

A History of the
German
Language
through Texts

Christiane Faller
The Ohio State University

A History of the German Language through Texts

‘This lively and thought-provoking book will fill a gap in the study of the history of the German language and will provoke discussion of the way in which history is currently taught.’

Christopher Wells, *University of Oxford*

A History of the German Language through Texts examines the evolution of German, from the Early Medieval period to the present day.

The book offers an alternative to traditional histories of the German language by focusing on the evidence provided in primary sources. Written in a lively and accessible style, it provides commentaries on over forty German texts. Each text is translated, set firmly in its sociolinguistic context and analysed in terms of its key linguistic features. Texts range from eighth century translations of the Lord’s Prayer, through medieval medical texts and early modern cookbooks to modern scientific texts and internet chatroom messages posted on September 11, 2001.

The book also includes a glossary of technical terms and abbreviations, a summary of the main changes in each historical period, a guide to reference material and suggestions for further reading.

A History of the German Language through Texts is essential reading for students of German, Linguistics or Philology.

Christopher Young is Lecturer at the University of Cambridge and Fellow of Pembroke College, where he is Director of Studies in Modern and Medieval Languages. His publications include *Narrativische Perspektiven in Wolframs Willehalm* (2000) and *Ulrich von Liechtensteins Frauenbuch* (2003). **Thomas Gloning** is Lecturer in German Linguistics at the University of Marburg, Germany. His publications include *Organisation und Entwicklung historischer Wortschätze* (2003) and *Rheinfränkisches Kochbuch (um 1445)* (1998).

A History of the German Language through Texts

**Christopher Young
and Thomas Gloning**

First published 2004 by Routledge
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group

© 2004 Christopher Young and Thomas Gloning
Index © Jane A. Horton

Typeset in Baskerville by
Florence Production Ltd, Stoodleigh, Devon
Printed and bound in Great Britain by
St Edmundsbury Press, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Gloning, Thomas.

A history of the German language through texts/Thomas Gloning
and Christopher Young.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. German language—History. 2. German language—History—Sources.

I. Young, Christopher, 1967– II. Title.

PF3075.G56 2003

430'.9—dc21

2002011960

ISBN 0-415-18331-6

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Phonetic symbols and abbreviations

- * In historical contexts, reconstructed item (we have used this before reconstructed PIE words and morphemes, but not before phonemes); in non-historical contexts, an ungrammatical or non-occurring item.
- > becomes
- < derives from
- / / phonemic representation
- [] phonetic representation
- < > orthographic representation
- ṃ subscript represents PIE syllabic consonants
- length (except in MHG)
- ^ length in MHG, due to well established principles of normalization in the discipline.

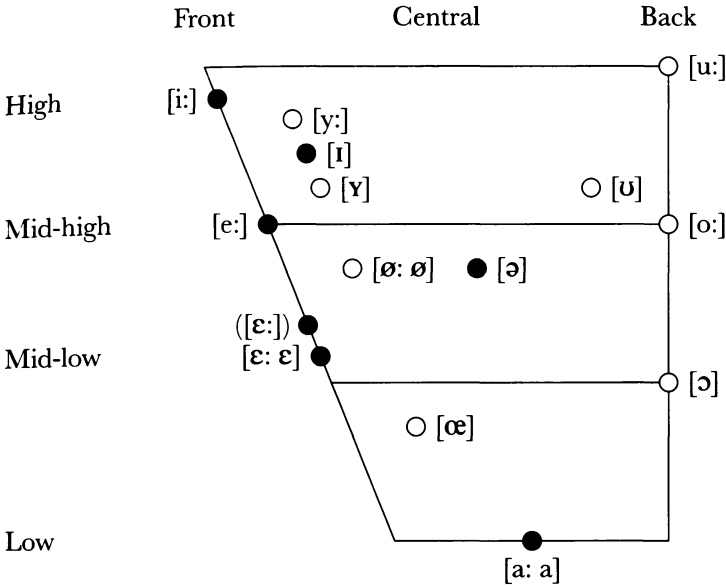
Representation of graphemic, phonetic and phonemic units

For historical stages of the language, we refer to phonemes as they have been traditionally dealt with in historical grammars of German. For NHG we generally follow the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet. Where both systems are required in the same analysis, we mark the IPA explicitly. For ease of orientation we reproduce below a chart of NHG vowel phonemes¹ and a more general chart of consonant phonemes, both of which are based on Duden's use of IPA.

examples:

/i:/	<i>viel</i>	/œ/	<i>zwölf</i>
/ɪ/	<i>Tisch</i>	/u:/	<i>Muße</i>
/e:/	<i>legen</i>	/ʊ/	<i>muß</i>
/ɛ:/	<i>Bären</i>	/y:/	<i>müde</i>
/ɐ/	<i>Bett, hätte</i>	/ʏ/	<i>hübsch</i>
/a:/	<i>Straße</i>	/ai/	<i>sei</i>
/a/	<i>Gasse</i>	/au/	<i>sau</i>
/o:/	<i>so</i>	/ɔy/	<i>neu</i>
/ɔ/	<i>Stock</i>	/ə/	<i>alle</i>
/ø/	<i>schön</i>		

1 Excluding nasalized vowels.



NHG vowel phonemes

PLACE → MANNER ↓	BILABIAL		LABIO-DENTAL		DENTAL		ALVEOLAR		PALATO-ALVEOLAR		PALATAL		VELAR		UVULAR		GLOTTAL	
	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
PLOSIVE	p	b					t	d			c	ç	k	g				ʔ
FRICATIVE	ɸ	β	f	v	θ	ð	s	z	ʃ	ʒ	ç	j	x	ɣ	χ	ʁ		h
AFFRICATE			pf				ts											
NASAL		m					n						ŋ					
LATERAL							l											
ROLL							r									R		

Consonant phonemes

(Adapted from Johnson 1988: 84)

Abbreviations

1 Linguistic terms

- | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|
| Du | Dutch | Fri | Frisian |
| C. . . | Central | G | German |
| CG | Central German | Gmc | Germanic |
| DWb | <i>Deutsches Wörterbuch</i> | Go | Gothic |
| E | English | Gk | Greek |
| E. . . | East | GSR | Germanic Stress Rule |
| ECG | East Central German | H. . . | High |
| EUG | East Upper German | HG | High German |
| ENHG | Early New High German | IE | Indo-European |
| F | French | IPA | International Phonetic Alphabet |

L	Latin
L. . .	Low
LG	Low German
M. . .	Middle
MHG	Middle High German
mlat.	Middle Latin
MLG	Middle Low German
N. . .	North
NHG	New High German
PGmc	Proto-Germanic
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
O. . .	Old
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
OE	Old English
OF	Old French
OFri	Old Frisian
OHG	Old High German
OIc	Old Icelandic
OIr	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
OS	Old Saxon
S. . .	South
Skr	Sanskrit
UG	Upper German
VL	Verner's Law
W. . .	West
WCG	West Central German
WUG	West Upper German

2 Grammatical terms

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
dat.	dative
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperative
ind.	indicative
inst.	instrumental
l., ll.	line(s)
masc.	masculine
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
neg.	negative
neut.	neuter
no.	number
nom.	nominative
part.	participle
pl.	plural
p., pp.	person; page, page(s)
pp.	past participle
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive

Acknowledgements

Texts

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Benecke, G.F., Lachmann, K. and Wolff, L. (1968, eds) *Hartmann von Aue. Iwein*, 7th edn with translation and commentary by T. Cramer, Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 1–2; Mannack, E. (1963, ed.) *Andreas Gryphius. Verliebttes Gespenst (Gesangspiel). Die Geliebte Dornrose (Scherzspiel). Text und Materialien zur Interpretation*, Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 60–1, 66–7; Rist, J. (Anon) ‘Rettung der Edlen Teütschen Hauptsprache’ in J. Rist, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by E. Mannack, pp. 67–149, 385–6; Wolfgang Martens (ed.) *Der Patriot*, vol. II, pp. 26–7 – by kind permission of Walter de Gruyter GmbH.

Braune, W., Ebbinghaus, E.A. (revision) (1979) *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, 16th edn, Tübingen: Niemeyer, pp. 9–11, 56, 61–2, 98; Reichmann, O. and Wegera, K.-P. (1988) *Frühneuhochdeutsches Lesebuch*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, pp. 49–51; Neumann, H. (1990–3, ed.) *Mechthild von Magdeburg. ‘Das fließende Licht der Gottheit’: nach der Einsiedler Handschrift in kritischem Vergleich mit der gesamten Überlieferung*, Munich: Artemis (MTU [now in the hands of Niemeyer] 100–1), vol. 1, pp. 27–8 – reproduced by kind permission of the Max Niemeyer Verlag.

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Jacob Bernouilli: Neu-erfundene Anleitung/Wie man den lauf der Comet- oder Schwantzsternen, reproduced with kind permission of Birkhäuser Verlag AG, Basel, Switzerland, from Jakob Bernouilli, *Collected Works*, vol. 1: *Astronomia, Philosophia naturalis* 1969 – by kind permission of the Birkhäuser Verlag.

Katz und Goldt: ‘Wir Deutschen lieben unser ß’ in *Wenn Adoptierte den Tod ins Haus bringen*, Carlsen Comics: Hamburg 2001; Katz und Goldt: ‘“Skurile”, weder sonderlich einleuchtende noch stilsichere Banken-Jugendwerbung-Parodie’ in *Koksen um die Mäuse zu vergessen*, Carlsen Comics: Hamburg 2001 – by kind permission of the authors.

1 Introduction

1.1 Texts in linguistic history

All histories of the German language, even those which concentrate on speech (e.g. Weithase 1961), are written *on the basis of texts*, but none has yet presented this history *through texts*. That is not to say that the textual basis has been ignored in linguistic histories: studies which take synchronic slices often contain textual material, e.g. Eggers' (1963–77) three volumes on Old High German (OHG), Middle High German (MHG) and New High German (NHG) concludes with copious example texts; Walshe's (1974) MHG grammar has a reader format; the two most recent outstanding major histories of German (Wells 1987; v. Polenz 1991–9) find room for the odd illustrative sample text; Tschirch's (1955) collection of parallel German Bible translations over 1200 years provides the material for diachronic linguistic comparison, albeit without analysis and within the restricted confines of one particular text-type. But no linguistic history of German has yet given central stage to texts.

Texts are the engine room of linguistic history, that which moves us from A to B, but too often seem doomed to stay below deck whilst the guests in the first class cabins have a smooth ride as the grand ocean liner glides effortlessly across smooth and choppy seas alike. As might be gleaned from this analogy, the presentation of a linguistic history through texts is by no means intended as a mere cosmetic adjustment to traditional accounts, nor indeed as a 'dumbing down' of material into a series of short gobbits with palatable explanations. To let the texts actually drive the history sets different parameters and produces a different sort of history. This difference cuts across the two major axes of language – its nature and its functions.

By the nature of language, we mean primarily its grammatical components (morphology, phonology, syntax, lexicon and semantics) as well as the propensity for those components to change both internally and in relation to each other. By returning to primary texts, where possible in their primary form (e.g. MS, early print), we are forced in many circumstances to concede that the raw data does not yield neat linguistic arguments. This 'drawback' affects the choice of the material as well as the detail within it. For instance, while we might like to choose a work such as the often quoted *Annolied* as an example of early MHG language, we find that although it was composed within the relevant time-frame (late eleventh century), the earliest surviving transmission is in Martin Opitz's print of 1639. We

2 Introduction

must therefore choose a work which was both composed and preserved in written form within the desired time reference, in this instance Williram von Ebersberg's translation of the Song of Solomon. Yet Williram's translation is the most prolifically transmitted work composed up until 1100, and a glance across the various MSS introduces further considerations. For instance, the two key criteria given in hand-books to distinguish OHG from MHG – the appearance of ('secondary') umlaut and the weakening of unstressed syllables – do not spring out of the MSS as readily as we might expect. In MHG MSS orthographical habits either obscure or confuse the phonetic reality behind linguistic phenomena such as umlaut, and dialect differences mean that there is no universally valid temporal mapping for the decay of final syllables. In other words, our choice of text and MS casts into sharp relief the fact that an analysis of the state of the language at any given point is bound up with the interplay of temporal and spacial considerations.

Texts, therefore, throw out a certain amount of 'noise': periodizations begin to look oversimplified, whilst continuities become apparent that cut across the normal flow of historical narrative. Equally important is the way in which this flow can be disturbed by discontinuities. For instance, Notker is often cited in linguistic histories for his weakened unstressed syllables which are valued as a rare glimpse of the last stages of OHG. His syntax, and more specifically his word order, however, is generally overlooked, but presents a highly developed sense of what is normally held to be the NHG frame (*Satzrahmen*). Like most OHG authors, Notker was operating in a vernacular textual vacuum and his work, which hardly spread beyond his own monastery, represents a strange blip on the map rather than a point on a smooth line from A to B. By foregrounding texts in their entirety, rather than taking extracts from them which illustrate a specific point, we are forced to look at several aspects of them, even when these jar against the general drift or disappoint our expectations. A history of the language through texts has the difficult task of plotting a master narrative whilst allowing its main evidence enough prominence to disturb that narrative. As well as producing a nuanced history, the other major benefit of our approach is that it gives readers the chance to see this evidence directly for themselves, rather than having it recounted at one remove. The frustrations that might at first seem to be the drawback of our method thus turn out to provide an account of the reality of 'doing' the history of the language.

A textual approach to the history of the language also forces us to view texts as more than mere repositories of language. Even though Notker's and Williram's translations will have served similar purposes (i.e. conveying key Latin texts in the vernacular), their functions were different: the former was written for a classroom in which German functioned as an aid to the learning of Latin, whilst the latter targeted a sociolect of the spiritual elite with a visual layout that stressed the symbolic harmony of German and Latin. A modern example will help reinforce the importance of considering the full range of forces which act upon texts and account for their form and function at any given instantiation. Texts A, B and C are drawn from different strands of the public debate surrounding the introduction of the German spelling reform of 1996: A is an extract from the judgement of the Constitutional Court (July 1998) which upheld the constitutionality of the reform in a case brought against it by individual parents; B is a

satirical take on the public furore by the irrepressible Katz and Goldt; C is one of over 1000 (mainly congratulatory) readers' e-mails catalogued in August 2000 on the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* web-site (www.faz.de) in reaction to the newspaper's decision to return to the old conventions after a year of following the 'new spelling'.

A. Judgement of the Constitutional Court

Mit ihrer Verfassungsbeschwerde wenden sich die Beschwerdeführer gegen die Entscheidungen des Verwaltungs- und des Oberverwaltungsgerichts. Sie rügen eine Verletzung des allgemeinen Persönlichkeitsrechts ihrer Kinder und ihrer eigenen Rechte aus Art. 2 Abs. 1 GG in Verbindung mit dem Rechtsstaatsprinzip und Art. 1 Abs. 1 GG sowie aus Art. 6 Abs. 2 Satz 1 und Art. 103 Abs. 1 GG.

1. Der Staat dürfe die Rechtschreibung nicht zum Gegenstand staatlicher Normierung machen, wenn dabei nicht nur die allgemein übliche Schreibung nachgezeichnet, sondern verändernd in den Schreibgebrauch eingegriffen werde. Jedenfalls bedürfe es für eine Rechtschreibreform einer spezialgesetzlichen Regelung. Nach den Rechtsstaats- und dem Demokratieprinzip sei der Gesetzgeber verpflichtet, alle wesentlichen Entscheidungen selbst zu treffen. Bei der Einführung der neuen Schreibweise in den Schulunterricht, der ersten Reform in der Geschichte der deutschen Rechtschreibung überhaupt, handele es sich um eine solche Entscheidung. Bisher würden die Schüler im Rechtschreibunterricht mit dem allgemein üblichen Schreibgebrauch vertraut gemacht, der dem ihrer Eltern entspreche. Nunmehr sollten sie bislang ungebräuchliche Schreibweisen lernen, damit die Rechtschreibung einfacher werde.

B. Katz und Goldt cartoon

Please see Figure 1.1 on p. 4.

C. e-mail to the FAZ

Ich unterstütze Ihren Kampf

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren, ich möchte hiermit die FAZ zu Ihrer Initiative beglückwünschen. Ich hielt diese Reform von Anbeginn an für einen nen [sic] Schilbürgerstreich der die deutsche Sprache in vielen Details von ihren geschichtlich gewachsenen Zusammenhängen mit dem Latein, dem Alt- und Neufranzösisch und anderen romanischen Wurzeln abzukoppeln versucht. 'Greulich' ist eben nicht eine Abstufung der Farbe schwarz, sondern die römische Wurzel 'cruelis' hat in fast allen europäischen Sprachen ((F)cruel, (UK) cruel, etc.) eine eigenständige Entsprechung gefunden. Daß [sic] ausgerechnet zu einem Zeitpunkt, an dem Europa immer mehr zusammen wächst, die deutschen Kultusminister unsere Sprach- und Schreibkultur per Ordre de Mufti zu banalisieren und zu

Wir Deutschen lieben unser B

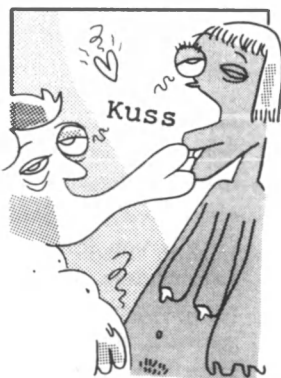
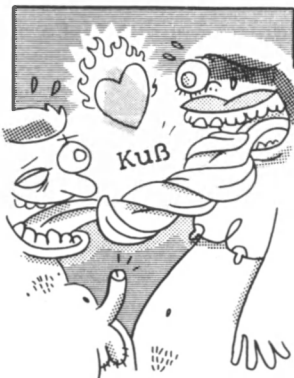


Das B ist etwas ganz besonderes, weil es nur als Kleinbuchstabe existiert. Wenn man ein B-enhaltendes Wort in Großbuchstaben schreibt, verwendet man SS. Doch wir lieben solche Nazi-Sachen nicht. Umso mehr lieben wir unseren Babybuchstaben B.

IN DER SCHWEIZ GIBT ES GAR KEIN B. IN ÖSTERREICH WIRD ES IN GROSSBUCHSTABENSCHREIBUNG OFT ALS SZ WIEDERGEGEBEN. DIES IST SCHOCKIEREND FÜR BESUCHER AUS DEUTSCHLAND.



Wir wollen nicht dazu verdammt werden, unseren deutschen Exklusivbuchstaben seltener als zuvor benutzen zu dürfen. Das B ist purer Sex!



Ansonsten ist die Rechtschreibreform völlig egal.

K A T Z + G O L D T

Figure 1.1 Katz und Goldt cartoon

enteuropäisieren versuchen, ist nicht hinnehmbar. Ich unterstütze deshalb Ihren Kampf (beinahe hätte ich gesagt 'für das gesunde Volksempfinden') aus ganzem Herzen und hoffe, daß es gelingen möge, dieser unsinnigen Entwicklung Einhalt zu gebieten.

Dipl.-Ing. Harald Riehle, Vizepräsident der ASU. 10. Aug. 2000

These texts give a glimpse of how even relatively trivial issues of language – with the exception of the reduced usage of <ß> (e.g. *daß* > *dass*) most texts written in the new spelling looked remarkably unaltered – can be caught at the centre of powerful force fields. Several of the forces that operated around the spelling reform can be detected in the texts themselves:

(i) Institutions: the constitutional court had to decide on issues such as the infringement of human rights (e.g. were a parent's rights to help educate their children infringed by children being taught differently at school from their parents?), as well as the law's place in relation to questions of language (the court remained agnostic to calls for it to perform a normative role) and language's place in relation to the legal system (it had to decide on the basis of *Wesentlichkeitstheorie* which of the many layers of the German system had the right to issue edicts on language). Schools had to adopt the new spelling by law even though its opponents argued that it did not meet the legal requirement of proportionality, e.g. changing <ß> to <ss> would not stop children confusing *das* (demonstrative pronoun) and *daß* (conjunction). The press was free to do whatever it wished: whilst the German news agencies eventually supported the innovations, some newspapers moulded their own house styles (e.g. *Die Zeit*, *Die Neue Zürcher Zeitung*), and the *FAZ*, after a brief flirtation with the new rules, retraced its steps back to square one.

(ii) History: touched on here satirically by the cartoon's reference to National Socialism, this was at the heart of many aspects of the debate. As the e-mail shows, there was outrage at the 'tidying up' of the representation of certain phonemes (mainly the <e> and <ä> variants of /ɛ/) which in many instances led to the creation of false etymologies (e.g. new *gräulich* [< old *greulich*] has nothing to do with the colour grey). History was also invoked by the Duden Verlag which had to fight a hard marketing battle in the wake of losing its prestige position as linguistic arbiter to the reform document and future commissions.

(iii) Politics: the e-mail expresses the interesting (but scarcely echoed) view that the reform is anti-European. Another letter to the paper put forward the more commonly held view that the protests were a legitimate attempt on the part of the 'people' (note Riehle's cautious use of the term 'Volksempfinden') to show their ability to empower themselves against complacent and condescending politicians and bureaucrats. Furthermore, the decision by the government of Schleswig-Holstein to overturn the previous year's referendum, which had rejected the introduction of the reform in its schools, sparked a wider debate on regulating the minimum period permitted for the overturning of referenda.

(iv) Medium: by publishing its correspondence on the web, the *FAZ* was doing more than accommodating and celebrating the volume of its mail bag. The employment of the internet used the modern progressive associations of the electronic medium to undermine the image of anti-reformists as reactionaries.

(v) Relationship to other languages: the e-mail seeks to bind German into its historical roots (although one of the reform's major tasks was how to deal with the recent influx of Anglo-American rather than Romance words). The cartoon, however, plays on the notion of German (as opposed to Austrian or Swiss) national identity. It is interesting that the public debate about spelling was a *German* debate, not a *German-speaking* one, which, despite the presence of non-German representatives in the Internationaler Arbeitskreis für Orthographie (IAO), might lead us to conclude that Germans view the German language as *theirs* and theirs to control.

These forces – all the time changing and modulating themselves – run throughout the history of the language, shaping it and influencing the types of texts it produces. (i) At various points of the history of German, the key institutions which disseminate language might be the monastery, court, chancery, printing house, school and university. The development of these centres of production and dissemination are inextricably linked with the rise and spread of literacy as well as the delayed access of women to that literacy. (ii) Over time, the views of the relationship of German to its historical ancestors develops and is put to different uses: in the seventeenth century, Schottel stressed the 'many ancient roots' and purity of the *Teusche Hauptsprache*, raising the cultural significance of the language; Grimm and the neo-grammarians that followed carried out the pioneering work in the field of historical linguistics, but notions of Germanic ancestry were abused and manipulated by the National Socialists so that post-war authors declared a *Stunde Null* (zero hour) and new beginning for the German language. (iii) The relationship between ruling classes and social developments make language a political tool: the rise of the nobles to political power, followed by the rapid development of towns in the Middle Ages, created a need for administration in the vernacular rather than Latin; whilst in the seventeenth century and eighteenth century the ruling elites distinguished themselves from the masses by speaking French (Frederick the Great claiming famously that he only spoke German to his horse), the unification of Germany in the late nineteenth century saw wholesale purging of French loans in the public domain and the first codification of the German language in Duden's dictionary. (iv) Whilst there have only been three visual media – writing, printing and electronic – the advent of each and its subsequent relation to the others has had profound implications for the history of German texts and language: can we imagine the effect of Luther and the Reformation, and indeed the influence of these on the German language, without the use of printing, a technology which had been on German soil for less than 70 years? (v) As is the case with many languages, language contact has played a major role in the development of German. Prestige forms – the Latin of the Church in the OHG period and of Western European intellectual life from the renaissance up until the nineteenth century, the French of chivalry in the MHG period and of European political domination from the seventeenth century, the Anglo-American of business, technology and popular culture in the twentieth century – have all both enriched the language and at times been viewed as a serious threat to its survival.

Sometimes these forces come together in a particular moment. The configuration of forces which makes the case of the late twentieth-century German spelling

reform so intriguing is matched by the first instance of reflection on German orthography. Otfrid von Weissenburg (ch. 7), complains in one of the Latin prologues to his German *Evangelienbuch* about the uncouth effect of committing German to writing, e.g. a word such as OHG *uuurm* requires a triple <u>. (It is interesting that the 1995 reform caused much public stir over the reintroduction of – albeit different – triple letters, e.g. *Schiffahrt*.) The function of Otfrid's German work, however, is complex: it was written in a monastery but intended for both a reading and listening audience, and most significantly also for a female reader; its medium was controlled – exceptionally in our surviving documents for the Middle Ages – by the author himself; history, politics and relationships to other languages are combined in the author's desire to create a work for the Franks in their own tongue as had been the case with their great predecessors, the Greeks and the Romans. However, it is often the case that these forces do not coincide or have equal weight. Sometimes the dominance of one at a given period will lead to the prominence of a particular type of text (e.g. compare the hegemony of religious texts in OHG with the heterogenous plethora of texts in the twentieth century). But more often the task of situating a text in its socio-linguistic context requires us to superimpose intricate patternings on the material. To fail to do so, however, would be to miss out on telling half the story.

In any case, the two halves of the history of the language – the development of its nature and functions – cannot easily be separated. In our three example texts it is clear that the register or choice of language used is dependent on the text-type. The legal text is marked by its exact and consistent use of subj. (e.g. *dürfe, werde, sei*, etc.), use of abbreviation (Art. 1 Abs. 1 GG) and its *Nominalstil*, i.e. high percentage of nouns over verbs (e.g. *Gegenstand staatlicher Normierung*). The correspondence with the FAZ bears traces of formal letter writing (*ich möchte hiermit, und hoffe, daß es gelingen möge*), but also a looseness of orthography which is common in e-mails (*einen nen*, missing space, *unsinnigenn*). These features are typical of their particular text-types and would be out of place if transferred to the others. For instance, it would be as unimaginable for the errors of the reader's letter to appear in the printed paper as it would be for the constitutional court to begin its judgement in the manner of a Katz and Goldt cartoon: *Seit man begonnen hat, über die Rechtschreibreform zu jammern . . .* Different text-type registers can of course also be mobilized for specific effect: for comic effect, for instance, the cartoon apes the moral tone of 'educated' anti-reformists such as the e-mail writer via the complicated sentence frame of the penultimate sentence (*wir wollen nicht dazu verdammt werden . . . benutzen zu dürfen*).

At every point in the history of the language, therefore, we must be sensitive to the type of text with which we are dealing and the linguistic conventions it typically follows. If a meteor were to hit the earth leaving the legal text as the sole trace of the German language, future researchers would be sadly mistaken if they took it without reservation as exemplifying the modern German language. Moreover, we must be careful not necessarily to take texts at face value even when they are reflecting on language: the writer of the e-mail opposes the new spellings, but seems to be influenced himself (here erroneously) by their tendency under certain conditions to separate verbal compounds (*zusammen wächst*).

1.2. Periodization

The dual focus on the functions and nature of language has played an important role in discussions about the periodization of German. Scholars are under no illusions when they propose such schematizations: language changes in infinitesimal, dialectically diverse shifts, making periodization an idealized but pragmatic tool. It is now taken for granted that each of the boundaries is fluid, approximate and implies overlap (see Wells 1987). Although academic fashions have changed, any attempt to divide the history of the language into new units cannot circumvent the earliest periodizations. Grimm truncated the development of German on historical considerations into three large slices: Old High German (OHG: 750–1100), Middle High German (MHG: 1100–1500), New High German (NHG: 1500–present day, which for Grimm was the nineteenth century); Scherer later modified this scheme largely on literary grounds and inserted a transitional period, Early New High German (ENHG: 1350–1650) across the latter part of Grimm’s MHG.¹ These terms have established themselves to such an extent in the methodological framework of the subject, not least because we now have grammars for each of them, that it would cause confusion to ignore them. Given the subjectivity of, and many debates about, periodization, we have, therefore, taken the pragmatic decision to remain roughly within old boundaries in full recognition of the fact that these could have been drawn up in several different ways. Nonetheless, the rapid explosion of registers in the second part of the twentieth century and the greater interest in the analysis of contemporary forms than in previous scholarly generations means that we can no longer squeeze the present day into the same phase of development as the seventeenth century, like the ‘backwards looking’ (meant non-pejoratively) linguists of the nineteenth century, and thus we add a final section entitled ‘Contemporary German’.

I	750–1050	Old High German
II	1050–1350	Middle High German
III	1350–1700	Early New High German
IV	1700–1945	New High German
V	1945–2000	Contemporary German

1.3 Rationale

Perhaps the most important word in the title of this book is the first one: ‘A’ history of the German language through texts. It is obvious that there could indeed be many histories of German through texts. Our choice of texts in this book has been informed by three interlocking considerations. First, we have been guided by the emergence of text-types. From its infancy in the written form, the development of the German language can be seen as a struggle for emancipation

1 Thus ‘Old’, ‘Middle’ and ‘(Early) New’ are temporal; ‘German’ is defined on linguistic grounds in ch. 2; ‘High’, which refers to a major dialectal area from which the German standard was formed, is defined in ch. 3.

from the cultural hegemony of Latin. Our choices have tried to reflect the new domains as they are wrested away and colonized by the vernacular, e.g. first legal documents, medical texts, etc. Likewise we have given consideration to the by-products of technical innovation, e.g. the advent of pamphlets, and with the establishment of the vernacular as a written language to reflections on, as well as prescriptive treatments and codification of, the language. In full knowledge that the magnitude of our task and the restrictions of space condemn us to failure from the very start, we take up the challenge laid out by Löffler:

Eine soziolinguistisch eingefärbte Sprachgeschichte kann nicht mehr von der deutschen Sprache handeln. Sie kann ihre Aussagen pro Epoche immer nur auf die Textsorten beziehen, an denen Beobachtungen gemacht wurden ... Man müßte die bisherigen Quellen nach neuen Gesichtspunkten wie Sprecherintention, Hörererwartung, Gruppenbezogenheit, Themaerfordernis, soziale Erwartungen und Erfüllungen gliedern und neu zu soziolinguistischen Textsorten gruppieren.
(1994: 197–8)

Second, the extracts were chosen with some (but never exclusive) consideration to their containing linguistic features which are important in the overall development of the language. Third, we have endeavoured to choose passages which have content of some intrinsic interest.

We have used editions where these have been reliably close to the original or else gone back to the original MSS or prints ourselves. The important socio-historical and linguistic developments are given at the beginning of each of the six major sections. For those who wish to gain a quick overview of the history of the language before reading the individual texts, we suggest that these short accounts be read in sequence before commencing. As we allow the texts to generate the history of the language, major features are often discussed with primary reference to one particular text. The reader will be pointed back to key discussions in the main body of the text where necessary, and can trace the discussion of a particular feature throughout the book via the index. It has not been possible to treat every feature exhaustively as it appears in each text. We hope that this deficit will be viewed positively by the reader as an invitation for further exploration of the example texts.

Further reading

Bach (1970); Besch *et al.* (1998); Eggers (1963–77); Glaser (1982–91); Keller (1978); König (1978); Moser (1969); Penzl (1984, 1986, 1989); v. Polenz (1978); v. Polenz (1991–9); Schmidt (1993); Sonderegger (1979); Stedje (1994); Tschirch (1971–5, 1989); Wells (1987).

2 Pre-textual German

From Indo-European to West Germanic

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims to provide an account of the origins of the German language through its key parent stages in the Indo-European and Germanic families. These stages stand separate from the rest of the book, since they are pre-textual. By definition, the history of German can only begin with its first written texts. Apart from short (and sometimes unintelligible) runic inscriptions, which begin in the third century AD (see Antonsen 1975), and loans into other languages, e.g. Latin (see Green 1998: 182–200), Balto-Finnic (see Laanest 1975: ch. 5), there is no written evidence for the oldest stages of German until the eighth century. Amongst its closest relations, it is preceded clearly by the sixth-century transmission of Wulfila's fourth-century Gothic New Testament, marginally by Old English in the late seventh century/early eighth century; and followed closely by Old Saxon and Old Low Franconian in the ninth century and distantly by Scandinavian in the twelfth century. Using evidence from these earliest stages, as well as drawing upon other languages, we shall be able to trace out the linguistic ancestry of German.

Second, this chapter aims to lay the foundations for the rest of the book by setting out the major linguistic features of the oldest stage of German (OHG), from which all else develops. Specifically these are noun, adjective and verb morphologies as well as the phonological basis for the later development of distinctive consonantal dialect markers (known as the Second Sound Shift [2SS] and treated in 3.2). The aim here is by no means to provide a complete 'mini-grammar' of OHG – just as this book at no point undertakes comprehensive synchronic coverage of any linguistic stage – but to let the key components of the oldest German emerge in relation to the other languages with which it is historically related. To this end, the overall chronological frame of the chapter is broken, with the discussion of OHG morphology and phonology appearing in 2.3 on Germanic – looking back to Indo-European and across to other Germanic languages – before we actually make our final approach to OHG via North-West and West Germanic in 2.4.

2.2 Proto-Indo-European and the Indo-European language group

At a basic level it is obvious that some languages are ‘closer’ to each other than others: many schools now choose Spanish over German because ‘Spanish is like French’; some words in German ‘look like’ their English counterparts, e.g. *Wasser* – *water*, *Apfel* – *apple*, *Haus* – *house*; a half-listening ear might mistake Romanian for French but would never do so for neighbouring Hungarian; Norwegian and Swedish sound similar, but Finnish does not, and so forth. Linguists classify languages into families, most of which have their own sub-groups. Most European languages – with the notable exceptions of the Finno-Ugric group (mainly Finnish, Hungarian, Estonian) and the remarkable Basque (which is in a group of its own) – belong to the Indo-European group, which currently accounts for about half of the world’s population and, if we ignore extinct languages (e.g. Tocharian or the Anatolian group of Hittite and Luwian), has eight major sub-groups, most with their own sub-divisions: Albanian, Armenian, Balto-Slavic (e.g. Latvian, Russian), Celtic (e.g. Welsh), Germanic (e.g. German, English, Dutch), Hellenic (e.g. Greek), Indo-Iranian (e.g. Persian, Hindi), Italic/Romance (e.g. French, Spanish, Romanian). German is a member of the West Germanic sub-group of Germanic, which shares a number of significant affinities with Slavic, Baltic, Celtic and Italic (Nielsen 1981: chs 1–2). That is not to say, however, that German is descended from any of these languages, as might be falsely deduced from the widespread misapprehension that English is ‘descended from’ Latin. (English like German is descended from the same linguistic family as Latin – in that respect it is on a par with Latin – but later comes under considerable influence from Latin due to military conquest and the hegemony of Latin as the European language of learning until at least the nineteenth century.)

The claim that German is more closely related to the language of Iran (Persian) than to, say, that of Hungary, with which German-speaking Austria shares a border, might seem far-fetched, but can be exemplified (though not explained) by the following selection of common words:

<u>NHG</u>	<u>Persian</u>
<i>Bruder</i>	<i>birāder</i>
<i>Mutter</i>	<i>mādar</i>
<i>Stern</i>	<i>sitāra</i>

The relationships between members of the same linguistic family are more obvious in earlier than later stages of the individual languages. On the basis of the oldest forms of individual languages, linguists reconstruct unattested prototype languages: Proto-Germanic (PGmc), for instance, is the reconstructed ancestor of the Germanic group of languages, Proto-Indo-European (PIE) that of all the Indo-European languages (on techniques of reconstruction see Fox 1995). The form, status and geographical origins of PIE are all hotly disputed issues. Although it is generally held that PIE represents a complex language or group of dialects from which the IE language groups and individual languages descended (the view followed implicitly in this chapter), some scholars believe – on the basis of the

relative simplicity of Hittite (c.1800 BC) – that the linguistic complexity of the IE inflectional system developed only in the daughter languages out of common inherent tendencies in, and mutual influencing between, the dialects. Whilst the most generally held view that the IE family originated several millennia BC around the Caspian Sea (see Szemerényi 1999) does not lack for challengers either (see Renfrew 1988; Dolgopolsky 1989), it is clear that over the centuries its speakers spread around the compass point to Russia, India, the southern tip of Africa and the Americas. From wherever, some representatives of the IE group began colonizing the Western part of the Baltic (c.2000 BC) and it is there that their language, like that of the other groups on the move, breaks off (further?) from Indo-European to form Germanic, possibly, but not necessarily, under the influence of another linguistic group such as the original inhabitants of their newly colonized area (substratum theory).

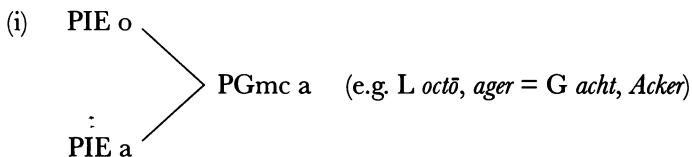
2.3 Proto-Germanic and the Germanic language group

L	<i>Pater noster qui in caelis es, sanctificetur nomen tuum, adveniat regnum tuum</i>
Go	<i>atta unsar, þu is in himinam, weihnai namo þein Qimai þiudinassus þeins</i>
ON	<i>faþer vǫr, (sa)þū ert ī hifne helgesk nafn þitt Tílcome þitt ríke</i>
OHG	<i>fater unseer, thū þist in himile, uuhi namun dinan, qhueme rihhi din</i>

By comparing the first lines of the Lord's Prayer in Gothic (Go), OHG and Old Norse (ON) (later forms of the three sub-groups of Germanic – see 2.4) with the Latin version, we get some impression of how far the sub-groups of Indo-European (IE) had moved apart by the PGmc stage.¹ There are five major changes which distinguish PGmc from other IE languages.

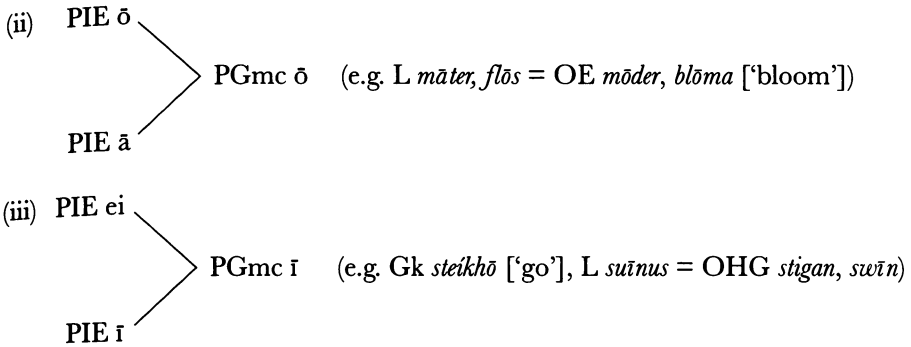
2.3.1 Vowels

The simplest models of PIE postulate 16 vowels (ignoring laryngeal theory – see Szemerényi 1999:§VI.4 – and the long diphthongs such as ēi, etc.): long and short /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/ and the diphthongs /ei/, /oi/, /ai/, /eu/, /ou/, /au/. This system is considerably reduced and rendered asymmetrical in PGmc by a series of mergers:



Diphthongs dependant on /o/ also merge (PIE /ou/:/au/ > PGmc /au/; PIE /oi/:/ai/ > PGmc /ai/).

1 Vernacular texts taken from Keller (1978: 57).



The individual Germanic languages rebalance this vocalic system, but not always with the same frequency as before. In OHG, for instance, /o/ reappears, but only in complementary distribution with /u/, and must wait for foreign loans and further developments (e.g. lowering of MHG /u/ > /o/, *sunne* > *Sonne* which enters the standard language due to the prestige of East Central German in the late ENHG and Early Modern periods) for greater frequency.

2.3.2 Consonants: The First Sound Shift and Verner's Law

Models of PIE that ignore glottalic theory (see Hock, 1991: ch. 19) and possible voiceless aspiration usually postulate the following consonantal system: voiceless

PIE	<i>decem</i> (L)	<i>genus</i> (L)	<i>pater</i> (L)	<i>tres</i> (L)	<i>centum</i> (L)	<i>bhārāmi</i> (Sk)	<i>dhāmās</i> (Sk)	<i>χρῖν</i> (Gk)	
[b] ²	d	g	p	t	k	bh	dh	gh	
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	
		l			2				
	↘	↘	↘	↘	↘	↘	↘	↘	
	[p]	t	k	f	θ	x	β	ð	γ ³
allophones >					h	β/b	ð/d	γ/g ⁴	
PGmc	<i>tahun</i> (Go)	<i>kun</i> (E)	<i>fadar</i> (Go)	<i>þres</i> (Go)	<i>hund</i> (Go)	<i>batran</i> (Go)	<i>dōman</i> (OE)	<i>Gans</i> (G)	

Table 2.1 The First Sound Shift

Bynon 1977: 83

² Although traditional grammars of German speak of 3 voiced stops in PIE, it is now assumed that PIE had no labial voiced stop. /p/ entered PGmc in loan words.

³ θ, β, ð, γ are represented in some handbooks by þ, b, d, g.

⁴ In the Germanic languages the further development of the fricatives to stops follows certain patterns: (i) NGmc and EGmc are less susceptible than WGmc; (ii) dentals are the most effected, velars the least; (iii) word initial position is most susceptible. In WGmc: (i) ð > d in all positions (OE *fader* > Mod E *father* is an early sixteenth century development); (ii) β is retained in northern dialects (from English down to and including Mid Franconian), hence the /b/ : /v-f/ opposition between Mod G and Mod E, e.g. *Weib(er)* : *wives/wife*, *sieben* : *seven*; (iii) /γ/ is complicated in OE, but in initial position it remained a fricative as far south as Northern mid Franconian, and medially

stops (/p/, /t/, /k/, /kw/), voiced stops (/b/, /d/, /g/, /gw/), breathy-voiced stops such as in modern Hindi (/bh/, /dh/, /gh/, /gwh/), one fricative /s/, nasals (/m/, /n/), liquids (/r/, /l/), semi-vowels (/j/, /w/) and syllabic resonants (/ṁ/, /ṅ/, /ṛ/, /ḷ/). PGmc stops undergo a considerable transformation known as the First Sound Shift (1SS) (*G erste Lautverschiebung*; alternatively Grimm's Law), consisting of three articulatory shifts which introduce more frication into the consonantal system. These are summarized (omitting the labiovelars /kw/, etc. for simplicity) in Table 2.1.

The diagonal numbered arrows mark two sets of exceptions to the normal effect of the shift on PIE voiceless stops: (1) After /s/, voiceless stops remain unshifted, as does /t/ when preceded by /p/ or /k/ (hence the mnemonic *L est piscis captus noctis* ≈ *Go ist fisks hafis naht*). (2) Verner's Law (VL) (after the Danish philologist who solved 'the irregularities' that had puzzled Grimm) depends on the position of the moveable PIE stress accent (see 2.3.3). It states that PIE voiceless stops become voiceless fricatives if the accent immediately precedes; if this was not the case, voicing occurred to create voiced fricatives (which in many Germanic dialects became stops). The one original PIE fricative /s/ also underwent voicing to /z/ under similar circumstances. In Germanic, VL impacted mainly on verbs, whose PIE parts were subject to various stress patterns, and the nouns that derived from these parts (e.g. E *birth* – *burden*). In German most of these alternations have been levelled by analogy (a process already underway in OHG and almost complete by the end of MHG), but some can still be felt:

PIE	PGmc	NHG	
p	f:β	f:b	<i>Hefe, Hafen, heben</i>
t	θ:ð	d:t (2SS, see 3.2)	<i>schneiden, schnitt; Knödel, Knoten</i>
k	x:r	h:g	<i>ziehen, gezogen; Höhe, Hügel</i>
s	s:z	s:r (NWGmc, see 2.4)	<i>Verlust, verlieren; E was, were</i>

We rely on loan words to date the shift. On the evidence of the word *hemp* (NHG *Hanf* [/p/ > /f/ due to 2SS, see 3.2]), which was not loaned into European culture until the Greeks adopted it from Scythian in the fifth century (Gk *kannabis*, PGmc **hanap-*), we can deduce that the shift was either not yet underway or not completed by the fifth century BC. Since no early Latin loan into Germanic shows signs of the shift, we can conclude that the 1SS was complete by the 2nd or 3rd century BC. There is no evidence for the order in which the consonants were shifted (for structuralist and generativist theories, however, which postulate the order of events on the basis of push and pull chains and rule addition, see Bynum 1977: 83–6; King 1969; Kiparsky 1971). Logic dictates that the voiceless stops shifted to fricatives before the voiced stops became voiceless, otherwise PIE /b/, /d/, /g/ – like PIE /p/, /t/, /k/ – would have emerged as PGmc /f/, /θ/, /x/. Since the output of VL requires a movable stress pattern, we can also deduce that the consonants affected by VL (i.e. the voiceless stops) must have shifted before the fixing of the PGmc accent.

2.3.3 *Fixing of the accent (Germanic Stress Rule (GSR) and reduction*

The PIE accent was probably pitch-related and mainly morphosyntactically conditioned, e.g. the stress could change according to the case of a noun or the aspect

of a verb. Put simply, PGmc replaced this system with one in which accent was expiratory (or dynamic) and 'left-handed', i.e. the first syllable of the lexical root, regardless of the number of syllables in the word, was stressed. Some sophistication was introduced (possibly by the time of NWGmc) to cope with prefixes: compound nouns and adjectives stressed the prefix, compound verbs the root, e.g. *'Urlaub, er'lauben*. Unlike English, which came under the influence of Latinate stress patterns in the Middle Ages, modern German stress is predictably on the first syllable with the exception of most prefixes (e.g. *be'freien*), some trisyllabic words (e.g. *le'bendig*) and many loans (e.g. *Pro'fessor, Profe'ssoren*).

Many handbooks maintain that there is a causal relation between the GSR and the weakening of unstressed syllables in Germanic, stating that the placing of the dynamic accent on the initial syllable allowed the others to crumble away, e.g. shortening of long vowels, loss of short vowels and final segments and simplification of consonant clusters (for an excellent summary of the complex *Auslautgesetze*, see Lass 1994: 96–102). Lass, however, quotes the Finno-Ugric and Bantu groups as examples of languages which have 'strong initial stress' and full unstressed syllables, to show that 'reduction under low prominence is a language-specific choice – one that Germanic happens to have made; there is no "causal" relation to stress' (1994: 96). The 'choice' made by PGmc to reduce unstressed syllables simplifies inflectional morphology, which has long-term knock-on effects for the development of the Germanic languages from synthetic to analytical systems (a development which continues to shape the German language into the early modern period). Whilst verb inflections are equally affected, we shall demonstrate reduction with regard to nouns:⁵

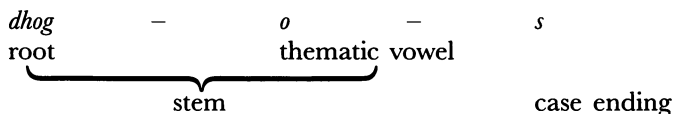
	PIE	PGmc	OHG
sg. nom.	<i>dhoghos</i>	<i>dagaz</i>	<i>tag</i>
acc.	<i>dhoghom</i>	<i>dagan>a</i>	<i>tag</i>
gen.	<i>dhogheso</i>	<i>dagesa</i>	<i>tages</i>
dat.	<i>dhogoi</i> ⁶	<i>dagai>ē</i>	<i>tage</i>
inst.	<i>dhoghō</i>	<i>dagō</i>	<i>tagu</i>
pl. nom.	<i>dhoghās</i>	<i>dagōz</i>	<i>tagā/a</i>
acc.	<i>dhoghons</i>	<i>daganz</i>	<i>tagā/a</i>
gen.	<i>dhoghōm</i>	<i>dagōn>ō</i>	<i>tago</i>
dat.	<i>dhoghomis</i> ⁷	<i>dagamiz</i>	<i>tagum</i>

In PIE, nouns (like verbs and adjectives) were made up of three elements: the root (i.e. the element carrying the lexical sense of the word), a thematic vowel or consonant (which taken together with the root forms the stem) and a variable ending marking case (nouns, adjectives) or person (verbs). PIE *dhoghos* would therefore be analysed as follows:

⁵ It should be noted that the eight cases of PIE became five in PGmc due to the loss of the vocative and the merger of the ablative and locative with the dative; the instrumental, which later also merges with the dative, is remnant only in a few masculine and neuter noun stems in early OHG. The semantic function of the lost cases is recouped via prepositions. Except for Gothic, the Germanic languages also lose the three-way number system sg : dual : pl (dual = two and only two) in verbs, pronouns, adjectives and nouns.

⁶ The PGmc dat. sg. takes the form of the PIE locative.

⁷ The PGmc dat. pl. takes the form of the PIE instrumental.



Traditional PIE grammars classify nouns according to the thematic vowel, e.g. *dhogos* is an *o*-stem. Since the noun classes remain virtually intact through to the earliest stages of the written Germanic languages, the nouns are often categorized in grammars of OHG and OE, etc. in similar fashion (due to sound changes the classifications are slightly different, e.g. due to the vowel mergers outlined in 2.3.1, PIE *o*-stems = PGmc *a*-stems). Although such relations are no longer obvious due to the reduction of vowels in unstressed syllables (e.g. viewed synchronically, it is hard to see why OHG *tag* is an *a*-stem), the groupings, if not the phonology, still directly attest to PIE ancestry (see Table 2.2). Three things should be noted. First, by and in the course of OHG the system is beginning to change by analogy (inter-paradigmatic merger, e.g. *ja*-stems > *a*-stems; intra-paradigmatic merger, e.g. \bar{o} -stem gen. and dat. merge in sg. and pl.). Second, as a result of reduction, there is a tendency in OHG for inflections to mark gender (e.g. pl. *-a*, *-wa*, *-eon/-iun* can only be masculine, see Sonderegger 1979: 104–5). Third, the PIE *n*-stems spread and develop in Germanic to form a unified declension (named ‘weak’ by Grimm) with V + *n* as the oblique case marker.

2.3.4 Adjective

In PIE the adjective had no distinct endings of its own. Adjectives followed the form of nouns, with most adjectives possessing base forms in the *o*-stem (masc. and neut.) and the \bar{a} -stem (fem.). Gradually this system was eroded in PGmc, although there are still remnants of it in OHG, which alongside the dominant adjectival form has a small number of *ja/jō* and *wa/wō*-stem adjectives, e.g. *grāw*, *grawēs*, NHG *grau*. The innovation in PGmc was to wrest the adjective away from the formal orbit of the noun and give each adjective one base form with two ways of declining it (‘strong’ and ‘weak’), dependent on definite, if not yet systematic, syntactic considerations. The strong endings were used predicatively and with the semantic notion of indefiniteness (thus after the indefinite article when it emerged), the weak for semantic notions of definiteness (thus with the demonstrative and the definite article when it emerged). The categories were not used consistently and during MHG a third set of mixed endings began to emerge which correspond to NHG endings after *ein*, *mein*, etc. e.g. *ein guter Mann* (st) – *mit einem guten Mann* (wk). Common usage was still in flux until regulation by grammarians in the eighteenth century.

The strong group of endings was a mixture of the noun inflections (which by OHG account for the zero-morph in the nom. sg. and pl. of all three genders and the neut. acc. sg.) and the pronominal/demonstrative endings. Table 2.3 shows the close connection between the demonstrative (NHG = definite article), the pronouns and the strong adjective which is evident from OHG to the present day. The ‘weak’ adjective took the endings of the ‘weak’ masc. and neut. *an*-stems and the fem. \bar{m} -stem. *Ein* was still predominantly a numeral in early OHG and could be declined either weak or strong. It is from its strong endings

Table 2.2 OHG noun classes⁸

stem	vocalic stems												
	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>n</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>iz/az</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>jō</i>	<i>jō</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
	<i>tag</i>	<i>wort</i>	<i>lamb</i>	<i>hirti</i>	<i>kunni</i>	<i>hlēo</i>	<i>horo</i>	<i>geba</i>	<i>sunte/a</i>	<i>kuningin</i>	<i>gast</i>	<i>anst</i>	<i>quiti</i>
N	∅	∅	∅	i	i	o	o	a	e/a	in	∅	∅	i
A	∅	∅	∅	i	i	o	o	a	e/a	inna	∅	∅	i
G	es	es	es	es	es	wes	wes	a	e/a	inna	es	i	es
D	e	e	e	(i)e	(i)e	we	we	u/o	iu	innu	e	i	e
I	u/o	u/o	u/o	(i)u/o	(i)u/o	wo	–	–	–	–	iu/u	iu	–
N	<i>ā/a</i>	∅	ir	e/a	i	wa	o	<i>ā</i>	e/ <i>ā</i>	innā	i	i	i
A	<i>ā/a</i>	∅	ir	e/a	i	wa	o	<i>ā</i>	e/ <i>ā</i>	innā	i	i	i
G	o	o	iro	eo/(i)o	eo/(i)o	wo	wo	ōno	ōno	innōno	(e/i)o	(e/i)o	(i)o
D	um	um	irum	im	um	wum	wum	ōm	ōm	innom	im	im	im

stem	<i>n-stems</i>					
	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
	<i>an</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>jan</i>	<i>ōn</i>	<i>in</i>	
	<i>hano</i>	<i>herza</i>	<i>willeo</i>	<i>zunga</i>	<i>hōhī</i>	
N	o	a	eo	a	ī(n)	
A	on	a	eon	ūn	ī(n)	
G	en	en	en	ūn	ī(n)	
D	en	en	en	ūn	ī(n)	
I	–	–	–	–	–	
N	on	un	eon	ūn	ī(n)	
A	on	un	eon	ūn	ī(n)	
G	ōno	ōno	eōno	ōno	īno	
D	ōm	ōm	eōm	ōm	i	

⁸ This table ignores: (i) the *u*-stems (masc.: *sihu*, fem.: *hant*, neut.: *fihu*), which in most cases have merged with the *ī*-stems; (ii) the few examples of consonantal stems (*r*-stems: *faler*, *muoter*; *nt*-stems: *friunt*; athematic: *man*, *nahī*). It also ignores regional or temporal differences such as *-um* / *-on* / *-im* etc.

(below) that its form as an indefinite article emerged, with zero-morphs in the cases just outlined. The inflected alternatives to the zero-morphs are still present in the NHG indefinite pronoun, e.g. *was soll einer dazu sagen?*

	masc.	fem.	neut.
nom.	<i>ein(ēr)</i>	<i>ein(iu)</i>	<i>ein(az)</i>
acc.	<i>einan</i>	<i>eina</i>	<i>ein(az)</i>

2.3.5 Verbs

2.3.5.1 Strong/apophonic verbs (= Ablaut)

On the evidence of the oldest IE languages such as Sanskrit, IE must have had a highly complex verbal system. This was vastly simplified but also systematized in PGmc (see Prokosch 1938:§§52–75, Bammesberger 1986). Plotting a traditional line through scholarly controversies (see Szemerényi 1989: ch. 9), we can postulate that the PIE verb could be divided into three components, each of which was further subdivided by person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and number (sg., dual [see 2.3.4], pl.). (1) Voice: active (retained by PGmc) and middle (a cross between passive and reflexive, lost in all but Gothic). (2) Mood: indicative, imperative, subjunctive (retained by PGmc) and optative (expressed wishes, etc., merged in PGmc with the subjunctive). (3) Aspect/tense: aspect was the dominant feature, with tense (present, aorist, perfect, but possibly more) secondary. This is the area where PGmc developed most radically by replacing the aspectual system, while retaining the main features of its morphology, with a two-way tense system: present and preterite. (In the description that follows, the past participle is included, but its origins lie outside the verbal system in the adjective/noun category and it does not emerge with tense/aspectual force until the Middle Ages.)

Morphologically PIE distinguished between aspect/tense by ablaut grades. Ablaut is defined as the alternation of vowels in etymologically related words and is probably a result of the PIE moveable pitch accent. It is common in other categories, such as the noun, where the root vowel changed according to case. This alternation accounts for the striking vowel difference which can be seen in the same word across the daughter languages:

<i>foot</i> (E)	<i>pes, pedis</i> (L)	<i>πούς, πόδος</i> (Gk)
<i>Wasser</i> (G)	<i>wēdenas</i> (Hitt)	<i>ῥῥωρ</i> (Gk) [zero grade]

The most common ablaut alternation in PIE is between various realizations of *e* and *o*. *e* and *o* are the normal grades, related by qualitative alternation (*Abtönung*), and the other grades are reached by quantitative alternation (*Abstufung*), either lengthened grade (*e* > *ē*; *o* > *ō*) or zero grade (*e* > *∅*; *o* > *∅*). PGmc strong verbs alternated vowels via ablaut to mark tense distinctions. Consider the verb ‘to sink’:

	pres.	pret. sg.	pret. pl.	pp.
Go	<i>siggan</i>	<i>sagq</i>	<i>sugqum</i>	<i>suggans</i>
ON	<i>sökkua</i>	<i>sokk</i>	<i>sukkom</i>	<i>sokenn</i>

	pres.	pret. sg.	pret pl.	pp.
OE	<i>sincan</i>	<i>sanc</i>	<i>suncon</i>	<i>suncen</i>
OS	<i>sinkan</i>	<i>sank</i>	<i>sunkun</i>	<i>gisunkan</i>
OHG	<i>sinkan</i>	<i>sank</i>	<i>sunkum</i>	<i>gisunkan</i>

The strong verb system broke down into seven classes with four principle parts (pres., pret. sg., pret. pl., pp.): I-V were based on variations of an *e-o* series (*e-o-ø-θ*), e.g. class I (<PIE *ei-oi-i-i*) adds *i* to create diphthongs and fill the zero-grade; class VI was based on the merger of two PIE quantative series (PIE *a-ā-ā-a* + *o-ō-ō-o* > PGmc *a-ō-ō-a*); class VII, in Germanic historically less transparent and visible in its original form only in Gothic, is based on a large group of reduplicating verbs, i.e. where (a portion of) the first syllable is copied (e.g. L *cano-cecini*, Go *lētan-lailot-lailōtum*). The classes, which are subject to regular phonological changes in the intermittant phases, but hold together until the major vocalic changes of late MHG/ENHG bring about a crumbling of the system's relative regularity, are laid out in their simplest form in Table 2.4.

2.3.5.2 Weak (dental suffix) verbs

The second major PGmc verbal innovation was the emergence of verbs which differentiated tenses via a dental suffix (PGmc *-ð-*, G *leben-lebte*, E *live-lived*) rather than vowel alternations as in the strong verbs. This was a uniquely Germanic innovation and since its evolution is only partly graspable in one of the Germanic languages, Gothic, its development is controversial (see Prokosch 1938: §§66–7; Tops 1978). It is generally assumed, however, that the new verb forms developed from the merging and subsequent grammaticalization of the PIE verb *dhē* ('put, place, do', G *tun*, E *do*) with the verbal root (probably verbal noun). The PGmc weak verb can be categorized morpho-semantically into four classes which survived as three classes in OHG (class IV [-*nan*] merging with class III). Semantically the verbs are considered to be secondary, or derivative (see also 7.7.1). Morphologically, the difference in thematic vowel gives each class of weak verb its own set of personal inflections, as opposed to the strong verbs which have a unified set, although the similar personal endings across all verbs can be traced back to PIE (see Prokosch 1938: 206–19):

	OHG	semantics	
Class I ¹⁴	-(<i>i</i>) <i>en</i>	causative	<i>setzen</i>
		factitive	<i>heilen</i>
Class II	- <i>ōn</i>	denominative	<i>salbōn</i>
		deverbative	<i>sprangōn</i>
Class III	- <i>ēn</i>	durative	<i>wonēn</i>
		inchoative	<i>fūlēn</i>

¹⁴ Otherwise known as *jan* verbs (<PGmc *-ja-n*, cf Go *-jan*), notable for a vowel alternation between present and preterite (e.g. OHG *setzen-satzte*) based on umlaut not ablaut.

Table 2.3 Strong adjectival/Definite article/Pronominal endings in OHG and NHG

<i>NHG</i>							
	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>n</i>				
				<i>pl</i>			
nom.	-er er der	-e sie die	-es es das				-e sie die
acc.	-en ihn den	-e sie die	-es es das				-e sie die
gen. ⁹	-en seiner des	-er ihrer der	-en seiner des				-er ihrer der
dat.	-em ihm dem	-er ihr der	-em ihm dem				-en ihnen den
<i>OHG sg</i>				<i>OHG pl</i>			
	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>n</i>	
nom.	-ēr, ø er der	-(i)u, ø siu (sī, si) diu	-az, ø iz daz	-e, ø sie (se, sea, sia) die (dē, dea, dia)	-o, ø sio (sie, sia) dio (deo)	-(i)u, ø siu (sie) diu (dei)	
acc.	-an inan (in) den	-a sia (sie) dia (dea)	-az, ø iz daz	-e sie die (dē, dea, dia)	-o sio dio (deo)	-(i)u sie diu (dei)	
gen. ^f	-es sīn des	-era ira (iru/o) dera (u/o)	-es es (is, sīn) des	_____	-ero iro dero	_____	
dat.	-emu/o imu/o demu/o	-eru/o iru/o deru/o	-emu/o imu/o demu/o	_____	-ēm/n im/n dem/n	_____	

⁹ The relation breaks down for complex reasons.

Table 2.4 Ablaut in PIE, PGmc and OHG verbs

	<i>pres.</i>	<i>pret. sg.</i>	<i>pret. pl.</i>	<i>pp.</i>
1 (e-o-ø-ø plus /i/)				
PIE	e+i	o+i	i	i
PGmc	ī	ai	i	i
OHG	ī	ei/ē ¹⁰	i	i
OHG example (a)	<i>rītan</i>	<i>reit</i>	<i>ritum</i>	<i>gīritan</i>
(b)	<i>dīhan</i>	<i>dēh</i>	<i>digum</i>	<i>gidigan</i>
2 (e-o-ø-ø plus /u/)				
PIE	e+u	o+u	u	u
PGmc	eu	au	u	u
OHG	io/iu ¹¹	ou/ō ¹²	u	o
OHG example (a)	<i>biogan</i>	<i>boug</i>	<i>bugum</i>	<i>gibogan</i>
(b)	<i>biotan</i>	<i>bōt</i>	<i>butum</i>	<i>gibotan</i>
3 (e-o-ø-ø plus C-cluster)				
PIE (nasal + C)	e+ndh	o+ndh	ndh	ndh
PGmc	ind	and	und	und
OHG	int	ant	unt	unt
OHG example (a)	<i>bintan</i>	<i>bant</i>	<i>buntum</i>	<i>gibuntan</i>
PIE (liquid + C)	e+rf	o+rf	rf	rf
PGmc	erf/irf ¹³	arf	urf	urf
OHG	erf/irf	arf	urf	orf
OHG example (b)	<i>werfan</i>	<i>warf</i>	<i>wurfum</i>	<i>giworfan</i>
4 (e-o-ø-ø plus nasal/liquid)				
PIE	e+m	o+m	m	m
PGmc	em/im ¹³	am	ēm	um
OHG	em/im	am	ām	om
OHG example	<i>neman</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nānum</i>	<i>ginoman</i>
5 (e-o-ø-ø plus C, except nasal/liquid)				
PIE	e+bh	o+bh	bh	bh
PGmc	eb/ib ¹³	ab	ēb	eb
OHG	eb/ib	ab	āb	eb
OHG example	<i>geban</i>	<i>gab</i>	<i>gābum</i>	<i>gigeban</i>
6 (collapse of PIE <i>a</i> - series and <i>o</i> - series)				
PIE	a	ā	ā	a
PIE	o	ō	ō	o
PGmc	a	ō	ō	a
OHG	a	uo	uo	a
OHG example	<i>faran</i>	<i>fuor</i>	<i>fuorum</i>	<i>gifarān</i>
7 (former reduplicating verbs)				
OHG	V(V)	ia/eo	ia/eo	V(V)
	<i>heizan</i>	<i>hiaz</i>	<i>hiazum</i>	<i>giheizan</i>
	<i>loufan</i>	<i>leof</i>	<i>leofum</i>	<i>giloufan</i>

¹⁰ Before /r/, /h/, /w/.¹¹ Before /i/, /j/, /u/; therefore pres. sg.: *biugu*, *biugis*, *biugit*.¹² Before /h/, dentals.¹³ As in fn. 11, before /i/, /j/, /u/ (two chronologically distinct umlaut phases); therefore pres. sg.: *u*ifu*, *wirfis*, *wirfit*.

From early times the weak verb is the only productive type. This phenomenon can be seen in the development of the preterite present verbs, the forerunners of the modal verbs whose original strong (ablaut) preterite has become present (possibly semantically driven e.g. *wais* (pret: 'I saw' > pres. 'I know') and replaced by dental suffix forms (e.g. *kann* [= ablaut series III pret.] – *konnte*).

2.4 North-West Germanic and West Germanic

For the one and a half millennia after *c.* 1000 BC the Germanic peoples were on the move again from their southern Scandinavian homelands, coming to rest finally after the great chain reaction known as the tribal migrations (*Völkerwanderungszeit*), which was caused by the arrival of the Huns during the last throes of the Roman Empire in the fourth to fifth century AD. Within this broad period datings are mostly vague and speculative, but the Germanic tribes had pushed down to the borders of the Roman Empire by the birth of Christ. Extrapolating backwards from the later written sources, linguists postulate a two-step model from PGmc to WGmc, the parent of English, German, Dutch and Flemish. Naturally the model's clean lines of split from one stage to another oversimplifies the (only vaguely recoverable) historical reality of complex interpenetration among tribes and trading communities.

Germanic split into three groups: North (the Scandinavian languages), East (†Gothic), and West (sometimes referred to as South). The older theory that this three-way division represented the original split has now been reconsidered in light of the fact that North and West Germanic have commonalities which set them apart from East Germanic (see Maurer 1954; Kufner 1972; Nielsen 1981; Robinson 1992: 247–64). This linguistic postulation of a NWGmc group fits well with the historically attested early south-eastward migration of the Goths. In addition to continuing erosion of unstressed syllables, the major features which distinguish NWGmc from PGmc are: (1) PGmc \bar{e} > NWGmc \bar{a} (compare Go *lētan* : OHG *lāzzan*), which fills the gap left by the PGmc merger of \bar{a} and \bar{o} (see 2.3.1). (2) Loss of reduplication in the preterite of some strong verbs, replaced by \bar{e} , around which distinguishing feature ablaut series VII is formed (see 2.3.5.1).¹⁵ (3) *a*-Umlaut: the harmonization of the root vowels /u/ and /i/ to the following vowel /a/ and /o/ (in this case lowering to /o/ and /e/) under the condition that there is no intervening nasal consonant cluster, e.g. L *viros*, NWGmc **weraz*, E *werewolf*. The condition accounts for the alternation in the past participle of verbs in ablaut series III, e.g. G *findet* – *fand* – *gefunden*, but *wirft* – *warf* – *geworfen*. (4) Vowel harmony in the PGmc diphthong /eu/ whose first element is raised in NWGmc /iu/ before /i/, /j/, /u/, and whose second element is lowered in NWGmc /eo/ before /a/, /e/, /o/. (5) Rhotacism: PGmc /z/ (< PIE /s/ under VL) > /r/ (see 2.3.2). (6) Loss of the middle voice (see 2.3.5). (7) The formation of a compound demonstrative by the addition of *-se* to the already existing demonstrative **pes(a)*, e.g. OE *þeos*, OHG *desse*, E *this*, G *dieser*.

15 The discussion of points (1) and (2) deliberately skirts round the controversial issue of PGmc \bar{e}^1 and \bar{e}^2 (see van Coetsem 1990).

The features which distinguish WGmc from NWGmc are comparatively slight, WGmc changing only conservatively in comparison with the more radical NGmc group. The key innovations are: (1) Doubling of consonants (except /r/) preceded by shorted stressed vowels and followed by a liquid (here including /j/) or a nasal, e.g. NWGmc **satjan* > OE *settan*, OS *settian* (OHG reflexes of this are affected by the 2SS, see 3.2). (2) The loss of final -z, which leads to the loss of distinction between nominative and accusative singular in some important noun classes (e.g. *o*-stems). (3) The merger of weak verbs class IV with other groups (see 2.3.5.2). (4) Introduction of a special form of the 2nd person preterite singular of strong verbs with the root vowel of the plural/subjunctive and the thematic vowel /i/, e.g. OHG *bant-bunti-bant*, MHG *bant-bünde-bant*, compare OS *bundi*, OE *bunde*.

The WGmc group is traditionally subject to a three-way division on historical, archaeological and linguistic grounds which, despite lack of evidence, are presented in a neatly contiguous taxonomy. In his *Germania* (AD 93) the Roman historian Tacitus divides the continental Germanic peoples – on a mixture of ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic grounds(?) – into three major tribal groups: Ingvaeones, Istvaeones, and Erminones. Archaeological findings define three geo-cultural groups as North Sea Germanic (along the North Sea coast), Weser-Rhine Germanic (Rhine basin), and Elbe Germanic. The primary linguistic feature which distinguishes three dialect groups (Upper, Middle and Low German) is the highly diffuse distribution of the 2SS. Since the 2SS is a pre-textual phenomenon, all we know about it (despite its often fact-like presentation in handbooks) has to be deduced from texts. Although this is the case with everything that has been put forward in this chapter, we shall present the 2SS in the first set of texts rather than here, not least because – unlike most of the material in this chapter – it is a mere hop back in time from the first texts written in German to the shift itself. In fact, further consonantal changes in the ambit of the shift take place across observable ‘textual real time’. Most importantly, however, the earliest texts give us a grandstand seat from which to view the most significant lasting feature of the shift – its dialectal distribution. It is time, therefore, to let this book fulfil its purpose and let the texts have their say.

Further reading

Beekes (1995); König/Auwers (1994); Lass (1994); Prokosch (1938); Robinson (1992); Szemerényi (1999).

I Old High German (c.750–c.1050)

In late antiquity writing was Latin, Christian and situated in the Roman Empire. The Germanic peoples only came into contact with it when they encountered the Romans, and it seems they had little taste or use for it. Christianity was a religion of the word and after the collapse of the literate Roman Empire (between the third and fifth centuries AD), its essential book culture had to be sustained in small pockets of education on the margins of society – monasteries. Otherwise, with the exception of Germanic runes and exchanges of (Latin) letters between Germans and Romans in military or political power-brokering contexts, Northern Europe remained a predominantly oral culture (see Green 1994: 20–54). Writing in *German* does not emerge until the eighth century and when it does, it is as a by-product of Latin, Empire and Christianity. This time, however, the Empire is Frankish rather than Roman.

The Franks, like many of the West Germanic tribal groupings which gave their name to the major dialectal divisions of modern German (such as the *Alemanni*, literally ‘all men’, and Bavarians), did not represent an original ethnically closed unit but a loose confederation of smaller tribes. These had formed over the early part of the first millennium as the barbarians moved south and fought out a series of smash and grab raids against the Romans along their fortified natural borders (*limes*) at the Rhine and Danube. As the Romans’ power in Europe crumbled, the Germanic tribes’ penetration grew deeper and they settled on Roman soil, where they turned upon each other. The Franks – first under the Merovingians from the fifth century to seventh century, and then with renewed vigour under the Carolingians from the eighth century – were the most successful. By the early ninth century they ruled over all surviving continental Germanic tribes, Gaul and Northern Italy (see Fig. I.1). To modern eyes it could look like the first EU but, more precisely, Charlemagne – who was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the Pope on Christmas Day 800 – and his contemporaries would have seen it as the continuation of the Roman Empire.

The vastness and multilingual nature of this Empire required a system of written administration with a single language. Latin, to that point the *only* language of writing, was the pragmatic choice, but its symbolic power would not have been lost on a tribe stepping into Roman shoes. The Carolingian period is often associated with the terms ‘reform’ or ‘renaissance’. The root of these is linguistic politics. The Carolingians found the literate human capital necessary for the centralized running of their Empire in monasteries and episcopal centres, where

they encouraged an educational programme by means of imperial legislation. Schools were created for teaching literacy, the Caroline minuscule was invented to ensure linguistic accuracy, musical notation evolved and there was great interest in grammar. Like esoteric research at modern universities, MS culture blossomed as a by-product of the vocational programmes. Perhaps the most telling soundbite of the time is that of a monk whose career angst is preserved for us in the following marginalia: 'O how difficult the art of writing is: it tires the eyes, breaks the soul and weakens the limbs. Three fingers write, but the whole body suffers. Pray for this unworthy scribe!'

In this period, Latin output far outweighs German. Compared with 7000 Latin MSS in the ninth century alone, there are as few as c.80 extant MSS (excluding glosses) of works produced in the whole of the OHG period. As a function of clerical writing, German appears primarily in two contexts (Haubrichs 1988: 228–436). (i) School: glosses, i.e. word-for-word translations from Latin into German, either in individual MSS or arranged alphabetically or thematically in separate glossaries (e.g. *Abrogans*, the first word and hence title of the first remaining German work); interlinear translations of rules and hymns; translations of the Bible and works of philosophy. In this internal use, German is simply an aid for the better understanding and learning of Latin. (ii) Pastoral work in the community: German versions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, Baptismal oaths, prayers and confessions. Some major works of biblical/escatological narrative, and magic charms also evolved in the higher echelons of society which were built on considerable contact and fluidity between clergy and nobility. In addition to these Christian-centred works (in a physical as well as ethical sense), we have legal texts (a prime Carolingian concern), a heroic lay, a political praise song, and phrase books. Thus, although low in output, the earliest German is rich in register.

The German texts, which start before 800, dry up c.900 and (with the exception of Notker) do not reappear until c.1060. Pointing to the lack of a continuous vernacular tradition in France until the eleventh century (taken up even later in Italy and Spain), Green (1994: 270–2) reminds us that we should not ask why writing stopped in the gap period ('die große Lücke'), but instead why it had begun before it. The answer to that question lies in the fact that writing in the vernacular was so unusual that it could only exist under strongly centralizing political support. Such support was delivered by Charlemagne (for whom German was just marginally more than a support system for Latin) and his grandson Louis the German, who used the German vernacular as a political tool for his kingdom when the Empire fell apart into the direct antecedents of modern France and Germany in the ninth century. Conversely, the intervening Louis the Pious and the Ottonians, who eventually succeeded the Carolingians, had little interest in German, and the monasteries retreated back from their interaction with the populace. It is only when they re-emerge in the mid eleventh century that continuous vernacular traditions begin, and with them a new phase of the history of the language. Before 1050, as the 150 year gap exemplifies, the history of the written language is 'one of discontinuity, of new starts, of authors working in isolation and using the vernacular as an exception' (Green 1994: 272).

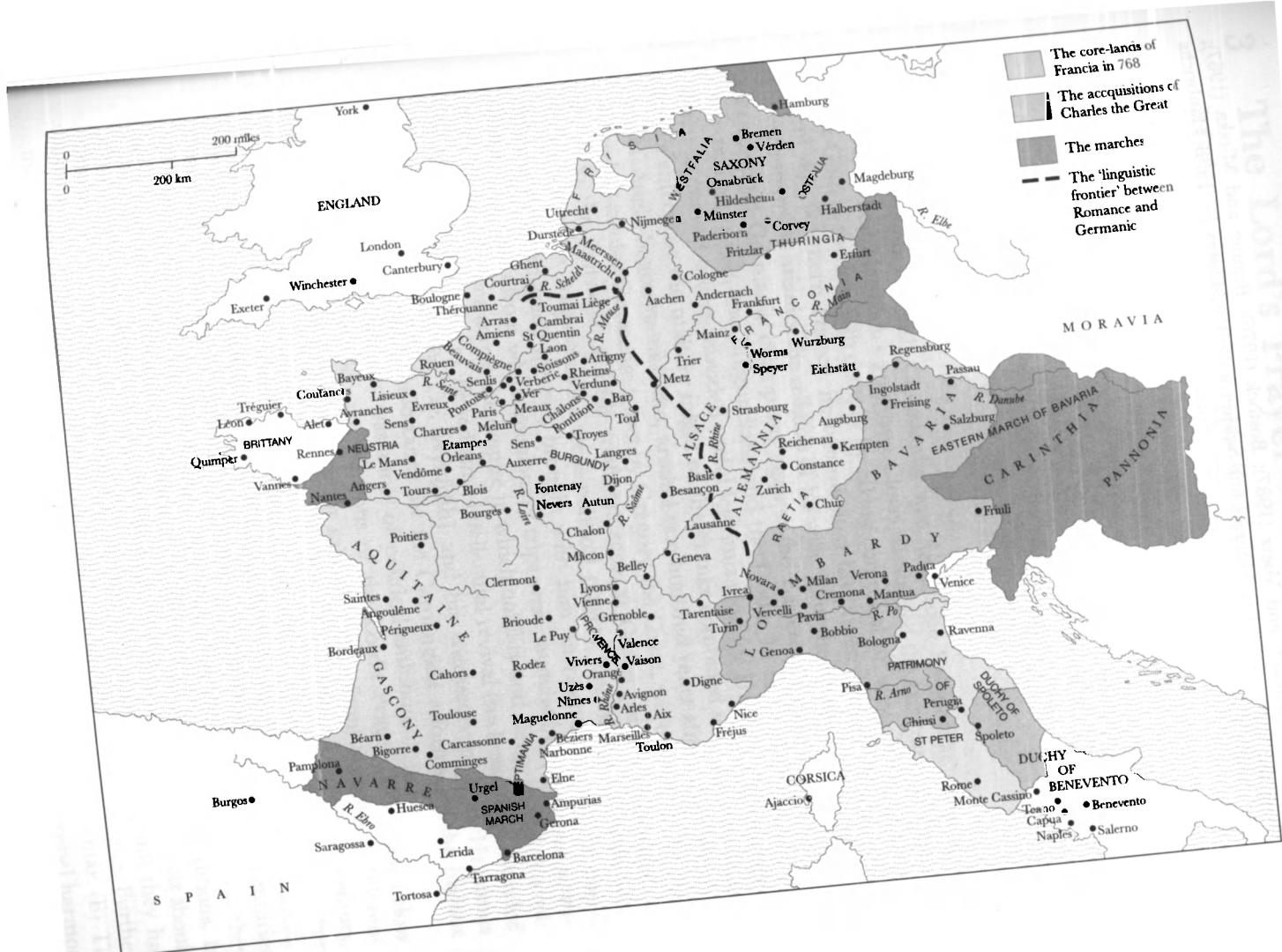


Figure 1.1 Map of the Frankish expansion

Further reading

Bergmann, Tiefenbach and Voetz (1987); Bostock (1976); Braune and Mitzka (1967); Haug and Vollmann (1991); Meineke and Schwerdt (2001); Haubrichs (1988) Haubrichs *et al.* (2000); Penzl (1986); Schlosser (1977); Sonderegger (1974).

3 The Lord's Prayer

Major dialects of the OHG period and Old English

3.1 Context

From its inception Frankish Christianity was 'politische Religiosität' (Haubrichs 1988: 44). When Merovich's grandson Clovis eliminated the last traces of Roman rule in Gaul in the late fifth century by taking control of an area which equates to present day Northern France, he consolidated his power through marriage and conversion to Christianity, the religion of his wife. Thus the Franks became Western Christianity's Germanic champions against the Eastern (Aryan) Christianity of their military rivals, the Burgundians and the Goths. In the eighth century, the desire to convert others provided useful legitimization for Frankish expansionism. In this enterprise the military might of the Franks combined with the missionary zeal of Anglo-Saxon monks who, around one hundred years after the conversion of the last insular Germanic tribes by Gregory the Great, were going to the continent in the footsteps of Irish confrères such as Gallus (who had founded St Gallen). But the Anglo-Saxons were political players too. Alcuin of York, who became Charlemagne's mentor, brought with him an essential hotline to papal Rome. The bases from which missionary trips were launched merged into a network of foundations across the empire in which nobility and clergy mixed as a ruling elite. These centres of Benedictine intellectual revival (such as Fulda, founded and run by Boniface [= OE Wynfrith] and his successors such as Hrabanus Maurus) were of prime importance for the Carolingian reforms. At the highest level, therefore, Christianity was a tool of political ambition.

Each of the three 'German' versions of the Lord's Prayer (LP) given below (along with OE and Latin versions for sake of comparison) occupies a different position within these developments. (A) The UG version (late eighth century, accompanied by the Creed) is the most direct reflex of Carolingian politics. For Christianity to be an effective tool, it had to become the lowest cultural denominator across all parts of the empire. Despite a tradition of nearly three centuries of Christianity, even the Franks lived in a state of religious syncretism, i.e. they were nominally Christian but continued to follow their own pagan traditions. In the *Admonitio generalis* of 789 Charlemagne decreed that each of his subjects should be able to say the Lord's Prayer and the Creed – which to that point they had mumbled verbatim and ignorantly in Latin! – at least in his own tongue. Furthermore, priests were to preach and instruct their flock in the vernacular. (B) The CG version is taken from a mid ninth-century MS of the *Tatian*, a gospel harmony

(named after its original second-century Syrian author) translated around 830 in Fulda. Its purpose was for the teaching of Latin (hence the Latin text is numbered but not the German) and to introduce novices to a gospel account free of contradiction. (C) The LG version is taken from the biblical epic *Heliand*, partly based on the Latin version of Fulda's *Tatian* but written for noble reception. The work has strong echoes of the Germanic epic, not just in its alliterative verse form (see 4.4.2) which accounts for its 'looser' translation of the LP, but also in its setting of the gospel story within the location and social mores of Northern Germany (e.g. the term *helpe* C9 is a legal term for 'protection'). A Latin prologue names a Louis as the force behind its composition – but its vagueness (Louis the Pious or the German?) leaves motivation (proselytization or entertainment?) and dating (c.830 or c.850?) open. It survives in two linguistically distinct MSS given below: MS M, written c.850 probably in Corvey (the oldest monastery in Saxony); and MS C, which was produced in the second half of the tenth century in England (a claim that cannot be made for any HG work) and indicates that OE and OS speakers could probably understand each other in ways similar, say, to speakers of some modern Scandinavian languages.

3.2 Texts and translation

A. from *St Galler Paternoster und Credo*

**Fater unseer, thu pist in himile, uuihi namun dinan, qhume rihi din,
uuerde uuillo diin, so in himile sosa in erdu. prooth unseer emezzihic kip
uns hiutu, oblaz uns sculdi unseero, so uuir oblazem uns sculdikem, enti
ni unsih firleiti in khorunka, uzzer losi unsih fona ubile.**

B. from *Tatian*

... fater unser
 thu thar bist in himile
 si giheilagot thin namo
 queme thin namo
 5 queme thin rihi
 si thin uuillo
 só hér in himile ist só si hér in erdu
 unsar brót tagalihhaz
 gíf uns hiutu
 10 Inti furlaz uns unsara sculdi
 só uúir fúrlazemes unsaren sculdigon
 Inti nigileitest unsih in costunga
 úzouh árlosi unsih fón ubile

C. (i) from Heliand, MS M

- Fadar is usa firihō barno
 the is an them hohon himila rikea
 Geuuihid si thin namo uuordo gehuuilico.
 Cuma thin craftag riki.
- 5 Uuerda thin uuilleo obar thesa uuerold *alla*,
 so sama an erdo so thar uppa ist
 an them hohon himilrikea.
 Gef us dago gehuuilikes rad, drohtin the godo,
 thina helaga helpa, endi alat us, hebenes uuard,
 10 managoro mensculdio, al so uue odrum mannum doan.
 Ne lat us farledean letha uuihti
 so ford an iro uuilleon so uui uuiridige sind,
 ac help us uuidar allun ubilon dadiun.

C. (ii) from Heliand, MS C

- Fadar ist usa firio barna
 thu bist an them hohen himilo rikie
 Giuuihid si thin namo uuordu gihuuilicu.
 Cume thin craftiga riki.
- 5 Uuerthe thin uuilleo obar thesa uuerold *alla*,
 so samo an erðu so thar uppe ist
 an them hohon himilo rikie.
 Gib us dago gihuuilices rad, drohtin thie guodo,
 thina helaga helpu, endi alat us, hebanes uuard,
 10 managoro mennsculdio, all so uui odron mannon duan.
 Ni lat us farledean letha uuihti
 so forth an iro uuilleon so uui uuiridiga sind,
 ac hilp us uuidar allon ubilon dadeon.

D. Old English Gospels (MS CCCC 140 = Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)

Fæder ure þu þe eart on heofonum; Si þin nama gehalgod to become
 þin rice gewurþe ðin willa on eorðan swa swa on heofonum. urne
 gedæghwamlican hlaf syle us todaæg and forgyf us ure gyltas swa swa we
 forgyfað urum gyltendum and ne gelæd þu su on costunge, ac alys us of
 yfele soþlice.

E. Latin text from the Vulgate (Matthew 6: 9–13)

Pater noster qui in caelis es, sanctificetur nomen tuum, adueniat regnum
 tuum, fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo et in terra, panem nostrum cotidi-
 anum da nobis hodie, et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos

dimittimus debitoribus nostris, et ne inducas nos in temptationem, sed libera nos a malo.

(Text sources: A – Braune/Ebbinghaus 1979: 11; B – Masser 1994: 151;
C – Sievers 1878: 114f.; D – Liuzza 1994: I,12;
E – Braune/Ebbinghaus 1979: 56)¹

Our father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us.

(Not accounting for local variation, esp. in the *Heliand*.)

3.3 Consonants

3.3.1 *The Second Sound Shift (Zweite Lautverschiebung)*

The Second Sound Shift (2SS) increased the phonemic inventory of some WGmc dialects by submitting the stops to similar processes to those undergone by the PIE stops in the 1SS. Except in certain mainly spirantal environments (/sp/, /st/, /sk/, /ht/, /ft/, /tr/), WGmc voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/ (< PIE /b/, /d/, /g/) retain their point of articulation and voicelessness but undergo frication to differing degrees according to phonetic environment, position and length: initially, medially and finally after a consonant, and when long (i.e. in gemination = doubled) they become affricates /pf/, /ts/ (= <z(z)>), and /kx/ (= <kh> or <(c)ch>) [table 3.1: 1–3a]; medially and finally after vowels, they become long (i.e. double) fricatives, which are shortened to single fricatives in word final position or after long vowels and diphthongs, and indeed at some point in all cases, since there are no double consonants in NHG [table 3.1: 1–3b]. WGmc voiced stops /b/, /d/, /g/ (< PIE /bh/, /dh/, /gh/) became devoiced to /p/, /t/, /k/ [table 3.1: 4–6].

From tables 3.1 and 3.2 it will be evident that the 2SS had a highly diffuse distribution. The devoicing of the voiced stops (/b/ > /p , /g/ > /k/) occurs only in early Alemannic and Bavarian texts, but possibly under Frankish influence is reversed, at least orthographically, in later texts. At an early stage, however, the dialectal spread of the 2SS and that of the stop/fricative allophones in WGmc after the 1SS create a three-way pattern, e.g. /p/-/b/-/v~f/ [Table 3.1: 4].² Of the WGmc voiced stops, only the devoicing of d>t enjoys a measure of spread (into Alemannic, Bavarian, and East Franconian) and permanence (in almost all instances it has entered the NHG standard). The non-reversal of /d/ > /t/ is in all likelihood due to the subsequent change of WGmc /θ/ > /d/ [Table 3.1:

1 Two of the texts make some attempt to mark vowel length orthographically, UG by doubling the vowel, CG with dashes above vowels (although this often marks stress as well). Neither is consistent (compare the Braune and Ebbinghaus version of *Tatan* (1979:§XX.10) in which the editor has marked length).

2 The assumed three-way division between k-g-γ (Table 3.1: 6) is difficult to discern orthographically.

Table 3.1 Evidence of 2SS from Lord's Prayer Texts

	WGmc	UG	CG	LG	OE
(1a)			(<i>apfel</i>)	(<i>appul</i>)	
	P				
(1b)			(<i>uf</i>)	<i>uppe</i>	
(2a)			(<i>zuo</i>)		<i>toðæg</i>
	t				
(2b)		<i>oblaz</i>	<i>furlaz</i>	(<i>lātan</i>)	
(3a)		<i>rihhi</i>	<i>rihhi</i>	<i>rikea/ie</i>	<i>rice</i> ³
	k				
(3b)		<i>chorunka</i> ⁴	<i>costunga</i>		<i>costnunge</i>
(4)	b/β	<i>kip</i>	<i>gib</i>	<i>gið gef</i>	<i>forgyf</i>
(5)	d	<i>fater</i> ⁵	<i>fater</i>	<i>fadar</i>	<i>fæder</i>
(6)	g/ɣ	<i>kip</i>	<i>gib</i>	<i>gið</i>	<i>forgyf</i>
(7)	θ	<i>thu/dinan</i> <i>erdu</i>	<i>thu</i> <i>erdu</i>	<i>thu</i> <i>erðu</i>	<i>þu</i> <i>eorðan</i>

7] which began in the ninth century in Bavaria and spread northwards over the course of the OHG period (see table in Sonderegger 1974: 172), sometimes at a differential rate according to position (see UG and CG in Table 3.1: 7). The new dental phonemes /d/ (<θ) and /t/ (<d) never merge in any dialect and are thus interdependent. (For overviews of push and pull chain analyses, see Wells 1987: 78–81).

The distribution of the affricates and fricatives is more complex: the fricatives spreading further than affricates, with the reflexes of WGmc stops covering ground in descending order /t/, /p/, /k/ (Table 3.2). This distribution was chosen as the criterion par excellence for distinguishing the German dialects both historically and today. Historically it divides the WGmc dialects into High German (those which show some sign of the shift) and North Sea Germanic (those which are totally unaffected by the shift, e.g. OS and OE) and further into the main monastery dialects of OHG. Today (as also in OHG times) it divides the German-speaking area into three major dialectal groups: UG and CG (which together form HG) and LG. The main isogloss which divides HG from LG is the *machen–maken* line (or the Benrath line, after a town through which it runs), above which medial WGmc /k/ remained unshifted. HG is divided into CG and UG by the *appel–apfel* line. (Further sub-divisions, which mainly concentrate on the Rhine, hence the term ‘Rhenish fan’, can be gleaned from Table 3.2 and

³ Under certain circumstances and in certain dialects, the OE stops /k/ and /g/ undergo assimilation to [c] and [j], e.g. Mod E *church, judge*. Since there is no separate symbol for [c] in OE, orthography often obscures this change, as here with OE *rice*.

⁴ Shifted <qu> (= [kw]) is <qhu>, hence UG *qhueme*, CG *queme*.

⁵ For an explanation of UG *proth*, which would normally end in <t>, see Braune and Mitzka (1967:§163.6).

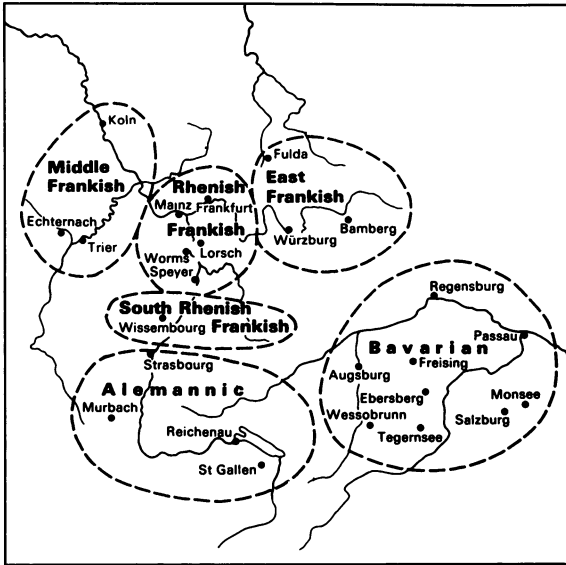


Figure 3.1 OHG monastery map
Wells 1987: 43

Table 3.2 Shift of voiceless stops

	t					p					k				
Position	t-	-tt(-)	-Cons. -t	-t-	-t-	p-	-pp(-)	mp	lp	rp	-p(-)	k-	kk	-Cons -k(-)	+k
Pre-OHG	t	tt	t	t	t	p	pp	mp	lp	rp	p	k	kk	k	k
OS	t	tt	t	t	t	p	pp	mp	lp	rp	p	k	kk	k	k
MFrk.	z	z	z	zz	z/t	p	pp	mp	lp	rp	f(f)	k	kk	k	ch
Rh Frk.	z	z	z	zz	z	p	pp	mp	lp/	rp/	f(f)	k	kk	k	ch
Srh.Frk	z	z	z	zz	z	p	pf	mpf	lpf	rpf	f(f)	k	kk	k	ch
EFrk	z	z	z	zz	z	pf	pf	mpf	lpf	rpf	f(f)	k	kk	k	ch
Bav	z	z	z	zz	z	pf	pf	mf	lf	rf	f(f)	kχ	kχ	kχ	ch
Alem.	z	z	z	zz	z	pf/f	pf/ff	mf	lf	rf	f(f)	ch	kχ	ch	ch
Lgb	z	z	z	s(s)	s	p	p(p)	mpf	lpf	rpf	p/f(f)	k	kk	k/kχ	ch

(Wells 1987: 428)

Fig. 3.2.) Since standard NHG derives mainly from the HG dialect areas, it too is referred to as High German. Thus, apart from the exceptions mentioned above, /p/, /t/, /k/ appear in the modern standard only in words of LG origin (e.g. *Bettlaken*) or foreign borrowings (e.g. NHG *Park* < F *parc*; although its etymological cognate L *parricus* was independently borrowed before the 2SS and underwent its effects, NHG *Pferch*).

Since the shift is complete before the onset of continuous German texts in the eighth century, phonetic processes and relative chronology are difficult to unpick



Figure 3.2 German dialect map in the twentieth century (Weddige 1996: 20)

with any certainty. As the shift affects double consonants, we can determine that the affricate phase at least was not complete by the time of the doubling of consonants in WGmc, which is considered to have taken place by the fifth century AD. Otherwise, apart from a few random individual words, e.g. place and proper names and inscriptions which are themselves difficult to date, we are thrown back on reconstructed 'evidence' such as that presented in Table 3.2. The most popular theory is based on distribution patterns and states that the spread (a) began in the South and faded as it moved northwards; and (b) took place in the order /t/, /p/, /k/. However, this most obvious deduction is socio-linguistically counterintuitive, since the politico-cultural power in this period was located in Frankish Central Germany, and has been countered by the polygenesis theory, i.e. that the shift had several different starting points. This in turn is complicated by our

understanding of the phonetic processes, since CG has very few of the affricates which are normally held to have formed the intermediary phase for the fricatives in the shift (see, for instance, the 'overshoot' of Alemannic [pf] to [f(f)]). Recently Vennemann (1984, 1987, 1988, 1991) posited the theory that the phonemic inventories of some WGmc dialects and the remaining Germanic dialects are not, as traditionally believed, the products of two distinct consecutive events (1SS and 2SS), but co-equal descendants of a PGmc system which is different to both. Whilst this theory has been generally refuted, some of the articles that deal with it (e.g. Hansen 1987; Meid 1987; Kortlandt 1996) provide excellent overviews of all the main 2SS theories.

Despite similarities between OHG monastery dialects and the modern dialect boundaries, it is impossible to trace the latter back to the former, not least because of the paucity of evidence and 'quality control' from the early period (did people in a particular area speak the way a monk perhaps of different origin chose to spell?) and complex socio-geographical developments over the twelve intervening centuries. To stress this point Figs 3.1 and 3.2 have been left visually distinct. A good introduction to the importance of the 2SS to NHG dialects is provided *inter alia* by Barbour and Stevenson (1990: 55–99). Detailed accounts of NHG dialectology can be found in Russ (1990), Besch (1982–83) and König (1978: 139–231) and on the website of the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (www.uni-marburg.de/dsa). Henzen (1954) provides discussion of some of the historical dimensions involved.

3.3.2 Loss of nasal

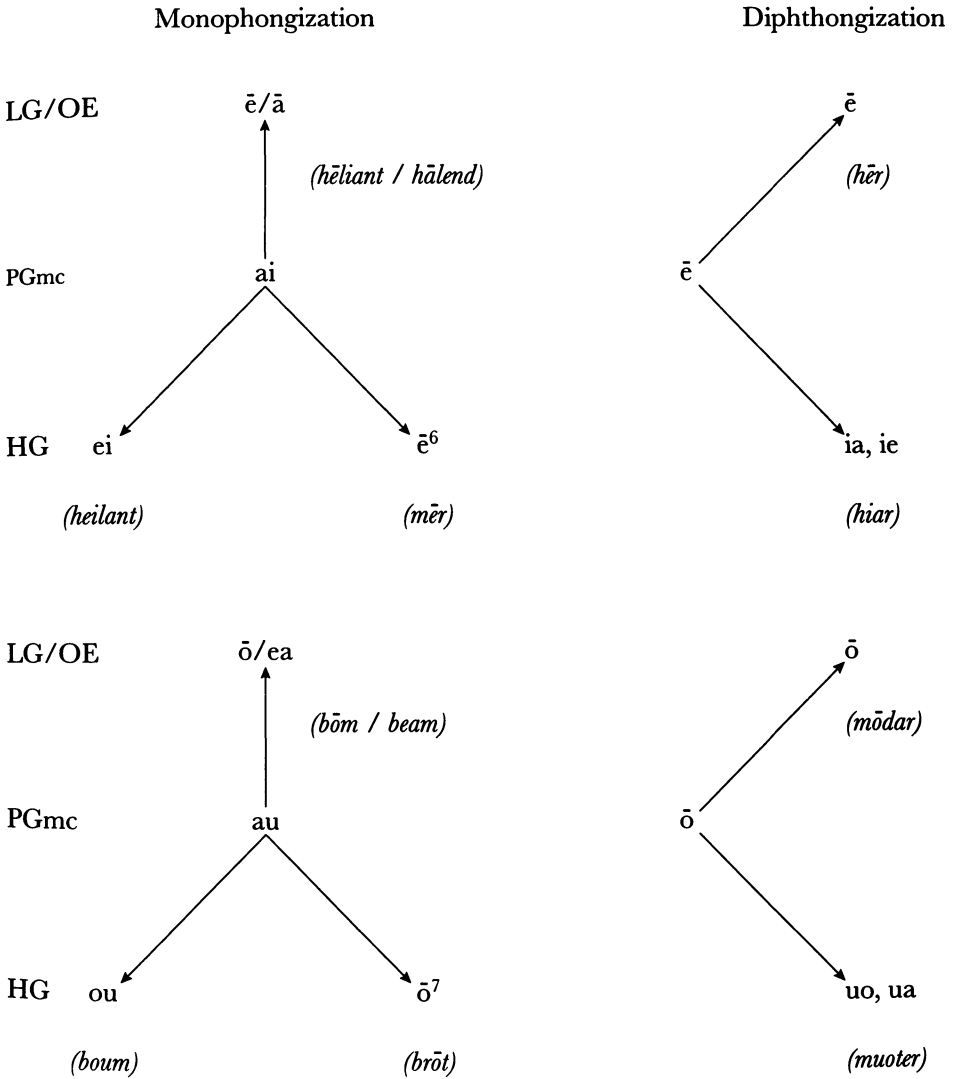
In OE and LG nasals are lost before voiceless fricatives, and the preceding vowel is often lengthened, e.g. UG *unseer*, *uns*/CG *unser*, *uns* : LG *ūsa*, *ūs*/OE *īre* (contraction of *īsure*), *ūs*; also LG *ōðron*/E *other* : OHG *ander*.

3.4 Vowels

Gihēilagot (B3), *hēlaga* (C9), *gehalgod* (D1) are clear examples of a major dialectal marker between HG /ei/ : LG /ē – ā/. This can also be glimpsed in *lētha* (C11, cf HG *leid*) and *farledean* (HG *firleiten*). The alternation between *guodo* (Cii) and *godo* (Ci) in the LG MSS – if it is not simple scribal variation – shows internal dialect variation for what is normally held to be a similar major dialectal marker between HG /uo/ : LG /ō/. These differences form part of the major vocalic changes in the WGmc dialects, some complete, some still underway by the time of OHG, known as OHG monophthongization (which affects LG evenly, HG unevenly) and diphthongization (which does not affect LG). As can be seen from Table 3.3, both changes interlock (for a summary of push and pull chain analyses, see Wells 1987: 83–5), although the apparent mergers in LG are orthographical only, the <e> and <o> (< PGmc /ai/ and /ou/) probably having a more open pronunciation than the <ē> and <ō> (< PGmc /ē/ and /ō/), as we can deduce from the varied developments of these sounds in modern LG dialects.

OE undergoes more vocalic changes than either LG or HG: /a/ > /æ/, e.g. Fadar (C1): Fæder (D3); late OE /i/ > /y/, e.g. *förgyf*; many diphthongs are

Table 3.3 OHG Monophthongization and Diphthongization



caused by the following consonant, e.g. *eorðan* (D2), *heofonum* (D2). Orthographically OE also shows the effects of *i*-umlaut (harmonization of root vowel due to an original but often already weakened following *-i*) much more extensively than OHG or OS, which for most of the period only show short <a> > <e> (see 11.4.2), e.g. OE *yfēle* (D4) : LG *ubilon* (C13)/CG *ubile* (B13).

6 /ē/ before /r/, /w/, and PGmc /x/ and in final position
 7 /ō/ before dentals, PGmc /x/ and in final position

3.5 Morphology

Most inflected languages gradually lose their inflections to a greater or lesser degree, which eventually leads to morphological restructuring. There are differing signs of weakening across the passages which depend on geographic as well as temporal considerations. Comparing the CG with the UG passage, for instance, we see that the latter, although older, has already weakened the prefix *fur-* > *fir-* and the 1st p. pl. ending *-emes* to *-em* (an intermediary stage on the way to *-en*). Both of these changes effect CG later in the ninth century. The two LG MSS show dialectal differences particularly in their noun and adjectival endings and above all in the contrast *-u* : *-o*; as in HG the distinctive instrumental *-u* is eventually lost (Cii *dagu* : Ci *dago*). Unlike all but the very earliest HG, LG maintains traces of thematic *-j-* in noun classes which shows up as <e> or <i>, e.g. LG *rikea/rikie* (C2) (= HG dat. sg. *rihhe*), LG *uulleo* : HG *uullo* (C5, A6/B6). In the same way LG retains evidence of the *-j-* in weak verbs class I (*jan* verbs), e.g. LG *farledean* (= HG *firleiten*) (C11, A4, B12). There is a similar tendency to maintain a glide/diphthongal element in the fem. *i-* stems, e.g. LG *mensculdio* (= HG gen. pl. *sculdo* [the CG *sculdi* is sg.]), *dadiun* (= HG dat. pl. *tatin*).

LG and OE distinguish themselves from the two HG passages by their reduction of number in verbs and case in pronouns. OE and LG verbs have a single plural inflection, e.g. OE *wi forgyfad*.⁸ In the pronouns our texts show the following 1st p. pl. patterns:

	OE/LG	HG
nom.	<i>wi</i>	<i>wir</i>
acc.	<i>us</i>	<i>unsih</i>
dat.	<i>us</i>	<i>uns</i>

Ignoring the genitive, OE and LG have therefore reduced to a two-case system in the 1st (and also 2nd) p. pl.⁹ The same is true for the 1st/2nd sg., with OE ahead in eradicating the distinctive acc. form more consistently, LG matching it by MLG times. HG only moves to a two-case system in the 1st and 2nd pl. in late MHG, and still maintains a three-case system for the singular. E, LG and NHG all have a two-case unified 3rd p. pl. pronoun, and this is achieved at the same type of rate as for the other persons: at this stage, OE is unified for all genders and two-case, LG maintains gender distinctions but is two-case, HG is also gender distinct but two-case only in some dialects.

In Germanic the verb 'to be' is a prime example of suppletion, i.e. it is made up of a collection of three semantically related fragments deriving from IE roots.

- (1) *(e)s-* root, e.g. G *ist*, *sind* (L *est*, *sunt*);
- (2) *b(hū)-*root, e.g. G *bin*, E *be* (L *fui*, perfect [PIE /bh/ > L /f/], OCS *byti* 'be');
- (3) *w-*root, e.g. G *war*, *gewesen* (< class V verb *wesan*, cf. Skr *vāsati* 'remain').

8 Other single forms: OE *-en* (pres./pret. subj.), pret. *-on* (pret. ind.); LG *-ad/-od* (pres. ind.), *-en/-an* (pres. subj.), *-un/-on* (pret. ind.), *-in/-en* (pret. subj.).

9 LG *unsih* and OE *usc*, *eowic* are remnants of a distinct accusative, but these are rare.

The OE passage contrasts with the German passages in that it displays the (e)s-root rather than the b(hū)-root in the 2nd p. sg., *ear̄t* : *bist*. Although this is still the case in standard English, some English dialects still retain the variation which was possible in OE with the b(hū)-root, e.g. *I be, you be* (see Lass 1987: 232–3). OHG largely shows the same distribution of roots as NHG with the exception of: b(hū)-root in the 1st and 2nd p. pres. (*birum, birut* – ousted by the (e)s-root by MHG), competition between two infinitives *sīn* and *wesan*, w-forms in the imperative (e.g. *wis*) (both still present in MHG), and occasionally in the present (*thu wesēs*). LG dialects alternate between OE *is* and HG *ist*.

3.6 Syntax

Much of the syntax is dominated by Latin, which leads to occasional infelicities of translation, e.g. A1 *uuīhi* (active) for L *sanctificetur* (passive); use of subjunctive (B12 *nigileitest*) to mirror the Latin construction where the subjunctive is used for the negative imperative (*ne inducas*). The versions sometimes show differing degrees of dependence in the order of noun, possessive and adjective, cf *prooth unseer emezzihiç* (A12), *unsar brot tagalihhaz* (B8) and *urne gedeghwamlican hlaf* (D2–3). All but A settle for possessive before noun, e.g. *rihhi din* (A1) : *thīn rihhi* (B5), with the exception of the opening two words (cf NHG *das Vaterunser*, ‘Lord’s Prayer’). Constellations with possessive or adjective succeeding the noun, however, are not solely due to Latin and remain popular in MHG verse forms. As might be expected, the loosest translation (C, which has to meet the demands of the alliterative verse) probably comes closest to original Germanic word order for imperatives, *Gib us dago gihuilices rad* (C8), whilst the other versions follow the Latin. The flexibility in the sentence frame (*Satzklammer*) with the periphrastic imperative passive – *si geheilagot* (B3), *Giunihid si* (C3, cf King James Version *hallowed be . . .*), *si . . . gahalgod* (D1) – is also probably a Germanic feature. OHG word order after *so* shows flexibility between two patterns which later emerge as distinct, i.e. verb second *so wir fūrlazemes*, verb final *só hér in himile ist*. (On OHG word order see 8.6.1. and 10.7.2.)

The passages also display different approaches to rendering the relative pronoun of L *qui in caelis es*. There are varying theories as to the emergence of the relative pronoun in the Germanic languages (see Betten 1987: 82–3 and Ebert 1978: 21–3 for overviews), but it is agreed that OHG could mark relativity by any of four means:

- (1) asyndetic, i.e. no marker of connection, E *the man I saw was big*.
- (2) uninflected particles, e.g. *the/de* (< oldest form of masc. nom. sg. demonstrative *the/de*, as retained in LG) or *thar/dar*.
- (3) uninflected pronoun + (demonstrative) pronoun.
- (4) (demonstrative) pronoun alone.

Our passages A and C (ii) are of type 1; B is type 2; C (i) and D are either type 2 or 3. The situation in our passages is complicated further by the fact that we are dealing with the 2nd person, which in German, like the 1st person,

requires the repetition of the pronoun with any other specific marker, compare *thu thar bist* (CG, 2nd p.) with *the is* (LG, C(i), 3rd p.). Although OE here follows the pattern with *þu þe*, it need not have the personal pronoun. This difference between English and German continues to the present, compare E *Our father who art in heaven*, NHG *Unser Vater, der du bist im Himmel*. The latter, whilst grammatically correct, is awkward, and Luther, ever the stylist, translates simply: *Unser Vater jnn dem himel*.

3.7 Vocabulary

The term *rihhi* is one of the few phonologically unambiguous borrowings into Germanic from Celtic. It was transferred certainly before the completion of the ISS (e.g. OIr *ri(g)* but Go *reiks*) and probably from the lower Rhine or Bohemia/Moravia at the height of Celtic expansion and superiority from the fifth century BC (Green 1998: 145–6; 150–1). Otherwise, the vocabulary in these passages is marked by Christian loan influence and displays two of the three ways in which vocabulary can be transferred from one language/culture:

(i) Loan meaning (or semantic loan), whereby an already existing term in the recipient language takes on the meaning of a term in the donor language. In the Christian context, this mode of entry could be via one of two routes. First, the term to be transformed could come from outside the religious sphere, as in the C, *drohtin* (OHG *truhtin*), which had designated ‘warrior leader’ but was now used for ‘lord’. This loan was common in WGmc (e.g. also OE *dryhten*) but rejected in Wulfila’s Gothic translation for the more pacific *fráuja* (‘lord of household’) (Green 1998: 362); certainly any residual militaristic connotations would have supported the *Heliand*-poet’s intentions. Second, the term to be transformed in the recipient language could come from the religious sphere such as, in this text, the cognates of PGmc **hailigaz* and **wīhaz*, which had been common terms in Germanic referring to different aspects of the pagan gods. To render the Christian concept ‘holy’, OE adopted the former, Gothic the latter. Both terms occurred in German, initially under a clear dialectal distribution, *heilag* in the north and central German regions, which were under Anglo-Saxon missionary influence, *wīh* in southern Germany under probable Gothic influence. It is interesting that this distribution is confirmed in our passages (A1 *uuihi*; B3 *giheilagot*; D1 *gehalgod*), whilst C has both terms (*geuuihid* C3, *helaga* C9), probably due to the several influences on the text and its need for alliterative flexibility. *Heilag* became one of only a few northern words to oust southern rivals, possibly due to cognates such as *heilen* (‘to heal’) and indeed *Heliant* (‘saviour’) (see Green 1998: 353–4). These influences need to be treated with caution: the strong OE influence on *Tatian* could well be explained in terms of conservative selection from a common OE–OHG word hoard rather than borrowing (see choice of *costunga* below); the Gothic influence is due to more diffuse contact phenomena rather than the controversial monodirectional notion of a mission which was advocated in older scholarship.

(ii) Loan formation, whereby a new word is created using elements of the recipient language. The example in our passage – *khorunka* (UG), *costunga* / *cost-*

nunge (CG, OE) < *corōn*, *kostōn* 'try, test' for L *temptatio* < *temptare* ('try') – is of the part-to-part translation type known as a calque (or loan translation). The richness and variation of loan formations in OHG – there are, for instance, ten OHG terms for 'resurrection' – testifies to the lack of a unifying structure for the christianization of the language. Like loan translations, loan renditions are outperformed by the third mode of entry, loan words (e.g. L *signum* 'sign of cross' > OHG *segan* 'blessing') in terms of survival rate into later stages of the language (Betz 1974).

Further reading

Keller (1978: 134–235); Haubrichs (1988: 199–311); Robinson (1992).

4 Heroic Lay

Das Hildebrandslied

4.1 Context

The *Hildebrandslied* (HL) is like a fly caught in amber. It is the unique representation, both in German and from the south Germanic region, of what must have been a widespread genre, namely the heroic lay (*Heldenlied*), a short poem extolling the valour and nobility of character of a great hero of the past. In addition, the MS text is older than that of any other surviving work of Germanic heroic literature. Although the evidence for the existence of such a genre is circumstantial, it is nevertheless considerable: Charlemagne's biographer Einhard tells how the emperor 'directed that the age-old narrative poems, barbarous enough, it is true, in which were celebrated the warlike deeds of the kings of ancient times, should be written out and preserved' (Thorpe 1969: 82); and the poems in the Old Norse collection known as the *Edda*, a main source of knowledge of such famous German heroic figures as Siegfried, are clearly of German origin.

The subject of the HL exploits the IE motif of the father-son conflict, which in this instance pitches Hildebrand and his son Hadubrand against each other as champions appointed by two opposing armies to fight to the death in single combat. Although, like Siegfried, neither protagonist can be identified with a known historical personage, the heroic epic as a whole must be seen more as oral/non-literate history than as a literary genre. The constellation of characters in this lay shows how this sort of history functions, grafting on motifs and reversing outcomes as best fits the needs of the community for which the history serves as a means of legitimation and self-identity. According to the HL, Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths had to flee Odoaker, a narrative configuration which is central to the literary Dietrich cycle (thirteenth century). In reality Theoderic killed Odoaker in 493, thereby establishing an Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy, which survived for sixty years and during which Boethius and Pope John I also met their end at his hands. The correct version of events, known to literates of the early Middle Ages, was recorded in OHG by Notker (see ch. 10).

Given the anti-clerical stature of the Theoderic of popular lore, it is surprising that epic material was popular amongst the clergy, which it obviously was since leading clerics such as Alcuin of York (writing in 797 to the Bishop of Lindisfarne) felt obliged to encourage clerics to stop corrupting their ears with such useless songs. This seems to form the context in which the HL is transmitted. The poem consists of two leaves of parchment, the first and last, enclosing an early ninth-century

theological work, found and now housed in Kassel, and traced with some confidence to the monastery of Fulda. The main body of the MS consists of the Old Testament books of Ecclesiastes and Proverbs (both accredited to Solomon), with its remaining pages filled up with sermons and prayers. The HL thus occupied the very last available spaces in the MS and very probably a separate sheet which is now lost and deprives us of the poem's ending. The fragment is either a philologist's best dream or worst nightmare: nineteenth-century scholars' use of acid to render doubtful letters and words easier to read has resulted in the passages thus treated becoming for ever indecipherable; the phonology and morphology is of a kind unknown to any German dialect, past or present, containing an intriguing mix of HG (most notably Bavarian) and LG forms; and – as is common in texts of the OHG period – many of the words are *hapax legomena*.

4.2 Facsimile, diplomatic transcription, edited text, translation

- Ik gihorta dat seggen,
 dat sih urhettun ænon muotin,
 Hiltibrant enti Hadubrant untar heriun tuem.
 sunufatarungo iro saro rihtun.
- 5 garutun se iro gudhamun, gurtun sih iro suert ana,
 helidos, ubar hringa, do sie to dero hiltiu ritun.
 Hiltibrant gimahalta, Heribrantes sunu, her uuas heroro man,
 ferahes frotero; her fragen gistuont
 fohem uuortum, hwer sin fater wari
- 10 fireo in folche,
 'eddo hwelihhes cnuosles du sis.
 ibu du mi enan sages, ik mi de odre uuet,
 chind, in chunincriche: chud ist mir al irmindeot'.
 Hadubraht gimahalta, Hiltibrantes sunu:
- 15 'dat sagetun mi usere liuti,
 alte anti frote, dea erhina warun,
 dat Hiltibrant hætti min fater: ih heittu Hadubrant.
 forn her ostar giweit, floh her Otachres nid,
 hina miti Theotrihhe enti sinero degano filu.
- 20 her furlaet in lante luttilla sitten
 prut in bure, barn unwahsan,
 arbeo laosa. her raet osatr hina.
 des sid Detrihhe darba gistuontun
 fateres mines: dat uuas so friuntlaos man.
- 25 her was Otachre ummet tirri,
 degano dechisto miti Deotrichhe.
 her was eo folches at ente; imo was eo fehta ti leop:
 chud was her chonnem mannum.
 ni waniu ih iu lib habbe'.

(Source Broszinski 1985, slightly amended)

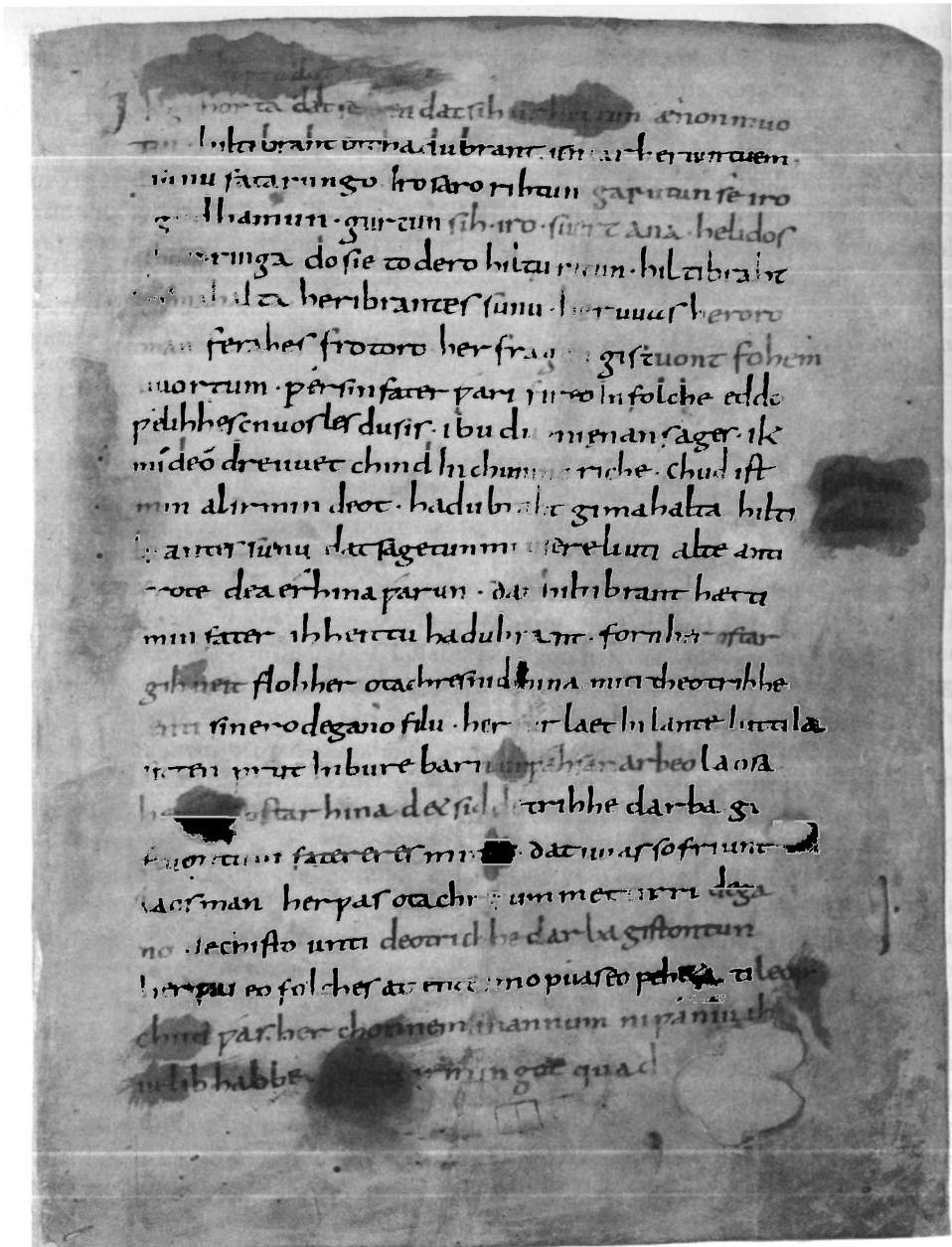


Figure 4.1 Facsimile of the *Hildebrandslied*.
MS theol. 54: 1r

Translation

I heard it told that two challengers, Hildebrand and Hadubrand, met alone between two armies. Father and son prepared their armour. They put on their breastplates and girded their swords, the heroes, over their chainmail, as they

Ik gihorta dat seggen dat sih urhettun ænon muo
 tin. hiltibraht enti hadubrant. untar heriun tuem,
 sunufatarungo. iro saro rihtun garutun sê iro
 gudhamun. gurtun sih. iro. suert ana. helidos
 5 ubar ringa do sie to dero hiltiu ritun. hiltibraht
 gimahalta heribrantes sunu. her uuas heroro
 man ferahes frotoro. her fragen gistuont fohem
 uuortum. þer sin fater þari fireo in folche eddo
 þelihhes cnuosles du sis. ibu du mi çnan sages. ik
 10 mi de odre uuet chind in chunincriche. chud ist
 min al irmindeot. hadubraht gimahalta hilti
 brantes sunu dat sagetun mi usere liuti alte anti
 frote dea érhina þarun. dat hiltibrant hætti
 min fater. ih heittu hadubrant. forn her ostar
 15 gihueit floh her otachres nid hina miti theotrihhe.
 enti sinero degano filu. her furlaet in lante luttila
 sitten prut in bure barn unþahsan arbeo laosa.
 heraet ostar hina det sid detrihhe darba gi
 stuontum fatereres mines. dat uuas so friunt
 20 laos man her þas otachre ummet tirri dega
 no dechisto unti deotrichhe darba gistontun
 her þas eo folches at ente imo þuas eo feheta ti leop.
 chud þas her chonnem mannum ni þaniu ih
 iu lib habbe. þettu irmingot quad

Figure 4.2 Diplomatic transcription

rode to combat. Hildebrand, Heribrand's son, spoke – he was the older man and more experienced in the world; he began to ask with few words, who his father was amongst the men of that people: [. . .] 'or from which clan you are from? If you name me one, I will know the others, young man, in this kingdom: all the great ones are known to me'. Hadubrand, Hildebrand's son, said: 'Our people told me, the old and the wise who used to be alive, that my father was called Hadubrand. Once he went away to the East, he flew from the enmity of Odoaker, together with Dietrich and many of his warriors. He left behind in this land, helpless and without inheritance, his young wife and infant child. He rode towards the East. Dietrich needed him then desperately, my father: that was a man without

allies. He [my father] had a great hatred for Odoaker [but] was Dietrich's most beloved warrior. He was always at the very front of the army; he so loved every battle: he was known to brave men. I do not believe that he is still alive.

4.3 Scribes, MSS, dating

When considering the appearance of an early text in a modern edition, we must bear in mind the various layers of its construction. For virtually every medieval text there are at least three separate phases which need to be remembered. (i) The text is composed by an author who may or may not write it down himself. In the case of the HL, for instance, it is accurate only to speak of the poet of *this* version, since the material, and possibly much of the form, was transmitted orally over a period of several centuries. (ii) The text can be copied and recopied, often in times and places distant from the original moment of composition or transcription. (iii) The text is edited and amended by a modern editor according to principles, techniques and aims which continue to develop nearly two hundred years after the inception of philology. This final stage is fraught with difficulties, especially the problem of how to deal with different MSS versions of the same work (see 12.3). Although, like the HL, most texts of the OHG period appear in only one MS, it does not necessarily follow that they transfer easily onto the page of the modern edition. In the following, we shall focus on the HL as an example of the hazards faced by editors.

We can discern several key facts from the facsimile and diplomatic transcription (the first working stage in the editing process, completed here by Broszinski 1985). First, we note that the transcription was not provisional, since care had been taken to draw out straight lines in preparation for writing (this is difficult to see from the facsimile). Parchment was expensive and it is possible that the transcription of the HL was conceived merely as a handwriting exercise which exploited whatever physical material was going spare. Furthermore, on the basis of handwriting analysis, we can deduce that the text was transcribed by two scribes, designated A and B, who appear nowhere else in Fulda documents. Scribe A was responsible for the first page (reproduced here) and all but the first seven and a half lines of the second page. The size of the handwriting and the gap between the lines on the second page are noticeably reduced, as if both scribes (with B instructing A?) were attempting – unsuccessfully – to fit the whole work into the allotted space.

Second, we can use the style of writing to help date the MS. The script is mainly Carolingian minuscule with some minor traces of earlier native forms and some influences from Anglo-Saxon traditions: the open <a> in *uuas* (text 1.7 = MS 1.6), along with those in *dat* and *gihorta* (MS line above 1.1) and in *ubar* (text 1.6 = MS 1.5), all partially obliterated, are Merovingian; the <f> in *feh̄ta* (text 1.27 = MS 1.22), the <đ> in the first few lines and the frequent use of the wynn-rune <þ> for <w> are Anglo-Saxon features. Both of these influences can help us put the dating jigsaw puzzle together. The other works in the MS are written in the insular script that had been the norm in Fulda since its foundation under the influential Anglo-Saxon Boniface in 744. On the basis of comparative

studies of other Fulda MSS of the time, the main sections of the MS in question can be dated to around the third decade of the ninth century. From around 800, however, the Carolingian script had begun to make inroads on the insular form, displacing it fully by the middle of the ninth century. In view of the Merovingian traces, it is likely that we are dealing with relatively early Carolingian minuscule. The sum of this information is the now traditional view that the HL came onto parchment later than the rest of the works in its MS, but probably no later than the fourth decade of the ninth century.

Third, we can determine with some certainty that the scribes were copying from a written source rather than composing the HL for the first time, from memory or from hearing it dictated. For example: the appearance of the phrase *darba gistontun* (MS l.21) is a repetition which would seem out of keeping with the poet's technique and can best be explained as a simple copying error, the scribe's eye falling back to its first and probably only authentic occurrence (text l.23 = MS ll.18–19) which also comes directly after the name *Dietrich*; similarly *min* (text l.13 = MS l.11) is most plausibly interpreted as a misread <r> (especially if the source text was written in insular script), *unti* (text l.26 = MS l.21) as an error for *miti* (the combination <un> often looking like <mi>), and *fatereres* (text l.24 = MS 19) as a slip of the eye for *fateres*. In addition, there is hesitation over the use of the wynn-rune (þ): it appears mostly with an acute superscript, but not exclusively; it occurs in word initial position as an alternative to <uu>, which displaces it fully in consonant clusters; <þ> is corrected out of <uu> (*belihhes*, text l.11 = MS l.9) but appears with <u> in the same word (*puas*, text l.27 = MS l.22). This suggests that the MS from which the scribes were working contained a runic symbol with which they were not familiar.

These and other anomalies (e.g. the alternation of *-braht/-brant*) are levelled in the edited text which also supplies punctuation and makes decisions about line divisions. Alterations to the transmitted text are often, but not always (as here), marked by italics or brackets. (For alternative editions of the HL, compare, for instance, Braune and Ebbinghaus 1979: 84–5; Haug and Vollmann 1991: 10–15; Wipf 1992: 130–5.)

4.4 Dialect

Although Fulda lies in modern Hessen, many of its documents are written in an East Franconian dialect. This is most probably due to the monastery's close links with the bishopric of Würzburg. The area around Fulda continues to have dialectal peculiarities which may well go back to these historical circumstances. However, the HL contains to a significant degree a mixture of dialects.

4.4.1 Bavarian traces

Several features can only be explained in terms of Bavarian influence. In all but a few words (in the first five lines and in one instance of the proper name *theotrihhe*, l.19), PGmc /th/ is rendered <d> in all positions: East Franconian had <th> in all positions until the ninth century, and then for the first half of the ninth

century <th> in word initial position with <d> in all others; in Bavarian <d> was taking hold in all positions from the beginning of written records. The spelling <chh> for the fricative (< PGmc /k/) in the word *Deotrichhe* (l.26) is only otherwise present in Bavarian, as is the <nn> of *chonnem* (l. 28, NHG *kühn*). In addition there are other forms which could, but (because they are to be found in other Fulda documents of the period) need not necessarily, be Bavarian: <ch> for /k/ in word initial position (e.g. *chind*, *chunincriche*, *chud* l.13),¹ in post-consonantal position (e.g. *fólche* l. 10) and in gemination (e.g. *Otachre* l. 25); the shift of PGmc /b/ to <p> before <r> (*prut* l.21) and of PGmc <bb> to <pp> (*sippan* l.31); the devoicing of word-final /b/ to <p> (*leop* l.27) and of word-final /g/ to <c> (*chunincriche* l.13); the grapheme <ao>, which represents an intermediary phase in the monophthongization of PGmc /au/ to /ō/ (see 3.4) (e.g. *laosa* l.22); PGmc /ō/ appearing alongside its OHG diphthongized form <uo> – an incomplete process in some dialect regions at this stage – (e.g. *frote* l. 16, *muotin* l.2); and the non-umlauted form of *arbo* (l. 22). Whilst it is important not to overestimate the number of forms which can be unambiguously accredited to Bavarian influence, there is no doubt that the form of the HL bears the marks of considerable Bavarian input.

4.4.2 Old Saxon traces

The OS forms in the HL are intriguing not only because they represent the dialect area the furthest away from Bavarian, but also because there are interesting patterns to the ways in which this LG influence manifests itself. There are several unexceptional OS forms: despite the uniform UG shift of PGmc /d/ to /t/ (e.g. *hiltiu ritun* l.6), PGmc /t/ remains unshifted in initial position (e.g. *tuem* instead of *zweim* l. 3) and finally (e.g. *đat* l.1, *dat* l.15 for *daz*, *uuet* l.12 for *weiz*) – we would normally expect both or neither of these to be shifted; final post-vocalic /k/ is unshifted (e.g. *Ik* l.1), although this is not consistent (e.g. *ih* l.17, *sih* l.2); the consonant in *seggen* (l.1) and *habbe* (l.29) is doubled; the nasal is lost before PGmc /θ/ and /s/ (e.g. *gud̄hamun* for *gundhamun* l.5, *odre* for *andere* l.12); PGmc /β/ remains unshifted medially in one instance (*hevane* l.30). However, when one considers these forms, it is clear that the Saxon influence has attached itself to small forms and obvious words. In addition, some forms are hypercorrect: the OS equivalent of OHG *sitzen* is *sittian*, which at this stage preserves the -i reflex of the Germanic *jan* verbs, not *sitten* (l.20); intervocalic PGmc /t/ remains unshifted and therefore single not geminate in OS (as opposed to <z(z)> in OHG), producing *hetu* and *heti* (for OHG *heizzu* and *hiezzu*) not *heittu* (l.17) and *haetti* (l.17) (this could well be the case for *urhettun* l.2 and *wettu* l.30, but we cannot tell for certain since their OHG forms are unattested); in the form *heittu*, OS would also have had an undiphthongized /ē/.

There is some OS influence on the morphology of the text, but it is most noteworthy for its lack of scope. The following are unambiguously OS features: the preservation of the -i- in the *ja*-stem pl. *heriun* (l. 3); the -os pl. inflection as opposed to HG -ā on the masc. *a*-stem *helidos* (l.6); the dative personal pronoun

1 On the basis of Mod G dialects, it would be surprising to find this so far north.

mi (ll.12, 15) which in OS is identical to the accusative. Again, there is an incorrect OS form: the preposition *to* (l.6) might appear to be OS, but the correct form is *te*; *usere* is a mixed form, its phonology with the loss of nasal being OS, its morphology HG (LG would have been *use*). The meagre amount of OS influence on the morphology of the text is far outweighed by that of HG: OS has no special form of the reflexive pronoun (e.g. *sih* l.5); its forms of the conjunctions *ibu* (l.12) and *eddo* (l.11) were *ef/of* and *eftha/eftho*; the dat. pl. ending *-em/n-im/n* (e.g. *chonnem* l. 28) was *-on/-un* in OS.

On the basis of these three factors – concentration on small forms and obvious words, hypercorrect forms and morphological insignificance – it can be deduced that the first version of the lay was in all probability not OS. This assessment is further substantiated by two factors of poetic consideration. First, the line *dat du noh bi desemo riche reccheo ni wurti* (l.48 – not included in our selection) relies on the <r> of *reccheo* for the alliteration; the line would not have scanned with the OS *wrekio*. Second, the scansion of the line *nu scal mih suasat chind suertu hauwan* (l.53) depends on the strong ending *-at* (here with LG <t> for HG <z>) to produce a dip before a lift, which would have been impossible in LG, which had no inflection in the nominative of strong adjectives.

Alliterative verse

On the basis of the HL and similar texts in ON and OE, we can determine features of a common Germanic style of poetry known as alliterative verse, which is also represented in the *Heliand* and in phrases of the *Lex Salica* translation, magic charms, hymns, psalms and prayers, but is overtaken by the Latin model of end-rhyme (see 7.3). This form consists of a long line which mainly corresponds to a semantic unit and is divided into two roughly equal half-lines, each constructed of two metrical stresses (lifts) separated by unstressed units (dips). The half-lines are held together not by rhyme at the end of words but by the alliteration of sounds at the beginning of certain lifts, known as staves (< Icelandic *stabir*). Identical consonants alliterate (although voiced and unvoiced pairs are not infrequent, e.g. <p> – l. 21), but all vowels alliterate with each other. There are three patterns in which this alliteration can manifest itself, listed here in declining order of popularity (X marks a lift, bold a stave):

X	X		X	X	<i>ar</i> beo laosa. her raet o star hina (l.22)
X	X		X	X	her fur l aet in lante l uttila sitten (l.20)
X	X		X	X	her was O tachre u nmet tirri (l.25)

However, this system, which might well have originated as an aid to memory, probably represented an ideal to which oral poets strived but did not always achieve. In the HL, for instance, lines such as 2a and 4a have probably only one stress; l.15 has no alliteration. On the other hand, *usere* (l.15) alliterates with the first stave of l.16; there are some examples of cross rhyme, e.g. *fohem uuortum, hwer sin fater wari* (l.9); ll. 8–10 all alliterate on <f>. It is therefore difficult to make hard-and-fast rules about what was expected of the poet at this stage, which in turn renders poetic considerations in questions of text construction less defin-

itive, e.g. whether a sound has to alliterate, whether a line is too long or short, etc. (See von See 1967.)

4.4.3 *Reconstructing the order of events*

We have established that OS could not have been the dialect of the first version. Beyond that we enter into the realms of speculative solutions which range from the simple to the extraordinarily complex. On the one hand, critics such as Ludwig Denecke suggest that there was only one written source for this version and that this had been taken down onto a wax tablet (therefore only provisionally) from the performance of an itinerant Bavarian singer. On the other hand, it has been suggested that there must have been several written sources before this version. Georg Baesecke suggested that the lay was first conceived in Bavarian, transposed into Franconian at Fulda and there subsequently rendered into a form of OS. In her magisterial account, Lühr (1982) counters this argument by reversing the first two stages, envisaging a Frankish first stage followed by a Bavarian one. A key point in her argument is the occurrence of <đ> in the first five lines, which can only represent a (voiced?) fricative (<PGmc /θ/) and appears in all positions – initially (*đat* l.1), intervocalically (*Hadubrant* l.3), finally (*gudhamun* l.5). Since this was possible in Franconian but not Bavarian (which had <d> in all positions from an early stage), Lühr deduces that a Franconian version was thus being rendered (partially) into Bavarian, the scribe hesitating over the <đ> for a few lines before dispensing with it altogether in favour of his own dialect. In any case, Baesecke's and Lühr's theories both posit at least a threefold source process and place OS at the end. The argument for OS's final position is simply one of likelihood: it is probable that the hypercorrect OS forms would have been levelled out had they appeared early in the process.

Amidst the mass of speculation, three other factors seem irrefutable. (i) Due to the hypercorrectness of the OS, it is more likely that the 'saxonization' of the text was carried out by a Saxon learner than by a native speaker. (ii) It is highly improbable that scribes A and B were responsible for the 'saxonisation'. For some time this was held to be the case on the grounds that scribe A, whose sections bear witness to the majority of the OS forms, had a great deal of corrections. (Medieval scribes corrected their mistakes by rubbing the parchment with a pumice stone or razor.) With great ingenuity, the famous palaeographer Bernhard Bischoff pointed out that the parchment used for this MS was not the smooth continental variety which came from sheep, but the rougher insular type that was produced from calves. The apparent erasures in scribe A's sections were thus on the whole not due to the removal of mistakes but rather to the preparation of the rougher insular parchment which involved rubbing down by stone.² (iii) From

2 The view that scribes A and B could not have been responsible for the saxonization is strengthened when one considers their treatment of <h> before consonants in the text. *in sus heremo man hrusti gwynnan* (l.56) shows that the alliteration requires the pronunciation of pre-consonantal <h>. By the time this version of the *Hildebrandslied* was copied, <h> had ceased to be pronounced in this position in the dialect of the Fulda monastery, but remained current in OS throughout the ninth century. Scribes A and B probably spoke the dialect of Fulda and had little idea about OS usage, as their handling of <h> displays: in *ghueit* (text l.18 = MS l.15)

what we can gather from the historical records about the personnel of Fulda in the late eighth century and early ninth century, we can see that there were enough Bavarians and Saxons present in that time for the whole dialectal mosaic to have taken shape – theoretically at least – within the walls of the monastery: there was a considerable presence of Bavarian monks in Fulda, including the first Abbot, Sturmi, who founded the monastery on the request of Bonifatius; Fulda was also a key site from which the christianization of Saxony was to proceed, and the links between the monastery and the area are confirmed by names from noble Saxon families recorded in its annals.

The question of why the HL was written down at all – at any of these theoretical stages or in the final instance – has provoked much speculation. The notion that scribes A and B surreptitiously preserved a tale they had come to learn at home is probably a romantic fantasy. Lühr (1982) suggests that an earlier version than our text might have been written down in Fulda as early as the late eighth century as a result of the *Epistola de litteris colendis*, a letter sent by Charlemagne to Abbot Baugulf encouraging him to enhance the intellectual life of his monastery. Given Charles' interest in matters heroic, an early version of the HL might have been part of the Abbot's response. Further considerations have concentrated on the 'saxonization'. The lay might have been intended as part of the proselytizing process in Saxon territory, but then one would have to imagine its context as a negative example in a sermon, etc. Alternatively, since OS superficially equates to an unshifted, therefore older sounding/looking, form of HG, the Saxon forms might have been introduced deliberately to archaize the text. (We know that the historian and teacher Rudolf of Fulda held the Saxons to be the *Germani* of Tacitus.) If this is indeed the case, then it points to a fascinating aspect of the distinction between oral and written history. Possibly for several centuries, the lay kept its historical credibility due to its being passed down by word of mouth. Whenever it was transferred to the medium of writing, however, literate recipients felt the need to establish its validity by rendering it archaic.

4.5 Syntax

From the point of view of language history, poetic texts raise the particular problem of how to extrapolate away from the text and make generalizations about the language. In the case of the HL, for instance, how can we be sure that certain syntactic configurations are not simply a product of the metre and verse form, rather than representative of widespread usages in the contemporary language? There is no straightforward method for extracting common usage from a literary text, only common sense procedures. On the one hand, we need to approach the text with full awareness of the sorts of constraint imposed by the demands of the verse form, e.g. disjuncture in noun and verb phrases is probably dictated by the need for alliteration, e.g. *Hiltibrant gimahalta, Heribrantes sunu* (l.7), *hwær sin fater wari, fireo in folche* (ll.9–10). On other matters, however, we can go

the scribe has inserted a spurious <h>, but then omitted historically legitimate ones in *ringa* (text l.6 = MS l.5), *ber* (text l.9 = MS l.8) and *pelhhes* (text l.11 = MS l.9).

further if they occur with considerable frequency and/or they are matched in texts with no/different constraints upon them. One such case is the subordinate clause. Admoni (1990: 61–7) has calculated that if the lay as a whole contains 22 subordinate clauses, 13 of these (i.e. 59 per cent) have the verb in word final position: e.g. *ritun* (l.6), *sages* (l.12). Some, but not all, of the exceptions can be explained in terms of an appended apposition which aids the alliteration, e.g. (ll. 9b-10a). On the basis of this text, it seems, therefore, that the tendency in OHG is for verbs to go at or near the end of subordinate clauses. As we shall see, this is confirmed in other texts of the period.

It is interesting to note that the subordinate clause is sometimes linked to the main clause via a marker. There are two examples of this with the verb ‘to say’: *Ik gihorta dat seggen, dat sih urhettun ænon muotin* (ll.1–2); *dat sagetun mi usere liuti, alte anti frote, [. . .] dat Hiltibrant hætti min fater* (ll.15–17). In both cases, the *daß*-clause is anticipated in the main clause by the cataphoric pronoun *dat*. This is common throughout OHG and MHG and survives into the ENHG period, e.g. *Du muost daz hiute schouwen, daz ich bin adelvri/und daz mîn man ist tiuwerr, danne der dîne sî* (*Nibelungenlied*, c.1200). The reason for this might lie in the fact that the relationship between main and subordinate clauses tends to be much freer and more flexible at this stage of the language. Often parataxis and hypotaxis merge in one sequence: *Hiltibrant gimahalta [. . .] her uuas heroro man, /ferahes frotoro; her fragen gistuont/[. . .] hwer sin fater wari* (ll.7–9). At one time it was held that parataxis was the original form of German syntax, with hypotaxis a later development. The rich mix of structures in works such as the HL speaks against this, as does the obvious antiquity of Germanic conjunctions, the linchpins of hypotaxis, e.g. *Go iba(ð)*, OE *gif*, OS *if/ef*, OHG *ibu*, *ob*, etc.

The link between the subordinate and main clauses is supported in the case of reported speech by the use of the subjunctive (which was often used more generally in subordinate clauses from Germanic through to the beginning of the ENHG period): *muotin* (l.2, pret. subj. of an unattested **motian* ‘to meet’ or **muoen* ‘to trouble’), *wari* (l.9), *hætti* (l.17, hypercorrect). The subjunctive form of the indirect speech seems to have worked its way into the direct speech in ‘*eddo hwelihhes cnuosles du sis*’ (l.11), although this is probably due to a sort of syntactic slippage which has been observed in some poets of the period. It is also noticeable that the recounting of facts is marked at the beginning with the subjunctive form, but continues in the indicative (the narrator ll.1ff., Hadubrant ll.15ff.), which can occur in longer passages of reported speech in NHG.

4.6 Vocabulary

Whilst many lexical items in the HL relating to combat and battle garments are *hapax legomena* in OHG due to the genre’s unique transmission, most have cognates in other Germanic languages of the period and/or in MHG. The following is a representative selection: *saro* (l.4 ‘armour’) – OE *searu*, Otfried *ungisaro* (‘without armour’), MHG *sar*; *urhettun* (l.2 ‘challengers’) – OE *oretta/oreta*; *helidos* (l.6 ‘heroes’) – widely attested in WGmc poetry; *hildea* (nom. of *hiltiu* ‘combat’ l.6) – common in OS, OE and ON poetry. Furthermore, many phrases and compounds such as

ostar hina (l.22), *alte anti frote* (l.16), *ferahes frotoro* (l.8) and *friuntlaos* (l.24) are common in the poetry of other Germanic languages. This combined evidence suggests that we are dealing with a common Germanic poetic language which could even stretch back to the time of the tribal migrations. Lühr (1982) suggests that in this period, when individual Germanic languages were probably still close enough to be mutually intelligible, it was not just the content of sagas and lays that was circulated, but also the vocabulary and style specific to them. This notion of a common poetic language is supported by the fact that a large proportion of the terms under discussion appear only in poetic discourses.

Two terms merit special attention. (i) *gud̥hamun* (l.5) ('battle shirt' = armour) is one of the very few examples in OHG of a kenning, a much exploited technique in other examples of Germanic poetry, whereby one term is replaced by a bipartite metaphor, e.g. *bog-geþo* (*Heliand*, 'ring-giver' = prince). Although *gud̥hamun* is unattested elsewhere, others like it are frequent in WGmc dialects, especially *gundfano* ('battle standard'), which was loaned (probably via the Western Franks) into OF (*gonfanon*), where it is a common motif in the epic. (ii) The verb *gimahalen* is a verb that straddles both poetic and legal discourse: 'to make a formal speech', here in public, in the legal sense before the *mallum* (legal assembly). The OS cognate (*gimahlian*) has the particular legal meaning 'to marry, betroth oneself' which we see in NHG *Gemahl*, *vermählen*.

Further reading

Bostock (1976: 43–82); Broszinski (1985); Lühr (1982).

5 Legal code

Lex Salica

5.1 Context

The *Lex Salica*, a code of the Salian Franks, dates back to the early sixth century, but may in origin have been pre-Christian. ‘The process of expansion, political assertion and social integration in sub-Roman and Merovingian Gaul meant that legal norms gradually ceased to reside in the memory of each man in the community, but instead were recorded in writing and preserved, and thus given a new character’ (McKitterick 1989: 23). Whether the original version of the law was German and then translated into Latin is impossible to tell. Later, the Carolingians were keen to record the laws of the tribes over which they ruled. Pippin revised the laws of the Western Goths, the Burgundians, the Alamans, as well as the Salian and Ripuarian Franks; in addition the law of the Bavarians was codified for the first time. His son, Charlemagne, devoted much energy to legal codes – particularly in the years directly succeeding his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor (800) – in the hope of reaching some form of unification which would aid the administration of a large empire. As well as codifying the laws of several other tribes, he had the *Lex Salica* revised twice (known as the *Emendata* and the *Karolina*) and used capitularies (the only remnant of which in the vernacular is represented by the *Trierer Capitulare*), to bridge the gap between codes. Although his biographer, Einhard, claims that there were *pauca capitula, et ea imperfecta*, the years between 800–830, which saw between 100 and 200 capitularies, were ‘the high summer of capitulary legislation’ (Reuter, 1991: 27).

This German translation of the *Lex Salica* is a double-paged fragment from the early ninth century. It contains the last section of the index, chapter one and approximately half of chapter two of the law. Since it was catalogued in the eleventh century under *liber Theutonicus*, it is believed that the fragment once belonged to a complete translation. The OHG version represents the only vernacular legal code in southern Germania in the early Middle Ages and thus has the status of the most important source in German legal history. The translation has often been seen in the context of the Legal Council held in Aachen in 802 – and the dating below would support this – at which Charlemagne commanded that each man present should have the law read out to him in his own code and translated so that he could understand it. The Frankish Empire had a hybrid organization: the language of the written law was Latin, whilst legal transactions remained in the vernacular. However, ‘whereas much OHG literature seems gradually to

emancipate itself from Latin tutelage, with law increasing Latinization seems to be the rule' (Wells 1987: 640). The educational standards of administrators under the Ottonians in the tenth century and eleventh century were such that German, in the medium of writing at least, could be dropped. It is not until the thirteenth century that the law re-appears in the vernacular (see *Sachsenspiegel*, ch. 15).

5.2 Text and translation

I. HER IST FON MENI.

[1] So hver so andran zi dinge gimenit Inti er ni cuimit. ibu ini sunne ni habet gelte scillinga · xu; [2] der andran gimenit ibu er ni cuimit Inti sunne ni habet; so sama gelte so† xu; [3] der andran menit mit urcundeom
5 zi sinemo huuse cueme · Inti danne gibanni Ini erdo sina cuenun · erdo sinero hivono etteshvelihemo gisage daz iz emo gicunde veo her gimenit ist; [4] ibu er In cuninges deonoste haft ist; danne ni mag er Ini gimenen. [5] ibu er Innan des geves In sinemo arunte ist · danne mag er Ini menen · soso iz heer obana giscriban ist;

10 II. Fon diubiu suino ·

[1] so hver so · suganti farah forstilit · fon deru furistun stigu; erdo In metalostun · Inti des givunnan virdit; gelte so† iii; foruzan haubitgelt; Inti vir driun · [2] ibu danne In drittium stigu forstolan virdit gelte so† xu · foruzan haubitgelt Inti vir driun; [3] so hver so farah forstilit · fon
15 demo sulage der slozhaft ist · gelte so† · xlu · foruzan haubitgelt indi vir driun; [4] so hver so farah in felde daar hirti mit ist · forstilit get†[te] so† xv; foruzan haubitgelt Inti vir d[riun]; [5] So hver so farah forstilit; daz biuzan deru mooter leben mag · feorzug pendinga · die tuent so† · i · gelte · foruzan haubitgelt Inti vir d[riun].

(Text: Sonderegger 1964: 115)

I. On summoning (to a legal assembly). [1] Whoever summons another to a legal assembly, and he [the summoned man] does not come, unless he has a legitimate excuse, he should pay 15 shillings. [2] Whoever summons someone to appear before the legal assembly and [himself] does not appear, should, if he has no legitimate excuse, pay 15 shillings. [3] If one man summons another, then let him go to his house with witnesses and order him or his wife to attend the legal assembly, or tell any member of his family to inform him why he has been summoned. [4] If he [the man summoned] is held in the service of the king, then he [the summoner] cannot summon him. [5] If he [the summoned man] is on a commission within the borders of the district, then he may summon him, as is written above.

II. On the theft of pigs. [1] Whoever steals a sucking pig from its first sty, or [while it is in] its middle sty, and is caught, shall pay 3 shillings, not counting reward and postponement fee, etc. [2] If it [the pig] is stolen [while it is in] its third sty, then he shall pay 15 shillings, not counting reward and postponement

fee, etc. [3] Whoever steals a pig from a lockable sow-enclosure shall pay 45 shillings, not counting reward and postponement fee, etc. [4] Whoever steals a pig in a field, where there is a swineherd in attendance, shall pay 15 shillings, not counting reward and postponement fee, etc. [5] Whoever steals a pig that can live apart from its mother [shall pay] forty pence, which makes one shilling, not counting reward and postponement fee, etc.

5.3 Dialect and orthography

On paleographic grounds, Bischoff (1971) locates and dates the MS to Mainz in the second quarter of the ninth century, although the dialect of the text is East Franconian (most likely from Fulda) from the beginning of the ninth century. The most clear-cut reasons for this judgement are the forms *mooter* (l.18) and *heer* (l.9), which display undiphthongized PGmc /ō/ and /ē/. A rival Mid Franconian theory falls down on the lack of forms such as final /t/ unshifted in the 2SS (e.g. *that* /it) and fricative rather than stop reflexes of PIE /bh/ and /gh/ (i.e. /β/ and /ɣ/): the text has *đaz*, *iz*, *giscriban* (l.9), *mag* (l.8). One form – *ini* for *in(an)* (masc. acc. sg pronoun) – is unique to this text.

An interesting feature of the text is its orthography. Double vowels are used in some instances to indicate length, e.g. *huuse* (l.5), *heer* (l.9), *daar* (l.16) and *mooter* (l.18). Linguistic historians rely on such rare evidence – in the OHG period only Notker consistently tries to mark length – to ascertain the quality of sounds from written texts. This can be a hazardous business, e.g. in this text there are more cases where a long vowel is left unmarked orthographically (e.g. *her*, *so hwer so*). For an excellent discussion on the techniques used for deducing phonetic/phonological reality from OHG texts, see Penzl (1971: 19–37).

5.4 Legal register

The codification of German laws confronted oral with literate forms. This tension can best be seen in the so-called *Malberg Glosses*. The text of the various *Lex Salica* redactions up until the *Emendata* include vernacular words, clauses and phrases introduced by the words (*in*) *malbergo* [/malb.], meaning in the language of the court. These phrases were probably included because ‘only the vernacular term was legally precise enough to convey what barbarian practice meant’ (Green, 1998: 30). The orality of these phrases is underlined by the fact that OHG *mahal* (‘court’) is related to the verb *malon* (‘to speak in court’), and indeed the context in which they appear is clearly that of speech in court. As Schmidt-Wiegand (1977: 172) states: ‘die vielen eingestreuten Sprechsätze [. . .] wie die volkssprachigen Wörter sind im weitesten Verständnis Reflexe gesprochener Sprache’. The *Malberg Glosses* belong with the few remnants of West Gothic and Burgundian (in the *Leges Visigothorum* and *Burgundionum*) to the oldest layer of Germanic legal vocabulary. However, most of these vernacular words are corrupt, barely intelligible to modern scholars and to subsequent scribes alike who transcribed them in a variety of ways. The glosses,

well out of current use by the late eighth century, were therefore removed as, in the spirit of precision and tidiness typical of the Carolingian reforms, the Latin of the *leges* was purified.

In addition to these vernacular quotations, there were also Frankish-Latin hybrid forms. As opposed to the glosses which represented particular utterances and formulations at court, the hybrid terms actually form part of the legislation and recur in a more stable way in redactions over a long period. Amongst the most common were *mallum* ('court', which was also present in French, *mal public*, and survives in some place-names), *mannire* ('to summon before a court'), *sunnis* ('legitimate excuse') and *alodis* ('property') which all derived from Franconian. These words form a subsection of a wider group of words entering Latin from Franconian, e.g. *mariscalcus* < *marahscalc* ('horsegroom', E *marshal*). It is interesting to note that while all four of these common words are present in the *Karolina* redaction of the *Lex Salica* on which the translation is based, the translator does not always use the etymologically related OHG term. For instance, *manniat* is rendered as *gibanni* (1.5) (< *bannan*, which originally had been restricted to the notion of holding court rather than summoning); *mallum* as *dinge*. It is clear, therefore, that in the Carolingian period there was a renewal and development of vernacular legal vocabulary. At the same time, and perhaps as part of the same process, some of the hybrid Latin forms, in a 'Rückwirkung der frankolateinischen Rechtssprache auf die Volkssprache' (Schmidt-Wiegand 1978: 200), are finding their way back into the vernacular: mlat *mannire* > OHG *menen*, *sunnis* > *sunne*, *alodis* > *alod* (the later despite competition from *eigen* = 'Eigentum').

5.5 Vocabulary

Many of the other terms used in the passage have remained part of the legal vocabulary of modern German:

- (i) *urcund(e)o* is a weak masc. *jan*-stem meaning 'witness' (the NHG term for witness *Zeuge* and the related *Zeugnis* did not appear until the fourteenth century), and is related to *urcundi* (fem.) 'legal document', which survives in NHG *Urkunde*, along with other related terms such as *beurkunden* ('prove with documentation') and *urkundlich* ('proved by document') – as also *gicunde* (1.6), cf. *kundgeben* ('to inform'), *künden* ('to herald') *kündigen* ('to inform about something in particular', i.e. the termination of a contract). Both OHG words are nominalized forms of the verb *erkennen*, which from the thirteenth century itself took on a specific legal meaning 'decide, judge, declare', e.g. NHG *das Gericht erkannte auf Freispruch*.¹
- (ii) The common Germanic verb **bannan* ('to summon to court') (1.5) took on the specific meaning of 'to exclude from the Church' from the Middle Ages onwards. From the fifteenth century, via false etymology to the noun *Bann*, the previously strong verb became grammatically weak and eventually took

¹ Similarly Mod E *witness* derives from *wit*, a form of the other verb 'to know', *wizzan* (see Freudenthal 1949: 44).

- on a new specific meaning ('to transfix by magic'). Having been borrowed into various vernaculars from Franconian, *bannan* has returned to German in rejuvenated forms such as *banal*, *Banner* (< French) and *Bandit* (< Italian). It's original legal meaning can still be felt in E 'to call the bans (of marriage)'.
- (iii) Originally, *haft* (l.7) fell into three categories: the adjective 'captured', or 'held in' and the nouns 'captivity' and 'captive'. In Modern German it survives in two forms: on the one hand, the nouns *Haft* ('imprisonment') and the related *Haftung* ('legal responsibility', as in *GmbH*), and the verbs *verhaften* ('to arrest') and *haften für* ('to be legally responsible for'), all of which retain legal meanings; on the other hand, it is a widespread adjectival suffix *-haft*. This latter development, which was probably a feature of Germanic, can be observed in the passage: *in cuninges deonoste haft* (l.7) shows the term as a free-standing adjective (such as OHG *kindes haft*, 'pregnant'); *slozhaft* (l.15) shows it as a suffix with the meaning 'mit etwas behaftet oder versehen', such as Modern German *fehlerhaft*.
- (iv) *gewi*, meaning 'district', was an important administrative unit within the Frankish Empire. Despite the infamous twist it received in the National Socialist coinage *Gauleiter*, it's non-umlauted form *Gau* is still in current usage to designate districts, especially in sports administration.
- (v) The OHG *quena* ('woman', 'wife') is not so closely related to E *queen* as it might appear. In the Germanic languages there were two related nouns represented by Go *qēns*, OE *cwēn* on the one hand, and Go *qinō*, OE *cwene* on the other. Both words have survived into E, *cwēn* as *queen*, and *cwene* as the now obsolete *quean*, meaning 'a loose woman'. Formally OHG *quena* derives from the latter, but has the neutral meaning 'woman, wife'. This legal term gives way in the course of MHG to *hūsfrouwe* (for a fuller description of the semantic field in which this term is situated, see König 1978: 22).

5.6 Style

A number of factors indicate that the German text was intended to be read out.

(i) The punctuation of the text (via stops, elevated stops and semi-colons) and the omission of punctuation with short relative clauses are obviously intended to help the smooth enunciation of the text. (ii) Very often the Latin is paraphrased, simplified or omitted, e.g. *ei quem manniuit similiter > so sama*. (iii) The word order often lends weight to important semantic elements of the sentence, e.g. in the phrase *so hwer so suganti farah forstilit fon đeru furistum stigu [. . .]* (l.11) the verb is followed by the adverbial phrase. (iv) The native stylistic technique of alliteration (see 4.4.2.), which was a hall-mark of Germanic oral practice, is at work in several places in this passage. In the sentence just quoted, we can see how the alliteration (marked in bold) interacts with the word order to produce a rhetorically striking pattern – s-s, f-st-f-f-st (cross rhyme). (The fact that the word order of this sentence might have been influenced by the Latin – *si quis porcellum lactantem furaverit de hranne prima* – does not detract from the overall effect.) All in all, the German revitalizes the written Latin text and makes it suitable for oral delivery. This is a prime example of the relationship between the two languages within the spectrum of orality and literacy in the OHG period.

5.7 Morpho-syntax

The construction of the passive in this text is uneven. The first sentence circumvents a Latin passive (*si quis . . . mannitus fuerit*) with an active – *so hwer so andran zi đngi gimenit Inti er ni cuimit* (1.2) – which results in the ambiguity of *er* in both sentences 1 and 2. However, in other parts, Latin passives are rendered into German: *quomodo ab illo est mannitus* > *veo her gimenit ist* (ll.6–7); *et inde convictus* > *inti đes givunnan virđit* (1.12); *si vero in tertia hranne furaverit* > *ibu đanne In đrittin stigu forstolan virđit* (1.13).

Of all the Germanic languages, only Gothic retains a reflex of the IE synthetic medio passive, and then only in the present. In all other instances, the passive is rendered analytically, using some combination of the past participle with the verbs **wesan* and **werþan*. The fact that all the oldest texts in the individual languages display this feature is strong evidence for the view that the move towards periphrasis was probably already a feature of Germanic. It is generally held that in the earlier stages of OHG, the passive was constructed with *wesan* in the present, *werden* in the future, and with both auxiliaries in the past tenses. By late OHG (e.g. Notker), *werden* is used in the present and the simple past, whilst *sein* is employed in the perfect and pluperfect. By MHG, the pull of *werden* becomes stronger, with *worden* supplied by analogy to the periphrastic past tenses. Although this state matches NHG usage, it is a long time in the gestation, and appears only rarely, for instance, in Luther's Bible translation. (For an overview of the passive, see Dal 1952: 135–7, Ebert 1978: 61ff.; for some recent research, see Kotin 1993; Eroms 1990, 1991; Valentin 1987.)

Our passage, however, shows how individual texts defy such handbook syntheses. The present passive can also be rendered by *werdan*, which on the basis of the overall OHG corpus is supposed to be a later feature. In the light of this, the phrase *veo her gimenit ist* (ll.6–7), is difficult to translate. If we assume that the system for rendering the passive in this text is similar to later models, then it means: 'why he has been summoned'. On the other hand, the translator might be staying close to the Latin original, which has a passive of state *est mannitus*. This latter would be more in keeping with the use of *sein* in the present tense of the passive of state in other early texts (e.g. Isidor translation).

Further reading

McKitterick (1989: 40–60); Schmidt-Wiegand (1975); Sonderegger (1964).

6 Political treaty

The *Strasburg Oaths*

6.1 Context

The death of Louis the Pious in 840 led to rivalry between his sons, the two brothers Lothar and Louis, and their half-brother Charles (the Bald), which resulted ultimately in a partition of the vast Frankish empire into three at the Treaty of Verdun in 843. The territory over which the eldest, Lothar, held sway was reduced to a swathe of land extending from the North Sea down into Italy, so constructed that it included both Rome, the seat of the emperor, and Aachen, the traditional centre of Carolingian power. His half-brother Charles received the territory to the west, Louis that to the east. Although ensuing events were set to change this configuration several times (for a map, see Reuter 1991: 328), the division of the empire made around the mid ninth century prefigures the modern states of France and Germany: Charles is claimed by the French as their own Charles II (his grandfather Charlemagne being Charles I) and Louis has gone down in history as Louis the German. At this point, therefore, we see how political forces helped shape the emergence of the geographical territories in which modern French and German are spoken. The idea of the tranche between France and Germany being the patrimony of Lothar also survives to this day in the name *Lothringen*, from which the French have derived *Lorraine*. The parallel name for France, *Kerlingen* ('the patrimony of Karl'), survived well into MHG.

The *Strasburg Oaths* represent an important stage in this partition process. Charles, Louis and their followers met in Strasburg on February 14th, 842, and in 'an expression not only of brotherly solidarity but also of brotherly mistrust' (Reuter 1991: 70) promised each other mutual support against Lothar. The oaths are recorded in OHG and OF, the latter representing 'the earliest surviving piece of prose in the vernacular of Gaul, and indeed in any Romance language' (Ayres-Bennett 1996: 16). The text is handed down to us in the *Historiarum Libri IV* of the Frankish historian Neidhart (d. 844), himself a grandson of Charlemagne and working at the behest of Charles the Bald. The German and French texts of the oaths stand, therefore, as vernacular quotations in Neidhart's Latin text, which is preserved in only one MS of the late tenth century, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF). The erratic punctuation and word-division of the German (see the diplomatic transcription of Gärtner and Holtus (1995: 100–4), as well as the orthographical unevenness – consider, for instance, both the omission of <h> and the omission of letters before <h> which occurs,

strangely, in the first oath only – suggest that the scribe was unfamiliar with the German language. This means, however, that he was unlikely to have been able to update the external form of the language, and that a carefully edited version of his text brings us very close to the form of OHG in the mid ninth century.

6.2 Text and translation

**‘In godes minna ind in thes christanes folches ind unser bedhero *gehalt-*
nissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir got geuuizci indi *mahd*
furgibit, so haldih *thesan* minan brudher, soso man mit *rehtu* sinan
brudher scal, in thiu thaz er mig so *sama* duo, indi mit *Ludheren* in
5 *no/theiniu* thing ne gegango, *the* minan uuillon imo ce scadhen uerdhen.’**

**‘Oba Karl then eid, then er sinemo brudher *Ludhuuige* gesuor, geleistit
indi *Luduuigi* min herro, then er imo gesuor, *forbrihchit*, ob ih inan es
iruuenden ne mag, noh ich noh thero *nohhein*, *the* ih es iruuenden mag,
uuidhar *Karle* imo ce follusti ne uuirhdit.’**

(Text: Schlosser 1998: 64–7)

In God’s love and for the protection of the Christian people and of us both, from this day forward, as far as God gives me wisdom and power, I will protect this my brother, as one rightly ought to, under the condition that he does the same towards me. I will not enter into any agreements with Lothar that might through my will redound to his harm.¹

If Charles keeps the oath that he swore to his brother Ludwig and Ludwig my lord breaks [the oath] that he swore to him [Charles], if I cannot deter him from it, then neither I nor any of those whom I can deter from it will render help to him against Charles.

6.3 Dialect

The dialect of the text is Rhine Franconian. PGmc /d/ has not yet shifted to /t/ (e.g. *dage*, l.2), whilst PGmc /θ/ is probably at three different stages of development. In word initial position it is unchanged (e.g. *in thiu thaz* l.4), whilst finally it has become the voiced stop /d/ (e.g. *eid* l.6). We generally conceive of sound change occurring gradually and by the smallest increments. Theoretically, we would expect /θ/ to voice before becoming a voiced stop, and the intervocalic <dh> in this text (e.g. *bedhero* l.1, *uuidhar* l.9) would seem to afford us a rare glimpse of this process captured orthographically (see Braune and Mitzka 1967: §166). That <dh> represents a voiced fricative is confirmed by the innovative use of the same symbol to convey frication in the OF text (e.g. OF *aiudha* < L *ajutare*). The final

¹ Since there is no verb in the clause to which it could be the object, *minan uuillon* must be functioning as an adverbial accusative. This construction has parallels in OHG clerical oaths.

<d> of *mahd* (< PGmc **mahti*) is possibly the result of the lenition of final stops which began in OHG and continues, especially in CG, today (Braune and Mitzka 1967: §102b). Attempts (undertaken for this text and the *Ludwigslied*) to suggest that Rhine Franconian was becoming a sort of *Ausgleichsprache* within the higher levels of central Frankish society remain attractive but unprovable (see v. Polenz 1978: 39; Schützeichel 1973).

6.4 The word *deutsch* and the symbolic use of language

The first oath is sworn by Louis in French, then by Charles in German (*teudisca lingua*), whilst their respective followers swear the second oath in the language of the *other* ruler. It was once held that Louis had to swear in French so that Charles' army could understand what he was saying and vice versa. Recently, this view has been called into doubt, with evidence to suggest that both armies were much more heterogenous in origin and character, and that the participants were actually part of a smaller group of clerical and secular dignitaries. The use of language in the Oaths was therefore not pragmatic but 'deliberately symbolic and political in nature' (Ayres-Bennett 1996: 16).

The word deutsch

The history of the word *deutsch* is a complex and disputed issue and it must suffice here to give a few broad outlines. Clearly the word has its etymology in a Germanic adjective **peud-isk-az*, derived from the noun **peudo* ('people'), meaning 'belonging to/pertaining to the people'. In the early Middle Ages the Latin form, *theodiscus*, itself a loan from Germanic, is predominant. Since /eu/ becomes /iu/ (a sound we estimate to become IPA [y:]) before a following /i/ or /u/ in OHG (producing *diutisk* as opposed to the noun *deota*), it is held that Latin must initially have borrowed from a West-Frankish term **theodisk*, which was being used to make some distinction between Romance and Germanic in the contact zone of the Western Empire.

There are variants to the Latin form: in the second quarter of the ninth century *thiutisce*, based on the OHG *diutisk*, begins to appear (for a discussion of the possible distinction between *theotiscus* : *thiutiscus*, see Schwarz 1977 and Worstbrock 1978); in the early ninth century *teudisca* appears (as in Neidhart: *teudisca lingua*), possibly in analogy to *teutonicus* (from Tacitus and Pliny), which eventually takes hold as the Latin term for German, used exclusively by Notker (himself referred to as *Teutonicus*) and surviving today in the now somewhat pejorative term *E teutonic*. The OHG *diutisk* appears (in Latin contexts) from the second half of the ninth century and remains formally unchallenged² except for a variation with initial <t> which keeps up a lively challenge until the late eighteenth century (when both forms are still employed in the same sentence by Goethe, but Gottsched writes a ten-page refutation of *Teutsch*).

2 /iu/ (≈ IPA [y:]) > /eu/ (IPA [ɔy]) (NHG diphthongization, see 14.4), syncope of -i- in MHG, and [sk] > [ʃ] in early MHG (see 11.4.3) account for the phonetic/phonological changes.

The term was used in all Germanic languages/dialects within the Frankish empire to designate the vernacular as opposed to Latin, the official language of state and Church. (It also appears in Go *þiudisko* meaning 'heathen'.) In its first (Latin) attestation (786), a letter stating that the decisions of the English Church Council are to be read out *tam latine quam theodisce*, could therefore refer to OE. In OE the noun *þeodisc* also means language. Its Middle Dutch form *duutsc* became the English designation for a national grouping. Germany (*Deutschland*) itself is unique among modern European states in having a name derived not from a tribe or territory, but from a spoken language. Ironically, English and French (their own names deriving from the Angles and the Franks) resort to tribal names for Germany (*German* < probably the name of a Celtic people; *allemand* < Al(l)emanni), although Italian retains *tedesco* (< *theodiscus*). (For a fuller discussion of this topic, see Weisgerber 1953; Eggers 1970; Sonderegger 1988; for recent research, see Klein 1994a, 1994b; Ehrismann 1994.)

The term *theodiscus* became programmatic within Carolingian cultural politics: with its wide and neutral semantics it could be used without causing offence to any one tribal grouping within the vast empire. Towards the end of Charlemagne's reign, however, the Synod of Tours used it to distinguish between Romance and German as opposed to Latin and the vernacular: the gospel was to be put *in rusticam romanam linguam aut theodiscam*. In the *Strasburg Oaths* this division seems to take on a new dimension. Koller (1987: 832) explains that due to the heterogeneous mix of dialect speakers in each army, language is used not to signify two already existent groups, but in fact to help constitute these groups: '[man könnte] die Straßburger Eide etwa mit einem Vertrag zwischen den USA (der NATO) und der UdSSR (dem Warschauer Pakt) vergleichen, der wohl in zwei gleichberechtigten Versionen – Englisch und Russisch – abzuschließen wäre, aber auch zum Beispiel Portugal und Bulgarien in ein Rechtsverhältnis zueinander setzte'. The respective vernaculars are also used to establish a relationship between subjects and rulers. The second oath (which is confirmed in Latin by the rulers) is a release-clause which allows the subjects to switch allegiance should the first oath be broken. In other words, the oaths represent a contract not only between two rulers, but between these rulers and their subjects. The vernacular is therefore used to set up social and political relations *between* groups and *within* those groups. We have few records of the vernacular being used in this way in subsequent generations. Whilst we are told (in Latin) that various Carolingians met in 860 and 867 to swear oaths in vernacular languages, and that copies were made, these are isolated reports and the texts have not been recovered. (See, however, comments on the orality of legal transactions in 5.4)

By late OHG/early MHG the term *deutsch* had three main designations: a specific language; a specific people; a specific geographical area. The term *die tütsch nation* appears for the first time from the pen of the humanist Joachim von Watt in the early sixteenth century, although the idea of German nationhood has remained problematical to present times. At any rate, it can be safely said that the term *deutsch* appears well before the notion of nationhood, and that it began as a designation of language. The events of the ninth century show how the German language was politicized for the first time.

6.5 Register and syntax

There has been much debate about the circumstances in which the Oaths were drafted and recorded (for overview, see Becker 1972). The major hypothesis is that the Oaths were first conceived in Latin, the language of court and chancery (see Schmidt-Wiegand 1977), and then translated into the respective vernaculars. Ewert (1935) even goes as far as reconstructing the Latin original. It is possible that Neidhart himself was involved in either or both stages. On the other hand, some of the word order of the OF seems to have been influenced by the German (see Ayres-Bennett 1996: 30). Moreover, recent scholarship has stressed further resonances of register (see Gärtner and Holtus 1995) in the German text itself. For instance, the opening formula is repeated in oaths sworn in 860 and 867 (reported in Latin); phrases such as *so fram so mir got geuizci indi mahd furgibit* (ll.2–3) and the elipsis of *haldan* after *scal* (ll.3–4) appear almost verbatim in German confessional oaths. The German version of the Oaths, therefore, goes beyond Latin models and points to an independent Germanic/OHG legal register which had much in common with confessional oaths. It is interesting that there are very few parallels in the second oath, which underlines its exceptional character.

Whether German or Latin came first, or whether one was more dominant than the other in the final product, the style of the German oaths is typical of the administrative milieu and can be compared with the few other legal documents of the period (e.g. *Trierer Capitulare*) and with modern legal texts. Both oaths consist of one frame, with the main verb(s) in each delayed. In Oath I the core of the sentence is the phrase *so haldih thesan minan brudher* (l.3). Preceded by various adverbial phrases and succeeded by a subordinate clause, the inversion *haldih* (< *haldu ih*) (l.3) marks out the main verb in second position. A second main verb phrase begins with *indi*, but here the verb comes at the end. Whilst this leads the modern eye to misread it as a parallel subordinate clause, this would not have been the case in the ninth century when main verb word order was more flexible (ll.4–5): this is confirmed by the final position of the main verb (*uuiridhit*, l.9) in Oath II. In both oaths the future is expressed by the present (augmented by the prefix *ge-* in *gegango* l.5). In Oath II the main verb phrase is delayed by a series of relative clauses in which the verb is meticulously put to the end. The word order allows for the insertion of relative clauses within the subordinate clause, e.g. *oba Karl then eid, then er . . . gesuor, geleistit* (l.6), and for the positioning of dependent infinitives within the subordinate clause, e.g. *the ih es irruenden mag* (l.8). The precision of these constructions might owe much to Latin models, but these only tighten up natural tendencies within the language. It is this intricate rhetorical structure (verb in each clause, each clause contained and concluded) which helps define the legal register.

6.6 Vocabulary

The text contains several key terms of Germanic and German legal vocabulary. (i) The OHG *haltan* is a common Germanic verb and appears here in its original meaning, ‘to protect’. This meaning can still be found in some modern Germanic

languages such as G *inneren Halt haben* ('to feel secure'), E *hold* ('fortress', e.g. Luther's 'Ein feste Burg' is translated as 'A Safe Strong Hold'), and in the marriage vows ('to have and to hold'), although the latter two examples are now either archaic or misunderstood. (ii) *reht* (here translated as 'rightly') took on the meaning 'law' only in late OHG, as the most common term *êwa* became restricted to matrimony, as in modern German *Ehe* (see Schmidt-Wiegand 1987). (iii) *eid* has cognates in all Germanic languages (e.g. OE *ap* > E *oath*). It also corresponds to Old Irish *oeth*, and both can be traced back to IE **oitos* 'walk, going' with the implicit idea of ceremonially going to an oathswearing (as in Swedish *edgång*). This IE background suggests a Celto-Germanic innovation in the meaning of the word, but there is nothing to suggest anything more than a 'shared community, at the most, between the two groups' (Green 1998: 158). (iv) The use of the term *thing* (here 'treaty') shows how the meaning within Germanic legal custom had already splintered considerably. Originally *thing* had denoted the legal assembly which met at designated times, but this custom was disrupted, particularly in south Germania, after the tribal migrations. The word then began to dissolve into a number of related meanings: 'place of assembly', 'judgement', 'treaty', 'case', and then further to 'matter', 'affair' and even by Otfrid's time 'deed'. The split in meaning can be seen today if one compares E *thing*/G *Ding* with Danish *Folketing* ('legal assembly') (see Green 1998: 35–7). (v) *herro* is a contracted form of *hērōro*, the comparative of the adjective *her* ('old') (e.g. *Hildebrandslied* 1.7 *her was heroro man*, 'he was the older man'). It is held to be a loan translation of the Latin *senior* (itself a comparative of the adjective for 'old') which originated amongst the seventh-century Merovingians in times of social restructuring. It left rivals e.g. *truhtin* (the leader of a warrior band) which gradually lost its social context after the migrations and became christianized – in its wake. *herr*, like *senior*, remains the term for lord throughout the Middle Ages. (For a full discussion of these terms, see Green 1965.)

6.7 Case

6.7.1 Dative

Two primary uses of the dative which continue into modern German are evident in this passage. In both instances 'it typically marks a person (rather than a thing) who is in some way concerned or affected [. . .] by the verbal action or the event expressed in the verb' (Durrell 1991: 32). (i) In the phrase *then eid, then er sinemo bruodher Ludhuuuige gesuor* (l.6), we see the rule of two objects, which places the inanimate in the accusative and the personal in the dative. This use of the dative is thought to originate in IE and is now the rule in NHG. Only two verbs in NHG permit a double accusative object: *kosten* and *lehren*.³ (ii) The so-called 'free dative' is used with verbs where it is not usually a grammatical requirement. Its

³ Despite the fact that the construction *lehren* + acc. + acc. is Germanic in origin (e.g. Go *laurda ins manag*), variants with dative continue into the twentieth century, especially in speech (see Dal 1952: 15, 41–2). Duden (1985: 435) now recognizes *kosten* + dat., in some contexts. This clearly shows the pull of the dative.

two principal usages have been termed the dative of advantage (e.g. *ich kaufte ihr Blumen*) and the dative of disadvantage (e.g. *ihr ist die Vase kaputtgegangen*). Our passage provides text-book examples of each: *imo ce scadhēn* (1.5) ('to his disadvantage'), *imo ce follusti* (1.9) ('to his assistance'). However, we should note that the phrase *in thiū thaz er mig so sama duo* (1.4) shows the much less frequent use of the accusative of person (*mig*⁴), which is no longer possible.

6.7.2 *Mit*

The preposition *mit* is here followed by the instrumental (*rehtu*), a case which existed in OHG only in some early masc. and neut. stems (see Table 2.2). The only preposition to take the instrumental (previously the case stood alone), *mit* soon switched to the dative. However, in some early texts, as in some modern dialects, the accusative can be seen. The instrumental survived into MHG only in certain prepositional phrases using the demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *in thiū* (1.4) = MHG *in diu*.

6.7.3 *Genitive*

The genitive was often used adverbially in the Germanic languages with a broad range of meanings. In this passage we see the example *frammordes* (1.2) which is derived from *fram* ('far', see *so fram so* (1.2) 'as far as') and *wartes* in the genitive.⁵ The latter is the modern German suffixoid *-wärts* which was common in all Germanic languages (cf E *upwards*, *onwards*, etc.), has the same etymology as *werden* ('to turn [towards]'), and is related to Latin (*ad*)*versus*. *frammordes* is an example of the genitive being used as an adverb of place, and has modern parallels in *rechts*, *links*, *unterwegs*, *keineswegs*, etc. The other common form of genitive adverb is that of time, e.g. *des abendes* > *abends* (which transfers by analogy to the feminine *Nacht* > *nachts*), *damals*, etc. The occurrence of the phrase E *from this day forward* (again in the marriage ceremony) might indicate that it has its roots in a Germanic legal register, although there is a Latin parallel in *de isto die in antea* (Charles II's coronation oath 876).

Further reading

Becker (1972); Gärtner and Holtus (1995); Koller (1987); van der Rhee (1983); Schmidt-Wiegand (1987).

4 <g> for <h>/<ch> was not uncommon in Franconian dialects (Braune and Mitzka 1967: §145.5).

5 NB there is assimilation of /w/ to /m/ and /a/ to /o/ (Braune and Mitzka 1967: §99, §109.4).

7 Gospel harmony

Otfrid von Weissenburg's *Evangelienbuch*

7.1 Socio-linguistic context

Otfrid, a leading light of the ninth-century cultural scene who built up a library of over two hundred books at the monastery of Weissenburg, wrote his *Evangelienbuch* between 863 and 871. If many of the texts in OHG are a series of 'onlys' – the only legal code, the only treaty, etc. – then it is more accurate to describe Otfrid's work as a series of firsts. He is the first author to defend his decision to write in German – both in Latin and the vernacular. He is the first German author whose work bears his name. The *Evangelienbuch* – a gospel harmony which extends far beyond the *Tatian* with a weave of narrative and theological exegesis – is the first HG work to have an entire MS devoted to it, and one indeed which is the first in German to contain the corrections of the author himself (the next is not until the twelfth century). It is the first German work in rhyming verse and the first to be conceived for a bi-medial reception.

The *Evangelienbuch* has also been described as the first piece of German (as opposed to pan-Frankish) literary propaganda. It is likely but not certain that the work was commissioned by Louis the German (see *Strasburg Oaths*, ch. 6), who is described as the King David of the Empire in one of the four dedicatory letters. Louis had taken up the mantle of Charlemagne in matters of writing and literacy, but in the context of a divided Empire, and indeed a new Eastern Frankish state, the emphasis was even more than before on German. Louis had a great interest in Germania, the Goths and the Gothic translation of the Bible and was well connected with the religious heirarchy of the realm. It is likely that Otfrid was sent directly by his teacher Hrabanus from Fulda to work in the royal chancery.

These three strands in Louis's interests – language, religion and the legitimation of the present through the Germanic past – come together in the prologue of Otfrid's work, *Cur scriptor hunc librum theotisce dictaverit*. In the extract below, the author is building an argument which states that, although the German language might not yet be as refined as that of the Romans and the Greeks, the Franks are greater than all nations in history and can outstrip the poetry of the ancients with their lives. Much has been made of the fact that Otfrid uses the term *theotiscus* in Latin but *frenkisk* rather than *diutisk* in German. The context of the passage, however, does not allow us to ascertain whether Otfrid and his contemporaries did or did not conceive their language to be *theotiscus*. It is interesting that in one of the dedicatory letters Otfrid uses both terms in Latin: *theotiscus* is

always used in negative contexts (i.e. to compare the language with Latin) whilst *franziscus* is used positively and in the cultural-political sense, i.e. comparing his own work with Vergil and Prudentius. This distribution fits with the programme of the *cur scriptor* passage. The prologue is therefore a highly explicit example of the politico-religious forces which combine to bring the German language onto parchment in the OHG period.

7.2 Text and translation

- Vuas líuto filu in flíze, in managemo ágaleize,
 si thaz in scríp gicleiptin thaz sie iro námon breittin;
 Sie thés in io gilícho flizzun gúallichu.
 in búachon man giméinti thio iro chúanheiti.
- 5 Tharána dátun sie ouh thaz dúam: óugdun iro uuísduam,
 óugdun iro cléini in thes tíhtonnes reini.
 Iz ist ál thuruh nótt so kléino girédinot
 (iz dúnkall eigun fúntan, zisámáne gibúntan),
 Sie ouh in thíu gísagetin, thaz then thio búah nirsmáhetin,
- 10 ioh uuól er sih firuuésti then lésan iz gilústi.
 Zi thiú mág man ouh ginóto mánagero thíoto
 hiar námon nu gizéllen ioh súntar ginénnen.
 Sar Kríachi ioh Románi iz máchont so gizámi,
 iz máchont sie al girústit, so thih es uuola lústit:
- 15 Sie máchont iz so réhtaz ioh so filu sléhtaz,
 iz ist gifuagit al in éin selp so hélphantes béin.
 Thie dáti man giscríbe, theist mannes lúst zi líbe;
 nim góuma thera díhtta, thaz húrsgit thina dráhta:
 Ist iz prósun slíhti, thaz drénkit thih in ríhti,
- 20 odo méttres kléini, theist góuma filu réini.
 Sie dúent iz filu suazi, ioh mézent sie thie fúazi
 thie léngi ioh thie kúrti, theiz gilústlichaz vuúrti.
 E'igun sie iz bithénkit, thaz síllaba in ni uuénkit,
 sies állesuuio ni rúachent, ni so thie fúazi suachent.
- 25 Ioh állo thio zíti so záltun sie bi nótti;
 iz mízit ana bága al io súlih uuaga.
 Yrfúrbent sie iz réino ioh hártu filu kléino,
 selb so mán thuruh nótt sinaz kórn reinot.
 Ouh selbun búah frono irréinont sie so scóno:
- 30 thar lísist scóna gilust ána theheiniga ákust.
 Nu es filu manno inthíhit, in sína zungun scríbit.
 ioh flit, er gigáhe, thaz sínaz io gihóhe:
 Uuánana sculun Fráncon éinon thaz biuuánkon,
 ni sie in frénkisgon bigínnen, sie gótes lóbb singen?
- 35 Níst si so gesúngan, mit régulu bithuúngan,
 si hábet thoh thia ríhti in scóneru slíhti.
 Pli du zi nótte, theiz scóno thoh gilute.

ioh gótes uuizod thánne tharána scono helle;
 Tház tharana sínge, iz scóno man ginenne;
 40 in themo firstantnisse uuir giháltan sin giuúisse.
 (Text: Braune and Ebbinghaus 1979: 98)

Many peoples have striven with great endeavour to fix in written form that which could spread their name. They were always at very great pains to have their brave deeds depicted in books. They put great effort into this: they showed their wisdom, showed their skill in the perfection of their poetry. It is all regulated and written so artistically (they invented it according to the principle of *obscuritas* and ordered it into their words).¹ They composed with the intention that they would not be irritating but rather illuminating to those who wished to read. Thus we can list here the names of many peoples and name each individually. First of all the Greeks and Romans – they composed [their works] so beautifully and constructed [them] so that they are really pleasing. They composed so properly and so perfectly that everything fits together as if sculpted from ivory. That's the way to write! That is [one of] life's pleasures. Occupy yourselves with their poetry – it will stimulate your mind. Be it the simplicity of prose, it will refresh you straightaway; or the high achievement of the metre, it is the purest pleasure. They make this so exquisite, they measure the feet [of the metre] according to length and shortness, so that it produces pleasure. They have given attention so that no syllable is out of place, they pay attention not to deviate from the metre,² and they counted all the beats exactly; such scales permit no inaccuracy. They sweep it [the line] clean and in the finest detail, just as one is used to purifying one's corn. They polish the Holy Scriptures in the same way: [what] you read then [is] pure pleasure, [it is] without fault. Now that many [men] have begun to write in their own language and are striving to increase their fame: why should the Franks alone refrain from singing God's praise in the Frankish tongue? It might not yet have been sung in such a regulated form, but it has its own guiding principle, in pure simplicity. Thus you should strive so that it indeed sounds beautiful and that God's law resounds beautifully in your language, [that] whatever is sung in the language is well enunciated, [and that] we stand safe and sure in the understanding [of God's word].

7.3 Verse form

In his letter to Liutbert, Otfrid claims that the form is held together by two factors: (i) *sinalphá*, an elision of consonants as well as vowels (e.g. *theist* 1.20

1 This sentence must be seen against the backdrop of Latin poetical practice and terminology. Here, *findan* means 'to invent' (compare NHG *erfinden*), and *dínkal* 'ornate', whilst *zisámene gibúntan* renders Latin *involvere*, 'to wrap up in a complex fashion'. On these and the other terms derived from Latin rhetoric, see Vollmann-Profe (1976: 85–128)

2 In this sentence Otfrid is probably following the Latin tendency to write double negatives for positives. Here there are three negatives: *ni* ('not'), *alleswo* ('other than'), *ni* ('not') (neg. + neg. [= pos.] + neg. = neg.). Double negatives, as Otfrid himself observed, tended to remain negative.

< *thaz ist*) which he states is a feature of common speech (*communi nostra locutione*); (ii) *schema omooteleuton* (end rhyme) as opposed to the *metrica subtilitas* of classical verse. The model for end-rhyme is probably to be found in the Ambrosian Hymns and the 'Rithmus' which were common in the Carolingian liturgy and monastic services. (Significantly, the *Ludwigslied*, another end-rhyme poem, is given the Latin title *Rithmus teutonicus*.) Although Otfrid's work is the first extant example of end-rhyme, it is unlikely that he was its initiator in German: later such poems in German look too archaic to have derived straight from him. It is therefore more accurate to see him as the perfecter rather than the innovator of this tradition (Haubrichs 1988: 365).

The basic unit of Otfrid's verse and of the other OHG rhyming poems is the long line made up of two short lines. We know that it was felt to function in this way (rather than short rhyming couplets), since the MS sets them out as long lines separated only by a dot. It is also clear that Otfrid composed in pairs of long lines (strophes), odd lines being indented and even lines beginning with capital letters. By way of accents, the MS gives us some indication as to how the rhythm of the verse worked. Each line is commonly held to have four metrical lifts (sometimes all of these are marked, sometimes not), although occasionally there are more.

A brief glance at the passage is enough to show that OHG end rhyme is not as precise as modern expectations. This accords with Otfrid's own description of rhyme being based on *consimilem verborem terminationem* ('a similar ending of the words'). Most of the rhymes in this passage are pure (i.e. vowel and following consonant match), e.g. (1.5): *duam* – *uuisduam*. However, there is some variation: stressed and unstressed syllables rhyme, e.g. *nót* – *gerédinot* (1.7); some rhyme in the last syllable only, e.g. *flize* – *ágaleize* (1.1); others still in the last vowel only, *thanne* – *helle* (1.38); occasionally long and short vowels are rhymed, e.g. *kléini* (noun, long) – *réini* (adj., short) (1.20). Consistent pure rhyme does not appear until c.1175 and its presence is often used to date literary works of the MHG period.

7.4 Readership

It is interesting to note that a woman is mentioned as part of the group that encouraged the composition of the *Evangelienbuch*. In addition, the only recorded reader of the text was a woman (Kicila in the Heidelberg MS). Outside the monastery setting, private reading in OHG times was very much the preserve of women. We have records of psalters being compiled for women readers, and in fact, in Otfrid's version of the annunciation, the angel Gabriel arrives to find Mary with a psalter in one hand, from which she sings as she embroiders, 'as a fine lady does'.

There are signals within the work which imply both a reading and a listening audience. The former is suggested not least by the presence of acrostics (in the vernacular) and *telestichs*. We can imagine such private reading to have taken place in the monk's cell or in the monastic school. The listening mode of reception is clear from comments made in the letter to Liutbert: the ears of excellent men

had been insulted by useless material (i.e. oral poetry such as the *Hildebrandslied*). Otfrid, then, has to match the secular songs not simply on a written level but also musically. This is confirmed amongst other things by the presence of isolated neumes (amongst the first recorded) in the Heidelberg MS. The term *singan* (l.34)/*gisungan* (l.35) in our passage might therefore point beyond simple recitation as the mode of performance. (For fuller details, see Green 1994: 179–83.)

7.5 Phonology

One of the four dedicatory (Latin) letters of the Vienna MS is addressed to Liutbert, Archbishop of Mainz, who was a leading figure in the literary patronage in the Eastern Frankish state. With the exception of Notker's letter to Hugo (about a century and a half later), this letter contains the only sustained reflection about the German language in the OHG period. Otfrid, in a fashion typical of his time, denigrates the German language on several fronts. He complains about the *linguae barbaries inculta*, describing it as *indisciplinabilis*, because it has never been fixed in writing and cultivated by studies of grammar or rhetoric; many learned men are afraid to get a single letter wrong in Latin, but in German every word throws up a mistake; it would be ridiculous even to quote examples of German, since to insert *agrestis linguae inculta verba* into *latinitatis planitiae* would provoke the mockery of his readers. This leaves the frustrated modern reader to find his own examples to match Otfrid's comments.

(i) Semi vowels: In a now famous statement, Otfrid puts the barbarity of the German language down in part to its unusual orthography: 'Sometimes it seems to me that it requires three *u*'s (the first two of which are consonantal, whilst the third *u* retains a vocalic quality'. Put more neutrally, however, the Latin alphabet was not well suited to differentiating [w], [v], and [u] (as is also the case for [i] and [j]). In practice Otfrid systematically avoids the triple <u>: <uu> is used for /w/, <u> for the vowel; /w/ initially before /u/ is spelt <vu> (e.g. *vuurti* – although the MS corrector, probably Otfrid himself, had to insert this <v>); after consonants and before /u/, /w/ is simply <u> (e.g. *bithuungan*). Otfrid also tells us that <i> before vowels can sometimes retain its vocalic quality (i.e. diphthong), whilst at other times it is pronounced as a 'consonant' (i.e. semi-vowel).

(ii) <k> and <z>: Otfrid makes reference to these two graphemes in his belief that they were deemed superfluous by Latin grammarians. This need to justify an extension to the Latin alphabet is a clear example of how the vernacular willingly placed itself in the shackles of what it felt to be a culturally superior language. The <z> is termed as a dental fricative (*stridorem . . . interdum dentium*). This is not to say that all <z> are fricatives, since occasional spelling with <c> strongly suggests that some must be affricates (as in late Latin and early Romance). On the other hand, <k> is described as *fautium sonotitatem* (velar), which could, of course, mean the affricate /kx/, but this is unlikely, since the dialect in which Otfrid wrote (South Rhine Franconian) did not have the affricate /pf/ in initial position, and we would expect these two to go together. It is likely that Otfrid is here referring to heavy aspiration. We can deduce, therefore, that the other voiceless stops, /p/ and /t/, are also aspirated.

(iii) Weakening of vowels: Otfrid comments on the difficulty he experienced in conveying weakened vowels: ‘Sometimes I couldn’t use *a*, *e*, *i* or *u*: so in such cases it seemed right to employ a *y*’. It would seem, therefore, that Otfrid is attempting to render [ə] orthographically, e.g. *Yrfürbent* (l.27, prefix *ur-* > *ar-/ir-*). The corrector of the Vienna MS sometimes changes <er>/<ar> to <yr>. There are other signs of weakened vowels in Otfrid: the reflex of PGmc /ē/, which eventually merges with /ie/ (< PGmc /eu/), is spelt variously in the work as <ia> (e.g. *hiar* l.12), <io> and <ie>; similarly the reflex of PGmc /ō/ is rendered <ua> (e.g. *guallicho* l.3, *buachon* l.4), <ua>, <ya>, <ue>, <ye>, <uo>. Such variant spellings in one text strongly indicate that the second part of each diphthong has already been weakened to [ə]. On the other hand, the rhyme of *nót* with *gerédinot* (l.7) might well point against weakening, although we cannot be certain what the confines of Otfrid’s rhyme were or indeed whether the literary medium permitted ‘careful pronunciation’ alongside everyday spoken practice. In conclusion, it must be noted that writing is a conservative medium, and major signs of weakening in OHG are not clearly represented until Notker over a century later.

7.6 Morphology

7.6.1 Prefix *gi-*

The text is littered with examples of the prefix *ge-*, a complex issue in the Germanic languages. **ga-* is often said to have had perfective force, which explains why it became attached to the past participle, e.g. *gibüntan* (l.8), *girüstit* (l.14). Some verbs which are felt to be perfective in themselves did not take a prefix in the past participle, e.g. *findan* (see *eigun* . . . *füntan* l.8), *kommen*, *bringen*, *werden*, *treffen*. This phenomenon continues into ENHG.³ The passage also shows that verbs with inseparable prefixes did not ever take *ge-*, e.g. *bithuungan* (l.35).

The perfective force of *ge-* was used in OHG and in MHG to mark the future (with the present) and the pluperfect (with the preterite). It also appeared on imperatives (no examples in our passage) masc. subjunctives and infinitives, e.g. *gicleiptin* (l.2), *giméinti* (l.4), *gisagetin* (l.9), *giscribe* (l.17), *gihóhe* (l.32), *ginénne* (l.39); *gizéllen* (l.12), *ginennen* (l.12). Whilst it might be possible with some effort to determine the aspectual force which has come to bear on these verbs, it is likely that the prefix has already become ‘fuzzy’. In MHG *ge-* appears at random on infinitives and subjunctives. By this stage of OHG, the force of *ge-* might have weakened just enough for Otfrid to exploit the prefix as a means to fit the metre.

The prefix was an important feature of word-formation, e.g. *sizzen* (‘to sit’), *gisizzen* (‘to sit down’). However, as the perfective force of the prefix became less marked, it began to form variants with no difference in meaning, cf. *gilústi* (l.10) and *lústit* (l.14). An interesting parallel to this is the development of the prefix with nouns. Originally signifying a pair or grouping (e.g. *Geselle* ‘someone with

3 This phenomenon contributes to the form *worden* in the periphrastic passive – but since OE and OS freely have *ge-* forms, it is far from clear *exactly* how this arose.

whom one sat in hall *Saal*, Go *gaskohi* ‘pair of shoes’), this meaning is gradually eroded until the prefix can function simply as a general derivational device, e.g. *Getränk*.

The perfect

From the evidence of the earliest transmitted texts in individual languages it is clear that Germanic had radically simplified the rich verbal system of IE to two forms: past and non-past (i.e. preterite and present) modified by the aspectual prefix *ga-*. In OHG the beginnings of a periphrastic past tense with *habēn* do not appear until the ninth century (Otfrid uses it but prefers *eigun*). The following five sentences show the commonly held progression:

- (1) *phighboum habeta sum giflanzotan* (Tatian)
- (2) *sie eigun mir ginomanan liabon druhtin minan* (Otfrid)
- (3) *thaz eigut ir gihorit* (Otfrid)
- (4) *so wir eigun nu gisprochan* (Otfrid)
- (5) *uuir eigun gesundot* (Notker)

Initially, the construction relies on the past participle of transitive verbs and stands primarily in relation to the object of *habēn* or *eigan* (‘to possess’, NHG adj. ‘own’). In (1) therefore, the sentence reads: ‘someone had a planted fig-tree’. The next stage is when the participle ceases to represent the resultant action of the verb in adjectival form and begins to convey its action (2). This stage is usually marked by the dropping of the adjectival ending from the past participle. Otfrid retains the ending only three times out of 43 and in each case this occurs in the rhyme position (as in 2). It is not until Otfrid that we have written evidence of the perfect spreading to all transitive verbs (3) and to verbs without nominal objects, e.g. (4) where the verb relies on another clause as its ‘object’. At the beginning of the eleventh century, Notker puts intransitive verbs into the perfect – but due to an almost complete lack of continuous German texts between Otfrid and Notker it is difficult to date this final stage. This development is paralleled (perhaps even preceded and influenced by) a periphrastic perfect of certain (perhaps perfective) intransitive verbs with *wesan*, e.g. *druhtin was irstantan* (Otfrid).

There are various approaches to the question of the genesis of verb periphrasis in German. On the one hand, it was once assumed that this tense developed under the influence of Latin – Vulgar Latin had a periphrasis with *habeo* which survived in Romance. On the other hand, it has been argued that Old Icelandic developed a periphrasis in isolation from Latin, and that the individual Germanic languages show signs of it at different stages and rates. (One mystery, for instance, is that OS has the full range of forms outlined above before OHG.) Germanic languages, therefore, have been described as having a systemic tendency to develop periphrasis. It is likely that the solution lies somewhere between both views: the Germanic languages (perhaps with the weakening of *ga-* as an aspectual marker) sought to supplement their options for conveying tense (especially for translating) and did so under the influence of contact with other languages, e.g. in the case of OHG, with Romance within the Frankish Empire.

At this point, the perfect is not yet grammaticalized, with the consequence that its relation to other verb forms in the system is still unfixed. Two examples from our passage demonstrate this:

iz dúnkal eigun fúntan, zisámáne gibúntan (1.8)
E'igun sie iz bithénkit (1.23)

The first appears surrounded by verbs in the preterite, the second by verbs in the present. It cannot be argued, therefore, that the perfect is functioning exclusively as a tense that relates the past to the moment of utterance. Rather, at this stage, it seems to be operating in free variation with the preterite, i.e. with no difference in meaning. Strangely this is how the relationship between preterite and perfect – after a complex history of interaction (for summary, see Wells 1987: 243–4) – is to be settled by NHG where, in southern Germany, for instance, the difference is one of register, with the preterite mainly reserved for the medium of writing, the perfect for speech. (For an alternative view, see Engel 1991: 494–6.)

7.7 Word-formation

7.7.1 Prefixation

The text displays some of the main features of OHG word-formation. Table 7.1 follows convention by taking the adjective as the base form:

(i) In PIE all major word classes had declensional classes, so adjectives 'behaved' rather like nouns. Whilst Germanic re-ordered the system to allow each adjective to decline in two distinct ways (the roots of the strong and weak adjectival endings), and therefore formed a distinct word-class, there is residual evidence of the old class system. In OHG, most adjectives end in a consonant, but some old stems such as *reini* (*ja*-stem) have been retained.

(ii) Adverbs were formed from certain cases of the IE adjective. Most OHG adverbs end in *-o* (the neut. abl. of the *o*-stem), whilst others select one ending from a range of cases, e.g. *gahes* (gen. 'quick'), *lutzil* (acc. 'little'). As opposed to NHG, therefore, OHG non-inflected adjectives and adverbs had separate forms. By MHG this was still the case, with the opposition reduced to *-ø* : *-e*. This might account for variants of modern adverbs such as *gern/gerne*.

Table 7.1 OHG word-formation

<i>lexeme</i>	<i>derivational method</i>	<i>category</i>
(1) <i>reini</i> (1.20)	–	adjective
(2) <i>reino</i> (1.7)	suffix <i>-o</i>	adverb
(3) <i>reinī</i> (1.6)	suffix <i>-ī</i>	noun
(4) <i>reिनot</i> (1.28)	weak verb <i>-ōn</i>	verb
(5) <i>irreिनot</i> (1.29)	weak verb <i>-ōn</i> + <i>ir-</i> prefix	verb

(iii) Although the suffix *-t* was productive and frequent in Germanic for deriving the designation of properties from adjectives, it was eradicated from MHG onwards in words of more than one syllable due to apocope. It lost its productivity, was overtaken by *-heit/-keit*, and survives only in a small group of words with a monosyllabic base, e.g. *Größe, Kälte*.

(iv) Since, with the exception of prefixation, strong verbs are derivationally unproductive, weak verbs are at the centre of German verbal word-formation. OHG had three classes of weak verb, each with its own word-formational tendencies:

- (a) *-jan* verbs were causative or factitive, e.g. *breiten* (1.2 'to spread') < *breit* ('broad').
- (b) *-ōn* verbs were mainly denominative (i.e. they derived from verbs and adjectives), e.g. *reinon* (1.28 'to make clean').
- (c) *-ēn* verbs were mainly durative, e.g. *armēn* ('to get old').

Although the distinction between the classes of weak verbs disappears by MHG due to the weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables, it is still the weak pattern which is productive in the formation of new words, e.g. NHG *mailen, kicken*, etc.

(v) The particles that could be prefixed to Germanic verbs were originally free-standing adverbs and prepositions. By OHG, only a smaller number could function in this way, the majority having become attached to verbs. Since they were unstressed in verbs, prefixes appeared in various forms in OHG, e.g. *Go us* ('out of'/'away from') shows up as *ar-*, *ur-*, *ir-* (*irreinet* 1.29) and *er-* (as seen in NHG). The noun, however, placed stress on the prefix and retained its original full vowel (e.g. OHG *urteil*).

7.7.2 Suffixation

Like prefixes, Germanic suffixes were also originally separate word forms. This process is neatly illustrated by one line of our passage – *Tharāna dātun sie ouh thaz dūam: ōgdun iro uuisduam* – in which *dūam* represents the original meaning 'status', whilst *uuisduam* shows how this suffix (NHG *-tum*) works: wisdom = the status of being wise.

7.7.3 Compounding

The phrase *hēlphantes bēin* (1.16) shows the principle on which some compound nouns are formed (*Zusammenrückung*), i.e. the genitive case morphology helps to link the two components. The masc./neut. genitive case marker spreads by analogy to compounds which have fem. nouns as the first component, e.g. *Liebesroman*. In point of fact, the compound noun for 'ivory' that eventually enters the standard language follows the other pattern of compounding (*Zusammensetzung*), which involves no case morphology: *Elfenbein*. It is interesting that the compound retained an <h> until Luther, because the German term for 'elephant' was understood by a false etymology with the verb 'to help'.

7.8 Syntax

In this passage, Otfred shows himself to be heavily reliant on the subjunctive:

*Vuas liuto filu in flize, in managemo ágaleize
sie thaz in scríp gicleiptin, thaz sie iro námon breittin* (ll.1–2)

NHG: Es eiferten viele Völker in immer neuem Bemühen, das schriftlich festzuhalten, was den Ruhm ihres Namens ausbreiten konnte.⁴

*Nu es filu manno inthihit, in sína zungún scríbit,
ioh ilit, er gigahe, thaz sinax io gihohe* (ll.31–2)

NHG: Da sich so viele Menschen bemühen, in ihrer Sprache zu schreiben, und eifrig darangehen, ihren Ruhm zu erhöhen ...

*Uuánana sculun Fráncon éinon thaz biuuánkon,
ni sie in frénkisgon biginnen, sie gótes lób singen?* (ll. 33–4)

NHG: Weshalb sollten die Franken als einzige verzichten und nicht in fränkischer Sprache das Lob Gottes singen.

In each of these examples the subjunctive is used where one might expect to find an infinitive clause in Modern German, as the translations by Haug and Vollmann (1991: 85–7) clearly show. Whilst Otfred might have been influenced more than others by Latin practice, it is certainly the case that the infinitive clause is not as central a feature of OHG and MHG as it is in NHG. In contexts such as the above, the verb in NHG is used in separate clauses with the subjunctive (and increasingly the indicative) only if the subject is different in each part of the clause, e.g. *er wollte das machen* ('he wanted [himself] to do it') : *er wollte, daß sie das machte* ('he wanted her to do it'). The subjunctive clauses in ll.3ff. and ll.37ff. conform to this latter pattern.

Further reading

Schlosser (1996); Vollmann-Profe (1976).

⁴ The last clause could also be final, *um den Ruhm ihres Namens auszubreiten*.

8 Political praise poem

The *Ludwigslied*

8.1 Context

The former Frankish Empire, weakened by internal dissent among Charlemagne's successors, came under constant attack on all of its frontiers: the Moors from the south, the Avars from the east and the Vikings from the north. The Vikings, who had begun their raids on Continental Europe in 834, returned (having briefly devoted their attention to England) with a vengeance in the 870s. On 3 August 881, King Louis of the West Franks (Louis III of France), a grandson of Charles the Bald who had received the western part of Charlemagne's empire at its partition (see *Strasbourg Oaths*, ch. 6), returned from the South of France, where he had been helping his brother Carolman (1.19), to secure a rare and famous local victory over the Vikings at Saucourt. These *Northmanni*, as they are called in the poem, were later settled by Charles the Simple (another brother of the protagonist) on the Seine, where they became Christian vassals of the French King and began to speak their own brand of French, and from where a century and a half later their descendants invaded England.

The *Ludwigslied* (LL) which celebrates the victory is one of the very few accurately datable works in OHG, since Louis died on 5 August almost exactly a year after his finest hour, but is referred to in the poem as a living monarch (1.1,1.6). The poem is curiously positioned in a ninth-century MS (now in Valenciennes) that otherwise contains Latin and the *Sequence of St Eulalia*, the oldest surviving poem in OF (see Ayres-Bennett 1996: 31–9). It is the only MS to contain both OF and OHG material, and curiously both of these poems are written in the same hand. Generically, however, the poem is less easy to locate, since it stands alone in OHG. It is held by some to belong to the Germanic tradition of the praise song (*Preislied*), although the only other early evidence for this genre is to be found in ON and in references contained in the OE *Beowulf*. Stylistically, the poet seems to be heading in two directions: on the one hand, compounds such as *haranskara* (1.14) and phrases like *Obar seo lidan* (1.11) are straight out of the epic (see 4.6); on the other hand, the alliteration of that genre is dropped in favour of the end-rhyme of the Christian–Latin tradition (see 7.3). Whatever the genre of this particular text, the praise poem becomes an important feature of medieval political life and reaches its apogee in the thirteenth century with Walther von der Vogelweide.

Whilst it is clear that the work's primary mode of reception was that of public recital (at victory celebrations?), there have been several intriguing theories as to the poem's intentions: (i) International propaganda: Louis the Younger of the Eastern Empire had died in 882 leaving no obvious successor to defend Germany against the Vikings, and the poem might have been composed in German (as opposed to French) in order to lay out manifesto-style the Western monarch's credentials as a future ruler of the East. (ii) Home affairs: Louis had clashed with the influential Bishop Hincmar of Reims – the only historiographer to downplay the victory – over the appointment of bishops. The theocentric schema of the poem in which an old-testamental God punishes the Franks for their sinful ways, but saves them by sending the Christ-like Louis, is of interest in this connection. (iii) Local interest: Gozlin, abbot of St Amand (Flanders), the monastery in which the poem was probably written down, had particularly strong aristocratic connections and had himself fought against the Vikings. It is quite possible that the LL was composed with a number of these factors in mind.

8.2 Text and translation

**Einan kuning ueeiz ih . Heizsit her hluduig .
Ther gerno gode thionot . Ih ueeiz her Imos lonot .**

**Kind uuarth her faterlos . Thes uuarth Imo sar buoz .
Holoda Inan truhtin . Magaczogo uuarth her sin .**

**5 Gab her imo dugidi . Fronisc gi-thigini .
Stuol hier In urankon . So bruche her es lango .**

**Thaz gi-deilder thanne . Sar mit karlemanne .
Bruoder sinemo . Thia czala uuunniono .**

**10 So thaz uuarth al gendiot . Koron uuolda sin god .
Ob her arbeidi . So lung tholon mahti .**

**Lietz her heidine man . Obar seo lidan .
Thiot urancono . manon sun-diono .**

**Sume sar uer-lorane . Uuurdun sum ęrkorane .
Haranskara tholota . Ther er misselebeta .**

**15 Ther ther thanne thiob uuas . Inđ ęr thanana ginas .
Nam sina uaston . Sidh uuarth her guot man .**

**Sum uuas luginari . Sum skachari .
Sum fol loses . Inđ ęr gi-buozta sih thes .**

**20 Kuning uuas er-uirrit . Thaz richi al girrit .
Uuas er-bolgan krist . Leidhor thes Ingald iz .**

**Thoh er-barmedes got . Uuuisser alla thia not .
Hiez her hluduigan . Tharot sar ritan .**

- Hluduig kuning min . Hilph · minan liutin .
 Heigun sa north-man . Harto bi-duuungan .
- 25 Thanne sprah hluduig . Herro so duon ih .
 Dot ni rette mir iz . Al thaz . thu giubiudist .
- Tho nam her godes urlub . Huob her gundfanon uf .
 Reit her thara In urankon . Ingagan north-mannon .

(Text: Wipf 1992: 156–8)¹

I know a king, his name is Ludwig, he gladly serves God: I know that he [God] will reward him for it. As a child, he became fatherless, amends were quickly made to him for this. The Lord took him and became his foster-father. He gave him a ruler's gifts, a ruler's companions, the throne here in Francia, long may he reign! He shared [all] this forthwith with Karlman, his brother, a number of these good things. When all this had been completed, God wanted to test him [to see] whether he could endure suffering so young. He caused heathens to sail across the sea in order to remind the people of the Franks of their sins. Some were saved, some were lost; he who had previously lived evilly endured great suffering; he who had been a thief and got away with his life took the fast and became henceforth a good man. One man was a liar, one a robber, another a loose liver and he [each] made amends for this. The king was absent, the kingdom in disarray. Christ was angry. Alas it [the kingdom] paid for this. Yet God took pity, he knew of all the distress. He bade Ludwig ride thither forthwith: 'Ludwig, my king, help my people! The Norsemen have sorely oppressed them'. Then spoke Ludwig: 'Lord, unless death prevents me, I shall do all you command'. He took his leave from God, raised up the battle standard and rode into Francia towards the Norsemen.

8.3 Orthography

There are two main points of orthographical interest in this text. (i) A few cases of anomalous initial <h> might point to French influence but are also susceptible of other explanations: *Heigun* (l.24) might stand in an analogous relation to *haben*; *Hludwig* (passim) is almost certainly a deliberate archaic form of that name (perhaps to lend historical weight to the protagonist?), since the word from which it derives – *luto* (l.31) – appears elsewhere in the poem without <h>. (ii) The text displays uncertainty over affricates and fricatives. Whilst in other OHG German texts of the period the fricative reflex of PGmc /t/ is usually spelt as <zz> (shortened to <z> after long vowels and diphthongs), the LL has either <zs> (e.g. *heizsit* l.1, which appears elsewhere only in the Monsee fragments) or <tz> (e.g. *Lietz* l.11, which is usually reserved for affricates, but which we expect here to represent [s]). Occasionally the affricate reflex of PGmc /t/ is rendered <cz>

¹ - marks words divided in the MS which normally belong together; . placed under a word marks where the edition has made a division but the MS has not.

(e.g. *magaczogo* l.3, *czala* l.8). In addition, there is confusion about the symbol <z>, e.g. *er-barmedez* (l.21) rather than the expected *er-barmedez* (cf also *iz*, l.20). Whilst it has been held that this particular orthographical complex suggests that the reflexes of PGmc /t/ in this dialect lay somewhere between LG /t/ and HG /z/, it is more likely that we are dealing with a 'spasmodic attempt to distinguish spirant from affricate' (Harvey, 1945: 14).

A range of possible explanations for these orthographical features suggest themselves. There can be little doubt that the scribe, who was responsible for writing down the two vernacular works in the MS only, was influenced by French. Similar orthographical variation in the representation of fricatives occur in the OF which he had transcribed immediately prior to working on the German, e.g. the underlined consonants in the following words stand for fricatives *paramenz*, *empedementz*, *lazsier* (like *Heizsit* l.1) (see Penzl 1986: 125). It is likely that the scribe was bilingual (perhaps this is why he was chosen for the task), although it is unclear which was his stronger language. It is quite possible that he had never seen written German before and was making his own attempt to make distinctions between the sounds of the language without recourse to previous models of writing.

8.4 Dialect

8.4.1 Phonology

Some features of the text point beyond peculiarities of orthography to the level of phonology. Whilst both the vowels and consonants of the text to a large extent suggest the Rhine Franconian dialect (for summary, see Harvey 1945: 11–12), there are several significant and consistent deviations which cannot be ignored.

(i) Unlike the 2SS, the change of PGmc /θ/ > /d/ can be observed over 'real time', spreading in MSS from south to north from the eighth century to the eleventh century. There can be little doubt that it interacts in some way with the shift of PGmc /d/ to /t/, the only shifted voiced phoneme of the 2SS to extend beyond UG. Based on a snap-shot of the late ninth century, Wells (1987: 80) argues that phonemic oppositions are kept intact. (For a theoretical discussion of the complexities of these relations, see Penzl 1986: 134.) It is revealing to compare the state of these phonemes with typical Rhine Franconian around the time of composition. From Table 8.1 it can be seen that the state of both consonants in word-final position points undoubtedly to a LG contact zone; and the fact that final <th> is carried out invariably would indicate that it was a feature of the original composition rather than a later scribal addition.

(ii) The quality of consonants in two rhymes points to possible Mid Franconian influence: (a) the rhyme of *hludwig* : *ih* (l.1) suggests that final <g> could be a fricative; (b) the rhyme of *urlub* : *uf* (l.27) would be equally impure in LG (*urluf* ≠ *uɸ*), but not in Mid Franconian where the preposition is *up*. Both instances throw up a methodological problem, since they assume that the rhymes are pure, which is not always the case (see 7.3). We can therefore be less certain of Mid Franconian influence than about that of LG.

Table 8.1 Distribution of PGmc /d/ and /θ/ in some historical dialects

	PGmc /d/ > OHG /t/		
	<i>initial</i>	<i>intervocalic</i>	<i>final</i>
Rhine Franconian	d	d/t	t
LL	d	d/t	t/d
Low German	d	d	d
examples	<i>duḡidi</i> (1.5) <i>duon</i> (1.25)	<i>holoda</i> (1.4) <i>riḡan</i> (1.20)	<i>guot</i> (1.16) <i>god</i> (1.9)
	PGmc /θ/ > OHG /d/		
	<i>initial</i>	<i>intervocalic</i>	<i>final</i>
Rhine Franconian	th	d	d
LL	th	d	th
Low German	th	th	th
examples	<i>ther</i> (passim) <i>tholon</i> (1.10)	<i>bruoder</i> (1.8) <i>heidine</i> (1.11) ²	<i>warth</i> (passim) <i>North-man</i> (1.24) ³

8.4.2 Morphology

There is further evidence of LG influence in three areas of morphology: (i) Weak verbs of class III (-ēn) have transferred to class II (-ōn), e.g. *tholon* (1.10). Whilst this feature can be found in other HG texts, it becomes more frequent in northern dialects and is very common in OS. (ii) The text consistently uses the form *her* for the 3rd p. sg. masc. pronoun. In LG this form is represented as *he* (there is one occurrence of this in the LL 1.40), in HG as *er*. In border areas (and indeed in many OHG texts) there is some evidence of contamination which produces *her*. (iii) The reflex of *jō*-stem nouns is recorded with absolute regularity as *-i-*, e.g. *uuunniono* (1.8), *sun-diōno* (1.12). Whilst it is difficult to build up an accurate chronology for this dialect feature – it begins to disappear in the eighth century but arises polygenetically and at various rates – it is found only rarely in HG dialects of this period (e.g. in the Bavarian *Exhortatio*), and after double consonants appears invariably as *-e*.

8.4.3 Language death

On the basis of this combined evidence, the following may be deduced. Whilst the dialect of the poem is mainly Rhine Franconian, there are deviations from this which point invariably to LG and Mid Franconian. These two dialect areas

² The <h> in *leidhor* (1.20) is probably spurious. The <h> in *quadhum*, however, is probably due to analogical levelling of VL consonants (see 2.3.2), with the <th> of the past sg. *quath* spreading to the plural *quadhum* < **quadum*. The <h> could then be accounted for as evidence for an intermediary voicing stage in /th/ > /d/ (as is possibly also the case in *sidh* 1.16, cf the *Strasburg Oaths* 6.3).

³ The <t> in *dot* (1.26) is probably a misspelling for <th>.

both border the region in which the poem was probably composed. One possible explanation is that we are dealing with the dialect of German spoken in the eastern part of West Francia, i.e. the German spoken in what was in the ninth century becoming France. In France, as later in England, the language of the conquered rather than the conqueror survived. We cannot be certain when German died out, but its rate of disappearance probably depended on geographical and sociological factors: in areas far away from German-speaking territories and in the lower ranks (where there was frequent interaction with the native Romance speakers), it is likely that German faded away most quickly. In the eastern regions of West Francia, however, there was a greater likelihood of bilingualism, since many nobles (including the members of the monastery of St Amand) held land in both parts of the former empire. There are two invaluable historical references to the question of language in ninth-century Gaul: (i) an anecdote about a monk teaching French to two German-speaking sons of a Frankish aristocrat, the inference being that they could not learn it in the border regions; (ii) the case of Lupus of Ferrières – himself the product of a linguistically mixed marriage (Bavarian and Romance) and a keen Germanist (he was accused on his return from Fulda of neglecting the scriptures for German) – who sent two nephews on a successful three-year trip to learn German at the monastery of Prüm. What emerges here is a picture of German fighting against the linguistic flow. Whilst for the aristocracy (i.e. the former conquerors) it was, in the words of Lupus, ‘especially in these days, important to use German’, French was gaining an unassailable position.

8.5 Searching for phonetic reality

Several aspects of orthography, metre and syntax allow us to probe beyond the text and make some comments about the possible phonetic reality behind the symbols on the page. (i) The fact that *gideilda her* can contract to *gi-deilder* (l.7) suggests that initial PGmc /h/ (< PIE /k/) had become breathy. (ii) It is likely that there is only one /d/ phoneme (internally). This can be deduced from the fact that <d> and <t> appear in: (a) similar phonetic and grammatical environments, e.g. *Holoda* (l.4) – *tholota* (l.16); (b) identical words – *got* (l.21) – *god* (l.9); (c) the rhyme *gendiot* – *god* (l.9). (iii) The normal inflection of *uaston* (l.16) is *-in* (as in *zunga*), which Braune and Mitzka (1969) state is maintained through to Notker. We cannot be sure, therefore, whether the inflection is best interpreted as a sign of weakening or simply as an oddity. Similarly, the normal inflection of *minan* (l.23) is *-en*, which is also maintained by Notker. In fact *-an* is found only in some earlier sources (Braune and Mitzka 1969: §249.11), thus meaning that what at first looks like weakening could well be a reflex of earlier morphology. The opposite view, however, is taken by Penzl (1986: 131), who interprets the inflection more boldly as orthographic confusion which points to a phonemic reality, i.e. weakening of short vowels to [ə]. If we could rely on purity of rhyme it would be possible to back up his argument by citing *tholota* : *misselbeta* (l.14) as definitive evidence for weakening.

8.6 Syntax

8.6.1 Word order

The range of word order possibilities on display in this passage make it no surprise that Germanic word order is a hotly disputed topic. It is now held that PIE placed the finite verb in final position, although individual languages (e.g. Greek) allowed some unemphatic verbs ('to be', 'to say') to be attached enclitically to the first element in the sentence, i.e. to go into second position. In the earliest sources of the individual Germanic languages, there is certainly a tendency to place the finite verb second in main clauses, last or in a retarded position in dependent clauses; and first in commands and in unmarked questions and conditionals. Whilst it is uncertain whether Germanic had an intermediary stage, it is clear that the move from PIE to the individual Germanic languages is, in main clauses, one from S[ubject] O[bject] V[erb] to SVO. A consequence of this latter pattern is that the verb increasingly dominates sentence structure.

By OHG there is a distinct opposition between main and dependent clause word order. Finite verbs tend to come second in main clauses and may be preceded by a range of grammatical categories. It would seem that the flexibility of Modern German, which often gives some stress to any category placed before the verb except the subject, is already established by this stage, see Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Word-order patterns in the *Ludwigslied*

<i>1st position</i>	<i>2nd position</i>		
<i>sum</i> (subject)	<i>uwas</i>	<i>luginari</i>	(1.17)
<i>Einan kuning</i> (object)	<i>uueiz</i>	<i>ih</i>	(1.1)
<i>Sidh</i> (adverb)	<i>uuarth</i>	<i>her guot man</i>	(1.16)
<i>Thes</i> (genitive proform)	<i>uuarth</i>	<i>Imo sar buoz</i>	(1.3)

It is possible for another clause to come in first position, although this is rare in OHG and the position of the main clause verb which follows it is flexible: compare *Ther ther [. . .] uwas*, *Ind[. . .]ginas*, *Nam sina uaston* (ll.15–16: main verb first in its clause, second overall); and *So thaz uuarth al gendiut*, *Koron uuolda sin god* (1.9: finite verb second in its clause, further complicated by infinite verb). In subordinate clauses the finite verb in this passage is always placed at the end (even when there is no introductory conjunction, e.g. 1.2b), although there is some flexibility in the positioning of finite and infinite verb forms in combination, compare *So thaz uuarth al gendiut* (1.9) and *Ob her tholon mahti* (1.10).

Whilst this general opposition between main and dependent clause structure holds for OHG and establishes itself by MHG as the pattern of German word order, the LL contains two key variations in the main clause: (i) Verb last in main

clause, e.g. *Sume sar uer-lorane Uuurdun* (l.13). This is quite rare in OHG, but its presence is enough to suggest that Germanic cannot have entirely eradicated traces of original IE word order. (ii) Verb first in main clause, examples of which occur in considerable number. Two are imperatives (ll.6, 23), and others might be explained in terms of metre (e.g. *Lietz her [. . .] lidan*, l.11: stress and alliteration between first and final words), and rhyme (e.g. *Heizsit her hludwig*, l.1: proper name now rhymes with *ih*). On other occasions, verb in initial position has dramatic effect: *Was er-bolgan krist* (l.20), *Huob* (l.27), *Reit* (l.28). (Otfrid often places verbs in this position to mark the beginning of a new section.) However, the number of finite verbs in initial position is too significant to be explained in terms of poetic technique alone. Germanic must have permitted this position, although its force is unclear. By OHG it is rare outside poetic texts, which might suggest that its noticeable presence in this poem is due either to a deliberately archaizing style and/or literary convention.

8.6.2 Articles

Taking a NHG translation (Haug and Vollmann 1991: 146–9) as a basis of comparison, the following pattern of usage in definite and indefinite articles emerges:

present in LL?	+	–
definite	4	7
indefinite	1	6

This pattern conforms to general OHG usage of the article in two ways: (i) the article is used about as often as it is not; (ii) when one is used, it is usually the definite. The development of the article until this stage is, however, a matter of some debate. PIE had neither article (cf Latin), whilst Greek developed a definite article. Gothic does not need to translate the Greek article, whilst OHG often inserts an article in translations from Latin where it was lacking. This indicates that there was probably no article in the strictest sense in Germanic. The definite article derives from the demonstrative (this can still be felt in Modern German expressions such as *an dem Morgen*, ‘on that morning’), and is older in German than the indefinite article (derived from the numeral) which appears for the first time in Otfrid. (In NHG the indefinite article is more often omitted in contexts in which it might be expected than the definite article, e.g. *er ist Student; Morgenstunde hat Gold im Munde; zu Bett gehen*.) There is no consensus as to why the article arose: many contend that it was needed to mark case due to the loss of inflections in the wake of the fixing of the accent on the root syllable in Germanic (although Greek is an example of a language which had noun inflections *and* an article); others maintain that the rise of the article actually contributed to the loss of inflectional case morphology; some claim that its appearance in OHG can be explained in terms of Gallo-Romance; for yet others it arises because of an innate systemic tendency. Whilst the most satisfactory explanation probably lies in some combination of these approaches, it can be observed with confidence that the gradual systemization of the article begins in the OHG period.

8.7 Word-formation

The passage contains some examples of typical OHG derivation. (i) *Magaczogo* (1.4, meaning ‘foster father’, ‘personal tutor’) is a combination of derivation and compounding. The first element is cognate with OS *magu* ‘son’; the second is a weak masc. *nomina agentis* derived from the strong verbs *ziohan* (‘to educate’) – other OHG examples are: *helfo* (vowel of the present), *slango* (< pret. vowel of *slingan*, ‘to turn’), *boto* (vowel of the participle). Most nouns of this type have been replaced by forms with *-er* (<OHG *-âri*, e.g. *luginâri* 1.17 = NHG *Lügner*). Compounds of this type are rare and now opaque in NHG, e.g. *Herzog* (< OHG *herizogo*). (ii) *Fronisc* (1.5) relies on the suffix *-isc* (still productive in NHG *-isch*) which was loaned into Italian (*-esco*) and French (*-esque*) and originally meant ‘pertaining to’. From this starting point it developed its range to designate characteristics (e.g. *kindisch*) and in loans also serves as the equivalent of Latin *-iscus* (e.g. *historisch*).⁴ In this instance it derives an adjective from the weak noun *frō* (‘Lord’), which survives today in compounds such as *Fronleichnam* (‘Corpus Christi’) and *Fronarbeit* (‘feudal service required by an overlord’), as well as the verb *frönen* (‘to indulge in something [usually negative]’) and the feminine derivative *Frau*. (iii) *Urankon* (1.6) is the dat. pl. of *Frankō* (‘a Frank’) which originally meant ‘among the Franks’ and then ‘in Franconia’. Many other designations for German regions share this etymology, e.g. *Bayern*, *Sachsen*, *Thüringen*.

Further reading

Harvey (1945)

⁴ NB NHG *lignerisch* is therefore a product of double derivation.

9 Phrasebook

The *Paris Conversations*

9.1 Context

Since most OHG texts are translation-based, judgements about the early stages of the language can only be formulated after careful consideration of the various types of influence which come to bear on its written forms: OHG innovation has to be glimpsed between Germanic inheritance and the constraints of Latin. The question of how the earliest German was actually *spoken*, moreover, leaves linguists very much in the dark. Sonderegger (1971) outlines how and where such sparse information might be extracted from the texts: transmission of names (e.g. St Gallen's shortened note form *Albeni* : *Albewini* document form); glossaries (e.g. L *considera* : OHG idiom *nim gouma*); individual words and forms (e.g. Tatian, *nio in altare* 'keineswegs'); certain syntactic formulations (e.g. Merserburger Zauberspruch, *du uuart demo Balderes uolon sin uuoꝝ birenkit* 'Balder's horse's foot was sprained' – genitive expressed via dative as in many dialects today, 'dem Pferd des Balder sein Fuß'); some reflexes in direct speech (cf *Tatian* : L *quis es* : OHG *uuer bist thu thanne*). Apart from prayers, confessions and baptismal oaths – which must all be seen against the background of Latin originals (see 3.6) – there are only two OHG texts which are entirely based upon spoken German: the Kassel Glosses and the Paris/OHG Conversations (PC). Both texts seem to be intended for non-German travellers. Following the dialogue model of language teaching used from late antiquity (e.g. *Hermeneumata* c.200 AD which contained models of Greek conversation for Latin learners; see also Ælfric's Latin conversations for OE speakers), the PC introduce noble adults to the phrases needed for a range of activities, some of which stretch to the activities of the bawdiest modern business trip. Both texts are unique in OHG in that they reverse the usual relationship between Latin and German, using the former to explicate the latter.

In the late ninth century/early tenth century, the PC were transcribed by a French scribe into the margins of an *Abavus plenior*-type glossary contained in an early ninth-century southern French. The MS was subsequently split in two, with the *Abavus plenior* and its OHG marginalia, which straddled the divide, ending up in parts in Paris (hence the title PC) and the Vatican. The French scribe also transcribed a list of place names (carefully arranged from North to South) in the bishopric of Sens, which, together with deductions possible on the basis of the geographical distribution of certain French scribal habits (see 9.3.1), point to where the PC were transcribed. This would put at least part of the responsibility for the PC in the

region of the active 'Germanist' Lupus of Ferrières (see 8.4.3), and although no firm connection can be made, it is intriguing to note that the PC supplement their vocabulary for the parts of the body and everyday phrases with a few excerpts from the Tatian (some direct, some cut and pasted together) which had been in its completion stages during Lupus' seven-year stay at Fulda (829–836) (see Haubrichs 1972; Haubrichs and Pfister 1989: 6–11).

Unfortunately, we cannot plunge straight into the PC expecting to hear spoken OHG. Penzl (1984: 399) suggests that the text's reliance on OF orthographical practices is reminiscent of language guides written for the modern military services abroad. Indeed, reading the PC is not unlike being confronted with such guides, as the following example taken from the British *Phrase Book for the Services in Germany* (Army Code No. 13799, 1977) shows: *nicht owf dair boh-d'n shpook'n*, 'do not spit on the floor' (NB case error). However, to come closer to the truth, we must imagine a more complex modern analogy: an intelligent English speaker learns German in Germany without the aid of books, returns home with 'second-language fluency' and, perhaps after some time, writes down a list of useful phrases on a cramped piece of paper; some time later another English person with no knowledge of German copies these out. Whilst this analogy is not the only possible way of describing the genesis of the PC, it does put in place some of its key components. To understand and evaluate the PC we must first peel away two layers: the influence of French on both scribe and author (10.3) and the mistakes of the non-native speaker author (10.4).

9.2 Text and translation

[1] Obethe. [2] Fassen. [8] An. [9] Ansko. [13] Elpe. [15] Guare uenge *inats* selida, gueselle *vel* geunoz? [16] Ze garaben us selida. [17] Guane cumet ger, brothro? [18] E cum mino dodon us. [19] *vel* e cum mer min erre us. [20] Gueliche lande cumen ger? [21] E guas mer in gene francia. [22] Guæz ge dar daden? [23] Enbez mer dar. [24] Guaren ger *inats* ze metina? [27] *vel* e ne quasa u thar. [28] Quesasti min erre ze metina? [29] Terue nain i. [34] Esconæ chanet. [35] Isnel canet. [42] Vndes ars in tine naso. [43] Min erro guillo tin esprachen. [51] Gimer min ros. [52] Gimer min schelt. [57] Gimer min matzer. [59] Guar es taz uip? [61] En ualde. [62] Ger ensclaphen bit te uip in ore bette. [63] Guez or erre az *pe de semauda* ger ensclaphen pe dez uip *so es terue u rebolgan*. [66] Gualdestu abe de tinen rose ter uht ze tine ruge? [67] Narra *er sarda* gerra. [72] Habes corne min rossa? [81] Be gotta gistra ne casa i or erra? [82] En gualiche steta colernen ger? [83] Guanna sarden ger? [92] Guar is tin quenna?

(Text: selection from Braune and Ebbinghaus 1979: 9–11)

[1] Head. [2] Hairs. [8] Hand. [9] Glove. [13] Help. [15] Where did you find somewhere to stay this night, friend *or* companion? [16] In the house/home of the count. [17] Where do you come/*are* you coming from, matey? [18] I am coming from my godfather's house. [19] *or* I am coming from my lord's house. [20] What land do you come/*are* you coming from? [21] I was

in that Francia. [22] What were you doing there? [23] I ate there. [24] Were you at early/late mass? [27] *or* I didn't see you there. [28] Did you see my lord at the early/late mass? [29] Indeed not! [34] Good vassal. [35] Brave vassal. [42] A dog's arse in [up?] your nose. [43] My lord wishes to speak to you. [51] Bring me my horse. [52] Bring me my shield. [57] Bring me my knife. [59] Where is your wife? [61] I don't know. [62] You were sleeping with your wife in your bed. [63] Upon my head, if your lord knew that you had been sleeping with the woman he would indeed be angry with you. [66] Do you want the hide of your horse on your back? [67] The fool, he likes to screw. [72] Do you have corn for my horse? [81] By God, I did not see your lord yesterday. [82] In which place did you learn? [83] How often do you screw? [92] Where is your wife?

9.3 The French filter and the non-native speaker

9.3.1 *The French filter*

We can ascertain that the scribe of this version was copying from a source, and indeed from one that he did not understand, for a number of reasons (Haubrichs and Pfister 1989: 12–15). These can be illustrated by quoting from the MS in which: (i) corrections (placed above the letters) have been inserted, e.g. (no 23) *enbet[z] mer dar*; (ii) similar letters are confused, e.g. (no 18) **cum us* > *g[c]unt si*; (iii) word divisions are confused, e.g. (no 82) *co ler nenger* = *colernen ger* and (no 18) *dodon'* where the abbreviation for *-us* (') is not in fact an inflection but a separate word, *dodon [h]us*.

It is difficult to ascertain what exactly is to be put down to the scribe as opposed to the original author. On the one hand, there are several features that would seem to point clearly to scribal influence: confusion over <i> and <e> (since Latin /i/ > Gallo-Romance /e/), e.g. OHG *mir, ih, ist* = PC *mer, e, es*, hypercorrect PC *gistra* for OHG *gest(e)ra* (no 81); confusion of <u> and <o> (since Latin /u/ > Gallo-Romance /o/), e.g. OHG *thu* = PC *do*, hypercorrect PC *rebulga* ≈ OHG *irbolgan* (no 63 'angered'); confusion over (de)gemination (since e.g. L *-tt-* > Gallo-Romance *-t-*), e.g. OHG *quena* = PC *quenna* (no 92), hypercorrect PC *metina* for OHG *mettina* (no 24). On the other hand, the scribe's ignorance of German might well mean that he did not interfere with the text a great deal. Moreover, we cannot tell how many of the French deposits on the written text might be due to the way in which the author's spoken German was influenced by his native tongue (compare, for instance, first generation Turkish speakers of German in the twentieth century). For instance, the reduction of the OF declensions in the ninth century to a two-case system (nom.: oblique), combined with the non-native speaker's probable perception of German as a four-case system,¹ might account for the confusion of dat. and acc. and the general lack of prepositions, e.g. *habes corne min rossa* (no 72). From whatever provenance, the key French features of the text are summarized in Table 9.1 (for fuller details, see Haubrichs and Pfister 1989: 16–46).

1 Due to the rarity of the instrumental.

Table 9.1 French influence on the PC

Feature	OHG	PC
1. Loss of aspirated [h]	<i>hantscuoh</i>	<i>ansco</i> (no 9)
2. <gu> = PGmc [w] ²	<i>welīh</i>	<i>gueliche</i> (no 20)
3. Neutralization of some voiced and voiceless stops	<i>gisach, bī</i>	<i>casa</i> (no 81), <i>pe</i> (no 63)
4. Prothetic vowel (<i>sk-/sp- > esc/esp; sn- > isn-</i>)	<i>sconi, snel</i>	<i>esconæ</i> (no 34), <i>isnel</i> (no 35)
5. Anaptyctic vowel with initial <i>kn-/gr-</i>	<i>kneht, grāwo</i>	<i>canet</i> (no 35), <i>garaben</i> (no 16)
6. Dissimilation in <i>sl-</i>	<i>in-slāfen</i>	<i>ensclephen</i> (no 62)
7. Loss of dental in final nasal cluster	<i>hant</i>	<i>an</i> (no 8)
8. Reflexive verbs	<i>ih was in</i>	<i>e guas mer in</i> (no 21) (= OF <i>soi ester</i>)

9.3.2 Non-native speaker errors

In nearly every grammatical category, the author of the PC deviates from standard OHG in two ways which are typical of non-native speakers of any language. (i) He makes 'sloppy' errors: (a) gender, e.g. *ter uht* (no 66, masc. for fem.); (b) noun class, e.g. *fassen* (no 2, declined weak rather than strong), *erre* (no 19, declined strong rather than weak); (c) person of verbs, e.g. *guillo* (no 43, 1st p. ending for 3rd); (d) verb tense, e.g. *colernen* (no 82, pres. for pret.), *sarda* (no 67, pret. for pres.); (e) verb mood, *elpe* (no 13, subj. for imp.). (ii) He is moving towards systemic simplifications, typical of longer-term total immersion second language acquirers, which might well support the scenario suggested in 9.1: (a) Case in determiners, possessives and adjectives (mainly nom. for oblique case), e.g. *in tine naso* (no 42, nom. for acc./dat.) – Klein (2000: 49) shows that at most only four such forms correspond to 'normal OHG', with two thirds favouring *-e* or *-o* morphs in oblique cases rather than the expected *-VC* or *-VCV*; (b) uniform verb pl. morph *-en*, e.g. *Guanne sarden ger* (no 83, pres.), *Ger ensclephen* (no 62, pret.); (c) spread of 2nd p. sg. pres. *-s* to pret., e.g. *Quesasti* (no 28 = OHG *Gisáhi du*). (For an alternative analysis, see Berschin and Lühr 1995.)

9.4 Dialect

Table 9.2 shows the clear mix of LG and HG dialect features in the PC (see Huismann 1969; Haubrichs and Pfister 1989; Klein 2000). (i) Distinctly LG: monophthongization of PGmc /ai/ and /au/ in all positions, yet no diphthongization of PGmc /ɛ/ and /ō/ (see 3.4), a combination shared on the continent only with OS and OFris; uniform verb pl. morph (see 9.3.2); <u> for <e> in the verb 'to come'. PC *ger* (< WGmc **jer*) is probably a compromise between LG forms without *-r* (e.g. OS *gī, ge*, OE *gē*, E *you*) and OHG *ir*. (ii) Distinctly HG: 2SS; dative pronouns such as *mir* rather than LG *mī, mē*. On the basis of this and other information we can reach three different conclusions. First, Haubrichs and Pfister (1989) call on intervocalic *-β-* and *-ɣ-* (= WGmc fricative allophones

2 Germanic loans into OF undergo the process [w] > [gw] > [g], e.g. Mod F *guerre* = Mod E *war*, cf OHG *wēn*.

Table 9.2 Dialect features of PC

Feature	PC	OHG	PC	Mid Fr.	OLFr.	OFris	OS	OE
Monophthongization of PGmc /ai / and /au/ to /ē/ and /ō/ in all environments	<i>obethe</i> (no 1)	<i>houbit</i>	+ ³	-	+/-	+	+	+
No diphthongization of PGmc /ē/ and /ō/	<i>ansco</i> (no 9)	<i>hantscuoh</i>	+	- ⁴	-	+	+	+
<i>hs > ss; ht > t</i>	<i>fassen</i> (no 2)	<i>fahs</i>	+	+	+	-	-	-
<i>u</i> for <i>e</i> in 'kommen'	<i>cumet</i> (no 17)	<i>quemit</i>	+	- ⁴	+	+	+	+
Unified verb plural morph	<i>-en</i> (no 17)	3-way	+	- ⁴	-	+	+	+
<i>gī/gē/ge</i> (< WGmc * <i>jer</i>)	<i>ger/cher</i> (no 17)	<i>ir</i>	(+)	- ⁵	+	+	+	+
<i>-r</i> in dative pronouns	<i>mer</i> (no 21)	<i>mīr</i>	+	+	-	-	-	-
2SS	<i>guenoz</i> (no 15) etc.	<i>gīnōz</i>	+ ⁶	+	-	-	-	-
<i>-β-</i> and <i>-γ-</i>	<i>ouetzes</i> (no 94)	<i>obazes</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>-β > -p</i>	<i>uip</i> (no 59)	<i>wib</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-

3 Haubrichs/Pfister (1989:56) put the exceptions (e.g. *auen*, no 3) down to OF orthography.

4 Interestingly all traces found in the *Tatian* scribe- γ (see 9.1).

5 *ir* in OHG, but *gī* in MHG.

6 PGmc / θ / appears as <th> (*thar*, no 27), <d> (*dar*, no 22) and occasionally as <dh>; PGmc / δ / as <th> (*obethe*, no 1), <t> (*begotta*, no 81) and <d> (*daden*, no 22). Both have therefore become voiced stops. Shifted PGmc /t/ is sometimes written hypercorrectly in Gallo-Romance fashion as <tz, thz, tzt, ds> (*matzer*, no 57); shifting of PGmc /p/ after liquids is inconsistent (*elpe*, no 13): *elfe*, elsewhere). Gusmanni (1996) postulates that there are postvocalic affricates rather than fricatives.

of PIE /bh/, /gh/ unaffected by the 2SS, see 3.3.1) to confirm a Mid Franconian base for a dialect which they locate more specifically on the border with bilingual West Frankish. Second, however, they ponder PC final *-b* and the conjunction *un* (= OHG *unde*),⁷ which point further south than Mid Franconian (which has *-β-* and *in*), and conclude that the PC dialect represents an otherwise unattested West Frankish linguistic island (see 8.4.3). Third, Klein (2000) accounts for the mixture by postulating that the non-native author of the PC did not have one target dialect in mind, but rather a range of dialects which he had heard in his travels around the Eastern Empire. He does not rule out the possibility that some form of West Frankish might have been one of those dialects. Hypotheses two and three are the strongest, although two is weakened by the obvious fact that there is no comparative evidence to corroborate it.

7 For further southern features (e.g. East and South-Rhine Franconian), see Klein 2000: 44–6.

9.5 Weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables and spoken OHG

The unreserved relish with which scholars have held up the PC as exemplifying oral German (e.g. Haubrichs and Pfister 1989; Gusmani 1996) has been recently challenged by Meineke (1992) and Klein (2000) who urge greater caution in the light of the author's many errors (see 9.3.2). This is especially pertinent in the case of the most far-reaching claim about the PC's orality, i.e. that the extremely advanced weakening of unstressed syllables (on a par with MHG rather than OHG) proves that the preservation of full inflections in all other OHG texts is due to conservative writing practices which lag behind spoken reality. However, this claim must be set against what we know about weakening in other texts. In the ninth century, OHG inflections could still have long and short versions of all five vowels in final syllables; on the sparse evidence available, Old Dutch, on the other hand, seems to have had only short /e/, /a/, /o/. Simplifying the argument, OHG weakening moved in a direction similar to Old Dutch, by shortening middle syllables and link vowels (*Fugenvokale*), and /i/ > /e/, /u/ > /o/, but with considerable dialectal flux and variation. From this position two sets of deductions are possible. (i) PC vowels in word-final position are dominated by <a>, <e, ae, æ>, and <i>; this would accord with the general weakening model and could be supported by apparent further regularities, e.g. all two-syllable inflections are reduced to one syllable, and a very high proportion of pre-consonantal vowels in final syllables (*gedeckter Auslaut*) have *-e*. In this case, the PC weakening would be a remarkable testimony to general oral practice. (ii) Looking at the data another way, it can be deduced that OHG *-e, -a, -i* are represented primarily by <a>, <e>, <ae>, <i> (e.g. *Esconæ* (no 34) = *skōni*; *rossa* (no 72) = *ros*; *landē* (no 20) = *landē*), whilst *-o* and *-u* mainly have their own distinct graphemes. This would suggest a three-way system *-e, -a, -i* : *-o* : *-u*, which is unattested in any other dialect and might suggest systemic simplification on the part of the non-native, especially if his knowledge of the language is based on several dialects (see Klein 2000: 52–6). Both theories would give different readings to the unweakened syllables in the *Tatian* excerpts at the end of the PC: for the latter, they would represent slavish obedience of the learner in the face of the written word, whilst for the former, they represent awareness of 'eines soziologisch und stilistisch gehobeneren Sprachniveaus' (Haubrichs and Pfister 1989: 63).

Despite these reservations, we can still be certain that several features are genuinely reflective of oral language: weakening of vowels in unstressed sentence positions, e.g. **in* > *en* (no 82), **bi* > *be* (no 81), **zi* > *ze* (no 16), *gisāhi thu* > *Quesasti* (no 28); prosodic elision, especially of two dentals or two vowels, e.g. PC *Guar es taz* = OHG *wāre ist thaz* (no 59), but also proclitically with the negative particle, e.g. PC *en ualde* = OHG *ih ne wolde* (no 61); assimilation of [b] + [m] > [m(m)], still common in many CG and LG dialects, e.g. *Gimer* (no 51ff.); certain turns of phrase, e.g. *Vndes ars in tine naso* (no 42); hypocoristic forms, e.g. *brothro* (no 17) ≈ 'matey'.

Further reading

Haubrichs and Pfister (1989); Klein (2000); Penzl (1984).

10 History

Notker of St Gallen's prologue to his Boethius translation

10.1 Context

The works of Notker of St Gallen (†1022), known variously as Teutonicus (because of his love for German) and Labeo (due to a thick lip?), are the first record of continuous German since the end of the ninth century. In addition to translations of the psalter, the Apostles' Creed, etc., we have his vernacular versions of *De Interpretatione* (Aristotle, but from Boethius's translation), of the first two books of *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* (Martianus Capella) and of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and the *Categories*, – many other works accredited to him have been lost. Boethius had been one of the greatest and most prolific writers of the latter days of the Roman Empire, and his *Consolation*, written in prison, became one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages. In England it is reputed to have been translated by no less than Alfred the Great, and later by Queen Elizabeth I. Our passage is a translation of a later Latin prologue which – unlike the *Hildebrandslied* (ch. 4) – accurately portrays the despotic events in Rome around the turn of the fifth century. The Latin original was almost certainly composed in St Gallen, quite possibly by Notker himself. At any rate Notker feels confident enough to cut fast and free with the original (e.g. reducing a long list of Germanic tribes to *manáge liute* l.4).

It is surprising that the role of breaking the vernacular's long textual silence (see I) should fall to a monastery like St Gallen, in which, we are told, only the youngest boys did not communicate in Latin. The reason for this lies in the personage of Notker himself who, as the warm tributes of his pupils testify ("most learned and kindly teacher"), was a pedagogue *par excellence*. In a letter to Bishop Hugo of Sitten, he explains that the books of the Church (Bible and patristic literature) should only be attempted after working through secular works in translation. Notker's works are clearly intended for use by the teacher in the classroom. Medieval books were expensive to produce – Notker tells the Bishop to send parchment and money for the scribes if he would like a copy for himself – and we assume that the teacher read aloud from a MS (there are marks in the Latin version telling him where to pause) with the pupils taking down notes onto wax tablets.

Notker's position within the development of written German can be defined in two interlocking ways. First, his great pedagogical motivation returns him to the initial impulses for writing in the vernacular. In this sense he is merely a

more highly developed exponent of the technique used in the early glosses and interlinear translations. Like in the *Tatian* almost two centuries before him, the German is intended to illuminate the Latin, and this can be seen in the main body of the Boethius translation where the word order of the Latin is changed for ease of comprehension and interspersed amongst the German text. In the prologue below, key names remain in Latin and retain their Latin endings (except *romo* 1.9 which has taken on the dat. sg. of the *ō*-stems). Second, it is clear that Notker does not feel part of a vernacular tradition. Although there were copies of *Tatian* and Otfrid in the library at St Gallen, Notker makes no mention of them, describing to Hugo the art of writing in German as *facere rem paene inusitatem*. This isolation is confirmed by Ekkehart IV who writes in Notker's obituary that he was the first to have used the barbarian language. Moreover, there is as little continuity of tradition after Notker as there was before it: only one MS seems to have passed out through the walls of St Gallen, and the author's style, syntax and orthography had no further resonance in the development of the German language.

10.2 Text and translation

Sanctus Paulus kehîez tien die in sinên zîten uuândon des sûonetagen, tâz er êr nechâme, êr *romanum imperium* zegîenge ûnde *Antichristus* richesôn begôndi. Uuér zuivelôt *Romanos* íu uuésen állero richo hêrren ûnde íro geuuált kân ze ênde dero uuérlte? Sô dô mánige líute énnônt Tûonouuo gesézene hára úbere begôndôn váren ûnde ín állên dísen richen

5 keuuáltigo uuíder *Romanis* sízzen, tô íu stûonden íro díng slífen ûnde ze déro tilegúngo rámen, tia uuír nú sehên. Tánân geskáh pí des chéiseres zîten *Zenonis*, tâz zuêne chúninga nórdenân chómene, éinêr ímo den stûol ze Romo úndergîeng unde álla *Italiam*, ánderêr náhor ímo *Greciam*

10 begréif, ûnde díu lânt tíu dânnân unz ze Tûonouuo sínt: éner híez ín únsêra uuís Ôtacher, tíser híez Thioterih. Tô uuárd tâz ten chéiser lústa, dáz er Dioterichen vríuntlichô ze hóve ládeta, tára ze dero mârûn *Constantinopolí*, ûnde ín dâr mît kûollichên êron lango hábeta, únz er ín dés bîten stûont, tâz er ímo óndi mît O'tachere ze véhtenne, ûnde, úbe

15 er ín úberuuúnde, *Romam* íoh *Italiam* mît sinemo dánche zehâbenne. Táz úrlub káb ímo *Zeno*, sín lânt íoh sine líute ze sinen tríuuôn bevelêhendo. Sô Dioterih mît témo uuórte ze *Italia* chám, ûnde er Ôtaccheren mît nôte guán ûnde ín sâr dára nâh erslûog, ûnde er fúre ín des lândes uuíelt, tô netéta er zeêrest nieht úber dáz, sô demo chéisere lieb uuás. Sô

20 áber nâh ímo ándere chéisera uuúrten, tô begônda er tûon ál dáz ín lústa ûnde díen ráten án den líb, tíe ímo dés neuuâren gevólgig. Fónê díu slûog er *Boetium* ûnde sinen suêr *Symmachum* ûnde, daz óuh uuírsera uuás, *Iohannem* den bâbes. Sâr des ánderen iâres uuárt Thioterih ferlóren, sín névo Alderih zúhta daz ríche ze síh. *Romanum imperium* hábeta ío

25 dânnan hína ferlóren sína *libertatem*. A'ber dóh *Gothi* uuúrten dânnân vert.íben fónê *Narses patricio sub Iustino minore*. Sô châmen áber nórdenan *Langobardi* ûnde uuíelten *Italiae* mêt dânnê *ducentis annis*; nâh *Langobardis*

Franci; tie uuír nù héizên Chárlinga; nâh ín Saxones. Sô íst nù zegángen Romanum imperium nâh tien uuórten sancti Pauli apostoli.

(Text: Braune and Ebbinghaus 1979: 61–2)

St Paul assured those who in his times were expecting the Day of Judgement that it would not come before the Roman Empire had come to an end and the Antichrist had begun to reign. Who doubts that the Romans were once masters of all realms and that their power extended until the end of the world? So when many people, settled beyond the Danube, began to travel across here and forcefully settle in all these realms in opposition to the Romans, then their affairs began to slip and to move towards their destruction, which we now see. Then it happened in the times of the Emperor Zeno that two kings came from the North, [of which] one acquired for himself the throne of Rome and the whole of Italy, the other [came] closer [and] seized Greece and the lands that extended from there as far as the Danube. The former was called in our language Odoaker, the latter Theoderic. Then it happened that the emperor desired to invite Theoderic in friendship to his court, thither to the famous Constantinople, and to keep him there for a long time with high honour(s), until he [Theoderic] began to ask him [Zeno] to allow him to fight against Odoaker and, if he should conquer him, to hold Rome and Italy with his [Zeno's] permission. Zeno granted him his leave, entrusting his land and his people to his loyalty. When Theoderic came to Italy with this promise and conquered Odoaker with difficulty and soon thereafter slew him and ruled the land in his stead, at first he did nothing beyond what was pleasing to the emperor. When after him [Zeno] there were other emperors, he began to do everything he liked and to plot against the lives of those who were not obedient to him in this. As a result he slew Boethius and his father-in-law Symmachus and – what was worse – Pope John. Straight away in the following year Theoderic died and his nephew Athalaric seized the kingdom. The Roman Empire had henceforth lost its liberty. But the Goths were driven thence again by Narses the patrician under Justin the Younger. Then again the Lombards came from the North and ruled over Italy for more than 200 years, and after the Lombards the Franks, whom we now call the Carolingians, and then the Saxons. And thus has the Roman Empire passed away according to the words of St Paul the Apostle.

10.3 Dialect

The text displays some typical features of Alemannic: (i) The loss of semi-vowels, e.g. (*ǵjénêr* (1.10), (*ǵjénnon̄t* (1.4), *chám* < *quam* (1.17). (ii) The reflex of PGmc /k/ in word-initial position is represented by the grapheme <ch> e.g. *chêiseres* (1.7), *chúninga* (1.8), and – on the basis of the spoken dialect of St Gallen today – is assumed to represent the fricative [x] rather than the affricate [kx].¹ (ii) In intermediary

1 This assumption provides useful evidence for two interrelated questions about the 2SS: (a) if we can interpret the fricative as an ‘overshoot’ of the affricate, it is a strong argument to back

position PGmc /k/ is almost certainly an affricate, although it can be spelt, somewhat confusingly, either <ch> or <cch>, e.g. *Ôtacher* (l.11) – *Ôtaccheren* (l.17). Dietrich is also spelt differently within the bounds of this one passage, *Dioterichen* (l.12) – *Thioterih* (l.11), although the <h> of the latter suggests that the fricative [x] occurs in final position. Consistent spelling of proper names is a relatively recent feature: in England even Shakespeare spelt his own name inconsistently. (iii) Opposition between weak–strong verb inflections: whilst Franconian and Bavarian have -u in both weak and strong verbs, Alemannic maintains -u in the strong verbs only (which subsequently weakens to -e) and -ō in the weak verbs, thus creating an opposition, e.g. *uuândon* (l.1) vs *stûonden* (l.6). (iv) The vowel of the particle *hâra* (l.5, NHG *her-*).

10.4 Orthography

In his letter to Hugo, Notker stated that German could not be written without accents, and indeed he is the first German author to use such symbols consistently. His work, along with the few instances of ‘helpful’ spellings (e.g. *Lex Salica* ch. 5), and the meta-linguistic comments of Otfrid (ch. 7), is therefore one of the key sites for the reconstruction of German pronunciation in the OHG period. Notker’s rules of thumb are as follows: the acute is placed on short stressed vowels; the circumflex accent is not restricted to stress but is placed on all long vowels; accents do not occur with Latin words, proper names or weakly accented pronominal forms and prepositions. The use of the accents seems to point to three distinct types of accent – strong, intermediary and weak – which can be seen clearly in some tri-syllabic words, e.g. *zuûuelôt* (strong, weak, intermediary) *begôndôn* (weak, strong, intermediary). There is some flexibility over the use of the two symbols with diphthongs, which has led to some attempt at morphological explanation, e.g. that the circumflex tends to represent a morpheme boundary, but most examples in this passage do not bear this theory out (e.g. *kehîez* l.1). Occasionally the circumflex is also inserted inconsistently (e.g. *uuândon* l.1 – *begôndôn* l.5).

Notker also told Hugo that German articles had no accent or length, and this is clearly exemplified in this passage by the opposition between the definite article and the demonstrative pronoun which shared the same form, the former deriving from the latter: *dero uuêrlte* (l.4 ‘of the world’), article without accent vs *déro tîlegûngo* (ll.7 ‘to that destruction’, L *ad hanc defectionem*), demonstrative with stress. This would accord with the stress pattern of the same opposition in Modern German: article normally unstressed (and usually shortened from [dēm] to [dəm]), whilst the demonstrative is stressed: *das Buch von dem* [dēm] *Mann* (unstressed = the man’s book) vs *das Buch von dem* [de:m] *Mann* (stressed = that man’s book).

the theory that the phonetic process behind the shift of [k] to [x] (*maken* – *machen*) involved an intermediary stage of affrication; (b) since Alemannic is the only dialect to ‘overshoot’, it is also likely that the shift of PGmc /p/, /t/, /k/ began in this region. (Similar arguments can be put forward for suggesting that the shift of PGmc /b/, /d/, /g/ began in Bavaria.) See 3.3.1.

10.5 *Anlautgesetz* (law of initial consonants)

Despite the general unevenness of spelling, ‘in practice most OHG orthographies are “phonemic” rather than “sub-phonemic”’ (Wells, 1987: 77). Notker is a notable exception to this rule, his sophisticated orthographic system clearly showing allophonic variation. His text, therefore, is the first OHG which explicitly attempts to mark phonetic reality. In general, /b/, /d/, /g/ appear voiced when preceded by voiced sounds; they appear otherwise to be voiceless [p], [t], [k].² The same oppositions occur in names contained in St Gallen documents, e.g. *Uuitpreht*, *Amalbreht*.

Table 10.1 Notker’s *Anlautgesetz*

<i>environment</i>	<i>voiced</i>	<i>voiceless</i>
phoneme		
/b/	<i>úbere begóndón</i> (1.5)	<i>geskáh pi</i> (1.7)
/d/	<i>uuândon des</i> (1.1)	<i>kehîez tien</i> (1.1)
/g/	<i>Tánnân geskáh</i> (1.7)	<i>Paulus kehîez</i> (1.1)

The system also seems to pay attention to syntax and prosody in a very subtle fashion. A significant pause (the equivalent of a modern comma or full stop) would provide a large enough gap to render a voiced environment voiceless, e.g. *sehen. Tánnân* (1.7), *sûonetagen, táz* (1.1). The exceptions to this rule prove even more interesting. For instance, *die* (1.1) has voicing despite its position at the beginning of a syntactic unit. This could signify a difference in the prosodic level – a difference in the length of pause, which in turn tells us something about the proximity of the syntactic units. The relative pronoun follows on directly from the unit (here the demonstrative pronoun *tien*) to which it relates. The pause is likely, therefore, to have been minimal. This can be compared with *dien râten ân den lib, tie . . .* (1.21) where the relative pronoun is separated from the unit to which it refers. Prosodically the gap at the beginning of the syntactic unit opened by *tie* must have been long enough for the alternation of [d] to [t] to occur. Although this reading runs contrary to the punctuation of the MS, which is in any case erratic when compared to other Notker MSS, it seems likely that the allophonic distribution might be able to tell us a little about the relation between syntax and intended prosody of the text. (For further examples see Admoni 1990: 28–9.)

The consonantal alternations in this text might also be used to cast light on the further development of /p/, /t/, /k/ (< PGmc /b/, /d/, /g/) during the OHG period. Orthographically the shift is more prevalent in early rather than

2 The exact phonetic identity of these phonemes is uncertain, and the opposition could equally well be explained in terms of lenis-fortis, which would accord with the southern dialects of Modern German. (The same variation can be seen in <u> and <f>, although this is not as consistent.)

later UG texts, due, it is supposed, to the influence of prestige Franconian dialects (where only PGmc /d/ > /t/ occurred). The presence of <p>, <t>, <k>, and the oppositions these suggest in a text for vocal performance, indicate that this Franconian influence was mainly orthographic rather than phonetic/phonemic.

Both the *Anlautgesetz* and the use of accent to mark stress and length of syllable must be seen in the context of the translation's function as a work for teachers who were much more accustomed to reading Latin than German. Notker's text is therefore sympathetically constructed with the linguistic needs of the teacher in mind who had to read aloud in the classroom whilst oscillating between two languages.

10.6 Morpho-phonemic changes

The text contains very clear examples of the weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables, especially in final position (inflectional endings) where the following rules seem to apply: (i) in word final position, short *-i* > *-e* (*rîche* 1.24) and short *-u* > *-o* (no examples in the passage),³ thus reducing the 'normal' OHG range of possibilities in this position from all five vowels to just three (*-a*, *-o*, *-e*); (ii) in closed final syllables all short vowels become *-e* which is assumed to be [ə] (*zîten* 1.1). One particular aspect of the text casts up an interesting question about the weakening process. The conditional of two weak forms *óndi* (the preterite present verb *unnan*, NHG *gönnen* 1.14) and *begóndi* (the weak preterite alternative of the strong verb *beginnan* 1.3) maintains *-i* whilst the conditional of strong verbs weakens to *-e* (e.g. *nechâme* 1.2). This could imply that weakening does not always occur independently of the morphological system, i.e. that weak and strong verbs react differently to the phonemic changes. (Voyles 1974 has a similar argument for the spread of umlaut.) A less adventurous interpretation would simply state that we are dealing with a fluctuation in spelling (the one instance perhaps influencing the other), since <i> sometimes alternates with <e>, e.g. *gottis* – *gottes*. At any rate, the gap in textual transmission since the end of the ninth century means that it is difficult to make any precise judgements on the weakening process. However, it can safely be assumed to have been underway long before its appearance in texts, since writing is a conservative medium (see 11.4.1).

The reduction of vowels has a vital effect on the morphology of verbs and nouns. (i) The inflection *-en* comes to dominate verb morphology: all pret. pl. *-um/-un* > *-en* (*uuúrtun* > *uuúrten*); in the infinitives and past participles of strong verbs *-an* > *-en* (*slîfan* > *slîfen*; *ferloran* > *ferlóren*), thus causing a merger with the infinitives of *jan* verbs. (ii) As Table 10.2 demonstrates, nouns lose some of their case distinctions:

³ The apparent example *dero uuérte* is probably better explained as the merging of fem. gen. and dat., which has been underway since the beginning of OHG – but this phenomenon is certainly a contributing factor in the weakening process.

Table 10.2 Case distinctions in 'normal' and late OHG

OHG:	'normal'		late	
	singular		'normal'	plural
nom.	<i>herro</i>	<i>herro</i>	<i>herron</i>	<i>herren</i>
acc.	<i>herron</i>	<i>herren</i>	<i>herron</i>	<i>herren</i>
gen.	<i>herren</i>	<i>herren</i>	<i>herrôno</i>	<i>herrôn</i>
dat.	<i>herren</i>	<i>herren</i>	<i>herrôn</i>	<i>herrôn</i>

In both singular and plural, a three-case system has been reduced to a two-case system: in the singular, the accusative loses its distinctness whilst the genitive and dative plural merge. This loss of case distinction, caused by phonological developments, matches a wider trend – both in OHG and throughout the history of the German language – for noun morphology to lose inflectional power: OHG, for instance, had already dropped the instrumental at an early stage; NHG relies mainly on a two case system (unmarked : genitive *-(e)s* in the singular of masc. and neut. nouns; pl. marker : dative *-n*), although speech now tends to rely on only one form in the singular (e.g. *von dem Mädchen* rather than *des Mädchens*). Sonderegger (1979: 251) surveys case inflections in pronouns (of all types), adjectives, nouns and numerals, and comes up with the following comparison of inflectional case markers in 'normal OHG' and late OHG as exemplified by Notker:

Table 10.3 Changes in case inflections in OHG

case inflections	'normal' OHG	late OHG
5	5	0
4	26	18
3	42	50
2	4	11
1	1	1

10.7 Syntax

10.7.1 Latin influence

The appearance of Latin vocabulary in the text is matched by significant, although not dominant Latin influence on syntax. There is one instance of the accusative and infinitive (*Uuér zuûvelôt Romanos . . . uuêsen . . . kân* [*< gan, 'to go'*]) as well as several participial constructions (*mânige liute ênnônt Tûonouuo gesêzene* [ll.4–5]; *zuêne chûninga nôrdenân chômene* [l.8]; *sîn lânt . . . ze sînen trîuuôn bevélehendo* [ll.16–17]). The fact that only some of these are direct translations of the Latin original (e.g. *quis enim nesciat romanos fuisse; commendans*), shows the extent to which Latin influenced Notker's written German. How far this was true of (a) his *speech* and (b) the rest of his speech community, is impossible to tell. At any rate, such constructions had no lasting impact on the development of German.

10.7.2 Word order

Very clear patterns emerge in Notker's word order. (i) Verb second is fully established as the position of the finite verb in the main clause, after subject, object, temporal adverb, etc. (ii) In more complex sentences where a relative clause precedes the main verb, the main verb comes second with great regularity. This is even the case when the relative clause itself is a complex one with up to four verbs in it, e.g. *Sô Dioterih . . . chám, únde . . . guán . . . erslúog, únde . . . uuúelt, tó netétá er . . .* (ll.17–19). In MHG the main verb normally comes second in its own clause after a relative, with Notker's usage only re-establishing itself in ENHG. (iii) Infinitive verbs come at or towards the end of the clause. Infinitives are frequently positioned at the end of main and relative clauses, e.g. *hára úbere begóndôn vâren . . . sízzen* (ll.5–6), *er romanum imperium zegēnge únde Antichristus ríchesôn begondi* (ll.2–3). In periphrastic constructions the frame is not as complete, with usually one semantically important phrase following the past participle, e.g. *Romanum imperium hábeta ío dânnan hína ferlóren sína líbertatem* (ll. 24–5, NB a rare OHG pluperfect). (iv) The finite verbs in most relative clauses are in final position, but, as with the periphrastic tenses, are occasionally followed by one element of semantic weight, e.g. *die in sínên zîten uuândon des sûonetagen* (l.1). The individual clauses are built up into higher syntactical units with similar precision. The sentence below is constructed around (a) two *daß*-clauses, the first (l.3 below) introduced itself by a short *daß*-clause, the second (l.7 below) by the verb *bîten*; and (b) a series of interlocking embedded subordinate clauses. (Verbs are marked in italics):

Tô uuárd

taz ten chéiser *lusta*,
daz er Dioterichen vríuntlichó ze hóve *ládeta*,
[tára ze dero márun Constantinopoli,]
únde ín dâr mît küollichên êron lángeo *hábeta*,
unz er ín dés *bîten stüont*,
táz er ímo *óndi*
mit Otachere ze *véhtenne*,
únde úbe ér ín *úberuuunde*,
Romam íoh Ítaliám mît sínemo dánche *zehâbenne*.

Handbook accounts tend to stress ENHG as the main period of innovation in word order, something which this passage or the MHG legal documents of the thirteenth century (ch. 14) show to be an exaggeration. Certainly the way Notker deals with complex sentences is already more 'modern' than Luther's (see 22.4). This is therefore a clear example of how a textual history of the language can show that linguistic development is rarely linear. It is in fact as much about discontinuity as about continuity. One wonders, for instance, what course German syntax might have taken had Notker's work gained the prestige afforded five centuries later to Luther via the dissemination of printing and the work of grammarians.

10.7.3 *ze* + infinitive

The distribution of *ze* + infinitive is uneven in this text. The IE infinitive was a verbal noun, the Germanic form of which (probably derived from the acc.) appears with a preposition (Go *du*, ON *at*, WGmc *tō/te*). In WGmc this prepositional infinitive has an unexplained form in *-j-*, which causes consonantal gemination which shows up in the OHG infinitive ending *-anne/-enne*. The prepositional infinitive seems to have stood originally in free variation with the unmarked infinitive, but gradually began to dominate. In our text we can see how there is still some flux left in the system in late OHG, e.g. *stúonden íro dǫng slífen* (l.6), *begónda er túon* (l.20), but *táz er ímo óndi . . . ze véhtenne . . . zehâbenne* (ll.14–15). Perhaps the spelling of this last example (not uncommon in OHG) shows how the prepositional force of *ze* was giving way and that speakers felt it to belong to the verb. As *ze* + infinitive comes to dominate in later stages of the language, its dative form (*-enne*) merges via apocope with the unmarked form of the infinitive.

Further reading

Braungart (1987); Ganz (1985); Hellgardt (1979); Sonderegger (1987); Tax (1986).

II Middle High German (c.1050–c.1350)

The MHG German period is one in which the laity assumes equal importance to the clergy in the production of writing, especially in the vernacular. This linguistic development has several fundamental, interrelated social causes. Improved methods of forest clearance, fertilization and agricultural techniques (e.g. three-field system) increased crop production and led to growth in population (which almost doubles in Europe between 1000 and 1300), economic success and stability (Abel 1971). Prosperity and booming demographics had two major socio-linguistic consequences – the foundation of secular courts and of towns – both of which played a key role in the development of the written vernacular.

In an economic climate in which agricultural production no longer primarily served the immediate needs of individual subsistence but allowed land owners to sell on their produce to other consumers, land owners (in particular princes) grew wealthy and from around the mid twelfth century began to give up their itinerant form of rulership and settle down in a main residence. The complex needs of such courts and properties required written administration and, as Bumke (1990: 39f.) has shown, there is a significant link between the availability of the means of writing and the production of vernacular literary forms in the written medium. In 1144 Henry the Lion was the first secular prince to set up a chancery, and was followed by rulers in Thuringia in 1168, Austria around the same time, and Bavaria in 1209 – a sequence which corresponds exactly with the chronological patterns of literary patronage from the mid twelfth century to the early thirteenth century. Thus in the High Middle Ages, the production of literature cannot be considered in isolation from economic and bureaucratic developments.

From the inception of German Philology as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century and until recently, literature has traditionally formed the main focus of academic endeavour in the MHG field. Quite apart from the methodological hurdles set up by the reconstruction and normalization of such texts by modern editors, which have obstructed ready access to the raw data necessary for historical linguistic analysis (see ch. 12), it is now being noted that the population explosion of the MHG period had other equally, and arguably more important consequences for the history of the language. One example would be the foundation of towns – centres of human interaction which brought their own new and urgent demands for written communication.

In all contexts, but in this latter one in particular, writing in the vernacular undergoes a massive expansion in the course of and especially towards the end

of the thirteenth century (see Bertelsmeier-Kierst and Wolf 2000 and the website of the *Marburger Repertorium* which has collated and assessed all written traces of the vernacular in the thirteenth century, with the major exception of legal documents). By comparison to the sparse transmission of the eleventh century and twelfth century – for which respectively there are 55 and 131 pieces of evidence (according even to the most generous dating scheme) – the total of around 1000 for the thirteenth century is a clear reason why this has been termed ‘eine Epoche im Umbruch’. Whereas the eleventh century and twelfth century were dominated by practical religious and devotional literature, the thirteenth century witnesses a very broad range of vernacular prose texts: chronicles, sermons, mystical texts, legislation and the transmission of knowledge (e.g. medicine). Yet these are dwarfed by the volume of legal documents which rises from practically nothing at the turn of the century to around 4000 at its end. These documents are clear evidence of the increasing pragmatic needs of the new social systems – it is estimated that 99 per cent of such texts involve at least one secular participant. When the Imperial Chancery finally moved over from Latin to the vernacular under Louis the Bavarian (reigned 1314–47), it did so – as v. Polenz (1978: 64) observes – not as a symbolic retreat from the language of the Holy Roman Empire, but simply as an inevitable reaction to the immense pressure from below.

The MHG period is also important for laying the historical foundation for one of the major socio-linguistic factors of the ENHG period – an expansion of German territories into the Slavic East via a steady flow of emigration from the mid twelfth century to the mid fourteenth century, which has been described as ‘perhaps the most sensational development in medieval German history’. In this time, Germany expanded by two thirds of its original size and gained what represents two fifths of its current territory: its Eastern borders shifted from the Elbe to the Vistula and land was acquired across the Baltic coast as far as the Gulf of Finland. After initial military encounters, mass emigration into vast tracts of unsettled areas was a relatively peaceful process for the Germans who had practical knowledge and suitable equipment for clearing forests and draining marshlands. There were clear and immediate linguistic consequences of the expansion – e.g. the opening up of new dialect areas such as Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, East-Pommern, Prussia (which divided dialectically in two), Brandenburg, Upper Saxony, Silesia and the Sudetenland. Yet perhaps more important were the geopolitical aspects which later influenced the development of the standard language: not only did the Elbe take over from the Rhine as the heartland of Germany, but the freer relations in the land economy of the new colonies made the East into an area of social and political innovation that left the old crumbling institutions of the West to crumble. From the mid fourteenth century, imperial power shifted to the East and thus relocated the language of prestige.

Further reading

Bertelsmeier-Kierst and Wolf (2000); Bertelsmeier-Kierst and Young (forthcoming); de Boor/Wisniewski (1984); Bumke (1990); Johnson (1999); Meineke (1999); Mettke (1993); Paul (1989); Penzl (1989); Schneider (1987); Singer (1996); Walshe (1974); Weddige (1996); Wegera (1991).

Repertorium website: <http://www.uni-marburg.de/hosting/mr>

11 Williram of Ebersberg

Commentary to the Song of Songs

11.1 Context

In the Middle Ages (and especially in the eleventh century and twelfth century) the Song of Songs was a widely read text, the object of exegesis and a popular source of imagery and metaphor in the vernacular. Despite Jerome having said that it should be the last thing pupils expounded, it formed part of the set reading in a monastery education. From the earliest times, however, its erotic content was officially neutralized as a metaphor for the relationship between Christ and the Church. The German language's most definitive version was composed c.1060 by Williram of Ebersberg who came from a well-connected middle Rhine noble dynasty and graduated from Fulda to the headship of the monastery school in Bamberg and then the Bavarian abbacy of Ebersberg, which was considered a stepping-stone to a bishopric. However, when his patron Henry III died, Henry IV, to whom the work was dedicated, refused to grant the author's wish to be released from his 'exile' in Ebersberg.

The work, which is based on Haymo of Auxerre (c.850) and Angelomus of Luxeuil (851/55), consists of Latin verse and German prose: Latin text is in hexameters (Bible text followed by commentary), German text is in prose (direct translation of the Bible followed immediately by the mixed German/Latin commentary). The traditional split between Bible text and commentary is given up for a more innovative style: the commentary continues within the voice of the respective speaker in the Song of Songs as though scripture were interpreting itself. The German commentary is not a direct translation of the Latin: both essentially share the same content, but as Williram notes in his prologue, he 'rendered it more by sense than by words, both in the verse and in the German'. Only one sentence in our extract – *Uanta bézzer sint dīne spūnne dēmo uūne* (2) – seems heavily influenced by Latin (word order and the rare dative of comparison).

The MS tradition of the double commentary begins in the eleventh century and continues into print in 1528, by which time it has outstripped all other works in the German language. Its high point is in the twelfth century when it has more MSS than any other work in the vernacular. The MSS are spread across almost the whole of the German-speaking domains: from the beginning of MHG until around 1170 there are 7 full MSS, and the Leiden MS (c.1100) is now widely recognized as the oldest linguistic source from the Netherlands (see Sanders 1971, 1974 and Klein 1979). Close philological analysis has shown that in most cases the MSS of the

eleventh century and twelfth century are careful copies of their respective sources, except in three major linguistic areas: phonology, morphology and the placing of accents. Some of these features are listed in handbooks as the criteria par excellence for distinguishing between OHG and MHG; the MS tradition of Williram's commentary is uniquely configured for an analysis of how they develop in various regions over the 150 or so years that separate the late OHG/early MHG period, when the original was composed, from the so-called 'classical' MHG c.1200.

Research has shown that it is very likely that the author produced two different versions of his text (direct reflexes of which can be read in the Ebersberg and Breslau MSS, both of which were probably produced under his own supervision), although it is impossible to say which came first or second. Below, we have selected one of these, Breslau MS (Br) (late eleventh century, written in the dialect of the author, i.e. East/Rhine Franconian, which shows few consonantal extremes), and contrast it with the early thirteenth-century Munich MS (Mu) from the Cistercian monastery at Kaisheim. The MS is localized in an Alemannic-Bavarian border region, despite the uneven treatment of the reflexes of PGmc /k/: <chc> (*chcusser* 1), <ch> (*chosse* 1), <cch> (*stencchent* 2) vs <k> (*bekenne* 5) and <kk> (*Dikke* 1) (surprising since the Alemannic Einsiedeln MS has *diccho* and *bechene*). The edition by Bartelmez (1967) reproduces MS Br along with the variant readings of all the other MSS. For a full translation of German and Latin texts, with lexical and grammatical concordances, see Meyer (1985).

11.2 Texts and translation

Breslau MS

- (1) Cússer míh. mít cússe sínes mún-des. Dícco gíehiez ér mír síne cúonft per prophetas. nu cúme ér sélbo. unte cússe míh mit déro súoze sínes euangelii.
- (2) Uuanta bézzer sint díne spúnne démo uuíne. sie stínchente mit den bézzenen sálbon. Díu súoze dínero gratiē ist bézzer. dánne díu scárfe déro legis. áls iz quít. Lex per moysen data est. gratia et ueritas per ihesum christum facta est. Díu sélba gnáda ist gemísket mít uariis donis spiritus sancti. mít den du máchost ex peccatoribus iustus. ex damnandis remunerandos.
- (3) Dín námo. ist úz gegózzenz óle. Dín námo ist uuítene gebréitet. uuánte uóne dir christo. hêizzen uuír christiani.
- (4) Vóne díu mínnont díh díe iúnkróuuon. daz sint díe sêla. díe der geiúnget sint in dero tóife. unte geuuátet mit ueste innocentē.
- (5) Zúich míh nâh dír. so lófon uuír in démo stánke dínero sálbon. Íh bekénnon mín únkraft. uóne dánnan hílf mir mit dínen gnádon. so scúnt ih ándera ze dínemo vuéga.

Munich MS

- (1) Chcusser mih mii chosse sínes mundes. Dikke gehiezer mir sine chust prophetas. nu chomer selbe. und chusse mih dero suoze sínes euangelii.

(2) **Vuante bezzer sint dine spunne demo wino. sie stencchent mit dem bezzeren salbon. Div suoze diner gratia ist bezzer danne diu scarfe der legis. der also es kut. lex per moysen data est et ueritas per ihesum christum facta est. Diu selbe gnada ist gemisket mit uariis donis spiritus sancti. mit den du machost ex peccatoribus iustus. ex damnandis remunerandos.**

(3) **Din namo ist uz gegozen ole. Din namo ist witeno geb retet. wando dir christo heizen wir christiani.**

(4) **Vone diu minnont dih die iunkfrowen. Daz sint die sele die der iunget sint in der tofve. unde gewetet mit ueste inocentie.**

(5) **Zuich mich nah dir. so lofen wir in deme stank diner salben. Ich bekenne min unkraft. von danen hilf mir mit dinen gnaden. so scun ich andere ze dineme wege.**

(1) Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth. He often promised me his coming through the *prophets*. Now let him come himself and kiss me with the sweetness of his *gospel*.

(2) For your breasts are better than wine; they smell of the best ointments. The sweetness of your grace is better than the sharpness of the *law*: as it says, '*The law was given by Moses, grace and truth came by Jesus Christ*'. [= John 1:17] The same grace is mixed with *various gifts of the Holy Spirit* with which you make *just ones out of sinners; out of those to be damned, ones to be rewarded*.

(3) Your name is poured-out oil. Your name has spread far, for from you, *Christ*, we are called *Christians*.

(4) Whence the maidens love you. These are the souls which are rejuvenated in baptism, and dressed with the *robe of innocence*.

(5) Draw me after you, then we will run in the scent of your ointments. I acknowledge my weakness; therefore help me with your grace, then I will direct others in your way.

(Latin words in original appear in italics in the translation)

11.3 Vernacular, Latin, readership

The two authorized MSS (Breslau and Ebersberg) are set out in accordance with wishes outlined by the author in his Latin prologue: the Vulgate 'as the body in the middle', flanked on either side by the Latin hexameters (right) and the mixed German/Latin translation/commentary (left). It is not quite certain what the intention behind this is. The three-column layout of the original follows a general Carolingian tradition in Bible commentaries and metrical texts (Powitz 1979), but this is being used for the first time for Latin and the vernacular. The result is such that the symbiosis of the two languages appears 'unter dem Dache des Bibelwortes' (Gärtner 1988: 10), which in some of the earliest MSS even seems to have been intended to suggest 'den Bildeindruck einer dreischiffigen Kirche' (Dittrich 1952/53: 197). This layout of the two authorized MSS is followed in nine others, the majority of which date from the eleventh century and twelfth century. In the remaining MSS the three sections are placed underneath each other in a single

column, the components appearing in varying orders, probably because the unusual original layout proved too complicated for scribes and recipients alike. In fact, by comparison to MS Br, MS Mu appears rather slipshod: it is carelessly written (e.g. *geb relet* Mu3) by several hands in an uncoordinated colour scheme.

The German commentary is written in a mix of German and Latin (*Mischsprache*) in which, however, the Latin words are not taken directly from the Latin text, e.g. in our passage *prophetas* (1), *innocentię* (4). It is likely that these represent a reflex of the linguistic habits of Benedictine monasteries which were saturated in the piety of the psalms and learned discussion (Schupp 1978: 167). The *Mischsprache* is therefore a mixed jargon, a sociolect of the spiritual elite. This view might be supported by the fact that the German translation of the Bible is utterly lacking in mixed prose which, as everyday speech, might have been deemed too undignified for the word of God. The commentary includes direct quotations from the Bible (normally from the Psalms which were so important to monastic discourse), skillfully worked into the syntax of the German whilst retaining the morphological correctness of the individual linguistic components, e.g. *diu scarfe dero* (G gen.) *legis* (L gen.) (2).

Why did Williram write in German at all? On this issue, the MS transmission does not help us, since in the twelfth century there are nearly as many Williram MSS in Latin only as there are bilingual versions. Zerfass (1995: 203–8) suggests that the original mix of languages was intended as a preparation for those who had to preach to the public in the vernacular. However, the practice of Berthold von Regensburg, the great outdoor preacher of the thirteenth century whose written sermons were in Latin with the important concepts in *German* as an orientation aid, poses the awkward question of how Williram's technique would have worked by keeping precisely the vital words in *Latin*? Perhaps we get furthest by taking at face value the words of the author's preface – 'I have decided to offer the studious reader some of my small supports for his benefit' – and recognizing that the complexity of the words in the *Mischsprache* speaks for advanced readers rather than trainee preachers. This would confirm our notion of Ebersberg (and by extension of other monasteries that copied the bilingual version) as an environment where – in marked distinction to Notker's Latin-dominated oral milieu (see 10.1) – German was frequently used in everyday communication.

11.4 Phonological and morphological differences between OHG and MHG

The three principal criteria often given in handbooks for distinguishing between OHG and early MHG look very relative when one considers the evidence of MSS.

11.4.1 Weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables

The primary criterion is the weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables (often seen as a consequence of the fixing of the accent on the root syllable in Germanic). It is perhaps more accurate to talk about a change in written conventions: Sonderegger (1961) has shown by a comparison of a St Gallen document with

the notes made prior to the final version that endings were probably weakened or weakening in the spoken dialects of OHG. Indeed Otrif and the author of *Tatian* occasionally use weakened vowels for rhyme purposes. However, Williram MS Mu shows that even by the beginning of the thirteenth century weakening in certain regions was neither unambiguous nor exhaustive:

Table 11.1 Weakening of unstressed syllables in Williram MSS

	<i>Br</i>		<i>Mu</i>
Clear weakening	<i>giehtiez</i> ¹	>	<i>gehiez</i>
	<i>selbo</i>	>	<i>selbe</i>
	<i>stinchente</i>	>	<i>stencchent</i>
	<i>witeno</i>	>	<i>witen</i>
	<i>sela</i>	>	<i>sele</i>
	<i>bekennon</i>	>	<i>bekenne</i>
	<i>andera</i>	>	<i>andere</i>
	<i>vone</i>	>	<i>von</i>
	<i>uuega</i>	>	<i>wege</i>
Ambiguous	<i>demo</i> , etc.	?	<i>demo</i> / <i>deme</i>
	<i>salbon</i>	?	<i>salbon</i> / <i>salben</i>
No weakening	<i>gnada</i>	=	<i>gnada</i>
	<i>namo</i>	=	<i>namo</i>
	<i>machost</i>	=	<i>machost</i>
	<i>minnont</i>	=	<i>minnont</i>
Apparent reverse	<i>wine</i>	!	<i>wino</i>
	<i>uuante</i>	!	<i>wando</i>

From this table, it is clear that two things are happening: (i) weakening is occurring, but has not established itself completely. In MS Mu, for instance, *demo* (2), *deme* (5) and *dero* (1) appear alongside *dem* (2) and *der* (2). This same phenomenon can be illustrated by a snap-shot of the variation in distribution of the possessive pronoun across the other MSS.

<i>Br</i>	-o	-e	-ø
<i>dūnero</i> (2)	St, Ha, Vi, Ein, Tr	Ley	Lam, Mu
<i>dūnero</i> (5)	St, Tr	Ley	Lam, Mu, Ha, Ein, Vi

This one example from the MSS shows that the scribe of MS Mu was not sloppy (i.e. modernizing at some points and copying his source at others). Rather, it underlines the fact that the twelfth century was a period of transition in the weakening of vowels and that forms such as *demo* – *deme* – *dem* existed as free variants of each other (although it is difficult to tell whether this variation is orthographic or phonological). (ii) Whilst weakening is undoubtedly occurring, in the dialect of MS Mu, some vowels are kept in their full form. Most striking here are the two forms *wino*

¹ The form *giehtiez* suggests [i:] in the prefix.

(2) and *wando* (3). The ending *-o* is extremely rare and its exact phonetic value therefore difficult to ascertain. It is clear, however, that the scribe is attempting to represent a non-weakened vowel. Weakening generally eradicates the distinction between the three OHG weak verb forms *-en*, *-on* and *-ēn*. In this dialect, however, the retention of *-o* in *machost* (Mu2) and *minnont* (Mu4) seems to indicate that the distinction is maintained. The retention of full vowels in unstressed syllables is a feature of Alemannic which can still be seen in some of its regions today: OHG *si korunt* : twentieth century Wallis *si chorunt*; OHG *taga* : twentieth century Wallis *Taga*. This phenomenon warns us against making global distinctions between periods. Many 'obsolete' forms continue in the individual dialects.

11.4.2 *Umlaut*

The appearance of umlaut at the beginning of the MHG period is often explained in conjunction with the weakening of unstressed syllables. Umlaut is a combinatory sound change which occurs in root vowels and diphthongs due to the partial or total assimilation to a following vowel. In this particular case, palatalization is brought about by the following /i/, /ī/ or /j/ which occurred in many noun, adjective and verb inflections, and also in some derivational suffixes e.g. gen./dat. sg. of some noun classes (OHG *anst* – *ensti* = fem. *i*-stem); various noun plurals (OHG *lamb* – *lambir*); comparative and superlative forms of most adjectives (OHG *lang*, *lengiro*, *lengisto*); 2nd/3rd sg of some strong verbs (OHG *faru* – *feris*, NHG *fahre* – *fährst*); infinitive and present of all *jan* verbs (WGmc **kuss-jan* – MHG *küssen*); past subjunctive of strong verbs (OHG *nâmi*, MHG *næme*, NHG *nähme*); abstract nouns in *-ī* (OHG *lang* – *lengi*), adjectives in *-īg* (OHG *kraft* – *krefstīg*). Handbooks often distinguish between 'primary' and 'secondary' umlaut. Originally these terms were coined to distinguish what were held to be two stages of phonological change; nowadays, however, they conventionally refer to two phases in the phonemicization and orthographic marking of a single sound change. The fact that OHG spelling reflects only the mutation of /a/ (in certain phonetic environments) to /ɛ/ (<e>) was taken by earlier scholars as evidence that this one phoneme was affected by umlaut before all the others. Yet the fact that the mutated forms of the other vowels (and diphthongs) begin to appear at the beginning of MHG, precisely at the moment when the conditioning factor is being eradicated through the weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables to /ə/, demands a different explanation. In fact, it seems logical to postulate that all OHG stressed vowels and diphthongs (except /i/, /ī/, /ei/ and /ie/) had palatalized allophones, but spelling showed these only when they had become phonemes. As the example of *schön* and *schon* below shows, this situation is reached when the weakening of vowels in unstressed syllables means that mutated and non-mutated allophones are no longer in complementary distribution:

	NHG <i>schön</i> (<OHG adj.)		NHG <i>schon</i> (<OHG adv.)	
	pronunciation	orthography	pronunciation	orthography
OHG	[skœni:]	<i>scōni</i>	[sko:nc]	<i>scōno</i>
MHG	[ʃœnə]	<i>schæne</i>	[ʃo:nə]	<i>schône</i>

This still leaves the problem of why the mutation of /a/ in some circumstances was marked orthographically at an early stage. This question too is most plausibly explained in terms of the distribution of allophones. A previous umlaut process in pre-OHG times, that of /e/ to /i/ before /i/, /ī/, /j/ or nasal + consonant clusters (which accounts for NHG *geben* – *gibt*, OHG *geban* – *gibit*), caused an imbalance in the phoneme system: all vowels (except the conditioning ones) had one mutated allophone, except /e/, which had none (since i-umlaut conditions had already moved it on to /i/), and /a/, which had two (<e> = ‘primary’ in OHG, e.g. *gast* : *gesti*; <ä> which appeared as a ‘secondary’ phenomenon in MHG before /hs/ and /ht/ and intervening syllables, e.g. *wahsen* : *wehset*, *magad* : *megeðe*). In order to rebalance the system, one of /a/’s mutated forms was redistributed to /e/ so that each phoneme had one allophone. The transferred ‘primary umlaut’ form was a close vowel (marked in historical grammars as *ē*) which sounded closer to /e/ than /a/ and was interpreted as such by OHG scribes. (For further discussion, see Sonderegger 1979: 297–319; Durrell 1989.)

Against this phonological background, there can be little doubt that the appearance of umlaut in orthography is a distinctive feature of MHG vis-à-vis OHG. The form in which this orthographical representation manifests itself, however, is highly irregular: (a) the umlaut that one might expect is simply not represented; or (b) the forms given to umlaut in the normalized MHG spelling system are only one of many ways in which scribes transcribed these sounds (Table 11.2); and/or (c) usually within one MS a single scribe will write an umlaut differently in the same word, sometimes even omitting it where it had previously been represented.

Table 11.2 Orthographical representation of umlaut

primary vowel	normalized umlaut	orthographical variations
a/â	e, ä/æ	ae, e, â, ê, é, ê
o/ô	ö/oe	oe, ô
u/û	ü/iu	ve, û, v̄, w̄, iv, v̄, v̄
ou	öü	ö, av, aw, ä, öw, aü, auw, äw, û, v̄, w̄, oü
uo	üe	uo, û, v̄, w̄, v̄e, ö, ô, v̄

In our passage, the following cases of potential umlaut appear:

Table 11.3 Umlaut in the Williram text sample

Br	‘standard’ OHG	Mu	‘standard’ MHG
<i>zûich</i> <i>geuâtet</i>	<i>ziuch</i> (<ziohan) <i>giwâten</i> (jan verb)	<i>zuich</i> <i>gewetet</i>	<i>ziuch</i> <i>wâten</i>
<i>sûoze</i>	<i>suaz</i> (z)i	<i>suoze</i>	<i>süeze</i>
<i>scund</i>	<i>scunden</i> (jan verb)	<i>scun</i>	<i>schunden</i>
<i>cusser</i>	<i>kussen</i> (jan verb)	<i>chcusser</i>	<i>küssen</i>
<i>spunne</i>	<i>spunni</i>	<i>spunne</i>	<i>spün(n)e</i>
<i>scarfe</i>	<i>sarphî</i> (/scarfe)	<i>scarfe</i>	<i>scher(p)fe</i>

On the basis of MS Mu it would be impossible to draw any hard and fast conclusions. Southern regions are more resistant to umlaut than northern ones (cf *Innsbruck* and *Osnabrück*). The lack of umlaut in MS Mu could be explained in terms of regionality. On the other hand, two unambiguous umlauts are marked – in addition to *gewetet* in Table 11.3, there is also *zuich*.² It is noticeable that these are forms which do not require superscripts but simply take existing forms from the Latin alphabet, <ui> and <e>. Conservatism and uncertainty amongst scribes in the MHG period – even when some are breaking away from the Latin alphabet to use the superscript – certainly contributes to the non-marking of umlaut, or the marking of only certain umlauts.

11.4.3 [s] + [k] > [ʃ]

The development of [s] + [k] to [ʃ], a change which takes place in all Germanic languages (except Dutch and the dialect of Westphalia), is an often-cited distinguishing criterion for early MHG. Indeed, for the verbs ‘to mix’ and ‘to direct’ dictionaries give OHG *miskan* – MHG *mischen* and OHG *scunden* – MHG *schünden*. Our two MSS, however, give a different picture: Br *gemisket* – Mu *gemisket* (2), Br *scünt* – Mu *scun* (5). The date for the change is often cited as c.1050, but the reasoning is vague and unsatisfactory. There is no sign of change in Notker at all (e.g. *fisg*). In the transmission of Williram MSS in the MHG period, only one (Stuttgart, twelfth century) shows any orthographical sign of [ʃ] at this point. The phoneme is marked in MSS throughout the period in several different ways: <sch>, <sh>, <s>, <ss>, <ssc>, <ssh>, <ssch>. Spellings such as <sk> and <sg> also run throughout the thirteenth century. While on the one hand it is impossible to say that a spelling such as <sk> or <sg> does not represent [ʃ] (scribal conservatism hindering the break from Latin which does not have the phoneme), there are strong arguments that can be made for assuming that in some instances at least these spellings still represent [sk]: (i) Poets of the MHG classical era (writing between 1170 and 1220/30) very rarely rhyme on [sk]/[ʃ] (Wolfram never, Gottfried only once), which is a sure sign that the change was still in progress and regionally distinctive (see 12.4). (ii) In late MHG the sibilants /z/ and /s/ (the latter phonetically somewhere very close to [ʃ]) are held to merge as a knock-on effect from the development of [sk] > [ʃ] (Penzl 1989: 62). If this is indeed the case, then the late dating of the merger would suggest a somewhat later development of [sk] > [ʃ], or at least a development which did not spread to all dialects until sometime in the thirteenth century. This argument would seem to be backed up by the increasing use of more explicit symbols for [ʃ] in MSS from the thirteenth century onwards (Schneider 1987: 74–5).

2 ‘Standard’ OHG/MHG *zuich*. The development of this phoneme can also be explained in terms of umlaut. PGmc /eu/ becomes /iu/ before /u/ and /i/ (i.e. raising of first element before a high vowel) or /eo/ before /a/, /e/, or /o/ (i.e. lowering of second element before lower vowels). The umlaut of /ū/ begins to be written as <iu> from c.1000 onwards. It is therefore assumed that the diphthong /iu/ (<PGmc /eu/) had monophthongized to [y:] by around this time, causing in most regions a merger of /iu/ and /ū/. The umlaut of /ū/ is, therefore, the second umlaut to appear orthographically after ‘primary umlaut’.

11.5 Accents and punctuation

It is believed that MS Br carries through the author's intentions for the setting of accents most consistently. Previously only Notker had proceeded with accents on German words in this manner (see 10.4). Williram's accents marked (a) the stress of the German content word (*Vollwort*), (b) the quantity of the vowel, and occasionally (c) the prosodic pattern of the overall sentence structure. Acute accents marked short vowels (e.g. *cüsse* MS Br1), whilst circumflexes marked long vowels and diphthongs, the accent on the latter coming on the first vowel (e.g. *sînes, sîoze* MS Br1). Function words (*Formwörter*) and articles were normally left unmarked unless they carried an important stress in the sentence; cf the role of *mit* in the following two sentences:

sîe stînhente mit den bézzesten sálbon (2)

Diu sêlba gnâda ist gemîsket mît uariis donis spiritus sancti. mît den du máchost . . . (2)

Gärtner's study (1991) of the accentual system in the Williram MSS shows how the use of accent becomes irregular, eroded and neglected in the course of the twelfth century. MS Mu is therefore not alone in its lack of accents. This scenario captures the general picture at the turn of the thirteenth century: some MSS still have wide use of accents (e.g. the Giessener *Iwein* MS, see ch. 12), but where it is present in the thirteenth century it is normally highly erratic. Why were accents used at all? One possible answer is that they were used in Latin, in whose shadow German orthography remained. Latin, however, used accents much more sparingly and usually to mark the main sentence stress: in our passages the German sections have 93 accents whilst the equivalent Latin lines have none. Another possible explanation might have something to do with the orality/literacy complex. In the beginning, German had to be written in such a way as to make it intelligible, thus replicating as far as possible the oral medium. As German breaks away from its purely oral domain and begins to establish itself in written form in the thirteenth century, it is significant that the placing of accents becomes less common. It is interesting that Schneider (1987: 18) notes that where they do appear: 'vielfach scheint durch die Akzentuierung weder Betonung noch Längung beabsichtigt, sondern eine gewisse Übersichtlichkeit des Textes für den Leser angestrebt und seine Aufmerksamkeit angesprochen worden zu sein'.

Inversely, punctuation via the stop seems to have become more advanced by the time of MS Mu. Mu seems to set a stop to mark the end of a unit of sense or a syntactical unit, whereas Br sets stops at points where one cannot even imagine a rhetorical pause for effect, compare:

Diu sîoze dînero gratiê ist bézzera, dânnè diu scârfe déro legis (Br2)

Div suoze dîner gratia ist bezzer danne diu scarfe der legis. (Mu2)

Mu is typical of MSS at the beginning of the thirteenth century when the stop is the only regular mark of punctuation (no commas), being used either as a marker of sense units (see 14.6) or to mark separate lines when verse has been written continuously (which it was in Germany longer than in France).

Further reading

Bartelmez (1967); Gärtner (1988, 1991); Meyer (1985); Ridder and Wolf (2000); Schmid (1992); Zeffass (1995).

12 Courtly romance

Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein*

12.1 Context

Hartmann von Aue ranks as one of the most important poets of the so-called *Blütezeit*, a period (1170/80 – 1220/30) which marks both the real beginnings of secular vernacular literature in the written medium (the trickle had started by the mid twelfth century) and at the same time its golden age. Hartmann, along with Wolfram von Eschenbach, Gottfried von Strassburg (see ch. 13) and the anonymous poet of the *Nibelungenlied* are the giants of the era, between them introducing the Arthurian theme to German literature and producing arguably the finest European versions of *Parzival*, *Tristan* and the story of Siegfried, made into cult figures of high cultural consumption in the nineteenth century by Wagner.

The production of literature in the Middle Ages was inextricably linked with patrons (see Bumke 1979). The notion of authors writing out of a sense of inner compulsion is a concept of the modern era, and in Germany in particular, of the *Geniekult* of the eighteenth century. A number of things meant that the patronage of courtly literature was the preserve of the rich: the cost of procuring a MS from which an author could mould his own work (Heinrich von Veldeke claimed that his unfinished *Eneas* was stolen at a wedding!), the cost of producing a codex of fine parchment and indeed the cost of keeping the poet himself fed and clothed (Bishop Wolfger of Erla had to buy the poet Walther von der Vogelweide a fur coat). Rather like those today who collect objets d'art, support for literature was not simply in the cause of art for art's sake. Patrons wished to establish their own credentials as rulers (sometimes in imitation of or in opposition to the king/emperor). It is clear that there was some sort of literary scene: authors of the *Blütezeit* refer to each other's works in often detailed ways, and no work is ever commissioned by different patrons (see Johnson 1993). Neither poet nor collector, it seems, wished to play second fiddle to a rival. Since Hartmann never names his patron, it is difficult to pinpoint his location exactly. On the scant basis of certain rhymes (see 12.4), the poet's language has been identified as Swabian. Within this region, three courts represent realistic possibilities: the Zähringen, the Welfs and the Hohenstaufen imperial family. Whilst the Zähringen enjoy current popularity, Klein (1988: 123) suggests that the MS transmission – with the number in the (South) East heavily outbalancing the South West – suggests a court further to the East, such as the Welfs.

The excerpt below contains the narrator's ruminations about the splendour of King Arthur's Whitsun festival in the form of the *laudatio temporis acti* topos (praise

of the times within which the action took place, aka ‘those were the good old days’). This opens up the question of how to evaluate such literary texts. Since there is very little historical evidence about life at medieval German courts, scholars often rely on literary texts for clues. On the other hand, we have to take into account that such accounts were conceived with a certain purpose and bias in mind: either as an incentive to behave with finer manners, constructed by clerics by way of educating the secular courts (Jaeger 1985), or as exaggerated propaganda and self-projection on the part of the lay nobility (Elias 1976). At any rate, literary and historical scholars are caught within a hermeneutical conundrum.

12.2 Text and translation

See text on pp. 115–16.

(Lachmann text: Benecke *et al.* 1968: 1–2)

A knight, who was educated and read in books, whenever he had nothing better to do with his time, occupied himself with poetry – whatever people enjoyed hearing, to that he turned his attention – his name was Hartmann and he came from Aue: he composed this tale. During the feast of Whitsun, in customary grandeur, King Arthur had proclaimed such a magnificent festival at his residence at Karidol that nothing before or since ever rivalled it. Indeed, an unworthy man was of little consequence there, for at no time in all the world had so many fine knights gathered together as there. Moreover, the time they were shown there at court was in every way perfect: courtly and bodily delights were provided by many women and maidens, the most beautiful from all realms. It really pains me – and if I thought it would do any good, I would complain about it – that in our day the joy that men cultivated in those times can never be again. Nevertheless we have to get by in the present day. I would not want to have lived in the past and thus have missed the present, when we can get so much pleasure from the stories about them. They [only] had the deeds to make them happy. Arthur and the queen were mingling and providing for the needs of all their guests. After they had eaten the Whitsun feast, each man pursued his pleasure according to his taste. Some conversed with the ladies, others took a stroll, some danced, some sang, some sprinted, others jumped, some listened to stringed instruments, others indulged in archery, some told tales of the trials of love, others of deeds of daring.

12.3 The Lachmann method

The first critical editions of MHG texts were completed in the early part of the nineteenth century, an era in which the writing of German grammars took a definitive turn towards the reconstruction of historical connections (see ch. 28). The

Ein rieter der gelert waf.
 vnd ez an den bûchen laf.
 swenner sîne stvnde.
 niht baz bewenden chvnde.
 5 daz er ovch tihtens pflac.
 daz man gerne hören mac.
 da chert er finen fliz an.
 er waf genant Hartman.
 vnd waf ein owære.
 10 der tihte diz mære.
 Ez het der kvnech Artvf.
 ze karidol in sin hvf.
 zeinen pfingesten geleit.
 nach richer gewonheit.
 15 eine also schöne hochzit.
 daz er da vor noch sit.
 deheine schöner nie gewan.
 deiswar da waf ein böfer man.
 in vil fwachem werde.
 20 wande sich gefamenten vf der erde.
 bî niemens ziten anderfwa
 So manech gût riter alf da.
 ovch wart in da zelone gegeben.
 in allen wif ein wunsch lebn.
 25 in liebet den hof vnd den lip.
 manech magt vnd wip.
 di schönsten von den richen.
 mich iamert wærlichen.
 vnd hulfez iht ich woldez clagen.
 30 daz nv bi vnfern tagen.
 selch freude niemer werden mac.
 der man ze den ziten pflac.
 doch mvzzen wir ovch nv genesn.

Ein rîter, der gelêret was
 unde ez an den buochen las,
 swenner sîne stunde
 niht baz bewenden kunde,
 daz er ouch tihtennes pflac
 (daz man gerne hoeren mac,
 dâ kêrt er sînen vliz an:
 er was genant Hartman
 und was ein Ouwære),
 der tihte diz mære.
 Ez hete der kûnec Artûs
 ze Karidôl in sîn hûs
 zeinen pfingesten geleit
 nâch rîcher gewonheit
 ein alsô schœne hôchzît
 daz er vordes noch sît
 deheine schœner nie gewan.
 deiswâr dâ was ein bœser man
 in vil swachem werde:
 wan sich gesament ûf der erde
 bî niemens zîten anderswâ
 sô manec guot ritter alsô dâ.
 ouch wart in dâ ze hove gegeben
 in allen wîs ein wunschleben:
 in liebte hof und den lîp
 manec maget unde wîp,
 die schœnsten von den rîchen.
 mich jâmert wærlîchen,
 und hulfez iht, ich woldez clagen,
 daz nû bî unseren tagen
 selch vreude niemer werden mac
 der man ze den zîten pflac.
 doch mûezen wir ouch nû genesen.

So manich gût ritter ¹also da.
 Oh wart in da zehove gegeben.
 In allen wis ein wunschleben.
 In liebete den hov unde den lib.
 und manich maget unde wib.
 die sconeften von den richen.
 Mich iamert warliche.
 hulfez ich ich woldiz clagen.
 daz nu unfen dagen.
 Sulche urowede nieme werden mah.
 der man zo den ziten p
 doh muzen wir oh nu genesen.

35 ichn wolde do niht sin gewefn.
 daz ich nv niht enwære.
 da vnſ noch mit ir mære.
 so rehte wol wefn fol.
 da taten in div werch vil wol.
 Artuſ vnd div kvnegin.
 40 ir ietwederz vnder in.
 sich vf ir aller willen fleiz.
 do man des pfingestages enbeiz.
 Mænneclich im die frevde nam.
 der in do aller beste gezam.
 45 diſe ſprachen wider div wip.
 diſe banecten den lip.
 diſe tanzten. diſe ſvngen.
 diſe lieffen diſe ſprvngen.
 diſe horten ſeitspil.
 50 diſe ſchvzzen zv dem zil.
 diſe redten von ſeneder arbeit.
 diſe von manheit.

ichn wolde dô nicht sîn gewesen,
 daz ich nû niht enwære,
 dâ uns noch mit ir mære
 sô rehte wol wesen sol:
 dâ tâten in diu werc vil wol.
 Artûs und diu kunegin,
 ir ietwederz under in
 sich ûf ir aller willen vleiz.
 dô man des pfingestages enbeiz,
 mænneclîch im die vreude nam
 der in dô aller beste gezam.
 diſe ſprâchen wider diu wîp,
 diſe banecten den lip,
 diſe tanzten, diſe ſungen,
 diſe liefen, diſe ſprungen,
 diſe hôrten ſeitspil,
 diſe ſchuzzen zuo dem zil,
 diſe redten von ſeneder arbeit,
 diſe von grôzer manheit.

Ih ne wolde dô niht sin gewefen.
 daz ich nu niht newere.
 daz unſ noch mit ir m
 so rehte wole wefen fol.
 doh daden werc uil wol.
 artus unde div koningin
 Ir iwed under in.
 Sih hœf ir aller willen uliz.
 dô man des pinkestages umbeiz.
 Manlih ſih in die frowede nam.
 die in der aller beste man.
 Diſe ſprachen wider die wib.
 Diſe baneketen den lib.
 Diſe tanzten diſe ſungen.
 Diſe liefen, diſe ſprungen.
 Diſe von ſenender arbeit.
 Diſe von gozir manheit.

central figure in this field was Karl Lachmann, whose thoughts about text editing can be gleaned from his correspondence with his Ph.D supervisor Benecke and the brothers Grimm (see Lutz-Hensel 1975: 164ff., 192ff., 360ff.). The method developed in that era (which became known as the Lachmann method) has two decisive and interrelated features: (i) through comparison of 'the best' (often, but not always, the oldest surviving) MSS, it should be possible to come as close as possible to the author's original. This functioned rather like the reconstruction of Germanic and Indo-European. In some instances the editor is permitted to correct the text if it is considered corrupted. Examples of this in our text are (a) the rebalancing of lines according to a fixed notion of metre, e.g. the reconstitution of weakened final syllables *gegeben/lebn* > *gegeben/leben* (ll.23–4) and ll.45–6 which are a conflation of MSS A and B; (b) the replacement of a missing word, e.g. *grozer* (l.52) from MS A. (ii) Similarly, it was thought to be possible to reconstruct out of carefully selected MSS the language of the educated literary elite. Lachmann believed that the style, register and norms of any given epoch's language would have moulded the poets and therefore was recoverable from the right form of poetic language. At first Lachmann considered Hartmann, Wolfram, Walther and the poet of the *Nibelungenlied* to represent the correct selective sample, but later reduced his range to Hartmann alone: 'Hartmann halte ich für den eigentlichen testo di lingua: die anderen sind alle nicht ohne Unregelmässigkeit'.

To this end Lachmann and Benecke took the Giessen *Iwein* MS (= MS B, transcribed only decades after the work itself was composed) as the basis of the first MHG critical edition. Their attitude to it is clearly displayed in Benecke who went as far as describing it as the Aristarchus Gissensis (after the seminal edition of Homer by the Greek scholar Aristarchos of Samothrake). In practice, however, it was felt that the MS still contained some errors and anachronisms which needed to be removed by editorial expertise to get close to the original text and its language. In addition, it was thought to be advantageous if the orthography of the MSS could be unified in such a way as to make it easily readable by the non-expert. Within these few points lie the attraction and the danger of the Lachmann method and edition. On the one hand, reliable MSS were presented in such a way that a wider audience could move between authors without having to readjust to the new orthographical habits of individual scribes. Also, the orthographical system was invented in such a way as to capture the phonological reality of MHG (see Penzl 1984). On the other hand, in many cases the transmission defies such simplicity: Hartmann's *Erec*, for instance, is transmitted complete in one early sixteenth century MS only and has to be 'translated back' into 'standard MHG'. Even when the transmission is favourable, the subjectivity of the editor helps create the illusion of a text which represents the language of not only the original poet, but of a literary koine. Whilst this might seem attractive, it does not bear out the evidence of the MS transmission at large and judges individual MS and authors essentially according to whether they fit the norm of Hartmann's poetry as represented in the Giessen MS. For this reason, the real contours of MHG have been obscured from and ignored by scholarship for the best part of nearly 200 years. Recent research has begun to call attention to MS culture and the importance of the linguistic data contained therein. Instead of trying to recapture the language of some lost original scholars are beginning to realize that 'in den literarischen Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts fassen wir

sprachlich weder den Dichter ganz noch den Schreiber ganz, aber immerhin Texte, wie sie in diesem Jahrhundert gelesen und vorgelesen wurden' (Schröder 1984: 690).

The Heidelberg MS (A) is therefore given here as point of comparison. Dated around the same time as B (2nd quarter of the thirteenth century), it shows a very different linguistic picture: lowering of /u/ to /o/ (*koningin*, 1.39), unshifted consonants such as in *pinkeftages* (1.42), and the /i/ for /e/ in short unstressed syllables (*manich*, 1.22) all point to a scribe from around the CG-LG border (see Klein 1988: 148 and Beckers 1982: 13). This is a particularly interesting example, since LG scribes tended on the whole to cover up their origin (obviously the romance was felt to be a HG genre) unlike HG scribes who more often allowed their own dialect to colour their text. LG scribes on the whole could be seen as following a proto-Lachmann process, often betraying their origins via hypercorrect HG forms (see Beckers 1992).

Since many key MHG texts are still available either in the Lachmann edition or in editions which use his method of normalization, the most important linguistic points of this 'neo-Gothic edifice' (Wells 1987: 447) are now outlined:

- (i) The dialect of MS B over which scholarship is divided – Swabian (Schneider 1987: 147ff.) or North-East Bavarian (Klein, 1988: 148f.)? – is maintained in most points. In our passage, only the UG affricate [kx]/<ch> (<PGmc /k/; or /g/ via *Auslautverhärtung*) is altered, e.g. *chunde* > *kunde* (1.4), *banechten* > *banekten* (1.46), *manech* > *manec* (1.22). This was removed in a bid to render the more neutral form in which Lachmann *believed* Hartmann to have composed.
- (ii) Orthographical norms are introduced:
- (a) many MS superscripts are integrated:
- | | | | |
|------------------------|---|-------------------------|--------|
| <û> (<i>bûchen</i>) | > | <uo> (<i>buochen</i>) | (1.2) |
| <oŵ> (<i>oŵaere</i>) | > | <ou> (<i>Ouwaere</i>) | (1.8) |
| <û> (<i>mûzzen</i>) | > | <üe> (<i>müezen</i>) | (1.33) |
- (b) superscripts are added to show length (following the example of Notker):
- | | | | |
|------------------------|---|------------------------|--------|
| <i> (<i>ſine</i>) | > | <î> (<i>sîne</i>) | (1.3) |
| <e> (<i>chert</i>) | > | <ê> (<i>kêrt</i>) | (1.7) |
| <a> (<i>nach</i>) | > | <â> (<i>nâch</i>) | (1.14) |
| <o> (<i>Karidol</i>) | > | <ô> (<i>Karidôl</i>) | (1.12) |
| <u> (<i>huf</i>) | > | <û> (<i>hûs</i>) | (1.12) |
- (c) variant forms are simplified:
- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|--------|
| vocalic <v> (<i>stunde</i>) | > | <u> (<i>stunde</i>) | (1.3) |
| <ſ> (<i>ſin</i>) | > | <s> (<i>sîn</i>) | (1.12) |
| initial <f> (<i>freude</i>) | > | <v> (<i>vreude</i>) ¹ | (1.31) |
| semi-vowel <i> (<i>iamert</i>) | > | <j> (<i>jamert</i>) | (1.28) |
- (d) umlauts are disambiguated from diphthongs and marked according to length:
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|----------------------------|--------|
| <ô> (<i>hôren</i>) | > | <oe> (<i>hæren</i>) | (1.6) |
| <ae> (<i>maenneclich</i>) | > | <â> (<i>mâenneclich</i>) | (1.43) |

1 Not carried out consistently by Lachmann (see Paul 1989: §131, n.1).

- (e) abbreviations are written in full:
vñ > *und*²
- (f) word divisions are regulated according to NHG usage:
zehove > *ze hove* (1.23)
wunſch lebn > *wunſchleben* (1.24)
- (g) double and single consonants are regulated (double after short, otherwise single):
mûzzen > *müezen* (1.33)
lieffen > *liefen* (1.48)

12.4 The MHG *Dichtersprache*

The problem of a standard MHG as portrayed by Lachmann is complicated by the fact that as far as one can detect through the MS transmission, some effort was made by poets to write in a uniform way. In this context Walther the Bavarian and Hartmann the Swabian are often cited as being virtually indistinguishable. The uniformity is, however, above all one of style, register and vocabulary (see ch. 13), whilst phonology, morphology and orthography retained more of their regional traces. Yet this regionality is restricted in two important ways: (i) LG poets – like LG scribes – composed almost exclusively in HG (e.g. Albrecht von Halberstadt and the *Braunschweiger Reimchronik*), which leads to the deduction that HG must have been comfortably understood and accepted at LG courts. The Reformation was therefore not the first instance of LG coming under attack via socio-cultural events (see 22.6). (ii) Poets avoided rhymes that would not have worked outside their own dialect area. In his earlier work, for instance, Hartmann rhymes *kam* – *nam*, which would have been impure in Bavarian (*kōm* – *nam*), but drops this in later works. The prime example for this technique of avoidance is Heinrich von Veldeke who not only avoided rhymes which would not have worked in HG (e.g. LG *tīt* [‘time’, HG *zīt*]/LG *wīt* [‘broad’, HG *wīf*] are never rhymed with LG *wīt* [‘white’, HG *wīz*]), but also those which would have failed in his native dialect. The rhyme avoidance was born of commercial considerations on the part of the poet who was dependent on the changing fortunes of his patron: death, marriage, financial misfortune could all spell the end of a poet’s tenure at a given court and necessitate a change of employer. Neutral rhymes – like the trend towards world-wide product labels in the modern advertising world (*Marathon* > *Snicker*, *Vauxhall Nova* > *Corsa*) – aided the marketability of the medieval poet in an uncertain employment scene. Furthermore, neutral rhymes actually show that there was no *Dichtersprache* as such: ‘Verzicht auf mundartliche Besonderheiten auf dem Wege des neutralen Reims beweist in aller Regel nicht das Bestehen, sondern das Fehlen einer überregionalen, auch den Bereich der Laute und Formen wenigstens tendenziell vereinheitlichenden Dichtersprache’ (Klein 1985: 91). MHG literary language therefore could not go on to play the forerunner of any

² Other common abbreviations include: *s* = *er*, e.g. *ds* = *der*; *-c* = *az*, e.g. *dc* = *daz*; *‘* = *u*, e.g. *l’tē* = *lute*; *ē* = *e*, e.g. *were* = *were*.

written standard, unlike later chancery documents which also relied on the avoidance of dialectal extremes (see ch. 18), because supraregionality was purely negative, its social basis too limited, and its primary medium too strongly dictated by orality.

12.5 Production and reception

The author claims to be both literate and a knight. About the former statement there can be little doubt, since he seems well versed in Latin and can read French (although he makes no direct claim here to be reading a source). Taken together, however, the statements form a paradox, since literacy was largely the preserve of clerics. An answer might be found in the broad definition of the term 'knight', which by the late twelfth century had developed away from the strict definition of 'military rider' to a more loosely defined aristocratic ideal: in Hartmann's *Erec*, for instance, the protagonist is a king and knight simultaneously. In the prologue to *Der arme Heinrich*, Hartmann describes himself as a *ritter* and a *dienstmann* ('ministerial'), again a paradox if taken within strict hierarchical terms. The rank of ministerial was a broad one which included administration and service in military combat. It is highly likely that Hartmann had received a clerical education and was in service in some literate capacity. Whether he had served militarily or was attaching himself to the broader and still developing notions of knighthood is impossible to tell.

Medieval literature was primarily conceived with a live listening public in mind. However, as Green (1994) has now shown, many literate poets also intended their works to be read privately, in many cases by women (who along with clerics were the prime literate constituency at court). Hartmann's works are no exception to the rule (see Green 1994: 186–90): in a later passage of the *Iwein* (6455ff.), Hartmann describes a scene where a young girl is reading aloud to her parents in French in the tranquility of an orchard. Our two MSS are in the small format which is not untypical for the specific genres of the Arthurian romance and the short epic of the thirteenth century (A = 20 × 12cm; B = 12.5 × 8cm), around the size of a modern paperback. Both were intended for practical use rather than decorative purposes. MS A was loose leaf (the first and last pages were exposed and are therefore practically unreadable). It was unbound for ease of transport and taken as booty during the Thirty Years' War along with the other MSS of the Palatine library to the Vatican where it was so tightly rebound that the ends of lines could now not be read without breaking the binding (hence the gaps above). MS B is carefully laid out in separate lines and written with a beautifully legible hand. Both might certainly have been used for public performance. B 'gibt ein anschauliches Bild von der äußeren Beschaffenheit der Salonlectüre im höfischen Mittelalter' (Bischoff quoted in Beckers 1977: 55). It is not too fanciful to imagine the girl in the orchard to be reading from such a MS as this.

12.6 Syntax and style

Considerations of rhythm and rhyme mean that there are considerable pressures on the syntax of MHG verse. The first sentence in our passage might profitably be compared to the syntax of the Vienna legal document (ch. 14). By comparison, the various pieces of information in Hartmann's verse passage are not strictly divided and flow into one another in a way which demands that the grammatical structure of the sentence undergoes several changes as it progresses. These configurations are not unique to MHG verse, but appear within this text-type with more regularity than elsewhere, thus almost making them a register-specific feature. The sentence could be divided into a main frame with three major subsections (quoted here from MS B):

main frame

Ein rieter, *der tihte diz maere*
der gelert waƒ vnd . . .

subsection 1: apo koinou

- (a) . . . *der gelert waƒ*
vnd ez an den bûchen laƒ
 (b) [*swenner sîne stunde*
niht baz bewenden chunde]
 (c) *daz er ouch tihtenƒ pflac*

The apo koinou construction functions when a grammatical unit stands between two others and is shared by them in such a way that it performs its own function in each. In this case (b) can be read as the follow-on from (a) ['he read whenever he had nothing better to do with his time'] and as the introduction to (c) ['when he had nothing better to do with his time he composed poetry'].

subsection 2: anacoluthon

- (a) *daz er ouch tihtenƒ pflac*
 (b) *daz man gerne hören mac*
 (c) *da chert er finen fliz an*

Anacoluthon is the term given to constructions that change grammatical direction. In this example, (b) flows as a relative clause from (a) ['that he composed poetry which one likes to hear']; the main verb, set up by the opening line (*Ein rieter . . .*) and which might now be expected, is not provided. Instead (c) seems to be part of a new main clause with (b) as its preceding object ['he puts his efforts into producing that which one likes to hear']. Whilst (b) functions almost as an apo koinou, between (a) and (c), the combined effect of (b) and (c) is grammatically to derail the initial line of the sentence.

subsection 3: parenthesis

*er waf genant Hartman
und waf ein oebaere*

In view of the overall frame, this sentence is a parenthesis (a syntactically independent sub-clause). After the anacoluthon, however, it could also be considered as a new sentence in its own right which flows directly into *der tihte diz maere*. It seems likely that the shifts from macro to micro structures in this syntax would have ‘read’ more smoothly in oral performance.

Stylistically two further sentences are of general interest for the courtly romance: *deiswâr dâ was ein boeser man/in vil swachem werde* (ll.18f.); *ouch wart in dâ ze hove gegeben/in allen wîs ein wunschleben* (ll.23f.). The former is a typical understating *litotes* (e.g. *do was lützel trüren* = ‘great joy’) and the latter is one of several common indirect constructions. Both are prime examples of what v. Polenz (1978: 58) describes as ‘eine preziös-euphemistische Stiltendenz’.

Further reading

Bumke (1996: 1–88); Johnson (1993); Klein (1985, 1988); N.R. Wolf (1989); J. Wolf (2002).

13 French influence

Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*

13.1 Context

The literary works of authors such as Hartmann von Aue, Wolfram von Eschenbach and Gottfried von Strassburg (see ch. 12) were both made possible by courts and informed by a sense of courtliness. Both phenomena were products of the changes in the politico-economic climate in eleventh-century and twelfth-century Western Europe, which produced wealth, permanency and the time for leisure – the ideal conditions for authors working over the course of several years on lengthy works. To a large extent this literature – like many other cultural phenomena in the period – stood under the influence of France where new notions of knighthood had developed in the eleventh and twelfth century and spread as the dominant cultural force across Europe. Based on the notion of the court as a centre of peaceful rule, courtliness combined fine manners in communication, table-etiquette and deportment, splendid clothing and a heightened sense of ritual within an overarching social ethic. Thus *diemuot* (literally = ‘servant spirit’, Christian loan based on L *humilitas*), which had reflected a positive internal value since OHG, became a central courtly concept. In a similar vein, the legal term *triuwe* (B10 ‘loyalty to contract’) and *êre* (B25 ‘glory’/‘reputation’) amongst others began to gain the internal, moral values they normally represent today. The dual meaning of many such MHG words testifies to an ethic based on the importance of appearance.

There were many and varied contact points through which French could exert linguistic influence on German: trade routes (especially from Paris to Cologne, or via the Mosel to Mainz), bilingual areas (e.g. Alsace and Lorraine), areas under foreign rule (e.g. Flanders under the French, Burgundy under the Germans), crusades, intermarriage (e.g. Agnes of Poitou to Heinrich III, Mathilde of England to Henry the Lion), festivals and tournaments (e.g. the famous ‘Mainzer Hoffest’ of 1184), literature (all three of the major authors above worked from French sources), education (sons of German nobles both going to France and having French tutors at home). Whilst this influence left its mark on MHG in such diverse areas as commodities, seafaring, building and finance, it especially dominated the courtly realm. This borrowing was based predominantly on luxury rather than necessity and was restricted almost exclusively to the lexical domain and primarily to nouns (for a full taxonomy see Suolahti 1902, 1929, 1933). The fact that French had virtually no syntactical influence suggests that borrowing was a feature of one

particular sociolect and this is confirmed by borrowing patterns which peaked around 1200 and dropped away to virtually nothing by the fifteenth century, leaving little trace in NHG of its once apparently huge importance. Accordingly, literature (and in particular the romance) distinguishes itself from other forms of writing in the Middle Ages by its high proportion of loans.

The following extracts are taken from Gottfried's *Tristan*, written *c.*1210 and based on the OF *Roman de Tristan* by Thomas de Bretagne. The MS is the late thirteenth-century H(eidelberg) MS (Cpg 360), written in the Alemannic dialect (therefore close to 'standard MHG') by a Rhine Franconian scribe (see Pickering 1934). The text given below follows the modern editor's use of punctuation, etc. for ease of comprehension. The two excerpts, which relate Tristan's first meeting with King Mark and his later promotion to the rank of knighthood at the hands of the latter in the sword presentation ceremony, have been chosen to show French in direct speech (ll. 3351–64) as well as in the narrative (ll.5041–68), the former permitting us tentatively to reconstruct its socio-linguistic force in the court context.

13.2 Texts and translation

A. Marke sach Tristanen an:

'vriunt', sprach er, 'heizes tu Tristan?'

'ja, herre, Tristan; deu sal!'

deu sal, beas vassal!'

5 'merci', sprach er, 'gentil rois,

edeler kunic kurnewalois,

ir unde iuwer gesinde,

ir sit von gotes kinde

iemmer gebenediet!'

10 da wart gemerziet

wunder von der hovediet.

sie triben niuwan daz eine liet:

'Tristan, Tristan li Parmenoys,

cum est beas et cum cortoys!'

B. hie mit bot er im den schilt dar.

er kustin unde sprach: 'neve, nu var,

unde gebe dir got durch sine craft

heil ze diner ritterschaft!

5 wis iemer hofsch unde iemer vro!'

Tristan verrihte aber do

sine gesellen an der stete,

rehte als in sin oheim tete,

an swerte, an sporn, an schilte.

10 demute, triuwe, milte,

die leite er ielliches cure

mit bescheidenlicher lere vure,

unde enwart ouch da nime gebiten:

gebuhurdierit unde geriten
 15 wart da, zware, deist min wan.
 wie si aber von ringe liezen gan,
 wie sie mit scheften stechen,
 wie vil si der zebrechen:
 daz suln die garzune sagen;
 20 die hulfen ez zesamene tragen.
 ine mag ir buhurdieren
 niht allez becroyeren,
 wan einen dienst biut ich in,
 des ich in sere willic bin:
 25 [daz sich ir aller ere]
 an allen dingen mere
 unde in got ritterliches leben
 zu ir ritterscefte muze geben!

(Text: Spiewok 1989: 72/94)

A. Mark looked at Tristan. ‘[My] friend’ he said, ‘are you called Tristan?’. ‘Yes sire, Tristan. God save you’. ‘God save you, [my] dear young man.’ ‘Thank you’, he said, ‘(noble king,) noble king of Cornwall. May you and your retinue be blessed by the son of God for ever.’ The members of the court thanked him profusely. Only one refrain did they chant: ‘Tristan, Tristan of Parmenie, how handsome and courteous he is.’

B. With this he presented him with the shield. He kissed him and said: ‘Nephew, now go [hence] and may God in His power give you good fortune in your chivalry. At all times be courteous and in good spirits. Then Tristan for his part invested his companions there, just like his uncle had done for him, with sword, spurs and shield. He recommended for the the attention of each of them modesty, loyalty and generosity with well-founded arguments. And without further ado, they rode off to the buhurt, of that I am certain. But how they dashed off from the ring, how they thrust their shafts, and how many of these shattered – that is for the squires to tell: they helped to tidy it all up. I cannot call out all their jousting, but one thing I can offer them most willingly: [my wish] that their renown may increase in every way and that God may give them a knightly life [-style to match] their knightly deeds.

13.3 French influence

13.3.1 *Modes of entry*

It is often impossible to tell if an individual word (a) entered German via the oral or written medium or (b) regardless of the medium of entry, was part of the wider spoken language. Gärtner’s (1991) analysis of Hartmann’s *Erec* (the first Arthurian romance in German) demonstrates that nearly all the French loanwords in the text

have neither direct nor indirect counterparts in the French source and therefore must have been known to the audience before Hartmann made use of them. Whilst this postulated common courtly word hoard has somewhat relativized the traditional notion that French in this domain was borrowed exclusively via literature, the hypothesis needs further research. The word *krojjieren* (compare B22), suggested as oral by Gärtner, is a case in point: spelt consistently in this *Tristan* MS with <oy> which points to the diphthong /oi/ and the semi-vowel /j/, it appears frequently in others as *krogieren/kriegieren*. Whilst the <g> is explicable as scribal practice (/j/ appearing in MSS variously as <j, i, y, g, gi>) rather than as a result of speech habits (German tended to turn /ji/ into /gi/, but the loss of <g> in some MSS strongly suggests that the <g> with which we are dealing is not a stop), the variable quality of the diphthong suggests that the word had oral currency. The variation of <ie> and <oi> forms is probably due to the Bavarian development of /ei/ >/oi/ (and eventually /oa/), the /ī/ of the original OF *crier* having changed to /ei/ by this stage in UG as part of the MHG diphthongization (see 14.4). Additionally, the OF verb has picked up the suffix *-ieren* by analogy to other verbal loans from French (see 13.3.3). Another of Gärtner's words which appears in our passage – *buhurdieren* – is also of interest in this respect. The transmission of the word in this MS (*burdieren, geburdierit, burherdieren*) suggests that – by the late thirteenth century, at least – the second syllable has disappeared. (This is also the case in an *Erec* MS which gives *purdiern*.) The modern editors of this MS have reinserted the syllable – as they have done also with uncommon prefix *be-* in *becroyeren* – in order to help the line scan (with four stresses) in accordance with our notion of literary standards c.1200:

ine 'mag ir 'buhurd'ier'en
niht 'allez 'becro'yer'en

Hence we might postulate that either (a) the pronunciation changed since the time of original composition or (b) there was always an everyday pronunciation alongside a careful literary one, the latter disappearing by the end of the thirteenth century. Future research into French loans has much to gain from returning to MSS.

Whilst the entry of a loan via literature is more culturally than geographically conditioned (e.g. many seem to appear in the South-East, heartland of courtly literature), it is logical – although given the mobility of the nobility, not absolutely necessary – to locate the cross-over point for orally borrowed loans in the border regions. The Middle Dutch speaking areas of Flanders and Brabant enjoyed particular prestige for the quality of their knighthood and it appears their speech patterns might have been imitated: the poet Neidhart speaks of *vlaemen* – to talk in a Flemish way, and the speech of the prodigal son returning from court to his peasant milieu in Wernher's *Helmbrecht* is satirized with a sprinkling of LG forms. There is indeed linguistic evidence of loans passing into HG from these regions (e.g. in the diminutive form LG *-kin* for HG *-chen*; *tanzen* as hypercorrection of the LG /d/ – HG /t/ relation in the transmission of OF *danser*, LG /p/ for HG /f/ in *wāpen* (NHG *Wappen*). The key term of the period *höfisch* (e.g. B5) has often been loosely portrayed as part of this phenomenon due to its variant *hübesch*. This is far from certain. Whilst /ü/ might well be a HG vowel replacement

for LG or Dutch /ó/, the assumption in Paul's normally reliable *Mhd. Grammatik* that /b/ for /f-v/ is Mid Franconian (and hence possibly a channel for Middle Dutch) is wrong; only one MS from around 1200 writes <ub> consistently, although all others have some instances of it (Bumke 1992: 427–9). Again, further work on MS transmission is the key.

13.3.2 Categories of loan

The loans in our passage fall into two main categories.¹ The first is unassimilated or partially assimilated loans (*Fremdwörter*) where the foreignness of the word is still felt enough for it not to be categorized as an assimilated loan (*Lehnwort*). The difference between *Fremdwörter* and *Lehnwörter* is not always easy to classify, e.g. in modern German, although *Streik* (< E *strike*) is classified as an assimilated loan, and *Team* as an unassimilated loan (due to the fact that <ea> is not a German spelling), the latter is felt by most native speakers to be a 'German word'. It is, of course, impossible to tell when a MHG speaker would have felt a word to be German. Examples of partially assimilated loans in this passage: A9 *gebenediet* (<It *benedire* <L *benedicere*) and A10 *gemerziet* (<OF *mercier*) in which assimilation into the weak verb category has occurred; B19 *garzune* (<OF *garçon*, originally a loan from Frankish **wrakjo*) which has been assimilated into the strong masculine category (note the plural ending -e); in two of these OF /s/ has been rendered by <z>. In all three cases, there were existing MHG terms (*danken*, *segennen*, *knappē*) all of which outlive the loans into NHG.

The second category of loan is loan formation (*Lehnprägung*) in which the foreign word is rendered by combining elements of the native language. The text has examples of the most precise kind, loan translation (*Lehnübersetzung*), where the mapping is one to one: B5 *hof-sch* (otherwise *höv-esch*) < OF *court-ois* <L *curia-lis*; B28 *ritterscefte* (sg. *ritterschaft*) < OF *chevall(†e†)-erie*.

13.3.3 Suffixes

One lasting impression made by French is in the area of suffixes. By borrowing verbs with endings *-eir*, *-ieir*, *-ir* and under the influence of the noun ending *-ier*, MHG acquired *-ieren* verbs from the twelfth century onwards. The power of the suffix is clear from both *buhurdieren* and *krojieren* (B21/22), which actually derive from OF forms without *-ieren*: *beholder*, *crier*. From the thirteenth century, the suffix became highly productive (and remains so today) with derivations from German (e.g. *buchstabieren*) and Latin (e.g. *disputieren*). The foreignness of *-ieren* is detectable today only by its stress on the penultimate rather than root syllable. The other OF success is the nominal suffix *-îe* (which must have been integrated early as it undergoes diphthongization to *-ei*, e.g. MHG *erzenîe* > NHG *Arznei*); it is still productive, but has occasionally been overtaken by a new wave of French borrowing with the original suffix, e.g. NHG *Melodei* being ousted by the newly borrowed *Melodie*.

¹ For an overview of loan types, see 35.1.

13.3.4 Forms of address

The passage displays both *du* and *ir* forms of singular address. It would be wrong here to overstate the influence of French, since the use of the 2nd p. pl. form for singular address had entered German (if not consistently) by 800 (Otfrid addresses his German dedication in the *ir* form) under the influence of Latin which had used the form in this way since at least 375 (see Ehrismann 1901–4). However, French would certainly have played a role in consolidating positions which were emerging in the twelfth century: (i) *ir* was used to address one's lord or lady (hence Tristan [in A] says *ir* to King Mark); by children to adults (e.g. the young Tristan to a group of pilgrims); when being polite to strangers; with one's spouse (Isolde is on *ir* terms with both her husband Mark and her lover Tristan). (ii) *Du* is used with children and servants (hence the pilgrims and Mark [in A] use *du* to address the young Tristan); good friends and adult blood relatives. The *du-ir* relationship could change between individuals – but not in the same way as in modern German: Tristan's guardian Rual addresses his charge as *du* until he becomes his lord, from which point he has to switch to *ir*.

13.3.5 Courtly speech

Correct speech lay at the heart of courtliness and the Latin models of *urbanitas* and *curialitas* on which it is based. In a major courtly didactic text in the vernacular, *Der Welsche Gast* (1210/20), Gottfried's contemporary Thomasin von Zerklare addresses the issue of verbal conduct at court around several key points: about whom, about what, how and when. Whilst the refusal in our passage to go into detail about the details of the tournament is explicable in terms of a narratorial topos serving an authorial preference rather than as courtly etiquette (Gottfried is generally less willing to develop battle descriptions than most other poets of the period), Gottfried does seem to follow Thomasin at other points. Tristan's wound is left undescribed because the technical language of medicine is deemed unsuitable for a courtly audience (ll.7942ff.). Thomasin's comment that it is profitable to *strifeln* (mix) one's speech with French, since those who know no French can learn from it, seems to be observed or enacted in the hunting scene when Tristan introduces a string of French termini and is asked their meaning by a receptive courtly public (ll.2759–3080). He also impresses his abductors with the 'courtly way' in which he sprinkles his chess discussion with foreign words:

der hofsche hovebere
lie sine hovemere
unde vremede zabel wordin [= wortelin]
under wilen vliegen in:
die sprach er wol unde kunde ir vil,
do mit so zierter in sin spil.

(ll.2287–2292)

French titles also became popular in MHG (e.g. *dame*, *markís*), although here Gottfried has Tristan use *herre* rather than the loan *amís*, which he preserves almost

exclusively for lovers. From passages such as these, it is clear that it was also fashionable to use French as a greeting formula – and the words *da wart gemerziet wunder* (A10–11) perhaps hint that Gottfried is parodying courtly speech. In *Der Erwählte*, a twentieth-century reworking of the medieval Gregorius legend, Thomas Mann went to particular trouble to insert OF into courtly speech which he had checked for him by the famous Swiss medievalist Samuel Singer: ‘Ich brauche ein paar Brocken eines *älteren Französisch*, gelegentlich einzuflechten in meine Erzählung; ich meine kein zu altes, etwa aus der Zeit von Chrétien de Troyes’ (see Wysling 1989: 13). Gottfried sometimes translates such passages, and in some vocabulary domains (e.g. hunting, see Dalby 1965: 5ff.) it is thought that these glosses were instructive (i.e. explaining terms not known in Germany) rather than simply ornamental. A further indication of the significance of French to the nobility, at least, is the possibility that authors could use it not just for local colour but for strategic literary effects across the whole span of a work (see Zotz 2002 on Gottfried, Wyss 2000 on Wolfram).

Further reading

Öhmann (1974); Suolahti (1902, 1929, 1933).

14 Legal Documents

Oath for Jews and Vienna Fief Transfer

14.1 Context

Germanic law functioned orally via oaths which were accompanied by prescribed gestures. This oral dimension survived into the Middle Ages amongst laymen and with few exceptions (see for instance the *Lex Salica*, ch. 5) was juxtaposed for a long time to written law in Latin such as the attestation of legal transactions and the Church's canon law. 'The Middle Ages were therefore characterized by two legal traditions (oral and vernacular as distinct from written and Latin), so that whenever law was written down in German we stand at a meeting point of these two traditions' (Green 1994: 100). The need to commit legal matters to writing in the vernacular was brought about by changes in the social architecture of the High Middle Ages such as the rise in importance of secular courts, the genesis of towns, both with their own burgeoning administrative infrastructures, etc. In fact, legal texts are perhaps the most important new German text-type of the thirteenth century. This includes several monumental texts – such as the *Mainzer Landfrieden* (1235) which Frederick II, under the influence of the practice of his adopted home of Sicily to formulate the law in several languages, had composed in Latin and German, and the *Sachsenspiegel* (see ch. 15) –, town laws, of which there are traces in the early thirteenth century but whose transmission 'explodes' in the later thirteenth century, and many *Urbare* ('land registers') and *Weistümer* (a uniquely German institution which allowed for the updating and refining of law). The passages selected below represent two further important legal text-types: the oath and the document.

Text A is the *Erfurter Judeneid* and represents one of the earliest vernacular documents in German legal history. It was probably composed by Conrad who was Archbishop of Mainz between 1183 and 1197 and transmitted along with the Erfurt town seal at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Jew's Oaths are one of the most broadly transmitted medieval text-types: they began (in Latin) in the ninth century/tenth century – since Jews with their knowledge of the Arabic world were key players in Carolingian diplomatic relations with Islam – and multiply to as many as 1000 examples by the beginning of the early modern period. It is a transmission that shows a high degree of variance – no oath is exactly like another, although certain sub-divisions are recognizable. The oaths were to be sworn by Jews in legal disputes with non-Jews and were necessary because, unlike in the rest of the Empire, a Jewish proclamation of belief in the

one true God was not accepted on German soil. In point of fact, however, their formulation was very similar to that of Christian oaths and this similarity helped smooth legal processes and encourage trading links between Christians and Jews. The oaths can be read as a reflection of the increasingly perilous situation of German Jews in the later Middle Ages. On the one hand, the *Erfurter Judeeid* attests to the status of the town as a lively trading centre with a community of resident Jews. On the other hand, it is not long after the completion of this MS that the Jews came under attack in Erfurt (1221) in the wave of persecutions that swept across Germany early in the century. MSS of legal codes often contain all sorts of oaths, and the *Schwabenspiegel* incorporates a Jew's Oath with instructions for a particularly humiliating ceremony: the Jew must stand on the hide of a slaughtered pregnant sow.

Text B is an example of a methodologically important text-type in historical linguistics – the document which bears a date and place (this one was written in Vienna on 23 April 1293) and thus often (but not always!) allows a snapshot of a local dialect at a particular time. Legal documentation remains in Latin well into the thirteenth century (the first royal vernacular document was composed as late as 1240), and it is telling that the few examples of this text-type before 1250 are mainly judgements and court letters, i.e. they are bound up closely with oral practice. As late as 1275 Konrad von Mure, in his *Summa de arte prosandi*, calls into doubt the legal validity of documents in the vernacular. Thus, everyday usage of the vernacular in legal matters is dominated by orality until late in the thirteenth century, when written forms become more common. Texts A and B permit a closer examination of how these forms differed linguistically.

14.2 Texts and translations

A. **Deſ dich dirre ſculdegit deſ biſtur vnſchuldic. So dir got helfe. Der got der himel vnde erdin geſcuf. loub. blumen. vnde graf. deſ da uore nine waſ. Vnde ob du unrechte ſweriſ. daz dich di erde uirflinde. di datan vnde abiron uirflant. Vnde ob du unrechte ſweriſ. daz dich di muſelſucht biſte. die naamannen liz. vnde iezi beſtunt. Vnde ob du unrechte ſweriſ. daz dich di e uirtilige di got moiſy gab. indem berge ſynay. di got ſelbe ſcreib. mit ſinen uingeren ander ſteinir tabelen. Vnde ob du unrechte ſweriſ. daz dich uellin alle di ſcriſt. di geſcriben ſint an den uunf buchen moiſy. Dit iſt der iuden heit den di biſcof Cānrat dirre ſtat gegeben hat.**

(Text: Corpus der Altdeutschen Originalurkunden, vol. 1, 1932, nr. 1)

B. [23.4.1293] **Jch Chvnrat von Watenſtain/vnd ich Jacob ſein brveder hern vlriches ſvne von Pilchdorf/wir vergehen offenlich vnd tven chvnt allen den die diſen brief leſent oder hœrent leſen /di nv lebent vnd her nach chvnftich ſint. daz wir mit gveten willen vnd mit verdahtem mvvet/vnd avch mit zeitigen rat unſer frevnde/allez daz lehenreht daz unſer vater her Vlrich von Pilchdorf vnd avch wir/an dem hof der da leit bei ſant Pœlten vnd haizzet ze Jegeringe/ze rehtem lehenreht gehabt**

haben/von dem biftum ze Pazzawe/daffelbe lehenreht deffselben hoveß
 vnd allez daz dar zve gehoeret/mit allem dem rehte alß ez vnfer vater
 10 vnt avch wir her braht haben/daz habe wir zechavffen ggeben hern
 Hermannen von fant Pœlten/hern Chvnrateß aidem von Wlflinstorf deß
 bvrgeres von Wiene/ze der zeit, do wir ez wol getven mohten/vmb ein
 genantez gvet vnd hat vnß deß gewert reht vnd redelich/wand derfelbe
 her Herman vnd fejn havßvrowe frö Margret denfelben vorgeantent hof
 15 emaln von vnß ze rehtem lehen gehabt habent! Wir widerfagen avch vnd
 verzeihen vnß allez des lehenrehtes vnt alleß deß rehtes deß wir fverbaz
 haben solten avf dem vorgeantent hof/vnd ßvln avch mit im vnd mit
 feiner havßvrowen nihtesniht zeschaffen haben· vnd setzen vnß avch
 dem vorgeantent Hermanne vnd feiner havßvrowen/vnd allen den ß
 20 denfelben hof gebent ze rehten ßcherm/vnd fejn avch deffselben
 ßchermeß rehte gewern alß landes reht ißt fver alle anßprach· Daz diße
 rede vnd dißer chavf alßo ßtete ßei vnt vnzebrochen her nach beleibe dar
 vber gebe wir den vorgeantent Hermannen vnd feiner havßvrowen dißen
 brief zeinem vrchvnde dißer sache/vnd bestetigen in den versigeltten mit
 25 vnßern inßigeln· Deß sint gezevge. her Levpolt von Sachßengange [...]
 (Text: Corpus der Altdeutschen Originalurkunden, vol. 3, 1957, nr. 1731)

A. Whatever this man accuses you of, you are innocent, so help you God, who created heaven and earth and the leaves, the flowers and the grass, which did not previously exist. And if you swear falsely, may the earth swallow you up as it once did Dathan and Abiram. And if you swear falsely, may leprosy – from which Naaman was healed and Gehazi fell – afflict you. And if you swear falsely, may the law – which God gave Moses on Mount Sinai and which he wrote down on stone tablets with his own hand – eradicate you. And if you swear falsely, may the scriptures that are contained in the five books of Moses destroy you. This is the Jew's oath that Bishop Conrad gave this town.

B. I, Conrad von Watenstein, and I, Jacob his brother, sons of Herr Ulrich von Pilchdorf proclaim publicly and give notice to all who read this document or hear it read out, who are alive now or will be in the future, that we – with good intention and after due consideration and under appropriate advice of our relatives – [have sold] all fief rights which our father Herr Ulrich von Pilchdorf and we also have held according to the feudal law from the Bishopric of Passau at the estate which lies by St Pölten and is called Jegerin, have given for sale this same fief right of the same court and all that belongs to it with every right that our father and we also have enjoyed, to Herr Hermann von St. Pölten, the son-in-law of Herr Conrad of Wulfinsdorf, citizen of Vienna, at a time when we were able, for a named price which [he] has paid to us in full, because this same Herr von Pölten and his wife Lady Margret have already for some time held the aforementioned court from us as a fief. We renounce and relinquish all fief rights and any other right pertaining to the aforementioned court that we would have forthwith and will have no further dealings with him and his wife; and we place ourselves in the role of protectors of the

rights of the aforementioned Hermann and his wife and all those to whom they pass on the same court and are legal guarantors of this protection against all claims as laid out in the territorial law. [To prove] that these words and this sale are absolute and will remain unbroken, we give the aforementioned Hermann and his wife this document as proof of this matter and confirm to them the sealed letter with our seals. Witnesses of this are: Herr Leupolt of Sachsengang [. .]

14.3 Dialects

The Oath for Jews was written down in Thuringia which lies in the west of the ECG region. Typical features of the dialect area are: (i) consonants which avoid the extremes of UG and LG (see 3.3), i.e. which correspond in large part to the NHG standard; (ii) the [ə] of unstressed syllables is regularly <i> which is particularly noticeable in prefixes and inflectional endings, e.g. A1 *sculdegit*, A5 *uirslant*/A4 *uirslinde*, A6 *uirtilige*, A8 *steinir* (uninflected adj.), A2 *erdin*, A10 *gegebin*.

The Vienna document displays typical Bavarian features: (i) affrication of PGmc /k/ > /kx/ in word initial position (= <ch>), e.g. B1 *Chunrat*, B10 *zechawffen*; (ii) affrication of word-final [k] (< [g] via Auslautverhärtung), e.g. B4 *chunflich*; (iii) apocope, which began in thirteenth century Bavarian, e.g. B21 *ansprach(e)*; (iv) <ai> for the MHG /ei/ (from c.1200), e.g. B1 *Watenstain*, B7 *haizzet*, B11 *aidem*;¹ (v) <ue> for the MHG diphthong /uo/, e.g. B1 *brueder*, B4 *gveten*, B5 *mvet*, B9 *zue*, B2 *tven*.²

14.4 Monophthongization, diphthongization and lengthening of vowels in open syllables

The main criteria cited for the differentiation of NHG from MHG are the so-called NHG monophthongization (of the MHG diphthongs /ie/, /üe/, /uo/ > IPA /i:/, /y:/, /u:/, e.g. *lieber müeder bruoder* > *lieber müder Bruder*), NHG diphthongization (of MHG monophthongs /î/, /iu/ (≈ IPA /y:/), /û/ > IPA /ai/, /ɔy/, /au/ (<ei, eu, au>), e.g. *mîn niuwes hûs* > *mein neues Haus*) and the lengthening of vowels in open syllables (e.g. MHG *tage* [a] > NHG *Tage* /a:/; with the major exception of most vowels followed by /t/ and /m/ e.g. MHG *gate* > NHG *Gatte*, MHG *himel* > NHG *Himmel*). In many accounts, the ENHG period begins when these changes have spread to a significant proportion of German dialects. As our texts show, however, the use of the term 'NHG' with the first two sound changes has more to do with teleological linguistic history than it has with linguistic fact.

- 1 It is likely that the cases such as B10 *habe wir* represent an orthographical slip (omission of nasal dash over <e>) rather than a dialect marker. The loss of -n in infinitive forms is, for example, a dialect feature of CG.
- 2 It is likely that B21 *fier* and B16 *fierbaz* represent umlauts. The only other umlaut in this text is 'primary' (e.g. B24 *beftetgen*).

Table 14.1 Examples of diphthongization in the text sample

'standard' MHG	UG diphthongization	
/î/	IPA /ai/	
<i>sîn</i>	<i>sein</i>	(B13)
<i>zîtigen</i>	<i>zeitigen</i>	(B5)
<i>verzien</i>	<i>verzeihen</i>	(B15)
<i>belibe</i>	<i>beleibe</i> ³	(B22)
/û/	IPA /au/	
<i>hûsfrowe</i>	<i>haufrowe</i>	(B14)
<i>ûf</i>	<i>auf</i>	(B16)
/iu/	IPA /oy/	
<i>frûnd</i>	<i>freunde</i>	(B5)
<i>disiu</i>	<i>di:fev</i>	(B21)

Diphthongization begins to show in documents from Carinthia (South East Bavarian) in the mid twelfth century. By the thirteenth century it is beginning to show with greater frequency in Bavarian texts. Rather like the 2SS, it appears that the change spread from this centre in a northerly direction until the sixteenth century, leaving Alemannic, North Franconian and LG unaffected (on the wave theory, see Kranzmayer 1956: §13, e1, Lindgren 1968: 288). On the other hand, it has been postulated that the apparent spread is actually better explained in terms of polygenesis (see Wiesinger 1970: 73f., Penzl 1974: 350, who prefers a push-chain analysis). The recent return to MS transmission in the study of MHG language has already begun to attack older accounts of diphthongization as over-simplified. Bertelsmeier-Kierst (2003a), for example, shows that the well-known statistics regarding the feature in the *DTV-Sprachatlas zur Deutschen Sprachgeschichte* (König 1978) are over-estimated and that the notion of spread must first be reconsidered in the light of a series of factors: local traditions, individual scribal habits, socio-cultural aspects, even the age and status of the MS which is serving as the source. The notion of linear spread is greatly complicated by the fact of regional variation which is yet to be researched in depth.

Already it is clear that the diphthongization of the individual vowels does not appear – orthographically, at least – in a unified manner: <û> > <ou>/<au> is more consistently carried out than the other two changes. The new phonemes did not merge with the old MHG diphthongs, as can be deduced from spelling in MSS and modern dialects. MHG /ei/, /öu/, /ou/ open to /ai/, /äu/, /au/ to avoid a merger with the new diphthongs. Such a merger (e.g. *mîn bein* > *mein Bein*) is a feature of the NHG standard. In text B, this can be clearly seen in the oppositions *haizzet* – *sein*, etc.⁴ The distinction is less well reflected orthographically in this text in the case of <av> and <ow>: *haufrowe* (<av> = new, <ow> = old), but *zechavffen* (<av> = old). NHG *Frau* had two principal MHG variants:

3 B6 *leit* is not an example of diphthongization. It is the common contraction of *-egi-* > *-ei-*, e.g. *sagit* > *seit*.

4 As an exception *ein* rarely changes in unstressed position, i.e. *ein* but *ainem*.

Table 14.2 Examples of monophthongization in the text sample

'standard' MHG	CG monophthongization	
/uo/	IPA /u:/	
<i>bluome</i>	<i>blumen</i>	(A2)
<i>buoch</i>	<i>buchen</i>	(A9)
<i>bestuont</i> ⁵	<i>bestunt</i>	(A5)
/ie/	IPA /i:/ ⁶	
<i>liez</i>	<i>liz</i>	(A5)
<i>niene</i>	<i>nine</i>	(A3)
/üe/	IPA /y:/	
no examples in passage		

frou and *frowe*. It is interesting that the noun *frowe* preserves its fuller form, whilst the title/term of address (*frið*) has the shorter form.

Monophthongization begins in Mid Franconian and Hessian in the eleventh/twelfth century. It then appears to spread to other CG dialects and North Bavarian, leaving most of UG and LG unaffected. No convincing push or pull chain explanation has been suggested, not least for UG where one might have expected the gaps vacated by the diphthongization of /î/, /û/, /iu/ to have been filled by the monophthongization of /ie/ > /i:/, etc. As in the case of diphthongization, the individual vowels appear not to have been affected consistently, the change affecting /uo/ and /üe/ – orthographically at least – in the eleventh century, but /ie/ not until the twelfth century. In the NHG standard the new monophthongs merge with the lengthened short vowels in open syllables /i/, /û/, /u/ (≈ IPA /ɪ, ʏ, ʊ/) > IPA /i:/, /y:/, /u:/ (which began in the twelfth century) (e.g. *siben* > *sieben*), not of course with the old MHG long monophthongs which had diphthongized. In some CG dialects the new monophthongs are caught by the wave of diphthongization: /ie/ > /i:/ > /ei/ (e.g. *brief* > *breif*). No doubt, new research on the basis of MS transmission will refine our understanding of monophthongization.

Finally, the lengthening of vowels in open syllables began in North Franconian in the OHG period, and spread to WCG in the twelfth century, the whole of CG in the thirteenth century, and UG (with the exception of South Alemannic) in the fourteenth century (although there is some early indication of polygenesis in this region). Going by these rough datings, it is possible that both text A and B have lengthened vowels, although, as is often the case with MHG texts, we have no orthographical evidence of this. Techniques of marking vowel length such as *Dehnungs-e* (after <i>) and *Dehnungs-h* become more common in ENHG when <e> (in the MHG diphthong /ie/) and <h> (after all vowels) have become phonologically redundant in sufficient dialect areas for their graphemes to be used for a new purpose.

5 Ablaut series VI: *stên/stân* – *stuont*, *stuonden* – *gestanden*.

6 In text A the form *di* is probably in all cases /i:/. The fem. nom. sg. in CG is *die* (rather than 'standard' *du*), and in this case, along with the fem. pl. *die*, the orthography *di* suggests monophthongization. The example of *di* as masc. (A10 *di bīscōf*) is more complicated: as in many OHG dialects, CG has *dē* for *der* in the masc. nom. sg. In CG dialects /ē/ often becomes /i/.

14.5 Syntax: orality and literacy

There is a distinct difference in the syntactical structure of both documents which can be explained in terms of the different media for which they were composed. Text A has obvious close links to the oral medium of the court situation. This particular oath was composed to be said by a member of the court rather than the oath swearer who had simply to reply in the affirmative. Whether it existed in oral form before composition is hard to say. At any rate, if oaths were composed in written form, they were done so with the oral medium very much in mind. Some oaths (e.g. Görlitz, Nordhausen and Osnabrück) point very strongly to practical usage as they are preserved in the format of a small card to be held in the hand. Despite their gradual progression further into the medium of writing across the thirteenth century (e.g. in the full written code of the *Schwabenspiegel*) oaths bring us as close as possible to 'eine Bandaufnahme aus dem Mittelalter' (see J. Wolf, forthcoming). The Erfurt Oath still clearly betrays its oral origins and has a bold declarative structure, consisting mainly of a simple conditional clause (A3 *vnde ob du vnrechte fweriſt*), an imperative clause which states the desired consequential punishment (*daz* . . . + pres. subj.) and dependent relative clause(s). It would be wrong, however, to equate the orality of the oath with simplicity. On the contrary, the text is built around a rhetorically complex structure which supports the drama of the situation in which it is used:

<u>sweris</u>	<u>consequence</u>	<u>relative clauses</u>
i	<i>daz dich di erde uirſlinde</i>	1
ii	<i>daz dich di muſelfucht biſte</i>	2 (verbs at end)
iii	<i>daz dich di e uirtilge di got moifſy gab</i>	2 parallel (frame broken)

By contrast, text B which calls itself a *brief* (B3) was composed in the written medium. Although the typical medieval formula *allen den die diſen brief leſent oder hærent leſen* (B3) indicates that many would still have had to have written material read aloud to them (the rise in the number of German documents in the thirteenth century in no way signalling a significant rise in the proportion of the population who were literate), the text is constructed with the eye rather than the ear in mind. The first sentence, which extends over 15 lines, for instance, is framed by the *daz*-clause (B4) which hinges around the verb phrase (B10 *daz habe wir zechawffen ggeben*) and then extends out again with descriptions of the purchasers (B10–11 *hern Hermannen* . . .), the purchase (B12 *ze der zeit, do* . . .) and the reason (B13 *wand* . . .). When describing the object (e.g. B5–9), there is even double embedding of relative clauses within the primary relative clause (dependent on the first *daz*):

daz wir . . . allez daz lehenreht *habe . . . zechawffen ggeben*
daz unſer vater . . . an dem hof *ze rehtem lehenreht gehabt haben*
der . . . vn haizzet ze Ʒ.

The sentence is linked by anaphorical repetitions of the object of transaction (*allez daz lehenrecht* B5 > *daffelbe lehenrecht* B8 > *daz* B10) as well as of its subject (*wir* B4 >

wir B10), the latter effecting a change of word order (anacoluthon, see 12.6), from expected subordinate clause verb final to main clause verb second (*daz habe wir zechauffen gigeven* B10). Schulze (1991: 152–3) shows that such forms of connection cannot be viewed as sloppy, since they are present in documents from some of the most important chanceries. In fact, the document as a whole displays a careful segmentation and interrelation of all the relevant elements in the transaction, which is a common feature of medieval legal documents: (A) *Ich . . . sint* – we (name parties) declare; (B) *daz . . . habent!* – ‘recital’ of transaction already made; (C) *wir widersagen . . . ansprach* – future undertakings (i.e. making B absolutely watertight by ensuring there can be no renegeing/appeal in the future); (D) *Daz . . . end* – sealing and witnessing (i.e. intention of A made legally binding and irrevocable).

In her study of parallel documents in Latin and German from the thirteenth century Schulze (1975) came to the most remarkable conclusion that despite its proximity to the dominant mode of Latin, German consistently shows a significant independence from Latin syntax. This is most notable in its avoidance of participial and complex adverbial noun clauses which are replaced by German relative clauses. The result of this is that more concise and independent Latin periods give way to intricately woven structures extending over many lines. As seen in text B, it is common in German for whole legal complexes to be rolled into a single sentence. This is not to say that Latin has no influence on German, e.g. it is likely that Latin models encouraged wider usage of German forms such as *ze* + infinitive (for Latin gerundive). Nor is the complexity of sentence which relies on multiple relative clauses restricted to thirteenth century legalese (there are seven in a twelfth-century prayer) – see in particular Betten’s study (1980) of the first German prose novel, the *Prose Lancelot* (before 1250). Such results from a wide range of prose text-types disprove the notion given in many accounts that the complex sentence was an invention of the ENHG period.

14.6 Punctuation

At first sight the system of punctuation used in text B seems a little random. As seen in the Williram MSS (nearly 250 and 100 years respectively before this document, see 11.5), German punctuation throughout the Middle Ages and well into the Early Modern era was in a state of development. On closer inspection, however, it is possible to discern some sort of system behind the punctuation of text B. The scribe uses three markings: point (.), virgula (/) and exclamation (!). The points and exclamations act macroscopically to indicate the transition between important statements: (B1–4) – the end of naming and the beginning of the declaration of sale; (B4–18) – statement of relinquishment of rights; (B18–21) – statement of obligation; (B21–4) confirmation of statements via seal, etc.; (B24–5) – witnesses. The virgula functions microscopically, dividing up the information within the larger units. The first section is reproduced below, with the symbol | marking the position of a hypothetical NHG comma for means of comparison.

[0] Jch Chvnrat von Watenstain/[1] vnd ich Jacob sein brveder | hern
vlriches svne von Pilchdorf /| [2] wir vergehen offenlich vnd tven chvnt

allen den | die diſen brief leſent oder hœrent leſen /| [3] di nv le bent
vnd her nach chvnftich ſint .| daz wir mit gveten willen vnd mit
verdahtem mvvet/[4] vnd avch mit zeitigen rat unſer frevnde/[5] allez daz
lehenreht | daz unſer vater her Vlrich von Pilchdorf vnd avch wir/[6] an
dem hof | der da leit bei ſant Pœlten vnd haizzet ze Jegeringe /| [7] ze
rehtem lehenreht gehabt haben/[8] von dem biſtum ze Pazzawe /| [9]
daſſelbe lehenreht deſſelben hoveſ vnd allez | daz dar zve gehoeret /|
[10] mit allem dem rehte | alſ ez vnſer vater vnt avch wir her braht
haben /| [11] daz habe wir zechavffen ggeben hern Hermannen von ſant
Pœlten /| [12] hern Chvnrateſ aidem von Wflinſtorf deß bvrgeres von
Wienne /| [13] ze der zeit, do wir ez wol getven mohten/[14] vmb ein
genantez gvete | vnd hat vnſ def gewert reht vnd redelich /| [15] wand
derſelbe her Herman vnd ſein havſvrowe fr^v Margret denſelben hof
emaln von vnſ ze rehtem lehen gehabt habent!

Table 14.3 Punctuation units in the text sample

<i>Unit</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Sub-divisions</i>
[0] – [2]	subject	[1] to separate two subjects
[2] – [.]	main frame	[3] to separate two relative clauses
[.] – [5]	subject + adverbial phrase	[4] to separate two adverbial clauses
[5] – [9]	object	[6] + [7] insert location [7] + [8] + terms of tenure
[9] – [11]	repetition of subject + object	[10] additional information
[11] – [13]	verb + other party	[12] additional information
[13] – [!]	details of sale	[14] additional information

From this we can deduce that the scribe was working to a (non-codified) system of punctuation which placed value on (a) marking units of sense, with less regard to grammatical category than the system of NHG, and (b) dividing up additional or parallel information within those units. In fact, one might even wonder if the NHG system really does make this form of text any easier to read. As with spelling, however, it is difficult to generalize about scribal habits in respect of punctuation at this time, with the punctuation in some documents appearing much more random than this example.

Further reading

Schulze (1991); Wolf (forthcoming).

15 Legal code

Der Sachsenspiegel

15.1 Context

Along with the *Mühlhäuser Reichsrechtsbuch* (2nd quarter thirteenth century), the *Sachsenspiegel* counts as the earliest vernacular law code in Germany. Whilst it is part of the wave of vernacular law codes which spread across Europe after the 4th Lateran Council (1215) and the rediscovery of Roman Law, it should also be seen within the context of specific German political developments. Frederick II's willingness to make concessions in order to secure his succession in Germany as well as his own interests as Emperor in Italy meant that the secular princes made significant gains in the first half of the thirteenth century, which consolidated the development of German power structures away from particular feudal relations to larger scale territorial states. The territories seemed better suited than the older system for the maintenance of law and order, and the *Sachsenspiegel* is an exemplary model of their aims (see Heinzle 1984: 17–21). It was composed by Eike von Repgow, a member of the free nobility, between 1225 and 1235 probably in the milieu of the archbishop of Magdeburg – not, as often held, for the counts of Falkenstein (see Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2003b) – and contains two forewords (one in rhyme), two short prologues, and two main sections, *Landrecht* (in three books) and a shorter *Lehenrecht*. The work enjoyed prolific success: there are over 460 German MSS (see Oppitz 1990), translations into Latin, Dutch, Polish, Czech, Russian, and an unbroken line of transmission from the first MSS (which follow c.30–40 years after composition) right down to the current Reclam edition (Ebel 1993). Astonishingly, the code partially retained its juridical powers until the twentieth century: in cases where subsequent codes were found wanting, the *Sachsenspiegel* was binding – in Prussia until the *Allgemeines Landrecht* (1794), in Saxony until 1863 and in Anhalt, Thuringia and Holstein until the appearance of the BWG on 1 January 1900.

The *Sachsenspiegel* mediates between oral and written forms of law. On the one hand, it commits to writing for the first time the traditional laws of everyday practice which were vernacular and oral. On the other hand, it draws on the thirteenth-century *Landfrieden* and Canon law (see 14.1) – available in the episcopal library and chancery – which were in Latin and the written medium. On the basis of one of the forewords it was often held that Eike first composed his work in Latin. However, since there is no copy of this Latin version and given that Latin texts are in general much better preserved than vernacular texts and

that none of the later Latin versions of the code points to a Latin original, the author's comment might well be read as a learned topos (Pfaffe Konrad in the twelfth century makes similar claims about the *Rolandstied*, stating that he first translated his French source into Latin before turning it into German). The criss-cross in terms of language and medium – i.e. German onto paper – is most likely a result of the rise of towns within the new territorial states. Local conditions could no longer keep pace with the new social developments. In the epilogue to the Oldenburg MS, Count Johann III of Oldenburg states that he had commissioned his copy of the code in order to fill the gaps in knowledge that existed within his territory (see Hüpper 1991): the written medium had to come to the aid of dying oral knowledge. At the same time, new towns without traditions were springing up and asking established centres for their legal codes. The town law of the Magdeburg magistrates, which included large sections of the *Sachsenspiegel*, was taken over *inter alia* in Breslau. Thus the *Sachsenspiegel*, which began as a private code (i.e. the collation of one individual) became institutionalized via the practice of magistrates and the development of town laws in various centres.

The emphasis on religion and history in this legal code reads oddly to modern eyes. In the first passage below, the author calls on the Holy Spirit to support his work (a Christian version of the classical literary call to the muses for inspiration) whilst the statement that God himself is justice – a common motif of the time which was visually depicted in medieval courts of law – warns the judge to judge righteously. In other parts of the work, the law is anchored within the process of salvation – creation, fall, crucifixion, last judgement – and within the Christian schema of the six ages of man (see Schäfer 1995 and Drescher 1989). In other passages, the code is located within contemporary notions of the historical development of the Saxons stretching back to Alexander the Great. The code therefore draws its legitimacy from its religious and historical schemata. Moreover, the breakthrough of legal prose is also closely tied up with that of religious and historical prose in terms of transmission and centres of production (see Heinze 1984: 170–3). These three seemingly unrelated fields therefore form the productive matrix out of which functional writing in German prose becomes really possible on a wide scale (initially in the North) for the first time in the thirteenth century.

15.2 Texts and translations

A. *Oldenburg MS*

Prologue: Des hilighen geystes minne. de sterke mine jinne. dat ik recht und vnrecht der saffen be scede na godes hulden. vnde na der worlde vromen. Des ne kan ich al ene nicht ghedon. dar umme bid ich tho helpe alle gode lude de rechtes gered. oft en ienich rede beiechene. de
 5 min dumme jin vormyde dar dit bok nicht af ne sricht. dat se dat na rechte be sceden na irme jinne. so set recht weten. van rechte ne sal neman ne wißen leve. noch lede torn noch gyft. Gōd ist seluen regt. dar

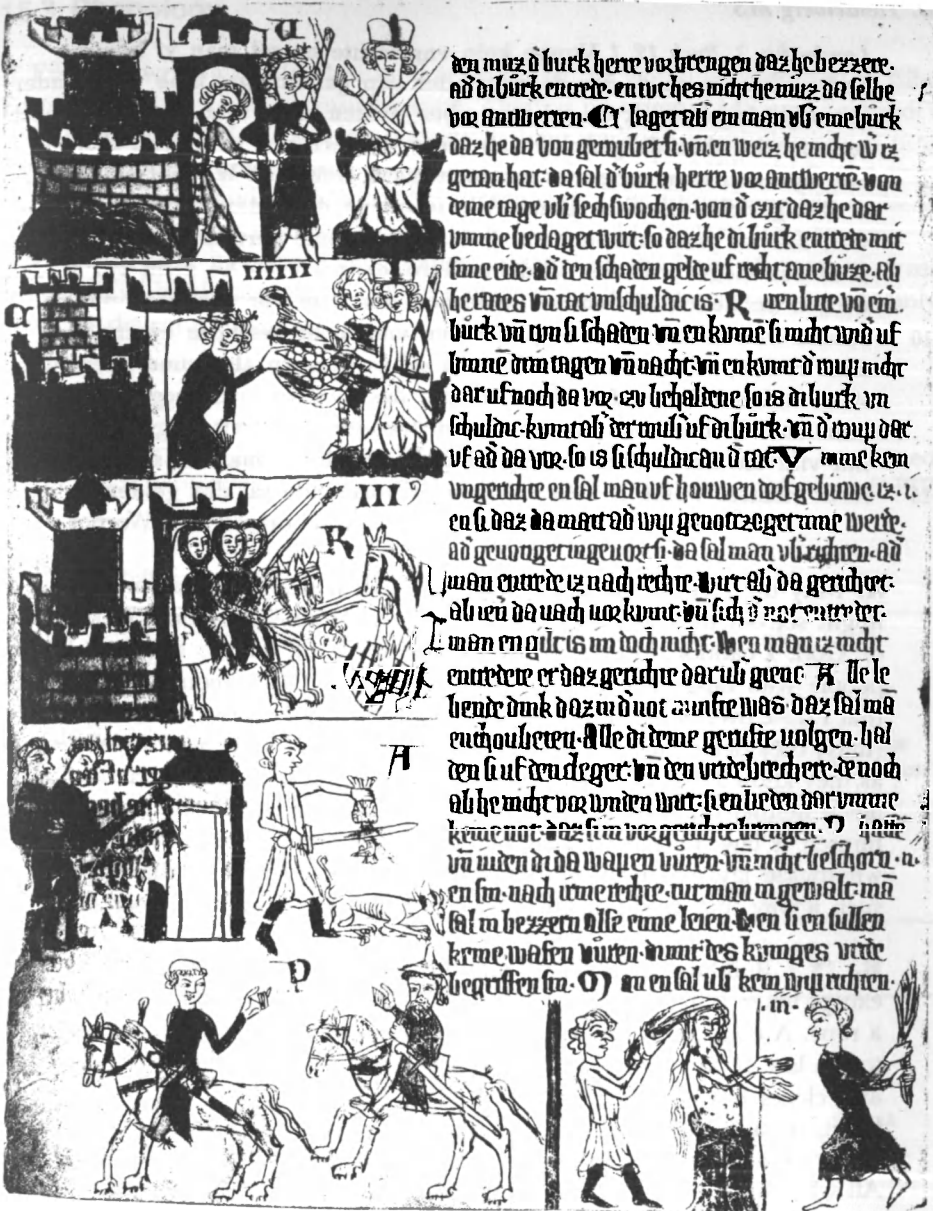


Figure 15.1 *Sachsenspiegel*, Oldenburg manuscript

umme is eme regt lef. dar dat fen se sich alle uore. den en ghe richte van godes haluen beuolen si. dat se al so richten. alse godes torn. vnd sin ge richte genedeliken ouer se ir gan mothe.

(Facsimiles: Oldenburg MS – Schmidt-Wiegand 1996)

B. Heidelberg MS

Landrecht: 3. Buch 1¶ 1 Vmme kein vngerichte en sal man vf houwen dorfgebüwe, iz en si, daz da mait ader wip genotczoget inne werde ader genotiget ingeuort si; da sal man vber richten, ader man entrede iz nach rechte. wirt aber da gerichtet, ab iener da nach uor kvmt vnd sich der
 5 not entredet, man en gilt is im doch nicht, wen man iz nicht entredete, er daz gerichte daruber gienc. Alle le bende dink, daz in die not nimfte was, daz sal man enthoubeten. ¶ 2 alle, di deme gerufte uolgen, hal den si uf den cleger vnd den vridebrechere, dennoch, ab he nicht vor wnden wirt, si en lieden dar vmme keine not, daz si in vor gerichte brengen. 2
 10 Pfaffen vnd iuden, di da wapen vüren vnd nicht beschorn en sin nach irme rechte, tut man in gewalt, man sal in bezzern else eime leien; wen si en sullen keine wafen vüren, di mit des kvniges vride begriffen sin. 3 Man en sal uber kein wip richten, di lebende kint treit, hoger wen czu hut vnd czu hare. Vber toren vnd vber sinnelosen man en sal man ouch
 15 nicht richten. weme si aber schaden, ir vormunde sal daz gelden.

(Heidelberg MS – Koschorreck and Werner 1989)

A. May the love of the Holy Spirit strengthen my understanding so that I might set out the law and the crimes of the Saxons according to the grace of God. I cannot do this on my own. Thus I ask for the help of all good people who desire the law, to support [me]: if they encounter any matter that I have overlooked in my ignorance and which this book does not address, [may] they determine this according to the law and their own understanding as they know it to be right. No-one should let himself be distracted from the law – neither on account of favour or disfavour, nor of threat or bribe. God himself is law. That is why the law is dear to Him. That is why all those to whom the law has been entrusted by God should be at pains to judge in such a way that God's anger and judgement pass over them mercifully.

B. 1¶ 1 Buildings in a village may be torn down on account of no crime except when a girl or woman has been raped therein or brought there after a rape. A court must be held on this matter, except if it is refuted according to the law. If the case is brought and he appears before the court afterwards and clears himself of the accusation of rape, then he is not recompensed for it, because he was not cleared before the court was held on the matter. Every living creature that was involved in the rape should be beheaded. ¶2 All who follow the cries [for help] and apprehend the victim as well as the perpetrator suffer no damage for bringing him to court, even if he cannot be convicted. 2 Whoever commits an act of violence against clergy or Jews who bear arms and are not shorn as their status requires, should pay the recompense [one would] to a layperson; for those who are included in the King's peace are not permitted to bear arms. 3 A pregnant woman should not be punished higher than skin and hair. One should not pass judgement on the mentally ill or impaired; however, their guardian should recompense whomever they inflict damage upon.

15.3 Phonology

If Eike was writing in Magdeburg, it is likely that he would have written in Elbe Eastphalian – a LG–CG transition zone. There is no original MS and Eckhardt's (1933) reconstructed LG version, despite its long tradition in scholarship, is now deemed unusable. Once again, we are thrown back on the MSS which give texts as they were read and used by medieval recipients. The Oldenburg MS is dated at 1336 and is written in North LG (the most extreme LG dialect). The Heidelberg MS (named after its current provenance) is dated on the basis of coats of arms contained within it at around 1300 (see Nass 1986: 253–4) and is written mainly in a CG dialect (probably ECG).

15.3.1 Consonants

The Oldenburg MS provides a text-book display of PGmc consonants unaffected by the 2SS. Moreover we see a further dialectal distribution – reflexes of PIE

Table 15.1 Reflexes of 1SS and 2SS in both MSS

PIE	b	d	g	p	t	k	bh	dh	gh
PGmc	 p	 t	 k	 f	 θ	 x	 β/b	 ð/d	 γ/g
Oldenburg	<i>helpe</i>	<i>dat</i> <i>tho</i> <i>weten</i> <i>torn</i>	<i>ick</i> <i>bok</i>			<i>recht</i> <i>regt</i>	<i>selven</i> <i>halven</i> <i>over</i> <i>af</i>	<i>godes</i> <i>bid</i> <i>lude</i> <i>gered</i>	<i>ghedon</i> <i>beiechene</i> <i>ienich</i>
Heidelberg exceptions	<i>wapen</i>					<i>hoger</i>	<i>uf-</i>	<i>halden</i> <i>gelden</i> ¹	
OHG	 pf/ff	 ts/ss	 kx/ch	 f	 θ>d	 x (<h>)	 b	 t	 g
Oldenburg exceptions					<i>des</i> <i>de</i> <i>dat</i>				
Heidelberg	<i>dorf</i> <i>wafen</i> <i>begriffen</i> <i>phaffe</i> ³	<i>-zoget</i> <i>czu</i> <i>iz</i> ⁴ <i>daz</i> <i>bezzern</i>					<i>wip</i> <i>ab</i>	<i>lebende</i>	<i>dink</i> ²

1 Both these examples are disputable: although dictionaries give PGmc forms **hald-a*, **geld-a*, IE cognates point to PIE roots without a dental.

2 <p> and <k> via *Auslautverhärtung*.

3 <ph> normally represents /pf/. However, if the Heidelberg MS is really ECG, then <ph> would represent [f] (an overshoot of the 2SS).

4 *is* (B5) is genitive after *nicht*, therefore original PIE /s/ and not a product of the 2SS.

/bh/, /dh/, /gh/ which in certain dialects and in certain positions retain their spirantal quality (see 3.3.1; Prokosch 1939: 74–82). In LG the reflex of PIE /g/ was a spirant in all positions except in the combination [ng] and in gemination, and could be represented orthographically by <g>, <gh> (h ≠ aspiration), <j>, <ch> (which in turn could represent /k/, e.g. *ik* A1 – *ich* A3). <g> also comes to represent the spirantal reflex of IE /k/, e.g. *regt* A7 – *recht* A1, which was lost in word final positions after long vowels, e.g. *nâ*. <th> could represent /t/, e.g. *tho* (E *to*, G *zu*) and is not to be confused with the reflex of PIE /t/ which in the wake of the 2SS became /d/. In this MS /θ/ (= <th>) has already become /d/, but some LG texts of the thirteenth century still show <th> (see 19.3 and Burmeister and Wolf 1998). The Heidelberg MS shows post-2SS consonantism, with the exception of a few variant forms, e.g. *wafen* B12 *wapen* B10, etc. This is probably due to the scribe working from a LG source which occasionally seeps through to his normal CG forms.

15.3.2 Vowels

The vowels of the Oldenburg MS display typical LG features caused by the dialectal distribution of OHG monophthongization¹ and diphthongization (see 3.4).

Further typical features of the MLG vocalic system are: (i) absence of diphthongization (which remains the case today), e.g. *vormyde* (A5, NHG *vermeide*); (ii) *van* for *von*; (iii) orthographically, <u> for /y:/ (MHG <iu>) and <y> with other vowels as a sign of length and on its own for <i> and <î>; (iv) the lengthening of /i/ to /ē/ (which then shortens to /e/), e.g. *weten* (A6, NHG *wissen*).

The Heidelberg MS has mainly CG vowels: (i) *kein* (≠ LG *ken*); (ii) lowering of /i/ > /e/, e.g. *brenge* (NHG *bringen*); (iii) *wen* for *wan*, *ab* and *ader* for *ob* and *oder*

Table 15.2 Typical MLG vowels in the Oldenburg MS

PGmc /ai/	MLG /ē/ <i>befcede</i> <i>al ene</i> <i>lede</i> <i>hiligen</i> (/ē/ > /i/ before /l/) <i>geyst</i> (<y> = length)	MHG /ei/ <i>bescheiden</i> (A2) <i>aleine</i> (A3) <i>leid</i> (A7) <i>heilig</i> (A1) <i>geist</i> (A1)
PGmc /e ² /	MLG /e/ <i>speyghel</i> ² (<y> = length) <i>leve</i> <i>lef</i>	MHG /ie/ <i>spiegel</i> (title) <i>liebe</i> (A17) <i>lieb</i> (A8)
PGmc /ō/	MLG /ō/ <i>ghedon</i> <i>gode</i> <i>bok</i> <i>tho</i>	MHG /uo/ <i>tuon</i> (A3) <i>guot</i> (A4) <i>buoch</i> (A5) <i>zuo</i> (A3)

1 The passages give up no examples of PGmc /au/ > OHG /ō/

2 Latin loan *speculum*, thus assimilated to PGmc /ē²/.

(ECG). On one occasion there is a contradiction: *inguort* (B3) rather than *ingevüert* (maintenance of PGmc /ō/) varies with *vüren* (B12, orthographically <ü> = <üe>). As in the case of *wapen* – *wafen* (15.3.1), it is likely that a LG source is seeping through at this point.

15.4 Morphology

It is clear from Table 15.3 that the MLG pronominal system has entered a process of simplification before the MHG system. MHG distinguishes in the nom./acc. pl. in both definite and personal forms between masc./fem. and neut.: *sie, si, si* ≠ *siu*; *die* ≠ *diu* (except sometimes in CG). Like MHG, MLG contracts, e.g. *set* (= *sê* + *it*). In both HG and LG, the uninflected fem. possessive *ir* is rare from the fourteenth century onwards, e.g. in both MS it is inflected A6, B11 *irme* (< *ireme*). The forms *he, iz* and *is* in the Heidelberg MS are typical of CG as a whole. Whilst the form *sal* is either Mid or Rhine Franconian, one would expect this to be confirmed by the form *it*. It is likely, therefore, that *sal* is due to a LG source.

Table 15.3 MLG pronominal system

	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>n</i>
nom.	<i>dê/di</i>	<i>dü/dê/di</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>hê/hî</i>	<i>sê/si</i>	<i>it</i>
acc.	<i>den</i>	<i>dü/dê/di</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>en/on</i>	<i>sê/si</i>	<i>it</i>
gen.	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>is/sîn</i>	<i>ere</i>	<i>is</i>
dat.	<i>dem/den</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>em(e)</i>	<i>ere</i>	<i>em(e)</i>
nom.	————	<i>dê/di</i>	————	————	<i>sê</i>	————
acc.	————	<i>dê/di</i>	————	————	<i>sê</i>	————
gen.	————	<i>der</i>	————	————	<i>ere</i>	————
dat.	————	<i>den</i>	————	————	<i>em/en</i>	————

15.5 Vocabulary

Unlike modern textbooks, the *Sachsenspiegel* was not written down for a certain professional group or experts. In the thirteenth century, there was no specific legal education which had to be undergone in order to obtain the rank of judge. The legal profession as such does not begin to evolve until the late fourteenth century. The *Sachsenspiegel* is written for the *luden algemene* – for counts, magistrates and lay assessors who had no legal training as such. Given this situation, it is not surprising that the text does not contain a great deal of specific technical vocabulary. In this context, some everyday words take on a legally precise meaning, e.g. *not* (generally, ‘Bedrängnis’; everyday speech, ‘Kindesnot’; legal, ‘Vergewaltigung’), *klagen* (generally, ‘complain’; legal, ‘be-/anklagen’). Some words of Germanic legal origin survive in slightly altered form, e.g. *buze* (‘Besserung’, ‘rechtliche Genugtuung’) > ‘rechtliche Wiedergutmachung’ in spiritual and secular realms; its verb form has taken on an elliptical dative construction – *ma sal in bezzern* (B11). In general,

compared to older German legal sources, the amount of prefixation and suffixation has risen dramatically, e.g. *geruift* (B7; NB *ge-* is a free variant in MHG, see Solms 1991), *entrede* (B3), *sinnelosen* (B14), *vngerichte* (B2). The reason for this is probably linked with the process of making everyday words (from which legal vocabulary developed out of everyday oral practice) more precise, i.e. giving them more specific legal meaning. Modern legal vocabulary depends precisely on this word-formation technique, e.g. *an-klagen*, *be-klagen*, *ver-klagen*, *ab-schwören*, *Vor-ladung*. Often legal formulas contain doublets, either tautological (e.g. *unverholn unde unvorstoln*) or contrastive (e.g. *leve noch lede*), which in all probability go back to speech habits. The example of this in the Heidelberg MS – *hoger wen czu hut vnd czu hare* (B13–14) – retains the precise meaning of its two parts, however, despite being doublet: as the illustration shows, the woman is being beaten with birches at the whipping-post and having her hair shorn at the same time. Both acts are closely associated in the act of flogging at the time. (For more on the vocabulary of the *Sachsenspiegel*, see Schmidt-Wiegand 1999.)

15.6 Syntax

The two excerpts were selected to show two distinct styles of writing within the *Sachsenspiegel*. The prologue is untypical of the work as a whole, since it is acting as a show-piece opener in which the author allows himself some room to develop an attractive and well-constructed style, often referred to in this context as ‘rhythmic prose’ (*rhythmisierte Prosa*). It begins by smuggling a rhyming couplet into the first sentence, *finne – minne*, a feature not uncommon in early prose writing with artistic pretensions (see 16.3), and continues by measuring the length of its units, alternating short and long blocks. Its basic rhythmic feature is that of doubling: *recht – unrecht* (A1–2), *na godes hulden – na der worlde vromen* (A2–3), *leve noch lede – torn noch gyft* (A7), etc.

In the code proper in the second passage, however, functionality comes to the fore. The central strand of the passage is built on a word order which is very different to texts from a similar domain such as the everyday legal documents (see ch. 14). First, the object of the law is put at the beginning of the clause, regardless of grammatical positioning within the sentence; this is followed by the event in which this object finds itself; and this is then followed by a legal action to be taken and the reason for this:

<i>Alle le bende dink</i>	[thematic marker]
<i>daz . . . was</i>	[event]
<i>daz sal man . . .</i>	[legal action]

<i>alle, di . . .</i>	[thematic marker]
<i>hal den si . . .</i>	[event]
<i>si en lieden</i>	[legal action]

<i>Phaffen vnd iuden</i>	[thematic marker]
<i>tut . . .</i>	[event]

<i>man sal</i>	[legal action]
<i>wen si</i>	[reason]

In each of these examples, there is no attempt to place the verb second as a linchpin of the sentence. Rather the paratactical style aids comprehension of each section of the law, with the preceding noun-clause acting almost as a sub-heading. This style is very common throughout the *Sachsenspiegel*.

Wan, the common short form of *wânde*, is the principal MHG method for expressing cause. (NHG *weil* is derived from the noun OHG *hwila* ['Weile'], and its usage as a conjunction retains its original temporal meaning – [a] *die wile* [*daz*] – until the fifteenth century.) In the first half of the thirteenth century *wan/wânde* was used either as a subordinating conjunction or paratactically (i.e. followed directly by subject or non-verb). Curiously, the subordinating function dominates in documents (Schulze 1991: 162), whilst the paratactic usage dominates in the *Prose Lancelot* (Betten 1980: 28f.) and in the sermons of Bertold of Regensburg (Eroms 1980: 102ff.) The constellation in our passage – modal in second position (e.g. B11–12), non-modal in final position (e.g. B5) – makes it difficult to tell with any certainty which practice the author is following.

In most cases, conditions are introduced by inversion of verb and subject rather than a specific conjunction. Only when one condition is a subsection of another condition does this occur, with *ab* (= *ob*, NHG *wenn*), e.g. *hal den si uf . . . , dennoch ab . . .* (B7–8).

15.7 Text, illustrations, readers

Four of the *Sachsenspiegel* MSS are accompanied by illustrations. The Heidelberg MS (reproduced on p. 141) shows how a column is typically left free for illustrations which are connected to specific parts of the text, here via capital letters corresponding to the first letter of the relevant section, in other MSS via numerals placed beside section and illustration. Not infrequently these pictures contain gestures which spring from legal practice – the receipt of a fiefdom (kneeling, hands placed in the hands of the lord) – or other typical iconographical traditions such as in the illustration where the raised finger of the Jew and the priest suggests that they are discussing their guilty actions, emphasized by the Jew's furtive turn of the head. It was held for a long time that such illustrations were intended for the illiterate. Given that they often characterize rather than fully explain the law in question (as in the Jew and the Priest), it is now considered highly unlikely that this was their intended audience (see Ott 1984: 379). Rather, the pictures were intended either as a pictorial memory prompt and/or (as is suspected of vernacular glosses in early Latin *Lex Salica* MSS) as an index. Whilst it goes without saying that such illustrated codices had the additional function of underlining the wealth and therefore power of their owners, it is likely that they had an active functional purpose: the epilogue of the Oldenburg MS states this explicitly, whilst the finger marks in the Heidelberg MS point to a well thumbbed text.

Further reading

Hüpper (1991); Ott (1984); Schmidt-Wiegand (1999).

16 Mysticism

Mechthild von Magdeburg – *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit*

16.1 Context

One of the major characteristics of the late Middle Ages is the development of personal piety, which in Germany began in the late twelfth century: set against the spread of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, Berthold von Regensburg preached to hundreds of thousands about practical living, Elisabeth of Marburg left the mighty Wartburg to tend to the lepers and was given a Princess Diana style funeral, and Mechthild von Magdeburg (c.1207–82), the first in a line of mystical authors stretching on to Eckhart, Tauler and Seuse in the fourteenth century, committed her devotional experiences to writing (see Peters 1988; Ruh 1990–9). Having experienced visions since the age of twelve, Mechthild fled her noble family in her early twenties to live a life of devotion in a beguine house in Magdeburg where her Dominican confessional father, Heinrich von Halle, persuaded her to write down her experiences for the edification of others. The work – *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit* – which was started c.1250 and took up most of the rest of Mechthild's life amounts to 287 chapters of a diary-like mystical autobiography which is moulded into a unique style from everyday (courtly?) speech, exempla, visions, hymns and prayers. Probably for the first time, German writing experiences a sustained personal voice speaking with a sense of its very broad general validity and significance. The extract below which describes the bride's preparation to dance with the Holy Spirit feeds off the *Song of Solomon* and Marian traditions but also shows clear links to vernacular literature (the dressing of the bride equates to the preparation of the knight, see *Tristan*, ch. 13; the paradisaical description of the lovers' trysting place is a *locus amoenus*; the soul is *minnendû*). Like vernacular literature, mystical prose makes a dramatic break from Latin. In fact, paradoxically, the vernacular is 'die Metasprache der Mystik, die die Begrifflichkeiten und Argumentationsstruktur der lateinischen Theologensprache hinter sich läßt' (Ruh 1982: 28). The vernacular is stretched – often beyond its limits – to capture the essence of the ineffable. Although older theories of a direct link to modern philosophy via Protestant Pietists might be over-simplistic, mystical writing probably left a bigger mark on the history of the language than courtly literature, especially in terms of word-formation and syntax.

16.2 Text and translation

'Eya minnendú sele, wilt du wissen, wielich din weg si?' 'Ja lieber heliger
 geist, lere es mich.' 'Also du kumest über die not *der rüwe* und über die
 pine der bihte und über die arbeit der bússe und über die liebín der
 welte und über die bekorunge dez túvels und über die überflússekeit des
 5 vleisches und über den verwassenen eigenen willen, der manig sele ze
 ruggen zúhet so sere, das si niemer zú rechter liebín kumt, und so du alle
 dine meisten viende hast nider geschlagen. *so* bist du also müde, das du
 denn sprichest: "Schöner jungeling, mich lustet din, wa sol ich dich
 vinden?" So sprichet der jungeling: "Ich höre ein stimme, die lutet ein
 10 teil von *minne*. Ich han si gefriet manigen tag, das mir die stimm nie
 geschach. Nu bin ich beweget, ich muß ir engegen! Sú ist die jene, die
 kumber und minne mitenander treit." Des morgens in dem süssen tówe,
 das ist die beslossen innekeit, die erst in die sele gat, so sprechent ir
 kamerere, das sint die fünf sinne: 'Vrówe, ir sóllent úch kleiden.' 'Liebe,
 15 wa sol ich hin?' 'Wir han das runen wol vernomen, der fürste wil úch
engegen komen in dem tówe und in den schönen vogelsange. Eya vrówe,
 nu sument nút lange!' So zúhet si an ein hemedé der sanften demútekeit
 und also demútig, das si under ir nit mag geliden; dar über ein wisses
 kleit der luterén kúschekeit und also reine, das si an gedenken, an
 20 worten noch an berúrungé nút me mag geliden, das si bevlecken móge.
 So nimet si umbe einen mantel des heligen geruchtes, den si *verguldet* hat
 mit allen tugenden. So gat si in den walt der geselleschaft heiliger lúten,
 da *singet* die allersüsseste nahtegale der getemperten einunge mit gotte
 tages und nahtes, und manig süsse stimme hört si da von den vogeln der
 25 heiligen bekantnússe. Noch *kam* der jungeling nút. Nu sendet si botten us,
 wan si wil tanzen, und sant umb den gelóben Abrahe und umb die
 gerunge der propheten und umb die kúsche diemútekeit únser frówen
 Sante Marien und umb alle die heligen tugende *únsers herren* Jhesu
 Christi und umb alle die frúmekeit siner userwelten. So wirt da *ein*
 30 *schóner loptanz*. So kumt der jungeling und sprichet ir zú: 'Juncfrówe,
 alsust fromeklich sont ir nach tantzen, als úch mine userwelten vor
 getanzet hant.' So sprichet si: 'Ich mag nit tanzen, herre, du enleitest
 mich. Wilt du, das ich sere springe, so múst du selber vor ansingen; so
 35 springe ich in die minne, von der minne in *die* bekantnisse, von *der*
 bekantnisse in *die* gebruchunge, von *der* gebruchunge über alle
 mónschliche sinne. Da wil ich bliben und wil doch fúrbas crisen.'

(Text: Neumann 1990: 27–8, slightly amended)

'Ah, loving soul, do you want to know which your way is?' 'Yes, dear Holy
 Spirit, teach it to me.' 'When you get beyond the pain of contrition, the
 harshness of the confession, the toil of penance, the love of the world,
 the temptations of the devil, the excess of the flesh, and the cursed self-will
 that pulls so many souls back that they never achieve true love, and when
 you have smitten your greatest enemies, then you are so tired that you say:
 "Beautiful youth, I yearn for you, where am I to find you?" Then the youth

says: "I hear a voice, it sounds like love. I have wooed it for many days but it did not speak to me. Now I am moved, I must move towards it. It is the one that bears cares and love together." In the morning in the sweet dew – that is the enclosed innerness, which then pushes its way into the soul – her chamberlains speak, those are the five senses: '[Our] Lady, you should clothe yourself.' 'Dear [friends], where am I to go?' 'We have heard the whispering clearly. The prince wishes to come to [meet] you in the dew and the beautiful birdsong. Ah [our] Lady, do not tarry long!' And she puts on a shirt of gentle humility, [she is] so humble that she can bear nothing beneath it [= *demüthekeit*]. Over it a white dress of pure chastity, so pure that she does not suffer anything more by way of thought or words or stirrings that might besmirch her. Then she lays upon it the cloak of holy repute which she has gilded with all the virtues. Thus, she goes into the wood of the company of holy people. There sings the sweetest nightingale in harmonious union with God day and night and she hears there many sweet voices of the birds of holy knowledge. But the youth did not come yet. Then she sends out messengers, for she wants to dance. And she sent for the faith of Abraham, the desire of the prophets, and the chaste humility of our Lady St Mary and all the holy virtues of our Lord Jesus Christ and all the excellence of his elect. Then there is a lovely dance of praise. Then the youth comes and says to her: '[My] noble lady, you should dance as boldly as my elect have danced for you.' Then she says: 'I cannot dance, my Lord, unless you lead me. If you want me to jump a lot, then you must start the song yourself. Then I will jump into love, and from love into knowledge, and from knowledge into enjoyment, and from pleasure over all the human senses. I want to remain here, and yet creep forward.'

16.3 Brief commentary

The full text of Mechthild's original (LG with some CG nuances) survives only in a Latin translation and the UG Einsiedeln MS which was prepared between 1343–45 with the help of Heinrich of Nördlingen for a circle of devotees in Basel. The language of the MS (which, apart from the inclusion of punctuation, is rendered faithfully and described fully in Neumann's edition 1990 and 1993) is close to that used by chanceries in mid-fourteenth-century Basel: (i) long vowels and diphthongs have not undergone the diphthongization and monophthongization which occurs in most dialects by 1350, e.g. <î>, <iu> (here = <ú>), <û>, <uo> are retained – *bihte* (1.3, NHG *Beichte*), *riuwe* (1.2, NHG *Reue*), *runen* (1.15, NHG *raunen*), *bÛsse* (1.3, NHG *Buße*); (ii) OHG fem. *ōn*-stems, weakened to *-e(n)* in most MHG dialects, not only retain their full vowel, but spread by analogy to other nouns, e.g. *liebin* (1.3); (iii) *ze ruggen zúhet* (ll.5–6, NHG *zurückzieht*) shows two features – reflexes of WGmc /gg/ have not coalesced with /kk/ (1.6 *ruggen* ≠ 1.20 *beulekken*), lack of umlaut (as in Swiss dialect today; cf its reflex in modern standard forms such as *Rucksack*); (iv) weakening of old *ja*-stems to weak nouns; (v) *-ig* > *-ek* (1.31 *fromeklich*); (vi) *-ck-* > *-kk-* (1.20 *beulekken*); (vii) gen. pl. in *-en* of

strong nouns (l.22 *heiliger lüten*); (vii) short form of *sollen* (l.31 *sonſt*); (viii) rounding of MHG (non-umlaut) /e/ to <δ> (especially in consonant clusters, l.36 *mōnsliche*) and rounding of /i/ > /ü/ (<ú>); (ix) in certain words there is variation for MHG /ei/ between <ei> and <e> (e.g. *heiliger* l.22 – *heliger geist* ll.1–2; *mitenander* l.12), which is due not to the original LG text but to the influence of Alsatian/Upper Rhine writing traditions in <e>.

As the work's title suggests, metaphors of light and flow were common in mystical writing to suggest the merging of the subject with the Godhead. Many of these have become common expressions in modern German (e.g. *Einfluß*, *einleuchten*). Some take Latin as their source but then go on to spawn their own chain of associations which make the original relationship less motivated (Wells, 1987: 132), e.g. L *influentia* (from astrology) > *influz* > *in-/üz-/über-/zuo-fliezen* (e.g. l.4 *überflüssekeit* in the sense of 'overflowing of the flesh' = 'temptation'). Prefixation (of a predominantly negative kind) is popular, e.g. (l.5) *verwassen*, as is the verbal noun, e.g. (l.15) *das runen*, but most popularly *das wesen*, *sein*, *tun* (see Klooke 1974). Most importantly, however, the subject matter of mystical writing called for abstraction, and suffixes which had been used in OHG translations of religious concepts were used with great frequency: *-unge* (l.23 *einunge*, l.35 *gebruchunge*), *-h/keit* (l.19 *küschekeit*) here still alternating with formulations of the same concept based on MHG *-e* (< OHG *-ī*, l.27 *küschi*) which *-h/keit* later largely replaces in the language, and *-nüsse/nisse* (the text contains both LG and CG *-nisse* and UG *-nusse*, even in the same word *bekanntnisse* l.34/*bekantnüsse* l.25). The centrality of these suffixes to mystical writing can be shown via a comparison over a comparable sample with a courtly author such as Hartmann (Henzen, 1957: 23):

	<u>Hartmann</u>	<u>Mechthild</u>
<i>-heit/(-lich)keit</i>	38	156
<i>-unge</i>	4	74
<i>-nisse</i>	–	19

Although still an under-researched area, syntax in mystic writing is often praised for its flexibility (e.g. Eggers 1965: 197). This is immediately obvious when the range of sentence structure and sense of flow in this passage is compared with the syntax of any other of our MHG passages. For instance, the sentence frame in relative clauses shows sensitivity to the semantic theme, compare:

einen mantel des heligen geruchtes, [den si verguldet hat] mit allen tugenden (ll.21–2)
Sú ist die jene, die kumber und minne mitenander treit. (ll.11–12)

The first lets important information fall outside the frame to end the sentence, the second tidies up the unimportant *mitenander* inside.¹ This allows *treit* to rhyme with *innekeit* in the so-called rhythmicized prose (*Kolonreim*): most of these rhymes

1 An additional factor here might be the MHG tendency to extrapose adverbials. This is an area that requires further research.

do not meet the exacting standards of contemporary literature (€ *minne* ll.9–10, *springe – ansingen* ll.33), and some become apparent on structuring a LG original (e.g. ll.1–2 *si – mich* [= LG *mi*], l.10 *tag* [= *geschach*]).

Further reading

Neumann (1990–3).

17 Medicine

Breslauer Arzneibuch

17.1 Context

In the early Middle Ages, medical expertise was divided in two. The majority of people benefitted from the knowledge of everyday practitioners who passed on the important knowledge of their trade to their apprentices without recourse to books or the written medium. The minority had access to classical knowledge which circulated in Latin in the monasteries. At the monastery gate, the two worlds sometimes met when monks in possession of classical knowledge treated the layman's ailments. In the eleventh century a new phenomenon emerged. Medical knowledge from the Arabic world began to filter through to Europe via Salerno in Southern Italy, which was to become the continent's leading centre for medical science in the Middle Ages. In the universities, medicine formed one of the seven *artes mechanicae* (a system invented in analogy to the seven liberal arts) and from the twelfth century onwards there was an increasing number of academically trained doctors who had studied in Bologna, Montpellier or Salerno. This new trend was opposed by the clergy who had always enjoyed access to late classical/early medieval medical sources. Consequently, the main realm of employment for the new type of doctor was at lay courts – NB the hero of Hartmann von Aue's *Der Arme Heinrich* travels to Salerno to seek a cure for his illness. By the late Middle Ages every king, prince or noble had his own well-paid doctor, who as a Latin-literate often performed other clerical functions.

From OHG times on, there are some isolated pieces of evidence for the translation of medical texts into the vernacular within the monastery context, e.g. *Breslauer Rezepte* (eighth century, one cure in German), *Innsbrucker Arzneibuch* (beginning twelfth century, *Mischsprache*), *Arzenibuch Ipcratis* (c.1200, begins in Latin and continues in German) – although the paucity of transmission means that it is difficult to determine a concrete reason for the use of the vernacular. Around 1200 three important scientific works emerge in German translation: the *Lucidarius*, *Bartolomäus* and *Macer*. The last two (although probably composed by clerical doctors) represent and were recognized by contemporaries as the two most important academic medical texts of the High Middle Ages. *Bartolomäus* is the name given to a complex which contains a huge scattering of various transmitted forms. The German compiler obviously worked from a range of pre-Salernitan texts as well as the work of the twelfth century Bartolomaeus Salernitanus, from whose *Practica Bartholomaei* the work takes its name. The German work is transmitted in

many different forms and partial versions (including Danish, Czech and a Latin retranslation), with so many additions and omissions that it is impossible to ascertain the compiler's combination of sources. Quite possibly, it is more accurate to conceive of the compiler as an author (who perhaps added his own knowledge) and at any rate it is very likely that the text was an open one to which later compilers added and subtracted. It is taken up into Ortoolf von Baierland whose work then seems to take over as the most popular medical text of the late Middle Ages. The most likely role of such medical texts in the vernacular would have been as a welcome aide-memoire to academic doctors working outside the Latin milieu rather than for the training of non-Latin literate laymen (see Crossgrove 1994: 60).

The *Breslauer Arzneibuch* (beginning of the fourteenth century) is a typical example of transmission in the Bartolomäus tradition. The MS itself is a compilation of: *Deutsches salernitanisches Arzneibuch* (DsA) (another early thirteenth-century compilation and translation of Salernitan medicine); *Bartolomäus* (compiled from two incomplete HG MSS, although the scribe seems unaware that it is *Bartolomäus* that he is transcribing); Roger Frugati's *Wuntarznei*; a plant glossary; an abbreviated version of the *Macer*; the *Freiberger Arzneimittellehre*, and a post-salernitan receptary. The codex is lavishly decorated (e.g. gold initials, etc., opening miniature within initial) and carefully written by a single scribe. Its owner and function have not been established, but it looks as if any practical function it might have had would have been equally matched by its representational worth (cf *Sachsenspiegel* MSS of roughly the same time 15.7). The sections show that the medieval *Arzneibuch* made no distinction between medicine and pharmacy (see Eis 1962: 36). The books were arranged either according to treatment (x is good for y) or ailment (in which case the order followed from head to foot with non-localized ailments at the end). The passages selected below (the first from the DsA, the second and third from the *Bartolomäus* sections) deal with (A) the delicate matter of male potency (based on notions of the four humours – warm, cold, moist, dry – which go back to antiquity), (B) menstruation and fertility treatment, and (C) how to diagnose the severity of a patient's condition via the urine sample (*Harntraktate* formed a central part of medieval medical writing).

17.2 Texts and translations

A. So der man gedenkit zu minnene. so kumit im also gahes ein wint
 uon deme hercen da uon reckit sich di rore. dar nach kumet der same
 uon dem hirne. vnde di gelust uon der leber. Da uon geschit sumeliche
 lute des windes uil haben vnde des samen weninc. oder nitches nicht. Iz
 5 sint ouch sumeliche lute di des windes nicht en haben. vnde des samen
 uil. der uluzit ouch etwenne uon in ane iren willen. vnde daz sich di
 rore nicht enrecket. Iz sint aber sumeliche lute di groze gelust haben.
 vnde doch nicht samen. an den sich di rore nicht recket. Groze hur
 gelust kumit dicke uon natur di di hoden haben. Di hoden geben al
 10 deme libe werme. daz merke bi deme hodelosen. di sint da uon kalt daz
 si der hoden nicht enhaben. Da uon haben si ouch nicht weder bart

noch ander hare an manchin stetin. Si enhaben ouch nicht hurgelust. Merke swelche lute heizir vnde vuchter nature sin. an den merit sich di gelust vnde di same. Swelche aber heiz vnde trucken sin di haben groze gelust. vnde weninc samen. Di da kalt sin vnde vuchte di haben cleine gelust vnde uil samen. Di da truckin sin vnde kalt. di haben weder gelust noch samen. an swelchir spise oder trinken. oder ercenie sich di drw gesament haben. ich meine hitze. vnde vuchte. vnde wint. daz ist gut zu der minne. [. . .] Da zu ist ouch gut [. . .] rinderine milch so man si trinket mit cinemin. vnde mit galgan. Da zu ist ouch gut daz electuarium dyasatirion.

B. Ez erget uil dicke so di wip kint gewinnen. daz si innerhalp der hute gar zebrechen. Wiltu der helfen. so saltu nemen niern eines pharren. vnde uersut di in einem wazzer. vnde trucken si danne mit gewallen ole. vnde strich si danne an ein tuch. vnde tu dar zu ein lutzel eruken. vnde lege daz danne an di stat da du zebrochen bist under der hute. Si daz ez denne beginnet dich muen. so saltu machen aschen uz den winreben. vnde bint den in ein tuch vnde bint daz an di stat da di menstrua rinnent. Nim ein hesin wambe. vnde trucken di uil schone. vnde rip di ze puluer. vnde gip in beiden daz puluer ze trinken in einem brunnen. vnde legen sich danne ze samene. sullen si immer kinde bekumen. so wirt daz wip des nachtes schwanger.

C. So der arzt get zu dem siechen. keret er sich danne zu der wende der stirbet des andern tages. Wellestu schire uersuchen weder der sieche sterbe oder genese. so nim des siechen harn nach mitter nacht. vnde guz den an eine grune nezzel. vnde schowe di nezzel des andern tages. ist di nezzel grune als si ee was. so geniset er wol. Ist di nezzel durre. gewislichen der stirbet.

(Texts: selection from Külz/Külz-Trosse 1908)

A. When a man thinks about having sex, there comes to him quickly from the heart a wind which makes his penis become erect after which the sperm comes from the brain and the drive from the liver. In this respect some people have too much wind and too little sperm – or none at all. There are some people who have no wind, but a lot of sperm (which flows out of them at some times involuntarily) so that the penis does not become erect. And there are some people who have a large drive but no sperm – and their penis does not become erect. A large drive comes often naturally to those who have testicles. Testicles give the whole body warmth. Compare the eunuchs – they are cold because they have no testicles. Because of this they have no beard and no hair on many a part of their bodies. They also have no drive. Observe those people who have a warm and moist disposition. They have no lack of drive or sperm. However, those who are warm and dry have a large drive and no sperm. Those who are cold and moist have a small drive and much sperm. Those who are dry and cold have neither drive nor sperm. What food or drink or medicine the three have in common[?] I think heat, moisture and wind – that is good for sex. [. . .] What is also good is [. . .] a heffer's

milk which can be drunk with cinnamon and with galingale. Electuarium dyasatirion is also good.

B. It frequently occurs that when women have children that they suffer contusions under the skin. To help her: take the kidney-shaped part of a leek and soak it in water and dry it out with oil that you have boiled up; and spread it onto a cloth and add a little rocket to it; and then place it on the spot where you are ruptured under the skin. If it begins to trouble you, make ashes from vine leaves and tie them into the cloth and apply that to the spot where the menstrual blood flows. Take the womb of a hare and dry it out well; rub it to a powder and give both of them the powder to drink in a glass of water. And if they lie down together [have intercourse], – if she is ever to conceive – the woman will become pregnant that night.

C. When a doctor goes to see a patient and he [the patient] turns towards the wall, he will die the next day. If you want to test whether the patient will die or recover, then take the urine of the patient after midnight and pour it onto a green nettle; and look at the nettle the next day – if the nettle is as green as it was before, then the patient will indeed recover; if the nettle has withered, the patient will surely die.

17.3 Dialect

It is almost certain that the scribe was writing in an ECG dialect. (i) Typical CG features of the early fourteenth century are: (a) the monophthongization of MHG diphthongs: /ie/ > /IPA i:/ (e.g. *dî*, C4 *schîre*, C2 *sîche*, the latter without orthographical change), /üe/ > /IPA y:/ (e.g. C5 *grune*, non-marking of umlaut) and /uo/ > /IPA u:/ (e.g. A8 *hur*); (b) the retention of MHG monophthongs which do not diphthongize until the late fifteenth century: /î/ (e.g. A10 *libe*, B8 *rip*), /iu/ (≈ IPA /y:/, here = <u>, e.g. A5 *lute*, A15 *vuchte*), /û/ (e.g. B1 *hute*); (c) the lack of orthographical marker for ‘secondary’ umlaut (e.g. A8 *rore*, B3 *ole*, A5 *lute*). (ii) Typical Eastern forms are: (a) the shift of PGmc /d/ > /t/ in all positions except after /l/ and /n/ (e.g. *tue* but *under*); (b) the shift PGmc /p/ to /f/ (rather than /pf/), often written <ph> (e.g. B2 *pharren*); (c) /o/ sometimes > /a/ (e.g. *pharren* for *phorren*). (iii) Two further factors help to localize the dialect further: (a) the uncertainty about how to represent [ə] (e.g. A1 *kumit*/A2 *kumet*; A16 *truckin*/A14 *trucken*, etc.) suggest proximity to an UG dialect; (b) the lack of monophthongization of /ei/ > /ē/ and /ou/ > /ō/, which spread across CG from the West suggests an extreme Eastern dialect. Both these later factors point to Silesia.¹

1 The dialect of the MS is complicated by one further factor: forms such as *sal* and *dat* (not in our passages) point to the opposite extreme, i.e. a WCG dialect such as Mid Franconian. It is likely that these forms represent residual traces of the scribe’s source.

17.4 Syntax

17.4.1 Hypotaxis, parataxis and relative clauses

The passages display an interesting mixture of hypotaxis and parataxis. Two almost parallel sentences show different possibilities within MHG prose syntax:

- (1) *Iz sint aber sumeliche lute di groze gelust haben. vnde doch nicht samen. an den sich die rore nicht recket* (A7–8)
- (2) *Iz sint ouch sumeliche lute di des windes nicht en haben. unde des samen uil. der uluzit ouch etwenne von in ane iren willen. vnde daz sich di rore nicht enrecket.* (A4–7)
- (3) *Da uon geschit sumeliche lute des windes uil haben vnde des samen weninc* (A3–4)

(1) consists of a main clause and two relative clauses. The frame of the first relative clause is broken so as to mark the condition. Otherwise the word order corresponds to standard NHG: the second relative has the verb in final position. In this complex relative, the preposition is followed by a dative relative pronoun which has not yet distinguished itself from the form of the demonstrative (*den* ≠ *denen*). (2) follows the same pattern with the broken subordinate clause frame to mark the condition, but the rest of the sentence is a mixture of parataxis and hypotaxis. In general the author tends to avoid complex relative clauses with non-persons, mostly but not exclusively preferring parataxis, often supported by other grammatical markers such as *da uon*, e.g. A1–2 *ein wint . . . da uon recket sich di rore*. In (2) the hypotactic structure is activated again by *unde daz* to maintain the link between this clause and the condition under description which has now become separated by the paratactic clause (*der uluzit . . .*). In (3) *da uon geschit* is a looser form of link than the *da uon* of A11, moving the text on to a new sub-theme. The paratactic structure (omission of a *daz*) allows the author to list a number of conditions (continued via A4/7 *Iz sint . . .*) without ungainly repetition of hypotactic word order. From this we can deduce (a) that the different means by which complex relative clauses are formed in standard NHG had not yet been fully established by late MHG and (b) that authors could use this flexibility to structure their texts clearly.

- (4) *unde legen sich danne ze samene. sullen si immer kinde bekumen. so wirt daz wip des nachtes schwanger.* (B10–11)
- (5) *ez erget uil dicke so di wip kint gewinnen. daz si innerhalb der hute gar zebrechen.* (B1–2)
- (6) *di da kalt sin vnde vuchte, di haben . . .* (A15)
- (7) *ist di nezzel grune als si ee was. so geniset er wol* (C4–5)
- (8) *Ist di nezzel durre. gewislichen der stirbit* (C5–6)

Hypotaxis and parataxis can thus be mixed in this text for stylistic effect. That the author was capable of highly complex structures is clear from (4) where the

main verb *wirt* is in second position preceded by two conditional clauses with frames completed by a separable prefix and infinitive (dependent on modal); or from (5) which comfortably handles the embedded relative clause via *so* and *daz*. In (6) the repetition of the pronoun of the antecedent relative, which creates a mix of parataxis and hypotaxis structured around *di – di*, helps give clarity to the definitions. In (7) and (8) the stylistic function of parataxis and hypotaxis is clear, hypotaxis drawing attention to the dire prognosis of death. This stylistic analysis accords with the general view that the compilers of such texts were ‘masters of German prose’ who were uninhibited by their Latin sources (see Keil 1978: 609).

17.4.2 *Instructions*

The form ‘for x take y’ has a tradition which dates back to pre-Christian times and can be found in Egyptian papyrus rolls and the formulation of how to make up the cure in B is typical of its type. Instructions follow mainly via a list of imperatives in the singular form: *uersut* (B3 <versieden, ablaut II), *trucken* (B3 <truckenen, like *kumen/komen* <u>/<o> < PGmc /u/ in free variation), *strich*, etc. The form with *saltu* is normally used to start the list off, and acts as a link between condition and cure:² *Ez erget . . . wiltu der helfen. so saltu nemen . . .* (B1–2); *Si daz . . .* (= ‘im Falle, daß . . .’), *so saltu machen . . .* (B5–6). In order to allow the set of instructions to flow uninterrupted the dependent infinitive is not sent to the end of the frame. There is also nothing to distinguish the syntactic structure of these cures from medieval cooking recipes (see ch. 20) and the term *Rezept* (which first appears in the fourteenth century) still serves in NHG for both ‘cooking recipe’ and ‘medical prescription’.

17.4.3 *Orality and literacy*

Both forms discussed in this section – the mix of hypotaxis and parataxis and the listing of infinitives – lend the *Arzneibuch* a sense of orality. It is almost certain that these texts were meant for private reading (later examples with indexes attest to this, e.g. the early-mid fourteenth century Thuringian text in Wardale/Folan 1971/1993: I), but the oral style must have given the first recipients the sense that a human advisor stood behind the book. This comes through in the fact that the advice is given in a mixture of forms – *so der arzt . . . Wellestu . . .* (C1–2); *an swelchir spise . . . ich meine* (A17–18) – which seem to be orientated around an *ich-du* relation. This is continued in the advice which seems to be directly given to women (B5 *an di stat da du zebrochen bist*): it is highly likely that we are dealing with a stylistic knock-on effect rather than evidence for a female readership of the medical text. Scientific distance in the vernacular was a product of the Enlightenment.

2 B8 *Nim . . .* is an exception. It is likely that the scribe has omitted the previous line.

17.5 Vocabulary

The *Arzneibuch* – like the *Sachsenspiegel* (see 15.5) – contains very little technical language. On the one hand, it is self-evident that many of the techniques involved were shared with other everyday practices and not felt to be separate, e.g. cooking (B8 *rip*, B9 *gip* . . . *in einem brunnen*, B3 *gewallen*), sexual intercourse (for which there is no technical term, the author using *zesamen(e) legen*, common in literary texts, and *minnen*, which in the later Middle Ages moved away from its original literary meaning to focus on the physical act of love). Many of the raw ingredients were also everyday objects, e.g. C4 *nezzel*, B6 *aschen*, A19 *rinderine milch*, and where this is not the case, the Latin term is simply used as a terminus technicus, e.g. *electuarium dyasatron*. On the other hand, there is a tendency to avoid common terms for specific body parts or functions which might be considered base. The Latin term for ‘menstruation’ is retained (although Kluge gives its first German usage as nineteenth-century). ‘Penis’ (another nineteenth-century integrated loan) is rendered as *rore* (a common word in *Harntraktate* for the urinary tract). Here the author is using a term for a specific part of the penis for the organ as a whole, thus keeping a distance from the more common terms found in literature of various moral shades, e.g. *visel*, *zagel*. The case of *hur/hurgelust* (A) is interesting in this respect, since it seems to offer a counter example. Lexer and BMZ give meanings such as: ‘Ehebruch’, ‘Beischlaf/ unkeuschliche Begierde’ (> NHG *Hure*, cf. Mod E *whore*). Here it is clear that the dictionary definitions overly rely on one register/text-type (literature).

Further reading

Crossgrove (1994); Eis (1962); Giesecke (1983, 1992); Schnell (2000, forthcoming)

III Early New High German (c.1350–c.1700)

Determining a date for the beginning of ENHG is probably the thorniest issue in debates about periodization. There are two clear positions – the one relying on internal linguistic developments, the other on socio-linguistic factors. Traditionally, the spread of diphthongization, monophthongization and the lengthening of short vowels in open, stressed syllables to a majority of dialect areas by c.1350 has been taken as a suitable boundary, since these three changes represent the last major phonological developments in the German language. Hence, from a historical perspective, they can serve as the definitional criteria par excellence for the onset of NHG. Arguing that this stance is too teleologically bound up with the standardization of modern German, Wells (1987) proposes the mid fifteenth century as a more suitable marker, in order to place sufficient emphasis on printing – the key external innovation of the period which had major consequences for the vernacular and its development both immediately and over subsequent centuries. Mediating between these two standpoints, we have chosen 1350 as a starting point because we can introduce *other*, equally important socio-linguistic arguments to sit *alongside* the phonological factors. Most importantly, the Golden Bull, signed by Charles IV in 1356, set the seal on the geo-political status quo of weak and, from election to election, itinerant monarchy vs strong regional princely powers, which would continue to have effects on German nationhood and language long into the modern period. The election of the Prague-based Luxembourgs as a political compromise in 1346, eventually followed from 1438 onwards by the Habsburgs in Vienna, meant that the centre of linguistic gravity had shifted away from the old power bases in the West to the new East – an area whose long period of colonization (see II) ended, neatly for the purposes of our argument, around the mid fourteenth century. Significantly, it is the interaction between the two HG areas of the East (ECG and EUG) in the written medium that provides the basis for the standard language.

Moreover, as well as this significant geographical expansion, there is, generally speaking, a definite quantitative and qualitative expansion in writing in the vernacular from the mid fourteenth century. This comes about mainly in towns, which greatly increased the impact that they had begun to have towards the end of the MHG period (see 15.1): by 1500, a tenth of the population is living in towns, a demographic shift which signals a move away from a mainly agrarian society to early capitalism. This ‘frühbürgerliche Zeit’ (a term picked up by v. Polenz [1991] from GDR linguistics) was marked by upwardly mobile, heterogeneous

middle classes who were involved in religious, political, economic and social modernization through the written word, and fell into the ambit of this latter's technologies of reproduction and spread: merchants who formed guilds and dealt in foreign trade (German develops from a language of legal documentation, e.g. ch. 14, to a *business* language), secular intellectuals such as school masters, notaries, town clerks, and professionals in technical spheres such as printers. The social background of these types is important. Chancery circles, for instance, were dominated by officials from a clerical background until the mid fourteenth century – but by 1500, these were outnumbered by their secularly trained colleagues. The ever growing need for literate administrators who could keep the paperwork of economic progress circulating also lowered the threshold of entrance to and increased the emphasis on education – a market for which Ickelsamer's guide to reading German *Die rechte weis aufs kurtzist lesen zu lernen* (1527) was catering.

The period is also very obviously characterized by technical innovation and the public polemics – both of which have far-reaching consequences for the development of the language and its users. The advent of paper in Northern Europe c.1400 (which had been invented by the Chinese and entered the Arab world by 800) and the widening availability of glasses in the course of the fifteenth century led to an increase in the reading public even before the printing press, which did not really enter an economically viable phase with major consequences for new readership potential until the sixteenth century. When it did, however, it coincided with the politically turbulent period ushered in by the Reformation. The dissemination of political and religious writings across broad swathes of the German-speaking area meant that the vernacular was used for the first time as a medium of public debate. The spread of significant texts (e.g. Luther's Bible) into several or all major dialect areas certainly had an effect on the levelling process already underway in the written language, but relocated the major influence on this away from the chanceries and into the printing houses. By the turn of the sixteenth century, the demand for information from far-off places, transmitted in the written medium, had become such that newspapers became a social necessity.

By the seventeenth century, German had established itself sufficiently as a public, written language for it to be analysed on its own terms and using its own language (sixteenth century grammars had relied on Latin models of explanation). In addition to the increased production and reception of the vernacular just outlined, two further factors contributed to the status of German by the end of the ENHG period. First, humanism, the intellectual movement that underpinned the Renaissance, placed its emphasis on the rediscovery and cultivation of the classical age in linguistic as well as broad historical terms. As in the 'Carolingian Renaissance' in OHG times (see I), however, this philological endeavour had positive spin-offs for the vernacular, e.g. calls to place more value on the German language. Second, the ravages of the Thirty Years' War left the German lands linguistically as well as politically beleaguered by foreign influence – *Ich teutscher Michel, versteh schier nichel [= nichts]/ In meinem Vatterland, es ist ein schand*, as one satirical voice of the time typically put it. Broadly speaking, then, as a result of the former factor and a response to the latter, the seventeenth century saw the foundation of linguistic societies which set themselves the aim of cultivating, purifying

and protecting the German language and assisting it towards an elevated literary form. If they did not succeed in their purist aims (over half of French borrowings survived), it can certainly be said that by the end of the seventeenth century there is a recognizable, although not universally accepted, literary norm.

Further reading

Ebert *et al.* (1993); Hartweg and Wegera (1989); Jones (1995); Moser and Stopp (1970ff.); Penzl (1984); Philipp (1980); Reichmann and Wegera (1988); Wegera (1986).

18 Humanism and linguistic levelling

Niklas von Wyle's *Translatzen*

18.1 Context

Niklas von Wyle (or nicolaus de wyle, as he called himself in his Latin writings) was a chancery official (town clerk of Eßlingen 1448–69 and assistant chancery minister to Count Ulrich von Württemberg 1469–79). With his *Translatzen* (or *Tütschungen*), written in MSS for individual courtly patrons such as Pfalzgräfin Mechthild and Karl von Baden from 1461 onwards and published together in printed form (in Eßlingen) for a wider audience in 1478, Wyle formed part of a small group of translators (such as Albrecht von Eyb and Heinrich Steinhöwel) who first brought humanist thought from Italy to a mainly (non-latin literate) courtly audience in SW Germany. Text A (given here with Eyb's parallel version, text B) is Wyle's 2nd *Translatze*, which was reprinted in ten different versions (see Bertelsmeier-Kierst 1988: 3–18) and became one of the best-sellers of the fifteenth century and sixteenth century. Based on Leonardo Bruni's Latin version, it is a translation of Boccaccio's *Guiscard and Sigismunda* (*Decameron*, IV: 1). Wyle is therefore significant as a representative of the new type of author in the ENHG era which remained a key bearer of literary production well into the modern era, i.e. the *poeta et secretarius*. Although the poets whose work made the breakthrough from orality onto parchment in the MHG period had nearly all received a clerical education, it is a distinctive facet of the late Middle Ages that writing literature was a by-product of the professional cleric. At the turn of the fourteenth century, Johannes, chancery official at Tepl, produced his popular *Ackermann* and this trend continues right down to Goethe the chancery official (see ch. 26). The importance of high level chancery work in public life was as strong in the fifteenth century as it was for Goethe at the turn of the nineteenth century: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Wyle's inspirational friend, who spent some years in the chancery at Vienna, ended his much-fêted career as Pope Pius II (1458).

Wyle is crossed by two important fifteenth-century currents without which the external and internal forms of Luther's writing in the sixteenth century would have been unimaginable in the form we know: (i) the slow and complex levelling of dialectal forms (*Ausgleich*) due to the interaction of documents between chanceries of different regions (discussed by Wyle below) and (ii) the emphasis placed by humanist scholars on a return to original languages, from which Luther profited greatly in the form of Erasmus's Greek edition of the NT and Reuchlin's Hebrew grammar. Whilst it would be wrong to overemphasise the link between chanceries

and humanism, it should be remembered that Latin style had influenced chancery language since early contacts between Italy and Prague in the fourteenth century (e.g. Tepl), and that Humanists were sought after in government for their rhetorical talents – Wyle had to make an oration before his old friend, Piccolomini (now pope), as part of an official delegation of the imperial ambassador in Mantua (1459). Although the main emphasis was on Latinity, the vernacular profited – as in the Carolingian renaissance – from the general emphasis on linguistic excellence. Wyle, however, went one step further than most by making a conscious effort to teach humanist style to those he was training for chancery careers: the *Translatzen* were intended to demonstrate his belief in one register alone – *kunst wolredens und dichtens, die wir nennent oratoriam* – and the 18th (text C), which is not actually a translation, addresses questions put to him by his *lieben Jungern*. In this sense, whilst Wyle was unique in his fervour, he symbolically encapsulates the movements which were shaping German before the advent of Luther.

18.2 Texts and translations

A. *Translatze 2*

Nu was irs vatters huse voll edler vnd vnedler In massen dann an der grossen fürsten höfen gewon ist. Vnd als sy dero aller sitten leben vnd gestalt eigenlich erspecht vermarckt vnd erwag/do warf sy zû letst Ir gemüt vñ ainen Jüngling mit namen gwiscardum von niderm geschlecht
 5 geborn, Aber von loblichen sitten vber all ander wol edel. Den selben sy emsenklich ansehend von tag zû tag mer und mer bewarende, Inbrünstenklichen abhüb lieb zehaben. Als aber der von vernunft nit trege, der fröwen gemüt vermarckt/ward er In dero liebe so entzündet/daz er all ander sachen zû rukg schlachende, nützit anders tett
 10 Dann tag vnd nacht allain nâch jr gedencken. In dem nu vnd sölich ir liebe beder sytt gegen ainander erwachsen was, vnd die fröw, nützit mers begert, dann wie sy zûsamen kämen vnd doch niemant anders ir gemüt In diesen sachen offnen wolt, Do erdächt sy zû letst ainen sölich wege, Vnd schraib dem Jüngling vnd vnderrichtet den in geschrift was sy von
 15 jm beschehen wölt vnd verschlos die geschrift in ainen liederlichen vnd achtbaren stecken von rore, vnd gab dasselb rore schimpfflich dem Jungling sprechende/daz er das geben sölt siner dienst magt zû ainem stecken das füre zeschüren als bald aber gwiscardus das rore genam gedächt er wol jm das nit âne sach gegeben sin vnd tett haimant das
 20 rore vñ and fand die geschrift. vnd do er die gelas, gantz vnderrichtet waz die fröw wolt von jm beschechen/ward er mit vngebürlicher fröide durch gossen vnd hüb schnell an flysz zetûn, da mit er zûr Ir in massen sy jnn vnderricht hatt komen möcht.

B. *Eyb version of Translatze 2*

Als sie het vermerckt ir aller wesen fitten vnd gestalt ward ir wolgefallen ein hübfcher Jüngling der da was einer nydern geburt aber von

guten fitten vnd eines edeln hohen gemüts des namen was Gwiscardus
 5 denselben iüngling ward Sigismunda offt lieplich ansehen vnd in von tag
 zu tagē ye mere beweren vnd lieb haben. deßgleichen der iüngling als er
 vername die lieb vnd willen der frawen wart widerumb in der lieb der
 frawen entzündet vnd gedacht tag vnd nacht wie er ir möcht wolgefallen
 vnd gedienen Sigismūda ward dem iüngling ein brieff schreibn vnd iren
 10 willen zu erkennen geben vnd vnderweisen wie er sich halten solt.
 denselben brieff beschloß sie in ein holes rore gab im das rore in
 schympff weis vnd sprach. dises rore soltu meiner meyd geben das sie
 damit das feür müg aufplazen vnd erquicken Gwiscardus der Jüngling name
 zu im das rore ging zu hawse öffnet es vnd fande darinnen den brieff den
 laße er vnd erlernet den willen der frawn wie er zu ir kumen solt ...

C. *Translatze 18*

Sage jch niclās von wyle vil hails. Jr bittē mich lieben Junger ains dings:
 Daz Jch ūch wöll setzen etwas grunds wie ainem yeden in gaitlichem
 vnd weltlichem wesen nāch vnderschaid der stenden emptern vnd adels
 5 syg zeschriben/mit zū gebūg gebürlicher worten Jr yetklichē zūgehörig:
 vñ sint villicht hier us bewegt daz ir mainent die latinisch rethorik soll
 mir des sin ain fūrerin vnd gewisse vnderwysung. Dar an Jr aber Jrrent.
 Dañ wie wol die selb latinisch rethorik ain zaigerin sin mag alles rechten
 vñ lobsamē gedichts aller sprāchen vñ gezūngē. noch dañ so fällt es
 nach minem bedücken aller maißt an dem das ir an mich als obsteet
 10 begert hant. Des erstē darumb: dz das latine vil vnd mancher laj
 vnderfchidlicher worten: die man also ainem yeden nāch gelegēhait sins
 standes schribē vñ zūgeben sol: sölliger ist: dañ das tüttsche: das hieran
 nit klainē gebrauch hāt. Zum andern ouch aller maißt darumb: daz das
 tüttsche gedicht an zūgebūg sölicher worten vnglych ist: vñ kain gewisß
 15 kunst noch regel habende/sich endert vñ v'keret nach wyte vñ gewōnhait
 der landen vnd nāch endrung der lüten der löffen vñ der zyte. [...] so
 ist vnfers lādes tüttsche bisz her gewesen ze reden zwüschen dir vdn mir
 zwüschen vch vnd vns. Zwüschen jm vnd mir. Dar für wir yetz
 20 österrÿcheisch sprechen zwüschen din und min zwüschen ūwer vnd vnser
 zwüschen sin vnd min. Jtem vnd als die fūrstē vnser landen bis her
 pflegen haben ain andern zeschrybē vñ noch des meren tails tūnt/ ūwer
 lieb. heben yetz etlich schriber an flemisch dar für zeschribē ūwer liebe
 vñ bequēlich für bekemlich vñ dejen für die selbē. Vnd rinisch geet für
 gāt vñ steet für stāt/rachtūg für richtūg gescheen für geschechen. Vnd
 25 dero hunderterlaß Jtē vñ das wund'barer ist: so habē sich vnser vätter vñ
 dero altfordern in schwābē yeweltn her bis vf vns gebrucht in Jrem reden
 vñ schriben des diptōgons . ai . für . ei . burgermeister schribēde nit
 burgermeister . nain vñ nit nein . flaisch vñ nit fleisch, etc. Aber yetz
 garnāch in allē schwebischen cantzlien der her'n vñ stetten schribent die
 30 schriber ei für ai. burgermeister sprechēde vñ nit burgermeister wjsheit
 vñ nit wjsheit: daz ain grofße vnnütze endrūg ist vnfers gezūngs dar mit
 wir loblich gefündert wāren von den gezūngen aller vmbgelegnen lāden

das vns yetz laidet vnd fremdes liebet. Jch bin burtig von bremgartē ufz dē ergōw: vñ hab mich anefāgs als Jch herus in fwāben kam großes flýßes gebruchet dz jch gewonte zeschriben ai für ei. Aber yetz were not mich des wider ze entwēnen wo Jch anders mich ādern schribern wolt verglychē. das ich aber nit tūn wil. Yetz ist aber ain nūwes gögelspiele entftāden dz man in vil cātzlien vñ schriberÿen pfligt zeschribē zway . n . da des ainē gnūg wer vnd das ander vberflüßig ist: mer die verftētnüßz Jrend dān fürdernd als : vnnser . Vnnd . frünntlich . liebenn, etc. Vnd des gelÿchen. [...] Vñ mich wūdert dz etlich Stattschriber mir bekāt : sölichs vō jrē substitutē lÿdē tūnt/so bald sÿ etwas nūwes sechē ufz ains fürsten cātzie usgegāgen : ob es wol nit grüdes hāt vñ vnrecht ist: noch dān das bald vffassent vñ sich des gebruchēt wie die affen vñ ist nit āders/dān wie ir yetz sechēt die jūgen gesellē diser zÿt beklaidet geē vñ geschücht nach drÿer oder vierer lāden jittē also findet mā ouch seltē me ainch gedichte Es syen dān dar vnd' viererlay od' fünfer: sprāche v'mischet. das jch nit rūm: noch seer schilt.

A. Now her father's house was full of men of high and low standing as was normal at the courts of great princes. And as she observed, noted and contemplated their behaviour and comportment closely, she finally took a fancy to a young man called Guiscardo who [was] born of low stock but was full of excellent manners and [thus] more noble than all the rest. Watching and observing this same one constantly from day to day, she fell in love with him passionately. And when for his part the virtuous one became aware of the lady's feeling[s for him] he became so inflamed in love for her that, neglecting all other things, he did nothing else but think of her alone day and night. So as their mutual love grew in this way and the lady wished for nothing more than that they might come together, but did not want to reveal her emotion[s] to anyone else, she eventually came up with a way to achieve this [sölichen] and she wrote to the young man and informed him in her letter what she wanted him to do for her and hid the letter in the beautiful and attractive hollow of a reed and gave it to the young man jokingly saying that he should give it to his maid as a bellows-pipe to light the fire with. But as soon as Guiscardo had taken the reed, he thought that this had not been given to him without a reason, and he opened up the reed in secret and found the letter. And when he had read it and [was] fully informed what the lady wanted him to do for her, he was filled with immense joy and quickly began to apply all his efforts so that he might come to her just the way she had instructed.

C. I, Niklas von Wyle, send you my greetings. My dear pupils, you ask me one thing – that I (might) give you some basic guidance about how to write to each individual person in the clerical and secular milieu according to (the difference in their) status and nobility with the application of the words [of address that are] suitable and appropriate to each of them. You were motivated by the belief that Latin rhetoric would be my guide and a certain source of learning. But you are wrong here. For however much Latin rhetoric

might be a guide in all forms of proper and praiseworthy writing in all languages and tongues, it is precisely in that area about which you have asked me (above) that it is – in my opinion – lacking. Firstly because in respect of the many and varied words which one should use and write to each individual according to his standing, Latin is fuller than German which in this respect has no small lack. Second, and mainly because in the application of such writing, the German language is uneven and, having no set practice or regulation, changes and alters according to territory and the habits of the lands and with the passage of the eras and times. It has been the custom of our land until now to say *zwischen dir* and *mir*, *zwischen ouch* and *vns*, *zwischen jm* and *mir* – for which we now say in an Austrian manner *zwischen din* and *min*, *zwischen uwer* and *vnser*, *zwischen sin* and *min*. Moreover, as the princes of our lands until now used to write *uwer lieb* to each other – and still in the most part do – many a scribe is now beginning to substitute the Flemish *uwer liebede*, and *bequēlich* for *bekemlich* and *deJnen* for *die selbē*, and in Rhineland fashion *geet* for *gāt* and *steet* for *stāt*, *rachtūg* for *richtūg*, *gescheen* for *geschehen* – and hundreds of other such things. And what is even more outlandish: our fathers and their forefathers in Swabia used since time immemorial right down to our times in their speech and writing the diphthong *ai* for *ei*, writing *burgermeister* not *burgermeister*, *nain* and not *nein*, *flaisch* and not *fleisch*, etc. But now in nearly all the Swabian chanceries of the nobility and the towns [alike] there are scribes writing *ei* for *ai*, writing *burgermeister* and not *burgermeister*, *wjshait* and not *wjshait* – which is a completely useless change to our language, with which we were in praiseworthy fashion distinguished from the languages of neighbouring lands, and which now offends us and loves that which is foreign. I was born in Bremgarten in the Aargau, and in the beginning when I came here to Swabia, required much effort to get used to writing *ai* for *ei*. But now it would be necessary to disabuse myself of this habit, if I were to come in line at all with the other scribes – which, however, I do not want to do. And now there has come about a new idiocy – that in many chanceries and scriptoria they have begun to write two n's where one would be enough and the second is superfluous, hindering rather than aiding comprehension, [e.g.] *vnnser*, *vnnnd*, *frünnlich*, *liebenn*, etc. And so forth. And I am amazed that some town clerks who are known to me accept from their underlings that they – as soon as they see something new that has come out of a prince's chancery, even though it has no good reason and is wrong – nonetheless seize on it immediately and use it like apes. And it is no different from how you now see the young people of today running around clothed and wearing shoes according to the fashion of four or five lands – in the same way you can hardly find a single piece of writing any more without it having four or five languages mixed in it, which I do not praise and indeed bitterly lament.

18.3 Dialect

The clear marker of the West Swabian dialect in which Wyle wrote is the diphthongization of /a:/ (represented in the print version by /ä/, e.g. *Schwäbē* C26,

garnäch C29, *wären* C32) which had already occurred by MHG times. At this stage, all MHG diphthongs and monophthongs are still retained. NHG diphthongization had reached East Swabian by Wyle's time and would soon spread to his dialect, e.g. MHG /i/: *ungljch* C14, *zeschrybē* C21, *cantzlien* C29 – compare Eyb's *schreibn* B8, *vnderweisen* B9, etc.; MHG /iu/: *tütfsche* C12, *lüten* C16, *nüwves* C37; MHG /û/: *gebruchet* C35, *herus* C34. Monophthongization (as can be witnessed in current dialects) left Swabian unaffected, e.g. MHG /ie/: *liebet* C33; MHG /uo/: *tuont* C42/*tün* C37; no example of MHG /üe/. Since the MHG phonology has remained essentially unaltered, there is no morphological change yet in the ablaut verbs, e.g. the opposition *schriben* – *schreib/schraib* has not yet come under pressure from the phonologically determined change of the infinitive to *schreiben* which occurs in other dialects (cf 19.5.1).

Swabian displays further typical UG features: (i) MHG /h/ (PGmc /h/ < PIE /k/) is believed to have retained its fricative quality in word final position, and before certain consonants only (e.g. *nacht* A10), becoming breathy in all other positions and later disappearing altogether, compare the opposition *sehen* and *sach*. In early ENHG UG dialects, this opposition seems to have been eroded in favour of the fricative, e.g. *ansehend* (A6), and Wyle's complaint (C24) that *geschechen* is now being written *gescheen* (loss of /h/ altogether as in NHG). It is difficult to say whether this represents phonetic reality or merely scribal traditions. (ii) CG /g/ (< PGmc /g/) was a fricative (in all positions except initial); and the graphie <ch> that appears in some UG dialects indicates that this is likely to have spread further south, e.g. *schlachende* A9. (iii) *-nüsse*, here with apocope *-nüfz*, is the typical UG form of the suffix; *-niß* (> NHG *-nis*) is CG. (iv) The conditional form *wölt* is typical UG (until sixteenth century) and represents partial analogy with the present and infinitive forms in *-e-* (cf OHG/MHG *wellen*) and rounded *-ö-*. (v) *zwüfchen* is an East Bavarian and Alemannic form and contrasts with the rest of Bavaria (*zwischen*).

18.4 Morphology

18.4.1 The prefix *ge-*

There are three interesting cases of the prefix *ge-* side by side in a few sentences (A18–20). Whilst in the earliest texts the prefix *ge-* could indicate a perfective sense, that is, that the action identified by the verb was complete, over time this meaning weakened. One of the ways in which it developed was to be used to identify events as sequenced: one takes place before the other (as here in the verbs *genam* and *gelas*). At the same time, German developed a periphrastic form, the pluperfect, which expressed a similar meaning. It was fairly widespread in Southern Germany by this time, and it is likely that the retention of the synthetic form with *ge-* was intended for stylistic effect, although in a text strongly marked by parataxis, the marking of some verbs as subordinate may also have provided a useful aid to comprehension. The verb *gedächt* probably has its origin in a punctual sense which again is an outgrowth of the originally perfective meaning, along the lines of 'had a (sudden) thought'.

18.4.2 -e in the simple past

The Eyb passage displays a feature which is absent from Wyle. In the course of the ENHG period, a certain fluidity began to emerge in the past tense forms of weak and strong verbs. Weak verbs often lost the final *-e*, e.g. *machte* > *macht*, whilst in an apparently parallel development, strong verbs acquired an *-e*, e.g. *nam*, *vernam* > *vername*, *name*. As the Eyb passage shows, not all strong verbs – even in the same passage – are effected. By the end of the seventeenth century, roughly 50 per cent of all instances of strong verbs were conjugated in the past tense with *-e*. In NHG, however, only the past tense of *werden* (*wurde*) shows any trace of this development.

18.4.3 Plural inflections in verbs

MHG pres. pl. endings were: *-en*, *-et*, *-ent*. In West UG, *-et* > *-ent* in MHG, and had moved to a unified pl. marker by ENHG, either *-ent* or *-en*. There is still evidence of the unified plural in this region into the seventeenth century. Wyle's form, therefore, represents an interesting middle stage: *-ent* had spread in his dialect to the 2nd person by MHG times, but the 3rd person seems to show free variants *-en* and *-ent* as the levelling process continues.

18.5 Orthography and type**18.5.1. Sibilants and schibilants**

OHG and MHG had two distinct sibilants which – medially and finally – were kept apart orthographically with great care: /s/ (< PGmc /s/ with a phonetic value somewhere between [s] and [ʃ]) and /z/ (< PGmc /t/: with the approximate phonetic value [s]). The development of OHG /s/ + /k/ into a single palatal phoneme /ʃ/ from the mid eleventh century onwards (see 11.4.3) had a two-fold effect on /s/. Before /l/, /m/, /n/, /p/, /t/, /w/ it moved towards the palate (thus collapsing with /ʃ/ and giving the NHG standard [ʃp], etc., e.g. *Sport*). In all other positions it moved to a more dental position, thus collapsing with /z/. Since the grapheme <z> already represented the affricate /ts/, the merger was represented mainly by <s>. These mergers were complete by around 1300 (cf the distribution of graphemes in the fourteenth-century Einsiedeln Mechthild MS, 16.2) and resolve certain anomalies in the phoneme system in 'classical' MHG (for detailed analysis see Penzl 1968). The major morphological consequence of this phonological simplification is the loss of distinction between nom./acc. and gen. pronominal endings: MHG *ez* (nom./acc.) ≠ *es* (gen.), whereas (E)NHG *es* (nom./acc.) = *es* (gen.).

In the Wyle text C, MHG /s/ is represented orthographically by the old /s/ graphies: <s> in final position and <ʃ> elsewhere, e.g. *vnfers lādes* (C17). <z> does not represent the sibilant, with one key exception – *daz* (conjunction), which tends to be opposed to *das* (pronoun), e.g. *daz das tütsche gedichte* . . . (C13–14). Both derive from the same MHG form *daz*, and it could be that the very common

scibal abbreviation *dz* had some role to play in forming a distinction that has become grammaticalized in NHG (*daß* : *das*).

Intervocally MHG <ss> and <z>, <zz> tend to be represented by <ff>. In word final position, however, <fz> seems to dominate, e.g. *ufz* (MHG *uz*), *nüfz* (MHG *nüss(e)*). This combination of <f> + <z> is the origin of <ß>. As can be seen from all three passages, there are exceptions to these tendencies, e.g. *bis* (C26), *bifz* (C17), *gewiffz* (C14). From uncertain beginnings, <ß> has had a chequered history (see Grimm, 28.5) right down to the current spelling reforms. Until 1996 the rule had been based mainly on the length of the preceding vowel (after long vowels and diphthongs <ß>, otherwise <ss>, e.g. *Straße* – *Gasse*) but additionally on position regardless of vowel length (in consonant clusters and in word final position, e.g. *mußte*, *Haß*). The reform removed the non-vocalic considerations (e.g. *musste*, *Hass*), thus leaving <ß> to signify vocalic length. Nostalgia aside, this functional approach makes much sense and clarifies a somewhat complicated picture. As can be seen from the distribution of <ff> and <fz> in these early passages, any decision based on etymology (as once proposed by Grimm *et al.*, 28.5) would have flown in the face of the earliest examples which seem to rely on positional rather than etymological considerations, e.g. *groffes* C34 (MHG *grozes*), *-nüfz* C40 (MHG *-nüsse*).

18.5.2 Inconsistencies

Early print – as in the MS tradition – did not lay a premium on consistency. In our passage we see three forms of the same word in the same sentence: *zwüfchen*, *zwüfchen* and *Zwufchen* (C19–20); *cantzlien* written long or with abbreviation *cätzlien* (C38); the conditional of *sein* is written *were* (C35) or *wer* (C39); the affricate /ts/ is represented by <tz> (*ÿetz*) or <st> (*zŭ letst*). It is not always easy to ascertain accurately the source of such inconsistencies. On the one hand, there is the laxity of the setters (complained about bitterly by Luther). On the other hand, Wyle's own habits might well be shining through as well – his MSS (produced over a period of nearly twenty years) show variation, for instance, in the spelling of /ts/.

18.6 Ausgleich

In the course of the fourteenth century and fifteenth century, interaction between chanceries was leading to levelling on the level of writing. Via the avoidance of dialectal extremes (rather like in the 'MHG Dichtersprache') and the adoption of certain forms from other areas, large regions which followed roughly the same orthographic habits were slowly merging. Besch's (1967) term for these, which has now become a standard designation for the process, is *Schreiblandschaften*. Wyle outlines two interrelated factors which contribute to the process: fashion and power (e.g. the *stattschreiber* follow the trends of the *fürsten*). Due to socio-economic factors which saw the centre of power shift away from old centres in the Rhine to the (partly newly colonated) East in the course of the thirteenth to fourteenth century, two major landscapes dominated: ECG and EUG. In the fourteenth century, the ECG *Schreiblandschaft*, with its centre at the imperial court in Prague, led the way,

but with the shift of power to the Habsburgs in Vienna in the fifteenth century, EUG became a powerful linguistic force. In the course of the fifteenth century it is clear that, whilst retaining its own status, ECG was adapting EUG forms. Thus from the three regions singled out in Wyle's diatribe, it is Austrian rather than Flemish or Rhinelandish that is historically important. In fact, as can be deduced from Besch's diagram of the distribution of *gên* and *gân* in written documents of the period (1967: 82), which shows that the Rhineland was dominated by *gân* and the Eastern areas by *gên*, it is likely that Wyle was underestimating the latter's influence.

Whilst Wyle is clearly opposed to influence from outside his own area, his own writing displays some of the key features of avoidance which make up the levelling process. (i) In words such as *entwënen* (C36) and *gesündert* (C32), Wyle retains the old written forms and ignores the rounding to /ö/ (NHG *entwöhnen*) and lowering to /o/ (NHG *sondert*) which had spread from CG to UG by the beginning of the fourteenth century. Thus the written form was distinct from the spoken form. (b) The written form <ai> which Wyle defends against the stylish <ei>, is itself probably already a borrowed form from EUG. EUG had <ai> for <ei>, probably as a reflex of a phonological push-chain reaction to the diphthongization of MHG <î> > <ei>. Since this diphthongization had not yet occurred in WUG, the presence of <ai> is most likely an early part of the levelling process. Thus Wyle is himself caught up in the process without knowing it.

The levelling process had its main effect on phonology and orthography, but did not leave morphology unaffected. Wyle defends the use of the dative after the preposition *zwischen* rather than the EUG continued use of the MHG variant *zwischen* + gen.¹ Wyle also continues to conjugate *pflegen* as a strong verb (ablaut V), despite the fact that EUG had already gone over to the now standard weak form.

Wyle's comments are both typical and untypical. Typical is the sense of regionality in Germany where there is a connecting linguistic factor (*Deutsch*), but one in which the peculiarities of the individual manifestations is equally strong, aptly summed up in the phrase *unfers landes tûtsche* (C17) which is *gesundert von . . . umbelegenen lāden* (C32). Striking also is the fact that the individual manifestations of the connecting factor are seen as *fremd*. With the absence of a notion of state (like England and France) and existing within a looser imperial system, regionality retained its linguistic strength. It is interesting that Wyle has no cause to discuss the adaption of diphthongs and monophthongs – which suggests that levelling might sometimes have begun at a low level whilst the key factors which distinguished regions took longer to be sorted out. Untypical is his refusal to accept regional variety in an accommodating manner. Both Fabian Franck (*Orthographia* 1531) and the author of the *Formulare und duytsche Rhetorica* (Cologne 1527) speak of the importance of regional forms:

Wer [...] rechtförmig deuts schreiben/odder reden wil/der mus deutscher sprachenn auf eins lands art und brauch allenthalben nicht nachfolgen.

1 *din, mun, sin* are genitive forms which gain the NHG standard *-er* via analogy with *uwer* and *unser* in the sixteenth century; they are fossilized in the noun *Vergißmeinnicht*.

Nützlich und gut ists einem jdlichen/vieler Landsprachen mit jren misbruechen zuwissen/da mit man das unrecht möge meiden.

- 5 **Eyn schriuer wilcher land art der in duytzcher nacioin geboren is/sal sich zo vur vyß flyssigen/dat he ouch ander duitsch/dan als men in synk land synget/schriuen lesen und vur nemen moeg.**

18.7 Style

The perennial argument (which stretches back to classical antiquity) about how to translate properly – word for word or sense to sense? – was current at the end of the fifteenth century. Wyle and Eyb represent different ends of the spectrum, the former in an act of ‘sprachsoziologische Äußerung aus humanistischem Elitärbewußtsein’ (Worstbrock 1993: 40), claimed that *dise translaciones of das genewest dem latin nach gesetzt hab/und nit geachtet/ob dem schlechten gemainen vnd unernieten man das vnuerstentlich sin werd*. Wyle refers to himself significantly as a *transferyerer*, although in many instances he goes beyond his source, moulding German into Latinate constructions which were not present in the original. (For a full account of Wyle’s style, see Strauß 1912.) His most common Latinate features are listed below with contrasts from Eyb (or supplemented, since Eyb’s is a slightly abbreviated version, by Bode’s NHG translation).

Table 18.1 Wyle’s Latinate constructions

past participle

Wyle:	<i>von niderm geschlecht geboren</i>
Eyb:	<i>der da was einer nydern geburt</i>

present participle

Wyle:	<i>emsenklich ansehend von tag zû tag mer und mer bewarende</i>
Eyb:	<i>den selben [...] ward Sigmunda offt lieplich ansehen vnd in von tag zu tage ye mere bewerren</i>

Wyle:	<i>all ander sachen zû rugk schlachende</i>
Eyb/Bode:	–

Wyle:	<i>vnd gab dasselb rore schimpfflich dem Jungling sprechende . . .</i>
Eyb:	<i>gab im das rore in schimpff weis vnd sprach</i>

accusative and infinitive

Wyle:	<i>gedächt er wol jm das nit äne sach gegeben sin</i>
Bode:	<i>erriet bald, daß sie es ihm nicht ohne Ursache gegeben [...] habe</i>

18.8 Punctuation

Punctuation in ENHG is in a transitional phase somewhere between representing pauses and sense units and the NHG system of marking syntactic units. The two

prints (texts A and B) represent two ends of the spectrum. Eyb's Nürenberg print adopts a minimalist approach, occasionally but not consistently employing a stop to mark the end of a sentence. By comparison, Wyle's Eßlingen print is a wild and inconsistent mixture. Stops, virgules and colons are used interchangeably and multifunctionally to mark various kinds of pause and syntactic divisions. Relative clauses are rarely marked, whilst a colon divides two main clauses connected by *vn* (*ergōw: vñ* C34), examples seem to be marked with some regularity, if not consistency, with stops, virgules and colons. Since late MHG capitals had become popular to mark the beginning of sentences and units (e.g. *Vñ mich wüder* C41; *Es syen dan . . .* relative clause, C47). Here, however, they also seem to appear almost randomly (*Inbrünstenklichen, In dero liebe*). The inconsistencies can be shown clearly in the way that one construction is punctuated in three different ways:

nützit anders tett Dann tag vn nacht allain nach jr gedencken

nützit mers begert, dann wie sy zusammen kämen

vn ist nit aders/dan wie ir jëtz sechet

Compared with the punctuation of the Vienna document (ch. 14) which is almost two hundred years older, it looks as if all chaos has broken loose. This is probably due to a mixture of text-type traditions and the transfer to the new technical medium of print.

Further reading

Bertelsmeier-Kierst (1988); Besch (1967); Strauß (1912); Worstbrock (1993).

19 Low German and the language of business

The Hanseatic League

19.1 Preamble

As opposed to HG, the history of LG is conventionally divided into three sections: Old, Middle and New, with MLG beginning and ending somewhat later than MHG, from the thirteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century. What is often referred to as the *Blütezeit* of MLG – roughly between 1370 and 1530 – falls therefore into the ENHG period and is synonymous with the Hanseatic League. The Germanic term **hanso* (OHG/Go *hansa*, OE *hōs*) which originally meant ‘group’ (normally of warriors), began appearing in mercantile contexts from the twelfth century (e.g. *hanshūs*, ‘guild house’), and was used (first in an English royal document from 1267) to designate a conglomerate of traders based along the coastline of northern Europe. From the fourteenth century the *stede van der düdeschen hense* incorporated between 70 and 80 towns (with more than double as associates), stretching along the North and Baltic Seas from Antwerp in the West to Königsberg in the East with outposts in London, Edinburgh, Bergen and Nowgorod.

LG made the switch to documentation in the vernacular later than HG, and German did not become the norm until 1360–c.1380. The international nature of hanseatic trade meant that the supraregionality of Latin was a considerable factor in this delay: Lübeck persisted with Latin until 1387 even in replies to LG correspondance from Riga, Reval and Stralsund. When the switch to the vernacular was made, LG possessed the conditions that had been lacking in the HG region for the establishment of an ‘official language’. Due to various geographic and socio-economic factors, Lübeck, the second largest town in medieval Germany after Cologne, had become the centre of the League: 54 of the 72 Hanse conferences which took place between 1356 and 1480 were held there and *Lübisches Recht* was adopted by many towns, predominantly along the coast. As a North LG dialect, Lübeck had taken on some features from other LG dialects (since it had been a new town foundation as part of twelfth-century expansion East of the Weser) – although, as in the case of ECG, it would be inaccurate to speak of a *koloniale Ausgleichsprache* (see 18.6). As with the development of *Sprachlandschaften* in HG, written Hanse language depended greatly on the avoidance of dialectal extremes. Despite the clear importance of the form, there are important caveats to be made vis-à-vis its portrayal in some handbooks which see it as possessing the ‘Rang einer nahezu allgemeingültigen nordeuropäischen Verkehrssprache’

(Sanders 1982: 126): (i) the Hanse language was a non-normalized tendency with scribes applying it with different measures of completeness (and indeed in context specific situations, i.e. often for external as opposed to internal correspondence); (ii) it was not widespread in East Phalia and decreased generally in popularity the further one went from the coast; (iii) important centres maintained their own linguistic peculiarities, e.g. Cologne (its own brand of West Phalian), Danzig, Braunsberg and Königsberg (ECG, due to political ties).

From the fifteenth century onwards the Hanseatic League began to decline: it had no army of its own and in the absence of a German State to support it, was unable to defend itself against the increasingly powerful monarchical states of Scandinavia. In addition, the discovery of America shifted the centre of power along the coastline to Antwerp and Amsterdam, a realignment which also coincided with the rise of the Dutch and the English as naval powers. The decline of LG as a written form – which, some consider, might have been powerful enough to form its own standard as a rival to HG – is inevitably inextricably linked with the decline of its chief user. As the outward movement of trade turned inward and links were made with the South of Germany, merchants began to send their sons to centres such as Leipzig to pick up a new language of trade. Other factors, however, should not be ignored: the increasing importance of princedoms which found it fashionable and politically advantageous to adopt HG; the Reformation which gradually swept the language of religion and education up in its trail. In most centres the end came quickly, with the transitional phase lasting on average no more than 30 years (see Sanders 1982: 160). Berlin went over to HG in 1504, by 1630 Lübeck had no further trace of LG. From this point on, NLG (commonly known as *Platt*) continues as a group of spoken dialects which are rarely committed to writing. The fact that there are more LG loans into Swedish and Danish than there are linguistic traces of the League in standard NHG is a fitting testimony to the Hanse's erstwhile spheres of influence.

The texts selected below are taken from the Hanseatic town of Bremen and represent two different text-types. The first is from the town law (original version of 1303 along with the updated version of 1428) which used the *Sachsenspiegel* (see ch. 15) as its base. The second is a letter written within the Hanseatic context to Lübeck in reply to a summons on behalf of the Emperor to attend the *Reichshofgericht*. The summons had gone out on 14 May 1419 with replies requested by 15 August. The letter dated 29 September, therefore, has to display the medieval art of making polite excuses.

19.2 Texts and translations

A. *Town law of Bremen (1303)*

So welic borghere heuet ene brutlichte ether ene andere hochtit, the
 mach dar to ladhen achte spelelude vnde nicht mere, thar scal he an
 rekenen cukenbackere jewelken vor enen spelenman: hene scal oc nenen
 mer setten ofte nemene mer gheuen; breke he dhit vnde ghauen eme the
 ratmanne scult thar vmme, bekende hes, he scolde gheuen dre marc.

Ne bekende hes nicht, he mochtet sec vntseggen mit sines selues rechte; thar scal oc nen auentdanz wesen na etende thes auendes jn theme daghe the dhe brutlechte heuet ghewesen; breke he dhit, he scolde echt gheuen dre marc also hirvore be-screven steyt.

(Text: Lasch 1987: 8)

B. Town law of Bremen (variations in 1428)

Van brudlachte. So welk borgher heft ene brutlachte edder - hochtyd de - tho laden - meer dar schal - kokenbeckere yewelken - spelemen; he schal ock nemend meer setten noch nemende meer - dit vnde gheuen de radmanne eme sculd dar vmme, bekende he des, he - marck; bekende
5 he des nicht, he mostes sick entseggen - sulues rechte. Van deme auentdane. Dar schal ock nen auentdans - des - deme - dar de brutlechte heft - dit - marck.

(Text: Lasch 1987: 8)

C. Letter from Bremen to Lübeck

Den ersamen wysen heren, borghermesteren unde rade der stad to Lubeke, unssen sunderghen guden vrunden, screven.

Unsen vruntliken grut myt begheringe alles gudes toveren. Ersamen
5 heren, sunderghen ghuden vrundes. So her Hinrick Hellingstede unsse borghermester unde Johan Vasmer unsse mederadman latest uppe der dachvard van yu scheidende to rugge to sprekende umme de unwontlicken ladinge unses alreghedeghesten heren des Romesschen konynges, etc., begheren wy yu weten, dat wy deme, dat de ghemenen stede darto vor dat beste kesende werden, ock gherne volchaftich wesen willen. Unde
10 bidden uns nicht to vorkerende, dat wy yu eer desser tiit darvan neen antworde hebben laten weten, went wy so degher unledich ghewesen sint bynnen der tiit beyde van unses ghenedighen heren weghene van Bremen unde unser stad, dat wy des eer desser tiit nicht don en kunden. Screven under unser stad secret, an sunte Micheles daghe. Consules
15 civitatis Bremensis.

(Text: Kunze 1905: VI,138)

A. (1303 version) If a citizen hosts a wedding or another party, he may invite eight entertainers and not more, and he shall count each cake baker as one entertainer. He should not serve more or give more to anyone. If he breaks this [law] and the councillors find him guilty, and he pleads guilty, then he should pay three marks. If he does not plead guilty, then he should clear his name on his own oath. There shall be no evening dance after the dinner on the day on which the wedding has taken place. If he breaks this [law] then he should pay another three marks as stands written above.

C. Written to the honourable and wise gentlemen, mayors and the council of the town of Lubeck, our especially close partners. First of all: our friendly

greeting with our very best wishes. Honourable sirs, especially good friends: As Hinrick Hellingstede, our mayor, and Johan Vasmer our council member recently took leave from you at the meeting to come back and consult about the unusual summons of our most gracious Lord and Roman King, etc., we would like you to know that we will gladly follow whatever the collected towns in this matter should decide is best. And we ask you not to hold it against us that we did not let you know our answer before this time, as we were in this time completely taken up both with our gracious Lord of Bremen and with our town, so that we could not do this before this time. Written under the town seal, on the day of St Michael.

19.3 LG Dialect features

In addition to the dialect features discussed in 3.3–4 and 15.3 – e.g. *ene* (A1 = *eine*), *brut-* (A1 = *braut*), *mach* (A1 = *mag*), *darto* (A2 = *da(r)zu*), *setten* (A3 = *setzen*), *oc* (A3 = *ouch*), *gheuen* (A4 = *geben*), *daghe* (A7 = *tage*), *grut* (C3 = *gruz*) – there are several which have as yet not been discussed. (i) LG /i/ and /u/ become /e/ and /o/ before /r/ (probably via lengthening and diphthongization), e.g. *borghere*. (ii) Metathesis of /r/ occurs, e.g. *alregnedeghesten* (C7 = *aler-*). (iii) The lengthening of vowels in open syllables which began earliest in LG, is often associated in that region with a change in vowel quality. This can be seen in the past tense of the verb *scriben*, which appears in our texts as (*be-*)*screven*. The quality of this vowel differed from region to region: in North LG it is close such as in NHG *Besen*, in East Phalian it is open such as in NHG *essen*, in West Phalian it is a short diphthong [ia]. (iv) In HG, forms of *solan* (NHG *sollen*) without the /k/ begin to dominate from the end of the tenth century, whereas LG retains the /k/ (> /ʃ/).

Certain changes are evident between texts A and B (1303/1428). (i) In 1303 the treatment of PGmc /θ/ is uneven; it appears variously as <th>, <dh> and even <d> (compare *darto* A2 and *thar* A6). The uncertainty of this distribution suggests that in speech /θ/ had already become /d/, but that the scribe was trying to retain traditional orthography. By 1428 PGmc /θ/ is rendered <d> throughout (*laden* B2, *edder* B1, *dar* B4 etc.); the appearance of <th> in *tho* (B2) is a common LG graphie for unshifted PGmc /t/. (ii) The treatment of *Auslautverhärtung* of /d/ (< PGmc /ð/) to /t/ is more consistent in 1303 than in 1428, e.g. *brutlichte* (A1) vs *brudlachte* (B1), *hochtit* (A1) vs *hochtyd* (B1). (iii) The development of [sk] > [ʃ] is not in evidence in 1303 (*scal*, *scult*, *scolde*). In 1428 there is only *scal* > *schal* (B2), although again this sparsity speaks for scribes retaining orthographical traditions rather than for an uneven distribution of the change. This conclusion is backed up by text C which has *screven* (C2) and *scheyden* (C6) side by side.

19.4 Levelling

Text C (addressed to Lübeck) displays two of the key specific features of the Lübeck norm (aside from the important avoidance of dialectal extremes). (i) The uniform plural ending *-en* in the present indicative, e.g. *scheyden* (C6), *begheren* (C8), *werden* (C9), *willen* (C9), *bidden* (C10), *hebben* (C11). LG had a uniform plural in *-et* (still in evidence in West LG dialects today), but from the middle of the fourteenth century the Lübeck chancery began to display a mixture of *-et* and *-en*. It is likely that this was a compromise form which had arisen due to contact with the Netherlands which had the plural forms *-en*, *-et*, *-en*. From the end of the fourteenth century onwards the Lübeck norm went over completely to *-en*, a form alien to the spoken dialect. (ii) The /n/ in *uns* and *unsse*, etc.¹ LG (and with particular consistency North LG) had inherited from OS the forms without nasal (see 3.3.2). Due to influence from the Netherlands and possibly also from HG, the Lübeck norm – again in contrast to the spoken dialect – replaces <n> in such cases. (iii) A further Lübeck form is *oder* (under Westphalian influence) rather than the typical North LG *ed(d)er*. The 1428 version of the Bremen town law retains *edder*, but it is unlikely that it would have used this form for external correspondence.

19.5 Morphology

19.5.1 Ablaut

In the first ablaut series (*scrīven*) the lengthened vowel (i>e²) does not spread from the pret. pl. and pp. forms to the pret. sg. as in HG. This is due to the varying impact of diphthongization and vowel lengthening in LG and HG:

Table 19.1 HG and LG developments in ablaut series I

	<i>Inf.</i>	<i>Pret. sg.</i>	<i>pl.</i>	<i>pp.</i>
PGmc	ī	ai	i	i
OHG/MHG	ī	ei	i	i
ENHG	ei	ei	ī	ī
	ei	ī	ī	ī
OS	i	ē	i	i
MLG	ī	ē	e ²	e ²

In both LG and HG short vowels lengthen in open syllables, but only HG diphthongizes long vowels. In HG, therefore, phonological change causes the present and preterite singular to have the same vowel, the preterite moving to /ī/ by analogy to the other past forms. No such reorganization is necessary in MLG,

1 The short forms *unsse*, *unser* rather than *unser*, *unserer* are typical of Northern Germany as a whole and are to be found in CG.

since /ī/ is not diphthongized (and would not at any rate have collided with /ē/, itself undiphthongized in the OHG period; see 3.4). Thus LG retains a (phonologically slightly altered) three-way distinction in this ablaut series, whilst HG is forced into a two-way distinction – a development which is encouraged by the analogy of the weak verbs where preterite and participle are alike.

19.5.2 *Hebben and the auxiliary of sein*

The verb ‘to have’ has different forms in LG and HG. The Germanic verb **habēn* (OHG *habēn*, MHG *haben*) transferred in OLG to the *jan* verbs, i.e. *hebbian*.² Since *jan* verbs dropped /j/ in the 2nd and 3rd p. sg., the verb declined: *hebbe*, *hevest*, *hevet* (originally with /a/, but levelled to /e/ through analogy), *hebb-et/-en*. The 1428 text shows how the 3rd p. form develops to *heft* (due to syncope and devoicing to assimilate with voiceless /t/). The NHG standard form is a mixture of the MHG full and contracted forms:³

full	habe	habes(t)	habet	haben	habet	habent
contr.	hān	hāst	hāt	hān	hāt	hānt

Our texts offer contradictory examples of the auxiliary used with the verb ‘to be’:

(1303/1428) *in theme daghe . . . hevet/heft gheswesen*

(1419) *went wy so degheer unledich gheswesen sint*

That the verb ‘to be’ takes *sein* as the auxiliary in standard NHG is indeed an odd exception: imperfective verbs in German take *haben* (e.g. *er hat stundenlang gestanden* vs *er ist plötzlich aufgestanden*), and all other Germanic languages which preserve a distinction between *sein* and *haben* as auxiliaries form the perfect of ‘to be’ with *haben*. The distinction in older forms of German is dialectally distinguished: UG almost exclusively uses *sein*, CG is mixed (e.g. Luther still has some instances of *er hat gewest*), LG almost exclusively has *haben*. One theory for the use of *sein* is that the participle *gewesen/gewest* forms late in HG (not at all present in OHG) and therefore comes into the system when the feeling for aspect has been diminished (see Dal 1966: 127).

19.5.3 *Vocative -s*

The PIE vocative was dropped in PGmc. The weak form of the adjective (e.g. *ghuden* C4) became established in vocative usage (cf NHG *Ihr Deutschen!*). In certain formulas LG seems to have adopted special vocative forms, e.g. as *vrundes* (C4,

2 NB WGmc doubling of consonant, fricative to stop, and palatalization of /a/ > /e/ before /j/. A similar case is the verb **sagēn*, e.g. *unt-/entseggen*.

3 It is interesting that the NHG spoken form of the 1st and 3rd pl. *ham* (contraction and assimilation of /b/ and /n/ to /m/) is close to the MHG contracted form.

also *heldes*). There are two possible explanations for this *-s*. (i) Masculine personal nouns which had the same form in nom./acc. sg./pl. often added an *-s* in the plural: e.g. *herde: herdes*. This might well rest on OS plural forms such as *hirdios*, and in the case of *vriunt* on new forms in OS such as *wigandos*. (ii) There is almost certainly influence from Dutch plurals in *-s*, especially in the West LG region. It is highly possible that both forms of influence interacted.

19.6 Syntax

19.6.1 Negation

The passages offer examples of the various forms the negative could take:

A (1303)	<i>hene scal oc nenen mer setten⁴</i>
B (1428)	<i>he schal ock nemend meer setten</i>
A (1303)	<i>Ne bekende hes nicht</i>
B (1428)	<i>Bekende he des nicht</i>
C (1419)	<i>dat wy yu . . . neen antworde hebben laten weten</i> <i>dat wy des . . . nicht don en kunden</i>

In OHG and OS the particle *ne* (or *en*, *-n*, *n-*) marked the negative, either as a free-standing particle or attached proclitically to the verb or enclitically to a preceding noun or pronoun. By the end of the period a further particle (such as *nih*t) could stand to reinforce the negative and in MHG this became the rule. Towards the end of the MHG period the second particle became the main negative marker (perhaps reinforced by the loan influence of OF *pas*) and *ne* began to disappear, in HG almost entirely by 1300. Text A (1303) consistently retains the double negative, whilst this is removed in the 1428 version. The 1419 document shows, however, that the single negative was not the only rule at the beginning of the fifteenth century and therefore that LG persists with the double negative longer than HG.

19.6.2 Conditional

In modern German, the tense and mood of verbs in conditional statements are equivalent in both condition and result clauses:

- (i) *wenn er geht, bringe ich ihn um*
- (ii) *wenn er ginge, brächte ich ihn um* [speech: *würde ich ihn umbringen*]
- (iii) *wenn er gegangen wäre, hätte ich ihn umgebracht*

In (ii) German differs from English and French which have the simple past form in the condition clause ('if he went'). In nearly all cases, early German usage

⁴ *n + en* and *k + en* are dialectally distinct and free variants.

accords with the modern rule. This is clear to see in both versions of the town law which seems to use the conditional tense consistently to bracket off the offences from the pronouncement of law (which appears in the indicative and often with *scald*):⁵

breke he dhit unde ghauen/bekende hes : he scolde gheuen . . .

19.6.2 *Complex relative clauses*

The two versions of the town law show how German of the MHG/ENHG and MLG periods formed relative clauses requiring a preposition. The following examples show the ways in which NHG *an dem Tag, an dem die Hochzeit stattfindet* is rendered:

A (1303): *jn theme daghe the dhe brutlechte hevet ghewesen*

B (1428): *jn deme daghe dar de brutlechte heft ghewesen*

The 1303 version avoids the preposition and is able to link the clauses via a nom pronoun on the basis of the verb 'to be'. The 1428 version is more typical of the way in which German in the MHG and ENHG periods handles relatives with prepositions. When non-personal substantives are involved a relative adverb is often used – this would be akin to E 'on the day that the wedding took place' and is no longer possible in standard written German. In many cases in ENHG the preposition is supplied additionally later in the relative clause, e.g. **in deme daghe dar de brutlechte in heft gewesen* (Luther often uses the compound *darinn(e)*, etc., see ch. 22 text B). In spoken modern German the standard prep. + pronoun is often replaced by a relative adverb, especially in cases where a prepositional clause directly precedes, e.g. *an dem Tag, wo die Hochzeit stattgefunden hat*.

19.6.3 *Infinitives*

Text C displays several examples of the inflected infinitive, e.g. *to sprekende* (C6), *to vorkerende* (C10). The ending *-nd* had arisen due to the fact that *-nd* (the ending of the pres. part.) had become *-nn*, thus allowing for confusion over the two forms. As a consequence of this, the inflected infinitive often looks like a participle. The form *kesende werden* (C9) is a rare example of how the inflected form (which had arisen in conjunction with prepositions, see 10.7.3) sometimes appears by analogy in contexts where it is not required. The inflected form is rare in HG by the fifteenth century. Thus we have another instance where the LG written language is more conservative than its HG counterparts.

5 *Bekende* is a LG pret. form without so-called *Rückumlaut* which is in free variance with forms in /a/; the *-de* ending is the Germanic dental ending which became /t/ in HG. The plural of ablaut series V develops from /ā/ to /ē/ in the course of MLG; *ghauen* (1303) is therefore probably an unmarked long umlaut, whilst *gheuen* (1428) is an /ē/.

19.6.4 Word order frames

The two text-types conform to the patterns we have already seen in previous chapters (e.g. chs 14 and 15):

[So her Hinrick Hellingstede . . . van yu scheyden + to rugge to sprek-
ende umme . . . konynges] **begheren wy yu weten**, [dat wy deme, [[dat
. . . kesende werden]] ock gherne volchaftich wesen willen]

So welic borghere heuet . . . hochtit,
the mach dar to ladhen achte spelelude . . .
thar scal he an rekenen cukenbackere . . .
(verbs underlined, main clause bold)

The letter is highly hypotactic, embeds relative clauses within subordinate clauses, places verbs mainly at the end of frames, and breaks the frame only when the import or length of the content seems to demand (e.g. last lines). The legal code by contrast is highly paratactic, and also breaks the frame with great frequency. As observed in the *Sachsenspiegel*, such syntactical features aim to give clarity to the code by breaking its many sections and subsections down into easily locatable units. As with the contrast between the Vienna document and the Oath for Jews (ch. 14) the difference in syntactic make-up has much to do with the *Sitz im Leben* of the texts. Here the town law exists as a matter of daily practice in the oral medium, whilst the letter is a written communication to distant addressees.

19.7 Register and text functions

A brief examination of other Hanseatic letters shows that our passage is following set patterns for correspondence which would not look out of place in a modern business letter:

Opening formula

Unse vruntlike grote mit steder unde ghüder ghünst thovorne gescreven mit alle deme, dat wy güdes vormogen. Ersame leve vrunt unde ghude ghunre.

(Reval to the *Hauptmann* von Rasaborg, 26.9.1419)

Unse vruntlike grote mit begheryne alles guden vorghescreven unde allant, dat wy güdes vormogen. Ersamen leven heren unde besunderghe gude vrunde.

(Reval to Dorpat, 28.7.1419)

Na der grote. Leve vrunt, besunderge ghude ghunre.

(Reval to the *Hauptleute* von Rasaborg & Abo, 8.8.1419)

Bezugnehmend auf

Juwen vruntliken breyff uns gescreven hebbe wy ghütliken entfangen unde wol vornomen, dar jüwe erzamcheit inne begehrt, dat ...

(Reval to the *Hauptmann* von Rasaborg, 26.9.1419)

Jüwen breff uns gesant hebbe wy ghutliken entfangen unde wol vornomen, darynne jüwe wisheit begert unse guddunkent ju to schryvende van ...

(Reval to Dorpat, 28.7.1419)

Ju mach wol vordenken, wo wy in vorleden tyden screven unseme heren hertoghen Hinrike to Sleswic umme dat schyp unde gud, dat ...

(Hamburg to three *Ratssendeboten*, 15.7.1419)

Wy begehren yu to weten

Jüwer vorzichtigen wysheit beghere wy ghütliken tho wetene, dat ...

(Reval an Lübeck, 4.8.1419)

Wy begeren juu tho wetende, dat ...

(*Der livländische Ordensmeister* to Reval, 14.7.1419)

Weten schole gii, rād tho Revale, dat ...

(Klaus Doeck to Reval, vor 8.8.1419)

Unde wy bidden juu to wetende, dat ...

(Dorpat an Reval, 12.5.1419)

Further reading

Gabrielsson (1983); Lasch (1987); Peters (1987); Sanders (1982); Sodmann (1973).

20 Language use for special purposes

Cookery recipes 1350–1600

20.1 Introduction

From the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period onwards, a broadening range of vernacular texts developed in which the German language was used in a wide variety of fields of expertise: human medicine, horse medicine, hunting, fishing, cookery and dietetics, agriculture, music, astronomy and astrology, magic and witchcraft, dyeing, distilling, engineering, mining, etc. Some of these texts depended mainly on the scientific or artistic traditions in their fields and were often translations or adaptations of foreign language sources; others, which stood outside a written tradition, were based for the most part on first-hand experience.

Texts for special purposes (*Fachtexte*) are of linguistic interest and importance in at least three respects. First, they display a wealth of vocabulary items which are specific to a certain field, either as well established elements of the lexicon or as the temporary results of the creative efforts of writers or translators in coping with new challenges of vernacular expression. In the long run, these efforts lead to an incredible explosion within the specialized vocabularies of German. Second, there are a number of specific *Fachprosa* genres and text-types (e.g. recipes, tracts), as well as specific textual devices and textual techniques such as the use of text-image units. Such aspects of textual organization tend to change over time, and today one of the central questions in the new field of historical text linguistics concerns the description of how new textual patterns evolve, how existing patterns change but also how such patterns may remain constant over a long period. Third, the socio-linguistic embedding of these texts and their changing practical uses for different groups are equally important factors. Here the main development (from the fifteenth century onwards) seems to be an increasing *Verschriftlichung des Lebens* (committing of many areas of everyday life to the medium of writing).

The earliest surviving cookery recipes in German are from the fourteenth century, e.g. the *Buoch von guoter Spise*, a collection of 96 recipes in the famous *Hausbuch des Michael de Leone* (c.1345–50, text A); single recipes are also found in Konrad von Megenberg's *Buch der Natur* and in the so-called *Breslauer Arzneibuch* (see ch. 17). Up until 1500, we have more than 50 German culinary MSS, e.g. the so-called cookbook of *Maister Hanns* or the *Rheinfränkisches Kochbuch* (text B). In 1485, the first German cookbook, the *Küchenmeisterei*, was published in print and became a bestseller which was available with some variations until 1690 (text

C). From the sixteenth century onwards, printed (see text E) and MS recipe collections run in parallel right up until the present day. It is noteworthy that from the sixteenth century too culinary collections were written by women (text D).

20.2 Texts and translations

A. *Buoch von guoter spise (c.1345–50)*

Von pasteden.

Wilt du machen pasteden von vischen, so schüpe die vische vnd ziuhe in abe die hut, swenne sie erwallen, vnd hau sie z̄v̄ kleinen stücken, hacke peterlin vnd salbey dor in vnd tũ dar z̄v̄ pfeffer vnd

5 yngeber, zinemin vnd saffran. temper ez allez mit wine vnd mache einen dñnnen derben teyc vnd tũ die vische dor in vnd gũz den win dor vf vnd decke ez mit eyne dñnnen teyge vnd mache daz f̄mme vnd f̄m gantz vnd brich oben ein loch dor in vnd lege da f̄r ein clũsterlin von teyge vnd laz ez backen.

10 Conf. Also mac man auch hũnir machen, auch fleisch oder wilprete oder ele oder v̄gele.

B. *Rheinfränkisches Kochbuch (c.1445)*

WJltu machen ein mandel musz So n̄ym mandelen vnd stoisz sij wol vnd mache ein dicke m̄ylch dauon vnd slag sij dorch ein dũch in ein panne vnd rijp enwenig wisz brodes dar vnder vnd gusz enwenig wins dar ane vnd lasz isz erwallen Darnach schudde isz in ein s̄yep

5 vnd sijhe daz wasser dauon vnd richte isz langlecht an mit mandelkern vnd gusz auch mandelen m̄ylch daruff als vil dich gũt dũncket

C. *Küchenmeisterei (1490/1690)*

(1490 version)

v. ¶ Jtem wiltu machen dreyerley essen von einem visch dz doch der visch noch geduncken gantz pleib. Schlach einen hecht oder sunst ein andern visch schon bereit in drey oder in vier teyl. Das erst teyl leg auf einen rost vnd brat das. Dz ander

5 teyl seũd mit wein ab vnd wurtz. Das drit gesultzt. Das vierd der schwantz gebachen vnd der visch sol zusammen gelegt werden yedes stũck nach ein ander alß er gantz sey. Das haupt zu dem ersten. darnach das mittel stũck. Darnach den schwantz gerad an ein ander vnd mit gehacktem peterling

10 wol bestreit vnd dar gesetzt. Dar bey soll gesetzt werden gut salssen oder essig in vil kleine schũssellein so ysset ein gast anders dan der ander vnd ist seltzam.

(1690 version)

Dreyerley Essen von einem Fisch/ daß doch
der Fisch nach Bedüncken gantz

15 bleibt.

Theil einen Hecht/oder andere Fische in vier Theil/das erste
Theil brat auff einem Rost/das ander Theil seud ab mit Wein
und Würtz/das dritte gefüllt/das vierdte der Schwantz gebacken/
und der Fisch soll zusammen gelegt werden/jedes Stück/

20 als ob er gantz sey/und mit Peterlein wol bestreuet und dargesetzt:
Darbey soll gesetzt werden gute Salsen/oder Essig in viel
kleinen Schüßlein/so isset ein jeder was ihm gefällt/und ist
seltzam.

D. Philippine Welser (c.1545)

ain ander weyxel
dortten zu machenn

nim weyvla vnnd dau die keren dar von leg
sy dan auf ain bladt ainen and die ander

5 dau buder zucker wein ber vnd gewirtzs dar
an vnd mach ain dins bedalin dar yber
vnnd las sytlich bachenn

E. Marx Rumpolt: Ein new Kochbuch (1581)

32. Mach ein Karwenada vom Schlegel/wie der Hammelschlegel
sein breit an jm hat/schneidt fein dünn herab mit dem Bein/vnnd zerklopff
es mit einem Weidmesserrück/vnd wenn du es geklopfft hast/so sprengs mit
Saltz eyn/vnd leg es auff ein Roßt/vnnd brats geschwindt hinweg/Ehe du
5 es aber aufflegst/so bestraw es mit Pfeffer/begeuß es mit klein geschnittenem
heissen Speck/hastu kein Speck/so begeuß es mit heisser Butter/vnd wenn
du es wilt anrichten/so nim̄ ein gebehtes Brot/vnd legs in die Schüssel auff
den Boden/thu das Karwenada darauff/vnd leg gebeht Brot darauff/daß
vnten vnd oben Brot ist/vnd wenn du es wilt auff ein Tisch geben/so begeuß
10 es mit Rindtfeißt/vnd deck es mit einer Schüssel zu/so kompt es warm darauff/
vnd kan man das Karwenada essen sampt dem Brot/Vnnd magst es
geben mit Knobloch/oder ohne denselben/es sey saur oder nicht/oder mit
seiner braunen Brüh/ist es auff vielerley manier gut zu zurichten. Kanst es
auch in einem Knobloch einbeissen/oder in ein Duba zurichten/wie vorhin
15 vermeldt ist den Kälbern Nierenbraten zu machen.

A. A pie. If you want to make a fish-pie, scale the fish and remove the skin when they start to boil. Chop them in little pieces, add chopped parsley, sage, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, and saffron. Temper it all with wine, make a thin, coarse dough, put the fish on it, and pour the wine over it. Cover it with a thin layer of dough and seal it all around. Make a hole on the top, cover it with a pie cover of dough and bake it. In the same way you can make pies of chicken, also meat or game or eel or birds.

(Following Adamson 2000: 95)

B. If you want to make an almond dish, take almonds and pound them well and make a viscous almond milk from them and pass them through a cloth into a pan and grind a small quantity of white bread into it and pour a bit of wine into it and let it boil up. After that, pour it into a sieve and strain the water/fluid from it. Form it [the remaining mass] in a lengthy form together with almond kernels and pour as much almond milk onto it as you think good.

C. (1490): v. ¶ Moreover: if you want to make three dishes from one fish, but in a way that makes it appear whole, divide a pike or some other fish (which has already been) well gutted in three or four pieces. Place the first piece on a grill and roast it. Simmer the second piece in wine until cooked and season. Set the third in aspic. Bake the fourth, the tail, and place the fish together, each piece, the one after the other, as if it were still whole – the head first, then the middle piece and then the tail, tight together – scatter liberally with parsley and serve. It should be served with good sauces or vinegar in several small bowls. In this way each guest eats something different. Very exotic!

(1690): Three dishes from one fish which still appears to be whole. Divide the pike or other types of fish in four pieces. Roast the first on a grill. Simmer the second in wine until cooked and season. Stuff the third. Bake the fourth, the tail. Place the fish together, each piece, as if it were whole, scatter liberally with parsley and serve. It should be served with good sauces and vinegar in several small bowls. In this way everyone eats what he fancies. Very exotic!

D. How to make another type of cherry tart. Take cherries and remove the stones. Place them on a thin pastry base, one after the other, and scatter with caster sugar, raisins and some spice. Place a thin pastry sheet over it and bake over a low heat.

E. 32. To make a *Karwenade* [very thin slices of meat for grilling] from the haunch – as broad as a leg of mutton: cut it away very finely along the bone and beat it with the back of a hunting knife. And when you have beaten it, season it with salt, place it on a grill and roast it off quickly. But before you lay it on [the grill], season it with pepper, and pour over it warmed-up, finely cut bacon. If you don't have any bacon, pour melted butter on it. And when you want to serve it, take a piece of roasted bread and place it on the bottom

of a dish with the *Karwenade* on top, and roasted bread on top [again] so that there is bread on the top and the bottom. And when you want to bring it to table, pour beef dripping on it and cover it with a bowl. This ensures that it arrives warm. One can eat the *Karwenade* together with the bread. You can serve it with garlic or without. Sharp or not, or with its own brown juice[s], there are many good ways of serving it. You can also marinade it in garlic, or serve it à la daube [in a certain sharp and seasoned sauce], as already mentioned for roasted calves' kidneys.

20.3 Recipes as a mirror of linguistic variation and change

Specialized texts of the fourteenth century, fifteenth century and sixteenth century mirror certain aspects of linguistic variation and change. (i) Dialectal features: whereas most of the early culinary texts were written in an UG variety, the *Rheinfränkisches Kochbuch* (text B) is one of the rare examples of a CG text. Among the features of (W)CG is the use of <i> and <e> to mark vowel length, e.g. *stoisz* (B2). This feature was most prominent in fifteenth-century Ripuarian, but it was also common – somewhat less frequently – in central CG. Another feature is the use of /p/ (*panne* B3) in place of UG /pf/ (*pfanne*) or ECG /f/. Other features include the use of regional word forms, e.g. *czwirnit* 'twice'. (ii) Processes of linguistic modernization and adaptation that reflect global tendencies of linguistic change: in the two versions of the *Küchenmeisterei* recipe (text C) from 1490 and 1690, we find surface changes to the text, e.g. capitalization or more modern spelling (*visch*, *Fisch*), preference for different regional variants (southern *gebachen* vs *gebacken*), replacement of archaic words or word forms (*geduncken*, *Bedüncken*) and more modern forms of textual structuration (e.g. headings instead of hypothetical expressions). Although these changes are far from systematic or consistent, it is nevertheless possible to use recipes with broad temporal transmission as indicators of linguistic change such as other serial sources like protocols of town administrations or different versions of the Bible text (so-called *serielle Quellen*).

20.4 Vocabulary and technical terminology

One of the most salient properties of technical language is its specific lexical profile which can be characterized by at least four features: (i) specific lexical items; (ii) specific *uses* of lexical items; (iii) the ways in which the architecture of the vocabulary mirrors both the architecture of the 'doctrine' of the field and the functional needs within its main text-types; (iv) specific linguistic methods which enrich the expressive power, mostly by way of word-formation, borrowing and innovative word usage.

(i)/(ii) All of the recipes quoted above contain certain terms that are specific to the field of cookery or that are used in a way specifically related to cookery, e.g. *pastede* and *temperen* (A), *mandel mus* and *mandel milch* (B), *braten*, *sieden*, *sulzen*, *bachen*, *hacken* and *salse* (C), *weichsel torte*, *blatt* 'thin sheet of dough' (D), *Karwenada*, *Hammelschlegel*, *Rost*, *bähen* or *geben* 'to serve' (E). However, these lexical items are 'specific'

to the field of cookery in different senses and display different degrees of *Fachsprachlichkeit*. A term like *mandel milch* is specific to the field of cookery in two ways: (a) the term appears essentially in cookery texts and (b) the substance, almond milk, is mainly produced and used within the field of cookery. On the other hand, the verb *geben* is in no way specific to the field of cookery. Yet, it is used in cookery texts in a specific sense for the serving of a prepared dish. In addition, one has to take into account different degrees of *Fachsprachlichkeit*. In the narrower sense, cookery terms could be defined as those that are used exclusively or primarily with regard to the subject matter of cookery. In a wider sense, however, cookery terms can take in all the words and uses one needs to cope with the communicative tasks in the field. The word *pastede* could probably count as a cookery term in the narrower sense, whilst words such as *pfeffer* and *fisch* should probably come under the wider sense since they are also used in a wide area of non-culinary contexts (e.g. trading). These distinctions apply to other fields of *Fachprosa* as well (cf. the foreword to the *Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch*).

(iii) An important feature of many specialized vocabularies is the way that their internal structure is based on the functional requirements of their text-types and on the 'doctrine' or system of the field in question. (a) Functional requirements: put simply, cooking is the act of doing something with certain ingredients using certain utensils under specific circumstances. The activities involved are referred to by verbs, which form a large group within culinary vocabulary: e.g. *schuopen*, *abe ziehen*, *erwallen*, *hacken*, *temperen*, *braten*, *sieden*, *bachen*, *nemen* 'to use as an ingredient', *schneiden*, *zerklopfen*, *besträuen*, *stossen*, etc. Equally, the terms for ingredients represent a very large group, including animal terms (e.g. *visch*), plant terms (e.g. *salbey*), terms for parts of animals (e.g. *schlegel*) or plants (e.g. *mandelkern*, *weichsel*), terms for spices (e.g. *pfeffer*, *ingeber*, *saffran*), and many others. Other parts of the vocabulary include terms for specific utensils (e.g. *rost*, *schüssel*, *duba*), different qualities and consistencies (e.g. *dünn*, *dick*, *warm*, *heiß*), degrees of intensity (e.g. *sittlich* 'gently, slowly, using low heat'), quantities, form and size (e.g. *klein*, *langlecht*) and several other aspects such as specifications of time, temporal order and duration. These vocabulary zones occupy specific locations within both the cookery system and the arsenal of linguistic means for its articulation. (b) The 'doctrine': the system of medieval and early modern cookery was closely connected to humoral medicine, and this connection left its traces in the vocabulary of the field. For instance, the meaning of *temperen* (A5) can only be explained against the background of humoral medicine, according to which humans had a personal complexion that was dependent on their particular combination of basic qualities (hot/cold, moist/dry). An individual's state of health depended on a good balance between these qualities, which could be influenced by proper modes of behaviour in life's six dimensions (*res non-naturales*), of which food and drink were one. Each kind of food had a specific humoral quality too, and it was the cook's duty to balance out humoral qualities. Fish, for example, was humorally moist and cold, and therefore had to be prepared with humorally hot and dry foodstuffs, e.g. spices and wine or vinegar. The verb *temperen/temper(i)eren* (< L *temperare*) was used to refer to this activity of mixing foodstuffs in accordance with their humoral qualities. Scully (1995) shows how verbs for this activity were used in many European medieval recipes. In order to explain the specific use of such

terms in specialized languages, therefore, it is often necessary to draw upon the doctrine of adjacent fields such as medicine, law, mining, etc.

(iv) The specialized vocabulary of cookery, like that of many other *Fachsprachen*, has grown and changed constantly. In addition to the development of specific meanings (e.g. *syttlich* D7), new lexical items were introduced via word-formation and borrowing. (a) Word-formation: composita (e.g. *mandel mus* B1; *weichsel torte* D1; *Weidmesserrück* E3) and prefix verbs (*abe ziehen* A3; *erwallen* A3; *absieden* C5; *zerklopfen* E2; *einsprengen* E3; *einbeissen* E14) seem to have been most frequent. (b) Borrowing: although the frequency of foreign words in the oldest cookery books is quite modest, we can detect the beginning of a steadily increasing stream of loans, mostly from the romance languages. For instance, *blamensir* in the *Buch von guter Speise* goes back to F *blancmanger*; *karwenade* (E1, 11) is derived from It/Sp *carbonada*; *salse* (C11) is derived from L *salsa*. Foreign influences in this text-type became more powerful in the eighteenth century and nineteenth century – the author of an 1832 Dresden cookbook complained that ‘die kräftige teutsche Muttersprache’ had been mostly banned from the kitchen (Baumann: *Der Dresdener Koch*, 1844, Vorrede).

Vocabulary development in the *Fachsprachen* consists of lexical ‘loss’ as well as growth: specific words or meanings are either no longer used or lose their central role. For instance, due to changes in culinary and medical doctrines, neither the word *mandelmilch* (B6), which was frequent in the old texts, nor the word *temperieren* were used in later times. Other developments in vocabulary came about because of changing textual customs: due to technical limitations, medieval and early modern recipes do not on the whole contain precise specifications of time and duration. When measurement of duration became technically available, the textual customs of recipes changed and as a consequence, the functional vocabulary for the specification of time and duration evolved accordingly.

20.5 Textual organization, functional syntax and their evolution

In many fields, there is a set of frequently used text-types and forms of communication. The analysis of their evolution is a task of historical *Fachsprachenforschung* and of historical text-linguistics, both relatively young disciplines in the history of the German language. The field of cookery shares its textual prototype, the recipe, with other fields such as human medicine, horse medicine, alchemy, dyeing, etc. The basic function of the cookery text-type is ‘to describe how a certain dish is prepared in a proper way’. The textual structure of early recipes is characterized by (i) a two-part global structure and (ii) a specific set of textual elements. The two parts of the former are: (a) the introduction of the dish in question, typically via a heading (as in A, C 1690, D) or a hypothetical expression (as in B1 or C1), although there are also examples of both heading *and* hypothetical expressions in combination (as in A1–2); (b) the description of the method of preparation. This kind of global structure remains constant until the mid nineteenth century: from the 1860s onward, a three-part structure evolves in which

the ingredients form a textual block of their own (Glaser 1996), and this textual pattern becomes the new standard in the twentieth century.

(ii) The set of functional elements within recipes corresponds to important communicative tasks within descriptions: specifying an ingredient (D3), an action (A2), a condition (A3), a quality (A6), a place, a direction, a utensil (B4, C4), a time, a duration, a temporal order (C8), alternatives (E12–14), and referring to other text passages (E14–15). Often the functional text-elements for these basic communicative tasks show interesting syntactic variation. For instance, in order to specify an action, one could use: an imperative (A2); a participle, either as a self-contained construction (C5–6, C8–10) or within a noun phrase (C9); modal constructions (C6–7). Further types in other recipes include: infinitives (*den Hecht braten*), impersonal constructions (*man nimpt*) and passives (*der Hecht wird zerklopft*).

The functional profile of the texts mirrors basic communicative tasks in the respective fields, and one can trace the evolution of specific text-types and textual devices as a kind of linguistic adaptation to specific needs in a field. Whilst cookery texts do not develop *functional* text-image units until the nineteenth century, there was an early need for such visualization of complex constellations in the fields of medicine and engineering. In Georg Agricola's handbook of mining (*Vom Bergkwerck*, 1557; see Fig. 20.1), the author uses text-image units to explain the construction and working of machines as well as specific terminology. The text of our example is as follows:

(. . .) will ich vor sagen/ mitt waserley gestalt man schwäre ding/ als da seindt spillenn/ ketten/ røre/ grosse höltzer in die richtschächt/ vnd die sehr tieff seindt hinunder gelassen. Es wirt ein gezeug auffgericht/ welches ronbaum zů beiden seitten vier haspellwinden hatt/ vnd in die seul geschlossen wirt/ vnd vmb das selbige ein seil gewunden/ vnd sein ein kopff/ wirtt eben an dise angeheftett/ der ander wirtt an schwäre ding gebunden/ welche seiger gericht/ gmählich vonn den arbeitern/ die sich darwider sperren/ herab glassen werden/(. . .)

(1557: 134)

The connection between the text and the illustration is built up out of three elements. (i) Within the text, the construction and the working of the machine is described by using certain lexical items, e.g. *Ronbaum* and *Haspelwinde*. (ii) These words used in the description are mentioned again and given an initial in the rubric to the image, e.g. *Ronbaum. A*. (iii) The initial directs the reader to a specific object within the image, helping him/her to find the object referred to by the text and, therefore, to gain a better understanding of the machine, its parts, the way it works, and the terms used in its description. Such devices for coordinating text with image are an important aspect in the development of specialized languages and therefore deserve close attention in a linguistic history, even if such questions have not formed the traditional object of study in histories of the German language.

Die bergt anschlaher genandt seindt. Dise gezeug aber hebend nicht allein / wie ich gesagt hab / trockene läst / sonder auch fruchte oder wasser. Aber eb ich die mancherley art der gezeugen vñnd künsten anzeige vñnd erkläre / mitz welchen die bergkleut allein wasser pflegendt auff zeschopffen / will ich vor sagen / mitz wasserley gestalt man schwäre ding / als da seindt spillenn / tecten / röde / grosse hölzer in die richschäch / vñ die sehr tieff seindt hinund gelassen. Es wirt ein gezeug auffgericht / welches ronbaum zu beiden seitten vier haspellwinden hatt / vñnd in die seul geschlossen wirt / vñ vmb das selbige ein seil gewunden / vñnd sein ein kopff wirt eben an dise angehefftet / der ander wirt an schwäre ding gebunden / welche seiger gericht / gmählich vonn den arbeitern / die sich darwider sperren / herab glassen werden / vñnd so sie ettwan an ein teil des schachts bestendte / werden sie ein wenig hinder sich gezogen. Diweill aber dise ding schwär seindt / so wirt nach dem gezeug ein anders bald / disem nicht vngleich / auffgericht / das sie gleich starck gnüg dem last seyende / vñnd auch dieseldig / sein langsam vñnd sacht mögende hinunder glassen werde. Es wirt anch zun zeit / eben auß disen Ursachen ein klobe mitz den schnüren / an die stäge / darauff die gepell seill ghende / gebundenn / durch welches rädlin ein seil gezogen / hinab vñnd auff ghet.

Ronbaum A. Haspellwinden B. Seul C. Seil
D. Klobe E. Die hölzer so abgelaassen seindt F.



20.6 Gender

On the personal level, recipes permit us to characterize the writing of women. So far, not many recipe collections written by women have been examined closely. However, from examples reaching into the eighteenth century and even the nineteenth century there is evidence that spoken forms were very common in such culinary notes. In the cookbook of (or for) Philippine Welsler, an expression such as *weyvla* (D3), the plural of *weichsel* (a sort of cherry), seems to transmit a spoken form which is still extant in the spoken varieties of certain regions of Southern Germany. The same can be said of *bedalin* (D6), the diminutive of *boden*. These forms are not, of course, the result of a female gene – there are examples of men writing spoken forms as well (e.g. among Johannes Kepler's correspondents). However, as there is a close social correlation between access to formal education and gender, recipes, like letters and diaries, provide a good source for an analysis of the writing habits of women.

20.7 Transmission and variation

The earliest culinary recipe collections are often embedded in mixed codices which show a close connection to dietetic and medicinal literature. There are indications that such texts were not the practical notebooks of working cooks (e.g. the *Rheinfränkisches Kochbuch*, 290r, erroneously calls for *hasen swancze* instead of *hasen swaicze* 'hare's blood'), but rather collectors' items or texts used in the context of medicinal aspects of nutrition. It was once held that these earliest recipes were primarily orally transmitted, and found their way only later into MSS. But the close textual resemblances between such collections show that recipe compilation often relied on the transmission of already existing written material, which was sometimes located within a European context (e.g. a very similar recipe for the fish dish in C appears in the fifteenth century French *Vivendier* MS, see Scully 1997: nos 15, 60). From the end of the fifteenth century onwards, however, culinary texts designed for practical purposes and personal use evolved, and by the eighteenth century the habit of writing down recipes for personal use was firmly established. Thus, from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century, noting down recipes became a part of everyday linguistic practice for people involved in cooking, a process still alive today. In this respect, recipes are an example of what has been called the *Verschriftlichung des Lebens* which began in the Early Modern period.

Further reading

Scully (1995), Ehlert (1990); Glaser (1996); Gloning (2002); Haage (1974).

21 Language use in the early mass media

Reformation pamphlets

21.1 Context

In the years directly after the invention of printing with movable type by Gutenberg around 1460, the new technology was only rarely used in the way it is in the modern mass media, i.e. for reporting and commenting on events of public interest or indeed influencing and shaping public opinion. Whereas there seems to have been some distinction between private and public matters (e.g. in letter writing), the notion of a public sphere in politics, culture, etc. appears to be a later development that was to a large extent a product of early modern notions of reasoning, criticism and the widespread establishment of media and sites of bourgeois *raisonnement*. Whilst there *were* broadsheets and pamphlets in the fifteenth century which dealt with political or juridical matters, these were small in number and generally speaking the public sphere did not exist. Early printed texts, therefore, cannot be viewed as an institution with a well-defined communicative role in the public sphere. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, things changed dramatically, if only for a short period. In the famous Reuchlin/Pfefferkorn controversy (1511/12) printed texts were used for the first time in order to assert influence in a matter of a public dispute (the question of how to deal with Jewish books and the Jewish tradition). Shortly afterwards, the years 1520–5 were marked by a dramatic increase in the number of printed pamphlets due to the beginning of Reformation polemics, from which time on production generally fell away again. Nevertheless, these early sixteenth-century pamphlets can rightly be viewed as the first appearance of what could be called the ‘mass media’.

In linguistic terms, early mass media texts are important in two major respects. First, due to their widespread dissemination and the lack of a supra-regional *Ausgleichssprache* at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is interesting to observe what kind of language variety was written and read across broad geographical areas. Second, the texts are good examples of how authors (and printers) tried to shape opinions through critical practice and polemics. It is, therefore, important to look at the communicative organization of these texts and ask questions about text-types, traditions and models as well as about pragmatic and rhetoric forms. The following sample text is the opening passage of Martin Luther’s *Von den neuen Eckischenn Bullen und lügen* (published in Wittenberg in 1520), in which Luther attacks Johannes Eck (1486–1543), one of his most powerful and skillful Catholic opponents.

21.2 Text and translation

Von den newen Eckischenn Bullen und lugen

D. Martini Luther.

DAs doctor Eck von Rom sey kummen, wirt mir durch viele tappere antzeygen bekundigt, unter wilchen das sterckist ist, das,

- 5 Ob ehr wol vorhyn in Beyern, Schwaben, Osterreich, Reyn, Rom, Bononien, und auch nu in Meyssen und Sachszen ein solcher falscher mensch erkennet und beruffen ist, der allis leugt und treugt, was er redt, schreibet und thut, wie yhm das sein 'Canonici indocti' und 'Eccius dedolatus', daneben viel dapffer leut erweyset haben, szo hat er
- 10 doch nu wolt beweysen sein redliche Romfart und yhm furgenummen, sich selbs mit lugen ubirwindenn, Den solch leut gibt itzt Rom und kein ander. Zum ersten schreybt er, ich mackel das sacrament der tauff, das ich sage, es neme nit alle sund abe, unnd wolle nit die kinder lassen damit begissen. Da sagt doctor Eck das seine. Es findt sich in meinem buch anders, da
- 15 beruff ich mich auff, ich musz liegen lassenn wers nit lassen wil.

Zum andern schreybt doctor Eck mehr, das ich die rew vornichte unnd unnottig achte, die beychte beschneytte und gnugthuung vorwerff: das ertichtet er auff mich, Den mein bucher sagen anders.

- Zum dritten schreibet doctor Eck, das ich vorwirffe bereytung zum sacrament
- 20 mit beten und fasten: das ist nit also, szondern ich lere, sie sein nit gnug. Das aber auch beyder gestalt den leyen zugeben, und Christus fleisch und blut unter dem naturlichen brot und weyn glauben ketzerisch sey, da sagt er das seine, den er weysz es anders.

- Der art ists auch, das ich leren sol, es sey gnugsam, das der sunder
- 25 von sunden lasz, ob er schon nit rew habe. Merck, lieber mensch, was solt ein solcher lugener guttis furhaben, der szo unvorschampt wider offentliche bucher thar frey auff mich szo gifttig liegen?

- Darnach gibt er mir schuld, ich mach ein auffruhr unnd den Adel widder den Bapst errege, unnd zeucht mein schrift dahynn, als het ich gesagt, der
- 30 Adel solt nichts an den stifften und geystlichen guttern ubirkummen. Sihe da, du frummer man D. Eck, Jch klag eben dasselb in meinem buchlin, das die gutter der kirchen, die der Adel den seinenn zu gut gestift hat, durch die Romischen buben werden vorschunden, und dem deutschen Adel also das brot ausz dem maul ertzogen. Szo spricht meyn Eck, ich wol nit, das dem
- 35 Adel werdenn sol. Danck hab, du frumer Romanist.

Er schild auch meyne hoffart, das ich mich erhebe ubir die heyiligen lerer und Concilia. Das ich hoffertig und mit mehr lastern sey beladen, weysz ich nit zuvorfechten. Jch hab mich meynere heylickeit in keynem stuck yhe berumpt.

- Jst doctor Eck szo demutig unnd heylig, als ehr furgibt, yderman zu tadlen
- 40 am lebenn, lasz ich geschehen. Wir handeln nit von leben, szondern von leren, lere bleybt wol recht in einem, ob schon sein leben bosze ist, szo ist bosze lere tausent mal schedlicher, denn bosz leben: der selben lere halben thue ich was ich thu, unnd sag, das D. Eck aber mal der warheit sparet, ich erhebe mich nit ubir die doctores und Concilia, ich erhebe Christum ubir alle lerer und

45 Concilia, und wo ich desselben einen klaren spruch het, wil ich yhn auch ubir alle engel heben, wie Paulus thut Gal. i. darumb thut myrs und sanct Pauel nit wehe, das hyrinne der lughafftig mund, ein feyndt der warheit, uns beyde ketzer strafft.

Er zeugt erfur, ich hab gelogen, da ich geschrieben, wir haben yhm nit
50 angepotten die disputation: das ist auch nit alszo, und allis was er in dem selben yrrigenn buchlin schreybt, wie wol das hie zur sach nit dienet, und sein mutwil nur ursach zu liegen allenthalben sucht, ich wolt yhr auch wol finden auff yhn mit wenig suchen.

Das ich Bepstlichen pracht hab angriffenn, thut meynem hern Doctor
55 wehe, und schreybt viel, wie der Bapst szo schlecht sich halt in der kammer und daheymen, gerad als het ich gesagt, er furet seinen pracht alle augen blick. Warumb sagt er nit auch, das er nackt ym bet und badt ist? O du kaltes entschuldigen unnd tolpischs heuchlen! Jch hab von vier tausent mauless geredt, wie, wen ich gesagt het, das etlich achten, es sein umbs Bapst willen zu Rom teglich mehr dan zwentzig tausent mauelpferd? Lieber Eck, mich ficht
60 nit an, wie viel odder wenig der Bapst prange: lustet es yhn, er halte hundert tausent mauelpferdt. Hie soltistu mich straffen, das ich klag solch pracht ubir unser stift, adel und arm leut gaht: hie soltistu den Bapst entschuldigen, auff der strasz bleyben, nit meine wort tziehen, wo dich dein frevel
65 leret tzyhen. Du bist falsch ym hertzen.

Das ich das sacrament der weyhung nit halte, wie sie es halten, hab ich gnug bewerter ursach zu, und Eck sampt allen Romanisten sollen mir nit weren, das alle getauffte menschen paffen sein: du weyssist, das die schrift
70 szo leret i. Pet. ij. Noch kanstu dein liegen unnd gotlich warheit straffen nit lassen.

Das ich nit gerne sehe die ketzer vorprennen, spricht ehr, ich furcht der
haut. Ey warumb kreucht den der freye helt itz ynsz kloster zu Leyptzck, der sich fur niemandt, auch fur allen teuffeln nit furchtenn berumpt mit schriftten und schreyen? Jch halt, das ketzer vorprennen daher kum, das sie furchtenn,
5 sie kundenn sie mit schriftten nit ubirwindenn, gleich wie die papisten zu Rom, wen sie nit mugen der warheit widerstan, wurgen sie die leut, und mit dem todt solvieren sie alle argument. Ein solcher vofechter der warheit were meinn doctor Eck auch gerne.

Weytter schreybstu, frumer mann, ich wolle den frid brechern unnd
0 mordern raum machenn, da ich geleret hab, ein Christen mensch sol sich nit werenn, noch sein genummen gut widder holenn. Warumb straffistu nit Christum, der dasselb geleret hat? warumb klagistu dan, ich erreg den Adel und schwerdt widder den bapst und geystlickeit? warumb schreybstu nit
5 nuchtern deyne buchle? Wen dich mit deyner bulle ein landsher het ynsz wasser odder kercker worffen, wolt ich sagen, er het dir recht than. Wie dunckt dich nu? hab ich nit offentlich gnug in meynem buchlinn gesagt, das weltlich
schwerd schuldig sey, bosze zustraffen unnd frume zuschutzenn? geht doch das gantz buchlin dahyn ausz, das dichs auch gleich vordreussit, noch bistu szo
0 blind und sichts nit. Nichts desten weniger sol ein yglicher leyden gewalt und unrecht, die ubirkeit sol aber drauff wachen, das niemand unrecht geschehe, und ob niemand klage, sol sie doch weren, wo sie kan, siht und weysz, wie

wol den unvolkommen sanct Paulus i. Corint. vi. zulesst, das sie klagen, aber er lobet es nit, ja strafft fast seher.

- 95 Du weyssist, mein lieber Romanist, das du in der heyiligen schrift eben szoviel kanst, als der esel auff der lyren. Du vormochtist nit drey zeylen Christlich auszlegen, und gibst fur yderman zurichten, leren und tadlen, Rumist datzu unnd schreybst in alle welt, du kundist allis auswendig und geprauchst keiner pucher. Du dorfftist des Rumisz nit, man siht es mehr dan du gleubst, das du allis an bucher schreybst und lernst: wen du die augen so
- 100 fleysig in die bucher kerest, als du sie auff die venereas veneres zu Leyptzck hafftest, davon du schreybst gen Ingolstadt, und der truncke dich messigist, szo mochtestu zu letzt erkennen dein falsch ungeleret hertz, mund und fedder. Ich hofft, Es solt dyr auch besser sein, du hettist ein eheweyb, den ein solch berumpt keusch lebenn, wie wol du mich vorsprichtst, das ich solchen elendenn gefallen priester die ehe geratten habe, die yhn yhr
- 105 Romischen tyrannen und seel morder genommen habt widder got und recht, und noch furhaltet zu grossem vorterberen der seelen.
(..)

(Text: Luther 1520, Weimar Edition 1888, vol. 6, 576ff.)

About the lies and [reports of] papal edicts of Eck. By Dr Martin Luther. I have been made aware that Dr Eck has come back from Rome by trustworthy indications, amongst which the strongest is, that – although in Bavaria, Swabia, Austria, the Rhineland, Rome, Bologna, and lately also in Meissen and Saxony he has been recognized and has gained a reputation as a mendacious person who lies and deceives in everything he says, writes and does, as the *Canonici indocti* and *Eccius dedolatus* as well as many trustworthy people have proven – he now wanted to show that his trip to Rome was something worthy and in so doing has unmasked *himself* as a liar. For this is the only sort of people that Rome now produces. [12] First, he writes that I besmirch the sacrament of baptism and that I say that it does not redeem all sins, and that I would not let the children be sprinkled by it. Dr Eck is making this up. You will find something different in my book, which I call as my witness; those who can't help but lie, I must let lie. [16] Second, Dr Eck writes moreover, that I declare repentance to be worthless and hold it as useless, and diminish the value of confession and reject reparation [for sins]. These words he has put into my mouth – for my books say something different. [19] Third, Dr Eck writes that I reject preparation for the sacrament by means of prayer and fasting. This is not the case. Rather I teach that they are not enough. [When he says that I hold] giving the laity both forms and believing Christ's flesh and blood to be in the physical bread and wine to be heretical, then he is making this up, for he knows this is not the case. [24] Equally mendacious is when he claims that I teach that it is sufficient for the sinner to desist from sinning without repenting. Mark this, dear reader, what good intention can such a liar have who, despite the [evidence of] public[ally available] books, so disgracefully and so venomously dares to lie against me at

whim? [28] Moreover he accuses me of creating an uproar and inciting the nobility against the Pope, and manipulates my writings to make it appear that I said the nobility should receive nothing from the religious foundations and clerical properties. Look here, you pious man, Dr Eck, it is precisely this that I complain about in my little book, [i.e.] that the possessions of the Church which the nobility has donated for the benefit of their family, have been devoured by the criminals from Rome and that the bread has been snatched from the mouth of the German nobility. My [friend] Eck says I do not wish the nobility to get this. Thank you, you pious Romanist. [36] He reprimands me for my arrogance, that I place myself above the holy teachers [= Church Fathers] and Councils. I cannot defend myself [against the charge] that I am arrogant and full of other vices. I have never in any way boasted of my holiness. If Dr Eck is so humble and holy as he claims, that [he can] reprimand everyone for their way of life, then so be it. We are not dealing with a way of life, but teaching. Teaching remains true within one, even if one's life is bad; equally, bad teaching is a thousand times more harmful than bad living. On account of this teaching, I do what I do, and say that Dr Eck is sparing with the truth yet again. I do not place myself above the holy teachers and Councils, I place Christ above all teachers and Councils, and if I had a clear verse to quote, I would place him above all the angels as Paul does (Galatians 1). Therefore it does St Paul and me little harm that the mendacious mouth, the enemy of the truth, criticizes us both in this respect as heretics. [49] He claims that I lied when I wrote that we did not offer him a debate. That is also not the case, as with everything he writes in his mendacious little book (although that is not relevant to the matter in hand), and his insolence is only on the look-out for opportunities to tell lies. If I wanted to find such to tell about him, I would not have far to look. [54] It hurts my Herr Doctor that I attacked the papal splendour and he writes much about how the Pope maintains himself so simply at home within his own four walls, as if I had said that he wears his splendour at all times. Why does he just not say that he is naked in bed and in the bath? Oh what hollow defence and clumsy hypocrisy! I spoke of four thousand mules. What if I had said that many think each day in Rome there are more than twenty thousand mules because of the Pope? Dear Eck, I am not at all interested in how much or how little the Pope parades himself: if he wants, let him keep a hundred thousand mules. On this issue, you should criticize me for complaining that such splendour is at the cost of our religious foundations, nobility and poor people. This is the point you have to defend the pope against, stick to this point and do not twist my words as you are prompted to do by your wickedness. You are untruthful in your heart. [66] I have plenty of well-founded reasons not to hold with the sacrament of the ordination [of priests] as they hold to it, and Eck along with all the Romanists will not move me [from the conviction] that all baptised people are priests. You know that the scriptures teach this (1 Peter 2). But you cannot desist from your lying and criticizing of divine truth. [71] He says that I do not like seeing heretics burn because I fear for my own skin. Ah, why is the big hero, who in his writings and declarations boasts of fearing no-one, not even all the

devils, now crawling into the monastery in Leipzig? I believe that burning heretics stems from their fearing that they cannot win them over with their writings – just like the papists in Rome: when they cannot hold off the truth, they kill people, and resolve all their disputes by means of death. This is the sort of defender of the truth that my doctor Eck would also like to be. [79] Furthermore, you write, pious man, that I open the way for breakers of the peace and murderers, since I taught that a Christian person should not take up arms to defend himself or seize back possessions that have been taken from him. Why do you not criticize Christ who taught the same? Why do you complain then that I incite the nobility and the sovereignty [= *schwerdt*] against the Pope and the clergy? Why don't you write your little books when you are sober? If a sovereign had thrown you in the water or into prison with your papal edict, I would say, he would have acted rightly. What do you think of that? Have I not said publically enough in my little book that secular authority has the responsibility of punishing wrong-doers and protecting the good? This is the whole purpose of the little book, even if it is not to your liking, and even if you are too blind to see it. Nonetheless, each person should accept violence and injustice, but the authorities should be vigilant so that no-one has to suffer injustice, and even if no-one complains, they should indeed protect where they can, and see and know, even though Saint Paul (1 Corinthians 6) permits those who are not yet perfect to complain, but he does not praise it, and indeed criticizes it most severely. [94] You know, my dear Romanist, that you are as good at the Holy Scriptures as a donkey is on the lyre. You can't interpret three lines in a Christian way, yet you claim to judge, teach and reprimand everyone. You boast moreover and write all over the place that you know everything off by heart and don't need books. You don't need to boast [about this] we can see more than you think that you write and teach everything without books. If you were to turn your eyes to books as fervently as you do towards the *venereas veneres* in Leipzig (about which you wrote to Ingolstadt) and cut back on your drinking, then you would finally perceive your ill-taught heart, mouth and pen. I think it would be better for you if you had a wife rather than this notorious chaste life [of yours], even though you accuse me of recommending marriage to such miserable, fallen priests, [something] which you Roman tyrants and soul murderers have taken from them contrary to divine and secular law and still withhold, much to the ruination of souls.

21.3 Orthography

The text displays typical ENHG orthographical variation, e.g. <i> and <y> for /i:/ (*tzihen* l.64, *tzyhen* l.65), <s> and <sz> for /s/ (*solch* l.11, *szondern* l.20) and <z> and <tz> for /ts/ (*zeucht* l.29, *antzeygen* l.4). As grammars of ENHG document, many have quite a number of orthographical variants, e.g.:

/ts/: <z, zz, zc, zcz, zt, ztc, zts, zh, zch, c, cc, cz, czc, ccz, czh, czt, czz, ctz, czcz, ch, t, tc, ts, tz, tcz, tzc, ttz, tzz, tzt, tztz, tsch, sq, sz, scz, htc>
(Reichmann and Wegera 1993, § L59)

/s/: <s, ss, r, rr, z, ß, sz> (Reichmann and Wegera 1993, § L52)

However, most of these variants are used either only rarely, or in a certain position, time frame or region, and these factors often allow us to locate texts roughly in temporal and geographical terms. In our text, for instance, the use of <sz> for /s/ and <i> for /e/ (*ubirkummen* l.30, *allis* l.7) is characteristic of ECG, whilst the appearance of <tz> in initial position within a word (e.g. *antzeygen* l.4) is replaced by <z> by the middle of the sixteenth century.

21.4 HG/LG forms

The regional variation in the use of (LG) *tapper* (l.4) vs (HG) *dapffer* (l.9) is noteworthy.¹ It points both to the geographic situation of Wittenberg (which lay in the North of the ECG region close to the LG border) and to the relation of LG and HG varieties in the sixteenth century. The use of both word forms in one and the same text points to a zone of bilingual speakers and 'languages in contact'. Furthermore, LG disappeared rapidly from written texts in the course of the sixteenth century, giving way to HG prestige varieties (see 19.1). Therefore, it seems likely that a form such as *tapper* has slipped in inadvertently, either in Luther's MS or in the process of setting.

21.5 Semantic change

Like many other words, *tapper/dapfer* has undergone major semantic change since MHG/ENHG. Whereas today *tapfer* means 'brave', it could be used in earlier stages of the language also in the sense of 'important', 'noteworthy', 'weighty', 'imposing'. Other examples of semantic change include: *berufen (sein)* 'to have a certain reputation' (l.7), *überwinden* 'to unmask' (l.11), *geben* 'to produce' (l.11), *makeln* 'to stain' (l.12), *vernichten* 'to declare worthless' (l.16), *sparen* 'to be sparing with' (l.43), *strafen* 'to censure, to criticize' (l.48, l.62, l.69, l.81, l.93), *schlecht* 'simple' (l. 55), *entschuldigen* 'to defend', 'to prove innocent' (l.63, NHG *sich/jdn entschuldigen* implies that one accepts that (some)one is guilty of something), *bewähren* 'to support not only by experience, but also by authority, etc.' (l.67), *würgen* 'to kill' (l.76) in a general sense, *fast* 'very' (l.93, *fast seher* 'very intensely'). Other changes on the level of vocabulary include lexical loss (e.g. *turren* 'to dare, to be bold enough', l.27) or semantic restriction (e.g. *maul* l.34, which is restricted in NHG to 'the mouth of animals' and used only pejoratively of humans, but was still widely used interchangeably in ENHG with *mund* [e.g. l.47]). Semantic change makes the comprehension of ENHG texts particularly precarious: due to their apparent proximity to NHG, ENHG words often lure the modern reader into a false sense of security.

1 The <t>-<d> alternation is difficult to pin down. PGmc probably had a form in /d/ (ON *dapr*, OHG *tapfer*), but both forms are attested in MHG and MLG dialect areas (MDu *dapper*, MLG *tapper*).

21.6 Morphology

21.6.1 Verbs

(i) The variation in the prefix *vor-/ver-* and *vor-/fur-* in forms such as *vornichte* (1.16), *vorwirffe* (1.19) and *furhaben* (1.26), *furgibt* (1.39) is characteristic of ECG. (ii) In ECG as in many regions, the /eu/ form of the 2nd/3rd p. sg. of ablaut series IIb (e.g. *leugt* 1.7, *treugt* 1.8, *zeucht* 1.29, *zeugt* 1.49, *kreucht* 1.72, *vordreussit* 1.88) did not level to /i:/ (<ie>) in analogy to the infinitive form (*liegen – liegt*) until late. Some of these old forms are retained in idiomatic expressions (e.g. *was da kreucht und fleucht*) and in texts with a strong religious tradition (probably due to their diffusion via Luther's Bible translation, see ch. 22). (iii) Many verb constructions with the genitive have undergone a change in valency and are now formed with the accusative or a prepositional phrase, e.g. *der warheit sparen* (1.43), *yrh [= ihrer] . . . finden* (1.52).

21.6.2 Nouns

(i) In the field of word-formation, expressions for people holding a certain position are an especially important feature of polemics, e.g. expressions derived via the suffix *-ist* such as *Romanist* 'adherent of the Rome party' (1.35) or *Buchstabilist* (see 22.3). Composita were not yet written consistently as one word (*frid brecher* 1.79). (ii) *Pracht*, which in ENHG was used as a masculine (1.54, 1.56), is an example of the many nouns that have changed gender since ENHG (see Reichmann and Wegera 1993 § M13, 21, 30).

21.7 The pragmatic form of polemics

Polemics became a key linguistic activity in the public sphere of the sixteenth century, seventeenth century and eighteenth century. This activity was governed by certain rules, patterns and principles that made up its 'pragmatic form'. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, several different textual models were used for published polemics, and the tract form based on the academic disputation model with a point-by-point structure (from the fourteenth century) was very prominent. The pragmatic form of this type of tract is characterized primarily by a specific thematic organization, the topic under discussion being divided into a number of 'points'. Each point is marked by specific linguistic means of enumeration (e.g. *Zum ersten* 1.12, *zum andern* 1.12, *zum dritten* 1.19, *auch* 1.24, 1.36, *darnach* 1.28, *weiter* 1.79) and follows a typical two-part structure – a report of what an opponent has said (e.g. ll.19–20), and a reply to it (e.g. ll.20–3). Whilst in our example each point is dealt with in a single paragraph, there are, however, other examples in which the discussion of a point takes on a complex argumentative structure that runs to several pages (e.g. the discussion of the case of Johannes Hus in a later part of Luther's pamphlet against Eck; 587.16ff. see p. 1 in the Weimar Edition). Due to this functional structuration of the text, the reporting of an opponent's position takes on specific syntactic patterns, e.g. the combination of a superordinate clause with a verb of speech (1.12), together with a

subordinate clause expressing the content of what the opponent has said (l.12f.), or the use of *sollen* as an indication that something is based on a source (l.24).

The rhetorical and dialectical devices of the speech acts or linguistic moves (cf Wittgenstein's *Züge im Sprachspiel*) are important characteristics of polemics. In our passage we find, amongst others, the following moves: (i) refuting the position ascribed to oneself by an opponent (l.14); (ii) reproaching the opponent for habitual untruths (l.15, l.18, ll.26f., l.43); (iii) giving a corrected version of one's position (l.20, l.44); (iv) stating that the opponent's point is irrelevant to the question in hand (l.40, l.51, ll.62f.); (v) conceding that one holds a certain position and defending this position (ll.66–70); (vi) formulating a counter attack (ll.74f.); (vii) appealing to a higher authority (ll.81f.); (viii) attacking the opponent in various personal ways, e.g. by reproaching him of ignorance (ll.94f.) or of writing his pamphlets while drunk (ll.83f.). Some of these polemic moves formed part of the classical repertoire of dialectics (e.g. *ignoratio elenchi* in iv), which is hardly surprising since dialectics, together with grammar and rhetoric, belonged to the basic topics of the *trivium*.

Of the other textual models for pamphlets, the dialogue genre (which like the tract had a long written tradition) was of particular importance. In many Reformation pamphlets traditional roles are turned upside down. For instance, in Hans Sachs's pro-Reformation 'Disputation zwischen einem Chorherren und Schuchmacher' (1524), the shoemaker (N.B. the author's profession) finally triumphs over the learned cleric. The polemic strategy used in this dialogue is the characterization of persons and groups by their linguistic behaviour. The shoe-maker impresses with his argumentative power and vast knowledge of the Bible, whereas the cleric is shown up by his biblical ignorance (e.g. 5). His position is further weakened by the need to make more and more concessions (e.g. 9):

(1) Chorherr. Ei, der bapst und die seinen sein nit schuldig, gottes geboten gehorsam zů sein, wie in geistlichen rechten stet, C. solite de majoritate et obedientia; auß dem schleußt sich, daß der bapst kein sündner ist, sonder der allerheiligist, derhalb ist er unstrafpar.

(2) Schůster. Es spricht Johann. j. canonica. j. 'wer sagt, er sei on sünd, der ist ein lugner.' Deshalb ist der bapst ein sündner oder lugner und nicht der allerheiligest, sonder zů strafen.

(3) Chorherr. Ei lieber, und wenn der bapst so bös wer, daß er unzelich menschen mit großem haufen zum teufel füret, dörfst in doch niemans strafen. Das stet geschriben in unserem rechten, dis. xl. si papa. wie gefelt euch das?

(4) Schůster. Ei so stet im evangelio Matthei xviii 'so dein brůder sündiget wider dich, so ge hin und straf in zwischen dir und im; hört er dich, so hastu sein sel gewonnen.' Eußert sich der bapst dann solchs heilsamen werks?

(5) Chorherr. Jst dann solches brůderlich gestraft, also am tag außzůschreien?

(6) Schůster. Ei es volgt weiter im text 'wo dich dein brůder nit hört, so nim noch ein oder zwen zů dir; hört er dich noch nit, so sags der gemein; hört er die gemein auch nit, so laßt in gen wie ein heiden.' Wie da, herr domine?

(7) Chorherr. Ei lieber, was ists dann nutz, wenn ir uns gleich lang außschreit, wie die holhipper? wir kern uns doch nicht daran, wir halten uns des decretals.

(8) **Schüster. Es spricht Christus Matthei x 'wo man euch nit höret, so schüttelt den staub von euern füßen zů einem zeugnus, daß in das reich gottes nahent ist gewesen; den von Sodoma und Gomorra wirt es tröglicher sein am jungsten gericht dann solchem volk.' Wie wirt es euch dann gen, so ir kein straf wolt annemen?**

(9) **Chorherr. Nun ich gib das nach, wo es gelert verstendige leut täten, aber den leien zimpt es nicht.**

(10) **Schüster. Strafet doch ein esel den propheten Balaam, Numeri xxij, warumb solt dann nicht einem leien zimen, ein geistlichen zů strafen?**

(Berger 1931: 283)

The significance of such texts can be seen in the development of forms of critical activity in the public sphere in different fields (religion, politics, science, etc.) from the sixteenth century onwards, when the printing press was used for the first time in matters of dispute to disseminate remarkable attempts to write both convincingly and perspicuously to a wide audience. Certain rules of communication are being questioned, for example which authority may be quoted in religious matters or who is entitled to criticize (*strafen*) whom (9/10).

Further reading

Gloning (1999); Kampe (1998); Köhler (1981); Schilling (1990); Schuster (2001); Schwitalla (1983, 1986, 1999b, 2000); Winkler (1975).

22 Bible translation

Martin Luther

22.1 Socio-linguistic context

Martin Luther is significant in German political and cultural history in two respects. He was the founder of the Reformation and, as a figure who communicated his opinions to the masses, had far-reaching – if still hotly debated – effects on the development of the German language from the early sixteenth century onwards. From the viewpoint of language history, both factors – historical/biographical and linguistic – must be seen as interlocking. In this respect, even the accident of Luther's place of birth is of some linguistic importance. Born in Eisleben (1483), brought up in Mansfeld, and educated in schools in Magdeburg and Eisenach and then at the university of Erfurt where he took holy orders before moving to Wittenberg to teach Bible exegesis, Luther spent his formative years flitting back and forth across the CG–LG border: 'Luther hat sozusagen links und rechts der nd.-hd. Sprachgrenze gelebt [. . .] Diese "Mittellage" ist wichtig für seine eigene Spracherfahrung wie auch für seine spätere Sprachwirkung' (Tschirch 1989: 107f.). In other words, Luther had an ear for linguistic difference and an awareness of the need to communicate in a way that could be widely understood. Moreover, his place of birth placed him within the radius of a dominant ECG-EUG written *Sprachlandschaft* (see 18.6 and 22.5–6), which put him immediately into the linguistic mainstream of his time and meant that he did not have any major dialectal barriers to overcome (as if, say, he had been born in the Northern LG or Alemannic region).

There are three key socio-linguistic facts about Luther's contribution to the history of German. (i) The Reformation, unleashed by Luther's 95 theses on certain abuses and defects in religious life in 1517 (commonly held to have been nailed to the door of the church in Wittenberg) and the author's subsequent excommunication from the Catholic Church in 1520, can be seen as the first time (with the exception of the Reuchlin – Pfefferkorn controversy, see 21.1) that printed German texts were used to discuss problems in the public sphere. (ii) *Sola scriptura*, one of the central tenets of the Reformation, by which is meant that salvation depended solely on a faith that was to be found and worked out by the individual's reading of the scriptures (as his own priest), placed huge emphasis on the importance of literacy and, in Reformation areas, lent further weight to schooling for both boys and girls (which had begun in the so-called *kleine Schulen* in the late Middle Ages). (iii) Luther's prolific output greatly contributed to an increase in the number of

works published in German: between 1518 and 1524 alone, he accounted for over a third of all printed works in German (1473 of 4205). Tschirch estimates that by the time of Luther's death, one in thirty-five Germans possessed a copy of his Bible translation. Moreover, the *Weimarer Ausgabe* of his collected works, which stretches to over 100 volumes, gives a sense of Luther's range: in addition to the different versions of Bible translations (16 volumes), there are polemic texts (see ch. 21), sermons, academic talks, disputations, chants, other translations (e.g. fables), many types of letters (private, scholarly), and the *Tischgespräche*, i.e. table talks written down by Luther's dinner guests which were later revised, modified and published as devotional books (e.g. by Aurifaber 1566). However, the astonishing figures need to be relativized: as late as 1570, 70 per cent of printed output in Germany remained in Latin, literacy rates in the sixteenth century were around the level of 5 per cent, and the price of a full Bible (not far short of a month's salary for a journeyman printer) meant that it had a limited social circulation. Yet to set against these caveats is the fact that many people will have come into contact with Luther's language by hearing it read out loud, or indeed by singing it in the form of his equally popular *Evangelisches Gesangbuch*.

Luther has naturally played a central role in debates about the formation of the standard language. In the nineteenth century, Grimm (see ch. 28) and the neo-grammarians (such as Kluge, Paul and Scherer) who followed his lead saw Luther as the 'father of the German language'. Scholarship in the second half of the twentieth century worked hard to relativize this view, pointing out generally that language is a social entity that cannot correctly be viewed as an individual creation and specifically that Luther was caught up in a process of standardization that was already underway before his public interventions and that continued to develop well after his death. As is often the case with changing trends within scholarship, the truth probably lies somewhere between these two major schools of thought. We can get a more accurate view of Luther's influence, if we consider the elements of the language that an individual might be expected to influence separately from those which lie outside such an ambit. The former group contains elements such as vocabulary and style (22.3). Syntax (22.4) might possibly fit with this category, if it can be shown that particular syntactic phenomena mark and are recognized as an author's specific style. The latter group is made up of morphology, phonology and orthography (22.5).

The texts in A concentrate on Luther's Bible translation in various parallel texts. The comparison text is the Mentel Bibel (Straßburg 1466), named after its printer Johann Mentelin, who unlike his former colleague Gutenberg, managed to make a financial success of the printing business: his major bestseller appeared 14 times up until 1518. The language of this version is a mildly updated revision of a mid-fourteenth-century (probably Bohemian) Bible translation. Essentially, therefore, it represents a late MHG form of the language. Perhaps this is one of the main reasons why it was never printed again after the appearance of Luther's new translation which for the first time was based not only – in the humanist spirit of the age – on the Hebrew and Greek (Erasmus) originals,¹ but deliberately

1 This can sometimes be of importance for the accuracy of the translation. Two examples from our passages: (i) Mentel follows the Vulgate in v.17 *Wie manig muetling begnügnet des brotes in dem*

reflected contemporary vernacular usage (see 22.3). The *sola scriptura* principle had made an accessible vernacular Bible an urgent social requirement and Luther began his translation of the New Testament in 1521. It was published (along with a general preface and introductions to the individual books – text B is from the 1545 version of the NT preface) in September 1522 by Lotter in Wittenberg, and again in revised form in December of the same year (hence the terms *Septembertestament* and *Dezembertestament*). The work did not bear the translator's name until the third edition (1524), from which time on its appearance undoubtedly increased sales: with work underway on the Old Testament, which appeared in instalments until the first publication of the complete Bible in 1534 (by Lufft in Wittenberg), the New Testament underwent 87 HG and 19 LG editions. The final edition of the complete Bible in Luther's lifetime appeared in 1545, the year of his death, and this version assumed great theological/commercial weight as the author's authentic and authorized version – Rörer's 1546 Bible which claimed to have made corrections based on Luther's notes was quickly dismissed by the public. Equally contentious were the changes made by the Frankfurt printer Sigmund Feyerabend, who, fifteen years after Luther's death, represents the increasing importance of WCG to the world of printing. Ironically, although Feyerabend believed that he was working from the commercially desirable 1545 Wittenberg Bible, his '1545' was in fact a 1550 Bible bearing a false date.

22.2 Texts and translations

A. Parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15: 11–24)

See Figure 22.1 overleaf.

B. Vorrede auff das Neue Testament

GLEICH wie das alte Testament ist ein Buch/darinnen Gottes gesetz vnd Gebot/da neben die Geschichte/beide dere/die die selbigen gehalten vnd nicht gehalten haben/geschrieben sind. Also ist das neue Testament ein Buch/darinnen das Euangelium vnd Gottes verheissung/da neben auch Geschichte/
5 beide dere/die daran glauben vnd nicht glauben/geschrieben sind. DENN Euangelium ist ein Griechisch wort/vnd heisset auff Deudsch/gute Botschafft/gute Mehre/gute Newezeitung/gut Geschrey/dauon man singet/saget vnd frölich ist. Als da Daud den grossen Goliath vberwand/kam
10 ein gut Geschrey vnd tröstliche Newezeitung vnter das Jüdische volck/Das jr gewlicher Feind erschlagen/vnd sie erlöset/zu freude vnd friede gestellet weren/Dauon sie sungen vnd sprungen/vnd frölich waren. ALSO ist das Euangelium Gottes vnd new Testament/ein gute Mehre vnd

haus meus patris (L: *Quanti mercenaru in domo patris mei abundant panibus*), whilst Luther adheres to the Greek which has no mention of 'in my father's house'; (ii) Mentel and the Vulgate have the less dramatic conjunction in v.2 *Und* (L *que*), whereas Luther's accurate rendition of the Greek original *de* as *aber* captures the emotion of the situation.

Table 22.1 Parable of the Prodigal Son in parallel texts

<i>Mentel (1466)</i>	<i>Luther (Lotter 1522)</i>	<i>Luther (Lufft 1545)</i>	<i>Luther (Feyerabend 1560)</i>
11 Ein man der hett zwen sún: 12 vnd der iungst von in sprach zû dem vatter. Vatter: gib mir den teil des gûts der mich angehört. Vnd er teilt im daz gût.	Eyn mensch hatte zween sone, vnnnd der iungst vnter yhn sprach zu dem vater, Gib myr, vater, das teyl der gutter, das mir gehoret, vnnnd er teylet yhn das gutt,	Ein Mensch hatte zween Sône / vnd der Jüngste vnter jnen sprach zu dem Vater / Gib mir Vater das teil der Güter / das mir gehört. Vnd er teilet jnen das gutt.	Ein mensch hatte zween Söhne / vnnnd der Jüngste vnter jhnen sprach zu dem Vater / Gib mir Vater das theil der güter / das mir gehört. Vnd er theilet jnen das gut.
13 Vnd nit nach manigen tagen: do der iungst sun hett gesament alle ding er gieng fremdigliche in ein ferre gegent: wann do verzert er sein gût lebent unkeuschlich.	vnnnd nicht lang darnach samlet der iungst son alles zu samen vnd zoch ferne vber land, vnnnd daselbs bracht er seyn gutt vmb, mit brassen,	Vnd nicht lang darnach samlet der jüngste Son alles zusammen / vnd zoch ferne vber Land / vnd daselbs bracht er sein Gut vmb mit brassen.	Vnd nicht lang darnach samlet der jüngste Sohn alles zusammen / und zog ferne vber land / vnd daselbs bracht er sein gut vmb mit brassen.
14 Vnd dornach do er hett verzert alle ding: starcker hunger wart gemacht in der gegent: vnd im begund zegebresten.	Da er nu alle das seyne vertzehret hatte, wart eyn grosse theurung durch dasselbe gantze land, vnd er fieng an zu darben,	Da er nu alle das seine verzeret hatte / ward eine grosse Thewrung durch dasselbige gantze Land / vnd er fieng an zu darben.	Da er nuh alle das seine verzeret hatte / ward eine grosse thewring durch dasselbige gantze land / vnd er fieng an zu darben.
15 Vnd er gieng vnd hielt sich zû eim der burger der gegent: vnd er sant in in ein dorff das er waident die schwein.	vnd gieng hyn, vnnnd henget sich an eynen burger des selben lands, der schickt yhn auff seynen acker, der sew zu hutten,	Vnd gieng hin / vnd henget sich an einen Bürger desselbigen Landes / der schicket jn auff seinen acker der Sew zu hûten.	Vnd gieng hin / vdn hânget sich as einen Bürger desselbigen Landes / der schicket jn auff seinen acker der sew zuhûten.
16 Vnd er begert zesatten seinen bauch von den trebern die die schwein assen: vnd nyemant gab sy im.	vnnnd er begerte seynen bauch zu fullen mit triestern, die die sew assen, vnnnd niemant gab sie yhm.	Vnd er begerte seinen Bauch zu füllen mit trebern / die die Sew assen / vnd niemand gab sie jm.	Vnd er begerte seinen bauch zuffüllen mit trebern / die die sew assen / vnd niemand gab sie jm.
17 Wann er kert wider in sich vnd sprach. Wie manig mietling begnügent des brotes in dem haus meins vatters: wann ich verdirb hie hunger.	Da schlug er ynn sich vnd sprach, wie viel tagloner hatt meyn vater, die brod haben die fulle, vnd ich verderbe ym hunger,	DA schlug er in sich / vnd sprach / Wie viel Taglôner hat mein Vater / die Brot die fülle haben / Vnd ich verderbe im Hunger.	Da schlug er in sich / vnnnd sprach / Wie viel taglôner hat mein Vater / die brot die fülle haben / vnd ich verderbe im hunger.

- | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|
| 18 Ich stee auff vnd gee zů
meinem vatter: vnd sprich zů
im vatter: ich hab gesünt im
himel vnd vor dir: | ich will mich auff machen vnd zu
meynem vater gehen, vnd zu yhm
sagen, vater, ich hab gesündiget ynn
den hymel vnd fur dyr, | Jch wil mich auffmachen vnd zu
meinem Vater gehen / vnd zu jm
sagen / Vater / Jch habe gesündiget
in den Himel vnd fur dir | Jch will mich auffmachen vnd zu
meinem Vater gehen / vnd zu jm
sagen / Vater / ich habe gesündiget
in den himel vnd für dir / |
| 19 vnd ieszunt bin ich nit wirdig
daz ich werd geruffen dein
sun: mach mich als einen von
deinen mietlingen. | vnd byn fort nit mehr werd, das ich
deyn son heyße, mache mich als
eynen deyner tagloner, | vnd bin fort nicht mehr werd / das
ich dein Son heisse / Mache mich
als einer deiner Taglõner. | daß ich dein Sohn heisse / mache
mich als einen deiner taglõner. |
| 20 Er stůnde auff vnd kam zů
seinem vatter. Wann noch do er
was ferr: sein vatter sache in:
vnd wart bewegt mit der
erbarmd: er lieff vnd viel auff
seinen hals: vnd kust in. | vnd er macht sich auff vnd kam zu
seynem vater, Da er aber noch ferne
von dannen war, sahe yhn seyn
vatter, vnd iamert yhn, vnnd lieff,
vnd fiel yhm vmb seynen hals, vnd
kust yhn, | Vnd er machet sich auff / vnd kam
zu seinem Vater. Da er aber noch
ferne von dannen war / sahe jn sein
Vater / vnd jamert jn / lieff vnd fiel
jm vmb seinen
Hals / vnd kűsset jn. | Vnd er machet sich auff / vnd kam
zu seinem Vater. Da er aber noch
ferne von dannen war / sahe jn sein
Vater vnd jamert jn / lieff vn̄ fiel jm
vmb seinen hals / vnd kűsset jn. |
| 21 Vnd der sun sprach zů im.
Vatter:
ich hab gesünt im himel vnd
vor dir: ieszunt bin ich nit
wirdig daz ich werd geruffen
dein sun. | Der son aber sprach zu yhm, vater,
ich hab gesündiget ynn den hymel
vnd fur dyr, ich byn fort nit mehr
werd, das ich deyn son heyße, | Der Son aber sprach zu jm / Vater
/ Jch hab gesündiget in den Himel
und fur dir / Jch bin nicht mehr
werd / das ich dein Son heisse. | Der Sohn aber sprach zu ihm /
Vater /
ich habe gesündiget in den himel /
vnd für dir / Jch bin fort nicht mehr
werd / daß ich dein Sohn heisse. |
| 22 Wann der vatter sprach zů
seinen knechten. Bringt her
schier das erst gewand: vnd
vasst in: und gebt ein fingerlin
an sein hant: vnd schůch an
die fůsse. | Aber der vatter sprach zu seynen
knechten, bringt das beste kleyd her,
vnd thut yhn an, vnd gebt yhm eyn
finger reyff an seyne hand, vnnd
schuch an seyne fuß | Aber der Vater sprach zu seinen
Knechten / Bringet das beste Kleid
erfür / vnd thut jn an / vnd gebet
jm einen Fingerreif an seine hand /
vnd Schuch an seine fůsse / | Aber der Vater sprach zu seinen
knechten / Bringet das beste kleid
herfür / vnd thut jn an / vnd gebet
jhm einen Fingerreif an seine hand
/ vnd schuch an seine fůsse / |
| 23 Vnd zůfůrt ein feistes kalb
vnd derschlachtz: vnd wir
essen vnd wirtschefften: | vnd bringt eyn gemestet kalb her,
vnd schlachtets, last vns essen vnnd
frolich seyn, | vnd bringet ein gemestet Kalb her /
vnd schlachtets / Lasset vns essen
vnd frõlich sein / | vnd bringet ein gemestet kalb her /
vnd schlachtets / Lasset vns essen
vnnd frõlich sein / |
| 24 wann dirr mein sun was dott
vnd ist lebendig worden: er was
verdorben vnd ist funden. Vnd
sv begunden zewirtschefften. | denn diser meyn son war todt, vnd
ist widder lebendig worden, er war
verloren, vnd ist funden worden,
vnd fiengen widder an frolich zu | Denn dieser mein Son war tod /
vnd ist wider lebendig worden / Er
war verloren / vnd ist funden
worden. Vnd fiengen an frõlich zu | Denn dieser mein Sohn war tod /
vnnd ist wider lebendig worden / Er
war verloren / vnd ist funden
worden. Vnd fiengen an frõlich zu |

Geschrey/in alle welt erschollen/durch die Apostel/von einem rechten
 Daid/der mit der Sünde/Tod vnd Teufel gestritten/vnd vberwunden
 15 habe/Vnd damit alle die so in Sünden gefangen/mit dem Tode geplaget/
 vom Teufel vberweldiget gewesen/On jr verdienst/erlöset/gerecht/ lebendig
 vnd selig gemacht hat/vnd da mit zu friede gestellet/vnd Gott wider
 heimbracht. Dauon sie singen/dancken/Gott loben vnd frölich sind
 ewiglich/So sie das anders feste gleuben/vnd im glauben bestendig bleiben.
 20 SOLch geschrey vnd tröstliche Mehre/oder Euangelische vnd göttliche
 Newezeitung/heisset auch ein new Testament/darumb/Das gleich wie ein
 Testament ist/wenn ein sterbender Man sein Gut bescheidet/nach seinem
 tode den benannten Erben aus zu teilen. Also hat auch Christus vor seinem
 sterben befohlen vnd bescheiden/solchs Euangelium nach seinem Tode
 25 auszurufen in alle Welt. Vnd damit allen/die da gleuben/zu eigen gegeben
 alles sein Gut/Das ist/sein Leben/damit er den Tod verschlungen/seine
 Gerechtigkeit/damit er die Sünde vertilget/vnd seine Seligkeit/damit er die
 ewige Verdammis vberwunden hat. Nu kan je der arme Mensch/in
 Sünden/Tod vnd zur Helle verstricket/nichts tröstlichers hören/denn solche
 30 thewre/liebliche Botschafft von Christo/Vnd mus sein hertz von grund
 lachen vnd frölich darüber werden/we ers gleubet/das war sey.

A. There was a man who had two sons. The younger one said to his father, 'Father, give me my share of the estate'. So he divided his property between them. Not long after that, the younger son got together all he had, set off for a distant country and there squandered his wealth in wild living. After he had spent everything, there was a severe famine in that whole country, and he began to be in need. So he went and hired himself out to a citizen of that country, who sent him to his fields to feed the pigs. He longed to fill his stomach with the pods that the pigs were eating, but no-one gave him anything. When he came to his senses, he said, 'How many of my father's hired men have food to spare, and here I am starving to death! I will set out and go back to my father and say to him: Father, I have sinned against heaven and against you. I am no longer worthy to be called your son; make me like one of your hired men'. So he got up and went to his father. But while he was still a long way off, his father saw him and was filled with compassion for him; he ran to his son, threw his arms around him and kissed him. The son said to him, 'Father, I have sinned against heaven and against you. I am no longer worthy to be called your son'. But the father said to his servants, 'Quick! Bring the best robe and put it on him. Put a ring on his finger and sandals on his feet. Bring the fattened calf and kill it. Let's have a feast and celebrate. For this son of mine was dead and is alive again; he was lost and is found'. So they began to celebrate.

(Translation from the New International Version.)

B. Just as the Old Testament is a book in which is written God's law and commandment, as well as the story both of those who have kept this same and those who did not keep it, so the New Testament is a book in which is written the Gospel and God's promise, as well as the story of both those who believed this and those who did not. For Gospel is a Greek word and in German means

good message, good story, good news, good tidings about which we sing, tell and are glad, just as when David overcame great Goliath and good tidings and the encouraging news went around the Jewish people that their dreadful enemy had been slaughtered and that they had been saved and delivered onto joy and peace, about which they sang, danced and were joyous. In the same way God's Gospel and New Testament is good news and tidings (told throughout the world by the Apostles) of another [= *rechten*] David who fought with sin, death and the Devil and overcame [them] so that all who were imprisoned by sin and tortured by death and overpowered by the Devil might, without deserving it in their own right, be made free, righteous, alive and holy, and placed in a state of peace and brought home to God, about which they sing, thank, praise God and are eternally glad, if in any way they believe firmly and remain steadfast in this belief. Such tidings and encouraging message or Gospel and divine news is called a New Testament furthermore because just as a testament is when a dying man decides to divide out his property to named heirs after his death, so Christ also ordered and commanded that such a Gospel be proclaimed in all the world after his death, and thus gave all those who believe on it all his property as their own – that is his life with which he defeated death, his righteousness with which he eradicated sin, his holiness with which he conquered eternal damnation. Now every wretched man who [is] trapped in sin, death and hell can hear nothing more welcome than such dear and precious news of Christ. And his heart has to laugh from its depths and rejoice about it if he believes it is true.

22.3 Style and vocabulary

Luther had a keen sense of style. In the *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* ('Letter on Translation', 1530) he articulates his approach to translation. Essentially, his emphasis is on conveying the sense of the original without twisting the vernacular out of its normal rhythms and patterns:

Ich hab mich des geflissen ym dolmetschen/das ich rein und klar teusch geben möchte ... den man muß nicht die buchstaben inn der lateinischen sprachen fragen.

man mus die mutter jhm hause/die kinder auff der gassen/den gemeinen man auff dem marckt drumb fragen/vnd den selbigen auff das maul sehen/wie sie reden/vnd darnach dolmetschen/so verstehen sie es den/vnd mercken/das man Deutsch mit jn redet.

Examples from our passage include: (i) reductions – *vnnnd nicht lang darnach* (Luther) : *Und nit nach manigen tagen* (Mentel, which is closer to the original) and *iamert jhn : wart bewegt mit der erbarmd;*² (ii) idiomatic renditions – *brod haben die fulle* : *begnügent*

2 NB The DWb (see ch. 28) would therefore appear to be wrong in its analysis of the transitive usage of *jammern*, when it asserts that it entered German via English influence, giving Shakespeare as its first attestation.

des brotes, or simply *heyße* : *wird gerüffen*; (iii) expressive turns of phrase – *henget sich an* : *hielt sich zû*; (iv) stylistic variation – *theurung* (v.14) and *hunger* (v.17) and *bracht . . . umb* (v.13) and *vertzehret* (v.14) (where Mentel has in both cases only the latter). Although this principle brought Luther criticism from the *buchstabilisten* (Luther's own term) for the looseness of his translation, it did not stop his rivals – who recognized the broad appeal of his achievement – cribbing mercilessly from his version. The 'Catholic' Bibles of Emser (1527), Dietenberger (1534) and Eck (1537), along with other pirate versions such as Petri's (which was published in the original in Switzerland with a glossary of over 200 words into the local dialect, including 'nott armût leyden' for *darben* from our passage), simply increased the spread of the reformer's message and language. Luther – as seen here in his comments on Emser – saw this clearly himself:

(er) nam fur sich mein New Testament/fast von wort zu wort/wie ich gemacht hab/und thet meine vorrhede/gloß und namen davon, schreib seinen namen/vorrhede und gloß dazu/verkauft also mein New Testament unter seinem namen . . . Mir is ynn des gnug und bin fro/das meine erbeit muß auch durch meine feinde gefödert und des Luthers buoch on Luthers namen unter seiner feinde namen gelesen werden.

The passages give us some clear examples of Luther's 'ear for the language' at the level of individual words. (i) He mostly adopts a modern term at the price of an old-fashioned or fading variant, e.g. Mentel has *samm(en)en* which is still common in the fifteenth century but dies out due to the development of a rival form *sammeln* (which Luther chooses) in the late fifteenth century. (ii) He takes on terms with broader dialectal distribution, e.g. both *treber* (Mentel and Luther 1545) and *triester* (Luther 1522) had primary meanings from the domain of wine cultivation (DWB: 'rückstand bei der wein- und bierbereitung') and more general secondary meanings (DWB: 'abfall, schweinefutter', 'rückstand aus ausgepressten vegetarischen stoffen überhaupt'). However, in the secondary meaning (which is the relevant one for the passage) *treber* is the more widespread term and it is typical that Luther's later translation moves in this direction. (iii) He tends to avoid terms that are in a state of morphological or semantic flux, e.g. *fullen* for *satten* which is being ousted at the time by *sätigen*; *frolich seyn* for *wirtschaften* which in the sixteenth century was developing away from its primary narrow medieval meaning ('Gastmahl veranstalten') to a plurality of new nuances and compounds (*Gastwirtschaft*, *Hauswirtschaft*, *Haushaltführung*); *mit brassen* for *unkeuschlich* which in ENHG was tending towards one of its two primary meanings (DWB: 'im sinne geschlechtlicher norm', i.e. *Koitus*, *Vergewaltigung*) more than the other ('unmäßig'); *tagloner* for *mietling* (which later was used almost exclusively for 'mercenary soldier') might well be a further example.

Major claims have often been made about the influence of Luther's word selection on the vocabulary of German. On the term *fingerlin* (Mentel, but avoided by Luther), for instance, the DWB makes the following assertion: 'wie aber Luthers bibelübersetzung diesen ausdrück nicht festhielt, verschwand er allmählich'. Such *ex negativo* claims are almost impossible to substantiate. Yet painstaking analysis of contemporary transmission over the full dialectal spectrum (e.g. Besch 1967)

can go a long way in establishing the probability of such deductions. For example: the dialectal spread of weak verb derivatives from adjectives in *-g-* (*sündigen* v.18/20/21 for *sünden*) was a northern feature and not present in UG. Luther, who stood between two *Sprachlandschaften* on this feature, has both forms but tends towards forms in *-g-* which eventually entered the standard (having become dominant in UG in the second half of the sixteenth century). There can be little doubt that Luther's Bible played a key role in the dissemination of this form. A similar argument can be made for *darben* (sixteenth century: LG and CG) which entered the standard alongside *mangeln* (sixteenth century: UG). We should also not neglect forms which are no longer in usage, but which entered the literary standard of the classical era probably on the basis of Luther, e.g. *treber* and *brassen* (originally LG, present in Goethe and Schiller).

22.4 Syntax

Luther's syntax is typical of the period as a whole in that it displays a tendency towards regulation in the word order of main and (in particular) dependent clauses, but a certain flexibility in the global organization of the sentence: 'Die Sätze stehen trotz der häufig geschraubten Unterordnung in keiner Spannung miteinander und sind nur angefügt, nicht dem Gesamtkomplex logisch-formal integriert' (Betten 1987: 154); 'Hierin ist viel von der sprechsprachlichen orientierten, die Hypotaxe hilfreich mildernden Vagheit der Satzverknüpfung aus dem mittelalterlichen Deutsch bewahrt' (v. Polenz 1991: 195).

22.4.1 Dependent clauses

Subordinating conjunctions (e.g. *So ... anders*) and the various markers of relative clauses³ place the verb in final position, compare Luther with Mentel in v. 14, 19, 20; the first sentence of the Vorrede has several double embeddings in which both dependent clause verbs are final, e.g.:

Gleich wie ... ein Buch

*darinnen Gottes gesetz ... die Geschichte beider derer geschrieben sind
die ... gehalten
und nicht gehalten haben*

There are some variations to this 'rule'. (i) Due to the fact that the extended infinitive clause is not yet felt to form a syntactically closed unit (as in NHG), the object of this clause can be inserted into the preceding dependent clause, e.g. *wenn ein sterbender Man sein Gut bescheidet/nach seinem tode den benannten Erben aus zu teilen* (NHG: *nach ... sein Gut auszuteilen*). This configuration also fits the *thema-rhema* pattern in which the main information is delivered first and then expanded upon later. (ii) The dependent clause verb can be brought forward ('vorgezogen') to lend weight to a part of the predicate, e.g. *ich habe gesündigt ynn den hymel und fur*

3 The passages display a range of possibilities still open to ENHG: pronoun (*dere, die*), prepositional compound (*darinnen, davon, damit*) and adverb (*so*).

dyr v.18, 21; *Dauon sie singen/dancken/Gott loben vnd fröhlich sind ewiglich* (B18–19). The same holds for the frame of periphrastic tenses, e.g. *ALso ist das Euangelium . . . in alle Welt erschollen/durch die Apostel/von einem rechten Dauid* (B12–14) where the position of *Dauid* allows for an easier connection to the subsequent series of dependent clauses. (iii) Dependent clauses can omit the auxiliary of periphrastic tenses, e.g. *der mit der Sünde/Tod vnd Teufel gestritten/vnd vberwunden habe* (stylistic avoidance of repetition as in NHG)/*Vnd damit alle die/so in Sünden gefangen/. . . vberweldiget gewesen* (omission of *sind*). One attractive explanation for this phenomenon (which is common from sixteenth century–eighteenth century) is that the subordinate clause is marking its dependency (i.e. via verbal incompleteness) on the main clause.

22.4.2 *Global structures*

The *Vorrede* offers two clear examples of ENHG syntactic flexibility. (i) The first paragraph hinges on the main verb *ist* which stands (bracketing out *also* which is part of the *gleich wie . . . also* construction) in second position. The verb of the primary subordinate clause (*Gleich wie das alte Testament ist ein Buch*), is, however, not in final position, as one might expect (see 22.4.1). This could be explained by the fact that the author wanted to mark this dependent clause off from those that are in turn dependent on it, and thus underline the structure of the sentence as a whole. This is possible in ENHG because, as Lühr (1985) has shown, dependency of clauses did not yet necessarily need to be shown by word order if they were marked in another way, e.g. an unambiguous subordinating conjunction. What to modern eyes often appears to be ‘loose ENHG syntax’, is, therefore, actually a more supple system for global textual organization. (ii) The second paragraph is made up of a single sentence in which *Als da Dauid . . .* (‘as when David . . .’) expands upon the main and first subordinate clause (*DEnn Euangelium ist . . . dauon man . . . fröhlich ist*). In NHG the next verb (*kam*) would, therefore, have to come at the end of the next clause (i.e. after *unter das Jüdische volck*) to mark continued subordination. In this case, however, ENHG allows for marking of subordination *within* the subordinate clause rather than simply between subordinate and main clause. Note here, that the punctuation (as generally in ENHG writing) is intended loosely to mark gaps for pause and ‘cuts across’ the syntax of the sentence.

22.4.3 *Verb first*

Luther still occasionally places the main verb in initial position (as was possible in Germanic, see 8.6.1) for stylistic purposes, e.g. *Vnd mus sein hertz von grund lachen . . .* (B30–1). The omitted subject in *fiengen widder an frolich zu sein* (v.24) serves the same purpose.

22.5 Orthography: Luther and the printers

The revisionist approach to Luther (see 22.1) laid emphasis on the emergence of supra-regional *Sprachlandschaften* and on the changing nature of Luther’s external

forms (see particularly Wells 1987: 190–8) in the many versions of his Bible. The former is acknowledged by Luther himself (as is recorded in the *Tischreden*):

Nullam certam linguam Germanice habeo, sed communem, ut me intelligere possint ex superiori et inferiori Germania. Ich rede nach der Sechsischen cantzley, quam imitantur omnes duces et reges Germaniae; alle reichstette, fürsten höfe schreiben nach der Sechsischen cantzleien vnser churfürsten. Ideo est Fridericus imperium ita ad certam linguam definierunt, haben also alle sprachen in eine gezogen.

Whilst our notion of *Sprachlandschaften* is of a much less personal, more communal interaction and development, it is not implausible that Frederick's periods in the imperial chancery in Vienna (1497–8 as *Hofmarschall* and as regent after Maximilian's death in 1519) influenced the evolution of the ECG–EUG *Sprachlandschaft*. But Luther – probably unwittingly – is oversimplifying the case. First, the written form was dominated more by EUG than ECG. Second, Luther's own usage does not in fact conform entirely to that of the Saxon chancery (see Kettmann 1967). For instance, both Lotter (1522) and Lufft (1545) have forms which clearly differ from the chancery's practices: e.g. *zwe* (*zween*, v.11) for *zwei*, as well as the more 'modern' <ei> rather than the UG <ai>, and <zu> for <czu> and <tzu>. The Lufft prints also replace *nit* (e.g. v.00, 00 – Saxon chancery usage under influence from EUG) with the ECG spoken dialect's *nicht* (the other major example, not present in the passage, is ECG *-nis* for EUG *-nüss*).

It is most likely that the changes evident in Luther's orthography (mainly from the 1530s onwards) came about either as direct intervention by, or under the strong influence of his printers. This fits with the general shift in the history of the standard which moves away from the chanceries and into the ambit of the printing houses. The most obvious examples of Luther's changing orthography between 1522 and 1545 are: (i) increased (but not complete) capitalization; (ii) marking of umlaut (*sonē* > *Sōne*, *iungst* > *Jūngste*); (iii) reduction of redundant double consonants (*gutter* > *Güter*, *vnnd* > *vnd*, but still *auff*, *lieff*); (iv) eradication of <y> and systematization of the distribution of <i> and <j>: <j> used for the semi-vowel and long vowel (accompanied by loss of <h>), e.g. *iamert* > *jamert*, *yhm* > *jm*; <i> used for short vowels and in the latter part of diphthongs, e.g. *yinn sich* > *in sich*, *teylet* > *teilet*; (v) restitution of *-e* (a CG feature which had been under pressure from EUG written forms with apocope): in verbs, e.g. *hab* > *habe*, although *macht* > *machet*, *gesundigt* > *gesundiget*, etc. do not make it into the standard; in noun plurals, e.g. *fuß* > *füsse*; (vi) the simplification of the orthographical representation of [s] mainly to <ss> (later heavily criticized by Grimm, see 28.5): PGmc /s/ – *brassen*, *kust* > *brassen*, *kusst*; PGmc /t/ – *heyße*, *essen*, *fuß* > *heisse*, *essen*, *füsse*.

The Frankfurt printers introduced further changes to the surface of Luther's text: (i) introduction of *Dehnungs-h*, e.g. *Sōne* > *Söhne*, *nu* > *nuh*, *teilet* > *theilet* (preposed <h>); (ii) å for umlaut of /a/ to show clearly the link to the root, e.g. *henget* > *hånget*; (iii) the consistent distinction (which had begun to emerge in the fifteenth century, see 18.5.1) between *daß* (conjunction) and *das* (pronoun). Criticism of the first two innovations formed part of Christoph Walther's (Lufft's corrector)

public attack on Feyerabend's practices (see Wells 1993). In a series of pamphlets in the 1560s, Walther tried desperately to assert Wittenberg's unique position as Luther's authorized printers in an increasingly difficult marketplace. Ultimately his efforts could do little to stem the growing influence of WCG printers whose language dominated the printing scene in the second half of the sixteenth century. What is interesting from the viewpoint of the developing standard and Luther's role in it, is the fact that Johannes Clajus, who was the author of the most influential early Grammar of German (1578 *Grammatica GERMANICAE LINGVAE . . . Ex BIBLIIS LVTHERI GERMANICIS ET ALIIS EIVS LIBRIS COLLECTA*, i.e. Grammar of German based on the Bibles and other works of Luther), based his Luther quotations on Frankfurt Bibles. A large part of Luther's influence rests in point of fact on what was sold as, and what others took to be, Luther.

22.6 Luther's linguistic legacy

Against this backdrop of constantly changing external forms, it can be said that Luther's influence on the development of the NHG standard (quite apart from his stylistic/lexical import, see 22.3) should be viewed most accurately as symbolic and geo-political. (i) Even if Clajus dropped Luther's name from the title of the second edition of his grammar, the preface praising him was maintained until the sixth edition. This notion of the exemplarity of Luther's language can be witnessed in the words of Martin Opitz (1628) who wrote to a friend in Straßburg advising him to avoid his local dialect and write in a form of language akin to Attic among the Greeks – 'call it Lutheran if you like' – which would ensure that he remained free from error (original quotation in Wells 1987: 456). Similarly, Luther's legacy is later cited by Klopstock, Gottsched and Adelung. The emergence of a book language in the seventeenth century and its development into an accepted standard in the eighteenth century, therefore, draws legitimacy from Luther's name. As studies of the transmission of Luther's Bible within the ECG region in the seventeenth century and eighteenth century have shown, however, even 'ECG Luther' lags behind the emerging standard, e.g. lengthy retention of *das* for *daß*, and <e> for <â> (see Besch 1967). In this sense, the statements of Luther's later admirers are as 'truthful' as Luther's own recommendation of the language of the Saxon chancery. (ii) On another level, the redrawing of the political-religious map of Germany along Protestant (North)–Catholic (South) lines as a result of the Reformation caused the dominant linguistic landscape to swing on its axis. The north–south interaction between ECG and EUG *chanceries*, which by the sixteenth century had come to form the most influential transregional matrix, gave way to the *printers* of ECG and WCG. As the Reformation took hold in LG areas, it ensured that CG consolidated itself as the region's form of written HG (see 19.1). (E)CG therefore gained a critical geographical mass as a written form – and in this respect Grimm's often denigrated notion of the German standard as an essentially protestant dialect is not far from the mark.

Further reading

Besch (1967: 340–63); Kettmann (1967); Lühr (1985); Sonderegger (1998); Tschirch (1989, 1966: 53–108); Volz (1972); Wells (1993); Wolf (1980, 1996).

23 Purism in the seventeenth century

Johann Rist

23.1 Context

In the 1640s many people in Germany felt that their language and culture were severely endangered, in particular by French. Foreign influence entered Germany from several quarters: young people of means and merchants travelled to France and Italy and returned with a desire to show off their newly acquired linguistic skills; soldiers from many countries fought on German territory during the Thirty Years War; German courts were looking to culturally and politically superior French models at a time when the *homme à la mode* was a new model in civil society. Moreover, in many fields older traditions maintained their influence, e.g. Latin in the language of the Church, administration, medicine and music (the Italian influence in the field of music did not emerge until the beginning of the seventeenth century), Italian and Spanish in the language of military theory and warfare. Together with a general sense of political fragmentation and weakness, the combined effect of all these factors led many people to demand some form of reaction.

There were three significant forms of reaction. First, several German *Sprachgesellschaften* (linguistic societies/academies) were founded on the basis of the model of the Italian *Accademia della Crusca*. The first and most influential of these was the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (1617) which was typical in its aim of protecting, cultivating and enriching the German language. Second, grammarians (e.g. Schottel) and poetic theorists (e.g. Opitz) produced what they hoped would be systematic accounts of the German language, its possibilities and its proper use in poetry and other fields. In addition, language theorists tried to defend German as a major cultural language (*Hauptsprache*) on a par with Greek, Latin and Hebrew. Third, there was a considerable number of often greatly exaggerating satirical writings against foreign influences on language and culture. Yet, the fight against foreign words was by no means a success. Until around 1730, the number of individual foreign words in German increased, as did, perhaps more significantly, the number of text-types in which they occurred. Whilst some of the German words coined as alternatives to foreign words are still in use today (*Mundart* and *Dialekt* are both current today), the majority are not (e.g. *Gesichtserker* instead of *Nase*).

Johann Rist (1607–67), parson and *poeta laureatus*, was a member of the *Pegnesischer Blumenorden* and the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, and later founded his own society, the *Elbschwabenorden*, in 1658. Rist's major work was published anonymously in 1642 under the following title:

Baptistæ Armati, Vatis Thalosi. Rettung der Edlen Teütschen
Hauptsprache/ Wider alle deroselben muhtwillige Verderber und alamo-
desirende Aufschneider/ Jn unterschiedenen Briefen/ allen dieser
prächtigen und vollenkommensten Sprache aufrichtigen teütschen
Liebhaberen für die Augen gestellet. Anno MDCXLII. Hamburg/ Getruckt
und Verlegt durch Heinrich Werner.

The book has been described by Jones in his important study of linguistic purism in Germany from 1478 to 1750 as a milestone in German linguistic purism (1995: 89). The basic idea of the text is to contrast the ways in which adherents of the *à la mode* style speak or write with those who preserve the language and traditional virtues of Germany. The passage below comes from a (fictitious) letter from a young *cavalier à la mode* to a virtuous woman, Adelheit von Ehrenberg, who will in her response defend the use of German in its purest form.

23.2 Text and translation

A Tresnoble Damoiselle,
Adelheit von Ehrenberg
ma treschere maistresse.

MEJNe Allerliebste *Dame*, die grosse *perfection*, womit der Himmel selber
5 euwre *glorificirte* Sehle hat erfüllet/ zwinget alle *amoureuse Cavalliers*,
<E2v> dz sie sich für eüwrer hochwürdigten *grandesse humilijren* vnd alß
vnterthänigste gehorsahmste Schladen zu den *Scabellen* eüwrer prachtigen
Füesse nieder legen. Sie *perdonnire* mir allerschönste *Dame*, daß ich die
hardiesse gebrauche/ mich jren allerunterthänigsten *Serviteur* zu nennen: Der
10 grimmige *Amor*, welchem zu *resistiren* keine einzige *Creatur bastandt* ist/ hat
mich mit einem solchem *Titul* vnd Nahmen schon lengst *privilegiret*/ deme
sich zu *opponiren* ich mich viel zu schlecht vnd geringe erkenne.
Jhr/ hochgepriesene *Dame* seid ein *Extract* aller vollenkommenen
Schönheiten/ so dieser zeit in dem grossen Vmbkreise der Welt mögen
15 *floriren*: Eüer Antlitz übertrifft ohne einige *Exception* die klarheit des
gantzten *Firmaments*, wenn es in seiner höchsten *exaltation* vnd aller edelsten
couleur sich *présentiret*. Eüwer Mündlein ist die Honig-süsse *Fontaine*, auß
welcher eine so treffliche *Eloquentz* pfl eget zu fl iessen/ daß kein *Orator* auff
dieser Erden mit euch kan *compartiret* oder verglichen werden. Eüwre
20 funckende Außglein betreffend/ so halte ich mich viel zu vnwürdigjenige
censur von denselben zu *exhibiren* angesehen sie alles Gestirn am blauwen
Sahl des Himmels weit *superiren* vnd bevor gehen. Verzeihet miers <E3r>
tresnoble Maistresse, daß ich eüwren gülden vnd sonder *pouldre* wol
scheinenden Haren/ schnee weissen *Zähnen*/ Corallen-rohten *Leftzen*/
25 *prächtigt-formirten* Schwanen-Hälblein/ helffenbeinen *Händen* vnd denen
übrigen gleich dem Alabaster hell glänzenden Gliedern des gantzten Leibes/
denn auch eüwrem sehr *netten Habit* vnd *plaisirlichen* Kleidung jhr
gebührlisches *Lovange* nit *attribuire* oder nach *meriten honorire*, meine
Impossibilitet wird mich verhoffentlich dießfals sehr wol *excusiren*. [. .]

- 30 Jch darff euch allerschönste Dame hie nichts *affingiren/ die Experimentz* bekräftiget es vnd die *Excellentz* eüwrer woll-*disponirten* Glieder kan ein klahres *Testimonium* geben/ daß so gar nichts als nur die blosse *immortalitet* oder Vnsterblichkeit an eüch zu *desideriren*. [...]

(Text: Rist [1642] 1982: 127–8 and Jones 1995: 110)

To the most noble Demoiselle,
Adelheit of Ehrenberg
My most dear mistress.

My most dear lady, the great perfection with which heaven itself has filled your glorified soul forces all amorous cavaliers to humble themselves before your most worthy grandeur and lay themselves down as the most humble, obedient slaves by the footstools of your magnificent feet. Forgive me, most beautiful lady, my boldness in naming myself your very most humble servant: that powerful Cupid, whom to resist not a single creature is able, has privileged me for some time with such a title and name which I acknowledge I am far too simple and small to oppose.

You, most venerated lady, are an extract of all consummate beauties which may flourish at this given moment within the great stretches of the world; your countenance surpasses without any exception the clarity of the entire firmament when it presents itself in its highest exaltation and very noblest hue. Your little mouth is the honey-sweet fountain from which flows such a splendid eloquence that no orator on this earth can be compared or said to be equal with you. Regarding your twinkling little eyes, I consider myself much too unworthy to exhibit that criticism of them, in view of the fact that they are far superior to, and rank ahead of, all the stars in heaven's blue realm. Forgive me, most noble mistress, that I do not honour according to merit or pay the deserved praise to your golden hair which shines finely even without powder, your snow-white teeth, coral-red lips, magnificently formed little swan's neck, ivory hands and the other limbs of your entire body that shine brightly like alabaster, furthermore your very nice habit and pleasant clothing – my incapacity will hopefully very well excuse me in this case. [...]

There is no need for me to indulge in pretence here, most beautiful lady, experience supports it and the excellence of your well-proportioned limbs can give a clear testimony that nothing more save sheer immortality is lacking to you.

23.3 Criticism and language cultivation (*Sprachpflege*)

Reflection about foreign influences on language and language use in the seventeenth century took two main forms: criticism of misuse and plans for cultivation.

23.3.1 Criticism

Satirical writing was a prominent critical device and took on several forms, e.g. sketching the characteristics of a certain type of person through examples of their speech and writing habits (such as the *cavalier à la mode* in our example) and

contrasting this person with a positive model. Rist explicitly recommends satirical writing as a means against the *Sprachverderber*. Just as Erasmus, Reuchlin and Melanchthon had successfully fought with satirical means against bad Latin writing, so it was advisable to employ the same method against bad German:

... die selbsteingebildete Welsche und Frantzösische Aufschneider mit scharffen Satyrischen Schrifften (denn eine gelinde Lauge woll diese böse Krätze nicht weg nehmen) ohnverzagt angreifen/ das grausame Wunder-Thier der vermischeten Sprachen an den Ketten der teutschen Kunst und Zierligkeit gefangen halten/ und also die allerschönste/ edelste und reineste Teütsche Sprache für ihrem gänzlichen Vntergange mit macht erretten
(Rist [1642] 1982: 144)

Besides giving an exaggerated example of a piece of text, e.g. a letter, a sermon, a talk, another device was to list the foreign words typically used by a certain group of people or in a certain situation. For instance, both the *Sprachverderber* (1643) and the extended *Sprach-, Sitten- und Tugendverderber* (1644) complain that 'nowadays' foreign words were being used by many types of people (e.g. lawyers, businessmen, news writers) and in many situations (sermons, compliments, juridical speeches, etc.). Most of these groups were then characterized via long lists of foreign words that they typically used, and juxtaposed with the German words proposed as their alternative. Similarly, Rist proposed replacing military terms such as *circumferentz* or *contrescarpe* with German words like *Vmbkreis* or paraphrases such as *die äussere Blüschung oder Anlauff*. The latter is a clear example both of the longwindedness and of the lack of precision inherent in many German alternatives proposed to replace foreign words.

23.3.2 Cultivation

Cultivation of the German language was among the main aims of the *Sprachgesellschaften*. To become a member of such a society, applicants had not only to subscribe to its aims, but also to prove their current, and pledge their future, commitment to practical services to purism, e.g. by writing books defending the German language, compiling grammars, dictionaries, theories of poetry, or enriching the expressive powers of German via translation. In addition, they were committed to maintaining the principles of purist language use in their daily lives. When Rist became a member of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* in 1647 his *Rettung der edlen teütschen Hauptsprache* may have contributed to the fulfilment of membership requirements.

23.4 The use of foreign words and compliments

Foreign influence did not only operate in the use of foreign words but also in innovative forms of communication, e.g. the use of compliments, forms of address, and new ways of expressing politeness. Neither aspect escaped the criticism of the enemies of 'foreign talk'.

23.4.1 Lexical items

The foreign words used in our example mainly come from French, e.g. *amoureux* 'in love', *cavallier* 'nobleman, man of culture and refinement', *grandesse* 'noble position', *hardiesse* 'boldness, audacity', *louange* 'praise', *maistresse* 'mistress, lady' or *poudre* 'hair powder'. In addition, there are several words of Latin provenance, e.g. *Eloquentz*, *Experientz* or *Testimonium*, as well as words that can be traced to different Romance languages (e.g. *perfection*, borrowed from L *perfectio*, fifteenth century/sixteenth century, and probably later influenced by F *perfection*; see Schulz and Basler 1942, vol. 2: 455a). Thus, Adelheit von Ehrenberg complains in her reply: *so gahr ist alles mit französischen/ lateinischen/ welschen und spanischen Wörtern und Sprüchen verbremet/ durchspicket und vermengen* (Rist [1642] 1982: 140.31ff.). Not all of these words, however, can count as mid-seventeenth-century neologisms: e.g. *firmament* had been used since the Middle Ages, initially in texts on astronomy such as Konrad of Megenberg's *Sphaera*, but also later in less specialized contexts. Nonetheless, speakers or writers still knew about the provenance of some lexical items at least, and consequently many foreign words were printed in a different type face. It was not unusual to print only the foreign parts of a word differently, e.g. *humilijren* and *resistiren*, where the German ending was printed in *Fraktur*, and the body of the word in the *antiqua* type face.

If one compares the fictitious texts and the complaints of the satirical tradition with real texts (e.g. letters) it is clear that the made-up texts cannot count as examples of real-life usage, and that the complaints are exaggerated or apply only in part to actual language use. News writers, for instance, were said to be amongst the worst *Sprachverderber*, Christoph Schorer stating that in order to understand the newspapers of his day (c.1640), one needed two different people at one's side – a Latinist and a Frenchman – to explain all the foreign words. Certainly there were many foreign words in evidence in newspapers, but closer analysis shows that a good deal of them were not new at all, but were already well established and understood in the language of politics, the military, religion and commerce.

In recognition of this fact, there were also authors who defended the use of well established foreign words. The quotation below is an example of a more moderate point of view which claims that foreign words can sometimes be required for certain text-types (*Acta*, *Documenten*, *Relationen*) or for a certain topic (e.g. military events), that they are indeed helpful and actually necessary for the sake of variation of expression, whilst the newly formed replacements are uncontemporary, long, ridiculous and often unintelligible:

Schlieslich hab ich einer solchen Art zuschreiben mich gebraucht/ wie ich in den Acten/ Documenten/ vnd schriftlichen Relationen/ woraus ich meine Histori zusammengetragen/ vor mir gefunden/ auch sonst/ so lang ich beym Kriegswesen mit gewesen/ observiret; daß andere vornehme Cavallier vnd Leute von dergleichen Sachen zureden pflegen. Meines Erachtens falt gar vnbequem/ ja fast vnmöglich: Sich an vnsere Teutsche Sprache in dieser materi dergestalt zubinden; daß man keine frembde Wörter vnd manieren zureden mit einmischen solte. Dan es finden sich

theils *termini*, sonderlich in Kriegssachen/ aus frembden Sprachen entlehnet/ welche man mit einem Worte nicht deutlich geben/ oder aussprechen kan/ vnd/ da man ihrer sich gänztlich entschlagen wolte/ durch viele vnd weitleufftige Wort/ vnnötiger/ lächerlicher weise/ beschreiben müste. [...] Dafern nun gleichwol diese *manier* zuschreiben einem oder andern misfället/ lasset man es dahin gestellet seyn/ vnd will vnterdessen lieber/ mit Hülffe vnd Zuthun frembder Sprachen/ deutlich vnd üblichem Gebrauch nach/ als *pur* lauter/ doch vnverständlich/ vngebräuchlich/ Teutsch reden vnd schreiben.

(Bogislav Philipp von Chemnitz 1648, quoted from Jones 1995: 420)

23.4.2 *Forms of communication*

Foreign words were felt to be only one part of the danger, the other being new forms of communication. The prototype of a new form of communication was *to compliment somebody*: polite forms of address, exaggerated expressions of submission, far-reaching promises and ample praise all formed part of the compliment game. Initially, compliments belonged to the family of politeness phenomena: they are used to establish and to maintain friendly social relations and to moderate all sorts of 'face-threatening acts' such as requests or reproaches (see Brown and Levinson 1987). This friendly aspect of complimenting was seen as a major motivation for the imitation of a 'civilized' French custom. But compliments also had their dark side: the problem of untruthfulness. To praise somebody excessively or to make far-reaching promises, etc., just for the sake of kindness, was felt to be untruthful. In her reply to our passage above, Adelheit von Ehrenberg describes the cavalier's letter as 'schmeichelhafte Lügen'. Similarly, the *Sprach-, Sitten- und Tugendverderber* (1644) contains an anecdote in which someone is unable to keep a promise he had made for the sake of compliment: 'Es ist erlogen gewesen/ lasse es für ein *Compliment passiren*'. In the discussion about the use of foreign words and of new forms of communication, an assumption was made that language use, political and moral life (especially political freedom), sovereignty and old German virtues (*Tugenden*) were closely linked. Thus, the double-sidedness of compliments as a new form of communication was seen within the context of a more general trend towards moral decay that was flooding in from France, Italy and Spain. To many seventeenth-century Germans, compliments were the linguistic reflex of a general social malaise.

Further reading

Jones (1976, 1995); Kirkness (1998); Mast (2001); Thomas (1991).

24 Dialect

Andreas Gryphius's *Die Geliebte Dornrose*

24.1 Context

Gryphius was one of several authors of the seventeenth century (including Martin Opitz, the author of the first vernacular poetical treatise, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* 1624, and poets of the First and Second *Schlesische Dichterschulen* such as Friederich Logau and Christian Hofmann von Hoffmanns-Waldau) who made Silesia the centre of German literature and thus added lustre to the prestige of ECG as the form of language in which to write. Gryphius had a broad range which included Latin epics, lyric (he has a reputation as the 'master of the sonnet form'), prose, tragedy and comedy. The text from which our passage is taken (*Das Verliebte Gespenst* [VG] and its interlude play *Die geliebte Dornrose* [GD]) falls into the latter category. As with most literature of the period, it was a commissioned piece – 'Diese Literatur hatte einen starken Anteil poetischer Kleinkunstwerke aus festlichen Anlässen oder im Auftrag von höfischen oder städtischen Mäzenen' (v. Polenz 1994: 301) – in this instance, written in the summer and autumn of 1660 to celebrate the marriage of the widowed local ruler Herzog Georg III to Pfalzgräfin Elizabeth Maria Charlotte. The play was performed as part of the town celebrations of Glogau put on to welcome the new 'first lady' as she made her ceremonial way across Silesia for the wedding ceremony.

The main play is written in the seventeenth-century book language (an accepted written standard in CG and LG which is the basis of codification in the eighteenth century) whilst the *Zwischenspiel* is in dialect. Although Gryphius was introduced to Opitz's work at an early stage by enthusiastic teachers at the *Akademisches Gymnasium* in Danzig (one of several locations where the young exile of the Silesian counter-Reformation received his education), this combination of 'standard' and dialect goes against the highly influential poetic's prescriptions about keeping literary language pure:

Die worte bestehen in dreyerley; in der elegantz oder ziehrlichkeit/in der composition oder zuesammensetzung/vnd in der dignitet vnd ansehen. Die ziehrlichkeit erfordert das die worte reine vnd deutlich sein. Damit wir aber reine reden mögen/sollen wir vns befeissen deme welches wir Hochdeutsch nennen besten vermögens nach zue kommen/vnd nicht derer örter sprache/wo falsch geredet wird/in vnsere schriften vermischen.

(Opitz [1624] 1983: 32)

Accordingly, dialect had been used primarily in the highly oral medium of the *Fastnachtspiele* (often pejoratively) for the peasant roles. Yet, by the mid seventeenth century, certain Silesian poets (including Logau and Scherffer) had begun to re-introduce dialect for characterization. Like Gryphius, others such as Zesen and von Ziegler used individual words, phrases and syntactic structures from dialects for the purposes of local colour. Over thirty years after Opitz, it seems that the book language had established itself to such an extent that dialect no longer represented a threat to it and could therefore be used without impunity or damaging effect. V. Polenz (1994: 231f.) observes that it is typical that LG (whose HG written forms were most distinct from the spoken dialect) was the first dialect to be used in this way.

Gryphius's GD, which is both more elaborate and more serious than the usual interludes of the time, represents a striking development in the history of the dialect *Zwischenspiel*. There are definite 'mirrorings' which draw both plays together: VG has three long acts followed by a short fourth act, GD three short acts and a long final act; in the VG a man is caught between two women, in GD it is a woman between two men; there are also similarities of motif, e.g. magic, the re-integration of guilty parties. This mirroring constellation is captured in the frontispiece to the 3rd edition which shows an obelisk with a heart crowned by laurels standing on ball-feet on a block, the whole reflected in an ornately framed mirror. Most striking among the parallels between the two interwoven plays is that each contains a prominent character whose language is comically out of line with the other members of his speech community. In VG Cassander (F *casser* 'to break' – language?) garbles the fashionable French sociolect of the upper classes, in GD Wilhelm the local magistrate (featured below) tries to 'speak up' a social register and in so doing mangles HG. Gryphius's handling of language therefore contributes to characterization whilst at the same time delivering a critique of contemporary language usage.

24.2 Text and translation

WILHELM VON HOHEN SINNEN Arendator des Gutts Vildünckel.
Vor ihm geben Cuntz und Lorentz derer ieweder eine Hewgabel trägt.

Je schade immer schade doß mich die Leüte nicht kennen/ich bin een
 Hoffman. Jch bin ein Politicum. Wen ich Cromwels geheimer Rath gewesen
 5 were/nimmermehr hette man ihn absetzen könen. Gleubet ihr wol/wen ich
 Türchischer Käyser were das ich mich wolte erstranguliren lassen? Wie
 Soldat Jmbrahim? Ja der hunderste verstehet nicht/was in diesem kopff
 steckt aber ad rebus. Jch muß bekennen. Wo kein ansehen/da sey keine
 Furcht/und wo keine Furcht/da praviren die Vnterthanen nicht ein Haar
 10 breit. Der Herr dieses Dorffs Vieldünckel/ist wol ein redlicher Gabelirer/
 aber er ist vor die Schlingel die Bauren zu from. Darumb begehen sie
 lauter surditeten. Nach dem ich aber: Jch/verstehts nur recht/der ich vor
 diesem Scholtze hier war/das ganze Dorff harengiret/gehets ein wenig
 besser zu/und ich lasse die äcker uñ Leute nicht so rubiginirē. Jch bin

- 15 zwar kein geborner Edelmā habe aber mehr faciliteten in meinē kleinen Finger als mancher in seinē grossen Kopfe Gehirne träget. So bin ich auch nie auff den Vnverstandt gezogen/und ein Liberalibus worden/nichts weniger aber bin ich den Liberalibus abscheulich infectioniret. Nun umb meine Disputation zu erhalten hab ich euch beyde zu meinen
- 20 Leibqvärden angenommen/nicht anders als ein kleiner Fürste/dem stets ein paar hetzscharen auffwarten/und ob ihr zwar noch keine Cartisanen traget: wirds sichs doch mit der zeit wohl finden. Jhr versprechet mit den trew und gewehre zu seyn?

- 25 WILHELM. Ihr seid böse Buben alle zwey. Jhr zancket euch für und für. Jch werde euch beyde so wissen abzustraffen/daß sich andere daran bespeculieren sollen. Wie stehets umb dich Aschewedel?
- ASCHEWEDEL. Je ju/wie sols stihñ Gestrenger Herr. Do hot mer Kornblume e hold schock Beulen unde drey Löcher geschlön/drümme bitt ech/ihr welt en stroffen unde derzu zwingen/doß a mer doß Heelgeld
- 30 ga/oder a Boder bezahle/unde Schäden und Vnkusten richte!
- WILHELM. Du! Kornblume. Jch habe dich allezeit vor den frömbsten angesehen/bist du nun mit einem solchen Schalcke gefütteret?
- KORNBLUME. Je ju Gestrenger Herr Schloltz! wie mes macht su gihts. Lust ok Durnrusen reden/oder froyt ihren Nanne/dar lechtfertige
- 35 Jhrvergassene Schelme und Dib.
- WILHELM. Holla! holla! vor dem Richter!
- KORNBLUME. Je nu saht/ich verstihñs nich a su genouw. Dar Karle/oder wie a heest Matz Aschewedel mit züchten ze reden/wulde Durnrusen mit gewalt wäg führen/unde wen ich nich ze gudem Glücke derzu kum
- 40 men wär/se wers wull ümb Se gesungen gewast. War weiß woß e mit er fürgenuñen hätte.
- WILHELM. Wie ists Dornrose?
- DORNROSE. Es ist nichts anders/als er erzehlet. Aschewedel sprach mich erstlich mit villen Worten an/nachmals wolte er gewalt gegen mir
- 45 üben/berühmete sich er were ein Soldat welchem alles freystünde/mehr ziemet sich nicht zuerzehlen. Wann nicht Kornblume mich gerettet und mein Vater endlich Hülffe zu kōmen/wehre es dises mal umb mich un̄ meine Ehre geschehen gewesen.
- JOCKEL. Gestrenger Herr Scholtz/od' Herr Ignarius wie er heest siß nicht anders/unde wen er key Einsahn drein hott/se wird uff de letzte
- 50 nimand mit eme Kinde in seen vier Pfälen sicher sein können. Siß ju Gott lob unde danck Fride im Lande/siß och im Krige sey lätige su bund nie hargegangen.
- WILHELM. Genung geplaudert. Man wird schon wissen was zu thun du redlicher Vogel! Wer bringet dich auff solche springe? auff öffener Aw und Wiese ehrlichen Kindern nachzustellen?

(Text from: Mannack 1963: 62–3, 66–7)

Wilhelm the Haughty, tenant of the estate of Great Arrogance.¹

Before him go Cuntz and Lorentz, both of whom carry a pitchfork.

Ah, what a shame, a real shame, that people don't know me. I am a man of court. I am a politician. If I had been Cromwell's Privy Council, they'd never have been able to depose him. Do you think for a moment that I would have let myself be strangled to death if I had been the Turkish Emperor? Like Sultan Imbrahim? Ah, there's hardly anyone who understands what there is in my head – but down to business. I must admit: where there is no respect, there is no fear, and where there is no fear, then the underlings don't obey in the slightest. The Lord of this village Vieldünckel [= very arrogant] is a proper gentleman [= *cavalier*], but he is too nice to those scoundrels the peasants. That's why they're always behaving ridiculously. But since I – now get this right, I who was here before this mayor – had called the whole village to court, things have gone a bit better and I don't let the fields or the people go to rack and ruin. Although I'm not a nobleman by birth, I have more facilities in my little finger than most people have brains in their big head. Even though I never went to university and never became literate, I am nonetheless terribly fond of the arts. Now to maintain my reputation, I have employed you both as my bodyguards, just like a minor prince on whom a pair of attendants always wait, even if you do not yet bear pikestaffs – but we'll sort that out in time. Do you, then, promise to me your trust and loyalty?

Wilhelm: You're bad lads, the both or you. You just fight and fight. I will [certainly] know how to punish you both so that the others can have an example in you. What's up with you Aschewedel?

Aschewedel: Well, m'lud, how should I be? That Kornblume knocked 30 bruises and three holes into me. That's why I am asking you to punish him and force him to give me compensation or to pay a doctor, and come up with costs and damages!

Wilhelm: Hey, Kornblume! I always had you down for one of the better ones – are you a scoundrel at heart as well?

Kornblume: Well, m'lud. The way you behave, is the way it is. Let Dornrose speak, or ask her dad the mad, god-forsaken scoundrel and thief.

Wilhelm: Order! Order! Approach the judge!

Kornblume: Now look, I don't understand it at all. The guy, or Matz Aschewedel to give him his full and proper name, wanted to take Dornrose away by force – and if by good fortune I had not come along, that would have been curtains for her. Who knows what he would have done with her.

Wilhelm: Dornrose?

Dornrose: It is just the way he tells it. Aschewedel first spoke to me with many words, and then wanted to inflict force upon me, boasting he was a soldier to whom everything was permitted – it is not fitting for me to tell any

¹ The malapropisms (see 24.3.2) have been translated throughout as the *character* intended.

more. If Kornblume had not saved me and my father not eventually come to our aid, then it would have been the end of my honour.

Jockel: M'lud, or Mr Ignoramus as you are called – it really is so – if you don't see this properly, then no-one at all will be safe with a child within his own four walls. There is, thanks and praise be to God, peace in the land – mind you, I've never seen it as mad as this in war!

Wilhelm: Enough of your prattle. One will know very well what to do, you chatterbox. Who taught you such tricks – to run after honest children on open fields and meadows?

24.3 Register

24.3.1 *Dornrose*

Dornose, as we are told by Aschewedel (Act II), has spent time at court and thus learnt to speak properly: 'se steckt immer uffim Edelhoffe se hot gar städisch larnen reden' (note that the prestige register is referred to as 'städisch'). She speaks perfect HG book language and we should note that several forms that look odd to the modern eye would have been standard in the seventeenth century, e.g. the ablaut grade /y:/ (<ü>) in *freystünde*, *Hülffe* – the former surviving in standard NHG, whilst the latter was still evident until at least the end of the nineteenth century (school books were often called *Hülfsmittel*); *villen* is a reflex of the MHG adjective with short vowel *vil*; and the additional participle *wehre es . . . geschehen gewesen* (note Kornblume's similar construction *se wers . . . gesungen gewast*) in the formation of the periphrastic tenses is a typical southern German phenomenon, normally used to suggest finality (for which our two instances provide textbook examples). As well as acting as a foil to Wilhelm's linguistic buffoonery, Dornrose, the peasant girl who somehow transcends her social milieu but remains its most eloquent advocate, might represent a poetic conceit that would have appealed to the work's commissioner: the *Piastendynastie* into which princess Elizabeth was about to marry prided itself on a lineage which it claimed went back to the medieval peasantry.

24.3.2 *Wilhelm*

Wilhelm's attempt at linguistic social climbing (note he begins his first speech in dialect – *doß*, *Leüte*, *een* – before rapidly switching code) leaves a trail of (increasingly ridiculous) malapropisms: *Politicum* for *Politicus* (1.4); *erstranguliren* (1.6) – mixture of *erdrosseln* and the French loan *strangulieren*; *Soldat* (1.7) for *Soldan*; *ad rebus* (1.8) for *ad res* (pl.) or *ad rem* (sg.); *praviren* (1.9, 'to turn around' – what he's doing to the language?) for *parieren* ('to obey'); *Gabelirer* (1.10) for *Kavelier* (although this is used by other peasants in the play too); *surditeten* (1.12) for the French loan *Absurditäten*; *rubiginiren* (1.14) – mixture of *ruinieren* and L *robigo* ('to let rust'); *Leibquärden* (1.20) – incomplete assimilation of F *corps de garde*; *Vnverstand* (1.17) for *Universität*; *Liberalibus* (1.17) for *Literatus*; *infectioniret* (1.18) for *affectioniert*; *Disputation* (1.19, a university examination) for *Reputation*; *hetzscharen* (1.21, 'revolting crowds')

for *Hartschieren* ('body guards'); *Cartisanen* (l.21, 'court whores') for *Partisanen* ('pikestaffs').

It is likely that Gryphius was basing his caricature on experience, as he had previously worked as *Stadtsyndicus* in Glogau (a politically precarious office defending the rights of local landowners against the centralizing tendencies of the local rulers). Due to the expanded needs of legal German, the seventeenth century also saw the participation of the self-taught uneducated lower classes (junior court clerks) in the written language of this register for the first time. Gryphius will therefore not have been short of types on which to draw.

24.3.3 The peasants

Gryphius has the peasants speak a form of Silesian that avoids the extremes of *Neiderländisch* (where Glogau lies), e.g. there are very few of its diphthongized forms (some <ai>, <äi>, <ae> for MHG /ē/ – *knaicht*, *besaen*; but little or no <au> for MHG /o/, <ai> for MHG /û/, or <ai> for MHG /ê/). As Table 24.1 shows, short front vowels (apart from /i/ are lowered (under pressure from the derounding of MHG /ö/ and the lowering of e as part of the merging of the three MHG e phonemes ?) forcing /a/ and the back vowels to be raised. A similar pattern holds for the long vowel equivalents of the latter (/ä/, /ö/, /û/), but there is also raising in the front long vowels (e.g. MHG /œ/ unrounds to merge with /ê/ and both are raised to the position of MHG /î/; MHG /æ/ possibly rises to the position of MHG /ê/ or even higher to merge with the close lengthened reflex of MHG e) as a result of pressure on the system brought about by the monophthongization of MHG /ei/ to a half-open /e:/. Gryphius's consistency of representation speaks for his having had a good linguistic ear and an interest in accuracy (cf French in the VG, and Yiddish in other plays), and in fact many of his apparent inconsistencies can be explained as further nuances of vowel quality due to prosody, e.g. *se* (unstressed) – *su* (stressed) (for NHG *so*), *Lust* (unstressed form of dialectal **lost*, NHG *laßt*).

Other dialect features displayed by the passage include: (i) interjections, e.g. *Je ju*; (ii) reductions, e.g. *key* (= *kein*), *e* (= *ein*), *eme* (= *einem*), *sijß* (= *es ist*), *me* (= *man*), *nich* (= *nicht*), *ech* (= *ich*), *en* (= *ihn*); (iii) vocalization of /g/, e.g. *geschlön* (= NHG *geschlagen*), *froyt* (= MHG *fraget*); (iv) mix of HG and LG consonants (the latter is rare), e.g. *ok* (LG) – *och* (HG); (v) the addition of *-e* to nouns, e.g. *Karle* = NHG *Kerl*; (vi) some evidence of the *Binnenhochdeutsche Konsonantenschwächung* (i.e. lenition of /p/, /t/, /k/), e.g. *gudem* (= NHG *gutem*), *bund* (= NHG *bunt*); (vii) vocabulary, e.g. *Nanne* ('father'), *Bader* ('doctor'), *sei lättige* (= NHG *sein Lebtag*); (viii) *gewast* (= *gewest*) was the CG form of *gewesen*.

When one cuts through the surface of the dialect, it becomes clear how close the speech patterns that Gryphius is representing come to those of colloquial speech of our own day. In this they contrast starkly with the polished style of the VG's Alexandrines (e.g. Act 1: *Daß Chloris gar nichts solt in diesen Früchten senden / Komt mir nicht gläublich vor soll von so lieben Händen / Jch keinen Gruß mehr sehn!*) and remind us that the history of the language requires us to seek in the by-ways as well as the highways to get the fullest appreciation of its developments. In so doing we must also learn to see through the judgements of earlier commentators, e.g. Gottsched

Table 24.1 Silesian dialect in Gryphius vis-à-vis MHG and NHG

Short/long vowels

MHG //	NHG // (IPA)	Gryphius < >	examples in passage
i	I i:	i (but <i>der</i> for <i>dir</i> , etc.)	<i>Dib</i>
ɛ	ɛ <a> or <e>	e (open)	<i>dar, Karle</i>
è		a (<a, à, aa>)	
â		a	
e	e: (lengthened)	a	<i>ga (<geben), gewast</i>
ɛ	ɛ:	e (close)	
a		a	
ê	e:	i:	<i>stihn, gihts</i>
æ	ɛ:	a/e/ä	<i>wers, wärs, wehre</i>
a	a	o	<i>do, hot, holb</i>
â	a:	o	
ó	œ	e	<i>wellt (<wöllt?)</i>
œ	ø	i (<e)	
o	ɔ	u	<i>Durnrusen, wull</i>
ô	o:	u	<i>su</i>
ü	Y y:	i i	
u	U u:	u u	<i>gesungen</i>

Monophthongs, diphthongs, long/short vowels

ie	i:	i	<i>nimand</i>
i			
üe	y:	ü	
ü			
uo	u:	u	
u			
î	ai	ei e (long)	<i>Heelgeld, heest</i>
ei			
iu (≈y:)	ɔy	oi/oe	
ou			
û	au	au o (long)	
ou			

who made the following assertion: 'Des A. Gryphius Zwischenspiel, welches er in das Verliebte Gespenste eingerückt hat, ist mehr ein Bauernstücke, als ein Schäferspiel zu nennen; zumal da es in der heutigen Bauersprache geschrieben ist, und sehr plump klingt'.

24.4 Forms of address

In the seventeenth century, probably under Spanish influence, *Er* and *Sie* forms began to be used for polite address, thus ousting the medieval *ir* form (see 13.3.4) in this function. The nobility use the new forms in the VG, reserving *du* (sg.) – *ir* (pl.) for the servants or informality. In the GD, the peasants use *du* to each other, but seem some way behind the new social code when they (nearly all) use *ir* to Wilhelm (who disparagingly uses only *du* to them). Jockel uses the *er* form to Wilhelm (*und wen er key Einsahn drein hott*) but this (along with his other code-switching, e.g. *in [seen] vier Pfälen sicher sein können* [a legal phrase?], *Gott lob unde danck Fride im Lande*) seems to be an attempt to send the latter up rather than show respect. It is interesting that the peasants are not left completely in the linguistic cold in the medium term: as the *Sie* (+ pl.) begins to take over as the polite form at the end of the seventeenth century and *er/sie* is used for social inferiors (into the nineteenth century), classical eighteenth-century drama actually reverts to a polite form in *Ihr*.

Further reading

Jungandreas (1935); Powell (1972); Semenjok (1990); V. Unwerth (1908); Vennemann and Wagner (1970); Weinhold (1853); Wiesinger (1970).

IV New High German (c.1700–c.1945)

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the written language had already clearly developed away from both spoken dialects and regional scribal traditions. This emerging standard was the product of various levelling processes which had taken place over a long period of time, relied on the avoidance and eradication of dialectal extremes in the choice of particular words and grammatical structures and involved authors and printers working in quite a variety of text-types and socio-linguistic contexts: adaptations and editions of Bible texts and devotional literature, communications in business and chancery language, pragmatic, everyday texts such as early newspapers. It should be stressed, of course, that despite the attraction of literary-linguistic history to the monumental achievements of 'great men', the standard cannot have been the product of a single individual such as Luther, Gellert, or Goethe. Rather it was the result of a complex, *invisible hand* process made up of several, often interrelated phenomena such as the economic imperative of the printing industry (i.e. the extension of the market to as many regions as possible), supra-regional systems of communication (e.g. chanceries), and the authority and exemplary status of certain texts (e.g. the Bible). The supra-regional written form, which in the first instance can be seen in printed texts, develops further and consolidates its position in the course of the eighteenth century due to a number of factors: the influence of grammarians such as Gottsched and Adelung, the effect of exemplary 'Schreibarten' (style of composition) in various genres, e.g. private letters (Gellert), moral weeklies (*Die Vernünftigen Tadelninnen*, *Der Patriot*), scientific prose (Christian Wolff), and the fine style and status of literary language in the second half of the eighteenth century. The major linguistic features of the period were the gradual rejection of the stylistic ideal encapsulated in complex baroque/chancery syntax, a more moderate attitude to the use of loan words, and the rapid development of artistic prose.

In the nineteenth century and twentieth century, the growth of the press, along with the introduction of compulsory schooling, ensured the spread of the standard to a large proportion of the population. In the first instance, however, this standard was retained as little more than passive knowledge: late into the nineteenth century many examples of private writing in particular social groups (farmers, women) show distinct deviations from the standard. Even today, the biographical background of language users plays a significant role in German's various oral and written varieties. Socio-geographic changes such as the need for employees to commute from their villages to work-places in larger urban centres also led to shifts in the relation between dialect, urban/regional varieties and the standard.

The NHG period as a whole is characterized by phonological and morphological stability. However, syntax is marked by the move away from complex baroque structures to the ideal of natural composition and there are dramatic changes in the range of text-types and media as well as in the lexicon. These developments follow on from scientific, technical and social innovations and the corresponding reflexes in the communicative inventories needed for their articulation. The discipline of Chemistry, for instance, is a prime example. Its decisive break from the episteme of alchemy in the second half of the eighteenth century led, as in other fields of scholarship, to the foundation of new scientific outlets (learned journals), which through their different communicative emphasis (journal article vs. treatise) had a direct effect on forms of expression: due to restrictions of length introduced by the article format, the principle of *completeness* in scientific debate gradually had to make room for one of *selection*.

Changes in science, technology, everyday and public life naturally manifest themselves particularly strongly and quickly in the lexicon. In the NHG period the most striking domains of lexical innovation came about due to many factors: linguistic endeavour in the fields of philosophy and mathematics (e.g. Christian Wolff), the decline of phlogiston-chemistry and the rise of oxygen theory, the discovery of electricity, the construction of the railway, the invention of photography and the telephone, the development within the medical sciences of cellular pathology, technical revolutions in the practicalities of manual labour, the appearance of new realms of activities (e.g. *Turnen* and later sport in general), new subjects of public discourse (e.g. the social questions of the nineteenth century) and indeed the advent of potent ideologies (e.g. racial theories). In addition, influence was exerted on the vocabulary of German by new modes of socio-linguistic behaviour such as the principle of politeness, as well as by the dependence on foreign models in specific domains such as French in cookery, English in sport, etc.

Such linguistic innovation is accompanied by countless attempts to describe and reflect upon the German language, of which perhaps the most prominent examples are: praise of the mother tongue (e.g. Leibniz), the rejection of foreign influence (e.g. the moral weeklies), the cultivation of linguistic ideals (e.g. Gellert on style, Gottsched on grammar), lexicographic endeavour in the description of German and its dialects (e.g. the dictionaries of Stieler, Frisch, Steinbach, Adelung, Campe, the brothers Grimm, Sanders, Weigand, the *Idiotioken* of the eighteenth century and the regional dictionaries from Schmeller onwards), and finally the genesis of *Germanistik* as a discipline with its grand projects such as the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, the *Deutscher Sprachatlas*, historical and practical grammars of German and the *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch*. This work not only founded a broad academic discipline, but set the agenda and parameters of research well into the twentieth century.¹

Further reading

v. Polenz (1994, 1999); Blackall ([1959] 1966); Tschirch (1960).

¹ An interesting comparison of research methodologies can be seen in the Marburg Sprachatlas's *Project DIWA* which is rewriting Wenker's late nineteenth-century inventory of German dialects with modern digital methods – <http://www.deutscher.sprachatlas.de>.

25 'Natural style'

Letters and Moral Weeklies

25.1 Context

During an audience with King Frederick II, Major Guichard reminded the monarch that Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, the Leipzig Professor who was also in attendance, had amongst other things published epistolary works:

Major: Er hat auch deutsche Briefe herausgegeben.

K[önig]: So? Hat Er denn auch wider den *Stylum curiae* geschrieben?

G[ellert]: Ach ja, Ihre Majestät.

K.: Aber warum wird das nicht anders? Es ist was Verteufeltes. Sie bringen mir ganze Bogen, und ich verstehe nichts davon. (..)

Frederick II's dismay is an eloquent explanation for the need for a fundamental change in prose style that was keenly felt by the mid eighteenth century. Whilst the old style was typified by chancery texts with their formulas, complicated syntax and reliance on rigid textual models, the new style was based on the principle of natural composition (*natürliche Schreibart*) and developed primarily in private letters between friends. One of its most successful proponents was Gellert. It was his reputation as a poet (e.g. fables) that, along with the eighteenth century cult of friendship, was mainly responsible for the dissemination of the new principles and models of composition in letters, which in turn were to spread to other types of prose text (see Nickisch 1971: 4). Other factors in this complex development include the increasing esteem in which the German language was held in the course of the seventeenth century (e.g. Leibniz), as well as the influence of specific writers (e.g. Christian Wolff's role in scientific prose) and of certain text-types/media (e.g. the role of moral weeklies for the educated reading public, see Blackall [1959] 1966: ch. 3).

In short, the development towards 'natural' composition was a bedrock for 'the emergence of German as a literary language' (Blackall). Its central components can be summarized as: (i) a shift towards the private letter as a model for 'good' prose; (ii) changes in typical prose syntax; (iii) new principles of composition, such as clarity, elegance or wit. Its spread and influence were carried by various media and genres, two of which – private letters and moral weeklies – were particularly important and are explored in the texts below.

25.2 Texts and translations

A. An official letter, 1669

Dem wohlgebornen, Unserm geheimen-, regierungs- und kriegsrath undt lieben getreuen Ferdinand freyherrn von Degenfeldt, edlen und panier-herrn auff Hohen-Eybach, Dürnaw undt Neühausen, Dürnaw.

Schwetzingen den 27. Aprilis 1669.

5 Wohlgeborner, besonders lieber Freyherr,
Nachdem zu hinleg- und entscheidung der zwischen mir undt dem fürstl. badischen hauß obschwebender nachbarlicher irrungen ich mit der herren marggraven zu Baden Baden undt Baden Durlach L. Liebden eine göttliche conferentz auff den 4./14. May schierst künfftig veranlaßet undt dazu Ihn
10 neben meinen respectivè regierungs-räthen und fauthen zu Germersheim, von Helmstett undt Velinx, gern gebrauchen wolte, dafern es Seine ietzige gelegenheit zulaßen könte, alß habe Ihme solches hiemit zu wißen thun wollen, damit uff erwehten fall Er vor angeregtem termin, so baldt es möglich, sich zu Heidelberg einfinden, auß der sachen informiren und
15 dann auff gedachte zeit an beiderseiths beliebtem orth, nebens obged. meinen dazu verordneten räthen, die göttliche handlung würcklich antretten möge, welches mir dan sehr angenehm sein wirdt, undt ich verbleibe

Deßelben bereitwilliger allzeit

Carl Ludwig C P.

(Text: Holland 1884: 383)

B. Scientific prose, 1681

Als mir kurtz-verwichener Tagen ein zu Dijon getrucktes Französisches Tractätlein ohngefehr in die hände gerieth von dem jüngst-entstandenen, nunmehr aber auß unserem Gesicht fast verschwundenen Comet- oder Schwantz-sternen, in welchem der Author den damals noch zukünfftigen
5 Lauff desselben auß den vorhergehenden angemerckten Erscheinungen außzurechnen sich bemühet; und ich aber merckte, daß der Ausgang nicht gänzlich damit eingetroffen, angesehen er den Stillstand des Cometens den 6. Mertzen St.N. an die Grundseiten des Nordlichen Dreyeckes hinverleget, da er doch schon 6. 16. Hornung bey die 9 Stufen
10 fürtergeloffen ware, und nunmehr zwischen dem Medusenhaupt und der Bienen sich befindet: Als fienge ich an der Ursach dieses Irrthums nachzusinnen, und obs nicht möglich seye, den ungewissen Lauff dieser Wundersternen endlich in gewisse Schrancken und grundmäßige Gesätze einzufassen, und also eine Theoriam Cometarum anzuordnen, vermittelt
15 welcher man dieselbe einiger maßen möchte vorherwissen und verkündigen, nicht anders als die Finsternissen der beyden Himmels-Liechteren. (...)

(Bernoulli [1681] 1969: 137)

C. Gellert, *Model letter*, 1751

Madam,
Freuen Sie sich! Jch bin entsetzlich für meinen Eigensinn bestraft worden. Dasmal auf einer Landkutsche gefahren, und nimmermehr wieder! Sie haben mir dafür, daß ich mich nicht erbitten lassen wollte, noch einen Tag
5 länger bey Jhnen zu bleiben, und die Post zu erwarten, unmöglich so viel Böses wünschen können, als mir auf meiner Rückreise begegnet ist. Ueber sechs Meilen habe ich zween Tage auf der Kutsche und eine Nacht in der Schenke zubringen müssen. Werden Sie das wohl glauben? Den linken Arm trage ich in einer Binde, und ich wäre sehr glücklich, wenn
10 ich den Kopf auch in einer tragen könnte; so zerschlagen ist er mir. Jch habe binnen acht Tagen noch nicht ein vernünftiges Wort denken können, und wer weis, ob ichs jemals wieder lerne. Das hätte noch gefehlt! Doch die Beschwerlichkeiten des Fuhrwerks sind immer noch das wenigste, wenn ich an meine Reisegefährten denke. Stellen Sie sich
15 einmal vor, wie ich in einem schwer bepackten Wagen nebst drey Personen unter einem blauen Tuche, darunter man hätte ersticken mögen, eingeschlossen sitze. Jch will Jhnen diese Leute auf die Art bekannt machen, wie ich sie habe kennen lernen. Ein bejahrter Mann mit einem hagern Gesichte, das völlig ein Dreyeck ausmachte, mit ein Paar kleinen pechschwarzen Augen, mit einer Nase, die ganz über seinen Knebelbart herunter hieng; Kurz, ein Mann in einer gelben Perücke, in einem grünen
20 Rocke, in einer ledernen Weste, mit einem schwarzen Degengehenke umgürtet, die blauen Strümpfe nicht zu vergessen, war mein Nachbar. Jch sahe ihn Anfangs für einen Zahnarzt an, und hielt den Mund fest zu,
25 damit er nicht etwan mitten im Fahren seine Kunst an mir probiren möchte. Jndem ich die übrigen Gesichter aufsuchen will: so stößt er mich ziemlich freundschaftlich in die Seite, und präsentirt mir seine beinerne Schnupftobacksdose. Mit Verlaub, fieng er an, wo wollen Sie hin? Jch antwortete ihm kurz, nach Leipzig, und machte ihm eine finstre Mine,
30 weil ich nicht mit ihm reden wollte. Aber ie finstrer ich aussah, destomehr gewann er mich lieb. (...)

(Text: Gellert [1751] 1971: 126–8)

D. *Moral Weekly*, 1725

Als ich mich neulich auff der Börse ein wenig vertreten hatte, und in einer Ecke niedersetzen wollte: erblickte ich unter der Banck eine Rolle Papier. ... Ich nahm sie auf; ich entfaltete sie, und fand dieselbe überall beschrieben mit Dingen, die einen andern Platz verdienen, als
5 unter der Banck zu stecken. ... Es sind gleichsam Historische Brocken, welche der Eigner zu seiner Erbauung, bey dem Durchlesen allerley Bücher, scheinete aufgezeichnet zu haben; aber zugleich uns allen damit ein rühmliches Beyspiel gegeben hat, wie man sich, was man lieset oder höret, im gantzen Leben zu Nutze machen soll.
10 *Philippus der Andere*, König in Spanien, fing das eine Blat an, hatte

einst mit seinem geheimen Secretarius, an Ausfertigung wichtiger Sachen bis in die späte Nacht gearbeitet, auch sehr vieles mit eigener Hand geschrieben. Der Secretarius will in aller Geschwindigkeit Sand auff die Königliche Schrifft streuen, und schüttet das Dinten=Horn darüber,
 15 an statt der Sand=Büchse. Der König sagte nicht ein einziges Wort; sondern setzte sich nieder, nam die Feder, und schrieb mit grosser Geduld alles abermahl von neuen, und als er fertig war, wendete er sich zum Secretarius mit diesen Worten: *Dort steht die Dinte, und hier die Sand=Büchse.*

20 Wer wollte aus einem so Durchläuchtigen Exempel nicht lernen seinen Zorn zu mäßigen? Neulich, sagt der Verfasser, als ich mit Verwunderung sahe, wie sich die Frau *Zornigin* entrüstete, und schalt, als etwa die Köchin den Topff mit der Hüner=Suppe verschüttet hatte; gedachte ich an König *Philipp* und seinen Secretarius; wünschte auch mir und allen
 25 Menschen ein Theil seiner geduldtigen Mäßigung, gegen das so genannte Uebel der *Aergerniß*.

(Text: Der Patriot. No. 56, 1725, in: Martens 1970: 26–7)

A. To his Honour, our Privy Counsellor, Senior Government Minister and War Minister and dear loyal Ferdinand, Baron of Degenfeld, Noble and Banner Lord of Hoheneibach, Dürnau and Neuhausen, in Dürnau. Schwetzingen, 27 April 1669.

Your Honour, most dear Baron,

After I called an amicable conference with the honourable Lord Margrave of Baden-Baden and Baden-Durlach in the near future on the 4/14 [old/new calendar style] May for the settlement and deciding of the neighbourly conflict existing between myself and the princely house of Baden and very much wanted to call on him alongside my respective government ministers and governor [*Vogt*] of Germersheim, Hermstedt and Velinx, insofar as his current situation would allow, thus I wanted to inform him of this herewith, so that he may, in the case aforementioned, before the aforementioned appointment, as soon as possible find his way to Heidelberg, inform himself of matters and then at the above-mentioned time in a location agreeable to both parties, along with the aforementioned ministers of mine commissioned for that purpose, take up the amicable negotiation actively, which will then be very agreeable for me, and I remain

his ever willing

Carl Ludwig CP.

B. When a few days ago I more or less stumbled upon a little French pamphlet printed in Dijon about the comet or tail-star that recently emerged but has now almost vanished from our sight, in which the author endeavoured to calculate its then future course from the preceding noted appearances, and I however noticed that the outcome had not entirely come true, given the fact that he [erroneously] places the standstill of the comet on 6 March *stylo novo* [new calender style] at the lower side of the Northern Triangle, whereas it had already run further around 9 degrees by 6/16 February and now finds

itself between the Head of Medusa and the Bee, thus I began to ponder the cause of this error, and whether it was not possible to finally frame the uncertain course of these strange and wonderful stars in certain limits and basic laws and thus to arrange a theory of the comets with the aid of which one might to some extent predict and announce them, not unlike the eclipses of both heavenly lights. (. . .)

C. Madam,

Be gleeful! I have been horribly punished for my obstinacy. Once travelled by country coach, never again! For my refusal to be persuaded to stay a day longer with you and to await the post, you could not possibly have wished me as much harm as I encountered on my return. To cover six miles I had to spend two days in the coach and a night in an inn. Can you believe it? I carry my left arm in a bandage and I would be very happy if I could also carry my head in one, so knocked about is it. Inside eight days I have not yet been able to think a single sensible word and who knows if I will ever learn to again. I could have much done without it! Yet the tribulations of the coach remain the least problem when I consider my travelling companions. Just imagine me sitting cooped up in a heavily loaded wagon next to three people under a blue blanket under which one could have suffocated. I wish to acquaint you with these people in the way I got to know them. An elderly man with a gaunt face that made a complete triangle, with a couple of small pitch-black eyes, with a nose that hung right over his twisted moustache; in brief, a man in a yellow wig, in a green jacket, a leather waistcoat, belted with a black scabbarded hunting belt, not to forget the blue stockings, was my neighbour. At first I took him to be a dentist and kept my mouth closed tightly so that he did not want to do something like practise his art on me in the middle of the journey. As I want to call on the other faces – he nudges me quite friendly in the side and offers me his bony snuff box. If you will pardon my asking, he began, were are you heading? I gave him a short answer, to Leipzig, and adopted a black expression, because I did not want to speak to him. Yet the blacker I looked, the more he took to me. (. . .)

D. Recently, after I had stretched my legs a little at the stock exchange and wished to sit down in a corner, I caught sight of a role of paper under a bench. . . . I picked it up; I unfolded it, and found it to be inscribed everywhere with things which deserve to be in another place than to be lying under a bench. . . . they are like historical fragments that the owner appears to have noted for his own edification from the reading of all sorts of books but at the same time has given us all a laudable example of how one is to put to use in one's entire life what one reads or hears.

Philippus the Second, King of Spain, began the one page, had once, with his privy counsellor, worked late into the night in drawing up important matters and had also written a great deal in his own hand. The counsellor wants to strew sand over the royal script quite swiftly and pours the ink horn over it instead of the sand box. The king did not say a mumbling word, but sat

himself down, took the quill and with great patience wrote everything once more from scratch, and when he was finished he turned to his counsellor with the words, 'There is the ink, and here is the sand box'.

Who could not wish to learn from such a serene example to restrain his anger. Recently, says the author, as I saw with amazement how Lady *Furious* became outraged and cursed when, for example, the cook had knocked over the pot with the chicken soup, I thought of King Philip and his counsellor and wished for myself too and for all people a fraction of his patient restraint against the evil known as annoyance.

25.3 Syntax

Text A6–19 and text B, with their long and complicated syntax, typify sentence structure in the seventeenth century. In A the period is constructed around the subordinate clause, starting with *nachdem*, and the main clause *alß habe . . . zu wißßen thun wollen* (A12f.), in which the personal pronoun is omitted. The subordinate clause (*Nachdem . . . ich . . . veranlaßet*, A6–9) is extended by several complex prepositional and noun phrases, and is additionally linked with another subordinate clause (*undt dazu Ihn . . . gern gebrauchen wolte*, A9–11), which itself is then extended by a long prepositional phrase (A10–11). Dependent on this clause is another subordinate clause, which starts with the conjunction *daßern* (A11–12). Similarly, the main clause is extended by a complex final clause (*damit . . . Er . . . möge*, A13–17), on which a relative clause (*welches . . .*, A17) and a coordinated main clause (*und ich verbleibe . . .*, A17ff.) are dependent. This type of complex syntactic organization was not the sole preserve of administrative and official texts. Text B, for instance, a piece of scientific prose, displays a period with essentially the same basic 'ingredients' in its complex syntactic organization: a subordinate clause (*Als . . . B1*) preceding the main clause (*Als . . . B11*), forms of coordination and of further subordination, as well as complex prepositional and noun phrases.

Texts C and D, on the other hand, display a number of obvious differences. First, the sentences are shorter and less complex – the longest in C/D run to only around one third of the length of those in A/B. Second, embedding and subordination rarely extend beyond the first degree (see Admoni 1990: 212). Third, the letters contain syntactic structures which are modelled on spoken language, e.g. exclamative utterance forms (C8, C12/13). Fourth, the syntactic structures contain a certain amount of variation, some of which is used for stylistic effect, e.g. contrast (C30/31) or intensification (the sequence of colour adjectives in the same syntactic position in C21–22). Such effects fit clearly with key principles of composition like *Munterkeit* (vividness) or *Deutlichkeit* (clarity).

Naturally, patterns of syntactic organization still varied widely in the seventeenth century, so that the contrast between A/B and C/D is intended only to illustrate a *tendency*. Nonetheless this tendency was an important one which led to a shift in the syntactic structures of what was considered to be 'good' prose and established itself as a stylistic ideal in the eighteenth century. The shift impacts differently according to textual domain. In legal language, for instance, the old ideal of complex syntax was still being upheld as late as the end of the eighteenth century (see

Frederick II's *warum wird das nicht anders?* [25.1] and Goethe's conservative views on legal language [26.5]).

25.4 Principles of composition and the ideal of 'good' prose

In addition to providing models of 'good' prose, both Gellert and the authors of the moral weeklies also reflected upon the principles of composition. Gellert did this in the rules section of his writings on epistolography, whilst there are several instances in the moral weeklies where aspects of language use come under scrutiny. For instance, in No. 55 of *Der Patriot* (1725, see Martens 1970), the author discusses the principles of his *Schreib-Arth* and of good style in general. Among other things, he introduces the rationalist assumption of a close connection between thinking and writing: 'Die Kunst, wohl zu schreiben, beruhet vornehmlich auff einer zwahr angebohrnen, aber zugleich geübten Fertigkeit, ordentlich und wohl zu denken' (vol. 2, p. 16). In this way, the whole idea of good style contributed to the Enlightenment goal of clear thinking: 'Meine Absicht war . . . die Schärfung des Geschmacks und die Aufräumung des Verstandes bey meinen Landes-Leuten dadurch zu befördern' (p. 16). This notion was underpinned by a series of positive expressions such as *klar, deutlich, natürlich, rein, munter, nett, leicht, begreiflich* and a whole word field of antonyms: *weit hergeholt, verworren, platt, gemein, langweilig, unnatürlich, pedantisch*:

Alles, was tieff, und nicht zugleich klahr, oder deutlich ist, ist unnatürlich. Die Tiefe einer Schrift aber besteht nicht in weit hergeholtten durch einander verworrenen Metaphorischen und Geheimnißvollen Redens-Arthen, sondern allein in der Bündigkeit und dem Gewichte der Sachen selbst: so wie die Deutlichkeit sich gleichfalls nicht durch platte, gemeine und langweilige Ausdrückungen äussert, sondern vielmehr durch einen reinen, muntern und netten Vortrag dieser Sachen. Demnach ist eines jeden Schrift-Stellers nohtwendige Pflicht, seine Gedancken so leicht und begreiflich vorzustellen, daß man sie nicht allein ohne das geringste Kopff-brechen verstehen könne, sondern daß es auch blosserding un möglich sey, sie nicht zu verstehen.

(*Der Patriot*, 1725, No. 55 in Martens 1969–84, vol. 2, p. 21)

These principles were usually illustrated in three ways: (i) by model texts; (ii) occasionally by further reflexions on how the principles could be followed; (iii) by discussion of what might count as a violation of the principles (see Niefanger 1997: ch. 5 for examples in the *Vernünfftigen Tadlerinnen*).

25.5 Lexical consequences

The principle of purity influenced both the lexical form of texts and the realization of certain linguistic acts. Principally, the avoidance of foreign words was

encouraged. Both Gellert's letters and the moral weeklies, especially the *Patriot*, contain very few foreign words, and this is the case in texts C and D, where the few words of foreign origin (e.g. *probieren*, *Secretarius*, or *Exempel*) were already very established elements of German vocabulary in the eighteenth century. The criticism of foreign influence also focused on forms of communication such as the compliment. These strands of linguistic criticism are part of a tradition that reaches back to mid-seventeenth-century purism (see ch. 23) and extends to later attempts to raise the profile and status of the German language (e.g. Leibniz, Thomasius). The following piece from *Die Vernünfftigen Tadlerinnen* (1726) includes a statement about language decay, an example of the violation of the principle of purity (foreign words and foreign forms of complimenting), an explicit criticism of such behaviour and praise of the *Mutter-Sprache*:

Unsere Sprache selbst ist nicht mehr natürlich, oder rein, wie vor Zeiten, sondern entweder voller gekünstelten und schwülstigten Redens-Arten, oder voller lateinischen, jtalienischen und frantzösischen vermeinten Zierlichkeiten (. . .) Es kam am neuen Jahrs-Tage ein gewisser Mensch zu einem meiner Anverwandten, der sein Gönner ist, eben als ich ihm so zu reden nur mit dreyen, aber wohlgemeinten Worten Glück gewünscht hatte. Eure *Excellence* werden *pardoniren*, hieß es: daß ich als *Dero Client* mir die *Permission* ausgebeten zu dem mit aller *Prosperité* angetretenen Neuen Jahre mit gehorsamsten *Respecte* und tiefen *Submission* zu *gratuliren*, und *sincerement* zu wünschen, daß der Höchste Eure *Excellence* in allem *contentement* dieses und viel andere Jahre *conserviren* wolle, damit ich ehestens *occasion* habe meine *temoignage* zu zeigen. Hätte der gute Mensch mehr frantzösische Worte gewust, ich zweifele nicht, er würde sie eben so artig in seinen Glückwunsch zu flechten gewust haben, als dieses unvergleichliche *temoignage*. Er versteht die frantzösische Sprache nicht besser als ich die hottentottische; und dieses wäre ihm keine Schande, wenn er nur seine Mutter-Sprache verstünde.

(*Die Vernünfftigen Tadlerinnen*, 1725, Nr. 2, pp. 9ff. in Gottsched 1992)

Yet the principle of natural composition itself contributed to the decay of word groups, particularly those that were closely connected to administrative writing. For instance, expressions such as *erwehnt* (A13), *angeregt* (A13) and *obgedacht* (A15), which were employed for cross referencing within a text, had been widely used in MHG legal texts, whence they spread to other text-types without ever losing their chancery flavour. As with other expressions which had emanated from chancery language, this formerly flourishing word-field came to be regarded as *pedantisch* and 'unnatural' and thus died a natural death (Glöning 2003: ch. 4).

Further reading

Admoni (1990: 211–14); Blackall ([1959] 1966: ch. 3); Martens (1968); Nickisch (1969); Niefanger (1997).

26 J.W. Goethe

Literature, natural sciences and administration

26.1 Context

Goethe's language mirrors the wide interests of a man who was active in several fields. Three in particular are outstanding in terms of language use and text production: his justly renowned literary production, his writings on topics from the natural sciences, and his administrative writings as a *Geheimrat* at the court of Carl August of Sachsen-Weimar. Thus Goethe is a worthy subject for linguistic analysis not just on literary grounds, but also due to his use of technical language in many specialized fields such as anatomy, geology, mineralogy and mining, vulcanology, plant morphology, the theory of vision and colour, the theory of literature and poetry, theatre and theatre management, and administration. In terms of the central domains of language use, Goethe's sheer breadth provides us with a linguistic cross-section around 1800. In addition, his range allows us to examine the interaction between creative innovation and established linguistic patterns. Goethe's language is rich in creative usages and innovations in some fields, but conservative and even reactionary in others. Whilst he let the protagonist of *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* complain bitterly against the stringent practices of chancery style, Goethe himself defended this traditional and patriarchal style (still in use c.1780) against Carl August's proposals for modernization (26.5). However, this should not be seen as a contradiction, but rather as an example of Goethe's adherence to the ideal of linguistic aptness (*Angemessenheit*) in all contexts – something viewed by Wolfgang Schadewaldt, classical philologist and founder of the Goethe-dictionary, as the major ingredient of Goethe's linguistic mastery (Goethe-Wörterbuch I, 9*f).

It is important to note that Goethe's linguistic mastery is not entirely a personal achievement, as it depends to varying degrees (even in the literary domain) on the traditions of the text-type in which he was writing. Textual traditions not only come with different linguistic rules or customs (e.g. lexicon, syntactic organization), but include typical elements and customs of textual organization. In the natural sciences, for instance, typical linguistic activities and text elements include the introduction of new objects and terminology, the classification of objects, the description of prototypes, the formulation and explanation of regularities. The major text elements of a ducal order (*Reskript*), on the other hand, are quite different: the address, the subject, the *intitulatio*, the account of the matter at hand, the decision and the *scriptio*. Of course, the textual traditions of poetry

are somewhat broader in scope, but in a text such as *Von deutscher Baukunst* (1773, text A) there are clear traces of the textual traditions of the *genus laudabile* (praise genre).

Clearly it is not possible to provide an overall account of Goethe's language and language use. If the aim of this chapter – to give an impression of linguistic mastery as a form of interaction between the flair of an individual and the textual traditions within which (s)he works – is of necessity more modest, it does nonetheless cut to the heart of a key linguistic phenomenon. August Langen commented: 'Goethes sprachliche Entwicklung spiegelt noch einmal in der stärksten dichterischen Potenz die Wandlungen der Zeit' (1957: 1117f.). In this sense, textual traditions function as important links between an individual and his/her 'time', and such links operate not just in the literary sphere, but, with varying dynamics, in virtually all fields of textual production.

26.2 Texts and translations

A. *Von deutscher Baukunst* (1773)

Wenigen ward es gegeben, einen Babelgedanken in der Seele zu zeugen, ganz, groß, und bis in den kleinsten Theil nothwendig schön, wie Bäume Gottes; wenigern, auf tausend bietende Hände zu treffen, Felsengrund zu graben, steile Höhen drauf zu zaubern, und dann sterbend ihren Söhnen zu sagen: ich bleibe bey euch, in den Werken meines Geistes, vollendet das begonnene in die Wolken.

5 Was brauchts dir Denkmaal! und von mir! Wenn der Pöbel heilige Namen ausspricht, ists Aberglaube oder Lästerung. Dem schwachen Geschmäcker wirds ewig schwindlen an deinem Coloß, und ganze Seelen werden dich

10 erkennen ohne Deuter.

(Goethe 1773: 3–4)

B. *Versuch die Metamorphose der Pflanzen zu erklären* (1790)

§ 11 – Es sind diese ersten Organe unter dem Nahmen *Cotyledonen* bekannt; man hat sie auch Samenklappen, Kernstücke, Samenlappen, Samenblätter genannt, und so die verschiedenen Gestalten, in denen wir sie gewahr werden zu bezeichnen gesucht.

5 § 12 – Sie erscheinen oft unförmlich, mit einer rohen Materie gleichsam ausgestopft, und eben so sehr in die Dicke als in die Breite ausgedehnt; ihre Gefäße sind unkenntlich, und von der Masse des Ganzen kaum zu unterscheiden; sie haben fast nichts ähnliches von einem Blatte, und wir können verleitet werden sie für besondere Organe anzusehen.

10 § 13 – Doch nähern sie sich bey vielen Pflanzen der Blattgestalt; sie werden flächer, sie nehmen, dem Licht und der Luft ausgesetzt, die grüne Farbe in einem höhern Grade an, die in ihnen enthaltenen Gefäße werden kenntlicher, den Blattrippen ähnlicher.

§ 14 – Endlich erscheinen sie uns als wirkliche Blätter, ihre Gefässe sind
 15 der feinsten Ausbildung fähig, ihre Aehnlichkeit mit den folgenden Blättern
 erlaubt uns nicht sie für besondere Organe zu halten, wir erkennen sie
 vielmehr für die ersten Blätter des Stengels.

(Goethe 1790)

C. Goethe and his colleagues at work (1779)

B 4. Ad Regimen Vinariense

den von dem Amte Imenau wegen Beybehaltung einiger bewehrten
 Mannschafft von der dasigen aufgehobnen Land Compagnie beschehenen
 Antrag betr.

5 Von Gottes Gnaden Carl August, Herzog zu Sachsen.

Veste und Hochgelahrte Rätthe, liebe Getreue. Es ist Uns aus demienigen
 Bericht, welchen Ihr, durch den bey Euch von dem Amte Imenau, dass
 einige bewehrte Mannschafft von der dasigen aufgehobnen Land
 Compagnie zu Streifungen, Arretirungen und Transporten, wegen der
 10 dasigen Spezial-Verfassung beybehalten werden möchte, beschehenen
 Antrag, anhero zu erstatten veranlasst worden, so wie zugleich aus denen
 anbey zurückfolgenden Akten der gehorsamste Vortrag geschehen.

Gleichwie Wir nun aber bey der Entschliessung, die in dem Amte
 Imenau etwa nötige Hülfe auf den Fus der übrigen Aemter einrichten
 15 zu lassen, zu beharren für rätlich erachten; so wollen Wir doch,
 damit die Einwohner und Unterthanen keine beschwerliche Neuerung
 befürchten mögen, die alte Einrichtung, was die Bezahlung betrifft,
 dergestalt beybehalten wissen, dass die Wachen, wie bevor, ohnentgeltlich
 verrichtet, Streifungen Arretirungen Transporte und was dahin gehört,
 20 hergebrachter Maase vergütet werden sollen; Wodurch alle Besorgniss
 einiger Widerspännigkeit gehoben und übrigens nach der allgemeinen
 Ordnung auch daselbst mit hoffentlicher guter Würckung verfahren
 werden kan.

25 Welches Wir Euch andurch ohnverhalten mit dem gnädigsten Begehren,
 Ihr wollet das Erforderliche hiernach verfügen.

An dem, und Wir p.

Geben Weimar den 15 Januar 1779.

Remittatur 1 Fasciculus Actorum.

(Goethe 1950: 44–5)

A. Few were called to create a Babel idea in their soul, complete, great, and
 even in the smallest detail necessarily beautiful, like trees of God; fewer were
 called to encounter a thousand offering hands, to excavate foundations of
 rock, to conjure up steep heights, and to then say dying unto their sons: I
 remain among you, in the works of my mind – complete into the clouds
 what has been begun. You [Erwin von Steinbach] do not need a [written]
 monument! Much less one written by me! If the masses pronounce holy
 names, it is superstition or blasphemy. The weak adherent of the *Geschmack-*

doctrine will be eternally dizzy before your colossus, and entire souls will recognize you without interpreter.

B. § 11 – These first organs are known by the name cotyledons; they have also been called seed pods, kernels, seed lobes, seed leaves, and this way, people have tried to designate the different forms in which we recognize them.

§ 12 – They often appear misshapen, as though stuffed with a rough material, and expanded just as much in thickness as in width; their veins are unrecognizable and can hardly be distinguished from the mass of the whole; they do not have anything so much like a leaf, and we can be led to regarding them as special organs.

§ 13 – Yet in many plants they approach the shape of a leaf; they become flatter, they take on to a higher degree, if exposed to light and air, the green colour, the veins contained within them become more recognizable, more similar to leaf veins.

§ 14 – They finally appear to us as genuine leaves, their veins are capable of the finest development, their similarity to the following leaves prevents us from taking them to be special organs, we recognize them rather as the first leaves of the stem.

C. To the government in Weimar

Re: Request submitted by the district administration of Ilmenau for the retention of some armed forces from the local disbanded district force

By God's grace, Carl August, duke of Saxony.

Constant and most learned councillors, dear loyal followers,

We have loyally been informed [by our councillors] both from the relevant documents that we send back to you enclosed herewith and from your report, that you had reasons to send us here and which was due to the request, submitted to you by the district administration of Ilmenau to the effect that an armed team from the local disbanded district force should be retained, due to the local special constitution, for military expeditions, arrests and transport tasks.

Despite the fact that we consider it advisable to persist in our decision to have set up the potentially necessary assistance in the district of Ilmenau in the same way as the other districts, we do wish, however, so that the residents and subjects need not fear an arduous renewal, to be certain that the old set up, as far as payment is concerned, is retained in such a way that the watches, as previously, shall be performed without pay and that the military expeditions, arrests and transport tasks and everything pertaining to them shall be remunerated in the manner as is custom, whereby all concern about any rebelliousness is alleviated and in all other matters one can proceed in accordance with the general regulations in this place as well, and hopefully with good effect.

All of which we let you know hereby with the most gracious request that you may decree all as is necessary in accordance with the above.

With which . . . We . . . [= Beginning of formulas that were inserted in the official copy only]

Given Weimar, 15 January 1779

1 fascicle of documents shall be sent back herewith.

26.3 Syntax and grammatical structure

There is a marked difference in the syntax of our three texts. The literary text A is fairly uncomplex: it has a range of paratactic structures (short: A8–10; long: 1–6), and its hypotactic constructions retain a level of relatively simple embedding (A7–8). In A1–6 the parallel structure and gradation (*Wenigen . . . wenigern . . .*) is a typical artistic intensifying device. More specifically, certain syntactical structures and liberties of word order are typical features of the *Geniezeit* or *Sturm und Drang* prose: inversion (e.g. A5 rather than *ich bleibe in den Werken meines Geistes bey euch*), exclamations (A7), and aspects of the spoken language such as exbracketation (*Ausklammerung*: A2/3) and elements placed outside the normal frame (*Nachtrag*: *und von mir!* A7).¹

Text B displays a high degree of syntactic uniformity. The sentences are connected paratactically and usually contain no more than two or three clauses. In our example, the degree of embedding in hypotactic structures does not go beyond the first level. Neither literary devices nor features of spoken language are in evidence, and the choice of sentence structure is determined by subject-matter-dependent tasks which follow key principles of scientific writing such as clarity and comprehensibility.

Text C is quite different in syntactic organization and might come as a surprise to readers who are only acquainted with Goethe's literary or scientific output. C6–12 and C13–23 are clear examples of a chancery style that had been in use from the earliest German charters in the thirteenth century and fourteenth century (see ch. 14). The main principle of this kind of writing, the *Schachtelsatz*, involves disconnecting (often long) phrases/clauses that belong together via embedding. To give an account of the syntactical connections and the technique of embedding, a simple system of indention can be used in which expressions that belong together are placed on the same level of indention and are marked with the same number at the left margin:

- 1 **Es ist Uns**
- 2 **aus demienigen Bericht,**
- 3 **welchen Ihr,**
- 4 **durch den bey Euch von dem Amte Ilmenau,**
- 5 **dass einige bewehrte Mannschafft**
- von der dasigen aufgehobnen Land Compagnie**
- zu Streifungen, Arretirungen und Transporten,**
- wegen der dasigen Spezial-Verfassung**
- 5 **beybehalten werden möchte,**
- 4 **beschehenen Antrag,**
- 3 **anhero zu erstatten veranlasst worden,**
- 2 **so wie zugleich aus denen anbey zurückfolgenden Akten**
- 1 **der gehorsamste Vortrag geschehen.**

The sentence frame (1) consists of the expression *Es ist Uns . . . der gehorsamste Vortrag geschehen*. On the first level of embedding (2), we find a coordinated prepositional

1 On *Nachtrag* and *Ausklammerung* as categories of spoken German, see Schwitalla (1997: 80ff.).

phrase: *aus demienigen Bericht . . . so wie zugleich aus denen anbey zurückfolgenden Akten*. Dependent upon the noun *Bericht*, there is an embedded relative clause (3) *welchen Ihr . . . anhero zu erstatten veranlasst worden*. On the next level of embedding (4) there is a complex prepositional phrase with an extended participial attribute: *durch den bey Euch von dem Amte Ilmenau . . . beschehenen Antrag*. On the next level (5), a subordinate clause is embedded that gives the content of the *Antrag* (in a retarded position), a clause which itself is internally complex due to the embedding of three prepositional attributes. Note also that these embedded expressions *precede* the expression on which they are syntactically dependent (i.e. *Antrag*). Such left-embedded structures were hard for normal, non-professional readers to process and contributed greatly to the impression that chancery and legal texts of this kind were 'incomprehensible'. In addition, certain elements of this type of legal text have their own specific syntactic features. For instance, a subject line such as C2–4 typically consisted of the pres. part. *betreffend* (E *re.*) and a noun phrase of varying complexity which mentioned several aspects of the subject matter. The complexity of the noun phrase in C2–4 is based largely on an extended participial attribute (*erweitertes Partizipialattribut*, see Weber 1971).

26.4 Lexicon

Goethe's active vocabulary – which is currently being processed in the multi-volumed *Goethe-Wörterbuch* (GWb) on the basis of his writings and recorded dialogues – ran to an astonishing c.90,000 words. Many of these words have more than one established usage, a number are creative lexical innovations, and significant groups belong to specialized fields and subject areas.

26.4.1 Vocabulary and text-type

Text A includes several typical features of Goethe's language. (i) *Composita*: *Babelgedanke* (A1, 'großartige Baukonzeption, ausgehend von der Vorstellung des zum Himmel strebenden Turmes zu Babel' [GWb 2, 2]) is a creative coinage which the young Goethe used only this once. Semantically the term fits with the common ideological *Sturm und Drang* spirit of rebellion against a higher order. (ii) The use of lexical contrasts: *Bäume* and *zeugen* are examples of figurative usage of organic expressions for non-organic phenomena (here an architectural conception). This usage stems from the pantheistic thinking of the time which often made connections between the living and the non-living world. (iii) Words with a specific affinity to a particular phase of Goethe's thinking (*Grund- und Wesenswörter*): organic metaphors were a common feature amongst authors of the *Geniezeit* (e.g. Johann Gottfried Herder). Expressions such as *ganz* (A2, 9) clearly relate to Goethe's anthropological concept of man (see article *ganz*, GWb 3, 1080ff.); *ganze Seele* (A9) is used in sharp contrast to *schwacher Geschmäckler* (A8) and *Pöbel* (A7). In later life, Goethe used the more complex composition *Geschmäcklerpfaffenwesen* in a similar derogatory sense of literary critics (GWb 4, 50).

B is full of technical terms and usages from the domain of plant morphology: *Organ*, *Cotyledon*, *Samenklappe*, *Kernstück*, *Samenlappen*, *Samenblatt*, *Gefäß*, *Blatt*, *Blattgestalt*,

Blattrippe, *Stengel*. In addition, there are descriptive terms such as *unförmlich* or *flächer*, a number of comparisons (B5f. *gleichsam ausgestopft*), gradations (B12 *in einem höhern Grade*) and expressions of similarity (B8, 15). These linguistic means of description make it clear that Goethe was not establishing a clear cut classification in the Linnéan style but rather a number of prototypes with transition phenomena and borderline cases. The notion of a variety of different *Gestalten* (B3) and the transition between different *Gestalten* (*Gestaltenfülle*) is a crucial element in Goethe's scientific thinking (von Engelhardt 1962: 124f.). Thus the expression *Gestalt* is a central item in Goethe's vocabulary, in the same way that expressions of similarity and transition are generally important linguistic tools in such modes of scientific thinking.

C displays technical terms from the fields of political and public administration (C2 *Amt*, C4 *Antrag*, C10 *Spezial-Verfassung*, C12 *Vortrag*) and military organization (C3 *Mannschaft*, *Land Compagnie*, C9 *Streifung*, *Arretirung*, C18 *Wache*). In addition Goethe uses specific expressions that are required by the ducal order text-type: e.g. *betreffend* in the subject line, *ohnverhalten* (C24) and *Begehren* (C24) for the decision, or *vest*, *hochgelahrt* or *lieb* in the formal address (C6). All these expressions have a long tradition in German chancery writing: *vest* was used for normal citizens (non-clerical, non-noble), *hochgelahrt* for university graduates, whilst *lieb* indicated that the addressee was of lower rank than the writer. Such rules had been codified in chancery handbooks from the end of the fifteenth century onwards (e.g. Urban Wyß's *Cantzleysch Tittelbuoch*, 1553).

26.4.2 Loan words

Whilst there are virtually no foreign words in A (*Coloß* having been used in German since the sixteenth century), and of those in B (*Cotyledonen*, *Organ*, *Materie* and *Masse*) only two (*Cotyledon* and perhaps *Organ*) would still have been considered foreign by 1790, loans play an important role in C. Although Goethe is more moderate in his usage than many other *Geheimräte*, there is, alongside the interspersion of whole Latin quotations (C1, C28), a clear number of (mainly) established foreign words (*Compagnie*, *Arretirung*, *Transport*, *Spezial-*, *Akte*.² Thus, Goethe was not opposed to foreign words and used them with moderation and in accordance with textual traditions and his view of domain-specific linguistic appropriateness. But he was also not averse to crossing domain borders if this could contribute positively to his intentions. An example of this is his use of the term *Wahlverwandtschaft* (the title of one of his major novels). In the seventeenth century, Newton used L *attractio* in physics to mean 'attraction, attractive power'; in 1775, Thorbern Bergmann employed the extended term *attractio electiva* figuratively in the field of chemistry, a usage which was soon translated into German chemical terminology as *Wahlverwandtschaft* and *Wahlanziehung*. Goethe transposed the term from the field of chemistry to his literary account of changing relations in human society.

2 Goethe follows the common use of *Geben* (C27) a shortened form of *Gegeben*, which was a translation of the traditional *Datum* of older documents.

26.5 Chancery writing in 1785: everyday practice and reform

Writing drafts for ducal orders and decrees was the collective responsibility of several *Geheimräte*. One normally produced a first draft for the others – with varying degrees of success – to comment upon: Goethe's first draft *keine Neuerung und Beschwerdeung* (C16) was corrected to Schnauß I's *keine beschweerende Neuerung* whilst the latter's suggestion of placing *hingegen* after *verrichtet* (C19) to mark the contrast more explicitly was rejected. A good deal of this work is merely editorial and stylistic in nature, yet some examples show its wider importance, as can be seen from Goethe's corrections to Schnauß II (underlined):³

alß begehren wir gnädigt, Ihr wollet hiernach das Nöthige nach Erfurth in Antwort gelangen laßen, auch von der Folge der Unterhandlung zu seiner Zeit unterthänigsten Bericht anhero erstatten (Amtl. Schr. I, Nr. 71).

Schnauß II's draft requests a report about the course and the development of a particular negotiation, whereas Goethe's amendment saves someone a lot of administrative work by asking simply for the *result* of the negotiation in question.

Chancery style was not, however, universally appreciated in the eighteenth century. When Gellert visited the king of Prussia in 1760, Frederick II was pleased to hear that Gellert had spoken out against traditional chancery style:

Hat Er denn auch wider den *Stylum curiae* geschrieben? ... warum wird das nicht anders? Es ist was Verteufeltes. Sie bringen mir ganze Bogen, und ich verstehe nichts davon. (see ch. 25.)

When in 1785, Goethe and his Weimar colleagues were asked for their *votum* about a reform of the traditional chancery style, there was no uniform response. Schnauß I immediately produced a set of simplified text models, a sort of new *ars dictaminis* for future use in the Weimar chancery, which met with positive reaction from some of his colleagues. It was proposed (a) to move away from complex chancery syntax; (b) to give up certain text elements such as the *intitulatio* with its long titles or the formulaic *subscriptio*; (c) to go over to 'lean' text-types such as the *promemoria* which reduced complicated messages to their salient elements. Goethe, however, wrote a caustic *votum* in which he defended the forms and the value of the old traditions of chancery writing:

Im allgemeinen halte ich eine solche Veränderung eher schädlich als nützlich, indem sich an solche willkürlich scheinende Formen so mancherley Verhältnisse anknüpfen, die nunmehr zerrissen werden und die sich doch eine andre Gestalt suchen müssen [...] ein groser Herr ist dem Anstande etwas schuldig. Er entscheidet so oft über Schicksale der Menschen, er nehme ihnen nicht durch eilige Expeditionen den Glauben

3 There was more than one Schnauß in the Weimar chancery!

an Gesetztheit der Rathschläge. Ordnung kann ohne eine proportionirte Geschwindigkeit nicht bestehen, Eile ist eine Feindin der Ordnung so gut als Zögern.

(Goethe 1950, vol. 1, no. 201, p. 420)

Thus the image of Goethe as the master of the *Geniezeit* must be tempered with an appreciation of his linguistic conservatism in certain fields.

Further reading

Dill (1987); *Goethe-Wörterbuch* (1978-); Langen (1957), Objartel (forthcoming); Pörksen (1986).

27 Political pamphlets

Berlin 1848

27.1 Context

The political restoration of the post-Napoleonic period in Germany came to a crashing halt in March 1848 (hence the term *Vormärz*), a year of widespread revolution in Europe. News of events in France, where the third revolution in sixty years toppled King Louis Philippe, sparked off a year of social unrest in the German Confederation. In the face of peasant and artisan insurrection and liberal and democratic political pressure, rulers in Germany rushed into a series of concessions. A National Parliament was elected in April and met in the *Paulskirche* in Frankfurt to discuss constitutional reform and national unification. Although no political parties yet existed, it's individual members gravitated towards three groupings: conservatives (or reactionaries), liberals and democrats. The liberals had neither enough popular support nor political clout to harmonize with the more extreme democrats and combat the reactionaries or to connect with the more everyday needs of the peasants and workers. By April 1849 when King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia felt confident enough to turn down Parliament's offer of the crown of a united Germany, the revolution was over.

Historians are now revising the notion of 1848–9 as a 'turning point where Germany failed to turn' (see Fulbrook 1990: 117–23, Blackbourn 1997: 138–73): the abolishment of feudal relations in the agrarian sector and the beginnings of political groupings are two of the main factors which have led to re-evaluation. To these the considerable socio-linguistic consequences should certainly be added. Heavy censorship in the restoration period had permitted only a 'behinderte, verfremdete, literarisch oder folklorisch stilisierte Art von politischer Öffentlichkeit' (v. Polenz 1999: 526), which remained largely localized, splintered and oral. With the lifting of censorship between March and November (into which time-frame the undated pamphlets and leaflets such as the text below must be placed), Germans exploited their freedom of speech to such an extent that the sheer scope of tolerated opinion might well have been the ultimate undoing of the revolution (Siemann 1997: 114). The printed medium experienced an explosion of activity. In Berlin, for instance, 150 periodicals sprang up, served by 45 presses. And whilst fewer than one in ten pre-revolutionary Prussian newspapers carried a political section, three fifths of the Berlin journals were dedicated to politics (Abert *et al.* 1977: 26–7). Moreover, there was a proliferation of pamphlets, posters and broadsheets which could be published by anyone without a license. These ranged from juridical essays,

political lectures and speeches to election publicity for individual candidates (such as the left-wing intellectuals Bruno Bauer and David Strauß, mentioned in the text below). In large centres such as Berlin, however, the scene was dominated by satirical leaflets which found a natural partner in the 35 satirical journals of the city (e.g. *Kladderadatsch*, 'crash'/'scandal', which proclaimed itself as an *Organ für und von Bummeler*). In keeping with the city's rich tradition of humour, these leaflets were intended for 'eine genießende Lektüre mit Wortspielen, sexuellen Anspielungen, Umformulierungen hochtrabender Phraseologismen' (Schwitalla, 1999: 89). In the text below, written by Ullo Bohmhammel, one of the common pseudonyms for the popular satirist Albert Hopf, both the reactionary donkey and intellectual left-wing democrats come under humorous attack (note the remarks on studying and the highlighting of the word *Tör* ['fool'] in *reform-atorische Weltanschauung*). (Many of the local allusions can be gleaned from the notes to similar pamphlets in Abert *et al.* 1977.)

27.2 Text and translation

**Sie fragen mir: was essen des?
der demokratische Congreß.**

die Reaktion wird lahm jeritten, sie läßt um stillet Beileid bitten.

**Eene spaßhaftige Underhaltung
zwischen**

5

**eenen reaktionären Esel un den demokratischen Ullo Bohmhammel,
Vize = Jefreiten bei de Börjerwehr**

10 **Loof doch zu, eller gribenoscher Pegasus! Schämste dir denn nich,
immer un ewig als Paradehengst vor de Demokraten herzuhalten? Kreige
10 doch deine Nicken, mache Mätzken, setz' die Demokraten in'n Sand, un
renne nach Charlottenburg, nach Zankzuzie, nach Dämelwitz undern
teltow'schen Jeseviten-Verein, oder begebe dir nach Willmersorf undern
Schutz von de 8. Compagnie 20stet Landwehr = Regiment: da find'st du
15 überall freindlichere Ufnahme als Loevinson un Jesinnungsverwandten
obendrin. Aberst:**

**laaß de Mohren Straße
un't engel'sche Haus links liegen!**

20

**Da isset alleweile nich geheier vor dir. Wat meenste? Det wären Allens
noch keene sattelfesten Reiter? Ich saje dir, du bist derjenigte,
20 der ken'n nich besoffen**

25

**macht mit Redensarten. Deine Reiter sind lauter Robespierre, Miraboten,
Dantonisten, Marratisten un Ottensosseristen. Die wer'n dir woll die
Sporn in't graue Fell dricken, det du or Angst pupen wirscht. Die
Merschten haben eenen Sporn in'n Kopp, sagste? - Ja sehste, da muß ick
25 dir leider beipflichten! - Loof doch nich in'n Modder =
Pfuhl, eller Reaktionär! -**

Aberst det hat nischt zu sajen, Disstelfresseken! Die wahre Demokratie sagt, wie der Mann, den Strauß un Bruno Bauer nich anerkennen wollen: 'Wo drei in meinem Namen versammelt sind, da ist mein Geist mitten
 30 under sie!' – Sehste hochjeöhrtter Henniganer! In't engelsche Haus sitzen 300. Die Nullen kriegendurch die drei Geltung. – Du un deine Brüder, ihr wollt blos unser Bestet? Det gloob' ick. Unser Bestet is die Freiheit, un die krigt ihr nich. Ich saje

eich, man bedriegt uns
 35 nich mehr so leichte wie anno Toback un 1830, 'det ist schon lange her' sagt der Burgermeister von Sardaam. – hop, hop! Stolpere nich über det Gras in die Straßen. Wo willstest denn hin? In deinen Stall? ollet döseliget Vieh! Det is jo der Concertsaal, meisebachsche Seite. Du willst woll ooch noch J-a schreien, wenn die Fraje vorkommt: 'Soll der Bauer noch länger geschunden werden?' Nimm dir in Acht! hier jibt et lange Waschleinen und
 40 hohe Laternen! Du, wenn du umschlagen dhust, dann krigst du'ne blaue Bohn' in Dätzkopp!

Ja studiere du man, det schadt nischt. Dein Reiter, der Ohnehose wir dir schonst mürbe kriegen. Halt! Hier seh dir mal't Schloß an. Ne, rin kommste nich, oller Krippenbeißer! Kannst dir höchstens an die eiserne Jitter den Kopp inrennen. Ja, ja ick weeb't woll, det se nich vor dir zugemacht sind; aber wenn wir nich rin soll'n, kannste ooch draußen bleiben. Verstehste? – Na jut! – Schlage doch nich so mit den haarscharfen Schwanz um dir; du wirst dir selber die Ojen ausschlagen!
 50 halt! – Det is die Fontäne. Wo die ihren Namen her hat? – Von Fontänblo, wo Poneparté abdanken mußte. Hier sauf dir satt! – Schmeckt es nich? Ja et is keen Schappannier! – Na, du stehst ja allene? Aha! bei'n Staatschatz! die sieben Dhaler, acht Silbergroschen neun Pfennige, det lumpige Kies, ker
 55 kern se noch lange in! – Na nu mal weiter! – Is jut, ist jut! Wir wer'n warten. Verrichte deine Notdurft! – Wat machstest? – Sicherheits = Ausschüsse? – Du ollet Ferkel! – Schnarre zu! Der Jeruch zieht die Soldaten an. – Nu immer sächteken weiter, denn rückwärts kannst de nich, da steht der Mann mit die reform-atorische 'Weltanschauung' als
 60 Barrikade vor. [...]

You ask me what's that then
 the Democratic Congress?
 Reaction is ridden until it's lame, it seeks silent condolences.
 An amusing conversation
 between
 a reactionary ass and the Democratic Ullo Bohmhammel,
 Vice Lance Corporal of the citizen's army.

Hurry up, you old Gribenow Pegasus! Aren't you embarrassed at always having to be displayed before the democrats as the show piece? Come on, get your whims, fool around, throw the Democrats in the sand and run, run to Charlottenburg, to Sansscouscie, to Dämelwitz right into Teltow's Jesuit Club, or take yourself off to Willmersdorf under the protection of the 8th

Company of the 20th Territorial Reserve Regiment – there you'll find everywhere a friendlier reception than Loevinson and like-minded people put together.

But:

Ignore the Mohrenstraße
and Engel's house!

All the while you'll feel uneasy there. You what? None of them are experienced riders yet? I tell you, you're the one
who cannot blind anyone

with fine words. Your riders are Robespierres, fans of Maribeau and Danton, Marratists and Ottensosserists. They will surely press their spurs into your grey hide until you crap yourself with fear. Most people have a spur in the head, you say? Well, you see, I'm afraid I'll have to agree with you! – Don't go running into the muddy pool

you old reactionary!

But that doesn't mean a thing, thistle muncher! True democracy says, like the man [=Jesus] whom Strauß and Bruno Bauer refuse to recognize: 'Where three gather in my name, my spirit is amongst them' – You see, highly honoured Henniganer! 300 sit in Engel's house. The noughts get their validity on account of the three. – You and your brothers, you just want our best? I believe that. What's best for us is freedom, and you won't get that. I tell
you, we can't be deceived

as easily as in the year dot and in 1830. 'That's a long time ago', says the mayor of Saardam. – Come along now! Don't stumble over the grass in the streets. Where are you going then? To your stable? You dizzy old creature! That's the concert hall, on the Meusebach side. You'll probably still shout 'Eh-oh' [*J-a* = pun on 'yes'] when the question arises 'Should the peasant still be worked to the bone?' – Take care, there are long washing lines and high street lights here! Hey, if you kick out you'll get a

bullet in your big-headed skull.

Yes, go on and study, it won't do you any harm. Your rider, old Trouserless, will wear you out alright. Woah! Look here, take a look at the palace. No, you cannot go in, you old trough nibbler! The best you could do is to crack your head on the iron railing. Yes, yes, I know full well that they're not closed to *you*, but if we can't go in, you can also stay outside. You understand? Well then, good. Don't thrash around with your razor-sharp tail – you'll have your own eyes out! Stop! That's the fountain. How did it get its name? From Fontainebleau, where Bonaparte had to abdicate. Here, drink your fill! – It doesn't taste good? – Yes, it's not champagne! – What, you're all on your own? Aha! At the state reserves! The seven Thalers, eight silver coins and nine pennies,

that miserable dough,

they've been hoarding it up for ages. – Right, well, let's be off. – That's it, that's it! You heed nature's call! – What you doing? – Security commissions? – You old bugger! Get on with it! The smell is attracting the soldiers. Just keep on gently, because you can't go backwards – the man with the reformatory 'World View' is standing there as a barricade.

27.3 Dialect, semi-dialect and urban/regional colloquial varieties

A major consequence of the socio-political and cultural changes brought about by industrialization and urbanization in the nineteenth century was the emergence of the urban colloquial. Written off for a long time by dialectologists and grammarians either as neither properly dialect nor standard (or even simply as wrong), urban colloquials are now regarded as important linguistic phenomena. Whilst the term ‘colloquial’ means a ‘spoken approximation of the standard’ which allows the speaker flexibility of register, it should be noted that in German, class varieties (such as those in England) are less important than its several regional colloquial varieties (*Umgangssprachen*) (Wells 1987: 366). These regional colloquial varieties originated as urban colloquials of important towns – in the nineteenth century, predominantly Berlin and Vienna – whence they spread to the surrounding areas. By the end of the nineteenth century, for instance, the urban colloquial of Berlin was well on its way to establishing the regional colloquial known as Berlin-Brandenburgisch which later, alongside the quite distinct Mecklenburgisch, dominated the LG dialect area of the GDR. The Berlin variety displays a range of distinctions from the standard, especially on the phonetic–phonological level, and is often referred to as a semi-dialect, not least because it has now taken over the function of dialect in some areas (Schönfeld 1989: 117).

27.4 Phonology

Viewed synchronically, the phonology of Berlinisch is dominated by a mixture of HG and LG forms.

27.4.1 Vowels

Monophthongs and diphthongs: the NHG merger of MHG /i/ with /ei/, and /û/ with /ou/, does not take place in LG due to previous phonological developments, i.e. PGmc /ai/ and /ou/ > OS /ē/ and /ō/ in all positions (see 3.4). Berlinisch has LG /ē/ and /ō/ but HG /ai/ (<ei>) and /au/ (as displayed in Table 27.1). The text shows two common exceptions: the form /u:/ (MHG /û/) is retained in functional variants of *auf* (e.g. 1.14 *Ufnahme*); MHG and MLG /î/ (*în*[-]) is still felt in (shortened) forms such as *rin* and *inrennen* (1.44 ‘*rein*’, 1.46 *einrennen*). A third exception in the passage, *Geest* appearing as *Geist* (1.29), is an example of code-switching since the Bible is being quoted – most LG areas adopted the HG (mainly ECG) Bible from the sixteenth century.

Unrounding of front vowels is a feature shared with many HG dialects as well as LG:

<u>NHG</u>	<u>Berlinisch</u>
/Y/, /y:/ (<û>)	/I/, /i:/ (<i>, <ie>) <i>Nicken, dricken, bedriegt</i>
/œ/, /ø:/ (<ö>)	/ɛ/, /e:/ (<e>) no examples in text

There is also some fronting of back vowels, e.g. *freundlichere* and *geheier* for *freundliche* and *geheuer*.

Table 27.1 Historical development of key Berlinisch monophthongs and diphthongs

Berlinisch			
MHG	ei	ei	
MLG	ē — ē — ē	ē (IPA /e:/)	(k)eene (etc.), meenste, weeβ'te, allene
MHG	î — ei — ei	ei (IPA /ai/)	deine, leichte
MLG	ī	ī	
MHG	ou	au	
MLG	ō — ō — ō	ō (IPA /o:/)	Loof, gloob, ooch, Ojen (= Augen)
MHG	û — au — au	au (IPA /au/)	Haus, lauter
MLG	ū	ū	

In a small number of cases NHG /e:/, /ɛ/ is rounded to /ø/, /œ/, e.g. *frömd*. The passage plays on this to pun *geehrt* with *Ohr* in *hochjēörter* (1.30).

Lengthening and shortening: In a small number of words, nineteenth and early twentieth-century Berlinisch retained /a:/ where standard German had shortened it, e.g. *laaß* (1.16 < MHG *lāzen*/MLG *läen*). This is present now only in very old speakers. Conversely, some vowels remained short, due to the fact that LG did not carry out analogy to level the discrepancy in vowel length between uninflected (closed) syllables and inflected open syllables caused by the NHG lengthening of vowels in open syllables, e.g. the MHG distinction *hof* : *hōfes* remained. An example of LG's propensity to retain short vowel forms can be seen through the orthography of the text in the example of *woll* (< *wol*, rather than the open syllable variant *wole* > NHG *wohl*). LG's tendency to shorten /ī/ in the 2nd and 3rd p. sg. pres. of verbs with consonant clusters is also evident, e.g. *kriegt* (1.33).

27.4.2 Consonants

Berlinisch picks its way through the 2SS in an uneven way. PGmc /p/ and /d/ are divided between HG and LG according to position (see Table 27.2). In the case of PGmc /p/ the text shows an exception in the word *Modder-Pfuhl*, which has standard HG /pf/ (rather than the usual initial ECG /f/) to make a popular *Flugschrift* pun on the name of Ernst von Pfuhl who was an anti-liberal in charge of the ministry. PGmc /t/ and /k/ take HG forms, except in certain key words. The adjectival ending *-et* is a hybrid form (LG has a zero adjectival marker in this form), produced from the HG form *-es* in analogy with the /t/ of forms such as LG *det*. (It is interesting that *allent* 1.18, the one LG form that did have an adjectival inflection throughout, has become *allens* under HG influence.) The PGmc voiced fricative /ɣ/ was retained in LG, and in initial position in HG areas down to Mid Franconian, and intermedially in some dialects down to the UG isogloss. Berlinisch retained it as a palatal initially ([j]): 1.3 *jeritten*, 1.48 *jut*, 1.57 *Jeruch* and as a velar intervocally ([ɣ]): 1.19 *saje*, 1.39 *Fraje*, 1.49 *Ojen*). This is popularly viewed as a key feature of Berlinisch (see the oft-quoted *jut jebratene Jans* for *gut gebratene Gans*).

[s] > [ʃ] after /r/ which is common in many dialects was widespread in nineteenth-century Berlinisch (e.g. 1.23 *wirscht*), but is predicable today in only a few

Table 27.2 Key consonants in Berlinisch

<i>PGmc</i>	<i>Berlinisch</i>		
p	HG		
	pf/f	f*	<i>fennig</i> (not in text)
	ff		
	LG		
	p		
	pp	pp**	<i>Kopp</i>
d	HG		
	t	t (all other)	<i>bitten, Reiter</i>
	LG		
	d	d (initial)	<i>Underhaltung, Dhaler, dhust</i>
t	HG		
	ts	ts*	<i>setzen, Schutz</i>
	ss	ss**	<i>Krippenbeißer</i>
	LG		
	t	t (exceptionally)	<i>wat, det, et</i>
k	HG		
	k(x)	k*	<i>anerkennen</i>
	ch	ch**	<i>machen</i>
	LG		
	k	k (exceptionally)	<i>ick, Mätzken (-ken = -chen)</i>

* Initial, gemination and medially after consonants.

** Intervocalic and final.

words (e.g. *Wurscht, Durscht*). *Nischt* generally varied in Berlinisch with the short form *nich*, but the two seem to be used distinctively in this text with the former standing for *nichts*. The <t> which appears in *derjenigte* (l.19, as also *vorigte, det meinigte*) is felt to have arisen due to analogy with superlative forms such as *letzte*. As in many dialects, -t is added to the end of many words, e.g. many educated Berliners still often even write *ebent*. The genitive -s in adjectives such as *morgens* has been spread by analogy and in combination with the errant -t very commonly produces forms such as *aberst* (l.15, see also LG *averst*), *schonst* and *zwarst*, or indeed *aberscht*, etc.

274.3 Theories about the evolution of Berlinisch

Viewed diachronically, the notion of Berlinisch as a mixed dialect must be used with caution. From the time Berlin was settled in the thirteenth century, LG (Elbe Eastphalian) took over from native Slavic. There are, however, two principal schools of thought with regard to the evolution of the urban colloquial from the sixteenth century onwards when Berlin took over HG as its written form. Arguing that the peculiarities of Berlinisch could almost all be found in the Meissen variety of ECG (in which, for instance, MHG /ei/ and /ou/ had monophthongized to

/ɛ/ and /ø/), Lasch (1967) proposed that the upper and middle classes took on this prestige form of speech (albeit with interference from their original LG intonation and sound formation), whilst the lower classes retained their LG speech patterns. Remnants of LG in Berlinisch (*ick, wat* etc.) could be explained as a later penetration from below. This view is countered by Teuchert (1928–30) and Schirmunski (1962: 617) who see Berlinisch precisely as a mixture of LG and HG, the latter grafting itself onto the former as the prestige of ECG spreads from the sixteenth century. Some forms would have to be explained as ‘mechanical transfers’, e.g. *Loof* (1.8) is the result of a straight swap on the principle of LG /ø/ : HG /au/, since both Meissen German and LG have unlauted forms which appear to have been by-passed. Neither argument is without flaw (see Schloblinski 1987: 12–19) and the critical question of who spoke what in the sixteenth century needs a great deal of further research. Lasch (1928) and Schirmunski (1962) do, however, share the view that Berlinisch evolved differentially according to social class. With the upper and middle classes going over to the prestigious French in the eighteenth century (aided by the influx of the large Huguenot community), Berlinisch became the preserve of the working class. This was strengthened during the urban expansion of the nineteenth century when the new influx of workers who integrated themselves into this linguistic identity more than doubled the population of Berlin in the twenty years up until 1848. Modern studies show that Berlinisch is still identified most strongly along nineteenth-century socio-geographical lines (Butz 1988: 33–4).

27.5 Morphology and syntax

27.5.1 *Akkudativ*

The merger of accusative and dative (the so-called *Akkudativ*) and the lack of a genitive means that Berlinisch has a two-case system: nominative and oblique. LG was always more prone to case syncretism than HG: by MLG it had levelled both singular and plural first and second person forms, before HG began levelling the plural only in the late Middle Ages. Berlinisch retained the LG forms *mi* and *di*, until these were modified (in some speakers not until the nineteenth century) under the influence of HG to *mir*, *dir* ([mia], [dia]), e.g. *Sie fragen mir* (1.1), *schämste dir* (1.8). The HG influence has continued and these forms now have HG variants *mi(s)ch* and *dich*. The main variants of the oblique definite and indefinite articles tend towards the accusative: *undern Schutz* (1.12–13), *bei'n Staatschatz* (1.52–53), *mit die . . . Weltanschauung* (1.59), *in die Straßen* (1.37). The *Akkudativ* has been explained as a convergence of several factors: (i) LG syncretism; (ii) LG [m] > [n] in word final position which blurred case distinctions; (iii) uncertainty brought about by the influence of grammarians who had fixed the case after prepositions (such as *bei*, *mit*, *nach*) which had previously been (and in many dialects still were) case sensitive like NHG *auf*, *in*, etc. By the nineteenth century, however, the *Akkudativ* had established itself and was operated hypercorrectly (e.g. *mich* for *mir*) only by those who viewed Berlinisch as substandard (see the satirical poem by the court actor J.F. Rütbling of 1835, printed in Lasch 1928: 275–7).

27.5.2 *Periphrasis and double negatives*

The text displays two features which Berlinisch shares with many dialects: periphrasis with the verb *tun* (1.41 *Du, wenn du umschlagen dhust*) and the double negative (1.19–21 *du bist derjenigte, der ken'n nich beJoffen macht*). In the latter case the double negative allows the author to produce a common revolutionary pun: *ken'n nich*, 'don't know him' = *König* (1.20). More extreme Berlin syntactic features do not feature in our passage, e.g. NP – Aux – Complementizer – Vinf (*das habe ich auf dem Tisch zu liegen = das liegt auf dem Tisch*) or the use of the future/future perfect for narrative present.

27.5.3 *Reductions*

The assimilation or loss of final consonants, predominantly dentals, is common, e.g. *und* > *un* (1.10–11 *un renne*, 1.9 *un ewig*). The common LG loss of final *-t* in *is(t)* elides with the loss of initial *d-* (cf 1.1 *issen = ist denn* and 1.18 *isset = ist es*). Dental loss is often accompanied by weakened vowels, e.g. *sagste* (1.24 = *sagst du*), etc. Medial vowels and consonants are frequently dropped, e.g. *find'st* (1.13 = *findest*), *wer'n* (1.22 = *werden*). Pronouns and articles are heavily reduced when unstressed, e.g. after prepositions and enclitically: *et, det* > *t*, e.g. *in't* (1.23 = *in das*); *ihn, den* (sg.), *een, eenen* > *n*, e.g. *in'n* (1.10 = *in den*); *eene>ne*, e.g. *du 'ne* (1.41 = *du eine*); *den* (pl.), *der* (fem. sg.) > *de*, e.g. *vor de* (1.9 = *vor den*), *bei de* (1.7 = *bei der*): *Sie* is often reduced to *se*. Particals can be run together with any of the above to produced a highly reduced form, e.g. *Wat machsten* (1.56 = *was machst du denn*).

27.5.4 *Miscellaneous*

Adjectives and adverbs can be modified to diminutive forms, e.g. *sächteken* ('very gently'). As in other dialects, it is not uncommon for strong verbs to have unumlauted forms in the present singular (*fangt, backt*). By analogy, verbs with pre-OHG umlaut have also levelled singular with plural and infinitive forms, e.g. *sehste* (1.24 ≠ OS *sihstu*).

27.6 *Vocabulary*

The text displays a range of typical Berlinisch vocabulary, much of which is LG in origin, e.g. *alleweile* (1.18 = *jetzt*), *Modder* (1.25, short vowel for NHG long vowel), *oller* (1.8 = *alter*), *jo* (1.38 = *ja/doch*) – both rare, since Berlinisch has standard short /a/ for LG /o/ in most words, e.g. *halten* –, *Nicken* (1.10 = *Laune*), *man* (1.43 = *nur bloß* < LG *ne . . . wan*). Berlinisch *vor* has two influences: LG and CG did not distinguish between *für* and *vor*, LG using *vör*, CG *vor*. *Dätz* (F *tête*), in the strangely tautological insult *Dätzkopp*, typifies the less important but nonetheless palpable French (/Hugenot) influence.

The vocabulary of the city had a wider impact on the NHG standard. Made popular and spread to an audience throughout Germany predominantly by the satires and sketches of Adolf Glasbrenner (1810–76), the so-called *Berliner Schnauze*

gave standard German many colourful turns of phrase, e.g. in this text *Kies* (1.54, 'money'), but amongst others *Moos* (also 'money'), *Klamotten*, *mogeln*, *pleite*, *doof* (= LG *taub*). Although many of the 1848 pamphlet writers followed in his stylistic footsteps (another of Hopf's characters, Nante, actually adopts a Glasbrenner figure), it is in large part to Glasbrenner alone that the popularity of the Berlinisch idiom must be attributed.

27.7 Author and audience

We must not allow the use of the urban colloquial in the Berlin pamphlets to lead us astray with regard to either their authorship or readership. Such leaflets and pamphlets were not products of, or produced for, the working classes – the usual price of at least one *Silbergroschen* ruling out anything other than a middle-class audience. The writers were normally professionals whose willingness to appeal to a wide audience was sharpened by the fact they had to bear the financial risks of publication themselves (hence the attacks are of a general satirical nature rather than parti-pris). With links to Glasbrenner and the political songs of the *Vormärz* period, the *Flugschrift* tapped into literary genres with many being written as poems: the two rhyming couplets (*des-Congreß*, *jeritten-bitten*) at the beginning of the text play off that expectation (see the volume by Abert *et al.* 1977 devoted to this type).

The use of Berlin colloquial can be explained in part as a consequence of the Glasbrenner satirical tradition (see Townsend 1988; Kruse 1988), but in part also in its role as a political subversion which tapped into the language of the exploited (v. Polenz 1999: 531). Ironically, texts for the proletariat, such as Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto which also appeared in 1848, are written in standard German with relatively simple syntax. As Schildt (1986: 180) observes, the language is very close to spoken Berlinisch, but refracted through the medium of writing and with a tendency to stylize. Quite how important such stylization was has been shown by Führer who has examined how particular writers exploited Berlinisch, not their natural form of communication, for theatrical effects (1982: 97). By comparing, for example, the frequency of occurrence of typical Berlinisch features in two different Hopf figures (Nante and Bohmhammel), Führer shows how the colloquial is manipulated to produce differently nuanced characters and effects. In 1848, for example, Bohmhammel pronounces /g/ as [j] in initial position 37.3 per cent of the time whereas Nante retains [g] throughout. In our passage, <j> and <g> are distributed roughly equally. Moreover, occasional oddities in the rendition of initial /d/ as <dh> (1.41 *dhust*, 1.53 *Dhaler*) can be explained as a *stylization* of Berlinisch as deviant from standard rather than an attempt to render the dialect accurately (initial /d/ is not heavily aspirated). This is confirmed in the form *bedriegt* (1.34), since Berlinisch exceptionally has /t/ not /d/ in the combination *tr-*. The deviation between <ö> and <u> in *Börjerwehr* (1.7) and *Burgermeister* (1.36) is probably also due to stylization, since <o> is a remnant of older Berlinisch (< LG and ECG) which normally gives way to HG <u> (e.g. *Torm* > *Turm*). The <ö> in *Börjerwehr* therefore (like the <j> for <g>) is used to suggest a form of lower class speech.

Further reading

Lasch (1967); Meyer (1966); Dittmar and Schlobinski (1988); Dittmar, Schlobinski and Wachs (1986); Schildt and Schmidt (1986); Schlobinski (1986, 1987); Schwitalla (1999); Spalding (1949).

28 Lexicography and nationalism

Jacob Grimm's *Vorrede zum Deutschen Wörterbuch*

28.1 Context

Jacob Grimm (1785–1836) is justifiably held to be the father of *Germanistik* – the academic study of German language and literature. With the famous words – ‘was ist ein volk? ein volk ist der inbegriff von menschen, welche dieselbe sprache reden’ – Grimm accepted the presidency of the inaugural Congress of *Germanisten* to whom not just lawyers (as the term originally implied) but also historians and philologists had been invited, and thus became a powerful figurehead in the symbolic grounding of a discipline. Along with the text editor Karl Lachmann (see ch. 12), he could also be considered as a founder of the historical-comparative method in German philology. In his *Deutsche Grammatik* (1819–37) and *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (1848), he formed rules for the 1SS and 2SS (building on the work of the pioneering English amateur William Jones and the Dane Rasmus Rask), umlaut and ablaut; coined the terms for weak and strong declensions and conjugations, and the tripartite periodization of the German language (*alt-, mittel-, und neuhochdeutsch*); and – along with the Neogrammarians who followed in his footsteps – set the agenda for German linguistics well into the twentieth century. The essence of his highly prolific and varied output can be captured in the spirit of the age, a literary-academic romanticism that strove for unity and freedom in the present by searching for these in works of the German(ic) past: *Deutsche Sagen* (1816–18), *Deutsche Reichstümer* (1828), *Deutsche Mythologien* (1835), *Weistümer* (1840–63), as well as the historical grammar (above) and the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812–15) for which he and his brother Wilhelm are world-famous as ‘story tellers’, but which were primarily collected to capture the style and motifs of age-old oral transmission.

The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (first volume: 1854), for which the Grimms are most renowned in the philological world, is straight from this mould. It was for them a ‘vaterländisches Buch’ with high academic credentials to serve the needs of the general public (ll.55–8) and Grimm hoped that it would become a sort of secular Bible in every German home: ‘so könnte das Wörterbuch zum hausbedarf, und mit verlangen, oft mit andacht gelesen werden’.¹ Unfortunately the huge intellectual ambition of the work (which was intended to be as historically comparative

1 This, despite Grimm’s initial claim to the publishers in 1838 that the DWb would be ‘ein auf den practischen gebrauch nicht berechnetes Werk’.

as the *Grammatik*), combined with a lack of planning, meant that the original aims were never met. Jacob Grimm died whilst at work on the entry 'Frucht' in the fourth volume; and in total the venture ran to 32 volumes with over 25,000 entries (including one of over 100 pages on 'Geist') and was not completed until 1960. Since then work has been in progress on the revisions necessary to unify a work which was judged uneven by Jacob Grimm himself at a time when only he and his brother were engaged upon it. Even Lexer, who worked on the dictionary in the late nineteenth century, was clear on the failure of Grimm's initial objectives: 'Die [. . .] gehoffte und gewünschte Wirkung [. . .] ist nicht in Erfüllung gegangen und konnte auch [. . .] nicht in Erfüllung gehen'. Both at the time of the appearance of its opening volumes and in recent years, the work has been seen both as a national masterpiece (the dtv paperback edition of 1984 was a surprise bestseller) and a linguistic white elephant. Certainly, its overemphasis on etymology and almost programmatic disdain of contemporary usage mean that its status could in no way stand comparison with the Oxford English Dictionary. On the other hand, from a language history perspective Grimm's obsession with history and his strong political consciousness (exemplified below in this preface to the DWb) inform many of the key socio-linguistic issues of the nineteenth century.

28.2 Text and translation

[. . .] Über eines solchen werkes antritt musz, wenn es gedeihen soll, in der höhe ein heilbringendes gestirn schweben. ich erkannte es im einklang zweier zeichen, die sonst einander abstehen, hier aber von demselben inneren grunde getrieben sich genähert hatten, in dem aufschwung einer
 5 deutschen philologie und in der empfänglichkeit des volks für seine muttersprache, wie sie beide bewegt wurden durch erstarkte liebe zum vaterland und untülbare begierde nach seiner festeren einigung. was haben wir denn gemeinsames als unsere sprache und literatur?

Wer nun unsere sprache erforscht und mit beobachtender seele bald
 10 der vorzüge gewahr wird, die sie gegenüber der heutigen auszeichnen, sieht anfangs sich unvermerkt zu allen denkmälern der vorzeit hingezogen und von denen der gegenwart abgewandt. je weiter aufwärts er klimmen kann, desto schöner und vollkommner dünkt ihn die leibliche gestalt der sprache, je näher ihrer jetzigen fassung er tritt, desto weher
 15 thut ihm jene macht und gewandtheit der form in abnahme und verfall zu finden. mit solcher lauterkeit und vollendung der äusseren beschaffenheit der sprache wächst und steigt auch die zu gewinnende ausbeute, weil das durchsichtigere mehr ergibt als das schon getrübe und verworrene. sogar wenn ich bücher des sechzehnten ja siebzehnten jahrhunderts
 20 durchlas, kam mir die sprache, aller damaligen verwilderung und roheit unerachtet, in manchen ihrer züge noch beneidenswerth und vermögender vor als unsere heutige. welchen abstand aber auch von ihnen stellte die edle, freie natur der mittelhochdeutschen dichtungen dar, denen angestrengteste mühe zu widmen unvergleichlichen lohn abwirft. doch nicht

einmal aus ihrer fülle schienen alle grammatischen entdeckungen von gewicht müssen hergeleitet zu werden, sondern aus sparsam fließenden fast versiegenden althochdeutschen und gothischen quellen, die uns unserer zunge älteste und gefügeste regel kund thaten. es gab stunden, wo für abhanden gekommene theile des ULFILAS ich die gesamte poesie der besten zeit des dreizehnten jahrhunderts mit freuden ausgeliefert haben würde. den leuchtenden gesetzen der ältesten sprache nachspürend verzichtet man lange zeit auf die abgeblichenen der von heute.

[..]

Von an der oberfläche klebenden, nicht tiefer eingehenden arbeiten beginnt heutzutage auch die ernstere stimmung des volks sich loszusagen. [...] Seit den befreiungskriegen ist in allen edlen schichten der nation anhaltende und unvergehende sehnsucht entsprungen nach den gütern, die Deutschland einigen und nicht trennen, die uns allein den stempel voller eigenheit aufzudrücken und zu wahren im stande sind. der groszen zahl von zeitgenossen, vor deren wachem auge die nächsten dreiszig jahre darauf sich entrollten, bleibt unvergessen, wie hoch in ihnen die hofnungen giengen, wie stolz und rein die gedanken waren; wenn nach dem gewitter von 1848 rückschläge lang und schwerfällig die luft durchziehen, können sprache und geschichte am herlichsten ihre unerschöpfliche macht der beruhigung gewähren. auch die kräfte der unendlichen natur zu ergründen stillt und erhebt. doch ist nicht der mensch selbst ihre edelste hervorbringung, sind nicht die blüten seines geistes das höchste ziel? seiner dichter und schriftsteller, nicht allein der heutigen auch der früher dagewesenen will das volk nun besser als vorher theilhaft werden und sie mit genieszen können; es ist recht, dasz durch die wieder aufgethanen schleuszen die flut des alterthums, so weit sie reiche, bis hin an die gegenwart spüle. zur forschung über den verhalt der alten, verschollenen sprache fühlen wenige sich berufen, in der menge aber waltet das bedürfnis, der trieb, die neugier, den gesamten umfang und alle mittel unsrer lebendigen, nicht der zerlegten und aufgelösten sprache kennen zu lernen. die grammatik ihrer natur nach ist für gelehrte, ziel und bestimmung des allen leuten dienenden wörterbuchs, wie hernach noch entfaltet werden soll, sind neben einer gelehrten und begeisterten grundlage nothwendig auch im edelsten sinne practisch.

(Text: Dieckmann 1989: 248–9, 252–3)

[. . .] If such a work is to flourish, a benevolent star must hover in the heights over its beginnings. I recognized it in the harmony of two signs, otherwise removed from one another, which in this case approached each other, driven by the same inner reason: in the upsurge of a German philology and in the receptiveness of the people for their mother tongue. I recognized how both were motivated by a strengthened love of the fatherland and a lasting desire for its more consolidated unification. For what have we more in common than our language and literature?

Whoever has studied our language and with an observant soul become aware of the advantages it has over that of today finds himself initially

imperceptibly attracted to all monuments of earlier times and repelled by those of the present. The higher he can ascend, the more beautiful and the more perfect the language in its physical form seems to him, the nearer he steps to its present form, the more it pains him to find that power and eloquence of form in decline and decay. The harvest to be reaped also grows and rises with such honourableness and perfection of the language's external constitution, because that which is transparent yields more than that which has already become dulled and confused. Even when I read through books from the seventeenth, indeed even the sixteenth century, the language – all its primitiveness and rawness which belong to its age notwithstanding – seems to me in many of its features to remain enviable and more capable of expression than our language today. Yet what a contrast even to them is provided by the noble, free nature of Middle High German poetic works, to which the dedication of the most concentrated effort brings incomparable rewards. Yet not even from its richness are all significant grammatical discoveries to be brought about, but from scarcely flowing, almost dried up Old High German and Gothic sources which reveal our tongue's oldest and most regulated form. There were hours when I would have gladly given up the entire poetry of the best era of the thirteenth century for lost parts of Wulfila.² When one is searching for the shining laws of the oldest language, one relinquishes for a long time the faded laws of today's.

[. . .]

Today, even the most serious opinion of the people is beginning to renounce works which cling to the surface level, which do not probe deeper. [. . .] Since the Wars of Liberation there has sprung forth in all noble classes of the nation a constant and unremitting yearning for the riches that unites rather than divides Germany, which alone can impress upon us and maintain the stamp of complete character. The majority of contemporaries, before whose keen eye the next thirty years unfolded, cannot forget how high their hopes leapt inside them, how proud and pure the ideas were; if after the storm of 1848 setbacks trail long and weightily through the air, language and history can offer their inexhaustible power of calming in the most splendid manner. Grasping the powers of eternal nature is also calming and heightening. Yet is man not its most noble creation, is not the blossom of his mind the highest goal? The people wish to own their poets and writers like never before, wish to be able to share in the enjoyment of them, not only the present ones but also those from days of yore. It is right that the floods of antiquity should flow through the reopened locks as far as they may reach, up into the present day. Few feel called to study the state of the old, dead language, but in the masses there rages the need, the urge, the curiosity to be acquainted with the entire range and all means of our living language, not the dissected and dissipated one. Grammar, by its nature, is for scholars, the aim and purpose of this dictionary which serves all people, is, along with a scholarly and inspired basis, also in the noblest sense practical, as shall shortly be elaborated.

2 Translator of the New Testament into Gothic, the earliest surviving evidence of any Germanic language.

28.3 Politics, history and nationalism

The text shows how language and the study of language existed within a highly politicized discourse in the nineteenth century. In this context, Jacob Grimm was the nineteenth-century equivalent of the ‘media don’: an academic whose scholarly profile allowed him to play the public stage. He was one of the Göttingen Seven who protested against the King of Hannover’s annulment of the constitution, which cost him his professorship in 1837 and gave him the ‘unfreiwillige musze’ ‘in dieser zugleich drückenden und erhebenden lage’ to accept the commission for the DWb the following year. Its wider significance was to rank alongside that of the *Grammatik*, which he had described as ‘durch und durch politisch’. The *Germanistenversammlungen* of 1846–7 were seen as the forerunner of the first German parliament (1848), of which Grimm duly became an active member as a democrat supporting the constitution under monarchical rule. His statements in this setting display a further overlap in his thinking, i.e. that history is the source of all truth – political and linguistic – in the present. This can be exemplified, for instance, by the following two statements, one made in the parliamentary debate on the devolution of Schleswig-Holstein, the other as a philologically informed reply to the author Jean Paul’s criticism of the *Bindungs-s* in compound nouns:

(a) ich gehöre nicht zu denen, welche dafür halten, dasz blosz die gegenwart für uns maszstab geben müsse, ich glaube auch an unsere grosze vergangenheit.

(*Kleinere Schriften*, 8, 437)

(b) Seine gefundene Regel [Jean Paul’s rule for *Bindungs-s*] ist aber gänzlich falsch und kann nicht zutreffen, weil er die Sprache wie etwas von heute betrachtet, folglich den Ursprung und Fortgang ihrer mannigfaltigen Aeußerungen zu verstehen nicht im Stande ist. [...] oberflächliche Annahmen verschwinden, sobald man die mannigfaltigen Endungen der altdeutschen Declination und die freiere Wortzusammensetzung kennen lernt, wovon der heutige Zustand unserer Sprache nur noch Trümmer aufzuweisen hat, und sobald man den für die Geschichte der Grammatik wichtigen Satz auffaßt, daß in der Mitte und Wärme der Composition zweier Substantive sich gerade Endungen und Formen erhalten haben können, die allein stehend längst verloren sind.

(*Jean Paul’s neuliche Vorschläge*, 122)

On occasions the link between language, history and politics that seems (under the influence of Herder) to underlie much of Grimm’s thinking, becomes explicit, e.g. when he ‘explains’ the development from PIE aspirated to PG non-aspirated voiced stops (see 2.3.2) as a result of the Germanic tribes’ assertion of independence, or in the following statement made in post-Napoleonic Germany (note the similarity in the use of *Zerstückelung* here and *zerlegt* and *aufgelöst* in l. 54):

(c) Nachdem man das Princip roher Freiheit und Gleichheit in der Politik kennen gelernt hat, scheint es nun ordentlich in der Grammatik

nachzuzucken. Auch darin liegt eine Aehnlichkeit, daß man über die anscheinende Unordnung unserer Wörter und Bildungen so gut spotten, über die Unerlernbarkeit unserer Sprache so gut klagen kann, als die Franzosen sich an der Zerstückelung Deutschlands in kleine Gebiete belustigen oder Deutsche mitunter selbst ihre zusammengesetzte ungelienksame Verfassung mit einer leichten und gefälligen zu vertauschen rathen.

(Jean Paul's neuliche Vorschläge, 126)

This symbiosis is far from a mere emotive or rhetorical device: it is both typical of many nineteenth-century treatments of language in general and constitutive in Grimm's reaction in particular to the three major linguistic issues of the nineteenth century: language decline, orthography, loanwords.

28.4 Language decline

Lines 9–32 and quotation (b) highlight the generally held view in the nineteenth century that the German language was in a state of decay. Yet in this public discussion – which was dominated by academics (primarily philologists) – Grimm occupied roughly the middle ground. As opposed to more extreme critics such as Schopenhauer and Nietzsche (who were particularly vexed by the language of newspapers, a medium of growing importance in the industrial age), he found that the decline in the formal features of the language was compensated for in some measure by an increasing ability on the part of its users to practice abstract thought and precision:

(d) nicht nur ist der neue grund und boden viel breiter und fester als der oft ganz schmale, lockere und eingeengte alte, darum aber mit sicherem fusze zu betreten, sondern jener einbusze der form gegenüber steht auch eine geistigere ausbildung und durcharbeitung.

(Vorrede zum DWb, 10)

28.5 Orthography

The immediately striking feature about Grimm's orthography is the adoption of Roman rather than the usual Gothic script and the avoidance of capitalization of all but proper nouns (which had been codified in the late eighteenth century by Gottsched, see Mentrup 1979). Both decisions are taken for historical reasons: the capitals were a 'misbrauch' that had spread from the sixteenth century onwards through 'schwankend' and 'unsicher' practice to give the language a 'buntes, schwerfälliges ansehen'; Gothic (an innovation of the thirteenth century/fourteenth century) was not German in origin, and compared to that of 'aller übrigen gebildeten völker' appeared 'barbarisch', 'das auge beleidigend' and 'allen fremden widerwärtig', which thus prevented the 'verbreitung deutscher bücher ins ausland'. Both aspects have interesting developments in the subsequent history of the

language. (i) From the Stuttgart and Wiesbaden talks (1954/58) onwards, the desire to eradicate a major source of spelling errors in schools put the move to *gemäßigte Kleinschreibung* (which differed from Grimm's principles only in that it marked the beginning of sentences with capitals) firmly on the agenda. However, the vitriolic press reaction to the report of the first of the three Vienna Discussions (which eventually led to the recent spelling reform) in 1988 (see Zabel 1989) put paid to any chances of German giving up its status as the only language in the world to retain capitalization of all nouns. (ii) Gothic script – which seems to dominate the post-war visual image of the Nazi era – was actually being phased out in the early 1940s for exactly the same reason advanced by Grimm: its illegibility abroad (in this case in occupied territory).

Grimm occupied one of the two most extreme positions in debates on orthography. As opposed to those who argued against current usage (as codified by Gottsched, Adelung and, eventually, Duden at the end of the nineteenth century) and for more phonetic principles in German orthography (Raumer, Wilmanns, and, initially, Duden), Grimm (principally with Weinhold) supported a historical approach. This is spelt out clearly in a letter (1849) to his publishers, the Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, when he was about to start writing up the first volume of the DWb:

(e) Es wäre fast allen übelständen abgeholfen, wenn sich, in der hauptsache, zu dem mhd. Brauch zurückkehren ließe, wodurch auch die scheidewand zwischen gegenwart und vorzeit weggerissen und das lebendige studium unsers alterthums unsäglich gefördert würde.

In practice, as Augst (1974: 50) observes, Grimm intended 'das phonologische Prinzip auf mittelhochdeutscher Lautgrundlage': to abolish (i) *Dehnungs-h*; (ii) *Dehnungs-e*; the marking of length via the gemination of (iii) vowels and (iv) consonants; and (v) in *some* contexts, the replacement of <ss> (which was becoming popular as printers had given up the long *ſ*) by <sz>, which Grimm, going back to some OHG usage, preferred over what he considered the more recent (from late medieval times onwards!) <ß> to mark the sibilant reflexes of PGmc /t/ (cf *E that*, Grimm *dasz*). For commercial reasons, Grimm was allowed by his publishers only to lay out his ideas for spelling reform in the preface (as 'vorbereitung' for when the time politically became ripe) whilst implementing them only sparingly in practice: apart from suggestion (v), 'new spellings' appeared in brackets and after primary roots only. It is interesting that the preface goes into a long historical argument for the retention of <sz> ('um wieder auf gehörige sonderung der laute SS und SZ zu dringen') whilst in the private letter, he argues *against* a total re-historicization of the sz-rule (e.g. *eß/esz* for *es*, etc.) for a more moderate variant (after long vowels and in word-final position³), i.e. common usage as already codified by Adelung. It seems therefore that the *public* Grimm cannot allow himself to be seen to be arguing for usage over history.

3 This rule was overridden in the recent spelling reform for a purely phonetic principle, i.e. <ß> only after long vowels and diphthongs.

28.6 Loanwords

From Napoleonic times (e.g. Campe's dictionary, 1813) down to the founding of the highly reactionary Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein in 1855, language criticism in the German speaking territories became increasingly purist. Grimm, like most university-based *Germanisten*, remained moderate in his response:

(f) dieser ausländerei und sprachmischung soll das wörterbuch keinen vorschub, sondern will ihr allen redlichen abbruch thun, geflissentlich aber auch die abwege meiden, auf welche von unberufenen sprachreinigern gelenkt worden ist. ohne an der schönheit und fülle unserer sprache selbst wahre freude zu empfinden, strebt dieser ärgerliche purismus das fremde, wo er seiner nur gewahren kann, feindlich zu verfolgen und zu tilgen, mit plumpen hammerschlag schmiedet er seine untauglichen waffen.

(Vorrede zum DWb, 38; see also über das pedantische in der deutschen sprache)

In theory, Grimm would avoid the exclusion of words that had already become an integral part of the language (typically most of his examples are OHG loans – *taufe, sünde, priester*), but at the same time perform active 'widerstand' against non-integrated terms imposed upon 'die mitte des volks' by the 'fürstenhöfe, behörden, kanzleien, gerichte'. We get a very interesting *aperçu* on how this worked in practice, if we track the fate of loans that Grimm himself employed in oral usage but did not permit in the DWb. (This is possible on the basis of the speeches he made in the German parliament.) Table 28.1 shows a list of some such words that are

Table 28.1 Loans in nineteenth-century dictionaries

	<i>Adelung</i> (1793/6)	<i>Campe</i> (1813)	<i>Heinsius</i> (1818)	<i>Grimm</i> (1854–)	<i>Sanders</i> (1860–)
<i>Constitution</i>	–	+	+	–	+
<i>Demokratie</i>	+	+	+	–	+
<i>Diplomatie</i>	–	+	(+)	–	+
<i>Feudalismus</i>	–	(+)	(+)	–	(+)

() = or related form

(Adapted from Holly 1991: 360–1)

lemmatized in other dictionaries of the time (and before) but not in the DWb: Given their subsequent integration into German, these are surprising omissions. It is even more unusual that words which Grimm actually defined in public (like the emotive definition of 'commission' in the debate about the treatment of the constitution by committee, below) are judged unworthy of representation in the DWb:

(g) es sind schon in diesen tagen eine menge commissionen und ausschüsse ernannt worden. was sind commissionen? commissionen sind diejenigen, welchen etwas anvertraut ist, uns allen ist aber auch die grosze angelegen-

heit des vaterlandes anvertraut. was sind ausschüsse? diejenigen, welche aus unserer mitte ausgeschossen worden sind, ich wünsche, dasz wir alle recht eingeschossen wären in die noth und bedürfnisse unseres vaterlandes.

(Kleinere Schriften 8: 436)

There are two principal reasons for Grimm's agnosticism. First, in essence the DWb assembles German vocabulary from the Reformation until the beginning of the nineteenth century – contemporary usage is very low on its agenda. Second, Grimm adhered to a nationalistic proto-Darwinian notion of linguistic survival:

(h) Andere [loanwords] rücken uns freilich näher, das leben verwendet fremde wörter in wissenschaft und schule, im krieg und frieden, im gemeinen umgang so viele, dasz man sich oft nur mit ihnen verständlich macht und ohne sie befahren musz misverstanden zu werden. Wie der stolz auf unsre eigne sprache, der oft noch schlummert, einmal heller wacht und die bekanntschaft mit allen mitteln wächst, welche sie selbst uns darreicht, um noch bezeichnendere und uns angemessenere ausdrücke zu gewinnen, wird auch die anwendung der fremden weichen und beschränkt werden.

(Vorrede zum DWb: 37)

Buoyed by a spirit of internationalism that derived from his comparative-historical method, Grimm advocated a militant moderation that would keep him from the excesses of the purists. But in practice, he was a 'de facto purist' for whom German and its historical essence would always win out.⁴ For a figure who was so politically engaged, it is ironic that we have to turn to one of the many specialist *Fremdwörterbücher* to capture the explosion of new political terms that evolved as a key linguistic feature of the nineteenth century. This is one of the lasting significant weaknesses of the DWb.

Further reading

Bahr (1984); Erben (1986); Duckert (1987); Kirkness/Kühn/Wiegand (1991); Holly (1991); Townson (1992: 76–119).

4 Most of the political terms that are included have their contemporary meaning neutralized through Grimm's search for the semantic 'Urbegriff' which simply unfolds over time rather than changes – an approach which distinguishes the DWb from all other historical dictionaries in the nineteenth century (see Zgusta 1991).

29 Industrialization, technology and language

Die Marmorirkunst and Ferdinand Lassalle

29.1 Context

There is certainly nothing new about technology, as typified by the vast literature stretching back to antiquity in fields such as mechanics, warfare, time measurement, and fishing (e.g. descriptions of how to build a bacteria lamp to attract fishes). In the early modern period, too, there is a considerable body of technological texts, e.g. Leonardo da Vinci, Peter Apian on astronomical instruments (sixteenth century), Leibniz on machines using wind energy in mining (seventeenth century), or by Jacob Leupold in his multi-volume *Theatrum* (eighteenth century). As in the field of science, there was an eventual shift from Latin to the vernacular, and by 1800 many fields of technology had established themselves as pre-industrial *Fachsprachen*. By the end of the eighteenth century, a number of technological innovations (e.g. steam energy) led in Europe to the complex process that we call *industrialization*, although unfavourable socio-political constellations meant that the ununited Germany remained largely unaffected until the nineteenth century. Technical innovations and industrialization brought about fundamental changes in the organization of labour, production and social relations and involved the establishment of new vocabulary zones, new words, specialized meanings in areas such as steam engines, machines, automation, the railway, steel production, telephone, photography, canalization, automobile technology, the rotation press, central heating, etc. At the same time, many vocabulary zones (e.g. animal-powered agriculture) were marginalized, which eventually led to lexical loss (e.g. *Kummet* ‘yolk for horses’).

Moreover, these processes were closely interwoven with communication and language in a number of more general respects. First, technological innovation has immediate lexical effect: new words (word-formation, borrowing) and meanings emerge and either remain within the restricted domain of a particular *Fachsprache*, or eventually spread into general use. Second, new technologies often require a certain amount of public justification, and in the nineteenth century this led to public debates on matters such as whether to, or how to, adopt a new technology, or to the advertising of the benefits of progress (e.g. the activities of Friedrich List, 1789–1846, one of the early pioneers of the railway in Germany). Third, certain nineteenth- and twentieth-century technical innovations affected language use directly and brought about new forms of mass communication: the telegraph and new printing techniques were important requirements for the flow

of information and the production of the printed mass media; the telephone allowed simultaneous long-distance communication; and later the invention and spread of broadcasting systems, television and computer networks fundamentally changed our whole communicative environment and ushered in a new dynamic in language change. Fourth, industrialization brought with it a number of well-known social and political problems (e.g. exploitation of the working class, questions of economic systems and social security). These matters were widely discussed at the national level by economists (e.g. Friedrich List), journalists and commentators (e.g. Karl Marx), industrialists (e.g. Walther Rathenau), medics (e.g. Virchow), and naturally many politicians. These questions constitute a network of topics in their own right in the area of specialized and public communication. Fifth, technological innovation and industrialization took place within a framework that was certainly European, if not international. Technology transfer and international competition produced travel and news reports from far-off places and translations of technical texts, both of which had lexical consequences, e.g. loan translations/loan formations such as *Dampfheizung* and other composita based on *Dampf*, 'steam'. Finally, the practicalities and implications of technical innovation and industrialization were to become an important subject of nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature.

Text A comes from a technical handbook on how to produce marbled paper (Boeck, *Die Marmorirkunst*, 1896) and gives an account of aspects of traditional craftsmanship that have undergone major changes as a result of the industrial production process. Text B is an excerpt from Ferdinand Lassalle's *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses* (1863), a seminal text on the *Arbeiterfrage* and an important document in the history of the Labour movement and pre-history of the German SPD.

29.2 Texts and translations

A. *Herstellung von ciselirten Schnitten (1896)*

In den Vierzigerjahren erfreuten sich die ciselirten Schnitte noch in der Provinz öfterer Nachfrage und haben seitdem stets an Beliebtheit abgenommen, so daß wir dieselben beinahe nun ganz vermissen.

- 5 Im Jahre 1875 hat eine strebsame Maschinenfabrik in Leipzig, und zwar die Firma O. Ronniger, eine Maschine für ciselirte Bücherschnitte gebaut, und ist die Erfindung obiger Maschine allgemein als ein nicht unbedeutender Fortschritt in der Buchbinderei anerkannt worden, und es unterliegt wohl keinem Zweifel, daß sich derartige Schnitte, namentlich bei Prachtwerken und Gebetbüchern, sehr schnell einbürgern werden.
- 10 Hierzu wird hauptsächlich, ganz abgesehen von der erhöhten Eleganz, welche dieselben einem jeden Büchereinbände verleihen, der enorm billige Herstellungspreis solcher Schnitte beitragen. Denn waren die mit der Hand gefertigten ciselirten Schnitte bei beschränkter Ornamentirung sehr theuer, worin auch das seltene Vorkommen derselben bisher seinen
- 15 Grund hatte, so läßt sich von den mit der Maschine hergestellten

Schnitten, wie schon erwähnt, das Gegentheil sagen, indem die Ciselirung eines größeren Buches bei Buntschnitt nur den Arbeitslohn und bei Goldschnitt nur noch das dazu verwendete Gold oder Silber kostet.

Die Maschine liefert bei richtiger Handhabung den einfach zartesten wie auch künstlich schwersten ciselirten Schnitt, in Einzel- wie Massenproduction gleich exact, Resultate, welche mit der Hand nie erzielt werden konnten und die schon bei größeren Ausstellungen ungetheilte Anerkennung gefunden haben.

Die Ronniger'sche Ciselirmaschine, oder, wie ihr officieller Name lautet 'Maschine zum Einprägen von Mustern in Bücherschnitte mittelst einer gravirten Rolle' hat Eingang in mehrere Albumwerkstätten gefunden und dadurch eine wahre Revolution in der Albumbranche hervorgerufen. Die Concurrrenz, eine der Haupttriebfedern zur Weiterentwicklung jedweder Industrie, ist im Begriffe, sich der Resultate dieser Maschine in einer Weise zu bemächtigen, die alles bisher Dagewesene in den Schatten stellen' – so schrieb schon vor Jahren eine Fachzeitschrift.

Die Handhabung der Maschine ist die denkbar leichteste. Der zu druckende Schnitt wird zwischen zwei eiserne Balken, Preßbalken, von denen der vordere feststehend, der rückwärtige durch Kurbelbewegung verstellbar ist, gebracht; wir finden diese Kurbel auf der Abbildung (Fig. 24) am rückwärtigen Theile der Maschine. (...)

(Boeck 1896: 84–5)

B. Ferdinand Lassalle: Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central=Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig

Das allgemeine und directe Wahlrecht ist also, wie sich jetzt ergeben hat, nicht nur Ihr politisches, es ist auch Ihr sociales Grundprincip, die Grundbedingung aller socialen Hülfe. Es ist das einzige Mittel, um die materielle Lage des Arbeiterstandes zu verbessern.

Wie nun aber die Einführung des allgemeinen und directen Wahlrechts bewirken? (...)

Organisiren Sie Sich als ein allgemeiner deutscher Arbeiterverein zu dem Zweck einer gesetzlichen und friedlichen, aber unermüdlichen, unablässigen Agitation für die Einführung des allgemeinen und directen Wahlrechts in allen deutschen Ländern. Von dem Augenblicke an, wo dieser Verein auch nur 100,000 deutsche Arbeiter umfaßt, wird er bereits eine Macht sein, mit welcher Jeder rechnen muß. Pflanzen Sie diesen Ruf fort in jede Werkstatt, in jedes Dorf, in jede Hütte. (...)

Stiften Sie Cassen (...) Gründen Sie mit diesen Cassen, die trotz der Kleinheit der Beiträge eine für Agitationszwecke gewaltige finanzielle Macht bilden würden (...) öffentliche Blätter, welche täglich dieselbe Forderung erheben und die Begründung derselben aus den socialen Zuständen nachweisen. Verbreiten Sie mit denselben Mitteln Flugschriften zu demselben Zweck. (...)

Wiederholen Sie täglich, unermüdlich dasselbe, wieder dasselbe, immer

**dasselbe! Jemehr es wiederholt wird, desto mehr greift es um sich,
desto gewaltiger wächst seine Macht.**

(Lassalle 1836: 36–8)

A. *A new machine for producing marbled cuts*

In the forties in the provinces marbled cuts still enjoyed frequent demand and since then their popularity has declined, so that they are now almost entirely absent.

In 1875 an ambitious machine factory in Leipzig, namely the company O. Ronniger, made a machine for marbled book cuts, and the invention of the aforementioned machine has been universally recognized as a significant progression in the book-binding industry, and there can be no doubt that cuts of this kind will become established very quickly, namely in decorated works and prayer books. To this will contribute in the main, apart from the heightened elegance which they lend every book's binding, the immensely inexpensive production cost of such cuts. For if the hand-finished marbled cuts with limited ornamentation were very expensive, wherein also the reason for their rarity lay, the opposite can be said for the machine produced cuts, as already mentioned, in that the marblization of a larger book with coloured edging only costs the worker's wage and in the case of gilt edging only costs the gold or silver used.

The machine provides, used correctly, the simply daintiest and artistically most difficult marbled cuts, with equal accuracy in single or mass production – results which could never be achieved by hand and which have already found unanimous approval at exhibitions.

Many years ago a specialist magazine already wrote: 'The Ronniger marbling machine, or as it is officially known, the "machine for the impression of patterns in book cuts using an engraved roller" has found entry into many album workshops and in this way has brought about a true revolution in the album industry. The competition, one of the principal driving forces of continued development of every industry, is ready to seize the results of these machines in a way that will put everything that has gone before in the shade.'

The operation of the machine is the simplest imaginable. The cut which is to be printed is placed between two iron beams, pressing beams, the front one of which is fixed, the back one moveable by crank; this crank can be found on the rear part of the machine in the illustration (Fig. 24). (. . .)

B. *Public answer to the central committee of a General German Workers' Congress*

The universal and direct right to vote is thus, as has been shown, not merely your basic political principle, but also your social one, the basic condition of all social assistance. It is the only tool with which the material situation of the working class can be improved.

But how then to bring about the introduction of universal and direct suffrage? (. . .)

Organize yourselves as a general German workers' society for the purpose of a legal and peaceful, yet untiring, unremitting agitation for the introduction of universal and direct voting rights in every German state. From that moment on, even if this society comprises only 100 000 German workers, it will already be a power with which everyone must reckon. Spread this message in every workshop, in every village, in every cottage. (. . .)

Form funds (. . .) With these funds – which will, despite the meagreness of the contributions, form a mighty financial power for the purposes of agitation – found public newspapers that daily raise the same demands and prove that the basis for these demands lie in social conditions. With the same sources, spread pamphlets with the same aims. (. . .)

Repeat untiringly the same thing daily, the same thing again, always the same thing! The more it is repeated, the more it will catch on and the mightier its power will grow.

29.3 Brief commentary

(A) is a technical text in the field of *Marmorirkunst*, which (according to A7) is part of the field of bookbinding (*Buchbinderei*), and displays a number of lexical aspects typical of the register. (i) As in other fields, its vocabulary displays a certain structure that mirrors the 'doctrine' of the field (see 20.4), e.g. expressions for technical activities (*ciseliren*), for objects and products (*Prachtwerk*; *Ornamentirung*, *Schnitt* 'typographic cut', *Bücherschnitt*, *Buntschnitt*, *Goldschnitt*) and for principles of good craftsmanship (*Eleganz*). (ii) Industrialization brought about changes in the traditional vocabularies of the trade: (a) lexical enrichment in certain aspects of industrial production, e.g. machines (*Ciselirmaschine*), their parts (*Preßbalken*); (b) changes in the meaning of words, e.g. pre- and post-industrial *ciselieren* is similar in terms of *result*, but utterly different in terms of *process*. (iii) To achieve precision, technical vocabularies typically contain various series of word-formations containing a basic element (e.g. *-schnitt*). (iv) Specialized communication in the nineteenth century and the twentieth century also underwent changes in textual devices, e.g. increased usage of nominal expressions (*durch Kurbelbewegung verstellbar* A34f.), functional text/image units (A35f.; see ch. 20), as well as new connections between different types of media (handbook and *Fachzeitschrift* A31).¹

Industrialization also had serious economic, social and political implications that were widely discussed in newspapers, pamphlets, letters, books, speeches, etc. These discourses form an important part of public language use in the nineteenth century and twentieth century, and they developed a political rhetoric all of their own. Text B is noteworthy in three respects. First, the author states the principles

¹ Variation in nineteenth-century orthography was gradually reduced in the last third of the nineteenth century by a series of semi-official initiatives (see v. Polenz 1999: 232–43). Text A still displays certain rudiments of older variant spellings that were later eradicated as a result of the Second Orthographic Conference (1901): older <th> for modern <t> (e.g. *theuer* A14, *Gegentheil* A16); older <c> for modern <k> and <z> in foreign words (*ciseliren* A1, *Concurrenz* A28, *exact* A21, *officiell* A24) and older *-ren* for modern *-ieren* (*ciselirte* A5, *Ornamentirung* A13).

of political agitation (B20–22), which follows English models. Second, he practices these principles of agitation himself, e.g. by repeating key points several times via similar or identical expressions in his text:

Das eherne ökonomische Gesetz, welches unter den heutigen Verhältnissen, unter der Herrschaft von Angebot und Nachfrage nach Arbeit den Arbeitslohn bestimmt, ist dieses: daß der durchschnittliche Arbeitslohn immer auf den nothwendigen Lebensunterhalt reducirt bleibt, der in einem Volke gewohnheitsmäßig zur Fristung der Existenz und zur Fortpflanzung erforderlich ist. (p. 15)

Dieses eherne und grausame Gesetz, meine Herren, müssen Sie Sich vor Allem tief, tief in die Seele prägen und bei allem Ihrem Denken von ihm ausgehen. (p. 16)

Es ist daher eine Folge dieses ehernen und grausamen Gesetzes, daß Sie ... von dem gesteigerten Arbeitsertrage, von der gesteigerten Ertragsfähigkeit Ihrer eignen Arbeit nothwendig ausgeschlossen sind! (p. 17)

... jenes eherne und grausame Gesetz, welches den Arbeitslohn ... immer wieder auf das Maaß der zum Lebensunterhalt nothwendigen Consumption herabdrückt. (p. 18)

Third, the text contains key words (e.g. *Arbeiter*, *Arbeiterstand*, *Arbeiterverein*) and phrases (e.g. *allgemeines und direktes Wahlrecht*) which are necessary for discussing political issues and expressing a particular view of them. For instance, in the text as a whole there are numerous lexemes constructed with *arbeit-*, and some of these are used frequently:

Arbeit, arbeiten, Arbeiter, Arbeiteraktionär, Arbeiterassoziation, Arbeiterassoziationsbewegung, Arbeiterbewegung, Arbeiterrehe, Arbeiterfortpflanzung, Arbeiterhände, Arbeiterindividuen, Arbeiterkongreß, Arbeiterkreise, Arbeitermittel, Arbeiterpartei, Arbeiterstand, Arbeiterunternehmer, Arbeiterverein, Arbeiterzahl, Arbeitsertrag, Arbeitslohn, Arbeitsvergütung, Arbeitszweig.

As the spectrum of this list shows, the richness of the political lexicon comes about due to several factors: topical needs (e.g. *Arbeitslohn*), attempts to highlight a certain view (e.g. *Arbeiterindividuen*), and visions of the political and economic future (e.g. *Arbeiterunternehmer* – Lassalle's notion of workers communally owning a factory and sharing in its risks as well as returns).

Further reading

Jakob (1989, 1991); Spiegel (1981).

30 Elements of everyday language use

Letters and letter-writing manuals

30.1 Context

A great deal of everyday life is made up of linguistic activity, both oral and written. Some speech acts are important and may have far-reaching consequences, e.g. saying *I do* in a wedding ceremony, writing a job application, discussing holiday plans, whilst others are more inconspicuous and even trivial, e.g. saying good morning, passing the time of day, asking for another beer, thanking, inviting someone round on the telephone, etc. It is not easy to reconstruct the linguistic aspects of everyday life from the past in great detail. Nor is it easy to trace the linguistic elements of everyday life in a diachronic slice for different groups of speakers/writers, e.g. the linguistic units that made up the average peasant day, say in 1828, or that of a bourgeois lady in 1890 are scarcely recoverable. Even the humble shopping list proves to be a historically elusive text-type.

As far as we know, people in the Middle Ages did not have shopping-lists, whereas today they can often be found on sheets of paper discarded in shopping trolleys like the one represented in Fig. 30.1. When did written shopping-lists for private use evolve? When did the linguistic organization of shopping-lists follow the temporal and local organization of the shelves in a shop (like in the example in Fig. 30.1)? How is the evolution of the shopping list and of its linguistic form connected to aspects of social history? Despite the trivial and ephemeral nature of the text-type, these questions lead to the heart of linguistic evolution and change.

Even if we are not yet in possession of a detailed history of the linguistic units of everyday life and of its development through time, we can highlight some characteristics and tendencies in the nineteenth century and twentieth century.

30.2 Texts and translations

A. *Elisabetha Dorothea Schiller, letter to her son (1797)*

Den 8. August 97.

Bester Sohn.

Nebst der Quittung der 30 fl schicke ich diesn Brif an jhn Herrn Cotta.

Taussend herzlichn Dank zu Gott vor die gutn Nachrichtn von Eurer aller

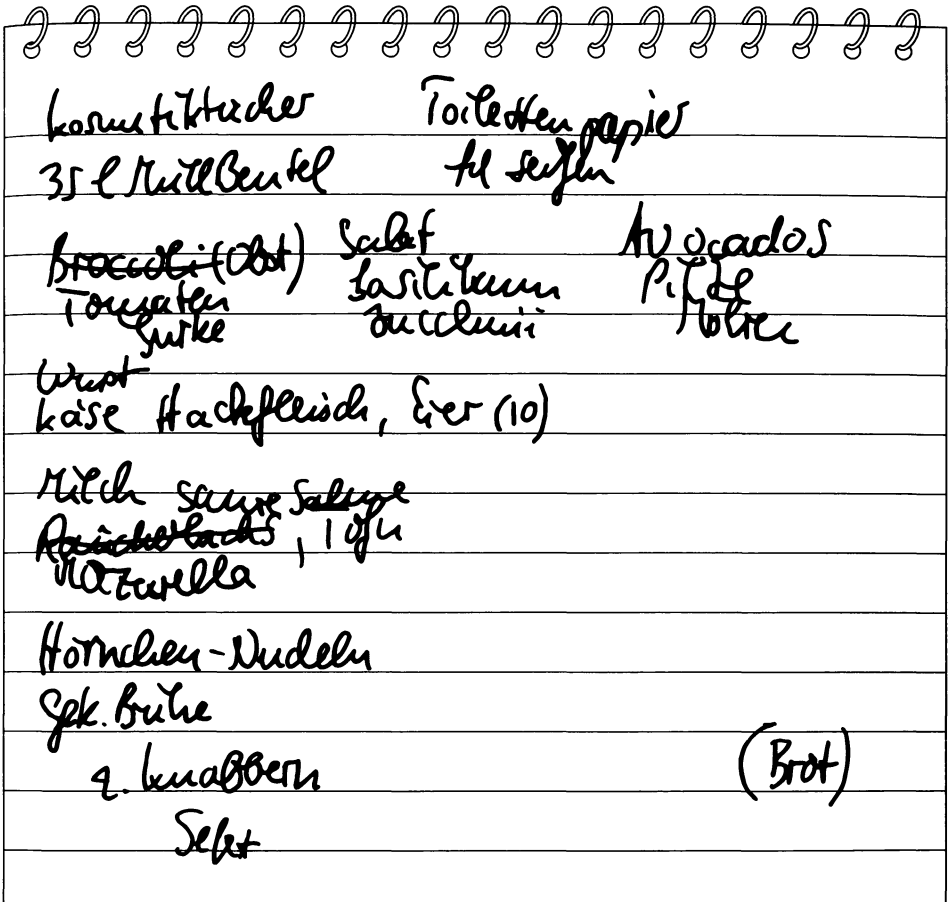


Figure 30.1 Shopping list c.1992

- 5 Wohlbefenden, ich ben sehr schon lange besorgt gewesen um auch wieder nachricht von meinen liebsten Kinder und Enkel zu hören, der Brif wahr aber schon 20 Tag alt gewesen. ich und Louiße befendn uns zum Preiß Gottes auch recht erträglich, Louiss brauchte von Herrn HofMedicus Hoven etwas; wegen ihrer Brust wo sie noch seid ihrer Krankheit nicht ganz
- 10 befreit, und sich eusserst vor erhüzung und hartem speißen sehr hüten muss. außer dem leben wier so in der stille bei sahenen, arbeiden, mit spenen und stricken und anderen häusslichn Geschäften machen wenig besuche, damit wir nicht wieder gegen besuche bekomn, weil es in den Landstättten der üble gebrauch mit vielen aufwande Kostspiehlich. vor
- 15 14 Tag kam nun auch ein Decret an Oberamtmann hieher. wegen meiner Pension, dieser schrieb mir ein höflich Billiet, daß Er ein Decret bekommen, daß ich von der Besolung des erst verstorbenen Hofgärtners Böbert jährlich Hundert gulden zu erheben (...). Hier liegt alles voleren

Käusserlichen, und wird alles emmr noch theurer der Landmann wird ganz
20 ausgefreßen auch alle Geustlichen mißen Quartier nehmen, auf dem Land,
(..)

ich umarme alle Euch meine *lieben* und ben mit herzlich zehrtlicher
Liebe

Eure Treuste

Mutter.

25 S: Taussend herzliche Grüße von der Louiße.

(Text: Schiller 1981: 89f.)

B. Peasant Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz's jottings (1843–4)

Den 18 ten Januar Eine striegel gekauft von Hählblrant 6 sg.

Den 14ten Januar Ein Kalb verkauft an den Endspekter Stägman

3 r. 5 sg. nach Betzenburg. Basieliken Salbe ist gut vür

Vervroren. Wen der Mensch eine Wunde hat ~~vür~~ 1 sg und

5 geschwollen ist vür 1 sg Balsam Prigade. wenn das vieh

Leüse hat so nimt man Schmalz dünne 1 sg kabziner Pulfer

wisch es auf die fagen wo sie sitzen. Wenn mann einen

Bäsen inn die Zwelfen bind und auf Peterstohlfäger

die ställe in die Ekken fägt und dann Verbrent so bekomt

10 das Vieh keinen Ungeziefer.

Klei gekauft 1844 Den 23ten Merz 2 Scheffel 1 r. 8 Sg. (..)

Lieber Vater

Liebe Vater und Schwägern ich Muß ihnen benachrichtigen

das wihr nich haben kommen können denn ich wurde krank

15 korz voher und (..)

(Text: Enders 1989: 158f.)

C. L. Kiesewetter: Universal-Briefsteller (c.1870/1900)

(from the section on rules/principles)

(..) Briefe, welche förmliche Heirathsanträge enthalten, müssen mit der
sorgfältigsten Berücksichtigung der jedesmaligen Verhältnisse und mit
der größten Delikatesse abgefaßt werden. Es muß da Alles hervorgehoben

werden, was die Briefempfängerin zu unsern Gunsten stimmen kann; hat

5 man Vermögensverhältnisse zu berühren, so thue man dies mit aller

Behutsamkeit und mehr beiläufig; das Gefühl der Liebe oder wenigstens

der zarten Hochachtung muß immer als das Hauptmotiv gelten.

(from a model letter)

(..) und so wage ich Ihnen denn zu sagen, daß ich keinen sehnlichern
Wunsch habe als Sie die Meine nennen zu dürfen, an Ihrer Seite durch

10 das Leben zu gehen und in Ihrem Glücke das meine zu finden. Meine

ökonomischen Verhältnisse sind Ihnen, wie ich voraussetzen darf,

hinlänglich bekannt; bin ich auch nicht reich, so vermag ich Ihnen

15 doch eine sorgenfreie Lage zu bereiten, und es würde meine süßeste
Pflicht sein, für Sie zu arbeiten und zu sorgen und Ihnen das Leben
so angenehm als möglich zu machen.

(Text: Kiesewetter 1870/1900: 201/3)

A. Elisabetha Dorothea Schiller, letter to her son (1797)

August 8th '97

My dearest son,

Along with the receipt for the 30 guilders I send this letter for him to Mr. Cotta. Thank goodness for the good news that you are all well. I have been very concerned for a good time to receive news once again of my dearest children and grandchildren, the letter was however already 20 days old. Louise and I are, thank the Lord, quite well, Louise required something from the court physician Dr Hoven because of her chest, where she is not yet free since her illness and she must be extremely careful to avoid heat and hard food. Otherwise, we are just living together here in peace and quiet, work at spinning and knitting and other household tasks, pay few visits so as not to receive visits in return, because this is the horrid custom in the provincial towns [involving] great expense and lavishness. 14 days ago a decree arrived here for the *Oberamtmann* [chief official], about my pension. He wrote me a polite note, saying he had received a decree that I am to raise a hundred guilders annually from the salary of the only recently deceased court gardener. [. . .] There are a lot of imperial troops here, and everything keeps getting more and more expensive. The husbandman is getting stripped quite bare and all the clergymen must take lodgings in the country.

[. . .]

I embrace you all, my darlings, and am with hearty tender love

your dearest

Mother

P.S.: Many greetings from Louise.

B. Peasant Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz's jottings (1844)

18 January: bought a curry-comb from Hähibrant: 6 sg [*Silbergroschen*].

14 January: sold a calf to Inspector Stagman 3 r [*Reichstaler*] 5 sg to Betzenburg. Basilicum ointment is good for frost bite. If a person has a wound for 1 sg and is swollen for 1 sg balsam peruvianum. If the livestock has lice, then you take lard, thinly, 1 sg Capuchin powder, rub it on the places [?] where they sit. If you tie a broom on twelve-day [twelfth day after christmas, 6th of january] and on Peter's day ad cathedram [22nd of february] sweep the stables in the corners and then burn it, then the livestock will not get any vermin.

Bought bran 1844, the 23rd March 2 bushes 1 r 8 Sg.

[. . .]

Dear father,

Dear father and relatives, I must report to you that we could not come for I became ill shortly beforehand and [. . .]

C. L. Kiesewetter: Universal-Briefsteller (c.1870/1900)*(from the section on rules/principles)*

[. . .] letters which contain formal marriage proposals must be written with the most careful consideration of the particular circumstances and the utmost delicacy. Everything must be stressed that can persuade the recipient to take us into her favour; if one must touch upon financial circumstances, then one should do this with utmost caution and more in passing; the feeling of love or at least tender high esteem must always appear as the principal motive.

(from a model letter)

[. . .] and so I dare to tell you, that I harbour no dearer wish than to be able to call you mine, to go through life at your side and to find my happiness in yours. You are aware, I may assume, of my economic circumstances. Although I am not exactly rich, I am capable of providing for you a carefree existence, and it would be my sweetest duty to work and care for you and to make your life as pleasant as possible.

30.3 Standard language and individual variation

During the eighteenth century the German standard established itself so that by around 1800 the orthography, morphology and syntax, etc. of printed texts does not look significantly different from modern texts. In private texts, however, there is still a high degree of individual variation throughout the nineteenth century. The letter to Friedrich Schiller written by his mother in 1797 (Text A) displays a number of differences from the standard: (i) phonetic spellings like *herzlichn*, *Nachrichtn* (A4), *bekomn* (A13), where the common elision of /ə/ in speech is represented orthographically;¹ (ii) phonetic spellings that point to regional pronunciations such as the lowering of /i/ to /ɛ/ in *Wohlbefenden* (A5), *ben* 'bin' (A5, 21), *spenen* 'spinnen' (A12), *emmr* 'immer',² or unrounding of /y/ to /i/ in *mißen* 'müssen' (A20) and associated hypercorrect forms such as *erhüzung* (A10) due to uncertainty over vowel quality; (iii) variation in the rendering of long and short vowels, e.g. *Brif* 'letter' (A3, 6), *wier* 'we' (A11), *bei sahmén* 'together' (A11), *Kostspiehlích* 'expensive' (A14); (iv) phonetic rendering of parts of foreign words, *Billiet* (A16); (v) variation in the spelling of consonants, e.g. *seid* (A9, *seit* 'since'), *arbeiden* (A11, *arbeiten* 'to work'); (vi) unsystematic treatment of capitalization and punctuation throughout the text.

As already touched on in 20.6 this phenomenon is not so much a gender issue but one of access to education. Despite the fact that the *Allgemeine Schulpflicht* was introduced in Germany during the nineteenth century, it was some time until the standard was used widely in private writing. When Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz,

1 This style of writing was developed as a means of artistic literary prose by twentieth-century authors such as Arno Schmidt, e.g. *Obm scharck drohende Körper von Wolkn; Das Durch=Schnutz=Allter der Zißder=Zieh=Ennser=Nonn' betruuk in der Reegl 24 einhalbjahre* (Bargfelder Ausgabe, I 3/1 220).

2 This pronunciation is still heard in certain parts of southern Germany today: *I bei emmr do = Ich bin immer da.*

a (male) peasant from north eastern Germany (Neuholland near Berlin), made some notes around 1843 (text B), his writings were still marked by strong variation in capitalization, unsystematic punctuation, phonetic spellings of foreign words (*Endspekter* B2, i.e. *Inspektor*), variation in the spelling of vowels and consonants (*vür* B3 'für', *Veruroren* B4, i.e. *verfrozen*), etc.

30.4 Functional syntax

Line B11 in Friedrich Heinz's notebook is not a complete German sentence, but a good example of functional syntax. In this context, the utterance form is completely sufficient for the purpose of making a note about different aspects of a purchase: the participle *gekauft* refers to the kind of event (purchasing something), *Kleie* covers the object of purchase, and the use of additional phrases specify time, quantity and price. This pattern differs from a well-formed sentence in two main respects: (i) some elements are left out (subject, finite verb, prepositions); (ii) the order of the elements is different, e.g. the specification of the quantity (*2 Scheffel*) stands at a distance from the object to which it belongs (*Kleie*). Nevertheless, understanding such utterance forms poses no serious problems in most cases because the connections can be reconstructed on the basis of shared knowledge about the relevant aspects of the act of purchasing.

This type of functional syntax is not so much a result of education or linguistic capability (as in 30.3), but rather a matter of situation and text-type. Thomas Mann, for instance, whose literary works are well-known for their elaborate syntax, occasionally uses similar kinds of syntactic patterns in his diaries:

Sonntag den 16. V. [1920]

Kühler, aber recht schöner Tag. Auf der Veranda gefrühstückt. Weiter geschrieben. Mittags Besuch eines Mitarbeiters Wiener Blätter, Dr Neumann; Interview. Sprach über meine Arbeiten. Vor Tisch mit K. eine halbe Stunde gegangen. Nachmittags Bettruhe. Zum Thee mit K. in der Arcisstraße. M. von Pidoll und der Schauspieler Max Grube, den ich an den Verkehr in meinem Elternhause erinnerte. Freude am mimischen Talent, das gelegentlich spielen ließ. – Gewitterregen, nachdem es schwül geworden. Dann wieder Abkühlung. – (...).

(Text: Mann 1979: 435)

Utterance forms such as *Nachmittags Bettruhe* or *Zum Thee mit K. in der Arcisstraße* consist basically of a sequence of (mostly noun or prepositional) phrases which specify different aspects of an event structure – what? when? where? with whom?, etc. Similar passages could be quoted from the diaries of other poets, e.g. Schnitzler: *Sept. 1909: 3/9 Vm. Besorgungen. Dampfbad (76 Kilo 2) –*.

30.5 Forms of communication, text-types, manuals

On a simple level, our passages could be regarded as instances of three different text-types: letter, note-book, letter-writer's guide. On a more precise level of analysis, however, letters should not be regarded as forming a unified text-type with a number of common or prototypical features, but rather as a family of mutually related text-types that may differ in several respects, e.g. medium of transmission, addressee(s), principal purpose, or range of functional elements. The same could be said of notebooks which are often made up of a collection of entries on different topics. Sometimes these represent basic text-types, e.g. the entries in B4–10 are closely related to the linguistic and pragmatic form of recipes (see 20.2), whereas other entries closely resemble passages in a diary, annalistic type of medieval chronicle or short modern newspaper report.

The texts are not only examples of different forms of communication or text-types, but also mention other forms of everyday communication: in A15f. Elisabetha Schiller mentions an official *Decret* to the local authorities and a *Billiet* that was subsequently sent to her by the local authorities in order to inform her of this. Similarly, B12–15 seems to represent a draft of a letter that was finally sent to Friedrich Heinz's relatives. Writing down part of such a letter in a note-book indicates that the writer was not very familiar with the composition of texts of this type. Generally speaking, the nineteenth century is characterized by an expansion in the range of text-types and by a growing number of people participating in written communication.

In C, rules and principles are given first for a specific communicative task (how to make a proposal of marriage) and followed by a prototypical example displaying these principles. This model (rules + examples) goes back to the earliest German letter-writer's guides from the end of the fifteenth century (see Nickisch 1969), and can be found in other books of this type in the nineteenth century: 'Jede Kunst, auch die, einen interessanten Brief zu schreiben, beruht auf gewissen *Gesetzen und Regeln* . . . Unsere *Musterbriefe* endlich, die . . . für alle Verhältnisse des Lebens gedacht sind, wollen lediglich als Form betrachtet sein, darein die Schreibende ihre individuellen Ideen und Empfindungen gießen mag, um mit der Zeit die nötige Geläufigkeit zur Abfassung eines Originalbriefes zu gewinnen' (Schoppe, *Briefsteller für Damen* 1890: 2). The principles displayed in text C include thematic aspects (what points should or could be mentioned in order to achieve a certain goal, C3–4) as well as stylistic aspects: expressions such as *Delikatesse* (C3 'sensitiveness, delicacy, tact'), *Behutsamkeit* and *mehr beiläufig* (C6) give guidance on how to handle a subtopic. Yet because it is extremely difficult simply to *describe* how principles like sensitivity and tact can be followed, these are *illustrated* via model letters as well. For instance, the passage from a model letter in C8–15 illustrates how the principle of tact can be realized within the subtopics of 'feelings' and 'economic situation'.

The nineteenth century saw the publication of many letter-writer's guides and communication manuals. These included handbooks for specific text-types (e.g. private letters, applications to the authorities, *curricula vitae*), or for a certain target group (*Briefsteller für Damen*), and some were even intended for forms of oral communication:

Salon-Gespräche. Achtzig anleitende Beispiele um auf Bällen, in Gesellschaften, Concerten und im Theater, bei Besuchen, Diners und Landpartien, auf der Straße, auf Promenaden, Reisen, sowie überhaupt unter den verschiedenartigsten Lebensverhältnissen auf eine passende, anziehende und interessante Weise eine Unterhaltung anzuknüpfen, sowie mit Takt und Gewandtheit fortzuführen. Ein Rathgeber für unerfahrene und schüchterne junge Leute beiderlei Geschlechts.

(Leopold von Reinbeck 1863; title page)

30.6 Politeness, submission and respect

The use of *wagen* (C8) and *dürfen* (C9) are elements of a complex system of linguistic politeness and respect which formed an important part of bourgeois linguistic culture. Politeness formulas serve, among other things, to mitigate problematic speech acts (e.g. request) and to preserve or to upgrade the interlocuter's social 'face' in communication (see the seminal work of Brown and Levinson 1987). Formulas of respect basically serve to mark social distance and hierarchy. The politeness effect of expressions can be determined by comparing expressions with and without a certain element. The inclusion of *dürfen* in example (b) below projects the fulfilment of the speaker's desire as a highly desirable act of generosity on the part of the interlocuter:

- (a) ... daß ich keinen sehnlichern Wunsch habe als Sie die Meine zu nennen
 (b) ... daß ich keinen sehnlichern Wunsch habe als Sie die Meine nennen zu dürfen

Compared to today, the nineteenth century possessed a much richer repertoire of strategies for expressing politeness and respect, both in written and oral communication. The following quotations from a policeman's application (1892) and a passage from a model dialogue of the *Salon-Gespräche* (1863) illustrate this point:

[...] Aus den vorstehenden Gründen wage ich es daher, Euer Hochwohlgeboren ganz gehorsamst zu bitten, geneigtest meine Pensionirung herbeiführen zu wollen, und erlaube ich mir hierzu zu bemerken, daß ich seit dem Monat Oktober 1872 in hiesiger Bürgermeisterei als Polizeibeamter thätig bin und glaube hoffen zu dürfen, daß ich während dieser langen zeit, mir die Achtung meiner Herrn Vorgesetzten erworben habe [...]. In der Hoffnung, daß Euer Hochwohlgeboren meiner Bitte befürwortend zur Seite stehen wird, zeichnet Euer Hochwohlgeboren ganz gehorsamster Rotthäuser Polizei-Sergeant. (17.7.1892)

(Text: Grosse *et al.* 1989: 61)

Auf einem Balle bittet ein junger Mann den Arrangeur, ihn einer bezeichneten Dame als Tänzer vorzustellen

DER HERR: Dürfte ich Sie wohl ersuchen, mein Herr, mich jener Dame im blauen Kleide vorzustellen, damit ich mir das Vergnügen erbitte, mit ihr den nächsten Contretanz zu tanzen? Mein Name ist

DER ARRANGEUR: Mit Vergnügen erfülle ich Ihren Wunsch, der Ihrem Geschmacke alle Ehre macht. *Ihn der Dame vorstellend.* Kraft meines Amtes bin ich so frei, Ihnen hiermit Herrn ... vorzustellen -

DER HERR, einfallend: Der sich die Bitte erlaubt, ihm das Vergnügen zu gewähren, für den nächsten Contretanz mit Ihnen antreten zu dürfen.

DIE DAME: Ich bedauere lebhaft, diesem Wunsche nicht entsprechen zu können; indessen erlaube ich mir die Bemerkung, daß ich den zweiten Contretanz noch nicht vergeben habe, den ich Ihnen mit Vergnügen einräumen würde.

DER HERR: Ich bin Ihnen, mein Fräulein, unendlich verbunden, und erbitte mir für einen Augenblick Ihre Tanzordnung, um auch meinen Namen in der Reihe derjenigen Platz finden zu lassen, welche sich rühmen können, Ihre Tänzer zu sein. *Nach Einschreibung des Namens.* Ich harre mit Ungeduld des Augenblickes, da die gewünschten Töne erklingen, und empfehle mich bis dahin höflichst. (..)

(Text: Leopold von Reinbeck [1863] 1970: 59f.)

The linguistic system of politeness and respect includes polite forms of address, compliments, expressions of submission and self-deprecation (*ganz untertänigster*), various types of upgrading of an interlocuter, expressions of mitigating problematic speech acts (e.g. *Ich bedaure lebhaft, diesem Wunsche nicht entsprechen zu können* instead of plain *Nein*). Parts of this system were already in use in the eighteenth century and even before. In the course of the twentieth century, the system was reduced again, especially in the domain of respect and hierarchy.

Further reading

Admoni (1988); Brown and Levinson (1987); Grosse *et al.* (1989); Nickisch (1989); Schikorsky (1990).

31 Scientific prose in the nineteenth century

Rudolf Virchow

31.1 Context

One of the characteristics of nineteenth-century German history and culture is the increasing role played by science and technology. The development of new scientific disciplines and their integration within an academic framework, an increasing number of inventions and groundbreaking discoveries brought a new dynamic to scientific research. German universities and researchers led the way in certain fields such as chemistry, and thus until c.1920 German rivalled French as one of the world's scientific languages. For instance, in the nineteenth century young researchers from all over the world came to Germany to study chemistry under Justus von Liebig, and in 1918, Sandór Ferenczi pointed out in a letter to Sigmund Freud that it was important for his scientific career in Hungary to publish books in German.

Nineteenth-century scientific prose was admired both for its efficiency in dealing with old and new challenges in scientific communication and for the stylistic merits of certain individual texts which were seen as linguistic *tours de force*. After the death of Justus von Liebig, his son Georg was to write in the short foreword to a new edition of his father's popular *Chemische Briefe*, 'Die chemischen Briefe meines Vaters gehören der Nationalliteratur an'; a similar sentiment was expressed by Jacob Grimm in the preface to the DWb: 'die chemie kauderwelscht in latein und deutsch, aber in Liebigs munde wird sie sprachgewaltig' (1854: XXXI). Similar compliments were heaped upon Rudolf Virchow, who was not only a physician and medical researcher, but also an archaeologist and student of early history, a liberal politician and social reformer. When he died in 1902, the English press wrote: 'It is felt that the nation has lost its greatest man of science'. Such men of science were at least in part a linguistic product of the newly founded *humanistische Gymnasien*, in which the development of a rounded personality via the study of Greek and Latin language and literature was an important ideal. Having gone through a *humanistisches Gymnasium*, many scientists had an excellent *Sprachgefühl* and certainly knew what it took to compose a well-formed text. As a result, even if Rudolf Virchow claims he had no time to undertake a thorough revision of his *Cellularpathologie* (the printed version of 20 talks delivered in Berlin in 1858), there can be little doubt that the text represents a major achievement in many linguistic respects, ranging from the micro-level of word-formation to the global textual arrangement of complex theory.

The dynamics of science and its impact on public life are important for language development in the nineteenth century in two main respects. First and most obviously, scientific language had to keep up with the progress and new findings of science. Second, a textual interface was required between science and the wider public that was interested in its results. This need was mostly met by popular accounts of scientific findings, whereby it should be noted that *popular*, was still fairly elitist, as the texts were intended either *für die gebildete Welt* (Liebig, Alexander von Humboldt) or for a wider audience of colleagues working in other branches of science (Virchow). The following extract might look like the description of mere detail, but the 450 page network of which it forms a part is nothing short of a comprehensive account of the principles of life. Our passage is by no means a ‘highlight’, but a typical example of nineteenth-century scientific prose. Two major aspects stand out: the profile of vocabulary and terminology development (31.3) and its textual organization techniques which cope with scientific classification and description (31.4).

31.2 Text and translation

Was nun die Inhaltssubstanzen der Blutkörperchen anbetriift, so haben sie gerade in der neueren Zeit ein grosses Interesse gewonnen durch die mehr morphologischen Erscheinungen, welche man an ihnen beobachtet hat, und welche in die ganze Lehre von der Natur der organischen Stoffe eine Art von Umwälzung gebracht haben. Es handelt sich hier um die eigenthümlichen Formen von gefärbten Krystallen, die unter gewissen Verhältnissen aus dem Blutfarbstoffe gewonnen werden können, und die nicht bloss an sich ein grosses chemisches, sondern auch ein sehr erhebliches praktisches Interesse gewonnen haben. Wir kennen bis jetzt schon drei verschiedene Arten <129> von Krystallen, welche das Hämatin als gemeinschaftliche Quelle zu besitzen scheinen.

Der ersten Form, mit welcher ich mich selbst früher sehr viel beschäftigte, habe ich den Namen Hämatoidin gegeben. [Fig. 53.]¹ Es ist dies eines der häufigsten Umwandlungsprodukte, welches in dem Körper selbst aus dem Hämatin entsteht, und zwar oft so massenhaft, dass man seine Abscheidung mit blossem Auge wahrnehmen kann. Diese Substanz erscheint in ihrer ausgebildeten Form als schiefe rhombische Säule mit einem schön gelbrothen, manchmal bei dickeren Stücken intensiv rubinrothen Aussehen, und stellt eine der schönsten Krystallformen dar, die wir überhaupt kennen. Auch in kleinen Tafeln findet sie sich nicht selten, manchmal ziemlich ähnlich den Formen der Harnsäure. In der Mehrzahl der Fälle sind die Krystalle sehr klein, nicht bloss mikroskopisch, sondern selbst für die mikroskopische Betrachtung etwas difficil. Man muss entweder ein sehr scharfer Beobachter oder speciell darauf vorbereitet sein, sonst findet man häufig nichts weiter an den Stellen, wo das Hämatoidin liegt, als kleine Striche oder ein scheinbar gestaltloses Klümpchen. Allein, wenn man genauer zusieht, so lösen sich die Striche in kleine rhombische Säulen, das Klümpchen in ein Aggregat von

Krystallen auf. Diese Form kann als die regelmässige, typische Endform der Umbildungen des Hämatins an Stellen des Körpers betrachtet werden, wo grosse Massen von Blut liegen bleiben. Ein apoplectischer Heerd des Gehirns z.B., wenn er heilt, kann nicht anders heilen, als so, dass ein grosser Theil des Blutes in diese Krystallisation übergeht, und wenn wir nachher eine gefärbte Narbe an dieser Stelle finden, so können wir mit Gewissheit darauf rechnen, dass die Farbe von Hämatoidin abhängt. Wenn eine junge Dame menstruiert, und die Höhle des Graafschens Follikels, wo das Ei ausgetreten ist, sich mit coagulirtem Blute füllt, so geht das Hämatin allmählig in Hämatoidin

Fig. 53. Hämatoidin-Krystalle in verschiedenen Formen (vgl. Archiv f. path. Anat. Bd. I. S. 391. Taf. III. Fig. 11). Vergr. 300.

<130> [Fig._54.]¹

über, und wir finden an der Stelle, wo das Ei gelegen war, die schön hochrothe Farbe der Hämatoidin-Krystalle, welche als die letzten Gedenksteine dieser Episode übrig geblieben sind. Auf diese Weise können wir die Zahl der apoplectischen Anfälle zählen, und berechnen, wie oft ein junges Mädchen menstruiert hatte. Jede Extravasation lässt ihr kleines Contingent von Hämatoidin-Krystallen zurück, und diese, wenn sie einmal gebildet sind, bleiben als vollständig widerstandsfähige, compacte Körper im Innern der Organe liegen.

Was nun die Eigenthümlichkeiten des Hämatoidins betrifft, so hat es theoretisch noch ein besonderes Interesse dadurch, dass es in seinen ausgebildeten Krystallisationszuständen eine Reihe von Eigenschaften darbietet, welche es als den einzigen, im Körper wenigstens bis jetzt bekannten, mit dem Gallenfarbstoffe (Cholepyrrhin) verwandten Stoff erscheinen lassen. (...)

Fig. 54. Pigment aus einer apoplectischen Narbe des Gehirns (Archiv Bd. I. S. 401. 454. Taf. III. Fig. 7). *a* in der Entfärbung begriffene, körnig gewordene Blutkörperchen, *b* Zellen der Neuroglia, zum Theil mit körnigem und krystallinischem Pigment versehen, *c* Pigmentkörner. *d* Hämatoidin-Krystalle. *f* verödetes Gefäss, sein altes Lumen mit körnigem und krystallinischem rothem Pigment erfüllt. Vergr. 300.

<131> (...)

Die zweite Art von Krystallen, welche später entdeckt wurden, sind diesen sehr ähnlich, unterscheiden sich aber dadurch, dass sie nicht als ein spontanes Product im Körper vorkommen, sondern aus Hämatin künstlich dargestellt werden können. Sie haben mehr eine dunkel bräunliche Farbe, und [Fig._55.]¹

stellen gewöhnlich platte rhombische Tafeln mit spitzeren Winkeln dar, welche gegen Reagentien ausserordentlich widerstandsfähig sind und auch bei der Einwirkung der Mineralsäuren die eigenthümlichen Farbenbilder nicht zeigen, welche das Hämatoidin darbietet. Diese zweite Art von Krystallen hat von ihrem Entdecker, Teichmann, den Namen des Hämin's

bekommen. In der neusten Zeit ist Teichmann selbst darüber zweifelhaft geworden, ob es nicht eine Art von Hämatin selbst sei. Diese Formen haben bis jetzt pathologisch gar kein Interesse, dagegen haben sie eine sehr grosse Bedeutung gewonnen für die forensische Medicin (...)

75 **Die dritte Substanz, die noch in diese Reihe hineingehört, ist das sogenannte Hämatokrystallin (...).’ (S. 128–32).**

Now as far as the contents of the blood corpuscles are concerned, these have attracted great interest in recent times through the more morphological phenomena which have been observed in them, and which have caused a kind of revolution in the entire theory of organic materials. It is a question of the peculiar forms of coloured crystals that can be gained under certain conditions from haemoglobin and that have not only gained great interest from a chemist’s point of view, but also in terms of their great practical significance. So far, we already know of three different types <p.129> of crystals that seem to possess haematin as a common source.

The first form, which I myself examined a great deal previously, I gave the name haematoidin. [Fig. 53.] It is one of the most frequently occurring products of conversion, which itself is produced in the body from haematin, indeed on such a large scale that one can observe its separation with the naked eye. This substance occurs in its developed form as a distorted rhombic column with an attractive orange, sometimes, in denser parts/pieces, intensive ruby red appearance, and is one of the most beautiful crystal forms known at all. They can be often found even in small blocks, sometimes quite similar to the forms of uric acid. In the majority of cases the crystals are very small, not merely microscopic, but even somewhat difficult for microscopic observation. One has to be either a very keen observer or specially prepared for them, or else frequently one finds in the places where the haematoidin lies nothing more than small lines or an apparently shapeless lump. However, if one looks closer the lines dissipate into small rhombic columns and the lump dissipates into an aggregate of crystals. This form can be regarded as the regular, typical final form of the transformations of haematin in parts of the body where large masses of blood are stored up. An apoplectic focus of the brain, for example, can only heal in such a way that a large part of the blood transforms into this crystallization and, if later on we find a coloured scar in this place, we can certainly expect that the colour is dependent on haematoidin. When a young lady menstruates and the cavity of the Graafian follicle where the ovum has emerged fills with coagulated blood, then the haematin turns gradually into haematoidin, [continued after footnote and figure]

Footnote: Fig. 53. Haematoidin crystals in different forms (cf. Archive for Pathologic Anatomy Vol. I. p.391, plate III. fig. 11). Magnifying factor 300.

<p.130>

[Fig. 54.]

and we find in the place where the ovum lay the beautiful deep red colour of the haematoidin crystals which remain as the final witness of this episode.

In this way we can count the number of apoplectic fits and calculate how often a young girl had menstruated. Each extravasation leaves its small contingent of haematoidin crystals behind and these, once formed, are stored as completely resistant compact bodies in the interior of the organs.

Now, as far as the haematoidin's characteristics are concerned, there is a further special point of theoretical interest in that it offers, in its developed crystallization conditions, several characteristics that render it the only substance in the body known so far that is related to the colouring in bile (cholepyrrhin).

Footnote: Fig. 54. Pigment from an apoplectic brain scar (Archive Vol. I. p.401. 454. plate III. fig. 7). *a* platelets in the process of losing colour which have become granular, *b* neuroglia cells, partly decorated with granular and crystalline pigment, *c* pigment granules, *d* haematoidin crystals, *f* atrophied vessel, its old lumen filled with granular and crystalline pigment. Magnifying factor 300.

<p.131>

[. . .]

The second type of crystals which were discovered later are very similar to these; however, they are different in that they do not occur as a spontaneous product in the body, rather they can be artificially produced from haematin. They have more of a dark brownish colour and [Fig_55.] are normally flat rhombic blocks with pointier corners which are extraordinarily resistant against reagents and which also do not show the peculiar colour patterns shown by haematoidin under the influence of mineral acid. This second type of crystal has been given the name of haemin by its discoverer, Teichmann. Recently, Teichmann himself has become doubtful whether it is not a kind of haematin itself. These forms have until now held no interest for pathology; they have, however, gained great significance for forensic medicine [. . .]

The third substance that belongs in this series is what is known as haemato-crystallin [. . .].’ (pp. 128–33)

31.3 Developments in vocabulary and terminology

A prominent feature of scientific texts is their specific lexical profile. The most prominent aspects of this are: the use of thematic and specialized vocabulary, e.g. *Blutfarbstoff*, (31.3.1); the use of expressions for specific textual functions, e.g. *gestaltlos* to characterize shape, *was . . . betrifft* for topic management (31.3.2); terminological development (31.3.3); and foreign loans (31.3.4).

31.3.1 Thematic and specialized vocabulary

The subject of a text is an important aspect that determines its vocabulary structure. Generally speaking, in order to cope with certain topics, speakers/writers need to use specific vocabulary items, which means that the topic structure of a text or of a scientific field is mirrored in its vocabulary structure. In our example (the biology of blood) a number of vocabulary sections can be distinguished: (i) terms

for blood and its elements, e.g. *Blut*, *Blutkörperchen*, *Blutfarbstoff*, *Hämatin*, *Hämatoidin*, *Hämin*, *Hämatokrystallin*, *Hämatoidin-Krystall*; (ii) more or less general terms for (classes of) substances, e.g. *Inhaltssubstanz*, *Stoff*, *organischer Stoff*, *Harnsäure*, *Gallenfarbstoff* (*Cholepyrrhin*), *Pigment*, *Pigmentkörner*, *Reagentien*, *Mineralsäure*; (iii) expressions relating to the development/transformation of substances, e.g. *Umwandlungsprodukt*, *Endform*, *Umbildung*, *übergehen*, *coagulieren*, *Gedenkstein*, *Episode*, *ausbilden*, *Krystallisationszustand*, *spontanes Produkt*; (iv) physiological or pathological phenomena/processes, e.g. *apoplektischer Herd*, *apoplektischer Anfall*, *menstruieren*, *heilen*, *Narbe*, *Extravasation*, *veröden*; (v) parts of the body, e.g. *Gehirn*, *Graafscher Follikel*, *Ei*, *Zelle*, *Neuroglia*, *Gefäß*, *Lumen*.

It is important to grasp the difference between the notion of thematic vocabulary and specialized vocabulary. Specialized vocabulary is only one part of the wider range of thematic vocabulary. Expressions such as *Umbildung*, *übergehen*, *heilen* or even *Gedenkstein* are important lexical elements in thematic writing, but clearly they do not belong to the specialized vocabulary of medicine or biology. Thus one must keep in mind that the thematic vocabulary of scientific prose contains an equally important amount of non-specialized elements.

31.3.2 *Functional expressions*

Functional vocabulary zones comprise those expressions and specialized meanings that are used for specific text functions. Since the basic functions of the quoted text consist in description and classification, it contains a strong descriptive vocabulary zone made up mainly of nouns (*Krystall*, *Substanz*, *Säule*, *Tafel*) and adjectives referring to colour, shape and size (*gefärbt*, *gelbrot*, *rubinrot*, *hochrot*, *dunkel*, *bräunlich*, *schief*, *platt*, *rhombisch*, *gestalllos*, *klein*, *dick*, *widerstandsfähig*).¹ This is an extremely rich vocabulary zone in Virchow's book and in other descriptive texts, as further examples from other chapters show:

aufgerollt, (fast) baumförmig, (scharf) contourirt, dunkelrandig, fällbar, farblos, gefaltet, gerade, geschichtet, gestreckt, hügelig, hyalin, (matt) glänzend, käsig, klein, kernartig, kolbig, linsenförmig, lockig, löslich, maschig, milchig, netzförmig, perlschnurartig, rahmartig, röhrenförmig, runzelig, scheibenförmig, spindelförmig, spiralig, stickstoffhaltig, stickstofflos, streifig, vielästig, weisslich, zackig, kleine Zikzaks bildend, grauroth, weissgrau, blassgrau, grauröthlich

Some of these expressions are not established vocabulary elements of mid nineteenth-century German, but creative word-formation solutions for specific descriptive problems. In some cases the *faute de mieux* status of the description is signalled by hedging markers, e.g. *weisslich*, *kernartig* where *-lich* and *-artig* serve to indicate that the objects described are not clear cases of 'a white object' or 'a kernel'. It should also be noted that lexical means of description often work in tandem with syntactical means such as *mit spitzeren Winkeln* or *in der Entfärbung begriffen*.

¹ Other functional vocabulary zones in the text include objects (*Krystall*, *Klumpchen*), events (*entstehen*, *menstruieren*, *übergehen*) and linguistic means of enumeration and topic management (*erste*, *zweite*, *dritte*; *was . . . betrifft*).

31.3.3 Terminological development

Scientific vocabulary is subject to rapid change and to intentional terminological development. The close connection between vocabulary use and scientific thought forms the background to such change. For instance, expressions such as *phlogiston*, *cell* oder *hypertrophy* are closely connected to specific systems of scientific thought or episteme. Because science is always aiming to improve its system of thought, it is hardly surprising that its vocabulary is in a permanent state of flux. Intentional changes in the vocabulary can take various forms, the most common of which are: (i) naming a newly discovered object or process, or (ii) making terminological distinctions by changing or abandoning the use of a term altogether.

(i) In our passage, the act of naming is mentioned twice explicitly: *habe ich den Namen Hämatoidin gegeben; hat von ihrem Entdecker, Teichmann, den Namen des Hämin's bekommen*. The coinage of new terms is an important aspect of terminological development and is served by several devices of word-formation. First, there is composition of two or more elements, e.g. nouns such as *Inhaltssubstanz*, *Hämatoidin-Krystall*, *Krystallisationszustand*, *Blutfarbstoff* and adjectives such as *gelbrot* or *rubinrot*. These can either be used on an *ad hoc* basis (e.g. *gelbrot*) or they enter established vocabulary (e.g. *Harnsäure* formed part of the lexicon by Virchow's time). Second, there is derivation e.g. *rhomb-isch*, *körn-ig* which describe different aspects of shape and consistency. It is not always easy to trace the history of such expressions in historical dictionaries of German and to decide when, or indeed whether or not, they became established. For instance, *Blutkörperchen*, a central element of medical terminology, is to be found neither in the DWb nor in the dictionaries of Trübner, Höfler, Paul or Heyne. Much work still remains to be done, therefore, on the lexicology and lexicography of specialized and thematic vocabulary.

(ii) New insights can also necessitate terminological distinctions and changes in usage, as can be seen from the following example:

Alle solche Bildungen fallen der gewöhnlichen Bezeichnung nach in den Begriff der Hypertrophien oder, wie ich zur genaueren Unterscheidung vorgeschlagen habe, der Hyperplasien. Hypertrophie in meinem Sinne wäre der Fall, wo einzelne Elemente eine beträchtliche Masse von Stoff in sich aufnehmen und dadurch grösser werden, und wo durch die gleichzeitige Vergrößerung vieler Elemente endlich ein ganzes Organ anschwellen kann. (...) Von diesem Vorgange ist wesentlich unterschieden der Fall, wo eine Vergrößerung erfolgt durch eine Vermehrung der Zahl der Elemente. (...) Dies sind wesentlich differente Prozesse: die einfache und die numerische Hypertrophie.

(Virchow [1858] 1966: 58f. emphasis spaced in the original)

The process functions as follows. At time t_1 it was known that tissues sometimes grew beyond normal size, a process known as *Hypertrophie*. At time t_2 it became clear from microscopical investigation that tissues grow beyond their normal size in two different ways: first, by an increase in the *size* of cells, second, by an increase in the *number* of cells. In order to capture this new insight, Virchow proposed a terminological distinction for the new discovery, by applying the already existing

term to the first case and coining a new term for the second. It should be noted that in the passage just quoted both the old and the new usage of *Hypertrophie* stand side by side in an introductory phase. The use of *numerische Hypertrophie* in the last sentence is an example of how the older usage ('increase in size generally') was still necessary in order to introduce the new term:

- t₁ = *Hypertrophie* (old sense: 'increase in size no matter how')
 t₂ = *Hypertrophie* (new sense 'increase in size by increase of cell-size')
 ~ *einfache Hypertrophie*-in-the-old-sense
 Hyperplasie ('increase in size by increase of number of cells')
 ~ *numerische Hypertrophie*-in-the-old-sense

Virchow illustrated the new terminological distinction via two images of liver cells, one illustrating the increase-of-cell-size type, the other illustrating the increase-in-number-of-cells type (see Fig. 31.1).

31.3.4 Loans

In many disciplines, nineteenth-century scientific vocabulary was still deeply rooted in foreign traditions. Latin had long been the language of medical and scientific texts and was only slowly displaced by the vernaculars. Greek, moreover, was the language of the Galenic and Hippocratic medical tradition and took an equally long time to be superseded by empiricist traditions from the early modern period onwards. Many foreign vocabulary items go back to the Graeco-Latin tradition of scientific writing, e.g. *morphologisch*, *forensisch* or *apoplectisch*, although one must be careful not to attribute the same meaning to them across the centuries. In addition, Greek and Latin elements were used to build up new terms, e.g. *Hämîn*, *Hämatin*, *Hämatoidin*, *Neuroglia*. These were not always welcomed, however, as is displayed by the dispute 'Barbarismen in der medicinischen Sprache'² which railed against the neologisms *Diphtheritis* or *Rachitis* because they had not existed in classical Greek – a testimony to the educational standards of the *Humanistische Gymnasien*! In a number of cases, foreign and vernacular terms (e.g. *Gallenfarbstoff* and *Cholepyrrhin*) were used side by side via parenthesis, a textual element that can still be found in instruction leaflets of medical prescriptions today.

31.4 Textual organization in scientific prose

Scientific prose has its own patterns of textual organization, which are broadly characterized by: a number of typical linguistic activities and of corresponding textual elements (31.4.1); a specific repertoire of text-types (31.4.2); the role played by tradition and innovation in the history of scientific prose (31.4.3).

2 In: Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und medicinische Geographie: VI (1883), 293–5.

31.4.1 Linguistic activities and textual elements

(i) As outlined above, one of the basic linguistic activities in scientific prose involves description and classification. The global function of our text is to describe and classify three kinds of *Inhaltssubstanzen der Blutkörperchen*. Consequently, the topic of the passage is characterized by an initial topic statement, expressed by the *was-anbetrifft* formula ('As to . . .'), by an advance organizer which introduces the number of objects or types of objects that are going to be described (*Wir kennen bis jetzt schon drei verschiedene Arten von Krystallen . . .*), and by the introduction of each individual subtopic via expressions such as *Die erste Form . . .*; *Die zweite Art von Krystallen . . .*; *Die dritte Substanz, die noch in diese Reihe hineingehört*.

(ii) Another important type of move in scientific prose involves characterizing the relevance of scientific findings, either theoretical (*in die ganze Lehre von der Natur der organischen Stoffe eine Art von Umwälzung gebracht*) or practical (*ein sehr erhebliches praktisches Interesse gewonnen*). It should be noted that in our passage this kind of move precedes the description. Statements of relevance are important not only for the history of the field but also in terms of reader response and control: in a situation where the reader can either read or skip a section, they are a means of some textual influence. One of the most exciting findings of research in the field of ethnomethodology has been the highlighting of everyday means of adjusting utterances to the specific profile of the addressee(s). It would be an interesting question to compare the techniques of recipient design at different stages of linguistic history.

(iii) Combining text with image is an important linguistic means of structuring communication and producing graphic vividness (*Anschaulichkeit*). As might be deduced from the announcement of the 144 *Holzschnitten* on the title page of the 1858 edition, Virchow makes ample use of images that are closely connected to specific text passages.

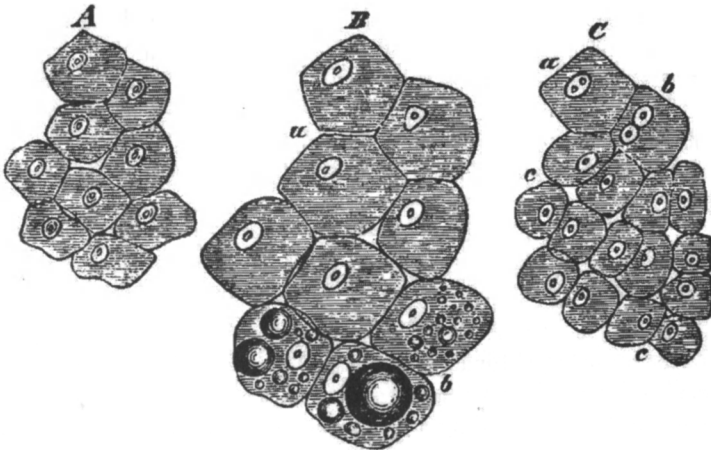
His technique for producing a system of reference contains several elements. The sample page (overleaf) contains an image of liver cells that are used to illustrate the terminological distinction between *Hypertrophie* and *Hyperplasie* introduced in the body of the text (31.3.3). The basic orientation in the illustration is achieved by repetition of the key words of the text (here *Leberzelle* and *Hyperplasie*). The individual parts of the explanation are then connected to the relevant parts of the images by way of small initials. This basic pattern of text/image coordination has a long tradition in scientific prose that goes back at least to the fifteenth century, e.g. the same system can be found in Agricola's *Bergwerksbuch*, published in 1557 (see 20.5).

31.4.2 Repertoire of text-types

Virchow's book was based on a series of lectures given in 1858 at the *Pathologisches Institut zu Berlin*. From the third edition (1861) onwards, he began to move away from the lecture style towards a more textbook idiom. However, the global function remained the same: providing a systematic and coherent account of a thematic field, in this case the field of medical biology in its relation to physiology and pathology. Thus, Virchow's book is an example of a family of basic text-types in scientific writing governed by the same global function: textbooks, tracts, written lectures. Other text-types for specialized communication in the fields of science

kann man sie leicht von den homologen (Lobsteins homöoplastischen) dadurch trennen, dass sie von dem Typus desjenigen Theils, in welchem sie entstehen, abweichen. Wenn im Fettgewebe eine Fettgeschwulst oder im Bindegewebe eine Bindegewebs-Geschwulst sich bildet, so ist der Typus der Bildung des Neuen homolog dem Typus der Bildung des Alten. Alle solche Bildungen fallen der gewöhnlichen Bezeichnung nach in den Begriff der Hypertrophien oder, wie ich zur genaueren Unterscheidung vorgeschlagen habe, der Hyperplasien. Hypertrophie in meinem Sinne wäre der Fall, wo einzelne Elemente eine beträchtliche Masse von Stoff in sich aufnehmen und dadurch grösser werden, und wo durch die gleichzeitige Vergrößerung vieler Elemente endlich ein ganzes Organ anschwellen kann. Bei einem dicker werdenden Muskel werden alle Primitivbündel dicker. Eine Leber kann einfach dadurch hypertrophisch werden, dass die einzelnen Leberzellen sich bedeutend vergrößern. In diesem Falle gibt es eine wirkliche Hypertrophie ohne eigentliche Neubildung. Von diesem Vorgange ist wesentlich unterschieden der Fall, wo eine Vergrößerung erfolgt

Fig. 27.



and medicine include pamphlets, reviews and journal articles. Whereas pamphlets and tracts have a long tradition in scientific writing, reviews and articles only begin with the establishment of journals at the end of the seventeenth century. From the eighteenth century onwards these increasingly become the most important means of scientific communication, as evidenced by Virchow himself who was the editor of an important journal and who wrote numerous journal articles and reviews during his long career.

31.4.3 Tradition and innovation

The above-mentioned forms of topic management and basic patterns of textual organization for describing and classifying objects have a long tradition in various types of German prose, e.g. the sermons of Meister Eckhart or legal texts. The twelfth-century *Prüler Steinbuch*, to give just one example of scientific prose, shows the same pattern of advance organizer, the introduction of subtopics via enumeration and the basic description of sub-types mentioned:

Jacincti der sint trieslaht. einir ist rôt. unte gruzelot. der ist och aller staine tiurost. ... Der ander slahte iechant. der haizet cytrinvs. der dolt nieth daz fiur. Der drite slath iechant déir heizit venetus. der dolt daz fiur. furnams nieth. ...

(Wilhelm 1960: 38)

This example (along with that of text/image co-ordination in 31.4.1) shows that the history of language, of language use and of textual organization is not only a history of innovation and change but also one of continuity and tradition.

Further reading

Benjamin, Cantor and Christie (1987); Crosland (1962); Kretzenbacher (1992); Kretzenbacher and Weinrich (1995); Menzel (1996); Pörksen (1986); Schönau (1968); Wetzel (1971).

32 National Socialism

Fritz Lenz's *Die Familie im Dienst der Rassenhygiene*

32.1 Context

The symbiotic relationship between language and reality is perhaps at its most complex when language is used for political ends (see Hodge and Kress 1993). In such contexts, it is almost impossible to disentangle language, the language user (both enunciator and recipient) and ideology. Language both creates and is created by a political structure, mirroring and mediating at the same time. Our selection of a passage on the topic of race, therefore, is not simply based on its centrality to a regime which became 'the first state in world history whose dogma and practice was racism' (Burleigh and Wippermann 1991: 23). Rather, the notion of race in Nazi ideology is 'predicated on the negation of the individual', with individuals 'viewed as tokens of the category to which they belong' (Townson 1992: 135), and this process of de-individualization is inextricably bound up with the way in which Nazi language functions. In this and countless other texts of the period, language articulates the ideology of racial community whilst simultaneously creating a community of uniform recipients.

Racial-anthropological theories were neither a Nazi nor a particularly German innovation. Against a wider Northern European backdrop they had abounded and developed (usually out of not wholly accurate readings of Darwin) in the late nineteenth century, possibly as a bourgeois response to the social question of the proletariat which had swollen dramatically in the wake of industrialization. Whilst the term *Eugenik* stretches back to the eighteenth century when it was borrowed into German from a Greek loan word in French, its absence from the DWb (see ch. 28) suggests that it did not come into widespread usage until the latter part of the nineteenth century when it was rejuvenated by the loan translation *Rassenhygiene* in the writings of Alfred Ploetz (1895), one of a number of scientists working enthusiastically in the new buzz field. The Nazis turned popular social and scientific theory into codified policy with a series of laws from 1933 to 1935, such as the Law for the Prevention of Hereditary Diseased Progeny and the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour. This legislation was far from unpopular: in 1933, for instance, the German society for Racial Hygiene, one of several of its kind, boasted 1,300 members and twenty local groups. Its most important academic centre was the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Heredity and Eugenics (founded 1928), where its directors (including Fritz Lenz), became willing

members of the Committee of Experts for Population and Racial Policy in the Reich Ministry of the Interior (1933).

Lenz's article *Die Familie im Dienst der Rassenhygiene* appeared in the *Deutsches Einheitsfamilienstammbuch* (published by the Verlag für Standesamtswesen in 1936) which was given as a marriage gift to all newly wed couples together with a copy of *Mein Kampf*. From 1935 it was mandatory for couples to submit to an examination by the public health authorities in order to receive a Certificate of Fitness to Marry. The readers were required to fill in the information gathered by the state at such interviews about their lineage into their own copy of the book. At the same time, however, the pamphlet's silences speak as loudly as its proclamations. Categorization via legalized denomination was an important feature of how the Nazis made the language work for them, with Germans and Jews legally bound to choose from separate lists of names for their children. Yet in this publication, it is only the German names (from Achim to Wolfram, and Ada to Wilma) which are provided, leaving the Jews, even within the Nazis' own terms, excluded. These forms of interaction and collusion between reader and state are an important part of the rhetoric of the booklet as a whole.

32.2 Text and translation

Rassenhygiene oder Eugenik bedeutet die Pflege des Ahnenerbes. Aus dem Erbe unserer Ahnen stammt die Wurzel unseres Wesens, unserer geistigen und körperlichen Eigenart. In der erblichen Veranlagung liegt auch das, was man Rasse nennt, begründet. Wenn wir den Begriff Rasse nicht zu eng fassen, so ist er gleichbedeutend mit dem Erbstrom, aus dem die Gleichartigkeit der aufeinanderfolgenden Geschlechter fließt. Die Bestandteile der Erbmasse bewahren ihre Eigenart durch unabsehbare Geschlechter. Erziehung und Bildung, so wichtig sie sind, ändern die Erbmasse nicht. Ein Kind kann nur zu solchen Fähigkeiten erzogen werden, zu denen es eine ererbte Begabung schon mitbringt; und in jeder Geschlechterfolge muß die Erziehung von vorn anfangen. Dennoch ist die erbliche Veranlagung eines Volkes nicht unveränderlich. Wenn die hochgearteten Erbstämme sich schwächer fortpflanzen, das heißt weniger Kinder haben, als die minder hochgearteten, so ist eine Verschlechterung der Rasse, eine Entartung, die Folge. In der Gegenwart reicht die gesamte Geburtenzahl unseres Volkes nicht mehr zur Erhaltung des Bestandes aus. Jene Sippen dagegen, aus denen die schwachsinnigen Hilfsschüler stammen, pflanzen sich wesentlich stärker fort. Es ist also nicht nur ein zahlenmäßiger Schwund des Bestandes unseres Volkes, sondern auch eine gewisse Entartung bereits im Gange. Wenn es nicht gelingt, dem Niedergang durch eine tatkräftige Rassenhygiene Einhalt zu tun, so wird das Schicksal unseres Volkes in wenigen Geschlechterfolgen besiegelt sein. Die rassenhygienischen Maßnahmen, die zur Erhaltung und Gesundung unseres Volkes nötig sind, sind zum großen Teil Aufgabe des Staates, worauf hier nicht eingegangen werden kann. Aber auch der einzelne Volksgenosse und das einzelne Ehepaar kann und muß dabei mithelfen.

Der einzelne Mensch hat es zwar nicht in der Hand, seine Erbmasse zu verbessern; die erbliche Veranlagung seiner zukünftigen Kinder ist aber gleichwohl nicht ganz seiner Macht entzogen. Die Kinder bekommen ja ihre Erbmasse nur zur Hälfte von ihm selber, zur anderen Hälfte von dem anderen Ehepart. Daher bedeutet die Eheswahl eine ungeheuerere Verantwortung vor den kommenden Geschlechtern und vor der ganzen Rasse. Die wichtigste, wenn auch gewiß nicht einzige Bedingung einer guten Eheswahl ist geistige und körperliche Gesundheit. Da die Heiratslustigen selber sich über die Gefahr des Auftretens erblicher Krankheiten bei den zu erwartenden Kindern meist kein zuverlässiges Urteil bilden können, sollten sie womöglich schon vor einer beabsichtigten Verlobung einen sachverständigen Arzt um Rat fragen.

Racial hygiene or eugenics means the preservation of the genetic heritage of our ancestors. The root of our being, our mental and physical characteristics, stem from the heritage of our ancestors. What we call 'race' also lies in our genetic make-up. If we take a broad view of the term race, it means the same as the hereditary stream from which the great similarity between successive generations flows. The components of genetic make-up maintain their natural characteristics through an immeasurable number of generations. Upbringing and education, important as they are, do not alter genetic make-up. A child can only be taught capabilities for which it already possesses an inherited talent; and in every succession of generations education must begin right from the outset. Yet the genetic disposition of a people is not unalterable. If the highly developed genetic strains reproduce more weakly than the less well-developed ones – that is, if they have fewer children – then the consequence is a deterioration of race, degeneration. At present our people's total birth rate does not suffice for the preservation of its existence. In contrast, those sibs from which the mentally impaired children who are sent to special schools stem reproduce considerably more effectively. There is therefore already in process not merely a numerical decline in our people's continued existence, but also a certain degeneration. If we do not succeed in putting a stop to this decline by an effective racial hygiene policy, then the fate of our people will be sealed within a few generations.

The measures of racial hygiene necessary for the preservation and recovery of our people are in the large part the task of the state, upon which cannot be elaborated here. But even the individual national comrade and the individual married couple can and must do their bit. It is, admittedly, not within the power of the individual human being to alter his genetic make-up; the genetic disposition of his children is, however, not entirely removed from his power. Indeed, the children receive only half their genetic make-up from [one person], the other half they receive from the spouse. Therefore, the choice of marriage partner represents an enormous responsibility to future generations and to the entire race. The important, if certainly not the only, condition for a good choice of spouse is mental and physical health. Because those eager to wed are usually unable to form a reliable opinion of the danger of the appearance of genetic diseases in the children they will expect to have, they should wherever

possible seek the advice of a doctor who has expertise in these matters prior to their intended engagement.

32.3 'Nazi' German?

The status of the Nazis' use of language was a hotly debated issue in both Germanies after the war. The first wave of analysis immediately after 1945 (which came to be termed *Sprachkritik*) argued that there had been a specific Nazi language: Sternberger *et al.* (1968) collated the *Wörterbuch des Unmenschen*, Weisgerber (1958) believed he had discovered a dehumanizing tendency in the use of the prefix *be-*, which he termed *Der Mensch im Akkusativ*, and Klemperer (1975) described the language as sick and abused. The reaction to this approach, which has held sway until the present day, was to deny the notion of a Nazi language or Nazification of the language and replace it with the idea of a specific use of language by and under the Nazis. V. Polenz (1978: 164) proposed that since words have a natural habitat in a higher unit (i.e. the sentence), they should always be examined in their full context; Kolb (1960: 177) argued that 'der Akkusativ ist weder inhuman noch human sondern eine grammatische Form, die von human und inhuman Gesinnten gebraucht werden kann'; Römer (1970) stated that every morpheme is a falsification of 'reality' and contended therefore that there can be no 'Mißbrauch der Sprache' only 'Mißbrauch mit Sprache'. It has also become clear that the language used by Nazis was as unoriginal as the thoughts that it expressed, much of it emanating from Wilhelminc times (v. Polenz 1977: 165–8, Cobet 1973) and some of it surviving both in the language of mainstream politics in many European states and more obviously in the utterances of right-wing extremists (Jäger 1989). In this respect, it might be more accurate to speak of the language of German fascism (Townson 1992: 120ff.). Whilst it would be misleading, therefore, to talk of a Nazi language, it cannot be denied that the Nazis had perfected a specific, powerful and effective discourse of fascism. This was marked by 'the frequency with which certain lexical items, certain syntactical constructions, certain metaphors, certain stylistic figures occurred' (Townson 1992: 127–8). To all intents and purposes, this discourse can be analysed in terms of the broad categories of vocabulary and style.

A further reason why it is inaccurate to speak of Nazi language is that the regime had no coherent linguistic policy and acted in the arbitrary fashion typical of many dictatorships: it prohibited the reactionary stance to foreign loans, and took against the Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein, Goebbels proclaiming that those who had nothing better to do than search for German translations of common words like *Akkumulator* should be among the first sent to the front; it banned the use of pseudo-mythical old Germanic words such as *thing*; and then, despite student wishes to preserve the German font for 'Germans', later banned *Fraktur* for being of 'Jewish origin'. Instead, the regime was obsessed with the control of propaganda (a positive term which itself was controlled and to be used exclusively and positively of the regime's own dissemination of information). Hitler valued propaganda above all else: on entering the Deutsche Arbeitspartei in 1921, he had immediately taken over responsibility for it and there are several

sections of *Mein Kampf* which deal directly with the subject. (Where these are quoted below, they are not to show the originality of Hitler's thoughts, but to demonstrate that the strategies used in Nazi texts were conscious.) Goebbels held daily meetings at which members of the press were instructed about the precise terms in which they were to convey information (Glunk 1966–71), e.g. *Rasse* was banned from all forms of advertising in 1937, whilst *Rassenhaß / Rassenkampf* were proscribed in 1944. In this way, it was possible for the regime to create a specially constructed communicative environment for the reception of its views. This sterility is mirrored by the way in which Nazi texts tend to articulate in a uniform manner.

32.4 Vocabulary

32.4.1 Closed system

The key terminology of Nazi ideology interlocks to form a closed system. Table 32.1, which shows several central terms of the period along with some of their derivatives and definitions, could be magnified many times over.¹

The rigidity of this system has three main effects: (i) Words lose nuance and fluidity to become slogans or catch-phrases which are no longer 'directed at the intellect, but at irrational forces and experimental complexes' and which 'only need to be mentioned to unleash a certain elemental emotional process' (Berning 1961: 171). This emphasis on the emotive power of language had not been lost on Hitler who insisted that propaganda should 'immer mehr auf das Gefühl gerichtet sein und nur sehr bedingt auf den sogenannten Verstand' (*Mein Kampf*, 197). (ii) Such key terms can be continually hammered into new coinages (many tautologous, e.g. *artblütig*) which actually limit rather than extend the overall means of expression within the linguistic system. (iii) In a parallel development, over-defined words lose the ability to be interchanged with synonyms and therefore tend to be repeated in grammatical variation, e.g. *Ahnenerbes* (1.1) > *Erbe unserer Ahnen* (1.2) > *erblichen (Veranlagung)* (1.3) > *ererbte (Begabung)* (1.10), not to mention the derivatives *Erbstrom* (1.5), *Erbmasse* (1.7), *Erbstämme* (1.13), etc. At this point the effects of the ideologization of language merge with the techniques of propaganda which, according to Hitler, should aim for 'Konzentration auf wenige Punkte, immerwährende Wiederholung derselben, selbstsicheren und selbstbewußten Fassung des Textes in den Formen einer apodiktischen Behauptung' (*Mein Kampf*, 402).

32.4.2 Biologization

The term *Rasse* itself (borrowed in the seventeenth century from an Arabic loan word in French) was used exclusively of animals until the late nineteenth century. The Nazis and Hitler in particular developed a tendency, perhaps in the general spirit of the age, to designate both 'positive and negative' features within their world view in biological terms. The Jews are referred to as *Parasitenvolk*, *Bazillen*,

¹ Quotations taken from originals collected by Berning (1960–1963).

Table 32.1 Central Nazi terms

BLUT*blutsfremd* > *Blutsünde* > *Bluträger* . . .

Blut bedeutet uns, in unserer gesamten Betrachtung, nicht etwas nur Leibliches, sondern: Seele in artlicher Verbundenheit mit ihrem Ausdrucksfeld dem Leibe

REICH*Reichsleiter* > *Reichsnährstand* > *Reichswalter* . . .bezeichnet mythisch, geschichtlich und doch zugleich lebendig wirksam den durch das deutsche **Volk bluthaft** bestimmten Herrschafts- und Lebensraum**VOLK***Volksboden* > *volksfremd* > *Volkskörper* . . .Staatsbürger kann nur sein, wer Volksgenosse ist. Volksgenosse kann nur sein, wer deutschen **Blutes** ist, ohne Rücksicht auf Konfession. Kein Jude kann daher Volksgenosse sein**RASSE***Rassekern* > *rassengebunden* > *Rassenseele* . . .Die gesamte Bildungs- und Erziehungsarbeit des **völkischen** Staates muß ihre Krönung darin finden, daß sie den Rassesinn und das Rassegefühl in Herz und Gehirn der Jugend hineinbrennt**ART***artblütig* > *arteicht* > *arteigen* . . .bezeichnet in der NS-Sprache vornehmlich den biologischen Typ, den **rassischen**, vom **Blut** geprägten Charakter

etc., whilst the Germans relied on their *Ahnennachweis*, a term which Meyer's Lexikon reserved for 'Viehzeit' in 1924 but changed by 1936 to 'Genealogischer Nachweis der deutschen oder artverwandten Abstammung'. V. Polenz (1978: 169–70) demonstrates how such pathological/biological terminology is still used in political discourse to designate non-conformist behaviour, e.g. *Symptom*, *Neurose*, *Exzess*, etc. What was unique about Nazi discourse, however, was its blending of history, culture, society and religion under the banner of biology. Two key terms in our passage illustrate this point: (i) *Ahnenerbe* (1.1) exploits the meaning 'ancestral heritage' to the full. It was the name of an agency (under Himmler) which organized historical digs and research on early German history. During the war it was the Ahnenerbe's Institute for Applied Military Research which carried out lethal research on the inmates of concentration camps to evaluate human tolerance of high altitudes and prolonged immersion in freezing temperatures. (ii) *Entartung* (1.15, meaning 'depravity') was commonly used of art and

music (especially jazz). Thus the biology of racism expands and seeps into every area of human existence.

32.5 Style

32.5.1 *Science and simplicity*

The style of the passage is determined by two interconnected desires: (i) it needed to be intelligible, as Hitler knew, to the broadest possible range of people: 'Jede Propaganda hat [. . .] ihr geistiges Niveau einzustellen nach der Aufnahmefähigkeit des Beschränktesten unter denen, an die sie sich zu richten gedenkt.. [. . .] Je bescheidener dann ihr wissenschaftlichen Ballast ist und je mehr sie ausschließlich auf das Fühlen der Masse Rücksicht nimmt, um so durchschlagender der Erfolg' (*Mein Kampf*, 197–8). To this end, complex sentences are avoided, with the relative or subordinate clauses, when used, distributed with care. When necessary, a phrase is explained, e.g. *sich schwächer fortpflanzen, das heißt weniger Kinder haben* (ll.13–14), and then used again later without further explanation to achieve the maximum didactic effect. (ii) It must impress as a scientific document. This is achieved by adopting an encyclopaedic tone (e.g. the opening sentence), leaving some less common words *unexplained* (e.g. *Erbmasse*), and avoiding other words of common currency, e.g. *Blut*. In the *Deutsches Lesebuch für höhere Schulen* of 1935 (quoted below), for instance, the term *Blut* is repeated to hypnotic effect, whilst our passage strives to retain the cool objectivity of 'scientific fact':

Gedenkt, ihr deutschen Jungen und Mädchen!

**All das stolze Blut der Könige und Helden, der Dichter und Dombauer,
der frommen Maler, der Meister selbstbewußten Handwerks, der Sänger
und Seher Deutschlands ist in euch!**

**In euch ist das Blut der Wikinger und Seefahrer, die den Stürmen
trotzten und fremde Ferne kühn befahren.**

In euch ist das Blut . . .²

32.5.2 *Common features*

The passage contains several dominant features which are typical of Nazi linguistic style. (i) There is a preponderance of nouns over verbs, a feature noted and described as early as 1936 as 'Flucht vor dem Verb'. There is a statistically high number of abstract nouns in *-ung* (sixteen in this passage); the nouns tend to pile up in 'monumental style', e.g. *so ist eine Verschlechterung der Rasse, eine Entartung, die Folge* (ll.14–15); and they are frequently linked by a series of genitives, e.g. *ein zahlenmäßiger Schwund des Bestandes unseres Volkes* (ll.18–19), *die Gefahr des Auftretens erblicher Krankheiten* (ll.35–6). The verbs tend to be non-dynamic and the copulative and modal dominate, e.g. here in main clauses there are eight instances of *sein* and five modals compared to only ten other verbs. The overall effect is that of

2 For the full version of this text, see Kinne (1981: 75).

obligation on the basis of a statement of fact. (ii) Connected to this substantial-copulative style is a certain vagueness about agency. The subject, be it an individual or an organization, is often pushed into the background. This can be seen clearly in (ll.20–2) which contains two impersonal verbs *gelingen*, *Einhalt tun*, and a future passive of state (*wird . . . besiegelt sein*). (iii) The singular is preferred to the plural, e.g. *der einzelne Volksgenosse* (ll.25–6) (elsewhere always *der Jude*, *der Germane*) to lend an academic feel to the discourse. (iv) The term *Volk* is almost exclusively accompanied by the possessive *unser* (in this passage the article is used to state ‘the general rules of nature’). However, in an act of ‘sprachlicher Terror’ the rhetoric of Nazi texts aims to set up a ‘Nicht-Wir-Begriff’ (v. Polenz, 1978: 169). In our passage, this is achieved by the threatening contrast between *unser Volk* and *die Aufgabe des Staates, worauf hier nicht eingegangen werden kann* (ll.24–5), and the vagueness of the delineation between *hochgeartet* (l.13) and *minder hochgeartet* (l.14). (v) Seidel and Seidel-Sloty (1961: 148–9) noticed the Nazis’ tendency to speak in doublets, e.g. *unserer geistigen und körperlichen Eigenart*, *geistige und körperliche Gesundheit*. In his letter to Mussolini to announce the Anschluß of Austria (dated 11.3.38), Hitler speaks of both countries coming from ‘der [gleichen gemeinsamen] [geschichtlichen Vergangenheit]’.

32.6 The death of ‘Nazi’ German

The language of German fascism had the whiff of stagnation and decay about it even in the prime of its usage. Townson (1992: 132) puts this down to a direct link between the ‘immutability of fascist rhetoric’ and fascist ideology: the completeness and unchangeability of the world view could only be mirrored by the closed and static nature of the linguistic discourse. This view is confirmed by the fact that there is no discernible change in Nazi discourse after 1933. If it is true that the twelve years of Nazi supremacy in Germany were too short a period to bring about any systemic change in the language, then it is equally valid to wonder how such an unproductive discourse would have affected the history of the language in the long run. Nazi language, if we can call it that, was merely ‘eine [. . .] entstellte und entstellende Sprache’ (Berning 1960–3: 72–3). It was used as an instrument of power, but remained completely dependent on that context of power for its survival.

Further reading

Bauer (1990); [Schmitz-]Berning (2000); Burgleigh and Wippermann (1991); Ehlich (1989); Kinne (1981); Maas (1984); Townson (1992).

V Contemporary German (c.1945–2000)

Although it might be somewhat of a truism to assert that language change often reflects changes in the lives and circumstances of language users, the observation is a particularly apt one for the post-1945 period. Although the National Socialists did relatively little, and certainly no permanent damage to the language itself (ch. 32), world-wide vilification of the scale of the regime's moral bankruptcy as well as the physical devastation of the war had major socio-linguistic consequences both in the German-speaking lands and in the international sphere. World-wide, German lost any claim as a language of culture, and large minorities of (mainly Jewish) German speakers in European cities such as Riga and Prague were decimated. Internally, Germany permanently lost vast swathes of territories in the East, which – in all but small pockets of linguistically tenacious exiles – sealed the fate of several dialects: High and Low Prussian, East Pomeranian, Silesian and Bohemian. In no small part due to these losses, the huge amount of involuntary movement and resettlement of around 14 million speakers within new regions during and at the end of the war – for instance, in 1947 almost half the population of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Schleswig-Holstein consisted of 'displaced persons' – was largely responsible for a refashioning of the relationship between dialect and the standard. Exiles under social pressure to suppress their own dialect did so in favour of the standard rather than the dialect of their new region, thus contributing to the extinction of one dialect and at the same time tipping the balance away from another and towards a neutral form. Broadly speaking, therefore, the upheavals of the immediate post-war period played a key role in the breakdown of the dichotomy between a written standard and spoken varieties and underpinned the development of a spoken standard that, despite broad regional variation, now influences the written form. This relation has been further consolidated by 'improved communication and educational opportunities, urbanization, internal migration and commuter mobility' (Clyne 1995: 118).

A second consequence of the war defeat was the formation of two ideologically opposed German states – the Federal Republic (West) and GDR (East) – within the surviving borders of the Third Reich, a division that lasted until the collapse of communism at the end of the 1980s. Whilst the notion of two separate German languages developing away from each other on either side of the Iron Curtain was often exaggerated for political purposes, it is probably accurate to conceive of the German of both states as two distinct varieties embedded in and formed by vastly different politico-economic contexts. Whilst the West worried

about its relationship to the tainted language of fascism, genocide and mass destruction, the East – freed from such ideological shackles by its leadership – was gradually to become marked by a widening gap between the public and Party language on the one hand and private usage on the other. This more reflective relation to language is an important factor in the various ways in which East German speakers are currently accommodating their reintegration into Western discourse.

The third implication of 1945 was the repression or avoidance of nationalistic sentiment in most sectors of German society until the present day. On a linguistic level, this resulted in a period of sustained liberalism rather than purism (which in its extremer forms had even been criticized under Hitler) that coincided with the rise of English as a world language. Changing patterns of global communication meant that English would probably have had a major impact on German even without the post-war years of direct contact via the presence of the Allies' troops on German soil. Not least due to the hegemony of American strategic, economic and cultural power in the second half of the twentieth century, in most parts of the world English has become *de rigueur* as the language of politics, business and entertainment. In German-speaking countries this has led both to the acceptance of German's subordinate status in world affairs (in the EU it also lies well behind the language of the other Western war ally, France), and to a vigorous revitalization of its internal make-up, mainly on the level of vocabulary. While German companies increasingly conduct their everyday affairs in English, the speech of their employees and their friends when they talk on the *Handy* or go out to *relaxen* is likely to be peppered with anglicisms. The internet boom of the last decade, which has only served to cement the status of English, has seen a rapid expansion in loans and the use of English in the public sphere (particularly advertising) and at the same time the first major purist backlash in the formation of widely supported linguistic societies.

Yet it is too soon to write German's obituary. Despite the often unnecessary reliance on English to provide linguistic cachet, the major daily contact point that users have with their standard, i.e. the print and television media, shows very few signs indeed of capitulation. The collapse of the Iron Curtain has meant that Germany now finds itself at the heart of Europe – a geographical fact that is likely to gain more and more political capital as the EU expands eastwards – and indeed over half the learners of German world-wide are to be found in Central and Eastern Europe. Linguistically at least, therefore, it seems that there will be some role for German as a *lingua franca* that mediates between East and West. And despite the voracious appetite of the younger generation for all things Anglo-American, the *angst* of the post-war years about the ideological status of the language is gone for good. Indeed – without taking sides in the purist debate – it could be maintained that, comparatively speaking, the German language is in a state of rude health.

Further reading

Barbour and Stevenson (1990); Clyne (1995); Eichhoff-Cyrus and Hoberg (2000); Glück and Sauer (1997); Russ (1994); Stevenson (1995).

33 The language of the GDR

Texts on the erection and fall of the Berlin Wall

33.1 Context

The Third Reich, divided into four sectors at the end of the war by the allied powers (USA, GB, France, and the Soviet Union), was transformed into two diametrically opposed states in 1949 – the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (FRG) and the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (GDR). The FRG was founded on the territories of the Western allies, resuscitated by their generous aid packages (e.g. Marshall Plan) to the point of the *Wirtschaftswunder* in the 1950s, and allowed to follow them into Western alliances such as NATO (1958) and the EEC (1957). The GDR, a one-party state led by Moscow-trained German communists exiled under the fascists (such as Walter Ulbricht, first leader of the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, SED), was locked into the trading and defence systems of the Eastern Bloc (e.g. Warsaw Pact, 1956). Whilst the FRG became the very model of a thriving capitalist society, the individual in the GDR ‘was subordinate to the whole: in very altered forms, and under different political colours, the notion of a *Volksgemeinschaft* (note use of the term *Volk(s-)* in A below), a collective entity and common good to which all individual aspirations and attributes must be subordinated, survived the transition from the Nazi dictatorship to the communist dictatorship surprisingly intact’ (Fulbrook 1995: 19).

With Germany divided physically and standing symbolically at the heart of cold-war Europe, concerns were soon raised as to the development of the German language on either side of the politico-ideological frontier. From the 1950s onwards journalists and linguists in both states spoke of ‘Ostdeutsch’ and ‘Westdeutsch’, ‘die Gefahr der Sprachentfremdung’, etc., fuelled especially by Ulbricht’s alarmist statement before the Central Committee of the SED in 1970: ‘Sogar die einstige Gemeinsamkeit der Sprache ist in Auflösung begriffen’. By the 1980s, however, in a climate of improved politico-cultural relations, these views were drastically relativized: the *internationale Deutschlehrertagung* of 1986 agreed on the more realistic notion of German as a single but pluricentric language. The major differences in the use of German in the GDR fall mainly into two broad categories: ideological – from political discourse to the vast nomenclature of the system which became known as ‘real existierender Sozialismus’ – and socio-linguistic, i.e. communicative situations moulded by the character of the state.

The choice of the two text-types below aims to highlight these two phenomena. (i) In order to stop the haemorrhaging of its (skilled) workforce (in the first seven

months of 1961 alone 160,000 had left for the West via Berlin) the GDR built a wall around the Western sectors of the city (still under the control of the other three former allies). On 18 August 1961, the same day as the Bundestag came together for an emergency session, Ulbricht addressed the subject for the first time on state television. As the opening line of his speech makes clear, however, he is well aware that he is addressing two German audiences. (ii) Nearly thirty years later the Iron Curtain was swept away in the era of Gorbachev's *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*, and the wall was suddenly removed amidst scenes of jubilation in November 1989. The year or so either side of this event (known as the *Wende*) produced many forms of public protest (slogans, placards, graffiti) and their specific linguistic forms tell as much about the language of the GDR generally as they do of the specifics of the state's dismantling.

33.2 Texts and translations

A. *Walter Ulbricht – Speech upon the erection of the Berlin Wall*

Meine lieben Bürger der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik und liebe Freunde in Westdeutschland und Westberlin!

Ereignisreiche Tage liegen hinter uns. Hier und da gingen die Wogen etwas hoch. Sie glätten sich allmählich. Die von Schöneberg und Bonn künstlich geschürte Aufregung ist abgeebbt. Natürlich müssen wir weiterhin wachsam sein. Aber das Leben geht seinen ruhigen Gang. Sie erwarten mit Recht, daß ich als Vorsitzender des Staatsrates der DDR einiges zu den Geschehnissen und zu der neuen Situation sage.

Doch zuvor drängt es mich, den prächtigen Söhnen und Töchtern unserer Werktätigen, die gegenwärtig Uniform tragen, den prächtigen Jungen in der Nationalen Volksarmee und in der Volkspartei, den Unteroffizieren und Generalen unserer bewaffneten Kräfte im Namen des Staatsrates, im Namen der Regierung der DDR und im Namen der Partei der Arbeiterklasse herzlichen Dank zu sagen, Sie haben die erfolgreiche Aktion vom 13. August hervorragend und diszipliniert, mit großartigem Kampfegeist und großartiger Moral durchgeführt. Der Dank gebührt allen Angehörigen unseres Staatsapparates, der hier bewiesen hat, daß er zu großen Leistungen fähig ist.

Wir haben – so glaube ich –, einem wichtigen Beitrag zum Frieden geleistet, indem wir die Grenzen der DDR gegenüber Westberlin und gegenüber Westdeutschland gesichert haben. Wir haben uns bei unseren Maßnahmen an die Vereinbarungen mit der SU und mit den anderen Staaten des Warschauer Vertrages gehalten, die uns verpflichten, die Grenzen unseres Staates wirksam zu schützen und unter Kontrolle zu halten.

Jeder von Ihnen weiß, daß die Maßnahmen korrekt, schnell, exakt und erfolgreich durchgeführt worden sind.

Was war der Sinn des 13. Augusts? Der Sinn des 13. Augusts war die Sicherung des Friedens durch energische Schläge gegen die westdeutschen

30 **Militaristen und Ultras. Dadurch wurde es auch den friedliebenden Kräften
in Westdeutschland erleichtert, sich gegen die militärischen Unterdrück-
ungsmaßnahmen und gegen die Rüstungslasten zur Wehr zu setzen.**

Wir haben die Ultras am Brandenburger Tor geschlagen. Ihre Aufgabe,
35 liebe Westdeutsche, ist es, die Ultras am Rhein und an der Ruhr zu
schlagen! [...]

Die westdeutschen Konzernherren, Bankiers und Militaristen haben sich
da einen netten Propagandaschwindel zusammengebastelt. Sie sagen: Da
in der DDR die Menschen vor Hunger verkommen, verzehren sich die
40 Arbeiter und Bauern der DDR in Sehnsucht danach, sich von den lieben,
goldigen Monopolherren und Großgrundbesitzerchen ausbeuten und von
Hitlergeneralen auf Kasernenhöfen schikanieren und schließlich in den
dritten Weltkrieg jagen zu lassen. Daher gleiche die DDR sozusagen
einem kochenden Kessel, dessen Explosion droht, wenn wir nicht
gestatten, daß Jugendliche aus der DDR in die westdeutsche Armee und
45 in die Fremdenlegion gelockt, daß Ärzte aus der DDR als Reserve für die
westdeutsche Armee und Ingenieure und Techniker für die westdeutschen
Rüstungsbetriebe abgeworben werden können.

Ich möchte diesen Herrschaften sagen: Machen sie sich keine Sorgen
um uns. Die Arbeiter und Bauern in der DDR wissen schon ganz genau,
50 was sie wollen.

B. Placards and graffiti around and on the falling Berlin Wall (1989)

- (1) Lügen haben kurze Beine, – Egon zeig uns Deine!
- (2) Egon, das achte Weltwunder
- (3) Proletarier aller Länder, verzeih mir (Karl Marx)
- (4) Phrasnost statt Glasnost
- (5) 民主

Demokratie

- (6) So wie wir heute demonstrieren, werden wir leben
- (7) Wir sind das Volk! Ich bin Volker!

(Quoted from Fix 1990; Fraas/Steyer 1992; Hutchinson/Jones 1992)

A. My dear citizens of the German Democratic Republic and dear friends
in West Germany and in West Berlin –

We have just experienced eventful days. Here and there the waves were a
little rough. They are gradually flattening out. The uproar artificially created
by Schöneberg and Bonn has ebbed away. Of course, we must continue to
be vigilant. But life goes on [in] its calm way. You expect quite rightly that
I, as Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, have something to say
about the events and the new situation.

But before I do that, I have the urge to thank heartily, in the name of the
State Council, in the name of the government of the GDR and in the name
of the Workers' Party, the splendid sons and daughters of our workers who
presently wear uniform, the splendid boys in the National People's Army and

in the People's Police Force, the lower officers and generals of our armed forces. They have undertaken the successful initiative of 13 August outstandingly and with discipline, with great spirit and morale. Thanks are due to all members of our state machine which has proved here that it is capable of great achievements.

We have – I believe – made an important contribution to peace by securing the borders of the GDR against West Berlin and against West Germany. Through our measures we have stuck to the agreement with the USSR and the other states of the Warsaw Pact, by which we are duty bound to protect the borders of our state effectively and to keep them under control.

All of you know that the measures were taken appropriately, quickly and successfully.

What was the point of 13 August? The point of 13 August was the securing of peace by energetic blows against the West German militarists and extremists. In doing so, it was made easier for the peace-loving forces in West Germany to defend themselves against the military measures of oppression and against the burdens of armament.

[. . .] The West German big businessmen, bankers and militarists have built up a nice propaganda con in this regard. They say, because people in the GDR are crippled with hunger, the workers and farmers live off the yearning to allow themselves to be exploited by the lovely, golden monopoly lords and nice little owners of large estates and to allow themselves to be bullied by Hitler's generals on barrack squares and be finally forced into World War Three. Therefore, they say, the GDR is like a powder cake whose explosion looms if we don't permit youths from the GDR to be tempted to join the West German army and the foreign legion and allow doctors from the GDR to be enticed as reserves for the West German army and engineers and technicians for the West German armament industries.

I would like to say to these people: don't worry yourselves about us. The workers and farmers of the GDR know very well what they want.

B.

- (1) Truth will out – show us yours, Egon [lit.: Lies have short legs – show us yours, Egon]
- (2) Egon, the Eighth Wonder of the World
- (3) Proletarians of all countries, forgive me (Karl Marx)
- (4) Phrasenost instead of Glasnost
- (5) Democracy
- (6) Just as we demonstrate today, so we shall live
- (7) We are the people [*Volk*]. I am Volker!

33.3 Ideological framework

The language of politics in the GDR can be crystallized in two main facets: the closed nature of the system and the dominant absent, i.e. the evocation of the (often unmentioned) binary opposite. Both features can be demonstrated by the definitions given to three key terms in Ulbricht's speech – *Demokratie/demokratisch*, *Frieden*, *Arbeit(erklasse)* – in the *Kleines Politisches Wörterbuch* (KPW), which, according to its own preface, 'wendet sich an einen großen Leserkreis', and 'hilft dem Benutzer, sich rasch und zuverlässig über politische Begriffe zu informieren, die ihm täglich bei der Arbeit, beim Studium und in seinem gesellschaftlichen Wirken begegnen'. As the items in bold clearly show, each of the key terms is inextricably linked with the others. Within this discourse, therefore, as the development of Ulbricht's speech exemplifies, one term will inevitably lead to all the others almost in chain reaction. Moreover, each term resonates with associations with the others, e.g. the combination of *Bürger* with *Demokratisch* (A1) promotes solidarity by evoking its grammatical opposite: 'bürgerliche Demokratie'.¹

The oppositional character of the terms in the discourse is also clear in the use of the word *Freund* in the second half of the address form. The rest of the speech makes clear that this functions neither as purely phatic politeness nor as a reference to a personal relationship but as the binary opposite to enemy (*die Ultras*, A33). In a state that was 'imbued from the start by a sense of massive, existential insecurity' (Fulbrook 1995: 26), *Freund* always evoked an opposition with *Feind* (synonymous with *Klassenfeind*) which was more marked than in normal Western usage and derived its connotations from socio-political structures. The Soviets were referred to as 'die Freunde'; members of the Freie Deutsche Jugend (FDJ) addressed each other with the greeting 'Freundschaft'; the school day began with a pupil addressing the teacher at the front of the class with the words 'Herr X, ich melde, die Klasse 8a ist zum Unterricht angetreten. Es fehlt der Jugendfreund Y', followed by the collective greeting 'Freundschaft'. Furthermore, the use of the term *Freund* at the outset is dictated by the marxist-leninist argument that it is the dangerous imperialist minority in the West, not the oppressed, who are to be feared (cf. definition of *Frieden*).

The institutionalization of concepts is consolidated by their frequent use in compounds which often mask the true nature of events or organizations, e.g. *friedliebende Kräfte* (A30) is frequently used to denote 'army'. Similarly: *Friedenskampf* (stands alongside the popular *Sicherung des Friedens* (A29)); *Friedensgrenze*, the border with communist Poland, hence rendering the simple *Grenze* (A24) a more dangerous concept; *Friedenswacht* (loan formation from the Russian), which denotes military activity and thus gives a further dimension to the phrase *natürlich müssen wir weiter wachsam sein* (A5–6). *Freund* was further depersonalized by many compounds such

1 According to this definition, true democracy can only be achieved within a socialist state. Hence the term socialist became redundant and the East German state could name itself simply the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik*. Not until the *Ostpolitik* of West German chancellor Willy Brandt in the early 1970s did the FRG recognize the validity of the GDR, hence the perhaps ambivalent reference to *Freunde in Westdeutschland*. Equally the GDR was referred to in the FRG as *Ostdeutschland* – or even as *Mitteldeutschland* by a small but vocal minority of 'Umsiedler' driven out of Prussian territories beyond the Oder.

DEMOKRATIE

... Die D. trägt stets **Klassencharakter**. Daher ist zwischen → *bürgerlicher Demokratie* und → *sozialistischer Demokratie* zu unterscheiden. Bürgerliche Demokratie ist, unabhängig von ihren Formen, dem Wesen nach stets Diktatur der Bourgeoisie. Für den Kampf der **Arbeiterklasse** ist die bürgerliche D. insofern bedeutungsvoll, als sie ihr Möglichkeiten der legalen politischen Organisation und des legalen **Kampfes** für ihre politischen und sozialen Interessen bietet. Daher verteidigt die **Arbeiterklasse** die von ihr erkämpften bürgerlich-demokratischen Rechte und Freiheiten gegen alle Versuche, sie einzuschränken oder völlig zu beseitigen. Wirkliche, realisierbare D. im Sinne der umfassenden Verwirklichung der politischen, ökonomischen, sozialen und kulturell-geistlichen Interessen und Bedürfnisse aller Werktätigen kann die **Arbeiterklasse** erst durch die Errichtung der → *Diktatur des Proletariats* erkämpfen. Mit der Errichtung der Diktatur des Proletariats wird die bürgerliche durch die sozialistische D. abgelöst ...

FRIEDEN

... Der F. ist das kostbarste Gut der Menschheit. Die Verhinderung eines **nuklearen Infernos** und die Bewahrung und dauerhafte **Sicherung des F.** ist daher die wichtigste, alles übergreifende Aufgabe der Gegenwart. Der **Kampf** um die Sicherung des F. richtet sich vor allem gegen die aggressivsten und militaristischen Kräfte des → *Imperialismus*. Es existiert heute ein tiefer Widerspruch zwischen den Interessen der überwiegenden Mehrheit der Menschheit – einschließlich großer Teile der Monopolbourgeoisie, die F. will, und den auf Konfrontation, Hochrüstung und Weltherrschaft gerichteten Zielen einer kleinen Schicht besonders aggressiver und reaktionärer Kräfte des → *Imperialismus* ... Der Marxismus-Leninismus begründet, daß die Fragen von Krieg und Frieden vom → **Klassenkampf** abgeleitet sind und Kriege letztlich ihre Wurzel im Privateigentum an Produktionsmitteln, im Klassenantagonismus der Ausbeutergesellschaft, im aggressiven Wesen des Imperialismus haben ... Erst im → *Sozialismus* entsteht die Gesellschaft, der der F. wesenseigen ist, weil in ihr die **Ausbeutung** beseitigt ist.

ARBEIT / ARBEITERKLASSE

Die A. ist in allen Gesellschaftsformationen unerläßliche Existenzbedingung des Menschen ... Die A. besitzt gesellschaftlichen Charakter; sie ist stets A. in der Gesellschaft, von in der Gesellschaft lebenden und in der Gesellschaft produzierenden Menschen ... In den antagonistischen Klassengesellschaften erscheint die A. als Zwang. Im Sozialismus verleiht das gesellschaftliche Eigentum an den Produktionsmitteln der A. einen neuen Charakter; sie ist frei von **Ausbeutung** und ist planmäßige, im Maßstab der gesamten Gesellschaft organisierte A ... Die historische Mission der Arbeiterklasse ist die Beseitigung der kapitalistischen Gesellschaftsordnung und damit die Beendigung der **Ausbeutung** des Menschen durch den Menschen, der Aufbau des → **Sozialismus** und des → *Kommunismus* und damit die Aufhebung der → *Klassen* überhaupt ... Stets bestand zwischen der **Sicherung des** → **Friedens** und dem **Kampf** der Akl. ein enger Zusammenhang ... Angesichts der Gefahr eines **nuklearen** Krieges ist gegenwärtig die Erhaltung des **Friedens** zur alles entscheidenden Frage geworden, von der die Existenz der Menschheit abhängt.

Figure 33.2 Definitions of key terms in the *Kleines Politisches Wörterbuch* used in Walter Ulbricht's speech on the erection of the Berlin Wall (authors' emphasis in bold)

as *Freundschaftszug* which carried political delegates from one Eastern block country to another, and the related *Freundschaftsflugzeug*.

Much of the GDR's ideological vocabulary goes back to the workers' movement of the mid nineteenth century and the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (KPD) of the Weimar Republic (see v. Polenz 1999: 563). A great deal of energy was expended in the explanation of the concept *Arbeit* in such terms as laid out by the KPW, since it had become sullied under the national socialists who had coined emotive phrases such as *Arbeiter der Stirn und der Faust*. In addition, a further term, *Werkstätiger* (A10) (which had been in existence in the early part of the twentieth century), was used to escape the capitalist term *Arbeitnehmer*. It could be employed in two almost contradictory ways: either – as in this text – to cover all members of the state engaged in some form of work (as the KPW puts it: *Arbeiterklasse, Bauernschaft, Intelligenz, kleiner Gewerbetreibende*), or to signify supporters and members of the socialist state who did not belong to the *Arbeiterklasse*. KPD and SED texts before 1933 and after 1945 tend more often towards the latter, distinguishing precisely between the *Arbeiterklasse* and *die übrigen Werktätigen* (see Schlosser 1999: 33–4).

33.4 Style

Due to the dual audience on this momentous occasion, Ulbricht's speech pays more attention to rhetorical devices than typical internal SED speeches, e.g. use of metaphor (paragraph 1), mix of short and long sentences (paragraph 1), groupings in three (paragraphs 1, 2), repetition (*prächtig, Sinn*), rhetorical question (paragraph 4). Most GDR discourse in the public domain was syntactically turgid (e.g. overuse of multiple genitives) and in keeping with the nature of the state, lacking in any sense of linguistic individuality. Other devices used here, however, do contain elements typical of political speeches in the GDR. (i) Emotive terms: *prächtigen Söhnen und Töchtern* (A9), *im Namen der Partei der Arbeiterklasse* (A13–14), *Ultras* (A30), *Unterdrückungsmaßnahmen* (A32). (It is interesting that as a consequence of the dual audience the ubiquitous form of self reference – *unsere DDR* – has to be omitted, e.g. A1.) (ii) Evasion: in the whole of this speech the wall (which was officially termed *antifaschistischer Schutzwall*) is never mentioned. Instead the frame of reference is kept vague – *ereignisvolle Tage* (A3), *Aktion* (A15, a frequent political term), *Maßnahmen* (A22). (iii) Assertion over discussion: the sentence – *jeder von Ihnen weiß, daß die Maßnahmen korrekt, schnell, exakt und erfolgreich durchgeführt worden sind* (A26–27) – is correct from whatever perspective the listener chooses to hear it (even opponents could not disagree with this as fact), but at the same time reinforces the view of the party as the bearer of unfallible truth. The party anthem ran: . . . *Uns führte die Mutter der Massen, /es trug uns ihr mächtiger Arm. /Die Partei, die Partei, die hat immer recht, /Genossen, es bleibt dabei! . . . die Partei, die Partei, /die Partei, die Partei*. In the population at large, however, the combination of all these stylistic features became known as *Parteichinesisch*. The writer Stefan Heym labelled its transmission in the media as Hoch-DDRsch: 'Veränderung ist immer tiefgreifend, Verwirklichung – zielstrebig . . . Beschluß weitreichend . . . Bekenntnis – eindrucksvoll . . . Zustimmung – millionenfach . . . So redet man nur in der DDR'.

33.5 Levels of discourse

As the very fact that writers such as Heym were able to articulate their thoughts suggests, the monolithic structure of Orwellian official discourse was undercut by a current of private and semi-public linguistic subversion. There was a certain amount of (state-sponsored/tolerated) satire, e.g. in literature, cabaret and the magazine *Eulenspiegel*; most East Germans were able to receive West German television and were thus well practised in (at least passive) code-switching; the monotony of the party discourse which was often transparent when trying to manipulate the facts led to a general culture of 'gegen den Strich-Lesen'. In fact, it has been argued that the most significant linguistic difference between German either side of the border was that language users in the East actually had a different *relationship* to language.

Linguistic manifestations such as the ones in text B around the *Wende* have been described as 'die DDR-Sprachrevolte'. Much emphasis has been put on the role of the changing communicative situation in the run-up to the revolutions in the Eastern Block (see Oschlies 1990), and especially in the GDR/DDR which became known amongst its allies as the *Diskutierende Deutsche Republik*. The case has been made convincingly, however, that the linguistic revolution of the *Wende* period consisted less in the evolution of new phenomena than in a communal transformation of a previously private or semi-public discourse into public discourse (see v. Polenz 1993). The graffiti and slogans are thus manifestations of a spectrum of discourse which had long been in existence. For instance, the saying that Ulbricht varies – *das Leben geht seinen (ruhigen) Gang* (A6) – was often transformed to *das Leben geht seinen sozialistischen Gang*, with the meaning 'everything will go wrong' (Braun 1992: 37).

The key feature of public language around the *Wende* was the 'Individualisierung des institutionellen Sprechens' (Fix 1990: 344). This is represented almost symbolically in B7 which wittily pits cheeky behind-the-bike-sheds individualism against the motto of the collective. These slogan-forms rely on various techniques: the first three play off familiar texts – B1 adapts a proverb; B2 the title of a well-known children's book *Egon und das achte Weltwunder* (both directed against Egon Krenz, Honecker's short-term successor); and B3 parodies the famous Marx quotation *Proletarier . . . vereinigt euch!* The second three display a metalinguistic awareness of linguistic forms and communicative situations in the GDR: B4 highlights the semantic bankruptcy of official discourse; B5 provides a double metalinguistic twist, turning the mode of official speech – *Parteichinesisch* – onto the state's ideological self-definition; by inserting *demonstrieren* for *arbeiten*, B6 parodies one of the 49 party slogans which were announced annually on May 1, published in *Neues Deutschland* and chanted/carried on placards at official parades.

33.6 Post-*Wende* German

With the swift turn of events in 1989, many words relating to the system disappeared from current usage almost overnight (e.g. *Brigadeausflug*, the abbreviation *SU* (A22)). Reunification brought with it the vocabulary of capitalism, particu-

larly in the domains of work, economy, administration and housing – *Arbeitnehmer* for *Werkstätiger*, *Manager*, *Mietvertrag*, etc. – which had an impact on everyday understanding and required linguistic help-lines. A small number of other common words – such as *Broiler* (= *Huhn*), *Zweiraumwohnung* (= *Zweizimmerwohnung*), *Plaste* (= *Plastik*) – remain and should become recognized as regionalisms (such as Bavarian, Swiss), although this has not yet been handled completely successfully by Duden and many East Germans feel that they have been linguistically annexed by the *Besserwessi* (Müller 1994).

Yet there is a division in the German language, a ‘tückische Polysemie’ which lies ‘unter der Schwelle der lexikalischen Definierbarkeit’ (Lerchner 1992). From the discussion above (33.3) of the usage of words such as *Freund*, *Sicherheit*, *Freiheit*, *Partei*, it is clear that these terms have quite different, often negative connotations for speakers from the former GDR. Christa Wolf’s proclamation in her famous speech at the Alexanderplatz in 1989 that ‘Die Sprache springt aus dem Ämter- und Zeitungsdeutsch heraus, in das sie eingewickelt war, und erinnert sich ihrer Gefühlswörter’ has, therefore, proven to be an oversimplification. Furthermore, it has been observed that communicative difficulties are confined less to the level of individual words than to broader differences in communicative behaviour. Forty years of vastly different experiences means that East and West Germans often have the feeling that they ‘aneinander vorbeireden’, like an old married couple who ‘sich nicht mehr verstehen können’ (Good 1993: 249).² The investigation of what has become known as the ‘Mauer der Sprache’ will therefore require cooperation between linguists, sociologists and psychologists.

Further reading

Fraas (1993); Good (1993); Heim (1998); Kinne (1977); Kühn (1994); Müller (1994); Oschlies (1990); v. Polenz (1993); Schlosser (1991, 1999).

2 For a case study of misunderstanding in the post-*Wende* political arena, see Fix (1992: 14–34).

34 The public sphere

Discourse strategies and lexical development

34.1 Context

The history of public discourse in the post-war period has been heavily influenced by the socio-political agenda. Over the last 50 years there have been many debates and running themes, some of which have strongly shaped modern ways of life and the political situation in Europe: debates about economic systems (*Planwirtschaft*, *Marktwirtschaft*), the question of Europe, the role of military forces in Germany, questions and problems of education, the image of young people as well as their lifestyle with all its changing dangers and problems (drugs, violence, the 1968 student revolts) and their particular way of speaking (see ch. 37), the problem of foreign words in German, relations between the two Germanies, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, the threat of terrorism, the changes in many aspects of private life and sexual practice, questions of energy production and the environment, debates about development aid, foreign workers, immigration and ethnic integration. These topics, to which others could easily be added, were recently analysed in a seminal study *Kontroverse Begriffe* (Stötzel and Wengeler 1995) by a Düsseldorf research group. Linguistically, the importance of public discourse and of 'public topics' consists of three main aspects:

(i) The way such topics are dealt with brings about certain views and attitudes with regard to people, groups, events, etc. Whilst there is no direct or causal relation between language use and attitudes – the former being connected and filtered by intermediary aspects such as the understanding of utterances and critical reflection – public discourse does fundamentally shape the views, attitudes and beliefs of people, contributing to public decision making and the eventual successful (or otherwise) outcome of such decisions.

(ii) A broad spectrum of forms of communication and text-types is now used for dealing with topics of public interest, ranging from speeches and debates in committees to talkshows, radio interviews and reporting in newspapers and other media. Whilst clear examples can be found of attempts in these fields to shape certain views intentionally, public language usually functions much more subtly. Employing certain linguistic means *commits* the language user to a certain view, even if (s)he does not have the intention of shaping the views of others, e.g. in reporting and commenting on immigration issues the three words *Zuwanderung*, *Zuwanderungsstrom*, *Zuwanderungsflut* move from neutrality to an articulation of threat. All referential expressions therefore commit the user to a view about the

kind of object under discussion. Thus the traditional distinction between 'subjective' and 'objective' is not particularly helpful when it comes to dealing with language use and views.

(iii) Public discourse has had important consequences for the development of temporary and standardized German vocabulary. As in other fields, lexical innovations always far outnumber the items that eventually establish themselves in the lexicon (Fritz 1998: ch. 3). Frequently, such words are coined by politicians and spread quickly by the media, although the diffusion process can be more complex, e.g. when terms are taken up first by politicians from the *Fachsprache* of specialist communities before dissemination to a broader audience. In addition, already extant terms can be used in new or more specific ways, e.g. words such as *Begabung*, *Auslese* or *Elite* had long since been available in German, but were used in specific ways and within specific vocabulary networks and traditions of usage in debates about education and *Bildungspolitik* (see Stötzel and Wengeler 1995: ch. 5). *Auslese* and related terms, for example, which have a history in natural science (reception of Darwin), were used in Nazi politics and pedagogy, and still circulate in contemporary discussions in Germany and related cultures (e.g. France, Japan).

The following texts are speeches/articles by Wilhelm Pieck (*Präsident* of the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik*), Otto Grotewohl (*Ministerpräsident*) and Walter Ulbricht (*Generalsekretär* of the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, SED) to mark the New Year in 1958. They were published on the front page of *Neues Deutschland*, *Organ des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands* on 1 January 1958.

34.2 Texts and translations

Vereint zum glückbringenden Frieden

Berlin (ADN). Zum Jahreswechsel wendet sich Ministerpräsident Otto Grotewohl mit nachstehendem Neujahrsgruß, der am 1. Januar über die Sender des deutschen demokratischen Rundfunks verlesen wird, an die Bürger der DDR:

Liebe Bürger der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik!

Für alle schaffenden Menschen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik ist die Jahreswende Anlaß zur Freude über vollbrachte Erfolge und überwundene Schwierigkeiten. Wir haben dem Bau der Republik neue Steine hinzugefügt und ihn wieder ein Stück schöner und wohnlicher gestaltet.

(...) Möge uns die Jahreswende auch Anlaß zur Besinnung sein. Während wir im vergangenen Jahr den ersten Reaktor zur friedlichen Nutzung der Atomenergie seiner Bestimmung zuführten, während unser bester Freund, das Sowjetvolk, erfolgreich die Erforschung des Weltraumes begonnen hat, kreisen amerikanische Flugzeuge mit tod- und verderbenbringenden Wasserstoffbomben an Bord über den Städten und Dörfern Westeuropas. Vergessen wir keine Stunde diese tödliche Gefahr, die allein wir, die friedliebenden Menschen aller Völker, abzuwenden vermögen. Die Kraft unserer Millionen Herzen und Hände wird den Frieden sichern. (...)

Neujahrsgruß des Präsidenten

Berlin (ADN). Der Präsident der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Wilhelm Pieck, richtete zum Beginn des neuen Jahres folgende Botschaft an das deutsche Volk:

25 **(..) Möge das Jahr 1958 ein Jahr des Friedens sein!**

Dieser Wunsch kann durch die Anstrengungen der friedliebenden Menschen Wirklichkeit werden. Das Jahr 1957 hat dafür gute Voraussetzungen geschaffen, denn es brachte neue und realisierbare Vorschläge, Gedanken und Anregungen zur Lösung der schwebenden internationalen Fragen, die dem Frieden gute Chancen geben. Ich erinnere nur an die Vorschläge der Sowjetunion zur Entspannung, Abrüstung und Verständigung, sowie an den Plan für eine atomwaffenfreie Zone in Europa und den Vorschlag, den Frieden im Ostseeraum zu festigen. Auch die Verhinderung der Aggression gegen Syrien und der Widerstand der skandinavischen Länder gegen die Stationierung amerikanischer Atomraketen waren Ereignisse, die der Erhaltung des Friedens dienen. Diese Tatsachen haben in der Welt ein starkes Echo gefunden und das, liebe Landsleute, zeigt uns, daß die aussichtslose Politik der Stärke überwunden werden kann und daß die Politik der Verhandlungen, der Verständigung, des friedlichen Handels und wissenschaftlichen Wettbewerbs, die im Start der sowjetischen Sputniks einen schönen Ausdruck fand, sich durchsetzen wird.

Aber der Friede ist in der Welt noch nicht gesichert. In Ägypten, in Algerien, in Zypern haben sich Kräfte gezeigt, die den Krieg noch immer als ein Mittel der Politik betrachten. Auf der NATO-Konferenz in Paris unternahmen sie alles, um den kalten Krieg neu zu beleben und das Atomwettrüsten zu fördern. Man muß also auch 1958 die Machenschaften der Kriegsinteressenten aufmerksam verfolgen. Jeder Arbeiter, Bauer und Geistesschaffende muß sich dieser Aufgabe bewußt werden und täglich zum Schutze des Friedens beitragen. Die Rüstungspolitik der Adenauer-Regierung zwingt die deutsche Arbeiterklasse zu besonderer Aktivität. Es gilt, in Westdeutschland eine wahre Volksbewegung gegen den deutschen Militarismus zu entwickeln. (..)

Während sich im kapitalistischen Westdeutschland die Anzeichen einer Krise mehren und die Bundesrepublik infolge ihrer imperialistischen Politik und ihrer Kriegsvorbereitungen zu einem Störenfried in Europa wurde, konnten wir im Jahre 1957 mit freundschaftlicher Unterstützung unserer sowjetischen Bundesgenossen beim Aufbau der neuen Gesellschaftsordnung wiederum ein gutes Stück vorankommen. (..)

*Mit kühner Zuversicht zu neuen Taten*¹

60 Von Walter Ulbricht

(..)

In den Briefen der Regierung der UdSSR an die Regierungen und Völker der NATO-Staaten wird dem Sehnen und Willen der ganzen friedliebenden Menschheit Ausdruck gegeben. Mit welcher Freude stimmten die arbeitenden Menschen den Vorschlägen der Sowjetunion an die NATO-Staaten zu, ab 1. Januar die Kernwaffenversuche einzustellen, auf den Einsatz von Atom-

¹ Italics in the original (as opposed to bold type) suggest commentary status.

und Wasserstoffwaffen zu verzichten, alle Militärblocks aufzulösen und ein System der kollektiven Sicherheit in Europa und Asien zu errichten oder
70
75
zunächst zumindest einen Nichtangriffspakt zwischen den Mitgliedstaaten der NATO und des Warschauer Vertrages abzuschließen.
(...)

Jeder real denkende Mensch in Deutschland möge erkennen, daß die Pläne der aggressiven imperialistischen Kreise der USA, wie sie von Dulles vertreten werden, mit Drohungen und mit Hilfe von Scheinverhandlungen
75
über 'kontrollierte Abrüstung', die das Kräfteverhältnis zugunsten der Imperialisten ändern sollen, gescheitert sind. (...)

United for felicitous peace

Berlin (ADN). For the new year, minister-president Otto Grotewohl addresses the people of the GDR with the New Year's greeting below which will be read out on the stations of the German Democratic Radio on 1 January:
Dear citizens of the German Democratic Republic!

The new year is, for all working people in the German Democratic Republic, the cause for joy at the successes achieved and difficulties overcome. We have added new stones to the building of the Republic and have made it a bit prettier and more homely.

[. . .] May the new year also be cause for reflection. While we opened the first reactor for the peaceful use of nuclear energy last year, while our best friend, the Soviet people, successfully began to explore space, American aeroplanes with death-and-ruin-inducing hydrogen bombs on board are cruising over the towns and villages of Western Europe. Let us not forget for a minute this deadly danger that we alone, we the peace-loving men and women of all peoples, are capable of averting. The strength of our millions of hearts and hands will ensure peace. [. . .]

The president's New Year's greeting

Berlin (ADN). The president of the German Democratic Republic, Wilhelm Pieck, directed the following message to the German people at the beginning of the new year:

[. . .] May the year 1958 be a year of peace.

This wish can become reality through the efforts of the peace-loving people. The year 1957 created good pre-conditions for this, for it brought new and realizable suggestions, thoughts and proposals for the solving of the hovering international questions that give peace a good chance. I remind you only of the Soviet Union's suggestions for détente, disarmament and rapprochement as well of the plan for a nuclear-free zone in Europe and the suggestion of consolidating peace in the Baltic region. The prevention of aggression against Syria and the Scandinavian countries' resistance to the stationing of American nuclear weapons were also events that serve the maintaining of peace. These facts have found a strong echo in the world and that, dear compatriots, shows us that hopeless power politics can be overcome and that politics of negotiation, of rapprochement, of the peaceful trade and scientific competition that found fine expression in the launch of the Soviet Sputnik, will gain acceptance.

But peace has not yet been secured in the world. In Egypt, in Algeria, in Cyprus elements have arisen that still regard war as a tool of politics. At the NATO conference in Paris they undertook everything to revive the cold war and to promote the nuclear arms race. So in 1958, too, we have to keenly follow the wheeling and dealing of those with an interest in war. Every worker, farmer and intellectual must become aware of this task and contribute daily to the protection of peace. The armament policy of Adenauer's government forces the German working class into special activity. It is necessary to develop a true people's movement in West Germany against German militarism. (. . .)

While in capitalist West Germany the signs of crisis multiply and the Federal Republic became a troublemaker in Europe as a consequence of its imperialist policies and its war preparations, in 1957 we, on the other hand, could make good headway, with the support of our Soviet confederates, with the construction of the new social order. [. . .]

With bold confidence to new deeds

By Walter Ulbricht

[. . .]

The desire and will of peace-loving humanity in its entirety is given expression in the letters of the government of the USSR to the government and peoples of the NATO states. With what joy the working people agreed with the Soviet Union's suggestions to the NATO states to end nuclear weapons experiments from 1 January, to forgo the deployment of nuclear and hydrogen weapons, to disband military blocs and to create a system of collective security in Europe and Asia or at first, at least, to conclude a pact of non-aggression between the member states of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

[. . .]

May every realistically thinking person in Germany recognize that the plans of the aggressive imperialist circles of the USA as represented by Dulles, with threats and with the help of mock negotiations over 'controlled disarmament' intended to alter the balance of power to the imperialists' benefit, have failed. [. . .]

34.3 Brief commentary

These speeches/articles address a number of topics in the domain of public affairs. Most important among them were questions related to world peace, nuclear energy, and the relation of the socialist states to NATO. The network of topics and subtopics is mirrored in the vocabulary structure. Hence vocabulary items can be grouped together according to their contribution to the treatment of certain topics/subtopics. In our passages, one important vocabulary zone is that which deals with the notion of peace: *friedlich* (1.13, 1.39), *friedliebend* (1.19, 1.26, 1.63), *Frieden* (1.25, 1.30, 1.33), and quasi-idiomatic expressions such as *den Frieden sichern* (1.20), *friedliche Nutzung der Atomenergie* (1.13f.). In addition, a group of expressions is used to refer to measures for protecting and preserving peace: *Entspannung* (1.31), *Abrüstung* (1.31), *Verständigung* (1.31, 1.39), *Verhandlung* (1.39), *Erhaltung des Friedens*

(1.36), *Schutz des Friedens* (1.49). Some of these expressions were used in specific senses (e.g. the *Entspannung* one gets in a massage parlour is different from that of the political sphere), others as shorthand terms (*Schlagwörter*) for complex political programmes or ideas (e.g. *atomwaffenfreie Zone*, 1.32), whilst others still became the site of severe semantic struggle (e.g. *Abrüstung*). Many such strands can be traced in the innovative *Brisante Wörter* project which set itself the aim of describing key terms in a new type of dictionary that includes a detailed documentation of the often diverging uses of a word throughout the history of public discourse in contemporary German (see Strauß, Haß and Harras 1989).

The speeches/articles are built upon a contrasting discourse strategy, i.e. they use the expressions in the vocabulary zone 'peace' exclusively with regard to their own group, e.g. *friedliebend* is employed by all three authors. Only one positive expression (*kontrollierte Abrüstung*, 1.75) is used of the other group, but it appears in quotation marks which in political discourse frequently serve as a means of distancing. Semantically, the use of quotation marks functions in ways not dissimilar to the *Schein-* in *Scheinverhandlungen* (1.74), i.e. 'what the people from the other party call *Abrüstung/ Verhandlung* is not really *Abrüstung/ Verhandlung*'.

One of the most important discourse strategies in our example texts is the way in which sharp contrasts are produced. This is achieved primarily via a large vocabulary section of opposing expressions which refer to states of non-peace and to events, persons, etc. that endanger peace:²

- expressions for weapons and weapon systems: *Wasserstoffbombe* (1.17), *Atomrakete* (1.35), *Kernwaffen* (1.66), *Atomwaffen* (1.66), *Wasserstoffwaffen* (1.67).
- expressions that are used to characterize weapons/persons, etc.: *todbringend* (1.16), *tödlich* (1.18), *verderbenbringend* (1.16), *aggressiv* (1.73), *imperialistisch* (1.73).
- expressions for (types of) events: *Aggression* (1.33), *Krieg* (1.43), *Atomwetterrüsten* (1.46), *Kriegsvorbereitungen* (1.55), *Kernwaffenversuche* (1.66).
- expressions for political attitudes/states: *Politik der Stärke* (1.38), *kalter Krieg* (1.45), *Rüstungspolitik* (1.49), *Militarismus* (1.52), *imperialistische Politik* (1.54f.).
- expressions for persons/political groups: *Kriegsinteressenten* (1.47), *Störenfried* (1.55), *Imperialist* (1.76).

It is clear that not all of these words have firmly established themselves as elements of German vocabulary. Words such as *Kriegsinteressenten* (1.47) or *verderbenbringend* (1.16) are made up *ad hoc* by means of word-formation, and there are many examples in the articles of the Stötzel and Wengeler (1995) volume that show how many words have a shelf-life of only a few weeks. The most productive means of word-formation in this area seems to be composition (e.g. *Atomwaffen*, *atomwaffenfrei*).

The texts also contain examples of political metaphors, e.g. they speak about political structures in terms of buildings to live in (*Bau der Republik* 1.9, *wohulich* 1.10). The same metaphorical use was later instrumentalized in debates about

2 The texts have several such discourse strategies, which cannot be examined due to lack of space. Another example would be the projection of one's own actions in terms of a success story (ll. 9–11, ll.56–58; *Erfolge* 1.8, *erfolgreich* 1.15) and the downgrading of opponents (*Machenschaften* 1.46).

Europe to conceptualize different aspects of the unifying process: those who construct (*Architekt*), the product (*Haus, Festung*), its properties (*Stabilität*), ways of living together in the house (*Kohabitation*), the elements (*Pfeiler, Fundament*), the plans (*Bauplan*) and the various acts of building itself (*Konstruktion*) (see Schäffner 1993). Other such fields include the flood metaphor which is common in the topic of immigration (*Asylantenflut, Asylantenschwemme, Ausländerflut*). These types of metaphor not only introduce and establish particular views of events, but also evince ideas about actions and reactions (e.g. to build a *dam* against the flood).

Finally, both discourse strategies and use of vocabulary items have been a constant issue of *critical reflexion*, which has mostly taken the form of comments upon and criticism of opponents' language use. For instance, in the immigration debates of the 1970s and 1980s a term like *Gastarbeiter* was criticized in several respects. It was deemed unsuitable, for instance, because foreign workers were not treated humanely and politely (like guests) or because the use of *Gast* 'guest' implied the unfriendly assumption that foreign workers were not supposed to stay (see Stötzel and Wengeler 1995: 716ff.). In recent times such critical reflexion on language use has centred on the relationship between men and women, with the result that if Otto Grotewohl had been addressing his hearers/readers today, he would probably have begun: 'Liebe Bürgerinnen und Bürger . . .'.

Further reading

Busse, Hermanns and Teubert (1994); Jung (1994); Stötzel and Wengeler (1995); Strauß, Haß and Harras (1989).

35 English Influence

Jil Sander and the *Verein Deutsche Sprache*

35.1 Context

In the course of the twentieth century English became an international lingua franca with a truly world-wide base like no other language before it: there are more learners of English in China than native speakers in the rest of the world. It began to have a significant influence on German in the nineteenth century when it led the world in the industrial revolution, was admired as a model of established democracy and by the turn of the century replaced French as the language of cachet among the chattering classes of the capital Berlin. Some of the contemporary-looking loans of the present day – *Selfmademan*, *Bestseller*, *Song* – actually originate from this era. After the First World War and, to a much greater extent, the Second World War, English was swept to the status of world language by the rise of the USA to super-power status in the age of politico-economic, technological and cultural globalization. English (or more accurately Anglo-american) influence has come to dominate specific domains of the German language: the advertising, fashion, popular music, and entertainment industries (as well as the media outlets devoted to these), economics, finance and the corporate world, computing and the web, youth culture, tourism and aviation. In fact, in 2000, the German courts defended the rights of *Lufthansa Technik AG* to give official warnings to an engineer who insisted on turning English terms commonly used in the aviation industry into German (e.g. E *door*, *wing* > G *Tür*, *Tragfläche*).

English influence is primarily, although not exclusively, concentrated in the realm of vocabulary (see Carstensen 1965; Russ 1994: 248–70): assimilated and unassimilated loan words (*clever*), loan translations (*Beiprodukt*), loan formations (*Wolkenkratzer*), loan meanings (*feuern* ‘to make redundant’), loan idioms (*das Beste aus etwas machen*), pseudo-loans (*Handy*) and so-called *Denglish* (*BahnCard*). Statistically, even specialist dictionaries (see Carstensen and Busse 1993) puts the total of English words in German at only approximately 3500 (albeit compared to around 400 c.1900), but these statistics are deceptive in two ways. First, they do not account for a continually regenerated pool of many thousands of (mostly unassimilated) low frequency words which continuously flows over public language. Second, they say little about an apparently all pervasive desire within certain influential socio-linguistic groups to use English loans. Moreover, they tell us little of the resistance to English loans which began to develop in the late 1990s. In 1997, an interview given to the magazine section of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* by the internationally renowned

Hamburg designer, Jil Sander, was so laden with loans (some rejecting accepted loans, e.g. *pure* for *pur*, *refined* for *raffiniert*) that Walter Krämer (Professor of Economics at Dortmund) formed the *Verein zur Wahrung der Deutschen Sprache* (now *Verein Deutsche Sprache* = VDS) which promptly awarded Frau Sander the (now annually elected) title of *Sprachpanscher des Jahres*. By the end of 2000, the VDS had grown in membership to over 10,000 (all information about it here is quoted from its website: www.vwds.de). The touch-paper Sander interview (text A) and the award certificate made out to the 1998 *Sprachpanscher* – Ron Sommer of *Deutsche Telekom* – (text B) are given below.

35.2 Texts and translations

A. *Jil Sander*

JIL SANDER SPRICHT:

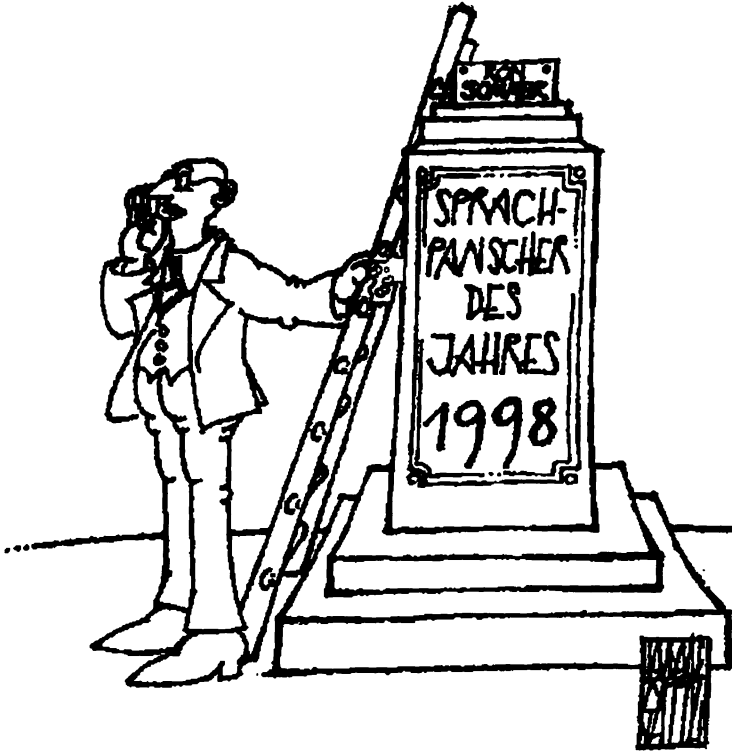
Die Sprache eines Künstlers ist seine Kunst, deren Farben, Klänge und Akkorde. Aber was ein Künstler über seine Kunst sagt, sagt er nicht immer in seiner Sprache. Wenn er erklären soll, was er, wenn es erklärbar wäre, nicht geschaffen hätte, spürt er oft ein Ungenügen an den Wörtern, die plötzlich nicht mehr passen wollen. Jil Sander hat diese Schwierigkeit entschlossen besiegt. In ihren Ateliers arbeitet sie mit Menschen vieler Nationalitäten, und so ist eine ihr gehörende neue Sprache entstanden, die vielleicht nur in dem von ihr geformten Umkreis vollständig verstanden wird.

‘Ich habe vielleicht etwas Weltverbesserndes. Mein Leben ist eine giving-story’, sagt Jil Sander, ‘ich habe verstanden, daß man contemporary sein muß, das future-Denken haben muß. Meine Idee war, die hand-tailored-Geschichte mit neuen Technologien zu verbinden. Und für den Erfolg war mein coordinated concept entscheidend, die Idee, daß man viele Teile einer collection miteinander combinieren kann. Aber die audience hat das alles von Anfang an auch supported. Der problembewußte Mensch von heute kann diese Sachen, diese refined Qualitäten mit spirit eben auch appreciate. Allerdings geht unser voice auch auf bestimmte Zielgruppen. Wer Ladyisches will, searcht nicht bei Jil Sander. Man muß Sinn haben für das effortless, das magic meines Stils.’ Man muß sich diesen Text mit sanfter Bestimmtheit gesprochen vorstellen. Jil Sander muß die Stimme nicht heben, um eindringlich zu sein, sie ist von ihrem Thema gefangen. Manchmal inspiriert ihre innere Vision, die von der Sprache kaum mehr erreicht wird, eine Art Gedicht wie von Paul Celan oder Erich Fried: ‘Pure ist zu wenig. Minimalistisch. Pure ist auch opulent. Einfach ist zu einfach. Was ich reintue in das Einfache das macht es reich.’

B. VDS

Wegen seiner herausragenden Fehlleistung im Umgang mit der deutschen Sprache hat die Mitgliederversammlung des ‘Vereins zur Wahrung der deutschen Sprache e.V.’

Sprachpanscher des Jahres 1998



*HERR RON SOMMER, WENN ICH BITTEN DÜRFTE ... ACH GOTT
... DER VERSTEHT MICH JA NICHT! ... ATTENTION: ... A SHORT-
DISTANCE-CALL TO MISTER RON SUMMER, PLEASE*

Figure 35.1 Sprachpanscher des Jahres

Herrn Ron Sommer
5 zum
Sprachpanscher des Jahres 1998
gewählt. Damit würdigt der Verein den konsequenten Ausstieg aus der
deutschen Sprache durch die von Ron Sommer geführte Deutsche Telekom.
Die Mitglieder des Vereins empfinden es als zutiefst kunden feindlich und
10 menschenverachtend, in ihrem eigenen Land, dessen Menschen zum
größten Teil des Englischen nicht mächtig sind, mit 'sunshine-' und
'moonshine-Tarifen' umworben zu werden und Telefonrechnungen in einer
nur spärlich mit deutschen Wörtern garnierten landesfremden Sprache zu
empfangen. (City-Calls, Free-Calls, German-Calls usw). Durch die
15 unkritische Anpassung an das moderne pseudokosmopolitische
Imponiergehabe, mit dem viele Deutsche sich heutzutage den Anschein

von Weltläufigkeit zu geben suchen, hat die Deutsche Telekom eine Spitzenstellung an Illoyalität gegenüber unserer Sprache eingenommen.

A. JIL SANDER SPEAKS

The artist's language is his art, its colours, sounds and harmonies. However, an artist does not always say in his language what he says through his art. If he has to explain what he would not have created had it been explainable, he often feels an inadequacy in the words which suddenly refuse to fit. Jil Sander has decidedly triumphed over this difficulty. In her studios she works with people of many nationalities, and in this way a new language peculiar to her has developed which is perhaps only completely understood in the circle she has formed.

'I have something which perhaps makes the world a better place. My life is a story of giving,' says Jil Sander, 'I have grasped that you must be contemporary, that you must think of the future. My idea was to combine the hand-tailored story with new technologies. And my coordinated concept, the idea that you can combine many parts of a collection with each other, was a decisive element in its success. But the audience also supported it from the very start. Modern people with an awareness of the problem can indeed also appreciate these things, these refined qualities with spirit. Our voice is admittedly aimed at certain target audiences. If you're looking for something ladylike, don't go looking to Jil Sander for it. You have to have a sense of the effortlessness, the magic of my style.' You have to imagine this text spoken with gentle assurance. Jil Sander does not need to raise her voice to be forceful; she is caught up in her subject. Sometimes her inner vision which language can hardly express is inspirational, a type of poem like those of Paul Celan or Erich Fried: 'Pure is too little. Minimalist. Pure is also opulent. Simple is too simple. What I put into the simplicity, that's what makes it rich.'

B. *Language-Diluter of the Year 1998*

MR RON SOMMER, IF I MAY . . . OH GOD . . . HE DOESN'T UNDERSTAND ME OF COURSE! . . . ATTENTION: . . . A SHORT DISTANCE CALL TO MISTER RON SUMMER PLEASE

Because of the exceptional error of his ways in his use of the German language, the Members' Assembly of the 'Society for the Preservation of the German Language (registered society)' has elected

Mr. Ron Sommer

Language-Diluter of the Year 1998.

In doing so the Society honours the consistent abandonment of the German language by Deutsche Telekom under Ron Sommer. In their own country, in which the majority of people do not have a command of the English language, the members of the Society find it profoundly hostile towards customers and deeply contemptuous to be wooed with 'sunshine' and 'moonshine' tariffs and receive phone bills in a language foreign to their country, and only frugally garnished with German words (City-Calls, Free-Calls, German-Calls, etc.). Deutsche

Telekom has taken the lead in disloyalty to our language through its uncritical adoption of the modern pseudo-cosmopolitan attempts to impress with which many Germans today try to affect an appearance of cosmopolitanism.

35.3 Individual and collective usage

The Sander interview, though naturally an exaggerated case study, touches on perhaps *the* central issue which concerns non-purist linguists today: the unassimilated nature of many loans. Sander assimilates *Ladyisches* (A19) (but not *das effortless* A20, presumably because of sound patterns), *searcht* (A19), *combinen* (A15), *appreciaten* (A18) (each has standard inflections, the first also a standard word-formation suffix); *future-Denken* (A12) and *giving-story* (A11) are partially assimilated (since *Story* is now a classified loan); nouns, adjectives, and past participles used both in verb phrases and adjectivally are unassimilated (e.g. *contemporary* (A11), *collection* (A15), *die audience hat . . . supported* (A15–16), *diese refined Qualitäten* (A17)). This group now commonly causes morpho-syntactic problems in German: although a number of accepted loan adjectives never inflect (e.g. *up-to-date*), these cause less consternation than verb forms, e.g. *babysitten* (if only because of uncertainty over **ich babysittete*, **ich sat / saß / sittete baby*, **ich habe babygesittet/ gebabysittet*), or variant past participle forms such as *laidouted/ gelay-outet/ laygeoutet*, *recycled/ gerecycelt?* The confusion over such non-assimilated forms is compounded by the disruption they bring when integrated into the German sentence (cf Sander's exemplary word order in *searcht* (A19) and *Satzklammer* in *supported* (A16)): 'Die Folge ist, daß wir im neudeutschen Makkaronisch sprechend und schreibend ständig von Code zu Code springen müssen' (Zimmer 1995).

A further problem with noun loans is the assignment of gender, which seems to proceed along a combination of semantic equivalences (e.g. *das Girl* < *das Mädchen*) and morphological matching (e.g. -er = masc.; natural gender; monosyllables are normally masc., see Gregor 1983). Frequently these considerations combine to give two and sometimes three genders (e.g. *der/die/ das Dreß*), which are codified differently in the three main German-speaking countries (*Dreß*: masc./ neut. in Germany and Switzerland, masc. only in Austria). These complexities are exemplified in the text where Sander makes *voice* (probably) masculine (monosyllable, rather than semantic equivalent *Stimme*) and *magic* neuter (despite masc. and fem. semantic equivalents – *der Zauber*, *die Magie*, *Zauberei*, *Zauberkunst* – and morphological similarity to the fem. suffix -ik).

35.4 Purist societies: VDS

Sander's linguistic performance, judged by FAZ journalist Martin Mosebach as an idiolect honed on the anvil of internationalism and verging on the poetic, was less appreciated by Krämer who viewed it as a *Schimpansensprache* that delivered the *Existenzberechtigung des Vereins*. As well as the *Sprachpanser des Jahres*, the association elects a company as *Sprachhunzer des Monats* (e.g. FC Bayern Munich, cited for 'We're FC [əf si:] Bayern . . . Here we are again'), an individual as winner of a *Kulturpreis Deutsche Sprache*, and proposes German replacements for

loans (on its website). It also boasts a pressure group which, for example, pasted posters over the letter boxes of the *Berliner Sparkasse* suggesting *Fernbanken* as an alternative to *DirektBanking* (which it erroneously maintains does not exist in English). The problem with the association lies not so much in its thirst for publicity, but in the detail of its analysis. Its aim is to eliminate ‘nur überflüssige englische Wörter’, but – as it acknowledges itself – these are not easy to define. For instance, it replaces *clean* with *sauber*, but acknowledges the former’s existence as a medical term meaning ‘von der Seuche befreit’; it prefers *Frühstückskornflocken* and *Regelverstoß* (NB incorrect implementation of new spelling!) for the snappier and internationally popular *Cornflakes* and *Foul*; it presses for *Getränk* and *Landesmutter* for ‘drink’ and ‘first lady’, despite *Drink*’s semantic enrichment of the language (i.e. it distinguishes alcoholic from non-alcoholic beverages) and the *Landesmutter*’s unlikely connotations; and against the full weight of the techno-communications revolution, it proclaims the virtue of *E(lektronische)-Post* and *Leitseite* for *E-mail* and *Homepage*.

Despite flawed linguistic over-reaction, the association is certainly representative of growing unease in many native speakers and has put its finger on two key sociolinguistic phenomena. The first is enshrined in its constitution: ‘Der übermäßige Zustrom von Amerikanismen und Anglizismen führt zu Verstehens- und Verständigungsproblemen: dies gilt besonders für ältere Menschen und solche ohne ausreichende Kenntnis der englischen Sprache’. Certainly the public backlash against the changes to the classification of German telephone tariffs came predominantly from older people with little knowledge of English (see ‘TELEKOM-Deutsch’, 1998). Second, in its disappointment at being unable to nominate a woman from public life for the 2000 Sprachpanscher award, it notes: ‘Wir hätten gerne auch Frauen auf der Vorschlagsliste gehabt. Aber wie schon letztes Jahr konnten wir keine geeigneten Kandidatinnen finden – die von uns getesteten Frauen des öffentlichen Lebens reden ein recht gutes bis sehr gutes Deutsch. Offenbar sind Frauen auf sprachliches Imponiergehabe nicht so angewiesen’. This gender question is certainly an area that would benefit from further research.

35.5 Explanation of English dominance

By their own admission, individual organizations such as the VDS are relatively powerless in face of the flood. In renominating Rolf Breuer of Deutsche Bank and Jürgen Weber of Lufthansa for a second time in 2000, Krämer laments: ‘Anscheinend hat dieser Schuß vor den Bug nicht viel genützt – die Mißhandlung der deutschen Sprache hat in beiden Firmen seitdem eher zugenommen’. The penetration of English into nearly every sphere of German life – German children can sing English pop songs before they understand their meaning (Clyne 1995: 208) – and the unfettered proliferation of its forms (chat-rooms, private home-pages and emails have no editor, Drews 1999: 23) renders control virtually impossible. On the institutional level, the conditions are not right for wholesale changes. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the formation of the German state, political backing and enmity towards France after the Franco-Prussian war created a climate in which sweeping changes could be made in the postal service

and railway industry (e.g. *Couvert* > [Brief]umschlag, *Retourbillet* > *Rückfahrkarte*, see Kirkness 1975). In the later twentieth century, German officialdom seems to have turned international (e.g. the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) writes to foreign universities in English) and, if anything, loans have increased since the 1990 reunification. However, the main problem for German purists might well be a deep-rooted national linguistic psychosis which was determined to make up for the xenophobia of the Nazi era and the bourgeois provincialism of the early stages of the post-war Federal republic (see Coulmas 1990 and Jung 1995). Zimmer's (1995) test case on the assimilation of English computer terms shows significantly that German and Italian – countries with 'das gebrochenste Identitätsbewußtsein' – assimilate the least. If this is the case, the rhetoric of the VDS – 'Kolonisierung des Deutschen durch das Englische', 'Kapitulation des Deutschen vor dem Englischen', 'Unterwerfung des Deutschen gegenüber dem Englischen' – will prove to be its own undoing.

Further reading

Cartensen and Busse (1993–96); Coulmas (1990); Drews (1999); Gregor (1983).

36 Newspapers

Language and textual organization in the nineteenth century and twen- tieth century

36.1 Introduction

Criticizing the language of newspapers and reporters has a long standing tradition, which reaches back to the seventeenth century when matters of style, correctness and purity were censured, and continues down to today's *Leserbriefe* complaining about violations of communicative principles (see Bucher 1986). Nevertheless, such criticism has not restricted the role of newspapers in linguistic development. For many people reading the newspaper provides the most important (and sometimes only) regular touchstone to the standard written language, which in turn means that newspapers play a key role in the diffusion of linguistic standards and, above all, of vocabulary items. Due to their wide range of coverage, newspapers are also an important 'mirror' of linguistic developments in a number of fields, especially in public affairs, administration, politics, culture, economics, sports, etc. It follows, however, that there is no such thing as a unified German newspaper language. In terms of subject matter, style, syntactic structures, vocabulary and textual organization, the degree of variation between different newspapers, newspaper types and even editing desks and genres within one and the same newspaper is very broad indeed. One only needs to compare, for instance, the syntactic complexity of the weekly broadsheet *Die Zeit* to the daily tabloid *Bild*, language use in the sports section to that of the *Feuilleton*, and the styles of news reporting and feature writing, to gain a sense of the marked linguistic contrasts transmitted by newspapers.

Newspapers also remind us that our notion of language change should not be restricted to the traditional domains of linguistic description such as phonology, word-forms or meanings, but should also take in developments in the global patterns of textual organization, as well as the range and internal features of text-types (see Fritz 1994; 1995). This latter is not simply an ornamental extra to the history of newspaper language but an integral part of and factor in its development. For this medium is an especially clear example of how linguistic form is determined by functional requirements. Newspaper language differs according to the dimensions and constellations of textual structure (36.3), its vocabulary (36.4) and syntax (36.5) modulating according to their overall functional context (e.g. newspaper type, text-type). Thus newspaper language is characterized by specific features of textual organization and a number of syntactic properties, which evolved in interrelation to another in the context of functional, social and thematic developments in the nineteenth century and twentieth century.

36.2 Texts and translations

A. News reports

Donaueschingen, 19. April. Joseph Scheffel, der geliebte vaterländische Dichter des 'Trompeter von Säckingen' und 'Ekkehard' hat uns heute nach einem beinahe anderthalbjährigen Aufenthalte, wohl auf längere Zeit, verlassen. (*Heidelberger Tagblatt*, 1859)

- 5 **Lebensgefahr: Drogendealer muss Brechmittel einnehmen.**
 Nach einer von der Polizei gewaltsam erzwungenen Brechmitteleinnahme hat ein mutmaßlicher Drogendealer aus Hamburg schwere Hirnschäden erlitten. Der 19jährige aus Kamerun schwebte gestern weiter in akuter Lebensgefahr, wie die Sprecherin der Hamburger Justizbehörde, Simone Käfer, sagte. Die Hamburger Ärztekammer kritisierte die gewaltsame Verabreichung von Brechmitteln scharf und schlug zur Beweissicherung andere Möglichkeiten wie die Gabe von Abführmitteln vor.
 10 Der mutmaßliche Dealer hatte am Sonntag einen Herzstillstand erlitten nachdem ihm im rechtsmedizinischen Institut ein Brechmittel eingeführt
 15 worden war. Er wurde in ein künstliches Koma versetzt. Bei einer Magenspiegelung wurden 41 Kügelchen mit Drogen sicher gestellt. (*Oberhessische Presse*, 11. 12. 2001)

VERMISCHTES

- Spaniens Thronfolger Felipe ist angeblich wieder solo Beziehung zum norwegischen Ex-Fotomodell Eva soll in Brüche gegangen sein.
 20 Madrid. Anfang nächsten Jahres ist es endlich soweit: Spaniens Kronprinz Felipe wird das elterliche Heim verlassen und in seine eigenen vier Wände ziehen.

von *Jörg Vogelsänger*

- Doch wie es scheint, wird der heute 33-jährige Thronfolger das umgerechnet
 25 8,3 Millionen Mark teure Anwesen nahe des Zarzuela-Palastes nicht – wie von vielen seiner Landsleute erhofft – als Ehemann bewohnen.
 Denn seine Beziehung zu dem norwegischen Ex-Fotomodell Eva Sannum (26) soll nach vier Jahren in die Brüche gegangen sein. Die Romanze habe sich abgekühlt, und das Paar habe sich zu einer Trennung auf unbestimmte
 30 Zeit entschlossen, heißt es. Schuld daran soll aber nicht etwa ein Zerwürfnis zwischen den beiden gewesen sein, sondern der Widerstand sowohl aus dem eigenen Königshaus als auch von Seiten der konservativen Regierung in Madrid. Eva, die auch schon in Dessous posiert hat, weder adlig noch katholisch ist und deren Eltern geschieden sind, sei als
 35 künftige Königin Spaniens nicht tragbar, meinen Kritiker. Bereits vor einigen Monaten hat sich die Regierung nach Informationen der Zeitung 'El Mundo' mit einer diskreten, aber deutlichen Botschaft an König Juan Carlos gewandt: 'Es wäre sehr enttäuschend, wenn Don Felipe nicht auf der Höhe seiner Rolle als Kronprinz und künftiger Staatschef wäre.'
 40 Eine königliche Hochzeit, die den Wünschen der Krone und der Regierung

zuwider laufe, könne der Monarchie und deren Image in der Bevölkerung schwer schaden, so die Befürchtung. 'Dies ist bereits der Fall', warnte der langjährige Chef des Königshauses und Vertraute von Juan Carlos, Sabino Fernández Campo. 'Die Stärke der Monarchie hängt von ihrem symbolischen Wert als höchste Institution des Staates ab', werden indes 45 Regierungskreise zitiert. Laut spanischer Verfassung müssen der König und das Parlament die Hochzeit des Kronprinzen genehmigen. Andernfalls würden er und seine Nachkommen von der Thronfolge ausgeschlossen. Aber dass es jemals so weit kommen könnte, daran glaubt eigentlich 50 niemand, schließlich wäre das ein Skandal.

Deshalb sei nicht nur die Regierung, sondern auch das Königshaus erleichtert über die angebliche Trennung. Vor allem Juan Carlos soll die Beziehung ein Dorn im Auge gewesen sein. Aus diesem Grund sei der Monarch auch nicht zur Hochzeit des norwegischen Thronfolgers Haakon mit Mette-Marit Tjessem erschienen – Felipe und Eva hatten sich dort 55 erstmals offiziell zusammen sehen lassen. 'Sie sind in einer Situation, in der sie nicht genügend Unterstützung erfahren', meint das Blatt 'Hola'. Ob es wirklich zum Bruch gekommen ist, wird sich nach Ansicht der Presse spätestens im Februar bei der Hochzeit des holländischen 60 Kronprinzen Willem-Alexander mit Maxima Zorreguieta zeigen. Sollte Felipe dort solo erscheinen, sei dies der endgültige Beweis. (dpa) (*Oberhessische Presse*, 11. 12. 2001)

B. Commentary (FAZ 22.5.1995)

Neuanfang wozu?

E.F. Die Führungsfrage der FDP wird, soweit sie eine Personalfrage ist, auf dem bevorstehenden Bundesparteitag in Mainz wohl gelöst werden. Der hessische Landesvorsitzende Gerhardt steht für die Nachfolge Kinkel 5 bereit, ein Gegenkandidat ist bisher nicht in Sicht, aus den meisten Landesverbänden kommen zustimmende Signale. Gerhardt verspricht, er werde um eine Mehrheit kämpfen. Er hat gute Aussichten, daß ihm das erspart bleibt – vielleicht aber nur deshalb, weil die Partei politisch allzu ermattet und intellektuell ausgelaugt ist.

10 Gerhardt spricht von einem Neuanfang, er warnt vor einem »Weiter so«, doch hütet er sich sorgsam vor jeglicher Zuspitzung der Streitfragen in seiner Partei. Keine Wurzel des Liberalismus solle abgeschnitten werden, beteuert er. Was nützt das, wenn diese Wurzeln keine Nahrung mehr zuführen? Integrationsrhetorik ist, wegen der schieren Masse, eines der 15 Lebensgesetze der großen Volksparteien, die übrigens empört widersprechen, wenn man ihnen vorhielte, sie hätten irgendeine Wurzel des Liberalismus abgeschnitten. Was das Eigene der FDP sei und worin die Notwendigkeit ihres politischen Fortlebens bestehe, das zeigt sich nicht dadurch, daß man unter dem Etikett »Liberalismus« ein möglichst 20 breites und buntes Sortiment politischer Haltungen und Grundüberzeugungen feilhält. Der Richtungsstreit in der FDP muß in eine Art von Richtungsentscheidung münden. Darüber helfen auch politische

- Spruchweisheiten nicht hinweg wie die, daß man nicht nach links oder rechts, sondern nach vorne gehen müsse.
- 25 Natürlich weiß auch Gerhardt das, und vage immerhin läßt er erkennen, in welche Richtung er zu gehen gedenkt. Das heute wirklichkeitsfremd anmutende Ziel, wieder dritte politische Kraft zu werden, soll die FDP nicht dadurch erreichen, daß sie den Grünen nachläuft und sie zum Maß
- 30 der eigenen Politik macht. Gerhardt will die Grünen gerade auf dem Feld der Ökonomie und Ökologie stellen und ihnen den Nimbus angemäßer moralischer Überlegenheit nehmen. Und was die Bürgerfreiheit, das liberale Urthema, angeht, soll gelten, daß der Rechtsstaat sie eher schützt als bedroht. Vage Andeutungen, mit denen in der FDP noch alle
- 35 Personen zum Ausdruck kommen. Diese Personalfragen sind dann Führungsfragen.

A. Donaueschingen, 19 April. Joseph Scheffel, the much-loved patriotic poet of the 'Trumpeter of Säckingen' and 'Ekkehard' has left us after a stay of almost one and a half years, probably for a long time.

Mortal danger: drug dealer has to take emetic.

A suspected drug dealer from Hamburg has suffered serious brain damage after being violently forced by police to take an emetic. The nineteen-year-old from Cameroon remained in acute danger of his life yesterday, a spokeswoman for the Hamburg judicial authority, Simone Käfer, said. The Hamburg General Medical Council vehemently criticized the forced administration of emetics and suggested other possibilities for securing evidence such as giving laxatives. The suspected dealer had suffered a cardiac arrest on Sunday after an emetic had been given to him in the police medical institute. He was put in an artificial coma. A gastroscopy revealed 41 pellets containing drugs.

MISCELLANEOUS

Spanish heir said to be single again

Relationship with Norwegian former photo model Eva reported to have collapsed.

Madrid. At the beginning of next year the time will have come: Spain's Crown Prince Felipe will leave home and live on his own.

By *Jörg Vogelsänger*

But it appears that the currently 33-year-old heir to the throne will not be living in his 8.3 million Deutschmark residence near the Zarzuela Palace as a married man, as many of his countrymen hoped. For his relationship with the Norwegian former photo model Eva Sannum (26) is said to have collapsed after four years. The romance is reported to have cooled off and the word is that the couple has decided upon an open-ended separation. The cause, however, is said not to be an apparent quarrel between the two, but the resistance from his own royal family as well as from the conservative government

in Madrid. Eva, who has also posed in lingerie, is neither aristocratic nor Catholic and whose parents are divorced, is not acceptable as a future Spanish queen, critics say. According to information from the newspaper *El Mundo*, already a few months ago the government turned to King Juan Carlos with a discreet but clear-cut message: 'It would be very disappointing if Don Felipe were not to be fully abreast of his role as Crown Prince and future head of state'. The fear was that a royal wedding that ran contrary to the wishes of the crown and the government could do serious damage to the monarchy and its public image. 'This is already the case', warned the long-serving manager of the royal family and confidant of Juan Carlos, Sabino Fernández Campo. 'The strength of the monarchy relies on its symbolic value as the highest state institution', government sources are meanwhile quoted as saying. According to the Spanish constitution, the king and the parliament must approve the crown prince's wedding. The alternative would be for him and his descendants to lose their right of succession. But no one believes that it could get that serious; that would be a scandal, after all.

Therefore not only the government but also the royal family is said to be relieved about the reported separation. The relationship is said to have been a thorn in the side of Juan Carlos more than anyone else. This is believed to be the reason the monarch also failed to appear at the wedding of the Norwegian heir to the throne, Haakon, to Mette-Marit Tjessem – that is where Felipe and Eva had appeared in public together for the first time. 'They are in a situation where they aren't receiving enough support', says the paper *Hola*. Whether it has really come to a separation will be revealed at the latest, in the press's view, at the wedding of the Dutch crown prince, Willem-Alexander, to Maxima Zorreguieta. If Felipe appears single there, this, in their opinion, will be the final proof. (dpa)

B. A new beginning – but for what purpose?

The FDP's leadership question, in so far as it is a question of personnel, will probably be answered at the upcoming federal party conference in Mainz. The Chairman of the Hessian FDP, Gerhardt, is prepared to succeed Kinkel, an alternative candidate is at present not apparent, and affirmative signals are coming from most state associations of the FDP. Gerhardt promises to fight for a majority. There is a good prospect that he will be spared this – but perhaps only because the party is politically all too exhausted and intellectually worn out.

Gerhardt talks of a new beginning, he warns against the 'as we are' syndrome, yet he is always careful to avoid intensifying the disputed issues in his party. He stresses that none of the roots of liberalism should be severed. What is the use in that if these roots no longer provide nourishment? The rhetoric of integration is, because of the sheer masses, one of the fundamental rules of the large people's parties that, incidentally, would offer denial in angry fashion if they were reproached for having severed some or other root of liberalism. What is particular to the FDP and what represents the necessity of its continued political existence is not demonstrated by offering, under the heading 'liberalism', a most broad and colourful spectrum of

political attitudes and fundamental convictions. The debate about the direction to be taken within the FDP must lead to some kind of decision. Wise political clichés, like the one that says that one must not look to the right or to the left but forwards do not help them overcome the problem.

Of course, Gerhardt knows that too, and he displays at least vaguely the direction he plans to take. The FDP should achieve the goal of becoming the third political power again – a goal which today seems unrealistic – not by chasing after the Green Party and making them a yardstick for their own policies. Gerhardt wants to challenge the Green Party in the field of the economy and ecology and take away their nimbus of arrogant moral superiority. And as far as civil liberties, that fundamental liberal theme, are concerned, it is a matter of the constitutional state protecting them more than threatening them. Vague hints, which all members of the FDP could accept. If a political image is to come out of that, then it must find expression in individuals. These questions of personnel are then questions of leadership.

36.3 Textual organization and evolution of news genres/ text-types

Since the invention of printed weekly newspapers in 1609, the basic pattern of textual organization did not change significantly until the nineteenth century. Small pieces of news were put together according to the provenance of the news and the date of the news with no distinction being made between editing desks (*Ressorts*); nor was any effort made to produce thematically separate articles. For instance, even after the *Oberhessische Zeitung*, Marburg, had begun to work on a *ressort* basis (e.g. 1868 *Politische Rundschau*), the news items within this editorial desk were still arranged exclusively according to the news regions (e.g. 'Oesterreich'), and there were no distinct articles with their own thematic headlines (see Fig. 36.1). By contrast, the twentieth-century newspaper prototype has been typically constructed around either individual desks such as *Politik*, *Wirtschaft*, *Sport*, etc. and/or distinct articles that are characterized by specific topical headlines. This has been supported, moreover, by a standard spectrum of news genres and of text/image units (see Fig. 36.2). In the 1990s, a new type of text organization spread quickly from the computer environment to weekly magazines (primarily *Focus*) and from there to the daily newspapers: a kind of *news cluster* built up of small text modules that deal with a self-contained subtopic of the cluster's general topic. For instance, the page in Fig. 36.3 from the 'Vorarlberger Nachrichten' in 1992 shows a text cluster on the subject of an accident. The text modules either deal with a specific subtopic of the event or give a specific perspective from which the event is seen (*Augenzeuge berichtet*). Apart from the idea of modules and clustering, another new feature is the combination of text, images and so-called *Infographiken*.

Oberhessische Presse

Oberhessische Zeitung · Marburger Presse · Hessische Landeszeitung · Hessischer Anzeiger

Nr. 152 / 91. Jahrg. Verlagssort: Marberg/L.

Sonnabend, 5. Juli 1958

Einzelverkaufspreis: 0,20 DM

Mammut-Etat verabschiedet Bundestag geht in Ferien

Der Bundeshaushalt liegt um 1,3 Milliarden höher als im Vorjahr

Bonn, 4. Juli (dpa). Der Bundestag verabschiedete am Freitag nach siebenstündigen Beratungen den Bundeshaushalt 1958/59 gegen die Stimmen der SPD und der FDP. Der Haushalt schließt in Einnahmen und Ausgaben mit einer Summe von rund 38,7 Milliarden Mark. Der Haushalt liegt um 1,3 Milliarden höher als der vom vergangenen Jahr und um rund 560 Millionen niedriger als von der Bundesregierung ursprünglich veranschlagt.

In ihrem Schlußwort faßten die Sprecher der Fraktionen noch einmal alle Gesichtspunkte zusammen, die sie in den bisherigen Beratungen für und gegen den Haushaltsplan vorgebracht hätten. Die Argumentation der SPD, die vom Abgeordneten Ritzel vorgelesen wurde, kreist besonders um ihre ablehnende Haltung zur Atombewaffnung. Der Beschluß zur atomaren Ausrüstung der Bundeswehr sei eine Herausforderung zum Wettstreit und vertiefe die Spaltung Deutschlands. Da Außenpo-

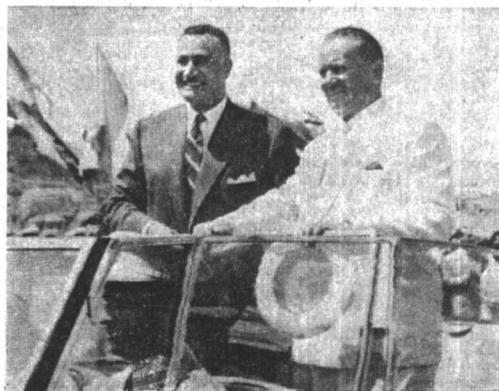
litik und Verteidigungspolitik eng zusammenhängen, müsse die SPD die entsprechenden Haushaltskomplexe grundsätzlich ablehnen. An der Innenpolitik bemängelte die SPD die nach ihrer Ansicht nicht ausreichende Förderung von Forschung, Wissenschaft und Technik. Auf wirtschaftlichem Gebiet bedauern die Sozialdemokraten, daß keine genügenden Maßnahmen gegen Preissteigerungen und keine aktive Preispolitik betrieben würden.

Die Wohnungspolitik der Bundesregierung lehnte die SPD ab, weil sie den sozialen Wohnungsbau benachteilige. Die Rüstungsaufwendungen drückten den Sozialetat zusammen, was sich auf Lastenausgleichsempfänger, Kriegsopter, Rentner, Arbeitslose und Flüchtlinge auswirkte. Für die FDP führte der Abgeord-

neter für die Verteidigung der freien Welt. Die Sozialausgaben enthielten eine großartige Steigerung gegenüber den vergangenen Haushalten, die Ausgaben für den Wohnungsbau seien höher als jemals zuvor.

Nächste Bundestagsitzung am 1. Oktober in Berlin

Nach der Verabschiedung des Bundeshaushaltes schickte der amtierende Präsident Dr. Becker die Abgeordneten in die Ferien. Zuvor dankte er ihnen für ihre geduldige Mitarbeit. Er empfahl zum Abschluß die Überlegung, künftig die Landtagswahlen auf einen gemeinsamen Tag zu legen. Die nächste Sitzung des Bundestages findet am 1. Oktober in Berlin statt.



Zu einem Staatsbesuch trat der Präsident der Vereinigten Arabischen Republik Gamal Abdel Nasser in Jugoslawien ein. Unser dpa-Bild zeigt die beiden Staatspräsidenten Nasser (links) und Marschall Tito in einem offenen Wagen bei der Fahrt durch die Straßen von Dubrovnik.

Feiersdichten im Ruhrbergbau

Essen, 4. Juli (dpa). 13 500 Bergleute der „Bochumer Bergbau AG“ und der „Steinkohlenbergwerk Friedrich der Große AG“ müssen am Samstag wegen der Absatzschwierigkeiten

Bonn begrüßt Chruschtschow-Vorschlag

Treffen der Regierungschefs muß gründlich vorbereitet werden

Bonn, 4. Juli (dpa). Die Bundesregierung begrüßt den Vorschlag des sowjetischen Ministerpräsidenten Chruschtschow, daß sich eine militärische

O'H NEILAN



Daß ma des scho wega in Verkehr net änders ka - jeds Jahr fällt d' ditsche Betrag d' an Nudeltag ...

Zitat des Tages

„ Das Geheimnis zu erhalten besteht darin, kein solches Geheimnis zu haben. “

Stolz: Poeschl

Leserservice

Nachdienst der **Apfoteken** /D4
Kino /D4
Veranstaltungen /D4
Kreuzwörter /C4

AUS DEM GENDARMRIEBERICHT



Ein Abgrund

Ein schwerer Mercedes Tadeln zwischen dem verunglückten Verkehrsteilnehmer und der dortigen Bevölkerung ist zu genau zu sein. Nach dem die drei Kinder im Alter von drei, sechs und 14 Jahren den gestiegenen Abstieg überlebt haben.

Pkw mit drei Kindern „abgeschossen“

Auffahrendes Fahrzeug drängte Vordermann in die Ill und stürzte ebenfalls in die Tiefe

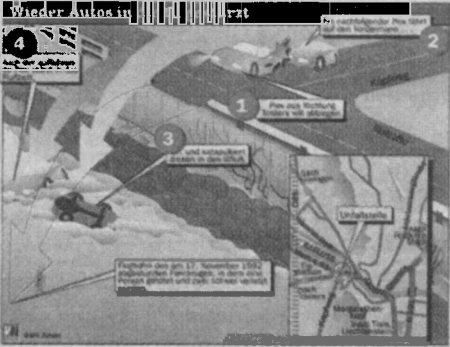
Feldbach (VN) Ein Pkw-Straßenverkehr, dessen drei Kinder schon wieder „abgelagert“ zwei Pkw des ehemaligen Gefährten der Verkehrsgesellschaft in Feldbach und stürzten in die Tiefe. Zu dem schweren Unglück führte ein Auffahrlauf.

Die Ermittlungen der Betriebs wegen des Totenstarbes eines Pkw Dienstag nacht sind noch nicht beendet, schon trotzdem wieder zwei Pkw an fast derselben Stelle durch den Bremsengelenker in die Ill.

Der 58-jährige Pkw-Fahrer mit drei Kindern, in dem sie drei Kinder im Alter zwischen drei und 14 Jahren mitnahm, auf dem Kapfenberg Richtung Bludenz. Als die Pkw die Fahrbahn im Kreuzungsbereich verließ, verlor er die Kontrolle über das Fahrzeug, weil die Bremsen nicht mehr funktionierten. Der Pkw fiel in die Ill und stürzte in die Tiefe.

Alptraum

Die Ermittlungen des „abgeschossenen“ Pkw-Fahrers schienen sich zu beruhigen, als der Angehörige vorstreckte, daß beide Fahrzeuge quer über die Fahrbahn fuhren, daß ein schwerer Bremsengelenker „abgelagert“ und direkt mehrere Meter auf die Fahrbahn der Ill stürzte. Der Pkw fuhr mit drei Kindern im Alter von drei bis 14 Jahren.



Augenzeuge berichtet

Ein schwerer Verkehrsunfall ereignete sich am 17. November 1992 in der Gegend von Feldbach. Ein Pkw mit drei Kindern im Alter von drei bis 14 Jahren stürzte in die Ill. Ein Augenzeuge berichtet über die Ereignisse.

Der Pkw-Fahrer wurde schwer verletzt. Die Kinder wurden schwer verletzt. Die Ermittlungen sind noch im Gange.

Beim „Absprung“ noch 75 km/h

Tödlicher „Sturzfahrt“ in die Ill: neue Erkenntnisse über Ursache

Der abgestürzte Pkw beim Aufprall auf fehlenden Untergrund.



Der Pkw-Fahrer wurde schwer verletzt. Die Ermittlungen sind noch im Gange.

Das Fahrzeug schlägt im Wasser auf.



Der Pkw-Fahrer wurde schwer verletzt. Die Ermittlungen sind noch im Gange.

Ettliche Zeugnisse

Die Ermittlungen sind noch im Gange. Die Zeugnisse sind wichtig für die Ermittlungen.

Beim „Absprung“ noch 75 km/h

Tödlicher „Sturzfahrt“ in die Ill: neue Erkenntnisse über Ursache

Der Pkw-Fahrer wurde schwer verletzt. Die Ermittlungen sind noch im Gange.

Das Fahrzeug schlägt im Wasser auf.



Der Pkw-Fahrer wurde schwer verletzt. Die Ermittlungen sind noch im Gange.

Gefährliche Todesfalle

Die Ermittlungen sind noch im Gange. Die Todesfalle sind gefährlich.

Beim „Absprung“ noch 75 km/h

Tödlicher „Sturzfahrt“ in die Ill: neue Erkenntnisse über Ursache

Der Pkw-Fahrer wurde schwer verletzt. Die Ermittlungen sind noch im Gange.

Das Fahrzeug schlägt im Wasser auf.



Der Pkw-Fahrer wurde schwer verletzt. Die Ermittlungen sind noch im Gange.

Figure 36.3 Vorarlberger Nachrichten, 1992

36.4 Vocabulary

36.4.1 *Topic range and creativity*

The vocabulary of newspapers is extremely rich, as its structure effectively mirrors the full range of reported topics and incorporates their specialized lexicon, e.g. politics (*Bundesparteitag B3*), crime (*Drogendealer A5*) sports (*Weltranglistendritter*), culture (*Erstaufführung*), etc. In most cases, reporters do not coin such words, but use the current vocabulary of the fields about which they are reporting. Therefore, newspapers (together with other media) should be seen not so much as sources of linguistic creativity and innovation, but rather as agencies of linguistic diffusion. In the twentieth century, for instance, they have been important transmitters of the vocabulary zones of many innovative topic areas such as *Umweltschutz*, *Waldsterben*, *Ausländerpolitik* (see Stötzel and Wengeler 1995). Nonetheless, some sections of the newspaper (e.g. advertising, *Feuilleton*), are linguistically very creative. In advertising, new words are needed (i) to characterize products in a snappy but very informative way (*Hochqualitäts-Jersey-Spannbettuch*); and (ii) to grab attention by springing linguistic surprises, e.g. *unkaputtbar* 'un-wrecked-able', which inserts an adjective in a position grammatically reserved for verbs. In the *Feuilleton*, new words are coined according to the communicative maxim of originality and creativity, e.g. *karajanusköpfig*, a blending of the proper name *Karajan* and the established adjective *janusköpfig*.

36.4.2 *The commentary: text-type and lexical profile*

The development of text-types explicitly devoted to expressing views of events, filling in their background and considering their possible consequences, etc. was a product of the nineteenth-century *Meinungspresse*. One of the first proponents of this new function was the Catholic journalist Joseph Görres, who wrote in 1814:

Da Teutschland endlich wieder eine Geschichte gewonnen, da es in ihm zu einem Volk gekommen, zu einem Willen, und zur öffentlichen Meynung wird es sich wohl auch also fügen, daß es Zeitungen erhält, die mehr sind als der magre geist- und kraftlose Index dessen was geschehen. Wenn ein Volk Theil nimmt am gemeinen Wohle; wenn es sich darüber zu verständigen sucht, was sich begiebt; wenn es durch Thaten und Aufopferungen sich werth gemacht, in den öffentlichen Angelegenheiten Stimme und Einfluß zu gewinnen; dann verlangt es nach solchen Blättern, die was in allen Gemüthern treibt und drängt zur öffentlichen Erörterung bringen; die es verstehen im Herzen der Nation zu lesen; die unerschrocken ihre Ansprüche zu vertheidigen wissen; und die dabey was die Menge dunkel und bewußtlos in sich fühlt, ihr selbst klar zu machen und deutlich ausgesprochen ihr wiederzugeben verstehen. Dahin ist es mit den Teutschen jetzt gekommen, das sollen die Zeitungen verstehen, sie sollen sich würdig machen, daß das Volk als seine Stimmführer sie achte und erkenne (...).

(Blühm and Engelsing 1967: 154)

By 1870, the genre had developed to such an extent that it was heavily criticized by a number of high-profile figures such as Wagner, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Karl Kraus. In his Beethoven essay, Wagner complained bitterly about the *Meinungen* (p. 99):

(...) mit der Erfindung der Zeitungen, seit dem vollen Aufblühen des Journalwesens, (...) herrschen nur noch Meinungen, und zwar 'öffentliche'; diese sind für Geld zu haben, wie die öffentlichen Dirnen: wer eine Zeitung sich hält, hat, neben der Makulatur, noch ihre Meinung sich angeschafft; er braucht nicht mehr zu denken, noch zu sinnem; schwarz auf weiß ist bereits für ihn gedacht, was von Gott und der Welt zu halten sei.

Wagner's concern indicates that a new form of newspaper communication had emerged and firmly established itself. The evolution of textual models and linguistic patterns in the commentary genre seaped down to the level of vocabulary. In passage B, for instance, expressions such as *Integrationsrhetorik* (B14), *Spruchweisheiten* (B23) or *vage Andeutungen* (B33) are used to produce a specific view of what Gerhardt has said. In addition, adjectives such as *wirklichkeitsfremd* (B26) or *vage* (B25, B33) are used to deliver explicit assessments and judgements on the utterance of others. Finally, *wohl* and *vielleicht* are functionally connected with the illocutionary profile of commentaries: they serve to mark an utterance as an expression of expectation or as a prediction of a future development. Likewise the verb *muß* (B21, B34) marks the utterance as a (political) request on the part of the commentator.

36.5 Syntactic structures

Reporting an event can be regarded as the basic building block of a newspaper. Prototypical sentences used to report a basic event and provide its relevant background and further circumstances in condensed form display a fair degree of syntactic complexity. The event is typically expressed by a finite verb form or complex verbal expression (*sagte, hat erlitten, schwebt in Lebensgefahr*) and continued by further information in the complement. For instance, in A6–8 the verbal nucleus is *hat erlitten*, which is supplemented by answers to questions such as who? what? when? – *ein Drogendealer, Hirnschäden, Nach einer . . . Brechmitteleinnahme*. In news reports it is typical for further aspects of the event structure to be expressed in attributes contained within the noun phrase. In our example, a complex attribute dependent on the nucleus of the noun phrase (*Brechmitteleinnahme*) is built up with a participle (*erzwungen*) which is further explained by an adverb (*gewaltsam*) and a prepositional phrase (*von der Polizei*). This principle of syntactic condensation has a long tradition in news reporting stretching back to the earliest printed newspapers in the seventeenth century (Fritz 1993), and there are clear examples of the enrichment of basic sentence structures to be found in the nineteenth century. For instance, the short report from the *Heidelberger Tagblatt* (1859) in A1–4 consists essentially of a single sentence: the basic event is reported in *Joseph Scheffel . . . hat uns . . . verlassen* and this basic structure is enriched by an attribute contained within the noun phrases (A1–2, apposition), and by adverbial phrases (A2–3, prepositional phrases).

News syntax is further characterized by functional text element patterns which, although primarily dictated by space limitations, serve important tasks of orientation. In certain domains these can be reduced to a small number of basic types:

headlines

- the noun phrase type, e.g. *Nachahme-Mittel gegen Aids*
- the reduced sentence type, e.g. *Pilot landet auf Autobahn*
- the phrasal type, e.g. *Auch mit Handicap zum Abitur*
- combined types, e.g. A5 (NP + reduced sentence)

indication of source

- adverbs, e.g. *Spaniens Thronfolger Felipe ist angeblich wieder solo* (A18)
- modals, e.g. *Beziehung . . . soll in Brüche gegangen sein* (A19)
- subordinate clauses, e.g. *wie es scheint* (A24)
- matrix sentences, e.g. . . . , *meinen Kritiker* (A35); . . . , *warnte Sabino Fernández Campo* (A42–44)
- prepositional phrases with *laut*, *zufolge* and *nach*, e.g. *nach bisher unbestätigten Meldungen*

referring to people

- proper names in conjunction with noun phrases, e.g. *der langjährige Chef des Königshauses und Vertraute von Juan Carlos, Sabino Fernández Campo* (A43–44); *die Sprecherin der Hamburger Justizbehörde, Simone Köfer* (A9)
- use of a series of different noun phrases in which new information is given about one and the same person, e.g. *ein mutmaßlicher Drogendealer, Der 19jährige aus Kamerun*
- attributes as part of noun phrases, e.g. *Eva, die auch schon in Dessous posiert hat, weder adlig noch katholisch ist und deren Eltern geschieden sind, sei als künftige Königin Spaniens nicht tragbar, meinen Kritiker* (A33–35)

Further reading

Good (1995); Biere and Henne (1993); Bucher (1986; 1991); Blum and Bucher (1998); Lüger (1995); Nail (1985); Püschel (1991).

37 *Jugendsprache*

Katz und Goldt and chatrooms

37.1 Context

There are three major assumptions about *Jugendsprache* (henceforth JS) that are incorrect. First: that it is a recent phenomenon. Between 1749 and 1888, there appeared 21 dictionaries devoted to the 'language' of students (studied in the nineteenth century by Kluge), a variety that was soon joined by that of the schools (*Pennälersprache*, nineteenth century) and of the Youth Movement (early twentieth century). Second: that it is a sign of a decline in educational standards amongst young people that threatens to weaken the moral and economic fibre of the nation. In 1984, the cover story of *Der Spiegel* captured a mood that had been growing since the mid 1970s: *Deutsch* [in Gothic script!]: *Ächz, Würg. Eine Industrienation verlernt ihre Sprache*. In this respect there is now a marked difference of opinion between researchers in the field who underline the temporary, creative aspects of JS and a public still very much concerned with its perceived detrimental effect upon the German language (Stickel 1999). Third: that there is actually such a thing as JS at all. It is significant that there is no direct equivalent of JS in English linguistic terminology, e.g. 'Youth Language', and that it is often marked simply as 'slang'. The basis upon which most recent research has proceeded, is summed up aptly by Gloy *et al.* (1985: 115):

- (1) Es gibt nicht *die* (eine) Jugendsprache
- (2) Es gibt nicht die *Jugendsprache* (im Gegensatz zur Erwachsenensprache)
- (3) Es gibt nicht die *Jugendsprache*, sondern das Sprechen von Jugendlichen

Accordingly, there has been a shift in research methodology in this area. It is no longer acceptable simply to use questionnaires to isolate particularly striking words (*geil*, A8) or grammatical agents (such as the adjectival/adverbial usage of *total*, *null* [A7] and the generalizing particle *so* B52) and label them JS – a method that is essentially 'einem lexikalischen Voyeurismus verhaftet' (Schlobinski *et al.* 1993: 38). This has been replaced by a broader approach based on the ethnological principle of observer participation that fully recognizes the status of JS as a vibrant *variety* or 'speech style' (*Sprechstil*) of German with a broad range of situation-dependent characteristics: 'a particular configuration of structural attributes and their communicative functions, which is based on shared sets of norms and values and therefore on shared expectations, but which may vary according

to situational and interactive factors such as intention, choice of topic, audience, and context' (Schlobinski 1995: 327).

The selection of passages below focuses on the importance of two distinct media and is intended both to follow and problematize the methodological approach just outlined. The Katz und Goldt cartoon (text A) exemplifies neither JS nor an appropriation of it. Rather, it is a parody of the latter, and as such should point up the problems researchers have when attempting to get hold of 'the genuine object'. It is interesting that the cartoon's underlying assumption, i.e. that advertisers try to appropriate and use youth language – sent up in the crass mix of registers (*A propos A3, schäbig möbliert A4 : vor den Latz geknallt A7*) – is fundamentally flawed. Whilst research clearly shows that family dynamics dictate that speaking to 'youth' is a priority in marketing strategies since most parents are heavily influenced in their consumer choices by the opinions of their children, there is a highly complex relation between JS and the media, with the JS more in the recipient role (Schlobinski *et al.* 1993: 33–6). Texts B and C (chatrooms from the web site of RTL's youth-dominated soap *GZSZ*) apparently take us into the observing participant role (in C one of the authors is present under the pseudonym *Ginola*). However, the fact that a 34-year-old man from England can log on with what was soon assumed to be a female name (it was in fact based on the French footballer David Ginola), underlines the need for caution when making claims about the authenticity of JS samples.

That caveat notwithstanding, passages B and C allow us to sample one aspect of the global cyberspace phenomenon. At current estimates there are over 200 million computers linked to the internet, providing a means of instantaneous knowledge retrieval and, through e-mail and chatrooms, communication on a world-wide scale. It is perhaps too soon to quantify fully the undoubted effects that this technological revolution is having on language, but we can certainly capture its socio-linguistic import. As the examples below show, chatrooms provide forums in which individuals can communicate with like-minded people beyond their geo-social confines (B: moderated room), or, releasing themselves from the everyday, step into new roles (C: unmoderated room). As well as producing new forms of expression (see 37.6), chatrooms are governed by *Netiquette*, a code of behaviour which is usually displayed on the site and policed to catch those breaking it (e.g. in C, Satan900 is ejected by the channel operator PitjePuck for remarks considered offensive).

37.2 Texts and translations

A. Katz und Goldt cartoon

See Figure 37.1 overleaf.

B. Moderated chat

STOEWI: Hallo Leute, ich begrüße euch zum heutigen Expertenchat. Da Anja kurzfristig nicht kann – ist Katja eingesprungen!

"Skurrile", weder sonderlich einleuchtende noch stillichere Banken-Jugendwerbung-Parodie

Hier ist Manni, euer Money-Mankötchen von der Bank. Die Leute von der Bank haben total Ahnung von Moos. Ihr könnt aber auch direkt von einer Bude aus mit Tele Online Data Transfer eure Kohle abchecken. A propos Bude: lüch doch mal ehrlisch. Findet ihr Eure Bude nicht etwan schabig möbl-licht? Fehlt da nicht ein antiker Bauwmschrank oder eine riesige Eichentrufe für Eure Postersammlung? Natürlich kostet eine solche Trufe einen Riesenhaufen Kohle. Aber die strecken die Leute von der Bank euch null problemo vor. Clecht da mal mit unserem Eighteen-palm-Berater. Ihr kriegt auch ein sooo süßes flippiges recht entzückendes Astenix-Spannschwein vom um vor den latte geknallt. Und dann nichts wie ab zum Insider-Shopping nach London oder Barcelona mit gutgelauntem Leuten aus die Ländern. Alle sammeln Manni's Euro-Banking-Poletten. Wenn ihr 1000 Stück habt, kriegt ihr 25% Ermäßigung bei Madame Tussaud's, dem Beatles Museum und drei weiteren Attraktionen in zwei verschiedenen Ländern. Aber erst die Frühe kaufen! Sonst kauft zwischen um nichts außer Radau, Rablatz und Rambazzambo.



Figure 37.1 Katz und Goldt cartoon: "Skurrile", weder sonderlich einleuchtende noch stillichere Banken-Jugendwerbung-Parodie

KATJAUNDISABEL: Hallo ihr Lieben!

BABYSWEETY: BEI RTL SIND DIE SERVER WEGEN ÜBERLASTUNG
NUN DOWN!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

5

KATJAUNDISABEL: Ja, gerade haben wir alle die furchtbaren Bilder aus New York gesehen. Das macht natürlich auch Angst.

ANNE240: Habt ihr Angst?

10

KATJAUNDISABEL: Uns machen solche Terroranschläge schon Angst. Aber es ist auch wichtig, jetzt ruhig zu bleiben und abzuwarten, was passiert. Mit Panik kann man jetzt nichts erreichen.

JAYY: Lasst mal den Chat hier fliegen und über die USA reden – das ist viel wichtiger!

KATJAUNDISABEL: Ja, ich finde das ist jetzt ein ganz wichtiges Thema!

15

IDGIE: Über die Terroristen bin ich wütend, um die Opfer trauere ich und um die Zukunft hab ich Angst.

JASCHI: Und wie!! Meine halbe Family lebt da!!

ALFABOY: Kann der 'Krieg' hier rüber ziehen?

JASCHI: Die Telefonverbindungen in den USA sind tot ...

20

KATJAUNDISABEL: So ein Terroranschlag löst sehr viel Wut und Trauer aus!

REDHUNTER: Wieso habt ihr alle Angst? Das waren doch Terrorristen, also kann da doch kein 3. Weltkrieg kommen.

KATJAUNDISABEL: Was wir bisher wissen, natürlich aus den Nachrichten, war es ein Terroranschlag. Es ist aber noch nicht geklärt, wer ihn verübt hat (es ist also keine Kriegserklärung eines Staates an die USA).

25

DANIELGU: Auch der 1. Weltkrieg wurde durch einen eher kleinen Vorfall ausgelöst!

KATJAUNDISABEL: Das stimmt. Aber man sollte jetzt nicht daraus schließen, dass nun ein neuer Weltkrieg droht. Das kann man jetzt überhaupt nicht sagen. Die Geschichte wiederholt sich ja nicht. ...

30

PRIMAX3: Komm macht euch nicht verrückt. Wir Deutsche haben damit ja nichts zu tun.

KATJAUNDISABEL: So einfach ist das nicht. Viele haben ja, wie Jaschi gerade geschrieben hat, Familie und Freunde drüben. Für diejenigen ist es natürlich jetzt besonders schlimm.

35

KATJAUNDISABEL: Gerade sind die Leitungen nach den USA besetzt. Für diejenigen, die sich sorgen, ist das ein furchtbares Warten. Diejenigen könnten jetzt versuchen, sich mit anderen Verwandten in Deutschland zu unterhalten. Es ist immer wichtig, solche extremen Momente zu teilen.

40

JASCHI: Ich hab keine Ahnung, wie es meinem Vater und meinem kleinen Bruder geht ...

KATJAUNDISABEL: Halten sie sich in Manhattan auf?

ULLE15: Mein bester Freund, der Maxwell, wohnt in New York *heul*.

ANNE240: Meine große Schwester und ihr Freund leben da.

45

JASCHI: Nein, zum Glück nicht direkt, aber mein Bruder ist seit ein paar Stunden spurlos verschwunden – soviel ich weiß.

KATJAUNDISABEL: Dort drüben herrscht ja im Moment das totale Chaos. Da kann es leicht sein, dass man eine Person nicht mehr erreicht. Das muss jetzt nicht das Schlimmste heißen – aber die Ungewissheit ist

50 natürlich schlimm. Es ist ja auch nicht ganz Manhattan von der Tragödie betroffen, sondern 'nur' die Südspitze.

EC: Ich hoffe, dass dein Bruder nur bei 'nem Freund oder so ist @ Jaschi.

DANIELGU: Wie ist die Situation rund um Berlin?

KATJAÜNDISABEL: In Berlin wurden schon routinemäßige
55 Sicherheitsvorkehrungen getroffen. Wir hoffen natürlich sehr, dass hier nichts passiert!!!!

TIERRA: Was ist denn eigentlich das Pentagon?

KATJAÜNDISABEL: Das Pentagon ist das amerikanische Verteidigungs-
60 ministerium. Es wurde auch von einem abstürzenden Flugzeug getroffen, aber nicht vollständig zerstört. Außerdem haben die Amerikaner natürlich auch für derartige Anschläge, Sicherheitsvorkehrungen getroffen!

MIKE14: Lasst uns mal ne Schweigeminute für die Toten im Pentagon und im World Trade Center machen!!!

KATJAÜNDISABEL: Ja, gute Idee, wir machen mit!

65 FUNKMAUS2: *schweig und nachdenk*

KAETZCHEN15: *schweig*

DEBORRAH: *kopf senk und losschweig*

JASCHI: *schweig und wein*

JAN214: *an die opfer denk und weinen muss*

C. Un-moderated chat

Willkommen im GZSZ Community Chat. Keine Freunde anwesend.

12:01 *Ginola betritt den Raum*

(SweetHasiJule) ich will chaten

(biby) so ich muss meine sister kommt bye

5 Tiger76 meldet sich zurück (grume ans tele gehen se nicht ran aber e-mail schreiben schon *grübel*)

(biby) ree tiger

(BattleBunny) ich will roberto

(cowstar) oh ja gerne! hab dich grad überall gesucht! ich schwör!!

10 (BattleBunny) *öl*

(Tiger76) rele

12:01 *Smilly5 kommt aus dem Raum AmSet herein*

12:01 *Mausi14 betritt den Raum*

(SweetHasiJule) ich auch

15 12:01 *Liby betritt den Raum*

(biby) winkö

(Goettchen) lad mci ein

(Nikan) man mich kennen schon zu viele real hier

12:01 *biby verläßt den Chat*

20 (Nikan) ggg

(Smilly5) hi ihr

(Goettchen) mich

(stolzerose) @bunny blanko oder was?

- (cowstar) ok!
- 25 Satan9000:satan stirbt nicht weil er ist luzifer und das ist ein göttlicher schein zum bösen
> Maus14 fragt wer chatten möchte? bitte anflüstern oder einladen oder 3333 drücken
(Smilly5) Möchte ein boy chatten?bitte privat melden
- 30 12:02 PitjePuck wirft Satan9000 aus dem Chat!
12:02 Satan9000 verläßt den Chat
(BattleBunny) ich mach dir nen diel heut ich morgen du über morgen ich überübermorgen du
(DarkGeena) jaaaa micha
- 35 (Skyhawk) supaaaaaaaaaaaaa
(Skyhawk) *klatsch*
Liby: hi wer will chatten?? Bitte anflüßtern oder 7777 drücken
(DarkGeena) lol
killababe13 meldet sich kurz ab (telefon!)
- 40 (PitjePuck) meinste mich Sky?
(Schneckchen45) Tiger76 bock zum chatten
(SweetHasijule) du ferkelchen
(Skyhawk) jo
(Tiger76) Bock schon hab aber auf arbeit zu tun

A. *Katz und Goldt cartoon*

Parody of 'droll', neither particularly enlightening nor stylistically convincing advertising by banks aimed at young people.

Here's Manni, your little money mascot from the bank. The people at the bank are totally clued up about dosh. But you can also keep a check on your moollah directly from your digs with Tele Online Data Transfer. And speaking of digs: let's be honest – don't you find your digs a bit tatty? Aren't they lacking an antique rustic cabinet or a massive oak chest for your poster collection? Of course, such a chest costs a whole heap of dosh. But those people from the bank will whack it over to you, nul problemo. Check it out with your Eighteen-plus Advisors. We'll also throw in for you a (cool) (mega) (crazy) perfectly charming Asterix piggybank. And then get down to London or Barcelona for some insider-shopping with cheerful people from 22 countries. Everyone's collecting Manni's Euro Banking tokens. Once you've got 1,000 of them, you get a 20 per cent reduction at Madame Tussaud's, the Beatles Museum and three further attractions in two different countries. But first you've got to buy the chest! Or else between you and us there'll be nothing but a row, a rave and a rambazamba!

B. *Moderated chat*

Stoewi: Hello guys, welcome to today's expert chat forum. As Anja had to pull out at short notice, Katja's stepped in!

Katja-and-Isabel: Hi everyone!

BabySweetie: The servers at RTL are down at the moment through over-demand!!!!!!!

Katja-and-Isabel: Yes, we've all just seen the terrible pictures from New York. It's scary of course.

Anne240: Are you scared?

Katja-and-Isabel: Terrorist attacks like that do scare us. But it's also important to stay calm now and see what happens. Nothing can be achieved by panic at the moment.

Jayy: Let's forget this chat and talk about the USA – that's much more important!

Katja-and-Isabel: Yes, I think it's a very important topic at the moment!

Idgie: I'm livid about the terrorists, I mourn the victims and I'm frightened about the future.

Jaschi: Tell me about it! Half my family lives over there.

Alfaboy: Can the 'war' come over here?

Jaschi: The phone lines in the USA are dead . . .

Katja-and-Isabel: A terrorist attack like this causes a lot of anger and grief!

RedHunter: Why are you all scared? It was terrorists after all, so there can't be a third World War.

Katja-and-Isabel: So far, from the news of course, we know it was a terrorist attack. It hasn't been made clear yet who did it (so it's not a declaration of war on the USA by a state).

DanielGu: The First World War was also started by a rather small occurrence!

Katja-and-Isabel: That's true. But you shouldn't come to the conclusion now that we're under threat of a new world war. You just can't say that now. History doesn't repeat itself does it . . .

Primax3: Come on, don't worry too much. We Germans have nothing to do with it.

Katja-and-Isabel: It isn't as simple as that. Many people have got family and friends over there of course, as Jaschi has just written. For those people it's especially bad of course.

Katja-and-Isabel: The lines to the USA are engaged right now. For those who are worried it's a terrible wait. They could try to talk to other relatives in Germany now. It's always important to share such extreme moments.

Jaschi: I've no idea how my father and my little brother are . . .

Katja-and-Isabel: Are they in Manhattan?

Ulle: My best friend, Maxwell, lives in New York -sob-.

Anne 240: My big sister and her boyfriend live there.

Jaschi: No, fortunately not directly, but my brother has disappeared without trace a few hours ago – as far as I know.

Katja-and-Isabel: At the minute there's total chaos over there of course. So it's easy not to be able to get hold of someone. That does not have to imply that the worst has happened – but uncertainty is of course bad. Of course, the whole of Manhattan isn't affected by the tragedy, but 'just' the southern tip.

ec: I hope your brother is just at a friend's or something @ Jaschi.

DanielGu: How's the situation around Berlin?

Katja-and-Isabel: Routine security measures have already been taken in Berlin. Of course we really hope that nothing happens here!!!

Tierra: What actually is the Pentagon?

Katja-and-Isabel: The Pentagon is the American Ministry of Defence. It was also hit by a crashing plane, but wasn't totally destroyed. Apart from that the Americans have taken security measures for such attacks too, of course.

mike14: Let's have a minute's silence for the dead in the Pentagon and the World Trade Center!!!

Katja-and-Isabel: Yes, good idea, we'll join you.

Funkmaus2: – is silent and thinking it over –

Kaetzchen: – is silent –

Deborrah: – bows head and is silent –

Jaschi: – is silent and cries –

Jan214: – thinks of the victims and has to cry –

C. *Un-moderated chat*

Welcome to GZSZ Community Chat. No friends present

12:01 *Ginola enters the room*

(SweetHasJule) I want to chat

(biby) got to go, my sister's coming bye

Tiger76 reporting back (rumble: they won't go to the phone, but they'll write mails *ponder*)

(biby) welcome back tiger¹

(BattleBunny) I want roberto

(cowstar) oh yes please. I've just been looking for you everywhere. I swear!!

(BattleBunny) *lots of laughs*

(Tiger76) really

12:01 *Smilly5 comes in from room AmSet*

12:01 *Mausi14 enters the room*

(SweetHasJule) me too

12:01 *Liby enters the room*

(biby) wave

(Goettchen) invite em

(biby) wave

(Nikan) damn, too many people know me here for real

12:01 *biby leaves the chat*

(Nikan) big grin

(Smilly5) hi guys

(Goettchen) m-e

(stolzerose) to bunny blanko: or what?

(cowstar) ok!

Satan9000: satan does not die because he is lucifer and that lets evil appear divine

> Maus14 is asking who would like to chat? please whisper to me or press 3333

1 Confusing: *re* ('regarding') is being used for welcome back. A private code?

(Smilly5) Would a boy like to chat? Get in touch privately.

12:02 PitjePuck throws Satan9000 out of the chat!

12:02 Satan9000 leaves the chat

(BattleBunny) I'll make you a deal: today me, tomorrow you, day after tomorrow me, day after the day after tomorrow you

(DarkGeena) yeeaaaahhh

(Skyhawk) supaaaaaaa

(Skyhawk) *applaud*

Liby: hi, who wants to chat?? Please whisper to me or press 7777

(DarkGeena) lots of laughs

killababe13 going off for a second (telephone!)

(PitjePuck) do you mean me, Sky?

(Schneckchen45) Tiger76 feel like chatting?

(SweetHasiJule) you little piglet [= goer]

(Skyhawk) yea

(Tiger76) Would love to but gotta go 'cos work to do

37.3 Temporality and register transfer

Neuland (2000: 111) characterizes JS as 'eine Phase der sprachlichen Sozialisation' that mainly fades away when the individual enters new social and biological phases (career, starting a family). This analysis certainly chimes with the conclusions of a 'participating observer' of students' language in the early nineteenth century:

Man muß selbst Student sein, um Wohlgefallen daran zu finden. Sobald man der Burschenwelt entrückt ist, fallen nach und nach die fremdartigen Wörter weg, so wie sich allmählig die Studenten-Manieren abschleifen.

(Daniel Ludwig Wallis, student 1813, cited in Henne/Objartel 1984, III: 55f.)

But this does not mean that JS remains a static entity into which youths enter to depart wholly unaffected several years later. Rather, youths take some elements with them (especially since many people in their 30s and 40s today no longer feel that they have entered a distinct 'adulthood' in the way they might have in the past), and this, along with natural decay or dispersion through other mechanisms (e.g. the media), means that words that originated in JS can either become part of the language in general (e.g. standard German terms such as *Kneipe*, *Spießler*, *Pech*, *Backfisch*, *duzen* emerged from students' language) or marked as stylistically dated or specific to certain groups. Neuland (2000: 118f.) refers to such phenomena as *Stilauflösung* and *Stilverbreitung*. There are examples of each in passage A (although the allotment to each category is often unavoidably subjective). *Stilverbreitung* (i.e. dissipation of JS usage that would no longer count as JS): *Moos* (A2), *flippig* (A8), *Radau* (A14), *Rabbatz* (A14), *Rambazamba* (A14) (the first now has the flavour of a dubbed gangster B-movie, whilst the others are primarily used ironically to capture the innocence of the party-scene of a lost era), *Kohle* (A3, used occasionally as general slang, but self-consciously slightly 'out'), *Bude* (A2, used by some people unironically as slang, could even belong to the next

category). *Stilauflösung* (the transfer of JS to another register): *cool* (A8, now firmly established as slang, popular in advertising), *geil* (A8, the original sexual meaning has been transformed to the more ubiquitous slang usage 'great'). In fact, the internet version of the Duden dictionary of *Szenesprachen* marks how – almost in the manner of a drag-chain – a new term has had to be invented to fill the gap left by *geil*:

horny

[engl. für: geil] Reichte früher das Wort 'geil', um ein menschliches Bedürfnis auszudrücken, hat sich der Begriff in die Umgangssprache verabschiedet, wo er die Bedeutung von 'klasse' oder 'gut' steigert. Wer horny ist, ist 'geil', 'spitz' oder 'scharf' – vor allem auf einen Sexualpartner.

37.4 Chatrooms: identity, establishing contact, dialogue structures

Individuals enter chatrooms via a pseudonym under which they register along with their (non-verifiable!) personal details and (non-disclosable) e-mail address with the main site (in this instance RTL). Not surprisingly the pseudonyms tend to derive from a limited array, seen here in the numerous variations on name/nickname (e.g. Anna240, DanielGu, Babysweetie), cinema (e.g. RedHunter, Primax3), and animals (e.g. Munkmaus, SweetHasiJule, BattleBunny). It is interesting that the obvious popularity of this latter category corresponds to the tradition amongst students of the eighteenth century and nineteenth century to generate nicknames from the animal kingdom (e.g. *Frosch* = Gymnasium pupil; *Brandfuchs* = student in the 2nd semester; see Henne 1986: 101f.) The attraction for many users is precisely this anonymity and the opportunity it brings either simply to release them from the everyday (note Nikan's frustration when he thinks that other chatters know him outside the chatroom: *man mich kennen schon zu viele real hier* C18 – is he the Roberto sought by BattleBunny C8?) or actively to explore a new identity. As Bolter (1997: 51) observes, 'die Gemeinschaften im Internet konstituieren sich durch eine wandelnde Multiplizität des individuellen Selbst'. At the simplest level this means that one pseudonym can be an amalgam of a range of individuals (e.g. KatjaUndIsabel, the moderating voice in B), whilst it is possible for the technically adept to enter a chatroom as two simultaneous participants. An individual can enter different chatrooms playing a role that accentuates a particular aspect of his/her character, or indeed an alien one. This is the case in gender-switching, a phenomenon that recent research has shown to be an immensely popular cyberspace role. In C, for instance, it is impossible to tell whether the configuration behind the teasing between Schneckchen45 and Sweet-HasiJule (C41–44) – an interesting means of indirect individual flirting with Tiger76 – is actually 2 females : 1 male. Is Smilly 5 – *Möchte ein boy chatten? bitte privat anmelden* (C29) – a girl, a boy, or a predatory older male trawling through virtual reality for a pick-up? There is certainly widespread cyber-phobia about the latter possibility. In this same session, the author (whose pseudonym Ginola was assumed to be a girl) played the female role for a time, only to be

denounced by a Tiger44 (who had probably checked the profile charts) as a *perver-sling*: 'der will nur cs [Computersex] haben weist du'.

The pace of most chatrooms is fast and furious. Much of the text produced involves the establishment of contact, ranging from a simple *ich will chatten* (C3), *bock zum chatten* (C41), to a more nonchalant verbalization of gesture, *winkö* (C16). Initial contact can be assisted via the 'friends facility' (whereby the computer announces if any of one's registered 'friends' is present – this being Ginola's first chat, he has none!), or is made more specific by those flitting from one room to the next (e.g. C12; the GZSZ has several linked rooms to match the set of the soap opera) simply asking for a particular person, e.g. BattleBunny's search for Roberto (C8) (answered amusingly by Stolzerose who refers to the popstar Roberto Blanco, C23). There are also means of establishing private or more restricted communication: *anflüstern* (C27, 37) is a means of setting up a pm (private message) from person to person that does not show in the public channel; *einladen* (C17) is a feature whereby an individual can open a room and invite others to join in at the private location.² It appears that Cowstar is being contacted privately and possibly invited to another location (later (s)he seems frustrated: *geht nicht! Stehst nicht drin!*). On many sites this behaviour, known as 'trolling', is discouraged because it drags people away from the general chat; on this site, however, one suspects that private lines of communication are established for more overt flirtation. Equally, individuals can establish contact by simply 'butting in' to other conversations, which is what Skyhawk seems to be trying to do in C35–6.

The simultaneity of turn-taking and multi-directionality of utterance in chatrooms, where there are few formal mechanisms to signal particular addressees (e.g. @Jaschi B52, @bunny C23), serve to complicate normal dialogue structures. This is the case even in the moderated chat, which follows several different patterns of interaction. For instance: as the moderators (B23) have been formulating their response to B18, three utterances (B14–22) are made, two of which are new statements; B26 immediately picks up on a different aspect of B18, to which the moderators (B28) immediately respond; this then forms the topic of discussion down to B33 where it is further redirected by B36 picking up B19 again; this topic is maintained (with minor interjections) until B53, whenceforth the topics become more disjointed. The un-moderated chat, where the aim is to find new people with whom to communicate, is naturally more complex: an indication of this is the fact that the channel operator PitjePuck (C40) has to ask Skyhawk if his preceding remarks (C35, 36) are directed at him (i.e. as a sign of support for the eviction of Satan9000), rather than (one assumes) as an insult to DarkGeena, whose *jaaaa micha* (C34) his *supaaaaaaaaa* (C35) could be mimicking, and for which he himself might be ejected.

37.5 Orality in the medium of writing

As is the case with email, the immediacy of contact engendered by the internet has led to a mix of registers within the written medium. A comparison of the

2 3333 (l.27) and 7777 (l.37) are GZSZ-variants on these mechanisms.

moderated chat (where there is little evidence of deviation from the standard language) with the un-moderated variety shows the extent to which the registers of JS and the internet are context-dependent. Moreover, passage B contains internal differences in register: e.g. the channel operator (B1) adapts a looser 'oral' style – *Da Anja kurzfristig nicht kann – ist Katja eingesprungen* (underpinned by the dash for a comma), whilst the moderators fluctuate between an oral style (*Dort drüben herrscht ja im Moment das totale Chaos*, B47) and a higher register that would not be out of place on a news bulletin (*In Berlin wurden schon routinemäßige Sicherheitsvorkehrungen getroffen*, B54–5). For their part, the linguistically reserved young chatters display further elements of orality: the ungrammatical coupling of *Lasst mal den Chat hier fliegen und über die USA reden* (B12, where *lasst uns* is required in the second verb clause), the particles *komm* and *ja* (B31), the reductions *hab* (B40), *'nem, ne* (with and without apostrophe, B52, 62). Such features are more accentuated in the un-moderated chat: e.g. the unpunctuated flow of C4, ellipsis of subject pronoun (C9), Satan9000's verb in second position after *weil* (C25), elision of noun and subject in the question for (*meinste*, C40). Some traits are more pronounced, e.g. Tiger76's turn of phrase (*ans tele gehen se nicht ran aber e-mail schreiben schon* C5–6; *Bock schon hab aber auf arbeit zu tun* C44) exemplifies the trend in JS to mimic the way first-generation Turks are perceived to speak German (e.g. **ich fahre Frankfurt*).³ In general, spelling and punctuation are of little relevance (hence Goettchen's self-correction of *mci* (C17) to *mich* (C22) has a humorous effect).

Non-verbal aspects of communication can be incorporated into this written medium.⁴ Capitals are used to mark excitement/panic (B3), and there are a wide range of acronyms (many derived from English), which are usually marked off between two *: e.g. *lol* (C38; lots of laughs), *winkö* (C16, here 'germanified' via the umlaut, like BattleBunny's *löl*, C10), *g* (*grinsen*, intensified by repetition *ggg*, C20). Some of these are actually derived from the written medium: *re* (E 'regarding') is often compounded with *hi* to form *rehi*, meaning 'hallo ich bin wieder da'; this seems to be lightly handled by biby and Tiger76 (C7, 11), when Tiger76's reply might even be a flirtatious play on E *really*? The symbiosis of written and oral media is typified best in the feature known variously as 'sound words', *Wurzelwörter*, *Pängsprache* and *Onpos* (abbreviation of *Onomatopöien*): e.g. *heul* (B43), *grume* (C5), *grübel* (C6) (generally the most common are *ächz* and *würg*). This phenomenon was introduced into German in the 1950s by translators of *Mickey Mouse* (hence also the term 'Disney style') and *Mad* comics, who had to find a way of expressing the sounds made by the characters. Whilst Henne (1986: 104–14) attempts to differentiate between *Innenonpos* (which describe an emotional state) and *Außenonpos* (which imitate a noise), *heul* and *grume* from our texts display how unrealistic it often is to make this distinction. The use of root words (B65–9) to create a minute's silence (note the important role of the asterisk here) shows how a feature originally invented to mimic oral communication in writing has taken on a highly complex self-reflexive form in this electronic medium (e.g. B67

3 Other possible explanations: omissions due to fast typing; some dialects have *auf Arbeit* like *auf Urlaub*.

4 NB neither B nor C give an example of the popular and ever expanding varieties of the basic ideogram known as the smiley :-)

losschweig), with a huge potential (this particular circumstance notwithstanding) for irony.

37.6 The future of the German language?

The key feature of JS established in the above analysis is not its contamination of the German language, but its regeneration of it through creative playfulness and self-reflection. It is telling, for instance, that whilst language regulators have become entangled in tedious debates about the ‘Eindeutschung von Fremdwörtern’ (see Rivers and Young 2001), the main target of such linguistic legislation (the young generation, particularly those at school) views such features as a space for linguistic play (e.g. *löl* for E/G *lol*, *diel* for E/G *deal*). Whilst some neologisms will enter the mainstream of the language via *Stilauslöschung* (see 37.3), perhaps the main linguistic consequence of today’s explosion of technologically facilitated forums for young people to explore communication will be a cohort of users that will bring a greater deal of creativity and flexibility to the German language. The final two examples, taken from the internet version of the *Duden Szenesprachen* are intended, against the backdrop of current purist vitriol, precisely to show a creativity both with foreign and native elements (a technique often referred to by the Levi-Strauss-school anthropological term as *bricolage*). What better way to end a history of a language whose first written manifestation is to be found in a glossary (*Abrogans*, Latin-German, eighth century)?

Skillkill

[zu engl. *skill* = Geschicklichkeit, Fertigkeit und engl. *to kill* = töten] Ein Skillkill ist ein Job, bei dem man nicht das macht, was man am besten kann oder am liebsten tun möchte. Ein Job, der einen Menschen vollkommen unterfordert und aus einem anfangs motivierten Arbeitnehmer ein frustriertes Häufchen Elend macht. Oftmals sind Skillkills identisch mit Mac-Jobs (‘Mac’ von ‘Mac Donald’s’) – Beschäftigungsverhältnisse unter ausbeuterischen Konditionen wie z.B. schlechte Bezahlung, miserable Arbeitsbedingungen, menschenunwürdige Tätigkeiten.

(<http://www.szenesprachen.de>)

Warmduscher

Cooler Typen und echte Kerle duschen eiskalt, pinkeln im Stehen und parken in der prallen Sonne. Alle anderen sind Warmduscher und Abschiedswinker, Abstandhalter, Airbagfahrer, Alarmanlagenbesitzer, Aspirineinwerfer, Badekappenträger, Balkonsonnenbader, Beipackzettelleser, Bettsockenträger, Bildschirmreiniger, Biotonnenbesitzer, Blümchenpflücker, Briefmarkenbefeuchter, Brustschwimmer, Chiliverachter, Chlorbrillenbenutzer, Dackeltrainer, Datensicherer, Dosenerder, Eincremer, Einfahrtfreihalter, Ein-Meter-Brett-Springer, Ersatzweckerbenutzer,

Familienzusammenhaltheuchler, Fernbediener, Fertigerichteверächter, Festnetztelefonierer, Flaschenöffnerbenutzer, Flusensiebreiniger, Foliengriller, Frauennamenannehmer, Frühbucher, Geländerklammerer, Glastrinker, Gurtanleger, Handbuchleser, Händchengeber, Handschuhschneeballer, Handtuchunterleger, Haustürabschließer, Hintenansteller, Immer-ans-Telefon-Geher, Im-Wald-nicht-Raucher, In-Fahrtrichtung-Fahrer, Jeinsager, Karussellfahrer, Kassenbonankucker, Klobrillenhochklapper, Kühlschrankschraubauer, Laternenparker, Lichtanmacher, Lichtausschalter, Liftfahrer, Luftpumpenmitnehmer, Marmeladenbrötchenfrühstückler, Möhrenputzer, Mülltrenner, Nachbargeber, Nachtstromer, Nasenhaarschneider, Nasse-Badehose-Wechsler, Netiquettenleser [!], Nicht-Rülpser, Olivenlutscher, Oma-über-die-Straße-Helfer, Passwortschreiber, Pizzarandliegenlasser, Radwegbenutzer, Regenschirmhalter, Reiseversicherungsabschließer, Rolltreppenfahrer, Rücksichtnehmer, Sauna-unten-Sitzer, Schattenparker, Schönwetterfußballer, Schreibschutzbenutzer, Schweißabwischer, Seitenaufprallschützer, Servolenker, Sitzpinkler, Sonnenmilchbenutzer, Sparbuchbesitzer, Stilles-Wasser-Trinker, Streichelzoobesucher, Strohsternbastler, Tankanzeigenbeobachter, Tankuhrleser, Teepuster, Toastabkratzer, Topflappenbenutzer, Unkrautzupfer, Unordnungsentschuldigter, Verfallsdatumleser, Wäschevorwärmer, Warndreieckaufsteller, Wattebällchenwerfer, Zahnarztgespritzbetzler, Zebrastreifenüberquerer, Zwei-Finger-Tipper oder Zweimalspüler.

(<http://www.szenesprachen.de>)

Further reading

<http://www.szenesprachen.de> (Duden site)

<http://whg.work.de/pu/internet2/chat.htm>

Androustopoulos (1998); Eichhoff-Cyrus (2000); Henne (1986); Krämer (1996); Neuland (2000); Runkel, Schlobinski and Siever (1998); Schlobinski (2000); Schlobinski, Kohl and Ludewigt (1993).

Glossary

This glossary contains technical terms that may be unfamiliar to the reader. Terms in **bold** within an entry are either important subsidiary terms or are defined elsewhere in the glossary. For a more detailed treatment, see Crystal (1997).

- ablaut** a set of IE vowel alternations in etymologically related words (e.g. *sing*, *sang*, *sung*).
- accent** see **stress**.
- analogy** a process of regularization whereby a form or pattern is aligned with another form or pattern of the language.
- analytic** use of **periphrastic** rather than inflected forms (opposite of **synthetic**).
- anaphoric** referring back to an element in the preceding discourse.
- anaptyctic** denoting a type of **epenthesis** where an extra vowel has been inserted between two consonants.
- apocope** deletion of a word-final sound.
- aspect** a time-related category distinct from tense, encoding a view of an action with respect to its temporal contour.
- aspiration** a period of voicelessness after the release of an articulation, before the voicing starts for the following vowel.
- assimilation** the process whereby a sound takes on some or all of the qualities of a sound preceding or following it.
- assonance** a rhyme based on the correspondence of vowels alone.
- Auslautverhärtung** devoicing of final voiced stops which became evident in MHG orthography (e.g. *landes* – *lant*).
- athematic** see **thematic**.
- breathy voice** a form of phonation in which the vocal folds vibrate for only part of their length, with a chink open at the posterior part through which voiceless non-vibrating air passes simultaneously, giving a ‘breathy’ or ‘sighing’ effect.
- calque** see **loan-translation**.
- causative** expressing the notion of causation (also known as **factitive**).
- cluster** any sequence of segments normally forming (part of) a major syllable constituent.
- code-switching** the switch within the same discourse between two languages (in bilingual speakers), standard and regional forms, or other registers.
- diglossia** two different varieties used throughout a speech community, each with a different set of uses.

diphthong a sequence of two vowels in one syllable.

diphthongization a process whereby a **monophthong** becomes a **diphthong**.

dissimilation the process whereby a sound occurring in close proximity to a similar sound may change to achieve better differentiation.

dual a number category expressing the notion 'two and only two'.

durative an **aspect** coding the notion of continuous action (virtually the same as **progressive**).

epenthesis a type of intrusion where an extra sound has been inserted in a word.

factitive see **causative**.

fortis a sound articulated with a relatively strong degree of muscular effort and breath force (contrast **lenis**).

geminate a double or long segment analysed as a sequence of two identical short ones. The process of lengthening (normally of consonants) under this interpretation is **gemination**.

glide consonant a weak transitional consonant produced as the speaker moves from one sound to another.

gloss a translation or explanation of a term written between lines or in the margins.

grade the vowel that a form has as a result of **ablaut**.

hypercorrect denoting an inappropriate use of form which exhibits a feature recognized as being higher in prestige than the speaker's own usage.

hypocoristic denoting the use of a pet name.

hypotaxis see **parataxis**.

imperfective/perfective aspectual terms which refer to the internal temporal structure of a situation, i.e. respectively to actions which are incomplete and completed.

inchoative an **aspect** expressing the notion of entering into or beginning an action.

instrumental a case of expression encoding the notion 'means by which something is done'.

isogloss a line on a map which separates an area where a change has taken place from another where it has not.

lenis a sound articulated with a relatively weak degree of muscular effort and breath force (contrast **fortis**).

lenition the process whereby a **fortis** becomes a **lenis**.

loan formation a word in one language which is composed of elements of native origin, but which has been influenced by a word in another language.

loan meaning semantic transfer in which a meaning is taken over from a word in one language to a word in another language (also known as **semantic loan**).

loan translation semantic transfer in which each morpheme is translated from one language to the other (also known as **calque**).

metathesis alteration of the normal sequence, usually of sounds.

metalinguistic the form of language used to discuss or describe language itself.

monophthong a steady-state (long or short) vowel.

monophthongization a process whereby a **diphthong** becomes a **monophthong**.

oblique denoting all non-nominative cases.

palatalization the process whereby the articulation of a sound shifts to the palate.

parataxis/hypotaxis **paratactic** constructions are simply juxtaposed or linked through intonation or punctuation; by contrast, **hypotactic** structures are joined by means of subordinating conjunctions.

perfective see **imperfective**.

periphrastic denoting the use of separate words rather than inflections to express a grammatical relationship.

preterite a simple past tense.

preterite present a type of Germanic verb whose present system is historically and formally a strong verb (e.g. *können* – *kann*).

progressive an **aspect** that encodes ongoing action.

prothetic denoting a type of **epenthesis** where an extra sound has been inserted initially in a word.

reduplication an inflectional or derivational device in which a syllable or part of a syllable is copied.

root a minimal string of segments carrying a particular sense.

sociolect a socially defined variety of speech.

stem a **root** plus a stem-formative or **thematic** element (in the older IE languages).

stress the degree of force used in producing a syllable, usually due to an increase in loudness, but also possibly associated with greater length and higher pitch (also known as **accent**).

suppletion the grammar's use of an unrelated form to complete a paradigm (e.g. *go* – *went*).

syllable, open/closed a **closed** syllable ends in a consonant (e.g. *schaffen*), an **open** syllable ends in a vowel (e.g. *schlafen*).

syncope deletion of a word-internal sound.

syncretism the merger of grammatical categories (especially cases).

synthetic use of a single inflected form to express a grammatical notion (opposite of **analytic**).

thematic denoting a **root** followed by some formative (usually a vowel), making a stem to which endings are added; the formative is a theme or thematic element. (Contrast **athematic** forms, where endings are added directly to the root.)

umlaut a type of assimilation in which a vowel is influenced by another vowel or vowel-like element to its right.

vocabulary zone a number of words or uses of words sharing the same (lexical) property.

vocalization the change of a non-vowel to a vowel.

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