From demonstrative to definite article: the case of Gothic[1]

Ion Giurgea
The "Iorgu Iordan - Al. Rosetti" Institute of the Romanian Academy

1. Introduction: The interest in studying the Gothic article

➢ It is well-known that the development dem. > def. art. is a gradual process, the article extending to more and more contexts over time: there are intermediate stages in which the demonstrative/article covers only some of the uses of a fully developed article

➢ A hypothetical first stage: the article is restricted to *anaphoric* and *exophoric* uses (Lyons (1999:333-334), Hawkins (2004:84-85) and De Mulder & Carlier (2011)); these uses also found with demonstratives, but, as opposed to demonstratives, the article would be *obligatory* for these uses

➢ Attested systems with special forms for anaphoric and exophoric definites:
- West Germanic 'strong articles' (anaphoric, exophoric, with restrictive relative clauses and, at least optionally, with certain types of associative anaphora) vs. 'weak articles' (for description-based maximality and other instances of situation-based maximality, including part-whole assoc. anaph.) (see Ebert 1971, Heinrichs 1954, Hartmann 1982, Schwarz 2009, Löbner 2011, Ortmann 2014)
- systems with an article only in the contexts corresponding to West Germanic strong articles: Upper Sorbian, Upper Silesian (see Ortmann 2014), Akan (Arkoh & Matthewson 2013, Owusu 2022; see Schwarz 2019 for other putative cases)
N.B. In Akan and Upper Silesian, the article is used in bridging (associative anaphora), except if the relation between the antecedent and the definite is part-whole (e.g. *a cup...the handle*, *a house...the roof*) => there may be two intermediate stages (cf. Skrzypek 2012:49):
(1)   Stage 0: the (distal) demonstrative
        Stage 1: 'anaphoric article' (Det generalized for anaphoric and exophoric definites)
        Stage 2: anaphoric article + associative anaphora
        Stage 3: the uniqueness/maximality marker (modern Romance and Germanic)

➢ The Gothic determiner *sa* (MSG.NOM)*, so* (FSG.NOM)*, þata* (NSG.NOM) is a candidate for Stage 1: it has been described as an *anaphoric article* (Heine & Kuteva 2006, Pimenova 2017 (cf. also observations in traditional grammars: Bernhardt 1874; Douse 1886; Behaghel 1923; Streitberg 1920:188-189)

➢ Most of the Gothic material consists of biblical translations, traditionally attributed to the first Gothic bishop, Wulfila (c.307–c.383); the translation is from Greek, a language that had a fully developed definite article (similar to modern Romance or Germanic)
=> this allows a straightforward study of the system of definiteness marking, by **examining the Gothic counterparts of the Greek noun phrases with the definite article**

- Comparing the Greek original, the Gothic version and the Vulgate Latin version, it can be easily observed that **the Greek article** is systematically left untranslated in Latin, whereas in Gothic it is **sometimes translated** by the determiner *sa*; this determiner may also correspond to Greek demonstratives (usually the proximal οὗτος, sometimes also the distal ἐκεῖνος and the intensifier αὐτός; cf. Streitberg 1920:187); possibly the article and demonstrative versions were
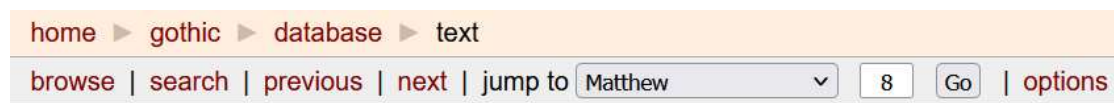
differentiated by accent, but no formal difference appears in the paradigms
=> *sa*, although not a full-fledged definite article, is not merely a demonstrative

Hypothesis: *sa* is used as a "strong article", being *obligatory* for anaphoric (and probably also exophoric) definites
vs. demonstratives: they can be used in the strong article contexts, but are *not obligatory*; if the (linguistic or extralinguistic) antecedent is salient enough, a bare N can be used in an article-less language (and a definite article, instead of a demonstrative, in languages with a definite article).

2. The corpus

Corpus used: the digital version of the Gothic Bible at www.wulfila.be. This is a Gothic–Greek–English trilingual (the English version is King James Bible):[2]

> home ▶ gothic ▶ database ▶ text
> browse | search | previous | next | jump to Matthew ⌄ 8 Go | options

Matthew chapter 8

Matthew 8:1
CA Dalaþ þan atgaggandin imma af fairgunja, laistidedun afar imma iumjons managos.
— καταβάντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί.
— When he was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him.

I studied the gospels of Matthew, Luke and John:
- I registered all the translations of Greek noun phrases with the definite article in Matthew's Gospel, from which 10 chapters (5-11 and 25-27) are preserved in the Gothic version.
- As the articleless translation of context-new definites and definites with description-based maximality proved to be quite regular and the examples were very numerous, in Luke's and John's gospels[3] I registered all the translations of the Greek article *only for anaphoric and exophoric* definites + the *exceptions* to the articleless translation for context-new definites and definites with description-based maximality

3. Syntactic conditioning
The differentiated translation of the Greek article only occurs with *overt* nouns. In noun phrases (DPs) without an overt N, Greek THE is systematically translated by the Gothic article *sa*:

Table I: the use of the article for Greek THE in DPs without an overt N (in Mat.)

	+ART	-ART		+ART	-ART
total anaphoric	4	0	anaphoric (to an entity-expr.)	3	0
			discourse-deictic	1	0
total new	50	6 (?)	maximal in the current situation	10	1 (?)
			description-based maximality	40	5 (?)
other renderings: by a 2nd person pronoun, in vocative contexts: 2					

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[2] In the rare cases when the Greek text on this site did not match the Gothic text exactly, I consulted a philological edition of the NT: *The Greek New Testament*, ed. by Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/United Bible Societies, 1966.
[3] These texts are also incomplete: the Gothic manuscripts preserve chapters 1-10 and 14-20 of Luke's Gospel and chapters 5-19 of John's Gospel.

Ex. of "new" definites:
- with a non-anaphoric [ₙØ] interpreted as +human/animate (see (2)-(4)):

(2)   qiþan ist   **þaim   airizam**   (Mat. 5.21)
        said   is   the.PL.DAT earlier.MP.DAT(WEAK)
        ἐρρέθη   **τοῖς   ἀρχαίοις**   'it was said to the ancients/to those of old time'
    Lat.: dictum est **antiquis**   (Vulgata)
        said   is   ancients.DAT

(3)   bidjaiþ   bi   **þans   usþriutandans   izwis**   (Mat. 5.44)
        pray.2P   for   the.MP.ACC persecuting.MP.ACC(WEAK) you.PL.ACC
        προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ **τῶν** [ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ] **διωκόντων ὑμᾶς**
    Lat. orate   pro **persequentibus [et calumniantibus]   vos**
        pray.2P   for   persecuting.MP.DAT and calumniating.MP.DAT you.PL.ACC
        'pray for those who persecute you [and calumniate you]'

(4)   þanuh qiþiþ jah **þaim   af   hleidumein ferai**   (Mat. 26.71)
        then   says and the.PL.DAT from left(WEAK)   part
        τότε   ἐρεῖ καὶ **τοῖς**   ἐξ εὐωνύμων 'then he wily say to those on the left'
    Lat. Tunc dicet   et **his**   qui a sinistris erunt
        then will-say.3S and these.PL.DAT which in left   will-be.3P

- with a non-anaphoric [ₙØ] interpreted as inanimate/abstract:

(5)   ei   usfullnodedi   **þata   gamelido   þairh Esaïan praufetu**
        so-that should-be-fulfilled the.NS.NOM said.NS.NOM(W) by Esaias   prophet
        ὅπως   πληρωθῇ   **τὸ   ῥηθὲν   διὰ ἠσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου**
    Lat. ut   adimpleretur   **quod dictum est per Isaiam prophetam**   (Mat. 8.17)
        so-that should-be-fulfilled what said   is by Isaiah prophet
        'This was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah'
(6)   niu jah þai þiudo **þata samo** taujand?   (Mat. 5.46)
        οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι **τὸ αὐτὸ** ποιοῦσιν;
        'Don't even the tax collectors do **the same**?' (Vulgata uses *hoc* 'this.NS')

- with an anaphoric [ₙØ] (N-ellipsis):

(7)   ak jabai hvas þuk stautai bi taihswon þeina kinnu,   wandei imma jah **þo anþara**.
        ἀλλ' ὅστις   σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα [σου], στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ **τὴν ἄλλην**
    Lat. si quis   te percusserit in dexteram maxillam tuam, praebe   illi et **alteram**
        'and if somebody hits you on your right cheek, turn to him also the other one' (M. 5.39)

The 6 exceptions may receive a syntactic account:
(i) 3 of them contain the word *anþar* 'other', which may be assumed to function sometimes as
a determiner, with the meaning 'the other';
(ii) the other 3 contain adjectives: *hailai* 'the healthy', *hleidumei þeina* 'your left hand', *taihswo
þeina* 'your right hand' => maybe they are syntactically treated as nouns, so the exceptions are
only apparent (see Streiberg 1920:183, Ratkus 2011 for a proposal of this type)

=> There is a D in Gothic definites; the null weak D_def needs an overt N; otherwise, possibly
via n-to-D movement, D_def is spelled-out as *sa*

- In one example in my corpus, the determiner appears to function as a definite D selecting a
non-nominal constituent, an indirect interrogative clause, see (8); this may be explained by the

influence of the Greek original, but the fact that the determiner *sa* could be employed to render this Greek structure supports the idea that *sa* already was a definite D in some contexts:

(8) galaiþ   þan mitons   in ins, **þata   hvarjis þau ize   maists wesi**.
     came-out then deliberation in them the.NS.NOM hwo   INTER they.GEN greatest was
     εἰσῆλθεν δὲ διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς, **τὸ   τίς   ἂν εἴη   μείζων αὐτῶν**.
     came-out and deliberation in them   the.NSG   who   IRR be.OPT.3S greater they.GEN
     'Then they started to deliberate on which of them would be the greatest.' (Lk. 9.46)

Examples where *sa* selects an infinitive, following the Greek pattern, are also attested (not in the part of the Bible that I analyze in this article; I encountered this situation in Mark 9.10 and 12.33)

Further evidence for *sa* specialized for D and distinct from Dem: co-occurrence with a postnominal Dem:

(9) jah bistugqun   bi **þamma razna jainamma**   (Mat. 7.25)
     and strike-against.3P at the   house that
     καὶ προσέπεσαν   **τῇ   οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ**
     '(the winds blew) and beat against that house'

For Greek postnominal ἐκεῖνος in Mat., I found 3 times co-occurrence with ART vs. 2 time no ART (but one of the ex. has *all* at the beginning of the noun phrase)

4. The use of the article for context-given definites
4.1 Anaphoric definites
Table II: the use of the article for Greek THE in anaphoric DPs (with overt N)

(in Matthew, Luke and John)	+ART	-ART
(i) anaphoric (clear examples)	345	19
(ii) discourse-deictic (clear examples)	16	
(iii) remote antecedents: possibly max. in the current situation		9
(iv) close antecedents, but also possibly max. in the current sit.		29
(v) possibly maximal in a larger situation/the world		5
(vi) discourse-deictic but also possibly max. in the current sit.		7
Total clear cases of anaphoric definites ((i)+(ii))	**361 (95%)**	**19 (5%)**
Total unclear cases ((iii)-(vi))		50
Total	**361 (84%)**	**69 (16%)**

Ex. of +ART anaphoric DPs:
(10) [Mat. 9.18: *reiks ains qimands inwait ina, qiþands þatei <u>dauhtar meina</u> nu gaswalt; akei qimands atlagei handu þeina ana ija, jah libaiþ* (...) 'a <u>leader</u> came and payd homage to him and said, "<u>My daughter</u> has just died. But come and put your hand on her, and she will live." ']
     jah qimands Iesus   in garda   **þis   reikis** (...) qaþ du im:
     and coming Jesus   in house   the.GEN leader.GEN said.3S to him
     καὶ ἐλθὼν   ὁ ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν **τοῦ   ἄρχοντος** ἔλεγεν,
     'And when Jesus came into **the leader's** house (…) he said to them:'
     afleiþiþ,   unte ni   gaswalt **so mawi**,   ak   slepiþ
     go-away.2P for not   died   the girl   but   sleeps
     ἀναχωρεῖτε,   οὐ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν **τὸ κοράσιον** ἀλλὰ καθεύδει

'Go away, for **the girl** did not die, but she's sleeping.'   (Mat. 9.23-9.24)

Lat.: Et cum venisset   Jesus in domum **principis**, (…) dicebat: recedite
and when had-come Jesus in house   leader.GEN   said.3S step-away.IMPV.2P
non est enim mortua **puella**, sed dormit.
not is for   dead   girl   but sleeps

ex. with donkey-anaphora:

(11)   [Mat. 5.23: *jabai nu bairais <u>aibr þein</u> du hunslastada jah jainar gamuneis þatei broþar þeins habaiþ hva bi þuk* 'if you are offering your gift at the altar and there you remember that your brother has something against you]
aflet jainar **þo giba þeina** in andwairþja hunslastadis   jah gagg faurþis
ἄφες ἐκεῖ **τὸ δῶρόν σου**, ἔμπροσθεν   τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ ὕπαγε πρῶτον
gasibjon   broþr þeinamma, jah biþe atgaggands atbair **þo giba þeina**
διαλλάγηθι   τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου , καὶ τότε ἐλθὼν   πρόσφερε **τὸ δῶρόν σου**
'leave **your gift** there, before the altar, and go, first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer **your gift**.'   (Mat. 5.24)
Lat.: Si ergo offers munus tuum ad altare, et ibi recordatus fueris quia frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te: relinque ibi **munus tuum** ante altare, et vade prius reconciliari fratri tuo: et tunc veniens offeres **munus tuum**

Obs. 'description-based uniqueness/maximality': maximality (which for singular count nouns amounts to uniqueness)[4] is computed on a domain based on the descriptive part of the DP alone, without the need of a further situational restriction (e.g. *the sun, the moon, the fact that...*, but also *the man's head*, *the craters on that planet* – cases where the situational restriction occurs inside the descriptive material): as the anaphoric link is not crucial for establishing reference, these nominals are usually not marked by the anaphoric article when they have been mentioned before – e.g. *diabaulus* 'the devil', *þiudangardi himine* 'the kingdom of heaven', *atta meins* 'my father', *siponjos is* 'his disciples'[5] => they were not counted as exceptions to the marking of anaphoric definites by *sa*
However, sometimes ART is found, in cases of complex descriptions:

(12)   [Mat. 9.10: *jah sai, managai motarjos jah frawaurhtai qimandans miþanakumbidedun Iesua jah <u>siponjam is</u>* 'behold, many tax collectors and sinners came and sat down with him and his disciples.')
jah gaumjandans   Fareisaieis qeþun du **þaim   siponjam   is**   (Mat. 9.11)
and noticing.MP.NOM Pharisees   said.3P to the.DAT disciples.DAT his
καὶ ἰδόντες   οἱ φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον **τοῖς   μαθηταῖς   αὐτοῦ**
'and noticing this, the Pharisees said to his disciples (...)'

(13)   [8.2: *jah sai, manna <u>þrutsfill</u> habands durinnands inwait ina qiþands: frauja, jabai wileis, magt mik gahrainjan* 'And, behold, a man having leprosy worshiped him, saying: Lord, if you will,, you can make me clean'; 8.3: *jah ufrakjands handu attaitok*

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[4] I use 'maximality' as the defining feature of definiteness (together with the existence presupposition), instead of 'uniqueness', in order to cover plural and mass definites (see Sharvy 1980, Link 1983); an equivalent term is 'inclusiveness', used by Hawkins (1978). Uniqueness is a particular instance of maximality, which obtains in the case of singular count nouns: when the NP property is a property of atoms, a maximal element only exists if the NP property is satisfied by a single entity, because, by the definition of maximality, any entity that satisfies the NP property must be a part of the maximal element (the part relation '$\leq$' used in this definition is reflexive: for any x, x$\leq$x).

[5] Likewise, the existence of an anaphoric antecedent does not license the use of the strong article in West Germanic or of the article in Akan.

imma qiþands: wiljau, wairþ hrains! 'and stretching out his hand he touched him saying: I will; be clean!']

jah suns	hrain warþ	**þata þrutsfill is**.	(Mat. 8.3)
and immediately	clean became	the leprosy his	

καὶ εὐθέως ἐκαθαρίσθη **αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα**
'And immediately **his leprosy** was cleansed.'

'Discourse-deictic definites' (see Himmelmann 1996, Diessel 1999) = terms referring to propositions or events introduced in the previous text by non-nominal constituents, such as clauses

(14)　[Mat. 9.3: *þaruh sumai þize bokarje <u>qeþun in sis silbam: sa wajamereiþ</u>*. 'some of the scribes said to themselves, "This man is blaspheming." ']
jah witands Iesus **þos mitonins ize** qaþ
καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ ἰησοῦς **τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν** εἶπεν　(Mat. 9.4)
'And Jesus, knowing their thoughts, said (…)'
　Lat.: Et cum vidisset Jesus **cogitationes eorum**, dixit:

(15)　[Mat. 27.51: *jah <u>airþa inreiraida</u>* 'and the earth shook' (..)]

iþ	hundafaþs	jah þai	miþ imma witandans	Iesua,
and	centurion.NOM	and the.MP.NOM	with him guarding.MP.NOM	Jesus.DAT

ὁ δὲ ἑκατόνταρχος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τηροῦντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν,

gasaihvandans	**þo**	**reiron** (...)	ohtedun	abraba.	(Mat. 27.54)
seeing.MP.NOM	the.FS.ACC	earthquake.ACC	feared.3P	extremely	

ἰδόντες **τὸν σεισμὸν** ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα
'Now, when the centurion and those with him that were guarding Jesus saw the earthquake (...), they were terrified'

Lat. centurio	autem et qui	cum eo	erant custodientes	Iesum	viso
centurion but	and who.MP	with him	were guarding.P.NOM	Jesus.ACC	seen.ABL

terraemotu (...) timuerunt valde
earthquake.ABL feared.3P strongly

We can see that the use of ART is almost obligatory (up to 95% if we eliminate some disputable cases), much more frequent than expected for an anaphoric Dem:
- anaphoric demonstratives, both in languages with articles and in articleless languages, are typically used to resume newly introduced discourse referents; thus, they usually occur in second mentions, right after a new discourse referent has been introduced (see Himmelmann 1996:229, Comrie 1997, Diessel 1999:96-99 and references therein, Skrzypek 2012:102); for well-established current discourse referents, DPs with the definite article or, in articleless languages, bare nouns being preferred, or, of course, pronouns (Gundel et al. 1993)
- Gothic *sa*, by contrast, often occurs with well-established discourse referents
e.g. with *siponjos* 'the disciples', *siponjos is* 'his disciples' in the last supper narrative in John

(16)　(J. 13.22) þanuh sehvun du sis misso **þai siponjos**, þagkjandans
　　　　and-then looked.3P to 3.REFL.DAT RECIPR the disciples thinking.NOM.PL
　　　　ἔβλεπον οὖν εἰς ἀλλήλους οἱ μαθηταὶ ἀπορούμενοι
bi hvarjana qeþi.　(13.23) wasuh þan anakumbjands ains **þize**
about whom spoke.SBJV.3S was.3S-and then leaning one the.P.GEN
περὶ τίνος λέγει ἦν δὲ ἀνακείμενος εἷς ἐκ τῶν

siponje	**is**	in barma	Iesuis, (...)
disciples.GEN	his	in bosom	Jesus'

μαθητῶν   αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ

'and then the disciples looked to one another, wondering about whom he was
speaking; and one of his disciples was leaning on Jesus's bosom'

(16)′ # Then **those/these disciples** looked to one another, wondering about whom he was
speaking; and one of **those/these disciples (of his)** was leaning on Jesus's bosom'

Exceptions:

(i) Sometimes the antecedents are remote and the definite can be treated as unique/maximal in
the current situation:

(17)   [context: Pilate introduced in Mat. 27.2: *Peilatus kindins*]
iþ Iesus   stoþ   faura   **kindina**   (Mat. 27.11)
δὲ ἰησοῦς ἐστάθη ἔμπροσθεν **τοῦ ἡγεμόνος**
'And Jesus stood before the governor'

(ii) Sometimes the antecedent is close but the referent is also unique/maximal in the current
situation:

    (ii.1) landforms and names of places, which belong to the background, creating a spatial
    or temporal frame: *fairguni* 'mountain', *marei* 'sea', *baurgs* 'city' [6]
    (ii.2) meteorological phenomena: winds 'wind'
    (ii.3) institutions: *alh* 'temple', *gudjans jah sinistans* 'the priests and elders'
    (ii.4) plural or collective terms referring to the crowd or the people: *managei* 'crowd,
    people' (translating both Gr. ὄχλος 'crowd' and λαός 'people'), Iudaieis 'the Jews'

(iii) The antecedent is close but the definite may also be analyzed as unique/maximal in the
world or in a larger situation

(18)   [M.27.52 *jah <u>hlaiwasnos</u> usluknodedun, jah managa leika þize ligandane weihaize
    urrisun*. 'And <u>the graves</u> were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept
    arose,']
jah usgaggandans us **hlaiwasnom** afar   urrist   is innatgaggandans in þo weihon
baurg
καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκ **τῶν μνημείων** μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν
'and coming out of **the graves** after his resurrection, they went into the holy
city'(M.27.53)

(iv) The exceptions to the use of the article with discourse-deictic definites all involve DPs
with possessors => maybe they are construed as maximal in the current situation:

(19)   [*jah atiddja dalaþ rign jah qemun ahvos jah waiwoun windos jah bistugqun bi
    jainamma razna, jah <u>gadraus</u>*, 'and the rain came down, and the winds blew and bit
    against that house, and it fell,']
jah was **drus** **is**   mikils.   (Mat. 7.27)
and was fall   its   big
καὶ ἦν **ἡ πτῶσις αὐτῆς** μεγάλη
'and its fall was big'

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[6] Names of places are usually bare, see Pimenova (2017).

After eliminating these types, we are left with 19 exceptions to the use of ART anaphoric definites:

- plural animates (6 examples): *siponjos* 'the disciples' (Lk. 9.16, Lk. 17.22, Lk. 18.15), *apaustauleis* 'the apostles' (Lk. 9.10), *wairos* 'the men' (J. 6.10), *andbahtos Iudaie* 'the officers of the Jews' (J. 18.12)
- collectives (2 ex.): *hansa* 'the band (squad)' (J. 18.12), *hairda sweine* 'the herd of swine' (Mat. 8.32)
- singular animates (3 ex.): *aggilus* 'the angel' (Lk. 1.30, 2.21), *staua inwindiþos* 'the judge of injustice' (Lk. 18.6)
- singular inanimates (5 ex.): *dulþs* 'the feast' (Lk. 2.42, J. 7.14), *skip* 'the ship' (J. 6.19, 6.21), *wein* 'the wine' (Mat. 9.17)
- plural inanimates (3 ex.): *balgeis* 'the wineskins (leather bags)' (Mat. 9.17, twice), *skipa* 'the ships' (J. 6.24)
Grammatical functions: 10 subjects (7 prev., 3 postv.), 7 PPs, 1 dative IO, 1 adnominal genitive

4.2. Exophoric definites (unique/maximal in the immediate situation, perceptually accessible)

Hawkins (2004), De Mulder & Carlier (2011): under the strong article/first-stage article
Schwarz (2009), however: Hawkins's 'immediate situation use' → weak article

Gothic: behaves as predicted by Hawkins (2004) and De Mulder & Carlier (2011):

Table III: the use of the article for Greek THE in exophoric DPs (with overt N)

(in Matthew, Luke, and John)	+ART	-ART
exophoric	26	0

(20) [*ligr* 'bed' was introduced in Mat. 9.2, but in Mat. 9.6 it occurs in direct speech: Mat. 9.2 *þanuh atberun du imma usliþan ana ligra ligandan* 'And, behold, they brought to him a paralytic, lying on a bed']

þanuh   qaþ   du þamma usliþin: urreisands nim   **þana ligr þeinana**
than-and said.3S to the   paralytic   standing-up take.IMPV.2S the bed your
τότε   λέγει   τῷ   παραλυτικῷ, ἐγερθεὶς   ἆρόν   **σου τὴν κλίνην**
jah gagg   in gard   þeinana.   (Mat. 9.6)
and go.IMPV.2S in house   your
καὶ ὕπαγε   εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου.
'He then said to the paralytic: «Stand up, take up **your bed** and go to your house.»'

(21) [27.41: 'Likewise also the chief priests mocking him, with the scribes and elders, said:']
….   Israelis ist,   atsteigadau nu af **þamma galgin** (…)
βασιλεὺς ἰσραήλ ἐστιν, καταβάτω νῦν ἀπὸ **τοῦ   σταυροῦ**
' <"He saved others; he cannot save himself. He is the King> of Israel; let him come down now from **the cross**, and we will believe in him." ' (27.42)

- For certain instances that qualify as description-based maximality, I attributed the use of the article, unexpected in Gothic, to an exophoric construal:

(22) [Lk. 10:10: *iþ in þoei baurge inngaggaiþ jah ni andnimaina izwis, usgaggandans ana fauradaurja izos qiþaiþ:* 'But into whatsoever city you enter, and they do not receive you, go out into its streets and say:']

```
jah stubju        þana gahaftnandan unsis  us þizai baurg izwarai ana fotuns
and dust        the  clinging      us.DAT of the  city   your(P) on  feet
καὶ τὸν κονιορτὸν τὸν    κολληθέντα ἡμῖν  ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς πόδας
unsarans afhrisjam      izwis        (Lk. 10.11)
our      wipe-off.1P    you.P.DAT
ἡμῶν    ἀπομασσόμεθα ὑμῖν
'Even the dust of your city that clings to us we wipe off our feet against you'
```

Like in the case of anaphoric definites, the use of the Gothic article with exophoric definites goes beyond the exophoric use of demonstratives, which are normally not used if the description guarantees uniqueness in the world or in a larger situation (see Hawkins 1978, Robinson 2005, Wolter 2006, Nowak 2019, Dayal & Jiang 2021), except with an affective/emotive interpretation (e.g. *that nose of yours* or *that Donald Trump*; see Lakoff 1974, Wolter 2006) => using Dem in (20) would be inappropriate:

(20)´   # Take up that bed of yours and go to your house

5. Context-new definites and description-based maximality

5.1. Situation-based context-new definites

Table IV – new definites (Greek THE) with situation-based maximality (with overt N):

(in Matthew)	+ART	-ART
max. in a restricted situation, based on specific knowledge (~recognitional)	3	5
associative anaphora (max. in a restricted situation, inferable from the description of the situation in the previous text)	5	16
other cases	1	37
total	9 (13.4%)	58(86.6%)

- Ex. of max. in a restricted situation, based on specific shared knowledge, similar to *recognitional* demonstratives (see Himmelmann 1996, Diessel 1999) => often in direct speech, see **Error! Reference source not found.- Error! Reference source not found.**, but sometimes also in narrative, based on the specific knowledge of a community

```
(23)  swaswe anafulhun    unsis  þaiei        fram frumistin silbasiunjos jah
      as     transmitted.3P us.DAT who.MP.NOM from beginning eyewitnesses and
      καθὼς παρέδοσαν    ἡμῖν οἱ        ἀπ'ἀρχῆς   αὐτόπται   καὶ
      andbahtos wesun  þis   waurdis     (Lk. 1.2)
      servants  were   the.GEN word.GEN
      ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ    λόγου
      'just as they were transmitted to us by those who were eyewitnesses and servants of the
      word from the beginning'
(24)  þos anabusnins   kant:  ni  horinos;          ni  maurþrjais; ni (...)
      the  commandments know.2S not commit-adultery.SBJV.2S not kill.SBJV.2S no (...)
      τὰς ἐντολὰς    οἶδας: μὴ μοιχεύσης,       μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ
      'You know the commandments: do not commit adultery, do not kill (...) (Lk.18.20)
```

(+ART for 'the potter's field' but -ART for 'the potter'):

```
(25)  garuni    þan nimandans usbauhtedun us þaim þana akr   kasjins.  (Mat. 27.7)
      συμβούλιον δὲ λαβόντες  ἠγόρασαν   ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως
```

‘So after consultation they bought with them [the pieces of silver] **the potter's field**’
Ex. where some of the shared knowledge is overtly expressed:

(26) niu sa ist Iesus **sa sunus Iosefis**, þizei weis kunþedum attan jah aiþein?
not this is Jesus the son Joseph.GEN whose we knew.1P father and mother
οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ἰησοῦς **ὁ υἱὸς ἰωσήφ**, οὗ ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα;
‘Is this not Jesus, **the son of Joseph**, whose mother and father we knew?’ (J. 6.42)

(ii) Ex. of associative anaphora:
+ART:

(27) atberun du imma <u>daimonarjans</u> managans, jah uswarp **þans ahmans** waurda
προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δαιμονιζομένους πολλούς· καὶ ἐξέβαλεν **τὰ πνεύματα** λόγῳ,
‘They brought to him many (who were) <u>demon-possessed</u>, and he cast out **the spirits**
with a word’ (Mat. 8.16)

(28) [‘Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a <u>lampstand</u>’]
jah liuteiþ allaim þaim in **þamma garda**. (Mat. 5.15)
καὶ λάμπει πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν **τῇ οἰκίᾳ**
‘and it gives light to all (who are) in **the house**’

-ART:

(29) [9.32 atberun imma mannan baudana <u>daimonari</u> = προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπον κωφὸν
δαιμονιζόμενον ‘they brought to him a demon-possessed dumb man’]
jah biþe usdribans warþ **unhulþo**, rodida sa dumba (Mat. 9.33)
καὶ ἐκβληθέντος **τοῦ δαιμονίου** ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός
‘And when the demon was driven out, the dumb man spoke.’

The other examples where no article was used involve the following associative relations: adversary > way (to the trial), judge, officer (Mat. 5.25), person (man) > wife (Mat. 5.31), somebody's tunic > (his) coat (Mat. 5.40), sea > waves (Mat. 8.24), tempest > wind (Mat. 8.24), sea > water (Mat. 8.32), patch of cloth > its filling (Mat. 9.16), person > ear (Mat. 10.27), courtyard > gateway (Mat. 26.71), disciple > master (Mat. 10.24), Speaker and Speaker's servant > (Speaker's) house (Mat. 8.6: in garda ‘in house’ = Gr. ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ‘in the house’), trial > judgment seat (Mat. 27.19) => not just part-whole relations

Total number of examples +ART in Matthew, Luke, and John:
- recognitional: 22 + further 15 that are also descr.-based max. => total 37!
- associative anaphora: 16
   Ex. with -ART for assoc. anaph. are more numerous (I registered 17 between J.6 and J.18)
- other cases: 7

5.2 Definites with description-based maximality and generics

Table V – definites with description-based maximality (in noun phrases with overt N)

(in Matthew)	+ART	-ART	NP–Art–XP
description-based maximality, non-generic (Greek THE)	8	192	22
maximal in a situation bound by a universal (Greek THE)	1	7	0
generic (Greek THE)	1	57	0
total (percentage – excluding polydefinites)	10 (3.8%)	256 (96.2%)	22
total including polydefinites	**10(3.5%)**	**278 (96.5%)**	
description-based max. where Greek also lacks THE	0	4	0
generic where Greek also lacks THE	0	8	0

overall total	10(3.3%)	290(96.7%)

Ex. of the normal situation (-ART):
- Unique/maximal maximal in a situation bound by a universal/generic quantifier over situations, possibly involving modality

(30) sijaiþ~þan **waurd izwar**: ja, ja; ne, ne   (Mat. 5.32)
be.SBJV.3S-then word   your   yes yes no no
ἔστω δὲ   **ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν** ναὶ ναί, οὒ οὔ
'Your word should be: yes, yes, no no'

- Unique/maximal in the world:

(31)   in **þiudangardjai himine**   (Mat. 5.20)
εἰς **τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν**
'into the kingdom of heaven (of the skies)."

- Generic:

(32)   a. **fauhons**   grobos aigun   jah **fuglos   himinis**   sitlans   (Mat. 8.20)
        αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσιν καὶ **τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ** κατασκηνώσεις (...)
        'Foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests (...).
        b. lukarn **leikis**   ist **augo**   (Mat. 6.22)
        ὁ λύχνος **τοῦ σώματός** ἐστιν **ὁ ὀφθαλμός**
        'The eye is the light of the body'

The exceptions to -ART:

Table VI – description-based maximality and generics with ART
in Matthew, Luke and John (in noun phrases with overt N)

(i) prenominal modifiers		19
(ii) possibly recognitional	with prenominal modifiers: 2	15
	others: 13	
(iii) possibly exophoric	(other than with *world*): 7	50
	with worlds for *world*: 43	
(iv) with restrictive relatives (not covered by (i)-(iii) above)		3
others		8

(i) Prenominal modifiers (adjectives, participles, adverbials, PPs) are often found with the article (as also noticed by Streitberg 1920:189), with the exception of prenominal possessives, which never occur with the article in this type of definites:

- adjectives:

(33)   anakumbei   ana **þamma aftumistin stada**   (Lk. 14.10)
sit-down.IMPV.2S on the   lowest   place
'Sit down on the lowest place!'
(34)   swa   all   bagme godaize akrana goda   gataujiþ, iþ **sa ubila**
thus   all   trees.GEN good.P.GEN fruits   good.NP.ACC makes   but the bad
οὕτως πᾶν δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς   ποιεῖ   τὸ δὲ σαπρὸν
bagms akrana ubila   gataujiþ (Mat. 7.17)
tree   fruits   bad.NP.ACC makes
δένδρον καρποὺς πονηροὺς ποιεῖ
'Likewise, every good tree bears good fruit, but the bad tree bears bad fruit'

- participles:

(35) wandjands sik du **þizai afarlaistjandein sis   managein**   (Lk. 7.9)
      στραφεὶς   **τῷ ἀκολουθοῦντι αὐτῷ ὄχλῳ**
      'turning to the crowd following him'

- adverbials:

(36) in **þos   bisunjane haimos jah weihsa** (Lk. 9.12)
      in the.FP.ACC around   villages and rural-areas
      εἰς **τὰς   κύκλῳ   κώμας καὶ ἀγροὺς**
      'to the surrounding helmets and villages'

- ART placed between a DP-initial adjective (with weak inflection) and a prenominal PP, probably to facilitate the prenominal placement of the PP (word order is strictly preserved in biblical translations):

(37) swaswe rodida   þairh   munþ   **weihaize** <u>**þize**</u>   **fram anastodeinai aiwis**
      as   said.3s   through month   holy.P.GEN the.P.GEN from beginning time.GEN
      καθὼς ἐλάλησεν διὰ   στόματος **τῶν ἁγίων**   ἀπ'αἰῶνος
      praufete   seinaize   (Lk. 1.70)
      prophets.P.GEN 3POSS.REFL.P.GEN
      προφητῶν αὐτοῦ
      'As he said through the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been from the beginning of time'

- with a prenominal relative, probably needed in order to indicate the beginning of the noun phrase, while preserving the position of the relative in the original:

(38) ei   gakunnais **þize bi þoei galaisiþs is waurde** [a]staþ.   (Lk. 1.4)
      ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς   **περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων**   τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.
      'so that you may know the exact truth about the things you have been instructed about'

But prenominal adjectives may also be found without ART (normally with strong inflection, see (39); in (40), the weak inflection is a lexical property of *taihswa* 'right', see 2019:71):

(39) inngaggaiþ þairh **aggwu   daur**   (Mat. 7.13)
      εἰσέλθετε   διὰ   **τῆς στενῆς πύλης**
      'Enter through the narrow gate.'
(40) bi **taihswon   þeina kinnu** (Mat. 5.39)
      on right(WEAK) your   cheek
      εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα [σου]

(ii) the description resorts to specific shared knowledge => possibly 'recognitional':

(41) [Context: Jesus says: 'many will come from the east and the west, and will take their places at the feast with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven.']
      iþ **þai sunjus þiudangardjos** uswairpanda   in riqis   þata hindumisto (Mat. 8.12)
       οἱ δὲ **υἱοὶ   τῆς βασιλείας** ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ   ἐξώτερον
      'But **the children of the kingdom** shall be cast out into outer darkness.'
      the children of the kingdom = the Jews

(42)   jah nu hauhei   mik, þu atta,   at þus silbin **þamma wulþau   þanei**
       and now glorify.IMPV.2S me   you father at you self   the.DAT glory.DAT   which.ACC
       καὶ νῦν δόξασόν   με σύ, πάτερ, παρὰ σεαυτῷ **τῇ   δόξῃ   ᾗ**
       habaida at þus, faurþizei sa fairhvus wesi.   (J. 17.5)
       had.1S at you before   the world   was.SBJV.3S
       εἶχον   πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον   εἶναι   παρὰ σοί.
       'and now, Father, glorify me with Thee with the glory which I had with Thee before the world existed'

- some ex. also have prenominal adjectives:

(43)   in þo weihon baurg   (Mat. 27.53)
       in the holy   city   (= Jerusalem)
(44)   nih bi Iairusaulwmai, unte baurgs ist   **þis mikilins þiudanis** (Mat. 5.35)
       μήτε εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα,   ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶν **τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως**
       [Do not swear at all, neither by....] nor by Jerusalem; for it is the city of **the great King**"

(iii) referent visible to the audience, present in the immediate situation – possibly exophoric:

(45)   jah þande **þata hawi haiþjos   himma daga wisando jah gistradagis in auhn**
       εἰ δὲ   τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ σήμερον   ὄντα   καὶ αὔριον   εἰς κλίβανον
       galagiþ   guþ   swa   wasjiþ   (Mat. 6.30)
       βαλλόμενον ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιέννυσιν
       'If that is how God clothes **the grass of the field, which is here today and tomorrow is thrown into the oven**'
(46)   qaþ þan du siponjam: abþan qimand   dagos, þan gairneiþ   ainana
       εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς   ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι ὅτε ἐπιθυμήσετε μίαν
       þize dage   sunaus mans   gasaihvan jah ni gasaihviþ.   (Lk. 17.22)
       τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἰδεῖν   καὶ οὐκ ὄψεσθε
       'And he said unto the disciples «Days will come when you will long to see one of **the days of the Son of man**, and you will not see (it).»'

- This interpretation may explain why the translations of *ὁ κόσμος* 'the world' (*manaseþs* and *fairhvus*) are usually +ART, in spite of the description-based maximality: the world is the realm of the everyday life and of perception and is opposed to heaven and to the afterlife

(47)   nauh leitil, jah **so manaseiþs** mik ni þanaseiþs   saihviþ (J. 14.19)
       still little and the world   me not from-then-on sees
       ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ **ὁ κόσμος**   με οὐκέτι   θεωρεῖ
       'In a little while, the world will no longer see me'

Likewise, the world for the 'inhabited world/mankind', *midjungards*, translating the Greek *οἰκουμένη*, occurs with the article in the place where the devil shows Jesus all the kingdoms of the world (Lk. 4.5), but without the article in a non-religious context (Augustus's decree that a census should be taken throughout the entire population of the Roman Empire, Lk. 2.1)

(iv) With restrictive relative clauses: not many ex. that are not covered by (ii)-(iii)

(48)   bi   þamma wairþiþ **þamma daga ei sunus mans**   **andhuljada**. (Lk. 17.30)
       κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔσται   ᾗ   ἡμέρᾳ   ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται.

'It will be just like this on the day the Son of Man is revealed.' (Gr.: head-intern. rel.)

There are many examples of definites with restrictive relative clauses that do not have the article (see (49)-(50)) – I counted 6 in Mat. and 10 in John.

(49)   jah usstandans uskusun   imma ut us   baurg jah brahtedun ina und auhmisto
       and standing-up drove-out.3P him out from city and brought.3P him to top
       þis   fairgunjis   ana þammei so baurgs ize gatimrida was (...) (Lk. 4.29)
       the.GEN mountain.GEN on which the city their built   was
       'And they stood up and drove him out of the city and brought him to the top of **the
       mountain on which the city was built**'
(50)   sa   ist   **hlaifs saei us   himina atstaig**   (J. 6.58)
       this is   bread which from heaven descended.3S
       οὗτός ἐστιν **ὁ ἄρτος ὁ   ἐξ   οὐρανοῦ καταβάς**
       'This is **the bread that came down from heaven**.'
=> the Gothic ART does not resemble the West Germanic strong article in this respect

(v) The remaining examples:
- 2 contain the phrase *in þamma afardaga* 'the day after', lit. 'in the.DAT after-day.DAT' (=> maybe *afar* is taken as a prenom. modifier => type (i))
- 2 ex.: the same noun or a noun with a similar meaning occurs in the preceding text, which might have triggered an anaphoric use of the article, although the examples are not really anaphoric
- 1 ex.: the Greek string *ὁ δὲ δοῦλος* 'the but slave' may have been understood as containing the demonstrative *ὅδε* => the translation with the reinforced form *sah* (= sa + h), actually a Dem
- 1 ex.: the article occurs with a generically used 'body' (*þata leik*), which is contrasted to the spirit (*ahma*), which does not take the article (J. 6.63) => maybe the exophoric type (type (iii))
- 2 ex. have particular referents (Mat. 27.58: *sah atgaggands du Peilatau baþ **þis leikis Iesuis** 'He (Joseph of Arimathea), going to Pilate, asked for **Jesus's corpse**'; J. 9.21: *hvas uslauk imma **þo augona** weis ni witum* 'who opened his eyes (lit. him **the eyes**) we do not know') => maybe been treated as context-given?
- the last ex.: *nibai managizo wairþiþ izwaraizos garaihteins þau **þize bokarje jah Fareisaie** 'unless your righteousness exceeds that of **the scribes and Pharisees**' (Mat. 5.20): maybe the definite plurals were understood as referring to the specific scribes and Pharisees the audience was acquainted to (~ recognitional)

5.3 Weak definites

5 ex. of context-new definites in the Greek text of Matthew can be analyzed as 'weak definites' in the sense of Carlson & Sussman (2005): the referent is new and there is no clear situation where it can be identified as unique/maximal, having an interpretation close to an indefinite.
Weak definites are restricted to entities involved in stereotypical activities, e.g. go to the hospital, read the newspaper, go to the beach, listen to the radio (see Aguilar-Guevara 2014 for a detailed description).
The ex. I found – the activities of building (*to build on (the) rock/sand*, *to hew out (a grave) in the rock*) and navigation (*to get on a ship/boat*)
Expectedly, Gothic does not have ART:

(51) galeiko   ina   waira frodamma, saei gatimrida   razn sein   **ana staina**
     liken.1S   him   man.DAT wise   who built   house 3.POSS.REFL on stone
     ὁμοιώσω αὐτὸν ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν **ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν**
     'I will liken him to a wise man, who built his house **on the rock**'   (Mat. 7.24)

5.4 Overall numbers (for Matthew)

Table VII – context-new definites and description-based maximality (in phrases with overt N)

	+ART	-ART
number	19	340
percentage	5.29 %	94.71 %

6. The ways of translating Greek polydefinites

Greek polydefinites in my corpus: the modifier is only postnominal; only 1 ex. with >2 articles
Gothic: ART usually before the modifier

(52)   a. atta   izwar **sa** ufar   himinam = **ὁ** πατὴρ ὑμῶν **ὁ** οὐράνιος   (Mat. 6.26)
          father your the above skies   the father your the celestial
       b. hlaif unsarana **þana** sinteinan = **τὸν** ἄρτον ἡμῶν **τὸν** ἐπιούσιον (Mat. 6.11)
           bread our   the   daily   the bread our   the daily
       c. wigs **sa** brigganda in fralustai = **ἡ** ὁδὸς **ἡ** ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν (M.7.13)
           road the bringing   in destruction the road the leading   to the destruction
       d. attins   meinis **þis** saei in himinam ist = **τοῦ** πατρός μου **τοῦ** ἐν οὐρανοῖς
           father.GEN my   the who in skies   is   the.GEN father my the in skies (M. 10.33)

- The presence of the ART in the first member follows the general rules of definites with overt
N => no ART because of description-based maximality or because the definite is not context-
given

Anaphoric definites => +ART:
(53)   jabai mis   hvas   andbahtjai, mik   laistjai: jah þarei im ik,
       if   me.DAT somebody.NOM serves   me.DAT follows.SBJV and where am I
       ἐὰν ἐμοί   τις   διακονῇ,   ἐμοὶ   ἀκολουθείτω, καὶ ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγὼ
       þaruh   **sa andbahts meins** wisan habaiþ.   (J. 12.26)
       there-and the servant   my   be.INF has
       ἐκεῖ καὶ **ὁ**   **διάκονος ὁ ἐμὸς** ἔσται
       'If somebody serves me, he should follow me; and where I am, there shall also my
       servant be.'

- In the second member: ART is absent with pronominal possessors (see (53))

Table VIII – the use of the article for Greek polydefinites, in Matthew, Luke, and John

	normal cases	XP=possessive	XP= finite relative	total
-ART NP +ART XP	55	0	1	56
-ART NP -ART XP	3	19	1	23
+ART NP +ART XP	4 (anaphoric)	0	0	4
+ART NP -ART XP	0	2 (1 anaphoric, 1 exophoric)	2 (anaphoric)	4
-ART *you* XP	1 (vocative)	0	0	1
total -ART XP	3	22	3	28
total +ART XP	59	0	1	60

15

- The use of ART before the second member follows from the generalizations presented so far if the structure involves 'close apposition', as proposed for Greek polydefinites by Lekakou & Szendrői (2012) = 2 definite DPs that act conjointly to identify a referent (see Ackema & Neeleman 2018):

(54)   [$_{DP}$ DP$_1$ DP$_2$]
         a. John the butcher
         b. my friend the manager
         c. we the fans

If the second member is a DP without an overt N, the obligatory presence of ART follows from the rule presented in section 3:

(55)   [[NP] [$_{DP}$ [$_D$ **ART**][[$_N$**Ø**] XP]]
         attar   sa   ufar   himinam
         father   the   above skies

The ex. with a 2nd person pronoun (in the vocative) instead of the Gr. THE (being a vocative, Gr. does not use the article before the N):

(56)   atta   unsar **þu** in himinam = πάτερ ἡμῶν **ὁ** ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς   (Mat. 6.9)
         father our   you in skies   father our   the in the skies

N.B. This pattern also occurs in elliptical DPs (Gr. THE with 2pers. ref. => Gothic pron.):
(57)   afleiþiþ   fairra mis, **jus** waurkjandans unsibjona   (*jus* 2PL)
         ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ **οἱ** ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν   (οἱ 'the.MPL.NOM')
         'Depart from me, you who practice lawlessness!' (Mat. 7.23)

The ex. with more than 2 articles in Greek:

(58)   in fon   **þata** aiweino   **þata** manwido   unhulþin jah aggilum   is.
         in fire   the eternal(WEAK) the   prepared(WEAK) devil.DAT and angels.DAT   his
         εἰς **τὸ** πῦρ **τὸ** αἰώνιον   **τὸ** ἡτοιμασμένον   τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ
         'into the everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels'   (Mat. 25.41)

7. Conclusions

➢ The hypothesis that the Gothic article is a marker of context-given definites is by and large confirmed (almost obligatory for anaphoric and exophoric definites; ≠ demonstratives)
➢ Sometimes the article occurs as a marker of definiteness in general:
   - DPs without an overt N.
   - optionally, DPs with prenominal modification and with postnominal Dem
➢ Among context-new definites, the article may be used to signal that the identification of the referent relies on specific shared knowledge, particular to a certain community or to the discourse participants (~ the recognitional use of demonstratives)
➢ In associative anaphora, the article does appear sometimes, but examples without the article are more numerous

➢ Implications for the analysis of (in)definiteness in articleless languages: The fact that overt marking first arises for a certain sub-type of definiteness (anaphoric + exophoric), rather

than for maximality, may be taken to support the no-ambiguity view wrt. maximality (cf. Heim 2011, Šimík & Demian 2020), but suggests that another type of ambiguity might be present: **anaphoric (context-given) vs new**
- Conceptual motivation: speakers must keep track of discourse referents
- When interpreting a sentence with a bare noun, speakers of article-less languages may very well not care about maximality, but *the issue whether the discourse referent introduced by the BN is to be identified with an already existing discourse referent* or not must be solved

This comes as a natural consequence if DRT or another similar dynamic semantic framework is adopted.

➢ What counts as 'old referent': the fact that the emerging obligatory marking seems to affect not only previously mentioned entities but also **entities present in the immediate situation** (see the **exophoric use**) indicates that the discourse domain of the dynamic system we use must include referents present in the immediate situation => maybe a notion of *discourse situation* which includes a list of referents (in addition to the speaker and the hearer)

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