THE RESULTATIVE IN GOTHIC

by

R. MOSES KATZ, JR.

(Under the Direction of Jared Klein)

ABSTRACT

The Gothic language can express passive voice in different ways. Unique among Germanic languages, Gothic retains a synthetic passive, an inheritance of the Indo-European mediopassive. It also as has two periphrastic constructions, one that combines the verb 'be' and a past participle and 'become' and a past participle. Additionally it contains a verb type with a nasal suffix, *-na-*, which can also be used to express actions wherein – like a passive – there is no overt agent. At the same time, the nasal-suffix verb (or *-nan* verb), seems to behave in ways that sets it apart from passive expression. What comes down to scholars is a host of verbs that does not have a clear relationship. Various assessments see the four categories listed as being in some degree of semantic overlap and/or representing a developmental state wherein some forms are coming to replace others.

My study examines the manifold semantics of these constructions. It shows how these forms, though they do constitute some degree of semantic overlap, also provide the option for a full non-agentive paradigm, one in which each type of non-agentive expression can be used to denote different semantic values, including a functional perfect tense in the passive. By analyzing an exhaustive list of these constructions in the Gothic corpus, I isolate separate axes of tense, aspect and voice.

I then map an underlying structure for each based on the model of a resultative. A resultative in the style of *John irons the shirt flat*, contains not only nominal arguments, such as a subject and object, but also a statal argument, *flat*, that is distinct from the kind of adjectival argument one finds in a predicate adjective. Using this model, I propose a de-statal origin for non-agentive expressions in Gothic, showing how the various forms provide optionality to express three separate semantics with graded complexity: (i.) a fientive verb in *–nan* that cannot denote an agent, (ii.) a regular passive that *can* denote an agent, and (iii.) a perfect passive that can not only denote an agent, but also has the capacity to express an entailed result-state.

INDEX WORDS: Historical Linguistics, Gothic Language, Germanic Languages, Derivational Semantics, Resultativity, Argument Structure, Generative Syntax, Distributed Morphology

THE RESULTATIVE IN GOTHIC

by

R. MOSES KATZ, JR.

BA, University of Alabama, 2003

MA, University of Alabama, 2005

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2016

THE RESULTATIVE IN GOTHIC

by

R. MOSES KATZ, JR.

Major Professor: Jared Klein
Committee: Vera Lee-Schoenfeld
                    Jonathan Evans

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2016

DEDICATION

To Vanessa, my heart

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

BASE CONCEPTS AND THEORY

1.0 PART 1: INTRODUCTION

This study is divided into three major PARTS. Each PART contains chapters that can be grouped

under a single focus of analysis. PART 1 and chapter 1 constitute the same thing, a section of this

study that is dedicated to introducing key concepts that will be used throughout. PART 2 will be

made up of those chapters that pertain to the study of the *-nan* verb, a predicate type in Gothic

for which an underlying argument structure can be posited in terms of the resultative model.

PART 3 will be made up of those chapters that pertain to the study of the periphrastic passive in

Gothic, a passive construction that can also be analyzed in terms of the resultative model.

1.1 ABBREVIATIONS

The following are abbreviations used in this study that refer to grammatical concepts.

Pres.	Present	Imp.	Imperfective	PP	Past Participle	M.	Masculine
Pret.	Preterite	Perf.	Perfective	PresP	Present Participle	F.	Feminine
Fut.	Future			Adj.	Adjective	N.	Neuter
Pft.	Perfect					Sg.	Singular
Aor.	Aorist	Impf.	Imperfect (tense)			Pl.	Plural

The following are abbreviations used in this study that refer to Biblical texts.

Mt	Matthew	Rm	Romans	Ph	Philippians	1Tm	1 Timothy
Mk	Mark	1Cr	1 Corinthians	Cl	Colossians	2Tm	2 Timothy
Lk	Luke	2Cr	2 Corinthians	1Th	1 Thessalonians	Pl	Philemon
Jn	John	Eph	Ephesians	2Th	2 Thessalonians	Gl	Galatians

1.2 TRANSLATION PRIMACY

This study examines grammatical categories in the Gothic language, the corpus of which consists primarily of a translation of Greek new testament texts. The Gothic provided herein is from Streitberg's (2000) authoritative text, seventh edition. The Greek is from various sources. A significant part of that examination will analyze modes of interpretation present in the translation of an underlying Greek source into Gothic. Any study that attempts to make assertions about this translation is faced with a stark limitation in that it is impossible to recover the original base of translation. Hence, it is impossible to say for certain what is the primary *Vorlage* for the Gothic texts, raising questions of validity for any analysis that relies on linking a given form A to a translated form B. No doubt, such limitation has caused many analyses of Gothic grammatical forms to shy away from a heavy reliance on translation, relying instead on formal conventions within the Gothic corpus or on typology within the Germanic languages as a group.

In order for me to make any viable claims about modes of translation, I must accommodate the problems posed by not having a single source text. While I cannot rectify them outright, I can mitigate them by utilizing comparative resources. Using web-based corpora, I can view consolidated Greek texts in collation. This yields a way to easily identify significant differences between versions. A consolidated translation or "critical" edition of the Greek New Testament is itself a fabricated entity, manufactured from multiple sources within a single "tradition." The most authoritative consolidation is the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*. What is known about Wulfila – his manuscript appearing in the Byzantine bishopric – can further inform the assumptions we make, such as placing the unknown Greek Vorlage within eastern traditions. These are reflected best in the *Byzantine Majority Text*, a critical new testament collated from the multitude of manuscripts within the Eastern orthodoxy.

The resulting resource is an inheritance of different textual traditions which can be viewed in consensus. This Greek consensus is what I will refer to as the *Vorlage*. That is, while no single translational source can be recovered, we can make reasonable assumptions about the generation of the Gothic based on the comparative presentation of available Greek texts. The Greek provided herein is the Nestle-Aland (1993). At those times when the Gothic syntax or phrasing aligns more accurately with a different critical text, that text is marked. For example (1), presents the Gothic text with two available Greek variants.

(1)　　a. [NA] ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ **Κυρίου**.　　　　Nestle-Aland　　　　　　(2Th 2:2)

　　　　　— is present the day *of the Lord*.

　　　　b. [BYZ] ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ **χριστοῦ**·　　　Byzantine Majority Text

　　　　　— is present the day *of the Christ*.

　　　　c. [A] *instandai dags **Xristaus***.　　　　　　Codex Ambrosianus A

It is clear that the Gothic includes the reference to Christ that is reflected in the Byzantine Majority Text, but not the Nestle-Aland (1993). In those instances wherein such a specification should be made, I will use the Byzantine Majority Text and indicate it with a header, [BYZ].

Given one of the Gothic phenomena in focus – such as periphrastic formations – the goal is to establish a likely base form from which it has been translated, in this case, a non-periphrastic (synthetic) verb or participle. Given any number of critical texts, it is possible to compare the same verb in multiple traditions. In almost all instances, the verb is the same, not only as a lexeme but in marked tense, mood and aspect. Because this consensus reflects a large measure of agreement among historical texts, a variant verb would pose a statistical anomaly. Hence, I am comfortable asserting a *Vorlage* for Gothic based on a mean of attestations. While it remains impossible to reconstruct the original base, we can now revise our perception of a limitation not as a measure of chance, but of probability or improbability. That is, while Wulfila may have used

some radically different Greek base to create his translation, the odds that such a text would (a.)
exist without any trace of modern attestation or (b.) contain a verb that would deviate from what
is otherwise a complete consensus, is statistically unlikely.

1.3 GRAMMATICAL AND THEORETICAL CONCEPTS:

The following are fundamental concepts that underpin the theoretical topics of this study. While
more detailed explanations of a given concept are given in context, it is important to establish a
baseline regarding grammatical and theoretical assumptions.

1.3.1 Voice

Diathesis is a grammatical primary. A typical treatment of the topic though is often posed
in terms of a dichotomy: active vs. passive. A grammarian's assessment of the passive voice is
often informed by any number of classical traditions, characterizing the passive as it is found in
languages like Latin. Such a view in the early 20th century is stated in Brugmann (1916). He
characterizes the relationship such that …

> Das Treibende war das Bedürfnis, dem Objekt eines Vorgangs die zentrale Stellung im Satz
> anzuweisen und es damit psychologisch über die Agentsstellung zu erheben. (701)

The question is taken up again by Jespersen (1933:120 and 1925:167) who underscores that
diathesis provides optionality in the form of shift in point of view. While an active sentence
focuses on the activities of a doer, the agent, a passive provides a means to de-emphasize the
doer and thus highlight the action itself and its effects on the object. Thus an adjusted focus of
nominals can take place, the agent in an active sentence, a patient or theme in a passive one.

I take the value of the passive to be a practical counterposition to the active. I say
"practical" because diathesis itself as a grammatical category usually serves as a way to alter the
somewhat nebulous sense of argument-focus within a narrative, while preserving a common
semantics. The same idea can be expressed either actively with focus on the subject or passively

with focus on the object. In this way, "passivization" becomes a strategy that affects pragmatic concerns, lending optionality to the presentation of information, e.g. distinctions such as given vs. new, or modes of topicalization.

It is tempting then to treat diathesis in general as a polar entity. Certainly within comparative typology we find that the active ~ mediopassive distinction is morphologically fundamental, permeating all levels of a paradigm and so constituting a breakdown of mirrored forms, as it were one active and one non-active. But to say that the historical mediopassive is just associated with the removal of an agent would be wrong. While this is an accurate enough description for a kind of structural generation, one that essentially derives passives from actives, the historical context is more complicated. The mediopassive as a category covered a range of expressions. One is a sense of "devolving" action where the force or implementation of an event redounds on the subject. This can describe the true passive, the self-benefactive passive, and the reflexive. Another is a sense of "internal" action that constitutes unaccusativity: verbs of motion, emotion, and state-change that are resistant to any agent and instead imply some experience on the part of the subject.

For this reason, it is helpful to view the historical mediopassive not as a syntactic distinction of a transitive sentence made non-transitive through a process, but one of diametric semantics: agentive and non-agentive. The active is a category where the subject is a viable agent; this includes out-and-out transitive sentences like *John ate a mango*, as well as agentive intransitives such as *John ate*. The mediopassive then is a category that houses any level of non-agentivity wherein the subject can be expressed with non-agent theta roles. Viewing the mediopassive this way places it on a cline of semantic expression. At one end are the most agent-like categories where the subject and patient are co-indexed, such as the reflexive: *John kicked himself*. Moving down the cline, we can conceptualize decreasing levels of association between

5

the subject and agentivity: co-indexed beneficiary, *John bought himself a mango*; patient, *John was kicked*; and – on the terminal end of the scale – an undergoer with no agency whatsoever. This final category is typical of unaccusative expressions, *John became sad* and *John died*.

1.3.2 Unaccusativity

Unaccusative verbs are qualified by Perlmutter's seminal unaccusative hypothesis that differentiates them from unergative verbs. Unergative denotes intransitive verbs where the subject is the AGENT of the action; Unaccusative denotes intransitive verbs where the subject is the UNDERGOER of the action. This distinction was later revised by Burzio (1986) so as to reflect different syntactic structures in Government and Binding theory. They are illustrated in Levin and Rappaport (1995: 3):

(2)   a. unergative verb   NP [$_{VP}$ V]

       b. unaccusative verb   __ [$_{VP}$ V NP/CP]

The hypothesis at once divides all intransitive verbs into two categories, unaccusative, whose single argument is based syntactically as internal to the phrase whose head is the verb, and unergative, whose single argument is based as external to the phrase whose head is the verb.

1.4 TENSE, MOOD AND ASPECT SYSTEMS

A Tense Mood and Aspect (TMA) system is a categorical grouping of those features that convey verbal expression. The terminology is especially prevalent in typological studies (see Dahl [1985]) as a way to compartmentalize semantic features that are more-or-less language universal. The discrete categories make up levels of analysis that can be applied to the various ways action is linguistically codified and marked in a given language, be it morphologically, lexically, or contextually. Tense addresses a straightforward expression of when an event takes place relative to the speaker: either before (past), simultaneous (present), or after (future). Mood addresses expressions of *realis*; it is often conceptualized as a scale on which one end affirms events taking

place in the real world as perceived by the speaker, an indicative. The other end speculates on events not in the perceivable real world. Irrealis concepts can be distributed on the scale such that they attune the nuances of events that are unreal, speculative, reported, wished for, or intended. These sorts of events are often expressed with a marked optative mood in Indo-European languages. In the midst of the scale is the transitional nature of commands and exhortations which seek to make real the intentions of the speaker. These are imperatives.

While I think it worthwhile to lay out the tenets of tense and mood, the core of this analysis involves aspect. Aspect denotes a point-of-view of the speaker in relation to an event's perceptual completion. In the most general terms, perfective aspect denotes an event that is seen to be completed in some way. Imperfective aspect denotes the lack of this completion. Unlike mood, aspect is polar, but it is not free of nuance. In particular, conceptualizations of "completion" can be manifested within different domains of linguistic analysis, such as in syntax or lexical expression. Like all grammatical categories, aspect varies in the way it is marked and - indicative of being part of a larger TMA system – it can also be a fluid concept, with the semantics of completed actions becoming merged with further expressions of tense and mood. For more information on the various treatments and expressions of aspect, see Comrie's (1976) seminal analysis. Relevant in this study are specific questions of how aspect is interpreted and how it is marked. It is prudent then to clarify some of the terminology I'll be using in assessing the topic. The best way to do this is to group aspect into four categories depending on how it is expressed. These are informed by the various treatments of aspect in Comrie (1976), Dowty (1979), Kratzer (1994), Kratzer (2000), and Iatridou (2003).

1.5 TYPES OF ASPECT

Grammatical aspect is morphologically marked. It can also be characterized as "paradigmatic" aspect because the aspectual marker is generally not bound to a given tense, mood or voice but

can be applied within a full paradigm. It is grammatical aspect that best characterizes the use of aspectual affixes found in the Baltic and Slavic language, where famously, Russian maintains a regular application of affixes which can effectively perfectivize or imperfectivize a predicate.

(3) a. писать (*pisat'*) — to write (imperfective)

  b. написать (*napisat'*) — to write (perfective) → 'to finish writing'

The grammatical aspect system of Russian can provide a conceptualization of other grammatical categories with an overlapping semantics. For example, the perfectivized form of some verbs can be used as a denoter of future tense. This is the case when the verb above is made finite.

(4) a. Я пишу (*ja pišu*) — I write

  b. Я напишу(*ja napišu*) — I will write

This is possible because a notion of future-time can be set up within a semantic space that simultaneously holds completed action, i.e. the future is when a task will get done.

The second category is often denoted as lexical aspect and is associated with the German term *Aktionsart.* Unlike grammatical aspect, lexical aspect is bound to a given word and is not marked morphologically. The semantics that govern *Aktionsart* are sensitive to whether or not the predicate has an innate sense of terminality. English verbs such as *kill* and *die* have inherent senses of mortal termination just as *vanish* has a visual one. Conversely verbs such as *exist*, *own*, and *love* are diagnostically stative. They have no inherent sense of termination and so are lexically imperfective.

The third category is contextual aspect. As noted in Dowty (1979: §2.2) and expounded in Mittwoch (1982), and Iatridou (2003), many predicates that have no discernible aspect can be given perfective shading by a variation in argument structure. The famous example is verbs of consumption like *eat*. A sentence like *I eat* is unmarked for aspect and would generally be inferred as imperfective, in this case, habitual in the style of *I eat hot dogs*. However, if a

singular object is presented that is a count-noun, the sentence is perfectivized: *I eat a hot dog.* Here, a sense of perfectivity is brought about by the special context of semantics: a verb that denotes consumption, if given a finite object to be consumed, will entail an endpoint where it is.

The fourth category is categorical aspect. I use this to denote those instances where a given language houses concepts of completive perfectivity within a grammatical category. Examples of this include the Indo-European aorist. Usually treated as a tense, the aorist in Sanskrit and Greek is a combinatory entity that generally holds two semantic concepts, a past-time expression and a perfective, complete-action expression. Categorical aspect effects the same semantics as grammatical aspect, but the distribution is such that the perfectivity is locked into a single paradigm and not free to be applied across all paradigms. Other examples of categorical aspect can be seen in the English present progressive. A periphrastic construction like *I am eating* is categorically imperfective and putting a verb in this format can effectively imperfectivize it: *I am dying.*

These four categories generalize aspect as a discrete semantics, one that can be manifested by way of lexical entailment, argument structure, and grammatical specification. It should be noted though that aspect is indeed part of a larger system. And all of the categories presented above can share expression with tense and mood, such as the merger of tense and aspect in the Greek aorist. Further combinations can lead to various types of *complex* aspect that defy easy categorization. These entities constitute the so-called complex tenses, that are usually designated as perfects.

1.6 TELICITY

It is important at this point to distinguish specifications within aspectual expression. One of these is the notion of whether or not a predicate is telic. Telicity is the expression of a goal or endpoint (Greek *telos*). In telic predicates, a finite endpoint is specified in some way. Consider, for

example atelic verbs of motion like *walk* or *swim*. If these verbs are given a specified goal, they become telic: *I walk to the store* and *I swim to the shore*. There is some discernment to be made about the relationship between perfectivity and telicity. No doubt, any telic predicate is perfective, but such predicates are often restricted to those having a clear goal that is specified in argument structure, *I walk to the store*, or encoded in the lexical character of the verb. An example of the latter would be the verb *arrive* which can be said to be telic because it includes a spatial goal that is always entailed, even if it is not specified. Iatridou et al. (2003) distinguish perfective semantics in general from a more specific concept like telicity. In their reckoning, aspect is a broader category in which telic predicates are subsumed. Namely, perfective telic predicates are those that specify a goal. Perfective atelic predicates are those that specify the end of an activity.

(5)   Perfectivity is obtained   — for TELICS :: completeness is obtaining the goal.

                                        — for ATELICS :: termination (of the activity)

This distinction is quite fine-grained and is not necessarily useful in general contexts. It rests on the presumption that endpoints are conceptualized as such: spatial or temporal goals that are overt. In this distinction, a sentence like *John ran to the finish line* is telic and perfective because a finite goal is distinguished; and a sentence like *John finished running the race* is atelic and perfective because a task is finished but no spatial goal is specified.

An alternative way to characterize perfectivity is Tenny's (1987) concept of a delimiter. This notion aligns perfectivity with actions that are bounded in some meaningful way, either at an action's termination or initiation. This bounding unit is a delimiter. It provides a way to label the entailed goal in a sentence like *John arrives*, and it also provides a way to identify the perfective nature of a verb like *leave* in *John leaves*. In this instance, the aspect is still perfective but there is no conceptual endpoint. The delimiter here is the bounded point of origin. The

predicate is rendered perfective by the notion that, as soon as this origin-point is disengaged by the act of leaving, the intended action is completed. Delimiters are used by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 56) as a way to characterize a group of verbs they call verbs of directed motion, a set of diagnostically unaccusative verbs that indicate movement to or from conceptual reference points held by the speaker. The idea of a delimiter provides a theoretical tether to link perfectivity to verbs like *come*, *go, leave*, *arrive*, *journey*, and *travel* while distinguishing them from regular verbs of motion that lack a bounding delimiter: *run, walk, swim,* etc.

1.6.1 The Vendler Taxonomy of Verbal Types

Because the key semantics of aspect can be expressed in different kinds of grammatical spaces, the notion of completeness becomes a functional metric in various taxonomies. Notable is the seminal arrangement of predicate types set down by Vendler in his 1957 "Verbs and Times." Vendler broke down English verbs into four large categories, all of which can be assessed in terms of "terminability." Relevant to this study is the basic terminology that he laid down, defining stative verbs, activity verbs, accomplishment verbs, and achievement verbs, all of which can be viewed on a scale of divisibility. This divisibility centers on the interval semantics of a verb: the notion that a given action either is or is not made up of smaller (but identical) iterations of itself. This was formalized in Bennett and Partee's (1982) subinterval property. For predicates that have the subinterval property, the truth condition of an action is true not only for the main time interval of the predicate, but for any subinterval of time contained or properly contained within it. If a verb possesses the subinterval property, its action can be said to be homogeneous. This is because any subinterval of time within the eventuality of the verb's action denotes a condition that is identical to that action. For this reason, the subinterval property can be used as a measure of telicity: predicates that have the subinterval property are diagnostically atelic. Inferable from the descriptions above, telic predicates not only denote an endpoint but

entail the "attainment" of that endpoint. As a result, the action that takes place in the build-up to that attainment cannot be said to be of the same character of the attainment itself; thus, such a telic event lacks the subinterval property and can be characterized as having heterogeneous action.

Activities are designated by atelic verbs. They effect an action that contains the subinterval property. For consumption verbs like *eat*, *drink*, and *read*; certain production verbs like *write*; and motion verbs like *walk*, *run,* and *fly,* it can be said that – for any time during a walk – it is true that the agent is *walking*. At this point, it is useful to add another qualification, that of the distinction *durative* verses *punctual*. This denotation allows us to separate verbal qualities that complement our apprehension of how they are perceived in time. Simply put, a durative predicate can be said to operate over a conceptual interval of time while a punctual predicate cannot be. Terms like durative and punctual have been used liberally to overlap with – and sometimes substitute for – notions of homogeneity or telicity, but in this analysis they should be kept firmly within a separate sphere of verb-qualification. I use them only as a supplementary metric that has a value when characterizing the Vendlerian predicate types. Namely, activities are not only atelic, but are also durative.

By contrast, **accomplishments** are durative as well, but they are telic. The action they denote takes place within a perceived interval of time, but they do *not* contain the subinterval property as defined. Thus, *eat a hot dog*, *read a book*, *walk to school* and *fly to France* all denote equally heterogeneous actions: the action that builds up to the endpoint must be conceptualized as having a different character than the action of attaining the end point, in these cases, completing the acts of *eating a hot dog* and *reading a book*, and reaching the physical destinations of *school* and *France*. The delimiters that make accomplishments telic are always specified, showing that the action they denote is conceptually bounded by some affirmed context.

For this reason, accomplishments show what I have labeled contextual aspect.

Achievements represent one end of the scale. They are telic and punctual. They have a discernible endpoint but are conceptualized as instantaneous predicates that can only exist precisely as the demarcation between one state and another. The premier examples of achievement verbs are *win*, *finish*, and *start*. For these, the action can be said to be a conceptual "pivoting" of one state to another with the punctual events of *winning*, *finishing*, or *starting* acting as points of transition. They discernibly end or begin but do so within a conceptual space that could be characterized as instantaneous.

Stative verbs represent the opposite end of the scale. Like activities, they are atelic and durative, but they also contain an extra qualifier that can be characterized as "sustaining." This criterion sets states apart from the other three types at a fundamental level. The sustaining quality of a stative is such that the action it denotes is not only durative, it can also be expected to hold true in a real-world environment without any amount of effort or figurative "energy" being applied. In any predicate of the other three types such as *walk* (activity), *walk to the store* (accomplishment), or *win the game* (achievement), there is perceived to be some level of agentive energy being applied that brings about the eventualities of these verbs. Even in unaccusative achievements like *die* and *be born* there is a sense of energy-expenditure embedded in the transformational nature of the action. Conversely, a stative expressing ongoing existence such as *live, dwell, remain* or *be* will persist in their truth value without any energy-expenditure, either on the part of an internal agent or an external force. Likewise, statives expressing conditions such as *own*, *love*, *hate*, *want*, *need*, *believe*, etc. will remain effectively in force without interceding action.

The resulting schema for verb types can be posed as a dichotomy. The stative is one form that, while it is atelic via the subinterval process, is a different kind of atelic expression, one that

encapsulates the sense of sustained action. Opposing it are so-called "eventive" verbs. In the taxonomy of eventive predicates are the finer dichotomies of telic ~ atelic and durative ~ punctual. It is then partly in search of a more representative grouping that Comrie (1979) added to the Vendlerian list the semelfactive, a type that is (on some levels of analysis) atelic but punctual. The category would thereby fill in the last quadrant in a four-by-four representation of eventive verbs. It characterizes certain frequentative predicates such as *knock*, *laugh*, and *cough*. These verb types express actions that would seem to qualify as simple, atelic activities but that – by virtue of their containing sequential and discrete events – cannot be said to be durative. Hence, they occupy a categorically gray area. They do contain the subinterval property by virtue of the fact that – at any interval within the frame *John laughed* – it is true that John is *laughing*. By the same token, acts such as *coughing* and *knocking*, though they may be conceptualized as homogeneous events, denote a string of punctual acts within that event.

In the course of this analysis, I will use terms such as "stative" or "eventive" to refer to this fundamental dichotomy. And while fine-grained distinctions like the ones that precipitate semelfactive predicates will not be overly important, the general taxonomy within which these function will stand as a logical way to sort verbal types. Hence, I will make use of terms like "activity" or "achievement" with full reference to the semantic qualities they entail, including the concepts of durativity, initiation, and that of lexical aspect expressible as telicity.

1.7 THE PERFECT

The Indo-European perfect is a category of predicate types that usually contribute some degree of past-time reference and some degree of perfective aspect. In this regard, most perfects can be characterized as conveying categorical aspect. An example such as the Latin perfect embodies this, with a general perfect predicate denoting most often a completed past event. An alternative reading of the Latin perfect though accommodates a reading that perpetuates a result-state, that

is, an ongoing state whose initiation is demarcated by the termination of a preceding event. This reading more closely resembles the English *have* perfects. The following example is provided in Wheelock's (2000) Latin primer.

(6) *puer amicum **monuit*** — the boy warned his friend

— the boy has warned his friend (Wheelock: 77)

In a sentence like this, it is understood that the event of *warning* entails a state of *having been warned* that is relevant at the time of the clause's utterance. This interpretation bespeaks the developmental history of the predicate that, at times, appears in both Sanskrit and Greek to represent not a past-time event but simply a stative predicate. This can be illustrated with an example from the Nestle-Aland Greek new testament.

(7)   οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ **σύνοιδα**[(PERF.ACT)], ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ **δεδικαίωμαι**[(PERF.MED-P)]   (1Cr 4:4)

— For nothing against (me) **am I aware of**, but not by this **am/have I been justified**,

In the verse above, σύνοιδα is a form of the perfect verb οἶδα 'I know, perceive'. This verb constitutes a quintessential stative, and represents a predicate whose most underived form consistently appears in the perfect. The semantics of δεδικαίωμαι illustrates the dual-reading. It is alternatively denoting an unqualified state 'I am justified' or a qualified state that is entailed by some previous action, i.e. the act of being vouchsafed in the past so as to be justified in the present.

It is the entailed-state reading that predominates in instances of the perfect when they appear in the Greek New Testament. As such, its complex nature allots to it a distinctive mode of expression that coordinates with other verbal paradigms in the larger verbal system. An interpretation that accommodates movement from an unqualified state to an entailed state is an explainable semantic progression. In this case, the "sustaining" quality of a stative verb becomes

compounded with the types of time-denoting qualities associated with simple tenses.[1] What emerges is something that is indicative of both aspect and tense, but unlike a tense with categorical aspect (see the description of the aorist tense below) the perfect is also representative of an underlying argument structure. In an entailed-state environment, there are really two actions being expressed with a single predicate: the punctual act that is completed before the time of utterance, and the durative state that is true at the time of utterance. The use of the entailed-state perfect then becomes a way to clarify the sequence of actions in a narrative.

(8)   ὅτε ἤμην νήπιος, ἐλάλουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐφρόνουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐλογιζόμην ὡς νήπιος·

    — when I was a child, I spoke like a child, thought like a child, reasoned like a child.

    ὅτε **γέγονα** ἀνήρ, **κατήργηκα** τὰ τοῦ νηπίου.   (1Cr 13:11)

    — option 1 — when **I became** a man, I **put away** the things of a child.

    — option 2 — since **becoming** a man, I **have put away** the things of a child.

In (8) the verbs for 'was' (ἤμην), 'spoke' (ἐλάλουν), 'thought' (ἐφρόνουν) and 'reasoned' (ἐλογιζόμην) are all in the unmarked past tense, the Greek imperfect. The verbs γέγονα 'became/have become' and κατήργηκα 'have put away' are in the perfect, indicating that their role in the narrative is to contrast the state of affairs as they differ between childhood and adulthood. In this case, the two perfect verbs show overtly the type of argument structure that is usually only entailed. The copula 'become' corresponds to the punctual action that is completed, and the predicate 'put away' qualifies the state that persists as a result of becoming a man.

Examples like (8) prefigure the development of periphrastic perfects throughout the Indo-European languages. A periphrasis makes sense as an accommodation because the two-part

---

1 See Groton (2000) for explanations of the synthetic perfect (section 120-122) and perfect participle (section 150-151). Because perfect predicates make up a paradigmatic system that parallels that of the simple tenses, Groton refers to a perfect "aspect", i.e. an aspect that can be interpreted on tenses: past, present, future. This aspect is to be understood as an expression of perfective aspect, but one that is specifically found in those contexts where it is correlated to a result-state. Contrast this to "aoristic" perfective aspect that is not correlated to a result-state. See section 1.10 below.

argument structure is represented in the two-part construction of a periphrastic collocation. In most instances, a non-finite verbal entity such as a participle is coupled with a finite copular entity, such as a verb meaning *to be* or – especially in the transmission of transitive eventualities – a verb meaning *to have*. The persistence of those verbal systems maintaining perfects with two or more of these auxiliary constructions speaks to an ongoing development and conceptualization of the role of the perfect. What emerges are analyses that categorize these various uses of the perfect as they appear in modern languages. Concordant with these are so-called theories of the perfect that attempt to characterize those semantic qualities universal to all of the perfect types. Since Klein (1992) and Smith (1991) the feature of a perfect that sets it apart from a simple tense, such as a preterite, is that it provides an expression of both time and aspect, and that it does so in a way that can be characterized as "compositional". This compositionality is the result of the dual-predicate argument structure referenced above, an arrangement of discrete, cooperative actions that is sometimes given the label of *remoteness*. That is, a perfect, unlike a regular tense, has the ability to isolate (make remote) events taking place before an utterance, while simultaneously correlating them with events concurrent with an utterance. An analytic perfect is composed of two elements. One is a participle or equivalent verbal that encodes viewpoint on an event (perfective aspect). The second is an auxiliary verb that encodes reference to the event and orients the action as regards time. This is why it is the auxiliary verb that bears tense.

For the common *have*-perfects that are widely attested in European languages, the conjugated form of *have* provides a present tense reference and the participle provides a viewpoint of a past event usually perceived as a telic eventuality. The consensus on modern perfects take as a starting point the compositional model set up by Klein (1992,1994), itself grounded in Reichenbach's (1947) analysis of what he at the time referred to as perfect *tenses*.

Reichenbach proposed viewing perfects in terms of not two but three times: the time of the speech (speech time), the time of the topic event (event time), and a third time that intercedes between the two, providing referential coordination, (reference time).

Various adoptions of this model have subsequently modified or rejected the simple breakdown of tense and aspect. An initial theory that sought to codify the idea of perfect expression conceptualized it as a predicate that entailed a so-called result-state, some state that was inferable as holding true at the time of utterance precisely because some previous event had ended, thereby demarcating the state's initialization. However, analyses of the perfect as a larger category isolated instances where the truth value of a result-state is either perceptibly "low" or completely non-existent. The adaption then was a broader categorization of the perfect, one in which the presence or absence of a result-state may be a prevalent feature and not an outright requirement. In his 1976 analysis of Aspect, Comrie formulated the four seminal categories of perfect as they appear in modern English. In this enumeration, the result-state serves as the comparator whereby each perfect type is distinguished. Hence, the four categories can be generally said to embody a scale of entailment that is either strong or weak. The perceptible "strength" of the entailment can be conceptualized as the degree of relevance that a result-state bears on the time of utterance.

Table (1): Readings of the Perfect

Reading Type	Example	Qualification of Entailment
perfect of result-state	Matt has broken his leg	strong entailment of a result-state relevant to the now, *... therefore he cannot play baseball.*
perfect of recent past	The Mets have (just) won	Sometimes referred to as the "hot news" perfect, expresses, as Terry (2006) states, "temporal closeness to the now."
experiential perfect	Matt has eaten oranges	weak to no entailment of a result-state, merely a quality of Matt's experience with little bearing on the now.
perfect of persistent situation	Matt has lived here for four years.	no entailment of state resulting from a past action, instead the action is ongoing *... and he still does.*

At one end are those readings of the perfect that can be said to have strong entailment in that the state being referred to seems to pertain directly to the time of utterance, characterizing it in some way. At the other end are readings of the perfect that seem to have weak or no entailment of a result-state. Here the state referred to fails to characterize the utterance time in any significant way, and instead characterizes specific qualities of the subject.

1.8 THEORIES OF THE PERFECT

Treatments of the perfect have subsequently developed as ways to model the tense-aspect relationship. Customarily the theories of the perfect are presented as tending toward one of the four readings as a base and then accounting for the others by labeling them exceptions. In particular, the two major theories are summed up in regard to the following premises:

The Indefinite Past theory (see Montague 1973 and Klein 1992) is based on the premise (as stated in Terry [2006]) that "the clause under the scope of the perfect is true at some past time." Thus an indefinite past theory views the three times as finite points. The arithmetical

composition of the three times yields two relationships: (i) a tense relationship between the time of the initial event and (ii) the reference time that in and of itself paraphrases the relationship found in a normal preterite. The additional relationship between the reference time and time of the utterance is held to be aspectual, affirming the completeness of the entire event under its scope and thus validating its relevance to the present. This theory emphasizes the compositional nature of the perfect, and so it accommodates better those readings of the perfect that have overtly telic action. This is because this theory conceptualizes the periphrasis as the joining of a durative verb (have or be) to an eventuality that is pointedly complete. Participles made from eventive verbs signal this completion to varying degrees.

Perfect readings that lack distinctly telic eventualities however, resist easy categorization by the Indefinite Past theory. In a sentence like *Matt has lived here for four years,* the continuous expression shows that there is no temporal sequence of events. The lack of a result-state means that, in theoretical terms, the event time is still going on at the time of utterance, so it cannot necessarily precede the reference time. To accommodate this problem, the indefinite past framework accepts that certain lexically marked verbs will pose exceptions due to their intrinsic semantics, namely stative verbs that express durative aspect lexically, including the verbs *live*, *exist*, *stand*, e.g. *The temple of Athena has stood for centuries*. But even with this accommodation, such a profound deviation from an otherwise consistent tense-aspect formula casts the model as deficient in its explanatory powers.

Scholarship has focused in on the fact that, to a great degree, the perceived relevance of a result-state can and does vary. In particular, analyses have noted that far and away the thing that most affects the "strength" of the state entailment is a predicate's telicity. See Portner (2003) Given this, it is almost impossible not to note the correlation that exists between the Vendlerian predicate types and Comrie's four types of perfect. Because the former operates on a scale

combining the concepts of telicity and durativity (the presence of the subinterval property), it provides a ready set of metrics that can be used to characterize the progressing relevance of an entailed state. Achievements are telic and punctual and so could be said to express the "strongest" entailment. We find that, in a "hot news" perfect, the news is "hot" because it is perceived to be eminently relevant to the time at which it is uttered: *The Orioles have won (so we should celebrate now). The king has died (so we'll be getting a new one now*). Accomplishments are telic and durative. The entailed state is still perceivably "strong" but not as intensely relevant to the present time. *The team has taken the field (so pay attention / take your seats / get ready to cheer, etc.).* With atelic predicates, the relevance of an entailed state dwindles. So when the predicate is an activity such as *John has eaten bananas* or is stative like *John has lived in Baltimore*, the eminence (or even existence) of a result-state is in doubt.

Theories of the perfect that emphasize the primacy of a result-state – such as the indefinite past theory – rely on the presence of that entailment to make the outcome of the referenced event have relevance to the present time. Since the entailment is determined contextually, such theories have consequently garnered censure, causing them to be viewed as speaking more to discourse pragmatics than to semantics. As demonstrated above, the experiential perfect and perfect of persistent situation prove difficult for result-state theories to actually validate as perfects. This is precisely because the entailment of a present state is weak to nil in those contexts.

The Extended New Theory does not rely on discrete time points applying in a prescribed order, but instead proposes more continuous zones of time with the higher verb phrase (that of the helping verb) having scope over the lower verb phrase. The Extended Now theory does away with result-state entailment altogether and instead applies a truth value to a current state which extends all the way to the initiation of an event. Since that state can encompass different lengths of time, it rests on a sliding scale wherein the time of evaluation, t(e), constitutes a variable

conception of "now." This family of theories relies on boundaries that frame the action. The action of the lower verb phrase extends from a finite starting point, a left boundary that is concomitant with the beginning of the event time, and then extends to and encompasses the present. The right boundary can thus move within a continuum depending on the perceived remoteness of the event's inception to the present time. Different conditional markers can accommodate different readings of the perfect such that the "extended now" time zone can include a present, resulting state, such as those in a perfect of result. Or they can do without them, such as in an experiential perfect.

Dahl (1985) notes that one validation of the extended now framework is in the typological recognition of remoteness cross-linguistically. In particular, it is pertinent to the basic question of whether such a universal category of PERFECT can exist at all. One justification for the affirmative relies on the presence of remoteness categories in the Bantu languages of West Africa. Of the sampled languages in his seminal survey, Dahl found that 85% encoded a remoteness relation (designated as a PERFECT) periphrastically, with only two languages in the larger Bantu family showing clear expression of remoteness synthetically. A key feature in these groups is the distinction between two functional time references in the past. The first is hodiernal past, which references units of time considered to be current, hence they can refer to events which seem temporally proximal to the speaker: today, this week, this month, or this year. By contrast, hesternal past refers to events seen as temporally distal: yesterday, last week, last year, etc. Such a conception is implicated in the variations of the extended now theory (McCoard 1978), which represents hodiernal remoteness by actively including the moment of speech time within the referential scope of the clause.

Despite this evidence, the analysis put forth here can be characterized as a species of the indefinite past theory. The constructions presented herein that may or may not be perfects will be

evaluated on the basis of factors that either do or do not entail a result-state. Given this, evaluations of a construction's telicity will play a significant role in its validity as a perfect expression. This is a practical choice, given that the expressions of the perfect that can be considered "older" are centered primarily on the expression of that result-state, especially in historical categories like the Indo-European perfect, whose semantic space allows the discernment of a pure stative on the one hand and a result-stative on the other. The Extended Now theory (and its variants) may constitute a better framework for modeling general conceptions of the perfect and expressions of remoteness cross-linguistically, yet the environments for which this theory facilitates uniform analysis are indicative of agentive perfects, especially types of "have" perfects found in modern Germanic and Romance languages.

1.9 SEMANTICS OF THE PERFECT VIA THE INDEFINITE PAST THEORY

Because this study focuses on forms of the perfect that do not express an AGENT, an indefinite past theory provides a particular type of laboratory suitable for discerning the result-state expression found therein. It is especially suited to assess remoteness as a synthesis of tense and aspect. Just such an assessment will be applied to periphrastic passives in chapter 12.

We can approach the indefinite past theory via Reichenbach's (1947) semantic analysis. The model he proposes enables the expression of complex action by positing three conceptual times, two of which are present in any speech utterance. The first is the time in the past at which an event took place; this is event time or $\tau(e)$. The second is the time that the sentence is being spoken or narrated; this is speech time or ST. The third is the reference time, RT, that serves as a perceptual intermediary between other two. The nature of reference time is to act as a container. It constitutes the abstract space in which a given assertion is said to be true.

The way these three times interact constitutes the semantic basis for the indefinite past theory of the perfect, which has been revised notably by Klein (1994, 2010). The theory operates

on a purely compositional model such that so-called simple tenses can be seen as a direct relation between ST and RT. A simple past tense then would have a shape like RT < ST, indicating that the assertion is true in a time preceding the time of speech. RT is also understood as that space to which adverbs refer. In (9) the adverbs qualify the RT in the past tense.

(9)   a. John ate the pie **hungrily**   adverb of manner – *how he ate the pie in the past*

     b. John ate the pie **then**   adverb of time – *when he ate the pie in the past*

Present tense can be seen as $S \subset R$, that is, speech time is a subset of reference time or speech time is contained within reference time. Hence, in such a present tense context, the proposition can be said to be true at speech time because it is held within the conceptual reference time:

(10) a. John eats the pie **hungrily**   adverb of manner – *how he is eating the pie now*

     b. John eats the pie **now**   adverb of time – *when he is eating the pie*

The usefulness of RT as a conceptual space is realized in its ability to map point-of-view relations in addition to temporal ones. To express aspect, the relation of focus is not that between RT and ST but instead that between RT and $\tau(e)$. This formula can be used to denote concepts of point-of-view aspect or lexical aspect as these pertain to the aspectual nature of certain predicates. A formula $\tau(e) \subset R$ would indicate a perfective assertion, denoting that the time of the event is contained within the reference time, indicating it is complete at such time. The opposite relation, $RT \subset \tau(e)$, indicates that the reference time is contained within the time of the event, ergo the end of the event can not yet have come to pass.

To illustrate the role of reference time in aspectual expression, adverbs like *already* and *still* can be used to impart point-of-view semantics.[2] *Already* indicates perfectivity because the action within its scope is conceptualized as completed, while *still* indicates imperfectivity because the action within its scope is conceptualized as ongoing.

---

2 A so-called "aspectual" adverbial creates what I have characterized in chapter 1 as contextual aspect. The scope of the adverb imparts a point-of-view on a predicate that would otherwise be unmarked for aspect.

(11)   a. John **already** ate the pie.   adverb denoting **perfective** aspect

       b. John **already** ate.

In (11a) the sentence is perfective by virtue of an inherent telicity. This is a peculiarity of the

verb *eat* when combined with singular objects (see Mittwoch [1982] and Levin and Rappaport

Hovav [1995: 57]). In this case, the adverb is not imparting contextual aspect, only reinforcing it,

but in (11b) the sentence is given its aspectual quality solely by the adverb such that, without it,

it would be an imperfective activity.[3]

The Indefinite Past model can be used to explain complex aspectual issues. In the example

below, the sentence carries not only categorically imperfective aspect, rendered by the English

present progressive, but also contains the perfectivizing adverb *already*. Because adverbs refer to

RT, we can track the movement of the RT via the peculiar kind of implicature (pragmatic re-

focus) that this sentence elicits.

(12)   John *is **already** eating* the pie.   adverb denoting **perfective** aspect

In (12) there is no doubt that the process of eating the pie is ongoing, but the inclusion of *already*

creates an implicature such that there is some initiating event that is complete. As before, the

adverb applies to the RT, which shifts so that it is located outside of $\tau(e)$. This gives rise to a

pragmatic context: *the contest started twelve seconds ago and John is already eating the pie.*

The so-called complex tenses combine temporal conditions and aspectual conditions. A

result-state perfect will relate the RT to the other two times. In temporal terms, the expression is

present, so the RT includes the speech time: RT $\supset$ ST.

---

3   The adverb *already* is often stated to be the semantic opposite of *still*, which denotes imperfective aspect
    contextually. While *still* can reinforce ongoing action, it cannot – as the adverb *already* does in (11b) – change the
    default aspect of a given predicate in English. When added to a sentence with a perfective predicate, it elicits either
    a habitual reading (which is still perfective), or defaults to the meaning of *still* that has sentential scope and
    paraphrases *nevertheless*.

In aspectual terms, the expression is perfective because it is predicated of some event that is completed in the past and so yields the resulting state. In this regard, RT comes after $\tau(e)$. The formula in (13) is derived from the analysis of Kiparsky (2002):

(13) a. Present Perfect $\tau(e)$ < [RT ⊃ ST]

   b. Reference time **includes** speech time and follows the time of the event

   c. John has eaten the pie. | John has broken his leg.

In (13) we can see a coordinated relationship between the three times. The "complex" nature of the perfect is signified by the ST being included with the referential RT. Thus, we can parse out two conceptualizations. The first is temporal. Because the ST is included within RT, is it to be understood that the time-denotation is in the present or, more specifically, that RT is referencing those things perceived to be true at the time of utterance. The second conceptualization though is one of aspect. Even though the reference time is ongoing in the present, it is coordinated with an event $\tau(e)$ that is definitively completed at before that same reference time. The result is the dual-reference of a perfect eventuality: a present tense expression that is predicated on a completed event. Furthermore, we can now validate why the perfectivity-denoting adverb *already* is always applicable in a given perfect construction, namely, that its scope (linked to reference time) encompasses the perfective nature of the preceding event whose completion, in turn, imposes a relevant ongoing state into the present time. Using this mapping process, we can also formulate a model for the past-perfect, an eventuality in which the relation of the three times is conceptualized in a sequence:

(14) a. Past Perfect $\tau(e)$ < RT < ST

   b. Referential time **precedes** speech time and follows the time of the event.

   b. John had eaten the pie. | John had broken his leg.

The past perfect orders the three times in a predictable way. The temporal relationship is sequential such that the RT precedes the ST, thus causing the expression to be in the past tense. At the same time, the aspectual relationship is also sequential, denoting a separate completed event that took place before the reference time.

1.10 EVENT BOUNDEDNESS

Several analyses that treat the expression of event duration employ an abstract model that stipulates the boundaries of a given event structure. In the simplest terms, an event is conceptualized on a timeline. The initiation of an event is marked as a primary enclosure, [, which corresponds to the event's "left boundary" on the timeline. The secondary enclosure,] , corresponds to the "right boundary" and marks the termination of an event's action. The completed run-time of an event is the conceptual duration between its initiation and termination. Different sorts of interval times can be qualified as a way to denote things such as the presence or absence of the subinterval property.

The boundedness model can apply to all of the event-types enumerated above, even for achievements, which are telic and lack any conceptual duration. Hence, for an achievement verb like *finish*, a bounded model can be put as ...[]..., where the left and right boundary are functionally concurrent, i.e. in *John finished the race*, it is understood that the act is momentary and that the initiation and termination of the finishing event do not have conceptual duration.

Abstract bounding markers contribute the essential notation used in more complex modeling processes, such as those that implement bounding terminology to coordinate finite events with ongoing states. Specifying the initiation and termination of an event is especially useful when diagramming the logical outcome of state-event complexes such as those involved in the expression of the so-called perfect tenses. This logical outcome is referred to as an eventuality and can include either overt outcomes or logical outcomes such as the entailed state

implicit in a result-state perfect. In regard to the English perfect, see (among many others) Portner (2003), Terry (2006), and Kiparsky (1994). In regard to complex expressions of events and states in Gothic, see Abraham (1992).

In this analysis, I will employ a general terminology that refers to left-boundary and right-boundary expressions. A left-boundary expression must contain, at least, a left-boundary or initiation point for an event. A termination point may or may not be specified. The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, for a right-boundary expression, which must contain at least a termination point for en event but may or may not contain an initiation point. Just such a right-boundary type is especially prevalent in the aforementioned graphing of perfect eventualities, in which usually only a right-boundary of an event is stipulated, after which some state persists in relevance for the extent of the narrative.

1.11 LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC VERBAL SYSTEMS

This study will examine verbal expression in two languages, Koine Greek and Biblical Gothic, the latter making up the near entirety of the Gothic corpus and representing a translation of the former. To accomplish this, it was necessary for the translator to adapt a morphologically rich TMA system to one that was comparatively impoverished. The verbal system of Koine Greek is firstly divided by the primacy of diathesis. The large majority of forms include an active variant and a mediopassive variant, with some categories also having developed a separate passive paradigm. The development of an exclusively passive expression is a semantic narrowing, illustrating movement away from the multi-faceted optionality of a mediopassive and relegating expression singularly to a transformation that is above all de-agentivizing. Verbs can be conjugated in three "simple" tenses: a past, present and future. Their role is simple in that they only denote sequential time. In relation to a referential *now,* the present tense is concurrent with it, the future follows it, and the past tense – the Greek imperfect – precedes it.

The verbal system also includes four moods: an indicative expressing realis events; an optative expressing irrealis desires; a subjunctive expressing irrealis events such as possibility, reported speech, desire and admonition; and an imperative expressing commands and exhortations. Overlaying these paradigms is what is best characterized as a system of categorical aspect. The aorist is an indicator of perfective aspect, and its role within the larger Greek verbal system is to provide a category that specifically denotes that aspect. If a verb is marked aorist, it identifies a predicate that express telic action lexically or forces a telic reading onto any verb that does not. I have labeled the aorist as a "system" because it can be distributed in different ways. In the indicative mood, there is an aorist tense that functions as a special paradigm. It has two semantic axes; one is temporal and expresses past-time, the other is aspectual and expresses perfective action. The aorist tense is by far the most preferred narrative tense in Biblical Greek because it can not only carry past-time reference for events but also denote the completed value of those events. This can be contrasted with the Greek imperfect which, as a purely sequence-denoting entity, comes to represent events that are explicitly ongoing at the time of narration or are generally unspecified as to their degree of completion.

There is also "aoristic expression." I have isolated the dual qualities of the aorist tense precisely because the behavior of the broader aoristic expression is different throughout the verbal system at large. In moods other than the indicative, an aoristic expression denotes only aspect, not tense. So a subjunctive or imperative aorist will express the expectation of completed action but not place those actions in past-time. Likewise, in a non-finite verbal entity, such as an infinitive or participle, an aoristic version will denote completion of a predicative expression, but one for which the temporality will be determined by other factors, usually the tense of a finite verb with which the participle co-occurs.

I have taken care up to this point to characterize the aorist system as one that is separated from the "non-aorist" categories in terms of its aspectual quality. By doing this, we better recognize that the non-aorist tenses carry the features of both time-denotation and (imperfective) aspect-denotation. Aorist expressions, on the other hand, generally contain only an aspect-denotation. That is, the stem-alternation that marks aorist entities marks perfectivity only. The exception to this is the aorist tense, which is the the only aoristic entity that contains the additional feature of past-time denotation.

Finally, there is a second "system" of marked verbal expression in Greek that is characterized as the perfect. As illustrated above, the Greek perfect carries variably the unqualified stative reading or the entailed, result-state reading. Though the latter is more common, many verbs can have both readings. As a system, the perfect then represents a set of paradigms that also parallels the simple tenses, and whose primary role is to facilitate *relative* sequencing. When the result-state reading is implicated in context, a past perfect denotes events that are completed before the past tense action in a narrative. A present perfect denotes events that are completed before present tense action. And the future perfect denotes events that are completed before future tense action.

As in the aorist system, perfect predicates are marked with verbal endings and specialized vowel-gradation. In the language of the Greek New Testament there exists also a periphrastic construction, appearing only in the mediopassive or passive voice, that is formed by a collocation of the verb *be* plus a perfect participle. This construction, involving what is called a supplementary participle, unambiguously denotes a result-state. This is evidenced by the nature of periphrasis. The collocation of two verbal entities most likely indicates some compositional expression borne by the two parts. The perfect participle carries perfective aspect, but unlike an

aorist participle, that aspect specifically entails a result-state (Groton 2000: 157)[4]. The addition

of a conjugated form of *be* then provides what can be seen as a way to overtly denote the

ongoing state that results. The outcome is thus a periphrasis in the shape present ἐστί +

mediopassive Pft.Participle indicating a present perfect expression in the mediopassive voice.

A periphrasis in the shape imperfect ἦν + mediopassive Pft.Participle indicates a past perfect

expression in the mediopassive voice.

Gothic presents a TMA system that typifies Germanic languages. It works on a simple

tense dichotomy best characterized as past and non-past. The past is a single preterite tense. The

non-past is generally a present tense that can also denote future action contextually. There are

three moods: a realis indicative and an irrealis subjunctive. A third, imperative, expresses direct

commands and exhortations.

Gothic also maintains a distinction in voice, with an active and a mediopassive expression

of diathesis. However, the category that directly reflects the Indo-European mediopassive has

undergone extensive semantic narrowing so that it is essentially used only as a passive. There

exist only one or two examples maintaining readings that could be interpreted as middle

readings, that is, as unaccusatives. Elsewhere, this category is a transformative passive,

representing straightforwardly the de-agentivization of transitive verbs. The category is

underrepresented as a paradigm, existing only in the non-past and formally distinguishing only a

homophonous 1st and 3rd person singular, a 2nd person singular, and a uniform plural form for all

persons in both indicative and subjunctive mood. The dichotomy of active ~ passive also

ostensibly characterizes the two participial forms. An active participle denotes two actions. When

it precedes the main verb of a clause, it denotes a completed event that contextualizes the action

---

4   The role of participles in Greek can be generally characterized as a way to coordinate a secondary action with a
    primary action, the latter being expressed with a finite verb. In this capacity participles are blind to tense. Instead
    they denote aspect. The three most common participial types are represented as present (imperfective aspect),
    aorist (perfective aspect), and perfect (perfective aspect + entailed state).

of that verb temporally, establishing a state that precedes the action. When it follows, it denotes the manner in which the action is done. A so-called passive participle is more adjectival in nature. It always denotes a completed state that can be distributed like an adjective either attributively or predicatively.

Supplementary to the underrepresented passive are two periphrastic constructions, both of which expressly denote passive voice. One is a collocation of the verb *wisan* 'be' and a past participle. It appears in both past and non-past tenses The other is a form of the verb *wairþan* 'become' and a past participle which only appears in the past tense. The analysis of these two periphrases constitutes chapters 6-13 of this study, but suffice it to say that the development of periphrastic passives is almost certainly rooted in the underrepresented nature of the inherited synthetic passive: both the *wisan* and *wairþan* periphrases contribute past-time passive expression to the Gothic verbal system. Other, incidental verb types contribute various kinds of derivational semantics, such as a set of causative verbs and destatal factitives, both with a suffix in *-ji/ja*, as well as an unaccusative destatal verb with a suffix *-na-*. This latter type constitutes what is generally characterized as an inchoative, expressing the notion *become* [state]. The role of this verb in particular within the larger passive paradigm will be the focus chapters 2-5 of this study. Among other things, this form is also used to translate passives and mediopassives in Greek, but it does so in ways that are formally distinct from the periphrastic and synthetic passives.

Among the questions addressed in this study will be how to characterize three phenomena in Gothic: passive expression, resultative expression, and perfect expression. It should be noted, that – unlike all modern Germanic languages – Gothic has no formal way to express a perfect; that is, there is no single category that employs an auxiliary verb like *has* or *is* to express an unambiguous result-state entity. There are, however, indications that such expression is not only

possible but predictable. An analysis of the three phenomena listed above thus requires an investigation into how overlapping semantics may be coordinated so as to allow for result-state expression. Implicit in this analysis is the question of aspect. While Greek has categorical aspect that is marked perfective (both in the aorist "system" and perfect "system"), Gothic has no such category. There is a prevailing opinion though that Gothic may either have grammatical aspect or – more likely – retain through archaism features of such a system that may have been both robust and regular in a state preceding Gothic. Both interpretations focus on the use of pre-verbs, prepositional particles that are affixed to the head of verbs so as to denote both literal and figurative directionality.

For Lehmann (2013) the presence of a pre-verb universally indicates perfectivity. The logic that underpins this is based on the effect of prepositional force imposed by a preverb. As an indicator of direction, the preverb denotes the progression of an action toward and eventually up to an end point. Compare the notion of directed motion that can be effected in English phrasal verbs. The verb *send* is generally atelic, but a phrasal variant such as *send out* provides the sense of directed motion that is telic by virtue of having a specified direction. Preverbs can also impose telicity by specifying goals; the verb *give* is generally atelic unless it has a specified beneficiary. Hence, in a sentence like *John gives the hat to Jake*, the contextual aspect is telic because the action of the verb is delimited by the completed transfer of the hat. If the same conditions hold in Gothic, tokens like *insandjan* 'send out' should be considered marked-telic because the preverb indicates directed motion, and tokens like *atgiban* 'give to', 'deliver' should be likewise considered because the preverb indicates a specific beneficiary.

The association between preverbs and some sort of perfective expression is bolstered by the use of the preverb *ga-*. Unlike those preverbs with prepositional force, *ga-* predominantly appears solely as a contrasting element, the purpose of which would ostensibly be to denote

perfectivity.[5] This distinction is especially acute in the Gothic past tense where the distinction between the Greek imperfective and aorist tenses can be readily carried through. The following example is offered by Lambdin (2006:16).

(15) a. *so swalt* — she was dying | ἀπέθνῃσκεν Impf. ACTIVE.3-sing. (Lk 8:42)

  b. *(so) gaswalt* — she died | ἀπέθανεν – Aor. ACTIVE 3-sing. (Lk 8:53)

Contrasts like that seen in (15) indicate that Gothic can maintain a distinction between predicates where the only discrete metric seems to be the expression of completed action. This would indicate that – like Slavic languages – Gothic perpetuates a form of grammatical aspect, that aspectual type that is mediated by affixes and is applicable in any verbal paradigm. For Lloyd (1979), the implementation of *ga-* (as well as other preverbs) constitutes a grammatical aspect system that is still in active use at the time of the Gospel translation. His analysis draws a taxonomy of predicate types that can optionally employ *ga-* complexes to achieve nuance mediated by perfective expression. The dichotomy pits complexes, designated as having "complexive" aspect, against simplexes without any preverb, designated as having neutral aspect. In Lloyd's reckoning, this dichotomy discerns a marked-perfective category against the neutral one that constitutes the unmarked category, denoting the wider range of actions including those in progress, actions not representing complete change, habitual actions, or even complete actions in which the observer/reporter does not choose to express complexive aspect (Lloyd 1979: 85). Herein lies a taxonomy that becomes very powerful in its implementation. While Lloyd can find ample support for perfective expressions with *ga-*, the system becomes circular inasmuch as any time there is a comparable instance of a complex and simplex, Lloyd imposes a meaningful distinction. Such a distinction does not always hold. As a counterpoint to the

---

5 There are some instances where the *ga-* preverb does retain its historical prepositional sense with a meaning of 'together'. This can be seen in the verb *gaqiman* literally 'come together'/'gather'. But by and large this meaning has been sloughed off and *ga-* has been grammaticalized so as to constitute a marker of perfective action.

example in (15), Lambdin (2006:16) provides this distinction between two instances of the command 'write'.

(16) a. *Nim þus bokos jah gasitands sprauto **gamelei** fim tiguns*   (Lk 16:6)

— get yourself a book and, having sat down, quickly **write** fifty.

— **γράψον** Aor. Imp. ACTIVE

b. *Nim þus bokos jah **melei** ahtautehund*   (Lk 16:7)

— get yourself book and **write** eighty.   — **γράψον** Aor. Imp. ACTIVE

So too, when further complex ~ simplex dyads are compared, examples present themselves that can validate a productive grammatical aspect or countermand it. For present participles, Lloyd distinguishes three types. If it is a complex, the participle is verbal denoting completed action. If it is a simplex, it can be either verbal denoting ongoing action or descriptive, such as those which may be paraphrased as relative clauses.

(17) a. verbal complex - Mt: 9:36: ***gasaihwands** þan þos manageins*

— **seeing** then the multitudes / **upon seeing** the multitudes

b. verbal neutral - Luke 9:62: *jah **saihwands** aftra*

— and **looking** back.

c. adjectival descriptive - John 9:39: *jah þai **saihwandans** blindai wairþaina*

— and those who see may become blind   (Lloyd 1976: 151)

This distinction holds generally, but exceptions include the following.

(18) a. verbal - *íþ is **sokjands** spilda nam*   (Lk 1:63)

— but he, **seeking** a tablet/having sought a tablet, took (it)

b. adjectival - *jah allai þai **gahausjandans** sildaleikidedun*   (Lk 2:18)

— and all those **hearing/having heard**, marveled

In (18a) *sokjands* 'seeking' seems to denote an action that is completed before that of the main predicate, yet it – unlike the comparable example in (17a) – lacks *ga-*.

Certainly there is some degree to which the different values of comparable tokens in (17) and (18) can be reconciled. An example of this is seen in a comparison of (17c) and (18b), both of which act as descriptors of a nominal, *þai* 'those who', with *gahausjandans* 'hearing / having heard' retaining *ga-* and *saihwandans* 'seeing' lacking it. However, we can propose that *saihwandans* in (17c) lacks perfectivization because it is under the irrealis scope of a verb in the subjunctive: *wairþaina* 'may become'. Instances like this show that seeming exceptions cannot be evaluated in isolation, and further, that Lloyd's assessments create a dynamic that *does* work in Gothic. The problem that remains is that mediation like this does not characterize equally the complex and the simplex. In the example above, we cannot say that *saihwandans* in (17c) is definitively without perfectivity. Hence, Lloyd's schema works to verify that the *ga-* complex can lend perfectivity, but it does not adequately determine whether the complex ~ simplex dynamic is still productive at the time of the Gospel translation. That is, it is unclear whether the simplex is indeed a mode of expressing *neutral* aspect or if the distinction has eroded such that the simplex may be equally capable of expressing perfectivity. In the latter scenario, one could characterize Gothic as having lost aspectual specificity in favor of a default perfectivity.

We can view this possibility in the distinction Lloyd makes in past participles between a verbal descriptor and an adjectival descriptor. For the former, he claims that the complex participle denotes a result-state, but for the latter, that it is simply a non-verbal state, interpreted as an adjective. The following interpretations are Lloyd's:

(19)   a. Lk 19:30: *fulan asilaus* **gabundana** — a young ass which has been bound

               δεδεμένον perfect-participle mediopassive

    b. Lk 8:29: **bundans** *was* — he was in a bound condition

               ἐδεσμεύετο imperfect-indicative, mediopassive   (Lloyd 1979: 153)

This example seems to maintain the same translational distinction made above in (15), with the Greek imperfect tense translated as a simplex, while a participle in the perfect tense/aspect is translated as a complex. And yet, it also engenders the same problem of circular reasoning. That is, while it is certainly possible that such an aspectual distinction may be at play, there is nothing intrinsic to the participles that says that one sense of *bound* is a result of an action while the other is merely a state. The context alone makes no distinction, with the examples seeming to convey a straightforward sense of 'being bound' in both instances. The interpretation of a systematically reliable aspect then is over-reliant on the very morphology that qualifies it. Given a contrast between a complex and simplex predicate, Lloyd maintains that a distinction must follow for the very reason that one has *ga-* and the other does not.

The conclusion is that the same generalization that persisted before Lloyd's analysis persists after, that the *ga-* complex almost certainly presents an option for expressing perfective eventualities. The question is not whether the *preverb* itself provides grammatical aspect, but whether the *dichotomy* of complex and simplex is still productive. Lloyd provides the most thorough assessment of tokens that can populate that dichotomy, showing that in any given example an aspectual distinction is at least viable. Furthermore, he provides the terminology that best fits the Gothic state of affairs, viz. that the distinction is not between perfective and imperfective aspect but between something marked perfective and something unmarked, which he labels "neutral". This label allows his individual examples to carry ambiguity, since a neutral simplex can have variant readings, some of which may shade into more-or-less perfective value.

Even if the aspectual shading of a given simplex is ambiguous, the fact that there does appear to be sensitivity to a perfectively-marked category speaks to the existence of a broader concept we can call "aspect" in Gothic. This can be an insight into translation because it suggests a space wherein a native speaker of Gothic can treat Greek aspect as a comparable category. This is because the Greek system is also one of markedness: with the aorist and perfect "systems" contributing categorical aspect that is interpretable on their stem and/or suffixal morphology. The situation in Gothic then is one of grammatical aspect which – though it may or may not be productive – is persistent to the extent that it signifies a sensitivity to aspect as it is encountered in the *Vorlage*.

Much of our analysis will center on the subsequent questions posed by this and other areas of interpretation. Greek and Gothic are vastly different, and so it is prudent to isolate the features they have in common and those they do not. Gothic is much less expressive than Greek in the sheer number of predicate types it can convey by its morphology alone, but one of the issues at hand is whether different predicate types may find parallel expression in Gothic through means other than discrete tenses. The question then is one of morphosyntax, and whether there are underlying frames in the Gothic that will port Greek expressions. In particular, I will be focusing on two of these expressions. The first is middle voice, and whether there is a systematic means in Gothic for handling non-agentive predicates that are neither all-out actives nor passives. The second will be the perfect, and whether there is an equally systematic way to express the combinatory notion of a tense and aspect that characterizes the result-state perfect. The morphosyntactic model I propose is that of the resultative, a feature that I argue is a fundamental verbal type in Gothic.

PART 2

THE *-nan* VERB IN GOTHIC

CHAPTER 2

VIEWS OF THE *-nan* PREDICATE: GENERALITIES AND EXCEPTIONS

2.1 THE (MEDIO-)PASSIVE VIEW

The first systematic treatment of the 4th weak class can be summarized as the passive or

mediopassive view. This is based on primary observations by Jacob Grimm (1837) and

subsequently Jacobi (1843), who note the overt correspondences between Gothic *-nan* forms and

mediopassive diathesis in the Greek *Vorlage* presumed to underlie the Gothic biblical

translations. It is this correspondence that inspired early categorization of the class as a passive

form, under the general assumption that Germanic languages possess only active and passive.

For example, Meyer (1896), describes the category as "die zahlreichen gothischen Passivverben

mit dem Infinitiv auf nan" (138). In the earliest grammars, the *-nan* verbs were together grouped

as an intransitive type due to the fact that every token takes only one argument. For analyses like

Meyer's, this fact could be easily accounted for in light of a passive interpretation, or optionally

a mediopassive one, depending on the criteria with which one defined the larger voice category

in the Greek base text. In particular, the tendency for mediopassives to reject agency was taken

as a defining motive for Wulfila to use a special class to translate a paradigmatic form that would

otherwise be lacking. Occasional examples where *-nan* verbs translated out-and-out passives

served to validate his view.

2.2 THE INTRANSITIVE-INCHOATIVE VIEW

It was in part a focus on intransitivity that led Egge (1886) to contest a strictly passive view. His argument was to reassess the value of the *-nan* class based in great part on its seeming to be cognate with Scandinavian verbal tokens which, on the one hand, also used a nasal suffix, and on the other, formed productive pairs with non-nasal verbs. He drew a correlation between verbal sets in Gothic and Old Norse: focusing on an alternation between transitive types such as Gothic *us-wakjan* 'wake (smn.) up' and intransitive types such as the *-nan* verb *ga-waknan* 'awaken, be(come) awake'. Though Gothic has no modern descendants, the Norse equivalents do, so by using the Old Norse cognates *vekja* and *vakna* as respective points of departure, Egge highlights the semantic distinction between the Danish participle *vække-* 'awakened (by smn.)' and *vågne* 'awake, alert'. The latter is a nasal-marked adjective that can only be used in an adjectival capacity, hence it cannot be seen to have verbal qualities like a participle and therefore cannot be used when the noun it modifies is an agentive subject. Although both words can be used to mean "awake", *vågne* cannot be used to indicate that any person did the waking. Thus, it is the resistance to an agent that not only marks the *-nan* class as intransitive, but at the same time deters a passive reading, since a true passive would, either covertly or overtly, necessitate an agent. Such is his conclusion regarding the semantics of the two verb types:

> ... The difference between passive and inchoative verbs of the same stem (as in the case of *vaekkes* and *vaagne*) is so marked in the Scandinavian languages, that I suppose it must be equally true in regard to Gothic. (1886: 39)

Egge's proposal was to reevaluate the *-nan* verbs as a class of inchoatives. The term inchoative comes from classical grammar and is traditionally used to indicate a set of derived verbs in Latin that can refer to either deverbal predicates denoting an initial action (ingressive) in the vein of *start to* [verb] or to deadjectival verbs denoting a sense of *become* [adjective]. It is the latter type

41

that is the model for Egge's label. Such a predicate would ostensibly resemble a passive in that the single argument would be the recipient of the verb's action and clearly not its instigator. But unlike passives, it would not allow the expression of an agent in any form. This contrasts with normal passives, which retain an agent underlyingly and so have the option to see that agent expressed by an auxiliary construction, usually a prepositional phrase.

Tokens illustrating *-nan* verbs that resist passive interpretation are, it turns out, more the norm than the exception. In the examples below, the Greek is included for comparison of diathesis.

(20) a. … galukun manageins fiske filu, swe natja **dishnupnodedun** ize.   (Lk 5:6)

— … συνέκλεισαν πλῆθος ἰχθύων πολύ, διερρήσσετο δὲ τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν.

— … they enclosed great multitudes of fish: so that their nets **broke**.

b. iþ Paitrus jah þai miþ imma wesun kauridai slepa: **gawaknandans** þan gasehwun

wulþu is...   (Lk 9:32)

— ὁ δὲ πέτρος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἦσαν βεβαρημένοι ὕπνῳ: **διαγρηγορήσαντες** δὲ εἶδον

τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ...

— and Peter and those with him were heavy with sleep: **awakening** then they saw

his glory...

In (20), the *-nan* tokens translate διερρήσσετο and διαγρηγορήσαντες respectively. The former, a mediopassive imperfect, encourages a reading with no implication of an overt agent. The available antecedent for the breaking of the net is the multitude of fish, but the fish are grammatically excluded from an agent role because they are already the objects of the previous clause and occupy the role of THEME. In (20b) the verb is not mediopassive at all, but an aorist participle, encouraging a reading with emphasis on the completed state 'having awoken' or 'having become awake', also with no stated or implied agent. Accordingly, the arguments *natja*

and *Paitrus jah þai miþ imma* are not presented as PATIENTS of any specific action, but UNDERGOERS of a circumstantial action over which they have no control: that of being over-full of fish and that of simply awaking from sleep without anyone doing the waking.

It is Egge's thesis that has become the prevailing norm among handbooks of Gothic. Given the above-stated characteristics of a Germanic inchoative, a simple indexing of the attested forms shows that such a classification is well supported. Of the 190 attestations of *-nan* verbs in the Gothic corpus, only a dozen maintain a reading that is not unambiguously *become* [state]. Much if this is due to the high frequency of verbs that, without extenuating context, adhere to the inchoative formula. Among them are examples like *gadauþnan* 'become dead / die', and *fullnan* 'become full'.[6]

Later examinations of the *-nan* verbs focus on the inchoative view as a basis for paradigmatic analysis within Gothic. Krämer (1971) stresses the relation between *-nan* verbs and transitive counterparts, an opposition noted as early as Grimm and explicated by Egge and Guxman (1964). Thus a significant number of *-nan* predicates stand beside corresponding verbs of the first weak class in *-jan*, or beside strong verbs. For these, the *-nan* verb comprises half of a grammatical pairing. It contributes inchoativity in the form of an intransitive verb and stands in opposition to a transitive verb that contributes what is best deemed a causal-factitive reading. Hence the diagnostically transitive verb *fulljan* 'make full', patterns with *fullnan* 'become full'. Based on the high percentage of pairs of this type, Krämer attempts to validate a formal semantic opposition productive in Gothic. Such a validation would suggest that the two verbs are, on a morphological level, derived from the same base, either a noun or adjective. This derivational scheme suggests an underlying dyadic verb: a single predicate that is realized in two forms, one transitive and one intransitive.

---

6 For an exhaustive list of adherents to the inchoative view, see Suzuki (1989: 72-74). In particular, Streitberg (1897) "Intransitiv-inchoative Bedeutung." (107: section 219)

Suzuki (1989: 82) criticizes Krämer's analysis on the basis of unexplained outliers that do not readily fit into such a formal opposition. These include those *-nan* verbs that do not exhibit inchoative semantics and those that are clearly opposed to strong verbs, which are not derived, and thus constitute a pair that do not share an available nominal base. The reasoning behind Suzuki's objection is this: while these examples are fewer in number than those that can be seen as outright inchoatives, they constitute a contingent within the *-nan* class as a whole that would inform a broader process of derivation than one based solely on transitive-factitives on the one hand and intransitive-inchoatives on the other. Notably those *-nan* verbs such as *usluknan* 'be(come) open', that seem to pair with non-derived verbs such as *uslukan* 'open', imply that the derivational process is productive in such a way that it is not restricted to a formal opposition of overtly denominal participants but could include verbal bases too.

Regardless of those tokens that do not show outright inchoativity, Harbert (1978) builds a model for *-nan* development that focuses on inchoativity within a semantic-syntactic interface. His premise is that a factitive ~ inchoative opposition is the engine of derivation generating *-nan* verbs in Gothic. He poses a parallel structure for two derived classes in Gothic: class 1 (*-jan*) verbs and class 4 (*-nan*) verbs. In his scheme, both classes rely underlyingly on a dual argument structure, having minimally (i.) an object (manifested as a subject in surface structure) and (ii.) a predicate adjective. These are the only two arguments for a *-nan* verb, but for a *-jan* verb, there is the addition of an third argument, an agentive subject.

To construct his model, he draws upon deconstructionist analyses reminiscent of that found in Lakoff (1970) wherein complex structures can be built in the grammar via modular semantic units that may or may not be verbalized. An example of such an operator would be an abstract +INCHOATIVE feature that renders variable outcomes both with a transformative predicate like 'the soup became cool' or without one, as in 'the soup cooled'. Harbert's application of

deconstructed abstracts in Gothic finds traction via theories of lexical insertion, such as McCawley (1968), where collocations of deconstructed modules can, at various levels of development, output well-formed sentences when and if there is a lexical item that matches a certain assemblage of modules. As demonstrated in Dowty (1979), McCawley's characteristic example is a build-up of 'base' modules CAUSE, BECOME, NOT, and ALIVE. At various stages in the transformation, the speaker has the option to substitute lexical items for certain collocations, yielding all the sentences in (21) from the same underlying structure. Items in brackets indicate lexical insertion:

(21) a. John caused Bill to be not alive.

  b. John caused Bill to be [dead].

  c. John [killed] Bill.

Harbert adapts this idea to Gothic, assuming that the -*n*- morphology signals a verbal insertion that captures the inchoative semantics via a verbal abstract. In this way, -*nan* formation maps properties of individual arguments (such as nouns and verbs) onto an event structure. For the intransitive -*nan* verbs, the operator is simply BECOME. In the transitive -*jan* verbs, the operator is a collocation of underlying predicates CAUSE and DO distributed over a matrix and subordinating clause respectively. Through a process of verb raising, the predicate of the lower matrix clause, in this case CAUSE, raises to higher position and yields a transitive relationship where *x causes y to be* [adjective]. Harbert's example is the following.

(22) gudis þis **gaqiujandins** alla   (1Tm 6:13)

  – of God the one making all alive

  – τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῳοποιοῦντος τὰ πάντα

  $_s$[Subj. [guþ] DO [$_s$ Subj. [allai] qi*wai*]] CAUSE] →   God CAUSE DO [all alive]

The constituent parts are the subject to the higher subordinate clause, *gup,* the subject for the lower matrix clause, *allai,* and the predicate adjective*, qiwai*. When the underlying matrix predicate, CAUSE, rises, the subject of higher clause becomes the subject of the whole eventuality and the subject of the lower clause becomes the corresponding object. The two predicates then coordinate to form a single expression, CAUSE DO. What is *done* then, is the eventuality that is *caused* by the higher subject, i.e. 'God' *causes to be done* 'all be alive'.

The *-nan* verb has the same derivational constituents, and they are also distributed over a subordinate and matrix clause. The difference is that the higher subordinate clause has a null subject. When the same process of verb raising occurs, a viable operator of transformation can not be of the type that combines with another. So instead of CAUSE combining with DO, the operator of transformation that naturally falls out is one that can stand alone, BECOME. It is this operational predicate that raises, but without a viable subject in the higher clause, the subject of the lower matrix clause must also raise to fill the null space, becoming the sole subject of the whole eventuality. This yields a form in *y becomes* [adjective].

(23)   allai **gaqiunand**   (1Cr 15:22)

– all will become alive

– πάντες ζῳοποιηθήσονται.

$_S$ [Subj.-*null* [$_S$ [Subj. [allai] qi*wai*]] BECOME]   →   BECOME [all alive]

Within this framework, Harbert contributes a fairly elegant treatment, rendering two predicate types through one transformation. In particular, it contributes a principled explanation of the *-jan* ~ *-nan* alternation that clarifies a relationship that is in the literature popularly referred to as causative-anticausative. Simply stated, it is the lack of a subject in the higher clause of a *-nan* verb that triggers the *become* [adjective] interpretation. Implicit to the alternation is the notion that what appears as an accusative object in a transitive sentence is the same constituent that

46

appears as a nominative subject in the intransitive, though the thematic role of PATIENT is unchanged.

Problems with Harbert's theory are by premise the same that apply to Krämer's. Such a syntactic treatment relies on a uniform opposition between verbal categories that derive consistently a causative-transitive on the one hand and a fientive-intransitive on the other. It fails to account for those few *-jan* correspondents that are in fact not causative. Primary among these is *sildaleikjan* 'marvel at / behold with wonder', which cannot convey a causative meaning because the subject of the verb is always non-agentive.[7] The analysis equally fails to account for those *-nan* tokens appearing in contexts that are not overtly anticausative, such as *gahaftnan* 'cleave to'.

This disjunction can be illustrated with the presumed pair of *ganohjan* 'make sufficient / satisfy', and *ganohnan* 'be(come) provided for sufficiently'.

(24)   a.   jah swa managai **ganohjands** ins wailawiznai …   (Skeireins 7:4)

and so **satisfying**.NOM.SG them.ACC with great nourishment …

b.   [B]aþþan izwis frauja managjai jah **ganohnan** gataujai friaþwai in izwis misso … (1Th 3:12)

— then may the Lord increase you.ACC.PL and may he make (you) to **be(come) sufficient** with love among yourselves.DAT.

— [(ISV)] *and may the Lord make you increase and abound in love for one another*

In Suzuki's perspective, Harbert runs into computational errors because the PATIENT subject of *ganohnan* does not automatically correlate to the PATIENT object of *ganohjands*. In the case of

---

7 Just as detrimental (if not more so) to Harbert's transformative opposition would be those *-nan* tokens that counterpose strong verbs that are themselves neither causative nor transitive like *aukan* 'increase' (Skeireins IV.b.) This example though is debatable. In Guxman (1964) the author positions intransitive *auknan* ' nourish' (Cl 2:19) against the strong verb derivative *biaukan* 'add to' (Lk 19:11) and not the also-attested *aukan*. Suzuki (1989: section 3.2.4) cites this as a sleight-of-hand in that by using these examples she avoids the incompatibility of an intransitive *-nan* verb being paired against an equally intransitive base. While such avoidance does smooth over the seeming irregularity, it does not in my opinion constitute any real problem. Just as easily one could pair the singularly attested *biaukan* with the singularly attested *biauknan* (Th 14:10). Given the limited number of oppositions like this, it is impossible to know whether a *-nan* form specifically opposes one or the other.

(24b) the object of the action for the infinitive *ganohnan* is still an oblique, *izwis* 'you.ACC.PL'. It is not the nominative subject we would normally expect with a *-nan* predicate. Consequently, Harbert must deal with the *ganohjan ~ ganohnan* alternation as a lexical idiosyncrasy. To be sure, (24b) constitutes the only instance in the corpus of a *-nan infinitive* collocating with an outright causative verb, *gataujai* 'may he make'. In this sentence, *ganohnan* itself is the object of the causative *gataujai*, so the oblique object, *izwis* – which goes with the infinitive – is also under the scope of *gataujai*. This accounts for that argument's being in the accusative case; nevertheless, it is clear that the only viable subject for the sentence, *frauja*, cannot in any way be a PATIENT subject for the *-nan* verb.[8] This example, therefore, does seem to militate against a consistent one-to-one theory of a causative-anticausative dynamic that would apply to *all* such alternations. Furthermore, *ganohjan* seems to be problematic, too. It has a variable argument structure, appearing as a transitive predicate in (24a) that takes an accusative direct object, but also as an ambiguously transitive predicate in (25), where it only takes a prepositional dative object.

(25)   ^{A+B}þoei **ufarassau ganohida** *in uns* in allai handugein jah frodein,   (Ep 1:8)

— ἧς **ἐπερίσσευσεν** *εἰς ἡμᾶς* ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει

— Wherein **he abounded** *toward us* in all prudence and wisdom

Immediately this example stands out as another peculiar case. The verb ἐπερίσσευσεν is a predicate which, when used transitively, means something like 'cause to abound', 'lavish.' The Gothic translates the singular predicate with a collocation, *ufarassau ganohida*, which means something like 'may (he) make abundant [*ufarassau*] (the state of being) satisfied [*ganohida*]'. Though this case is exceptional, it is nevertheless clear that the object of the compound predicate

---

8 This is not the only instance where a non-finite *-nan* verb is correlated with a separate finite verb. For comparison, see (2Th 1:10) A: *þan qimiþ ushauhnan in þaim weiham seinaim* 'When he will come to be(come) glorified by his saints'. Yet here, 'he' is the subject of both verbs, simultaneously AGENT to *qimiþ* and PATIENT to *ushauhnan*.

is indeed a prepositional dative. Because Harbert's rigid formula offers no immediate explanation for why the argument structure of either verb would be different in different contexts, Suzuki calls it inadequate. It offers a treatment of the majority of *-nan* tokens as operators in a causative-anticausative verb set, but the outliers are varied enough in their means of non-conformity that it casts the formula as too exacting and, as Suzuki says, too narrow in scope.

It should be noted that, in his criticism of Harbert, Suzuki (1989: 82) also points out pairs for which there are no attested adjectival bases, namely *ufarhafnan ~ ufarhafjan*, *afhwapnan ~ afhwapjan*, *fraqistnan ~ fraqistjan*; and that the lack of an available predicate adjective renders Harbert's theory "unrealistic." In light of the more valid counter-arguments represented above, I find this criticism unwarranted. Given a corpus where many of the attested *-jan* and *-nan* forms are hapax legomena anyway, I do not find the particular absence of a given adjectival base to be significant. On the contrary, I would argue that the presence of both a *-jan* and a *-nan* form provides sufficient grounds to reconstruct and propose a given unattested adjective. Moreover, while Harbert's transformation may be too rigid in its application, the overall validity of an opposition that is both productive and regular would still seem supported by the frequency with which such pairs do in fact occur. It is this observation that has informed the development of theories that seek to position *-nan* verbs within a broader morphosemantic framework, namely one that oversteps the binary causative-factitive opposition in order to derive a systematic motivation for *-nan* verbs as a whole and with independent development separate from *-jan* counterparts.

2.3 NON-INCHOATIVE APPROACHES

The opposition to a purely intransitive-inchoative view is rooted in those instances of -*nan* verbs that ostensibly resist an inchoative reading. The variation in these verbs is conditioned by the presence of (i.) a clausal context that imposes a durative reading; (ii.) a Greek translation that imposes a durative reading; (iii.) both. The presence of these tokens erodes the normally telic conditioning of the inchoative formula. Thus, the act of completed transformation in *become* [x] is blocked and the force of the action is rendered as atelic. The German and English translations of such instances utilize a form of *sein* and *be*, respectively, and generally convey a stative meaning. West (1980) lists the following examples as ambiguous between dynamic (telic) and stative (atelic):

(26) a. jah bi filusnai andhuleino, ei ni **ufarhafnau**,   (2Cor 12:7)

— Καὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι,

— and by the multitude of revelations, that I not **be(come) over-glorified**.

   b. Ni **indrobnai** izwar hairto; galaubeiþ du guda jah du mis galaubeiþ.   (Jn 14:1)

— μὴ ταρασσέσθω ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία· πιστεύετε εἰς τὸν θεόν, καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πιστεύετε.

— may your.PL heart not **be(come) troubled**; believe in God, and (so) believe in me.

The lexical values of the verbs *ufarhafnan* and *indrobnan* under the inchoative view are easily rendered as 'become exalted' and 'become troubled', respectively. But in the subjunctive, the irrealis value of the negative purpose clause in (26a) and the admonishment in (26b) implicate (though they do not entail) potential states over transformations. (27) is less ambiguous:

(27) nu saiwala meina **gadrobnoda**, jah hwa qiþau?   (Jn 12:27)

— νῦν ἡ ψυχή μου τετάρακται. καὶ τί εἴπω;

— Now my soul **is troubled**; and what will I say?

The adverbial *nu* reinforces the quality of the adjective as a state now realized, and not the transformation embodied by inchoativity. At the same time, the verb is in the preterite, translating the perfect τετάρακται. Gothic has clearly positioned a past-time reference within the scope of a present-time adverbial. The most felicitous reading is that of a present tense with past-time reference of some kind; see section 1.8.

The earliest non-inchoative thesis is that of Guxman (1964), who also treats the *-nan* class in regard to its syntactic opposition to transitive counterparts, strong verbs and weak verbs of the first class. Indicative of this relationship is that non-agentive subjects of *-nan* verbs stand in derivational opposition to agentive subjects in transitive verbs. Additionally, even though the majority of *-nan* verbs seem to show intransitive versions of transitive counterparts, the opposition should not be seen exclusively as one of valence. To account for those instances, such as (27), where the meaning of the *-nan* verb is heavily implied to be stative, the opposition should include, if in a more limited distribution, stative vs. dynamic. In order to classify both of these oppositions within a singular verbal category, Guxman surmises that the purpose of the *-nan* verbs is to serve as a lexical way to render not just passivity but mediopassivity. She underscores that the *-nan* category can hold not just one semantic vector, but a more elastic range of values that embody the devolving vector of general mediopassive categories. Thus, it is a semantic supercategory, incorporating spectrum optionality spanning passivity, reflexivity, user-benefit, and intransitivity, which she groups together as "centripetal." This is opposed to the "centrifugal" nature of transitive verbs that embody a cline of action where a subject sits higher in the syntactic tree than a clearly internal object.[9]

---

9 As a matter of clarity, I will use the term "devolving action" to refer to what Guxman calls centripetal. Hers is an apt description that draws a parallel between concepts of grammatical force and physical force. In physics, the terms centripetal and centrifugal refer to two perceptions of a uniform phenomenon, the former a force pulling inward and the latter pushing outward. Thus, the pulling inward sense can describe those predicates that show the action of the predicate redounding on the subject, itself taking on different non-agentive roles depending on the lexical value of the verb: PATIENT / THEME (reflexive), BENEFICIARY (recipient predicate), EXPERIENCER / UNDERGOER (unaccusative predicate).

The overt benefit of a continuum is that it creates a broader space in which to categorize *-nan* predicates, allowing them to be collectively non-agentive but otherwise unspecified as to the nature of their centripetal action. Thus, non-agentivity can cover not just inchoative predicates but also stative predicates. Below, West lists those examples that are most strongly suggestive of an unambiguously durative reading.

(28) a. … þan **galuknoda** himins du jeram þrim jah menoþs saihs   (Lk 4:25)

— ὅτε ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ

— when heaven **was shut up** for three years and six months

b. ᴮ hwas siukiþ, jah ni siukau? hwas afmarzjada, jah ik ni **tundnau**?   (2Cor 11:29)

— τίς ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; τίς σκανδαλίζεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ πυροῦμαι;

— Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?

c. A … liugandau; batizo ist auk liugan þau **intundnan**.   (2Cor 7:9)

— … γαμησάτωσαν, κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι.

— … let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn.

d. jah stubju þana **gahaftnandan** unsis us þizai baurg izwarai …   (Lk 10:11)

— καὶ τὸν κονιορτὸν τὸν κολληθέντα ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν …

— Even the dust of your city, which cleaveth on us …

The devolving action theory helps account for extreme outliers, including the verb *ganohnan*, 'be(come) sufficient' as seen above. For Suzuki, this verb and its transitive counterpart *ganohjan* present a problem for Harbert's model in that "the subject of *ganohnan* and the object of *ganohjan* do not match the subject of the alleged basic predicate, *ganoh*." (Suzuki 1989: 83) We can thus restate the criticism thus: because Harbert uses adjectives as the base of development for both *-nan* (*become* [adjective]) and *-jan* (*cause to become* [adjective]) verbs, there is a mismatch when the subject of *ganohnan* is not the de facto object of *ganohjan*.

By Guxman's interpretation, the peculiar nature of the verb is subsumed under the general, Suzuki calls it "more natural", terms of devolving action that can well encompass beneficiary-recipient relationships as well as patient-object relationships.

Suzuki (1989: 89) praises Guxman for her explicit statement of the syntactic relationship between *-nan* verbs and transitive counterparts, but suggests that characterizing them as a lexically mediopassive category is ultimately insufficient for describing the verb group as a whole. In particular, he finds it problematic that *-nan* verbs show overlap with other categories that can render non-agentive predicates in Gothic. These are two: instances of the inherited passive in Gothic and the periphrastic constructions of *wisan* or *wairþan* plus a perfect participle. The question posed for both overlaps is the same: if the *-nan* verbs can subsume passive as one of their potential readings, what is the level of synonymy they share with passives and under what conditions are usage choices made? Answering this latter question provides the grounding for Suzuki's analysis, just as answering the former forms a significant portion of mine.

The other major contributor to the dialogue on *-nan* verbs is Jonathan West (1980), whose study focuses on a semantic characterization of these verbs. In its major part, it recapitulates Guxman, naming among other things the inadequacy of the purely passive view and of the purely inchoative view. Like Guxman, he underscores that the major role of the *-nan* verbs is not as a category in isolation but as a derivational alternative to transitive verbs that use the same base. Hence, he argues that the *-nan* category must be realized in terms of optionality. He also adds a qualifier to Guxman's thesis, noting that while it may be salient to characterize this optionality as generally mediopassive vs. active, the exact parameters of Guxman's "centripetal" force are unclear, paraphrasing that even though *-nan* verbs are used to translate Greek mediopassive and passive forms, they are not necessarily synonymous with the latter:

die Tatsache, daß gr. Medial- und Passivformen von got. nan- Verben wiedergegeben werden, heißt noch lange nicht, daß deren Semantic mit der der gr. Formen gleichzusetzen ist, sondern nur, daß die Bedeutungsachsen in beiden Sprachen eine partielle Korrespondenz zeigen. (407)

Suzuki marginalizes West's remarks as simply a restatement of Guxman, yet in doing so, he overlooks two significant contributions. The first is West's emphasis upon the fact that the *-nan* verbs show two semantic values: one that is out-and-out eventive and one that is out-and-out stative: "[Die Verben] haben ein nichtagentives Subject. Sie geben entweder ein Zustand oder einen Vorgang an" (West 1980: 409). While Guxman makes this observation too, West pursues it so as to qualify the semantic interrelation between the two types. The stative value stands as a semantic alternative to the eventive one and constitutes a formal development of entities that are already represented lexically. This is most evident in those *-nan* verbs that render a change-of-state, implemented so as to be synonymous with strong verbs that carry similar semantics, hence *gadauþnan*, 'be(come) dead' is a synonym for the underived verb *gaswiltan*, 'die'.

West's other contribution is to broaden the terminology that characterizes the eventive tokens of *-nan* verbs in relation to the strong and weak verbs from which they are derived. West likens them to the relationship found in ergative languages that have variant treatments of a single predicate, one being agentive (transitive), and the other being non-agentive (intransitive) as in the following Turkish examples.

(29) a. Ahmet **patlicani** pisiriyor

      Ahmet is cooking/cooks the eggplant

   b. **Patlican** pisiy

      The eggplant is cooking/cooks   (Example from West 1980: 409)

What is treated grammatically in ergative-absolutive languages with case assignment is treated syntactically with a select group of predicates in English, French, and German. In these instances, there is no case assignment but a syntactic operation

(30)   a. Alvin opens the door.

      b. The door opens.

The transformation from (30a) to (30b) sees the PATIENT argument of a transitive predicate move to occupy the subject position. It remains a PATIENT with (presumably) the same origin in relation to the main verb *opens,* but undergoes the subject-raising typical for English. West (ibid.) was not the first to observe this relationship in that of the Gothic *-jan* and *-nan* verb classes; however he does overtly invite the comparison with ergative-absolutive typology, thus referencing a basis for future analysis that could offer clues as to how the *-nan* class presents its various readings.

2.4 THE MORPHOSYNTACTIC VIEW

Suzuki's (1989) approach is purely descriptive. He accounts for the data at hand by qualifying the most essential commonality. A study in three parts, his thesis centers on the comparable tokens that share what he deems a detransitivizing suffix, either *-n-* or *-þ-*. He treats the nasal suffix in particular as a strong marker of mobile detransitivity found in the past participle of the strong verb classes, in the *-nan* verbs, and in derived verbal nouns ending in NOM.SG. *-ns*. Within each form, the suffix serves to enact derivation by means of reducing the salience of an AGENT argument to zero. For the *-nan* verbs, Suzuki sets out to validate the detransitivizing force by collating them with other forms that have heretofore been regarded as near-synonymous, especially tokens of the Gothic passive which, along with the *-nan* verbs, is used to translate Greek passive and mediopassive predicates.

The crux of Suzuki's argument is that in those instances where a *-nan* verb is used, the presence of an AGENT is null. This contrasts with passive forms wherein the presence of an agent may be denoted outright – usually in the form of a prepositional phrase using Gothic *fram* – or where an agent may simply be covert. In the latter case, the passivity of the predicate still entails an agentive force to bring about the action. *-nan* verbs, on the other hand, resist an agentive force and instead present the Gothic translator with the option to indicate that an action comes about through "spontaneous events" (Suzuki 1989: 121). What results are translations that render non-agentive states of being: *become* [amazed], *become* [troubled]; or non-agentive achievements, 'break / *become* [broken]' (all of a sudden). He furthers his argument by providing a list of those prepositional phrases that occur with *-nan* verbs and demonstrating how proportionally few of them suggest an agent, covert or otherwise.

The theoretical grounding for Suzuki is the seminal continuum of transitivity presented by Hopper and Thompson (1980) within which predicates can be ordered on a scale. The continuum takes into consideration selectively, factors of kinesis, mode, aspect, and agency. It allows for a given predicate to register as either higher or lower in transitivity depending on the sentential context. Suzuki maps these criteria onto the Gothic data, illustrating how such features as action ~ non-action, realis ~ irrealis, telicity ~ atelicity, and effective ~ ineffective agency determine the employment of *-nan* verbs. Like the Gothic passive, these verbs can translate Greek passive and mediopassive forms, but they make available an expression that denotes lower and null agentivity.

Suzuki's approach to the *-nan* class provides a rationale for the various readings of *-nan* verbs by isolating the universal feature they share, namely intransitivity. By posing an operational morph in *-n-*, he can render a formula that accommodates a range of interpretation that centers around unaccusativity, including both spontaneous passive and change-of-state

56

inchoative. Furthermore, the formula is language-wide and so involves other derivational entities that can be interpreted as transitive predicates that have been detransitivized, including the Gothic past passive participle and the deverbal action nouns. His first, and most pointed contribution, then, is to draw a *cordon sanitaire* between the *-nan* class and the Gothic passive, two forms that may overlap in their ostensible semantic force (indeed, often the two are used to translate the same Greek mediopassives), but that show a likely nuance of the Gothic redaction that captures perceived levels of agentivity: stronger agentivity receives passive; weaker receives a *-nan* form.

  The second major contribution of Suzuki's premise is to lay out a hypothetical mechanism that will generate the *-nan* verbs in synchrony and account for variable readings. His syntactic argument first posits two actions that fundamentally take a transitive predicate and upon application render an intransitive-unagentive (1989: 125-127). They are reproduced as in (31):

(31) a. agent $\rightarrow$ Ø stage 1: agent deletes

  b. OBJ $\rightarrow$ SUBJ stage 2: object moves to subject position

With estimated theta roles, cf. a' and b':

  a'. (SUBJ, OBJ) $\rightarrow$ (OBJ)   b'. (OBJ) $\rightarrow$ (SUBJ)

    | | | | |

   agent patient patient   patient theme[10]
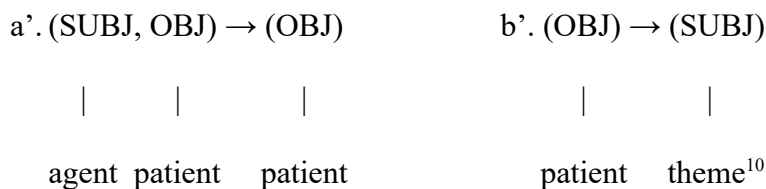
This mechanism indeed renders the prototypical intransitive-unagentive. Removing the ability for the clause to assign an AGENT role allows the object to move freely into the subject position and take on appropriate case marking. In Gothic, this is the nominative case. At the same time, the predicate takes on the semantics of spontaneous generation, designating an event that simply

---

10 What Suzuki here calls a theme (section 3.4) is in the contemporary literature more often rendered as an undergoer. The overall effect is the same. His intent is to distinguish the resultant argument role as something that is not a recipient of any causative action by an agent but instead an entity that undergoes the action without volition.

comes into being without a causative force. But by itself, this two-part process contributes nothing new to the overarching character of *-nan* predicates. Indeed, it is the categorical process that yields a number of predicates with so-called 'devolving' action, including passive constructions; unaccusative constructions such as those involuntary verbs like *arrive*, *leave*, and *die*; as well as the natural ergative-like entities referenced by West whose input is a causative and whose output is a construction that is active in form but devolving in meaning. This cooperative relationship is the same noted above as 'anticausative' and comes to characterize exactly those tokens that are not only intransitive but for which there can be no discernible agent.

(32) a. Alvin opens the door.   causative: "Alvin causes the door to become open."

b. The door opens.   anticausative: "The door becomes open" (on its own)

At first light, Suzuki's model would seem facile, given heretofore-stated exceptions to the general intransitive-inchoative view. To be sure, those few tokens of *-nan* verbs that show possible stative readings are not candidates for this process because the outcome is not representative of a telic transformation *become* [open], but a durative essivity *be* [open]. Furthermore, there are those *-nan* verbs whose assumed bases are, in point of fact, not causative. The most noteworthy examples are those verbs which show non-agentive amazement or marveling. In (33), the above mentioned verb *sildaleikjan* is, as Suzuki describes it, morphologically underived, and cannot be said to have an agentive subject but rather an undergoer.

(33) a. gahausjands þan þata Iesus **sildaleikida** ina.   (Lk 7:9)

— when he had heard this, Jesus **marveled** at him.

b. jah afslauþnodedun allai **sildaleikjandans**,   (Mk 1:27)

— and they became amazed, all (of them) **marveling**.

In (33a) there is a direct object, *ina* 'him', showing that *sildaleikjan* can indeed be transitive, yet in no way can the subject, *Iesus*, be said to cause *ina* to marvel. The most felicitous translation here incorporates an adjunct, paraphrased as *Jesus beheld him with wonder.* In (33b), we can see that, like *ganohjan*, *sildaleikjan* can be either transitive or intransitive, deferring a direct object and yielding a translation like *and were/became amazed everybody, beholding with wonder!* In both instances, it is the *-jan* form that appears as an anticausative, based on the criterion that the subject is non-agentive. Even so, the base *sildaleik-* is still a candidate for *-nan* formation:

(34)   A þan qimiþ **ushauhnan** in þaim weiham seinaim, jah **sildaleiknan** in allaim þaim

   galaubjandam,   (2Th 1:10)

   — then he will come to be glorified in his saints, and to be/become marveled-at among all

   those believing.

This would seem to undermine Suzuki's mechanism, since the semantic roles in *sildaleikjan* cannot be said to be AGENT and PATIENT. Suzuki alleviates the problem through a simple reduction. He posits that in synchrony, the derivational process that yields *-nan* verbs is not necessarily a two-part process, but a singular one, with only the second operation (31b) taking effect. As such, there need be no deletion of an agent, so predicates with non-agentive subjects can still be candidates for *-nan* formation.

It is by this route that we can take an entity with non-causative arguments and still produce a *-nan* verb. What results is an elegant account of *-nan* verbs that relegates them to a discrete derivational class, one that is not necessarily reliant on the semantic status of the base but instead recognizes the power of transformation in the thematic morpheme, *-n-*. In Suzuki's terms then, we do better to speak of a *-nan* transformation: one that takes any object class, be it a PATIENT (of an AGENT) or an UNDERGOER, and renders it mechanically as both intransitive and unagentive. The outcome is a reading that, in the majority of cases, is best rendered with some

transformational abstract, like Harbert's BECOME, but in certain scenarios can also yield varying senses of devolving action, both telic and durative.

2.5 SUMMARY

The *-nan* verb is a type found sporadically throughout the Germanic language family, but in Gothic, the oldest attested language, this type constitutes a full class of derived verbs with a complete and uniform paradigm in both the present and preterite tenses, as well as respective representation in the subjunctive mood. The class also has a uniform semantics. In the majority of instances, it means *become* [state], where the [state] is the outcome of some derivational process, presumed to be either denominal, such that the state is associated with a noun; deverbal, such that it results from the action of a verb; or deadjectival, such that it is an adjective outright. Since the extant Gothic corpus is almost completely translational, the general meaning of a given *-nan* verb is rarely contested, being representative of various mediopassive formations in Greek. It is this association of voice that led to most early categorizations of the class as a special form of passive, acting in direct competition with a historical passive formation found in Germanic only, but frequently, in Gothic.

Subsequent research, however, has overturned this categorization, noting that the particular non-agentive quality of *-nan* verbs distinguishes them from a passive, an expression of diathesis that, though it may not necessarily co-occur with an agent, can always accommodate one. Thus, the *inchoative* view arose as a way to compartmentalize the *-nan* class as a specialized category within intransitive verbs, one that would mean *become* [state] and contribute specification not only in terms of diathesis, but also to the underlying semantics of *-nan*-verb argument structure. This would necessitate that the subject of a *-nan* verb is not simply to be analyzed as a promoted direct object, like the one found in a passive construction, but instead the promoted object that is characteristic of unaccusative predicates.

In this latter case, the object is not a PATIENT-recipient of action but instead the PATIENT-experiencer of a process, what I will refer to as an UNDERGOER.

This expression of underlying argument structure has become the predominant one. But to this analysis, the question must be put, what is the nature of the underlying transformation, and in what way is it different from that of a passive? Analyses by Harbert (1978), West (1980), and Suzuki (1989) have addressed this question directly, utilizing principles of argument structure to provide models for how a *-nan* verb comes about. Framing these analyses are preceding observations by Guxman (1964) and Annerhom (1956) that refute the categorization of *-nan* verbs as inchoative, noting how some tokens do *not* seem to maintain an interpretation of *become* [state]. Instead, they have referenced problems with establishing a uniform aspect, pointing to a number of tokens that seem to have an imperfective, i.e. ongoing aspect and meaning something like *be* [state].

In this light, the evolution of research on the *-nan* form can be seen to have involved shifts in the axis of analysis. At the outset, the appraisal was simply a matter of voice. Then, semantics became of greater importance, and following this, the question of argument structure and its development has become the prevailing one. In the following section, I review attempts at synthesis that seek a uniform treatment of *-nan* verbs such that they combine features of voice, semantics, and argument structure. Instead of adopting one mode of focus, our goal is to hypothesize a system of development that accounts for all the relevant factors, yielding not one prescriptive reading for a *-nan* verb, but a production method that can yield a predictable range of readings.

CHAPTER 3

-nan VERBS IN DEVELOPMENTAL SYSTEMS

The motivation to generate *-nan* verbs via a process of detransitivization is a response to a problem. It offers a way to account for seemingly non-inchoative tokens that are unaccounted for in those theories that focus on *-nan* predicates in isolation. The key for Suzuki is to posit that the *-nan* class is essentially deverbal, being derived either from strong verbs or weak *-jan* predicates. Tokens that seemed erstwhile denominal are representative of a causative alternation, whether or not the causative verb is present. This link-up allows one to focus not on a derivational set but a derivational system productive in Gothic. And whether or not the category is purely deverbal or heterogeneous in its origins, it is this fundamental assumption of verbal alternation that underpins the models of Harbert (1978), Guxman (1964), and West (1980) and is codified in Suzuki's transformative process illustrated in (31b). Subsequent handbooks of Gothic have since adopted this revision (*näher* rejection) of the inchoative theory, with focus placed on the non-agentive quality of *-nan* verbs, as can be seen in Braune (2004):

> Die Bedeutung dieser Verben ist noch Gegenstand der Diskussion. Früher (auch bis zur 19. Aufl. dieses Buches) galten sie als in der Mehrzahl rein inchoativ, d.h. den Eintritt eines Zustandes bezeichnend; seltener sei mediopassive, in wenigen Fällen auch rein passive Bedeutung anzunehmen. Der neueren Forschung zufolge sind die Verben primär durch ein nicht-agentives Subject charakterisiert (West, a.a.O 407f.); sie affizieren niemals ein Objekt und bilden infolgedessen kein Passiv (Schwerdt, a.a.O. 189).

But there remain some features of the detransitivization theory at large that need improvement. All of the above qualifications of *-nan* verbs, including Suzuki's method for producing them,

characterize a final predicate type that is clearly housed under the general semantics of an unaccusative verb. Recall that an unaccusative verb is one for which a grammatical subject is a syntactic object, but that, unlike a passive, exhibits no capacity for agent expression.

 -nan verbs would seem to fulfill this specification, given any framework where the presumed object of a transitive verb is raised out of internal position to an external subject position. What the characterization of *-nan* verbs wants then is an updated analysis, one that diagnoses postulated unaccusativity and frames it within contemporary theories of predicate semantics. One outbranching of this is the question of whether or not there is a developmental relationship between *-jan* predicates and *-nan* predicates that is indicative of other such relationships found outside of Gothic. To this end, the latest approaches characterizing *-nan* predication rely on positioning this class within larger systems of verb types.

3.1 PROBLEMS WITH DETRANSITIVIZATION AS A SYSTEM

The most obvious problem with the detransitivization theory is that the system it poses is not robust. While simply detransitivizing a verb may yield the desired effect generally of an intransitive predicate, it fails to explain why there are divergent types within the *-nan* category: specifically, why do these verbs have a semantic character that is inchoative for the vast majority of tokens but occasionally seems to eschew features of inchoativity such as telicity or the implication of an underlying verbal primitive like *become* [adjective]?

Another question involves semantic overlap. Within the catalogue of derived verbs are instances where a detransitivization process seems to be taking place outside of the *-jan ~ -nan* alternation. Examples like *sildaleikjan* 'marvel (at)', show that there are present in the corpus *-jan* verbs that are transitive but do not take an agentive subject, that is, they are transitive but not causative. The explanation for this example, as shown above, is summarily dealt with by Suzuki's reduced detransitivization formula. But detransitivization does not account for the

63

regular occurrence of intransitive types for which the categorical process of development is not predicted. With the exclusion of underived verbs, a detransitivization process would incorporate developmental stages as in (35):

(35)　Stage 1: Nominal Base, *fulls*　　　　　　　　　　　adj. full

　　　Stage 2: »1st Derivation, Adj.→ Transitive Vb. » *fulljan*　vb. transitive, make full

　　　Stage 3: » 2nd Derivation Detransitivization » *fullnan*　vb. intransitive, become full

But there are a notable number of examples where this process is interrupted such that the nominal base is rendered as an intransitive verb at stage 2 without any attestation of a stage 3 intransitive.

3.1.1 Detransitivization in *-jan* Verbs

The first set of verbs that show overlap in detransitivized semantics are derived verbs in the first and second weak classes. These include the following.

(36)　a. siponjan 'be a disciple' (from siponeis, n., disciple)
　　　b. riqizjan 'become dark' (from riqis, n., darkness)
　　　c. flautjan 'be boastful' (from flauts, adj., boastful)
　　　d. dwalmon 'be mad, rage' (from dwals, adj., foolish, rageful)
　　　e. faurhtjan 'be afraid' (from faurhts, adj., afraid)
　　　f. liuhtjan 'shine, give light' (from *liuhts, n., light or, adj., shining)[11]

All of these examples are denominal verbs with attested nouns and adjectives that could serve as a base. Assuming that the process of producing *-nan* variants is designed to produce just such outcomes, it is odd that there is a missing step. Particularly curious is the semantic variation among *-jan* verbs generally such that diagnostically causative verbs like *fulljan* 'make full' stand beside intransitive verbs like *faurhtjan* 'be(come) afraid', both stemming from an adjectival base. It is unclear why one form should be translated as a transitive causative (and thereby be a

---

11 There are several nominals meaning 'light' or 'shining' in Gothic, but strong typological evidence within Germanic suggests that the most likely base for this verb is a proto-form *leuht- 'light' (or as an adjective, *leuht- 'bright, shining'). Such forms are implicated in the attestation of Old English *lēoht* 'light' and Old High German *lioht* 'id.'.

candidate for detransitivization) while the latter is not. What is more, these verbs can even show the same dual-featured qualities attributed to the *-nan* class of being both non-agentive and intransitive, as illustrated in (37).

(37) a. ... ni **indrobnaina** izwara hairtona nih **faurhtjaina**.   (1Jn 14:27)

      ... **not let be(come)-troubled.3.PL.SUB** your hearts, nor **let be(come)-afraid.3.PL.SUB**

      — μὴ **ταρασσέσθω** ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία μηδὲ **δειλιάτω**.

      — Let not your hearts **be troubled**, nor let them **be afraid**.

   b. jah qaþ du im Iesus: hwa **faurhteiþ**, leitil galaubjandans!   (Mt 8:26)

      — καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, τί **δειλοί** ἐστε, ὀλιγόπιστοι;

      — And Jesus said to them, why are you.PL **afraid**, (O you who are) little believing?

In (37a) the *-jan* verb *faurhtjaina* seems to be of the same semantic makeup as the *-nan* verb *indrobnaina* inasmuch as they both employ the same single argument, 'your hearts', and operate under the same scope of the admonition. We can account for the use of the different verb classes by appealing to standard translation tactics: as a matter of translation mechanics, a mediopassive imperative and active imperative in Greek are translated in Gothic with a *-nan* type and *-jan* type respectively. What we cannot account for is the maintenance of these particular verbs, given that they fulfill the same role in Gothic. That is, why is a *-nan* ~ *-jan* distinction maintained when both predicates are intransitive? While *indrobnaina* and *faurhtjaina* express separate irrealis concepts, they do so in identical *contexts*: 'may they not be troubled' ~ 'may they not be fearful'. The demarcation between a transitive type in *-jan* and an intransitive type in *-nan* has heretofore been so stark as to presuppose that the latter is regularly derived from the former.

     Given such a demarcation, one would anticipate in this example that some other intransitive type would be substituted, likely the very *-nan* verb that one would expect to be derived from a *-jan* counterpart.

And yet not only is **faurhtnaina*, 'may they become afraid', not employed in this example, it is not even attested.

(37b) shows this same *-jan* verb maintaining its single-argument valence even when it is *not* in coordination with a *-nan* token. In the example, *faurhteiþ* is used to translate a Greek predicate adjective, δειλοί ἐστε 'you are afraid'. This affirms that the verb in Gothic is both indisputably deadjectival and also that it is stative, translating directly a collocation involving the Greek copula.

3.1.2 Detransitivization in Reflexive Verbs

Another domain of competition for *-nan* verbs is the use of reflexive verbs. In most instances, the reflexive pronoun *sik* is clearly used to co-reference subject and direct object. There are, however, a small number of reflexive tokens where the co-referent is not overt, such that it cannot be said with certainty whether a subject is acting on itself or on its behalf. One such verb showing this behavior is *skaman sik* 'be ashamed'. The use of the reflexive pronoun seems to effect a semantics comparable to that found in those *-nan* tokens that can be said to be stative, yielding a *be* [state] meaning. This is significant because the use of the reflexive pronoun on an underived verb would suggest a systematic way of expressing a given state, complete with morphological marking.

Attempts to position the *-nan* formation within larger systems start here. The underpinning motive is to capture synchronic facts within larger historical developments that allow for various semantic overlaps to be measured in terms of redundancy.

3.2 SYSTEM OF DIATHESIS: *-nan* AS MIDDLE VOICE

Already West (1980) and Abraham (1992) note that the *-nan* class of verbs is aligned with the mediopassive in Greek. Both express the sentiment that this is because *-nan* verbs are, in fact, a middle, though what that is, even in Greek terms, is somewhat vague. Clarifying this is of

primary importance in the thesis of Ferraresi (2005). Her view of Gothic derivation centers on the rise of a reflexive-type voice that represents an underlying shift in argument structure. She draws on a taxonomy of reflexive constructions set out in Haider (1997) that distinguishes three types, each embodying a different argument structure underlyingly and showing different treatments of the reflexive pronoun *sik*.

(38) a. true reflexive: *sik* is a full pronoun, co-referenced with the subject

b. inherent reflexive: *sik* is cliticized, it is still co-referenced but not a pronoun that can be substituted with a full noun. Neither can it engage in long-distance binding.

c. reflexive middle: *sik* is a clitic and is no longer co-referenced, instead it is a marker of diathesis and is associated with a syntactic projection of such.

These three stages represent a cline of idiomatization that sees a parsable reflexive pronoun become sequentially grammaticalized. The inherent reflexive represents a stage in argument structure similar to a passive. It is at this stage that certain "passive reflexives" can emerge. The final stage sees an argument structure like that of unaccusative verbs; that is, the syntactic branch associated with an external argument is absent. It is this idiomatization that renders the polysemous situation in modern German and Scandinavian languages. In these languages, all three reflexive types are present.

(39) a. *sich waschen* 'wash oneself'   true reflexive
b. *sich drehen* 'turn'   inherent reflexive – motion
c. *sich überlegen* 'consider'   inherent reflexive – mental
d. *Die Schlüssel wird sich finden* 'the key will be found'   inherent reflexive – passive
e. *Das Buch verkauft sich gut* 'the book sells well'   reflexive middle

In Ferraresi's analysis, the Gothic state of affairs is such that true reflexives are becoming inherent reflexives. This is at a time concurrent with both the demise of the mediopassive and the

67

full lexicalization of the *-nan* class, which she calls "ergative" following West (1980).[12]

In (40) below, each example is meant to show a higher degree of idiomatization than the one before it. The main conduit for the idiomatization are verbs of position and psychological verbs expressing emotion or state-of-mind.

(40) a. gawasjan sik 'dress oneself'
      b. ganehwjan sik 'draw (oneself) near to', 'be at hand'
      c. afhaban sik 'refrain'
      d. gaskaman sik 'be ashamed'

(40a), *gaswasjan sik*, is a true reflexive, with direct reference between the subject and its co-indexed object. The subject causes the object (itself) to become dressed. (40b) encodes reflexive action inasmuch as the subject positions itself in space and time. (40c) can be said to have lost its literal sense of 'holding oneself back' and to have taken on a figurative psychological act of refraining from action. (40d) presents a state-of-mind verb meant to represent the fullest degree of idiomatization. Like *gaskaman sik* are a limited number of predicates that seem to have lost their literal meanings altogether, the idiomatization effecting what is essentially a detransitivizing process. Verbs like *gasleitjan sik* 'suffer loss' and *andþagkjan sik* 'consider' still maintain the devolving action that is intrinsic to reflexive verbs, but now simply implicate the subject as being involved with the eventuality fulfilled by the predicate, not necessarily causing it. Hence they fit better into a wider grouping of mediopassive predicates that are distinguished less by the presence of a given thematic role than by the absence of a finite agent.

The selection of a reflexive verb, a *-nan* verb, or a Gothic mediopassive is a matter of the translator's sensibility toward a given Greek mediopassive. The mediopassive category in Greek

---

12 The *-nan* verb in isolation is best described as "unaccusative": an intransitive predicate type wherein the subject is an underlying object. The use of the term ergative by Ferraresi and West is a way to reference a verbal *type* that may behave like that in an ergative-absolutive language, where the ergative case would be used to denote the subject in either the transitive or intransitive version. More aptly, verbs can be labeled ergative when they can be used in both transitive and intransitive sentences and the object in the former naturally becomes the subject in the latter. *-nan* verbs have no transitive variant, so Ferraresi's use of the term ergative shows that she considers the *-jan* ~ *-nan* dichotomy to make up an "ergative-like" system.

68

has manifold semantics. In those instances where it is not a discrete passive or middle, the form can be contextually determined to be a passive, which implies an agent, or one of several degrees of 'middle' where the subject can be acting on him/herself, for his/her own benefit, or even with her/her own means. Viewed as a spectrum, the most antithetical sense to the passive is a middle reading that suppresses the implication of an agent altogether. It is for this reason that the mediopassives of transitive verbs can be translated variably as reflexives (with an implied agent) or as unaccusative statives (without an implied agent). Ferraresi gives the following example:

(41) a. λύω   active   'I untie'

     b. λύομαι   mediopassive   'I untie myself'   or   'I am untied' (p. 99)

     The Germanic mediopassive, attested only in Gothic, shows a small degree of variation in interpretation. While it is predominantly an out-and-out passive, there is at least one example where it has more 'middle' semantics.

(42) þaþroh þiudangardi gudis wailamerjada jah hwazuh in izai **nauþjada**.   (Lk 16:16)

     — ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν **βιάζεται**.

     — thenceforth the kingdom of God is preached, and everyone **presses** into it.

The meaning of the mediopassive in *nauþjada* cannot here be a true passive, as it is nonsensical that the people to whom the kingdom of God is preached are subsequently pressed into it by some outside agent. Instead, it resembles more the interpretable state of λύομαι, that of men 'being pressed' or the motion-type reflexive, 'pressing themselves'. Ferraresi provides other examples of this 'middle' sense, but those she gives are ambiguous at best. Indeed *nauþjada* in (42) may represent an archaic semantics (the Gothic mediopassive is itself an archaic and moribund category), but it is clear that at the time of the writing of the Gothic Bible, the mediopassive has undergone semantic narrowing to passive value. It is in this light that the *-nan* category presents itself as a way to capture at least one of the 'middle' senses. In Ferraresi's

proposed system, the *-nan* verb corresponds to those readings of a mediopassive in which there is no implied agent. This accounts for its frequent use in translation of mediopassive forms.

The *-nan* verb, while a component of Ferraresi's system of middle expression, is not a focus of her research. In her proposed development, the nasal category is already fully lexicalized in Gothic. This, in coordination with the presumed moribund status of the mediopassive, gives rise to the reflexive as the predominant way to express non-agentivity in Germanic. What separates *-nan* verbs from the up-and-coming reflexive middles is an argument structure incapable of expressing an agent. Hence, her use of the label "ergative" contrasts with her use of the label "middle." The reflexives have the apparatus for agent-expression which can be implied, but the *-nan* verb lacks this apparatus. The difference for her then becomes "mainly aspectual: in the middle reading the subject is defocused while *-na-* verbs denote a state change. Both however are very close in meaning." (section 3.5.4.1:116).

The derivation for *-nan* verbs then begins with a state. Drawing on Sigurðsson's (1989) analyses of *-na* verbs in Icelandic, she concludes that, when denominal, these so-called ergatives come from nouns and adjectives that themselves possess some lexical feature making them eligible for change-of-state transformation. This feature denotes the state that underlies the *-na* or *-nan* formation. When the base is a noun, the state is one that is logically associated with that noun. When the base is an adjective, that adjective becomes the underlying state directly.

When these so-called ergatives come from verbs however, that feature would still need to be operational, suggesting that the likely candidate for an underlying structure is not the base verb itself, but the state-denoting entity associated with it, i.e. a participle. Moreover, because the process of making a perfective participle already defocuses the agent in a transitive verb, it would suggest a constraint on *-nan* formation such that the process could not re-enact the defocusing. If this were the case, it could explain why *-nan* verbs cannot themselves form perfective participles.

The formulation for *-nan* expression then recapitulates a causative-anticausative dynamic, using the causative expression of agent found in Burzio (1986). It also incidentally provides a way to re-analyze Harbert's scheme (see examples [22] and [23]), but with omission of the problematic dual-clause structure that he uses.

(43) a. *fullnan*   'become full' [BECOME-na [full y]]

   b. *fulljan*   'fill'   [CAUSE-ja x [BECOME-na [full y]]]

   c. 1Th 3:12

      aþþan izwis frauja managjai jah **ganohnan gataujai** friaþwai in izwis misso …

      – And may the Lord increase you and **make (you) to be(come) sufficient** in

      love toward each other…

The collocation *ganohnan gataujai* 'may make to be(come) sufficient' is taken by Ferraresi as validation for the alternation. This is because it seems to manifest as a *-jan* verb what is otherwise an abstract CAUSE operator.

Ferraresi's system of diathesis based on argument structure does a good job of answering the question of why certain forms concurrent with *-nan* verbs seem to have the same semantics. But it does not treat directly those derived *-jan* verbs in (36) that are intransitive. Given the Gothic text as a snapshot in diachrony where a new middle form is a rising preference, the presence of these verbs raises similar questions for the reflexives as they do for *-nan* predicates. Moreover, the presumed preference for a reflexive expression of middle over an ergative type is based on the proliferation of reflexive middles in younger languages, not necessarily Gothic, and there is no clear evidence that the *-nan* forms are lexicalized. The cognate verbal category in *-na* is productive in Old Norse and has remained so in Modern Icelandic (Sigurðsson 1989).

Another consideration is the question of why some *-nan* verbs have seemingly stative or durative meanings of *be* [state]. Again, a full semantic exploration of the *-nan* category is not a focus for Ferraresi, but her use of a dyadic derivation system implies a conclusion about causative-anticausative systems as they have been defined thus far. The existence of a dyadic verb that can appear as causative and agentive in one outcome and anticausative and non-agentive in another relies on a uniformly telic *Aktionsart*, since both outcomes represent changes-of-state.

3.3 SYSTEM OF VALENCE: *-nan* AS ANTICAUSATIVE

The two questions posed above are addressed more directly by Ottosson (2014). His thesis reevaluates the *-nan* verb as a purely anticausative category. It focuses on the same causative-anticausative dynamic as extolled in Guxman (1964) and West (1980) and draws particularly from Suzuki in terms of highlighting the non-agentive property of the class. Like Ferraresi, he

expounds on the systematic proliferation of the reflexive as a type of non-agentive expression, but not in isolation. His over-arching thesis is that Gothic can be classified according to a typological dichotomy set forth in Haspelmath (1993) that distinguishes valence-increasing and valence-decreasing languages. In a footnote, Ottosson remarks on a precedent for this in that as early as Hermodsson (1952: 62) a general tendency has been noted among Indo-European languages to either mark transitivity with a formant, namely *-eye, and have the intransitive unmarked or the opposite: leaving the transitive unmarked and marking the intransitive with medial diathesis. The snapshot of Gothic in synchrony then characterizes for Ottosson a valence-decreasing language.

This simple classification means that systems of derivation will tend toward producing intransitive verbs. This is in contrast to some earlier state, likely late IE itself, in which valence-increasing is the norm as represented by the universality of the transitivizing formant in *-eye. For Germanic at large, the opposite tendency gives rise to a new detransitivizing formation in -n-, derived from what is clearly an old present tense formant with no particular valence-changing properties.

This distinction is extremely salient, as it accounts not only for the -na- verbs as they appear in Gothic and Old Norse, but also for the nascent reflexive middle which will become the preferred mode of detransitivization in modern German, Swedish and Icelandic.[13] In those languages where the reflexive pronoun becomes marginalized, the valence-decreasing tendency manifests itself in the form of labile verbs, those with no difference in marking between transitive and intransitive.

---

13 Ottosson is careful to mention that, while reflexive middles do become the predominant form of detransitivization in most modern Germanic languages, what appears in Gothic is not a fully developed reflexive middle. In this regard, his perspective is in line with Ferraresi, although he does not go as far as she does. For Ottosson, all reflexives in Gothic represent true reflexive forms, with varying degrees of idiomatization imposed on their semantics, but not on their argument structure per se.

In languages where this transformation is in play, including Old English, Old Saxon and Old Frisian, the intransitive variant of the labile verb is the innovation, illustrating the vector of development toward detransitivization.

With the implication of a detransitivizing typology, the question arises as to why some derived verbs such as *riqizjan* 'be(come) dark' and *faurhtjan* 'be(come) afraid' appear as intransitives. Even the typical association between *-jan* suffixation and transitivization does not exclude the reanalysis of such verbs at intransitives. Associated with this thesis is a perspective that the underpinning semantics of detransitivization is, in fact, anticausativization. In particular, it is the same nullification of an agent that typifies *-nan* verbs and reflexive middles.

Ottosson's presentation of an anticausative semantics must be set against the problems laid out by Suzuki (1989). That some *-jan* ~ *-nan* alternates do not show a regular transfer of an object to a subject is not in and of itself a detractor for Ottosson. In particular Ottosson assumes that *-nan* verbs are prototypically anticausative, the fundamental tenet of which is non-agentivity. This is in line with Suzuki's analysis, though the latter does not assume anticausativity to be prototypical. Ottosson finds this perspective rooted too much in only a small number of tokens that deviate from a pattern that is otherwise universal in Gothic and predominant in Old Norse. In the case of the token examples, it becomes more efficient to simply detach the derivation of the anticausative from the causative. After all, the core meaning of a verb like *ganohnan* is still 'become sufficient, abound' regardless of whether or not its *-jan* partner is out-and-out causative. Specifically, Ottosson characterizes *-nan* verbs under Haspelmath's definition of a fientive. This is a variant of the inchoative formula where the basis of derivation is strictly an adjective.

To account for why some *-nan* verbs are ambiguous between an eventive and stative reading, Ottosson assumes that stativity is a natural semantic offshoot from all verbs with non-agentive argument structure. To do this, he must contend with an aspectual principle stated by

74

Haspelmath (1987) that fientives can only be telic. To this stricture, Ottosson posits semantic broadening of a fientive type that can effect the sense of *be* [adjective] (Martanz 1984). The result of this is that Gothic shows the three types of verbs exemplified thus far: a prototypical telic fientive, a fientive that is ambiguous between telic and atelic (usually psychological or state-of-being verbs), and a fully durative fientive.

(44) a. *fullnan* 'become full'   telic fientive

     b. *indrobnan* 'be(come) troubled'   ambiguous fientive   state-of-being verb

     c. *galuknan* 'be shut up', 'be closed'   atelic fientive

As would be expected in such a development, the proportionate numbers of the attested verb types decrease as they become more innovative, the atelic fientive contributing the fewest number of tokens of the three types.

3.4 SYNTHESIS OF VOICE AND VALENCE

The two systems proposed by Ferraresi and Ottosson constitute the contemporary perspective on the *-nan* verb, both interpreting it as a transitional category that captures in synchrony processes that later became manifest in the grammars of modern Germanic languages. In truth, the two analyses complement each other. Ottosson provides the greater study in typology, illustrating a general tendency toward valence-decreasing across both North and West Germanic. Ferraresi provides a theoretical framework for *-nan* predication, as well as the greater study in its potential argument structure, based in part on the principles set forth in Burzio (1986). While the semantic shape of the development is slightly different for each, either a rising reflexive middle or a tendency toward intransitivity, the end result is the same: a non-agentive category especially prevalent in psychological verbs that can be summarily described as anticausative.

3.5 SYSTEM OF ASPECT: *-nan* AS RESULTATIVE

I take the meaning of a resultative in numerous event and transformation studies to be that found in especially Kiparsky (2002), Kennedy (2008), Toyota (2009), Embick (2004), as well as in more general examinations of argument structure. Namely, a resultative is a family of argument structures that represents the coordination of an event and of a state resulting from that event. Often this coordination appears as a complex predicate that takes two things: a state and at minimum one nominal argument in the form of an object that undergoes a transformation such that it attains the state. Thus a resultative is by definition a change-of-state predicate (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995: 53-58).

Resultatives are usually characterized in English by the transitive form seen in *John ironed the shirt flat*. This is a type that Embick (2004) calls a secondary predicate resultative because the two requirements are explicit: the state [flat] is integrated as a third argument on the verb, *iron*, after the subject, *John,* and the object, *shirt*. Thus, a resultative coordinates an object with a state in order to create a prototypical Vendlerian accomplishment, complete with invariably telic reading that is diagnostic for such eventualities; see Mittwoch (1988). The emphasis on the resultant state can be seen in the necessity of the adjective to the interpretation of the sentence. The state can be manifested as an adjective-headed adjunct phrase (AP), *John ironed the shirt **flat*** and also as a prepositional phrase (PP), *John broke the vase **to pieces***. Both phrase types effect a qualitative semantics that is not the same as that imposed by an adjective in attributive or predicative position. That is to say, the resultative phrase constitutes the third type of adjectival position in a language like English, not as antecedent to a noun (attributive), nor predicate to a subject (predicate adjective), but something altogether different, a secondary predicate denoting the result of an action.

For the sake of that resultative meaning, whatever AP contains the resultative [state], cannot be interpreted as something optional, since, when removed, the resulting clause reverts to an activity. A sentence that lacks the AP, like *John ironed the shirt*, is devoid of relevance for the resulting state and cannot be interpreted as a resultative. When a subject is present, it acts as an agent of the process, so resultative sentences, when transitive, are always illustrative of a causal relationship between an agent and a transformed object: *John irons the shirt flat* can be paraphrased as *John causes the shirt to become flat by ironing*.

When intransitive, in the style of *The shirt irons flat*, there is no agent either overt or implied. The functional reading is one that still sees the object undergo a change of state, but that is taken to describe a quality of the shirt, independent of any force that might be initiating or propelling the transformation. This alternation between a transitive form that is always causative and an intransitive form that is always descriptive has led to the integration of resultativity into various analyses of argument structure. In particular, the de-agentive quality of intransitive resultatives has led to their being a diagnostic for testing unaccusativity, since unaccusative verbs are themselves partially identified by the lack of a discrete agent.

Another use of the de-agentive quality has led to a larger examination of the role resultativity plays in the formation of participles. The character of a (past) passive or perfective participle in many Indo-European languages often ranges between a verbal and an adjectival role. In the latter, such an adjectival quality is distinguished from native adjectives as housing verbal qualities inasmuch as they carry an entailment of a completed action that has resulted in an explicit state. Thus what distinguishes a participle like *broken* or *made* from an adjective like *happy* is the entailment of some preceding event of *breaking* or *making* that has resulted in a completed transformation. *Happy* has no such entailment. It is this entailment of a preceding event that underpins the various uses of the participle in its association with a perceived sense of

"completion," implicating its use in regard to past-time events, perfective aspect, and passive voice. It is also this sense that is associated with at least one analysis of the perfect tense/aspect: that of the result-state perfect.

3.5.1 Resultatives as Deadjectival Verbs

Since a resultant state is the distinguishing component of a resultative, it serves to reason that verbs that incorporate states should enact resultative expression primitively. Because deadjectival verbs are derived from states, it can be asserted that deadjectival verbs carry within them the combined effect of the two expressions: the state and the verbal expression that renders that state. Such a premise relies on the idea that there are in deep structure verbal primitives which can combine with nominal reference to effect a single lexeme. Hence a verb like *flatten* is compositional in nature, being realized from an adjectival base, *flat*, and a process that maps it onto an event structure that is itself realized in the ending *-en*.

The candidacy for what can and cannot make a compositional resultative is discussed at length in Levin and Rappaport (1995: 34-41). They provide convincing evidence that the makeup of a resultative is a semantic-syntactic mapping process that can be mediated through the interface of two factors. One is the semantic category that a given verb falls into, determined by what type of eventuality it effects and the argument structure it maintains. The other is a syntactic constraint they designate as the direct object restriction or DOR. It dictates that a resultative construction is predicated on the presence of an underlying direct object, specifically that in those resultatives that have an adjective as a secondary predicate, that adjective be predicated only of a direct object. Under this constraint, it becomes clear why any transitive verb that can effect a change-of-state can take part in a resultative construction. The presence of an accusative object will fulfill the DOR both in active and passive formations.

(45) a. active transitive sentence   *Jack swept **the floor** clean*

   b. passive transitive sentence   ***The floor** was swept clean*

It also explains why verbs that do not take a direct object, such as unergative verbs, are not candidates for forming secondary predicate resultatives.

(46) *Jack laughed hoarse

When we apply the DOR to other resultative constructions, we see that the restriction can characterize them with equal grammaticality. Thus, the resulting eventuality in a deadjectival verb paraphrases the one made by a secondary predicate resultative. We can see this in the way the distribution of deadjectival verbs parallels that of transitive and unaccusative clauses. Like any transitive verb, the deadjectival verb can fulfill the DOR.

(47) a. active transitive sentence   *Rolph flattened **the box**.*

   b. passive transitive sentence   ***The box** was flattened.*

The sentences in (46) and (47) necessitate a grammatical subject assigned an AGENT role, whether that role is stated or not; viz., the passive constructions, like all true passives, are still agentive despite the lack of an overt agent. Furthermore, all of these sentences illustrate the link between resultatives and those events that can be called causative. Because the resulting state is specified, namely that of 'being flat', the action that yields it must be a transformation, and therefore the AGENT is the causer of the transformation.

   The ability of the DOR to characterize resultatives extends to non-agentive sentences as well. Since the rule specifies a *minimal* requirement, it is equally fulfilled in sentences with a minimal argument structure, as long at that argument structure contains a direct object. In (48) we can see the same deadjectival verb *flatten* as used above, but unlike the sentences in (47), the example cannot imply an agent.

(48) middle intransitive sentence   ***The box** flattened.*

I have used the designation 'middle' here to strike a contrast with the active and passive dichotomy in (47). In this example a deadjectival resultative resists easy categorization in either of the standard voices, so a term like middle is felicitous to discern not only qualities of diathesis but also of agentivity. What we are left with then is a distinction that can better define those predicate types that have heretofore borne different labels, not least of which is inchoative, a term that directly describes the sentence in (48).

3.5.2 Redefining Inchoativity

The criteria we have used thus far to characterize deadjectival resultatives would seem to be an adequate template to describe Gothic -*nan* verbs in the majority of cases. To be sure, my analysis is indeed a reapplication of the so-called inchoative theory as labeled by Suzuki et al., but it is a recasting within the narrower semantics of resultativity as I have introduced it. In order to address the problems associated with this theory, it is imperative that I qualify what I take to be an inchoative and how that particular term should be used regarding -*nan* verbs.

One of the inadequacies of using a term like "inchoative" is that predicates it applies to describe not one but a series of aspectual events. The best known instantiation of this form is in reference to a set of verbs in Latin making use of the *-sḱe-/-sḱo-* present formant. Verbs showing this morpheme indeed seem to be characterized by a relationship between a subject and a state; but the nature of the derivation does not have a prescribed aspectual requirement. Hence, a Latin inchoative can include verbs that are …

(49)   a. Denominal - entrance into a state associated with a noun, (*start to) become* [noun]
         flōrescō 'I start to blossom', from *flōs, flōris* n., 'blossom'

       b. Deadjectival - entrance into a state associated with an adjective, *become* [adjective]
         i. ***senescō*** 'I become old', from *senex* adj. 'old (aged)' or idem n. 'old man'
         ii. ***rubescō*** 'I become red' / 'I redden' / 'I blush', from *ruber* adj. 'red'

       c. Deverbal - entrance into a state where the action of the verb obtains, *start to* [verb]
         i. ***crēscō*** 'I come into being' / 'I grow up', from *creō* 'I create' / 'I bring forth'
         ii. ***amāscō*** 'I start to love' / 'I fall in love', from *amō* 'I love'
         iii. ***arescō*** 'I become dry' / 'I dry up', from *areō* 'I am dry', 'I am thirsty'

As is typical in such cases, classical conceptions are laid over phenomena that may share

qualities only in part with the original. When Egge (1886) first applied the term inchoative to the

-*nan* class of Gothic, he did so as a stopgap. It denoted what is a widespread feature of the -*nan*

class in its relation to states, especially the sense in (49b) of *become* [adjective]; yet as he notes,

> I have repeatedly called the verbs treated of in this paper by the name "inchoative."... *Many*
> of the verbs that we have been considering correspond exactly to the so-called inchoative
> verbs in Latin. (1886: 45)

The italics on *Many* were added by Suzuki to frame the measure of ambiguity that lies in

the term, for which Egge himself surmised: "some better name might probably be devised."

While there are some semantic parallels between the Gothic -*nan* class and the Latin -*sc*- type,

e.g., they both describe eventive predicates, the two are distinct, not only in showing unrelated

morphology, but in scope of usage. The Latin type includes as one reading that illustrated in

(49c), the deverbal sense *begin to* [verb] that typifies certain perfectivized intransitives. This

intransitive type *is* frequently expressed in aspectual terms, notably in those languages families

where aspect is expressed grammatically, such as in Baltic and Slavic; cf. certain Russian

inchoatives made by perfective affixation. Note that in Russian this process of inchoativization

can occur with unergative verbs such as those in (50).

(50) a. бежать (*bežat'*) 'to run'

   → по-бежать (*po-bežat'*) 'to start running / to break into a run'

   b. смеяться (*smejat'sja*) 'to laugh'

   → за-смеяться (*za-smejat'sja*) 'to start laughing / to burst out laughing'

This *start to* [verb] sense is one of several diagnostic expressions for inchoativity as a class. Since the Gothic, *-nan* verb never expresses *start to* [verb], it is prudent to seek another way to classify it.

Another issue at hand is whether the *-nan* class does indeed consist of only eventive predicates, as opposed to stative ones. The difference can be seen as an alternation between the eventive *become* [adjective] reading that typifies most *-nan* verbs and a competing stative reading in the style of *be* [adjective] that has been proposed for a small number of tokens, including *weihnan* 'be(come) hallowed'. The presence of such essive verbs would suggest the existence of an atelic variant within the *-nan* category that deviates from a telic norm; i.e, these verbs would not necessitate any entailment of a previous event, complete or otherwise. Instead, they would constitute a form akin semantically to Latin essives of the type *valeō* 'I am hale / I am victorious'. Such a variant interpretation is problematic if we seek to find a uniform syntactic process that generates the *-nan* type.

The identification of resultative forms outside of English is informed by the general criteria we have laid out above, but as Dahl (1985) notes, measurements that pay heed to on the concepts of emphasis and focus are inconsistent and not as well formalized as those that show the more directly demonstrated argument structure of an agent and its governed objects. In view of this, we can use typological considerations to approach a *-nan* form based solely on the components that make it up, namely the derivational process that takes a root state and realizes it a transformational verb.

I take the semantic makeup of the *-nan* type to be of the form enumerated in Ferraresi (2005), itself drawn from a well-known template found in Dowty (1979: §2.1.3) and recapitulated in Abusch and Rooth (1990):

(51) λxλe.BECOME(P)(x)(e)

BECOME(P)(x)(e) = 1 iff   P(x)(init(e)) = 0   &   P(x)(fin(e)) = 1

where init(e) and fin(e) are the initial and final parts of e.

That is, a propositional argument x can be said to undergo a transformative event if, at the initiation of the event, x is in a given state (0), and at the end of the event, x is in a separate state, (1). This straightforward formula uses the concept of a verbal primitive to indicate transformation, represented by the operator BECOME. The primitive works on a deep structure level; it encodes the mapping process of a derivation that sees a transformation in event structure and hence we can paraphrase: the UNDERGOER (x) is at a state (0) at the beginning of an event, and has transgressed a statal border such that it is in a different state (1) at the end. The persistence or quality of the final state is not specified, only the transformation that precedes it, but because that transformation has a finite end-point, it is telic.

The use of verbal primitives is a common frame that underpins, among others, Harbert's syntactic transformation that relies on much the same principle, reproduced here as (52).

(52)   allai **gaqiunand**   (1Cr 15:22)

– all will become alive

– πάντες ζῳοποιηθήσονται.

S [Subj [S [Subj [allai] qi*wai*]] BECOME]   →   BECOME [all alive]

A catalogue of primitives can readily serve for typological analyses of event structure, with operators like BECOME serving as the essential eventive, BE as the essential stative, and other proposed operators like CAUSE and DO implementing various activity outcomes. But such a use

83

then raises questions of lexical validity, namely what connection do such hypothetical primitives have to the actual verbs *become*, *be*, *make*, etc. that can emerge at spell-out? While such questions are worthy of study, the scope of this analysis is better served by leaving the operator as an abstract one. It is to this end that Embick (2004) favors the term fientive as a way to characterize the eventual operator that Dowty (1979) had previously labeled inchoative. This is the same deadjectival fientive as defined by Haspelmath (1993), adapted here into an abstract that maps properties of individual states onto properties of events that render those states.

The fientive operator can then be represented not by a primitive like BECOME but by an abstracted transformer [FIENT] that effects the same statal transposition. Why is this better? The fientive does not contain any of the historical ambiguities or lexical problems associated with a term like inchoative. Furthermore we can qualify its syntactic behavior with finite criteria:

(i.) a fientive is de-statal. Corresponding to the intransitive resultative, it specifies the entrance into an explicit state via a derivational operator. For this reason, fientives characterize English deadjectival verbs such as *flatten* and *awaken* when they are used intransitively.

(ii.) a fientive is telic. Its event structure is such that it is a type of bounded predicate, with the left (initial) boundary of an explicit state serving as a finite endpoint for the eventuality. So too, *the box flattened* and *the guard awakened* are telic, showing the finite end of an action upon attainment of the explicit states *flat* and *awake*.

(iii.) a fientive is unaccusative; it maintains a structure that conforms to Perlmutter's unaccusative hypothesis (1978) such that the single argument is generated internal to the verbal phrase and undergoes movement to a subject position. This unaccusative event structure contributes to the unagentive quality of fientives, precluding any AGENT theta role from being assigned to the subjects in *the box flattened* and the *guard awakened* and instead tracing events that are best described as happening spontaneously or without volitional force.

3.6 SUMMARY

In section 2.4, I critique certain parts of Suzuki's hypothesis. The overarching theme of his treatment is that the *n*-suffix (as well as the *þ*-suffix) has become a universal marker of detransitivization in Germanic. The *n*-suffix is implicated not only in the *-nan* class of intransitive verbs, but also in the past participles of strong verbs as well as in certain action nouns derived from verbs. What emerges is the first of four systems analyzed in this section: one in which detransitivization is a motivating factor in the development of new, derivational types in Germanic. To be sure, isolating the widespread use of an *n*-suffix is a significant observation, and the semantic commonality between these morphemes – especially between that of the *-nan* verb and the past participle – will play a role in the following sections.

However, Suzuki's treatment has some problems. One is a matter of development. For detransitivization to work, one must posit a transitive form to start from. This form is usually taken to be a causative *-jan* verb, but the semantics of some *-nan* verbs do not seem to correspond to a causative counterpart. A second is a matter of exclusivity. Suzuki's system does not readily account for those instances where a *-jan* verb is, in fact, intransitive. If a *-jan* verb can be derived such that context can yield intransitivity, why have a *-nan* form at all? Furthermore, there is the unaddressed issue of inherently reflexive verbs in Gothic, an innovated use of the reflexive that does not co-index a subject as object, but instead carries simply intransitive meaning. This construction is frequently associated with unaccusative predicates that carry an UNDERGOER subject, such as German *Die Tür öffnet sich*, and French, *La porte s'ouvre.*

At this point, I bring in three other approaches that attempt to account for more of the facts. Ferraresi's (2005) system focuses specifically on the rise of the reflexive middle as a new expression of diathesis within Germanic. She upholds the concept of a 'middle' as a third expression of voice outside of a polar active ~ passive dichotomy. This 'middle' is characterized

as an unaccusative category where the action of the predicate devolves on the subject

(underlyingly object) of the clause. In this system, the *-nan* verb represents an older category of

middle intransitives that can be characterized as having spontaneous realization, engaging in a

causative ~ anticausative dynamic, and not expressing an agent. The reflexive middle then comes

to represent the 'new' middle to which the older *-nan* type is giving way, one that is not realized

spontaneously, does not necessarily engage in a causative ~ anticausative dynamic, and can

express an agent.[14]

Ottosson's (2013) treatment is very similar, though he focuses on a typological treatment

of the so-called *-na-* verb as it appears in Old Norse and Old West Germanic. He frames the

development of these verbs as a general trend in markedness, that is, some languages are

valence-increasing such that the marked developments tend to make verbs transitive, adding

arguments. Other languages are valence-decreasing such that the marked developments tend to

make verbs intransitive, taking arguments away. It is in this category that he places the *-na-* verbs

of North and West Germanic and the *-nan* verbs of Gothic. This categorization then divorces the

-nan verb from the idea of an inchoative by making it unconstrained by aspect. That is, while a

pure inchoative is generally marked perfective, the *-nan* verb is simply an anticausative, with no

expression of aspect whatsoever. This allows for either a *become* [state] or *be* [state] reading.

In section 2.2.4, I propose that Ferraresi and Ottosson's analyses are not in conflict, as

certainly they come to a similar conclusion but from different angles. In truth, they are

themselves outbranchings of Suzuki's treatment in that they position the *-nan* verb within a

system of valence-decrease (which is synonymous with detransitivization). The primary

difference is that Ottosson's perception of anticausativization is not necessarily linked to the *-jan*

verbs, even though they are the predominant causative type in Gothic. Instead, typological data

---

14 This "giving way" is meant to typify a pattern for greater Germanic, not Gothic per se in which the number of *-nan*
verbs far exceeds those of true reflexive middles. The proportions are reversed in all other Germanic languages.

suggest that the *-nan* types, while often having *-jan* counterparts, are not derivationally linked to them. The other important factor argued by Ferraresi is that the *-nan* verbs, whatever their inherent meaning, are marked in a way that is dis-preferred, giving rise to competing forms such as the reflexive middle, which comes to dominate the mode of expressing spontaneous action outside of Gothic.

It is at this juncture that I propose my own analysis in terms of resultativity. It is not my goal to contest that the *-nan* verbs of Gothic are not valence-decreasing, because this is evident. Nor is it prudent to suggest that the *-nan* verbs are not in competition with reflexive middles, since clearly they are. What I propose rather is a system that incorporates features included in all the other systems in a way which I believe accounts for various facts in the most uniform way. I propose that the underlying structure of a *-nan* verb is that of a resultative: a class of verbs whose argument structure incorporates not only an object-raised-to-subject, but the inclusion of a separate argument in the form of a [state]. This draws a direct parallel between a *-nan* verb like *fullnan* and an English resultative in the shape of intransitive *flatten*. Intrinsic to the semantics of both verbs is an entailed state: *full* and *flat*. Furthermore, I propose that aspect *is* a persistent feature of *-nan* verbs, and that the *n*-suffix is an inheritance characterized by aspect-sensitivity that is still present in Gothic. It is thus a dis-preference for aspectual markedness that gives rise to alternative modes of expressing intransitivity/resultativity.

In the next chapter, I seek to expound on the resultative expression, qualifying the features not only of the *-nan* verb but of the same *n*-marked participle referenced by Suzuki. I can thereby provide evidence for a wider, resultative system within Germanic. I also expound on the perfective nature of the *-nan* verb and provide a thorough examination of those *-nan* examples that would seem to show imperfective (ongoing) aspect. My intent is to show that *-nan* verbs are, as a whole, destatal, drawing from bases that are more adjectival than verbal. Furthermore, I

show that the use of *-nan* verbs in context overwhelmingly indicates class-wide perfectivity. The

effect of this is that seeming counterexamples are at most measures of aspectual ambiguity.

CHAPTER 4

QUALITIES OF -*nan* VERBS

In order to find a working model for the *-nan* class, it is useful to establish its invariant qualities. Guxman's (1964) description of the *-nan* class as a whole can be paraphrased thus:

1. It takes a grammatical subject which is the logical object of the verb's action

2. The grammatical subject is not an agent; it does not instigate the verb's action

3. The action is intransitive   (75: Note 12)

While this roster is useful, we can get a better perspective on generative phenomena if we attend to an expanded criteria set for *-nan* verbs that includes the outstanding semantics of a predicate type that is seemingly fientive with some tokens being ambiguous. That is, if they can carry a possible stative reading, will they also carry a fientive one?

What follows is a hypothesis that the fientive reading of a *-nan* verb is the default reading, and that any interpretation of a *-nan* verb that is aspectually ambiguous is not rendered by a competing type, but by a variation on this default. Viewing the fientive type as the semantic primitive is not unreasonable. Aside from its being characterized by numerous scholars this way, such an approach allows us to create a model based on the greatest number of attestations.

4.1 The *-nan* Class and Deadjectival Verbs: Defining Fientivity

Of the types listed in (49) it is again b, the *become* [adjective] category that is the strongest

candidate for assigning a fientive value to the *-nan* class. What opposes this selection is the

notion that the point of derivation need not always be an adjective. For many of the *-nan* verbs

there is a corresponding verb that is presumed to act as a base. It is either a primary verb or one

of the verbs in the first weak class, itself a derived category in which the relevant opposition to a

-nan fientive is a deadjectival causative of the type *cause to become* [adjective]. And while

various lists of criteria describing *-nan* verbs cite the seemingly innate relation of these

predicates to factitive verbs of the first weak class, it is traditionally considered untenable to say

that *-nan* predicates are themselves either exclusively deverbal or deadjectival. The position of

various grammars follows suit, calling the class deadjectival only at times, but primarily

deverbal. Thus, Streitberg (1897):

> Sie sind zu starken Verben oder zu Adjectiven gebildet. a) Zu starken Verben gehören: and-
> bundnan 'erlöst werden' (bindan), ga-þaúrsnan 'verdorren' (þairsan), us-gutnan 'vergossen
> werden' (giutan), af-lifnan 'übrig bleiben' (bi-leiban), ga-skáidnan 'sich scheiden' (skáidan)
> usw. b) Von Adjectiven sind abgeleitet ga-qiunan 'aufleben' (qius), ga-háilnan 'geheilt
> werden' (háils), gábignan 'reich werden' (gábigs) usw.   (section
> 219)

Concurrent sentiment is given by Krause (1968).

> Die zu Kl. IV gehörigen Verba sind teils deverbativ, teils denominativ.

And by Braune (2004).

> Die Verben werden meistens (und ursprünglich) von starken Verben abgeleitet, seltener
> von Adjektiven.

While there is credence to supposing free selection of derivation, the fast association with

causative *-jan* verbs tempts one to propose a derivational relationship in which *-nan* verbs come

from those types directly. Thus Suzuki (1989 §3.6.2) is comfortable calling the entire *-nan* class deverbal in synchrony: stemming either from strong verbs outright, or from causative *-jan* verbs which are themselves deadjectival. This provides Suzuki a way to frame his theory of object-to-subject promotion within a purely verbal space. Thus there is no need to account for the relation of a verb to an underlying state, a sure reason why he takes steps to undermine the "inchoative" generalization of this class. In Suzuki's schema the only outliers are extant denominal types that have no clear association with a transitive verb. These include two verbs associating with nouns, *gafrisahtnan* 'take shape' (*frisahts* 'picture') and *gagawairþnan* 'be(come) reconciled' (*gagawairþi* 'peace'), and a small set of "deponent" *-nan* verbs associated only with an adjective, e.g. *afdumbnan* 'become still' (*dumbs* 'still, dumb').[15] Thus the breakdown is in two: a majority of *-nan* tokens that have a causative comparandum in a transitive *-jan* form, and a remainder (40 of the 190 attestations: 20%) that are seemingly derived from strong verbs.

This grouping makes a tidy verbal category that can avail itself of established syntactic motivations, such as unaccusative object-to-subject raising. However, it poses a semantic problem in regard to the *-nan* verb relation to strong verbs. Strong verbs are underived and therefore do not necessarily associate with a state that can be entered into or maintained. The *-nan* predicates that tentatively correspond, however, still show the *become* [state] derivation. An example of the disjunct can be seen in a strong verb like *dishniupan* 'tear (smtg.) apart'. In classical terms, an inchoative built to a transitive verb like this would be an initiative, *begin to tear* (something). For the assumed *-nan* corespondent, *dishnupnan*, the meaning certainly does not have the initializing force because it does not maintain transitivity.

---

15 The figurative use of the term 'deponent' to indicate verbs without a transitive variant is found in Ottosson (2014: 334). He provides the full list to include *afdobnan* 'become silent' (presumably via *dumbs*, 'silent'), *minznan* 'diminish' (*mins* 'less'), *urrumnan* 'be(come) open' (*rums* 'roomy'), *infeinan* 'have pity' (no attested base), *ganipnan* 'be(come) sorrowful' (no attested base), and *gastaurknan* 'wither' (no attested base).

Instead, like all of the other *-nan* verbs, it shows categorical intransitivity, and is taken as the consummate fientive 'become torn' or the pointedly telic 'become torn apart'.

These facts favor the treatment in the grammars above, wherein the class is not strictly deverbal even in synchrony, but can productively take its shape from (presumably) any nominal or verbal base. In the case of the latter, though, it is always subject to a constraint on transitivity which somehow yields the *be(come)* [state] reading. It is this link between intransitivity and fientive semantics that has to be accounted for. Harbert's generative transformation earned censure precisely because he did not account for the tokens with strong verb bases, instead assuming that adjectives acted as the de facto bases to which the operator *become* is applied. Needless to say, such adjectives are unavailable when the base is an underived verb.

At the same time, there is little doubt that the [state] exists, even if it is not an out-and-out adjective. Such can be seen in the example of *distairan* 'tear (smtg.) apart' and *brikan* 'break', to which we find *-nan* corresponders in *distaurnan* 'become torn apart' and *usbruknan*, 'become broken'. Before derivation, the semantic character of the transitive verb is indelibly linked to an abstract state, one that is made concrete in the expression of a perfective participle. The reason for the link is because verbs like *tear* and *break* are natively telic. The imposed endpoint triggers a resultative entailment of a state: *torn apart* and *broken*. It is these states, whether abstract or overt, that provide the best vector for developing the attested fientives *become torn apart* and *become broken.*

Others have recognized that this seemingly abstract state must be accounted for. Lambdin (2006) frames the *-nan* constraint on intransitivity in these terms, noting that, "these verbs are derived variously from nominal, adjectival, and verbal bases and always denote entering into the particular state indicated by the lexical base" (pg. 130). What presents itself is a view of this verb class that is opposite to a purely deverbal system and aligned more, at least semantically, with a

deadjectival system. By acknowledging that an underlying [state] always exists, and by affirming that the lexical value of these forms consistently relates an action to that [state], it is logical to recast the derivation of the -*nan* verbs as destatal.

What follows here is a brief explanation in which I argue that they are, in fact, destatal. This point of argument is not necessary to validate the resultative nature of -*nan* verbs. There is no rule that says a resultative predicate must be based on an attested state, only that an underlying state be present, whether it is an adjective or an abstract semantic unit that behaves like one. But claiming that Gothic -*nan* verbs are destatal grants us two advantages. One is that it unifies the 4th weak class within a single derivational category. There is no doubt that the -*jan* class is multivalent since it represents multiple derivational entities inherited from the parent language. This leads to clear extraction from verbal and nominal bases, with respective readings of *cause to* [verb], and *cause to become* [adjective/noun]. However, in contrast to the larger distribution of -*jan* verbs, the -*nan* class is notably narrower, implying that its modes of production are comparatively limited.

The more salient advantage is that viewing the -*nan* verbs as destatal lends economy to a theory of their development, removing the hypothetical 'middle stages' one must entertain wherein a verbal base first undergoes 'stativization', and then undergoes re-verbalization into a -*nan* predicate. Instead one can postulate bases that correspond to, or share features with, actual adjectival forms available in the language. Standing beside what would seem to be straightforward verbal bases such as *brikan,* which entails an associated state of *being broken*, one finds more problematic verbs like *giutan*, 'pour' which is not ostensibly telic and so has no entailment of a state resulting from reaching an end point. This means that when speakers derive a -*nan* form, *usgutnan* 'become poured out', they must first engage an intermediary stage where

an abstract state [poured out] serves as the base for the overtly telic *-nan* form.[16] By positing

destatal status for this class, we can eliminate that intermediary stage and suppose that a given

-nan form derives from a common adjectival state, namely whatever state is used to also derive

perfective participles.

4.2 *-nan* VERBS AND PERFECTIVE PARTICIPLES

Already Ferraresi (2005) implicates the perfective participle as a likely conduit between strong

verbs and their *-nan* counterparts. Citing analyses of cognate *-na* verbs outside of Gothic,

including Haider (1997) for German and Sigurðsson (1989) for North Germanic, Ferraresi notes

that the transformation that yields participial morphology is a de-agentivizing process. So any

-nan verbs derived from participles have already undergone de-agentivization and cannot do so

again.[17] When participles readily become candidates for *-nan* verb formation, the landscape of

the class as a whole becomes much more uniform, orienting the 4th class as comprising true

fientives derivable from any state-denoting entity. The often-noted fact that *-nan* verbs and

participles share the same ablaut grade becomes suddenly significant, indicating that zero-grade

roots may not only signal derivational categories, but a common method of derivation itself.

Table 2 below lists the *-nan* predicates purportedly derived from strong verbs. Of the 12

individual verbal bases, eight attest a perfective participle or have an adjective associated with

them.[18]

---

16 Expressions of perfectivity, including in this case semantic expressions of telicity, are often associated with preverbs in Gothic. These prepositional entities have values similar to those of prepositions in English phrasal verbs, e.g. *eat* vs. *eat up*. There is no version of *giutan* with a preverb akin to *usgutnan*. This in and of itself is not enough to prove that *giutan* is atelic, or even that it has any aspectual shading at all; but it does suggest it.

17 One might be tempted to ask what causes de-agentivization in those *-nan* verbs not derived from participles. The answer implicates a link between the participial morphology and the *-na-* morphology such that both transformations are de-agentivizing. They accomplish a single task in different areas: one creates verbal adjectives and the other, fientive verbs. The fact that one transformation can build on another simply affirms a vector of derivation with the same constraints. The inability to form perfective participles to *-nan* verbs is a constraint on back-formation, i.e. it would be impossible in Gothic to make a state from a verb that is itself made from a state.

18 Suzuki (1989: 29-41) argues convincingly that past participles in Gothic (read Germanic) should be lexically categorized as full adjectives based on the properties of inflectional endings, agreement, attributive functions, predicative functions and their candidacy for forming comparatives, substantives, and deadjectival abstract nouns. (section 2.3-2.7)

The lack of attested participles for the remaining four verbal bases is, given the limited size of the Gothic corpus, not overly significant.

Table (2): *-nan* Verbs Corresponding to Underived Verbs[19]

strong verb (underived)	attested participle	*-nan* verb (derived)
*disskreitan** 'tear apart'		*disskritnan** 'be(come) torn apart'
*weihan** 'hallow, consecrate'	*weih-* adj. 'holy'	*weihnan** 'be(come) holy'
*giutan** 'pour'	-gutana (attested as *ufargutana*)	*usgutnan** 'be(come) poured out'
*galukan** 'close'	-lukanai (attested as *uslukanai*)	*galuknan** 'be(come) closed'
*uslukan** 'open'	-lukanai (attested as *uslukanai*)	*usluknan** 'be(come) opened'
*fraliusan** 'lose'	*fralusans*	*fralusnan** 'be(come) lost'
andbindan 'unbind'	-bundans (*gabundans, bibundans*)	*andbundnan** 'be(come) unbound'
*gaþairsan** 'wither'	*gaþaursana* (only attestation of *gaþairsan*)	*gaþaursnan** 'be(come) withered'
*brikan** 'break'	-brukano (attested as *gabrukano*)	*usbruknan** 'be(come) broken off'
*distairan** 'tear apart' (trans)	-tauran (attested as *gatauran*)	*distaurnan** 'be(come) torn apart'
gatairan 'tear down' (trans)	-tauran (attested as *gatauran*)	*gataurnan** 'be(come) torn away, vanish'
*aukan** 'increase'		*auknan** 'be(come) increased'
*biaukan** 'add to'		*biauknan* 'be(come) increased, abound'
*letan** 'leave'		*andletnan* 'be(come) dead, die'
*gaskaidan** 'withdraw'		*gaskaidnan** 'be(come) divorced'

What we are left with is a perspective on *-nan* derivation that does not relate these verbs to verbal bases. Hence, the presence or absence of another verb is not a prerequisite for a *-nan* verb to occur. For those *-nan* predicates for which there is no verbal base, it need not be assumed that these verbs are simply unattested as it is equally valid to assume that they may not have existed at all or, more to the point, that their existence is not guaranteed by the attestation of a *-nan* verb.

Where then does this analysis leave the causative-anticausative relationship? Even if it can be hypothesized that *-nan* verbs do not derive from underived strong verbs, the argument can still

---

19 Sometimes included in this list is the alternation of strong verb *wakan* 'be aware, watch' ~ *waknan** 'be(come) awake, awaken'. But since a *-jan* verb is also attested in *uswakjan** 'wake (smn.) up', it is more likely in the traditional reckoning to see a derivational relationship between *wakjan** ~ *waknan**, with both of these stemming from the original strong verb.

be made that they stem in greater part from the derived weak verbs of the first class, the deadjectival *-jan* predicates. Of the 61 attested *-nan* verbs, 32 (52%) stand beside a *-jan* causative that could be said to act as a base from which the *-nan* verb is derived. Here too we can reflect on the evident associations shown in table (2) that denote relation to a state. By its defining semantics, a causative-anticausative system involving deadjectival *-jan* verbs sees them as derived from adjectives in such a way as to form causatives.[20] An appeal to economy suggests it is far more likely that the *-jan* and *-nan* classes are not bound in a base-derivative relationship at all but instead form a cooperative destatal system: one in which statal bases can stand in a causal ~ anticausal relationship but in which such correspondence is not mandatory, the one member of a pair not requiring the other to exist.

Viewing the *-nan* morphology as a destatal marker is not applicable only to Gothic. We can expand our general assumption with typological evidence within Germanic. Old Icelandic also retained a productive class of nasal verbs, manifest as a parallel class to those in Gothic and representing equally Egge's so-called 'inchoative' semantics. As Sigurðsson (1989) (apud Ferraresi 117) states, the productive course of these verbs did not continue into Modern Swedish where instances of the *-na* class have been completely lexicalized. Though unlike the rarer lexicalized tokens of *-na* suffixation in West Germanic, cf. German *lernen*, Swedish verbs do maintain unobfuscated *become* [state] readings and can still be consistently identified by a nasal suffix. In Modern Icelandic however, the class is not lexicalized, and as such is productive on any base that provides a statal component.

---

20 The class of *-jan* verbs as it appears in Gothic is made up of several types historically, aggregating discrete forms that fell together for phonological reasons. There is a small number of underived verbs in *-jan,* including *waurkjan* 'work', but the vast majority of *-jan* verbs have a predominantly causative semantics, deriving from verbs, *satjan* 'cause to sit, set' (from *sitan* 'sit'), from nouns, *matjan* 'eat, feed' (from *mats* 'food'), and from adjectives, *fulljan* 'make full' (from *fulls* 'full'). For this reason, I characterize the *-jan* class as generally causative.

(53) a. adjective   **full**   Þeir **fylla** bátinn$_{ACC}$ Bátinn$_{NOM}$ **fyllir**   (via **fulln-*)

                 full   They fill boat-the   Boat-the fills/becomes full

     b. participle   **brað-in**   Ég **bræði** málminn$_{ACC}$ málmurinn$_{ACC}$ **bráðnar**

                 melted   I melt metal-the   Metal-the melts/becomes melted

The question that presents itself is whether this destatal vector in Icelandic represents the original state of affairs, or rather a streamlining of the facts, an innovated constraint that limited to one category what may have been an equal opportunity development from both verbs and adjectives. Given the alignment with the Gothic evidence, it seems clear that the burden of proof must lie on arguments that posit verbal derivation. In the case of strong verbs, the necessity of having an intermediate state to render a *-nan* verb implicates such a state as the point of origin. Such a state is readily visible in the perfective participle. Icelandic shows just such a system in production, readily forming *-na* verbs to adjectives and perfective participles. In the case of weak, causative verbs, the prevailing economy would be to assume that both the causative and anticausative participants in a causal system are commonly derived, and not that one would be derived from another. This applies even in synchrony because independent derivation explains clearly why either participant in just such a causal system can (and does) appear without a partner.

4.3 SECTION SUMMARY: DESTATAL AND DEADJECTIVAL

At this juncture, it is important that I clarify a principle that I have laid out in the previous

section. I was careful to use phrases like 'adjectival element' and 'statal component' to reference

those bases from which *-nan* verbs derive, calling them not deadjectival but *destatal*. That is, I do

not propose that these bases are lexical items at all but are instead syntactic items. Hence I

propose that *-nan* verbs are not derived from any noun, adjective or verb but that their bases

share the same underlying components within structural grammar that provide the statal source

of adjectives and participles. My intent is to propose a common source of statal entities within

Gothic. Adjectives are the 'purest' form of this statal source because they represent the least

degree of derivation. The past passive participle is derived from verbs inasmuch as the verb is

'stativized' so as to be distributed in a way identical to an adjective. The *-nan* verb then

constitutes the verbalization of this common base. The reason for arranging things this way will

be made clear in chapter 5, where I hypothesize a structural model that incorporates these statal

bases and where I propose variations on that model, that – depending on the environment – yield

either an adjectival outcome (past passive participle) or a verbal outcome (a *-nan* verb).

4.4 STATAL SEMANTICS: THE *aukan** SYSTEM

Positing a statal base for -*nan* verbs warrants evidence that they maintain traits of an underlying [state]. Finding such characteristics would lend credence to the idea that a -*nan* verb is, in fact, statal in its underlying structure; or – more specifically – that, if the construction of a -*nan* verb is compositional in nature, that it is a state that constitutes one of its bases of derivation. To validate this hypothesis, one would need to find an instance where the translator selected a -*nan* form over some other available candidate in a similar context. An ideal example would show optionality between two forms, with the fientive being chosen in order to denote the attainment of a state.

Just such examples can be found in the various attestations of *aukan**, an underived verb with a stem meaning generally 'increase', *cf.* the Latinate stem in *aug-,* viz. *augment*. Because it contains both a -*nan* form and an inherited mediopassive, the set of *aukan* variants has provided scholars a laboratory in which to discern semantic distinctions between the fientive category and the passive one. For this reason, this set can be said to form a tri-part 'system' of agentivity, made up of a basic verb that takes an agent, a passive verb that entails one, and a -*nan* form that lacks one completely. The *aukan** system contributes a fourth point of comparison in that the base verb can be either transitive or intransitive. (54) below shows the active forms within the system.

(54) a. jah qeþun apaustauleis du fraujin: **biauk** uns galaubein. (Lk 17:5)

— καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῷ κυρίῳ, **πρόσθες** ἡμῖν πίστιν.

— and said the apostles to the Lord, **increase** our faith.

b. ᴮei swaswe andnemuþ at uns hwaiwa skuluþ gaggan jah galeikan guda, swa[swe]

jah gaggaiþ jah **gaaukaiþ** mais.   (1Th 4:1)

— ἵνα καθὼς παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν τὸ πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀρέσκειν

θεῷ, καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε, ἵνα **περισσεύητε** μᾶλλον.

— that as you.PL have taken take from us how you.PL should go and please God, so

also go and **increase/abound** more.

(54a) shows a transitive form in the command *biauk* that takes a direct object. The meaning of

the verb can be inferred in a predictably transitive way, 'increase' or 'add to'. By contrast, (54b)

shows an intransitive form in *gaaukaiþ*, which takes no object and so can be inferred to mean

'increase' in the intransitive sense of 'abound' / 'flourish'. The examples in (55) show forms that

are not in active voice.

(55) a. in þizaiei mitaþ mitiþ, mitada izwis jah **biaukada** izwis þaim galaubjandam. (Mk 4:24)

— (BYZ) Ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν, καὶ **προστεθήσεται** ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.

— by which measure you.PL measure, it will be measured to you.PL and

multiplied for you.PL, those believing.

b. ᴮ jah auk taujiþ þata in allans broþruns in allai Makidonai; aþþan bidjam izwis,

broþrjus, **biauknan** mais   (1Th 4:10)

— καὶ γὰρ ποιεῖτε αὐτὸ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς [τοὺς] ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ μακεδονίᾳ.

παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, **περισσεύειν** μᾶλλον,

— and also you.PL do that for all brothers in all of Macedonian; but we bid you.PL,

brothers, to **increase/abound** more.

These examples contribute a point of discernment between a true passive and a fientive. (55a) shows what is clearly a transitive form that has undergone passive transformation, complete with an entailed agent, viz. God, the one who will be doling out and multiplying. (55b) does not have a clearly entailed agent. The exhortation for the brothers to increase is a paraphrase, a bidding for them to not only keep loving each other, but to increase in that love. Here we can utilize the laboratory of this system again, but instead of comparing the passive and fientive forms, we can compare the two intransitive forms of (54b) and (55b). The question to be asked is, given that an intransitive form in *(ga)aukan* exists, why utilize an equally intransitive *-nan* form? Part of the answer lies in the dual nature of the verb in the Greek *Vorlage* that underpins both examples. Not only does περισσεύω have transitive and intransitive meanings, the transitive one has causative semantics. According to Thayer (1889), the older version is the intransitive, 'abound / excel beyond measure', and the transitive is a later causative, 'cause to abound / multiply'. This 'causativization' is a derivation strategy that turns an intransitive into a transitive. This sort of strategy is certainly a staple of derivation in Germanic, cf. NHG *enden* 'end' → *beenden* 'cause to end'. So too implementing the preverb *bi-* would be a likely way to effect such semantics in Gothic, and would indeed yield the system components as we find them, an intransitive in *gaauk-* and a transitive variant in *biauk-*. Why, then, is the *-nan* form, a consummate intransitive, realized in *biauk-*?

This fits readily into the causative-anticausative alternation that has already been well established within Gothic, cf. Ottosson (2013). That is, we expect a *-nan* form to correspond to a *specifically* transitive form, and so Gothic innovates a third component into its 'system' of agentivity, one that is completely lacking in the Greek. As I have hypothesized, *-nan* verbs are destatal in their construction, deriving not from the transitive verb directly, but from a base

where the action of the verb, in this case, causing to abound, is realized as a completed state.[21] The fact that the translator has opted to use a *-nan* form, a form that does not correspond readily to a Greek verb, is significant. Given the nearly identical scenarios laid out in (54b) and (55b), I argue that the translator differentiated what he perceived to be semantic distinctions using modes of derivation available in Gothic.

In (54b), the exhortation is part of a serial verb construction, so 'go' and 'abound' form a single unit of action, equally intransitive. In (55b) however *biauknan* is not part of a serial verb construction, so it presents optionality for the translator. In this case, the preference is for a verb that denotes not merely 'increasing' but the attainment of a state, 'becoming increased'. What comes about is the same verb in Greek taking different semantic avenues in Gothic. A present active subjunctive in **περισσεύητε** becomes translated as 'may you abound' in (54b), and in (55b) the same verb, a present active infinitive in **περισσεύειν**, is translated as something like 'become abounding'.

Is there a way to validate this translation? Indeed, there is another instance of *biauknan* attested where the attained-state reading is persistent.

(56) [B] ei hwoftuli izwara biauknai in Xristau Iesu in mis þairh meinana qum aftra du izwis.

— ἵνα τὸ καύχημα ὑμῶν περισσεύῃ ἐν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς παρουσίας

πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.   (Ph 1:26)

— That your rejoicing **may be(come) more abundant** in Jesus Christ in me through my

returning to you.PL.

The verb **περισσεύῃ** is a present active subjunctive, the same as that used in (54b), **περισσεύητε**. As with the comparison above, we see the same optionality being carried out in a systematic

---

21 There is no attested perfective participle to *biaukan**, but with multiple attestations of the verb itself, this absence is – as noted in section section 2.2 – not overly significant to the destatal hypothesis. Furthermore, the overwhelming semantics of *be(come)* [state] in the *-nan* verbs implicates a statal base, whether it is attested or not.

way. *gaaukaiþ* acts as a bare intransitive, 'abound' with no indication of a state. As before, we can attribute this use to a need to coordinate 'abound' with 'go'. In (56), however, there is no such attribution and the default seems to be the *-nan* form. While the translation for (56) can be (and often is rendered) 'abound', it is clear that the Gothic translator has capitalized on some conceptual difference manifest in the two sentences, one that is not apparent in the Greek *Vorlage.* The compositional makeup of a fientive as we have posited it accounts for that difference.

4.5 ASPECTUAL SEMANTICS

The question of whether *-nan* verbs are telic is traditionally framed as a matter of perfectivity. Given ongoing debates about the presence of grammatical aspect in Gothic, expanded greatly in Lloyd (1979), it is prudent to specify that the quality of telicity in *-nan* predicates does not necessarily constitute an aspectual category. That is, there is no inflectional marker that can render a given Gothic predicate either perfective or imperfective. That being the case, there is little doubt that an inherent fientive category carries overt telic boundaries on its action. Contingent on the premise that *-nan* verbs are resultative predicates is the underpinning notion that they are change-of-state verbs. This state change, if a unified operation of the class as a whole, should manifest with telic properties.

4.5.1 Defining Telicity

Telicity is a property of events such that the eventuality specified by the predicate reaches a natural end point. I adopt Tenny's (1987) terminology of delimited telic to differentiate those situations where the endpoint is implied from those where it is specified overtly by a delimiter. A change-of-state verb should, by virtue of the progression of state intervals (one state terminating and another beginning), characterize a delimited telic. One way of describing such an event appeals to conceptions of boundedness, often used when describing aspectual eventualities, such

103

as the different roles of the perfect tense/aspect. So too, if we proceed with the definition of a fientive as a deadjectival change-of-state verb, we can apply the same framework to capture its transitional semantics. We can conceptualize a resultative as a bounded predicate wherein there is a transformation with a distinct left-boundary, an initiation point that marks the start of the transformation. See especially Comrie (1976), Dahl (2000), and Hopper and Traugott (2003). At the same time, we can specify that the same transformation is instantaneous. That is, it also includes a right-boundary or termination point that is concurrent with its starting point. This sort of expression is the same in perceived duration as the other category of inchoative verbs seen above, that of the *initiative*, an expression that can be abstracted as *start to* [verb]. The difference between the two is the type of eventuality being coordinated. By virtue of its abstraction, the *start to* [verb] inchoative coordinates the momentary starting event with a verbal action, i.e. the termination of the act of starting (its right-boundary) is concurrent with the initiation of the following verb (its left-boundary.). By contrast, the *become* [state] inchoative coordinates the momentary event with a state, one that persists in relevance in the narrative.

In the case of a deadjectival fientive, that terminus is the attainment of the state specified by the adjective. The question is, do only a majority of *-nan* verbs maintain this telicity, or is end-point boundedness categorical for the whole class? If the answer to the second alternative is yes, then we can position *-nan* formation within a larger frame of perfectivization. In structural terms, we can also propose that the generation of a *-nan* predicate involves a phrasal extension of aspect (AspP) – the same extension that presumably is the locus of inflectional morphology in Slavic and in perfective participles in Germanic (Embick, 1998; Pesetsky, 1996). What is normally termed *Aktionsart* or lexical aspect is not reliant on such an extension, with many verbs incurring eventualities that naturally terminate or that take delimiters that specify an endpoint. However, since there is no doubt that *-nan* verbs are universally derived, if they can be shown to

be universally telic as well, it would imply that they, like perfective participles, are subject to some process of perfectivization.

The odd thing is that this question is taken for granted by various scholars, both in the negative and the affirmative. While Suzuki acknowledges that the majority of *-nan* predicates are change-of-state, his rejection, following Guxman, of the so-called inchoative theory is based on a handful of examples that seem to defy a telic reading. This justifies his view that telicity (ersatz perfectivity) is a predominant feature of the class, but not a diagnostic one and thus should not play a part in *-nan* generation. On the other hand, the general acceptance of "inchoativity" by most grammars lends an assumption of telicity. It is just such a derivational assumption that underpins Lambdin's explanation as to why *-nan* verbs do not form "past" participles, namely, you cannot re-perfectivize what is already perfective (Lambdin 2006: 30).

4.5.2 Determining Telicity

While there are several tests for telicity, most rely on circumstances that are not present or uniform in Gothic. These include tests on argument structure that are most often used to distinguish atelic activities from delimited accomplishments, such as the use of adverbial modifiers *in* and *for,* e.g. *John ate pancakes in an hour* (telic) contrasted with *John ate pancakes for an hour* (atelic.). See Comrie (1976) and Dowty (1979). Nevertheless, we can still make a reasonable assertion of the verb class's *universal* perfectivity in two ways. The first is to make observations about the clause structures in which we find *-nan* verbs. The second is to assess lexical properties of the verbs themselves.

There is support for a telic view of *-nan* verbs given the criteria of Manfred Krifka's (1989) model of quantification. This model qualifies the observation by several scholars that often an activity and accomplishment are not differentiated by lexical value but by argument structure; see Mittwoch (1982). Put simply, if the object of the action is a single count noun, it is

typically an accomplishment, but if it is the object is a mass noun or plural, it is an activity.

Krifka extends this relation into coordination. His algebraic relation frames an action such that if

two events, x and y, can be described with the same predicate P, and in doing so the completion

of one necessitates the completion of the other, the events can be said to be telic.

(57) a. If x can be described by 'P', and y can also be described by 'P', then x is not a

           mereological proper part of y. (telic)

      b. John read a book in three hours and John read a book in two hours.

      c. John walked to the shore and John bought a book and John read a book.

(57b) uses an *in*-adverbial to show that both events are overtly telic. It entails that there are two

discrete events and two separate books. (57c) is structured the same way. Because each

coordinate is quantified the sentence entails three discrete events happening in a sequence with

none being a proper part of the other. By contrast, an action that is atelic can be framed such that

two events x and y can be described with the same predicate P, and in doing so the completion of

one is *concurrent* with that of the other.

(58) a. If x can be described as 'P', and y can also be described as 'P', then the mereological

           sum of x and y can also be described as 'P'. (atelic)

      b. John read for three hours and John read for two hours.

      c. John walked and John drank and John listened.

The use of a *for*-adverbial marks the coordinates in (58b) as atelic, and, as opposed to the

sentences in (58c), the coordinates are overtly lacking an entailment. One can infer that the acts

are happening concurrently, though it is not entailed. What quantification allows us to do then is

distinguish those instances where there is an entailment of discrete events and assert that they are

telic. (See Dowty 1979: 65-71). While amassing a handful of examples with such entailment

cannot characterize the *-nan* class as a whole, it can stake out a precedent of its use, showing that

such verbs do indeed prevail upon the translator in such circumstances as he wishes to express separate, completed events.

(59)   a.   jah sunsaiw **usluknodedun** imma hliumans, jah **andbundnoda** bandi

tuggons is jah rodida raihtaba.   (Mark 7:35)

And straightway his ears became opened , and the band of his tongue became unbound, and he spoke directly.

b.   … ik galeiþa, jah sokeiþ mik, jah in frawaurhtai izwarai **gadauþniþ**:   (Jn 8:21)

… I go my way, and you.PL will seek me, and in your sin you.PL will become dead.

c.   …**afdobn** jah usgagg us þamma …   (Lk 4:35)

… **Be(come) still** and come out of him …

d.   jah usstandands qam at attin seinamma. nauhþanuh þan fairra *wisan*dan gasahw ina

atta is jah **infeinoda** jah þragjands draus ana hals is jah kukida imma.   (Lk 15:20)

And standing up (he) came to his father. With his being still a far way off, his father saw him and **became compassionate**, and, running, fell upon his neck and kissed him.

These examples implicate -*nan* verbs in sequences of events where it is felicitous to read one as ending before another begins. Of particular note is (59d), which contains the verb *infeinan**, a verb that is often given a stative interpretation of *be* [compassionate]. Its use in this sequence of definitively completed actions militates against such a reading. Instead, it is clear that entering into a state of 'compassion' is a complete eventuality, with a finite beginning and end as dictated by its presence in the sequence of events: *his father saw him* (then) *became compassionate* (then) *fell upon his neck* (then) *kissed him*. Because the eventive nature of the context is so strong, I have translated the Gothic simply *became compassionate*, foregoing completely any alternate translation with *was*.

A more consistent way to show telicity is to examine the lexical interpretation of given verbs. What follows here is validation of the view that *-nan* predicates are indeed telic, and that this telicity is a natural outcome of being both derived and fientive change-of-state. As has been noted, the vast majority of verbs in this class are already unambiguously fientive. Given the destatal nature of their derivation, the natural starting (and end) point for a *become* [state] verb is the onset of the [state] itself. What requires investigation are those examples that defy a telic reading in one of three ways. Either (i) they are ambiguous between a telic *become* [state] interpretation and an atelic *be* [state] interpretation; or (ii) they appear to be atelic inasmuch as they do not seem to be change-of-state at all but rather designate ongoing activities; or (iii) they appear to fulfill diagnostics for atelic verbs. It is this last group, small though it is, that is most commonly used as evidence against a class-wide perfectivity for *-nan* verbs.

4.6 EXAMPLES OF SEEMINGLY NON-FIENTIVE SEMANTICS IN *-nan* VERBS

4.6.1 *-nan* Verbs that are Ambiguously Fientive

This group includes those verbs that are treated as simultaneously representing a fientive *become* [state] and a stative *be* [state] reading. The ambiguity is often more or less severe depending on the glossary that defines the verbs. Egge (1886) is consistent in translating *-nan* verbs as fientives (his "inchoatives"). Lambdin (2006), on the other hand, translates most as stative. In point of fact, the Greek *Vorlage* that underlies the selection of a *-nan* verb is almost universally perfective, representing a Greek mediopassive in either the aorist or the perfect. What is to be determined is whether the use of *-nan* verbs indicates some kind of sensitivity to Greek aspect. The following examples can be used to address this question:

(60) ***infeinan* '**have compassion' → 'become compassionate'

    a. jah gasaihwands þo frauja [Iesus] **infeinoda** du izai jah qaþ du izai: ni gret!   (Lk 7:13)

        — καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὴν ὁ κύριος **ἐσπλαγχνίσθη** ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ, μὴ κλαῖε.

        — And upon seeing her the Lord, [Jesus] **had compassion/became compassionate** toward her and said to her: weep not!

    b. **infeinoda** du þizai managein, unte ju dagans þrins miþ mis wesun   (Mk 8:2)

        — **σπλαγχνίζομαι** ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον ὅτι ἤδη ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι

        — I **became/have become compassionate** upon the multitude, for already they continue/have remained with me three days

The translation into English as 'have compassion upon' is a conventional reading that implies a state. This is no doubt brought about by the fact that the verb 'have' (in the sense of possessing) is diagnostically stative in English, German, and most other Indo-European languages. But perceiving *infeinoda* as anything but perfective ignores a clear context that necessitates a telic reading. In (60a), we see the serialization of the *-nan* verb in a way comparable to that in (59d).

The verse denotes three separate actions: *seeing, becoming compassionate,* and *speaking*. In this way, the verb in the central clause, *infeinoda*, can be described as bounded, with a designated start and end-point. The conjunctive participle *gasaihwands* 'seeing' initiates the action, specifying a finite starting-point; that is, we know that the act of 'having compassion' is initiated by the preceding act of 'seeing'. This use of a conjunctive clause to introduce a main clause is very frequent in the Gospels, and serves to demarcate when an action begins, often emphasizing the abruptness or – more specifically – instantaneous nature of that initiation. Hence, we can translate the participle with a temporal clause, 'upon seeing', or even with a more punctual, 'catching sight of'.

The end-point of the eventuality expressed by *infeinoda* is set by a following clause, one with an action that is equally demarcated by the conjunction *jah* 'and'. For this reason, whatever eventuality *infeinoda du izai* expresses must be telic. The fact that the Greek verb in the *Vorlage* is an aorist – that is, aspectually perfective – only serves to bolster such a deduction. What we end up with is a translation in which 'had compassion upon' must be taken as a bounded event, and for which a better translation might incorporate that boundedness to the effect of 'was struck by compassion for,' or the fientive, 'became compassionate toward'. To be sure, another reason why this verb is often taken to be stative is because it clearly indicates a state that persists throughout the following events. Jesus certainly does not *lose* compassion as he goes on to speak with the woman. Of course, the fientive reading accommodates this. Since the event denoted by a fientive is merely the punctual attainment of a state, there are no limits placed on the duration of that state.

The effect of this can be seen pointedly and directly in the example of (60b). In this sentence, the Gothic translator has changed the tense of the verb completely, taking a Greek present and rendering it with the same past tense *infeinoda*. The Koine has a more robust tense system than Gothic. While the latter operates on a past ~ non-past distinction, the Greek has functionally three ways to indicate past events: an imperfect, a perfective aorist, and a perfect. It is the perfect that routinely denotes the precise type of ongoing state dynamic that I have discussed above; that is, a state that persists in the present but is predicated on a completed, past event. These are comparable to so-called 'result-state' perfects in English, e.g. *I have broken the chair*, a completed past event which simultaneously entails an ongoing, present state of the chair, that of being *broken*. It is this coordination of past and present time conceptions that characterizes the perfect of the Gospels, and so the translation of a present tense verb in Greek with a past tense verb in Gothic makes sense if the intent is to convey result-state meaning. Because Gothic has no morphological perfect, it is reasonable to deduce that result-state semantics could be rendered by other means. In this instance, a fientive *-nan* verb in the preterite provides just such an analogue for a resultative expression.

Given the context, this is the only reasonable interpretation. The clause at hand is ἤδη ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι 'already they *continue/have remained* with me three days'. We know that the action of this clause cannot be taking place in the past for three reasons. One is because the semantics of 'continue' are by definition ongoing. A second is the use of the present-time-denoting adverbial ἤδη 'already' (*ju* in Gothic). And the third is contextual: because the crowd is still with Jesus, they remain pertinent to the action. Even so, the 'mismatch' of tenses is repeated in Gothic so that the past tense of 'be', *wesun*, is used to translate what in Greek is a present-time expression 'they continue/have remained'. How do we account for this? The fientive nature of the *-nan* verb lends a translation strategy, not because of its eventive properties

alone, but precisely because it denotes an ongoing state and so can capture result-state semantics. By using the 'incorrect' past tense in what is otherwise a present tense environment, the translator can effect a coupling of past-time and present-time conceptions. Though the event itself is punctual, *became compassionate,* the state of compassion persists up to and through the events of the narrative. The use of *wesun* simply maintains an agreement of tenses: *I **have become compassionate** toward the multitude, for **already** they **have remained** with me three days.* It is a similar conventionality of translation, both in English and German, that supposes *weihnan* to be stative in part of the Lord's prayer.

(61) ***weihnan*** 'be sanctified' → 'become sanctified'

    a. … atta unsar þu in himinam, **weihnai** namo þein.   (Mt 6:9)

       … πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, **ἁγιασθήτω** τὸ ὄνομά σου,

       …Our Father thou in heaven, **may be(come) sanctified** thy name.

The translation of ἁγιασθήτω is uniformly as a passive subjunctive: *sanctificetur* (Vulgate), *werde geheiligt* (Luther, 1912 ed.), *soit sanctifié* (Martin, 1744). But ἁγιασθήτω is not a 3rd person subjunctive, 'may it be sanctified', but is rather the conceptually difficult-to-translate aorist imperative, that can be paraphrased as 'let it come to pass that it be sanctified'. While this idea can be expressed in other languages, neither German nor English can express aspect in the subjunctive mood. Ambiguity as to the aspectual quality of *weihnai* can consequently be readily attributed to the translational limitations in the different languages.

Given the fientive hypothesis here presented, it is reasonable that Gothic employs a *-nan* form to capture the qualities of the Greek aorist imperative. While other translations could analogize the *Vorlage* along the grammatical axes of (i) present tense, (ii) irrealis mood, and (iii) non-agentive diathesis; Gothic could do so along the additional axis of (iv) perfective aspect. A *-nan* verb provides a telic semantics that would otherwise not be specified if the translator had

used some alternative collocation, such as a form of *be*, e.g. **sijai weihan* 'may it be sanctified'. What we are left with then is an ambiguity in name only. If we subscribe to the fientive hypothesis, what we see is a logical follow-through of grammatical expression from Greek to Gothic. While this reasoning does not make 'may it become sanctified' an indisputable translation of *weihnai*, it does shift the burden of proof onto those theories that argue that *weihnai* is stative. Assuming that – on the one hand – the translator is not being influenced by other languages, and – on the other – that he has at his disposal a verb class that consistently expresses punctual action, it is reasonable to assume that the translation was made in consideration of as many commonalities as possible. Positioning a stative in that place would be infelicitous at best, illogical at worst.

4.6.2 *-nan* Verbs that are Ambiguously Change-of-State

The following are *-nan* verbs that seem not to convey a change-of-state. Suzuki (1989: 101) and West (1980) reference specifically the verbs *tundnan and intundnan,* both of which are conventionally translated as 'burn'. Their only attestations are as follows.

(62) *tundnan* 'burn' → 'become offended/impassioned'

    a. ᴮ hwas siukiþ, jah ni siukau? hwas afmarzjada, jah ik ni **tundnau**?   (2Cor 11:29)

       — τίς ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; τίς σκανδαλίζεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ **πυροῦμαι**;

       — Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is offended, and **I do** not **become inflamed** (**with offense**)?

    b. ᴬ iþ jabai ni gahabaina sik, liugandau; batizo ist auk liugan þau **intundnan**. (2Cor 7:9)

       — εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται γαμησάτωσαν, κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμῆσαι ἢ **πυροῦσθαι**.

       — But if they cannot control themselves, let them marry: it is better to marry than **to become inflamed** (**with passion**).

πυροῦμαι is present mediopassive as is the preceding verb σκανδαλίζεται 'is led into sin'[22]. One can only speculate what motivated the translation of the former with a passive and the second with a -*nan* form. Patently the Greek mediopassive subsumes both middle and passive semantics, but given the constraints on agentivity that differentiate Gothic passives from -*nan* verbs, it is realistic to say that the conditions surrounding the interpretation of πυροῦμαι are such that the translator did not want to give a passive reading such as 'I am burned'. Strong's Concordance as well as Thayer's Greek Lexicon offer multiple readings for this verb, both literal, as in 'burn' or 'glow', and figurative, as in 'be impassioned' , 'be refined'. Since the literal meaning cannot apply in either (62a) or (62b), it is reasonable to interpret the -*nan* verb as signaling a state-change. This falls out neatly as a fientive resultative in 'become impassioned'. The sequencing of discrete actions in (62a) further supports a telic reading, since it is clear that the eventuality of (alpha) 'being led into sin' is completed before the resulting eventuality of (beta) 'becoming impassioned'.

A similar set of discrete actions appears in (63). Each of the three clauses supports a reading with sequential completed eventualities.

(63) *gaþlahsnoda* 'be troubled' → 'become troubled'   (Luke 1:29)

iþ si gasaihwandei **gaþlahsnoda** bi innatgahtai is jah þahta sis hweleika wesi so goleins

— [BYZ] Ἡ δὲ ἰδοῦσα διεταράχθη ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ διελογίζετο ποταπὸς εἴη ὁ ἀσπασμὸς οὗτος.

— then she, upon seeing, **became troubled** by his entry [Greek: word], and thought to herself what sort of greeting that might be.

---

22 The Gothic verb *afmarzjada* is one of the few examples of the synthetic passive that retains an optional reading in line with the older medio-passive. In addition to the passive sense 'is led into sin', it can also have a stative sense of 'be offended.'

The woman's becoming troubled follows the completion of the act of seeing, itself expressed by the same conjunctive participle found in (60a), i.e. 'catching sight'. And, as above, it shows *gaþlahsnoda* to be a bounded predicate with its end-point lying somewhere before the woman begins thinking.

Guxman cites still other verbs that also ostensibly do not show a change of state, but for which it is again convention of translation that militates against a telic reading. In (64) *drobnan* appears alongside two prefixed variants, both of which are candidates for change-of-state readings under the same conditions as (63) above. That is, the sequencing of events shows itself to be the prolific narrative formula that it is: a punctual, telic event, bounded on the left (initiated) by a conjunctive participle and bounded on the right (terminated) by a conjunctive clause.

(64)   *-drobnan* 'be troubled' → 'become troubled'

    a. jah **gadrobnoda** Zakarias gasaihwands, jah agis disdraus ina.   (Lk 1:12)

      — καὶ **ἐταράχθη** Ζαχαρίας ἰδών, καὶ φόβος ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

      — And **was/became troubled** Zacharias, upon seeing, and fear fell upon him.

    b. þata qiþands Iesus **indrobnoda** ahmin jah weitwodida ...   (Jn 13:21)

      — (BYZ) Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐταράχθη τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν ...

      — Upon saying that, Jesus **was/became troubled** in spirit, and testified ...

 Beside these tokens one finds a form of the unprefixed *drobnan,* which is non-finite.

(65)   ᴬ du ni sprauto wagjan izwis fram ah[m]in nih **drobnan** …   (2Th 2:2)

      — εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοὸς μηδὲ **θροεῖσθαι** …

      —that not quickly you.PL be shaken by (your) spirit, nor **be(come) troubled** ...

The infinitive in (65) is one of the clearest instances of a *-nan* verb translating a present infinitive. So too, the translation has come down generally as '*be* troubled'. However, there is an

aspectual context within which this infinitive is found. It is odd that the preceding verb, *wagjan*, translates not another present infinitive but an aorist one, σαλευθῆναι '*become* shaken'. Given an assumption we have held in this section that -*nan* verbs associate with perfective events, the state of affairs in this sentence is seemingly backwards. Since it is established that the -*nan* class is resistant to out-and-out passive interpretation, such a reading is eliminated. The only alternative is that *drobnan* is being used as it usually is, to translate a mediopassive form. Regarding its aspect, I would propose that the aspect of the Greek verb which it translates is contextually irrelevant. The alternation of aspectually specified events in Greek is clear. What comes first is a perfective passive, so an event that is coordinated with it should also be a perfective passive, (*We implore you*) *not to become quickly* [shaken] *by your spirit, nor to become* [troubled]…

Traditionally, *aflifnan* is treated like its German cognate *bleiben*, the latter meaning simply 'remain'. This translation is ascribed to the Gothic as well, though its use as a -*nan* derivative would imply some telic interpretation concomitant with the fientive semantics associated with the class. Indeed in John 6:13 the reading 'become left behind' presents no problem.

(66) **aflifnan** '**remain**' → 'become left behind' / 'become abandoned'

þanuh galesun jah gafullidedun ·ib· tainjons gabruko us fimf hlaibam þaim

barizeinam, þatei **aflifnoda** þaim matjandam.

— συνήγαγον οὖν, καὶ ἐγέμισαν δώδεκα κοφίνους κλασμάτων ἐκ τῶν πέντε ἄρτων τῶν

κριθίνων ἃ **ἐπερίσσευσαν** τοῖς βεβρωκόσιν.

— Then they gathered (them) and filled 12 baskets of fragments from the five loaves of

barley, that which **remained/had become left behind** from those having eaten.

Not only is the fientive interpretation conducive to translation, it is a better interpretation than a simple 'remain' for two reasons. One is that it gives us an eventive predicate that fits within the sequential timeline of the sentence: the crowds eat the food, 12 loaves 'get left over', and then

those loaves are gathered up. The second reason is that it once again allows us to bolster the hypothesis that perfectivity in Greek may have an outlet of expression in Gothic, in this case, a *-nan* verb that can capture the telic semantics of the aorist.

In (67) what is also considered a tell-tell stative is – again – more readily interpretable as a telic predicate, one that does not simply denote an ongoing state, but denotes a finite action that precipitated that state.

(67) nibai kaurno hwaiteis gadriusando in airþa gaswiltiþ, silbo ainata **aflifniþ**: iþ jabai

gaswiltiþ, manag akran bairiþ.   (Jn 12:24)

— ἐὰν μὴ ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου πεσὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποθάνῃ, αὐτὸς μόνος **μένει**: ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, πολὺν καρπὸν φέρει.

— Unless a kernel of wheat, falling to the earth, dies, it itself **remains/abides** alone: but if it dies, it bears much fruit.

If we suppose that this use of *aflifnan* contains the same change-of-state semantics that are characteristic of the *-nan* class as presented, then we would expect a meaning similar to that in (66), something along the lines of, 'becomes left behind'. This reading is certainly valid in respect to the way the conditional outcomes are presented in the parable. *gaswiltiþ,* 'dies', is a telic event, a character change-of-state unaccusative that sees an experiencer enter in the state of *being dead*. By providing the alternative to this scenario, a fientive *aflifniþ* creates an outcome with a comparable event structure. In this case, the undesirable result is that the kernel of wheat *not* enter in the state of *being dead* but instead enter into the state of *being abandoned*.

4.6.3 *-nan* Substantive Participles

Rarely, the present participle of a *-nan* verb is used as a substantive. In these cases, it behaves like any substantivized adjective, denoting a quality of the unspoken noun which it modifies. Such a substantive would not entail any sort of underlying verbal event and so could

not denote a change-of-state.

This participle in Gothic, however, can have both ongoing and punctual semantics. As an example of the latter, I need only cite the instances of conjunctive participles such as the multiple examples of *gasaihwands* meaning 'upon seeing' or 'catching sight of'. In these cases, the ongoing quality of the action is caused by the attained state which – though it persists throughout following events – is still contingent upon a single, initiating action. What we can say then about a present participle in Gothic is that it is an aspectually ambiguous entity that relies on context to determine punctuality. In the *-nan* participle, it is precisely the context of an attained state that warrants a non-stative reading.

(68) gredagans gasoþida þiuþe jah **gabignandans** insandida lausans.   (Lk 1:53)

— πεινῶντας ἐνέπλησεν ἀγαθῶν καὶ **πλουτοῦντας** ἐξαπέστειλεν κενούς.

— The hungry he satisfied with goods and **the rich** he sent away empty.

gabignandans in (68) is straightforwardly a substantive, *the rich* [ones]. As a noun, a substantive could conceivably figure in either aspectual treatment: imperfective 'being wealthy' or perfective 'having become wealthy'. Truly it does not matter; the underlying process that yields a subtantivized participle is by necessity an eventuality that describes the ongoing state embodied by the noun. Since Gothic thus far shows sensitivity to this aspectual force, we can assume a paraphrase of *rich* [ones] as 'ones who have become rich' as an apt way to capture this outcome of an eventuality.

4.6.4 *-nan* Verbs that are Seemingly Stative

Annerholm (1956) divides *-nan* verbs into three categories: an outright inchoative, a passive, and a third type that he labels simply mediopassive. Given subsequent studies that have effectively disassociated the 4th weak class from grammatical passives, there is little to no

substantial difference between the first two groups[23]. The third type however provides the clearest evidence of a stative reading. While examples presented thus far focus on ambiguities that can be used to bolster the view that telicity is, in fact, a category-wide feature, verbs of this third sort deviate from the standard *-nan* type in that they seem to show an overtly durative *Aktionsart*. In fact, one of the few places that telicity status can be tested by the *for* vs. *in* diagnostic is in Luke 4:25, where the Gothic *faur* denotes unambiguously a duration of time.

(69) managos widuwons wesun in dagam Heleiins in Israela, þan **galuknoda** himins du

jeram þrim jah menoþs saihs, swe warþ huhrus mikils and alla airþa:

— πολλαὶ χῆραι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἠλίου ἐν τῷ ἰσραήλ, ὅτε **ἐκλείσθη** ὁ   οὐρανὸς

ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ὡς ἐγένετο λιμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν,

— there were many widows in the days of Elias in Israel, when heaven **was shut up**

for three years and six months, so that there was great famine throughout all the land:

This verse is cited in Guxman (1964), Suzuki (1989: 110), West (1980), Ferraresi (2005), and Ottosson (2014) as the premier counterexample to any theory of *-nan* semantics that would claim system-wide telicity. In point of fact however, this verse is not a counterexample at all, but instead can be accounted for in terms of telicity as understood through resultative analysis.

When using resultativity as a model, we assume fientive syntax: a derivation wherein a statal base verbalizes in such a way that the state impinges upon the action expressed by the eventuality. In the case of *-nan* verbs, the eventuality denotes the point of initiation of the state. It is prudent then to identify those instances where resultative semantics collocate with durative adverbials, such as time adverbials denoting not a single initiation point but a sequence of points. The first are those fientive verbs that are derived from so-called degree adjectives. These include

---

23 This is not to say that there is no instance of *-nan* verbs signaling a *conceptual* passive, where pragmatic considerations make for passive semantics. It is the exhaustive analysis of detransitivization in primarily Suzuki (1989) that underpins a different semantic structure for passives and fientives, but already Egge (1886), Harbert (1978), and West (1980) point out the lack of collocation between *-nan* verbs and the most common agent-attributing preposition, *fram*, which often co-occurs with passives.

English examples like *to cool*, *to warm*, *to narrow*; as well as a contingent of deadjectival verbs that retain the defunct participial ending in *-en*: *to widen*, *to soften*, *to harden*, etc. A focus of various semantic studies, degree adjectives are the dominant form in which resultatives take on durative aspect. Like any resultative predicate, those involving verbs made from degree adjectives are commonly implicated in causative-anticausative systems such that they can have transitive and intransitive use, with discrete transformations prior to spell out. These constitute a large contingent of *labile* verbs in English: those deadjectival verbs for which the transitive and intransitive have the same form, e.g. *John cooled the soup ~ The soup cooled*. In regard to lexical aspect, durative fientives can take both *in*-adverbials and *for*-adverbials. Thus their participation in a durative or eventive eventuality is contextually conditioned. In (70), a and a' are telic degree verbs, while b and b' are durative degree verbs.

(70) Transitive   Intransitive

      a. John cooled the soup in an hour   The soup cooled in an hour

      a'. John flattened the metal in an hour   The metal flattened in an hour   FIENTIVE

      b. John cooled the soup for an hour   The soup cooled for an hour

      b'. ?John flattened the metal for an hour   ?The metal flattened for an hour   FIENTIVE

The instances in b' are parsable in restricted contexts, but is otherwise infelicitous. By contrast, a and b can take both adverbials. This illustrates an inherent feature of degree fientives that enables them to accommodate a process if such a process is indicated, a feature usually designated as a degree-measure, see Kennedy (2008). Context plays a significant role in the surface interpretation of degree fientives. Their internal aspect is variably sensitive to collocational entities. Hence when there is *no* adverbial, they will read as default telic, e.g. *John cooled the soup ~ The soup cooled* both entail that the soup has reached a terminal state of *coolness*.

This makes degree fientives behave in a way opposite to the standard Vendlerian progression that sees almost any activity rendered an accomplishment (telic) when it is delimited by a definite singular object.

With this contrast in mind, we can ask whether the predicate in *galuknan* behaves like a degree fientive. If it does, it shows that telicity for this predicate is at least optional and would license a durative reading to go along with the presence of the *for*-adverbial. Clearly, since there is no expression of degree change, it does not. Unlike an expression such as *the soup cooled for three minutes,* there is no implication of subintervals within the time interval 'three years and six months'. At the end of the period, the heavens are no more or less closed than when the event began. Instead, the specified time span would seem to be a homogeneous interval with a consistent state of "closedness" obtaining in equal parts from initiation of the state to its termination.

This then, would still imply that *galuknan* is stative (or at least imperfective) because it seems to fulfill the subinterval property. However, even here there is a breakdown in interval uniformity: while the intervals that describe the state of being closed are homogeneous within the time span, the act of transformation that marks the beginning of the state cannot be properly included in that time span. Because a resultative is a compositional structure joining a telic event with a resultant state, resultative semantics would offer a ready account for what seems to be a similarly compositional expression. It is just that while in the typical resultative the state is entailed, e.g. *the flattened metal → the metal is flat*; here it is overt.

That the Gothic example may simply represent a specialized resultative type is validated by Kratzer (2000), expanding upon a notion put forth by Parsons (1990) that there are sub-classes within the larger group of telic eventualities, namely, those with a state expressed by a perfective participle. Kratzer distinguishes between result-state participles and target-state

participles. The result-state participles form eventualities that are conceptually permanent and not subject to change. Target-state participles form eventualities that are conceptually reversible or, perhaps more aptly, are subject to reverting to a previous state. Several syntactic diagnostics are given for the two. As laid out in Anagnostopoulou (2003), result-state participles do not tolerate the adverb *still* or *for*-adverbials in either German or English:

(71)   a. *Das Theorem ist* (*immer noch / *für drei Jahre*) *bewiesen*

     b. The theorem is (*still / *for three years) proven

     c. *Die Kinder sind* (*immer noch / *für drei Stunde*) *gewaschen*

     d. The children are (?still / ?for three hours) washed

For Kratzer, this adverbial exclusion is captured by a stativizing operation. The perfective participle, when in a compositional relationship with an auxiliary, forms a stative eventuality that in turn relates the state denoted by the participle to the reference time of the sentence. Hence, in the words of Anagnostopoulou (2003), it "maps properties of eventualities onto properties of times" (17). This has the effect of viewing the state as completed at the time of speech. The formula is rendered in the following sequence:

(72)   a. Stem + object: λe [prove (the theorem)(e)]

     b. Stativizer: $\lambda P \lambda t \exists e$ [P(e) & t(e) $\leq$ t]

     c. Output $\rightarrow \lambda t \exists e$ [prove (the theorem)(e) & τ(e) $\leq$ t]

That is, there exists an event *e* such that *prove the theorem*(*e*) is a completed event and for which the output is true of any time *t* that is preceded by the running time of that event $\tau(e)$. Thus, an event like *prove the theorem* or *wash the children* is telic, and the entailment is of a resulting state that is irreversible: *proven* or *washed.*

122

Contrasting with this is a class, albeit marginalized, of eventualities which are not mapped onto properties of times and are therefore not viewed as completed states. As expected, they do accommodate *still* and *for*-adverbials:

(73) a. *Die Reifen sind* (*immer noch / für ein paar Stunden*) *aufgepumpt.*

b. The tires are (still / for a few hours) inflated.

c. *Die Geisslein sind* (*immer noch / für ein paar Stunden*) *versteckt.*

d. The little goats are (still / for a few hours) hidden.

These too come about via a stativizing operation, but the lexical value of these particular participles triggers an eventuality that is *not* complete at reference time, and can thus accommodate adverbs like *still*.

(74) a. Stem + object: λsλe [pump(e) & event(e) & inflated(tires)(s) & cause(s)(e)]

b. Stativizer: λRλs ∃e R(s)(e)

c. Output → λs∃e [pump(e) & event (e) & inflated(tires)(s) & cause(s)(e)]

That is, there exists an event *e* such that pump(*e*) is a completed event and a state *s* of inflated, such that tires(*s*), and for which the output is true of any event where *e* causes *s*. Here, the event that starts the state is still telic, *inflate/aufpump* the tires, but the state is left open so that it can be reversed.

These predicate types can be viewed in terms of boundedness: a result-state participle denotes a state with a specified right (or terminal) boundary. Hence, the state is finished at reference time and can no longer apply. A *target-state* participle, however, denotes a state with a left (or initial) boundary, and so the state is left open and ongoing. The difference between result-state participles and target-state participles can also be seen in their respective entailments. Consider these two examples.

(75) a. The horse was ridden for an hour → entails result-state (having been ridden)

　　　b. The horse was hidden for an hour → entails resultative **event** (cause the horse to be

　　　　hidden)

The inherent causative built into Kratzer's formula entails a resultative event which specifies the

initiation of the state. It is not overtly complete and can theoretically be reversed. Along with this

resultative predication comes the same versatility inherent in a causative-anticausative system.

Note that in (75a) the meaning can only be taken as passive: an agent who did the riding is

required for the sentence to hold truth conditions. However in (75b) there is ambiguity. The

sentence can be taken as a passive with an agent who did the hiding, or it can be taken as an

unaccusative, with the hiding event happening spontaneously and without agentivity, viz. *The

horse became hidden from view for an hour*.

　　　The number of verbs that can produce target-state participles is unclear, even in English,

but characterizing them is not difficult. All that one must presume is that certain verbal roots

contain a feature like [+reversible]. This would have the effect that verbs containing the feature

would have the potential to produce target-state participles, such as *hidden*. I emphasize potential

because the implementation of this feature is contextually sensitive, as some verbs can produce

both kinds of participles depending on the object. Here we find that English participles like

closed, locked, and *unlocked* carry dual readings.

(76) a. Result-state reading:

　　　　John closed the store (immediately) | The store was closed (*for an hour)

　　　b. Target-state reading:

　　　　*John closed the store (*immediately) | The store (was) closed* (for an hour)

In (76b) the reversible state is made clear. The figurative use of *close* in regard to locations is a

familiar one, e.g. *John closed the store for an hour while he went to lunch*. Opposing this is the

more standard, result-state reading in (76a) which is to be taken that John is undergoing a

singular act where he locks the front door and turns off the "open" sign. Without special

circumstances being made clear, both acts have a telic interpretation. Moreover, both acts are

conceptually the same act, but in the target-state interpretation it is understood *pragmatically* that

there is an ongoing state that persists until it is reversed. In the result-state interpretation there is

no such persistence of a state.

    This is true of the Gothic example, *galuknan,* which shows the type of target-state

eventuality we see in (76b) and in participles like German *aufpumped* and *versteckt.* Since I take

the underlying roots of participles to be valid candidates for creating *-nan* verbs, there is no

reason not to conflate the resultativity of *-nan* creation and that of target-state creation. In this

way we see that, in Gothic, *þan galuknoda himins du jeram þrim jah menoþs saihs*, naturally

lends itself to a telic reading that simply has a target-state. Hence, what is an entailment of a telic

event in *The horse was hidden for an hour* is stated overtly in Gothic, which has the machinery

(in the form of *-nan* predication) to denote a telic event as an initiation boundary: *the heavens*

became closed/locked up (*and stayed that way*) *for three years and six months*. The condition of

being locked up is clearly reversible by virtue of being temporally bounded within *the days of*

Elias.

    Thus, target-state semantics provides a model that can account for seemingly stative

predicates with a telic reading. This model accounts for a small number of those *-nan* tokens that

carry the same entailment while denoting an outright state, including the antonym of the above,

usluknan 'open' or 'open up', which illustrates the exact same dynamic. In (77a), the verb is used

in its un-entailed 'default' mode that exemplifies standard *-nan* usage. In (77b), we see the

alternate target-state entailment found in an equivalent English example *The store opened for an*

hour.

(77) a. **usluknoda** þan munþs is suns jah tuggo is, jah rodida þiuþjands guþ.   (Lk 1:64)

— **ἀνεῴχθη** δὲ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλάλει

εὐλογῶν τὸν θεόν.

— straightaway then his mouth **became opened**, and his tongue, and he

spoke, praising God.

b. ᴬ munþs unsar **usluknoda** du izwis, Kaurinþius, hairto unsar urrumnoda. (2Cr 6:11)

— τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν **ἀνέῳγεν** πρὸς ὑμᾶς, Κορίνθιοι, ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν πεπλάτυνται:

— O ye Corinthians, our mouth **has become open** unto you, our heart has become enlarged.

4.7 SUMMARY

The question this section addresses is whether or not *-nan* verbs in Gothic can be universally

characterized. Instead of characterizing the verb class by a single feature such as its semantics,

this treatment proposes a derivational system which produces a *-nan* verb in cases of a resultative

argument structure. Intrinsic to this resultativity is the notion that, unlike other unaccusative

verbs, a resultative unaccusative incorporates a [state] argument. This yields the result-state

semantics interpretable as *become* [state]. Due entirely to this interpretation, the resultativity also

imposes aspectual shading that is categorically perfective, always entailing an endpoint, making

it telic.

This treatment is essentially a re-application of the inchoative hypothesis, producing the

same verbal outcomes that have been ascribed to this class since Egge (1886). The major

difference is that 'inchoative' is simply a semantic designation. To characterize an inchoative

meaning that also designates a specific underlying structure, I adopt Haspelmath's (1987)

definition of a *fientive*. This term denotes not only a *become* [state] action, but a development

that is intrinsically telic in nature and intrinsically destatal in derivation.

The base of a given *-nan* eventuality can be any statal entity, namely an adjectival root that surfaces in the extant Gothic corpus as an adjective (in nominals) and as a past participle (in verbals).

I seek to validate a *fientive* reading of *-nan* verbs by addressing a testable feature of the verbs as they appear in context. That feature is their telic entailments. I focus on those often-cited examples where the meaning of the *-nan* verb does not seem to be telic at all. What I show is that, given any *-nan* verb, its level of telicity will correspond to a rung on a hypothetical scale of aspectual ambiguity. For the majority of *-nan* tokens, a telic *become* [state] reading is definitive. In three groups of proposed exceptions, however, I create tiers of determination that position these exceptions on this scale. For *-nan* verbs that are ambiguous regarding aspect, I propose that it is more often translational traditions that yield an atelic reading. For *-nan* verbs that do not seem to have a change-of-state semantics, I show that translation bias often obfuscates a *become* [state] reading. Secondary points of validation uphold the change-of-state semantics and validate a translation of *aflifnan* that can be rendered in the same way as other *-nan* verbs, i.e. 'become left behind'. These points include comparison with the Greek *Vorlage* which shows a strong association between *-nan* verbs and perfective, aorist entities. For *-nan* verbs that are seemingly stative, namely *galuknan* 'close' and *usluknan* 'open', I show implementation of a special resultative type, designated as *target-state* predicates. These verbs yield a scenario where the eventuality of the verb is indeed telic, but wherein the resultant state can persist for a period of time. This scenario is rigidly conditioned, restricted to states that are conceptually reversible, and for which the reversal is expected to happen. Gothic shows this very scenario, creating a parallel between the contextual use of *galuknan* and that of English *close* in the example *The store was closed for an hour.*

CHAPTER 5

TOWARD A SYNTACTIC DESCRIPTION OF *-nan* VERBS

To characterize the syntactic behavior of *-nan* verbs, I draw on the analysis of Embick

(2004). His study seeks to establish a structural account for a specialized participle he calls the

resultative participle. To do this, he builds a single structural model that can be used to capture

the shared properties of the three resultative predicate types. Two of these types are the

resultative with secondary predicate and the deadjectival fientive as seen in (52), selections

reproduced here as (78).

(78) a. Rolph squashes the box flat   resultative with secondary predicate (active)

      b. The box is squashed-flat (by Rolph)   resultative with secondary predicate (passive)

      c. Rolph flattens the box   resultative as a deadjectival fientive (active)

      d. The box is flattened (by Rolph)   resultative as a deadjectival fientive (passive)

The examples above are all agentive, including (78b and d) which are simply the passive

versions of (78a and c). The passive variants contain an implied agent inherent to all passives

which may or may not be expressed. Resultatives also have non-agentive variants. Compare

these examples:

(79) a. The box flattens.

      b. The box squashes flat.

      c. The squashed-flat box

Examples (79a and b) constitute non-agentive resultatives. They are definitively *not* passive and

show the raising of an object into subject position without any agent being implicated. The

sentence in (79c) contains the entity that Embick terms the resultative participle. Unlike the

passive participle, this form cannot license an AGENT because it is distributively an adjective. At the same time, it must be indicative of *some* event such that a new state *flat* is reached. Therefore it cannot be said to be a simple adjective either, and must represent some third type of entity.

It is this taxonomy of resultative constructions which provides the backdrop for Embick's analysis. The so-called resultative participle in (79c) contributes a third member to what is traditionally considered a two-type breakdown among participles. The first is the eventive passive participle, implicated in passive constructions like (78d) and distributed in syntax like a verb, presumably occupying the verbal head. The second is the stative participle, implicated in adjectival passive constructions like *the squashed box*. This type is distributed like an adjective and thus treated as having stative qualities: it appears in either attributive or predicative positions and, in those languages where there is adjectival morphology, it usually takes such morphology:

(80) a. The Window was broken (by Bill).   eventive passive participle

           Das Fenster wurde (von Bill) zerbrochen.

      b. the broken window.   adjectival passive participle

           das zerbrochene Fenster.

Generation of these two types has been generally sorted into the two grammatical modules of the lexicon and syntax, see Levin and Rappaport (1986). The dichotomy is such that the eventive passive participle is a verbal entity; and so is realized in syntax. Here, the participial morphology is assigned as a result of the various processes that go into creating a passive predicate, processes like agent obfuscation and object raising. The stative participle, on the other hand, is an adjectival entity. Instead of being realized in syntax, it is treated as the result of a process of derivational word-building and so thought to be assembled in the lexicon, where the comparable adjective-making processes, such as the complete suppression of the agent and the application of participial morphology, take place before syntactic operations. In this way, the

participle in an adjectival passive can be drafted into the syntax as a fully formed adjective.

At the outset, Embick states that the theoretical basis for his theory is purely semantic, relying on the model of distributed morphology as initially formalized in Halle and Marantz (1993). He contrasts his method with preceding models that he terms "lexicalist". In these, the lexicon is the component of grammar that houses the mass of phonological forms that are drafted into syntax. Essential qualities of phonological forms are here assigned. Thus, one characterizes a verb as an entity in the lexicon to which is attached the set of arguments that it selects. This encodes a lexical argument structure, posed as the standard subcategorization frame. Examples of such frames are given in (81) where {} indicates internal arguments and ( ) indicates arguments that may be optionally expressed.

(81)   a. kill: agent {theme}

b. sell: agent {theme, (goal)}

c. put: agent {theme, locus}

Distributed morphology eschews this prescriptivizing role of the lexicon, proposing instead that the association of things like verbs and their arguments is set entirely by syntactic computation. As a consequence, the items normally associated with lexical morphemes are inserted only after the syntactic structure is in place. Based on a given construction, fundamental elements that correspond to a phonological form (*vocabulary items*) are then inserted in places where they can be licensed in the structure. To this effect, "functional" vocabulary items (cf. functional morphemes) are associated with certain syntactic nodes, e.g. verbal tense markers like past-time *-ed* are associated with TENSE. A given "functional" vocabulary item can hold a combination of interpretable and uninterpretable features such as [+past], [+masculine], [+plural], etc. When vocabulary insertion takes place, a given functional vocabulary item is inserted in those nodes that accommodate the largest number (not necessarily all) of the features specified by that

vocabulary item. In regard to what may be called "lexical" vocabulary items (cf. lexical morphemes), there exist non-categorized roots. Entities like √kick do not represent inherently a noun or a verb. Instead, they manifest in spell-out in whatever way they are licensed by the structure. For example, the root √kick will manifest as a noun if it is immediately governed by a DETERMINER, *a kick*, and it will manifest as a verb if it is immediately governed by things such a *v,* ASPECT, TENSE, etc. See Pesetsky (1996).

The most relevant implementation of this model for us is seen in the production of different types of participles. Given a simple adjectival passive like *the broken window*, there is nothing to say that *broken* is not simply an adjective with the same stative qualities as other adjectives like *happy* or *green*. But when it appears as an argument in the form of a resultative participle, the adjective signifies a specified state, entailing an eventuality that brought the state about.

(82)   a. The window was **broken open/to pieces**.   resultative participle

   b. the **broken-open/to-pieces** window.   resultative participle

Both of these examples resemble the adjectival passive: (82a) looks like an adjective in predicative position and (82b) like one in attributive position. And while the descriptor in (82b) is certainly infelicitous – or, at best, unproductive – it does serve to show that *broken-open/to-pieces* is parsable as a single constituent that cannot be broken up. So while *the broken-to-pieces lamp* is equally parsable under this analysis, note that **the broken lamp to pieces* is not.

For both instances in (82), the inclusion of the state denoted by *open* or *to pieces* creates a resultative predicate with which is associated characteristic change-of-state semantics. Embick poses this as an architectural problem for a lexicalist theory: if adjectives are built in the lexicon, one must assume that *broken-to-pieces* or *hammered-flat* are atomic adjectives as well. So too, more complex (albeit fanciful) resultatives such as those found in the phrases *the hammered-flat-*

as-a-pancake metal or *the smashed-to-smithereens cuckoo clock* defy the status of adjectives without any sort of verbal component. That is, *smashed-to-smithereens* is too complex to have the same lexical value as an adjective like *green*.

A treatment of these two types in derivational morphology does not distinguish between items built in the lexicon and those built in syntax. Instead, such a treatment presupposes a gradation of complexity within syntax, the more complex participle corresponding to that structure that has the more complex arrangement of features. This accounts for the gradable levels of build-up found in resultative constructions. An eventive passive participle is the most complex, a stative, the least. The resultative participle occupies a place in between the two, and so accounts for instances where features of both are detectable.

5.1 STRUCTURAL MODEL OF RESULTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Embick presents an explanation as to why his resultative participles are not typically included in the taxonomy of participial types: in isolation they look the same as stative participles. After all, in (82) there is no morphological distinction between the two uses of *broken*, only a contextual distinction. However, in English there appears to be some evidence that these two are different underlyingly. To illustrate this distinction, Embick cites those few instances in English when a stative participle and resultative participle have a different shape. The former he identifies as adjectives that utilize an old participial marker in *-en* but that can only be interpreted in synchrony as statives, devoid of any verbal element. The latter are indicative of a verbal eventuality.

(83)   Stative Participle   Resultative Participle

    a. *rotten*: the rotten log   *rotted*: the rotted-through/to mush log

    b. *open*: the open door   *opened*: the opened-wide door

    c. *sunken*: the sunken ship   *sunk*: the sunk-deep/to the bottom ship[24]

The distinctions in these examples are brought about by coincidental events in the development

of English. To be sure, of the three examples, only *sunken* is an actual participle that once existed

in an English paradigm. *Rotten* is a borrowed adjective from Old Norse where it represented the

only survivor of a lost strong verb paradigm, and there has never been an attested verb **op* to

which could be formed a participle in *open*.[25] This being said, it is clear that the *-en* ending of

these adjectives recapitulates the semantics of the historical verbal ending because clearly the

state they denote can be associated with the result-state of a comparable verb. It is coincidence

then that these forms fall out as they do: through generalization, innovation, and morphological

reduction, the verbs *rot*, *open* and *sink* have two state-denoting entities associated with them, a

native perfective participle and an adjective. Embick's observation is that these entities are

distributed differently, reflecting a difference in underlying structure.

    We can further validate that participial endings are co-opted to make statives by noting

another minuscule set of adjectives that contain the *-ed* morphology. Adjectives like *sacred*,

striped, and *destined* clearly retain paradigmatic morphology indicative of participles, but can

now only be interpreted as states, with no underlying eventualities that bring them about.

Consequently, there is no comparable resultative participle for these.

---

24 Note that English can approximate the semantics of a resultative with a so-called adverbial compound. In these
   cases the result-state is interpreted as an unmarked adverb that precedes the participial. Thus *a deep-sunk ship*
   can effect a similar interpretation as *sunk-deep* but without the change-of-state entailment, i.e. it is a ship that is
   sunk *deeply*. In some cases, the adverbial compound is itself lexicalized such that certain adjectival passive
   participles can only be realized this way. Hence we can add to these examples (d.) *clean-shaven*: *the clean-shaven
   man*, and contrast it with a resultative participle *shaved*: *the shaved-clean man*.
25 It is clear that *open* derives from a prehistoric Germanic adjective **upanaz*; however, this adjective may itself be an
   old participle to an even older verb with a root shape **ūp-*. If this were the case, the *-en* in *open* would indeed be
   the participial *-en*, not part of a verbal paradigm but fossilized in pre-history.

A final distinction lies in those instances where participles are modified phonologically in order to enforce a stative reading and not a resultative or passive one, though this use is now antiquated.

	Stative Participle	Resultative Participle
(84) a.	*blessèd*	*blessed*
b.	*learnèd*	*learned*

The present study is not overly concerned with the promotion of non-lexicalist theories over lexicalist ones. That being said, an appeal to Embick's model will align this analysis with the former and will take advantage of a theoretical framework that reevaluates the process of verbal development.

By proposing a third type of past participle, one whose assemblage would contain an argument structure more complex than that of an adjectival passive and less so than that of an eventive passive, Embick rejects a simple dichotomy in favor of a cline of structural complexity. Such a continuum could then be easily accounted for with varying levels of phrasal build up. The form with the simplest argument structure is the adjectival passive; it simply links a participial descriptor to a noun it modifies : *the broken window.* This is a two-part construction. The second form is more complex in that it adds a verbal component, thus becoming a three-part construction. This is Embick's proposed resultative, wherein the descriptor, a non-participial element, is linked to the noun via a verbal element. This element can be a verb separate from the descriptor, e.g. *ironed* in *John ironed the shirt flat.* The fact that in this instance the descriptor is specifically *not* a participle indicates that in a resultative, whatever verbal contributions a participle would impose would be at odds with those set by the discrete verb. Moreover, it suggests that underlyingly there is only one verbal phrase.

The most complex structure in the cline is the fully eventive passive. This four-part

construction contains a participial descriptor, a noun it modifies, a verbal element and a second

noun constituting an agent. That agent, as is diagnostic of true passives, can be either overt or

covert: *The shirt was ironed flat* (*by John*). The presence of both a participle and a verbal

indicates that – in such constructions – the contributions of the two elements are in a

combinatory relationship and so are not at odds. This suggests that underlyingly there are two
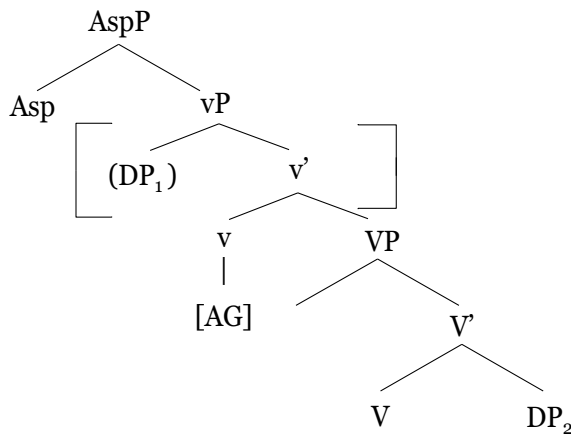
verbal phrases.

In order to unify these different participial types under a single diagnostic, Embick poses a

phrase-type that would constitute the overarching unit common to each. Namely, an aspectual

phrase in the shape of AspP is implemented as a factor that is present in all three of the structural

environments. This phrase type is implicated in the expression of certain predicates thought to be

sensitive to point-of-view or point-of-reference aspect, see Marantz (1997), Borer (2001) and

Kratzer (2000). In these types are included compositional structures that utilize especially the

past participle. Furthermore, because the AspP is proposed in all three of the participial

constructions, it can be surmised that AspP is itself the locus of the participial endings; see

Embick section 2.2.[26]

---

[26] A question at this point is why it is an aspectual (Asp)-phrase that is being used instead of a voice phrase, typified
as VoiceP in various analyses such as Cinque (1996) and Kratzer (1996). No doubt such a phrase is implicated in
the expression of voice constructions like the periphrastic passive of Germanic and the synthetic passives as they
exist in other languages like Classical Greek or Gothic. But given our assumption that the -*nan* class in Germanic
does not express voice, it is practical to focus on the aspectual quality of such. It may also be that it does not
matter: that in the purely abstract realm of the syntax all we must assume is some phrase, XP, that is instrumental
in the distribution of the often-intermingling qualities of voice and aspect. Following Embick, I am using AspP, but
the label need not constrain its use.

5.1.1 Structure of the Eventive Passive

Illustrating a full, eventive passive in this framework relies on the idea that the verb itself, contained within a root phrase (√RootP), does not license an agent. Instead, the agent is licensed via an agentive feature, here labeled [AG], found on an interceding verbal phrase that appears above the root phrase. In the standard passive calculus, the structure is indicative of a transitive sentence where the unexpressed subject, represented below as (NP₁), is systematically suppressed within the assembly, a process characterized as "absorption" by Haider (1997) or as a side effect of "defective" presentation (of Chomsky 1981, 1995). The effect is the same: because the subject is not enumerated, the object, (NP₂), undergoes movement (internal merge) into a higher position, yielding the syntax of a sentence in passive voice. Embick poses the following structure for the eventive passive in (85a). I have added brackets [ ] to indicate the defectiveness of the upper vP.

(85)   a. structure of an eventive passive   b. example: ***Bill was kicked (by John)***
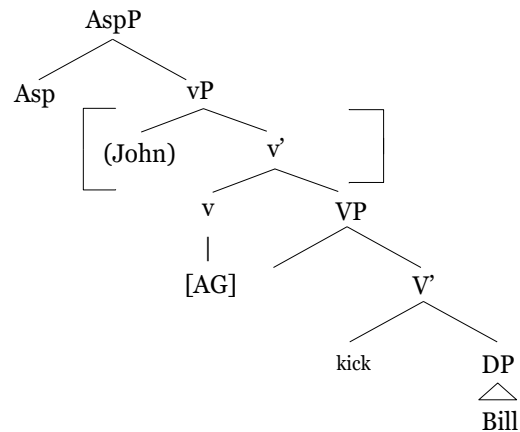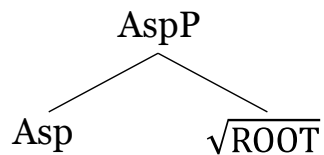

This mode of having two verbal heads, one in an interceding phrase and one in a root phrase, is typical of the minimalist model and comes to represent the most common means by which agentivity is expressed. In a passive sentence, the agent is not overt, but it is always implied, so the upper verbal head, v[AG] is always present, albeit defectively.
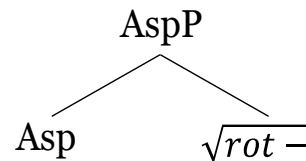
5.1.2 Structure of the Adjectival Passive

Moving from the most complex structure to the most elemental, the structure of the adjectival passive can be extrapolated by contrasting it to that of the eventive passive. For the adjectival passive, the AspP is still present but there is no verbal head, so the quality of the participle is a bare stative. Embick characterizes such a stative in the following way.

(86)   a. structure of a bare stative   b. example: ***rotten***

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
& \text{AspP} \\
& \diagup\quad\diagdown \\
\text{Asp} & \sqrt{\text{ROOT}}
\end{array}
\qquad\qquad
\begin{array}{cc}
& \text{AspP} \\
& \diagup\quad\diagdown \\
\text{Asp} & \sqrt{rot-}
\end{array}
$$

The assembly is built up with the fewest number of features and lacks any verbalizing head whatsoever. For this reason, the structure in (86) can typify participles with adjective-like properties, accounting for such phrases as *the open door, the sunken ship,* and *the broken window.* At the same time, it implicates a more complex structure required to encode the verbal qualities of resultative participles which are typified by the presence of an optional [state] argument, indicating the end-result of an action: *the open**ed** [wide] door, the sunk-**Ø** [deep] ship, the broken [to pieces] window.*

5.1.3 Structure of the Resultative: the [FIENT] Operator

To mark the change-of-state eventuality present in resultative predicates, Embick proposes an operator located on the verbal head, designated V[FIENT]. This is comparable to any number of BECOME operators that have been used in semantic schemata to indicate the properties of boundedness. Given a predicate, the point of initialization of the action can be conceptualized as the left-boundary. The termination of the action can be conceptualized as the right-boundary. As stipulated in section 1.9, this applies even to punctual verbs (achievements) inasmuch as the boundary of focus is specified by the context of the clause, so even a verb that has no durativity

can be *referenced* in regard to its initialization or its termination. Hence, a BECOME predicate like

John became ill, or *John got sick, or The box flattened* can be characterized as a momentary,

bounded event, emphasizing the concurrent initiation *and* termination of the "changing". For

extensive assessment of BECOME predicate types, see Dowty (1979), McCawley (1968) and – in

reference to Gothic – Harbert (1978), Guxman (1964), Ferraresi (2005).

Unlike the BECOME primitives posed in previous models, [FIENT] is a purely syntactic

entity. The sole reason for this is to avoid any sort of confusion with an actual change-of-state

verb and thereby avoid the ambiguity of what relation vocabulary entries like the verbs *become*

and *make* may have in common with proposed syntactic entities like [BECOME] or [MAKE].

Instead, one can presume that in sentences like *The box becomes flat* and *The box flattens,* the

V[FIENT] operator is present in both, contributing a transformational association between verb

and state so that *becomes* is treated the exact same way as *squashes, hammers, irons, pounds,* etc.

Because it contains more features than the adjectival passive participle but fewer than the

eventive passive participle, the resultative participle is representative of a structure that lies

between the two in terms of structural complexity. The structure in (87) represents the basic

assemblage for any intransitive resultative; this includes all resultative participles like that in *the

ironed-flat shirt* as well as intransitive clausal predicates like *The shirt ironed flat.*

(87)   a. structure of a resultative participle: tentative   b. example: *rotted*

138
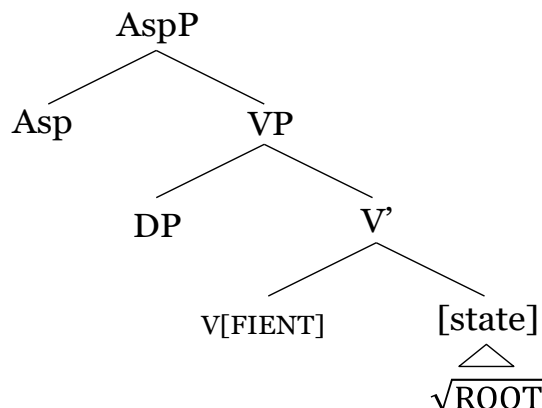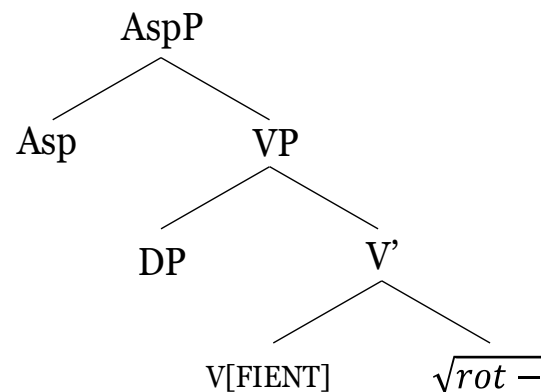
The model in (87) contains a verbal head that accommodates the eventuality of state change, but because it still does not license an agent, it can be presumed to not contain the head v[AG].

Of note also is the inclusion of the result-state as a full argument and the subsequent positioning of the single, nominal argument in SPEC position. In section section 4.2, Embick posits a restriction on V[FIENT] that mandates this arrangement: where (a.) the root is the complement of V[FIENT] and (b.) the noun of which that root is predicated is located in the SPEC of V[FIENT], the following condition must be met:

(88)   *Condition on V[FIENT]:*

The complement of V[FIENT] must be predicated of a DP in the specifier of V[FIENT].

(Embick 378: example [54])

This condition is set in order to qualify the way in which Embick's resultative model fulfills the Direct Object Restriction (DOR), posited by Levin and Rappaport (1995: 33) and mentioned above. To recap, the DOR states that the adjective in a secondary predicate resultative can only be predicated of a direct object. What the *Condition on V[FIENT]* contributes is a positioning of the adjective and the direct object.

> This requirement, which forces V[FIENT] to have a DP argument in an immediately local position—namely, in its specifier—subsumes the effects of the DOR. For example, the ungrammaticality of *John laughed hoarse, where the DP John is licensed as the specifier of v[AG], follows. (54)

Embick's reasoning accounts for the example, but a question arises as to why the most "immediately local position" needs to be the SPEC of V[FIENT]? The problem is that there does not seem to be, other than the mandate of the *Condition* itself, anything that directly associates the root adjective and the noun in SPEC V[FIENT]. Furthermore, it removes the direct object from the complement position that is usually diagnostic for licensing PATIENTS. Hereto, I can

make a small formal modification of Embick's model. Instead of placing the root adjective as the complement of V[FIENT] I supplant it with a state phrase, StateP. Such a phrase would emulate an adjectival phrase of AP in that it would then have as its HEAD the state itself. The complement to the head then becomes the noun of which that state is predicated. This change gives us the advantage of being able to assume the object and its modifier are merged in positions that bespeak their inherent relationship. It also positions the noun that will be a direct object in our reckoning back into a complement position.[27]
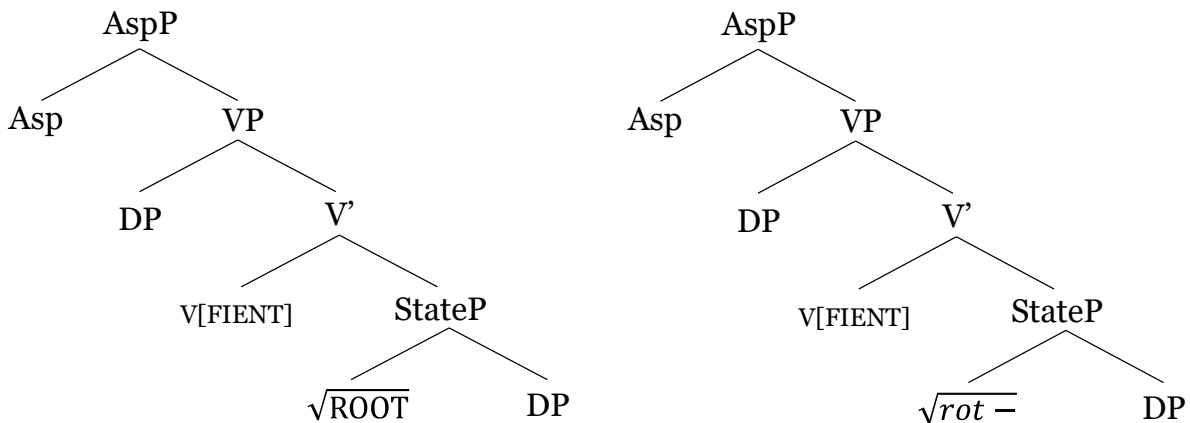
This change is meant to enhance clarity and does not overly affect Embick's essential layout. It does however break the condition on V[FIENT], removing the direct object from a position that is in the SPEC of V to one that is merely c-commanded by V. As long as that noun is a direct-object however, the DOR is still satisfied. It is for this reason that I have labeled the phrase a StateP, instead of an outright AP. My intent is to allow for differences in application such that the characteristics of one do not necessarily apply to the other, even if – in most contexts – they look the same. Namely, in a StateP, we must assume that the noun can (at some point) receive theta-assignment of PATIENT just as it would if it were adjacent to a V-HEAD. Further, we can assume that the StateP itself does not constitute an entity with optional components. Instead, both the state and the noun are full arguments, namely those implicated in the expression of secondary predicate resultatives. The result is a structure that mimics a traditional generative form, with an object being inserted into a complement position, just as it is in a "regular" transitive construction. The difference is that instead of its being inserted as complement to a V, it is inserted as complement to a STATE. This has a further effect that it

27 The inclusion of a StateP – that is – an operational phrase lower than the main verbal phrase, is not unfounded. Tarldsen (2015), implementing a model laid out in Ramchand (2008), poses that fundamental clausal structure can be based on three elemental phrases, an initiator phrase (IntP) which encodes external agentivity, a processing phrase (ProcP) which encodes verbal expression, and a lower result phrase (ResP) which encodes secondary verbal expression and internal objectivity/affectedness. One of the outcomes of this model is that the expression of different argument structures can be framed as the implementation of all or only some of the three phrases. In particular, the model is useful for conceptualizing single-argument clauses as containing different arrangements of two of the three phrases, yielding discrete operations that characterize unergatives, unaccusatives and passives.

characterizes the relationship between a STATE and its complement as one that is notably linked. That is, the STATE selects for its DP-referent in a way that a regular adjective does not, the latter being an adjunct.

The change also forces us to revise the relationship between the V[FIENT] and the root adjective. In Embick's reckoning, the two are in a complement relationship, and this served to underscore the full argument-status of that adjective, the latter being the direct complement of the V-HEAD. The revision presented here necessitates that the root-adjective is itself a HEAD, and so the verbalization of that adjective, as will be enumerated below, must be analyzed in terms of HEAD-to-HEAD movement. The revision of (87) that incorporates our change is presented in (89).

(89)   a. structure of a resultative participle: revised   b. example: *rotted*

AspP
- Asp
- VP
  - DP
  - V'
    - V[FIENT]
    - StateP
      - √ROOT
      - DP

AspP
- Asp
- VP
  - DP
  - V'
    - V[FIENT]
    - StateP
      - √*rot* −
      - DP

Given the framework of three general structures – an eventive passive, a bare stative, and a resultative participle (examples 85-87) – we can now summarize the distribution of the three participles in English based on the implementation of an Aspect Phrase (AspP). The assemblage that is the most structurally complex is the eventive passive. The participle built here is rendered by an AspP attached above a secondary v, a structure that accommodates an agent which is not expressed but entailed. The resultative participle is of middle complexity; it is rendered by an AspP attached above the primary V, without a secondary v intervening. Thus it still has verbal

quality but does not license an agent. The simplest structure is the bare stative. Here an AspP is attached directly to a root itself, with no verbal phrase at all.

The outcome is a reassembly of types. What has before been divided into a two-participle system becomes a three-participle system. On one end is the eventive passive. On the other is the so-called adjectival passive, a category that is ambiguous between containing a stative participle (which behaves like an adjective) and a resultative participle (which behaves like a verb). The only instances where the two can be easily discerned is either in that handful of examples like *open, rotten* and *sunken* that are opposed to verbal participles *opened, rotted* and *sunk;* or in those instances where the participle is antecedent to a result-state argument, such as in *the ironed-flat shirt*.

5.2 A SEMANTIC CHARACTERIZATION OF DEADJECTIVAL FIENTIVES AND *-NAN* VERBS

The model as it has been introduced maps the diagnostic features of resultative predicates in general, though thus far the focus has been on resultative participles as they appear in phrases like *the ironed-flat shirt*. In particular, it enforces the following dossier:

(90) a. **resultatives are telic** – they enact change-of-state eventualities that have left-boundary telicity: delineation is specified by an initiation point here associated with the V[FIENT] operator.

   b. **resultative structures contain two arguments, one of which is a state** – they incorporate a state as a full argument, reflected in word order.[28]

The generative process that forms the participial resultative is also implemented in the other two resultative types. One of these is the secondary predicate resultative of the type *the shirt ironed*

---

[28] It is clear that the presence of a [state] argument is a defining part of resultative structures. However, it need not always be *expressed*. In that handful of instances where stative and resultative participles can be distinguished, the resultative type is marked morphologically: open**ed**, rott**ed**, sunk**-Ø**. But in an example like *the closed door*, the reading is ambiguous between the stative participle (the door in the state of *being closed*) and the resultative participle (the door that has been placed into the state of *being closed* by an action.) What is significant is that the adjectivally modified expression of the [state] removes the ambiguity: *closed* in *the closed-tight* door can only be a resultative participle.

flat. Sentences like this utilize an instrumental noun as a verb, realized as a BY-MEANS-OF predicate, abstracted here simply as an operator [BY].

(91)   a. *the shirt flattens*   (_{AspP} the shirt (_v [FIENT]flat))

   b. *the shirt irons flat*   (_{AspP} the shirt (_v [BY]iron [FIENT]flat))

The secondary predicate resultative includes the addition of an argument to the heretofore two-argument predicate. Embick incorporates the argument via a process of *direct merge.* This process sees the adjunction of the INSTRUMENT argument directly into the V-HEAD. This adjunction will play a role in the next chapter, but suffice it for now to illustrate that the V[FIENT] operator is above all a verbalizing element. It takes in a root and implicates it as a predicate. Here, the insertion of an INSTRUMENT produces the root that will be verbalized, and this circumstance leaves the [state] argument in situ. In (92), this arrangement is diagrammed:

(92)   a. structure of a resultative with secondary predicate   b. example: *the shirt irons flat*
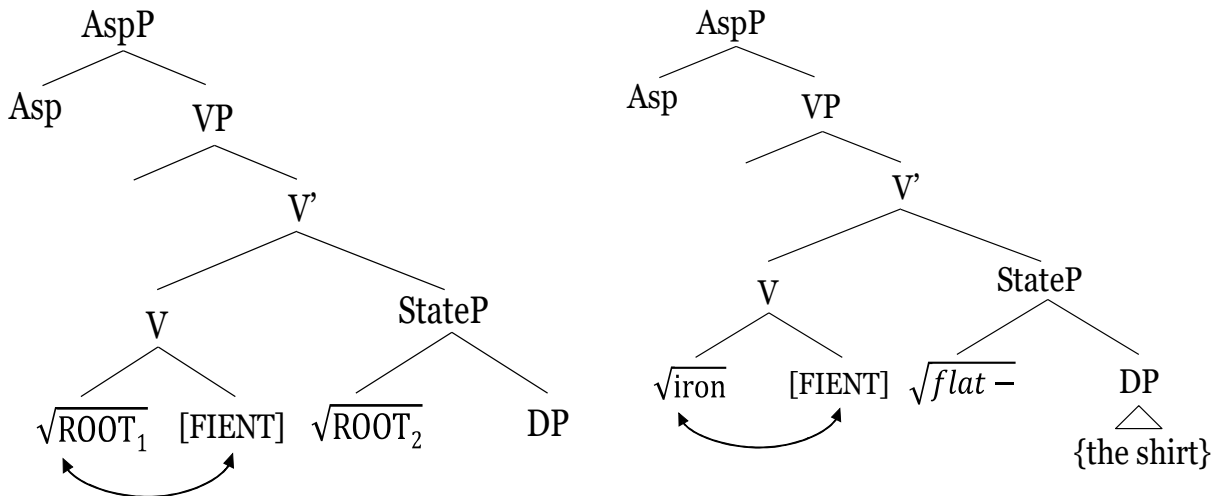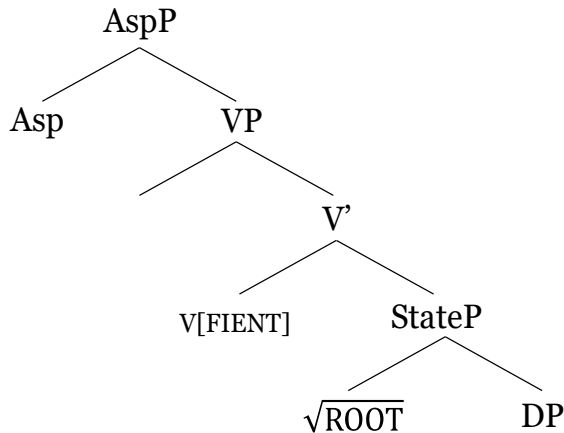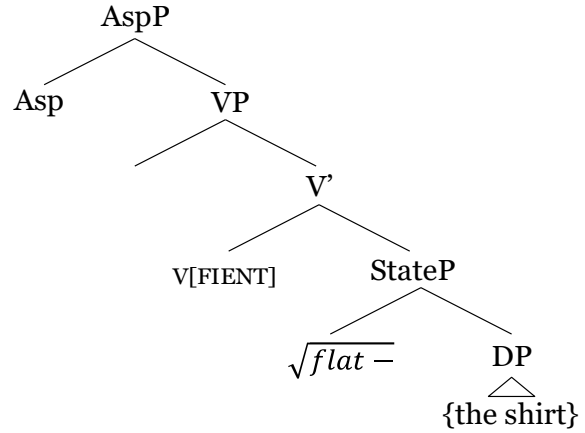

Here, the direct merge is seen in the dual-composition of V, where the V-HEAD is "split" via HEAD adjunction, which I have indicated with a connecting arrow. In (92b) we see the verbalizing effect of V[FIENT] such that the INSTRUMENT root *iron* becomes the main predicate of the sentence.

A variant of the resultative predicate is the deadjectival fientive. Here there is no INSTRUMENT argument, but the verbalizing effect of V[FIENT] persists. With no direct merge of an INSTRURMENT root, the action of V[FIENT] defaults to the only other available root, i.e. the [state] argument:

(93) a. structure of an adjectival fientive   b. example: **the shirt flattens**

```
          AspP                                          AspP
         /    \                                        /    \
       Asp     VP                                    Asp     VP
              /  \                                          /  \
             V'                                            V'
            /  \                                          /    \
    V[FIENT]    StateP                            V[FIENT]      StateP
               /    \                                         /      \
          √ROOT      DP                                  √flat−       DP
                                                                     {the shirt}
```

It is this structure that we deem to be the most basic of the resultative structures because it, unlike the other two resultative types, presents the simplest argument structure with the minimal two arguments: a DP and a [state] root. It also represents most closely the shape and meaning of the -*nan* predicate. Though Embick's model applies to English, the proposed structure conforms strikingly to the Gothic data. That is, given an intransitive verb that we can say is a telic, change-of-state predicate; and given that the state is explicit in the expression of the eventuality, we can cast the -*nan* verb within the same structure as the deadjectival fientive above. Hence one can draw a direct parallel between the development of a verb like English *flatten* and that of Gothic *fullnan*:

(94)   …jah wegos waltidedun in   skip, swaswe [**ita** juþan **gafullnoda**].   (Mk 4:37)

…and the waves beat upon the ship, so that [**it** already **became/had become full**].

AspP

Asp   VP

V'

V[FIENT]   StateP

$\sqrt{full-}$ DP

{**ita**}
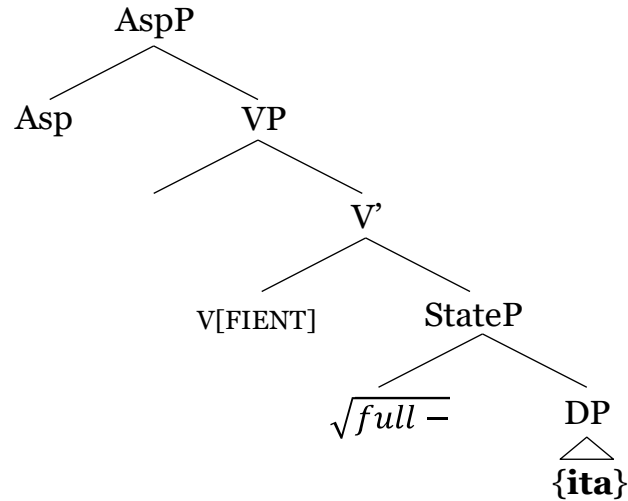
I have made the structure in (94) as basic as possible and omitted the adverbial *juþan*. It clearly

has scope over *gafullnoda*, so inserting it would be a standard operation of attaching it as an

adjunct above V. I would propose that the essential form in (94) does in fact represent the

expression of all finite *-nan* verbs. Implicit in this assembly is the use of the root √*full-* to occupy

the place of the [state] argument. The result is a systematic treatment of the *-nan* class that

predicts the integration of a state root as an argument.

We can presume the word order – generally subject then *-nan* verb – to be the result of any

number of subject-raising processes. Occasionally the word order is reversed, with the *-nan* verb

preceding its subject. Given the relatively limited corpus of Gothic, it is impossible to determine

a fundamental word order, but we can certainly accommodate both arrangements. Furthermore

we can propose a *-nan*-subject ordering, especially in embedded clauses, that validates our use of

a StateP. In (95), we see the same essential order as we might expect if the direct-object

originates within a phrase that is a complement to the V[FIENT]:

(95) … ei ushauhnai[29]   **namo fraujins unsaris Iesuis Xristaus** …   (2Th 1:12)

…that become exalted name of lord our   Jesus Christ …

CP
|
ei

AspP

Asp   VP

V[FIENT]   StateP

$\sqrt{(us)hauh}$-   DP

**{namo fraujins unsaris
Iesuis Xristaus}**
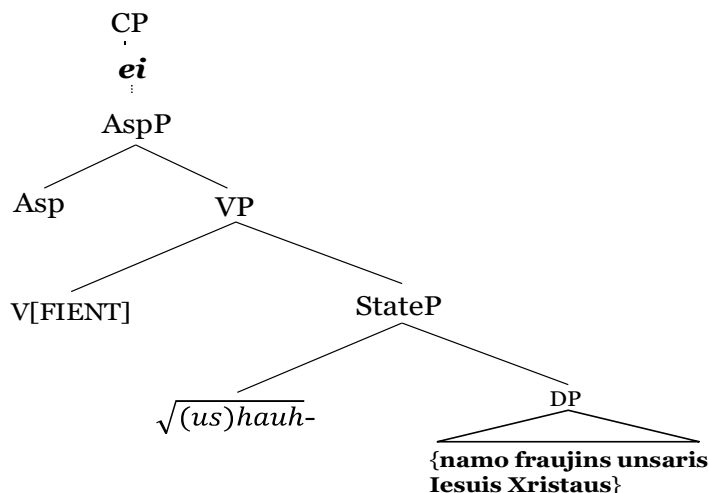
While the verbs we have been analyzing such as English *flatten* and Gothic *fullnan* do seem to possess a common semantics, it is tantalizing to carry that association into the morphology, assuming that there may be some shared link between the *-en* participial ending of English and the *-n-* suffix in Gothic. Such a shared heritage in morphology would serve to further validate the association. However, the historical semantics of the *-n-* suffix do not align with an inchoative type. There is little doubt that, as mentioned above, the *-n-* suffix derives from an Indo-European present stem formant with alternating ablaut: *-né(h_2)- ~ *-n(h_2)-. See particularly Ringe (2006: 259), Sihler (1995: 498), Suzuki (1989: 151), and Lambdin (2006: 314). In those languages that utilize the formant, it is certainly not limited to intransitive valence, nor is it particularly associated with the larger semantic field of inchoativity, the latter being far more frequently associated with the -sḱe-/-sḱo- feature mentioned in section 3.5.2, itself another present tense marker.

29 General assumptions about preverbs in Gothic deem them to be universal markers of perfectivity that retain old perfective ~ non-perfective distinctions present in the proto-language. See especially Lehmann (2013) and the aforementioned use of *ga-*, via Lloyd (1979). It is unclear at what point in the derivation pre-particles with prepositional force, such as *us-* 'out' and *ana-* 'upon' are factored in. Given their propensity to augment a verbal or adjectival expression (not change it), it is possible that they are integrated at a point *after* syntax and only then effect idiomatic senses of the root to which they are attached. I have included the pre-particle in parenthesis to indicate that it may or may not be present at this stage.

Drawing on this semantic similarity of the types *flatten* and *fullnan*, already Torp (1974) hypothesized that the *-n-* formant in Germanic, at some point became contaminated with the *-n-* of the participial ending of strong verbs. This participle is a historic adjectival marker with a nominative singular posited as Germanic *-(a)naz, from a PIE *-(o)nós, yielding the nominative of Gothic participles in *-ans*. The most reasonable line of "connection" here would be aspectual. If the participle can be assumed to signal perfectivity (in particular, the perceived completion of a verbal eventuality), then it is this that becomes mapped onto the inherited nasal in the verbal paradigm, yielding what can be called an old verbal type with an innovated constraint on aspect.[30] That this type then becomes a fientive follows predictably if we assume that perfectivity is in fact a diagnostic of the *-nan* type. Such a reasoning is put succinctly by Lambdin (2006) when he says in a footnote that ...

> technically speaking, the absence of a past (passive) participle is due not only to the intransitive nature of these verbs, but also to the fact that they are by definition perfective, and hence the active participles denote *having become* as well as *becoming*. (pg. 130)

---

30 Note that this is exactly the type of aspectual restriction that occurs in Russian. Recall (50), where an inchoativizing derivation is effected by perfectivization through prefixes.

5.3 IMPLICATIONS

Given the above proposal for a generative structure for *-nan* verbs, it is prudent to now apply that structure to some of the issues discussed in this chapter, specifically, how a structural view of *-nan* verbs, using V[FIENT] can account for various phenomena.

5.3.1 -nan **Verbs and Perfective Participles**

The model proposed for resultative participles can speak to a particular property of *-nan* verbs: they do not form past participles. In order to explain this, we need to codify the way such participles are structured. If we draft the model for the resultative participle from (89), we can pose a resultative framework that accommodates different types of roots in the root phrase, i.e the lowest phrase on the tree. In the examples above, I stipulated that the root phrase be one in which the root is interpreted as a state, StateP. For English resultatives such as *the shirt flattens* or Gothic *-nan* verbs such as *ita gafullnoda* that phrase is logically abstracted as one in which a state-root is the HEAD to which that state's head-noun (the noun it modifies) is the complement.

If we were to propose a parallel buildup for a past participle, we would need to stipulate that the HEAD of the root phrase be whatever type of root from which a given participles derives. Because past participles are implicated in passive expressions, it is reasonable to presume that the structure that underlies a participle effects verbal predication. Since we have already developed a mode whereby a state-root is verbalized via V[FIENT], we can adopt the same model for participles, projecting onto participial development a parallel process. This is reasonable since participles maintain a semantics of completive action that is engendered by V[FIENT]. Hence, the structural model for a given participle would look just like that of the fientive verb types we have seen thus far. Both would constitute processes of verbalization wherein the role of V[FIENT] is to affix predicative qualities to the root, specifying that they are perceived as complete.

What then would be the key difference between a fientive verb and a participle? The determining factor lies in argument structure. Specifically, the participle would be the resulting calculus when the structure houses the secondary verbal projection – vP – that is diagnostic for passive predicates. As we have seen, fientive verbs of the type *the shirt flattens* are interpretable as unaccusative sentences. This means that they lack the interceding projection that is typical of both transitive predicates and "true" passives. In the former, it is the vP that accommodates the assignment of the AGENT role (Burzio 1981). In the latter, the vP does the same but is prevented from enumerating that AGENT. This scenario triggers the promotion of the PATIENT argument causing it to become enumerated in subject position. The v-projection is included in our model of the passive in (85) above.

In our model of the past participle, the verb-root undergoes a process of becoming both an eventive element and a telic expression via the V[FIENT] operator. I will characterize this combinatory process as "resultativization". Hence in a verbal relationship such as √*break + window*, the V[FIENT] will render an entity that expresses an eventive outcome and one that is also diagnostically terminative: a resultative participle in the shape of *broken window.*

Another accommodation we must make is to modify the nature of the complement to the STATE. Previously, this complement is embodied as a DP. This DP functions well in the above structures in which the the whole phrase moves from an object position to a higher subject position, thus characterizing the object raising that is diagnostic for unaccusative verbs. If we propose that the same V[FIENT] operator is used to form past participles, what we end with is an efficient way to describe the fact that participles have argument structure. This is important because it lets participles accommodate verbal qualities, including the ability to optionally express an agent: an expression that is not available for regular adjectives. Even though participles themselves are clearly distributed like adjectives, it is necessary to draw this

149

demarcation. A sentence like *the window was broken*, can optionally take modifiers, either an

agent (*by the thief)*, in instrument *(with a hammar)*, or a purpose clause *(to gain access to the*

building). By contrast, predicate adjectives like *the window was green* cannot accommodate such

arguments. By realizing the complement to the STATE as an NP, we can assume that the whole

AspP can be treated as a modular complement to a D. It is a small addendum, but it allows us to

assume that in a phrase like *the broken window,* not only is there an underlying argument

structure for *broken*, but that the relationship between *broken* and *window* is not merely that

between an optional adjunct and the noun it modifies, such as would be the case in an attributive

adjective like *the green window.* Instead, we can realize the *resultative* relationship between a

participle and its object.

(96)   structure of resultative participle: *broken window*
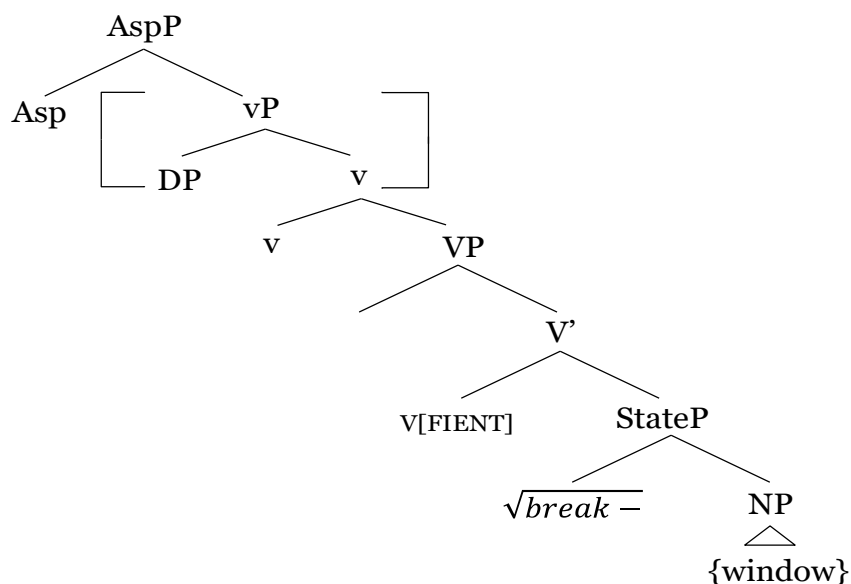
What stands out immediately in the diagram above is that there is no verb per se. The V[FIENT]

is an operator and does not equate to any actual predicate. Consequently, it is the complete lack

of a predicate that precipitates the HEAD-to-HEAD movement that allows V[FIENT] to act on the

HEAD of the root phrase. This indicates that the formation of a participle is just another instance

of V[FIENT] verbalizing a root. In the case of *the shirt flattens*, there is no underlying predicate either, just a relationship between a root, √flat, and a noun, *shirt* that resembles that between an adjective and the noun it modifies. Here, the V[FIENT] acts the same way. It provides the means whereby a predicate can be derived from the HEAD of the root phrase.

Embick allows us to apply this logic further. Recall that his model for a secondary-predicate resultative allows for the *direct merge* of an INSTRUMENT root, thus creating a "split HEAD". This direct merge facilitates sentences like those in (97).

(97)   a. transitive: *John irons the shirt flat.*

b. Intransitive: *The shirt irons flat.*

These can be diagrammed like this [(98b) is a recapitulation of (92b)]:

(98)   a. John irons the shirt flat   b. The shirt irons flat
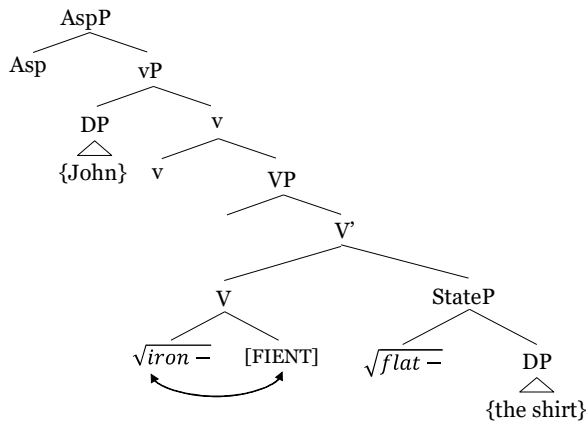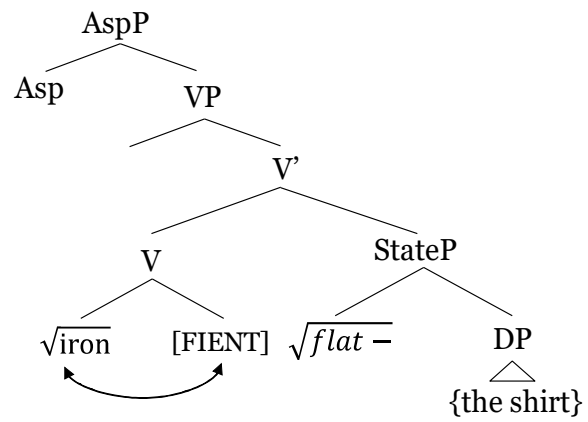
Note that the direct merge not only allows us to introduce an INSTRUMENTAL predicate, it allows us to introduce a root that will end up as the predicate of the clause. When comparing examples like (96) and (98) we can see that one of the roles of V[FIENT] is to create a verbal element from the most proximal root. We can therefore set up a structural taxonomy of outcomes. If that root is an INSTRUMENT that is merged directly, it becomes the verb of the clause: *The shirt irons flat.* If there is no INSTRUMENT-root and no interceding verbal projection,

then it is an unaccusative verb and the HEAD most proximal to V[FIENT] – the HEAD of the root phrase – becomes the verb of the clause: *The shirt flattens.* Lastly, if there is no INSTRUMENT-root but there *is* an interceding verbal projection, the proximal HEAD of the root phrase is interpreted as a verbalized state: *the flattened shirt.* In this case, it is a verbal relationship, √flatten + *shirt*, that is the "resultativized" outcome of the V[FIENT] operation.[31]

In the course of stipulating the exact parameters of V[FIENT], Embick points out a peculiarity of those resultatives that have a secondary predicate of the type *John ironed the shirt flat*. He notes that in such instances the secondary predicate can only be a bare stative, i.e. an adjective. It cannot be a resultative participle or a passive participle. The distinction can be seen in these transitive resultatives:

(99) a. John kicked the door open.

a'. *John kicked the door opened.

b. The child was spoiled rotten.

b'. *The child was spoiled rotted.

Embick's examples are (99a,a') to which I added (99b,b') to emphasize that both of these examples include instances in English where a stative participle can be distinguished from a resultative or passive by the presence of the *-en* ending.[32] We can formulate a cursory explanation for this by posing a restriction that limits the number of V[FIENT] operators per clause to one. In an example like **John kicked the door opened*, the root √kick is the INSTRUMENTAL that is merged directly with V[FIENT]. It provides the BY-MEANS-OF operator whereby the door reaches a state of √open. Consequently, the predicate for the sentence has

---

31 Of course, in English, a participle alone cannot act as the single verb of a sentence. If occurring within a DP, this structure makes sense to the extent that *the broken window* might house an AspP: [DP the [AspP broken window]]. But in other instances, the participle is the main conjunct of periphrastic constructions, usually being coordinated with a copula such as *to be*. The extension of this model to incorporate periphrases is addressed in chapter 13.
32 Due to the blanketing homophony of participial forms in English, other tokens like *closed* in *John kicked the door closed* do not elicit the same ungrammaticality; though one presumes that three versions of it still exist.

already been supplied. Another V[FIENT] would create a second verbal entity, in this case, a participle, *opened*.

The formal explanation for why this dichotomy is present in resultatives with secondary predicates relies on the Direct Object Rrestriction. The DOR specifies that a resultative contains at a minimum two arguments. It also specifies what those arguments have to be; one a noun and the other a state predicated of that noun. This applies to transitives and intransitives. A transitive resultative will have a subject (*John*), an object (*door*), and a state predicated of that object (√open). An intransitive will be the same but lack the subject.

Embick uses the DOR to explain why sentences like **John kicked the door opened*, or **Rolf ironed the shirt flattened* are ungrammatical. As noted, English participles like *opened* and *flattened* can only be interpreted as resultative participles, therefore they contain an eventive V component. This has the practical effect that, when diagrammed, the resultative structure gets duplicated. The upper AspP (AspP$_1$) incorporates a merged INSTRUMENT root as in (92). This is necessary to implicate the roots √kick and √iron as the means for the result-state. The lower AspP (AspP$_2$) incorporates the basic resultative structure seen in (87), that is, it reflects the eventive quality of the resultative participles *opened* and *flattened*. In (100) below, I have reproduced Embick's model for the ungrammatical sentence. I have maintained his positioning wherein the objects slots (labeled DP$_1$ and DP$_2$) are placed in the SPEC of VP. The positioning of the objects does not matter as much as their number, because it is an underrepresented number of objects that produces the ungrammaticality.

(100) *The shirt ironed flattened / *The door kicked opened

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{AspP}_1 \\
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Asp} & \text{VP} \\
& \begin{array}{cc}
\textbf{DP}_1 & \text{V'} \\
& \begin{array}{cc}
\text{V} & \text{AspP}_2 \\
\begin{array}{cc}
\sqrt{iron-}/\sqrt{kick-} & \text{[FIENT]}
\end{array} &
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Asp} & \text{VP} \\
& \begin{array}{cc}
\textbf{DP}_2 & \text{V} \\
\text{\{the shirt\} / \{the door\}} & \begin{array}{cc}
\text{V[FIENT]} & \sqrt{flat-}/\sqrt{open-}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\end{array}
$$
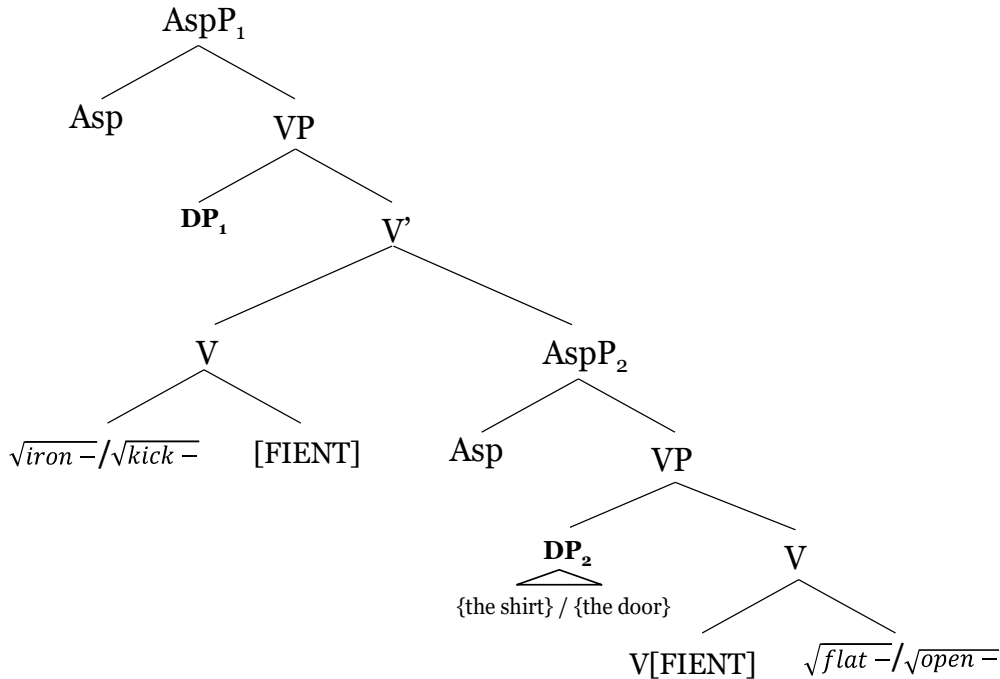
Given the restrictions of the DOR, the ungrammaticality is made clear. The only direct object, *the shirt / the door*, is contained within AspP$_2$. Thus, it cannot be the object for both the resultative participle, *flattened / opened* and the merged predicate, *ironed / kicked*.

The broader effects of the DOR are key to answering why resultatives without direct-objects are ungrammatical and why the general mode of repair is to insert a "dummy" object in the form of a co-index.

(101) *John laughed hoarse/silly.

John laughed *himself* hoarse/silly.

This mode of repair does not apply to (100) because of the further problem of formality. Essentially, the V[FIENT] in AspP$_1$– because it is a resultativizer – requires a proximal object. Such an object is not provided by the AspP$_2$. In the grammatical variant, *John kicked the door open,* the object is provided as the complement of the root phrase. The correct structure that falls out is now predictable given the conditions of the DOR we have seen. The HEAD of the root

phrase, √open, is blocked from being resultativized because the V[FIENT] acts on the merged root √kick. The root is still there, but without undergoing resultativization, it remains a bare state and is output simply as an adjective: *open*.

As mentioned before, the practical effect of the DOR is basically a prohibition on having two V[FIENT]s in any single clause. In the case of Gothic, Lambdin (2006), Ferraresi (2005), and Abraham (1992) all refer to the fact that perfective participles are not made with *-nan* verbs because they would express some sort of aspectual redundancy. The consensus is that *-nan* verbs already encode some level of 'completeness' or 'perfectivity' such that creating a perfective participle would have overlapping semantics. By utilizing the V[FIENT] operator, we can now qualify that overlap as the same constraint that makes (100) ungrammatical.

Recall that we have built a structure for the *-nan* verb that mirrors exactly that of an English fientive like *the shirt flattens*. We can conceptualize the formation of a past participle in Gothic as having the same violation as that seen in (100). Namely, one must assign to a verb like *fullnan* the same eventive composition seen in a participle like *opened*. While not a passive and thus entailing no external argument, the underlying structure of the fientive is still verbal, and does take at a minimum one internal argument. Assuming that it is the higher derivational phrase (AspP$_1$) that makes a perfective participle in Gothic, we have a comparable situation: two V[FIENT]s stacked within a derivation with only one internal object. In (102) below, AspP$_1$ represents the framework for the formation of an eventive participle, our theoretical **fullnoþ-*; and AspP$_2$ contains the framework for the formation of the *-nan* verb itself:

(102) structure of hypothetical *_fullnoþ- praufetja_ 'fulfilled prophecy'
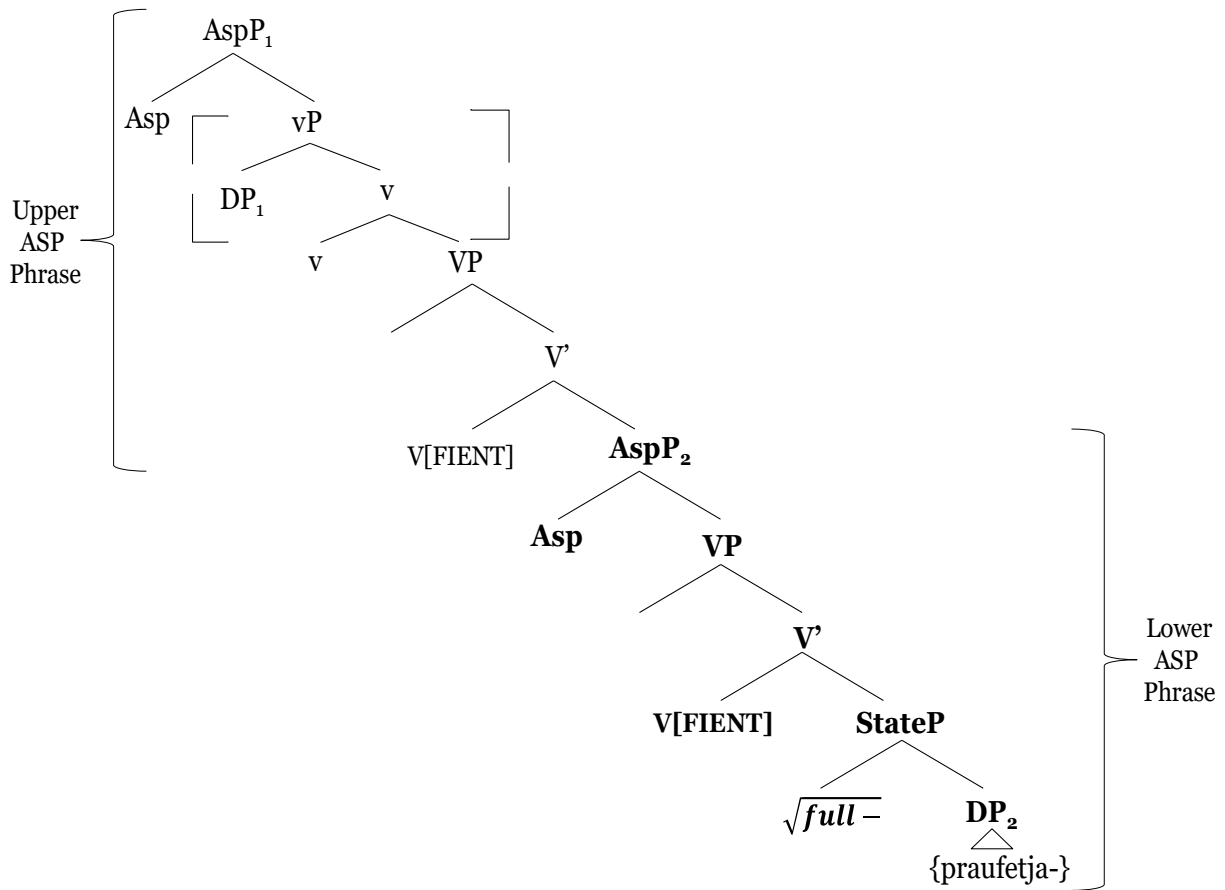
Here we have the same two problems that were present in (100). One is the aforementioned

shortage of objects. If both the -_nan_ verb and the participle are expressions of resultativization,

then each must fulfill the DOR, supplying one state and one object argument. The only object

argument available would be the complement of the root phrase in $AspP_2$, here represented by

praufetja 'prophecy'. Consequently, it cannot fulfill the DOR for the resultativization process in

$AspP_1$, the very process that would yield our participle.

We have already seen that the V[FIENT] is integral to the creation of deadjectival

fientives, and so too, under this analysis the parallel construction of -_nan_ verbs. In (102) this

structure is represented in $AspP_2$. Given the distribution of perfective participles in the text of

Gothic (discussed in chapters 7-9) it is equally reasonable to say that they are resultative in

nature. Moreover, because these participles act essentially as verbal-adjectives in Gothic, every perfective participle is associated with a noun which it modifies. Hence, the upper $AspP_1$ reflects this in a structure functionally identical to that of a *-nan* verb, and the same violation of the DOR seen in (102) obtains. Both AspPs require an object antecedent to the V[FIENT] operator, but in the creation of the participle, there is only space for one such argument.

It is prudent here to address a question that may arise with this analysis. While it is evident that no perfective participles stem from *-nan* verbs, one might ask if the restriction posed by the DOR applies to *-nan* formation itself. That is, if I were to claim that a perfective participle could be a base for *-nan* formation, wouldn't the same illegality occur as a result of having two V[FIENT] operators? Indeed, if we were to use the model above and place a perfective participle in the lower $AspP_2$, the resulting assemblage would trigger the same violation. I have, in section 5.2, ascribed to the theory that perfective participles share a stative base with *-nan* verbs. This wording is significant; I do not claim that *-nan* verbs are derived from past participles directly, but that the presence of a given past participle constitutes a representative state associated with a verb. That is, *-nan* verbs and past participles are derived from the same formal structure. The root phrase as I have presented it characterizes the root ~ object relationship that provides the derivational source for both. For the *-nan* verbs, the root-HEAD undergoes derivation in a structure lacking an AGENTIVE projection. This yields a telic fientive, *become* [state]. For the past participle, the root-HEAD undergoes derivation in a structure that includes that projection, and the resultativization of this yields an eventive and telic participle.

To validate this, we can again appeal to the fact that *-nan* verbs are uniform in their ablaut grade. Even in those tokens that beforehand would seem to derive from strong verbs, we see the regular use of zero-grade, typical of perfective participles and not of strong verbs. This fact is in accord with our analysis. It suggests a process of uniform treatment in these categories.

157

5.3.2 -*nan* Verbs and the Present Participle

The exact nature of the so-called present participle is not within the scope of this study, but it is prudent here to at least broach some deductions one can make about its syntactic formation. One of these is the inference that, if the AspP does indeed assign participial morphology, it would be found in the structure for the present participle as well as the perfective participle. However, because the present participle does not always encode a meaning that can be read as perfective, i.e. *having become* [state], one can conclude that the formation of this participle does not employ the [FIENT] operator.

The present participle in Gothic is used to translate both present and aorist participles in Greek, so we can say that the present participle, in its atomic form, is insensitive to aspectual shading. Instead, it is distribution that differentiates its usage in Gothic. Varying syntax reveals three general types. The first two are as complements, either subject complement or object complement. While the participle itself modifies one or the other type of complement, it carries eventive qualities that impose adverbial shading upon the main verb of the clause.

If the participle precedes the main verb, it positions the action of that verb at a time following it. These instances, as they appear in the received text, translate aorist (perfective) participles in Greek. In the examples below the main verb is underlined.

(103) a. CA jah **galeiþands** inn sa aggilus du izai <u>qaþ</u>:   (Lk 1:28)

— Καὶ **εἰσελθὼν** ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς αὐτὴν <u>εἶπεν</u>,

— And *having come in*, the angel said to her:

b. CA iþ is **sokjands** spilda [<u>nam</u>] ga[h]melida qiþands …   (Lk 1:63)

— καὶ **αἰτήσας** πινακίδιον <u>ἔγραψεν</u> λέγων,

— And he, *having asked for a tablet*, [took (it)], [and] wrote, saying …

(103) illustrates the same conjunctive participles mentioned in previous sections that contribute a recursive mode of temporal positioning in the Gospels. In these examples, the participles modify *sa aggilus* and *is* (Zakarias) respectively, and they have the effect of positioning the action of the main verbs, *qaþ* and *gamelida,* after the completion of the eventuality expressed in the participle itself. This is especially clear in (b) where Zacharias can only take the tablet and write in it after he has finished asking for it. It is for this reason that I have translated these participles with a perfective analogue, *having* [verb], though any translation that encodes the completeness of the clause would suffice, e.g. *upon coming in* and *upon asking for a tablet*. In this way, the present participle can be said to encode temporality to the primary clause, and thus have wide scope over that clause.

If the participle follows the main verb, however, it encodes a second type of adverbial effect that is always imperfective, denoting the *manner* in which the main verb's action is expressed.

(104) jah q̲e̲m̲u̲n̲ **sniumjandans** …   (Lk 2:16)

— καὶ ἦλθαν σπεύσαντες …

— And t̲h̲e̲y̲ ̲c̲a̲m̲e̲ **hurrying**,

The participle *sniumjandans* has scope over the verb *qemun* and can be said to have sentential (wide) scope. Unlike a conjunctive participle that denotes a separate, completed action, this type of participle can be described as adverbial, indicating the manner in which the disciples came.

The third type of participle is adnominal. In this case the participle qualifies only the noun to which it refers and does not impose an adverbial reading on the main verb at all. For this reason, this type of participle can be described as having narrow scope and its semantic value is that of a state, i.e. it acts like an adjective and not an adverb, affecting neither the temporality or manner of the main verb's action.

The participle can appear as an attributive adjective as in (105), where *sitandan* describes Levi's state when he is seen.

(105) … <u>gasahw</u> motari, namin Laiwwi, **sitandan** ana motastada   (Lk 5:27)

— … <u>ἐθεάσατο</u> τελώνην ὀνόματι λευὶν **καθήμενον** ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον

— … he <u>saw</u> a publican, named Levi, **sitting** at the custom station

The adnominal participle can also appear as a substantive, taking the place of an unexpressed noun but effecting the same adjectival semantics. This type is generally interpreted as a relative clause.

(106) a. qiþandans: þiuþida sa **qimanda** …   (Lk 19:38)

— λέγοντες, εὐλογημένος ὁ **ἐρχόμενος** …

— Saying, blessed be the one **who is coming**

b. … sa **habands** twos paidos   (Lk 3:11)

— … ὁ **ἔχων** δύο χιτῶνας

— … the **one having** two coats

In contrast to the present participle, the past participle is used almost exclusively in adnominal value[33]. It qualifies its antecedent with *narrow* scope. In the examples below, the antecedent nouns are underlined.

---

[33] Very rarely, the perfective participle is used in a serial construction like the first of the present participle types. This happens when the Gothic translator treats a deponent verb: ***gawandiþs*** *du siponjam seinaim sundro qaþ*, 'having turned unto his disciples, privately he said,' (Lk 10:23). In order to denote the presence of a deponent, the King James version utilizes a pseudo-reflexive, 'having turned himself'.

(107) a. <u>alla managei</u> gahausjandei jah <u>motarjos</u> garaihtana domidedun guþ, **ufdaupidai**

daupeinai Iohannis. (Lk 7:29)

— <u>all the crowd</u> hearing, and <u>the tax collectors</u>, judged God (to be) just,

having been baptized with the baptism of John.

b. bi **þo rodidona** fram þaim hairdjam du im (Lk 2:18)

— by **those things that were told** by the shepherds to them

In (107a), the participle is a subject complement, it conveys a sense of *having been baptized* as a

state intrinsic to the multitude of people and the tax collectors, but it does not impose any

adverbial quality over the verb *domidedun* 'they judged'. Such a complement, one that has scope

only over its antecedent, typifies the use of the perfective participle in Gothic, presented in its

most direct form in (107b) where it is a substantive 'things said'.

The V[FIENT] as we have defined it is implicated in the production of perfective

participles and *-nan* verbs. Because we have installed the feature as a component in the syntactic

derivation of *-nan* types, we would expect that a participle built to *-nan* verbs would also contain

V[FIENT]. What we would predict then is a limited distribution of this type, parallel to the

limited distribution of the perfective participle. That is, even though the present participle in

Gothic has three types, we would expect the *-nan* present participle to have fewer types and to be

restricted to those roles that can readily be seen as perfective. Regarding the number of types,

-nan participles are indeed restricted to one. Of 29 tokens, we find that all are clearly the

adnominal type; they are either modifiers of nouns or substantive nouns. This use as an adjective

is concordant with the relation between *-nan* verbs and states.

Regarding their inherent aspect, it is unclear whether all the adnominal types are indeed

perfective. I propose that they are, and that it is the [FIENT] operator intrinsic to *-nan* verbs that

persists in the formation of *-nan* participles. This would account for the limited distribution of

161

these participles, constraining their use to actions that can maintain a result-state. To validate

this, all we must do is assess the logical interpretation of the tokens. Given a *-nan* substantive,

such as those discussed in section 4.6 we have already seen how the most felicitous reading is

that of a completed event which has yielded an ongoing state. That state then becomes a

descriptor for the noun substantivized. Below are examples of more *-nan* substantives with the

previously discussed token in (68) recapitulated here as (108a).

(108) a. gredagans gasoþida þiuþe jah **gabignandans** insandida lausans.   (Lk 1:53)

> — The hungry he satisfied with goods and the **rich** (those **having become rich**) he
>
> sent away empty.

> b. þaþro þan weis þai libandans, þai **aflifnandans** suns miþ imma frawilwanda in
>
> milhmam du gamotjan fraujin in luftau   (1Th 4:17)
>
> — Thereupon we the living, the **remaining** (those **having become left behind**), immediately
>
> together with him will be snatched up into the clouds to meet the Lord in the air.

> c. [A] unte þata waurd galgins þaim **fralusnandam** dwaliþa ist, iþ þaim ganisandam mahts
>
> gudis ist.   (1Cor 1:18)
>
> — For that word of the cross to the **lost** (those **having become lost**) is foolishness; but
>
> to the saved (those being saved), it is the power of God.

> d. [A+B]jabai auk þata **gataurnando** þairh wulþu, und filu mais þata *wisan*do in wulþau.
>
> — For if that which is **transitory** (**having passed away**) [is] glorious, then much more
>
> that remaining [is] glorious.   (2Cor. 3:11)

The substantives in (108) can effect a timeline in each sentence, indicating some state that has

come about as a result of a previous action. And while the states in (108a-c) could alternatively

be seen as generically adjectival – 'being rich', 'remaining', 'being lost', and 'being transitory' –

the consistency of use we have seen in *-nan* validates resultative readings. Particularly in (108d)

162

gataurnando indicates that those things it refers to are transitory inasmuch as they have changed state in some meaningful way: 'having passed away/having become torn away' (cf. the aforementioned *distaurnan* 'become torn'). When aspect like that presented in (108) is ambiguous, the burden of proof must again be placed on those interpretations that do *not* perceive a result-state. Otherwise we can maintain consistently a result-state interpretation to the effect that a *rich* man must undergo the process of accumulating wealth, something *remaining* of being left behind, and something *lost* of being lost.

When the participle is a modifier of a subject or object, it continues its role of a temporal marker, denoting completed action that precedes the main action.

(109) a. jah stubju þana **gahaftnandan** unsis us þizai baurg izwarai ana fotuns unsarans

afhrisjam izwis;   (Lk 10:11)

— καὶ τὸν κονιορτὸν τὸν **κολληθέντα** ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς πόδας

ἀπομασσόμεθα ὑμῖν:

— and that dust of your city, **having become stuck** on our feet, we wipe off at you.

b. iþ þata barn wohs jah **swinþnoda** ahmins **fullnands** jah handugeins.   (Lk 2:40)

— [Byz] Τὸ δὲ παιδίον ηὔξανεν, καὶ **ἐκραταιοῦτο** πνεύματι, **πληρούμενον** σοφίας·

— yet that child grew and **became strong** of spirit, **becoming filled** also of wisdom.

In (109a) *gahafnandan* describes the state of the dust, being stuck to the speakers' sandals as the result of walking through the city, a state that must be completed for the dust be 'wiped off'. So too, we find a predictable translation of an aorist participle in Greek. In (109b), it is clear that the acts of *growing up* and *becoming strong* denote discrete and completed events. The interpretation of *fullnands* follows so as to describe an event concurrent with the latter. Hence, the act of *becoming/having become filled of wisdom* is also complete, modifying a condition stipulated by the past tense verb *swinþnoda*.

When we observe the *-nan* participle as an attributive adjective we find that the evidence for a result-state eventuality is strongest. This is because, as with participial substantives, one can assume that the choice of a participle over an adjective indicates some degree of eventuality present in the state being denoted.

(110) a. þairh **infeinandein** armahairtein gudis unsaris, (Lk 1:78)

— διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους θεοῦ ἡμῶν,

— Through the **compassionate** (**having become compassionate**) mercy of our God,

b. ᴮei ansts **managnandei** þairh managizans awiliud ufarassjai du wulþau guda. (2Cor 4:15)

— ἵνα ἡ χάρις **πλεονάσασα** διὰ τῶν πλειόνων τὴν εὐχαριστίαν περισσεύσῃ

εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

— that grace **abundant** (**having become magnified**) through more (people) might increase the thanksgiving for glory for God.

Both participles in (110) can be found as finite verbs elsewhere, *infeinan* 'become compassionate' and *managnan* 'become magnified'. Their meanings are not in dispute, so the adaptation of these verbs as attributive adjectives may be presumed to carry with it verbal action. So too, practical translation using adjectives like *tender* or *abundant* is a matter of convention. In (110a), the Greek effects adjectival semantics through a genitive construction, σπλάγχνα ἐλέους θεοῦ literally 'the affections of compassion of God'. Thus we see in translation a similar route to that which yields substantives: to treat what is a noun in Greek, the translator employs the substantivizing quality of the *-nan* verb to effect not just an adjective, but an adjective that is referential of an event that brings it about. In (110b) we see the direct correlation between an aorist participle in πλεονάσασα and a *-nan* verb, which we expect as a way to express the same action-completion eventuality.

As a final point of analysis, we can observe the event-serializing nature of the *-nan* participle in the following example.

(111) iþ is **gahnipnands** in þis waurdis galaiþ gaurs; was auk habands faihu manag. (Mk 10:22)

— ὁ δὲ **στυγνάσας** ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀπῆλθεν λυπούμενος, ἦν γὰρ ἔχων κτήματα πολλά.

— And he **having become sad** at that saying, went away grieved: for he was one having many possessions.

An oddity of (111) is that the participle *gahnipnands* evokes a state of 'sadness' that is essentially the same as the simple adjective *gaurs* 'sad'. The dynamic we see then, both in the Greek and Gothic, is that of a bare state acting as sequential confirmation of a result-state. στυγνάσας is an aorist participle, complete with diagnostic perfectivity that is carried over in Gothic with a *-nan* participle. Greek λυπούμενος however is a present participle, for which the Gothic translator finds equivalent semantics straightforwardly in an adjective. The result is not a redundant affirmation that the man is indeed sad, but instead another means of denoting serialization: he hears the words and becomes grieved, *then* he goes away, keeping the state of grief previously obtained. In this way the sentence in (111) shows an additional use of the *-nan* participle as a way to coordinate events in time, but it is exemplary because it shows the explicit denotation of a single state in two guises: a *-nan* participle that indicates perfective state- attainment, and a simple adjective that indicates state ongoingness.

While these assessments of perfectivization in *-nan* participles are not wholly irrefutable, they do establish a baseline of interpretation. In every instance, a perfective reading is applicable. Given the distribution of present participles in general, it is to be underscored that the very limited distribution of *-nan* participles is indicative of some constraining factor.

Perfectivity stemming from a resultative argument structure is a viable candidate, especially when bolstered by the overarching semantics of *-nan* verbs which – time and again – show telic eventuality manifest in the text as a result-state action.

5.4 SUMMARY: PERFECTIVIZATION AS A CONSTRAINT ON ASPECT

The resultative analysis as presented here can account for the various phenomena associated with *-nan* verbs. These include a unified semantics that expresses a *become* [state] action, a prohibition on forming past participles, and a constraint on forming present participles. The motivation for the analysis is not only to characterize the way in which *-nan* verbs fit into a larger system of derivation, but to do so without establishing a line of origination to any one source, be it noun, adjective, or *-jan* verb. The appeal to an uncategorized root allows us to posit a universal base in a [state], one that is pushed into a verbal expression by means of an abstract [FIENT] operator. It is proper here to acknowledge the debt this analysis owes to that of Harbert (1978), who also used a system of abstracts like BECOME and CAUSE to effect *-nan* and *-jan* formation. He did this by positing an underlying clause structure in which a base adjective in a lower clause could be acted upon by the subject in a higher one. In a transitive sentence, the deconstructed abstracts allowed a subject in the higher clause to DO an action which, as specified in the lower clause, CAUSEd the state value of the adjective to come about. This yielded a *-jan* verb. In the intransitive sentence, the lack of a subject triggered the abstract of the lower clause to be BECOME, with the state value of the adjective coming about without an agent, yielding a *-nan* verb. In this way, Harbert's theory also maintains a level of structural conditioning.

What might be said for the resultative analysis is that it validates some of Harbert's premises and refines others. Instead of positing deconstructed abstracts that correlate with real lexical items like BE, CAUSE and DO, the resultative analysis uses a non-lexical abstract in [FIENT], one that does not alternate with any others but is instead indicative of its own verbal

categorization. So too the derivational relationship between *-nan* verbs and *-jan* verbs gets dissolved and is replaced with one representing the co-expression of a common root. Harbert named that root an adjective, but – as manifold scholarship has demonstrated – it is untenable to cite adjectives as a lexical base for all *-nan* verbs. However, it is evident through *-nan* semantics that there is a singular root *type* in the guise of a conceptual [state]. The structural conditioning is thus not representative of a derivational switching between abstracts, but of marked and unmarked predicate types. This marking is verifiable in that *-nan* verbs persistently express telic eventualities.

This presentation of *-nan* verbs attempts to synthesize various features of these verbs and to position those features within a system. This system takes the form of a resultative argument structure built within syntax. The model proposed allows us to account for the diagnostic qualities of *-nan* verbs as stated, namely their distribution as a universally intransitive type, and their fientive semantics. In significant ways, this study also draws on the observations put forth in other analyses, such as those of Suzuki (1989), Ferraresi (2009), and Ottosson (2014). It is distinguished however, by the proposition that these three points of focus can be accounted for as an expression of derivational aspect. In order to identify the reason aspectual shading materializes, I have implemented a building procedure proposed by Embick (2004) for rendering compositional fientives.

Aspectual markedness explains the phenomena seen throughout this chapter, one of which is the breakdown of participial types. The two-way division of participial types in Gothic (and Germanic at large) is often ascribed to considerations of diathesis, an active and a passive participle. These terms are certainly valid and – in the case of Gothic – reflect a clear translational strategy for moving participles from a Greek environment into a Germanic one: active voice participles present participles and mediopassive to passive. In distributional terms

though, it is beneficial to approach this dichotomy in terms of markedness. It is clear from the above examples that the perfective participle and the *-nan* participle have a more limited range of use than that of the present participle, an observation that coincides with our proposed distribution of the V[FIENT] operator in only those entities that encode a state-change. Hence, the perfective participle is marked for perfectivization and has a narrower distribution, while the active participle is unmarked for aspect and contains a broader one.

By way of summarizing this chapter, it is useful here to apply this notion of markedness across some of the phenomena seen in previous sections. We can now broach one of the problems facing an analysis that relies purely on a change in argument structure, such as a derivation brought about by an assembly of abstracts (à la Harbert) or one brought about by detransitivization (à la Suzuki). In section 3.1, I note two types of derived verbs that are intransitive, with stative expressions similar to those of *-nan* verbs. One is *-jan* verbs that are straightforwardly intransitive. The question was raised: if one could rely on context alone to determine when an intransitive verb is appropriate, why not simply have one derivational category, using *-jan* verbs for intransitive expression? I reproduced examples seen in (36):

(112) a. siponjan 'be a disciple' (from siponeis, n., disciple)

     b. riqizjan 'become dark' (from riqis, n., darkness)

     c. flautjan 'be boastful' (from flauts, adj., boastful)

The second type of derived intransitive verbs with stative value is the reflexive middle, a category that is clearly an idiomatization of established reflexive constructions, but for which – in a few examples – the literal meaning has given way to a figurative one that expresses a state of being. Examples like this in Gothic are *gaskaman sik* 'be ashamed', *gasleiþjan sik* 'suffer loss', and *andþagkjan sik* 'consider'. With only a few tokens, this group cannot be realized as a semantic category in Gothic, but to be reckoned with here is the overwhelming trend for

reflexive verbs of this type to become the predominant way of expressing non-agentive 'middle' voice in Germanic, coordinated with the respective dis-preference for *-na-* types which outside of Gothic are largely moribund.

What lacked satisfactory explanation in a detransitivizing system can now be accounted for in terms of markedness. We can hypothesize that categories that were unmarked for aspect gained preference, and an entity that was marked perfective, such as *-nan* verbs, was dis-preferred. In synchrony, Gothic provides the cross-section of this transitional stage. It is well-evidenced that Proto-Germanic contained some level of paradigmatic aspect, represented through the application of preverbs like *ga-*. Though a regular alternation between perfective and imperfective is not verifiable in Gothic, the behavior of the *-nan* verb shows it to be a derivational predicate that maintains aspectual markedness that is otherwise defunct. Hence, it fossilizes within a single verbal category an older distinction that previously spanned the whole verbal system.

In opposition, the *-jan* type as it developed in Germanic represents an amalgam of both imperfective and perfective forms, and so was never assigned a unique aspectual profile. The marginalization of one and proliferation of the other shows a clear diminution of the marked type: in lieu of an entity that can only represent a *become* [state] expression, preference is given to those forms that can alternatively be punctual, *become*, or stative *be* [state]. Some *-jan* verbs can do this given appropriate context, becoming essentially labile verbs in branches such as Old English.

Outside of Old English, the preference is for idiomatic reflexives to become a categorical reflexive middle. We can see the lack of perfective markedness of this class of verbs already in Gothic. Because the reflexive middle in Gothic, nascent as it may be, stems from psychological verbs, it is a perceived state-of-mind that yields a stative value. Both examples below are taken

169

to be ongoing psychological conditions. While *skaman* sik in (113a) still maintains some ambiguity toward aspect, *andþahta* in (113b) does not, and is clearly reflective of a speaker's ongoing state of mind.

(113) a. unte saei **skamaiþ sik** meina jah waurde meinaize in gabaurþai þizai horinondein jah

    frawaurhton, jah sunus mans **skamaiþ sik** is   (Mk 8:38)

    — For he who **is/becomes ashamed** of me and of my words in this adulterous and

    sinning generation, also the son of man will **be(come)** ashamed of him

    b. **andþahta mik** hwa taujau, ei þan, biþe afsatjaidau us fauragaggja, andnimaina mik in

    gardins seinans.   (Lk 16:4)

    — **I have resolved/made up my mind** what I may do, so that then, when I may be

    turned out of the stewardship, they may take me into their houses.

Another example of the perfective ~ imperfective dichotomy in reflexives may also be evident in the verb *laisjan sik* 'learn'. It is this predicate that stands in opposition to the causative *laisjan* 'teach'. One might expect that the corresponding intransitive would show a *-nan* formation, yielding **lisnan,* a verb which is unattested in Gothic but elsewhere in Germanic shows well-attested avatars meaning 'come to know'. These include, prominently, Old English *leornian*, English *learn,* Old High German *lirnēn,* and New High German *lernen*. The reason this formation is unattested in Gothic is not clear, but the different way of rendering 'learn' in Gothic suggests variant qualifications on *-nan* production across languages. In fact, given the synchronic situation in Gothic, one might presume that **lisnan* – a verb based on the attested preterite-present *lais* 'I know' – would mean 'become known', not 'come to know/become knowing/learn'; the value exhibited by its *-nan* cognates. In this way, a theoretical dichotomy of perfective markedness offers insight into the diachronic state of affairs. Furthermore the tenets of distributive morphology allow us to characterize *-nan* verbs in relation to other parts of speech,

making it clear that it is entirely syntactic structure, not relations to other words, that determines morphological outcome. The benefit of this lies both in unifying the semantics of *-nan* predicates and in establishing a structural space for a new kind of argument structure within Gothic: the resultative. Though the *-nan* verb is on the timeline of Germanic a marginalized class, the resultative argument structure is implemented in the development of a new category of perfect periphrases, set forth in the following chapters.

PART 3

RESULTATIVITY IN THE GOTHIC PASSIVE PERIPHRASIS

CHAPTER 6

VIEWS OF THE PERIPHRASTIC PASSIVE: PREVIOUS ANALYSES

Gothic has two periphrastic constructions, each formed with a collocation of the preterite

participle and a linking verb: either the stative copula *wisan* 'be' or the eventive copula *wairþan*

'become'. The scholarly consensus is that these constructions form a type of compositional

passive. The exact use and selective distribution of the two constructions however, is not overtly

clear, especially in terms of the optionality they show in conveying Greek passive and

mediopassive forms.

What stands to be investigated are the routes whereby these periphrases come to represent

two independent entities. One is a clear periphrastic passive, presumably the same collocation

that has been grammaticalized into a productive passive transformation in later Germanic

languages, using either a form of the 'be' copula, or the inchoative 'become' copula, as in

German. The other is a hypothetical entity of unknown character wherein the collocation comes

to represent a verbal eventuality with ongoing relevance. These paraphrases have been seen as

expressions separate from the passive, alternatively as expressions of some kind of middle voice

or as a precursor to a grammatical perfect. The 'be' and 'become' forms are also attested in

productive grammaticalizations throughout the Germanic family, constituting things like the

Zustandspassiv and *sein* perfects that characterize various uses of the *be* + PP formula in German

and Dutch and other shades of resultativity, inchoativity, and passivity in the Scandinavian

languages. It is not surprising then that when a periphrasis in Gothic is seen to eschew passive

semantics (or even resist them) the ready explanation is a synthesis of the various ideas stated

above, namely that because the forms of *wisan* + PP and *wairþan* + PP are considered purely

compositional, any verbal force, be it aspectual or temporal, is purely a matter of pragmatic entailment, and thus the lexical semantics of a given participle can produce different outcomes that can range from an out-and-out passive to a result-state perfect, the latter having partial or no passive semantics.

There are two main avenues of dispute. The first speaks to the nature of the formula of *wisan* + PP in the present tense, hereafter summarized as *ist* + PP. What stands at the core of this issue is the fact that Gothic, unlike any other Germanic language, retains a nearly complete paradigm for a morphological (synthetic) passive voice, one that can be presumably formed from any transitive verb. By the time of the Gothic gospel it is generally thought that this synthetic passive is being sloughed off in favor of other means of expressing diathesis and so becomes, as Cowgill calls it, a moribund category in Gothic[34], that is to say, one that is represented but shows a proportionally low number of occurrences and a reduced inflectional paradigm. The fact that the morphological passive appears only in the present tense seems to explain on the face of things why a supplementary passive was invented. The periphrases of *wisan* and *wairþan* in the past tense (hereafter *was* + PP and *warþ* + PP) fill this role, but therein materializes the second point of dispute, namely what (if any) is the difference between the use of *was* and *warþ* to effect passive voice in the past tense?

6.1 PERIPHRASIS AS "FALSE" PASSIVE

The earliest assessments maintained that the Gothic periphrasis developed more fully in past tense since there was a synthetic passive. This view was espoused by Brugmann (1916: 510) and Zieglschmid (1929: 364). In his dissertation on the shape of the resultative in Old High German, Davis (1986: 55) caps the discussion with an offhand remark that "the present time use of *ist* + PP is uncommon [sc. in Gothic] because the function is basically still performed by the synthetic

---

34 Cowgill (2006): not only does the synthetic passive in Gothic appear only in the present tense, it also has a reduced set of personal endings in the plural, uniformly -*anda* (indicative) and -*aindau* (subjunctive)

passive forms," a claim that is – at least statistically – not true. These views address a

problematic feature of *ist* + PP, namely that examples of this construction exist that are

seemingly passive, seemingly active, or ambiguous. The framework that surrounds this

ambiguity stems from Brugmann's (1916) hypothesis of how a verbal adjective transforms into a

full-fledged participle in Germanic. In Brugmann's cline, a verbal adjective is derived from a

verb stem; at this point, it functions like an adjective and can appear either attributively or

predicatively. Because these so-called verbal adjectives are derived from verbs, they can have

temporal expression. From these, he speculates, participles develop, conveying not only

reference in time, but tense and aspect, the latter usually expressed in Steinberg's terms of

perfective or imperfective. The cultivating environment for the participle is a predicative syntax

with a main linking verb. It gradually becomes a participle when it is felt to convey the verbal

meaning of the sentence, while the linking verb gradually becomes it auxiliary. Together they

express an aspectual meaning, optimally, a periphrastic perfect.

While the developmental model is fine, it is difficult to pinpoint any one moment when the

collocation of a verbal adjective and linking verb transforms into the collocation of a full-fledged

participle with an auxiliary. Davis (1986) notes that, even in Brugmann's schema, there is a

stage where the participle is still inflected to agree with the noun it modifies in gender and

number and case. Thus, "the verbal adjective and participles are not therefore, for the most part

formally differentiated. This leads to a fluctuation between these two grammatical categories"

(27). It is this fluctuation that has led most later scholars to use terms like *verbal adjective* and

participle interchangeably and Germanic grammarians to refer to the final principle part in a

verbal paradigm as either.

What arises then is a somewhat ad hoc line of differentiation between Gothic and all other

Germanic languages. The former exhibits a more primitive stage where the verbal elements

involved are acting as a pragmatic composition: the main verb *wisan* or *wairþan* functions as a full verb, and the participle contributes temporal past-time value. The result is a periphrastic passive. Later formations, particularly in Old Norse and OHG exhibit the latter stages, where compositional participants have merged into grammatical units, both as formal passives and formal perfects. The greatest validation for this is the fact in these languages the past participle has lost its adjectival morphology, representing just one form that does not decline for person, number and case.

Evidence of a primitive state is presented by Kern (1912: 3-4) who found instances where a verbal adjective is made from an intransitive (or optionally transitive) verb. These instances seem to act as pure adjectives, devoid of tense or aspect.

(114) a. drugkans 'drunk'   1Cr 11:21… jah þan sums gredags sumzuþ ~ þan drugkans *ist*.

                                … and then one [is] hungry and one is drunk.

b. urrisans 'risen'   2Tm 2:8 Gamuneis Xristu Iesu urrisanana us dauþaim …

                                You should remember, Jesus Christ [is] risen from the dead ...

c. uswahsans 'grown up' Jn 9:23   duhþe þai berusjos is qeþun þatei uswahsans *ist*

                                therefore his parents said that [he] is grown up

All of these are examples of what are considered predicative constructions wherein the verbals are best categorized as verbal adjectives and not as past participles. That is, they do not contain an underlying argument structure that is implicated in the expression of a verbal entity like a participle. In particular, (114a) pairs *drugkans* with the "pure" adjective *gredags* 'hungry', the latter having no verbal implications whatsoever.

This reading underlies Kern's assessment that, regardless of what may or may not be the role of verbals in the majority text, these cases show a clear adjectival archaism or at the very least the ambiguous role of something more akin to an adjective than a participle.[35]

Furthermore, it is possible that the participles in (114b) and (114c) are participating in some compositional semantics that render them more adjective-like than verb-like. Though the verb is gapped in (114b), the *Vorlage* attests the only verbal to be a perfect mediopassive participle, ἐγηγερμένον. Many translators opt to use a past tense verbal here, 'was raised'. Lastly, (114c) resists passive interpretation altogether, with its token *uswahsans* deriving from a non-transitive verb. It is cases like these that show that the periphrastic formation in Gothic is not exclusively passive.

6.2 PERIPHRASIS AS PASSIVE AND RESULTATIVE

Early Germanic grammars present the *ist* + PP periphrasis as having at least a dual nature. For Wilmanns (1906:138) it could express a regular present passive, wherein an action is currently being done, or show a present tense *als Ergebnis einer forlaufenden Handlung*. For these, he gives the examples:

(115) a. 2Cr 1:4   *gaþrafstidai sijum*   'we are consoled'

 b. Php 1:23   *dishabaiþs im*   'I am held fast'

 c. Eph 2:22   *miþgatimridai sijuþ* 'you are built together'   (apud. Davis 1986)

For (115a-b), the action appears ongoing; it can be paraphrased in English by the present progressive: 'being consoled', 'being held fast'. (115c) would facilitate a different reading in which it is the result of the action that is emphasized instead of the action itself. This is the

---

35 Hendrikson (1948:74) proposes that examples like *drugkans* 'drunk' are still verbal in nature. As a verb of consumption, *drigkan* shows characteristic optionality in transitivity: 'I drink' vs. 'I drink something'. In this assessment, the participle can take on adjectival features because it derives from the intransitive version of 'drink'. Thus, *drugkans* would retain an underlying argument structure, and the condition of being 'inebriated' would not just be an adjective but a result-state, brought about by the finite act of drinking (alcohol). This assessment is historically (and paradigmatically) valid for the verb 'drink', but at the time of the extant Gothic, it is more likely that *drugkans* is lexicalized as an adjective, as evidenced by its coordination with the adjective *gredags* 'hungry'.

interpretation that best characterizes the German *Zustandspassiv,* otherwise known as the false passive because it is considered to be a pragmatic interpretation instead of a syntactic transformation performed on an active sentence. In the sentence *Das Haus ist gebaut*, the emphasis is on a completed state of the house. Contrast *Das Haus wird gebaut*, a true passive in which an active base has undergone a transformation to express an ongoing condition: 'the house is being built'.

But the most apt translation is not clear; Wilmann's interpretation is subject to nuance and as such is contested by Behaghel (1924:III:206), who goes further in claiming that all of the above examples are best interpreted as results. He also notes that in (115b) *im* was a copyist's addition, and so is a less viable example. Under Behaghel's interpretation, (115a) is best interpreted like (115c) with the act of being consoled similar to the act of being built, that is, a result of some previous action, 'we have been consoled'. This is prefigured by a similar statement by Paul (1905):

> Es entspricht seiner *Doppelnatur*, dass im Got. *ist* zur Umschreibung sowohl des Präs. als des Perf., was zur Umschreibung des Imperf. sowohl wie des Plusqu. gebraucht wird, während die Umschreibung mit *warþ* den griechischen Aorist wiedergiebt. (164)

> (apud Davis 1986)

In Paul's system *ist* + PP describes both the present and perfect, *was* + PP, describes the imperfect and pluperfect, and *warþ* + PP describes the Greek aorist. For Paul, the refinement of these associations can be seen in OHG, where each auxiliary inclines to one of the variant meanings: *werdan* for passive present tense, and *wesan* for perfect. This is in agreement with Grimm (1837: 4: 13), who notes that OHG 'be' + PP came to be felt as preserving a *präsentischer Charakter.*

The perception of *ist* + PP as having some measure of non-passive value affects the way it is treated regarding the development of later passives. Schröder (1957) set forth a non-past generalization that agrees with Wilmanns (1906), but goes further, laying down a clear difference in the way present passives are expressed in Gothic vs. OHG. Again we see a direct parallel between a conceptual *Zustandspassiv* and *Vorgangspassiv*. For Schröder, OHG *gigeban ist* is comparable to Gothic *gibans ist*, both expressing stative quality that is durative and permanent; they enumerate the quality of something 'having been given'. Conversely, OHG's "true" passive *gigeban wirdit* has no analogue in Gothic. This latter is also durative, but not stative, expressing ongoing action that is not permanent, with the quality of 'being given'. This framework then denies that any real present passive periphrasis exists in Gothic. Instead the only true passive expression was exclusively the synthetic passive in the present and *warþ* + PP in the past. *ist* + PP and *was* + PP were interpreted purely pragmatically, the components of each acting respectively as full linking verb and verbal adjective in a relationship that was best interpreted as a predicate nominative. The emergence of a systematic transformational entity was seen only in the instances of *wairþan* + PP, which parallels the selfsame use of *werden* in OHG.

6.3 LEXICAL ASPECT AS AN INTERPRETIVE MEANS OF CHOOSING A PERIPHRASIS

The consensus around mid-century was of a passive system in Gothic that in both form and function was only partially developed, maintaining Brugmann's initial thesis that, because of the synthetic passive in the present, the periphrastic passive was only truly developed in the past. Such underdevelopment was, for Schröder, the cause of ambiguities in the way the passive was expressed in the past. Schröder surmised that distinction between the *was* + PP and *wairþ* + PP periphrases was not observed by Wulfila, and this yielded what seemed to be a random distribution. The scale for measuring inconsistency was the distribution of *wesan* and *werden* in German, prefigured by their associated uses in Old High German. In this historical cline, *werden* passives become grammaticalized to true passives in that they are eventive and can have ongoing aspect; they can also be accompanied by an agent stated in a prepositional phrase. *Wesen* passives make up the so-called *Zustandspassiv* wherein the relation is seen to be purely predicative, the participle describing an ongoing state of the subject. In the following examples, (116a) and (116b) represent instances where Gothic reflects the distribution expected in German, but (116c) and (116d) represent places where Gothic shows an instance of *wisan* where *wairþan* is expected. (Bolded-text emphasis is added by me.)

(116) a. Lk 15:24

unte sa sunus meins dauþs was jah gaqiunoda, jah fralusans was jah bigitans *warþ*

— denn mein Sohn war tod und *ist* lebendig geworden und war verloren und **wurde**

gefunden

— for my son was dead and became alive again and was lost and was found

b. Jn 16:21

[B]iþ biþe gabauran *ist* barn, ni þanaseiþs ni gaman þizos aglons faura fahedai,

unte gabaurans *warþ* manna.

— wenn jedoch das Kind geboren *ist*, denkt sie nicht weiter an ihre Ängste vor Freude,

daß ein Mensch geboren **wurde**.

— but when the child is born she no longer remembers her pain because of the joy,

since a human being was/has been born.

c. Mk 1:9

jah *warþ* in jainaim dagam, qam Iesus fram Nazaraiþs Galeilaias jah daupiþs

was fram Iohanne in Iaurdane.

— und es geschah in jenen Tagen, daß...und von Johannes im Jordanfluß getauft **wurde**.

— and it happened in those days that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was

baptized by John in the Jordan.

d. Lk 7:12

[A]biþeh þan nehwa was daura þizos baurgs, þaruh sai, utbaurans *was* naus.

— als er dann nahe beim Stadttor war, siehe, da **wurde** ein Toter hinausgetragen.

— and when he was near the gate of that city, behold, a dead body was carried out.

This perceived discrepancy holds only if the historical cline that moves from Old High German

to German is paralleled in Gothic.

Rooted in Brugmann's reasoning was the idea in Zieglschmid (1929: 364) that *wisan* + PP was a predicate nominative that enacted the semantics of PIE medial forms. This association garnered popularity inasmuch as *wisan* + PP, particularly *ist* + PP seemed to exhibit qualities associated with middle voice. In particular, the same qualities shared with the *-nan* verbs wherein the eventuality of the predicate …

(117) i. resisted an overt agent

    ii. provided a way to render normally transitive verbs as intransitive (see Dahl 1985:153)

    iii. enacted through collocation a devolving action wherein the perfective aspect of the verbal adjective was applied descriptively to the grammatical subject …

Concordant with this was the observation that many of the verbs found in the *ist* + PP periphrasis reflected actions that were elsewhere rendered with syntactic analogues to medial semantics, namely the so-called "notional passives" in Germanic and Romance that use a reflexive particle to implement self-referential action, even when the subject is inanimate and therefore incapable of being an agent, e.g. German *die Tür öffnet sich* and French *la porte s'ouvre*. This in turn, reflects one of the readings of the PIE mediopassive available with certain unaccusative verbs.

For Abraham (1992) the link between the Greek mediopassive and the *wisan* + PP periphrasis is a direct correlation. His system is based on the premise that the distribution of the *wisan* + PP and the *wairþan* + PP construction is based on an algebraic relation of the linking verb, *wisan* or *wairþan*, and the innate *Aktionsart* of the preterite participle. What results is a matter of focus. The schema is thus: if the *Aktionsart* of the "full verb participle" is the object of focus, then the periphrasis will select the linking verb depending on what the desired outcome will be. If the participle is terminative (telic) then it will select the terminative linking verb *wairþan*.

Conversely, if it is non-terminative (atelic), then it will select the stative linking verb *wisan*. This criterion of focus is presented like this.

(118) a. [__] LV + PP-[+term] → *wairþan* + PP

b. [__] LV + PP-[-term] → *wisan* + PP

This correlation is logical, but it does not necessarily account for the Gothic data, so Abraham has a second focus condition. If the focus is instead placed on the *Aktionsart* of the linking verb (and not the participle) then *wairþan* will select terminative participles so as to express the same meaning as an inchoative *-nan* verb. *wisan* then picks up the rest, allowing for a reading that entails some kind of ongoing state resulting from an event: if the participle is non-terminative, the result is a passive that expresses a "continuing impingement of some action upon the subject entity." If it is terminative, the result is a passive that expresses "state of the subject entity as a result of prior impingement of the verb action upon that entity."

This formulation allows Abraham to account for the Gothic data while effectively countering the view held by Schröder that the Gothic periphrases are defective. Precisely, he uses this distributive model to explain what, from a German grammatical point of view, are the inconsistencies posed in (116).

The motivation for this reasoning is to counter the idea that the *wisan* + PP periphrasis was itself somehow defective and that the choice between *wisan* or *wairþan* was arbitrary. By distancing the Gothic state of affairs from that of Old High German, Abraham allows for an independent development where the periphrastic constructions interpret Greek mediopassives in a general way as out-and-out middle predicates having no agent. The choice of paraphrase is then made (presumably by Wufila) depending on perceptions of *Aktionsart*. Abraham's schema thus produces three types of passives, paraphrased in (114) (with annotations in italics):

(119) a. Punctive *Aktionsart* passive   gafulhans warþ   (Lk 16:22)

                                                   'became *buried*'

       b. Ongoing Aspectual Passive (i.)   tauhans was (in ahmin in auþida)   (Lk 4:1)

                                                   'was led (by the spirit into the desert)'

                                   (ii.)   liugaidos wesun (und þanei dag) ...   (Lk 17:27)

                                                   '*were given in* marriage (until the day *that*)' ...

       c. Resultant Statal Passive   faurþizei ganumans wesi   (Lk 2:21)

                                                   'before he was/had been conceived'

In this breakdown *wairþan* is the punctual linking verb that has a one-to-one relation with the types of participle it can take; *wairþan* "by force of its state-changing *Aktionsart* meaning, can select only another state-changed verb as such." (Abraham 1992: 11). On the other hand, *wisan* periphrases are durative, and because of that inherent *Aktionsart*, can be used in two ways. In the first, *wisan* is linked to a participle whose *Aktionsart* (punctual or durative) is not taken into consideration. This yields an ongoing passive as in (119b), where Abraham argues the durative force of *wisan* locates "the point of the observer's reference within the action or event." The second sees *wisan* linked to a participle whose *Aktionsart* is perceived to be telic. This yields a result-state passive, (119c), where the durative force of *wisan* selects the ensuing state as the locus for the point of reference.

       The selection process that takes place between the two readings of *wisan* + PP is purely interpretive. As Abraham emphasizes, "the *wisan*-passives are thus always ambiguous between a result phase reading (119b-i) and an approach phase reading (119b-ii) of the terminative preterite participle" (1992: 10). It is thus the reader who must employ their native aspectual operations to identify the point of reference in a given *wisan* periphrasis.

By focusing on *wisan* and *wairþan* as linking verbs, Abraham creates a compositional model with distinct benefits. One is that it can account for the Gothic data in a regular way without relying on the Old High German model as a point of reference, distancing the two and treating them as separate developments. Another is the compositionality itself, compartmentalizing the function of *wisan* vs. *wairþan* in a logical way that relies on the inherent *Aktionsart* of the two verbs. This compositionality allows for variant readings of *wisan* periphrases that may encompass not only out-and-out passives but what Abraham calls a resultant statal passive. In order to countenance both types, he uses Reichenbach's terminology so as to isolate a reference time (R) distinct from an event time and an utterance time. For what he calls the ongoing passive, Abraham places the point of reference (R) within the action of the utterance, yielding a progressive or iterative meaning. And though he does not make a comparable setting with the result-state passive, the terminology itself invites the Reichenbachian schema for rendering such an expression as an aspectual relation; specifically, a result-state entity becomes a perfect expression with the point of reference including the utterance time so as to render a continued state with some degree of relevance for the time of utterance.

The contribution of functional aspect readings within Gothic is significant. Among other things, it puts into diagnosable terms the various "senses" that previous scholars have noted, including Grimm's present character of some *wisan* periphrases. Furthermore, by referencing Reichenbach, Abraham elicits comparison with contemporary modes of linking tense to aspect, with no small significance lying in the proposition that there is a regularly appearing result-state entity in Gothic. However, the deficiencies Abraham's thesis underscore gaps in his reasoning. For one, the aforementioned schema is itself too powerful. It can account for the Gothic data via a measure of circular reasoning, assuming that all preterite participles that couple with *wairþan*

are change-of-state because only change-of-state participles couple with *wairþan*. In the same vein, the inherent ambiguity of readings in the *wisan* periphrases puts a great deal of interpretable variation on the shoulders of readers. It assumes that *wisan* is a catch-all linking verb that can be coupled with any kind of preterite participle and that the emergent reading is determined by the perceived aspect of that participle. And while I agree that the senses laid out by Abraham are possible, his examples are themselves somewhat ambiguous as to whether they are telic or atelic. For a large part, Abraham utilizes Lloyd's (1979) reckoning that the preverb *ga-* does indeed mark a conceptual perfective in Gothic and so can be used as a diagnostic for determining which participles are truly telic and which are not; see particularly *gafulhans* and *ganumans* in (119a) and (119c), respectively. For all his thoroughness, Lloyd's assessments are still subject to exceptions that, while not disproving a link between *ga-* and a sense of "completeness" (a link that was likely definitive prehistorically), are not consistent in the received text. Thus, it is difficult to say that the predicates in (119a) and (119c) are more telic than those in (119b), especially considering that perceptions of telicity may be different depending on context, e.g. in (119b-i) the verbs are delimited by a spatial goal and in (119b-ii) by a temporal goal, conditions that could render them as perceptually telic as the presence of *ga-* would elsewhere.

6.4 LEXICAL ASPECT AS A SYSTEMATIC MEANS OF CHOOSING A PERIPHRASTIC

Contemporary with Abraham's study is that of Leiss (1992). Her monograph treats in detail the categorization and development of the NHG verbal system. Integral to her analysis is a functional model of periphrastic reckoning that uniformly accounts for the three periphrastic categories of German, the aforementioned "true" passive in *werden* + PP (*Vorgangspassiv*), the "false" stative passive (*Zustandspassiv*) in *sein* + PP, and the non-passive perfect tense in *sein* + PP which only occurs with unaccusative verbs, where the subject cannot be seen as a grammatical AGENT.

The development of this three-part paradigm is supported by a comparison of Old High German periphrases and those in Gothic. She notes the observation of Paul (1905) cited above concerning the *Doppelnatur* of the *wisan* periphrasis such that it is undoubtedly characteristic of a passive but, at the same time, aspectually perfective so as to produce perfect tense readings. The collocation *ist* + PP becomes a present-perfect passive and *was* + PP a pluperfect passive. She accounts for the dual nature in terms of markedness, where any past participle carries an aspectual markedness and a copula carries the markedness of tense. The supposition that past participles are marked with "perfectivity" is rooted in established concepts of German grammar. Pertaining to Old High German, she cites Oubouzar (1974:11-13) who proposes that *sein* + PP constructions in Notker are only made from certain kinds of verbs: those that are both transitive and 'completive', that is, that contain the sense that whatever action is being denoted by the verb does or will come to a perceivable end. When such a verb undergoes transformation to turn it into a participle, it retains the completive quality and reverses the transitive quality. For this reason, Oubouzar characterizes the eventuality of *sein* + PP periphrases as having a resultative quality universally. The perfective nature of the underlying verbs leads to a condition where the result of the action is an ongoing state.

Leiss (1992) reanalyzes these so-called qualities as features. In a periphrastic construction, the features are combined so as to effect some compositional semantics. This notion is straightforward enough in the development of a single given periphrasis. What remains to be resolved though is why there are two periphrastic types in Gothic – *wisan* + PP and *wairþan* + PP – and how they relate to each other. She assumes that the development of two periphrases in Gothic parallels that in OHG, but that at a critical juncture in their independent developments there was a split. In OHG the predominant passive came to be expressed via the eventive copula (*uuirdit*), in Gothic, via the stative copula (*ist*). The thing that precipitates the split is a matter of feature dominance. Both periphrastic types contain the two features enumerated above: passivity and perfectivity. In either scenario, one feature could come to predominate. If that feature were passivity, the passive value would become the premier semantics of a given verbal expression. If it were perfectivity, the premier value would be something Leiss terms resultative, focusing on the completive nature of such an expression.

To be sure, an entity like the *wisan* periphrasis – especially in the past tense *was* + PP – still maintains a *Doppelnatur*, but what validates its reading as a passive is a predominance of the passive feature. Such variation on feature dominance accounts for the different outcomes in languages like English and German, the former grammaticalizing its passive with a form of 'be' and the latter, with 'become'.

As for Gothic, Leiss posits that the original state of affairs saw participles in Germanic (read pre-Gothic) as being derived solely from transitive, perfective verbs. Over time, however, there emerged innovated participles that could be made from imperfective (durative) verbs, too. This was possible because the two-quality requirement could be functionally reduced to one and still yield a parsable outcome. So an imperfective verb, like *love* or *own* could be made into a past participle because it could embody at least one of the qualities, in this case, transitivity,

188

yielding participles *loved*, *owned*. This created a tiered system of aspect within Gothic, with some participles being derived from perfective and others from imperfective verbs. The implementation of the *wairþan* periphrasis is secondary; it constitutes a repair-strategy that allowed for a more restricted expression of aspect if and when such specificity was required.

> Während ist + Partizip II nur mit perfektiven Verben gebildet wird, finden imperfektive Verben allmählich Eingang in die was + Partizip II-Konstruktion. Das ist möglich, weil sie mit ihrem absoluten Tempusmerkmal von was [+ vergangen] das relative Tempusmerkmal [+Vorzeitigkeit] bzw. [+Abgeschlossenheit], das die Verben perfektiver Aspektualität inhärent enthalten, kopieren. Statt der Zustandsbedeutung, die bei *wisan* + Partizip II von perfektiven Verben entsteht, ergibt sich in diesem Fall Vorgangsbedeutung. Möglicherweise ist nun warþ + Partizip II die Ergänzung zu was + Partizip II von perfektiven Verben, die Zustandsbedeutung hat. Die Zustandskonstruktion wird eine Konstruktion mit Vorgangsbedeutung beigeordnet. (Leiss 1992:158)

The breakdown that comes out of Leiss's model then makes for a neat division. The *wisan* periphrasis is older, and comes into existence as a supplement for the historical, synthetic passive, providing a past tense paradigm in *was* + PP. It simultaneously has passive voice and perfective aspect. What precipitates the development of a second periphrasis is a lack of specificity, since *was* + PP can be used to denote passives of verbs with both perfective and imperfective aspect. Subsequently a second past tense periphrasis in *warþ* + PP arises as a means of reestablishing that specificity, denoting the passive only of verbs with perfective aspect. Both periphrases contain dual features, but in the latter, it is the perfective feature – the very characteristic that limits its expression to perfective verbs – that comes to predominate.

6.5 CONSENSUS CONCERNING LEXICAL ASPECT IN GOTHIC

The scholarship tracking the periphrastic constructions in Gothic builds on the general observation made by Paul (1905) and cited above. I have repeatedly used his term *Doppelnatur* to denote that the *wisan* periphrasis contains qualities of a passive as well as some aspectual value of perfectivity. The most salient interpretation of this aspectual value is that of a so-called complex tense like a present perfect or past perfect. Analyses that use this theorem as a point of departure seek to add clarification in two regards. The first relates to the nature of the dual-quality: whether either the qualities of passivity or perfectivity are distributed equally over both past and present tense periphrases; or even whether these qualities are distributed equally from token to token; that is, whether a given periphrasis is consistently a passive or consistently a perfect in all contexts. The second relates to the purpose of the *wairþan* periphrasis. Given the existence of a non-agentive fientive represented by the *-nan* verbs, the question can be posed: is the *wairþan* periphrasis a synonymous category or is it a second type of passive, supplementing the *wisan* periphrasis for the purpose of aspectual specification?

The views of both Leiss and Abraham on this issue are similar with different appeals to aspectual interpretation. For Leiss, the *Doppelnatur* is mediated by the innate lexical aspect of a given verb. Natively perfective verbs pair with *wairþan* and imperfective with *wisan*. For Abraham, the breakdown is similar, with the added specification that a *wisan* periphrasis is subject to both perfective and imperfective readings. In this way, Abraham's analysis presents a tiered system: the first tier accommodates a split based purely on lexical aspect that looks like that of Leiss. The second tier exists solely within the *wisan* periphrasis and accommodates a split based on interpretive aspect, a choice left up to the reader as to whether a given predicate is expresses something that emphasizes "passiveness" (an ongoing passive) or "perfectness" (a result-state passive).

The two systems also presuppose a similar set of assumptions. The first is that either lexical aspect or contextual aspect (or both) affects the interpretation of one or the other periphrastic construction. The difficulty in validating this assumption is that lexical aspect is a moving target. The idea that some verbs convey telicity (terminative) is not in dispute, yet an identifiable *Aktionsart* is not transparent or even agreed upon for every verb. Lexical aspect is traditionally treated as a binary feature of verbs, either perfective or imperfective; but this optionality is only solidly attained in certain predicate types. Change-of-state verbs have a collectively perfective *Aktionsart*, e.g. *kill*, *finish*, *die*, *become*. Other, overtly stative verbs are collectively imperfective, e.g. *live*, *own*, *exist*, *be*. Between the two diagnostic categories lie a host of activities for which aspectual shading is frequently determined by non-lexical factors, such as the presence or lack of an overt end-point.

Within the Gothic examples we find a number of cases where no such definitive shading exists. In Abraham's example, reproduced here as (120), he contrasts a *warþ* + PP and a *was* + PP periphrasis along such lines.

(120) a. gaswalt þan jah sa gabeiga jah gafulhans *warþ*.   (Lk 16:22)

       — ἀπέθανεν δὲ καὶ ὁ πλούσιος καὶ **ἐτάφη**.

       — the rich man also died, and **was buried**;

    b. jah **tauhans was** in ahmin in auþidai   (Lk 4:1)

       — καὶ **ἤγετο** ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

       — and **was led** by the Spirit into the wilderness,

It may be that the act of burying has, to the Gothic speaker, a different *Aktionsart* than the act of leading. We can even anticipate such if we presume that 'burying' is perceived as an act done to completion (i.e. put into the ground) while 'leading' is an act done with no state of completion entailed. It is this perception that informs Abraham's schema, where (120a) represents a

predicate with a firmer sense of completeness than that of (120b). Yet there is no evidence to validate that distinction. That is, the perfective quality of 'bury' is not in question, but the lack of perfective quality in 'lead' is, especially since this example pairs *tauhans was* with a finite goal: *in aupidai* 'into the wilderness.' The demarcation of a goal provides just the sort of contextual end-point with which we would expect to see a marker of perfectivity. And yet, attested variants of the participle such as *gatauhans* 'led' or *ustauhans* 'led out' are not used. In the case of (120b), therefore, the lack of a perfectivity marker is not so much insightful as it is conspicuous.

What justifies a discernment then must be a diagnostic more readily testable than simply a 'sense' of aspect that one may derive from semantics. Such a diagnostic might include, for example, the use of preverbs as morphological markers of telicity. As previously noted, aspect in Gothic may indeed be overtly marked by means of a preverb. This includes preeminently the preverb *ga-*, found on *gafulhans* in (120a) but not on *tauhans* in (120b). It also includes preverbs that indicate motion or specify a goal, such as *bi-* 'in, around', *af-* 'from', *at-* 'to, at', *us-* 'out', etc.

Recall from section 1.10 that, for Lehmann (2013) and Lambdin (2006) the use of any motion or locative preposition effectively renders perfectivity. This is because the preverb acts as a contextualizer of the verb's action. The prepositional force of the preverb acts as a way to denote a goal or boundary to the action and thereby renders it telic by virtue of supplying a delimiter. This delimiting force holds even in those cases where the preverb takes on idiomatic meaning, e.g. *usfulljan* means 'fulfill' as in *come to pass* not literally *fill a vessel to the brim*. In this way, the use of preverbs in Gothic is analogous to that of phrasal verbs in English, most of which gain telic semantics by virtue of delimiting an action, e.g. *run out* of wine, *run down* to the wine store, *run up* a bill.

While it is true that the presence or absence of a preverb can be a clue to a denoted telicity,

it is not a mandate for such. To be clear, preverbs do – for all intents and purposes – denote telicity (perfective *Aktionsart*) by the very qualities of "phrasal delimiting" enumerated above. What is in doubt, though, is whether the specific lack of a preverb denotes atelicity (imperfective *Aktionsart*). In (121), there is no greater or lesser sense of completion in the act of 'being stoned', *stainjan*, than there is in the act of 'being beaten up', *usbluggwans*.

(121) ^Bþrim sinþam wandum **usbluggwans was**; ainamma sinþa **stainiþs was**   (2Cr 1:25)

    — τρὶς ἐρραβδίσθην, ἅπαξ ἐλιθάσθην

    — [On] three occassions, I was beaten up with rods; [on] one occasion, I was stoned

This variability even appears with preverbal *ga-*.

(122) a. aþþan izwara jah tagla haubidis alla **garaþana sind**.   (Mt 10:30)

    — ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς πᾶσαι **ἠριθμημέναι εἰσίν**.

    — But of you even (jah) the hairs of the head all **are/have been numbered**.

    b. jah miþ unsibjaim **rahniþs was**.   (Mk 15:28)

    — Καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων **ἐλογίσθη**.

    — and with transgressors he **was numbered/reckoned**.

It can be argued that the predicates in (122) also have different expressions of aspect, but such is not conclusive. On the one hand, it could be posited through exegesis that *garaþana sind* in (122a) is more perfective that *rahniþs was* in (122b), because it extols some a-temporal affirmation set by God. On the other hand, it could be that the absence of *-ga* in (122b) is incidental and has no real bearing on its inherent aspectual quality.

It is this lack of concrete denotation that certainly informs Abraham's two-tiered system. To accommodate the fact that both prefixed and unprefixed participles appear in the *wisan* periphrasis, Abraham assumes there must be some functional interpretation on the part of the reader/writer, and the natural gauge of that interpretation is the use of preverbs. Leiss (1992)

draws a similar conclusion, presuming that it is the lexical aspect of a verb in context which determines the periphrastic type to which it will be assigned.

This assumption in consensus is predicated on the notion that a participle can be natively perfective or imperfective as determined by whether or not it has a preverb. However, as various scholars have shown, and as I have endeavored to show, participles are themselves a perfective category. See here again, Suzuki (1989: 24-29) and Lehmann (2013). The participle is a derived category, and whatever process produces a past passive participle, at its core is a process of perfectivization. Hence, past participles are blind to lexical aspect. That is to say, preverbs will denote telicity in finite forms, but the presence or absence of a preverb on a participle should be seen merely as a reflection of the base verb from which it is derived.

The other assumption shared by Abraham and Leiss concerns the role of the synthetic passive which, in both of the above frameworks, is deemed to be redundant in some capacity. The assessments of lexical aspect given provide a way to differentiate between two kinds of past tense passives, *was* + PP and *warþ* + PP; but they do not provide a means of differentiating between two present tense passives, a periphrasis in *ist* + PP and the synthetic passive. Given the reduced paradigm of the synthetic passive, it is logical to view one or both past tense periphrases as a way to complete the passive paradigm, extending it into the past tense. However, the extension of the *wisan* periphrasis into the present tense is generally characterized as a supplement to the synthetic passive, the two forms entering into some level of semantic competition.

CHAPTER 7

ANALYSIS: PERIPHRASIS AS A METHOD FOR TRANSLATION

The assumptions discussed above constitute ambiguities as to how the passive constructions in Gothic relate to each other. These ambiguities are stated plainly in Lambdin's Gothic primer. His intent is to create guidelines for practical translation, so the solution is to simply accommodate a wide range of optionality.

> In general the past participle with the present tense of *wisan* corresponds to the English present perfect passive, and with the past tense of the preterite passive or past perfect (pluperfect) passive. The use of *wairþan* instead of *wisan* seems to place the emphasis on the process (fientic) rather than the achieved state. (37)

My goal is to create a comprehensive model for the passive system in Gothic. Such a model should address the ambiguity posed in Lambdin's generalization, and it should do so in a way that can be readily validated by the distribution of the periphrases in question. A first assumption is that the lexical aspect of a given Gothic participle informs how it should be interpreted. Moreover, the determination of this aspect should not rely on a prescriptive sense of lexical aspect in Gothic. Because every periphrasis utilizes a past (perfective) participle, each contains an element that has been perfectivized. It is this element that must be input into the calculus of a periphrasis, and thereby determine what role a perfectivized entity contributes to the compositional semantics of this construction. Hence, the semantics associated with the *wisan* periphrasis accommodate its *Doppelnatur*, while that associated with the *wairþan* periphrasis must contribute some sense of "extra perfectivity", i.e. the combined semantics of a perfective participle on the one hand and what has been characterized as an "event focus" copula, *wairþan*,

195

on the other.

The system should also create a frame that codifies the relationships between all four passive constructions.[36] The first point of comparison is the relation between the synthetic (historical) passive and the passive expressed by a present tense periphrasis, *ist* + PP, determining whether the relationship of one to the other is characterized by developmental redundancy. The other point of comparison is the relation between the past tense *was* + PP periphrasis and the *warþ* + PP periphrasis, establishing a division of use that does not rely on lexical aspect to determine whether a given expression is intended to emphasize a result-state or an event.

The problem with addressing these larger ambiguities is that it is impossible to determine the given aspectual quality of a verb in isolation, especially the lexical aspect that may be associated with it. The fact that the Gothic corpus is limited to biblical language means that as a whole it cannot be readily compared to language data outside the translational traditions pertaining to the New Testament. Comparisons with other old Germanic languages have been the first recourse, highlighting points of logical overlap in the biblical traditions of Old High German, but also points of disagreement, as reflected in Brugmann's assessment discussed in section 6.1.

The most obvious source of semantic discernment is the underlying Greek text. The analysis presented here seeks to interpret the different periphrastic formations in Gothic by correlating them with certain predicate types in the Greek *Vorlage*. This comparison is underpinned by the comparative semantics of aspect as they appear in these two languages. What are, at the outset, contrasting means of expressing aspect in Greek and Gothic can be reconciled by positing a resultative argument structure. In brief, I will employ a variation of the same

---

36 I am characterizing the passive expressions of Gothic as a four-part system that includes the synthetic passive, *ist* + PP, *was* + PP, and *warþ* + PP. There exist two viable instances of *wairþiþ* + PP and two of the infinitival passive *wairþan* + PP. Because its token-count is so low, I am not including *wairþiþ* + PP as a categorical type and will treat its distribution as a separate development of the passive in *wairþan*.

underlying structure that was proposed in relation to *-nan* verbs. By doing this, I can establish a single syntactic build-up that characterizes multiple predicate types in Gothic which constitutes a systematic process of resultative expression.

While an appeal to comparative aspect may seem a reasonable avenue of analysis, it presents certain problems that can be framed by these questions.

(123) a. Given that the translational source for the Gothic gospel is not known, how can we trust any hypothetical *Vorlage* to represent the source state of affairs?

b. Given radically different grammatical systems found in Gothic and Koine Greek, how do we interpret transmission of semantic features that may not be shared between the two, such as grammatical and/or lexical aspect?

c. How much of the Gothic as we have received represents the actual language and how much of it is a calque of Greek forms, Greek syntax, or tropes inherent in what might be called a "biblical translational tradition."

The first question is addressed briefly in chapter 1. While no single *Vorlage* can be isolated for the Gothic, the consolidated Greek new testaments presented in "critical" texts provide – in conjunction – a mode of comparison that is statistically viable.

The second question is actually a motivator for this analysis. If we accept that Gothic has categorical aspect, then it is reasonable to assume that there is some measure of sensitivity to aspectual expression. (See Lloyd's proposal of Gothic *grammatical* aspect discussed in section 1.11 and my proposal of *categorical* aspect as it pertains to *-nan* verbs in chapter 4.) Koine Greek has an aspectually marked past-time category, though the distribution of aorist forms across all moods can yield perfective imperatives and subjunctives. We can characterize aspect in Greek as categorical as well, and thereby hypothesize that sensitivity to aspect can play a role in transmitting aspectual shading from Greek to Gothic.

The third question is addressed by the topics being studied. While many Gothic forms are, subjectively, a word-for-word calque of the Greek, the periphrases in particular are a clear source of interpretative translation. This is because the vast majority of periphrases in Gothic represent single, synthetic predicates in the Greek consensus, constituting primarily perfect and aorist verbs, both in finite and non-finite (participial) form.

7.1 PROPOSAL

My goal is to propose a model of the Gothic passive system that utilizes the resultative structure as a means of predicting the use of a given periphrasis. To do this, I associate Gothic periphrases with different Greek predicates, but I do not propose a one-to-one relationship between a given predicate type in Greek and its periphrasis in Gothic. Instead, the diagnostic I will use to determine how the division is made will rely on the interpretation of resultative argument structures in a given context. Given a perfective predicate in Greek, contextual features show consistently whether or not that predicate is being interpreted as an **event** that carries the narrative forward, or as a **state** that is established before the action of the narrative begins. I propose that what is contextual in Greek can be expressed morphologically in Gothic by means of the periphrastic types. Both types constitute resultative argument structures, combining the diagnostic components of an event (in the form of a copula), and a state (in the form of a past participle). The periphrasis in *wairþan* comes to express a Greek narrative event, and the periphrasis in *wisan* a Greek completed state.

Such a proposal may seem only to recapitulate general observations made about the two passive types. Yet by conducting an exhaustive study of contexts, we can re-characterize the role that the various passives play in the Gothic verbal system and thereby address such questions as the degree to which the present periphrasis and the synthetic passive have overlapping semantics. By assuming that the synthetic passive, moribund and reduced as it may be in personal endings,

still has a role to play in the expression of certain Greek contexts, we can codify its role in the larger system. The result is not a three-part paradigm with a present periphrasis (*ist* + PP) and two competing past-time periphrases (*was* + PP vs *warþ* + PP). Instead, it is a full four-part paradigm with past and non-past representations of two types of resultative. The *wisan* periphrasis represents one type of resultative expression and the combination of synthetic passive and *wairþan* periphrasis represent a separate and discrete type of resultative expression.

7.2 PREVIOUS ANALYSES

By far the most detailed model of the periphrases in Gothic is that of Abraham (1992). It is his premises, along with those of Leiss (1992), that chart the inception of the Gothic periphrases as expressions of resultativity. I accept Abraham's contention that the verbs *wisan* and *wairþan* are indeed 'linking' verbs. That is, they are full-fledged copulas and not grammaticalized auxiliaries like *be* and *have* as they appear in the English passive and present perfect, respectively. The primary evidence for this is that participles appearing in the periphrases still maintain gender and number so as to match those of their respective antecedents. One diagnostic of auxiliary construction is that participles shed these specifications, keeping at most the nominative case endings without denotation of number. To this effect, a given periphrasis in Gothic must be viewed as a true compositional entity in which both components – copula and past-participle – contribute qualities of their respective categories. I also accept his premise that the development of resultative periphrases is likely precipitated in Gothic due to the presence of already established -*nan* verbs, a category that constitutes a resultative of the form *become* [state].

I also adopt the model that Abraham sets forth to account for the expression of a perfect-like entity in the shape of the *wisan* periphrasis. He draws directly on Reichenbach's (1947) model of the perfect that combines expression of tense *and* aspect to create combinatory semantics that characterize perfects, especially result-state perfects. Where my analysis diverges

from his is in the characterization of that "aspectual sensitivity". Abraham proposes that the participle in Gothic contains lexical aspect (*Aktionsart*) that is either perfective or imperfective and is representative of the verb from which it derives. In the case of a *wairþan* periphrasis, the perfective nature of the copula *wairþan* selects only participles derived from perfective verbs. In the case of the *wisan* periphrasis, the imperfective nature of the copula *wisan* can select a participle derived from either an imperfective or perfective verb. In the instance of the latter the *Aktionsart* of the participle would be at odds with the imperfective *Aktionsart* of *wisan*. The result for Abraham is an aspectual "clash" that leads to the complex notion of a result-state perfect: a dual expression of a complete event and ongoing state. Abraham presumes that this indeterminacy can only be resolved by the reader, who chooses the aspectual shading that seems most appropriate.

One of the inferences this analysis makes is that the periphrastic passives are a clear replacement for the older synthetic passive. This is implicit in the assumption that the Gothic passives are divided up into the two periphrastic constructions based on their innate aspect. Since the synthetic passive does not seem to have an aspectual component, it is dis-preferred as an option, which would account for a relatively lower level of attestation. A cursory count of the synthetic passive forms in Gothic, though, shows 240 synthetic passives compared to only 135 present-periphrases.

Abraham's analysis also ignores the temporal question, that is, whether there is a functional difference between instances of the periphrases in the present and past. Such a difference is casually referenced in Latin (Abraham 1992: 2), where there is a comparable scenario of a synthetic passive occurring simultaneously with a periphrastic passive. Abraham notes how the internal diachrony of Latin leads to the disuse of the synthetic passive altogether in favor of analytic constructions with a participle and a form of *to be*, as found in modern

Romance languages. Here, the periphrasis is no longer limited to the perfect tense, but distributed to cover all tenses. No such correlation is found in Gothic, which shows a similar distribution of translated types across tenses, namely both *ist* + PP and *was* + PP are used to translate the aorist tense, which has distinctly past-time reference.

Leiss (1992) contributes a better sense of the diachronic development of the Gothic periphrases. She concurs with Abraham that it is the innate *Aktionsart* of a given Gothic participle that determines which periphrasis it is sorted into. Her diachronic model discussed in section 6.4 posits first the periphrasis *was* + PP to supply a general past tense passive, then *ist* + PP as an analogous extension of the periphrasis that begins to replace the synthetic passive, finally *warþ* + PP as a way to isolate only those past-time passives with distinctly perfective *Aktionsart*. This model is logical, but it still makes assumptions about the role of *ist* + PP as a supplement or replacement for the synthetic passive, and it still assumes that a given Gothic past participle has lexical aspect.

I propose that neither of these scenarios is the case. It is indeed reasonable to conclude that the two periphrases are divided along aspectual lines. That *wisan* has imperfective *Aktionsart*, and *wairþan* has perfective *Aktionsart* is not in dispute, but if we proceed from the model of a past participle proposed in section 5.1 and section 5.3, then all such participles are *categorically* perfective. When the participles do not express variability in their lexical aspect, then we must find a new locus wherein the translator will exercise "aspectual sensitivity". The alternative is that there is something inherent in the structure of the Greek predicates that precipitates the sorting.

Laying Greek over these two forms requires that the translator be sensitive to the *contextual* aspect presented in a Greek predicate. The result would be a translation that sorts a given passive or mediopassive into the periphrasis that best matches the kind of resultative being

expressed. Implicit in this are assumptions that the translator be sensitive to the aspectual distinctions found in the Koine verbal system, including those domains of categorical aspect native to Greek, such as the aorist system and the perfect system.

7.3 METHODOLOGY

As stated in chapter 1, the use of periphrasis as a means to translate synthetic predicates is an innovation. So too, we can track the various instances of periphrasis so as to draw conclusions about the purpose of the innovation, i.e. what characteristics of a Greek *Vorlage* is the translator attempting to convey? We can trace the building procedure that lets periphrasis constitute an appropriate way to express complex ideas. The passive is certainly this: an established category that is traditionally synthetic, re-implemented in a new periphrastic format.

The method by which I conduct this analysis is straightforward. Since the number and uses of a given periphrasis can provide information about the presence or absence of different passive types, I simply list them. Online corpora make available resources that go beyond those provided by a static concordance. In particular, a parsed corpus of Gothic accommodates searching for fine-grained criteria, locating any variety of forms that has passive semantics. This includes the synthetic passive, *wisan* passive, *wairþan* passive, and even some *-nan* verbs.

Collocation searches provide another division of research. I can refine my lists so as to assemble tokens based solely on the rates at which they appear in proximity. This allows me to assess those instances where a co-occurring past participle and copula may, in fact, not be a periphrasis, but instead a predicative structure.

The listing is designed to provide a point of comparison between Greek verbal expressions and Gothic ones. For this reason, the list only includes periphrases with direct correlation to a verbal entity in the *Vorlage*. Excluded are the few periphrastic tokens found in the Skeireins. Also excluded are those instances where a Greek predicate is translated as a predicate adjective.

The statal quality of some verbals explains why the optionality exists. Given predicates consisting of the Greek perfect or a Greek participle, the statal quality of these entities is at times translated not with a participle-based periphrasis but with a collocation of a form of *wisan* and an adjective. However, I want to draw a distinction between those instances that can express verbal predicates and those that are strictly adjectival.

7.4 THE *wisan* PERIPHRASIS: OVERVIEW

To be sure, *wisan* is the consummate stative and *wairþan* is the consummate telic eventive. In addition to being lexical verbs, these two predicate types express the elemental verbal semantics that is often conceptualized as an operational primitive. These abstract verbs are those types discussed in Dowty (1979), McCawley (1968), and Harbert (1978), and they include operational linking predicates like BE, eventive predicates like DO, and transformational predicates like CAUSE and BECOME. The association with these fundamental concepts characterize *wisan* and *wairþan* as quintessential linking verbs; their primary role is to establish a one-to-one relationship between two entities. For the 'be' operation, it is an existential relationship, and for the 'become' operation, it is a transformational one.

The scholarship thus far has illustrated firmly that the Gothic *wisan* periphrasis perpetuates a semantic ambiguity between two readings: one a "regular" passive and the other a passive that can express some sort of result-state expression. It is worthwhile then to find a testable divergence between them that can account for the separate aspectual shadings laid out in systems like that of Abraham (1992) or Leiss (1992). It is also prudent to enumerate such a divergence without relying overmuch on the presumption that a given periphrasis is chosen due to notions of "reader focus."

7.4.1 Defining and Translating *wisan*

The verb *wisan* signals the typical imperfective expression of existence and maintenance of a state. As a so-called linking verb, it creates equivalence between a subject and a condition in Gothic the same way it does in English, a link between a subject and a noun creating a predicate nominative and one between a subject and a condition creating a predicate adjective.

7.4.2 The Role of *wisan* in Passive Expressions

If we subscribe to the notion that *wisan* constitutes a stative copula, then the formation of the periphrasis that combines a form of *wisan* and a past participle would, on some level, constitute an aspectual clash. This is because an imperfective copula would be joined with a perfective category, represented by the past participle. Such a clash in and of itself is what accounts for the *Doppelnatur* that sees any *wisan* periphrasis as optionally effecting one of the so-called complex tenses, such as the present perfect *ist* + PP or past perfect *was* + PP. The combinatory value of an inherently stative entity and an inherently perfective entity would suggest some sort of complex semantics. A result-state perfect offers itself as a candidate. A *wisan* periphrasis would thereby denote not only a completed event (specified by the past participle) but also some enduring relevance of the state that is brought about by the event's completion (specified by the imperfective copula.) The result is a grammatical category that is not solely designated by tense or aspect, but a combinatory semantics. We can label this category an **entailed-state resultative**. Semantically it helps denote a completed event that also entails a state resulting from that event. The label can also provide a way to contrast the kind of resultative structure seen in the *wisan* periphrasis from that found in other structures, including the *-nan* verb and the *wairþan* periphrasis.

7.5 THE *wairþan* PERIPHRASIS: OVERVIEW

The periphrases consisting of a form of *wairþan* + PP are the fewest in number and have the most limited distribution, appearing predominantly in the past tense. For this reason, I will abbreviate the periphrasis by using the singular past tense form *warþ* + PP. A total of two instances also appear with the infinitive, literally *wairþan* + PP. These are not counted in the cumulative statistics but will be noted as ancillary points of analysis that generally show the same semantics as the finite periphrases.

7.5.1 Defining and Translating *wairþan*

I have characterized the verb *wairþan* generally as having the meaning 'become', yet a fuller sense of its semantics is given by Lambdin as a cloud encompassing concepts of 'become', 'be', 'happen', 'take place', and 'reside with'. Certainly it should be noted that *wairþan* is the punctual copula, that is, its function in the language is to act as a primary linking verb in such a context as can be perfective, with the termination of one state and the beginning of another. This should be contrasted specifically with the durative copula *wisan*. Thus, ascribing a definition of 'be' or 'happen', which are stative notions, to *wairþan* is semantically incongruent. However, where this is done, it is purely a means of facilitating translation. In those instances where a form of *wairþan* is translated with a durative sense, it is to shown to still retain the fundamental semantics of state-change. An example is Matthew 26:2.

(124) wituþ   þatei afar twans dagans paska   **wairþiþ**,

    You.PL know that   after two   days   passover **will be/will happen/will come about**,

In (124), it is clear that it is not the mere existence of Passover that is being expressed, but the contrast its coming poses on the present time, i.e. it is not Passover right now, but it will become Passover in two days.

Contexts like this may facilitate a translation such as 'Passover happens' or, as this verse is presented in the King James Version, 'after two days is the feast of Passover'. In such circumstances, the denotation of a contrast or state-change is overt.

We can further codify the perfective semantics of *wairþan* by noting that it often translates forms of the Greek γίνομαι, which Thayer (1889) defines as a punctual copula: 'I become', 'I come about', 'I am born', 'I happen'. In only three instances does the Gothic translate a collocation of a form of γίνομαι and a participle. I treat these instances as copular (as they are), and so do not derive any level of interpretation in the Gothic to this effect: they are not counted below because they do not constitute instances where the translator interpreted a mediopassive predicate but simply translated γίνομαι on a one-for-one basis as 'become'. By contrast, I take the meaning of a *wairþan* periphrasis to be composed of two elements, one a perfective copula and the other an equally perfective past participle. In combination, the two forms should produce a construction the denotes a telic event, specifically the initiation of a new state that is expressed by the past participle.

7.5.2 The Role of *wairþan* in Passive Expressions

This is almost an identical scenario to that rendered by the *-nan* verbs which would bring the two categories into semantic alignment and possible competition. Furthermore, because I argue that the *-nan* verb is underlyingly de-statal, the syntactic structure that would underpin both it and the *wairþan* periphrasis would be functionally identical. For this reason, we can label the *wairþan* periphrasis as an **attained-state** resultative. We can contrast it with the entailed-state resultative in the way it effects narrative sequencing. Namely, the entailed-state resultative is backwards looking. It enumerates an event completed before the time of the narrative. The attained-state resultative is forward looking. It enumerates an event that is brought about after a condition or event has already been established in the narrative.

While the *wairþan* periphrasis and the *-nan* verb may have a similar construction, there is a functional distinction between them. The *wairþan* periphrasis can co-occur with the normal agentive phrase in Gothic, a prepositional phrase headed by *fram*.

(125) a. jah eis hausjandans þatei libaiþ jah *gasaihwans warþ* **fram izai**, ni galaubidedun. (Mk 16:11)

— κἀκεῖνοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ἐθεάθη **ὑπ' αὐτῆς** ἠπίστησαν.

— and they, hearing that he lived and had been (become) seen **by her**, did not believe.

b. ᴬaþþan afargagga, ei gafahau in þammei *gafahans warþ* **fram Xristau**.   (Ph 3:12)

—[BYZ] διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατελήφθην **ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ**.

— But I follow after, so that I may seize that whereby also I was (became) seized **by Christ Jesus**.

The examples in (125) offer a clear indication that the *wairþan* periphrasis is a true passive in Gothic. As in the *wisan* periphrasis and the synthetic passive, the presence of agentive *fram* phrases (translating Greek phrases utilizing ὑπὸ) constitutes a uniform way of denoting agentivity when the subject is not the agent. It allows us to create a larger categorization of passive expressions in Gothic with this criterion. By doing so, we can draw a line of distinction between the *wairþan* periphrasis and the *-nan* verbs such that the latter – as discussed in chapter 4 – occupy some role that may be passive-like, but constitutes an outlier to normal passive expression.

CHAPTER 8

PAST-TIME PERIPHRASES AND GREEK PREDICATES

Predicates in Greek are distributed into the two past-time periphrases of Gothic in the

proportions found in Table (3). The category "Other" aggregates Greek forms that are translated

as periphrases but are statistically marginal in their contribution to the overall count. It includes

one Greek periphrasis with a form of 'was' plus a present participle, three 3rd-person

imperatives, and several representatives of low-count participial types, such as perfect and

present participles in the active voice. While these instances are not to be disregarded, none of

them alone constitutes a contingency of the *ist* + PP periphrasis that is significant enough to

characterize the category as a whole. Individual analyses of some of these entities, though, do

support the general findings enumerated below.

Table (3): Distribution of Greek Past-time Predicates

	Number of *was* + PP	Number of *warþ* + PP
Perfect + Perfect Participle	**7** (7.69%)	**4** (5.19%)
Supplementary Perfect Participle	**9** (9.89%)	**0** (0.00%)
Aorist + Aorist Participle	**46** (50.55%)	**66** (85.71%)
Imperfect + Imperfect Participle	**13** (14.29%)	**3** (3.90%)
Present Participle	**5** (5.49%)	**0** (0.00%)
… other	**11** (12.09%)	**4** (5.19%)
Totals	**91** (100%)	**77** (100%)

8.1 PAST-TIME PERIPHRASES AND THE GREEK AORIST

The primary narrative tense of the New Testament is the aorist. It constitutes the general past-time expression of events, with the straightforward perfective shading that characterizes completed past actions. As a consequence, we would expect that when past tense predicates appear in the passive voice they would predominate in the aorist.

As discussed above, if the *wairþan* periphrasis is viewed compositionally, both components contribute perfective qualities. The copula *wairþan* has a diagnostically perfective *Aktionsart,* and the past participle is – through the verbalization of an underlying state – perfective as a category. This would ostensibly account for the high rate of interpretation of aorists with this periphrasis. There is also, however, a significant rate of interpretation of aorists with the *wisan* periphrasis. A good half (50.55%) of *was* + PP tokens translate aorist predicates, implying that there is a perceived correlation in this category as well, but that whatever factor leads to the translation, it is independent of (or at least supplementary too) the features of tense and voice.

We can postulate that the influencing factor is a measure of perceived resultativity. The question that arises is this: is one of the two categories acting as a default from which more marked tokens are removed, or is there no bias of marking, each category being populated by an equal-weight association of perceived features? In those aorist tokens that are translated with *warþ* + PP, the perception of a result-state would be presumed to be higher since – as with the -*nan* verbs – this category would functionally place emphasis on the punctual initialization of the state. Conversely, given the *Doppelnatur* heretofore attributed to the *wisan* periphrasis, we could state that a *was* + PP token can optionally function similar to an English pluperfect. Its role in translating a given Greek predicate then would be to establish some sort of narrative sequencing such that it denotes an event that is completed at the time of the narration. Given a past tense

narration then, a *was* + PP token would suggest an event that indeed ended beforehand, and thereby entails a state whose validity is true at the narrative time. This condition is analogous to the result-state entailment produced in English by the auxiliary *had*. Does this differentiation hold? To test this, we need to identify diagnostics that separate features of the two periphrastic categories. Such diagnostics can be derived from observations of the two periphrases in context.

8.1.1 *warþ* + PP

Because the *wairþan* periphrasis utilizes the eventive copula, we can anticipate that *warþ* + PP will appear with clauses that also denote sequential actions. The nature of eventive expression favors the juxtaposition of action as one leading to another, so that any event preceding a *wairþan* periphrasis can be characterized as a "trigger" for eliciting the state-change. When we observe tokens of aorist predicates translated with *warþ* + PP, we find that such a triggering causal event is often discernible.

(126) a. ᴬwaurts allaize ubilaize *ist* faihugeiro, þizozei sumai gairnjandans **afairzidai waurþun**

af galaubeinai   (1Tm 6:10)

— ῥίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστιν ἡ φιλαργυρία, ἧς τινες ὀρεγόμενοι

ἀπεπλανήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως –

— the root of all evils is money-lust, for which some, yearning, **were/became**

seduced away from faith –

b. jah jabai Satana usstoþ ana sik silban jah **gadailiþs warþ**, ni mag gastandan, (Mk 3:26)

— καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ **ἐμερίσθη**, οὐ δύναται στῆναι

— And if Satan rose up against himself, and **was/became divided**, he could not stand

In (126a) the act of *becoming seduced* by the love of money is predicated directly on such a "triggering" event, i.e. the act of *yearning*. In (126b), the condition of Satan *becoming divided* is directly predicated upon his *rising up against himself*. In both examples, *warþ* + PP contributes

an event that participates in the sequence of the narrative, and in both there is an event – or

condition in the case of (126b) – that acts as a causal trigger.

8.1.2 *was* + PP

By contrast, verses with *was* + PP do not seem to contain triggering events. While they

almost universally co-occur with preceding clauses, the role of the *wisan* periphrasis is not to

continue the action precipitated by those clauses but to denote events that are *already* complete at

the time of narration.

(127) a. ᴬO unfrodans Galateis! hvas izwis afhugida sunjai ni ufhausjan?

izwizei faura augam Iesus Xristus **faurameliþs was**, in izwis ushramiþs? (Gl 3:1)

— ⁽ᴮᵞᶻ⁾ Ὦ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι,

οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς **προεγράφη** ἐν ὑμῖν ἐσταυρωμένος;

— O foolish Galaatians! Who bewitched you not to believe truth?

before whose eyes Jesus Christ **had been set forth**, crucified among you?

b. þatuþ ~ þan ni kunþedun siponjos is frumist; ak biþe **gasweraiþs was** Iesus, þanuh

gamundedun þatei þata **was** du þamma **gameliþ** (Jn 12:16)

— ⁽ᴮᵞᶻ⁾ Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον· ἀλλ' ὅτε **ἐδοξάσθη**

Ἰησοῦς, τότε ἐμνήσθησαν ὅτι ταῦτα ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ **γεγραμμένα**,

— These things understood not his disciples at first: but after Jesus **was/had been**

glorified, then they remembered that these things **had been written** of him,

These examples can be translated with a straightforward past passive: *was set forth*, *was*

glorified. However, they can also be translated with a past perfect sense: *had been set forth, had*

been glorified. The latter translation is validated if it can be said that *was* + PP denotes an event

that is complete before the action in the main clause. In each of the examples, this is the case. In

(127a) the act of *being set forth* must be complete at the time time of the narrative. That is, at the

time at which Paul is chastising the Galatians, events were ended such that Jesus *had been set forth* and likewise 'crucified'.

In (127b) the situation is the same in its logical sequence, but the events are presented in a reversed order. In the context of the narrative, the simple preterite follows the perfect expression such that the disciples 'remembered' only after Jesus *had been glorified*.

These few examples, though certainly selected for their unambiguous traits, are intended to establish a route of translation that is interpretable from the Greek narrative. The patterns we have established support an association not only between the periphrases and Greek predicate *types* but also narrative *contexts*. We now have two diagnostics:

(128) i. *warþ* + PP denotes a state-change that is part of the narrative sequence

    — preceding clauses can establish a sequence of cause and effect: "triggering" event

    — preceding clauses take place **before** the state-change denoted by *warþ* + PP

   ii. *was* + PP denotes a state-change that is *not* part of the narrative sequence

    — *was* + PP denotes an event completed at the time of the narrative

    — narrative clauses take place **after** the state-change denoted by *was* + PP

8.2 PAST-TIME PERIPHRASES AND THE **G**REEK PERFECT

The number of periphrastic translations corresponding to Greek perfects is marginal: 5.19% of *wairþan* periphrases and 7.69% of *wisan* periphrases. The Greek perfect, as noted in section 1.9 has a dual-character, expressing pure statives and result-states. Example (7) is reproduced here as (129) with the corresponding Gothic translation included.

(129) ᴬ nih waiht auk mis silbin **miþwait**; akei ni in þamma **garaihtiþs im** (1Cr 4:4)

   οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ **σύνοιδα**(PERF.ACT), ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ **δεδικαίωμαι**(PERF.MED-P)

   — For nothing against (me) **am I aware of**, but not by this **am I/have I been justified**

In the active voice, the Greek perfect is traditionally treated as denoting past-time in Gothic.

(130) jabai so manaseds izwis fijai, kunneiþ ei mik fruman izwis **fijaida**.   (Jn 15:18)

— εἰ ὁ κόσμος ὑμᾶς μισεῖ, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτον ὑμῶν **μεμίσηκεν**.

— If the world hates you, recognize that, before you, it **has hated** me.

At first sight, this would indicate that the most salient interpretive feature of the perfect may be temporality, either in the capacity of a past tense essive, *was* [state]*, or – as in (130) – a result-state perfect, *has* [event]. In the mediopassive voice, however, the translation of perfects is most heavily concentrated in the present tense *wisan* periphrasis. This is a strong indicator that the above hypothesis is wrong, and that the most salient interpretative feature may in fact *not* be temporality, but some other semantic feature, such as completeness.

8.2.1 *was* + PP

A small number of *wisan* periphrasis tokens translate the Greek perfect. The narrative sequencing maintains the readings we have seen thus far, with a clear indication of a state resulting from a completed action.

(131) a. ^Bakei þan sa us þiujai bi leika **gabaurans was**, iþ sa us frijai bi gahaita; (Gl 4:23)

— ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα **γεγέννηται**, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δι᾽ ἐπαγγελίας.

— But he who was of the bondwoman **was/had been born** after the flesh; but he of the freewoman by promise.

b. iþ Marja so Magdalene jah Marja Iosezis sehwun hwar **galagiþs wesi**.   (Mk 15:47)

— ^(BYZ)ἡ δὲ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία Ἰωσῆ ἐθεώρουν ποῦ **τίθεται**.

— And Mary the Magdalene and Mary of Joses saw where he **was\had been laid**.

Lambdin's generalization would indicate that a good translation for a *was* + PP collocation would be the English pluperfect. So too, both of the above examples can be rendered with *had*

expressions, but more salient to our validation of that generalization is the continued narrative context which we see in the *Vorlage*. Namely, that the state of *being of the bondwoman* is preceded by the completed event of *having been born* in (131a) and that the past tense act of *beholding where he had been laid* in (131b) is preceded by the act of his (Jesus') *being laid there*.

8.2.2 *warþ* + PP

An even smaller number of *wairþan* periphrasis tokens translate the Greek perfect. These readings maintain the result-state expression that is more readily translated as a general passive. There are only two examples where the Gothic translates a Greek perfect that is not coordinated with any other tense.

(132) a.   iþ bi staua, þatei sa reiks þis fairhwaus **afdomiþs *warþ*.**   (Jn 16:11)

— περὶ δὲ κρίσεως, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου **κέκριται**.

— and concerning judgment, that the ruler of this world **was/became judged**.

b. ᴬXristau **miþushramiþs *warþ*,** iþ liba nu ni þanaseiþs ik, iþ libaiþ in mis Xristus.

(Gl 2:20)

— (BYZ)Χριστῷ **συνεσταύρωμαι**· ζῶ δέ, οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ χριστός·

— With Christ I **was/became crucified**, but I still live; no longer I (alone), but Christ lives in me.

Neither of these examples has a definitive context, but they do hold to the general narrative contexts we have associated with the *wairþan* periphrasis thus far. In (132a) there is a triggering causal event that is the act of Jesus sending the Holy Spirit (which is designated as his 'helper' in John 16:7). The reckoning that is handed down in a previous verse is the cause for the reproach such that the ruler 'was/became judged'. In (132b) there is no triggering causal event. Instead, the first clause poses an initial transition that characterizes Paul's state at the time of narration,

214

i.e. he 'was/became crucified' in the past.

It may be that both of these examples accommodate a reading with a pluperfect: *had been judged* and *had been crucified* respectively. This would seem especially true in (132b). However, even though this example does not have the causal trigger as described, we can still see a contrast to the kind of narrative we would expect in a *wisan* periphrasis. Pointedly, the clause that follows is in the present tense, *iþ liba nu*, indicating a outcome that is contrary to what we would logically expect after *becoming crucified*, namely, *being alive*. This militates against a past-perfect reading in the previous clause. We could say perhaps that a present-perfect reading, *I have been crucified*, would be appropriate, but there is no indication that *warþ*, a past-time copula, can denote the complex semantics implicated in a present-perfect expression. That is, given the choice between denoting an event that is part of the narrative, 'was/became crucified', and one that is completed prior to the time of narration, 'have been crucified', only the former is a viable precursor to the following clause.

8.3 PAST-TIME PERIPHRASES AND THE GREEK SUPPLEMENTARY PERFECT PARTICIPLE

Unlike a general (synthetic) perfect, a supplemental perfect participle is coupled with a conjugated form of *be*. As noted in section 1.9, this category tends toward the entailed-state reading because of the combinatory semantics associated with in a periphrasis, this time, a periphrasis in Greek. The participle carries a perfective aspect that denotes not only a completed action but one that precipitates in a state. The maintenance of that state is signaled by the verb *be,* rendered by the stative copula in the imperfect tense, viz. ἦν 'he was'. Like most participles, the supplementary participle coordinates its action with a separate, finite verb to which it is subordinate. The role of the copula then is to link the action of the participle with that of the the verb in the main clause. This is why the form of *be* matches the main verb in tense.

Regarding the translation of supplementary participles, we see the generalizations we have

215

made carried through to the strongest degree. This category of Greek predicate is definitively associated with expressions denoting a result-state perfect. As expected, there are no instances where this Greek predicate is translated with a *wairþan* periphrasis. This follows from the assumption that, in past-time predicates, *be* also conjugates in the past, and the reading of the periphrasis is readily comparable to the English past-perfect. The role of the participle in narrative sequencing is comparable to any perfect: it indicates an action that is completed at the time of narration. Given this, we would expect this kind of expression to only occur with the *wisan* periphrasis, which can be shown to optionally carry this pluperfect expression.

(133) a. jah qam in Nazaraiþ, þarei **was fodiþs**,   (Luke 4:16)

— καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς ναζαρά, οὗ **ἦν τεθραμμένος**

— And he came to Nazareth, where he **had been brought up**

b. iþ eis ni froþun þamma waurda, jah **was gahuliþ** faura im   (Luke 9:45)

— οἱ δὲ ἠγνόουν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, καὶ **ἦν παρακεκαλυμμένον** ἀπ' αὐτῶν

— But they understood not this saying, and it **was/had been hidden** (**veiled**) from them

c. infeinoda in ize, unte **wesun afdauidai** jah **frawaurpanai**   (Mt 9:36)

— ἐσπλαγχνίσθη περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι **ἦσαν ἐσκυλμένοι** καὶ **ἐρριμμένοι**

— he took pity (became compassionate) on them, because they **had been harassed** and **had been scattered** abroad.

In (133c) especially, I have translated the paired participles meaning 'harassed' and 'scattered' with the *had* auxiliary indicative of the English pluperfect, forgoing the copular *was* reading altogether. In these cases the resulting 'state of pity' is so preeminently a result of the completed events that it fosters a second resultative: an attained-state resultative embodied by the *-nan* verb, *infeinoda*.

8.4 Past-time periphrases and the **G**reek imperfect

What we have seen regarding the associations of the aorist are properly mirrored in the associations of the Greek imperfect. Given an imperfect predicate in the passive, the task for the translator is one of accommodation. Because the imperfect is a past-time entity, we expect that such predicates will appear in the Gothic preterite. But Gothic pointedly does not have separate categories in the past tense that express aspect, so a translation of imperfect predicates must rely on features outside of aspect. We might anticipate then that it is solely the diagnostics we have established for contextual resultativity that determine how a given predicate is sorted into a given periphrasis.

8.4.1 *warþ* **+ PP**

Due to the perfective character of the *wairþan* periphrasis, we would predict that its general association with a categorically imperfective tense would yield fewer tokens than the *wisan* periphrasis. This turns out to be correct: there are only three such representations. In order to account for even these few tokens, we would surmise that the force that pushes them into this category is a strong verification of the narrative sequencing associated with this construction. Indeed, in the tokens we do find the "causal triggers" that indicate a cause-and-effect relationship.

(134) a. ᴮunte ju hwan gaþaihuþ du faur mik fraþjan, ana þammei jah froþuþ;

aþþan **analatidai waurþuþ**. (Ph 4:10)

— ὅτι ἤδη ποτὲ ἀνεθάλετε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐφρονεῖτε

ἠκαιρεῖσθε δέ.

— that at last you.PL have revived your regard for me, for whom you had (used to

have) regard, but you **became hindered** (from showing it).

b. niu þata *ist* sa timrja, sa sunus Marjins, iþ broþar Iakoba jah Iuse jah Iudins

jah Seimonis? [...] jah **gamarzidai waurþun** in þamma. (Mk 6:3)

— ⁽ᴮʸᶻ⁾ Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τέκτων, ὁ υἱὸς Μαρίας, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσῆ καὶ

Ἰούδα καὶ Σίμωνος; […] καὶ **ἐσκανδαλίζοντο** ἐν αὐτῷ.

— is that not the carpenter, the son of Mary, and the brother of Jacob and Joses, and of

Juda, and Simon? [...] And they **became offended** at him.

c. þaiei qemun hausjan imma jah hailjan sik sauhte seinaizo; jah þai anahabaidans fram

ahmam unhrainjaim, jah **gahailidai waurþun**. (Lk 6:18)

— οἳ ἦλθον ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰαθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν νόσων αὐτῶν· καὶ οἱ ἐνοχλούμενοι

ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων **ἐθεραπεύοντο**.

— those who came to hear him and to **become healed** of their diseases, and those

being possessed by unclean spirits, and they **became healed**.

It is clear that the verses in (134a) and (134b) are expressing durative predicates in Greek,

namely essive states respectively: *were hindered* and *were offended*. At the same time, the overt

semantics manifest in the Gothic shows a state-change that is preceded by an event. Least clear is

(134a) in which *ju* 'already' places a temporal demarcation on the action, indicating an

established state wherein the audience has newly revived their concern for Paul. In this example,

the result accounts for what did not happen, but the semantics are still clear. The choice of *warþ*

218

+ PP indicates an action that contributes a change in the narrative: the audience had been concerned at one time, but something changed such that their *becoming hindered* was an effect.

The other examples more firmly show an attained state. In (134b) the notion expressed by the periphrasis is a reaction to a causing event. The event is not included in the text but is firmly set in context, i.e. the synagogue attendees *become offended* while speaking among themselves, thereby affirming that Jesus is part of a known family (and retains no special authority to speak). The clearest indicator of an attained-state interpretation is in (134c), where the act of *becoming healed* can only be brought about as a consequence of the sick coming to Jesus. Of note is that neither instance of *warþ* + PP in (134b-c) can accommodate a pluperfect reading of the sort found optionally with *was* + PP.

8.4.2 *was* **+ PP**

As with the aorist, these examples bespeak an interpretation of an entailed-state resultative. As usual, the deciding factor is whether the state denoted by the periphrasis is indeed completed *before* the course of action referenced in the narrative.

(135) a. manag auk mel frawalw ina, jah **bundans was** eisarnabandjom jah fotubandjom

fastaiþs was, jah dishniupands þos bandjos **draibiþs was** fram þamma unhulþin ana

auþidos.   (Lk 8:29)

— πολλοῖς γὰρ χρόνοις συνηρπάκει αὐτόν, καὶ **ἐδεσμεύετο** ἁλύσεσιν καὶ πέδαις

φυλασσόμενος, καὶ διαρρήσσων τὰ δεσμὰ **ἠλαύνετο** ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου εἰς τὰς

ἐρήμους.

— Indeed many times it [the demon] had seized him, and he **had been bound** with

ironbands, and **had been fastened** by fetters, and – breaking the bands – **had been**

driven by the devil into the wilderness.

b. iþ marei winda mikilamma waiandin **urraisida was**.   (Jn 6:18)

— ἥ τε θάλασσα ἀνέμου μεγάλου πνέοντος **διεγείρετο**.

— but the sea by a great wind blowing **had been raised-up**.

c. þanuh Iesus aftra inrauhtiþs in sis silbin gaggiþ du þamma hlaiwa. wasuh þan hulundi

jah staina **ufarlagida was** ufaro.   (Jn 11:38)

— ἰησοῦς οὖν πάλιν ἐμβριμώμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον· ἦν δὲ

σπήλαιον, καὶ λίθος **ἐπέκειτο** ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ.

— then Jesus again deeply moved in himself comes to the grave. Now, it was a

cave, and a stone **had been laid** over (it).

If we were to translate these predicates so as to maintain the imperfective aspect of the

Greek, we would employ durative expressions such that (135b) denotes *was being stirred up* and

(135c) denotes *was lying*. Clearly, in Gothic the past tense is maintained through the copula *was,* but how do we account for the use of a periphrasis that so far indicates perfect-like expressions when there is no perfectivity present in the *Vorlage*? We can again appeal to the contextual resultativity as we have thus far characterized it. That is, narrative sequencing is evaluated in terms of a resultative action. The point of division between the periphrases can be imparted to a distinction as to what type of resultative action it is. All of these examples show the context we have seen thus far associated with entailed-state resultatives. This is the feature that also characterizes the *Doppelnatur* of *ist* + PP.

In (135b-c) the narration exists in a state where some preceding action must be shown to be complete, respectively, the sea has – at the time of narration – *become stirred up* and likewise, when Jesus *comes to the grave*, the stone has already *been laid* over it.

(135a) most clearly illustrates an entailed-state. At the time when he (Jesus) commands the unclean spirit to go out, the state has already been set by an elaborate narrative of completed events, namely the facts that the demoniac has been many-times seized and tormented by devils. Hence, we can recapitulate: given a mode of translation that relies on interpreting types of resultative expressions, we can better account for the distribution of *wisan* and *wairþan* periphrasis. In the case of the Greek imperfect, this metric becomes the touchstone for predicting what sort of periphrasis will be used.

8.5 COMPARISON OF THE GOTHIC PERIPHRASES IN THE PAST TENSE

The propositions in (128) provide a way to treat the Greek narrative context so as to determine

how a given predicate will be sorted into a given periphrasis. In the case of the *wisan* periphrasis,

we can say that the temporal sequencing laid out above is diagnostic. Verses with this periphrasis

will indicate actions that have been completed before a narrative. They will therefore lack

"triggering" causes for which they are the effect. Put another way, we can characterize the

translator's optionality as contextually determined: *wisan* periphrases denote actions completed

at the time of the narrative, and *wairþan* periphrasis denote actions that come about *because of*

some event within the narrative. While this characterization serves to regularly describe instances

for which the context is clear, it is still problematic in those instances where context may be

lacking. For example, we can readily expect *warþ* + PP to appear in verses with "triggering"

causes, but such triggers are not universally overt. In (136) there is no discernible difference

between the conceptualization posed by the two periphrases:

(136) a. ^Bin snorjon **athahans was** and baurgswaddjau jah unþaþlauh handuns is. (2Cr 11:33)

— ἐν σαργάνῃ **ἐχαλάσθην** διὰ τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἐξέφυγον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ.

— in a basket I **was let down** by the wall, and escaped his hands.

b. ^AAdam auk fruma **gadigans *warþ***, þaþroh Aiwwa   (1Tm 2:13)

— Ἀδὰμ γὰρ πρῶτος **ἐπλάσθη**, εἴτα Εὔα

— For Adam **was** first **formed**, then Eve

Both of these examples translate a Greek passive aorist, yet the Gothic treats them with separate

periphrases. Without further context, it is impossible to discern incontrovertibly a single feature

that directs the use of one periphrasis over another. What must suffice then is not a set of rigid

diagnostics, but principles based on the greater association or disassociation of an aorist to a

given category. If we are to justify the generalization of the two periphrases as we have them, it

is more productive to validate the readings in contexts where the two can be seen to interact in some meaningful way. In (137) below, we see the only verse with an unambiguous collocation of *was* + PP and *wairþ* + PP:

(137) unte sa sunus meins dauþs was jah gaqiunoda, jah **fralusans was** jah **bigitans** *warþ*;

     — ὅτι οὗτος ὁ υἱός μου νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνέζησεν, ἦν **ἀπολωλὼς** καὶ **εὑρέθη**.   (Lk 15:24)

     — For this my son was dead, and is revived; he was/**had been lost** and **became found**.

Here we do find the requisite context to test our hypothesis that the two periphrases are interpretations of two separate kinds of resultative expressions. Moreover, the verse shows a sensitivity to resultative context in striking terms. The clause containing *was* + PP definitively indicates a completed state, *being lost*, that is entailed to be complete at the time of narration. The end-point for that state is demarcated by the clause containing *warþ* + PP. The state of *being found* is an attained state that is predicated on a "triggering" cause, the very state of *being lost*.

    The sequence of the two periphrases together cleanly and unambiguously upholds our hypotheses made thus far and allows us to make further elucidation of the nature of the two. Namely, the difference between the two periphrastic categories is denoted by different expressions of resultativity. We can compartmentalize these expressions by again appealing to a conception of event bounding:

(138) a. *warþ + PP* designates a transitional event joining two states.

    – a momentary transition denoting a simultaneous event-initiation and termination. Pragmatic focus is on the left-boundary of the changing **event**: the starting point of a transition characterized in the act of *becoming*.

    – The PP denotes the state that **follows** the transitional event in the narrative.

  b. *was* + PP designates a competed event.

    – also a momentary transition, but with pragmatic focus on the right-boundary of an event: the end point of that event with no left-boundary specified.

    – The PP denotes the event whose completion **precedes** the narrative.

Both periphrases are perfective, but they express perfectivity in different ways. That is, both are telic because they denote an endpoint. *warþ* + PP focuses on the punctual transition of one state to another and so is accurately associated with the Vendlerian notion of an **achievement**. This is validated by its use in the text to express state-change scenarios in which a resulting state is brought about by some preceding event. *was* + PP focuses on the state which has duration but which has obtained its end; it is most accurately associated with the Vendlerian notion of an **accomplishment**. This is validated by its use in the text to express state-terminations such that the action intrinsic to the state is complete at the time of the narrative.

CHAPTER 9

PRESENT-TIME PERIPHRASES AND GREEK PREDICATES

The instances of the present-time periphrasis of Gothic are found in the proportions seen in Table

(4). As with the enumeration of past-time periphrases in the previous chapter, the category

"Other" here also subsumes Greek forms that are translated as periphrases but are statistically

marginal in their contribution to the overall count. Here, the number of such forms is even

smaller than that listed for the past-time periphrases, comprise only seven such tokens. In the

present tense, these include Greek periphrases with a form of 'be' plus a present participle, and

several infinitives. Like the categories in the group "Other" in Table (3), these too uphold the

tendencies of narrative sequencing associated with the category overall, namely that of

expressing an entailed-state that is predicated on a completed event and thereby characterizing

what we have labeled *entailed-state resultatives*.

Table (4): Distribution of Greek Present-time Predicates

	Number of *ist* + PP
Present + Present Participle	**8** (5.93%)
Perfect + Perfect Participle	**62** (45.93%)
Supplementary Perfect Participles	**11** (8.15%)
Aorist + Aorist Participle	**47** (34.81%)
Imperfect	**0** (0.00%)
…Other	**7** (5.19%)
Totals	**135** (100%)

9.1 PRESENT-TIME PERIPHRASES AND THE GREEK PERFECT

The *Doppelnatur* of the *wisan* periphrasis correlates most closely with the optional dual-interpretation of the Greek perfect. As stated above, the perfect originally signalled stative expressions. These are expressions of existence that mirror the corresponding properties of a copula: A = B. The reading that subsequently developed in Greek expresses a result-state. It carries existential semantics into a complex expression where the state is brought about by completed events. Both readings persist in Koine, but – in the active voice – the former has limited attestation in a group of lexically stative verbs. In the mediopassive voice, both the stative, existential reading and the result-state reading are usually available. So too what we see in the Gothic translation is an option of dual-interpretation.

(139) a. ᴮin allamma jah in allaim **usþroþiþs im**, jah sads *wairþan* jah gredags, jah

ufarassau haban jah þarbos þulan.   (Ph 4:12)

— ἐν παντὶ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν **μεμύημαι** καὶ χορτάζεσθαι καὶ πεινᾶν, καὶ περισσεύειν καὶ

ὑστερεῖσθαι.

— in everything and in all [places] I **am experienced**, both at becoming satiated and

hungry, both at having an abundance and at suffering need.

   b. ᴬ**gabundans is** qenai, ni sokei lausjan; **galausiþs is** qenai, ni sokei qen. (1Cr 7:27)

— **δέδεσαι** γυναικί; μὴ ζήτει λύσιν· **λέλυσαι** ἀπὸ γυναικός; μὴ ζήτει γυναῖκα.

— **are/have** you **been bound** to a wife? seek not to be loosed; **are/have** you **been**

loosed from a wife, seek not a wife.

   c. weis us horinassau ni **sijum gabauranai**; ainana attan aigum, guþ.   (Jn 8:41)

— ἡμεῖς ἐκ πορνείας οὐ **γεγεννήμεθα**· ἕνα πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν θεόν.

— We out of fornication **are** not **born**/**have** not **been born**; one father we have, God.

What allows us to claim that the readings above are more likely to be entailed-state resultative is – as before – the high level of regularity we find in narrative sequencing. In (a-b) we see the Gothic interpret a series of outcomes that are predicated on a prior event having taken place. In particular, the "if–then" logic in (b) stipulates appropriate actions depending on a certain state being true or untrue. In this case, the most felicitous reading sees the state being brought about by the particular actions of 'being bound' ('wed') or 'being loosed' ('divorced'). The interpretation in (c) of the Greek verb γεγεννήμεθα is also significant. As noted above, the verb γίνομαι is consistently translated with *wairþan*, in the sense both of becoming and being born. Its use here would suggest a variant interpretation. Once more, we can suppose an entailed state. The narrative places events in the present, and so the relevance of a past event, being not born of fornication, is carried over in a resulting state.

9.2 PRESENT-TIME PERIPHRASES AND THE GREEK SUPPLEMENTARY PERFECT PARTICIPLE

Supplementary perfect participles provide a way to overtly express what in Greek could be designated a result-state perfect. While a synthetic perfect can have this reading, the perfect expressed by a supplementary participle is marked by its periphrastic nature, limiting its expressive semantics to that of an entailed state (denoted by the copula 'be') and predicated on a completed event (denoted by the perfect participle). What we see in the Gothic is an expected outcome if we anticipate that the *Doppelnatur* of the *wisan* periphrasis also includes the result-state perfect reading. As noted above, all supplementary participles in Greek are translated with a *wisan* periphrasis.

(140) a. ^Banstai **sijuþ ganasidai**

　　 — χάριτί **ἐστε σεσῳσμένοι**

　　 — by grace you.PL **are/have been** saved

　b. ni waiht auk *ist* **gahuliþ**, þatei ni andhuljaidau, jah fulgin, þatei ni ufkunnaidau.

<div align="right">(Mt 10:26)</div>

　　 — οὐδὲν γάρ **ἐστιν κεκαλυμμένον** ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, καὶ κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ

γνωσθήσεται.

　　 — for nothing **is/has been covered** that will not be known; and hid, that will not

be revealed.

　c. ^{A + B}aþþan jabai *ist* **gahulida** aiwaggeljo unsara, in þaim fralusnandam *ist* **gahulida**,

　　 — εἰ δὲ καὶ **ἔστιν κεκαλυμμένον** τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν, ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις **ἐστὶν**

κεκαλυμμένον <div align="right">(2Cr 4:3)</div>

　　 — But if is/has been hidden our gospel, for those being lost (it) is/has been hidden.

　d. swaswe *ist* **gameliþ**: hlaif us himina gaf im du matjan. 　　 (Jn 6:31)

　　 — καθώς **ἐστιν γεγραμμένον**, ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν.

　　 — as it **is/has been written**, bread out of heaven gave (the Lord) to them to eat.

　e. aþþan izwara jah tagla haubidis alla **garaþana sind**.

　　 — ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς πᾶσαι **ἠριθμημέναι εἰσίν**.

　　 — But of you even (jah) the hairs of the head all **are/have been numbered**.

As expected, the expression of an entailed-state resultative is possible in all of the examples

given. What is of note are those instances where this interpretation is facilitated in a predictable

way via the narrative sequencing in the verse. In (a) one can draw a correlation between the

completed *giving of grace* and the resultant state of *being saved*. In (d) we see the restatement of

the high frequency phrase, 'it is written', associated directly with a result-state interpretation.

This lends credence to the supposition made above that this utilitarian phrase is, in fact, likely meant to be read as a an entailed-state resultative. That is, the phrase most frequently appears as a simple synthetic perfect that can present either a stative 'is written' or entailed-state reading 'has been written'. Its attestation here as a Greek supplementary participle adds weight to the notion that the relevant time frame of the narrative correlates to a state resulting from the completed event of the various scriptures *having been written*, and not merely a state where the said scriptures happen to exist.

9.3 Present-time periphrases and the Greek present

The use of the *wisan* periphrasis as a means of translating Greek present tense verbs is a key element of their constuction. This is because both Abraham (1992) and Leiss (1992) conclude that one of the major purposes of this periphrasis is to serve as a direct correlate to the synthetic mediopassive. In Leiss's developmental framework, the *wisan* periphrasis arose first in the past tense. This is a reasonable hypothesis since the synthetic mediopassive does not have a past tense form. The role of *was* + PP thus became the natural extension of passive diathesis into the past tense. Her secondary hypothesis sees the *wisan* periphrasis extending into the present tense and so entering into competition with the synthetic passive.

The attestations of the *wisan* periphrasis translating the Greek present suggest that this development is not the case. There are a total of sevn Greek present tense verbs translated with *ist* + PP in Gothic. Four are given in (141):

(141) a. [A+B]unte **afslauþiþs im** in izwis.   (Gl 4:20)

   — ὅτι **ἀποροῦμαι** ἐν ὑμῖν.

   — for **I am**/have been perplexed over you.

   b. [B]aþþan **dishabaiþs** <**im**> us þaim twaim   (Ph 1:23)

   — **συνέχομαι** δὲ ἐκ τῶν δύο

   — For I **am**/have been conflicted between the two

   c. [B]in þammei jah jus **miþgatimridai sijuþ** du bauainai gudis in ahmin.   (Eph 2:22)

   — ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς **συνοικοδομεῖσθε** εἰς κατοικητήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι.

   — In whom also you.PL **are/have been** built together for a habitation of God in the

   Spirit.

   d. [A]þaþroh **galagiþs ist** mis waips garaihteins,   (2Tm 4:8)

   — λοιπὸν **ἀπόκειταί** μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος,

   — Henceforth **there is/has been** laid up for me a wreath of righteousness,

All of the examples above seem to be passive in meaning, and yet their paucity of number suggests that the translation of the Greek present tense by the *wisan* periphrasis is (at least) dis-preferred. If we were to hypothesize that the entailed-state reading (has/have been) that we have applied to the *wisan* periphrasis thus far is the appropriate one, we would be faced with what is certainly an infelicitous scenario in (141a-b). In both of these examples, there does not seem to be some relevant entailed state that is based on a completed action. Instead, *being* 'perplexed' and *being* 'conflicted' seem to be better described as simply descriptive states, i.e. the participle behaves more like a straightforward adjective than a complex verbal entity. This would seem especially to be the case in (141b) where the presence of <*im*> could be an editorial insertion not present in the original translation. The examples in (141c-d) can be interpreted either way, but certainly the adjectival reading is also valid in these instances as well, if not preferred.

To explain this, we can again appeal to Suzuki's (1989: 29-41) argument that the past participle in Gothic is best characterized as an adjective, given the evidence that it has adjectival endings and that its stand-alone meaning is that of an expressed state. I have used his analysis to bolster the idea that such an expressed state, when part of a verbal complex, carries perfective aspect. This notion is concurrent with Suzuki's assessment of the participle just noted. In the examples in (141), the more felicitous reading is not as a verbal entity that entails a state, but as a predicate adjective. If we proceed under the idea that these participles *are* just adjectives, we can update our hypothesis as to how the translator treats Greek present tense passives: in the vast majority of instances, the Greek present passive is translated with a synthetic (present) passive on a one-to-one basis. However, in those few occasions when the Greek present passive seems to be merely describing a noun (or pronoun), it resists being translated as a passive at all. Instead, it becomes treated as a participial adjective and so what looks like a present periphrasis is really just a predicate adjective.

Under this hypothesis, the lack of competition between the synthetic passive and *ist* + PP is even more starkly emphasized. Instead of two passive categories with overlapping semantics, we are left with just one, the synthetic passive, contrasting with a would-be periphrasis that constitutes only a predicative relationship, independent of passive interpretation. This theory is all well and good, but while it provides a framework as to how *ist* + PP and the synthetic passive could represent different semantic categories, it is speculative, and it relies heavily on translational interpretation. What is required then is further evidence that this small contingent of Greek present tense passives is treated as simple adjectives in Gothic. To do this, we can revisit the examination of the participial adjective *drugkans* 'drunk', which stands out as the fifth example in this group of Greek presents translated with *ist* + PP:

(142) ^Ajah þan sums gredags sumzuþ ~ þan **drugkans ist**.   (1Cr 11:21)

— καὶ ὃς μὲν πεινᾷ, ὃς δὲ **μεθύει**.

— and one is hungry, and another **is drunken**.

In (142), *drugkans*, meaning 'inebriated, can only be interpreted as a durative state and does not seem to entail any resulting condition whatsoever. This verse, though it may have the markings of a periphrasis, almost certainly contains a predicate adjective. As noted in section 6.1, *drugkans,* like *drunk* in English, can be seen to have clearly undergone lexicalization to an adjective; that is, any verbal argument structure that may have existed historically has been sloughed off. For this reason, English *drunk* can only be parsed as a resultant state in passive scenarios such as *The glass of water has been drunk*. This would ostensibly seem to be the case for Gothic as well, and it is supported in translation. The Greek verb μεθύει is not a passive at all, but an active essive verb, 'is inebriated'.[37] Therefore, *drugkans* pairs with the adjective *gredags* 'hungry' of its partner clause.

This example is clearly not in competition with the synthetic passive since it carries no passive meaning whatsoever, and falls in line more with a predicative structure of the sort seen in (143).

(143) b. ^Aiþ jabai þatei ni wiljau þata tauja, **gaqiss im** witoda þatei goþ.   (Rm 7:16)

— εἰ δὲ ὃ οὐ θέλω τοῦτο ποιῶ, **σύμφημι** τῷ νόμῳ ὅτι καλός.

— If then that which I may not want (is) that which I do, **I am consenting** to the law that (it is) good.

In both (142) and (143), the Gothic shows a full predicate which seems, at first sight, to represent a periphrasis. And yet in neither case is this a viable analysis. As is true of *drugkans*, *gaqiss* is no

---

37 Further evidence for the lexicalization of *drunk* in English comes from the fact that the lexicalization process happened twice, initially with *drunken* which retains old participial morphology. This form's adjectival status was clenched when an adverb, *drunkenly,* was built to it. While no such adverb exists in Gothic, the facts that *drugkans* shares the exact semantics of *drunk*, is paired with the adjective *gredags,* and translates an essive verb in Greek contribute to a fast conclusion that it is an adjective.

longer parsable as a resultative state corresponding to the verb *gaqiþan* 'agree', but is an outright adjective, meaning 'consenting'. In both of these cases the imperfective quality of the Greek has lent itself to interpretation as a purely stative entity in Gothic.

There are two more tokens of the present tense translated with *ist* + PP, but both are notably coordinated with an instance of the Greek perfect. I have marked the verbs with superscripts for PERF and PRES.

(144) a. ᴬ⁺ᴮmanaga mis hwoftuli faur izwis, **usfulliþs im** gaþlaihtais, **ufarfulliþs im** fahedais in

allaizos managons aglons unsaraizos. (2Cr 7:4)

— πολλή μοι καύχησις ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν: **πεπλήρωμαι**ᴾᴱᴿᶠ τῇ παρακλήσει,

ὑπερπερισσεύομαιᴾᴿᴱˢ τῇ χαρᾷ ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν.

— great to me (is) glorying over you: I **am/have been filled** with comfort, I **am/have**

been overfilled with joy on account of all our great tribulation.

b. ᴬei in ugkis ganimaiþ ni ufar þatei **gameliþ ist** fraþjan, ei ains faur ainana ana anþarana

ufblesans ni **sijai**. (1Cr 4:6)

— ⁽ᴮʸᶻ⁾ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ὃ γέγραπται ᴾᴱᴿᶠ φρονεῖν, ἵνα μὴ εἷς ὑπὲρ τοῦ

ἑνὸς φυσιοῦσθεᴾᴿᴱˢ κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου.

— that in us two you.PL may not learn to think [of men] more than that which **is/has**

been written, that one in favor of one [apostle] not **be puffed up** against another.

These examples seem to re-capitulate the entailed-state reading for *ist* + PP endorsed thus far. Without mitigating circumstances, they would seem to undercut the appeal for adjectival interpretation proposed in (141) and (142). Such circumstances, however, are present. Both examples show the juxtaposition in the *Vorlage* of a present passive predicate preceded by a perfect passive one. Given this rhetorical alignment, we can surmise that the stative semantics is carried by the present tense verb which is explicitly aligned with the preceding perfect verb. The

combinatory effect of the two in tandem yields what is unequivocally an entailed result-state: the perfect contributes the completed event and the present contributes the ongoing state. In (144a) the state of *being* 'overfilled' is contingent upon the completed parallel state (albeit of equivalent sentiment) of *being* 'filled'. In (144b) the undesired state of the audience *being* 'puffed up' is equally contingent on the completed act learning not to judge men more harshly than scripture allows.

The significance of this seemingly incidental analysis is potentially profound. It helps to establish the notion that the present tense periphrasis in *ist* + PP is *not* in fact semantically equivalent to the synthetic passive of Gothic. By evaluating simply the number of tokens in this large periphrastic category, we can see that the Greek predicates that it most frequently translates are those that at least have the option of expressing a result-state.

The category that would be most likely to admit a translation with the Gothic synthetic passive would be the Greek present tense mediopassive. It is upon this perceived likelihood that theories have arisen that suppose *ist* + PP to be a category in transition: for which the tokens that *are* represented constitute the first instances of an increasing trend to move present-passive semantics away from the synthetic paradigm and into a periphrastic one. Mitigating this supposition are two points. One is that the majority of *ist* + PP tokens show a potential to be interpreted not as passives at all, but as straightforward predicate adjectives. In this case, there is no semantic competition between *ist* + PP and the synthetic passive because the instances of the former are not even contributing a passive expression. The second point regards the two instances where the Greek present mediopassive is paired with a perfect mediopassive. In isolation, a mere two tokens count for very little in a statistical profile of the periphrasis. And yet, set against the larger backdrop of entailed result-state expressions that we find so productive in the *wisan* periphrases, these tokens become significant. They suggest that the *ist* + PP periphrasis

is, as a whole, a category highly conducive to the transmission of entailed-state resultatives. As such, when a present type is coordinated with a perfect type in Greek – the latter denoting a result-state – Gothic translates each equally by *ist* + PP in translations of a Greek present and perfect. This indicates that this periphrasis is being used to interpret two entities which must be perceived (on some level) as having a similar semantics. Together these two points provide further evidence that *ist* + PP is an expression that is conceptually *distinct* from the established synthetic passive.

9.4 PRESENT-TIME PERIPHRASES AND THE GREEK AORIST

It is surprising to find that not only are tokens of the Greek aorist translated with the Gothic present-time periphrasis, but that they also form the single most frequent category within this construction. This is significant given that one would expect this category to more readily be used as a way to translate predicates associated with present-time expression, such as the Greek present or Greek perfect, as seen above. Yet those predicates combined contribute a smaller portion of *ist* + PP tokens than does the aorist.

Given the binary time expression found in Gothic between past and non-past, one might think that such an aggregation of past-to-present translations would constitute a gross level of temporal misinterpretation on the part of the translator. However, that a Greek-speaking translator (i.e. Wulfila) would be both deficient in linguistic aptitude and also insensitive to established Biblical translational tradition is not credible. Moreover, that a large number of aorist predicates would be translated with *ist* + PP by mistake, not once, but multiple times seems equally hard to believe. Furthermore, it raises the question of why an even larger percentage of aorist predicates are translated with *was* + PP. Aorists form significant percentages in both categories (34.8% of *ist* + PP vs. 50.5% of *was* + PP).

The most logical explanation is that there is a system of optionality at play. That is, given an aorist mediopassive predicate, the translator will render it by a present or past periphrasis in the proportion of about 2:3.

Clearly, some criterion of analysis is being used that is either independent of or supersedes tense. In this case the dual-character of the present periphrasis makes available a reading that corresponds directly to a present-time eventuality that is contingent on a past event. Without the context of a Greek *Vorlage*, the following examples could show – as do all members of the *ist +* PP type – their dual nature. However, when placed under the burden of translation, it is only the entailed-state reading that accommodates the transmission of a past-time category like the aorist tense in a present tense-expression:

(145) a. jah **insandiþs im** rodjan du þus jah wailamerjan þus þata.   (Lk 1:19)

    — καὶ **ἀπεστάλην** λαλῆσαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ εὐαγγελίσασθαί σοι ταῦτα:

    — and I am/**have been** sent to speak to you, and to proclaim that good message to you.

b. $^{A+B}$jabai sweþauh ina hausideduþ jah in imma **uslaisidai sijuþ**,   (Eph 4:21)

    — εἴ γε αὐτὸν ἠκούσατε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ **ἐδιδάχθητε**,

    — If it so be that you.PL have heard him, and in him you.PL are/**have been taught**,

c. in þamma **hauhiþs** *ist* atta meins, ei akran manag bairaiþ   (Jn 15:8)

    — ἐν τούτῳ **ἐδοξάσθη** ὁ πατήρ μου, ἵνα καρπὸν πολὺν φέρητε

    — In this **is/has been glorified** my father, that much fruit you.PL bear.

The criterion used to classify these verses is a perception of categorical aspect. It is interpreted as the perfective nature of an aorist brought to bear on a precipitating event. That event takes place in the past and is definitively complete (à la aoristic aspect). The expression in Gothic, however, shows a predicate though that does not denote the event but a state that is entailed by it. The selection is not random, but done through a clear process of interpreting aspect in a framework of

resultative narrative sequencing. We see here then the same entailed-state resultatives we have seen repeatedly. Christ in (145a) can speak to an audience only because the act of 'being sent' is completed. So too, the acts of 'being taught' and 'being glorified' are equally deemed complete by virtue of the resulting state in which the narrative resides.

CHAPTER 10

COMPARISON OF PERIPHRASTIC PASSIVES

Given the repeated exercise of optional translations based on a resultative framework, it is vital

to pose the question as to what governs the distribution of one predicate type into a given

periphrasis. After all, we have seen that the proposed translations all make sense more-or-less

from a Gothic point of view, as – of course – they must to make a viable translation. But with so

many Greek predicate types being divided into only three periphrases, the inevitable speculation

is that it is just a matter of the translator's interpretation of a given context. That is, that the

choice to sort a given predicate into a given periphrasis may be simply an attempt to express a

narrative sequence of events in a way that is understandable for a Gothic audience. Any

underlying sensitivity to aspectual distinctions in the Greek would then be over-specification,

complicating what is a straightforward translation process.

The evidence that contests this speculation is the condition that a resultative framework is

itself defined by aspectual distinction. The fact that there is not one but two resultative

frameworks, *wisan* and *wairþan*, shows sensitivity to how a completed event is conceptualized in

a given context; but both are predicated on the presence of a telic (perfective) event. As stated in

section 4.5.1, this sensitivity can be characterized as the interpretation of an event with perceived

eventive boundaries. Given the multiple examples presented in the previous chapters, we can

now expand the characterization presented in (138). A left-boundary interpretation is captured by

the *wairþan* periphrasis.

(146) **Left-Boundary interpretation**: Given a Greek scenario where a new state emerges from

one established within the narrative, perfectivity is interpreted by means of a

left-boundary or initiation point of a transitional event. This point is a true transition such

that its eventuality is concurrent with the termination of the previous state, and the

initiation of a following state.

— TIME-OF-NARRATIVE A state exists. | [*wairþan* completed transitional event] | A new state begins. —

This periphrasis exists almost exclusively in the past-time in Gothic because of the perfective

quality exhibited by sequential events. This is the very measure of quantification enumerated by

Krifka (1989). We can revisit that concept here as a perception of telicity qua delimitation.

Instead of a denoted endpoint creating a telic predicate, the endpoint is created practically by the

initiation of a discrete event.

A right-boundary interpretation is captured by the *wisan* periphrasis.

(147) **Right-Boundary interpretation**: Given a Greek scenario where the narrative references a

preceding, completed event, perfectivity is interpreted by means of a right or terminal

boundary on that event (with no left-boundary specified).

— *wisan* completed event] | TIME-OF-NARRATIVE A new state persists. —

The reason the *wisan* periphrasis can appear in both past-time and present-time expressions is

that the time of the narrative can always anticipate an event that takes place before it. If the

primary time of the narrative in Gothic is in the present tense, *ist* + PP acts predominantly as a

present result-state perfect; cf. examples such as those presented in (139) or (140). If, however,

the primary time of the narrative is the past tense, the *wisan* periphrasis acts as a past result-state

perfect; cf. examples such as (127) or (131) wherein the narrative is descriptive of past-time

events.

With this sort of optionality in play, one can refine the question above. Given the option of different resultative expressions, is it the aspect of the underlying Greek that really mattered or just the narrative tense? Indeed, the dual resultativity represented by the two periphrases should provide enough characterizing force alone without the need to see any type of sorting procedure present within the body of Greek predicates. Such sorting however, is indeed taking place.

Both resultative types pose a treatment of perfective events. It is not surprising then to see that the category that is unmarked for aspect, the Greek present, is notably underrepresented. No doubt, there are over a hundred mediopassive present tense verbs in the *Vorlage*, but of those, only four that are unambiguously passive are represented with a *wisan* periphrasis (see example 141). The rest are relegated cleanly to the synthetic passive.

The attestations of the imperfect in the periphrases is a matter of accommodation. We have seen that the interpretation of a narrative's event-sequencing is the key factor in sorting a given predicate with a given periphrasis, and yet it is clear that tense is not discounted altogether. This is evidenced by the fact that all of the imperfects, marginal as they may be in the overall predicate count, are exclusively a past-time category and so are relegated to past-time periphrases in Gothic. There is no other option. What seems to determine the assignment of that predicate, either *was* + PP or *warþ* + PP, is the practical interpretation of resultativity we have seen so far, with the lion's share going to *was* + PP.

This contrasts with way the Gothic periphrases are associated with the Greek aorist, and it is this association that helps us draw a finer picture of how aspect does play some role in periphrastic categorization. The temporal quality of an indicative aorist is past-time, but the aspectual quality of the aorist is not time-specific. That is, the qualities of "completeness" can be

said to convey "aoristic expression", whether or not they appear in the past, present, or future[38]. The instances of predicates in the aorist are mapped onto their Gothic translations in a way that seems to disregard tense. Hence, 30% of such tokens (47 of the total 159) are sorted into the present-time periphrasis. This reemphasizes the claim there is some factor present in the aorists that supersedes tense in regard to sorting. The factor that presents itself is clearly aspect, specifically the semantic quality of being categorically perfective. This results in an unsurprising disregard for temporality in the treatment of aorists across the board, such that, given a passive (or mediopassive) aorist, it is sorted into the periphrasis that best matches its narrative event structure, whether that be an attained-state or an entailed-state. But whereas the Greek imperfective is locked into past-time periphrasis because of its tense, the aorist is evaluated solely on the basis of its aspect, and thereby can readily be placed into any passive construction depending on its resultative quality.

What we are left with is a perspective on the Gothic passive paradigm that takes into account both its sensitivity to aspect and the specific role it plays in arranging the sequence of actions in a narrative. As a consequence, we must evaluate the distribution of the periphrastic constructions with this sensitivity in mind. The model required to characterize that distribution has to evaluate it not merely on the basis of a reader's interpretation of lexical aspect (à la Abraham [1992]), but on whether it maintains or disregards a result-state expression. In those instances when there is an attained-state expression, the events are quantified and show sequentiality. In those instances when there is an entailed-state, the ongoing nature of the state sets the time of the narrative.

---

38 Recall from chapter 1 that it is useful to view the aorist as a categorical "system" in Greek. Subsumed within it are separate domains of application. One is a tense designated the *aorist* that is doubly marked for past-time and perfective aspect. All other entities within the system, including non-finite infinitives and participles, or verbs in the non-indicative moods, are marked only for perfective aspect. (Groton 2000: 109; 235)

The effects that these combined sensitivities have on functions such as narrative sequencing and on the expression of entailed states give us a fuller sense of how the different entities work together. The result is an arrangement of the periphrases – as well as the synthetic passive – so as to implicate something in their distribution more regular than emphasis on a given state or event. Instead, what we find is a completely functional verbal system in the passive voice. The following examples are verses showing full coordination of the resultative and passive entities we have distinguished thus far.

(148) a. ᴮunte in imma **gaskapana waurþun** alla in himinam jah ana airþai, […], alla þairh ina

jah in imma **gaskapana sind** (Ph 3:12)

— ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ **ἐκτίσθη** τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, […]: τὰ πάντα

δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν **ἔκτισται**

— For by him **were/became created** all things in heaven and on earth […]: all things

through him and by him are/**have been created**

b. ᴮni þatei ju andnemjau aiþþau ju garaihts **gadomiþs sijau**,

aþþan ik afargagga, ei gafahau in þammei **gafahans warþ** fram Xristau. (Ph 3:12)

— οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον ἢ ἤδη **τετελείωμαι**,

διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ **κατελήμφθην** ὑπὸ χριστοῦ [ἰησοῦ].

— Not that already I have attained [it] nor already am/**have I been judged** perfect,

but I aspire, that I might apprehend [that thing] on the basis of which I **was/became**

won over by Christ.

In (148a) the creation of all things is perfective such that it simply narrates the completion of an action. The exact same sentiment is then rephrased as an entailed-state perfect in Greek and a concordant entailed-state periphrasis in Gothic. In (148b) the scenario is comparable; *gadomiþs*

sijau 'I have been judged[39], characterizes the state of Paul, and the act of *gafahans warþ* 'I became won over', characterizes the precipitating event.

(149) qaþ þan Iesus: nu **gasweraids warþ** sunus mans, jah guþ **hauhiþs ist** in imma. (Jn 13:31)

> — [(BYZ)]λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, νῦν ἐδοξάσθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐδοξάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ.

> — Then Jesus said, now the Son of man **has become glorified**, and God is/**has been glorified** in him.

The scenario in (149) provides a unique laboratory for viewing the distribution of periphrases because both instances translate the same aorist form, ἐδοξάσθη 'was glorified'. *nu gasweraids warþ* is one of the rare instances of a "forced perfect", where a *wairþan* periphrasis is collocated with the temporal adverb *nu* 'now' or *ju* 'already', the former – in this case – mirroring the Greek νῦν 'now' found in the verse. There is no reason that the eventive force of the copula *warþ* should be diminished, especially since it translates a perfective (aorist) predicate; I have maintained that eventive force by translating the phrase as 'has become glorified', (literally 'now became glorified'). The perceptible contrast between the first and second periphrases is made explicit by that adverb. The narrative sequencing of the sentence presents an event that is specifically manifested in the present-time: *now*. Predictably, a state that is a direct consequence of that manifestation is rendered with a *wisan* periphrasis. Even though the second instance is still in the aorist tense in Greek, the Gothic reflects what is the overt expression of a state – but not a state in isolation. Pointedly, the state is one resulting from a here-and-now event, presented unequivocally by the verb preceding it:

---

39 The verbs ἔλαβον and τετελείωμαι are both in the indicative mood, being translated as 'I took' (aorist tense) and 'I have been made perfect' (perfect tense/aspect). In one of the rare instances where the Gothic does not model the Greek, the translator changes the mood of both expressions to the subjunctive in Gothic. This is a likely indication that Gothic requires the expression of negated past events (events that did not actually take place) to be rendered as irrealis entities. The consensus of forms in the *Vorlage* is uniform.

(150) a. ᴬ**disdailiþs ist** Xristus? ibai Pawlus **ushramiþs warþ** in izwara, aiþþau in namin

Pawlus **daupidai weseiþ**? (1Cr 1:13)

— **μεμέρισται** ὁ χριστός; μὴ παῦλος **ἐσταυρώθη** ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἢ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα παύλου

ἐβαπτίσθητε;

— **Is/has been** Christ **divided**? **Did** Paul **become crucified** on account of you.PL? or in

the name of Paul **were**/had been you.PL **baptized**?

b. unte sa sunus meins dauþs was jah **gaqiunoda**, jah **fralusans was** jah **bigitans warþ**;

— ὅτι οὗτος ὁ υἱός μου νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ **ἀνέζησεν**, **ἦν ἀπολωλὼς** καὶ **εὑρέθη**. (Lk 15:24)

— for my son was dead and **became revived**, and was/**had been lost**, and **became found**;

This final example conforms to our assessment. (150a-b) are both narratively complex. The

resultative event sequences express a network of states and the events that transition between

them. The use of *ushramiþs warþ* in (150a) seems out of place, as if the hypothetical statement

about Paul's crucifixion should be treated with the same resultativity as the predicates that

surround it. And yet we do not need an excess of exegetical analysis to discern that Paul – who is

speaking – is drawing contrasts between his own ephemeral condition and two states he wants to

portray as ongoing. That is, the division of Christ is censured because the speaker wants to

underscore the undivided state of the church. For the same reason, the speaker censures the

notion of the church members' having been baptized in the name of Paul. By contrast, the

speaker addresses his audience with reference to a hypothetical state that he has not attained.

That he has not transitioned into that state is made overt by the use of *warþ* + PP.

In (150b) the parsing is elegantly straightforward. Two ongoing states are established. The

first by the predicate adjective *dauþs was*, 'was dead' and the second by the periphrasis *fralusans*

was 'had been lost'. Each of these states constitutes triggering events for transitional state-

change: the son *becomes alive* and *gets found*.

244

CHAPTER 11

RESULTATIVITY AS A MEANS TO A FULL PASSIVE PARADIGM

In the preceding chapters, I have proposed that Gothic does not present a state characterized by a

diminishing synthetic passive and three reparational passives developed by way of compensation

but rather possesses a complete four-part paradigm in the passive, with a past ~ non-past

dichotomy for two types of resultative expressions: *ist* + PP and *was* + PP. Together, these

constitute an entailed-state resultative which has the option to be interpreted as a result-state

perfect: *have* [event] and *had* [event], respectively.

The synthetic passive and the *warþ* + PP periphrasis together constitute what we can

designate as the "simple" passive in Gothic. The two entities are consistently associated with

those contexts that do not entail a result-state but, instead, regular narrative sequencing. The

evidence that supports this is presented as follows:

(151) a. the contextual analysis of the two periphrases that shows a clear distinction between

two kinds of scenarios, one in which a result-state is entailed by a preceding event, and

one in which it is not

b. the overwhelming and consistent association of result-state expressions in Greek (Greek

perfect and supplementary participle) with the *wisan* periphrasis

c. the paucity of Greek present mediopassives appearing in the *ist* + PP periphrasis

d. the apparent disregard for tense consideration of the Greek aorist.

By postulating that there are two types of resultative expressions – an entailed-state resultative

and an attained-state resultative – we can characterize the difference between the two

periphrastic types with an appeal to straightforward contexts. The *wairþan* periphrases

consistently translate those Greek predicates wherein there is a preceding causal event, what I have labeled a "triggering" cause. The purpose of noting such an event is to illustrate a contextual marker that works to associate this type of passive with a quantified model – that is – it shows events in a sequence, with one state ending and a new one beginning. It is for this reason that the *wairþan* passive embodies the generalizations that have been applied to it by Lambdin (2006), Lloyd (1979), etc. such that is makes up a "narrative" passive, moving events along from one state to another.

By contrast, the *wisan* periphrasis is more dynamic. It maintains those generalizations set forth from Paul (1905) onward imparting to this category at least the potential to denote perfect expression. This generalization is codified by the Greek, which shows not merely a general association with perfect expressions, but an overwhelming one where even Greek presents are coordinated with perfects and supplementary participles to produce resultative models. The determining context for these is not an event that acts as a triggering cause, but the coordination of a narrative state and some preceding event that established that state.

Through exhaustive analysis we can confirm the generalizations about these periphrases that have been made in the scholarship thus far. Furthermore, we can make more firmly validated statements about how Greek predicates are distributed. Ostensibly at odds are the facts that Gothic maintains a present-time synthetic passive while also accommodating a present-time periphrastic passive. How do we account for this competition? For Leiss (1992) the *ist* + PP construction is a logical out-growth of the older *was* + PP. Its rise acts as a replacement for the synthetic passive and therefore any competition between the two is just a function of diachrony, one category waning and the other waxing.

But when we take into consideration the *Doppelnatur* associated with the *wisan* periphrasis, we can hypothesize that the two categories have distinct semantics by way of

markedness. That is, the *wisan* periphrasis can accommodate the entailed-state reading and the synthetic passive cannot. This agrees with the evidence. *ist* + PP does not show signs of being a marginalized category. Of the seven times it is used to translate a Greek present, only four unambiguously translate a Greek present in isolation. In an additional two instances, a Greek present follows a perfect. Because Greek perfects entail a result state, a following present tense verb can be seen to qualify that state, whereby it participates in the larger "perfect" expression. This representation indicates that, while *ist* + PP has a high rate of productivity overall, it has a low-rate of *competition* with the synthetic passive. The reasonable conclusion then is that it constitutes some categorical semantics distinct from that expressed by the synthetic passive.

The conclusion indicated in item (d.) above speaks to an observation that has an affect on the way the periphrases can be modeled, especially the *wisan* periphrasis. The resultative model I propose carries over a link between the semantics found in the *wisan* periphrasis and that found in the result-state perfect, the same perfect that is postulated for Gothic by Brugmann (1916), Lloyd (1979), and Leiss (1992), and which is formalized by Abraham with the Reichenbachian-Klein model. This model – enumerated in what may be collectively referred to as "indefinite past" theories of the perfect – draws on the combinatory expression of tense and aspect to produce a complex predicate type. To bolster this analysis, one needs to verify that the Gothic translator is indeed sensitive to aspect in some form, be it categorical or grammatical. Here, one can reference again Lloyd's proposal for a system of grammatical aspect in Gothic which – as multiple examples show – holds up generally but is not absolute in its distribution. Lloyd's method runs into difficulty precisely because it assesses the Gothic in isolation.

That is, in instances where a complex predicate involving a preverb such as *ga-* is pitted against a simplex, a lexically identical item that lacks the pre-verb, one must make the assumption that some pointed difference in aspect is being expressed without any definitive evidence for this one way or the other.

Lloyd's assumptions are plausible, but not verifiable. For corroboration it would help to validate that the Gothic speaker has at least sensitivity to aspectual semantics outside of Gothic. Given such validation, we could better impose on the Gothic text an active discernment between those predicates that may be aspectually marked – e.g. complexes with *ga-* or a prepositional pre-verb – versus those that are unmarked and could thereby be said to have, as Lloyd puts it, "neutral" aspect. To this end we can cite the distribution of predicates in the aorist tense in Gothic. We find ample cases of the aorist indicative appearing not only in the past-time periphrases, but also in the present. Recall that aoristic expressions everywhere except in the aorist tense express the single feature of perfective aspect. In the aorist tense, however, there is the additional feature of past-time reference. What we see in the translation into Gothic is readily explained by a flouting of that temporal reference. It indicates that the translator perceives the aorist to be an entity that expresses no temporality or that, at least, has an overriding characteristic that supersedes time-reference on multiple occasions. The logical conclusion then is that the translator perceives the aorist to be universally an aspectual entity. And it is in this capacity that any aorist predicate can be assessed, being freely translatable into any passive construction according to whether it expresses an entailed-state or an attained-state.[40] The perception of the aorist as an aspect is significant because it offers validation for aspectual sensitivity that is manifested in the act of translation itself.

---

[40] The scenario of the aorists can be contrasted with that of the Greek imperfect. This category can also be said to carry dual features of aspect and temporality, in this case, *imperfective* aspect and *past* time. Lacking categorical perfectivity, however, it is restricted from being interpreted as either as entailed or an attained-state. Therefore, when imperfect predicates do appear, they are sorted based on their time-feature alone. Consequently, they are never translated with a present periphrasis.

Aspectually speaking, we can validate an expression of a passive perfect in Gothic, one that achieves its combinatory semantics by fostering a kind of aspectual "clash". On the one hand it contains a "past" participle that carries perfective aspect, categorically intrinsic to this whole participial type. On the other, it contains the copula that carries distinctly *imperfective* lexical aspect.

What a resultative model can contribute then is a way to categorically predict how an underlying Greek form will be translated without relying on the preconceived notions of "passive" that are found in a language like Old High German. By this I mean that the *Vorgangspassiv* and *Zustandspassiv* are, as indicated by their very names, conceptions of two types of passive expressions. In Gothic, on the other hand, there is already a mediopassive construction that is expressed synthetically. The development of supplementary passive types that in no way resemble the established type militates against an interpretation of periphrases as constructions that are meant to be bona fide passives at the outset. The very fact moreover that these passive types take the shape of periphrases indicates an interpretive component, one that need not be as concerned with the process of passive-making as with expressing a mode of predication that is, in fact, already established in the language. As shown in chapters 4-5, the resultative model that underlies the *-nan* predicate is just such a pre-established form. Those verbs provide a model that can have pragmatically passive qualities but does not accommodate an agent. By recasting the development of the periphrases as expressions of *resultativity* and not passivity, we can better assess the pragmatics that underlie the translation of Greek forms into Gothic.

Following our proposal that a resultative model provides two means for passive expression, we can propose a paradigm for passive expression in Gothic. Repeatedly, Lambdin's generalization is validated inasmuch as we find that the *wisan* periphrases consistently have the

option to convey a result-state expression, an option not available to the *wairþan* periphrasis. The fact that the latter appears systematically only in the past tense would suggest that it plays a role that does not need representation in the present tense. The obvious explanation for this is that such a role is filled by the already-existing synthetic passive. This conjecture holds if we note that the synthetic passive and the *warþ* + PP periphrases may both express quantified events, that is, events denoting sequences:

(152) ibai hwan atgibai þuk sa andastaua stauin, jah sa staua þuk atgibai andbahta, jah in

    karkara **galagjaza**.   (Mt 5:25)

    — μήποτέ σε παραδῷ ὁ ἀντίδικος τῷ κριτῇ, καὶ ὁ κριτὴς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ, καὶ εἰς

    φυλακὴν **βληθήσῃ**:

  — lest the adversary give you to the judge, and the judge give you to the officer, and **you**

    are cast into jail.

The example in (152) shows the capacity of the synthetic passive to express events forming a series; moreover, the passive verb seems to be implemented in the same capacity as the other events, each one denoting a new state attained by the verb.

    The *wairþan* periphrasis is more limited in its allowable range of interpretations than the synthetic passive, but this variation is not surprising given the role we are proposing. In a new paradigm – one that divides the passive into those instances marked for an entailed-state perfect expression and those unmarked for such – the development of the *wairþan* periphrasis is motivated. It provides a direct way to denote sequential events through a resultative argument structure and so constitutes the most basic passive expression in the past tense, lacking the entailed-state expression. The whole paradigm can be depicted thus:

Table (5). The Passive Paradigm of Gothic

	Doppelnatur: marked for perfect expression	No Doppelnatur: unmarked for perfect expression
non-past	ist + PP unte mis atgiban ist • for it has been given to me • ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται (Lk 4:6)	synthetic passive in dauþu atgibanda • into death (we) are given • εἰς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα (2Cr 4:11)
past	was + PP atgibanos wesun imma • they had been given to him • ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ (Lk 4:17)	warþ + PP atgibana warþ ansts • grace was/became given • ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις (Eph 3:8)

It is important to specify that this paradigm represents a diachronic development of forms. The oldest, and most fundamental, is the synthetic passive. Its expression of passive (occasionally mediopassive) predicates is rooted in a system that contrasts agentive and non-agentive predicate types, as enumerated in section 1.5. I have proposed that the system that comes to supplement and duly replace it is not demarcated along the same lines, but instead constitutes different types of resultatives. Central to this is the notion that there is nothing inherently "passive" about a resultative expression. It is just that the coordinated expression of event and state lends itself to conveying passive semantics; by using a periphrastic construction, speakers can focus on a state. That this method also happens to de-emphasize an agent is a by-product of its compositional makeup and – in developmental terms – can be seen as a "happy" coincidence. This can certainly be posited as a reason speakers of many different languages have employed compositional periphrases as a means to denote passive semantics. In the case of Gothic, we have the opportunity to view representatives of the two systems operating in tandem.

This paradigm provides a ready answer to one of the questions posed at the beginning of our research into periphrastic passives. Namely, why does Gothic not necessarily implement

passive periphrases in the same way as do other Germanic languages, such as Modern German? By way of an answer, we can propose that the fundamental shape of a passive is different for the two languages. By the recorded state of Old High German or – for that matter – Old Norse and Old English, we see the complete loss of the "de-agentivizing" system embodied in the synthetic passive. Instead, the "resultative" system has come to dominate all forms of passive expression. In Gothic, the residual de-agentivizing system is still an available outlet for translating Greek mediopassives, but its moribund status limits its use to the present tense. How then can the speaker express passive semantics in the past tense? Resultative constructions provide entities that output an analogous semantics.

To address the variation between Gothic and Old High German, one simply has to acknowledge that what a passive "is" may be conceptually different. By the time of Old High German, the *werdan* (*uuerdan*) passive has been fully grammaticalized. As the true *Vorgangspassiv*, it operates "as is" and is the only viable way to express a passive semantics, rendering a passive that is derived from a transitive active. In Gothic, neither periphrasis is grammaticalized, i.e. the verbs involved are full copulas, meaning neither should have more or less intrinsic "passiveness". Instead, in the paradigm proposed, we can view the presence of the *wisan* periphrasis as a secondary development beside the more "basic" *wairþan* periphrasis. Its role is to expand the resultative model so that it incorporates not only state transition, but the dual-metric of state transition plus result-state entailment, yielding a dynamic between a passive paradigm and a perfect passive paradigm.

The creation of this perfect passive allows us to align instances of the *wisan* periphrasis not with the German *Zustandspassiv* – which is not a true passive at all – but with the expression of German perfect passives:

(153) a. *⁴inuþ ~ þis **gaþrafstidai sijum***   '**through this, we have been comforted**' (2Cr 7:13)

      b. *διὰ τοῦτο **παρακεκλήμεθα***

      b. *Dadurch **sind** wir **getröstet worden***.   (Luther 1912)

CHAPTER 12

PROPOSING A PERFECT PASSIVE SEMANTICS

The Greek mediopassive reflects the inherited characteristics of the Indo-European mediopassive. Its system of diathesis can thus be viewed as a means to diminish an agent. As laid out in chapter 1, the mediopassive is a paradigmatic expression of the verb, meaning that can be formed regularly to verbs with a range of semantic expressions. All of these expressions are characterized by a shift in discourse focus from an agent to any one of several non-agentive predicates or a predicate where an agent is co-indexed with an object.

In Greek, the synthetic mediopassive is marked by a verbal ending which is attached to a tense-bearing stem, so the mediopassive can be expressed in any tense. One would presume that such was the case in pre-Gothic as well, though as we have seen, the synthetic mediopassive has become limited to the present tense and passive value by the time of our extant corpus. The popularization of a periphrastic passive that supplements and replaces it must be seen as an adaptation of the semantics carried by the inherited mediopassive category. Hence, the periphrasis becomes a way to diminish the discourse-focus of an agent.

But while a synthetic passive is akin to an "agentivity switch" with values equivalent to "on" and "off", the periphrastic passive is different. It diminishes the agent by transforming the predicate into a type that is inherently non-agentive, viz. a copular predicate like that seen in a predicate nominative or predicate adjective. Such a combination renders the sole argument as an UNDERGOER, typical of subjects in so-called 'linking verb' sentences, e.g. *John is a surfer* and *John is happy.*

Likewise, instead of relying on a specific morphological marker located in a dedicated projection, such as a VOICE head, the periphrasis employs compositional semantics. The UNDERGOER is linked via the copula to a past participle.

As detailed in section 5.3, I take the inherited meaning of the past participle as carrying aspectual shading. This participle, along with the *-nan* verb, represents an entity that is marked perfective, indicating a completed action. Given this assumption, the compositional passive falls out predictably. Non-agentivity is rendered by the copula and the resulting UNDERGOER subject is then joined to some state that is predicated on a completed action.

A natural consequence of this is that the periphrastic passive is more limited in its range of expression than a full-fledged mediopassive. Because the participle denotes a completed action, the meaning in composition entails an agent of some kind, i.e. some effective force that brings about the completed action denoted by the participle. For this reason, the periphrastic passive is prone to expressing a dichotomy not in terms of agentivity (i.e. an "agentivity switch"), but in terms more directly seen as valence: active sentences are expressed with transitive syntax, passive with intransitive. Excluded from this dichotomy is the varying spectrum of non-agentive predicates that show reflexivity, self-benefaction, inchoativity, and unaccusativity. These are available with a mediopassive and often constitute one or more of the titular "middle" readings. Not surprisingly, we see new and varied modes of expression arise within the Germanic family to accommodate these expressions. These include the *-nan* verbs in Gothic as fientive inchoatives and the idiomatization of reflexive pronouns to express inchoativity and unaccusativity, only an emergent category in Gothic but one fully developed in Modern Scandinavian and West Germanic languages.

The assumption that past participles in Gothic carry with them perfective marking yields a further outcome in regard to periphrastic semantics. Because a participle carries a value that

255

marks the verbal event as complete, it stands to reason that it should contribute this aspectual perspective to the predicate on which it is based. So, too, we find the ambiguity between passive meaning and what I will call perfect or, specifically, result-state perfect value. That is, a linking verb equates some subject with some state that results from a completed action. Thus, given the right circumstances, some periphrastic passives should also have the option to be read simultaneously as a perfect.

Here is where the algebraic framework that Abraham references is indeed useful. In order to create a model for perfect expression in Gothic, we can also engage the Reichenbachian-Klein schema that characterizes the indefinite past theory of the perfect to qualify the complex expression of Gothic periphrases. That is, we can employ the sequential coordination of conceptual reference time RT, speech time ST, and event time τ(e). Recall from section () that, in this model, complex tenses are formed by a combination of an aspect-denotation and a tense-denotation. Both the present perfect and past perfect position a reference time such that it follows a completed event. This positioning codifies perfective aspect as a result of that event's completion. The effect of the aspectual denotation further allows for the reference time to occupy (that is, maintain a value of true within) a state that is itself established by the completed event. The formula for expressing a present perfect is given in example (13), reproduced as (154).

(154) a. Present Perfect τ(e) < [RT ⊃ ST]

  b. Reference time includes speech time and follows the time of the event

  c. John has eaten the pie. | John has broken his leg.

In a present perfect, the time-denotation is present, where the reference time includes the time of the utterance (ST). In the past perfect, the entire structure is linear such that τ(e) < RT < ST.

The fact that perfects are predominantly formed by periphrases in European languages (see Dahl, 2000) indicates that some tenet of compositionality is conducive to expressing the perfect.

It is generally taken that the development of such a system sees the tense manifest in the auxiliary, and the perfective aspect manifest in the perfective participle. To be sure, auxiliaries like *have*, *be* and *become* in European languages that use them have become discernibly grammaticalized, as evidenced by the fact that the perfect of a new verb is – for the most part – derived systematically. That being said, it is reasonable to assume that – regardless of the choice of auxiliary – each part of a periphrastic expression must have contributed some feature to the overall expression at some point before grammaticalization.

The Gothic state of affairs presents a relationship between copula and participle that is more elemental. The copulas are not auxiliaries, and yet the coordination of copula and participle should still contribute a compositional semantics and so find adequate description via the indefinite past model. We can, therefore, add a theoretical formulation to qualify what we see overwhelmingly in context. The *Doppelnatur* of the *wisan* periphrasis can be qualified by means of the two semantic characters it provides. The aspectual "clash" is the surface perception of (i) a perfective entity and (ii) a stative copula that existentially affirms it. A natural and well-formed outgrowth of such a collocation is an expression of two things: a state and a preceding event. Put into a system, the logical characterization of this expression is a result-state perfect. Hence, we can plug in the components of the *wisan* passive periphrasis and see straightforwardly the expression of passivity as a present-perfect in *ist* + PP and as a past-perfect in *was* + PP.

Turning toward the *wairþan* periphrasis, our observations have been that it too expresses a kind of passive, but one that distinctly lacks the *Doppelnatur*. The result is that, in context, *warþ* + PP denotes sequential events, the momentary transition from one state to another. It is this transitional nature that I have characterized as the attained-state passive, a passive type that denotes especially the initiation of a new state within a narrative. As a copula, *wairþan* can be presumed to embody the semantic expression of transformation. So what we see in a given *warþ*

+ PP periphrasis is simply the expression of the transformation natively associated with the "become" entity of Gothic. When modeled, the combinatory semantics of *wairþan* and a participle do not show the aspectual "clash" that characterizes the *wisan* periphrasis. Since we have no particular *need* to impose complexity onto this construction, we can model this periphrasis simply as a time-denoting entity. That is, *wairþ* + PP can be conceptualized simply as an expression of the copula *wiarþan* acting as a linking verb in the past tense. The result is still a passive periphrasis; the perfective nature of the past participle still denotes a completed event, but because *warþ* + PP only appears on the past tense, that completed event does not engage in complex semantics. Given this analysis, our semantic profile of the Gothic passive can be made as follows:

(155) a. *ist* + PP   Present Perfect Semantics in the Passive $\tau(e) \; < \; [RT \; \supset \; ST]$

  b. *was* + PP   Past Perfect Semantics in the Passive $\tau(e) \; < \; RT \; < \; ST$

  c. *warþ* + *PP*   Past tense in the Passive $RT \; < \; ST$

CHAPTER 13

TOWARD A SYNTACTIC DESCRIPTION OF GOTHIC PERIPHRASES

Modeling a syntactic framework for the periphrastic passives can be done straightforwardly if we adopt the resultative frameworks discussed in chapter 5. Any formalization must be able to account for two qualities that we have identified thus far.

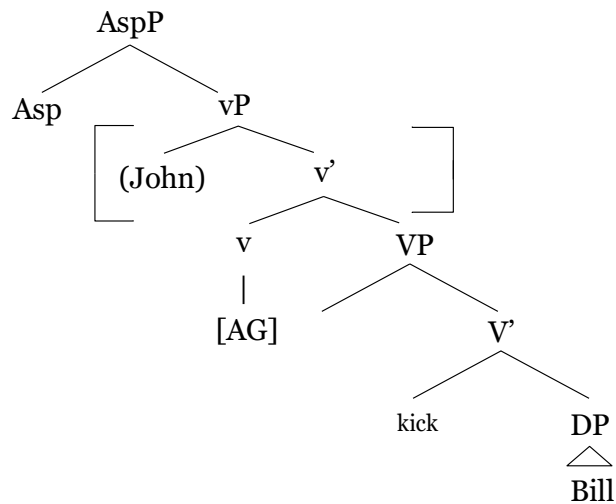(156) i. It must accommodate the ability of a periphrasis to entail an agent.

ii. It must accommodate a way to systematically implement the aspectual "clash".

In regard to the first requirement, both periphrases exhibit the qualities of true passives inasmuch as they can accommodate agentivity expressed through a prepositional phrase using *fram.* This already creates a point of distinction between the periphrases and other passive-like entities such as the *-nan* verb. While the latter can accommodate instrumental phrases using prepositions such as *in,* it does not appear with *fram,* itself a characteristic marker of agent-expression with diagnostically passive entities such as the synthetic passive. The fact that both periphrases *do* appear with agentive *fram*-phrases suggests that they, like the synthetic passive, include agent entailment.

In regard to the second requirement, we have seen that the *wisan* and *wairþan* periphrases translate Greek predicates in ways that are systematically inferred from the Greek narrative and, further, that this inference is interpretable as separate types of resultativity. Our positing of separate types of resultatives – one marked for entailed-state expressions and one not – requires a logical way to implement this optionality.

The model that presents itself is that of the eventive passive posited by Embick and given in (85), which is reproduced here as (157).

(157)   eventive passive: *Bill was kicked by John.*

```
                    AspP
                   /    \
                Asp      vP
                     ┌────────────┐
                     │ (John)  v' │
                     │        /  \│
                     └───────/────┘
                           v      VP
                           |     /  \
                         [AG]   V'
                               /  \
                            kick   DP
                                   △
                                  Bill
```

This structure provides the rudimentary features of passive expression. These include the initial MERGE of the direct object in an expectantly low position and the higher v-projection which is associated with the assignment of AGENTIVE theta roles. The "defectiveness" of that projection's ability to assign accusative case is, presumably, one of the primary triggers to a passive transformation. In that process, the object is promoted to subject position (where it receives nominative case), and the unexpressed AGENT remains only as an entailment, one that can be expressed via a prepositional phrase: *by* in English, *von* in German.

If we anticipate resultativity in this model, we should then implement the V[FIENT] operator as outlined in section 5.1.3 The specific type of implementation is dictated by the use of past participles in both periphrastic types. What emerges is a model that retains the fundamental structure of (157) but also incorporates our modified framework for expressing eventive past participles.

The first of those modifications is the inclusion of the [FIENT] operator itself. As a verbalizing element, the operator will act on the state-root found in the lower StateP. HEAD-to-HEAD movement sees the state-root merge with V[FIENT] and undergo verbalization. A second movement puts it into the AspP as we have proposed it, where it receives participial morphology.

At this point, the construction of a periphrastic passive resembles identically that of a *-nan* verb. The crucial deviation is that now there is the inclusion of another phrase that effectively blocks a local relationship from existing between the Asp-HEAD and any higher, inflectional heads. There is no such blocking in the unaccusative *-nan* verb, so what is spelled out in that case is a verbal expression: SUBJECT *becomes* [state]. With the blocking in place, what is spelled out at AspP is a participle.

The character of the "blocking" HEAD is that contained in the eventive phrase illustrated in (157) as *v*P, a phrase that has the ability to express an external argument. Various analysis have sought to apply some special marking to this phrase when it participates in a passive transformation, i.e. when it is being suppressed and/or acting defectively. The purpose of such marking is to isolate the fact that this phrase – when in a passive construction – is simply not a viable locus for morphosyntactic operations and, furthermore, that the *v*-HEAD has no phonological output associated with it. While in a transitive sentence the eventive phrase is a landing-point for the predicate, in a passive sentence it is disqualified from being such.

One of the analyses that does re-characterize this phrase is Kratzer (1996). Recognizing that this phrase (whatever it is) still fills a role in passive construction, she proposes that the better representation, in both transitive and intransitive sentences, is as a VoiceP. Kratzer's proposition is not merely a re-labeling for the *v*P; she isolates unique features of this kind of eventive phrase by arguing that it is into this phrase that the higher verbal arguments of a transitive predicate are MERGED. Hence, the subject argument in a transitive sentence is not

inherently linked to the verbal predicate, but is treated differently and is more aptly associated with an inflectional HEAD of some kind.

My analysis also integrates the VoiceP because doing so provides as a way to enumerate an inflectional eventive head, one that has the capacity to license an AGENT. That ability is important: in an active sentence, what we can tentatively designate as VoiceP$_{ACT}$, that AGENT is realized as a DP subject. In an passive sentence, however, the VoiceP cannot contribute the same type of agent-expression. Hence, in a VoiceP$_{PASS}$, the AGENT can be realized only as an optional PP: a *by*, *von,* or – in Gothic – *fram* phrase. Kratzer's stipulation that the VoiceP is both an eventive phrase and an inflectional phrase is also an important feature. By doing this, it allowed her to not only maintain the premise that subject arguments are licensed by inflectional HEADS, but to also assign special qualities to the Voice-HEAD such that it functions as an operator in the predicate buildup. In my analysis, it allows me to posit an eventive head that can also carry association with the semantic features of voice. Given our modifications, (157) can now be reanalyzed as (158):

(158)   eventive passive revised: *Bill was kicked by John.*
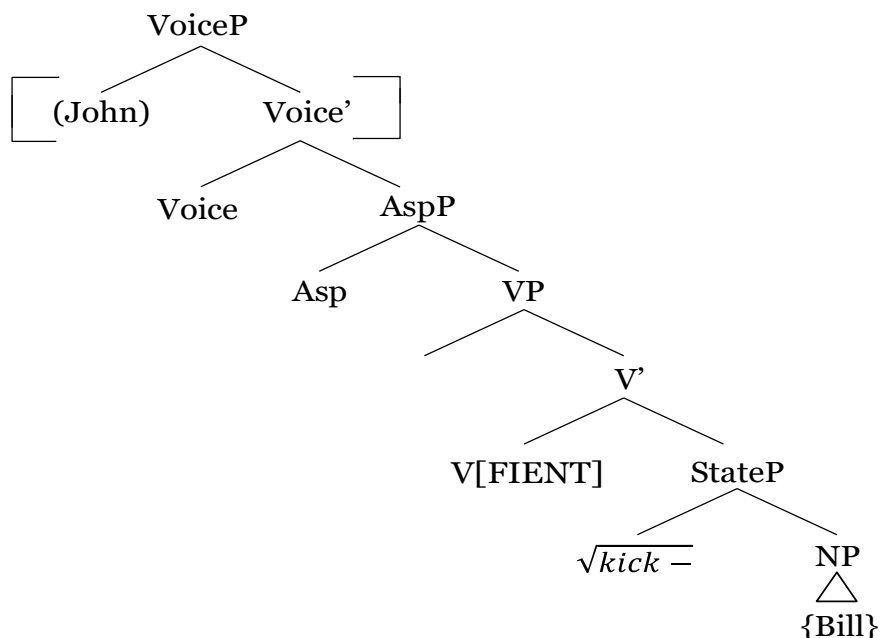
This structure itself is a familiar calculus for transitive sentences. It still includes the two-part verbal projection which accommodates the expression of an AGENT and a PATIENT. In this model, however, the phrasal projection signifying passive transformation is now VoiceP. As with all passives, the ability for the eventive HEAD to license accusative case is suppressed in some meaningful way. I have again used brackets to demarcate this suppression, abstracting that the projection (SPEC of VoiceP) into which the AGENT is merged remains unexpressed at spell out, but that it is presumed to be still accessible within the morphosyntax.

Because this model recapitulates that used for *-nan* verbs, it should also work for Gothic periphrases, assuming that the underlying creation of a participle and *-nan* predicate is essentially the same, i.e. an act of perfectivizing a state. All that remains then is to account for the aspectual features that characterize the expression of a sequential attained-state resultative on the one hand, and a completive, entailed-state resultative on the other. This is done straightforwardly by MERGING the selected copula into a verbal projection. The question is where.

One option is HEAD adjunction. We know that one method employed to pose secondary verbal predication is Embick's use of *direct merge*. Recall from section 5.2 that his proposition of direct merge allows the main verbal projection to have a "split head", that is, a HEAD into which two entities are MERGED via a process of HEAD adjunction. The V[FIENT] operator stays but is made immediately proximal to a secondary root expressing INSTRUMENTALITY. The result of this process allows for the expression of a by-means-of root in secondary predicate resultatives, e.g. √iron- in *John ironed the shirt flat.* We see, however, that a secondary effect of the directly merged root is that it becomes the verbal entity of the clause. It is the most proximal head to V[FIENT] and so the by-means-of root becomes the main verb, cf. *ironed* above. Because it verbalizes the adjoined root, [FEINT] does not verbalize the root of the lower StateP. Consequently, this method will not work for our periphrastic model because it would leave the

state in such a position that it would not be verbalized, i.e. it would be expressed as an adjective, *flat*, and be prevented from entering into a verbalizing process that becomes a participle, *flattened*.

Otherwise, we know that the copula cannot enter into the calculus higher than the AspP. Verbs that are merged at high positions are generally treated as inflectional auxiliaries that – in the contexts in which they appear – have lost their independent semantics. Examples include English auxiliaries such as *have* and *had* that appear in perfect-periphrastic relationships and thereby derive meaning solely as combinatory entities. That is, the auxiliary meanings of *have, has*, and *had* are parsable only as time-marked expressions of the English perfect and pluperfect tenses. Without periphrasis, these verbs are parsable as forms of the verb *have* and are merged into the primary verbal projection. We have seen that *wairþan* and *wisan* are not auxiliaries, therefore they cannot be merged high. At the same time, they cannot be merged directly into the main verbal projection lest they be interpreted as INSTRUMENTAL roots and block participle production altogether. The solution then is to posit their merger into the verbal projection most readily available, that of the eventive phrase, which – in our model – is VoiceP.

As noted above, the eventive head is generally treated as an operational projection into which verbs are not directly MERGED, only MOVED. Consequently, it is not predicted that there would be any phonological expression associated with the v-HEAD (or Voice-HEAD in our reckoning). The reason for this is that it is not the main verbal head. Yet there are reasons we can validate special treatment for copulas and thereby warrant a MERGE for them into the same place where we would propose the merger for passive auxiliaries as in (158) above.
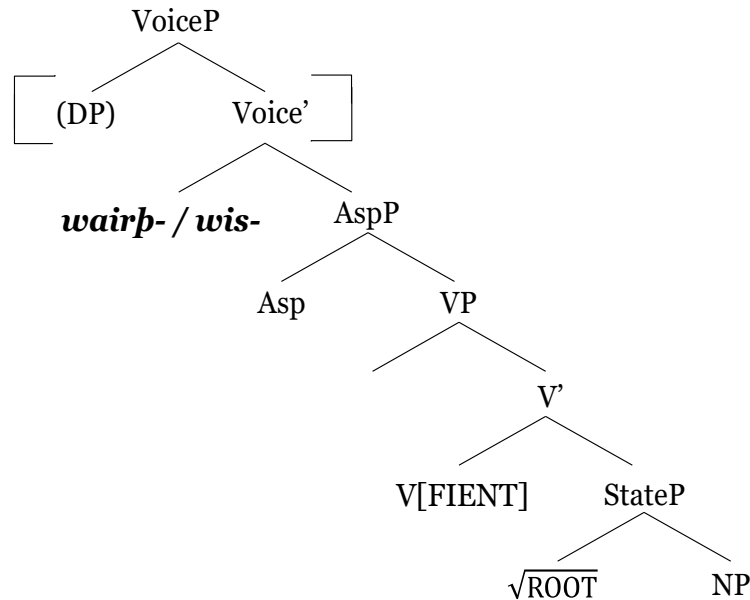
One of these reasons is that copulas are behaviorally different from other verbs. They represent some of the most essential semantic expressions in a language, qualifying roles as the preeminent stative verbalization, *be*, and eventive verbalization*, become*. Does this grant them

special status within formalization? Perhaps. More salient though is the recurrent and firm relationship between these two copulas and entities like participles. The frequent association of copula and past participle in multiple environments – not least of which is the passive – characterizes an essential type of expression: one that capitalizes on the inherent telicity of a participle and uses the "linking" force of a copula to create a combinatory semantics. Hence, what is apparent in morphology is semantically reasonable as well: that auxiliaries themselves develop from verbal entities. For this reason, it seems practical to suppose the point-of-merge for copulas to be different from that for other verbs.

Another reason we can validate a special treatment for copulas is that the implementation of the [FIENT] operator imposes a special condition on sentences. As a verbalizer, it serves to create verbal elements. But when such an element is a verbal stative (i.e. a past participle), one would anticipate some accommodation in structure providing a way to house a secondary verbal entity while also "blocking" the locality relationship between the V-HEAD and any inflectional HEADS higher up. The role of that entity would be supportive so as to denote the qualities of the verbal stative. A copula is the most reasonable option. We can therefore propose that the copula becomes drafted as a means of providing existential affirmation of the completed state.

Gothic would seem to be just the sort of laboratory in developmental semantics that would show this type of verbal staging. In (159) below, I present the structure for a periphrasis in Gothic so as to reflect this hypothetical stage.

(159)   Gothic periphrasis

```
                        VoiceP
                       /      \
                  ____/        \____
                 |  (DP)      Voice'  |
                 |____       /     \__|
                     wairþ- / wis-    AspP
                                     /    \
                                   Asp     VP
                                          /  \
                                         /    V'
                                        /    /  \
                                  V[FIENT]    StateP
                                             /      \
                                         √ROOT       NP
```

Given this sort of framework, we can now validate an assembly that accounts for the aspectual "clash". The Voice-HEAD becomes the locus of supporting verbal expression. The two periphrases constitute a polar choice between expressing that support as an existential stative or a transitional event. The optionality is both simple and elemental. In those instances where the speaker seeks to express directly a transition of states, *wairþan* is used. Here, the proposed resultative structure capitalizes on a fundamental model established already in the language in the form of the unaccusative *-nan* verbs. The structure effects – by means of its assembled semantics – a basic kind of result-state. A by-product of this is the suppression of an AGENT, so that this category naturally emerges as a logical supplement to the synthetic passive in Gothic.

The *wisan* periphrasis comes to represent a modification in structure. One that follows naturally from an established framework wherein the only change the speakers make is the type of copula used. When this optionality is exercised, the completed state is not presented as a transition but is simply affirmed to be, in fact, completed. The outcome is a new kind of resultative, one expressing an entailed state.

266

REFERENCES

Abraham, Werner. (1992). The emergence of the periphrastic passive in Gothic. *Leuvensche Bijdragen* 81. 1-15.

Abusch, Dorit and Matz Rooth. (1990). Temporal adverbs and the English perfect. *Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society* 20. 1-15.

Alexiadou, Artemix, Elena Anagnostopoulou, and Florian Schäfer. (2006). The properties of anticausatives crosslinguistically. In Mare Frascarelli (ed.), *Phases of Interpretation.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 187-211.

Anagnostopoulou, Elena. (2003). Participles and voice. In Alexiadou, Rathert, Von Stechow (eds.), 1-36.

Annerholm, Hjalmar. (1956). *Studier över de inkoativa verban på na(n) i gotiskan och de nordiska fornspråken*. Lund: Carl Bloms.

Alexiadou, Artemis, Monika Rathert, and Arnim von Stechow (eds.). (2003). *Perfect explorations.* New York: De Gruyter.

Behaghel, Otto. (1924). *Deutsche Syntax. Eine geschichtliche Darstellung*. (Germanische Bibliothek 1. Sammlung germanischer Elementar - und Handbücher, 1.10). Heidelberg: Winter.

Bennett, Michael and Barbara Hall Partee. (1982). *Toward the Logic of Tense and Aspect in English*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Linguistics Club.

Bible Hub. (2014). Biblos.com [Web Software]. Retreived from http://www.biblehub.com.

Borer, Hagit. (2001). *Exo-skeletal vs. endo-skeletal explanations: Syntactic projection and the lexicon*. ms., University of Southern California.

Braune, Wilhelm. (2004). *Gotische Grammatik: mit Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnis* 20. Aufl. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Brugmann, Karl. (1916). *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen.* 2. Bearbeitung, II, 3/1. Strassburg: Trübner.

Burzio, Luigi. (1981). *Intransitive verbs and Italian auxiliaries*. Unpublished MIT doctoral dissertation.

Burzio, Luigi. (1986). *Italian syntax: A government-binding approach.* Vol. 1. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company.

Chomsky, Noam. (1981). *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Chomsky, Noam. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo. (1996). *Adverbs and the universal hierarchy of functional projections.* ms., University of Venice.

Comrie, Bernard. (1976). *Aspect: An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cowgill, Warren. (1985). Loss of morphophonemic alternation in moribund categories, as exemplified in the Gothic verb. In Ursula Pieper and Gerhard Stickel (eds.), *Studia linguistica diachronica et synchronica. Werner Winter sexagenario anno MCMLXXXIII*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 145-9.

Dahl, Östen. (1985). *Tense and aspect systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dahl, Östen. (2000). *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Davis, Garry W. (1986) *The origin of the 'to be' + preterite participle perfect periphrase in Germanic*. Unpublished University of Michigan doctoral dissertation.

De Herdt, T. and Frank Kinnaer. (eds.). (2004). *Project Wulfila* [Web Software]. University of Antwerp, Belgium. Retreived from http://www.wulfila.be.

Dowty, David. (1979). *Word meaning and Montague grammar: The semantics of verbs and times in generative semantics and in Montague's PTQ.* Dordrecht: D. Reidel.

Egge, Albert. E. (1886). Inchoative n-verbs in Gothic. *The American Journal of Philology* 7. 38-45.

Embick, David. (1998). Voice systems and the syntax/morphology interface. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 32. 41-72.

Embick, David. (2004). On the structure of resultative participles in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35. 355-392.

Ferraresi, Gisella. (2005). *Word order and phrase structure in Gothic.* Leuven: Peeters.

Fortson, Benjamin W. IV. (2004). *Indo-European language and culture: an introduction.* Malden: Blackwell.

Grimm, Jacob. (1822-1837). *Deutsche Grammatik,* Vol. 1-4. Göttingen: Dieterichsche Buchhandlung. (Reprinted 1967. Hildesheim: Olms.).

Groton, Anne H. (2000). *From Alpha to Omega: A Beginning Course in Classical Greek.* 3rd edn. Newburyport, MA: Focus Publishing.

Guxman, Mirra Moiseevna. (1964). *Development of voice oppositions in the Germanic languages.* Moscow: Nauka.

Haider, Hubert. (1997). Precedence among predicates. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 1. 3-41.

Halle, Morris and Alec Marantz. (1993). Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. In Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser (eds.), *The view from Building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 111-176.

Harbert, Wayne. (1978). *Gothic syntax. A relational grammar.* Unpublished University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign doctoral dissertation.

Haspelmath, Martin (1987). Transitivity alternations of the anticausative type. *Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität zu Köln, Arbeitspapiere*, N. F. 5. Cologne: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.

Haspelmath, Martin. (1993). More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations. *Causatives and Transitivity* 23. 87-121.

Hendriksen, Hans. (1948). The Active and the Passive. *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* 13. 61-76.

Hermodsson, Lars. (1952). Reflexive and intransitive Verba in ältern Westgermanischen. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Hopper, Paul J. and Sandra A. Thompson. (1980). Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56. 251-299.

Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. (2003) *Grammaticalization.* 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Husband, E. Matthew. (2012). *On the compositional nature of states.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Iatridou, Sabine, Elena Anagnostopoulou, and Roumyana Pancheva. (2003). Observations about the form and meaning of the perfect. In Alexiadou, Rathert, and Von Stechow (eds.), 153-204.

Iatridou, Sabine. (2003). A little bit more on the English perfect. In Alexiadou, Rathert, and Von Stechow (eds.), 205-234.

Jacobi, Theodor. (1843). *Beiträge zur deutschen Grammatik*. Berlin: Trautwein.

Jespersen, Otto. (1925). *Die sprache, ihre natur, entwicklung und entstehung*. Vol. 3. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.

Jespersen, Otto. (1933). *The system of grammar.* London: G. Allen & Unwin ltd.

Jøhndal, Marius L., Dag Haug, and Anders Nøklestad (eds.). (2014). Proiel-webtool (Version 1.4.0) [Web Software]. University of Oslo, Norway. Retrieved from http://foni.uio.no:3000/

Kennedy, Christopher and Beth Levin. (2008). Measure of change: The adjectival core of degree achievements. In Louise McNally and Christopher Kennedy (eds.), *Adjectives and adverbs: Syntax, semantics and discourse*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 156-182.

Kern, Johan Hendrik C. (1912). *De met het participium praeteriti omschreven werkwoordsvormen in 't Nederlands*. Amsterdam: Johannes Müller.

Kiparsky, Paul. (2002). Event structure and the perfect. In David Beaver, Luis D. Casillas Martínez, Brady Z. Clark, and Stefan Kaufmann (eds.), *The construction of meaning*. Stanford: CSLI publications, 113-136.

Klein, Wolfgang. (1992). The Present Perfect Puzzle. *Language* 68. 525-552.

Klein, Wolfgang. (1994). *Time in Language*. London: Routledge.

Klein, Wolfgang. (2010). On times and arguments. *Linguistics* 48. 1221-1253.

Krämer, Peter. (1971). *Die Präsensklassen des germanischen schwachen Verbums*. (Studien zur lexicalischen Morphologie und Semantik. Vol 5.) Innsbruck: Institut für Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft der Universität.

Kratzer, Angelika. (1994). *The event argument and the semantics of voice*. ms., University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Kratzer, Angelika. (1996). Severing the external argument from its verb. In Johan Rooryck and Laurie Zaring (eds.), *Phrase structure and the lexicon*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 109-138.

Kratzer, Angelika. (2000). Building statives. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: General Session and Parasession on Aspect* (2000). 385-399.

Krause, Wilhelm. (1968). *Handbuch des Gotischen.* 3rd ed. Munich: C.H. Beck.

Krifka, Manfred. (1989). Nominal reference, temporal constitution and quantification in event semantics. In Renate Bartsch, Johan van Benthem, and Peter van Emde Boas. (eds.), *Semantics and Contextual Expression.* Dortrecht: Foris, 75-115.

Lakoff, George. (1970). *Irregularity in Syntax.* New York: Hold, Reinhart & Winston.

Lambdin, Thomas O. (2006). An introduction to the Gothic language. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.

Lehmann, Winfred. P. (2013). A grammar of Proto-Germanic. In Jonathan Slocum (ed.), *Indo-European Languages and Historical Linguistics* [Website]. The University of Texas at Austin, Linguistics Research Center. Retreived from http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/books/

Leiss, Elizabeth. (1992). Die Verbalkategorien des Deutschen: Ein Beitrag zur Theorie der sprachlichen Kategorisierung. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Levin, Beth and Malka Rappaport. (1986). The formation of adjectival passives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17. 623-661.

Levin, Beth and Malka Rappaport Hovav. (1995). *Unaccusativity: At the syntax-lexical semantics interface*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Lloyd, Albert L. (1979). Anatomy of the verb: The Gothic verb as a model for a unified theory of aspect, actional types, and verbal velocity. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Marantz, Alec. (1997). No escape from syntax: do not try morphological analysis in the privacy of your own lexicon. In Ais Dimitriadis, Laura Siegel, Clarissa Surek-Clark, and Alexander Williams (eds.), *Proceedings of the 21st Penn Linguistics Colloquium*, Philadelphia: UPenn Working Papers in Linguistics, 201–225.

Meyer, Leo. (1869). *Die Gothische Sprache: Ihre Lautgestaltung, insbesondere im Verhältniss zum Altindischen, Griechischen und Lateinischen*. Berlin: Weidmann.

McCawley, James D. (1968). The Role of Semantics in a Grammar. In Emmon Bach and Robert Harms (eds.), *Universals in Linguistic Theory*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 124-169.

McCoard, Robert W. (1978). *The English Perfect: Tense Choice and Pragmatic Inferences*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Press.

Mittwoch, Anita. (1982). On the difference between eating and eating something: Activities versus accomplishments. *Linguistic Inquiry* 13. 113-122.

Mittwoch, Anita. (1988). Aspects of English aspect: On the interaction of perfect, progressive, and durational phrases. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 11. 203-254.

Nestle, Eberhard and Kurt Aland. (eds.). (1993). *Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece*. 27th edn. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

Ottosson, Kjartan. (2013). The anticausative and related categories in the Old Germanic languages. In Folke Josephson and Ingmar Söhrman (eds.), *Diachronic and Typological Perspectives on Verbs*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 329-382.

Oubouzar, Erika. (1974). Über die Ausbildung der zusammengesetzten Verbformen im deutschen Verbalsystem. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 95. 5-96.

Parsons, Terence. (1990). *Events in the semantics of English. A study in subatomic semantics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Paul, Hermann. (1905). *Die Umschreibung des Perfektums in Deutschen mit haben und sein*. Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klassen der königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 22. Munich: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Perlmutter, David M. (1978). Impersonal passives and the unaccusative hypothesis. In *Proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Berkeley linguistics society.* Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society, 157-189.

Pesetsky, David. (1996). *Zero syntax: Experiencers and cascades*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Portner, Paul. (2003). The (temporal) semantics and (modal) pragmatics of the perfect. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26. 459-510.

Ramchand, Gillian. (2008). *Verb Meaning and the Lexicon: A First Phase Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reichenbach, Hans. (1947). *Elements of Symbolic Logic*. New York: Macmillan.

Ringe, Don. (2006). *From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic: A linguistic history of English: Volume I*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Robinson, A. Maurice and William G. Pierpont. (2005). *The New Testament in the original Greek: Byzantine Textform*. Southborough, MA: Chilton Book Pub.

Rothmayr, Antonia. (2009). *The structure of stative verbs*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Schröder, Werner. (1957). Die Gliederung des gotischen Passivs. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (PBB)* 79. 1-105.

Schwerdt, Judith. (2001). Zur Bedeutung des-nan-Suffixes der gotischen schwachen Verben. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (PBB)* 123. 175-210.

Seebold, Elmar. (1970). *Vergleichendes und etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen starken Verben*. The Hague: Mouton.

Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. (1989). *Verbal syntax and case in Icelandic*. Lund: Department of Scandinavian Languages, University of Lund.

Sihler, Andrew. (1995). *New comparative grammar of Latin and Greek.* Oxford: Oxford UP.

Smith, Carlotta S. (1991). *The parameter of aspect*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Snædal, Magnús. (1998). *A Concordance to Biblical Gothic*. I. *Introduction, texts*. II. *Concordance*. Reykjavík: Steindórsprent-Gutenberg ehf. Institute of Linguistics, University of Iceland.

Streitberg, Wilhelm. (1897). *Gotisches Elementarbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Streitberg, Wilhelm. (ed.). (2000). *Die gotische Bibel*. Band 1: *Der gotische Text und seine griechische Vorlage.* 7. Aufl. Heidelberg: Winter.

Suzuki, Seiichi (1989). *The morphosyntax of detransitive suffixes -þ- and -n- in Gothic: A synchronic and diachronic study*. New York: Peter Lang.

Taraldsen, Tarald. (2015). By-passive and why unaccusatives do not passivize. In Á. Gallego and D. Ott (eds.), *50 Years Later: Reflections on Chomsky's Aspects*. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL, 255-264.

Tenny, Carol L. (1987). Grammaticalizing aspect and affectedness. Unpublished MIT doctoral dissertation.

Terry, J. Michael. (2006). A present perfect puzzle for African-American English. *Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society* 36. 599-606.

Thayer, Joseph Henry. (1889). *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Torp, Alf and Gösta Holm (1974). *Gamalnorsk ordavleiding*. Lund: Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet.

Toyota, Junichi. (2009). Passive as a tense-aspectual construction revisited: the case of Germanic languages. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 49. 200-214.

Vendler, Zeno. (1957). Verbs and Times. *The Philosophical Review* 66. 143-160.

Verkuyl, Hendrik Jacob. (1975). On the compositional nature of the aspects. *Foundations of Language* 12. 451-454.

West, Jonathan. (1980). Die Semantik der vierten Klasse des gotischen schwachen Verbums. *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 99. 403-410.

Wheelock, Frederic M. and Richard A. LaFleur. (2000). *Wheelock's Latin.* 6th edn. New York: HarperResource.

Wilmanns, Wilhelm. (1906). *Deutsche Grammatik.* Vol. III. Strassburg: Trübner.

Zieglschmid, A. J. Friedrich. (1966). *Zur Entwicklung der Perfektumschreibung im Deutschen.* (Northwestern University doctoral dissertation 1929). Baltimore: Waverly Press.