isolation are explained below, 3.2). Noam Chomsky has stated succinctly the importance of the separation of grammatical and ungrammatical sequences, and of the subordination of meaning to grammaticality in syntactic analysis:

The fundamental aim in the linguistic analysis of a language \( L \) is to separate the grammatical sequences which are the sentences of \( L \) from the ungrammatical sequences which are not sentences of \( L \) and to study the structure of the grammatical sequences.

...The notion 'grammatical' cannot be identified with 'meaningful' or 'significant' in any semantic sense...any search for a semantically based definition of 'grammaticalness' will be futile.

...Grammar is autonomous and independent of meaning...

The reasons for rejecting an equation of graphic and grammatical sentences in Gothic can be summarized as follows:

1. The graphic sentences are delimited by virtue of other than grammatical criteria.

2. Even within that framework, the scribal punctuation is often inconsistent and illogical.

Only a description of the grammatical sentences of Gothic constitutes a syntax of Gothic.
3.2 Gothic Sentence Structure.

In the L/Mk section of the Codex Argenteus, there are 3052 graphic sentences, of which eleven are incomplete or fragmentary. By contrast, as shown below, there are 4082 simple grammatical sentences. In view of the preceding observations on scribal punctuation practice, this divergence of numbers is not surprising. But how is this total number reached? Two principal criteria are used to isolate the grammatical sentences from the written text. They are delimitational and structural criteria, and they are applied in that order. In the majority of cases, the grammatical sentences are marked off by punctuation, conjunctions, or other delimiting signs (cf. 1.12.1). In the absence of delimitational marking, structural criteria must be used to establish grammatical sentences.

Structural criteria can only be based on a formal description of sentence structure. On the most basic level, a sentence consists of one or more sentence-elements. Sentence-elements are either word (cf. section 1) or phrase (cf. section 2) units. Sentence-elements fall into three classes on the basis of their distribution within the sentence: nuclear, satellite, and restricted elements. In addition, a sentence can be expanded by one or more non-elements (cf. 1.2). The nucleus of the basic major sentence-type consists of a finite verb form and a nominal unit with case modification of type subject, predicate, direct object, or indirect object (cf. 2.11), or a combination of these. Any sentence-type may contain one or more satellites, i.e., adverbs (cf. 1.14.1), nominal satellite expressions (cf. 2.13), and prepositional phrases (cf. 2.32), without altering the nuclear sentence structure. The addition of a restricted sentence-element, either an infinitive (cf. 1.13) or an infinitive phrase (cf. 2.34), or a vocative (cf. 2.12),
or both, also does not alter nuclear sentence structure, but these elements occur only in certain environments. Infinitive elements never occur independently as minor sentences; they are always dependent upon a governing finite verb, participial element, or another infinitive element. Vocatives occur either independently as minor sentences, or as major sentence-elements as co-occurrence of a finite verb in the imperative mood.

Gothic sentences fall into two large classes: major and minor sentences. Since the vast majority of Gothic grammatical sentences (3801 out of 4082) contain a finite verb form, they will be considered as representative of major sentence-types. Verb-less sentences will be considered to represent the Gothic minor sentence-types. Because the simple sentence has been proposed as the largest Gothic syntactic unit, the restriction must also be imposed that a major sentence can have only one finite verb form. This, in fact, is the prime structural criterion for delimiting the simple grammatical sentences in our text. In the following sentence structure rules, $S$ stands for sentence, $RE$ for restricted element; other abbreviative notations are self-explanatory or have been explained and used previously.

$$
S \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\text{MajS} \\
\text{MinS} 
\end{cases}
$$

$$
\text{MajS} \rightarrow \text{Nucleus (SAT)(RE)(NE)} 
$$

(with order non-specified)

The nucleus of a major sentence consists of a finite verb alone, or of a finite verb with one or more co-occurrence nominal elements.
The rule for minor sentence structure requires several restrictions. The constituent $\text{NOM}(p)$ includes only non-satellite nominal elements. The term nucleus is not applied to minor nominal sentence-elements, since, by definition, nuclear nominal elements must co-occur with a finite verb in a major sentence (or as phrase-elements in participial and infinitive phrases; cf. 2.13.4, 2.33, 2.34). Further, not all sequential combinations specified by the rule actually occur. The sequences $\text{NE}+\text{NE}$ and $\text{NOM}(p)+\text{VOC}$ or vice-versa are not attested as minor sentence constitutes.

3.3 Major Sentence-Types.

There are a total of 3801 major sentences in L/Mk. The prototype of Gothic major sentences consists of a subject and a finite verb form, SB-FV. All other sentence-types can be derived from the prototype by the application of three kinds of transformations: expansion, deletion, and permutation. Only the five nuclear elements, that is, the finite verb, the subject, the predicate, the direct object, and the indirect object, function as transformational sentence-elements. In other words, the Gothic major sentence-types are established by transformational rules affecting only the sentence nucleus. All other sentence-elements and non-elements may occur as all or part of the complement of any major sentence-type.

Expansion and deletion transformations produce new sentence-
types, whereas permutation transformations simply rearrange the nuclear elements within the same sentence-type. For example, if the prototype, SB-FV, is expanded by one nuclear element, this produces a new sentence-type, for instance SB-FV-PD. If one of the elements of the prototype is deleted (it must be the subject, since deletion of the finite verb would yield a minor sentence), this produces a new sentence-type FV.

If, however, the prototype undergoes a permutation transformation, the order is changed from SB-FV to FV-SB, and no new sentence-type, only a subtype, is produced. In the final analysis, the fact that permutation transformations are non-productive means that the order of sentence-elements is not syntactically significant in Gothic. This statement must not be interpreted to mean that Gothic has free word order. It should be recalled that there is fixed word order in substantive (2.31) and prepositional (2.32) phrases, and that the order of conjunctions (1.21) and of most particles (1.22) within the sentence is also fixed.

If we apply the expansion transformation to the prototype, using each of the three remaining nuclear elements just once, this yields three new sentence-types:

**SD of prototype:** SB-FV

**SC:** \(X_1 - X_2 \rightarrow X_1 - X_2 - X_3\)

**Transform:** SB-FV-PD

or SB-FV-DO

or SB-FV-IO

We will consider the prototype and these three transforms to be the four base types of Gothic major sentences.

A word about the methodology and notation to be used in the succeeding subsections. All the abbreviating symbols for syntactic
elements have already been introduced, and may be located in the list of abbreviations at the beginning of this dissertation. The mood of the finite verb will be indicated in parentheses by \text{IND} = \text{indicative}, \text{SJ} = \text{subjunctive}, or \text{IMP} = \text{imperative}. The tense, of course, is indicated by the translation. For the three kinds of transformational rules, expansion, deletion, and permutation, the symbols \text{T-1}, \text{T-2}, and \text{T-3} will be used, respectively. \text{SD} is for 'structural description', \text{SC} for 'structural change'. The symbol \text{X} with a subscript number is used as a variable sign referring to the segments specified by the structural description. In the example in the preceding paragraph, \text{X}_2\text{ refers to whatever is a FV in the string, X}_3\text{ to whatever is a PD, DO, or IO in the transform. Each Gothic sentence will be cited with both initial and final delimitation; zero delimitation is indicated by \text{---}. Delimiting conjunctions will not be underlined in the Gothic examples, nor will they be included in the structural description of sentences, so as to differentiate them clearly as delimitational markers. Enclitic particles also are not included in the structural descriptions. The punctuation of the \text{Codex Argenteus} is retained in all cases, even where its function is not delimitational, but only rhetorical or, in a few instances, simply haphazard. A frequency-count for each Gothic major sentence-type will be given in parentheses. The totals are inclusive rather than exclusive: The total given for the base type includes the total of all types derived from it, and the total given for the type includes the total of all its subtypes.

3.31 Base type SB-FV (1976).
3.31.1 Type SB-FV (1081).
3.31.11 Subtype SB-FV (745).
3.31.11.1 FV = Vc.
In the following examples, the type of nominal element constituting the subject will be indicated in parentheses. App indicates that one or more elements stand in apposition with the subject.

S → SB-Vc:

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{unte}} \text{ manna frawaurhts in--- (IND/NCp)} \text{ L 5:8} \]
'For I am a sinful man.'

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{patei Helias}} ist} \text{ (IND/NM)} \text{ Mk 6:15} \]
'...that (it) is Elias.'

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{.jah}} \text{ brains warp. (IND/Ads)} \text{ Mk 1:42} \]
'And he became clean (= was cleansed).'

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{.gamelid}} ist. (IND/Ads: PP) \text{ L 4:4} \]
'It is written.'

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{ei is wesi}}. (SJ/pPN3) \text{ Mk 6:55} \]
'...that he might be.'

S → SB-Vc-SAT:

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{.jah}} \text{ abra weih has ana imma. (IND/NCp)} \text{ L 2:25,41} \]
'And the Holy Ghost was upon him'

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{mippane}} \text{ bo wesun jainar}. (IND/dPN) \text{ L 2:7} \]
'while these (= they) were there'

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{bozei}} \text{ waurbun in iswis}. (IND/relPN) \text{ L 10:13} \]
'...which became (= have been done) in you.'

S → SB-Vc-2SAT:

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{---rigis}} \text{ warp ana allai airbai und veila niundon: (IND/NC)} \text{ L 5:34} \]
'Darkness (be)came upon the whole land until the ninth hour.'

S → SB-SAT-Vc:

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{unte}} \text{ sa brupfads mip im first--- (IND/NCp)} \text{ L 5:34} \]
'...while the bridegroom is with them.'

S → SB-2SAT-Vc:

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{.jah}} \text{ alla so managei wibra marein ana staban was. (IND/NCp)} \text{ Mk 4:1} \]
'And the whole multitude was by the sea on the shore.'

S → SAT-SB-Vc:

\[\text{\textcolor{red}{\textit{patei}}} \text{ bi sunja} \text{ praufetes was}. (IND/NC) \text{ Mk 11:32} \]
'...that he was in truth a prophet.'
S → SB-Vc-INFp:

jah mahts fraujins was du hailjan ins.  (IND/NCP)  L 5:17
'And the power of the Lord was (present) to heal them.'

...jah insandips im rodjan du bus.  (IND/Ads: PP)  L 1:19
'And I am sent to speak to thee.'

3.31.11.2  FV = Vn.

S → SB-Vn:

...jah wein usgutnib.  (IND/NC)  Mk 2:22
'And the wine will be spilled.'

...jah pai balgeis fraquistnand.  (IND/NCP)  Mk 2:22
'And the wineskins will perish.'

S → SB-NE-Vn:

...pata barn ni gadaubnoda ak  (IND/NCP)  Mk 5:39
'The child did not die (but...)'

S → SB-Vn-3SAT:

...jah faurahah als disskritnoda in twa iupapro und dalap:  (IND/NCP)  Mk 15:38
'And the veil of the temple was rent in two from top to bottom.'

S → SB-SAT-Vn:

...ip ik huhrau fraquistna.  (IND/pPN₁)  L 15:17
'But I am dying of hunger.'

3.31.11.3  FV = Vpv.

S → SB-Vpv:

...jah bajobs gafastanda.  (IND/Apn)  L 5:38
'And both are preserved.'

...all dalei usfulljada jah  (IND/Apn-p)  L 3:5
'Every valley shall be filled (and...)'

...brutsfiilsi gahrainjanda.  (IND/Ads)  L 7:22
'The leprous are cleansed.'

S → SB-Vpv-SAT:

...patei sumus mans atgibada in handuns manne.  (IND/NCP)  Mk 9:31
'...that the Son of Man is given over into the hands of men.'

S → SB-SAT-Vpv:
jah varjatoh hunile salta saltada:  (IND/empPNp)  Mk 9:49
'And every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.'

3.31.11.4  FV = Vin.

3.31.11.4  SB-Vin:

batei brobar beins gam jah    (IND/NCP)  L 15:27
'[...]that thy brother came (and...)]'

jah sums gam gipands--  (IND/Apn-App)  L 19:18
'And a certain one came, saying...'

unte ik gimaun.   (SJ/pPN1)  L 19:13
'[...]until I come.'

zip is gahnipnands in his waurdis galaip gaurs. (IND/pPN3-App)
Mk 10:22
'But he, being saddened because of this word, went away grieved.'

gasaivands ban Iesu fairrabro rann jah  (IND/PTCP)  Mk 5:6
'Then, seeing Jesus from afar, he ran (and...).'

3.31.11.4  SB-Vin-SAT:

jah stibna gam us himinam---  (IND/XC)  Mk 1:11
'And a voice came out of the heavens.'

3.31.11.4  SB-SAT-Vin:

sumai raihtis ize fairrabro gemen.  (IND/Apn-p)  Mk 8:3
'For some of them came from afar.'

3.31.11.4  2SAT-SB-NE-Vin:

ana bamei nauh aisshun manne ni sat.  (IND/indPNp)  Mk 11:2
'[...]on which no man yet sat.'

3.31.11.4  SB-Vin-INFp:

batei magi ina gamainjan.   (SJ/relPN)  Mk 7:15
'[...]which can defile him.'

3.31.11.4  SB-NE-Vin-INFp:

unte sunus mans ni gam saiwalom qistjan ak nasjan.  (IND/NCP)
L 9:56
'For the Son of Man has not come to destroy souls but to save (them).'
"When the day already began to decline..."

3.31.11.5 $FV = Vt_1$.

$S \rightarrow SB-Vt_1$:

\[\text{\textit{patei laisareis qibip.}} \quad \text{(IND/NC)} \quad \text{Mk 14:14} \]

"...that the master says."

\[\text{\textit{ip\:Iesus gab\ldots}} \quad \text{(IND/NM)} \quad \text{L 9:43; Mk 14:6} \]

"But Jesus said."

\[\text{\textit{jah andhafjandans wipra ins Iesus gab.}} \quad \text{(IND/NM-App)} \quad \text{L 6:3} \]

"And replying to them, Jesus said."

\[\text{\textit{jah anbar gab.}} \quad \text{(IND/Apn)} \quad \text{L 14:19} \]

"And another said."

\[\text{\textit{ip jus qibip.}} \quad \text{(IND/pPN_2)} \quad \text{Mk 7:11} \]

"But you say."

\[\text{\textit{ip si gab.}} \quad \text{(IND/pPN_3)} \quad \text{Mk 6:24} \]

"But she said."

\[\text{\textit{ip is gab.}} \quad \text{(IND/pPN_3)} \quad \text{L 8:10} \]

"But he said."

\[\text{\textit{ip eis andhafjandans gebun\ldots}} \quad \text{(IND/pPN_3-App)} \quad \text{L 9:19} \]

"But they, answering, said."

\[\text{\textit{jah ussaivands gab\ldots}} \quad \text{(IND/PTC)} \quad \text{Mk 8:24} \]

"And, looking up, he said."

\[\text{\textit{jah gawandips du siponjam seinaim gab.}} \quad \text{(IND/PPp)} \quad \text{L 10:21} \]

"And, having turned to his disciples, he said."

$S \rightarrow SB-Vt_1-SAT$:

\[\text{\textit{ip Iesus gab du izai.}} \quad \text{(IND/NM)} \quad \text{Mk 7:27} \]

"But Jesus said to her."

\[\text{\textit{jah andhafjandans gebun du Iesua\ldots}} \quad \text{(IND/PTC)} \quad \text{Mk 11:33} \]

"And they, answering, said to Jesus."

$S \rightarrow SB-SAT-Vt_1$:

\[\text{\textit{rambarai pan gebun patei}} \quad \text{(IND/Apn)} \quad \text{Mk 6:15} \]

"Then others said (that...)."

\[\text{\textit{andhafjandans pan gebun\ldots}} \quad \text{(IND/PTC)} \quad \text{L 20:24} \]

"Answering then, they said."
SAT-SB-Vt₁:

\[
.\text{baruh is gqab}--- \quad \text{(IND/pPN₃)} \quad L 8:46
\]

"Then he said."

SAT-SB-Vt₁-SAT:

\[
.\text{baruh is gqab du im.} \quad \text{(IND/pPN₃)} \quad L 5:34
\]

"Then he said to them."

\[
.\text{baruh is andhafjands gqab du attin.} \quad \text{(IND/pPN₃-App)} \quad L 15:29
\]

"Then he, replying, said to the father."

SB-SAT-Vt₁-SAT:

\[
.\text{andhafjands pan gqab du im.} \quad \text{(IND/PTC)} \quad L 3:11; 20:3
\]

"Answering then, he said to them."

SB-Vt₁-INFp:

\[
.\text{paieig qipand usstass ni wisan.} \quad \text{(IND/relPN)} \quad Mk 12:18
\]

"...who say that there is no resurrection" (literally: 'who say resurrection not to be').

3.31.11.6 FV = Vt₂.

SB-Vt₂:

\[
.\text{jah athaitands sumana marique frahuh---} \quad \text{(IND/PTCp)} \quad L 15:26
\]

"And calling one of the servants, he asked."

\[
.\text{galeipandans pan pai insandidans bigetun swaswe} \quad \text{(IND/PPp-App)} \quad L 19:32
\]

"Going then, those (that were) sent found (just as...)."

3.31.11.7 FV = Vt₃.

SB-Vt₃:

\[
.\text{ip pai peinais siponjos matjand jah} \quad \text{(IND/NCP)} \quad L 5:33
\]

"But thy disciples eat (and...)."

\[
.\text{ip Peilatus sildaleikida ei} \quad \text{(IND/NM)} \quad Mk 15:44
\]

"But Pilate marvelled (that...)."

\[
.\text{jah allail sildaleikidedun} \quad \text{(IND/Anp)} \quad Mk 5:20
\]

"And all marvelled."

\[
.\text{ip jus saiavib---} \quad \text{(IND/pPN₂)} \quad Mk 13:23
\]

"But you see."

\[
.\text{paieig gasevun---} \quad \text{(IND/relPN)} \quad Mk 5:16
\]

"...(those) who saw"
.ei saivandans saivaina jah (SJ/PTC) Mk 4:12
"...that seeing they may see (and..."

.jah gassivandans ina sildaleikidetun. (IND/PTCp) L 2:48
'And seeing him, they marvelled.'

S ➔ SB-NE-Vt₃:

.ei saivandans ni gassivaina jah (SJ/PTC) L 8:10
"...that seeing they may not see (and..."

S ➔ SB-Vt₃-SAT:

unte alla managei sildaleikidetun in laiseinais is: (IND/NCP) Mk 11:18
'For all the people marvelled at his teaching.'

S ➔ SB-SAT-Vt₃-SAT:

:jah Paitrus fairrapro laistida afar imma. (IND/NM) Mk 14:54
'And Peter followed after him from afar.'

S ➔ SAT-SB-SAT-Vt₃-SAT:

:jah auk hundos undaro biuda matjand af drauhonom barnc. (IND/NC) Mk 7:28
'But yet the dogs under the table eat of the children's crumbs.'

S ➔ SB-Vt₃-INFp:

:jah alla managei sokidedun attekan imma. (IND/NCP) L 6:19
'And all the people sought to touch him.'

3.31.12 Subtype FV-SB (386).

SD: SB-FV

SC (T-3): X₁-X₂ ➔ X₂-X₁

Transform: FV-SB

3.31.12.1 FV = Vc.

S ➔ Vc-SB:

.wesun auk fiskjans: (IND/NC) Mk 1:16
'For they were fishermen.'

unte atist asans: (IND/NC) Mk 4:29
'...because the harvest is at hand.'

.wesun auk managei jah (IND/ApN) Mk 2:15
'For (there) were many.'
---wairp hrains. (IMP/Ads) L 5:13; Mk 1:42
'Become clean!'

.jah was urhausjands im. (IND/PTCp) L 2:51
'And he was (being) obedient to them.'

S → NE-Vc-SB:

:nih allis ist va fulginis patei (IND/qPNp) Mk 4:22
'For there is not anything hidden (that...)'  

S → Vc-SB-SAT:

.swe warp huhrus mikile and alla sirpa. (IND/N Cp) L 4:25
'...when a great famine (be)came upon all the land.'

S → Vc-SAT-SB:

.jah was jainar.manna. (IND/NC) L 6:6
'And a man was there.'

.jah jabei sijai jainar sunus gawairpjis--- (SJ/N Cp) L 10:6
'And if the son of peace be there...'

S → SAT-Vc-SB:

.fram fraujin warp sa. (IND/dPN) Mk 12:11
'This came from the Lord' (literally: 'from the Lord became this').

3.31.12.2 FV = Vn.

S → Vn-SB.

.patei gadaupnode dauhtar beina--- (IND/N Cp) L 8:49
'...that thy daughter died.'

ei usfulnai gards meins. (SJ/N Cp) L 14:23
'...so that my house may be filled.'

bipe usfullnodep node dagos andbahteis is. (IND/N Cp) L 1:23
'...when the days of his office were fulfilled.'

S → SAT-Vn-SB-SAT:

.patei himma daga usfullnodep node mela po in ausam izwaraim. (IND/N Cp) L4:21
'...that today those scriptures were fulfilled in your ears.'

S → SAT-Vn-SB:

.in bammei usfullnodep node dagos andanuntais is jah (IND/N Cp) L 9:51
'in which (z when) the days of his assumption were fulfilled (and...)'
3.31.12.3 FV = Vpv.

S —— Vpv-Sb:

ei haitaidau sunus ñeins.  (SJ/NCp)  L 15:19,21
'...that I might be called thy son.'

S —— Vpv-SAT-SB:

ei galagjaidau asilugairmus ana halsaggan is.  (SJ/NCp)  Mk 9:42
'...that a millstone be laid around his neck.'

S —— Vpv-SAT-SB:

dan aphinada af im sa brubfabs.  (IND/NCp)  Mk 2:20
'...when the bridegroom is taken away from them.'

S —— SAT-Vp-SB:

parei saia da pata waurd.  (IND/NCp)  Mk 4:15
'...where the word is sown.'

3.31.12.4 FV = Vin.

S —— Vin-SB:

jah gemun fuglos jah  (IND/NC)  Mk 4:4
'And the birds came (and...).'

jah gemun aniumjandans.  (IND/PTC)  L 2:16
'And they came, hastening.'

S —— Vin-SB-SAT:

---gem ñesus fram Nazaraip Galeilæas.  (IND/NM)  Mk 1:9
'Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee.'

S —— Vin-SAT-SB:

jah gemun ñen aipei is jah brobrjus is.  (IND/NCp-App)  Mk 3:31
'And then his mother and his brothers came.'

S —— SAT-Vin-SB:

pebroh qimip diabulus jah  (IND/NC)  L 8:12
'Then comes the devil (and...).'

S —— NE-Vin-SB-INFp:
Behold, the one sowing (= the sower) went out to sow his seed.'

And immediately all began to make excuses.'

And the servant said.'

And Mary said.'

And the angel said to her.'

And the devil said to him.'

Then Mary said.'

And replying, Jesus said to them.'

Then Jesus said to him.'

And he taught, saying to them...'

...so that Pilate marvelled.'
And all marvelled. (IND/Apn) L 1:63

And when the carefree hear... (IND/Ada) Mk 4:15

And his disciples followed after him. (IND/N Cp) Mk 6:1

And they marvelled in abundance (= exceedingly), saying... (IND/PTC) Mk 7:37

And the scribes and the high priests sought to lay hands on him in that hour. (IND/N Cp-App) L 20:19

3.31.2 Type FV (845).

SD: SB-FV

SC (T-2): X₁-X₂ → X₂

Transform: FV

3.31.21 FV = Vc.

And it became, i.e., came to pass (while...). (IND) L 5:1,12; 9:18; 17:14

May it not be (so)!' (Proclitic use of nā). (SJ) L 20:16

And he was with wild beasts.' (IND) Mk 1:13

It came to pass then (while...). (IND) L 2:6

And it came to pass on the eighth day. (IND) L 1:59
Vc-2SAT:

.warp ban in dagans jainans. (IND) L 2:1
'It came to pass then in those days.'

Vc-3SAT:

.jah was ana aupidom und dag ustainneinais seinaizos du Israel. (IND) L 1:30
'And he was in the deserts till the day of his showing to Israel.'

SAT-Vc:

ei mip imma wes. (SJ) Mk 5:18
'...that he might be with him.'

2SAT-Vc:

.ak uta ana aupjaim stedim was. (IND) Mk 1:45
'But he was outside in desert places.'

3SAT-Vc:

unte ju dagans brins mip mis wesun. (IND) Mk 8:2
'...because they have already been with me for three days.'

Vc-INFp:

.jah warp asfslasnan ana allans. (IND) L 4:36
'And they were all amazed' (literally: 'and it became to become amazed upon all').

3.31.22 FV = Vn.

Vn:

.jah gadaupnada jah (IND) Mk 12:21
'And he died (and...')

---fraqistnam. (IND) L 8:24
'We shall perish.'

---uslukna. (IMP) Mk 7:34
'Be opened!'

Vn-SAT:

.patei gahailnada af bamma slaha. (IND) Mk 5:29
'...that she was healed of that plague.'

SAT-Vn-SAT:

.jah vaiva gahailnoda suns. (IND) L 8:47
'...and how she was healed immediately.'
3.31.23  FV = Vpv.

S → Vpv:

*jah pan saïda--- (IND)  Mk 4:32
'And when it is sown...'

*jah ganasjada. (IND)  L 8:50
'And she will be healed.'

S → NE-Vpv:

*ei ni stojaindau. (SJ)  L 6:37
'...so that you may not be judged.'

S → Vpv-SAT:

*pan saïda ana airba. (IND)  Mk 4:31
'...When it is sown on the ground.'

S → SAT-Vpv:

--daubau ardaupjaidau. (SJ)  Mk 7:10
'May be be killed by death!'

3.31.24  FV = Vin.

S → Vin:

*ei bipe qimai (saei) (SJ)  L 14:10
'...that when he comes (who...)'

--magu. (IND)  Mk 10:39
'We (two) can.'

*gagg--- (IMP)  Mk 10:21 (etc.)
'Go!'
.gaggats afar βαμμα. (IMP) Mk 14:13
'(You two) go after him!'

---hirjats afar mis jah (IMP) Mk 1:17
'(You two) come after me (and...)?'

S → Vin-2SAT:

.jah gam in ahmin in bizai alh. (IND) L 2:27
'And he came by the Spirit into the temple.'

S → Vin-3SAT:

.jah galaip sunsaw in skip mip siponjam seinaim jah (IND) Mk 8:10
'And he embarked straightway into a ship with his disciples (and...)?'

S → Vin-4SAT:

.jah galaip inn bi biuhtja seinamma in daga sabbato in swnagogain.
(IND) L 4:16
'And he went inside into the synagogue according to his custom
(z as was his custom) on the sabbath day.'

S → NE-Vin-INFp:

.ni mag meins siponeis wisan. (IND) L 14:26
'He cannot be my disciple.'

S → INF-NE-Vin:

.graben ni mag—— (IND) L 16:3
'I cannot dig.'

3.31.25 FV = Vt₁.

S → Vt₁:

:jah gab—— (IND) Mk 4:26 (etc.)
'And he said.'

S → VOC-Vt₁:

---laissari qib. (IMP) L 7:40
'Master, say on!'

S → Vt₁-SAT:

:jab ban. (IND) L 4:24
'He said then.'

S → Vt₁-3SAT:

.jab ban jah du βamma jah (IND) L 19:19
'He then also said to this one (and...)'
SAT-Vt₁-SAT:

"pābroh pan du anparamma gam. (IND) L 16:7
'Then he said to another one.'

SAT-Vt₁-IMP:

"vaiwa wilidedi haitan ina. (SJ) L 1:62
'...how he might want to call him.'

3.31.26 FV = Vt₂.

Vt₂:

unite bigitip. (IND) L 15:8
'...until she finds (it).'”

NE-Vt₂:

"jah ni bigetun. (IND) Mk 14:55
'And they did not find (any).'

3.31.27 FV = Vt₃.

Vt₃:

"jah sokidedun--- (IND) L 5:18; Mk 11:18
'And they sought...'

jah sildaleikidedun. (IND) Mk 10:32
'And they marvelled.'

"ei gasaivau. (SJ) Mk 12:15
'...that I may see (it).'”

---saiv ei (IMP) Mk 1:44
'See (that...).'

Vt₃-VOC:

"hausei Israel--- (IMP) Mk 12:29
'Hear, Israel!’

Vt₃-SAT:

"saivip nu--- (IMP) L 8:18
'See (= take heed) therefore...'

"jah sildaleikidedun bi po laisein is. (IND) L 4:32
'And they marvelled at his teaching.'

NE-Vt₃-SAT:
ni auk saivis in andwairpja manne. (IND) Mk 12:14
'For thou lookest not at the face of men.'

8 ➞ SAT-Vt₃:

jah sunsaiw ussav jah (IND) Mk 10:52
'And immediately he saw again (and...')

8 ➞ 2SAT-NE-Vt₃:

batei aiw swa ni gasevun: (IND) Mk 2:12
'...that they never saw (it) in this manner' (literally: 'that not ever they saw it so').

8 ➞ Vt₃-INFp:

:jah sokidedun ina undgreipan. (IND) Mk 12:12
'And they sought to seize him.'

3.32 Base type SB-FV-PD (240).

Only connective verbs may occur in this sentence-type (cf. 1.11.1).

Both the subject and the predicate (cf. 2.11.2) must be in the nominative case. In addition to the finite verb mood, the type of nominal element constituting the predicate will be indicated in parentheses.

App indicates one or more elements in apposition with the predicate.

3.32.1 Type SB-FV-PD (216).

3.32.11 Subtype SB-FV-PD (94).

8 ➞ SB-Vc-PD:

sei haitada stairo unte (IND/NC) L 1:36
'...who is called a sterile woman (for...')

va ist namo pein. (IND/NCp) L 8:30
'What is thy name?'

bu is sunus meins sa liuba. (IND/NCp-App) L 3:22
'Thou art my beloved son.'

---bu is Xristus. (IND/NM) Mk 8:29
'Thou art Christ.'

sei haitada Beplaihaim. (IND/NM) L 2:4
'...which is called Bethlehem.'

batei bu is Xristus sunus gudis. (IND/NM-App) L 4:41
'...that thou art Christ, the son of God.'
'For I am old.'

'Who may this (one) be?'

'And the stars of heaven shall become falling = shall fall.'

'Two (women) shall be grinding together.'

'which is interpreted.'

'...what might have happened' (literally: 'what might be that having happened').

'...who is Christ the Lord in the city of David.'

'...who also became his betrayer' (literally: 'who also became betraying him').

'What is this: to rise from the dead.'

'But this, to sit on my right or on (my) left, is not mine to give.'

'...that Christ is the son of David.'
jah razda peina galeika ist. (IND/Apn) Mk 14:70
'And thy speech is similar.'

unte brobar beins daubs was jah (IND/Ads) L 15:32
'...because thy brother was dead (and...)'  

batei vauh gumakundaize uslukands qipu weihs fraujins haitada. (IND/Ads-p) L 2:23
'...that every male opening the womb shall be called the holy (one) of the Lord.'

S → SB-PD-Vc-SAT:

ip eis fullai waupun unfrodeins. (IND/Ads) L 6:11
'But they became full of madness.'

S → SB-SAT-PD-Vc:

---vas panmu sa sijai. (SJ/dPN) Mk 4:41
'Who then may this (one) be?'

S → SB-PD-Vc-INFp:

unte sunus mans skulds ist atgiban in handuns manne. (IND/PP) L 9:44
'For the Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of men.'

3.32.13 Subtype FV-SB-PD (23).

SD: SB-FV-PD

SC (T-3): $X_1$-$X_2$-$X_3$ → $X_2$-$X_1$-$X_3$

Transform: FV-SB-PD

S → Vc-SB-PD:

unte was Aileisabaip stairo. (IND/NC) L 1:7
'For Elizabeth was a sterile woman.'

wairband auk bei dagos jainai aglo swaleika swe (IND/NCp) Mk 13:19
'For (in) those days (there) shall be such an affliction (as...)'  

jah waripib mizdo izwara managa. (IND/Apn) L 6:35
'And your reward shall be much (= great).'

S → Vc-SB-2SAT-PD:

jah was is ana notin ana waggarja aiepands. (IND/PTC) Mk 4:38
'And he was in the stern on a pillow sleeping.'

3.32.14 Subtype FV-PD-SB (4).

SD: SB-FV-PD
SC (T-3): $X_1 - X_2 - X_3 \rightarrow X_2 - X_3 - X_1$

Transform: FV-PD-SB

S $\rightarrow$ Vc-PD-SB:

.\textit{weirip bein all.} (IND/Aps) L 4:7
'All will be thine.'

.\textit{jah was faurbigaggands ins Jesus jah} (IND/PTOp) Mk 10:32
'And Jesus was going before them (and...')

3.32.15 Subtype PD-SB-FV (5).

SD: SB-FV-PD

SC (T-3): $X_1 - X_2 - X_3 \rightarrow X_3 - X_1 - X_2$

Transform: PD-SB-FV

S $\rightarrow$ PD-SB-NE-Vc:

:jah samaleikos pos weitwodipos ni wesun. (IND/Apn) Mk 14:56
'And the testimonies were not the same.'

S $\rightarrow$ SAT-PD-SB-Vc:

===van lagg mel ist ei (IND/Adr) Mk 9:21
'How long is the time = how long has it been (that...')

3.32.16 Subtype PD-FV-SB (24).

SD: SB-FV-PD

SC (T-3): $X_1 - X_2 - X_3 \rightarrow X_3 - X_2 - X_1$

Transform: PD-FV-SB

S $\rightarrow$ PD-Vc-SB:

.\textit{unte izwara ist pludangardi himine:} (IND/Aps) L 6:20
'For yours is the kingdom of heaven(s).'

.\textit{dupe ei andhausida ist bida beina jah} (IND/PP) L 1:13
'For (that) thy prayer has been heard (and...')

S $\rightarrow$ SAT-PD-Vc-SB:

.\textit{afaruh pan bans dagams inkilpo warb Aileisabaib gens is.} (IND/NC) L 1:24
'Then after those days Elizabeth, his wife, became (a) pregnant (woman).'

S $\rightarrow$ NE-SAT-PD-Vc-SB:
jah ni swa samaleika was weitwomen ize. (IND/Apn) Mk 14:59
'And their testimony was not so similar.'

3.32.2 Type SB-FV-PD-IO (24).

To the base type of predicate sentences the indirect object is
added by means of the expansion transformation (T-1). This new type is,
in turn, susceptible to various permutation transformations. The case
of the indirect object is always the dative (cf. 2.11.4).

SD: SB-FV-PD

SC(T-1): $X_1 - X_2 - X_3 \rightarrow X_1 - X_2 - X_3 - X_4$

Transform: SB-FV-PD-IO

3.32.21 Subtype SB-FV-PD-IO (2).

$S \rightarrow$ SB-Vc-PD-IO:

...baiei wesun gadailans Seimona. (IND/NC) L 5:10
'...who were partners with Simon.'

3.32.22 Subtype SB-FV-IO-PD (4).

SD: SB-FV-PD-IO

SC (T-3): $X_1 - X_2 - X_3 - X_4 \rightarrow X_1 - X_2 - X_4 - X_3$

Transform: SB-FV-IO-PD

$S \rightarrow$ SB-Vc-IO-PD:

...asei was imma svers. (IND/Aps) L 7:2
'...who was dear to him.'

3.32.23 Subtype SB-PD-FV-IO (4).

SD: SB-FV-PD-IO

SC (T-3): $X_1 - X_2 - X_3 - X_4 \rightarrow X_1 - X_3 - X_2 - X_4$

Transform: SB-PD-FV-IO

$S \rightarrow$ SB-PD-Vc-IO:

...unte is gods ist pam unfagram jah unseljam. (IND/Aps) L 6:35
'For he is kind to the unthankful and evil.'

3.32.24 Subtype SB-IO-PD-FV (2).
3.32.25 Subtype FV-PD-IO-SB (1).

SD: SB-FV-PD-IO
SC (T-3): $X_1 - X_2 - X_3 - X_4 \rightarrow X_2 - X_3 - X_4 - X_1$
Transform: FV-PD-IO-SB

8 \rightarrow NE-Vc-PD-IO-SB:

...because no word will be impossible for God' (literally: 'because any of words will not be impossible for God').

3.32.26 Subtype FV-IO-PD-SB (1).

SD: SB-FV-PD-IO
SC (T-3): $X_1 - X_2 - X_3 - X_4 \rightarrow X_2 - X_3 - X_4 - X_1$
Transform: FV-IO-PD-SB

8 \rightarrow Vc-IO-PD-SB-INFp:

...then all the publicans and sinners were drawing (themselves) near to him to hear him.'

3.32.27 Subtype PD-FV-SB-IO (3).

SD: SB-FV-PD-IO
SC (T-3): $X_1 - X_2 - X_3 - X_4 \rightarrow X_3 - X_2 - X_1 - X_4$
Transform: PD-FV-SB-IO

8 \rightarrow PD-Vc-SB-SAT-IO:

...that the Son of Man is Lord also for (of) the sabbath day.'
3.32.28 Subtype PD-FV-IO-SB (3).

SD: SB-FV-PD-IO

SC (T-3): \( X_1 \cdot X_2 \cdot X_3 \cdot X_4 \longrightarrow X_3 \cdot X_2 \cdot X_4 \cdot X_1 \)

Transform: PD-FV-IO-SB

\[ S \longrightarrow PD-Vc-IO-SAT-SB: \]

...that today was born to you a Savior.

3.32.29 Subtype PD-IO-SB-FV (3).

SD: SB-FV-PD-IO

SC (T-3): \( X_1 \cdot X_2 \cdot X_3 \cdot X_4 \longrightarrow X_3 \cdot X_4 \cdot X_1 \cdot X_2 \)

Transform: PD-IO-SB-FV

\[ S \longrightarrow PD-IO-SB-NE-Vc: \]

No other commandment is greater than these.

3.32.2a Subtype IO-FV-SB-PD (1).

SD: SB-FV-PD-IO

SC (T-3): \( X_1 \cdot X_2 \cdot X_3 \cdot X_4 \longrightarrow X_4 \cdot X_2 \cdot X_1 \cdot X_3 \)

Transform: IO-FV-SB-PD

\[ S \longrightarrow IO-SAT-Vc-SB-PD-SAT: \]

And the eyes to (a of) all (those) in the synagogue were gazing at him.

3.33 Base type SB-FV-DO (1330). 

Only transitive verbs may occur in this sentence-type (cf. 1.11.3).

By means of the expansion transformation, an indirect object or another
direct object can be added to the base type to yield two new sentence-
types, SB-FV-DO-IO and SB-FV-DO-DO. Deletion of the subject again yields
three new sentence-types, FV-DO, FV-DO-IO, and FV-DO-DO, so that there
are a total of six sentence-types containing a direct object. Each of
these six types, in turn, is made up of various subtypes derived by permutation transformations.

3.33.1 Type SB-FV-DO (495).

Verbs of all transitive verb-classes co-occur with a single direct object. Illustrations for each subtype are ordered into three sets according to the case of the direct object. In addition, each example is followed by an indication in parentheses of the mood of the finite verb and of the type of nominal element constituting the direct object. App indicates the apposition of one or more elements with the direct object.

3.33.11 Subtype SB-FV-DO (286).

3.33.11.1 Case of direct object: genitive.

No verbs of class Vt₁ with a genitive direct object are attested for sentence-type SB-FV-DO.

3.33.11.11 FV = Vt₂ (for list, cf. 1.11.32).

8 \rightarrow SB-Vt₂-DO:

\[ \text{\textit{insandjands airu bidjip gawairpjis:} (IND/NC) \ L 14:32} \]
\[ '\text{Sending a delegation, he asks for peace.'} \]

3.33.11.12 FV = Vt₃ (for list, cf. 1.11.33.2).

8 \rightarrow SB-NE-Vt₃-DO:

\[ \text{\textit{bai ize ni kausjand daupaus.} (IND/NC) \ Mk 9:1} \]
\[ (\text{ize: CA for izei).} \]
\[ '...who shall not taste death.'} \]

8 \rightarrow SAT-Vt₃-DO-SB-SAT-2INFp:

\[ \text{\textit{in bammmei gaweiob unsara urruns us hauhibai. gabairhtjan baim in rigiza jah skadau daupus sitandam. du garihtjan fotuns unsarans in wig gawairpjis.} (IND/pPN₁) \ L 1:78-9} \]
\[ '...by which (= whereby) a sunrise from on high will visit us, to give light to those sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace.'} \]

3.33.11.2 Case of direct object: dative.
Class \( \text{Vt}_1 \) and \( \text{Vt}_2 \) verbs do not occur with a dative direct object; all verbs occurring with a dative direct object belong to class \( \text{Vt}_3 \)

(for list, cf. 1.11.33.1).

\[ S \rightarrow \text{SB-\text{Vt}_3-\text{DO}}: \]

\[ \text{.ja}h \ \text{urreisands gasok winda.} \quad (\text{IND/NC}) \quad \text{Mk 4:39} \]

'And rising, he rebuked the wind.'

\[ \text{.ja}h \ \text{spewands attaitok tuggon is.} \quad (\text{IND/NCp}) \quad \text{Mk 7:33} \]

'And spitting, he touched his tongue.'

\[ \text{.ja}h \ \text{biga}urдавs \ \text{andba}htei mis unte \quad (\text{IMP.pPN}_1) \quad \text{L 17:8} \]

'And girded, serve me (until...).'

\[ \text{sei tekip imma batei} \quad (\text{IND/pPN}_3) \quad \text{L 7:39} \]

'...who is touching him (because...).'

\[ S \rightarrow \text{SB-\text{NE-\text{Vt}_3-\text{DO}}} : \]

\[ \text{j}a\h \ \text{gaswiltands ni bilaib fraiva.} \quad (\text{IND/NC}) \quad \text{Mk 12:20} \]

'And dying, he left no offspring.'

\[ i\h \text{eis ni fropun parma waurda.} \quad (\text{IND/NCp}) \quad \text{L 9:45} \]

'But they did not understand this word.'

\[ S \rightarrow \text{SB-\text{Vt}_3-\text{DO-SAT}} : \]

\[ \text{pozei mibiddjedun imma in Iairusalem:} \quad (\text{IND/pPN}_3) \quad \text{Mk 15:41} \]

'...who went with (= accompanied) him to Jerusalem?'

\[ S \rightarrow \text{SAT-\text{SB-\text{Vt}_3-\text{DO-SAT}}} : \]

\[ ---\text{ja}h \ \text{unhulpbons ufhausjand unsis in namin peinamma.} \quad (\text{IND/pPN}_1) \]

'Even devils obey us in thy name.'

\[ S \rightarrow \text{SB-\text{Vt}_3-\text{DO-\text{INFp}}} : \]

\[ ---\text{Moses uslaubida unsis bokos afsateinais meljan ja}h \ \text{afl}etan. \quad (\text{IND/pPN}_1) \quad \text{Mk 10:4} \]

'Moses allowed us to write bills of divorcement and to put (her) away.'

3.33.11.3 Case of direct object: accusative.

Verbs of all three transitive classes may co-occur with an accusative direct object.

3.33.11.31 \( \text{FV} = \text{Vt}_1 \).

\[ S \rightarrow \text{SB-\text{Vt}_1-\text{DO}} : \]
jah sa frumista nam gen jah (IND/NC) Mk 12:20
'And the first took a wife (and...')

jah andar nam bo jah (IND/dPN) Mk 12:21
'And the second (one) took her (and...')

S → SB-NE-Vt₁-DO:

jah mena ni gibib liuhab sein. (IND/NCp) Mk 13:24
'And the moon will not give (off) its light.'

S → NE-SB-Vt₁-DO:

sai weis aflailotum alla. (IND/Apn) Mk 10:28
'Behold, we have left all (things) behind.'

S → SB-Vt₁-SAT-DO:

ip Iesus geb du imma pata jabai (IND/dPN) Mk 9:23
'But Jesus said this to him (if...')

S → SB-NE-Vt₁-DO-INFp:

baiei ni wildedun mik biudanon ufar sis-- (IND/pPN₁) L 19:27
'...who did not want me to rule over them.'

3.33.11.32 FV = Vt₂.

S → SB-Vt₂-DO:

jah uslukands pos bokos bigat stad (parei) (IND/NC) L 4:17
'And opening the book, he found the place (where...')

saei haihait ina. (IND/pPN₃) L 7:39
'...who called him.'

jah atheitands pana hundafap frah ina-- (IND/pPN₃) Mk 15:44
'And calling the centurion, he asked him.'

S → SB-Vt₂-SAT-DO:

siponjos is frehun ina sundro. (IND/pPN₃) Mk 9:28
'His disciples asked him privately.'

S → 2SAT-SB-SAT-Vt₂-DO:

jah in garda atra siponjos is bi pata samo frehun ina:
(IND/pPN₃) Mk 10:10
'And again in the house his disciples asked him about the same (thing).'

S → SB-Vt₂-DO-INFp:
Jesus, standing then, ordered him to be brought to him (self).

3.33.11.33  FV = Vt₃.

S → SB-Vt₃-DO:

.įp gub kann hairtona izwara.  (IND/NCp)  L 16:15
'But God knows your hearts.'

.įah varbons gasav Laiwì bana Alfaìaus sitandan at motal.
(IND/NM-App)  Mk 2:14
'And passing along, he saw Levi, the (son) of Alpheus, sitting at the custom house.'

.ugeausjands pan pata Jesus sildaleikida ina.  (IND/pPN₃)  L 7:9
'Then, hearing this, Jesus marvelled (at) him.'

S → SB-NE-Vt₃-DO:

ei menna ni funbi pata.  (SJ/dPN)  Mk 5:43
'...that no man should know (find out about) this.'

S → SB-Vt₃-DO-SAT:

saei matjīp hlajif in biudangardjai gudis:  (IND/NC)  L 14:15
'...who eats bread in the kingdom of God.'

S → NE-SB-Vt₃-DO-SAT:

.șai ik insandja aggilu meinana faura pus.  (IND/NCp)  Mk 1:2
'Behold, I send my messenger before thee.'

S → SB-Vt₃-DO-INFp:

mippanei managei anatramp ina du hausjan waurd gudis.  (IND/pPN₃)
L 5:1
'...as the people pressed him to hear the word of God.'

3.33.12  Subtype SB-DO-FV (53).

SD:  SB-FV-DO

SC(T-3):  X₁-X₂-X₃ → X₁-X₃-X₂

Transform:  SB-DO-FV

3.33.12.1  Case of direct object: genitive.

3.33.12.11  FV = Vt₂:  not attested.

3.33.12.12  FV = Vt₃.
3.33.12.2 Case of direct object: dative.

S → SB-DO-Vt₁:

"patei frua ja bis gaırneib." (IND/dPN) L 19:31; Mk 11:3
'...that the Lord needs this (one).'

3.33.12.3 Case of direct object: accusative.

3.33.12.31 FV = Vt₁.

S → SB-DO-Vt₁:

---vas mis taitok. (IND/pPN₁) Mk 5:31
'Who touched me?'

L 10:20
'.ei bai ahmans izwis ufhausjand. (IND/pPN₂)
'...that the spirits obey you.'

3.33.12.32 FV = Vt₂.

S → SB-SAT-DO-Vt₁:

"jah eis ni waihtai bis fropun jah (IND/NCp) L 18:34
'And they did not understand anything of this (and...)'
S → SB-DO-Vt₃:

βatei allaı̇ buk sokjand. (IND/pPN₂) Mk 1:37
'...that all are seeking thee.'

jah vazuh saei afleitana liugaib--- (IND/PP) L 16:18
'And whoever marries a dismissed (woman)...'

S → SB-DO-Vt₃-INFp:

jah is andwairbi seinata gatulgida du gaggan in Iairusalem. (IND/NCP) L 9:51
'And he set his face to go to Jerusalem.'

3.33.13 Subtype FV-SB-DO (29).

SD: SB-FV-DO

SC (T-3): X₁-X₂-X₃ → X₂-X₁-X₃

Transform: FV-SB-DO

3.33.13.1 Case of direct object: genitive.

3.33.13.11 FV = Vt₂: not attested.

3.33.13.12 FV = Vt₃.

S → Vt₃-SB-DO:

jah βatei gaweisoda gub manageins seinaizos. (IND/NCP) L 7:16
'...and that God has visited his people.'

3.33.13.2 Case of direct object: dative.

S → Vt₃-SAT-SB-DO:

gavotida pan Iesus ahmin parma umhainjin jah (IND/NCP) L 9:42
'Then Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit (and...)'  

3.33.13.3 Case of direct object: accusative.

3.33.13.31 FV = Vt₁.

S → Vt₁-SB-DO:

ei nimai brobar is bo gen is. (SJ/NCP) Mk 12:19
'...that his brother should take his wife.'

S → Vt₁-SB-SAT-DO:

lagjib jis in ausona izwara bo waurda. (IMP/NCP) L 9:44
'Put (you) these words into your ears - remember these words.'
S → SAT-Vt₁-SB-DO-INFP:

. trigwaba galubjan auk allai Iohannen praufetu wisan jah
(IND/NM) L 20:6
'For they all really believe John to be a prophet (and...)'"n
3.33.13.32 FV = Vt₂: not attested.
3.33.13.33 FV = Vt₃.

S → Vt₃-SB-DO:

..bude sevun augona meina nasein beina. (IND/NCp) L 2:30
'For my eyes have seen thy salvation.'

3.33.14 Subtype FV-DO-SB (85):'

SD: SB-FV-DO
SC (T-3): X₁-X₂-X₃ → X₂-X₃-X₁
Transform: FV-DO-SB

3.33.14.1 Case of direct object: genitive.
3.33.14.11 FV = Vt₂: not attested.

S → Vt₃-DO-SB:

..jah gripun is bai juggalaudeis ip (IND/pPN₃) Mk 14:51
'And the young men seized him (but...)'"n
3.33.14.2 Case of direct object: dative.

S → Vt₃-DO-SB:

--- taitok mis sums. (IND/pPN₁) L 8:46
'Some one touched me.'

..jah gavotida imma Iesus gipands. (IND/pPN₃) L 4:35
'And Jesus rebuked him saying...'

S → Vt₃-DO-SB-SAT:

..jah uslabida im Iesus sums. (IND/pPN₃) Mk 5:13
'And Jesus allowed (= let) them immediately.'

S → Vt₃-SAT-DO-SB:

..mibiddjedun ban imma hiuhmans managai. (IND/pPN₃) L 14:25
'Then large crowds went with him.'
3.33.14.3 Case of direct object: accusative.

3.33.14.31 $FV = Vt_1$.

$S \rightarrow Vt_1$-DO-SB:

\[
\text{jah bipe gap pata Jesus--- (IND/dPN) Mk 1:42}
\]

'And when Jesus said that...'

$S \rightarrow Vt_1$-DO-SAT-SB:

\[
\text{jah nemun po samaleiko bai sibun jah (IND/dPN) Mk 12:22}
\]

'And the seven took this one (= her) likewise (and...)'

3.33.14.32 $FV = Vt_2$.

$S \rightarrow Vt_2$-DO-SB:

\[
\text{jah bidun ina allos pos unhulpbons gipandeins. (IND/pPN_3) Mk 5:12}
\]

'And all the devils begged him, saying...'

$S \rightarrow Vt_2$-DO-SB-SAT:

\[
\text{---frehun ina siponjos is bi po cajukon. (IND/pPN_3) Mk 7:17}
\]

'His disciples asked him about the parable.'

$S \rightarrow Vt_2$-DO-SB-INFp:

\[
\text{jah bedun ina allai gaujans bize Gaddarene galeiban fairra sis unte (IND/pPN_3) L 8:37}
\]

'And all the inhabitants of the Gadarenes begged him to go away from them (because...)'  

3.33.14.33 $FV = Vt_3$.

$S \rightarrow Vt_3$-DO-SAT-SB:

\[
\text{jah insandidedun airu asaf imma gipandans---(IND/NC) L 19:14}
\]

'And they sent a delegation after him, saying...'

3.33.15 Subtype DO-SB-FV (13).

SD: SB-FV-DO

SC (T-3): $X_1-X_2-X_3 \rightarrow X_3-X_1-X_2$

Transform: DO-SB-FV

3.33.15.1 Genitive direct object not attested for this subtype.

3.33.15.2 Dative direct object not attested for this subtype.

3.33.15.3 Case of direct object: accusative.
3.33.15.31 \( FV = \text{Vt}_1 \).  
\( S \rightarrow \text{DO-SB-Vt}_1 \):

\[ \text{---va bu qibis. (IND/qPN) Mk 14:68} \]
\[ \ldots \text{what thou sayest.} \]

3.33.15.32 \( FV = \text{Vt}_2 \): not attested.

3.33.15.33 \( FV = \text{Vt}_3 \).

\( S \rightarrow \text{DO-SB-Vt}_3 \):

\[ \text{boei jus sai vivip. (IND/relPN) L 10:23} \]
\[ \ldots \text{which you see.} \]

3.33.16 Subtype DO-FV-SB (29).

\( \text{SD: SB-FV-DO} \)

\( \text{SC (T-3): } X_1-X_2-X_3 \rightarrow X_3-X_2-X_1 \)

\( \text{Transform: DO-FV-SB} \)

3.33.16.1 Genitive direct object not attested for this subtype.

3.33.16.2 Case of direct object: dative.

\( S \rightarrow \text{DO-Vt}_3-\text{SB} \):

\[ \text{bammeei uskusun timrjans. (IND/relPN) L 20:17} \]
\[ \ldots \text{which the builders rejected.} \]

3.33.16.3 Case of direct object: accusative.

3.33.16.31 \( FV = \text{Vt}_1 \).

\( S \rightarrow \text{DO-Vt}_1-\text{SB} \):

\[ \text{ba tei gatawida Daweid pan (IND/relPN) L 6:3} \]
\[ \ldots \text{(that) what David did (when...)} \]

\( S \rightarrow \text{DO-SAT-Vt}_1-\text{SB} \):

\[ \text{.va muh taujai frauja bis weinagardis. (SJ/qPN) Mk 12:9} \]
\[ \ldots \text{What, then, should the lord of the vineyard do?} \]

3.33.16.32 \( FV = \text{Vt}_2 \): not attested.

3.33.16.33 \( FV = \text{Vt}_3 \).

\( S \rightarrow \text{DO-Vt}_3-\text{2SAT-SB} \):
And they kept that word to themselves, seeking...'

S → DO-Vt₃-SB-SAT-INFp:

...that the Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins.'

3.3.2 Type FV-DO (671).

Material in parentheses following examples conveys the same information as for the preceding sentence-type (cf. 3.3.1).

SD: SB-FV-DO

SC (T-2): X₁-X₂-X₃ → X₂-X₃

Transform: FV-DO

3.3.21 Subtype FV-DO (479).

3.3.21.1 Case of direct object: genitive.

3.3.21.11 FV = Vt₁.

S → SAT-Vt₁-DO:

ei at paim waurstvjam nemi akranis pis weinagardis. (SJ/NCp)  
Mk 12:2

'...that he might take the fruit of the vineyard from the workers.'

The few occurrences of a genitive direct object with Vt₁ verbs are usually instances of what has generally been called the partitive genitive.

3.3.21.12 FV = Vt₂.

S → Vt₂-DO:

jah bab pis leikis Iesuis. (IND/NCp)  
Mk 15:43

'And he asked for Jesus' body.'

3.3.21.13 FV = Vt₃.

S → Vt₃-DO:

---hilp meinaizos ungalaubeinais. (IMP/NCp)  
Mk 9:24

'Help (me in) my unbelief!'

3.3.21.2 Case of direct object: dative.
It should be recalled that only class Vt₃ verbs may co-occur with a dative direct object.

S → Vt₃-DO:

. jah kukida fotum is jah  (IND/NCP)  L 7:38
'And she kissed his feet (and...)'  

. jah kukida imma.  (IND/pPN₃)  Mk 14:45
'And he kissed him.'  

. jah uslaubida im.  (IND/pPN₃)  L 8:32
'And he allowed (= let) them.'

S → NE-Vt₃-DO:

. ni kukides mis.  (IND/pPN₄)  L 7:45
'Thou didst not kiss me.'

S → VOC-Vt₃-DO:

. laisari sak baim siponjam peinaim.  (IMP/NCP)  L 19:39
'Master, rebuke thy disciples!'  

S → Vt₃-DO-2SAT:

. jah uswaupun imma ut us ñarma weinagarda.  (IND/pPN₃)  Mk 12:8
'And they threw him out (out) of the vineyard.'

S → SAT-Vt₃-DO:

. ut uswairpand imma.  (IND/pPN₃)  L 14:35
'They throw it out.'

S → Vt₃-DO-INFP:

. el uslaubidedi im in bo galeipan.  (SJ/pPN₃)  L 8:32
'...that he would allow them to enter into these (= them).'

3.33.21.3 Case of direct object: accusative.

3.33.21.31 FV = Vt₁.

S → Vt₁-DO:

. el neml galgan is:  (SJ/NCP)  Mk 15:21
'...that he might take his cross.'

. jah ohtedun bo managein.  (IND/NCP)  L 20:19; Mk 12:12
'And they feared the people.'

S → NE-Vt₁-NE-DO:
niu andhaijirs ni waiht. (IND/NC) Mk 15:4
'Dost thou not answer (not) anything?'

S → Vt₁-DO-SAT:

jah jabai fraleta ins lausgiprans du garda ize--- (IND/pPN₃-App) Mk 8:3
'And if I send them away with empty stomachs to their house(s)...

S → Vt₁-2SAT-DO-SAT:

gebuh pan jah gajukon du im. (IND/NC) L 5:36
'Then also he told a parable to them.'

S → NE-Vt₁-INF-DO:

jah ni fralailot rodjen pos unhumbons. (IND/NCp) Mk 1:34
'And he did not allow the devils to speak.'

3.33.21.32 FV = Vt₂.

S → Vt₂-DO:

bidja bük--- (IND/pPN₂) L 8:28
'I beg of thee.'

jah bedun ina ei (IND/pPN₃) L 8:32
'And they begged him (that...)

S → Vt₂-DO-SAT:

jah bedun ina bi po. (IND/pPN₃) L 4:38
'And they begged him for her.'

S → Vt₂-DO-INFP:

---bidja bük insaivan du sunu meinamma. (IND/pPN₂) L 9:38
'I beg of thee to look upon my son.'

3.33.21.33 FV = Vt₃.

S → Vt₃-DO:

jah gawandida sik. (IND/pPN₄) L 19:12
'And he turned himself = returned.'

S → Vt₃-DO-SAT:

jah gawandida sik du garda seinamma. (IND/pPN₅) L 1:56
'And she returned to her house.'

.patej gasaivam wulbaga himma daga: (IND/Ado) L 5:26
'...that we see (= have seen) wondrous things today.'
S → Vt₃-DO-SAT:

.jah gasav bairhtab sallans. (IND/Arp) Mk 8:25
'And he saw clearly all (men).'

3.3.22 Subtype DO-FV (192).

SD: FV-DO

SC (T-3): X₁-X₂ → X₂-X₁

Transform: DO-FV

3.3.22.1 Case of direct object: genitive.

3.3.22.11 FV = Vt₁: not attested.

3.3.22.12 FV = Vt₂.

S → DO-Vt₂:

---vis bidjats. (IND/qPN) Mk 10:38
'...what you ask.'

3.3.22.13 FV = Vt₃.

S → DO-NE-Vt₃:

.jah barne ni bileipai. (SJ/NC) Mk 12:19
'...and should not leave (any) children...'

3.3.22.2 Case of direct object: dative.

S → DO-Vt₃:

ei imna attaitokeina. (SJ/pPN₃) Mk 3:10
'...that they might touch him.'

ₚ₃ₙₙₜₘₑi kukjau--- (SJ/reLPN) Mk 14:44
'Whomever I shall kiss...'

S → DO-SAT-NE-Vt₃:

.ip anza in peinemma augin ni gaumoia. (IND/NC) L 6:41
'But thou seest not the beam in thy (own) eye.'

3.3.22.3 Case of direct object: accusative.

3.3.22.31 FV = Vt₁.

S → DO-Vt₁:

.jah bidos taujend. (IND/NC) L 5:33
'And they make prayers (= pray).'
---beta tawei jah (IMP/dPN) L 10:28
'Do that (and...)!'

---va taujaima--- (SJ/qPN) L 3:12
'What should we do?'

S → SAT-DO-Vt₁:
:waila allata gatawida. (IND/Apn) Mk 7:37
'He did everything well.'

S → DO-Vt₁-2INF:
.jah baudans gataujib gahausjan jah unrodjandans rodjan.
(IND/Ads-App) Mk 7:37
'And he makes the deaf hear and the dumb speak.'

3.33.22.32 FV = Vt₂.

S → SAT-DO-Vt₂:
.ak bi sunjai wig gudis laiseis. (IND/NCP) L 20:21; Mk 12:14
'But in truth thou teachest the way of God.'

S → NE-SAT-DO-Vt₂:
.mi in Israel a svalauda galaubein bigat. (IND/NCP) L 7:9
'I have not found such great faith in Israel.'

3.33.22.33 FV = Vt₃.

S → DO-Vt₃:

---gauvasevi. (SJ/qPN) Mk 8:23
'...(if) he saw anything (literally: 'what').'

(The interrogative particle -u and the direct object va are infixed
between the prefix ga- and the verb stem).

batei gasevun. (IND/relPN) Mk 9:9
'...which they saw.'

3.33.3 Type SB-FV-DO-IO (45).

Like base type SB-FV-PD (cf. 3.32.2), base type SB-FV-DO can be
expanded by an indirect object. The transform, SB-FV-DO-IO, yields 16
subtypes through permutation transformations. Only class Vt₁ verbs
may co-occur with both a direct object and an indirect object simulta-
naneously. The case of the indirect object is always the dative, the
case of the direct object almost always the accusative, but sometimes
the genitive, never the dative. The material in parentheses following
each example conveys the following information: mood of the finite
verb, type of nominal element constituting the direct object, and type
of nominal element constituting the indirect object, always in that
order.

SD: SB-FV-DO
SC (T-1): $x_1-x_2-x_3$ $\longrightarrow x_1-x_2-x_3-x_4$
Transform: SB-FV-DO-IO

3.33.31 Subtype SB-FV-DO-IO (10).

$S \longrightarrow$ SB-Vt₁-DO-IO:

\[ \text{\textit{jah so mawi atgaf ita aibein seinai}} \] (IND/pPN₃/NCP) \text{ Mx 6:29}
'And the girl gave it to her mother.'

3.33.32 Subtype SB-FV-IO-DO (12).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO
SC (T-3): $x_1-x_2-x_3-x_4$ $\longrightarrow x_1-x_2-x_4-x_3$
Transform: SB-FV-IO-DO

$S \longrightarrow$ SB-Vt₁-IO-DO:

\[ \text{saei gaf bsp bata waldufni} \] (IND/NCP/pPN₂) \text{ L 20:2}
'...who gave thee this authority?'

$S \longrightarrow$ SB (= PTCP)-Vt₁-IO-DO-SAT-INFP (linked):

\[ \text{gahaitands bns bns twalif apastuluns. atgaf im maht jeh waldufni}
\text{ufar allaim unhulpom jah saultins gahailjan} \] (IND/NC-App/pPN₃)
'L 9:1
'Then, having called the twelve apostles together, he gave them
power and authority over all devils and to heal diseases.'

3.33.33 Subtype SB-DO-FV-IO (2).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO
SC (T-3): $x_1-x_2-x_3-x_4$ $\longrightarrow x_1-x_3-x_2-x_4$
Transform: SB-DO-FV-IO
S → SB-DO-Vt₁-IO:

jah sael ubil qibai attin seinamma aipbaa aipein seinai---
(SJ/Ads/NCp-App) Mk 7:10
'And whoever speaks evil of his father or his mother...'

3.33.34 Subtype SB-IO-FV-DO (2).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): \(X_1-X_2-X_3-X_4 \rightarrow X_1-X_4-X_2-X_3\)

Transform: SB-IO-FV-DO

S → SB-IO-Vt₁-DO:

jah sa izwis taikneib kelikm mikilata gastrawib manwjata jah
(IND/NCp/pPN₂) Mk 14:15
'And he will show you a large upper room, furnished and prepared,
(and...)'  

3.33.35 Subtype SB-IO-DO-FV (2).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): \(X_1-X_2-X_3-X_4 \rightarrow X_1-X_4-X_3-X_2\)

Transform: SB-IO-DO-FV

S → SB-IO-DO-Vt₁:

jah vas þus bata waldufnī atqaf eī (IND/NCp/pPN₂) Mk 11:28
'And who gave thee this authority (that...)'  

3.33.36 Subtype FV-SB-IO-DO (1).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): \(X_1-X_2-X_3-X_4 \rightarrow X_2-X_1-X_4-X_3\)

Transform: FV-SB-IO-DO

S → Vt₁-SB (PTCp-App)-IO-DO:

:stuhbangaf sa lewjands ina im bandwon qibands (pammei)
(IND/NC/pPN₃) Mk 14:44
'Then he-betraying-him (= his betrayer) gave them a sign saying
(whomever)...'

(The intensifying particle -uh and the adverb pan₂ are infixed between
the prefix at- and the verb stem).

3.33.37 Subtype FV-DO-SB-IO (2).
S → Vt₁-DO-SB-IO-SAT:

And Levi made him a great feast in his (own) house.'

3.33.38 Subtype FV-DO-IO-SB (1).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): X₁-X₂-X₃-X₄ → X₂-X₃-X₁-X₄

Transform: FV-DO-IO-SB

S → Vt₁-SAT-DO-IO-SB:

Then he also told them a parable, saying...

3.33.39 Subtype FV-IO-SB-DO (1).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): X₁-X₂-X₃-X₄ → X₂-X₄-X₁-X₃

Transform: FV-IO-SB-DO

S → Vt₁-IO-SB-DO:

'And the Lord God shall give him the throne of David, his father.'

3.33.3a Subtype FV-IO-DO-SB (1).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): X₁-X₂-X₃-X₄ → X₂-X₄-X₃-X₁

Transform: FV-IO-DO-SB

S → Vt₁-IO-DO-SB:

'And the mighty (one) has done greatness (= great things) for me.'
3.33.3b Subtype DO-SB-FV-IO (3).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): $X_1-X_2-X_3-X_4 \rightarrow X_3-X_1-X_2-X_4$

Transform: DO-SB-FV-IO

$S \rightarrow DO-SB-Vt_1-IO:$

batei fraujja gakannida unsis. (IND/relPN/pPN$_1$) L 2:15
'...which the Lord made known to us.'

3.33.3c Subtype DO-SB-IO-FV (2).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): $X_1-X_2-X_3-X_4 \rightarrow X_3-X_1-X_4-X_2$

Transform: DO-SB-IO-FV

$S \rightarrow DO-SB-IO-Vt_1:$

---bate izwar vas izwis gibib: (IND/Aps-p/pPN$_2$) L 16:12
'Who shall give you that (which is) yours?'

3.33.3d Subtype DO-FV-SB-IO (1).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): $X_1-X_2-X_3-X_4 \rightarrow X_3-X_2-X_1-X_4$

Transform: DO-FV-SB-IO

$S \rightarrow DO-Vt_1-SB-SAT-IO:$

batei anabaup Moses du weitwodibai im: (IND/relPN/pPN$_3$) Mk 1:44
'...which Moses commanded them as a testimony.'

3.33.3e Subtype DO-FV-IO-SB (2).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): $X_1-X_2-X_3-X_4 \rightarrow X_3-X_2-X_4-X_1$

Transform: DO-FV-IO-SB

$S \rightarrow DO-SAT-Vt_1-IO-SB:$

va nu taujai im frauja bais weinagardis---(SJ/qPN/pPN$_3$) L 20:15
'What therefore shall the lord of the vineyard do to them?'

3.33.3f Subtype DO-IO-FV-SB (1).
SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): \( X_1 \rightarrow X_2 \rightarrow X_3 \rightarrow X_4 \rightarrow X_3 \rightarrow X_2 \rightarrow X_1 \)

Transform: DO-IO-FV-SB

S \rightarrow DO-IO-Vt_1-SB:

---\textit{va izvis anabauq Moses.} (IND/qPN/pPN_2) Mk 10:3
'What did Moses command you?'

3.33.3g Subtype IO-SB-DO-FV (2).

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): \( X_1 \rightarrow X_2 \rightarrow X_3 \rightarrow X_4 \rightarrow X_4 \rightarrow X_1 \rightarrow X_3 \rightarrow X_2 \)

Transform: IO-SB-DO-FV

S \rightarrow IO-SB-DO-Vt_1:

\textit{\textbf{patei pammel ik haubip afmainait Iohanne.}} (IND/NC/relPN-App) Mk 6:16
'. . .(that) whose head I cut off, John' (literally: 'for whom, John, I cut off the head').

3.33.4 Type FV-DO-IO (83).

This sentence-type is derived from the preceding one through deletion of the subject. It is divided into six subtypes, five of which are derived through permutation transformations. Material in parentheses contains the same information as in the preceding section.

SD: SB-FV-DO-IO

SC (T-2): \( X_1 \rightarrow X_2 \rightarrow X_3 \rightarrow X_4 \rightarrow X_2 \rightarrow X_3 \rightarrow X_4 \)

Transform: FV-DO-IO

3.33.41 Subtype FV-DO-IO (24).

S \rightarrow Vt_1-DO-IO:

\textit{\textbf{\'ah atgaf ita pizai maujai.}} (IND/pPN_3/NCp) Mk 6:28
'And he gave it to the girl.'

S \rightarrow Vt_1-SAT-DO-IO:

\textit{\textbf{\'agabuh pan gajukon im.}} (IND/NC/pPN_3) L 6:39
'He then told them a parable.'
3.33.42 Subtype FV-IO-DO (32).

SD: FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): \( X_1 \cdot X_2 \cdot X_3 \rightarrow X_1 \cdot X_3 \cdot X_2 \)

Transform: FV-IO-DO

\[ S \rightarrow Vt_1-IO-DO: \]

jah gaf im waldufni ahmane unhrainjaize. \( (\text{IND/NCP/pPN}_3) \) Mk 6:7
'And he gave them power of (= over) unclean spirits.'

biauk uns gaulubein. \( (\text{IMP/NC/pPN}_1) \) L 17:5
'Add faith to us = increase our faith!

Where direct object is in genitive case:

ei atsai\vib izvis bis beistis Fareisaie. jah beistis Herodis: \( (\text{IND/NCP/pPN}_2) \) Mk 8:15
'...that you take heed (to yourselves) of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod.

\[ S \rightarrow SAT-Vt_1-IO-DO. \]

---aunto gibib mis po gajukon. \( (\text{IND/NCP/pPN}_1) \) L 4:23
'Probably you will tell me this parable.'

\[ S \rightarrow NE-Vt_1-IO-DO-INFp: \]

.sai atgaf izvis waldufni trudan ufaro waurme jah skaurp\,jono.
jah ena allai mahtai fijandis jah \( (\text{IND/NCP/pPN}_2) \) L 10:19
'Behold, I gave you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and on all the power of the enemy (and...')

\[ S \rightarrow Vt_1-IO-INF-DO-SAT: \]

:jah gebun imma drigkan wein mik smw\,rna i\b \( (\text{IND/NCP/pPN}_3) \) Mk 15:23
'And they gave him wine to drink with myrrh.'

3.33.43 Subtype DO-FV-IO (9).

SD: FV-DO-IO

SC (T-3): \( X_1 \cdot X_2 \cdot X_3 \rightarrow X_2 \cdot X_1 \cdot X_3 \)

Transform: DO-FV-IO

\[ S \rightarrow DO-Vt_1-IO, \text{ where direct object is in genitive case:} \]

.ei akranis bis weinagardis gebeina imma. \( (\text{SJ/NCP/pPN}_3) \) L 20:10
'...that they might give him (of) the fruit of the vineyard.'
3.33.45 Subtype IO-FV-DO (13).

SD: FV-DO-IO
SC (T-3): $X_1-X_2-X_3 \rightarrow X_2-X_3-X_1$
Transform: IO-FV-DO

S $\rightarrow$ SAT-DO-IO-SAT-NE-Vt$_1$:

---ataggandin in gard beinana wato mis ana fotuns meinans ni gaft. (IND/NC/PPN$_1$) L 7:44
"As I was going into thy house, thou gavest me no water on (= for) my feet."

3.33.46 Subtype IO-DO-FV (3).

SD: FV-DO-IO
SC (T-3): $X_1-X_2-X_3 \rightarrow X_3-X_2-X_1$
Transform: IO-DO-FV

S $\rightarrow$ IO-Vt$_1$-DO:

辫起 atgaf bata silubr. (IND/NCp/relPN) L 19:15
"...whom he had given the money."

S $\rightarrow$ IO-NE-Vt$_1$-DO:

ei mannhun ni gipais waiht. (SJ/NC/indPN) Mk 1:44
"...that thou dost not say anything to any man."

3.33.5 Type SB-FV-DO-DO (12).

This type is formed from the base type SB-FV-DO by the addition of a second direct object. Only class Vt$_2$ (cf.1.11.32) verbs may co-occur with a double direct object. Either both objects are in the accusative, or one is in the accusative, the other in the genitive. The co-
occurrence of a double direct object with an indirect object is impossible. Sentence-type SB-FV-DO-DO has seven subtypes, depending upon the arrangement of transformational elements. In the parentheses after each example, the following information will be contained: mood of the finite verb, and the types of nominal elements constituting both direct objects, with the nominal elements listed in the order in which they occur in each particular example.

SD: SB-FV-DO

SC (T-1): $X_1$-$X_2$-$X_3 \rightarrow X_1$-$X_2$-$X_3$-$X_4$

Transform: SB-FV-DO-DO

This expansion transformation differs from all others in that the added transformational element, DO, is of the same type as one of the elements in the original string. Privileges of occurrence for nominal elements constituting the direct objects in the transform are restricted to the extent that they must be different, i.e., must represent different types of nominal expressions.

3.33.51 Subtype SB-FV-DO-DO (4).

3.33.51.1 Case of direct objects: both accusative.

S $\rightarrow$ SB-Vt$_2$-DO-DO:

silba raihtis Daweïd qibip ina fraujan jah (IND/pPN$_3$/NC) Mk 12:37
'For David himself calls him Lord (and...')

3.33.51.2 Case of direct objects: accusative and genitive.

S $\rightarrow$ SAT-SB-Vt$_2$-DO-DO:

jah sunus mans skamaïp sik is ban (IND/pPN$_r$/pPN$_3$) Mk 8:38
'The Son of Man will also be ashamed (literally: 'shame himself') of him (when...')

3.33.52 Subtype SB-DO-FV-DO (1).

SD: SB-FV-DO-DO

SC (T-3): $X_1$-$X_2$-$X_3$-$X_4 \rightarrow X_1$-$X_3$-$X_2$-$X_4$
Both direct objects are in the accusative.

\[ S \rightarrow \text{SB-DO-Vt}_2\text{-DO-SAT}: \]

\[ \text{juzef garaihtans domeip izwis silbans in andwairpja manne.} \quad (\text{IND/AdS/pPN}_2\text{-App}) \quad \text{L 16:15} \]

'...you who deem yourselves just in the presence of men.'

3.33.53 Subtype SB-DO-DO-FV (2).

SD: SB-FV-DO-DO

SC (T-3): \( X_1-X_2-X_3-X_4 \rightarrow X_1-X_3-X_4-X_2 \)

Transform: SB-DO-DO-FV

In both occurrences of this subtype, both objects are accusative.

\[ S \rightarrow \text{SB-DO-DO-Vt}_2: \]

\[ \text{Daweid ina fraujan haitib jah} \quad (\text{IND/pPN}_3\text{-NC}) \quad \text{L 20:14} \]

'David calls him Lord (and...)'

3.33.54 Subtype FV-SB-DO-DO (1).

SD: SB-FV-DO-DO

SC (T-3): \( X_1-X_2-X_3-X_4 \rightarrow X_2-X_1-X_3-X_4 \)

Transform: FV-SB-DO-DO

First direct object accusative, second genitive.

\[ S \rightarrow \text{Vt}_2\text{-SAT-SB-DO-DO}: \]

\[ \text{frainha jah ik izwis ainis waurdis.} \quad (\text{IND/pPN}_2\text{-NCp}) \quad \text{Mk 11:29} \]

'I also will ask you one word (= question).'

3.33.55 Subtype FV-DO-SB-DO (2).

SD: SB-FV-DO-DO

SC (T-3): \( X_1-X_2-X_3-X_4 \rightarrow X_2-X_3-X_1-X_4 \)

Transform: FV-DO-SB-DO

In both occurrences of this subtype, the first object is accusative, the second genitive.

\[ S \rightarrow \text{Vt}_2\text{-DO-SAT-SB-DO}: \]
3.33.56 Subtype DO-SB-FV-DO (1).

SD:  SB-FV-DO-DO

SC (T-3):  $X_1$-$X_2$-$X_3$-$X_4$ $\longrightarrow$ $X_3$-$X_1$-$X_2$-$X_4$

Transform:  DO-SB-FV-DO

First direct object genitive, second accusative.

$S$ $\longrightarrow$ DO-SB-Vt$_2$-DO:

---bishuh sunus mats skamaid sik bipe (IND/empPN/pPN$_2$) L 9:26
"Of him will the Son of Man be ashamed (when...)."

3.33.57 Subtype DO-DO-FV-SB (1).

SD:  SB-FV-DO-DO

SC (T-3):  $X_1$-$X_2$-$X_3$-$X_4$ $\longrightarrow$ $X_4$-$X_3$-$X_2$-$X_1$

Transform:  DO-DO-FV-SB

Both objects are accusative.

$S$ $\longrightarrow$ DO-DO-Vt$_2$-INF-SB:

---vama mik giban wisen bos manageins. (IND/qPN/pPN$_1$) L 9:18
"Whom do the crowds say me to be (= say that I am)?"

3.33.6 Type FV-DO-DO (24).

This sentence-type is derived from the preceding one by deleting
the subject. Permutation transformations yield two additional subtypes.
Otherwise, the same holds true for this type as for type SB-FV-DO-DO
(cf. 3.33.5).

SD:  SB-FV-DO-DO

SC (T-2):  $X_1$-$X_2$-$X_3$-$X_4$ $\longrightarrow$ $X_2$-$X_3$-$X_4$

Transform:  FV-DO-DO

3.33.61 Subtype FV-DO-DO (8).

In all occurrences of this subtype, both objects are in the accusative.

$S$ $\longrightarrow$ Vt$_2$-DO-DO:
3.33.62 Subtype DO-FV-DO (9).

SD:  FV-DO-DO

SC (T-3):  \( X_1 - X_2 - X_3 \longrightarrow X_2 - X_1 - X_3 \)

Term:  DO-FV-DO

In all occurrences of this subtype, both objects are in the accusative.

**S \longrightarrow DO-Vt_2-DO:**

.\( \text{раиотос воуркеіб стаігос іс.} \)  (IMP/Ads/NCp)  L 3:4 (similar: Mk 1:3)

'Make his paths straight!'

**S \longrightarrow DO-SAT-Vt_2-DO:**

.\( \text{пейі jah нампіда Pайtrу jah} \)  (IND/relPN/NM)  L 6:14

'...whom also he named Peter (and...)' 

3.33.63 Subtype DO-DO-FV (7).

SD:  FV-DO-DO

SC (T-3):  \( X_1 - X_2 - X_3 \longrightarrow X_2 - X_3 - X_1 \)

Term:  DO-DO-FV

In all occurrences of this subtype, both objects are in the accusative.

**S \longrightarrow DO-DO-Vt_2:**

.\( \text{пейі бук біджос---} \)  (IND/relPN/pPN_2)  Mk 10:35

'...which we (two) ask (of) thee...

**S \longrightarrow NE-DO-DO-Vt_2-INFP:**

.\( \text{дупеі ni mik silban wairbana rahnida at bup qiman.} \)  (IND/pPN_1-App/Ads)  L 7:7

'For I did not deem myself worthy to come to thee.'

3.34 Base type SB-FV-IO (255).

Finite verbs of all verb classes except classes Vt_2 and Vt_3 may co-occur with an indirect object. This base type consists of two types, one with a subject, the other with the subject deleted. The two types are made up of six and two subtypes, respectively. In the parentheses
following each example, both the mood of the finite verb and the type of nominal element constituting the indirect object will be indicated. 

App indicates one or more elements in apposition with the indirect object.

3.34.1 Type SB-FV-IO (125).
3.34.11 Subtype SB-FV-IO (45).

3.34.11.1 FV = Vc.

S → SB-Vc-IO:

"galeiks ist man timrjandin razn. (IND/NC-App) L 6:48
 'He is like a man building a house.'

S → SB-Vc-IO-SAT:

"gob ist imma mais ei (IND/pPN3) Mk 9:42
 'It is better for him (that...)' (literally: 'it is good for him the more')

S → SB-Vc-IO-INFp:

"---skuldu stijai mann gen afsatjan--- (SJ/NC) Mk 10:2
 '...if it be lawful for a man to put away (his) wife.'

3.34.11.2 FV = Vn.

S → SB(App)-Vn-IO:

"batei aflifnoda im gabruko tainjons twalif: (IND/pPN3) L 9:17
 '...that which remained to them of fragments (= those fragments which were left), twelve baskets.'

3.34.11.3 FV = Vpv.

S → SB-Vpv-IO:

"jah sumus mans atgibada baim ufangdjam jah bokarjam.
 (IND/NCp-App) Mk 10:33
 'And the Son of Man shall be delivered to the high priests and scribes.'

3.34.11.4 FV = VIn: not attested.

3.34.11.5 FV = Vt1.

S → SB-Vt1-IO:
.ip Iesus gab im--- (IND/pPN₃) Mk 10:36
'But Jesus said to them.'

.ip Iesus andhof imma. (IND/pPN₃) Mk 12:29
'But Jesus replied to him.'

3.34.12 Subtype SB-IO-FV (21).

SD: SB-FV-IO
SC (T-3): X₁<X₂<X₃ → X₁<X₃<X₂
Transform: SB-IO-FV

3.34.12.1 FV = Vc.

S → SB-IO-Vc:

ibnans aggilum auk sind. (IND/NC) L 20:36
'For they are equal to angels.'

unte ainaha mis ist. (IND/pPN₁) L 9:38
'For he is the only one to me = he is my only child.'

S → SAT-SB-IO-Vc:

batei himma daga naseins bamma garda warp: (IND/NCp) L 19:9
'...that today salvation (be)came to this house.'

3.34.12.2 FV = Vn: not attested.

3.34.12.3 FV = Vpv: not attested.

3.34.12.4 FV = Vin.

S → SB-IO-Vin:

---va izwis bugkeip. (IND/pPN₃) Mk 14:64
'What does (it) seem to you = what do you think?'

'allai auk imma liband. (IND/pPN₃) L 20:38
'For all live for him.'

3.34.12.5 FV = Vt₁.

S → SB-IO-Vt₁:

.jah ik izwis qiba. (IND/pPN₂) L 16:9
'But I say to you.'

.ik bus anabiuda--- (IND/pPN₂) Mk 9:25
'I command thee.'

3.34.13 Subtype FV-SB-IO (5).
3.34.13.1 FV = Vc: not attested.

3.34.13.2 FV = Vn.

\[ S \rightarrow Vn-SB-INF-IO: \]

\[ .usfullnodedun dogos du bairan izai jah (IND/pPN_3) \quad L 2:6 \]

'The days were fulfilled for her to bear (= give birth), and...'

3.34.13.3 FV = Vpv: not attested.

3.34.13.4 FV = Vin: not attested.

3.34.13.5 FV = Vt_1.

\[ S \rightarrow Vt_1-SB-IO: \]

\[ .jabai gipai manna attin seinarma aibbau aibein. (SJ/NCp-App) \quad MK 7:11 \]

'If a man should say to his father or mother...'

3.34.14 Subtype FV-IO-SB (36).

SD: SB-FV-IO

\[ SC (T-3): \quad X_1-X_2-X_3 \rightarrow X_2-X_3-X_1 \]

Transform: FV-IO-SB

3.34.14.1 FV = Vc.

\[ S \rightarrow Vc-IO-SB: \]

\[ .sijai allaij skalks: \quad (SJ/Apn) \quad MK 10:14 \]

'...(he) shall be servant to all.'

\[ .jah waipib bus faheeds jah swegniba. \quad (IND/pPN_2) \quad L 1:14 \]

'And joy and gladness will become to you = thou shalt have joy and gladness.'

3.34.14.2 FV = Vn.

\[ S \rightarrow SAT-Vn-IO-SB: \]

\[ .jah sunsaiv usluknodedun imma hliumans. \quad (IND/pPN_3) \quad MK 7:35 \]

'And straightway (his) ears were opened for him.'

3.34.14.3 FV = Vpv.
S \rightarrow Vpv-Io-SB:

jah afeltainda im frauwrhtes. (SJ/PN₃) Mk 4:12
"...and (their) sins should be forgiven them."

3.34.14.4 FV = Vin: not attested.

3.34.14.5 FV = Vₜ₁.

S \rightarrow Vₜ₁-Io-SB:

jah gab im Iesus--- (IND/PN₃) Mk 1:17
"And Jesus said to them."

jah andhofun imma siponjos is. (IND/PN₃) Mk 8:4
"And his disciples replied to him."

S \rightarrow Vₜ₁-SAT-Io-SB:

gab ban im Iesus batei (IND/PN₃) Mk 6:4
"Then Jesus said to them (that...)."

S \rightarrow Vₜ₁-Io-SB-INF:

---gibib im jus matjan. (INF/PN₃) L 9:13
"(You) give them (something) to eat!"

3.34.15 Subtype IO-SB-FV (12).

SD: SB-FV-IO

SC (T-3): X₁-X₂-X₃ \rightarrow X₃-X₁-X₂

Transform: IO-SB-FV

3.34.15.1 FV = Vc.

S \rightarrow IO-SB-Vc:

---frauins baurftis bis ist: (IND/NC) L 19:34
"There is need of this to the Lord = the Lord has need of it."

---vamna gailkes ist. (IND/qPN) L 6:47
"...to whom he is like."

S \rightarrow IO-2SAT-SB-Vc:

ip jainaim baim uta in gajukom allata wairbi. (IND/Apn-p) Mk 4:11
"But for those outside, everything is (done) in parables."

S \rightarrow IO-SB-Vc-INFp:

---izwis atgibam ist kunnan runa biudangardjos gudis. (IND/PN₂)
Mk 4:11 (similar: L 8:10)
'Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God.'

3.34.15.2 $FV = Vn$: not attested.

3.34.15.3 $FV = Vpv$.

$S \rightarrow IO-SB-Vpv$:

$.\text{ip prominent little fraudada} \quad (\text{IND/relPN}) \quad L \ 7:47$

'But to whom little is forgiven...'

3.34.15.4 $FV = Vin$: not attested.

3.34.15.5 $FV = Vt_1$.

$S \rightarrow 2SAT-IO-SB-Vt_1$:

---\text{van} filu bus frauja gatwida jah \ (\text{IND/pPN}_2) \quad Mk \ 5:19

'...how much the Lord has done for thee (and...)' 

3.34.16 Subtype IO-FV-SB (6).

SD: \ SB-FV-IO

SC (T-3): $X_1 - X_2 - X_3 \rightarrow X_3 - X_2 - X_1$

Transform: \ IO-FV-SB

3.34.16.1 $FV = Vc$.

$S \rightarrow IO-Vc-SB$:

'.\text{ei uns} wairbai pata arbi. \ (\text{SJ/pPN}_1) \quad L \ 20:14$

'...so that the inheritance may become to us (= ours)...'

3.34.16.2 $FV = Vn$.

$S \rightarrow IO-Vn-SB-INF$:

$.\text{ip Aileisabaip} usfullnoda mel du bairan. \ (\text{IND/NM}) \quad L \ 1:57$

'But the time was fulfilled for Elizabeth to give birth.'

(Although the name Aileisabaip is not inflected, an inflected dative could be substituted for it in this construction; cf. 3.34.13.2).

3.34.16.3 $FV = Vpv$: not attested.

3.34.16.4 $FV = Vin$: not attested.

3.34.16.5 $FV = Vt_1$.

$.\text{vaiva imma gap gub gipands.} \ (\text{IND/pPN}_3) \quad Mk \ 12:26$

'...how God said to him, saying...'
3.34.2 Type FV-IO (130).

SD: SB-FV-IO

SC (T-2): $X_1-X_2-X_3 \rightarrow X_2-X_3$

Transform: FV-IO

3.34.21 Subtype FV-IO (116).

3.34.21.1 FV = Vc.

$S \rightarrow Vc$-IO:

jah wairpip izwis. (IND/pPN_2) Mk 11:24
'And it will become to you = you will have it.'

$S \rightarrow Vc$-IO-SAT:

---wairbai mis bi wa urda peinama. (SJ/pPN_1) L 1:38
'Be (it) unto me according to thy word.'

$S \rightarrow Vc$-INfp (discontinuous)-IO-SAT:

jah warp bairhaggen imma sabbato daga bairh atisk. (IND/pPN_3) Mk 2:23
'And on the sabbath day, it came to pass for him to go (= it came to pass that he went) through the corn (fields).'

3.34.21.2 FV = Vn: not attested.

3.34.21.3 FV = Vpv.

$S \rightarrow Vpv$-IO:

jah luuga da ahparamma-— (IND/Apn) Mk 10:12
'...and is married to another...'

jah gibada izwis. (IND/pPN_2) L 6:38
'And (it) shall be given to you.'

3.34.21.4 FV = Vin.

$S \rightarrow Vin$-IO:

jah puhta im ei (IND/pPN_2) L 19:11
'And it seemed to them (that...)'

jah bahta sis— (IND/pPN_3) L 1:29
'And she thought to herself.'

$S \rightarrow$ NE-Vin-IO-2SAT:
Because it does not enter to him into the heart (that...), but into the belly.'

3.34.21.5 FV = Vt₁.

S → Vt₁-IO:

:pite ni galeibip imma in hairto ak in wamba jah (IND/pPN₃) Mk 7:19

'Say to this stone (that...)!'

:jah gaf im. (IND/pPN₃) Mk 2:27

'And he said to them.'

S → VOC-Vt₁-IO:

:atta gis mis (sei) (IMP/pPN₁) L 15:12

'Father, give me (that which...)?'

S → NE-IMP-IO-VOC:

:ni ogs bus Mariam. (IMP/pPN₂) L 1:30

'Fear not (to thyself), Mary!'

S → Vt₁-IO-SAT:

:jah gaf im in laiseinau seinai. (IND/pPN₃) Mk 4:2

'And he told them in his parable.'

S → SAT-Vt₁-IO:

:atpan bi sunnai gipa izwis. (IND/pPN₂) L 4:25

'But I tell you in truth.'

S → Vt₁-IO-INFp:

:jah gaf siponjam du faurlag, jan biziaw managein. (IND/NC) L 9:16

'And he gave (them) to the disciples to set before the crowd.'

3.34.22 Subtype IO-FV (14).

SD: FV-IO

SC (T-3): X₁-X₂ → X₂-X₁

Transform: IO-FV

3.34.22.1 FV = Vc: not attested.

3.34.22.2 FV = Vn: not attested.

3.34.22.3 FV = Vpv.
3.34.22.4 FV = Vin: not attested.

3.34.22.5 FV = Vt₁.

S → IO-Vt₁:

,pus qipā--- (IND/pPN₂) Mk 2:11
'To thee I say...'

S → NE-IO-Vt₁:

,amen izwis qipā. (IND/pPN₂) L 4:24
'Amen, I say to you.'

S → IO-NE-Vt₁-SAT:

ei mannhun ni gebeina bi ina. (SJ/indPN) Mk 8:30
'...that they should not tell anyone about him.'

S → IO-Vt₁-SAT-INFp:

,patei aggilum seinaim anabiuḍip bi puk du gafastaŋ puk. (IND/NCP) L 4:10
'...that he will command his angels concerning thee, to keep thee.'

3.4 Minor Sentence-Types.

The general structural rule for minor sentences has already been given (3.2). There are 281 minor, that is verb-less, sentences in L/Mk. Any syntactic element, except the finite verb and the infinitive, may function as a minor sentence constituent. Most minor sentences consist of one or more nominal elements. Some of these function as satellites, others as vocatives, but most are parallel in use to nuclear nominal elements in major sentences. Of the satellite elements, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and absolute expressions occur as minor sentence constitutes and constituents. A few minor sentences consist of only a non-element.
There are, broadly speaking, five distributional environments for minor sentences. They may be simply verb-less major sentences, that is, minor sentences which are identical in structure to a major sentence-type, except that the finite verb is lacking. They may be vocatives, which are always considered to be minor sentences when not co-occurring with a finite verb in the imperative mood. Another type of minor sentence consists of an absolute satellite expression (cf. 2.13.4). Frequently, minor sentences occur as replies to questions, as quotes, and as interjections. Finally, there are a handful of fragmentary sentences (not including the eleven sentences attested as incomplete as a result of lost manuscript pages), for which no particular unifying factor can be adduced other than that they are fragments.

3.41 Minor sentence = verb-less major sentence.

There are 143 sentences of this type in L/Mk. Many of them consist of a subject and predicate with zero connector.

For example:

\[ S \rightarrow \text{SB-PD:} \]

\[ \text{---va namo bein.} \quad \text{Mk 5:9} \]

"What (is) thy name?"

Compare the same sentence with connective verb:

\[ \text{va ist namo bein.} \quad \text{L 8:30} \]

Other examples of type SB-PD are:

\[ S \rightarrow \text{SB-PD:} \]

\[ \text{bizei namo Swmaion.} \quad \text{L 2:25} \]

"...whose name (was) Simeon."

\[ S \rightarrow \text{PD-SB-SAT:} \]

\[ \text{bubido pu in ginom.} \quad \text{L 1:29,42} \]

'Blessed (art) thou among women.'

\[ S \rightarrow \text{NE-SB-PD(App):} \]
.ni ainshun piupeiga niba ains gup. L 18:19 (similar: Mk 10:18)
'No one (is) good, except God alone.'

In other minor sentences of this type, only one nominal or nominal phrase occurs in the nominative. In many of these cases, the addition of a finite verb form would yield a major sentence of type SB-FV.

For example:
S → SB-SAT:
   frauja mib bus. L 1:29
   'The Lord (is) with thee.'

   jah bridja samaleiko. Mk 12:21
   'And the third (did) likewise.'

If the nominal element appears with oblique case modification, it is similar in syntactic function to a direct or indirect object in major sentences. Some examples are:
S → SB-PD-IO:
   allata mahieig bamma galaubjandin. Mk 9:23
   'All (is) possible for the one believing (= who believes).'

   jah anbarga galeika bizai. Mk 12:31
   'And the second (is) like this.'

S → SB-SAT-IO:
   wulbus in hauhistjam guda. L 2:14
   'Glory to God in the highest!'

S → SB-DO:
   ip anbar fimf tiguns. L 7:41
   'And the other (owed) fifty.'

   jah fusgos himinis sitlans. L 9:58
   'And the birds of the sky (have) nests.'

S → DO-IO:
   appan han pans sibun hlaibans fidwor busundjom. Mk 8:20
   'But when (I broke) the seven loaves among four thousand...'

Compare the nearly identical major sentence:
S → DO-Vt₁-IO:
When I broke the five loaves among five thousand..."

Finally, a number of sentences in this type consist of the interjection sai 'lo, behold' and one or more nominal elements, usually in the nominative case, but once in the accusative. For example:

where nominal element is in the nominative:

S ——> NE-NCp(App):

---sai manna afetja jah weindrugkja. L 7:34
'Behold (this) man, a glutton and a winebibber!'

where nominal element is in the accusative:

S ——> NE-NCp:

.sai bana stap (parei) Mk 16:6
'Behold the place (where...)!'

3.42 Minor sentence = vocative.

There are 75 minor sentences in L/Mk whose constitute is a vocative. For examples, cf. 2.12.

3.43 Minor sentence = absolute expression.

Absolute satellite expressions constitute 26 minor sentences in L/Mk. For example:

S ——> ABS:

.jah iftumin daga usstandandam im us Bebaniin. (gregags was.) Mk 11:12
'And on the following day, as they were going forth from Bethany, (he was hungry).'

For details and many other examples, cf. 2.13.4.

3.44 Minor sentence = reply, quote, or interjection.

There are 31 minor sentences of this type in L/Mk. These sentences consist of substantives or substantive phrases, prepositional phrases, adverbs, or non-elements, or a combination of these. In the examples below, the Gothic sentence or sentences, which precede and elicit the
reply, quote, or interjection, will be given in parentheses.

3.44.1 Minor sentence = substantive element.

\[ S \rightarrow NC: \]

\[ (.va \text{ ist} \text{nomo} \text{ been. baruh gap}) \text{ harjis.} \]

'What is thy name? Then he said: Legion.' \[ L \text{ 8:30} \]

\[ S \rightarrow NCp: \]

\[ (--\text{vis bidjau. ip si gap}). \text{ haubidis Johannis bis daupjandins.} \]

'What should I request? And she said: The head of John the Baptist.' \[ Mk \text{ 6:24} \]

\[ S \rightarrow Anum: \]

\[ (.\text{van managans spwreidans fullans gabruko usenemup. ip eis gepun}) \text{ sibun.} \]

'How many baskets full of fragments did you take up? And they said: Seven.' \[ Mk \text{ 5:20} \]

3.44.2 Minor sentence = prepositional phrase.

\[ S \rightarrow Pp: \]

\[ (--\text{van lagg mel ist ei pata warp imra. ip is gap}) \text{ us barniskja.} \]

'How long is the time (= has it been) that this has happened to him? And he said: From childhood.' \[ Mk \text{ 9:21} \]

3.44.3 Minor sentence = adverb.

\[ S \rightarrow NE-AV: \]

\[ (.\text{nih gipand}) \text{ sai her aipbau} \]

'Nor will they say: Lo here (or...)?' \[ L \text{ 17:21} \]

3.44.4 Minor sentence = non-element.

\[ S \rightarrow NE: \]

\[ (.\text{jah andhafjande} \text{i so aipei is. gap) ne.} \]

'And answering, his mother said: No!' \[ L \text{ 1:60} \]

\[ (.ip \text{ is andhafjands im gap}) \text{ co.} \]

'But he, answering them, said: Oh!' \[ Mk \text{ 9:19} \]

3.45. Minor sentence = fragment.

This sentence-type is attested only six times in L/Mk. Only prepositional phrases, adverbs, and non-elements occur as constituents.
This, in effect, is a residue type: it contains those minor sentences not classifiable as belonging to any of the other four types.

For example:

\[ S \rightarrow \text{Pp:} \]

\[ \text{appan bi daubans (patei urreisand---)} \quad \text{Mk 12:26} \]

'But in regard to the dead (that they rise...)' 

\[ S \rightarrow \text{2AV:} \]

\[ :\text{samaleiko jah (swe warp in dagam Lodis.)} \quad \text{L 17:28} \]

'Likewise also (as it was in the days of Lot).'
Notes.

0. Introduction.

1. These articles are listed in the bibliography. Also, Gothic phonology is considered from a structural viewpoint in Mosse's revised Manuel, in Guxman's Gothic grammar, and in the second volume of Sravnitel'naja grammatika germanskix jazykov. All the well-known Gothic grammars, from Gabelentz-Loebe on, contain extensive sections on phonology. Cf. bibliography for a complete listing of all works mentioned here.


5. Lg. 2 (1926), 153.


16. 5th and 6th eds. (Heidelberg, 1920).

17. Streitberg, Elementarbuch, paragraph 234, p. 164 f.

18. The view that Gothic and Greek reached the same stage of linguistic development at about the same time and that the close similarity of the Gothic and Greek texts is really a matter of accident rather than design is held by George O. Curme, "Is the Gothic Bible Gothic?" JEGF 10 (1911), 151-191, 335-377.

19. Streitberg's remarks on aspect in his Elementarbuch are a condensation of a more elaborate treatment in "Perfektive und imperfektive Aktionsart im Germanischen," PBB 15 (1891), 70-177. In a fine article, Philip Scherer explodes Streitberg's views and proves that Gothic, in fact, has no formal aspectual system; cf. "Aspect in Gothic," Lg. 30 (1954), 211-223. More recently, Ivan Pudic has collected all occurrences of Gothic verbs prefixed by *ga-* together with the Greek equivalents. He shows that Streitberg's point of departure, a comparison of aspect in the Germanic and Slavic languages, was misleading: Slavic languages have fully developed aspectual systems, Germanic languages do not. Pudic concludes that aspect in Gothic was optional, depending on context. Gothic aspect was a semantic category (primary aspect), but it was beginning to develop into a grammatical category (secondary aspect). Cf. Ivan Pudic, Prefiks *ga-* u gotskom jeziku (Belgrade, 1957), pp. 392-397 (German summary).


21. This problem is discussed at length by C. L. Ebeling, Linguistic Units (The Hague, 1960).


23. ibid., p. 158. The underlines are Harris'.


25. A discussion of the process of word delimitation at this point would lead us astray from the main topic of this dissertation. Suffice it to say that the delimitation of words has been a problem in linguistic research for many years and that there is a sizeable literature on this subject. For a penetrating discussion of the problem, cf. Anton J. B. N. Reichling, Het woord: een studie ontrent de grondslag van taal en taalgebruik... (Nijmegen, 1935).

27. The system of outlining used here is discussed, along with other systems, by Eugene A. Nida, *Morphology: The Descriptive Analysis of Words*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor, 1949), p. 239 f.


30. von Friesen and Grape, p. 56.

31. The text of L/\(1^2\) occupies 240 manuscript pages, that of M/J only 134 (cf. von Friesen and Grape, p. 56).— From here on, whenever reference is made to Gothic, this applies only to that part of Gothic contained in L/\(1^2\).


Section 1. Classification of Syntactic Elements.

1. For the methodology involved in establishing distributional classes, cf. 0.2. For definition of non-element, cf. 1.2.


3. For details of verb morphology, cf. grammars and Buckalew, esp. p. 142 f. I am also indebted to Buckalew for many suggestions concerning other areas of Gothic morphology.

4. ganan\(h\)-: CA. ga\(a\)nd\(j\)-: Streitberg *Bibel*, Bernhardt Vulfila.

5. The primary criterion for the classification of a verb as intransitive is the fact that it is not attested with a direct object. To supplement this criterion, semantic criteria are used for the tripartite grouping of intransitive verbs.


7. Once with direct object in genitive case: Mk 12:2.

9. The Gothic dual possessive adjective *eggarg* 'your (of two)' is not attested in L/Mk.


13. The non-emphasized forms of these pronouns do not, as a rule, occur in initial position.

14. CA for *pizei*.

15. aljag prepositional: *Mk* 12:32.

Section 2. Modification of Sentence-Elements.


3. Cf. Streitberg, *Bibel*, note to verse. Also Braune-Ebbinghaus, paragraph 105, Anmerkung 2: 'In den Singularendungen dieser Deklination findet sich ein merkwürdiges Schwanken, zwischen *u* und *au*.'

4. Possibly the dative should not be included among the cases which mark the vocative. Noun stems in -au are the only evidence, but in CA -au is sometimes used as an accusative ending in place of the more common -u (cf. Braune-Ebbinghaus, paragraph 105, Anmerkung 2, and Streitberg, *Elementarbuch*, paragraph 24).


6. *Mk* 4:1, CA has *swasve ina galeîban in skin*. Uppström considers this erroneous and emends the infinitive to a present participle *galeîbandan*, which would result in an accusative absolute.

7. CA has *at wisandin kindina Swriais raginondin Saurim Kweînciau*. Streitberg *Bibel* (note to verse) and Braune-Ebbinghaus (note p. 158) consider *wisandin kindina Swriais* to be a gloss added later to the text. Heyne-Wrede (note to verse) and Uppström (note to verse), on the other hand, consider *raginondin Saurin* to be the gloss.

8. No dual forms of the personal pronouns are attested in the nominative in L/Mk.

9. In other words, phrase modification generally does not alter the distributional privileges of the element modified. Infinitive phrases have the same privileges of occurrence as infinitives, either a
Substantive or a substantive phrase may be the subject, predicate, direct or indirect object in a sentence, and so on. For examples of distribution, cf. 3.3.

10. There are 74 noun phrases of this type, all in apposition with each other, in the genealogy, L 3:23-38.

11. Although the sequence PN-PN occurs 224 times, it is syntactically significant (as constituting a phrase) only 27 times. The sequence PN-PN-PN occurs 18 times, but never constitutes a phrase.

12. For example, cf. Braune-Ebbinghaus, paragraph 151, Anmerkung 2, Krause, paragraph 178.

13. The sequence du plus infinitive or infinitive phrase is not considered a prepositional phrase, since du serves only to introduce the infinitive; its absence before most infinitives indicates that du does not govern the infinitive (cf. 1.13 and 2.34). Similar in its role to du is at as an introducer of absolute constructions (cf. 2.13.4).

Section 3. The Sentence-Types of Gothic.

1. A similar working definition is provided by Fries for the sentence in written English: 'A sentence is a word or group of words standing between an initial capital letter and a mark of end punctuation or between two marks of end punctuation.' Cf. Charles Carpenter Fries, The Structure of English: An Introduction to the Construction of English Sentences (New York, 1952), p. 9.


5. Cf. Gabelentz-Loebe, paragraph 17,2: 'Doch ist diese Interpunktion nicht consequent durchgeführt, und oft stehen diese Zeichen ganz ohne Noth und sogar sinnstörend.'


7. Cf. Gabelentz-Loebe, paragraph 235; Krause, paragraph 115,1; Streitberg Elementararbuch, paragraph 262.
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