Genitive of Negation in Gothic

A Semantic Analysis

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A Sara, con gioia ed inesauribile affetto

"Audagai jus gredagans nu, unte sadai wairþiþ. Audagai jus gretandans nu, unte ufhlohjanda"

(Lk. 6:21)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Frequently Used Terms		OPr.	Old Prussian
		PG	Proto-Germanic
GENNEG	genitive of negation	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
GENOBJ	genitive object	PSl.	Proto-Slavic
NP	noun phrase	Russ.	Russian
PARTGEN	partitive genitive	Ukr.	Ukrainian
PARTNEG	partitive of negation		
PARTOBJ	partitive object	**Glosses**	
VP	verbal phrase	ACC	accusative case
		ADE	adessive case
LANGUAGES		GEN	genitive case
		DAT	dative case
Bel.	Belorussian	IND	indicative mood
BSl.	Balto-Slavic	INF	infinitive
BFinn.	Balto-Finnic	IMPER	imperative mood
Ger.	German	IMPERF	imperfective aspect
Go.	Gothic	LOC	locative case
Gr.	Greek	NEG	negation
IE	Indo-European	PART	partitive case
MHG	Middle High German	PAST	past tense
OCS	Old Church Slavonic	PAST.PART	past participle
OE	Old English	PERF	perfective aspect
OHG	Old High German	PRES	present tense
OIc.	Old Icelandic	PRES.PART	present participle

OPT	optative mood		Mt.	Matthew
			Tim.	Timothy
Bible chapters			Rom.	Romans
Gal.	Galatians			
Col.	Colossians		**Symbols**	
Cor.	Corinthians		*	reconstructed form
Eph.	Ephesians		**	incorrect sentence
Jh.	John		?	marginally acceptable sentence
Lk.	Luke		°	acceptable but not preferred sentence
Mk.	Mark			

ABSTRACT

Genitive of negation is a morpho-syntactic phenomenon whose study in Gothic has always been neglected. In this thesis, I will attempt to analyze such phenomenon from a semantic viewpoint. I will put forth the hypothesis that not only GENNEG was an available feature in Gothic, but also that its traits as found in the "Gothic Bible" suggest that the phenomenon (already limited in its application) was probably entering moribund phase, and that it was, therefore, probably not loaned from Proto-Slavic but rather inherited from a previous linguistic stage.

KEYWORDS: Gothic – Genitive Object – Genitive of Negation – Case Alternation – Semantic Restrictions – Transitivity Theory

INTRODUCTION

"Genitive of Negation" (GENNEG) is a morpho-sytactic phenomenon whereby the genitive case alternates, under negation, with the accusative for the function of the object and with the nominative for the function of the subject. This phenomenon is present, to varying degrees, in many BSl. (s. ex. (1) in Polish) and BFinn. languages; in the latter group, the partitive case is the one alternating under negation with the accusative and the nominative (s. ex. (2) in Finnish).

(1)   nie   lubię   Marii

          NEG   love:PRES.IND Mary:GEN

          'I don't like Mary' (PRZEPIÓRKOWSKI 2000)

(2)   Kadulla   ei   ole   autoa

          street:ADE NEG:PRES.IND be:INF   car:PART

          'There is no car on the street' (KARLSON 2000)

Fascinatingly, some examples of genitive case assignment under negation can be found in Germanic as well, and particularly in Gothic:

(3)   jah   ni   was   im   barne

          and   NEG be:PAST.IND   them   children:GEN

          'and they had no children' (Lk. 1:7)

(4)   ni   habandein   wamme   aiþþau maile

          NEG   have:PRES.PART   spots:GEN   or   wrinkles:GEN

          'not having spots or wrinkles' (Eph. 5:27)

          [Gr. *μὴ ἔχουσαν σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα*]

While GENNEG has been studied extensively in both Slavic and BFinn. languages, its instantiations in the Gothic language still lack a systematic analysis. GENNEG, however, is by no means a consistent phenomenon; quite on the contrary, its peculiar traits (with the exception of only a few, almost "universal", features) vary from language to language. The first necessary step will be, therefore, to determine the position of Gothic in its application of GENNEG and to provide a comparison with languages deploying this feature in a similar fashion. I will then try to prove if GENNEG in Gothic was a feature dependent on some semantic and stylistic traits and its statuts in the Gothic grammar.

Another crucial aspect which needs to be addressed is the relevance of semantic restrictions triggering GENNEG, since every study on the matter could rely the participation of native informants. The absence of such fundamental element can be partly compensated: the Gothic Bible is, after all, a translation from a more or less well known Greek *Vorlage*. By comparing the two texts, my aim is to prove if the semantic restrictions appearing in Gothic play a role in GENNEG case assignment.

While answering these questions, I will also try to determine the differences between GENNEG and "Partitive Genitive" (PARTGEN) in Gothic – since the two categories have often been overlapped –, and its proximity with other negative strategies present in the Gothic language.

The thesis is structured as follows:

- In chapter one, the reader is confronted with a general overview of the "Genitive Object" category; after the presentation of the research topic (genitive case assignment exclusively under negation), the previous literature on the matter is presented and briefly discussed.
- In chapter two, I provide an outline of the GENNEG phenomenon from a typological viewpoint; I then summarize the main traits of GENNEG emerging from this comparative picture.
- Chapter three begins with the semantic analysis of GENNEG in Russian as presented in TIMBERLAKE (1986); I then proceed to the analysis of the phenomenon in Gothic, taking into account semantic properties of NP and VP, as well as factors involving "stylistic" or "emphatic" explanations. I conclude by presenting the traits of GENNEG in Gothic as emerged from the previous analysis, also try to account for some of its peculiarities.

- In chapter four, I briefly present the hypothesis that GENNEG was not loaned into Gothic from PSl. but that was present as an areal feature, thus involving the Gothic language (and maybe Germanic) in a moment pre-dating the translation of the Gothic bible.

1   Genitive Object in Gothic: An Overview

By the macro-category "genitive object" (GENOBJ) is meant a use of the genitive case as a marker of the argument (object) of the verb, regardless of its actual function. From the IE scholarly tradition, the same category is usually known under the expression "adverbal genitive" (Ger. *adverbaler Genitiv*), as opposed to "adnominal genitive" (which will not be treated here). From a pure typological point of view, the category of GENOBJ is not a very frequent one (cf. HASPELMATH/MICHAELIS 2008:150). As for the present, it mostly appears in some European languages: some of them, such as French (*je bois du vin* 'I drink some wine'), Italian (*si sono impadroniti del potere* 'they sized the power') make use of an article to express the genitival relationship[1], whereas others, such as German (*er wird des Mordes*gen. *beschuldigt* 'he was accused of murder', HEINDL 2017:148), Icelandic (*ég sakna þín*gen. 'I miss you'), Baltic and Slavic languages (ex. Russ. *ja ždu tebja*gen. 'I am waiting for you'), Finnish (*syon härvoin kalaa*part. 'I rarely eat fish'), and Basque, do it by means of a case ending. As for the past, there is enough evidence to assume that, in some contexts, the use of the genitive ending as marker for the direct object was probably a widespread feature in PIE: not only did it appear in all the oldest Germanic languages, and in OCS (Psalm 102:4, *zabyhŭ sŭněsti hlěba moego*gen. 'I forget to eat my bread'), but there are examples of it also in Greek, Sanskrit, Avestan, and Lithuanian (BRUGMANN/DELBRÜCK 1911; HIRT 1934).

As mentioned earlier, the category of GENOBJ appears in all the oldest Germanic languages; as such, it is not surprising to see that, already in the 19th century, many scholars spent research efforts on the categorization of said verbs. Very often, this categorization meant arranging the verbs that could take the genitive under specific semantic conditions. From the point of view of Gothic there is, however, one context in which GENOBJ has never been thoroughly analyzed, that is under the influence of *negation*. The characteristic that makes this specific category stand apart is the "unexpectedness" of the genitive (since in such contexts the verb would normally require an accusative or a nominative), or – stated more accurately – the phenomenon of case alternation it gives rise to. What is more, these verbs present a GENOBJ exclusively under negation, and for this reason it is sometimes called (in accordance with the long tradition of Slavic scholarly literature on the matter) "Genitive of Negation" (henceforth GENNEG).[2] In order to examine this phenomenon, I will therefore first provide a summarized account of the verbs normally requiring the genitive for the object, and only then I will move

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[1] Some Oceanic languages such as Samoan (*'aumai sina* [art.part.sg] *wai* 'bring a little water') show a similar typological phenomenon (LURAGHI/HUUMO 2014:24).
[2] The periphrasis "GENOBJ under negation" and the label GENNEG will be used as synonyms in this work.

on to the examples of GENOBJ under negation from the Gothic bible. After this first scrutiny is completed, I will move on to the description of what has been said so far regarding the sub-category of GENOBJ under negation itself.

1.1 GENOBJ in Gothic

The following sub-types provide a classification of GENOBJ based on semantic verbal categories proposed between the nineteenth and the twentieth century in an attempt to order the verbs that could take a genitive object in more or less extensive lexical lists. The first group (par. 1.1.1) contains verb categories that can take an objective genitive in affirmative and (in principle) also negative sentences, whereas the second one (par. 1.1.2) contains examples where the genitive appears *only* in a negative context where another case should be expected. This second group, which offers very few attestations if compared with the other one, will constitute, as already mentioned above, the main focus of this work.

1.1.1 GENOBJ in Both Affirmative and Negative Contexts[3]

There are several verbal groups that can take an objective genitive in both affirmative and negative contexts. [4] These are:

a) Verbs of "giving", "taking", "eating" and "drinking", e.g. (Lk. 20:10) *ei akranis þis weinagardis gebeina imma* 'that they should give him the fruit of the vineyard'; (Jh. 6:50) *ei saei þis matjai* 'that one could eat thereof'; (Cor. I 11:28) *jah swa þis hlaibis matjai jaþþis stiklis drigkai* 'and so can eat of the bread and drink of the cup'. In the examples shown above, the genitive acquires a clear partitive function.

b) Verbs of "sensorial perception" (*Sinneswahrnehmung*) and "mind activity" (*Geistesthätigkeit*), e.g. (Jh. 10:16) *jah stibnos meinaizos hausjands* 'and they hear my voice'; (Mt. 25:43) *janni gaweisodeduþ meina* 'and you didn't visit me'; in addition, some of these verbs acquire with the GENOBJ an added meaning of "care" and

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[3] This summary is based on the revised categorization of ERDMANN/MENSING (1898) by HEINDL (2017).

[4] Each translation, unless indicated otherwise (that is, in presence of a bibliographical reference), is mine. In translating from Gothic, in particular, I have tried to provide as literal a translation as possible.

"protection", e.g. (Rom. 12:17) *bisaiƕandans godis* 'taking care of the good'[5].
According to ERDMANN/MENSING (1898:181), the same verbs express a different grade
of "action" if the object appears in the genitive or in the accusative: the former would
express only a partial involvement, whereas the latter indicates that the action of the
verb is completely directed towards the object.

c) Verbs of "emotion" (*Gemütsbewegung*), e.g (Lk. 20:26) *jah sildaleikjandans
andawaurde is* 'and marveling at his answers'; (Mk. 8:38) *saei skamaiþ sik meina jah
waurde meinaize* 'who will be ashamed of me and my words'. As in the previous group,
also here the genitive expresses a "weakening" of the "sphere of action" ("[eine]
Abschwächung […] des Gebiets der Thätigkeit", ERDMANN/MENSING 1898:182).
According to HEINDL (but it is not very clear if this remark is based on the literature or
on a personal research), this category is rather rare in Gothic, whereas it tends to be very
common in OHG, MHG, and "not untypical" for ON (s. HEINDL 2017:155).

d) Verbs which express a "started" but "not-completed action" ("eine nur angehobene,
nicht zu Ende gebrachte Thätigkeit", ERDMANN/MENSING 1898:180-1), e.g. (Lk. 7:32)
jah wopjandam seina misso 'and calling one to another'[6]. This category is probably one
of the largest from a Germanic perspective: it includes in fact also verbs such as "to
help", "to strive", "to ask", "to follow", etc., (HEINDL 2017:155), e.g. (Lk. 5:7) *ei
atiddjedeina hilpan izen* 'that they should come to help them'. Some include here also
verbs indicating "participation" (*Teilhaben*) and "savoring" (*Geniessen*), e.g. (Cor II
3:12) *managaizos balþeins brukjaima* 'we would use great frankness'[7]; (Mk. 9:1) *þai
ize ni kausjand dauþaus* 'who shall not taste of death' (cf. however also Lk. 9:27 *þaiei
ni kausjand dauþau*, with the accusative).

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[5] The verb *bisaiƕan*, with an object at the accusative, simply means 'to look around' (s. STREITBERG 1965b:114).
[6] ERDMANN/MENSING (1898:182) had originally classified this example under the group of verbs indicating an
'emotion', since (according to his translation) the Go. verb *wopjan* means 'to complain about something'; this verb
was probably etymologically connected by ERDMANN/MENSING to OHG *wuofan/wuoffen* 'to lament' ('wehklagen',
FEIST 1939:572), but this meaning appears in none of the seventeen attestations of the verb, where it actually means
'to cry' or 'to call' (s. STREITBERG 1965b:178). It seems therefore more reasonable to include it in the category of
"not-completed actions", since the verb *to call* represents, from an aspectual point of view, a punctual and atelic
action, together with verbs such as *to tap*, *to knock*, etc. (s. HEINDL 2017:20). The categories conceived by
ERDMANN/MENSING (1898) do not, of course, take into consideration the modern concepts of "telicity",
"punctuality", or "dynamicity"; these latter terms, however, do play a role in the contemporary discussion on
GENOBJ and its relationship with the category of "aspect" (s. par. 1.2.2).
[7] Other examples of this verb have a prominent partitive value and are probably more suitable for the first group,
e.g. (Cor. I 10:17) *allai ainis hlaibis jah ainis stiklis brukjam* 'we all partake of that bread and of that cup'.

e) Verbs indicating a "separation" (*Trennung*) or "lack" (*Mangel*), e.g. (Lk. 5:15) *jah leikinon fram imma sauhte seinaizo* 'and to be cured by him of their illnesses'; (Mt. 6:8) *wait auk atta izwar þizei jus þaurbuþ* 'since your Father knows of what you need'.

Verbs displaying an accusative object are not uncommon from an IE perspective. As for the BSl. group, in particular, it has been argued by KAGAN (2013) that these verbs fall under the definition "Intentional verbs" and constitute a phenomenon named by her as "Intentional Genitive", which is restricted in the same way as GENNEG, and is frequently found in correlation with it in several BSl. languages.[8]

1.1.2 GENOBJ in Negative Contexts Only

As mentioned earlier, the category of "GENOBJ under negation" or GENNEG does not constitute in itself a productive phenomenon in Gothic (or in Germanic): a complete overview of the Gothic examples[9] is presented here in this paragraph. From the comparison with the passages from the Gothic bible and the original Greek version, it can be observed that in these examples there is a clear mismatch in the case of the object between Gothic and Greek, which indicates that the Gothic translator did not rely on the Greek text for the genitive case assignment. A complete analysis of these examples and the value of these mismatches can be found in chapter 3.

(1)   *frawaurpanai swe lamba ni habandona hairdeis*
        'casted away as sheep not having a shepherd' (Mt. 9:36)
        [Gr. ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα]

(2)   *ni þau habaidedeiþ frawaurhtais*
        'you should not have had a sin' (Jh. 9:41)
        [Gr. οὐκ ἂν εἴχετε ἁμαρτίαν]

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[8] The discussion of KAGAN's argumentation does not fall under the scope of the present research. However, the presence of many such verbs in Gothic and Germanic in general should prompt another line of research taking into account the possible relationship between these two kind of genitive assignment, that is "Intentional genitive" and GENNEG, in both Germanic and IE linguistics.

[9] All the examples were retrieved through either the "Wulfila Project" search engine or SNÆDAL (1998). Every shortcoming in the collection of the data is, of course, my responsibility.

(3)   *iþ nu inilons ni haband*

'but now they don't have an excuse' (Jh. 15:22)

[Gr. *νῦν δὲ πρόφασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν*]

(4)   *jah ni was im barne*

'and they had no children' (Lk. 1:7)

[Gr. *καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τέκνον*]

(5)   *unte ni was im rumis in stada þamma*

'since there was no room for them in that place' (Lk. 2:7)

[Gr. *διότι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι*]

(6)   *jah ni biliþun barne*

'and they left no children behind' (Lk. 20:31)

[Gr. *καὶ οὐ κατέλιπον τέκνα*]

(7)   *in þizei ni habaida diupaizos airþos*

'because it did not have deep earth' (Mk. 4:5)

[Gr. *διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς*]

(8)   *jah barne ni bileiþai*

'and does not leave children [behind]' (Mk. 12:19)

[Gr. *καὶ μὴ ἀφῇ τέκνον*]

(9)   *ni habandein wamme aiþþau maile*

'not having spots or wrinkles' (Eph. 5:27)

[Gr. *μὴ ἔχουσαν σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα*]

(10)   *þanamais arbaide ni ainshun mis gansjai*

'henceforth, no one should cause me troubles' (Gal. 6:17)

[Gr. *τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω*]

To my knowledge, nobody has still attempted to analyze these sentences, let alone tried to verify the presence of GENNEG in Gothic. Such examples, as I will show in the next paragraph, have already been mentioned elsewhere but never investigated in proper depth; what is more this GENOBJ under negation is generally interpreted as a type of PARTGEN (s. par. 3.4.2 for an attempt at discerning the two phenomena).

1.2   GENOBJ Under Negation in Previous Scholarly Literature

1.2.1   Older Studies on GENOBJ Under Negation

The first scholar to include GENOBJ under negation in a study on Germanic syntax was probably GRIMM (1837). According to the German philologist, the occurrence of genitive as the case of the object is a manifestation of the "partial dependence" ("theilweiser abhängigkeit") of said object on the verb, as opposed to the "complete dependence" ("ganzer abhängigkeit") of the object in the accusative: "richtet sich die einwirkung auf den gegenstand überhaupt, so bleibt der *acc.*, wenn aber nur auf einen unbestimmten theil desselben, so nimmt das verbum den *gen.* an" (GRIMM 1837:610; cf. also ERDMANN/MENSING 1898:179). Consequently, Grimm refers to the type of genitive that appears as an object of a verb as PARTGEN ("die fälle des partitiven gen. sollen im verfolg nachgewiesen werden", GRIMM 1837:611). GRIMM's explanation of GENOBJ under negation proceeds by the same token: the Gothic verb *haban* could take the genitive case because it resembles, in principle, other verbs denoting a "lack of something" ("nicht haben = mangeln, darben") [10], which in turn also requires the genitive case; what is more, he deems the genitive in this context independent from the presence of negation (GRIMM 1837:647).

In the course of time, many other authors start building on the definition outlined by GRIMM and implementing their analyses with observations on the role of this genitive in the negative sentence, whilst referring to the category of GENOBJ as "verbaler Genitiv" or, more specifically, "Genitivus partitivus adverbialis". An example of this tendency is found in

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[10] However, as already pointed out by HEINDL, the two categories cannot be mutually overlapping: "Bei den […] Verben des "Mangels" ist die Negationssemantik (des 'Fehlens', des 'Nicht-Habens') inhärent" (HEINDL 2017:156, n.34).

WINKLER (1896). Here the author provides a description of PARTOBJ that slightly departs from the one sketched by GRIMM (s. also VAN DER MEER 1901). In his account of the data, WINKLER describes PARTOBJ under negation as a tool for expressing a "relation of separation […] whilst there is no evidence for this mode of expression in the *urtext*" ("ein verhältnis der trennung […], indem diese ausdrucksweise im urtexte keinen anhalt findet" WINKLER 1896:327). A similar concept has also been expressed by WILMANNS (1909), who adds that in such contexts the combination of negation and the partitive meaning of the genitive produce a "negative reinforcement" ("eine Verstärkung der Negation", WILMANNS 1909:539). Fascinatingly, he notes that in some cases the partitive value of this genitive cannot be assessed at all, as in the case of (Mt. 9:36) *swe lamba ni habandona hairdeis* (cf. also BERNHARDT 1870:294 "Ja sie tritt in verbindung mit der negation auch da ein, wo eigentlich ein partitives verhältnis undenkbar ist").

GENOBJ under negation has been described in its broader IE context by BRUGMANN/DELBRÜCK (1911), who compared the Gothic material with some Slavic and Greek examples, for example (Lk. 2:7) Go. *ni was im rumis*, OCS *ne bě jima města*, Gr. *οὐκ ἦν αὐτοις τόπος* (BRUGMANN/DELBRÜCK 1911:612). The German scholars described this type genitive as a carrier of "total negation" of the statement, while also pointing out the lack of "action" of the verb on the object of the sentence ("[…] von dem Ganzen dieses Substantivsbegriffs nichts durch die Handlung betroffen wird", BRUGMANN/DELBRÜCK 1911:611). Since however genitive objects also occur in positive sentences, there is no reason in his opinion to tell the two genitives apart: "An sich ist also der Sinn des Genitivs hier kein anderer wie im in positive Sätzen" (BRUGMANN/DELBRÜCK 1911:612). Few years later, BEHAGHEL (1923) included a paragraph dedicated to the partitive object in his *Deutsche Syntax*, where he also added "hier ist der Gen. nicht auf bestimmte Gattungen von Begriffen beschränkt" (BEHAGHEL 1923:577), testifying once again how this restricted category of GENOBJ under negation, despite his apparent lack of differentiation from the usual instantiations of PARTOBJ, was still in need of a focused analysis.

1.2.2 Newer Studies on GENOBJ Under Negation

The assumption that GENOBJ under negation could be enlisted among the functions of the partitive case was inherited from the older literature into the handbooks of Gothic: STREITBERG (1920:177-8), for examples, described genitive object under negation as a kind of

partitive, stressing out the fact that this usage was already dying out and that the genitive was being replaced by the accusative. WRIGHT (1951:184) suggests that the genitive "is often used in a partitive sense, especially with *ni*, *ni waíhts*, the interrogative and indefinite pronouns", whereas GUCHMAN (1958:119-121) inscribes it within the "adverbal genitive" (*roditel'nyj priglagolnyj*) category, but does not refer to a partitive usage. Finally, MILLER (2019:128-130), refers to examples of GENOBJ under negation as adverbal PARTGEN.

KOIKE (2004) was probably one of the first scholars to refer to the category of GENOBJ under negation as GENNEG, a term borrowed from the long tradition of Slavic studies on the subject (in particular JAKOBSON 1936/1971). In his dissertation, KOIKE talks about the instances of adverbal genitive under negation from a cognitive grammar viewpoint: contrarily to a PARTGEN nominal, which "designates as much of the designatum of its root nominal as is manifested in the domain of instantiation", its negative counterpart "will express that *not any* of the designatum of the root nominal is manifested in the domain" (KOIKE 2004:302).

Recently, BREITBARTH *et al.* (2013; 2014) referenced the question of GENNEG in some articles and works dedicated to the evolution of negation in Low German. At some point in the history of Germanic, the genitive appeared in negative sentences in combination with a "strengthened" negated particle, e.g. OHG *niowiht*/*níawiht* 'not', a contraction of *ni + io* 'ever' (Ger. *je*) + *wiht* 'something' (NISHIWAKI 2010:146). This use of genitive has been described as "adnominal" by DAL (1952:22), since in OHG it is dependent on the noun or indefinite pronoun *wiht* (BREITBARTH *et al.* 2013:13); this "negative reinforcement" (a very famous step of what is generally known as "Jespersen's Cycle") is attested in OE, OS, and also in Gothic, e.g. (Cor. I 13:3) *ni waiht botos mis taujau* 'it does me nothing of use'. BREITBARTH *et al.* have also adduced this latter example as evidence for the absence of GENNEG in Gothic: "If Gothic had genitive of negation then the genitive case of *botos* in examples such as [Cor. I 13:3] could have been interpreted as being due to genitive of negation, rather than because *botos* is the complement of *waiht*" (BREITBARTH *et al.* 2013:12). Although the genitive in this example is clearly dependent on the NP headed by *waiht*, it is probably hasty to doubt the existence of GENNEG in Gothic without also presenting the occurrences as plain object/subject under negation (s. BREITBARTH *et al.* 2013:13; BREITBARTH 2014:22-7).

The last scholar to have acknowledged the presence of GENOBJ under negation is HEINDL (2017) in her book dedicated to the relationship between the categories of aspect and GENOBJ (*Genitivobjekt*) in the syntax of Germanic. In her analysis of these two phenomena, HEINDL has not only shown that the so-called "*ge*-verbs" in Gothic and OHG represented "true"

perfective verbs in a system which lacked a category of "true" imperfectives (that is, that the aspectual opposition was only partially lexicalized, cf. HEINDL 2017:105-7), but also that the use of GENOBJ in these Germanic languages was not entirely dependent on the perfective aspect (contrarily to Russian or Finnish). By comparing the use of GENOBJ in both Germanic and Slavic, HEINDL concludes that GENOBJ had two main functions: the first (together with perfective verbs) of "quantification" or "partitivity", while the second (with the other verbs and *under negation*) of "stativity" (HEINDL 2017:209); while it is probable that this latter function evolved from the first, it is not entirely clear whether negation has played a role in this process:

> Man wird allerdings nicht abschließend klären können, ob die Entwicklung des Genitivs zu einem ‚Stativitätsmarker' in den affirmativen Kontexten von den Entwicklungen bei der Negation angestoßen wird oder ob es sich bei der Entfaltung der genannten Funktion in diesen beiden Bereichen z. B. um zwei parallel verlaufende Entwicklungsprozesse handelt (HEINDL 2017:208).

1.3   Conclusions

As I have shown in the preceding paragraphs, nobody undertook an *ad hoc* analysis of GENOBJ under negation in Germanic and, in particular, Gothic. What has emerged, however, is that some scholars have acknowledged that this specific type of genitive assignment presents some interesting peculiarities, some of which are not usually found in PARTGEN. For this reason, the following chapters will present the reader with enough data to understand the phenomenon from both a typological and a synchronic point of view. The semantic analysis that will follow is based on two major assumptions presented at the beginning of chapter 3.

2   GᴇɴNᴇɢ in European Languages from A Typological Perspective

Before treating the Gothic examples in detail (s. chapter 3), the focus of this chapter will be given to the instances of GᴇɴNᴇɢ in the wider context of European languages – mainly in the BSl. and BFinn. groups, as well as Basque – for which a huge body of literature is at our disposal. It should be noted, however, that in the case of BFinn. and Basque the term "partitive genitive" (PᴀʀᴛGᴇɴ) will be used, since these languages make use of the partitive case for the same function described by the use of genitive in the other languages presented in this survey. The objective of this comparison is to provide enough evidence for a typological comparison of GᴇɴNᴇɢ before moving on to the analysis of the Gothic material in the next chapter.

As it will become clear soon enough, there is great variation in the application of GᴇɴNᴇɢ in the various languages. The next paragraphs will describe the environments surrounding the application of GᴇɴNᴇɢ in the aforementioned branches. For the sake of clarity, at the end of this description all the languages with GᴇɴNᴇɢ will be divided up into three different categories, namely languages where GᴇɴNᴇɢ is 1) obligatory, 2) optional/restricted, or 3) not productive/highly restricted, that is to say only preserved in some fixed expressions or in concomitance with specific verbs or elements of discourse (s. table 1); for a summary of the main traits pertaining to GᴇɴNᴇɢ in the various languages, s. par. 2.3.

2.1   GᴇɴNᴇɢ in BSl.

2.1.1   GᴇɴNᴇɢ in Slavic Languages

Old Church Slavonic is the first Slavic language to present copious examples of GᴇɴNᴇɢ. With a few exceptions[11], the genitive is normally used in OCS as the case for the object of a transitive verb under negation (Lᴜɴᴛ 1974:128-9), e.g. (Mk. 2:22) *nikŭtože ne vŭlivatŭ* <u>*vina nova*</u>gen. *vĭ měxy vetŭxy* 'nobody puts new wine into old bottles', and (Lk. 7:9) *ni v Izdraili tolikoię věrŭy*gen. *ne obriȩt* 'I have not found in Israel such a great faith'. Some verbs with a generally "negative" meaning can also trigger GᴇɴNᴇɢ, e.g. (Psalm 102:4) *zabyhŭ sŭněsti* <u>*hlěba moego*</u>gen. 'I forget to eat my bread'[12]. The assignment of Genitive was an option also for the subject of a negated existential copula (Hᴜɴᴛʟᴇʏ 1993:174), e.g. (Lk. 2:7) *ne bě*

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[11] S. for example (Mt. 6:19) *ne sŭkryvaite sebě sŭkrovišta*acc. 'don't store up treasures for yourselves' in the *Codex Marianus* and *ne sŭkryvaite sebě sŭkrovištĭ*gen. 'id.' in the *Codex Assemanianus* (Vᴀɪʟʟᴀɴᴛ 1948:176). Other exceptions may also arise in presence of the enclitic pronouns, s. *bljuděte sę vraga da ne nagy sŭtvoritŭ vy*acc. *ěko adama* (Mᴇɪʟʟᴇᴛ 1897:154-5).

[12] According to Pɪʀɴᴀᴛ (2015:5), such event may occur also in Slovenian, Czech, and Polish.

*ima města*gen. 'there was no room for them', a constructions which appears identical also in the Gothic text.

The assignment of genitive to negated objects is also regular in Polish, s. *nie lubię Marii*gen. 'I don't like Mary' (PRZEPIÓRKOWSKI 2000:120); in addition to this, also the object of non-negated infinitives depending on a negated finite verb can appear in genitive, e.g. *nie chciałem pisać listów*gen. 'I didn't want to write letters', a phenomenon also known as "long-distance Genitive of Negation" (PRZEPIÓRKOWSKI 2000:122); genitive subjects are also possible, but only when the verb *być* is negated and with no other existential verbs, e.g. *kiełbasy*gen. *nie ma* 'there isn't any sausage', or *Janka*gen. *nie było na wykładzie* 'Janek wasn't at the lecture' (ROTHSTEIN 1993:742).

Genitive objects and subjects are very common in Slovene as well, although alternation with accusative and nominative is also possible under certain circumstances, for example in the negated existential sentence *očęta ni domâ* 'father is not at home', the nominative *óče* can appear if only the verbal element is negated, that is, the scope of negation is restricted to the verb and does not involve the subject ('father is not home, but [somewhere else], cf. PRIESTLY 1993:436-7).

East Slavic languages, on the other hand, present a system in which GENNEG is considered to be optional and in alternation with the accusative case, cf. Ukr. *vin ne prodav stola*gen. 'he did not sell a table' vs. *vin ne prodav cej stil*acc. 'he did not sell this table', Bel. *ja ne čytau hetaha ramana*gen. 'I haven't read this novel' vs. *ja ne čytau hety raman*acc. 'id.' (KAGAN 2013:16-7). In both languages, GENNEG is also available when marking the subject of a negated existential sentence, e.g. Ukr. *ne bulo xlibiv*gen. 'there were no loaves' (SHEVELOV 1993:985), and Bel. *mjane*gen. *ne bylo doma* 'I wasn't home' (lit. 'of me not was at home', MAYO 2003:932). Although being still widely in use, in Ukrainian the genitive under negation is nowadays more common in formal speech (SHEVELOV 1993:984-5).

Russian, most notably, was the language which has received most attention from this point of view. Here, but in a identical fashion also in Ukrainian and in Belorussian (according to KAGAN 2013:16-7), the choice of case does not depend solely on the negation, but also on a set of semantic features of the NP: the genitive case is, in fact, most likely to be assigned to NP heads that are "abstract", "plural", "indefinite", "common", and "non-specific", whereas the opposite traits – "concrete", "singular", "definite", "proper", and "specific"– tend to favourite accusative assignment, cf. *Lena ne kupila <u>eti ukrašenija</u>*acc. 'Lena didn't buy these jewels' vs.

*Lena ne kupila novyjx ukrašenij*_{gen.} 'Lena didn't buy [any] new jewels' (KAGAN 2013:12)[13]. The only context in which GENNEG is compulsory is within negated existential sentences, e.g. *v komnate net stul'ev* 'there are no chairs in the room' (KAGAN 2013:6). The Russian data will be presented extensively in chapter 3.

Finally, in Serbo-Croatian and Czech the usage of genitive under negation is not productive anymore, but it can be found only in some specific contexts. In Serbo-Croatian, for example, the choice of genitive for the case of the direct object is nowadays perceived as "archaic" or pertaining to an elevated style (BROWNE 1993:362); otherwise, it only appears as object of *némati* 'not to have', as in *tàda se s(j)ètio da nêmā revolvéra*_{gen.} 'than he remembered he did not have a pistol', or when a strengthened negation with *ni, nijèdan, nìkakav* 'not even, not a single, no' occurs. Genitive can also replace the nominative in negated existential sentences with the verb *ne bìti* 'not to be', e.g. *u sòbi nêma Màrijē*_{gen.} 'Mary is not in the room' (BROWNE 1993:363). Czech presents a similar situation: although being regular in Old Czech, in modern times GENNEG for the direct object under negation only "survives as a feature of archaizing style" in some "semi-idiomatic" phrases involving abstract or mass nouns and the verb *mit* 'have'; even in such cases, however, the accusative is nowadays the preferred choice. The same holds true also for genitives in negated existential sentences, which survives only in idiomatical sentences, e.g. *nemine dne*_{gen.}, *aby...* 'not a day passes without…'. Even in such occurrences, the nominative is nowadays replacing the old genitive (SHORT 1993:511-2).

2.1.2 GENNEG in Baltic Languages

Among the Baltic languages, the only one still presenting a full-fledged GENNEG is Lithuanian, e.g. *ne mačiau Jono*_{gen.} 'I didn't see John' (ARKADIEV 2016:38); here, similarly to Polish, the "long-distance" GENNEG – that is to say, the genitive assignment to the object of a non-finite verb depending on a negated finite one – is also possible, cf. *Jonas nenori rašyti laiško*_{gen.} 'Jonas does not want to write a letter' (ARKADIEV 2016:38). Schleicher, who described the GENNEG in Lithuanian as early as 1856, enlisted it among the uses of PARTGEN., e.g. *jis rànku*_{gen.} *netùr* 'he doesn't have any hands", *neįartìnkit vaikú júsu*_{gen.} 'don't exasperate your children'. Remarkably, he also added "doch wird dise regel besonders in der neueren Sprache

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[13] The latter example is also acceptable with the accusative *novyje ukrašenija*. It is important to stress that in these languages in which GENNEG is slowly disappearing, the choice of case represents in some case a matter of tendency: "[genitive/accusative alternation is] associated with a considerable amount of variation in native speakers' judgment. Thus native speaker of Russian often disagree as to whether an object can appear in the genitive case in a given sentence or not' (KAGAN 2013:9); this situation is probably also a direct consequence of the increased frequency of accusative replacing the genitive under negation in modern Russian (NEIDLE 1988).

nicht strenge durch gefürt: so sagt man *nèvesk mane* 'füre mich nicht'" (SCHLEICHER 1856:274-5).

Latvian presents instances of GENNEG only in a few environments, that is when the verb *būt* 'to be' is negated, e.g. *tēva*gen. *nav mājās* 'father is not at home' (FORSSMAN 2001:337), and when used to form negative possessive sentences, such as *viņam nav naudas*gen. 'he has no money' (lit. 'to him there is no money', PRAULIŅŠ 2012:190), or *man nekad nav bijis mašīnas*gen. 'I've never had a car' (BERG-OLSEN 2009:190). The genitive can also be assigned to the object of a transitive verb in an emphatic environment (BERG-HOLSEN 2004:125), e.g. *viņš nesaka ne vārda*gen. 'he does not say a single word' (MENANTAUD 2007:95) , and *es nekā*gen. *nezinu* 'I know nothing', but the genitive in type of construction has been practically been completely replaced by the accusative in modern standard Latvian (BERG-OLSEN 2009:191).

In Latgalian – considered by most a dialect of Latvian[14] – the object of a negated transitive verb is usually assigned the genitive case; as a consequence, it does not depend on inner semantic traits of the object or the mood/tense of the verb, e.g. *jis* <u>*taidu slyktu drēbu*gen.</u> *nikod nabeja nosuojis* 'he had never worn such bad clothes'(NAU 2014:218).

Old Prussian, the oldest Baltic language at disposal, presents scarce traces of GENNEG, too few, in fact, to prove its existence: in the entire OPr. corpus there are probably but two examples of a genitive object under negation, both preserved in the third OPr. Catechism – also known as *Enchiridion* – a text printed in 1561 in Königsberg that contains the OPr. translation of Luther's "Kleine Katechismus" (1543) by Abel Will, a German pastor with some knowledge of Old Prussian (RINKEVIČIUS 2017:25). Its status as translation represents, from the viewpoint of the present research, the main issue: the first example, *quai niturrīlai ainontin mīlinan adder senskrempūsnan adder* <u>*steison deicktas*gen.</u> (TRAUTMANN 1910:65, l. 5-6) corresponds exactly to the German *Vorlage* ("die nicht habe einen Flecken oder Runkel oder *des etwas*"), and it is probably an example of PARTGEN; only the second one, *nidraudieite steison*gen. (TRAUTMANN 1910:69, l. 31), which appears as *wehret inen*dat. *nicht* in German, may actually represent a case of GENNEG.

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[14] NAU (2014:209) objects that Latgalian can be considered as a separate entity from Latvian because "[it] comprises various varieties that are fruitfully treated together and set apart from those varieties of Latvian that resemble Modern Standard Latvian to a much higher degree".

2.2 PARTNEG

2.2.1 PARTNEG in BFinn. Languages

Although some instances of accusative instead of partitive under negation can be found in modern Livonian and Estonian dialects, it can be affirmed that PARTGEN is a grammaticalized feature in all BFinn. languages (LEES 2015:34). Under negation, the partitive case in Finnish can alternate with the nominative as case of the subject and replaces the accusative as case of the object (KARLSON 2000:101-2); when alternating with the nominative, the partitive under negation negates the existence of the subject completely: "Der Partitiv wird gebraucht, wenn die Existenz dessen, worauf das Subjekt verweist, vollkommen verneint wird", e.g. *Seinäjoella ei ole yliopistoa*part. 'there is no university in Seinäjoki', *kadulla ei ole autoa*part. 'there is no car on the street' (KARLSON 2000:101); this fact holds true, continues KARLSON, "in den meisten verneinenden Sätzen". Nominative takes over again when there is no complete negation of the subject's existence, that is to say that the subject itself is not under the scope of negation but only the verb, cf. *auto*acc. *ei ole kadulla* 'the auto is not on the street [but somewhere else]' (KARLSON 2000:102). If the object of the sentence is negated, the partitive is the compulsory case of the object, s. *Paavo ei syö puuroa*part. 'Paavo doesn't eat porridge', *he eivät ymmärrä tätä*part. 'they don't understand this'. There seems to be no semantic, viz. specific vs. non-specific, restriction to this rule (KARLSON 2000:103).

The partitive is found in Estonian under practically the same conditions, that is to say, after a negated existential verb, e.g. *täna ei ole loengut*part. 'there is no class today', and as the case of the object under negation, e.g. *ma ei osta seda raamatut*part. 'I don't buy this book' (NURK/ZIEGELMANN 2011:105, s. also METSLANG 2014:192-5).

2.2.2 PARTNEG in Basque

Basque presents a partitive suffix *-(r)ik* which can be found attached to objects of transitive verbs, e.g. *Maiak ez du ardorik*part. *edan* 'Maia has not drunk any wine', and to subject of intransitive verbs, e.g. *bilerara ez da irakaslerik*part. *etorri* 'no teacher has come to the meeting'. In these contexts[15], the partitive in Basque indicates that "what the speaker knows is that there are no members (or quantity) in the set denoted by the noun" (ETXEBERRIA 2014:308-

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[15]This partitive suffix *-(r)ik* is not restricted to negation, but can appear in a number of different syntactic environments such as 1) "existential statements", 2) "yes-no interrogative", 3) "partial interrogatives", 4) "*before* clauses", etc. (HUALDE/DE URBINA 2003:552).

9), that is to say, the partitive completely negates the existence of the subject/object it is attached to.[16]

1) **Obligatory**	Basque, Estonian, Finnish, Latgalian, Lithuanian, OCS, Polish, Slovene
2) **Optional/Restricted**	Belorussian, Russian, Ukrainian
3) **Not-productive/Highly restricted**	Czech, Latvian, Old Prussian (?), Serbo-Croatian, Slovak

Table 1: GENNEG productivity across languages (partly based on KAGAN 2013:19)

2.3 Summary: GENNEG Traits

For every language taken into consideration, if the object of a negated verb has to be assigned the genitive case, the verb needs to be a transitive one. In parallel, in all the cases where the GENNEG replaces the nominative, the subject must be the subject of an existential verb. These two conditions constitute the basis for all GENNEG examples. It should be noted that genitive can replace the nominative under negation also when used for so-called "possessive constructions".

GENNEG assigned to the object of verbs with a "negative meaning" is not a widespread feature outside the Slavic branch and in only those languages where GENNEG is still an obligatory choice, a condition that also applies to the examples of "long-distance" GENNEG.

For the languages where GENNEG is optional or restricted, there are semantic properties of the NP regulating the tendencies for genitive assignment; these traits do not play a role in those languages where GENNEG is an obligatory choice, whereas their influence is somewhat limited in those languages where GENNEG is highly restricted.

In most languages, the *genitive/accusative* and *nominative/accusative* alternation provides also an additional semantic nuance, namely the negation of the existence of the "event involving the object or its result": so in a sentence like Russ. *on ne soxranil podlinnika pis'ma*gen.

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[16] The same effect is reached also when the partitive suffix is attached to the complementizer *-en*: in the sentence *Galileok ez zuen sinesten eguzkia lurrari inguruka zebilenik*part. 'Galileo didn't believe that the sun revolved around the earth' "the speaker takes the proposition that the earth revolves around the earth to be true, against Galileo's belief" (HUALDE/DE URBINA 2003:554); in other words, the negative complementizer *-enik* expresses the idea that the associated sentence is not true in the opinion of the speaker. This complementizer only appears in western and central Basque dialects and it is triggered by the negation of the main clause (HUALDE/DE URBINA 2003:643-5).

'he did not preserve the original of the letter' not only is original not preserved but also the possibility that such artefact exists is negated (TIMBERLAKE 1993:869). This aspect need not be restricted by frequency of GENNEG, since it is available for languages of the first two groups, as well.

Languages from the third group, with the exclusion of Old Prussian (for which there is not sufficient data available to express a qualitative opinion), make use of GENNEG in emphatic contexts, which often results in an "archaic" or "elevated style" reading of genitive objects/subjects under negation. It should be noted, however, that also in Russian, a language with optional GENNEG, the assignment of genitive under negation is preferable in conditions of emphatic negation (that is, negation followed by *nikakoj*, *ni odin*, and *ni*); in addition to this, GENNEG perceived as a feature of formal speech in both Russian and Ukrainian (TIMBERLAKE 1986:343/354; SHEVELOV 1993:984-5).

Another crucial factor permeating the instances of GENNEG in some languages from a typological perspective is the consistent low level of transitivity of the clauses in which GENNEG appears. "Transitivity", according to the classic definition by HOPPER & THOMPSON (1980), is a scalar property constituted by ten different parameters which contribute to determine "the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another" (HOPPER/THOMPSON 1980:252).

		HIGH	LOW
(1) A.	PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, A and O.[1]	1 participant
B.	KINESIS	action	non-action
C.	ASPECT	telic	atelic
D.	PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
E.	VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
F.	AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
G.	MODE	realis	irrealis
H.	AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
I.	AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
J.	INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Figure 1: Transitivity parameters (HOPPER/THOMPSON 1980:252)

In other words, the degree of Transitivity is determined by the type and number of parameters in the clause: if a clause presents more elements from the "high" Transitivity column (s. figure 1), that clause can be regarded as showing a higher degree of Transitivity than another clause

with a lower number of high-transitivity traits; so, for instance, *Jerry knocked Sam down* has a higher degree of Transitivity both from the point of view of the Agent ([+ACTION] [+TELIC] [+PUNCTUAL]) and a point of view of the Object ([TOTAL AFFECTEDNESS OF O] [HIGH INDIVIDUATION OF O] than *Jerry likes beer* (HOPPER/THOMPSON 1980:253). Naturally, a clause with a higher number of low-transitivity traits would also score lower in the Transitivity scale than another clause with high-transitivity traits, e.g. *there were no stars in the sky* ([+NON ACTION] [+NEGATION], [+REALIS], *ibidem*).

How does GENNEG relate with this property? Most of the examples presented in this chapter display, of course, a low level of Transitivity if compared to their hypothetical positive counterparts. This condition is then probably determined by intrinsic properties of Transitivity, as explained in the "Transitivity Hypothesis": "If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is [lower] in Transitivity […] then, if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that difference will also show (a) to be [lower] in Transitivity" (HOPPER/THOMPSON 1980:255). Explained differently, since all the examples of GENNEG are, already by definition, negated, there are other concurring elements in the same clause that are bound to be marked as low-transitivity traits as well. This is all the more true for negated existential clauses: since these verbs do not represent "actions" but rather "states", the parameters from C to E cannot be applied, and speak, therefore, against a high transitivity score. All these factors make, in my opinion, GENNEG a special "hub" for low Transitivity.

	INDIVIDUATED	NON-INDIVIDUATED
(2)	proper	common
	human, animate	inanimate
	concrete	abstract
	singular	plural
	count	mass
	referential, definite	non-referential

Figure 2: Properties of the Object according to the "Individuation parameter" (HOPPER/THOMPSON 1980:253)

Another important point of contact between GENNEG and the "Transitivity Hypothesis" relies in the way in which the high/low transitivity features are displayed, viz. both morpho-syntactically and semantically. It comes as no surprise that HOPPER & THOMPSON referred to (among others) the situation found in the Russian language to illustrate this proposition: as already shown by TIMBERLAKE in many occasions (1975, 1977, 1986) the accusative case in Russian is used when the object displays a higher level of "Individuation", a hierarchy (among

others, s. TIMBERLAKE 1986:356) indicating "the degree to which the participant is characterized as distinct entity or individual in the narrated event" (TIMBERLAKE 1986:339), its counterpart – the case showing a lower level of "Individuation" – being thus represented by the genitive case. This set of elements illustrated above (s. also figure 2), can also help to describe those historical processes where the genitive case is substituted by the accusative under negation. I will put forth the idea that a similar process was taking place in Gothic as well (s. chapter 3) but also that, at the same time, we are still able to recognize the typical traits of GENNEG in the few Gothic examples at disposal.

3   GENNEG in Gothic

3.1   Introduction

On the basis of the data presented in the previous chapters, it is now time to shift towards the analysis of GENNEG as found in Gothic. There are however two main assumptions underlying my investigation of which the reader needs to be aware:

1. The first, most important assumption is that, by virtue of its non-obligatory nature, GENNEG in Gothic is to be considered (at least preliminarly) as a restricted or highly restricted phenomenon, which indicates, in turn, that Gothic belonged to either the second or the third group in terms of productivity levels individuated for languages with GENNEG (s. table 1, chapter 2).

2. Given the presence of restrictions, a semantic analysis becomes a necessary step, since semantic factors are only relevant for GENNEG in languages of the second (in some cases also third) group, but never in languages belonging to the first one. For this reason, I will revise in some detail the category of GENNEG in Russian in order to provide the reader with all the necessary terms and concepts; only after this first presentation is completed, I will subsequently move to Gothic. The "stylistic" or "emphatic" trait will also be taken into consideration.

For reasons of convenience, I will now provide again all the examples of GENNEG I retrieved using the methods described in chapter 1. In quoting them, I will follow two main principles, the first of which is to provide the Greek text, the so-called *Vorlage* of the Gothic bible; this addition will allow a comparative analysis of some of the aspects taken into account for the analysis of the Gothic language. Second, I will present the examples in the order of the Gospels and the Pauline epistles as traced by STREITBERG (1965a).

(1)   frawaurpanai   swe lamba   ni   habandona   hairdeis
           scatter:PAST.PART as   sheep   NEG   have:PRES.PART   shepherd:GEN
           'casted away as sheep not having a shepherd' (Mt. 9:36)
           [Gr. ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα]

(2)   ni   þau   habaidedeiþ   frawaurhtais
           NEG   as   have:PAST.OPT   sin:GEN
           'you should not have had a sin' (Jh. 9:41)

[Gr. *οὐκ ἂν εἴχετε ἁμαρτίαν*]

(3)   iþ   nu   inilons   ni   haband

then   now   excuse:GEN   NEG   have:PRES.IND

'but now they don't have an excuse' (Jh. 15:22)

[Gr. *νῦν δὲ πρόφασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν*]

(4)   jah   ni   was   im   barne

and   NEG   be:PAST.IND   them   children:GEN

'and they had no children' (Lk. 1:7)

[Gr. *καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τέκνον*]

(5)   unte   ni   was   im   rumis   in   stada   þamma

since   NEG   be:PAST.IND   them   room:GEN   in   place:DAT that:DAT

'since there was no room for them in that place' (Lk. 2:7)

[Gr. *διότι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι*]

(6)   jah   ni   biliþun   barne

and   NEG   leave:PAST.IND   children:GEN

'and they left no children behind' (Lk. 20:31)

[Gr. *καὶ οὐ κατέλιπον τέκνα*]

(7)   in   þizei   ni   habaida   diupaizos   airþos

in   which:GEN   NEG   have:PAST.IND deep:GEN   earth:GEN

'because it did not have deep earth' (Mk. 4:5)

[Gr. *διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς*]

(8)   jah   barne   ni   bileiþai

and   children:GEN NEG   leave:PRES.OPT

'and does not leave children behind' (Mk. 12:19)

[Gr. *καὶ μὴ ἀφῇ τέκνον*]

(9)   ni   habandein   wamme   aiþþau maile

                NEG   have:PRES.PART   spots:GEN   or   wrinkles:GEN

                'not having spots or wrinkles' (Eph. 5:27)

                [Gr. *μὴ ἔχουσαν σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα*]

(10)   þanamais   arbaide   ni   ainshun   mis   gansjai

                even more   troubles:GEN NEG   nobody   me   cause:PRES.OPT

                'henceforth, no one should cause me troubles' (Gal. 6:17)

                [Gr. *τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω*]

3.1.1 The Three Types of GENNEG in Gothic

There are three different types of GENNEG in Gothic, the first of which is represented by a negated possessive expression followed by a genitive object/subject. Under this categorization, two different subtypes are discernible: type (1a), the negated possessive verb followed by genitive object, and type (1b), the negated existential verb with a possessive function followed by genitive subject. The second group is represented by the negated transitive verb *bileiþan* 'abandon, leave behind' plus a genitive object; the last and smallest group is here represented by the verb *gansjan* 'to cause' followed by a genitive object.

GOTHIC GENNEG TYPES	GENNEG EXAMPLES
1a) *ni haban* + genitive object	1, 2, 3, 7, 9
1b) *ni wisan* + dative possessor + genitive subject	4, 5
2) *ni bileiþan* + genitive object	6, 8
3) *ni gansjan* + genitive object	10

As it can be observed, most examples of GenNeg in Gothic fall in the first group of negated possessive expressions. Both subtypes are usually found with an accusative object/subject in the Gothic bible:

(11)   ni   habaida   gaƕeilain ahmin   meinamma

       NEG   have:PAST.IND   rest:ACC   spirit:DAT   my:DAT

       'I had no rest in my spirit' (Cor. II 2:13)

(12) ni   is   frijonds   kaisara

     NEG   are:PRES.IND friend:NOM   Caesar:DAT

     'you are not a friend of Caesar' (Jh. 19:12)

The second group, although restricted, represent a highly interesting case of GenNeg, since the verb *bileiþan* usually requires a dative object both in affirmative and in negative sentences:

(13)   jah   bileiþiþ   þaim   lambam

       and   leaves:PRES.IND   the:DAT   sheep:DAT

       'and leaves the sheep behind' (Jh. 10:12)

(14)   ni   biliþun   fraiwa

       NEG   leave:PAST.IND   seed:DAT

       'they didn't leave seed [read: *children*] behind' (Mk. 12:22)

The last and smallest group of GenNeg examples in Gothic presents a few inherent difficulties, since the verb **gansjan* 'to cause' is only attested in the aforementioned example and nowhere

else in the entire Gothic corpus; in addition to this, its etymology is obscure and does not allow for a comparison in the Germanic branch.[17]

3.2   Semantic Approach

In this paragraph, I will describe the semantic traits of the NP/VP with genitive under negation in the aforementioned examples, and compare the obtained data with the account of the role of semantic constraints presented in the previous chapter. The starting point will therefore necessarily be the East Slavic branch and, in particular, Russian. It can certainly be argued that this method is not free of criticism: first and foremost, there are very few instances of GENNEG in Gothic to produce conclusive generalizations on its usage in the Gothic language. Secondly, it is certainly not possible to discern a set of contrastive "tendencies" for GENNEG in Gothic as it is possible for Russian, since a control group of native speakers is (obviously) missing. The second objection is, of course, unescapable. As for the first, the only possible way to produce concrete observations about GENNEG in Gothic is the following: while is it true that semantic traits represent mere tendencies in languages where the phenomenon is being gradually lost, their status is intimately connected with the concept of "low Transitivity" as illustrated in chapter 2; to observe that many semantic traits in these examples are a direct consequence of a lower transitivity level, will help the reader to notice how GENNEG constituted a present (although moribund) feature of the Gothic language.

Before treating the Gothic examples in detail, I shall describe the semantic constraints for Russian in greater depth. I will enumerate the semantic traits that are actually relevant – that is to say comparable – for the Gothic situation, and then provide a detailed description of said semantic constraints within the context of the Russian language.

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[17] It has been suggested by some (LEHMANN 1986:147; OREL 2003:129) that *gansjan represents a scribal error for *gausjan, which in turn could be related to the OIc. causative geysa 'to rush out', or 'to send out with violence' (ZOËGA 1965:164), related to gjōsa 'stream out' < PG. *geusan, which LEHMANN (1986:147) also connects to Go. giutan 'to pour', but the consonantism is not convincing, s. PG. *geutan 'to pour' > OIc. gjóta 'to drop, throw', OE gēotan 'to pout (out)', OS giotan 'id.', OHG giozan 'to pour, mix, melt' (KROONEN 2013:177). The "scribal error hypothesis" can be supported by intra-textual evidence, since in other two occasions (Lk. 18:5; Mk. 14:6) Wulfila translates Gr. παρέχειν 'to cause' with Go. usþriutan 'to trouble, persecute'; however, the semantic leap between an hypothetic *gausjan and the Greek verb seems too wide to be bridged. Other conjectures are presented in LEHMANN (1986:147).

3.2.1   Semantic Traits of Genitive NP/VP under Negation in Russian

The presence of specific semantic properties favouring the application of GENNEG constitute a central part in the analysis of GENNEG in Russian since the seminal article by TIMBERLAKE (1986). In this work, the American linguist listed those traits that are determining in favouring the genitive assignment under negation for the category of the object[18], here listed on the right side of the table, whereas their counterparts – that is, those traits that usually favour the accusative assignment – are given on the left (s. figure 1). Every pair of traits corresponds to a single parameter, which is classified, in turn, under three different "Hierarchies", namely: (I) "Participant Hierarchies", (II) "Event Hierarchies", and (III) "Morphological Hierarchy".

```
Substantive
    PARTICIPANT HIERARCHIES (individuation)
        properness:  proper/ common
        abstractness:  concrete/abstract
        partitivity:  count/mass
        animacy:  animate/inanimate
        number:  singular/plural
        definiteness:  definite/indefinite
        negation:  neutral/emphatic negation
        focus:  topicalized/neutral
        modification:  modified/unmodified
    EVENT HIERARCHIES (scope or force of negation)
        finiteness:  infinitive/finite
        aspect:  perfective/imperfective
        mood:  imperative, conditional/indicative
        status:  interrogative/declarative
        complements:  secondary complement/no complement
        government:  specification/direct object
        lexicon:  general transitive/perception-emotion, existence-
            possession
    MORPHOLOGICAL HIERARCHY (distinction of nominative vs.
            accusative)
        second-declension sing./other declensions

Stylistic
        informal/formal
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Figure 1: The Dynamic Hierarchies of GENNEG in Russian (TIMBERLAKE 1986:356)

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[18] Although the study by TIMBERLAKE is specifically calibrated for the genitive/accusative alternation – that is to say, the genitive assignment for the case of the object – the substantives under negated intransitive existential verbs do also comply to (almost) the same restrictions: "most of the hierarchies which are relevant for the object genitive of negation, are also relevant for the subject genitive of negation, suggesting that both types are part of the same rule" (TIMBERLAKE 1986:338).

While no attention will be given to the "Morphologic Hierarchy" – since it is inherently only relevant for the Russian language – I shall concentrate on the description of the first two hierarchies.

3.2.1.1 Participant Hierarchies in Russian

The so-called "Participant Hierarchies" represent "the degree to which the participant is characterized as a distinct entity or individual in the narrated event" (TIMBERLAKE 1986:339). The degree of participation of the object to the event constitutes, according to TIMBERLAKE, the defining trait of this set of parameters. Compare the two sentences:

(15)   a. Ja   ne   videl   lošad'

        I   NEG   see:PAST.IND horse:ACC

      b. Ja   ne   videl   lošadi

        I   NEG   see:PAST.IND horse:GEN

       'I did not see a horse' (TIMBERLAKE 1986:344)

Although describing a very similar situation, the two sentences have a distinct nuance: while (15a) implies that no horse was seen in a particular situation, (15b) would constitute a more general statement, not bound to a specific moment in time and space.

Immediately after "object Participation", there is "Individuation", which has been described has the "property of the relationship between the object participant and the event" (TIMBERLAKE 1986:345). This property is foundamental in determining the choice for accusative or genitive under negation in Russian: if a NP then is more "individuated" it will more likely receive the accusative, whereas a lower degree of individuation would license genitive assignment.[19]

There are nine parameters of the NPs governing the genitive case assignment in Russian that are also interesting for a comparative analysis with Gothic: (a) Properness, (b) Abstractness, (c) Partitivity, (d) Animacy, (e) Number, (f) Definiteness, (g) Negation, (h) Focus, and (i) Modification.

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[19] TIMBERLAKE does not seem to be aware of the work published few years earlier by HOPPER & THOMPSON (despite them quoting the previous works by TIMBERLAKE on the subject, s. HOPPER/THOMPSON 1980). Nonetheless, there is no denying the fact that the traits characterising a lower degree of "Individuation" according to the "Transitivity model" by HOPPER & THOMPSON (already discussed in chapter 2) coincide with those listed in TIMBERLAKE's (1986) expanded repertoire.

(a) "Properness" TIMBERLAKE (1986) observes that proper nouns are less likely to attract GENNEG than common nouns, because proper nouns are highly individuated:

(16) a. Ja   ešče   ne   čitala   "Cement"
        I   yet   NEG   read:PAST   Cement:ACC
      b. **Ja   ešče   ne   čitala   "Cementa"
          I   yet   NEG   read:PAST   Cement:GEN
      'I still haven't read "Cement"' (TIMBERLAKE 1986:339-340).

Also KAGAN (2013) has submitted a similar contrastive pair to her informants. In her study she emphasizes that "proper nouns are highly unlikely to appear in the genitive under negation in Modern Russian" (KAGAN 2013:127), especially if, by contrast a common noun is used in the same context; so while *ja ne pomnila Lenu*acc. 'I don't remember Lena' would require the accusative, the sentence *ja ne pomnila etot razgovor*acc. / *etogo razgovora*gen. 'I don't remember this conversation' can license, with a different nuance, both cases. In negated existential sentences, however, also proper nouns can attract the genitive:

(17)   a. Maši   ne   vidno
          Masha:GEN NEG   visible
          'Masha can't be seen'

       b. Maši   net   doma
          Masha:GEN NEG   home
          'Masha is not at home' (PADUČEVA 1997)

(b) "Abstractness" NPs having an abstract noun as head receive the genitive case more frequently than the ones with a concrete nominal as head. In a sentence like

(18)   On   ne   našol   sčast'ja
       He   NEG   find:PAST   happiness:GEN
       'he didn't find happiness'

the genitive is usually preferred over the accusative form *sčast'je*. The reason for this

assignment, according to KAGAN (2013), relies on the fact that concrete nouns are more prone to be assigned to PARTGEN rather than GENNEG. PARTGEN can be often found after verbs of consumption or any other type of verb involving an effect on the object or parts of it; the stress here therefore is on the "quantificational interpretation" of the object, rather than on its negation alone. (Consider for this last property Russ. *ja vypil vody*part. 'I drank some water').

(c) "Partitivity"   TIMBERLAKE observes that in Russian mass noun receive genitive under negation more often than count nouns. This tendency is due to the inherent property of mass nouns of not being countable and not identifiable in terms of single units, whereas count nouns in the plural would constitute a "collections of individual entities" (TIMBERLAKE 1986:340). Mass nouns are, therefore, usually interpreted within a "part vs. whole" reading:

(19)   a. ° Šokolad   ne   xočeš?
            chocolate:ACC   NEG   want:PRES
        b. Šokolada   ne   xočeš?
            chocolate:GEN   NEG   want:PRES
        'Don't you want (some) chocolate?' (TIMBERLAKE 1986:340)

(d) "Animacy"   Inanimate nouns receive genitive under negation more often than animate nouns. Given their "animate" trait, the latter are in fact considered to be more "identifiable" by speakers, and receive more often the accusative rather than the genitive.

(20)   a. **Nikakuju   mašinu   ja   ne   vižu!
            any:ACC   car:ACC   I   NEG   see:PRES
        b. Nikakoj   mašina   ja   ne   vižu!
            any:GEN   car:GEN   I   NEG   see:PRES
        'I don't see any car!' (TIMBERLAKE 1986:341-2)

(e) "Number"   It is observed by both TIMBERLAKE (1989) and KAGAN (2013) that plural nouns receive genitive under negation more often than singular ones:

(21)   Ja   ne   našol   cvetov
        I   NEG   find:PAST   flowers:GEN
        'I didn't find [any] flowers'

(22)   Ja   ne   našol   cvetok

       I   NEG   find:PAST   flowers:ACC

       'I didn't find the flowers' (TIMBERLAKE 1986:342)

Both sentences are possible in Russian, although they license a different interpretation: (21) implies that no flowers whatsoever have been found, and they are therefore regarded as being non-determined and non-specific (a translation 'I didn't find any flowers' would therefore be more appropriate), whereas in (22) the stress is on a specific set of flowers that were already known by the speaker to exist and were expected to be found in that position. The singular need not, in any case, be deprived of genitive under negation; its application, however, is heavily influenced by context:

(23)   ? Ja   ne   našol   cvetka

       I   NEG   find:PAST   flower:GEN

       'I didn't find a/the flower' (TIMBERLAKE 1986:342)

(24)   Ja   ne   (u)videla   v   komnate   kovra

       I   NEG   see:PAST   in   room:LOC   carpet:GEN

       'I didn't see a carpet in the room' (KAGAN 2013:157).

While ex. (23) is hardly acceptable in terms of genitive assignment (it would be only if the context suggested that only a single flower was expected but not found), ex. (24) meets more agreement in virtue of pragmatic reasons: our world knowledge suggests that very often rooms only have a single and not a multitude of carpets, even though this proposition could be easily subverted by other world-knowledge facts, such as the fact that many carpets can actually be found in a shop.

(f), "Definiteness"   It is suggested by TIMBERLAKE that GENNEG is more likely to be assigned to an indefinite object rather than to a definite one. Therefore, also nouns specified by a demonstrative pronoun (or any other definiteness device) have, in general, more chances to appear in the accusative. Compare the two examples:

(25)   a. Lena   ne   kupila   eti   ukrašenija

| Lena | NEG | buy:PAST | these:ACC | jewels:ACC |

'Lena didn't buy the jewels'

| b. Lena | ne | kupila | novyx | ukrašenij |
| Lena | NEG | buy:PAST | new:GEN | jewels:GEN |

'Lena didn't buy new jewels' (KAGAN 2013:12)

While in (25a) a genitive nominal would be marked as unacceptable, (25b) can also license (with a different nuance) also accusative assignment.

The last three parameters under the "Participant hierarchies" describe the individuation of the participant in its syntactic environment.

(g) "Negation"   It is stated by TIMBERLAKE that in presence of the so-called "markers of emphatic negation" (such as *nikakoj* 'not any' *ni odin* 'none' and *ni* 'neither, nor') GENNEG occurs almost obligatorily in Russian:

(26)	a. **Ja ne	čitaju	nikakuju	gezetu
	I NEG	read	any:ACC	newspaper:ACC
	b. Ja ne	čitaju	nikakoju	gezety
	I NEG	read	any:GEN	newspaper:GEN

'I am not reading any newspaper' (TIMBERLAKE 1986:343)

(h) "Focus"   TIMBERLAKE simply observes that negated topicalized nouns, i.e. nouns located in sentence beginning, are less likely to receive genitive then their non-topicalized counterparts.

(i) "Modification"   This point bears a strong connection with point (f): although also in this case it is considered to be a tendency and not a compulsory rule, TIMBERLAKE suggests that nouns modified by means of "an adjective, pronominal or possessive adjective, genitive of prepositional phrase" are more individuated, and receive the accusative less often then non modified ones:

| (27) | Ja | gazet | ne | čitaju, | a | […] |
| | I | newspapers:GEN | NEG | read:PRES.IND | but |

'I don't read newspapers, but [something else]'

(28)   Ja   dlinnye   stat'i   ne   čitaju

I   long:ACC   articles:ACC   NEG   read:PRES.IND

'I don't read long articles'

3.2.1.2 Event Hierarchies in Russian

Contrarily to the "Participant Hierarchies", the "Event Hierarchies" do not take the "Individuation" property into account, but focus on the "scope or force of negation" of the verb. In principle, case assignment does also depend on this feature: when the scope of negation is only limited to the verb, the object will remain in the accusative and the subject in the nominative; on the other hand, when the scope of negation invests the entire VP, the genitive will take over. Compare the sentence

(29)   Anna   ne   kupila   knigi
Anna   NEG   buy:PAST   books:ACC
'Anna didn't buy the books' (KAGAN 2013:13)

where the wide scope is taken by the NP *knigi* over the negation (thus indicating that the most salient interpretation is that there was a specific set of books that Anna did not buy), with

(30)   Anna   ne   kupila   knig
Anna   NEG   buy:PAST   books:GEN
'Anna didn't buy (any) books' (KAGAN 2013:13)

where *knig* is interpreted under the narrow scope of negation. As a result, the object takes on a non-specific semantic trait, implying that Anna did not buy *any* book whatsoever. This property is also dependent on a set of parameters: (a) "Finiteness", (b) "Aspect", (c) "Mood", (d) "Status", (e) "Government", (f) "Lexicon", and (g) "Complements".[20]

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[20] The parameter "Complements" does not apply to Gothic, since it involves the genitive assignment under negation to instrumental complements required by a restricted number of Russian verbs (s. TIMBERLAKE 1986:350).

(a) "Finiteness" TIMBERLAKE observes that the object of finite verbs takes the genitive more often than the object of a non-finite verb dependent on a finite one (TIMBERLAKE 1986:346); in this regard, Russian shows far less examples of the so-called "long-distance GENNEG" mostly present in languages with highly productive GENNEG such as Lithuanian and Polish (s. also chapter 2). Compare:

(31)   a. Vse   znat'   nevozmožno
          all:ACC   to know   impossible
       b. ˚Vsego   znat'   nevozmožno
          all   to know   impossible
       'It's impossible to know everything' (TIMBERLAKE 1986:346)

(b) "Aspect" This trait is connected to the distinction, typical of Russian and other Slavic languages, between "perfective" and "imperfective" verbs. On the one hand, perfective verbs present a type of action that is seen as a "whole", which means that the event described by this type of verbs is restricted, that is, an action perceived as having clear spatio-temporal limits, i.e. a start and end-point. In this regard, a negated perfective verb does not extend the scope of the negation on the entire phrase, because the stress falls on the end of the action. On the other, imperfective verbs do not provide a restricted reading of the action expressed by the verbs, but rather an on-going process without clear spatial or temporal limits. Under negation, therefore, the scope of negation is extended to both the verb and the object, which in turn has the effect of negating the whole event:

(33)   a. ˚Ja   ne   stirala   skatert'
          I   NEG   wash:PAST.IMPERF   tablecloth:ACC
       b. Ja   ne   stirala   skaterti
          I   NEG   wash:PAST.IMPERF   tablecloth:GEN
       'I wasn't washing the tablecloth'

(34)   a. Ja   ne   vystirala   skatert'
          I   NEG   wash:PAST.PERF   tablecloth:ACC
       b. ˚Ja   ne   vystirala   skatert'
          I   NEG   wash:PAST.PERF   tablecloth:GEN
       'I didn't wash the tablecloth' (TIMBERLAKE 1986:347)

(c) "Mood"   Here TIMBERLAKE suggests that negated indicative verbs take the genitive more often than negated imperative or conditional verbs. A verb in the indicative, as it is well known, actually suggests that the action is effectively taking place; under negation, therefore, accusative assignment becomes less likely and the genitive becomes the preferable choice. The opposite is true for verbs in the imperative or conditional mood, since while their positive counterparts indicate that the action has (yet) to take place or that it is improbable (respectively), when negated they actually license the opposite reading, that is the actual possibility that something will happen or that is has happened. Compare:

(35)   a. Smotri   ne   poterjaj   očki!
             see:IMPER   NEG   lose   glasses:ACC
        b. **Smotri   ne   poterjaj   očkov!
             see:IMPER   NEG   lose   glasses:GEN
        'See to it [that] you don't lose your glasses!' (TIMBERLAKE 1986:348)

(d) "Status"   Since interrogative sentences question the negation of the event, the scope of negation is usually only restricted to the verb and does not apply to the object/subject. Differently from other parameters, however, the genitive tends to appear more often in both interrogative and declarative sentences, but while the use of the accusative is perceived as marginally acceptable in a negated declarative sentence, it is at least perceived as admissible in the case of a negated interrogative sentence:

(36)   a. ?Ni   odnu   knigu   ja ne pročital   za vse leto
             NOT one:ACC book:ACC I   NEG read:PAST   in all   summer
        b. Ni   odnoj   knigi   ja ne pročital   za vse leto
             NOT one:GEN book:GEN I   NEG read:PAST   in all   summer
        'I did not read a book during the whole summer'

(37)   a. °Ni   odnu   knigu   ne   pročital   za vse leto?
             not one:ACC book:ACC NEG   read:PAST   in all   summer
        b. Ni   odnoj   knigi   ne   pročital   za vse leto?
             not one:GEN book:GEN   NEG read:PAST in   all   summer
        'You didn't read a single book during the whole summer?' (TIMBERLAKE 1986:349)

(e) "Government"   This point revolves around a typical feature of the accusative in the IE languages, namely the designation of time and space. It has been observed by TIMBERLAKE that accusative complements with this function do not attract the genitive under negation as much as simple direct objects.

(f) "Lexicon"   TIMBERLAKE observes that verbs of "perception or emotion" (some of which obligatorily require the genitive also in affirmative sentences), as well as "verbs of existence or possession", receive the genitive under negation more often than other verbs with a different semantic connotation:

(38)   Ona   ne   videla   ego
       she   NEG   see:PAST   him:GEN
       'She didn't see him' (personal knowledge)

(39)   Alexander   ne   polučal   podarkov
       Alexander   NEG   receive:PAST gifts:GEN
       'Alexander didn't receive [any] gifts' (personal knowledge)

Negated verbs of existence and possession with genitive under negation are particularly widespread also in those languages with a highly restricted GENNEG (more than often, they constitute the only case in which this feature is still available).

3.2.2   Semantic Traits of Genitive NP/VP under Negation in Gothic

Nominal and verbal constrictions for GENNEG in Gothic reveal, of course, both parallelisms and deviations from the aforementioned Russian examples. The "Participant Hierarchies" – although being heavily influenced by those semantic traits responsible for a lesser degree of "Individuation" – are more fragmented, with some parameters showing a balanced distribution of the semantic traits, if not heavily in favour of a higher individuation level (as in the "Partitivity" parameter, s. figure 2). The parameters in the "Event Hierarchies", on the contrary, present a set of traits heavily pointing towards a "wide scope of negation" (s. figure 3).

3.2.2.1 Participant Hierarchies in Gothic

(a) "Properness"   All GᴇɴNᴇɢ examples in Gothic involve a common name, but not a proper/personal one. There seems to be no example of proper personal name used in the genitive under negation in Gothic. Negated proper names under a transitive verb are normally found with the accusative:

(40)   iþ   jus   ni   swa   ganemuþ   Xristu

       but   you:PL NEG   so   accept:PAST.IND Christ:ACC

       'but you haven't so accepted Christ' (Eph. 4:20)

(41)   in   þammei   ni   bigat   Teitaun   broþar   meinana

       in   which:DAT.   NEG   find:PAST.IND   Titus:ACC   brother:ACC my:ACC

       'because I haven't found my brother Titus' (Cor. II 2:13)

Proper names under a negated existential verb usually retain the nominative case:

(42)   þarei   nist   Kreks   jah   Judaius

       where   NEG+is Greek:NOM   and   Jew:NOM

       'where there is neither Greek nor Jew' (Col. 3:11)

(b) "Abstractness"   Among the examples provided at the beginning of the chapter, concrete nouns (1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9) are slightly more numerous in the assignment of genitive under negation than abstract ones (2, 3, 5, 10). The context of the sentences does not allow for a partitive reading of concrete nouns, which are, on the contrary wholly negated.

(c) "Partitivity"   The cases in which count-nouns appear with GENNEG largely outnumber those with mass nouns, which are here only represented by (7). There could be an issue related to examples (3) and (5), since both genitive objects under negation are never attested in the plural form. In the case of (3), the term *inilo* 'excuse' (also never attested in the nominative) seems to have no correspondences in the other Germanic languages (LEHMANN 1986:205-6); as for *rum* 'space' (only attested in the genitive singular), a mass count reading seems improbable for semantic reasons.

(d) "Animacy"   Inanimate nouns (2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10) are available in a slightly larger number of GENNEG examples than animate ones (1, 4, 6, 8). Inanimate nouns are particularly widespread in the case of GENNEG involving a negated possessive expression (type 1 a/b), whereas the "*ni bileiþan*" GENNEG type (2) seems to only allow GENNEG for animate nouns.

(e) "Number"   Under negation, singular (1, 2, 3, 5, 7) and plural nouns (4, 6, 8, 9, 10) are present in equal measure, with singular nouns being more widely distributed for GENNEG type 1 (a/b). This feature is a determining one for GENNEG assignment (s. par. 3.4).

(f) "Definiteness"   The vast majority of GENNEG examples have an indefinite reading; in the case of ex. (7) the definite reading of the noun *airþa* 'earth' is supported by the presence of an adjective – it also constitutes the only GENNEG example with a noun modified by an adjective in the entire set. The indefinite and non-specific readings are, naturally, not only restricted to GENNEG examples, but appear also elsewhere under negation:

(43)   ik   unhulþon   ni   haba

        I   devil:ACC   NEG   have:PRES.IND

        'I don't have a devil' (Jh. 8:49)

(44)   jah   unte   ni   habaida   waurtins,   gaþaursnoda

        and   since   NEG   have:PAST.IND   roots:ACC   wither:PAST.IND

'and since it didn't have [any] roots, it withered' (Mk. 4:6)

(g) "Negation" Markers of emphatic negation do not appear in any of the GENNEG examples.[21] However, there is some evidence supporting the claim of an emphatic usage of GENNEG (for which s. par. 3.3).

(h) "Focus" Almost all examples are found in a neutral position, which under negation for Gothic is SVO, with *ni* immediately preceding the verb. Example (8) represents one case of topicalization that is independent from the Greek text, and which will require a separate analysis (s. par. 3.3).
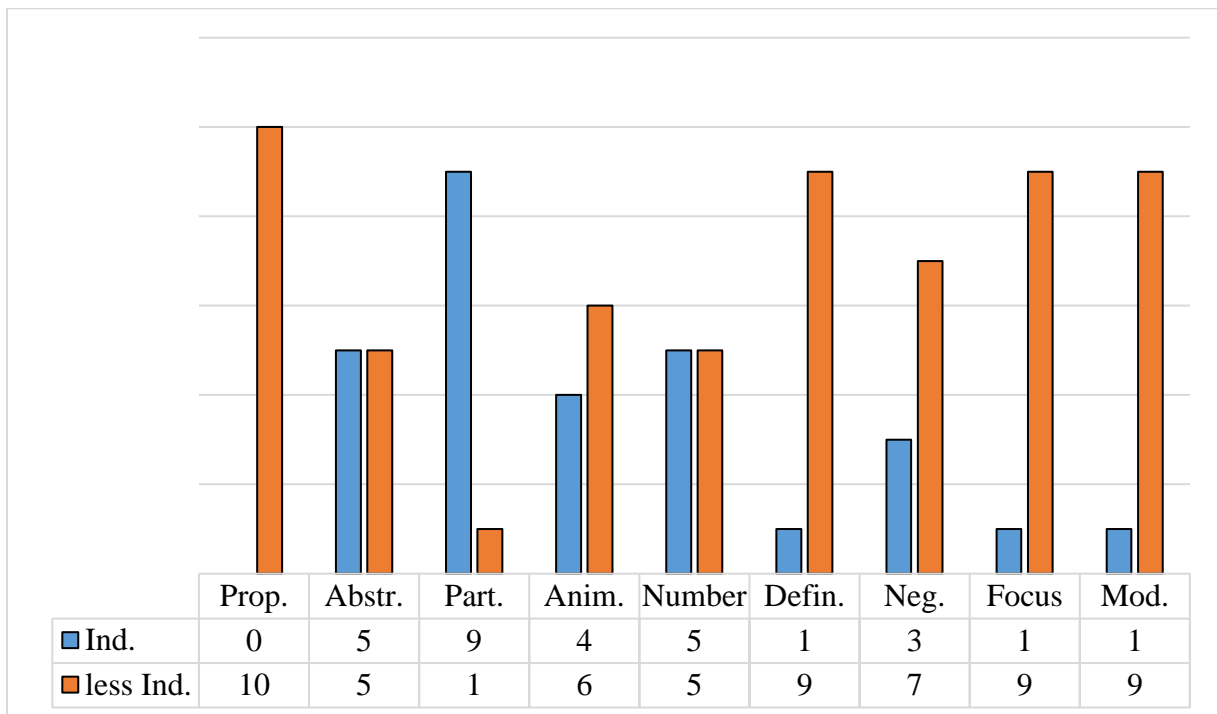

	Prop.	Abstr.	Part.	Anim.	Number	Defin.	Neg.	Focus	Mod.
Ind.	0	5	9	4	5	1	3	1	1
less Ind.	10	5	1	6	5	9	7	9	9

Figure 1: Semantic distribution parameters of the PH for Gothic GENNEG

3.2.2.2 Event Hierarchies in Gothic

(a) "Finiteness" With the exception of (1) and (9), both belonging to the first GENNEG type, all other GENNEG objects are headed by a finite verb.

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[21]s Emphatic negation markers are not absent in Gothic, e.g. *ni waiht* 'nothing', *nei* 'no', *nih* 'no', etc. (Miller 2019), but they are not found within GENNEG examples.

(b) "Aspect"   All the aforementioned examples (except for (3)) contain an atelic verb.

(c) "Mood"   In the majority of cases, GENNEG objects are headed by an indicative verb (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9), whereas in a few cases (but for all GENNEG types), the heading verb is in the optative mood (2, 8, 10).

(d) "Status"   All the reported examples are declarative.

(e) "Government"   All examples either include a negated direct object or negated subject, but not an original accusative of time and space.

(f) "Lexicon"   GENNEG examples in Gothic are mostly found with verbs expressing possession (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9), and in the remaining instances with other transitive verbs (6, 8, 10). Excluding the case of *gansjan* (for which there are no attestations apart from 10), it has been shown extensively in the previous paragraphs how the other verbal categories are not usually found in the genitive under negation. In particular, it can be seen how, especially for the verbs of the group 1 (a/b), the tendency to receive genitive under negation is not widespread, as it appears in only one fifth (ca. 14%)[22] of all instances of negated possessive verbs in the Gothic bible. They do represent, however, the largest group of the three presented in par. 3.1.1.

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[22] This number was calculated on all the instances of negated possessive expression plus genitive object/subject (group 1 a/b) divided by the total number (49) of such possessive expressions without a genitive object/subject. Double attestations of the same passage, e.g. Cor. II A/B 2:13, or negated possessive without object, e.g. Lk. 14:14, were not used for calculating the percentage. For all examples of *ni haban* + acc/gen s. SNÆDAL 1998:752, II; all instances of *ni wisan* + dat possessor+nom/gen are (according to my personal survey): Jh. 19:12; Lk. 1:7, 2:7; Rom. A 13:3.
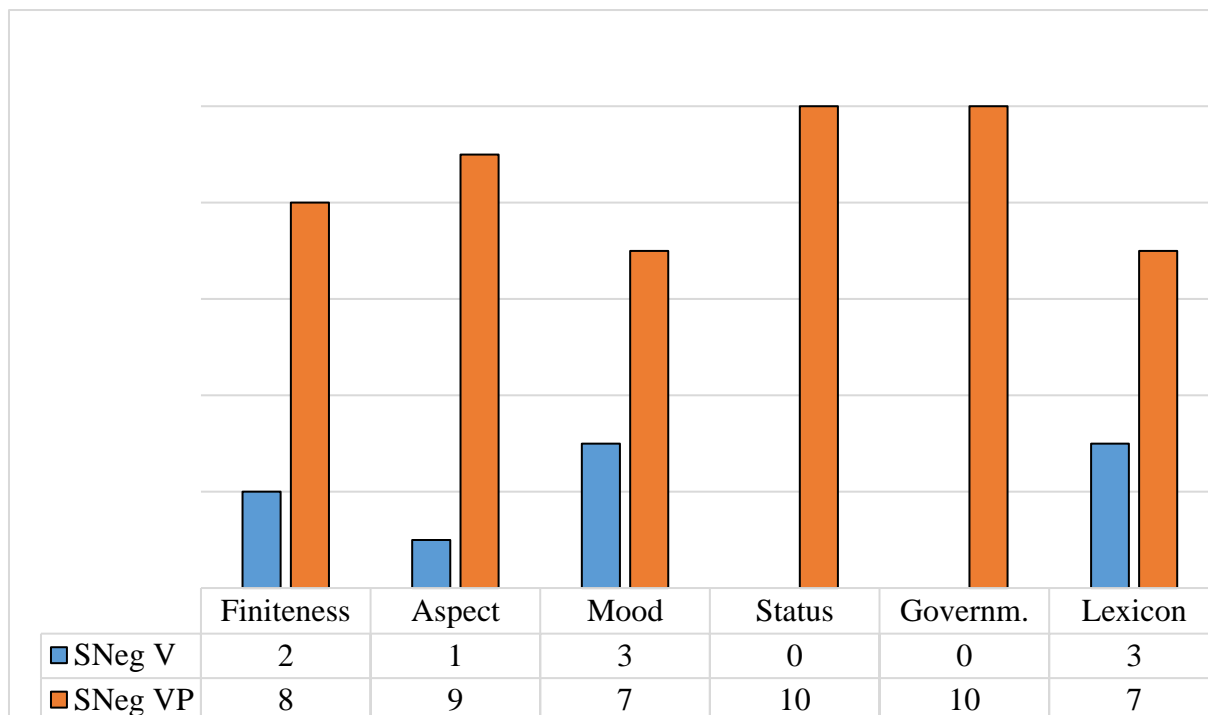
	Finiteness	Aspect	Mood	Status	Governm.	Lexicon
■ SNeg V	2	1	3	0	0	3
■ SNeg VP	8	9	7	10	10	7

Figure 3: Semantic distribution parameters of the EH for Gothic GENNEG

3.3   Stylistic Approach

On the bottom left side of the Hierarchies for GENNEG in Russian (s. figure 1), the "Stylistic" value is also mentioned. In TIMBERLAKE's evaluations, formal (con)texts receive genitive under negation far more consistently than informal ones. Unfortunately, this opposition cannot be tested for Gothic. Nonetheless, it is still interesting to point out that this value is seen by TIMBERLAKE as "superimposing" all the others. This means that, all things being equal, GENNEG is more readily applied in Russian in a formal environment even when the semantic traits of the object (or the verb) point towards a higher degree of Individuation. Qualitative evaluations aside, this aspect gives rise to interesting historical considerations: "The fact that for all contexts the genitive is relatively more formal than the accusative shows that the rule is being lost, not innovated, according to the principle that retentions tend to be evaluated as stylistically more formal then innovations" (TIMBERLAKE 1986:356-7).[23] As for the semantic constraints already discussed in the preceding paragraphs, specialization – or better,

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[23] As demonstrated by the observations made by SAFAREWICZOWA (1960:126, quoted in TIMBERLAKE 1986), accusative was replacing the genitive under negation already in 17th c. in Russian texts presenting a style close to the spoken language.

constriction – means for GENNEG an ongoing process of disappearance in favour of the accusative in all contexts in Russian and (probably) also in Gothic.

The impossibility of evaluating the "informal vs. formal" dichotomy with a group of native speakers, does not prevent other sorts of stylistic evaluations. There are, in fact, several emphatic strategies other than "emphatic negation markers" that are at play in some Gothic examples of GENNEG. First of all, in some instances – that is, when observed in a larger context – GENNEG occurs as a repetition of an already expressed concept:

(45)   anþaruþþan gadraus ana stainahamma, þarei ni habaida <u>airþa managa</u>, jah suns urran, in þizei ni habaida <u>diupaizos airþos</u>

     'And then another one fell on the stony [ground], where it did not have <u>much earth</u>, and it sprung up soon, because it did not have <u>deep earth</u>' (Mk. 4:5)

The word *airþa* 'earth' is found under negation in both sentences, first with a quantifier and then with a descriptive adjective; however, it appears in the genitive only in the second case. Several speculations can be advanced here: the repetition of a concept is a factor working against the low identification of the object, as well as the presence of a noun modifying the noun. Nevertheless, the genitive assignment comes immediately after the recognition that such "earth" is not available for the seed to grow properly. In addition to this, the Gothic text seems to put the stress on the noun for 'earth' itself by completely remodelling the original NP: while in fact Greek has βάθος γῆς, lit. 'depth of earth', Gothic has *diupaizos airþos* 'deep earth'. It seems, therefore, that in this case the emphatic value of the repetition is a sufficient trigger for GENNEG, also in presence of factors (such as a higher individuation level) which could theoretically count against a genitive assignment.

This "superimposing" trait of GENNEG can be traced also in the examples (6) and (8) (here repeated as (46) and (47)), where the genitive replaces the dative assignment required by the verb *bileiþan*. One could advocate for an emphatic reading by repetition of a concept in (46) in view of the position of the *ni biliþun barne* within the passage, that is, at the end of the question inherent the "seven brethren" who had the same wife one after the other following the practice known as *levirate* (variously attested also in the Old Testament, s. Genesis 38:6-10; Ruth 1:11), and all died childless:

(46) Sibun nu broþrjus wesun, jah sa frumista nimands qen gadauþnoda <u>unbarnahs</u>. Jah nam anþar þo qen, jah sa gaswalt <u>unbarnahs</u>. Jah þridja nam þo samaleiko; samaleiko þan jah þai sibun, jah <u>ni biliþun barne</u>, jah gaswultun.

'There were also seven brethren, and the first took a wife [and] died <u>childless</u>. And the second took the wife, and he died <u>childless</u>. And the third took her as well; and likewise then the seventh, and they <u>left no children behind</u>, and died' (Lk. 20:29-31)

The passassge quoted in (47) narrates the same event as the one found in Lk. 20:29-31:

(47) Laisari, Moses gamelida unsis þatei jabai ƕvis broþar gadauþnai jah <u>bileiþai qinai</u> jah <u>barne ni bileiþai</u>, ei nimai broþar is þo qen is jah ussatjai barna broþr seinamma.

'Teacher, Moses wrote us that if somebody's brother dies and <u>leaves a woman</u> and <u>does't leave children behind</u>, then his brothers should take the woman and shall raise the child to his brother' (Mk. 12:19)

Several important aspects need to be highlighted in regards to examples (46) and (47): as already pointed out above, the verb *bileiþan* usually takes the dative case both in affirmative and negative sentences (s. (13) and (14)), and the genitive does not therefore constitute a default option; in (47), however, one can see how the same verb licenses first dative and then genitive under negation. The sentence in itself, furthermore, is found at the end of a nefarious series of events ("somebody's brother dies and leaves a woman and no children behind"), for which, again, an emphatic (almost "climatic") usage can be advocated. To reinforce the emphatic reading even more, it should be noted that the Gothic translator operated here a topicalization of the object (compare the passage in Greek: καὶ μὴ ἀφῇ τέκνον). Topicalization is not a rare process in Gothic, but it is usually found as a byproduct of translation from Greek. There is general agreement on the verb-final position in Gothic positive sentences, mostly based on the Gothic translation of synthetic Greek verbs (e.g. Go. *hrainjai wairþand* lit. 'cleansed become' for Gr. καθαρίζονται), the word order in hypothetical clauses (e.g. Go. *jabai allis Mose galaubidedeiþ* lit. 'if (you) Moses at all believed' for Gr. εἰ γὰρ ἐπιστεύετε Μωϋσεῖ) and in the superscriptions, such as *aiwaggeljo þairh lukan anastodeiþ* '(the) Gospel according to Luke

begins', found at f. 118r of the *Codex Argenteus* (s. FALLUOMINI 2018:163-4 and references). Under negation, on the contrary, the word order shifts from SOV to SVO in main clauses[24], e.g.

(48) ju   ni   drigkais   þanamais   wato

      from now on   NEG   drink:PRES.OPT henceforth   water:ACC

      'henceforth you should not drink water from now on' (Tim. I 5:23)

(49) iþ   eis   ni   froþun   þamma   waurda

      then   they   NEG   understand:PAST.IND the:DAT   word:DAT

      'then they didn't understand the word' (Mk. 9:32)

A topicalization of the object, as the one found in (8/47) would therefore constitute a marked structure, contrasting with the usual order of the negative sentence. Other cases of topicalization found in the Gothic Bible are not relevant for the present discussion because they follow the Greek syntax:

(50) ik   unhulþon   ni   haba

      I   devil:ACC   NEG   have:PRES.IND

      'I don't have a devil' (Jh. 8:49)

      [Gr. ἐγὼ δαιμόνιον οὐκ ἔχω]

(51) aþþan bi   maujos   anabusn   fraujins   ni   haba

      but   about   virgins:ACC   commandment:ACC   lord:GEN   NEG   have:PRES.IND

      'but regarding virgins I don't have a commandment of the Lord' (Cor. I 7:25)

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[24] Subordinate clauses usually maintain the SOV order, e.g. (Cor. I 4:5) *þannu nu ei faur mel ni stojaiþ* 'and so therefore (the moral is) that you not judge before the time' (MILLER 2019:516).

[Gr. *περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἐπιταγὴν κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω*]

(52) niba   ainana   hlaif   ni   habaidedun   miþ   sis   in   skipa

neither one:ACC bread:ACC NEG have:PAST.IND with dat:DAT in ship:DAT

'neither had they one bread with them in the ship' (Mk. 8:14)

[Gr. *εἰ μὴ ἕνα ἄρτον οὐκ εἶχον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ*]

3.4   Discussion

3.4.1   General Discussion

The analysis of all GENNEG examples in Gothic points towards a low identification level: some parameters in particular, such as "Properness", "Definiteness", "Focus", and "Negation", seem to attract the largest number of GENNEG examples under those traits ("common", "indefinite", "neutral", "emphatic negation") responsible for a low identification of the object/subject. Excluding "Partitivity" (since most of the examples contain a count-noun), all other parameters reveal a distribution of the semantic traits which is either in balance or heavily in favour of a lower identification level.

If this distribution indicates that GENNEG in Gothic was directly dependent on semantic factors, however, cannot be demonstrated directly in absence of native speakers assessing sentence acceptability. What is more – as exemplified by (43) and (44) – accusative objects under negation do not heavily differ from the genitive ones in terms of lower identification level. This dependency on lower identification traits can be demonstrated, therefore, only indirectly, in particular with parameter (e), "Number", under investigation.

The parameter "Number", despite the equal distribution between singular and plural nouns, contains few interesting cases of mismatch between the Gothic text and the Greek *Vorlage*. In more than one occasion – namely examples (4), (8), and (9) – while the Greek text presents a singular noun, Gothic has a corresponding plural one; so a nom. sg. *τέκνον* 'child' corresponds to a gen. pl. *barne*, and the acc. sg. nouns *σπίλον* 'spot' and *ῥυτίδα* 'wrinkle' are actually translated as gen. pl. *wamme* and *maile*, respectively. The shift to the plural number would imply not only a lower object/subject identification, but also a shift towards a lower

transitivity level as observed by HOPPER & THOMPSON (1980). Plural nouns refer to a group of objects which cannot be identified with a specific singularity. The "identification" level is, therefore, particularly low in this case.[25] For a number mismatch to occur, genitive under negation is not the only options[26]:

(54) jah   unte   ni   habaida   waurtins,   gaþaursnoda

      and   since   NEG   have:PAST.IND   roots:ACC   wither:PAST.IND

      'and since it had no roots, it withered' (Mk. 4:6)

      [Gr. καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν [acc. sg. f.] ἐξηράνθη]

(55) jah   ni   haband   waurtins   in   sis

      and   NEG   have:PRES.IND   roots:ACC   in   themselves

      'and they didn't have roots in themselves' (Mk. 4:17)

      [Gr. καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ῥίζαν [acc. sg. f.] ἐν ἑαυτοῖς]

(56) jah   þai   waurtins   ni   haband

      and   these   roots:ACC   NEG   have:PRES.IND

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[25] The presence of a noun in the plural can also affect the perception of the action of the verb as a whole: under negation, "plural nominals can be used to deny event participation not only of pluralities but also of single individuals" since "sentences assert that no individual that falls under the denotation of the noun satisfies the propositional content of the sentence. This is a strong kind of statement" (KAGAN 2013:156); so, in the Russian sentence

(53) U   Maši   net   detej
      by   Masha:GEN   not   children:GEN
      'Masha has no children'

Masha's lack of children is particularly emphasized. The parallel with Russian suggests that Gothic could resort to similar strategies as well (cf. examples (4) and (5)).

[26] It is noteworthy how the accusative plural of Go. *waurts* 'root' appears only in the following examples and only under negation.

'and these don't have roots' (Lk. 8:13)

[Gr. καὶ οὗτοι ῥίζαν [acc. sg. f.] οὐκ ἔχουσιν]

The three different occurrences of accusative plural *waurtins*, as opposed to the accusative singular in the Greek text, confirm that pluralization of original singular nouns was used as a translation strategy in the Gothic bible.

The presence of accusative in these contexts has also implications for the historical hypothesis of GENNEG. This aspect is fundamental in showing that the comparison with the Greek *Vorlage* is capable of providing indirect clues regarding both syntactic and semantic tendencies adopted in the Gothic text. The choice of plural instead of singular in the aforementioned examples, in particular, could be interpreted as another clue in favour of the hypothesis linking low Identification of the object to the lower Transitivity level found in GENNEG. It also shows that accusative (if the idea that GENNEG was being lost, rather than innovated, is accepted) was replacing GENOBJ under negation probably by adopting the same semantic traits of the genitive.

The parameters taken into account for the "Event Hierarchies" also point convincingly towards a wide scope of negation: several factors suggest a reading of the VP completely dependent on the status of the verb, that is to say that under this reading all objects and subjects are interpretable as completely negated and, therefore, non-existing. The (relative) prominence of verbal expressions denoting possession in the GENNEG examples, in particular, constitute a further indication for a wider scope of negation. The reason why *haban* and *wisan* host more often than other verbs examples of GENNEG, can probably be understood in a comparative perspective. In the case of Russian, part of the answer lies in the subordination of the categories of object/subject to possessive and existential verbs:

Transitive verbs of existence or possession imply a high degree of subordination of the object participant to the event; in a sense the object exists or does not exist only with respect to the narrated event. The subordination of the object to the verb means that the scope of negation includes the verb plus object as a whole, which makes this class of verbs an appropriate context for genitive of negation (TIMBERLAKE 1986:351)

The absence of existence of objects/subjects under GENNEG was also explained by KAGAN (2013) with the term "Existential Commitment", which stands for the presupposition of existence of the object/subject expressed by the speaker with the accusative/nominative,

whereas the lack of it would be expressed with the use of genitive.[27] In the case of Gothic, these evaluations should be applied cautiously, since the negation of existence does not rely on the genitive alone, but it is also found with accusative assignment. Furthermore, the lower identification level cannot be accounted alone as the main trigger for GENNEG in absence of other factors: as it can be observed in (7) and (8), there are other elements actually contrasting with lower identification, such as "definiteness" and "topicalization".

The "Stylistic" parameter seems to play a role in Gothic GENNEG as well. Emphatic environments, in particular, seem to be responsible for genitive assignment under negation in a number of examples. How the emphatic value of a sentence is to be assessed, however, relies on parameters which are not dependent on specialized emphatic particles, but on various elements such as repetition or climax (e.g. (46) and (47)). The example (47) is remarkable for its shift to plural and the topicalization of the object, which also occurs after repetition of the main verb. In this sense, also in Gothic GENNEG might be considered a superimposing trait, since parameters such as "emphasis" contrast with the other parameters working towards a lower identification of the object/subject (as in (7)), and it also induces alternation with a verb requiring the dative case, which does not usually alternate with the genitive under negation. The absence of a larger group of examples in the Gothic Bible, and its total absence in posterior texts such as the *Skeireins* or the "Bologna Fragment", which in itself, is a highly emphatic text (FALLUOMINI 2018:163 ff.), suggests that GENNEG was being lost already in Wulfilian times.

3.4.2 GENNEG VS. PARTGEN

There are now enough elements to attempt a distinction between GENNEG and PARTGEN. The latter can notoriously absolve several functions (LURAGHI/HUUMO 2014). From a broad typological viewpoint, the most common one is probably "partiality":

(57) jah   miluks   þis   aweþjis   ni   matjai?

      and   milk:GEN   the:GEN   flock:GEN   neg   eat:OPT.PRES

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[27] Pragmatic factors may therefore influence the choice of case: in the sentence **on ne perečital otveta*gen* 'he didn't reread a/the answer' the verb *perečitat'* 'reread' implies that the answer does in fact exist, merely because it is being read for a second time; only the accusative case is therefore available in such environments (KAGAN 2013:122).

'and does not eat of the milk of the flock?' (Cor. I 9:7)

This trait (which is particularly widespread in Gothic and corresponds to the first groups of verbs requiring genitive object presented in par. 1.1.1) can easily be ignored in comparison with GENNEG. While PARTGEN may in fact indicate that only *part* of an object is being involved in the action (as in (57)), in all GENNEG examples the object/subject is clearly absent, non-existing, or not involved in the action of the verb. In other words, GENNEG has a "Transitivity Level" which is lower than the one presented by PARTGEN indicating "partiality". Nevertheless, this last trait is by no means the only one PARTGEN can actually display; PARTGEN presents in fact a larger number of functions, some of which are also found in GENNEG, in particular, "indefiniteness" (58), and "non-referentiality" (59):

(58) ni   þaurbun   hailai   leikeis

      NEG   need:PRES.IND   healthy:NOM   doctor:GEN

      'those who are healthy do not need a doctor' (Lk. 5:31)

(59) hva   þanamais   þaurbum   weis   weitwode?

      what   further   need:PRES.IND   we:NOM   witnesses:GEN

      'What further do we need witnesses?' (Mk. 14:63)

Most GENNEG examples in Gothic (s. figure 2, chapter 3) do also absolve these two functions. Is there therefore a reason to tell the two phenomena apart? Diachronically speaking, there are some questions still in search of an answer. [28] Synchronically, however, despite some overlapping features, the presence of at least one diverging trait ("total negation" as opposed to "partiality") suggests that the two should not be regarded as a one single phenomenon; in addition to this, it should be noted once again that GENNEG involves alternation of

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[28] The presence of such similarities may suggest that GENNEG might actually have developed its most defining feature (that is, "total negation" of the object/subject) as a complementary negation strategy, which in turn might suggest that GENNEG original starting point was PARTGEN itself (s. par. 4.1).

accusative/nominative with genitive, whereas PartGen does not, since it only requires the genitive both in affirmative and negative contexts.

3.4.3 GenNeg and the "Jespersen's cycle"

The existence of GenNeg has sometimes been questioned on the basis of a similar but radically different negative construction involving the negation strengthener *waiht* 'thing' followed by a genitive attribute, as in (60) below (s. Breitbarth *et al.* 2013:12):

(60)　　　ni　　　waiht　　　botos　　　mis　taujau

　　　　　NEG　　thing:ACC　　use:GEN　　I:DAT　do:PRES.OPT

　　　　　'I do to me nothing of use' (Cor. I 13:3)

This negative strategy is known for representing the second stage of the so-called "Jespersen's cycle"[29]. Beside the already mentioned (60), in Gothic this construction only appears in (61):

(61)　þatei　ni　　waiht　　　aljis　　　hugjiþ

　　　that　NEG　thing:ACC　other:GEN　think:PRES.IND

　　　'that you think of nothing else' (Gal. 5:10)

The other instances of this construction mostly occur without a genitive attribute:

(62)　ni　　　mahtedi　　　taujan ni　　waiht

　　　NEG　can:PAST.OPT　do:INF NEG　thing:ACC

　　　'he couldn't do anything' (Jh. 9:33)

It could be objected that a mutual influence between the two phenomena – GenNeg and the negative strengthener – should not be discarded *a priori*: the second one might have emerged as a phenomenon "mimicking" the first in its use of genitive. Such a hypothesis presents, however, several difficulties: the "Jespersen's cycle" usually begins as a means of negative strengthening with an adverbial element (*waiht*, in the case of Gothic), where the genitive only

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[29] West Germanic languages have notoriously underwent this cycle in different stages of their existence (Breitbarth 2014:14-5).

appears as an attribute of said adverbial element, while GENNEG involves genitive case assignment under negation of direct objects and subjects. It is therefore unlikely that two phenomena are mutually overlapping, even though the first one was disappearing when the first one slowly started to arise.

3.4.4 GENNEG in Other Germanic Languages

As a consequence of the lack of acknowledgment of GENNEG as a phenomenon in Gothic, there is not much information to be gathered from the other Germanic languages. There are very few examples of GENNEG I was able to retrieve from the existing literature. (63) and (64) are two examples in OHG:

(63) tū   ne   habis   kiscirres
     you   NEG   have:PRES.IND   vessel:GEN
     'you do not have a vessel' (DAL 1952:22)

(64) er   wihtes   úngidan   ni   líaz
     he   thing:GEN   undone   NEG   leave:PART.PAST
     'he left nothing undone' (BREITBARTH *et al.* 2013:13)

The presence of genitive objects under negation was labelled by KOIKE (2004) as GENNEG in its study of Old English:

(65) þ [sic] folc   ne   cuðe   þæra   goda
     the   people NEG   know:PAST.IND   the:GEN   advantage:GEN
     'the people did not know of the advantage' (KOIKE 2006:69)[30]

(66) þe   ðæs   godcundan   gesceades   nyston
     who   the:GEN   divine:GEN   providence:GEN NEG+know:PAST.IND
     'who did not know of the divine providence' (KOIKE 2004:305)

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[30] The same phraseological construction is also found in *Beowulf* (v. 681) *nāt hē þāra gōda*gen. 'he is not of the good'.

Finally, apart from *ni thu menes ni sweri* 'you should not swear [falsely] of the man' (BEHAGHEL 1923:578, I), Old Saxon seems to have no other example of GENNEG at all, but it does present genitive (as shown in the aforementioned Germanic examples) in combination with *uuiht* 'something, anything', as in *ne sie thi hiudo uuiht harmes ne gidedun* 'and they did not do you anything of harm today' (BREITBARTH 2014: 24-7).

3.6   Preliminary Conclusions

On the basis of the data collected so far, it could be advanced the idea that the usage of GENNEG was already being restricted during the translation of the Gothic Bible. GENNEG in Gothic seems to be more dependent on the scope of negation (which is generally extended to the entire VP), rather than on the "Identification" value, but semantic traits of the NP seems to play a role nonetheless, especially since in some contexts there is a clear number mismatch differentiating the Gothic translation from the Greek original.

The presence of GENNEG mostly with possession verbs and emphatic environments, in particular, creates a typological parallelism with languages of the third group, such as Latvian, Czech, Serbo-Croatian, etc., where a similar type of environment can be observed. The rules for GENNEG individuated in Russian have a synchronic and diachronic value (TIMBERLAKE 1986:357-8). If the same principle would be applied to Gothic, the resulting picture would be, indeed, one of a moribund phenomenon slowly being leveled in favour of the accusative. The assumption that accusative was being reanalyzed as a substitute for genitive under negation comes from examples (54), (55), and (56), where the accusative – as in the GENNEG examples (4), (8), and (9) – switches to the plural number in contrast with the original Greek text. In other words, the accusative had already taken up most of the semantic traits responsible for a low transitivity level and was, therefore, in the process of completely substituting the genitive.[31]

All in all, the best explanation for the condition for the status of GENNEG in this stage of the Gothic language would be (assuming the same typological shift observable in some Slavic languages) the result of the restriction from an initial stage of larger application. The validity of this proposition can, however, hardly be proved in absence of text preceding or

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[31] This implication was suggested also for the case of Russian: "Whatever the earlier meaning of the accusative/genitive distinction in Russian O[bject]-marking, it is evidently now distributed along the lines of high (accusative) vs. low (genitive) Transitivity. The highly individuated O is characteristic of more Transitive environments, and is marked with the accusative. But this marker of high Transitivity is in the process of spreading DOWN the scale or 'cline' of Transitivity, into decreasingly Transitive contexts" (HOPPER/THOMPSON 1980:279).

contemporary to the Gothic bible; indeed, the complete absence of this phenomenon from both the *Skeireins* (cf. DIETRICH 1903) and the so-called "Bologna Fragment" (cf. FALLUOMINI 2017) shows that GENNEG had probably been completely lost previously or during the Gothic kingdom in Italy (493-553 CE c.a.).

4   Conclusions

4.1   The Origins of GᴇɴNᴇɢ

GᴇɴNᴇɢ is a widespread isogloss: it appears extensively in the Slavic languages and in Lithuanian, while it appears with less frequency in Latvian; outside the domain of IE languages, it appears as a case also in BFinn. and in Basque, although the latter does not probably count toward an areal distribution of the phenomenon. As for the Germanic languages, only Gothic appears to show concrete traces of it (albeit only in the Gothic bible text), while it appears only rarely (?) in the other Germanic languages.

There are two major theories regarding the origins of GᴇɴNᴇɢ. The first one, which is called the "ablative origin theory", has known a lesser grade of support in last decades since its first proposal in 1928[32], but it has been recently restated by Iʟ'čᴇɴᴋᴏ (2010), who put forth again the hypothesis that PᴀʀᴛGᴇɴ and GᴇɴNᴇɢ were once two competing strategies used instead of the accusative. The former implied an "incomplete transitivity", while the latter "transitivity that had not yet occurred"; this adverbial use of the genitive should therefore come from the ablative, which, as noted by Iʟ'čᴇɴᴋᴏ (2010:63), has merged with the genitive in the languages where GᴇɴNᴇɢ appears. Indeed, even in the BFinn. languages the ablative case *-ta*/-*tä* goes back to the old Ugro-Finnic ablative case (Lᴀᴀɴᴇsᴛ/Bᴀʀᴛᴇɴs 1982:160); an ablatival origin for the partitive case has also been indicated for Basque (Hᴜᴀʟᴅᴇ/ᴅᴇ Uʀʙɪɴᴀ 2003:552). This theory, as anticipated, meets nowadays much less approval, since it is hard to demonstrate that such specific semantic traits pertained to partitive and genitive.

The other theory regarding the origins of GᴇɴNᴇɢ is the "partitive" one. According to the advocates of this theory, PᴀʀᴛGᴇɴ should be seen as the "genetic ancestor" of GᴇɴNᴇɢ insofar as its usage in negative sentences is concerned. PᴀʀᴛGᴇɴ was originally used as a marker for indefiniteness and non-specific quantity of the object in positive sentences. In a second stage, they claim, PᴀʀᴛGᴇɴ may have replaced the accusative in order to mark emphatically the non-partitive object in negated clauses and also reinforce the IE negative particle *ne*, finally becoming the obligatory case choice under negation and disappearing from the positive sentences (Pɪʀɴᴀᴛ 2015:23-4, 27). Also this theory is certainly not free from criticism: firstly, one should suppose that, under such circumstances, PᴀʀᴛGᴇɴ should have disappeared altogether, but this is not the case in many contemporary Slavic languages (it is however not clear why it would be necessary according to Pɪʀɴᴀᴛ to lose such feature). Secondly, there are in OCS instances of accusative object in negative sentences (as seen in

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[32] For a comprehensive list of the previous supporters of this theory, s. Pɪʀɴᴀᴛ 2015:22.

chapter 2), which might suggest either that the initial assumptions regarding the "specialization" of PARTGEN in negated clauses is incorrect, or that there are cases in which genitive was substituted by means of analogy.

Despite these problems, the "partitive genitive theory" is, in my opinion, the best one to account for the strong semantic connotation of "complete negation" represented by the GENNEG. All in all, the numerous connections between Germanic and BSl. make hard to believe in PIRNAT's suggestion that "Gothic, and Old High German evidence is a typological parallel (of isolated instances) at best" (PIRNAT 2015:25). I do agree with him, however, on the impossibility of reconstruction for this phenomenon in PIE.

4.2   A Short Historical Overview

As anticipated in the preceding paragraphs, many languages have shown the tendency to gradually lose GENNEG and slowly replace it with the accusative.[33] This situation has contributed, without any doubt, to shape the contours of GENNEG as found nowadays in the various languages, since in many cases it has evolved from a simple obligatory morpho-syntactic assignment to a complex set of rules involving syntax, semantics, and stylistics.

Although being surely a widespread feature for both object and subject in Slavic and in Lithuanian (where it also appears in the oldest texts, s. FORD 1969:118; FORD 1971), the absence of convincing evidence for GENNEG in Old Prussian, and, in general, the late attestation of Baltic languages, makes it harder to establish whether this feature was already present in Baltic, or if it was contact-induced, maybe via Slavic influence. If GENNEG is an inherited feature, it has survived in Lithuanian and Latgalian (according to some) probably because they "have been in prolonged contact with Polish, which could have contributed to the stability of the GENNEG patterns" (ARKADIEV 2016:69). The opposite situation might have also occurred, and certain contact situations might have destabilized the phenomenon of GENNEG leading to its disappearance; this would be the cases of languages like Czech, Sorbian, and Latvian, which all had a prolonged contact with German (FORSSMAN 2001:338). Contact situations, however, cannot always constitute the explanation for the disappearance of GENNEG: a good example for this counter-tendency is constituted by the east Slavic languages, which "have largely restructured or eliminated GENNEG without any influence from German" (ARKADIEV 2016:73);

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[33] This assumption is based on the historical evidence for the language we have at our disposal. If the "partitive theory" (par. 4.1) is accepted, however, it is probable that GENNEG was being used alongside the accusative for a certain period before either becoming obligatory or remaining facultative.

by the same token, Slovenian – which has also been, and still is, in close contact with German – preserves GENNEG in a consistent fashion (*ibidem*).

4.3   GENNEG in Gothic: Contact-Induced or Inherited Feature?

The question if GENNEG has been loaned into Gothic by means of contact or if it was rather an inherited feature can only receive a short answer here: there is still much ground to cover, especially in regards to the distribution of GENNEG in Germanic. Nonetheless, some tentative suggestions can still be drawn on the basis of the data presented in this work. GENNEG (it has been shown extensively in chapter 3) was by no means an obligatory feature in Gothic: the dependence on semantic and stylistic restrictions, as well as the pervasiveness of the accusative under negation, indicate that GENNEG in Gothic was already restricted in its usage and (maybe) on its way to a higher type of restriction. If seen from this perspective, the possibility of this phenomenon loaned during the time that the Goths entered in contact with the Slavs in the early fourth century CE seems rather unlikely: if it was indeed loaned during that period, GENNEG should show signs of productivity. Quite on the contrary, internal reanalysis with the accusative and its absence from the *Skeireins* and the "Bologna Fragment" indicate the phenomenon was being eroded rather then innovated.[34] If then GENNEG could be attributed to the PG stage (also in presence of the scant data offered by the other old Germanic languages), it is highly improbable that it was loaned from PSl., especially given the distance between the two homelands: "While Germanic was still a linguistic unity, the speakers of the proto-language could not encounter any Proto-Slavs, for the two homelands were at best around 900 kilometres removed from each other" (PRONK-TIETHOFF 2013:72). In absence of a more detailed historical analysis, it is probably safe to suggest that GENNEG had originated in the northern IE linguistic group as means of emphatic negative reinforcement. The presence of Balto-Finnic as a neighboring linguistic group could suggest that GENNEG was spread as an areal feature, although at the present stage it is not possible to determine which group was responsible for its diffusion.

4.4   Conclusions

By comparing the Gothic text with the Greek *Vorlage*, I have shown that the application level of GENNEG in Gothic is akin to the one found in languages where such feature is restricted or highly restricted, and that, as such, is necessarily dependent on semantic and stylistic factors.

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[34] It could be rightfully objected that the latter texts are by no means as large as the Gothic Bible and that the absence of GENNEG in these very short texts should not be counted as an absolute lack of GENNEG in Gothic.

Emphatic environments, in particular, seem to disregard the presence of factors that usually count toward accusative case assignment, and can thus be viewed as "superimposing" for GENNEG assignment in Gothic.

GENNEG was probably a dying feature in Gothic: not only is it absent from posterior texts, but there are also signs that the phenomenon was being synchronically reanalyzed in favor of the accusative. The Gothic Bible represents then probably the last piece of textual evidence where the opposition between accusative and genitive under negation played a contrastive role in Gothic. I have also highlighted the main differences between GENNEG and PARTGEN, two phenomena that (at least from a synchronic perspective) find different applications in the Gothic language, and should, therefore, be treated as such.

There are, however, many questions regarding GENNEG in Gothic that are still in need for an answer. From a synchronic viewpoint, the effective grade of dependence of GENNEG on semantic traits cannot be determined exactly, since such analysis is irremediably fraught with limitations in absence of native informants assessing the acceptability grade in the same way as in Russian. From a diachronic viewpoint, a greater amount of data from Germanic languages other than Gothic is necessary to determine the actual spread of GENNEG; while a direct loanword from PSl. seems unlikely, its status as an areal feature should be discussed in future research.

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