

AN ELEMENTARY  
Old High German  
Grammar



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DESCRIPTIVE AND COMPARATIVE

BY

JEFFREY ELLIS

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## PREFACE

THIS book sets out to provide the essential linguistic background for the study of OHG texts, which in the days of more spacious German philological studies in this country was provided by the grammatical part of Wright's *Old High German Primer* (on which the present book is primarily based) and his other Germanic grammars, and by other works in various languages.

Today an OHG grammar cannot assume knowledge of any Germanic language but Modern German and MHG (and Modern English), nor can it assume that all students of OHG will go on to a specific study of Gothic. But since OHG remains in the curriculum as much as a vehicle of Germanic linguistics as forming part of the literary study of German, it seems advisable to relate it, within the confines of this one book, to the Gothic and Germanic philology with which Wright dealt in his Gothic Grammar, as well as to the MHG to which Wright's original MHG Reader related it.

To this end, references are made in the grammar to primitive Germanic forms and other old Germanic languages, especially Gothic, which are intended as information about the latter rather than to invoke knowledge of them as a basis of comparison (as did Wright's references to OE), as well as references to later German which do assume knowledge of MHG; and the illustrative text added, to exercise use of the grammar, exemplifies other old Germanic languages as well as the OHG dialects. (It is hoped that this arrangement will be found in the main equally suitable by students of English or any others not starting from German.)

Reference is also made to Indo-European forms, and where possible Latin used in illustration of non-Germanic developments. (The reader is reminded that philological theory does

not stand still by mention of the laryngeal explanation of IE phonetics, but this is not pursued in detail.)

At the same time, the opportunity is taken to draw a clear line between the description of OHG in itself (which has been the apparent aim of OHG grammars), and the comparison of it with other languages and historical explanation of its phenomena (which has been mixed into most OHG grammars in inconsistent measure, e.g. the origins of sounds are given but not the origins of forms, although the latter would exemplify the former). Thus, while on the one hand the comparative material is kept distinct and complete in itself (though there has not been space to take account of all theories, still less to justify explicitly the choice between them), on the other hand the description of OHG is based, as far as possible within the limits of this book, on OHG itself.

When all is said, the aim of a *description* of OHG is to enable the reading of texts, and in a text the student is faced, for example, not with a Germanic *a*-stem or Indo-European *o*-stem and a Germanic or Indo-European consonant-stem, but with two nouns whose forms show and do not show equally *a*, *o*, and consonant, but have or have not the same endings as each other. As Sweet said fifty-eight years ago (of OE), 'to call the Old-English nouns *hūs* an *a*- or *o*- (why not *e*-?) stem, *cynn* a *jo*-, *menigo* an *ī*- or *īn*- stem, on the ground that in some other language the corresponding words ended in *-o*, &c., is, from an Old-English point of view, sheer nonsense. . . . In fact, there are no "stems" at all in Old-English'. It may be added, a method that speaks (on the same level) of *a*- and *ō*- (and not *o*- and *ā*-) stems but *os/es*- (and not *az/iz*-) stems cannot justify itself.

Since, however, the student will in any case go on to the study of books which still use the comparative terms for descriptive purposes, the limits within which re-ordering of the descriptive material has here been possible are narrow. There

is, too, the difficulty that OHG (not to mention Old Saxon) is not a unified language within itself but has territorial dialects, periods of development, and all kinds of textual aberrations. A full purely descriptive treatment of these would require the range of Braune's Grammar. In a book of the present size and with the present general purpose, only a framework can be given.

The student beginning OHG with this book would be well advised first to read the East Franconian version of the text (6. 1) together with the notes on it, carefully looking up all the references to the grammar, then to proceed to a study of the descriptive grammar as a whole and the text in the other dialects. He will then be in a position to begin on a Reader such as Barber's.

The author is indebted to Mr. M. O'C. Walshe, especially for his initial encouragement and the model of his revision of Wright's MHG Primer, but in general for his generous and helpful guidance and advice and his liberal teaching.

J. E.

NOTTINGHAM  
*September 1953*





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1. East Franconian. 2. South Rhenish Franconian. (a) Weissenburg Catechism; (b) Otfrid. 3. Alemannic.
4. Bavarian. 5. Notker. 6. Old Saxon. 7. Gothic.
8. Old English. 9. Old Norse. 10. Latin original.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A; acc.: accusative  
abl.: ablative  
CF: Central Franconian  
D; dat.: dative  
D: dual  
E: English  
F; fem.: feminine  
F: Franconian  
G; gen.: genitive  
Gc: Germanic  
Go: Gothic  
HG: High German  
IE: Indo-European  
IH: Indo-Hittite  
imper.: imperative  
ind.: indicative  
inf.: infinitive  
I; inst.: instrumental  
L; loc.: locative  
LF: Low Franconian  
LG: Low German  
M; masc.: masculine  
MHG: Middle High German  
(references are to Wright-  
Walshe, see Bibliography)
- N; neut.: neuter  
N; nom.: nominative  
NHG: New High German  
O: Old  
ON: Old Norse  
OS: Old Saxon  
P; pl.: plural  
PP; p.p.: past participle  
part.: participle  
pers.: person(al)  
Pr.: primitive/proto-  
pres.: present  
pret.: preterite  
RF: Rhenish Franconian  
S; sg.; sing.: singular  
SRF: South Rhenish Franconian  
subj.: subjunctive  
UF: Upper Franconian  
UG: Upper German  
WGc: West Germanic  
WS: West Saxon  
1, 2, 3: first, second, third person  
\*: hypothetical  
>: becomes, becoming  
<: (is) derived from

# I

## INTRODUCTION

**1. 1.** By Old High German (OHG) we mean the High German dialects of the German language from the beginning of its earliest monuments in the eighth century up to about the end of the eleventh century. OHG (and Old Saxon) literature flourished in the ninth century, which period forms the basis of the grammatical framework here given, though important works occur also later.

**1. 2.** High German and Low German (see MHG § 1) are part of the 'West Germanic' division of the Germanic branch of the Indo-European family of languages. The other two divisions of Germanic (which have much in common with each other) are 'East Germanic', of which the only language known by any considerable records is Gothic (chiefly Bishop Ulfilas's fourth-century translation of the Bible), and 'North Germanic', comprising East Norse (Swedish and Danish) and West Norse (Norwegian, Icelandic, Faroese). 'West Germanic' is used to include all the remaining Germanic languages (although English and Frisian have some features in common with North Germanic, and HG with Gothic), namely English, Frisian, the Low German dialects, including Dutch, and HG. Low German is represented in the period of OHG mainly by Old Saxon (OS), but also comprises Low Franconian, which is divided from the other Franconian dialects by the 'Second Sound-Shift' (3. 41-44).

OHG is divided into three dialect groups:

(i) Upper German (UG), spoken in the highlands of south German-speaking territory, and comprising Alemannic and Bavarian.

(ii) Upper Franconian (UF), comprising East Franconian (spoken in the old duchy of Francia Orientalis, east of the Rhine as far as the Fichtelgebirge) and Rhenish Franconian (bordering on the Rhine, southwards as far as Weissenburg), including South Rhenish Franconian.

(iii) Central Franconian (CF), spoken along the Moselle and the Rhine from Coblenz to Düsseldorf.

UF and UG are the principal sources of OHG literature.

OS is in many respects close to OHG, a great proportion of its forms differing only in the regular phonetic differences; where the latter (given in 3. 12-16, 23-27, 41-51) are not enough to identify an OS form, it is given explicitly in the *Accidence*.

**1.3.** The other known branches of the Indo-European family are

(i) Indo-Iranian, comprising Indic (Hindi, Bengali, &amp. Sanskrit is Old Indic) and Iranian (including Old Persian and Avestic, Modern Persian and Pushtu).

(ii) Slavonic, including Russian, Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Slovene, Serbo-Croat, Bulgarian.

(iii) Baltic, including Lithuanian and Latvian.

(iv) Armenian.

(v) Albanian.

The above are *satəm*-languages, i.e. they change the original palatal stops (cf. 3. 28*a*) to sibilants.

(vi) Greek.

(vii) Italic, comprising Latin and the Oscan and Umbrian dialect groups.

(viii) Celtic, including Gaelic and Brythonic (Welsh, Cornish, Breton).

(ix) Tocharian, discovered in 1908.

More distantly related to the above IE languages than they are to each other is the recently discovered language or languages

known as Hittite, which preserves an earlier phonetic stage (see 3.1), and which also among other features shows some shared with Germanic, e.g. the \*ē of the preterite plural (4. 48).

The wider family including Hittite is sometimes referred to as Indo-Hittite.

1. 4. Unlike Old English, where the West Saxon dialect became the literary language, the OHG documents written in the various monasteries continued to be written in local dialect. Because of copying by scribes speaking different dialects, the manuscripts contain much dialectal mixture, including OS elements. This is one reason why some knowledge of OS is an integral part of Old German studies; other reasons (apart from its historical relation to modern continental Germanic languages and dialects) are the literature in OS itself, some of the best of Old German literary works, and the intermediate place occupied by Low German between HG and our own branch of Germanic, Anglo-Frisian.

The most important works in the various dialects include:

**Alemannic**: 8th cent., *St. Gall Paternoster* (6. 3) and *Credo*; 9th cent., *Rule of St. Benedict*, *Hymns of Murbach*; 10th cent. (from Franconian), *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (verse).

**Bavarian**: 8th cent., *Wessobrunn Prayer* (verse); 9th cent., *Muspilli* (verse), *Freisingen Paternoster* (6. 4), *St. Emmeram Prayer*; 10th–11th cents., *Notker's translations* (St. Gall) (6. 5).

**East Franconian**: 9th cent., *Tatian* (Fulda), (with CF or LG admixture) *Lex Salica* (Trier); 11th cent., *Williram's translations*.

**Rhenish Franconian**: 8th cent., *Isidore* (with Alemannic admixture), *Ludwigslied* (verse).

**South Rhenish Franconian**: 9th cent., *Weissenburg Catechism* (6. 2a), *Otfrid* (verse) (6. 2b).

**Central Franconian**: 10th cent., *Treves Capitulary*.

**Old Saxon**: 9th cent., *Heliand* (6. 6), *Genesis*.

Upper German mixed with OS, 8th cent., *Hildebrandslied*.

## II

### DESCRIPTIVE PHONETICS

**2. 1.** OHG was written in the Latin alphabet, virtually unmodified. Vowel length (here indicated by the macron  $\bar{\phantom{a}}$ ) was either not shown, or represented by doubling the vowel; but sometimes also by diacritics ( $\acute{\phantom{a}}$ ,  $\grave{\phantom{a}}$ ).

All the other old Germanic languages were written in modified Latin alphabet except Gothic, which used an alphabet derived from the Greek alphabet (here transliterated into Latin letters), and the oldest Norse (third to eleventh centuries), and other old inscriptions, which used the runic alphabet. Literary Old Norse (and Modern Icelandic) is written in an alphabet founded on the Old English adaptation (modelled on the Irish) of the Latin alphabet, which also influenced the writing of OS (and OHG).

**2. 2.** OHG had short vowels, long vowels, and diphthongs, written with the letters **a**, **e**, **i** (**y**), **o**, **u**, and combinations of them. The simple vowels (and constituents of diphthongs) were pronounced as in MHG, that is the letter *e* represented two short vowels (cf. 3. 7), open *e* (here (2-4) written  $\ddot{e}$ ) and close *e* (sometimes written  $\epsilon$ ; see 3. 12). There were at most (depending on period and dialect) seven diphthongal phonemes: **ei** (**ai**), **ou** (**au**), **iu** (not a simple vowel as in MHG), **io** (**eo**), **ia** (**ea**), **ie**, and **uo** (**ua**, **oa**). They were falling diphthongs, i.e. the first constituent was the sonant element.

Besides different combinations of vowels into diphthongs, the other old Germanic languages differ in the following particulars:

**Gothic:** **e** and **o** represent long (close) vowels only; **i** short only: **ei** long *i*; **ai** and **au** (*i*) diphthongs or open (long) vowels (*e*, *o*), (ii) (here written **ai**, **au**) before **r**, **h**, **hv** only (**i** and short **u** occurring elsewhere), short (open) vowels ( $\ddot{e}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$ ).

**Old English** (West Saxon) has the additional letters **æ** ( $\ddot{a}$ ) for open *e* (raised fronted *a*; see 3. 12 and 15) and **y** ( $\ddot{y}$ ) for  $\ddot{u}$ .



**Old Norse** further has **ø** for short **ö** and **œ** (cf. MHG) for long **ö** (similarly **ę** and **æ**); **q** for open **o** (rounded **a**).

**Old Saxon** sometimes uses **æ** (or **ę**) for **e**.

For the MHG equivalents of the OHG vowels, see MHG § 5.

**2. 3.** Consonants are found written in the following principal ways in OHG. Stops: voiced (or lenes, i.e. voiceless but weak, see MHG §§ 1a, 19. i), **b**, **d**, **g**; voiceless (or fortes), **p**, **t**, **k** (**c**, **q**). Fricatives: labiodental **f** (**v** only for the lenis (MHG § 19. iv) from Gc **f**), interdental **th** (**dh**), dental (both voiceless, see MHG § 19. xi) **s**, **z** (here (2-4) written **z**), **h** (**ch**) (**h** finally and medially before consonants, and doubled). Affricates: **pf** (**ph**), **z** (**c**) (here written **z**), and UG **kh** (**ch**, **qh**). Nasals: **m**, **n**. Liquids: **l**, **r**. All these (except the digraphs with **h**) are also found double (pronounced long) (cf. 2. 4). Aspirate **h**, initial and medial before vowels, and semivowels **w** (written as double or single **u** or **v**) and **j** (written as **i**, **e**, or **g**) only occur single, and guttural **n** only before other gutturals.

The other old Germanic languages differ in the following main respects:

**OE**: **f** represented both the voiceless and the voiced fricative (the latter medial only); runes were used for **w** and the **th** sounds of English (**þ**); **ð** was also used for the latter, especially the voiced sound.

**ON** has OE use of **f**; **v** is a bilabial fricative, representing Gc **w**; **z** is voiceless affricate, like German; **þ** and **ð** voiceless and voiced.

**OS** used OE **ð** or, like OHG, **th**; and **b** for labial voiced fricative.

**Go** uses **b**, **d**, and **g** for voiced fricatives as well as stops, and **f**, **þ**, **g** for voiceless fricatives; **g** also for *n* before gutturals; **q** for *kw* (OHG **qu**), and **hw** for *hw*; **z** for voiced *s*.

In writing pr. Gc forms we use **b**, **d**, **g**, **z** for voiced fricatives, **f**, **þ**, **x**, **s** for voiceless; here and in pr. IE **ŋ** may be used for guttural **n** occurring only before guttural consonants (3. 33).

**2. 4.** The vowels **a** and close **e** alternate under certain phonetic conditions (see 3. 12, 4. 9, 10, 17, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 38a, 48a, 58) and in addition in certain morphological categories (e.g. 4. 58) (also **ou** (**au**) and **e**, 3. 47). (Otherwise in most OHG writings

there is no graphic representation of German (i/j-) *Umlaut* (MHG § 10.) *ë* and *i*, *io* and *iu* alternate under phonetic conditions (3. 3, 13, 4. 48a) and independently (4. 49, *nim*). Other vowels alternate (always independently of phonetic conditions) in certain morphological categories, principally in the conjugation of strong verbs (4. 48, 62), also 4. 59, 66 and e.g. *wolla*, *wool*, adjective *wullin* (3. 5). Double consonants medially before vowels alternate (3. 46) with single consonants finally and medially before consonants (and frequently after long vowels), e.g. 4. 6, 16, 31 (and (4. 51) *suffun*, *sūfu*); independently of phonetic conditions (3. 39), e.g. 4. 54a, 55d, 58. In Notker **b**, **d**, **g**, and sometimes **v**, occur after vowels, liquids and nasals (in the same or the preceding word), **p**, **t**, **k**, **f**, elsewhere (cf. 3. 43a). Other consonantal alternations independent of phonetic conditions are found, e.g. 3. 45 (4. 50a, 51b, &c.). Consonant alternates with vowel (or zero), e.g. 3. 47 (4. 4, 21, 50b, 51c, 57).

*Umlaut* (which did not occur at all in Gothic) was better represented in OE and ON than in OHG and OS, e.g. OE *mūs*, *mouse*, *mȳs*, *mice*; *hāl*, *whole*, *hælan*, *to heal*; (u-*Umlaut*) *heofun* (6. 8, n. 4); ON *lauss*, *loose*, *leysa*, *to loose*; (u-*Umlaut*) *lǫnd*, plural of *land*. Consonantal alternations were most extensive in ON, e.g. *annarr*, *other*, beside dative *ǫðrum*.

**2. 5. Stress** (accent) falls upon the first syllable of words, except the kind of compound words like verbs with inseparable prefixes, which became single words after the Gc shift of the original accent (3. 1)—cf. the later joining of stressed (separable) prefixes (5. 35).

Any vowel can occur in final unstressed syllable (but see 3. 23), unlike MHG (MHG §§ 6–8). On vowels of other unstressed syllables see 3. 24–7.

### III

## PHONOLOGY (COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PHONETICS)

### THE PR.GC EQUIVALENTS OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN VOWEL-SOUNDS

3. 1. The Indo-European vowels which are preserved as distinct sounds in Germanic are:

Short vowels	<b>a, e, i, o, u.</b>
Long vowels	<b>ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.</b>
Diphthongs	<b>ai, ei, ēi, oi, au, eu, ou.</b>
Sonant	<b>ǰ, ʀ, ʁ, ŋ.</b>

Other IE languages distinguish further sounds, e.g. short and long diphthongs in all combinations (not only **ei, ēi**). Germanic (and all IE but Indo-Iranian) *a* is also derived from what is usually considered a neutral vowel  $\text{ə}$  ( $\text{ə}_1$ ), giving Indo-Iranian *i*; and Germanic *e* (and *u*) sometimes from  $\text{ə}_2$  (one or more further neutral vowels, with *e-*, &c., colouring). The narrow vowels **i, u**, like the vocalic liquids and nasals, originated as unaccented forms (zero-grade) of diphthongs with **e, o**, as did  $\text{ə}$  of **ē, ə**<sub>2</sub> (or zero) of simple **e**. The vowel **o** in most cases was an alternation, also possibly due to accent, with **e**. The vowel **a** (possibly in all cases), and **o** in some cases, may possibly be derived from preceding, long vowels not alternating with short from following, Indo-Hittite 'laryngeal' consonants (ones which remained in Hittite as an *h*, e.g. *hanti*, Latin *ante*, OHG *ant-*) modifying the IH primary vowel 'e' (while IE **ē** might result from another laryngeal, which remained as  $\text{ə}$  in zero-grade).

The accent in IE (here written ' ) could fall on any syllable of the word. Distinct from word-accent is syllable-accent, long vowels having one of two syllable-accent, normal long quantity with acute tone (´), or longer quantity with circumflex tone (˘), derived from contraction or 'compensation'.

3. 2. IE a (Latin a) remained in pr. Gc as a, e.g. Latin *ager*, Go *akrs*, OHG *ackar*, *field*, E *acre*; Latin *ad*, Go, E *at*, OHG *az*.

IE o (Latin o) also became a, e.g. Latin *octo*, Go *ahta*, OHG *ahto*, *eight*; Latin *hortus*, Go *gards*, OHG *gart*, *garden*.

Thus both ai (Latin ae) and oi (Latin ū) became ai, e.g. Latin *aes*, Go *aiz*, OHG *ēr*, E *ore*; Latin *ūnus*, Go *ains*, OHG *ein*, *one*; and both au (Latin au) and ou (Latin ū) became au, e.g. Latin *auris*, Go *auso*, OHG *ōra*, *ear*; Latin *rūfus*, Go *rauþs*, OHG *rōt*, *red*.

3. 3. IE e (Latin e) in general remained as e, e.g. Latin *decem*, Go *taihun*, OHG *zēhan*, E *ten*; Latin *pellis*, OHG *fēl*, *skin*; but was narrowed to i:

(a) before a nasal+consonant, e.g. Latin *ventus*, Go *winds*, OHG *wint*, W *wind*.

(b) followed by an i, ī, or ĭ, e.g. Latin *est* from \**esti*, Go, OHG *ist*, *is*; Latin *medius* from \**medhios*, Go *midjis*, OHG *mitti*, *middle*; IE \**bhēreti* > *berēdi* > *berīdi* > *birīdi*, OHG *birīt*, *he bears*.

Thus the diphthong ei gives ī, e.g. Latin *dīcō*, Go *gateihan*, *to tell*, OHG *zīhan*, *to accuse*; while eu remains in pr. Gc, except that the e becomes i in the conditions of (b), e.g. Latin *dūcō*, Go *tiuhan*, OHG *ziohan*, *to lead, draw*; pr. Gc \**liuxtjanan*, OHG *liuhten*, *to light*.

(c) in unaccented syllables except before r not followed by i, e.g. OHG *lembir* from pr. Gc \**-ezō* (3. 38), but *fater*, AS, &c. (4. 15).

3. 4. IE i (Latin i) in general remained as i, e.g. Latin *piscis*, Go *fisks*, OHG *fisk*, E *fish*; but was lowered to e when followed in the next syllable by the open vowels a, o, or e, unless either nasal+consonant or ĭ or ĭ̄ intervened, e.g. IE

\***u**iros, Latin *vir*, OHG *wër*, *man*: IE \***nizdos**, Latin *nīdus*, OHG *nēst*, E *nest*. This phonetic process has many apparent exceptions in the various Gc languages due to analogy.

3. 5. IE **u** (Latin **u**) in general remained as **u**, e.g. Latin *gustus*, *taste*, Go *ga-kusts*, OHG *kust*, *test*, *choice*; but was lowered to **o** under the same conditions as **i** to **e** (3. 4), e.g. Latin *iugum*, OHG *joh*, *yoke*; cf. OHG *fol* with *fulli*, E *full*. Pr. Gc thus reacquired an **o** (cf. 3. 2).

3. 6. IE **ā** (Latin **ā**) was rounded to **ō**, e.g. Latin *frāter*, Go *broþar*, OS *brōthar*, *brother*, OHG *bruoder*. Thus, like short **a** and **o**, long **ā** and **ō** fell together (but into a vowel of different quality), since **ō** remained as **ō**, e.g. Latin *flōs*, Go *bloma*, OHG *bluomo* (or *F bluoma*), *flower*.

3. 7. IE **ē** (Latin **ē**) was lowered (shifted in the direction of **a**) to **æ** (an open long *e* like *ā* in NHG *Gräfin*), e.g. Latin *ēdimus*, Go *etum*, OE *æton*, E *ate*, OHG *āzum*. But it remained of original *e*-quality in unaccented syllables (cf. 3. 20).

The diphthong **ēi**, too, resulted in a more open sound than the short **ei** (> **i**, 3. 3), namely **ē** (a close long *e* like NHG *See*), e.g. Go *her*, OHG *hiar* (3. 16), *here*; OHG *stiaga*, *stair*, beside \***ēi** in *stigan*; OHG *skiari*, *clever*, beside \***ēi** in Go *skeirs*, OS *skir*, *clear*.

3. 8. The narrow long vowels **ī** (Latin **ī**) and **ū** (Latin **ū**) remained, e.g. Latin *suīnus*, adjective from *sūs*, *pig*, Go *swein*, OHG *swīn*, *pig*; Latin *sūs*, OHG *sū*, E *sow*; Latin *mūs*, OHG *mūs*, E *mouse*.

3. 9. Short vowels before nasal **ŋ**+**x**, namely **a**, **i**, **u** (see 3. 3a, 3. 4, 3. 5), were lengthened in 'compensation' for loss of the nasal consonant **ŋ** (3. 35), e.g. *anx* > OHG *āh*; e.g. Latin *pango*, *fasten*, Go, OHG *fāhan*, *to seize*; Latin *vincō*, Go *weihan*, OHG *wīhan*, *to fight*; OHG *dūhta*, *seemed*, beside *dunken*.

3. 10. The liquids and nasals when sonant, **m̄** (Latin **em**), **ŋ** (Latin **en**), **r̄** (Latin **or**), **l̄** (Latin **ol**, **ul**), developed a **u** before them, e.g. Latin **septem**, Go **sibun**, OHG **sēbun**, *seven*; Latin **portus**, OHG **furt**, E **ford**.

3. 11. It follows from 3. 2-9 that pr.Gc had the following vowel-system:

Short vowels	<b>a, e, i, o</b> (3. 5), <b>u</b> (3. 5, 10).
Long vowels	<b>ā</b> (3. 9), <b>ǣ, ē</b> (3. 7), <b>ī, ō, ū</b> .
Diphthongs	<b>ai, au, eu</b> (iu).

THE OHG DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENERAL  
GERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM

*The Vowels of Accented Syllables*

3. 12. Gc **a** generally remained in OHG, e.g. Go, OHG **faran**, *to go*; Go **daḡs**, OHG **tag**, *day*. It appears sometimes to become **o**, e.g. **mohta** (4. 63).

*Umlaut* of accented **a** to close **e** took place, beginning about 750 and becoming universal in the ninth century, before **i** or **j** in the following unaccented syllable, e.g. **ferit** beside **faran**; **kelbir**, *calves*, **gesti**, *guests*, beside **kalb**, **gast**; **brennen**, Go **brannjan**; **lengī**, *length*, besides **lang**.

It did not take place in the following cases:

1. Before **ht**, **hs**, or consonant+**w**, e.g. **maht**, *power*, pl. **māhti**; **wahsit**, *he grows*, inf. **wahsan**; **bi-scatwen** from **\*skatwjan**, *to shade*.

2. In UG before **l**+consonant, before **hh**, **ch** (= Gc **k**, 3. 42), and often before **r**+consonant, and before **h** (= Germanic **h**), e.g. UG **haltit** beside UF **heltit**, *he holds*, inf. **haltan**; UG **altiro** beside UF **eltiro**, *older*; UG **sachit** beside UF **sehhit**, *he quarrels*, inf. **sachan**, Go **sakan**; UG **warmen** beside **wermen**, Go **warmjan**, *to warm*; **slahit** beside **slehit**, *he strikes*, inf. OHG, Go **slahan**.

3. In words ending in **-nissi**, **-nissa**, or **-lih**, these not

being completely unaccented, e.g. **firstantnissi**, *understanding*; **kraftlih**, *strong*; **tagalih**, *daily*.

The vowel **a** also became **e** in the diphthong **ai**, in eighth-century OHG, except finally and before **r**, old **h**, and **w**, where the diphthong had become **ē**, e.g. Go **stains**, OHG **stein**, *stone*; Go **haitan**, OHG **heizan**, *to call*; Go **air**, *early*, OHG **ēr**, *before*; Go **maiza**, OHG **mēro**, *greater*; Go **laisjan**, OHG **lēren**, *to teach*; Go **aihts**, OHG **ēht**, *possession*; Go **laihv**, OHG **lēh**, *lent*; Go **snaiws**, *snow*, OHG gen. **snēwes**; Go **saiwala**, OHG **sē(u)la**, *soul*; Go **wai**, OHG **wē**, *woe*; Go **pai**, OHG **dē**, *they*.

In OS **ai** was always monophthongized to **ē**, except before **j**, where it became **ei**, e.g. **stēn**, **hētan**, **ēr**, **mēra**, **lērian**, **lēh**, **snēwes**, **sēola**, **wē**; **twēo**, *two* (gen.).

Similarly in **au**, **a** was assimilated by the **u** to **o**, in ninth-century OHG, except before **d**, **t**, **z**, **s**, **n**, **r**, **l**, and old **h**, where **au** became **ō**, e.g. Go **augo**, OHG **ouga**, *eye*; Go **haubiþ**, OHG **houbit**, *head*; Go **daupus**, OHG **tōd**, *death*; Go **rauþs**, OHG **rōt**, *red*; Go **gaut**, OHG **gōz**, *poured*; Go **kaus**, OHG **kōs**, *chose*; Go **laun**, OHG **lōn**, *reward*; Go **auso**, OHG **ōra**, *ear*; Latin **caulis**, *stalk*, OHG **kōl**; Go **hauhs**, OHG **hōh**, *high*.

In OS **au** was always monophthongized to **ō**, except before **w**, where it remained as **au**, e.g. **ōga**, **hōbid**, **dōð**, **rōd**, **gōt**, **kōs**, **lōn**, **ōra**, **hōh**; **hauwan**, *to hew*.

In OE, Gc **a** became fronted and raised to **æ**, e.g. **fæder**, OHG **fater** (on other developments of it see nn. to 6. 8).

3. 13. Gc **e** generally remained as **ē**, e.g. **wēg**, *way*; **stēlan**, *to steal*; **ēzzan**, *to eat*.

It became **i**, in OHG and OS, when followed by a **u** in the next syllable (and in OHG when followed by **w**, cf. 3. 47), e.g. **hilfu**, **biru**, **gibu**, beside inf. **hēlfan**, *to help*, **bēran**, *to bear*, **gēban**, *to give*; **sibun**, Latin **septem**, *seven*; OHG **fihu**, Latin **pecu**, *cattle*. There are many apparent exceptions due

to analogy, e.g. OHG, OS **fēhu** beside OHG **fihu** by analogy with the oblique cases **fēhes**, **fēhe**.

Thus the diphthong **eu** became **iu** (falling together with Gc **iu**, 3. 3) before **u**, e.g. **kiusu**, *I choose*; it also became **iu** in UG before labials and gutturals except old **h**, e.g. UG **liup**, *dear*, **tiuf**, *deep*, **siuh**, *sick*, **liugan**, *to lie*. Otherwise in the diphthong **eu** the **u** was assimilated by the **e** to **o**, and this **eo** during the first half of the ninth century became **io**, e.g. **kiosan**, Go **kiusan**; **liocht**, Go **liuhaþ**, *a light*. In Otfrid **io** sometimes occurs, but mostly becomes **ia**, or **ie** by assimilation.

After **w-** **o** may be found for **ë**, e.g. **wola**, *E well*.

In OS **e** also sometimes becomes **i**, e.g. before labials in **giban**, beside **gēban**, *to give*, **niman**, beside **nēman**, *to take*, and before **o**, **a** in **knio**, OHG **kneo**, *knee*, **tian**, beside **tēhan**, *ten*. In OS **eu** remains finally and before **w** when **a**, **e**, or **o** follows or originally followed, e.g. **treuwa**, OHG **triuwa**, *loyalty*.

In OE **e** is 'broken' under certain conditions, see notes to 6. 8. On Gothic see 2. 2.

3. 14. Gc **i** remained as **i**, e.g. **fisk**, *fish*; **wizzan**, OS, Go **witan**, *to know*. In OS it sometimes becomes **e** before **r**, e.g. **herdos**, *herdsmen*.

Gc **o** remained as **o**, e.g. **got**, *E god*; **giholfan**, *helped*.

Gc **u** remained as **u**, e.g. **sunu**, *son*; **gibuntan**, *bound*.

In OS **u** is often found where OHG has **o**, e.g. **gumo**, **gomo**, *man*.

On Gothic see 2. 2.

3. 15. Gc **ā**, **ǣ** fell together as OHG **ā**, e.g. Go, OS and OHG **fāhan**, OE **fōn** (3. 9); Go **ga-deþs**, OE **dǣd**, OS **dād**, OHG **tāt**.

3. 16. Gc **ē** became in OHG **ea** in the eighth century and then **ia** in the ninth century, which in the middle of the century



became **ie** (Otf rid has **ia** or **ie**, or by assimilation **io**), e.g. **hiar**, Go **her**, *here*.

Gc **ō** developed similarly, but not at the same rate in all dialects, remaining as **ō** in Bavarian till the ninth century, elsewhere becoming **oa** and then **ua** in the eighth century and **uo** by the tenth century, except in Franconian other than SRF (which has **ua**, Otf rid also **uo** by assimilation), where it passed straight to **uo** in the second half of the eighth century. E.g. **fuoꝛ**, Go **fotus**, *foot*; **fuor**, Go **for**, *went*; **suohhen**, Go **sokjan**, *to seek*.

OS has **ē** and also **ie**, **ō** and also **uo**, e.g. **hēr**, **fōt**, **fōr**, **sōkian**.

3. 17. Gc **ī** and **ū** remained in OHG, e.g. **sīn**, Go **seins**, *his*; **bīzan**, Go **beitan**, OS **bītan**, *to bite*; **hūs**, *house*; **dūhta**, Go **pūhta**, OS **thūhta**, *it seemed*.

### *The Vowels of Unaccented Syllables*

#### *Final Syllables*

3. 18. Final long vowels had been shortened: **\*-ō** > **u**, e.g. Latin **fero**, OHG **biru**, *I bear*, except when originally **\*-ō**, which > **o**, e.g. Latin **homo**, IE **\*-ō** for **\*-ōn**, OHG **gomo**; **-ī** > **i**, as preterite subjunctive 1 and 3 sing. **nāmi** beside 3 pl. **nāmīn**.

3. 19. Short **a** (IE **o** and **a**) (not the **-a** resulting in 3. 20), which was originally final or became final through the loss of a following consonant, disappeared in forms of more than one syllable.

The short vowels **u** and **i** (including the results of 3. 18, but not of 3. 20), which were originally final or became final through the loss of a following consonant, disappeared in forms of more than two syllables, and in forms of two syllables when the first syllable was long. The regular operation of this law was often disturbed by analogical formations.

Regular forms were: OHG **weiz** = Greek **οἶδα**, *I know* (4. 49); OHG nom. **wolf** from **\*wulfaz** (4. 2); OHG **beran**

from **\*beranan**, IE **\*bheronom**, *to bear*; OHG **weiz** = Greek *οἶδε*, *he knows* (4. 49); OHG **ist** from IE **\*esti**, *is* (4. 49, 63); OHG **gast** from **\*gastiz**, *guest*, Latin **hostis**; OHG **meri**, *sea*, cf. Latin pl. **mari-a**; OHG **wini** from **\*winiz**, *friend*; OHG **tōd** = Go **daubus**, *death*; OHG **fihu** = Go **faihu**, Latin **pecus**, *cattle*; OHG nom. **sunu** = Go **sunus**, *son*; OHG **situ** = Go **sidus**, *custom*; OHG **biru**, Latin **ferō**, *I bear*.

Then after the analogy of these and similar forms were made **stat** for **\*steti**, *place*; **sun** beside **sunu**, *son*; **hilfu** for **\*hilf**, *I help*; &c.

**3. 20.** Long vowels after which an **-n** or **-z** had disappeared (3. 37 and 38) were shortened in words of more than one syllable. So were the **ī** from older **-iji** and the long vowels, **ē**, **ō**, deriving from **-ai** (as well as from IE **\*-ē**, 3. 7) and **-au**, either originally final or final after loss of **-z**. The **\*-ō** was treated differently according to its syllable-accent: **\*-ō** > **-o** (cf. 3. 18); **\*-ō̄** > **-a**.

E.g. gen. pl. **tago** (4. 2), **zungōno**, Go **tuḡgono** (4. 14); but nom. pl. **taga**, Go **dagos** (4. 2); nom. sg. **hērza**, Go **hairto** (4. 13); acc. sg. **gēba**, *gift* (4. 5); nom. pl. masc. **blinte**, Go **blindai** (4. 19); loc. sg. used as dat. **tage** from **\*dagai** (4. 2); **ahto**, Go **ahtau**, *eight*; gen. sg. **suno**, Go **sunaus** (4. 11); **wili** from **\*wiliz**, *thou wilt*; nom. pl. **gesti** from **\*gastiz**, older **\*gastijiz** (4. 9); **neri** from **\*nazī**, older **\*naziji**, *save thou*.

**3. 21.** Short and long vowels remained in final syllables when followed by a consonant, e.g. **blintaz** (4. 19); **inan** (4. 38); **hēlfan** (4. 52); **tages** (4. 2); **hanen**, **herzen** (4. 12, 13); **lembir** (4. 17); **enstim** (4. 10); **nimit** (4. 49); **ubil**, *evil*; **hanon** (4. 12); **sibun**, *seven*; **tagum** (4. 2); **habēn** (4. 61); **nēmēs** (4. 49); **blintēm** (4. 19); **mahtīg**, *mighty*; **tiurlīh**, *dear*; **hōhīm** (4. 8); **nāmīs** (4. 49); **salbōn** (4. 60); **suhtōs** (4. 58); **gēbōm**, **zungōm** beside **gēba**, **zunga** (4. 5, 14); **zungūn** (4. 14).

3. 22. If a nasal or liquid, preceded by a consonant, came to stand finally after the loss of **a**, it became vocalic and then generated a new **a** before it, e.g. nom. acc. **ëban**, *even*, from \***ëbn**, older \***ebnaz**, \***ebnan**; nom. acc. **fogal**, *bird*, from \***fogl**, older \***fuglaz**, \***fuglan**; nom. acc. **acchar**, *field*, from \***akr**, older \***akraz**, \***akran**; &c.

The **a**, thus generated, became transferred to the oblique cases also, at first after short syllables, and then later after long syllables as well, e.g. **fogales**, **wuntare**, &c.

3. 23. In OHG of the tenth century, and to a small extent of the ninth century, **i** and **u** in final syllables become **e** and **o**. Notker, who sometimes writes this and original **e** as **i**, also reduces all short vowels before a consonant in final syllable to **e**. Writing of final short **-e** as **a** is sometimes found, e.g. in Isidor; and in Bavarian of the tenth and eleventh centuries **e** short and long of final syllables becomes **a**.

In OS all final-syllable long vowels are shortened; final-syllable **e** and **a** often fell together, usually as **a**.

#### *Other than Final Syllables*

3. 24. Medial vowels were often assimilated to final vowels, e.g. **keisar**, *emperor*, gen. **keiseres**; **wuntorōn**, *to wonder*, beside **wuntar**; **sibun**, *seven*, oblique **sibini**; &c.; cf. OS **hēlag**, **hēlogo**, &c.

In OS medial long vowels are shortened (cf. 3. 23), and medial vowels generally are much confused, especially before **r** (cf. 4. 25).

3. 25. In all dialects a vowel was developed between medial **rh** and **lh**, and before **w** in **rw**, **lw**, and medial **sw**. The vowel thus developed appeared mostly as **a** or **o**, but it not unfrequently regulated itself according to the quality of a neighbouring vowel, cf. 3. 22 and 24. Examples are: **bēraht**, *Go bairhts*, *clear*; **furhten**, *to be afraid*, pret. **forhta**, **forahta**; **wurken**, *to work*, pret. **worhta**, **worahta**; **felhan**, **felahan**,

to *hide*, **bifiluhu**, *I hide*, **bifilihít**, *he hides*; **garo**, *ready*, **garwer** beside **garawer**; **melo**, *meal, flour*, gen. **melwes** beside **melawes**, dat. **melewe**; **zëswa**, *right hand*, beside **zësawa**. In UG and OS this happened sometimes also between **r** and other consonants, e.g. UG **perege**, OS **burug**.

3. 26. The **i** in the preterite and past participle of weak verbs of Class I (4. 58) was regularly syncopated after long-stem syllables, as **branta**, *burnt*, p.p. **gibrantër**; **hërta**, *heard*, p.p. **gihörtër**; beside **nerita**, *saved*, p.p. **gineritër**; &c. Cf. OS **diur(i)da**; **döpida**, **döpta**.

3. 27. In pre-tonic syllables (cf. 2. 5) the vowels of the prefixes (and unaccented monosyllabic prepositions) were reduced, varying according to period and dialect. Briefly: **ga-** > **gi-** in the ninth century (latest in Bavarian), > **ge-** (sometimes **g-** before **n-**, &c.) by the eleventh century (OS **gi-**, **ge-**); so **za-** (OS **te-**, **ti-**); **ant-** > **int-** early (OS **and-**); **ur-** > **ar-** > in the eighth to ninth centuries **ir-**, **er-**; so in general **fur-**, **for-** (also > **f-** before **l-**) (OS **for-**, **far-**, **fer-**); **bi-** > **be-** late (OS **bi-**, **be-**).

The vowel **e** in pre-tonic position became **o** in the proclitic words **odo** beside **ëddo** (5. 38) and **noh**, **noh-** beside **nih-** (cf. 4. 46). Cf. OS **of**, **af** beside **ëf** (5. 38).

Similar variation occurs in the conjunction **anti** (**enti**), **inti**, **unti**, &c.

#### THE PR.GC TREATMENT OF INDO-EUROPEAN CONSONANTS

##### *The Shift of the Indo-European Stops ('First Sound-Shift')*

3. 28. IE probably had the following system of stops:

	<i>labial</i>	<i>dental</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>labiovelar</i>
voiceless . . .	<b>p</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>k</b>	<b>k</b>	<b>k<sup>h</sup></b>
voiced . . .	<b>b</b>	<b>d</b>	<b>g</b>	<b>g</b>	<b>g<sup>h</sup></b>
voiced aspirate .	<b>bh</b>	<b>dh</b>	<b>gh</b>	<b>gh</b>	<b>g<sup>h</sup>h</b>

(a) The existence of unlabialized velars is concluded to explain treatment like palatals in centum-languages (1. 3) beside treatment like labiovelars in satəm-languages, e.g. Sanskrit **ḡaus**, OHG **kuo**, *cow*.

(b) It is also possible to postulate voiceless aspirates, but these fall together with the simple voiceless stops in Gc.

3. 29. IE **p**, **t**, **k̑** and **k** (see 3. 28a), **k<sup>h</sup>** became pr.Gc. fricatives **f**, **þ**, **x**, **xw** (and see 3. 32).

**p** > **f**, e.g. Latin **pēs**, Go **fotus**, OHG **fuoz**, E **foot**.

**t** > **þ**, e.g. Latin **tu**, Go **þu**, OHG **thu**, **du**, E **thou**; Latin **vertere**, *to turn*, Go **wairþan**, OHG **wërdan**, *to become*.

**k̑**, **k** > **x**, e.g. Latin **cor**, Go **hairto**, OHG **hërza**, E **heart**; Latin **decem**, Go **taihun**, OHG **zëhan**, *ten*.

**k<sup>h</sup>** > **xw**, e.g. Latin **quod**, Go **hva**, OHG **hwaz**, **waz**, E **what**.

(a) They remained stops after **s**.

**sp**, e.g. Latin **spuere**, Go **speiwan**, OHG **spiwan**, *to spit*.

**st**, e.g. Latin **stäre**, Go **standan**, OHG **stantan**, E **stand**; Latin **est**, Go, OHG **ist**, *is*.

**sk**, e.g. Latin **piscis**, Go **fisks**, OHG **fisk**, *fish*.

(b) The stop **t** remained after original **p**, **k̑**, **k**.

**ft**, e.g. Latin **neptis**, OHG **nift**, *niece*.

**xt**, e.g. Latin **octo**, Go **ahtau**, OHG **ahto**, E **eight**; Latin **rectus**, Go **raih̑ts**, OHG **rëht**, E **right**.

3. 30. IE **b**, **d**, **ǵ** and **ǵ** (see 3. 28a), **ǵ<sup>h</sup>** became pr.Gc. voiceless **p**, **t**, **k**, **kw**.

**b** > **p**, e.g. Latin **lūbricus**, Go **sliupan**, OHG **sliofan**, E **slip**.

**d** > **t**, e.g. Latin **decem**, Go **taihun**, OHG **zëhan**, E **ten**; Latin **edere**, Go **itan**, OHG **ezzan**, E **eat**.

ǵ, ǥ > k, e.g. Latin *genu*, Go *kniu*, OHG *kneo*, E *knee*;  
Latin *iugum*, Go *juk*, OHG *joh*, E *yoke*.

ǵ<sup>h</sup> > kw, e.g. Latin *venire*, Go *qiman*, OHG *quëman*,  
E *come*.

3. 31. IE *bh*, *dh*, *ǵh* and *ǥh* (see 3. 28*a*), ǵ<sup>h</sup>h became pr.Gc  
fricatives *ḃ*, *ḍ*, *ǵ*, *ǥw*.

*ḃ*, *ḍ* initially, and *ḃ*, *ḍ*, *ǵ* medially after their corresponding  
nasals, became stops *b*, *d*, *ǵ*.

*b*, e.g. Latin *ferō*, Go *baíran*, OHG *bëran*, E *bear*;  
Latin *frater*, Go *broþar*, OHG *bruoder*, E *brother*;  
Sanskrit *jambhas*, *tooth*, OHG *kamb*, E *comb*.

*d*, e.g. Latin *fores*, Go *daúr*, OHG *tor*, E *door*; Latin  
*offendix*, Go *bindan*, OHG *bintan*, E *bind*.

*ǵ*, e.g. Latin *angō*, Go *aǵǵwus*, OHG *engi*, *narrow*.

*ḃ*, *ḍ*, *ǵ* remained in other positions, except that in WGc  
*ḍ* > *d*. See 3. 43 and 44.

3. 32 ('Verner's Law.') Before the accent changed from free  
accent (3. 1) to root-accent (2. 5), the medial or final voiceless  
fricatives *f*, *þ*, *x*, *xw*, *s* (except *sp*, *st*, *sk*, *ss*, *ft*, *fs*, *xs*, *xt*),  
when the vowel preceding was not accented, were voiced to  
*ḃ*, *ḍ*, *ǵ*, *ǥw*, *z* (> WGc and Literary ON *r*). (Cf. E *absólve*  
beside *ábsolute*.) For the development of the latter see 3. 31  
and 38. Examples: Latin *septem*, Go, OHG *sibun*, E *seven*;  
Latin *tertius*, Go *þridja*, OHG *dritto*, E *third*; Latin  
*cum-*, Go *ǵa-*, OHG *ǵi-*; Latin *aqua*, OHG *ouwa* beside  
*aha*; Latin *aes*, *bronze*, Go *aiz*, OHG *ër*, E *ore*.

#### *Other Consonant Changes*

3. 33. The remaining IE consonants, voiceless fricative *s* (cf.  
3. 32), semivowels *ɥ* and *ɨ*, liquids *l* and *r*, and nasals *m* and *n*  
(and dental and guttural *n* before corresponding consonants),  
in general remained in pr.Gc. Changes in these, and other

changes in the original stops, were confined to combinatory or conditional changes, i.e. changes taking place only under conditions of combination with another particular sound, or of particular position in the word.

3. 34. Every labial+t > ft, e.g. Go **ga-skafts**, *creation*, OHG **gi-scaft**, *creature*, besides Go **skapjan**, OHG **skephen**, *to create*; Go **fra-gifts**, *a giving*, OHG **gift**, *gift*, beside Go **giban**, OHG **gēban**, *to give*.

Every guttural+t > xt, e.g. Go, OHG **mahta**, pret. of **magan**, *to be able*; Go **waúrhta**, **waúrhts**, OHG **worhta**, **gi-worht**, pret. and p.p. of Go **waúrkjan**, OHG **wurken**, *to work*.

Every dental+t > ss, e.g. Go **wissa**, OHG **wissa**, **wëssa**, pret. of Go **witan**, *to know*.

ss > s after long syllables, e.g. Go **un-weis**, *unknowing*, OHG **wīs**, E **wise**, beside Go **witan**.

ssr > str, e.g. Go **gub-blostreis**, *worshipper of God*, OHG **bluoster**, *sacrifice*, beside Go **blotan**, *to worship*.

Instead of ss or s, st is often found by analogy with other forms that kept the t, e.g. Go **waist** for \***wais**, OHG **weist** for \***weis**, *knowest*, by analogy with Go **last** from **lisan**, *to gather*, OHG **maht** from **magan**, &c.; OHG **wësta** beside **wëssa**, *knew*, by analogy with OHG **worhta**, *worked*, &c.

3. 35. Guttural n (ŋ) disappeared before x, see 3. 9.

3. 36. The consonants which arose from IE t, d in final position were dropped in unaccented syllables in pr.Gc, e.g. Go **hva**, *what*, Latin **quod**; Go **baírai**, OHG **bëre**, from \***bhéroit**, *he may bear*.

3. 37. Original final -m became -n in pr.Gc. This -n, as also original final IE -n, disappeared in disyllabic and polysyllabic words. For examples see 3. 19, 20.

WEST GERMANIC MODIFICATIONS OF  
PR.GC. CONSONANTS

3. 38. Pr.Gc **z**, which arose from **s** (3. 32), became **r** medially, and was dropped finally (except that probably *\*-anz* > *-os*, *-as* in OS *dagos*, OE *dagas* (4. 2)), e.g. Go *maiza*, OHG *mēro*, greater; also Go *huzd*, OHG *hort*, E *hoard*; Go *dagſ* from *\*dagaz*, OHG *tag*, *day*; Go *sunus* from *\*sunuz*, OHG *sunu*, *son*.

3. 39. In WGc all single consonants, except **r**, were doubled after a short vowel before a following **j**. This **j** was mostly retained in OS, but was generally dropped in OHG (see 3. 48, 46), as also in OE, e.g. OHG *sellen*, OS *sellian*, Go *saljan*, OE *sellan*, *to give up*; OHG *fremmen*, OS *fremmian*, ON *fremja*, OE *fremman*, *to perform*; OHG *kuninginna*, OS *-innia*, from *-injō-* (4. 6); OHG *frauwa*, *frouwa*, from *\*frawjo-*, *woman* (3. 47).

**bj**, **đj**, and **gj** became **bb**, **dd**, **gg**, e.g. Go *sibja*, OS *sibbia*, *relationship*; Go *bidjan*, OS *biddian*, *to pray*; Go *hugjan*, OS *huggian*, *to think*.

Go *skapjan*, OS *skeppian*, *to create*; Go *satjan*, OS *set-tian*, *to set*; Go *uf-rakjan*, *to stretch forth*, OS *rekkian*, *to relate*.

For the OHG treatment of WGc **bb**, **dd**, **gg**; **pp**, **tt**, **kk**, see 3. 42, 43.

3. 40. **p**, **t**, and **k** were also doubled in WGc before a following **r**, e.g. OHG *kupfar*, *copper*, from Latin *cuprum*; OHG *snottar*, Go *snutrs*, *wise*; OHG *bittar*, ON *bitr*, E *bitter*; OHG *wackar*, ON *vakr*, *watchful*. These consonants were also sometimes doubled before **l**, e.g. OHG *aphul*, ON *epli*, E *apple*; OHG *lutzil*, OS *luttill*, E *little*.



THE HIGH GERMAN SHIFT OF PR.GC. STOPS  
AND FRICATIVES

(*Second Sound-Shift*)

3. 41. The most striking feature in which HG differs from the other WGc languages is the general shifting which certain consonants underwent. This process had its beginning before the period of the oldest HG monuments, and was practically completed by the end of the eighth century.

The only consonants which were shifted throughout the whole of the HG dialects were the voiceless stops **p**, **t**, **k**. The shifting of the voiced fricatives and stops did not extend over all the HG dialects. The shifting of **þ** to **d** through the intermediate stage **ḏ** took place in historic times; beginning first in UG about 750, it had gradually extended over all the HG dialects by the end of the eleventh century (cf. 3. 51).

This shifting, together with 3. 29-31, is often referred to as Grimm's Law.

3. 42. Pr.Gc **p**, **t**, **k** (except **sp**, **st**, **sk**, **tr**, **ht**, **ft**) were shifted:

(a) medially or finally after vowels, to voiceless double (long) fricatives (and see 3. 46), **ff**, **zz**, **hh** (cf. 2. 3).

**p** > **ff**, e.g. Go **slepan**, OHG **slāffan**, E **sleep**; Go **skip**, OHG **skif**, E **ship**.

**t** > **zz**, e.g. Go **itan**, OHG **ezzan**, E **eat**; Go **wait**, OHG **weiz**, E **wot**.

**k** > **hh**, e.g. Go **sokjan**, OHG **suohhen**, E **seek**; Go **juk**, OHG **joh**, E **yoke**.

(b) initially or medially after consonants (**l**, **r**, **m**, **n**) or when doubled, to affricates, **pf**, **tz**, and, in UG, **kh** (cf. 2. 3). In RF **p** was shifted to **pf** only after **l** and **r**, remaining **p** in the other positions; while **k** remained unshifted in Franconian generally.

**p** > **pf**, e.g. Go **paida**, OS **pēda**, C and RF **peit**, EF and UG **pfeit**, *shirt*; OS, C and RF **plēgan**, EF and UG **pflēgan**, *to care for*; Go **hilpan**, OS and CF **hēlpan**, UF and UG **hēlphan**, E *help*; Go **skapjan**, OS **skeppian**, C and RF **skeppen**, EF and UG **ske(p)phen**, *to create*; **pf** becoming **f** after **l** and **r** during the ninth century, e.g. **hēlfan**.

**t** > **z**, e.g. Go **taikns**, OS **tēkan**, OHG **zeihhan**, E *token*; Go **hairto**, OS **hērta**, OHG **hērza**, E *heart*; Go **satjan**, OS **settian**, OHG **sezzen**, E *set*. **k** > **kh**, e.g. Go **kaurn**, OS and F **korn**, UG **khorn**, E *corn*; OS and F **wērk**, UG **werch**, E *work*; Go **us-wakjan**, OS **weckian**, F **wecken**, UG **we(c)chan**, E *awake*.

### 3. 43. Pr.Gc voiced stops and fricatives.

1. UF retained **b**, **bb**, whereas UG shifted them to **p**, **pp**, e.g. UF **bēran**, *to bear*, **sibba**, *peace*, beside UG **pēran**, **sippa**.

UF and Alemannic shifted **ḅ** to **b**, whereas in Bavarian it appears as **p**, e.g. UF and Alemannic **sibun**, Go **sibun**, E *seven*; **ubil**, Go **ubils**, E *evil*, but Bavarian **sipun**, **upil**.

2. All HG dialects shifted **dd** to **tt**, e.g. Go **bidjan**, OS **biddian**, OHG **bitten**, *to request*; Go **midjis**, OS **middi**, OHG **mitti**, *middle*.

UG and EF shifted single **d** (pr.Gc. **ḏ**, **d**) to **t**, whereas RF retained **d** initially, but frequently shifted it to **t** in other positions, e.g. OS **dohtar**, *daughter*, **bindan**, *to bind*, **biodan**, *to offer*, appear in UG and EF as **tohter**, **bintan**, **biotan**, and in RF as **dohter**, **bindan**, **biodan**, beside **bintan**, **biotan**.

3. **gg** remained in Franconian, but was shifted to **kk** in UG, e.g. OS **liggian**, Franconian **liggen**, *to lie down*; OS **hruggi**, Franconian **ruggi**, *back*, beside UG **likken**, **rucki**.

Single **g** (pr.Gc **g**) remained, except that in UG it was mostly shifted to **k** when initial or final, and rarely when medial, e.g. Franconian **gast**, *guest*, **tag**, *day*, **stīgan**, *to*

*ascend*, *ouga*, *eye*, UG *kast*, *tac*, *stigan* or *stican*, *ouga* or *ouca*.

Notker has **p/b**, **k/g**, see 2. 4, like **t/d** from **\*þ**, but **t** < **\*d**, **\*ð** is invariable, e.g. beside *unser dú*, *unser tágelicha brôt kib*.

3. 44. The following table gives a summary of the sound-shift. For the pronunciation of the various orthographies see 2. 3. The letters representing shifted sounds are printed in italics.

Pr.Gc	<b>*p</b>		<b>*t</b>		<b>*k</b>	
Go, ON, OS	<b>p</b>		<b>t</b>		<b>k</b>	
OE	<b>p</b>		<b>t</b>		<b>c</b>	
CF	<b>p</b>	<i>ff</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>zz(t)</i>	<b>k</b>	<i>hh</i>
RF	<b>p</b> ( <i>pf</i> )	<i>ff</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>zz</i>	<b>k</b>	<i>hh</i>
EF	<i>pf</i>	<i>ff</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>zz</i>	<b>k</b>	<i>hh</i>
UG	<i>pf</i>	<i>ff</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>zz</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>hh</i>

Pr.Gc	<b>*þ</b>		<b>*ð</b>		<b>*g</b>	
Go	<b>b</b> ( <i>f</i> )		<b>d</b> ( <i>þ</i> )		<b>g</b>	
ON	<b>b</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>d, ð</b>		<b>g</b>	
OE	<b>b</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>d</b>		<b>g</b>	
OS	<b>b</b>	<b>þ</b> ( <i>f</i> )	<b>d</b>		<b>g</b>	
CF	<b>b</b>	<b>v</b> ( <i>f</i> )	<b>d</b>		<b>g</b>	
RF	<b>b</b>	<i>b</i>	<b>d</b> ( <i>t</i> )		<b>g</b>	
EF	<b>b</b>	<i>b</i>	<b>t</b>		<b>g</b>	
UG	<i>p</i> ( <i>b</i> )	<i>b p</i>	<b>t</b>		<i>k g g</i> ( <i>k</i> )	

3. 45. As a result of Verner's Law (3. 32) and the developments of 3. 41-44, the following pairs of consonants alternate in OHG (OS):

**f/b** (OS **f/þ**), e.g. *heffen*, *to raise*, OS *af-heffian*, Go *hafjan*, pret. pl. *huobun*, OS *huoþun*.

**d/t** (OS **th(ð)/d**), e.g. *lidan*, *to go*, OS *liðan*, pret. pl. *litun*, OS *lidun*.

(OS **th(ð)**)/**nd**, e.g. **fīðan**, to *find*, pret. pl. **fundun**.)

**h/g**, e.g. **ziohan**, to *draw*, pret. pl. **zugun**.

**h/w**, e.g. **lihan**, to *lend*, Go **leihvan**, pret. pl. **liwun**; **sēhan**, to *see*, p.p. **gisēwan**, also OS pret. subj. **sāwi**.

**h/ng**, e.g. **fāhan**, to *seize*, pret. pl. **fiangun** (OS **fengun**); OS **thihan**, to *thrive*, **githungan**, *full-grown*.

**s/r**, e.g. **kiosan**, to *choose*, pret. pl. **kurun**.

### OTHER CONSONANT CHANGES OF OHG

3. 46. OHG double consonants were simplified in the following cases (cf. 2. 4):

1. When they became final, e.g. **fēl**, *hide*, gen. **fēlles**; **far**, *bull*, pl. **farri**; uninflected form **grim**, *fierce*, inflected **grimmēr**; **swimman**, to *swim*, pret. sg. **swam**; **rinnan**, to *run*, pret. sg. **ran**; nom. sg. **man**, *man*, gen. **mannes**; **ēzzan**, to *eat*, pret. sg. **az**; nom. sg. **kus**, *kiss*, gen. **kusses**; **sprēhan**, **sprēchan**, to *speak*, pret. sg. **sprah**; &c.

2. Before other consonants, e.g. **kunnan**, to *know*, pret. sg. **konda**; **kussen**, to *kiss*, pret. sg. **kusta**; **brennen**, to *burn*, pret. sg. **branta**; &c.

3. Frequently medially after long vowels, e.g. **slāfan** beside **slāffan**, to *sleep*; **lāzan** beside **lāzzan**, to *let, leave*; **lūtar** beside **lūttar**, *pure*; &c.

4. Sometimes after unaccented vowels, e.g. **gommanes** from **gommannes**, cf. OS **himilik** from **himillik**.

3. 47. Single **w** became vocalized to **o** if it came to stand at the end of a word or syllable. This **o** was then mostly dropped after long vowels, e.g. **sēo**, **sē**, *sea*, gen. **sēwes**; **kneo**, **knio**, *knee*, gen. **knēwes**; **garwen**, to *prepare*, pret. **garota**, beside **gar(a)wita**; **trēso**, *treasure*, gen. **tresewes**; &c.

Final **aw** > **ao** > **ō**, as uninflected form **rao**, **rō**, *raw*, beside inflected **rawēr**, gen. **rawes**.

**ww**, whether it was general Gc **ww** (Go **ggw**, ON **gg(v)**) or WGc **ww** from **wj** (3. 39), formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel: **aww** > **auw** > **ouw**, which became **ou** when final, e.g. OHG **glouwēr**, *exact, clear*, uninflected **glou**, ON **glōggǫr**, Go adverb **glaggwo**, *exactly*; **houwan**, *to hew*, ON **hōggva**; **frouwa**, *woman*, from \***frawjō-**; **frouwen**, *to rejoice*, from \***frawjan**, pret. sg. **frewita** (3. 12) from \***frawita** (the inf. form **frewen** was a new formation by analogy with the pret. and pres. 1 and 2 sg. **frewis**, **frewit**; conversely the pret. form **frouwita** was by analogy with the inf. and pres. 1 sg. and pl.); both **eww** and **iww** (> **ewj**) became **iuw**, which became **iu** when final, e.g. **bliuwan**, *to strike*, Go **bliggwan**; **triuwi**, *true, faithful*, Go **triggws**; **iu**, dat. pl. to **ir**, **ye**; **spriu**, *chaff*, nom. pl. **spriuwir**; **siuwen**, *to sew*, from \***sewjān**, Go **siujan**; **niuwi** from \***newja**, Go **niujs**.

In OS **awj** > **oi**, e.g. **froio**, *lord*.

3. 48. The semivowel **j** after **r** is never written 'e'; in Franconian and Alemannic **rj** > **rr**. When absolutely final, **j** became vocalic **i**, e.g. nom. sg. **heri**, *army*, cf. Go **harjis**. The original rising diphthong (cf. 2. 2) **ja** (**jā**) became **e** in final syllables, e.g. nom. pl. **sunte**, *sins*, OS **sundia** (4. 7); **kennen**, *to know*, OS **kennian**.

3. 49. Final **-m** became **-n** in OHG in the course of the ninth century, and in OS from early times, in unaccented syllables when not protected by analogy, i.e. in inflectional, not stem, syllables, e.g. **tagun** from **tagum**, dat. pl. of **tag**, *day*; **habēn** from **habēm**, 1 sg. pres. of **habēn**, *to have*. In OS, as in Anglo-Frisian, nasals before fricatives generally were treated like Gc **ŋ** before **x** (3. 35, 9), e.g. **āðar**, **ōðar**, OHG **ander**, E **other**.

3. 50. Gc **h** was dropped in OHG, but not OS, in the initial combinations **hl**, **hr**, **hn**, **hw**, in the course of the ninth century. In other cases Gc **h**, **hw** (from **x**, **xw**) had a twofold

development according to their position in the word. Initial **h** before vowels and medial **h**, **hw**, between vowels, became the aspirate **h**, as **habēn**, *to have*; **sēhan**, *to see*, Go **saihvān**; in other positions they remained fricatives, and thus had the same sound as the HG **h** which arose from Gc **k**; cf. **naht**, *night*, Go **nahts**; **sah**, *saw*, Go **sahv**, with OHG **ih**, *I*, OS, Go **ik**; **sioh**, E **sick**, OS **siok**, G<sub>o</sub> **siuks**; **sprah**, *spoke*, OS **sprak**.

3. 51. Gc **þ** became **d** through the intermediate stage **ð** in the course of the OHG period (3. 41). The UG dialects had changed **þ** to **d** in all positions by the beginning of the ninth century. Tatian and Otfrid wrote **th** initially, but **d** medially, e.g. UG **dēr**, Franconian **thē(r)**, OS **thē**, *the*, but HG **ērda**, OS **ertha**, *earth*; UG **chvad**, UF **quad**, OS **quað**, *quoth*. OS wrote **th** or **ð** (2. 3) in all positions, but pronounced a voiceless fricative initially and finally, voiced medially, cf. the medial change (also E, ON) of **f** to **þ** (so written in OS), and final change of **þ** to voiceless **f**.

## IV

# ACCIDENCE (DESCRIPTIVE AND COMPARATIVE)

*Note.* The EF consonants are usually taken as normal, because they mostly agree with those of M and NHG, but **d** has been substituted for the Franconian **th**.

### DECLENSION OF NOUNS

**4. 1.** OHG nouns have two numbers, singular and plural; three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in MHG, from which the gender of nouns in OHG does not materially differ; five cases, Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, and Instrumental. The Instrumental Singular is in the majority of nouns identical with the Dative; in the Plural, Nominative and Accusative, Dative and (5. 5) Instrumental, are always identical. There is (as in all Gc languages except Go) no Vocative distinct from the Nominative.

OHG nouns may be classified into declensions according to the Gc (and IE) stems from which they are derived, or according to the types of endings they take in OHG itself. In this book they are divided in the latter way, for descriptive purposes, but the divisions are put in an order corresponding to the older classification, for comparative purposes. This order is: stems ending in vowels ('Strong' declensions); stems ending in **-n** ('Weak' declensions); other stems ending in consonants ('Minor' declensions).

The terms *strong* and *weak* originated with Grimm (cf. 3. 41), who regarded a declension or conjugation (4. 48) with a greater variety of stems as more vigorous and hence *stark*.

**4. 2.** The Principal Masculine and Neuter Declension (Gc pure **a**-stems; IE pure **o**-stems (see 3. 2)). (MHG I (*a*) I and II (*a*) I).

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing. Nom. Acc.	<b>tag</b> , <i>day</i>	<b>wort</b> , <i>word</i>
Gen.	<b>tages (-as)</b>	<b>wortes (-as)</b>
Dat.	<b>tage (-a)</b>	<b>worte (-a)</b>
Instr.	<b>tagu (-o)</b>	<b>wortu (-o)</b>
Plur. Nom. Acc.	<b>tagā, -a</b>	<b>wort</b>
Gen.	<b>tago</b>	<b>worto</b>
Dat.	<b>tagum, -om,</b> <b>-un, -on</b>	<b>wortum, -om,</b> <b>-un, -on</b>

(a) The endings **-as**, **-a** of the gen. and dat. sing. do not occur frequently until after the end of the ninth century; they are the regular endings in OS, which merges **-e** in **-a** (3. 23). **-un**, **-on** are the usual dat. pl. endings of the ninth century (3. 49).

(b) Like **tag** are declined most OHG masculine nouns, e.g. **bērg**, *mountain*, **wēg**, *way*, **geist**, *spirit*, **himil**, *heaven*, **tiufal**, *devil*, **kuning**, *king*, **tuom** (also neuter), *judgement*.

(c) Disyllabic nouns ending in **-al**, **-ar**, **-an** with long stems sometimes drop the **a** before a vocalic ending, e.g. nom. **ackar**, *field*, gen. **ackres**, &c. See 3. 22.

(d) Proper names of this declension take the pronominal ending **-an** in the acc. (also in OS; and cf. MHG § 54), as also **truhtin**, *Lord*, **got**, *God*, e.g. nom. **Petrus**, acc. **Petrusan**; acc. **truhtinan**.

This pronominal ending is derived from the originally adjectival (4. 19) compound names, but its effect is to mark together (with strong adjectives) nouns and pronouns which have unique reference (cf. 5. 10).

(e) Like **wort** are declined **barn**, *child*, **sēr**, *pain*, **swert**, *sword*, **honag**, *honey*, **zwifal** (cf. 3. 22), *doubt*, **fēl** (gen. **fēlles**), *skin*, **kind**, *child*, &c.; here belong also the diminutives in **-in** and **-lin**, as **magatīn**, *little maid*, **fingarlīn**, *little finger*,



except that UG retains the **-n** in the gen. and dat. only, and that the nom. acc. pl. end in **-iu** in Alemannic.

IE and pr.Gc endings of <b>tag</b> (pr.Gc * <b>dagaz</b> ) were	
NS * <b>-os</b> (Lat. <b>-us</b> ),	* <b>-az</b> (Go <b>dag</b> s, ON <b>dagr</b> )
AS * <b>-om</b> (Lat. <b>-um</b> ),	* <b>-an</b> (Go, ON <b>dag</b> )
GS * <b>-e/oso</b> ,	* <b>-i/asa</b> (Go <b>dagis</b> , ON <b>dag</b> s)
DS * <b>-ōi</b>	* <b>-ai</b> (ON <b>dege</b> )
IS * <b>-ē/ō</b> (Lat. <b>quō</b> ),	* <b>-ē/ō</b> (Go D <b>daga</b> , ON D <b>hring</b> )
NP * <b>-ōs</b> ,	* <b>-ōz</b> (Go <b>dag</b> os, ON <b>dag</b> ar)
AP * <b>-ons</b> (Lat. <b>-ōs</b> ),	* <b>-anz</b> (Go <b>dag</b> ans, OS <b>dag</b> os?, OE <b>dag</b> as?, ON <b>daga</b> )
GP * <b>-ōm</b> ,	* <b>-ōn</b> (ON OE <b>daga</b> )
DP I ending (from other stems) giving * <b>-amiz</b> (Go <b>dag</b> am)	

The OHG AP is probably derived from the pr.Gc N, whereas the OS, OE N probably < A. The DP **-um** (all but Go) has **u** < \***a** because of following labial nasal or < \***m̥**, the *whole* ending then being borrowed (from consonant stems).

The pr.Gc NAP of \***wordan** = **wort** (NAS like **tag** A) was in **-ō**, like NS of F **ō**-stems (4. 5), but OHG has generalized the original long-stem form (3. 19) without **-u** (with some exceptions, cf. (e) and 4. 3).

#### 4. 3. The Masculine and Neuter j-declension (Gc **ja**-stems; IE **jo**-stems) (MHG I (a) II and II (a) I).

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>
NA	<b>hirti</b> , <i>herdsman</i>	<b>kunni</b> , <i>race</i>	<b>hirte</b>	<b>kunni</b>
G	<b>hirtes</b>	<b>kunnes</b>	<b>hirteo</b> , <b>-io</b>	<b>kunneo</b> , <b>-io</b>
D	<b>hirtie</b>	<b>kunnie</b>	<b>hirtim</b> , <b>-um</b>	<b>kunnim</b> , <b>-um</b>
I	<b>hirtiu</b>	<b>kinniu</b>		

(a) The nouns of this declension (in HG, cf. 3. 39) early (by the ninth century) went over (in all but NAS ending (M and NHG **-e**)) to the Principal M and N Declension (4. 2), except that the DP is found in **-im** (**-in**) (usually ascribed to borrowing from **i**-declension (4. 9)) as well as **-um** (**-un**, **-on**), and that in neuter NAP **-iu** occurs, possibly from adjectives (4. 19).

(b) Like **hirti** are declined the nomina agentis ending in **-āri** (**-ari**, **-eri**), as **wahtāri** (**wahtari**, **wahteri**), *watchman*, **lērāri**, *teacher*, **scribāri**, *writer*, *scribe*; as also **karkāri**, *prison*, **altāri**, *altar*, and a few others, as **rucki**, *back*, **phuzzi**, *puzzi*, *well*, **kāsi**, *cheese*.

(c) Like **kunni** are declined very many neuters, as **enti**, *end*, **rīchi**, *kingdom*, **betti**, *bed*, collectives in **gi-**, abstracts in **ni/-nissi/-nessi/-nussi**, compounds like **elilenti**, *foreign parts*; note **heri**, *army*, GS **heries**, DS **herie** (3. 39).

Pr.Gc endings of **hirti** (pr.Gc **\*xirdijaz**) were

NS	<b>*-ijaz</b> (Go. <b>haírdeis</b> , ON <b>hirðer</b> )	P*	<b>-ijōz</b> (Go <b>haírdjos</b> )
A	<b>*-ijan</b> (Go <b>haírdi</b> )		<b>*-ijanz</b> (Go <b>haírdjans</b> )
G	<b>-iji/asa</b> (Go <b>haírdeis</b> , OS <b>hirdeas</b> , ON <b>hirðes</b> )		<b>*-ijōn</b> (OS <b>hirdios</b> )
D	<b>*-ijai</b> (OS <b>hirdea</b> , ON <b>hirðe</b> )		<b>*-ijamiz</b> (OS <b>hirdium</b> )
I	<b>*-ijē/ō</b> (Go D <b>haírdja</b> )		

**Kunni** has **-nn-** in the NAS (pr. WGc **\*kuni**) by analogy with the other cases (3. 39).

4. 4. The Masculine and Neuter **w**-declension (Gc **wa**-stems IE **uō**-stems) (MHG I (a) I and II, and II (a) I).

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>
NA	<b>snēo</b> , <b>snē</b> , <i>snow</i>	<b>kneo</b> , <i>knee</i>	<b>snēwā</b> , <b>-a</b>	<b>kneo</b>
G	<b>snēwes</b>	<b>knēwes</b>	<b>snēwo</b>	<b>knēwo</b>
D	<b>snēwe</b>	<b>knēwe</b>	<b>snēwum</b> , <b>-un</b> , <b>-on</b>	<b>knēwum</b> , <b>-un</b> , <b>-on</b>

(a) On the forms of the NS see 3. 47. When the **w** is preceded by a consonant an **a** (sometimes **o**, **e**) is developed in the inflected cases, thus nom. neut. **trēso**, *treasure*, gen. **trēsawes**; nom. masc. **scato**, *shadow*, gen. **scatawes**, see 3. 25.

(b) To this declension belong the masculines **lēo**, grave, **sēo**, sea, **bū** (gen. **būwes**), dwelling, and the neuters **rēo**, corpse, **zēso**, right side, **smēro**, grease.

4. 5. The Principal Feminine Declension (Gc pure **ō**-stems (and **wō**-stems); IE **ā**-stems (see 3.6)) (MHG III (a) 1).

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
NA	<b>gēba</b> , gift	<b>gēbā</b> , -a
G	<b>gēba</b> , -u, -o	<b>gēbōno</b>
D	<b>gēbu</b> , -o	<b>gēbōm</b> , -ōn, -on

(a) In OS are found alternative NAS in -e and DS in -a.

(b) Like **gēba** are declined a very large number of nouns, e.g. **ērda**, earth, **ēra**, honour, **zala**, number, **triuwa**, fidelity, **corunga**, temptation, **hertida**, hardness, **miltida**, compassion, **gināda**, favour, **lōsungā**, deliverance, **stunta**, time, &c.

IE and pr.Gc endings of **gēba** (pr.Gc \***gebō**) were

NS \*-**ā** (cf. Lat. **mensa**), \*-**ō** (Go **giba**, OE **giefu**, ON **giōf**)

AS \*-**ām** (cf. Lat. -**am**), \*-**ōn** (Go **giba**, OE **giefe**)

GS \*-**ās** (Lat. (**pater**)) \*-**ōz** (Go **gibos**, ON **gīafar**,  
**familiās**) OE **giefe**)

DS \*-**āi** (Lat. -**ae**), \*-**ai** (Go **gibai**, OE **giefe**)

NAP \*-**as** (Lat. A **mensās**), \*-**ōz** (Go **gibos**, ON **gīafar**,  
OE **giefe**)

GP \*-**ōm**, \*-**ōn** (Go **gibo**, ON **gīafa**, OE **gīefa**)

DP \*-**āmis**, \*-**ōmiz** (Go **gibom**, ON **gīofom**,  
OE **giefum**, OS **gebōn**)

The OHG NS is derived from the pr.Gc A (conversely to the ON); DS from Gc I \*-**ō** (cf. 4. 2), IE \*-**ā** (OS **gēbu**, ON **giōf**); GS forms from D; GP (OS **gebōno**) from the n-stems.

4. 6. Feminine -inn-declension (Gc -**injō**-, OS -**innia**) (see 3. 39).

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
N	<b>kuningin</b> , queen	<b>kuninginnā</b>
A	<b>kuninginna</b> , -in	„
G	<b>kuninginna</b>	<b>kuninginnōno</b>
D	<b>kuninginnu</b>	<b>kuninginnōm</b>

Like **kuningin** are declined **forasagin**, *prophetess*, **friuntin**, *friend*, &c.; most inanimates like **burdin**, *burden*, have S (all cases) and NAP **burdī** (like 4. 8) or **burdin**, GP **burdino**.

4. 7. The Feminine **j**-declension (Gc **jō**-stems; IE **īā**-stems) (MHG III (a) 1).

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
NA	<b>sunte</b> , -ea, -ia, <i>sin</i>	<b>sunte</b> , -ea, -ia
G	„	<b>sunteono</b>
D	<b>suntiu</b>	<b>sunteōm</b>

(a) The nouns of this declension (cf. M and N **j**- 4. 3) early (by the ninth century) went over (including NS) to the Principal Feminine Declension (4. 5).

(b) Like **sunte** are declined **helle**, *hell*, **sibbe**, **sippe**, *peace*, **minne**, *love*, **krippe**, *manger*, &c.

To 4. 6 and 7: The NS pr.Gc ending was (short stems) -**jō** (Go -**ja**, OS -**ia**), (long stems) -**ī** (Go -**i**, OHG -(**in**)- (4. 6) (3. 18, 19)).

4. 8. Feminine Abstract Nouns in -**i** (MHG III (a) 1).

S (all cases) and NAP **hōhī** (**hohīn**), *height*, GP **hōhīno**, DP **hōhīm**.

Like **hōhī** are declined **scōnī**, *beauty*, **suozzi**, *sweetness*, **snelli**, *quickness*, **tiufi**, *depth*, **menigī**, **managī**, *multitude*, **irstantani**, *resurrection*, **toufi**, *a dipping*, **weli**, *choice*, **leitī**, *a leading*, &c.

These nouns comprise two classes of stems which were different in Gothic, but of which there is no trace of difference in their inflexion in OHG—(1) adjectival abstract nouns the stems of which originally ended in -**īn**, NS -**ī** (Go weak declension, like **tuggo** in 4. 14 (with Go -**ei**- for -**o**-); ON -**e**, OE **ō**- (Principal Feminine) declension, OS **i**- declension); (2) verbal abstract nouns (comparatively few in OHG) with stems ending in -**īni**, Go **i**-declension, like **anst** in 4. 10 except N and GP -**o**-.

4. 9. The Masculine *i*-declension (MHG III (a) II).

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
NA	<b>gast</b> , <i>guest</i>	<b>gesti</b>
G	<b>gastes</b>	<b>gesteo</b> , -io, -o
D	<b>gaste</b>	<b>gestim</b> , -in, -en
I	<b>gastiu</b> , <b>gestiu</b> , <b>gastu</b>	

(a) On the consonantal combinations which prevent *Umlaut*, see 3. 12.

(b) Like **gast** are declined **liut**, *people*, **wurm**, *worm*, **aphul**, *apple*, **slag**, *blow*, **scrit**, *step*, &c.—**wini**, *friend*, **quiti**, *saying*, and a few others retain the -i in NAS, but follow **gast** in the other cases. Many u- and consonant stems have passed into this declension: original u-stems were **skilt**, *shield*, **wirt**, *master of the house*, **heit**, *manner*, **sun**, *son*; consonant stems, **fuoz**, *foot* (cf. 4. 16), **zan**, **zand**, *tooth*, **naġal**, *nail*.

4. 10. The Feminine *i*-declension (MHG III (a) II).

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
NA	<b>anst</b> , <i>favour</i>	<b>ensti</b>
G	<b>ensti</b>	<b>ensteo</b> , -io, -o
D	<b>ensti</b>	<b>enstim</b> , -in, -en

(a) See 4. 9a.

(b) Like **anst** are declined **stat**, *place*, **jugund**, *youth*, **fart**, *journey*, **gift**, *gift*, **ġiburt**, *birth*, and many other Feminines. **kuri**, *choice*, and **turi**, *door*, retain the -i in the nom. and acc. sg., but follow **anst** in the other cases. Like **anst** are also declined the old u-stems **fluot**, *flood*, **lust**, *desire*, and the consonant stems **ġans**, *goose*, **miluh**, *milk*, **magad**, *virgin*, and a few others.

To 4. 9 and 10. IE and pr.Gc endings of **gast** (pr.Gc \***gastiz**) and **anst** (pr.Gc \***anstiz**) were

NS \*-is (Lat. -is), \*-iz (ON **ġestr**, OE **ġiest**)

AS \*-im (Lat. -im), \*-in (ON **ġest**)

GS *-ois/eis,	*-aiz/-īz (Go anstais)
DS *-oi/ei (Lat. -ī),	*-ai/-ī (Go anstai, ON geste)
NP *-ejes (Lat. -ēs),	*-ijiz (Go gasteis, ON gester, OE Engle)
AP *-ins (Lat. -īs),	*-inz (Go gastins, ON geste, OE Engle)
GP *-iōm,	*-jōn
DP *-imis,	*-imiz (Go gastim)

The M S has been assimilated to Gc a-stems (Principal M Declension, 4. 2). OS has GP *gestio*, DP *gestiun*, F DS also *fard*, *ferdiu*. The OHG NP probably comes from the acc. The ON F entirely goes over to the *ō-* (Principal F) declension. In OHG the NAS *-i* was dropped regularly in long stems, after the analogy of which it was dropped for the most part in short stems. See 3. 19. The distinction is better kept in OS (e.g. **quidi**, GS **quidias**, **beki** beside OHG **bah**, *stream*, also neuters e.g. **landskepi**) and OE.

#### 4. 11. The u-declension (MHG § 41).

The only trace in OHG of the u-declension, apart from the NAS *-u* (and rare GS *-o*) in M nouns that have otherwise joined the M *i*-declension (**situ**, *custom*, **fridu**, *peace*, **hugu**, *understanding*, **sigu**, *victory*, **witu**, *wood*, **sunu** (beside **sun**), *son*) and in neuter **fihu**, *cattle*, otherwise declined like **wort** (4. 2), is the DP **-um** (**-un**, **-on**) in F **hant**, *hand*, otherwise declined like **anst** (4. 10) (cf. MHG § 52).

IE and pr.Gc endings of <b>sunu</b> (pr.Gc * <b>sunuz</b> ) were	
NS *-us (Latin <i>manus</i> ),	*-uz (Go <b>sunus</b> , ON <b>sunr</b> , OE <b>sunu</b> )
AS *-um (Lat. <i>-um</i> ),	*-un (Go <b>sunu</b> , OE <b>sunu</b> , ON <b>sun</b> )
GS *-oues,	*-awiz (Go <b>sunaus</b> , ON <b>sonar</b> , OHG <b>suno</b> , OE <b>suna</b> )
DS *L -eui, -oui,	*-iwi, -ei, -awi (OHG I <b>suniu</b> ; ON <b>syni</b> , OS <b>suni</b> ; Go <b>sunau</b> , OS <b>suno</b> )
NP *-eues (Lat. <i>-ūs</i> ),	*-iwiz (Go <b>sunjus</b> , ON <b>synir</b> )
AP *-uns (Lat. <i>-ūs</i> ),	*-unz (Go <b>sununs</b> , ON <b>sunu</b> , OE NA <b>sunu</b> )
GP *-euiōm,	*-iwōn (OS <b>sunio</b> )
DP *-umis,	*-umiz (Go, ON, OE, OS <b>sunum</b> )

The OHG transition to *i*-declension was partly due to WGc phonetic coincidence in DS, N (and G) P.

#### 4. 12. The Masculine *n*-declension (MHG I (b)).

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
N	<b>hano, cock</b>	<b>hanon, hanun</b>
A	<b>hanon, hanun</b>	
G	<b>hanen, hanin</b>	<b>hanōno</b>
D	<b>hanen, hanin</b>	<b>hanōm, hanōn</b>

Like **hano** are declined many nouns, e.g. **hērro, hēro**, *master*, **wahsmo**, *fruit*, **ohso**, *ox*, **stērno**, *star*, **gomo**, *man*, **namo**, *name*, **willo** (early *willeo*), *will*, **forasaġo**, *prophet*.

IE and pr.Gc endings of **hano** (pr.Gc \***xanō**) were  
 NS \***-ēn**, \***-ēn** (ON **hane**, Go **hana**?)/\***-ōn**, \***-ōn** (Go **hana**?)  
 FN OHG OS **-a**, OE **-e**/\***-ō** (Lat. **homō**), \***-ō** (OHG OS **-o**, OE **-a**, FN Go **-o**, ON **-a**)  
 AS \***-onm̄** (Lat. **-inem**), \***-anun** (Go **hanan**, ON **hana**, OS **hanan** (on))  
 GS \***-enes** (Lat. **-inis**), \***-iniz** (Go **hanins**, OS **hanen** (an, on))  
 DS \***L -eni** (Lat. abl. **-ine**), \***-ini** (Go **hanin**, OS **hanen** (an, on))  
 NP \***-ones**, \***-aniz** (Go **hanans**, OS **hanan** (on, un))  
 AP \***-(o)n̄ns** (Lat. **-inēs**), \***-(a)nunz** (Go **hanans**, ON **hana**)  
 GP \***-nōm**, \***-nōn** (Go **aúhsne**, OE **oxna**, ON **yxna**)  
 DP \***-n̄mis**, \***-unmiz** (OS **hanun** (on))

Some of the OHG (OS) forms are difficult to explain: **-o/un** < \***a** possibly because of following nasal (cf. DP of 4. 2?), possibly from generalization of **u**-Umlaut in some forms. The OHG GDP are borrowed from F (4. 14), which has stem \***-ōn-** (Lat. **sermō**, **sermōnis**), > **ū** for the same possible reasons as **-o/un** < \***a**?

#### 4. 13. The Neuter *n*-declension (MHG II (b)).

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
NA	<b>hērza, heart</b>	<b>hērzun, hērzon</b>
G	<b>hērzen, hērzin</b>	<b>hērzōno</b>
D	<b>hērzen, hērzin</b>	<b>hērzōm, hērzōn</b>

Like *hërza* are declined *ouga*, *eye*, *ōra*, *ear*, *wanga*, *cheek*.

4. 14. The Feminine *n*-declension (MHG III (b)).

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
N	<i>zunga</i> , <i>tongue</i>	<i>zungūn</i>
A	<i>zungūn</i>	
G	<i>zungūn</i>	<i>zungōno</i>
D	<i>zungūn</i>	<i>zungōm</i> , <i>zungōn</i>

Like *zunga* are declined many nouns, e.g. *quëna*, *woman*, *diorna*, *maiden*, *sunna*, *sun*, *mugga* (early *mugge*), *fly*.

4. 15. Other consonant-stems (OHG minimum-ending declension) (MHG § 52)

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
NA	<i>naht</i> , <i>night</i> (F)	<i>naht</i>
G	<i>naht</i>	<i>nahto</i>
D	<i>naht</i>	<i>nahtum</i> , <i>-un</i> , <i>-on</i>

*buoch*, *book*, was mostly neut. in the sg., declined like *wort* (4. 2); in the pl. it was fem. and declined like *naht*.

*burg*, *city*, and *brust*, *breast*, were sometimes declined like *naht*, and sometimes like *anst* (4. 10).

IE and pr.Gc endings of *naht* (pr.Gc *\*naxts*) were

NS *\*-s* (Lat. *nox*), *\*-s* (Go *nahts*)

AS *\*-m̄* (Lat. *noctem*), *\*-un* (Go *naht*)

GS *\*-es* (Lat. *noctis*), *\*-iz* (OE *gēs*, ON *merkr*)

DS L *-i* (Lat. abl. *nocte*), *\*-i* (OE *gēs*, Go *naht*)

NP *\*-es*, *\*-iz* (Go *nahts*, OHG, OS *naht*, OE *gēs*, ON *merkr*)

AP *\*-ns* (Lat. *noctēs*), *\*-unz* (OHG, OS *naht*)

GP *\*-ōm*, *\*-ōn*

DP *\*-mis*, *\*-miz* > *m̄* > *um*

*muoter*, *mother*, *tohter*, *daughter*, *swëster*, *sister*, and M *bruoder*, *brother*, in OHG (and in OS also *fader*) are declined like *naht*.





AS *-un (Go frijond)	AP *-unz
GS *-iz (OE frēond)	GP *-ōn
DS *-i (OE frīend, Go frijond)	DP *-miz (ON OE OS -um)

Other traces of consonant-stems are DP **fuozum** beside **fuozim** (cf. 4. 11), and (though there are more probable explanations) possibly forms like DS **hūs**, to a house.

4. 17. The Neuter **-ir**-declension (Gc **iz/az**-stems; IE **es/os**-stems) (MHG II (a) 11).

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
NA	<b>lamb, lamb</b>	<b>lembir</b>
G	<b>lambes</b>	<b>lembiro</b>
D	<b>lambe</b>	<b>lembirum, -un, -on</b>
I	<b>lambu, -o</b>	

(a) Like **lamb** were declined **kalb, calf, blat, leaf, grab, grave**, and a few others.

(b) In OS, **lamb** and most such nouns have gone over completely to the Principal Neuter Declension (4. 2).

#### DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

4. 18. Adjectives are declined Strong or Weak (cf. 4. 1; for use see 5. 7-9). They have three genders, and the same cases as nouns. The endings of the Strong declension are partly pronominal and partly nominal, corresponding to the Principal M, N (4. 2), and F (4. 5) declensions and to the **j-** (4. 3, 7) and **w-** (4. 4, 5) declensions.

4. 19. Strong Declension: Principal Declension (Gc pure **a-** and **ō-**stems; IE pure **o-** and **ā-**stems).

	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>F</i>
SN	<b>blintēr, blind</b>	<b>blintaz</b>	<b>blintiu</b>
A	<b>blintan</b>	„	<b>blinta</b>
G	<b>blintes</b>		<b>blintera</b>
D	<b>blintemu, -emo</b>		<b>blinteru, -ero</b>

I	<b>blintu, -o</b>		
PNA	<b>blinte</b>	<b>blintiu</b>	<b>blinto</b>
G		<b>blintero</b>	
D		<b>blintēm, -ēn</b>	

(a) The nom. all genders and acc. neuter have often an uninflected form, e.g. **blint**, see 5. 6.

(b) The NSF and NAPN frequently drop the **i** before the **u** in UF, e.g. **blintu**.

(c) Adjectives ending in **-al, -ar, -an** with long stems sometimes drop the **a** before a vocalic ending, e.g. **bittar, bitter, bittrēr** (3. 22).

(d) Like **blint** are declined all adjectives whose uninflected form ends in a consonant, e.g. **guot, good, alt, old, jung, young, guldin, golden, mahtig, mighty, erdlīh, earthly, &c.**

Gc adjectival declension being an innovation (cf., for example, the purely nominal Latin adjective), the old Gc languages do not have the same endings in all parts of the Strong adjective. NSM Go **-s** (and NANeut **-**), ON M **-r**, corresponds to 'uninflected' in OE OS (where it is the only neut. form) and OHG, the peculiarly OHG **-ēr** comes from the pronoun **dēr**, with vowel lengthened under accent as in OS **thē**; A has Go **-ana**, OE **-ne**; NASN Go **-ata**, ON **-t**, corresponds to OHG **-az**, does not exist in OE and OS; DSMN corresponds to Go **-amma** (3. 46. 4), while ONM **-om**, OE OS **-um** are borrowed from P; to I corresponds ON DSN **-o**; GSF Go **-aizos** is by analogy with P, ON has **-rar**, OE **-re**; DS ON OE has **-re**, Go has nominal **-ai**; NAPF is pronominal as opposed to Go **-os**; NAPN OHG (like NSF) comes from **diu**, as opp. Go **-a**, others **-**; GP ON OE **-ra**, Go **-aize/o** from D; DP pronominal like Go **-aim**, unlike ON **-om**, OE OS **-um**. OS often confuses NAP M **-e, -a**, F **-a, -e**, N **-**, **-e, -a**.

The ending **-iu** in UG was a falling diphthong (2. 2) and therefore remained (b), in Franconian a rising diphthong (**i = j**), and the **i** was therefore lost (cf. 3. 48).

**4. 20. Strong Declension: j-declension (Gc ja- and jō-stems; IE iō- and iā-stems).**

The *j*-declension differs from the Principal Declension in the uninflected form only, which regularly ends in *-i*, e.g. *scōnēr*, &c., *beautiful*, *scōni*.

Like *scōni* are declined all adjectives whose uninflected form ends in *-i*, also all present participles, e.g. *festi*, *fast*, *māri*, *renowned*, *tiuri*, *dear*, *biderbi*, *useful*, *bēranti*, *bearing*, &c.

4. 21. Strong Declension: *w*-declension (Gc *wa-* and *wō-* stems; IE *u-* and *uā-* stems).

The *w*-declension differs from the Principal Declension in the uninflected form only, which regularly ends in *-o*; if this is preceded by a consonant there usually develops an *a* (seldom *e*, *o*) between the consonant and the *w* in the inflected forms (see 3. 25), e.g. *garo*, *gar(a)wēr*, *ready*.

Like *garo* are declined *gēlo*, *yellow*, *zēso*, *right-hand*, *fao*, *fō*, *little*, *slēo*, *slē*, *dull*, *frao*, *frō*, *glad*, *joyful*, *rao*, *rō*, *raw*. See 3. 47.

4. 22. The Weak Declension (Gc, IE *n*-stems).

This is exactly the same as in nouns (4. 12-14).

<i>Singular</i>			
	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>F</i>
N	<b>blinto</b>	<b>blinta</b>	<b>blinta</b>
A	<b>blinton, -un</b>	,,	<b>blintūn</b>
GD	<b>blinten, -in</b>		<b>blintūn</b>
<i>Plural</i>			
NA	<b>blinton, -un</b>	<b>blintun, -on</b>	<b>blintūn</b>
G		<b>blintōno</b>	
D		<b>blintōm, -ōn</b>	

In the same way are declined *scōno* and *gar(a)wo*.

4. 23. Declension of Present Participles.

The present participle has both the strong and the weak

declension. The former is a **j**-stem, the latter like **blinto**; e.g. **nēmanti**, *taking*, **salbōnti**, *anointing*, **habēnti**, *having*.

In pr.Gc the M and N were consonant-stems (cf. 4. 15) and the F a **jō**-stem (4. 7). In Go all were weak, with F **-ei** (4. 8), except NSM **-nds** beside **-nda**.

#### 4. 24. Declension of Past Participles.

These too have both declensions, the uninflected form of strong-verb participles ending in **-an**, of weak verbs in **-t**, e.g. **ginoman**, *taken*, **giritan**, *ridden*, **gihabēt**, *had*, **gisalbōt**, *anointed*.

In Franconian the suffix **-an** occasionally appears as **-on-**, **-en-**, or **-in-** in the inflected forms (3. 24).

### COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

4. 25. The **Comparative** is formed by means of the two suffixes **-ir-** and **-or-**, to which are then added the endings of weak adjectives (OS usually NSM **-a** instead of **-o**). Polysyllabic adjectives formed with derivative suffixes and compound adjectives take **-ōr-**; **j**-stems **-ir-**; uncompounded Principal Declension adjectives sometimes the one, sometimes the other. For example:

<i>Positive</i>	<i>Comparative</i>
<b>sālig</b> , <i>blessed</i>	<b>sālīgōro</b>
<b>tiurlīh</b> , <i>dear</i>	<b>tiurlīhhōro</b>
<b>engi</b> , <i>narrow</i>	<b>engi-ro</b>
<b>suozi</b> , <i>sweet</i>	<b>suozi-ro</b>
<b>lang</b> , <i>long</i>	<b>lengi-ro</b>
<b>hōh</b> , <i>high</i>	<b>hōhi-ro</b>
	<b>hōhōro</b>

In OS the two suffixes are partially confused by phonetic convergence of unaccented syllables (3. 23), e.g. **liobēra**, **-ara**, beside **-ora**, and very few adjectives show **-ir-**; and syncope

is widely retained (cf. 3. 26, &c., OHG substantival **hērro**), e.g. **leōbra**.

The ending **-iro** is sometimes weakened to **-ero** in Franconian. Beside **jungiro**, *younger*, appear **jungōro** and **jūgiro**.

Both suffixes are found in Go, **-iz-** (IE **-is-**) and **-oz-** (from adverbs in **-ō**, 4. 29), but in the other old Gc languages **-ōz-**, not causing *Umlaut*, has become more widespread. With **jūgiro** cf. Go **jūhiza** (3. 35, 9) beside **juggs**.

**4. 26.** The **Superlative** is formed by means of the two suffixes **-ist-** and **-ōst-**, to which are then added the endings of weak adjectives (OS as comparative). Adjectives which have **-iro** have **-isto**, and those which have **-ōro** have **-ōsto**, e.g. **sālīgōsto**, **tiurlīhhōsto**, **engisto**, **suozisto**, **lengisto**, **hōhisto**, **hōhōsto**. In OS the vowels **-i-** and **-o-** are retained before **-st-**, but very few adjectives have **-ist-**.

The superlative suffix consists of the comparative suffix + the intensive suffix **-t-** (cf. intensive verbs like Latin **captō?**).

**4. 27. Irregular Comparison.** The following adjectives form their comparative and superlative from a root different from the positive:

<b>guot</b> , <i>good</i>	<b>bezziro</b>	<b>bezzisto</b> (OS <b>bezto/besto</b> )
<b>ubil</b> , <i>bad</i>	<b>wirsiro</b> (OS <b>wirsa</b> )	<b>wirsisto</b> (OS also <b>wirrista</b> )
<b>mihhil</b> , <i>great</i>	<b>mēro</b>	<b>meisto</b>
<b>luzzil</b> , <i>little</i>	<b>minniro</b>	<b>minnisto</b>

(a) Beside the regular form **mēro** (= Go **maiza**) occur in Alemannic the forms **mēriro**, **mērōro**, which are double comparatives like E **nearer** and OHG **wirsiro** beside OS **wirsa** (cf. 4. 31).

(b) **lezzisto**, *last*, is defective (OS positive **lat**).

4. 28. In a few cases there is no positive adjective, the comparative and superlative adjective being formed from an adverb or preposition, as in Latin.

after, <i>after</i>	aftro, aftaro, -ero	aftřōsto, afterōsto, aftristo
ēr, <i>formerly</i>	ēriro	ēristo
fora, furi, <i>before</i>	furiro	furisto
furdir, <i>forwards</i>	fordro, fordaro, -ōro	fordarōsto
hintar, <i>behind</i>	hintaro	hintarōsto
inne, <i>within</i>	innaro	innarōsto
oba, <i>above</i>	obaro, obōro	obarōsto
untar, <i>down</i>	untaro	untarōsto
ūz, ūzar, <i>outside</i>	ūzaro	ūzarōsto

Beside the regular forms **obaro**, &c., Alemannic frequently has forms with double comparative endings, e.g. **obaroro**, &c., cf. **mēriro**, **mērōro**.

#### FORMATION OF ADVERBS FROM ADJECTIVES AND COMPARISON OF ADVERBS

4. 29. Adverbs are formed by

1a. Simply adding **-o** to the uninflected form of the adjective when it ends in a consonant, e.g. **mahtīgo**, **ubilo**, **tiurlihho**.

1b. Dropping the **-i**, and *Umlaut* if any, of **j**-stems and adding **-o**, e.g. **scōno**, **tiuro**, **fasto**, **samfto** beside **semfti**.

2. Adding **-lich** sometimes when no adjective in **-lich** is found, e.g. **gernlich**, **garalich**, OS **kūðliko**.

In OS adverbs are found also in **-ungo**. See also 5. 2-4.

4. 30. The comparative degree of adverbs ends in **-ōr** (never

-ir); the superlative mostly ends in **-ōst**, but sometimes also in **-ist**, thus:

adj. lang, <i>long</i> ;	adv. comp. langōr	superl. langōst
festi, <i>fast</i> ;	fastōr	fastōst
jung, <i>young</i> ;		jungist

4. 31. The following are irregular:

wola, <i>well</i> , comp. baz	superl. bezzist
wirs, <i>worse</i>	wirsist
mēr, <i>more</i>	meist
min, <i>less</i>	minnist

(a) Beside **mēr**, **meist** occur the weak neut. adj. forms **mēra**, **meista** as adverbs.

#### NUMERALS

4. 32. Cardinal and Ordinal

<i>Cardinal</i>	<i>Ordinal</i>
ein, <i>one</i>	ēristo, furisto
zwei, <i>two</i>	ander
drī, <i>three</i>	dritto
feor, fior, <i>four</i>	feordo, fiordo
fimf, finf, <i>five</i>	fimfto, finfto
sēhs, <i>six</i>	sēhsto
sibun, <i>seven</i>	sibunto
ahto, <i>eight</i>	ahtodo
niun, <i>nine</i>	niunto
zēhan, <i>ten</i>	zēhanto
einlif, <i>eleven</i>	einlifto
zwelif, <i>twelve</i>	zwelifto
drīzēhan, <i>thirteen</i>	drittozēhanto
fiorzēhan, <i>fourteen</i>	fiordozēhanto
finfzēhan, <i>fifteen</i>	finftazēhanto
sēhszēhan, <i>sixteen</i>	Notker sēhzēndo
sibunzēhan, <i>seventeen</i>	sibuntozēhanto



<i>Cardinal</i>	<i>Ordinal</i>
ahtozēhan, <i>eighteen</i>	
niunzēhan, <i>nineteen</i>	niuntazēhanto
zweinzug, <i>twenty</i>	zweinzugōsto
drīzzug, drīzug, <i>thirty</i>	drīzzugōsto
fiorzug, <i>forty</i>	fiorzugōsto
finfzug, <i>fifty</i>	finfzugōsto
sēhszug, <i>sixty</i>	sēhszugōsto
sibunzug, <i>seventy</i>	sibunzugōsto
ahtozug, <i>eighty</i>	ahtozugōsto
niunzug, <i>ninety</i>	niunzugōsto
zēhanzug, } <i>hundred</i>	zēhanzugōsto
hunt	
zwei hunt, <i>two hundred</i>	
dūsunt, <i>thousand</i>	

For the etymologies of the numerals see Walshe, *Etymological Dictionary*.

4. 33. The first three cardinal numerals are declinable in all cases and genders.

1. *ein* follows the Strong declension, when used as a numeral; when used in the sense of *alone*, it follows the Weak declension.

2.	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>F</i>
NA	zwēne	zwei	zwā (zwō)
G		zweio	
D		zweim, zwein	
3.			
NA	drī	driu	drīo
		OS thria, -ie, -ea	
G		drīo	
D		drim, drin	

4. 34. The cardinal numerals 4–12 remain uninflected when they stand before a noun, whereas if they stand after a noun or are used as nouns they are declined according to the *i-*

declension. The NA N has, in OHG but not, of course (see 4. 19), in OS, the adjectival ending.

	<i>MF</i> (OS <i>N</i> )	<i>N</i>
NA	-i	-iu, -u
G	-eo, -o	
D	-im, -in (OS -iun)	

4. 35. The cardinal numerals 20–100 ending in **-zug**, OS **-tig**, also alternative forms from 70 like **sibunzo**, OS **antsi**ū**nunta**, and OS analogical **thūsundig**, 1,000, are followed by genitive, OS also sometimes used adjectivally. **dūsunt** is mostly treated as a feminine substantive, but sometimes also as a neuter.

Go shows the original substantival nature of these numerals which accounts for the genitive construction (5. 3), **twai tigjus** (20), &c., **þūsundi**.

4. 36. **ander**, *second*, **anderēr**, **-az**, **-iu**, follows the Strong declension, the remaining ordinals the Weak declension.

#### 4. 37. Other Numerals.

1. Distributive, e.g. **einluzze**, *one by one*, **zwiseke**, *two by two*.

2. Multiplicatives, e.g. **einfalt** (**falt** = E-fold), **zwifalt**, &c.

3. Numeral adverbs, e.g. **eines** (gen. sg.), *once*; **zwiro**, **zwiror**, **zwiron**, *twice*; **driror**, *thrice*. The higher numbers, as also **once** to **thrice**, are formed by means of prefixing the cardinal numerals to **stunt**, *time* (OS **sīd**), e.g. **sibunstunt**, *seven times*.

### PRONOUNS

#### 4. 38. Personal Pronouns.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
N	<b>ih</b> , <i>I</i>	<b>wir</b>
A	<b>mih</b>	<b>unsih</b>
G	<b>mīn</b>	<b>unsēr</b>
D	<b>mir</b>	<b>uns</b>

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
N	<b>dū, du, thou</b>		<b>ir</b>
A	<b>dih</b>		<b>iuwih</b>
G	<b>dīn</b>		<b>iuwēr</b>
D	<b>dir</b>		<b>iu</b>
	<i>Singular</i>		
	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>F</i>
N	<b>ēr, he</b>	<b>iz, it</b>	<b>siu, sī, si, she</b>
A	<b>inan, in</b>	<b>,,</b>	<b>sia, sie</b>
G	<b>sīn</b>	<b>ēs, sīn</b>	<b>ira, -u, -o</b>
D	<b>imu, -o</b>		<b>iru, -o</b>
	<i>Plural</i>		
NA	<b>sie</b>	<b>siu</b>	<b>sio</b>
G		<b>iro</b>	
D		<b>im, in</b>	

(a) **ih** and **du** were often attached enclitically to the verb, especially in verse, e.g. **gibuh = gibu ih**, **megih = mag ih**, **findistu = findis du**. **ēr, iz, ës, in** were sometimes attached enclitically to a preceding word, e.g. **giloubt-ēr = giloubta-ēr**, **imos = imo ës**, &c.

(b) Beside the accented forms **inan, imo, iro, sia, sie, sio** occur the unaccented forms **nan, mo, ro, sa, se, so**.

(c) Beside **ēr** appear in some Franconian monuments the forms **hēr, hē, OS hē, he**.

IE and pr.Gc forms of **ih** and **du** were (for **ēr** (Latin, Go **is**) cf. **der**, 4. 41, and for G of 1, 2 see 4. 40).

SN **\*egō** (Lat. **ego**), **\*egom** (Lat. **egom-et**), **\*ek** (ON **ek**), **\*ik** (Go, OS **ik**, OE **ic**)

A **\*me-ge**, **\*me/ik** (ON **mik**, OE **mec**, **mě**, OS **mi(k)**)

D **\*me**, **\*me/i-z** (Go **mis**, ON **mēr**, OE **mě**, OS **mī**, **me**)

SN **\*tū** (Lat. **tū**), **\*pū**, other cases as **\*ik**.

P **\*ue-i-s**, **\*wiz**, unstressed > OHG, ON **vēr**, OE **wě**, OS **wī**, **we** **\*ns-**, **\*uns-**

PN \***ju-**, \***juz**, unstressed > ON **ēr**; OE **gĕ**, OS **gī**, **ge** are by analogy of \***wīz**.

OS (Go, ON, OE) has a Dual, **wit**, **unk**, **unkero**, **git**, **ink**, **inkero**.

#### 4. 39. Reflexive Pronoun.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
A	<b>sih</b> , <i>himself</i> , &c.	<b>sih</b>
G	<b>sīn</b> ( <b>ira</b> )	<b>(iro)</b>
D	<b>(imu, iru)</b>	<b>(im)</b>

OS has no reflexive pronoun; for it is used throughout, as in OHG D, GSF, GP, the third person pronoun (4. 38).

#### 4. 40. Possessive Pronouns.

The possessive pronouns of the first and second persons, and the S MN third and reflexive, were formed from the same pronominal adjectives in **-īn** or **-er** as the genitive, and declined according to the strong declension, e.g. **mīnēr**, &c. For the FS and the P of the third person, the genitives **ira** and **iro** were used.

(a) Beside **unserēr**, **iuwerēr**, the forms **unsarēr**, **iuwarēr** sometimes occur.

(b) Beside **unserēr**, **unseraz**, &c., occur in Franconian **unsēr**, **unsaz**, &c., like (the inflected forms of) OS **ūsa**, **euwa**, **unka**, **inka**.

4. 41. Demonstratives: the simple demonstrative pronoun, **dēr**, used both as definite article (5. 10) and relative pronoun (5. 15).

	<i>Singular</i>		
	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>F</i>
N	<b>dēr</b>	<b>daz</b>	<b>diu</b>
A	<b>dēn</b>	„	<b>dea, dia (die)</b>
G	<b>dēs</b>		<b>dēra (-u, -o)</b>
D	<b>dēmu, -o</b>		<b>dēru, -o</b>
I		<b>diu</b>	

		<i>Plural</i>	
NA	<b>dē, dea,</b> <b>dia, die</b>	<b>diu (dei)</b>	<b>deo, dio</b>
G		<b>dēro</b>	
D		<b>dēm, dēn</b>	

(a) Beside the nom. form **thēr** occurs also **thie** (**thē**) in Tatian.

(b) The form **de**, and in Tatian also **thie**, is used as a relative particle (5. 15) for all forms of **dēr**.

(c) Beside the NAFP **thio** occur in Franconian also **thie**, rarely **thia**.

(d) **dēr**, &c., when used as relative pronoun, frequently had contracted forms, especially in verse, e.g. **thiuns** = **thiu uns**, **zēn** = **zi thēn**.

Pr.Gc forms of **dēr** were

NSM \***sa** (Go **sa**, ON **sā**), \***se** (OE **sē**), OHG and OS (**thē**) substitute the IE \***t-** pr.Gc \***p-** stem of the other forms, and

OHG adds **-r** from other pronouns

NSF \***sō** (Go **so**, ON **sū**), \***sjō** (OE **sēo**, OHG, OS **-iu**)

NASN \***pat** (Go **pat-a**)

ASM \***pan**, **-a** (Go **pana**, OE **pone**), OHG & OS (**thena**) have **-e-** from GD

ASF \***pōn** (Go **po**) > \***pa** (ON OE **pā**), \***pjōn**

GSMN \***pesa** (Go **pis**, ON **þess**), \***pasa** (OE **pæs**)

GSF \***pezōz** (Go **pizos**), \***paizōz** with **-ai-** from GDP (ON **þeirar**), \***paizjōz** (OE **þære**)

DSMN \***I þasmē/ō** (Go **þamma**), \***L þaimi** (OE **þām**, ON **þeim**)

DSF \***pezai** (Go **þizai**), \***paizai** (ON **þeire**, OE **þære**)

ISN \***pjō** (OE **þy**)

NPM \***pai** (Go **þai**, OE MFN **þa**, OS MFN **thē**, ON **þei-r**), > \***pē** (OHG **dia**)

NAPF \***pōz** (G **oþos**, ON **þæ-r**), \***pjōz** (OS MFN **thia**), OHG from accented **-ōz**

NAPN \***pō** (Go **þo**, ON **þa-u**), \***pjō** (OS MFN **thia**)

APM \***panz** (Go **þans**, ON **pā**)

GP \***paizōn** (ON **þeira**, OE **þāra**), Go **þize/o** with **-i-** from S  
 DP \***þaimiz** (Go **þaim**, ON **þeim**, OE **þām**)

#### 4. 42. The Compound Demonstrative Pronoun.

	<i>Singular</i>		
	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>F</i>
N	<b>dēse, dēsēr, this</b>	<b>diz</b>	<b>dēsiu, disiu (thisu)</b>
A	<b>dēsan</b>	,,	<b>dēsa</b>
G	<b>dēsses</b>		<b>dēsera</b>
D	<b>dēsemu, dēsemo</b>		<b>dēseru</b>
I	<b>dēsiu, disiu,</b> <b>dēsu, disu</b>		
		<i>Plural</i>	
NA	<b>dēse</b>	<b>dēsiu, disiu (thisu)</b>	<b>dēso</b>
G		<b>dēsero</b>	
D		<b>dēsēm, -en</b>	

The NSM is **therēr** in Otfrid. The GSF is **thērera** in Otfrid, and **thërra (thërro)** in Tatian; DSF **thëreru** in Otfrid, **thërru (thërro, thërra)** in Tatian; GP **thërero** in Otfrid, **thërero (thërro)** in Tatian. Notker has **disēr**.

This pronoun was peculiar to N and WGc and originated as **dēr** + particle **-si** (cf. \***sa** in 4. 41); the first part is still partly declined in OS.

4. 43. **jenēr, that (yon)**, is (except that there is no uninflected form) declined like a strong adjective (4. 19), as is **solih**, such.

**sēlb, self** (Latin **ipse**), may follow either the strong or the weak declension. Combined with the definite article it means *same* (Latin **idem**), and always follows the weak declension. (Cf. 5. 9)

4. 44. Interrogatives: the simple interrogative pronoun had one number, grammatically singular, and one form for M and F.

	<i>MF</i>	<i>N</i>
N	<b>hwër, wër, who</b>	<b>hwaz, waz, what</b>
A	<b>hwënan, wënan, wën</b>	„
G	<b>hwës, wës</b>	
D	<b>hwëmu, wëmo</b>	
I		<b>hwiu, wiu</b>

(a) The initial **h** was dropped from the beginning of the ninth century (3. 50).

(b) For the I **wiu** the form **hiu** is also found (in Franconian).

(c) See 5. 14-16.

Pr.Gc forms of **hwër** (latin **quod, quis**) were  
 NSM \***xwaz** (Go **hʷas**, OSwedish (rare) **har(r)**, OE **hwǣ**),  
 OHG (OS **hwë**) -e- from GD, or < \***xwiz**  
 NASN \***xwat** (ON **hwat**, Go **hʷa** from unaccented (indefinite)  
 use (3. 36))  
 ASM \***xwan** (Go **hʷan-a**, OSwedish (rare) **han**, OE **hwone**),  
 on OHG (OS **hwëna**) see N  
 GS \***xwasa** (OE **hwæs**, ON **hwes(s)**), OHG (OS **hwës**) from  
 nouns  
 DS as **dër** (4. 41)

4. 45. (**h**)**wëdar**, *which of two*, (**h**)**wëlih**, *which*, and **hweolih**, **wiolih**, *of what sort*, are declined like strong adjectives, 4. 19.

#### 4. 46. Indefinite Pronouns

**sum**, **sumilih**, *a certain one, someone*, declined strong.  
**ein**, *one, a(n)* (in plural, *some*), **einīg**, **eining**, declined strong  
 (in negative sentences, *anyone*).  
**sō wër sō**, *whoever* (5. 16), **ëtewër**, *someone*.  
**dëhein**, *anyone*, in negative sentences, *no one, no, none*.  
**man**, *one* (5. 13), **ioman**, *somebody*, **nioman**, *nobody* (cf.  
 4. 16a).  
**ni(h)hein**, **no(h)hein**, *no, none* (3. 27 and 46).  
**iowiht**, **wiht**, *anything*, **niowiht**, *nothing*.

**gilih** (*like*), **welih**, with noun in genitive plural, *each*:  
**manno gilih**, *each man*.  
**giwelih**, **iogiwelih**, *each*.

## VERBS

4. 47. The OHG verb inflects for number (singular and plural), person, tense (present and preterite), mood (indicative, subjunctive, and in the present, imperative), and has participles of both tenses and infinitive of the present. The last is declined according to the Principal Neuter Declension, with stem in doubled consonant, e.g. **nēman**, **nēmannes**, **nēmanne** (**nēmannu**). The p.p. usually has **gi-** prefixed, if no other inseparable prefix, see 5. 17. On periphrastic tenses, &c., see 5. 19, 21-23.

Gothic also has dual number in 1, 2 pers., and passive voice in present. ON has middle voice formed by suffixing reflexive pronoun. The Infinitive is declined only in WGc, from a stem in **\*-nja-** (IE **\*-njo-**) (beside NA **\*-nan**), OS **nimannias**, **nimann(i)a**, OE (**neman**) **nemennes**, **tō nemenne**, OHG sometimes **nēmenn-**. The prefixing of the p.p. is regular only in OHG and OS, frequent in OE.

The Gc preterite is derived from a fusion of IE Perfect (Latin **pepigī**) and Aorist (Latin **vēnī**), subjunctive from optative (Latin **sīmūs**, Greek **φέρ-οι-μεν**) and possibly subjunctive (Latin **amēmus**).

4. 48. OHG verbs are either Strong or Weak. Weak verbs form their preterite and p.p. with a **t-**suffix. Strong verbs have no suffix in the preterite, and **-n** in the p.p., and show vowel-gradation. There are seven classes of Strong verbs, according to the (Gc) vowels resulting from the gradation. The OHG forms are as follows:



	<i>Present</i>	<i>Pret. sing.</i>	<i>Pret. pl.</i>	<i>PP</i>
I.	<b>ī</b>	<b>ei, ē</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>i</b>
II.	<b>io (ū)</b>	<b>ou, ō</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>o</b>
III.	<b>i (ë)</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>u, o</b>
IV.	<b>ë</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>ā</b>	<b>o</b>
V.	<b>ë (i)</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>ā</b>	<b>e</b>
VI.	<b>a</b>	<b>uo</b>		<b>a</b>
VII.	<b>a, ā, ei, ou (ō), uo</b>	<b>ia, io</b>		as Present

The vowel of the present differs in the ind. sing. in classes II–V (**iu** beside **io**, **i** beside **ë**) according to 3. 3 and 13, and, in 2 and 3 pers., in VI and VII (**e** beside **a**) according to 3. 12.

For the origin of vowel-gradation see 3. 1. On **u** in present, Class II, see 4. 51; otherwise Classes I–V have e-grade (cf. 3. 3 and 13) in present, o-grade (cf. 3. 2 and 12) in pret. sing., Classes I and II zero-grade (3. 4, 5 and 14) and III ə<sub>2</sub>-grade (3. 10) in pret. pl. and p.p., Classes IV and V lengthened ē-grade (cf. 3. 7 and 15) in pret. pl. and ə<sub>2</sub>-grade (cf. 3. 1 and 10) in p.p. (or V e-?). Class VI has lengthened ō-grade in pret. Class VII is explained either as originally reduplicating in pret. (Go **haf-hait**, &c.; ON **rera**, OE **heht**, OHG **ki-skrerot**?) or as original long-grade Aorist (some with analogical vowel).

#### 4. 49. Conjugation of Strong Verbs.

The conjugation of **nēman**, *to take* (Class IV) will exemplify the endings of Strong verbs; the vowel-gradation depends on the Class (4. 48, 50–56).

#### *Present*

	IND.	SUBJ.
S I.	<b>nimu</b>	<b>nēme</b>
2.	<b>nimis(t)</b>	<b>nēmēs(t)</b>
3.	<b>nimit</b>	<b>nēme</b>
P I.	<b>nēmēmēs (-ēm, -ēn)</b>	<b>nēmēmēs- (ēm, -ēn)</b>
2.	<b>nēmet</b>	<b>nēmēt</b>
3.	<b>nēmant (-ent)</b>	<b>nēmēn</b>

Imperative S 2 **nim**, P 1, 2 as Ind., Infinitive **nēman**, Pres. P. **nēmanti (-enti)**

*Preterite*

S 1, 3.	<b>nam</b>	<b>nāmi</b>
	2. <b>nāmi</b>	<b>nāmis(t)</b>
P 1.	<b>nānumēs (-um, -un)</b>	<b>nānimēs (-īm, -īn)</b>
	2. <b>nāmut</b>	<b>nāmit</b>
	3. <b>nāmun</b>	<b>nāmin</b>
p.p.	<b>ginoman</b>	

(a) The ending **-st** of the 2 S does not occur in the oldest monuments; it arose partly from analogy with the preterite-present forms (4. 62) **kanst**, **gitarst**, &c., and partly from a false etymological division of the pronoun from the verb to which it was frequently attached enclitically, e.g. **nimisþu** > **nimistu**, from which **nimist** was extracted as the verbal form, cf. E **takest**.

(b) The ending **-mēs** of 1 P originally belonged only to the pres. ind. and imper., original ending **-amēs**, from which it was transferred by analogy to 1 P subj. pres. and pret. ind. and subj.

(c) The endings **-ēm**, **-ēn** of 1 P belonged originally to the subj. pres. only.

(d) The ending **-un** of 1 P pret. ind. arose regularly from older **-um**. See 3. 49.

(e) The inf. ending **-en** is from that of weak verbs, 1st Conjugation, where **-en** arose regularly. See 3. 48.

(f) The 2 S pret. ind. and the pret. subj. always have the same vowel as the pret. ind. pl.

(g) In Notker (and elsewhere) is found **-nt** for 2 P **-t**.

IE and pr.Gc endings of **nimu** (pr.Gc **\*nemō**) were  
 Pres. ind. S 1. **\*-ō** (Lat. **-ō**), **\*-ō** (Go **nima**, ON **nem**)  
 2. **\*-esi** (Lat. **-is**), **\*-izi** (Go **nimis**, ON **nimr**),  
 WGc **-is** < either **-īsi** or **\*-iz+þu** (cf. (a))

3. *\*-eti* (Lat. *-it*), *\*-iđi* (Go *nimiþ*), *-iþi* (OE *nimeþ*, OS *nimith*)
- P 1. *\*-ome/os* (Lat. *-imus*), *-ami/az* (Go *nimam*, OHG < *\*-uéis* (4. 38)?)
2. *\*-ete*, *\*-iđi* (Go *nimiþ*)
3. *\*-onti* (Lat. *-unt*), *\*-anđi* (Go *nimand*, ON *nema*), *-ánþi* (OS, OE P 1, 2, 3 *nemath*, *-d*, *-t*, *nema*)
- Pres. subj. *\*-jō*, *\*-aiz*, &c., with pers. endings of pret. (optative, 4. 47)
- Imper. S 2. *\*-e* (Lat. *-e*), *\*-* (Common Gc *\*nim* with *l* probably from *\*nimis*) (Go ON OE OS *nim*)
- Inf. *\*-onom*, *\*-anan* (Go *niman*, OE *neman*, ON *nema*)
- Pres. P. *\*-ont-* (Latin *-nt-*), *\*-anđ-* (Go *nimand-*, ON *nemað-*, OE *nemand-*)
- Pret. ind. S 1, 3. *\*-a*, *\*-a* (Go ON OE OS *nam*)
2. *\*-ta*, *\*-þa* > *-ta* after fricatives, generalized (Go, ON *namt*) *\*-es*, *\*-iz* (OE *nāme*)
3. *\*-e(t)*, *\*-i* (as 1)
- P 1. *\*-omen*, *\*-umin* (cf. 4. 2) (Go *nenum*, ON *namom*)
2. *\*-ete*, *\*-iþi* > *\*-uþi* by analogy with 1, 3 (Go *nemuþ*, ON *namoð*)
3. *\*-ŋt*, *\*-un* (Go *nemun*, ON *namo*, OS OE 1, 2, 3 *nāmon*, *nāmon*)
- Pret. subj. *\*-im*, *\*-iz*, &c. (Go *nemeis*, ON *nāemer*, OE *nāeme*; OHG, OS *nāmis* < *\*-fs*)
- p.p. *\*-ana-* (Go *numan-*, ON *noma*)
- OHG pres. ind. 2 P *-et* for older *-it* is apparently from analogy with other P forms.

#### 4. 50. Class I: examples are

	<i>Pres.</i>	<i>Pret. sing.</i>	<i>Pret. pl.</i>	<i>PP</i>
	<i>ī</i>	<i>ei, ē</i> (3. 12)	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
<b>bitan</b> , <i>to wait</i>		<b>beit</b>	<b>bitun</b>	<b>gibitan</b>
<b>scriban</b> , <i>to write</i>		<b>screib</b>	<b>scribun</b>	<b>giscriban</b>
<b>stīgan</b> , <i>to ascend</i>		<b>steig</b>	<b>stigun</b>	<b>gistigan</b>

<i>Pres.</i>	<i>Pret. sing.</i>	<i>Pret. pl.</i>	<i>PP</i>
<b>i</b>	<b>ei, ē (3. 12)</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>rīsan, to fall</b>	<b>reis</b>	<b>rirun</b>	<b>gīriran</b>
<b>snīdan, to cut</b>	<b>sneid</b>	<b>snitun</b>	<b>gīsnitun</b>
<b>spīwan, to vomit</b>	<b>spē(o)</b>	<b>spiwun</b>	<b>gīspiwun</b>
<b>dīhan, to thrive</b>	<b>dēh</b>	<b>digun</b>	<b>gīdigun</b>
<b>līhan, to lend</b>	<b>lēh</b>	<b>liwun</b>	<b>gīliwan</b>

(a) On the consonant changes see 3. 45.

(b) On spē(o) see 3. 47.

4. 51. Class II: examples are

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pret. sing.</i>	<i>Pret. pl.</i>	
<b>io (ū)</b>	<b>iu (ū)</b>	<b>ou, ō (3. 14)</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>o</b>
<b>liogan, to lie</b>	<b>liugu</b>	<b>loug</b>	<b>lugun</b>	<b>gilogan</b>
<b>klioban, to cleave</b>	<b>kliubu</b>	<b>kloub</b>	<b>klubun</b>	<b>gikloban</b>
<b>biotan, to offer</b>	<b>biutu</b>	<b>bōt</b>	<b>butun</b>	<b>gibotan</b>
<b>kiosan, to choose</b>	<b>kiusu</b>	<b>kōs</b>	<b>kurun</b>	<b>gikoran</b>
<b>ziohan, to draw</b>	<b>ziuhu</b>	<b>zōh</b>	<b>zugun</b>	<b>gizogan</b>
<b>sūfan, to sip,</b> <i>drink</i>	<b>sūfu</b>	<b>souf</b>	<b>suffun</b>	<b>gisoffan</b>
<b>sūgan, to suck</b>	<b>sūgu</b>	<b>soug</b>	<b>sugun</b>	<b>gisogan</b>

(a) On the UG forms of the pres. with **iu** (**liugan**) see 3. 13.

(b) Cf. 4. 50a.

(c) Verbs of this class ending in **w** (3. 47) have **iu** throughout the pres. and **ū** in pret. pl. and p.p., e.g. **kiuwan, to chew, kou, kūwun, gikūwan**; in the last two forms the **w** was often dropped.

**sūfan, sūgan**, have their pres. vowel-grade from old Aorist theme.

4. 52. Class III, strong verbs having medial nasal or liquid consonant, and a few others with two other consonants. Those with nasal have **i** in the pres. and **u** in the p.p. (3. 5); the rest have **ē** (i, 4. 48) and **o**.

<i>Present</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Pret. s.</i>	<i>Pret. pl.</i>	<i>PP</i>
<b>i, e</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>u, o</b>
<b>bintan, to bind</b>	<b>bintu</b>	<b>bant</b>	<b>buntun</b>	<b>gibuntan</b>
<b>rinnan, to run</b>	<b>rinnu</b>	<b>rann</b>	<b>runnun</b>	<b>girunnan</b>
<b>singan, to sing</b>	<b>singu</b>	<b>sang</b>	<b>sungu</b>	<b>gisungan</b>
<b>werdan, to be- come</b>	<b>wirdu</b>	<b>ward</b>	<b>wurtun</b>	<b>wortan</b>
<b>stērbān, to die</b>	<b>stirbu</b>	<b>starb</b>	<b>sturbun</b>	<b>gistorban</b>
<b>hēlfān, to help</b>	<b>hilfu</b>	<b>half</b>	<b>hulfun</b>	<b>giholfan</b>
<b>fēhtān, to fight</b>	<b>fihtu</b>	<b>faht</b>	<b>fuhtun</b>	<b>gifohtan</b>
<b>brēstān, to burst</b>	<b>bristu</b>	<b>brast</b>	<b>brustun</b>	<b>gibrostan</b>

(a) **dwingan, to compel**, has p.p. **gidungan** beside **gidwungan**.

(b) **biginnan, to begin**, and **bringan, to bring**, have the weak prets. **bigonta, bigonda, brāhta**, beside the strong **bigan, brang**.

4. 53. Class IV, strong verbs whose stems end in a single nasal or liquid, and a few others.

<b>ē</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>ā</b>	<b>o</b>
<b>nēman, to take</b>	<b>nimu</b>	<b>nam</b>	<b>nāmun</b>	<b>ginoman</b>
<b>bēran, to bear</b>	<b>biru</b>	<b>bar</b>	<b>bārun</b>	<b>giboran</b>
<b>hēlan, to hide</b>	<b>hilu</b>	<b>hal</b>	<b>hālun</b>	<b>giholan</b>
<b>stēlan, to steal</b>	<b>stilu</b>	<b>stal</b>	<b>stālun</b>	<b>gistolan</b>
<b>quēman, to come</b>	<b>quimu</b>	<b>quam</b>	<b>quāmun</b>	<b>quoman</b>
<b>sprēchan, to speak</b>	<b>sprichu</b>	<b>sprah</b>	<b>sprāchun</b>	<b>gisprochan</b>
<b>brēchan, to break</b>	<b>brichu</b>	<b>brah</b>	<b>brāchun</b>	<b>gibrochan</b>

Beside the p.p. **quoman** occurs also **quēman**, according to Class V. Beside **que-, qui-** occurs old Aorist theme (cf.

4. 51) **ko-**, **ku-**; this is found early, e.g. in Tatian, and comes to replace the other, e.g. Notker **chomen**, p.p. **chomen**.

4. 54. Class V, strong verbs with **ë**, **i** (3. 3) in the pres. other than Classes III and IV.

<b>ë</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>ā</b>	<b>ë</b>
<b>gëban</b> , <i>to give</i>	<b>gibu</b>	<b>gab</b>	<b>gābun</b>	<b>gigëban</b>
<b>sëhan</b> , <i>to see</i>	<b>sihu</b>	<b>sah</b>	<b>sāhun</b>	<b>gisëhan</b>
<b>quëdan</b> , <i>to say</i>	<b>quidu</b>	<b>quad</b>	<b>quādun</b>	<b>giquëdan</b>
<b>ëzzan</b> , <i>to eat</i>	<b>izzu</b>	<b>āz</b>	<b>āzun</b>	<b>gëzzan</b>
<b>wësan</b> , <i>to be</i>	<b>wisu</b>	<b>was</b>	<b>wārun</b>	
<b>lësan</b> , <i>to read</i> ,	<b>lisu</b>	<b>las</b>	<b>lārun</b>	<b>gilëran</b>
<i>gather</i>				
<b>sitzen</b> , <i>to sit</i>	<b>sitzu</b>	<b>saz</b>	<b>sāzun</b>	<b>gisëzzan</b>
<b>bitten</b> , <i>to beg</i>	<b>bittu</b>	<b>bat</b>	<b>bātun</b>	<b>gibëtan</b>
<b>liggen</b> , <i>to lie</i>	<b>liggu</b>	<b>lag</b>	<b>lāgun</b>	<b>gilëgan</b>
<i>down</i>				

In **bitten**, &c., the **-tt-**, &c., belonged to the present only.

**sitzen** from \***sitjan**, **bitten** from \***bidjan** (Go **bidjan**), **liggen** from \***ligjan** (OS **sittian**, **biddian**, **ligglan**). See 3. 39.

With the **ā** in **āz**, cf. Latin **ēdī**.

4. 55. Class VI.

<i>Present</i>	<i>Preterite</i>	<i>PP</i>
<b>a, e (3. 2)</b>	<b>uo</b>	<b>a</b>
<b>faran</b> , <i>to go</i>	<b>fuor</b>	<b>gifaran</b>
<b>tragen</b> , <i>to carry</i>	<b>truog</b>	<b>gitragen</b>
<b>wahsan</b> , <i>to grow</i>	<b>wuohs</b>	<b>giwahsan</b>
<b>slahan</b> , <i>to strike</i>	<b>sluog</b>	<b>gislagan</b>
<b>stantan</b> , <i>to stand</i>	<b>stuont</b>	<b>gistantan</b>
<b>heffen</b> , <i>to raise</i>	<b>huob</b>	<b>-haban</b>
<b>skephen</b> , <i>to create</i>	<b>skuof</b>	<b>giskaffan</b>
<b>swerien</b> , <i>to swear</i>	<b>swuor, suor</b>	<b>gisworan</b>

(a) The 2, 3 S pres. ind. have *Umlaut* under the conditions of 3. 12.

(b) The pret. S **sluog** has been formed after the analogy of the pl. The regular form **sluoh** still occurs in the oldest monuments.

(c) **stuont, stuontun, gistantan** have the **n** in the stem from the pres., cf. OS **stōd**, and occasional OHG forms like **forstuotun**. For the shorter pres. forms see 4. 65.

(d) The pres. of **swerien** follows the 1st Weak Conjugation, 4. 58. The regular forms of the 2, 3 S pres. ind. and 2 S imper. of **heffen** were **hevis, hevit, hevi** (2. 3). This **v** then became transferred to other forms of the pres., e.g. inf. **heven**, pres. part. **heventi**. Later it was replaced by the **b** of the pret. and p.p.

**heffen** from \***hafjan**, **skephen** from \***skapjan**, **swerien** from \***swarjan** (OS **hebbian, skeppian, swerian**). **huob** has **b** from pret. pl. and p.p.

#### 4. 56. Class VII.

a, ā, ei	ia (3. 16)	
<b>haltan, to hold</b>	<b>hialt</b>	<b>gihaltan</b>
<b>gangan, to go</b>	<b>giang</b>	<b>gigangan</b>
<b>fallan, to fall</b>	<b>fial</b>	<b>gifallan</b>
<b>fāhan, to seize</b>	<b>fiang</b>	<b>gifangan</b>
<b>hāhan, to hang</b>	<b>hiang</b>	<b>gihangan</b>

(a) The pret. **intfiegun** in Tatian for **intfiengun** was formed by analogy with the pres.

(b) For the shorter pres. of **gangan** see 4. 65.

<b>lāzan, to let</b>	<b>liaz</b>	<b>gilāzan</b>
<b>slāfan, to sleep</b>	<b>sliaf</b>	<b>gislāfan</b>
<b>rātan, to advise</b>	<b>riat</b>	<b>girātan</b>
<b>heizan, to call</b>	<b>hiaz</b>	<b>giheizan</b>
<b>skeidan, to sever</b>	<b>skiad</b>	<b>giskeidan</b>

<b>meizan</b> , <i>to cut</i>	<b>miaz</b>	<b>gimeizan</b>
<b>ou, ō, uo</b>	<b>io</b> (3. 13)	
<b>loufan</b> , <i>to run</i>	<b>liof</b>	<b>giloufan</b>
<b>houwan</b> , <i>to hew</i>	<b>hio</b>	<b>gihouwan</b>
<b>stōzan</b> , <i>to push</i>	<b>stioz</b>	<b>gīstōzan</b>
<b>ruofan</b> , <i>to call</i>	<b>riof</b>	<b>gīruofan</b>

(c) UG has the pret. forms **liuf**, **hiu**, and **riuf** (3. 13).

On **fāhan**, **hāhan** see 3. 35, 9. These thus being originally short stems, OS, which still has **held**, &c., has **feng** beside analogical **fieng**; Franconian sometimes has **e** before **ng**, e.g. Isidore **gengun**, as also Bavarian **kenc**.

4. 57. Weak verbs are divided into three classes according as the infinitive ends in **-en**, **-ōn**, **-ēn**.

For **-en** is often found **-an**, especially in UG, by analogy with strong verbs.

While strong verbs correspond to Latin 3rd Conjugation (cf. 4. 49), the pres. of verbs in **\*-en** < **\*-j-** corresponds to that of Latin 4th and 2nd Conjugations, in **-ēn** to that of Latin 2nd, **-ōn** to 1st. And the p.p. of weak verbs in (OHG) **-t-**, pr.Gc **\*-da-**, IE **-tó-**, corresponds to Latin **-tus**, **-itus**, **-ētus**, **-ātus**. The Gc weak pret. is a new formation, variously explained as an original periphrasis with 'did' (IE **\*dhē-** > pr.Gc **\*-d-**, except the prets. in (OHG) **-d/t-**) pr.Gc **-p/t-** (4. 59, 62)—analogy with verbal adjective in **\*-p-**, IE **\*-t-**?), as a generalization of a 2 S personal ending IE **\*-thēs**, or of intensive suffix IE **\*-t-** (cf. 4. 26).

4. 58. First Weak Conjugation.

Verbs with double consonant (except the affricates (**pf**), **zz**, **ck**), and those with **ri** (or **rr**, see 3. 48), in the present stem, e.g. **nerien**, *to save*, have single consonant, and **r**, in the 2, 3 S pres. ind. and 2 S imper., e.g. **neri**, and (except sometimes those in **-tt-** or **-ll-**) single consonant+**it-** in the pret., e.g. **nerita** (**zelita**). Other verbs (and sometimes those in **-tt-** and **-ll-**) have **-t-** added direct to the stem, e.g. **suohta** (**zalta**).



The p.p. uninflected form has **-it**, the inflected follows the pret., e.g. **ginerit, -itēr** (4. 24).

*Present*

	IND.	SUBJ.
S 1.	<b>zellu, I tell</b>	<b>zelle</b>
2.	<b>zelis(t)</b>	<b>zellēs(t)</b>
3.	<b>zelit</b>	<b>zelle</b>
P 1.	<b>zellemēs, -ēn</b>	<b>zellēm, -ēn, -emēs</b>
2.	<b>zellet</b>	<b>zellēt</b>
3.	<b>zellent</b>	<b>zellēn</b>

Imper. 2 S **zeli**, 1, 2 P as ind., inf. **zellen**, pres. part. **zellenti**.

*Preterite*

S 1, 3.	<b>zalta, zelita</b>	<b>zalti, zeliti</b>
2.	<b>zaltōs(t), zelitōs(t)</b>	<b>zaltīs(t), zelitīs(t)</b>
P 1.	<b>zaltum, zelitim,</b> <b>-un, -umēs</b>	<b>zaltīm, zelitīm,</b> <b>-īn, -īmēs</b>
2.	<b>zaltut, zelitut</b>	<b>zaltīt, zelitīt</b>
3.	<b>zaltun, zelitun</b>	<b>zaltīn, zelitīn</b>
p.p. <b>gizelit (gizalt)</b>		

(a) Alemannic and Isidore have **ō** instead of **u** in pret. ind. pl., and subj. S 1, 3 **-ī**.

(b) Tatian sometimes has **-it-** in the **-t-** verbs, and has single consonant throughout pres., e.g. **zelen**.

(c) See 3. 46 (2) for **brennen, branta ; kussen, kusta ; wanten, wanta**.

Originally only long stems syncope the **i** (3. 26). OS, which has **-i-** as well as double consonant (except **r, ð**) (3. 39), has rather more prets. without **i**. For OS endings see 4. 49.

4. 59. The following verbs of the 1st Weak Conjugation have irregular preterites

<b>denken</b> , <i>to think</i>	<b>dāhta</b> (3. 35, 9)
<b>dunken</b> , <i>to seem</i>	<b>dūhta</b> „
<b>furhten</b> } <i>to be afraid</i>	<b>forhta</b> }
<b>furihten</b> }	<b>forahta</b> } (3. 5, 25)
<b>wurken</b> , <i>to work</i>	<b>worhta</b> , <b>worahta</b> (3. 5, 25)

The **-t-** after **h** (3. 34), pr.Gc **\*-t-**, is probably from IE **\*-t-** (3. 29), cf. 4. 57.

4. 60. Second Weak Conjugation.

*Present*

	IND.	SUBJ.
S 1.	<b>salbōm</b> , <b>-on</b> , <i>I anoint</i>	<b>salbo</b>
2.	<b>salbōs(t)</b>	<b>salbōs(t)</b>
3.	<b>salbōt</b>	<b>salbo</b>
P 1.	<b>salbōmēs</b> , <b>salbōn</b>	<b>salbōm</b> , <b>-ōn</b> , <b>-ōmēs</b>
2.	<b>salbōt</b>	<b>salbōt</b>
3.	<b>salbōnt</b>	<b>salbōn</b>

Imper. 2 S **salbo**, 1, 2 P as ind., inf. **salbōn**, pres. part. **salbōnti**.

*Preterite*

S 1, 3.	<b>salbōta</b>	<b>salbōti</b>
	&c., like <b>zellen</b> (p. 61)	

p.p. **gisalbōt**

(a) cf. 4. 58a.

(b) The 1 P pres. ind. and imper. and the whole of the subj. pres. have also longer forms **salbōēn**, **salbōē**, &c., in UG. OS has in pres. pl. and subj. 1, 3 S, inf. and pres. part., alternative forms in **-oia-**, **-ia-**.

## 4. 61. Third Weak Conjugation

This is exactly like 4. 60 (and *a*) with **ē** (**e**) for **ō** (**o**), e.g. **habēm**, *I have*, subj. **habe**.

(a) Forms like **hebis**, **hebit**, **hebita**; **segis**, **segit**, **segita**, are due to a contamination with the 1st Conjugation. This has gone further in OS, where the **ē**-conjugation survives only in (alternative) 2, 3 S pres. ind., 2 S imper., of **hebbian**, **seggian**, **libbian**.

(b) Longer forms occur, **habēēn**, **habēe**, as in the 2nd Conjugation, 4. 60b, except that they are rare in Bavarian.

## 4. 62. Preterite-Present Verbs

These verbs have the present like a strong preterite, except the 2 S ind. which ends in **t** and has the same vowel as the 1, 3 S. They have weak preterites.

Class I: **weiz**, *I know* (OS **wēt**, negative **nēt**), 2 S **weist** (3. 34); 1 P **wizzum** (-**umēs**), subj. **wizzi**; pret. **wissa** (**wëssa**, **wësta**) (3. 34); Inf. **wizzan**; pres. part. **wizzanti**; p.p. **giwizzan**.

Pl. **eigun**, *we have, they have*, **eigut**, subj. **eigi** (p.p. **eigan** is adj., *own*).

Class II: 3 S **toug**, *it avails, benefits*, 3 P **tugun** (OS subj. **dugi**); pret. 3 S **tohta**; pres. part. **toganti**.

Class III: **an**, *I grant*, pl. **unnun**, subj. **unni**, pret. **onda** (**onsta**), inf. **unnan**.

**kan**, *I know (how to)*, 2 S **kanst**, pl. **kunnun**, subj. **kunni**, pret. **konda** (**konsta**); inf. **kunnan**; pres. part. **kunnanti**.

**darf**, *I need*, 2 S **darft**, pl. **durfun**, subj. **durfi**, pret. **dorfta**, inf. **durfan**.

**gitar**, *I dare*, 2 S **gitarst**, pl. **giturrun**, subj. **giturri**, pret. **gitorsta**, p.p. **gitorran**.

Class IV: **skal**, *I am to*, 2 S **scalt**, pl. **sculun**, subj. **sculi**; pret. **scolta**, inf. **solan**, pres. part. **scolanti**.

(OS **man**, *I believe*, **muni**, &c.)

Class V?: **mag** (OS also **mah**), *I may, can*, 2 S **maht**, pl. **magun** (**mugun**), subj. **megi** (**mugi**), pret. **mahta** (**mohta**), Inf. **magan** (**mugan**), pres. part. **maganti** (**muganti**).

Class VI: **muoz**, *I may*, 2 S **muost**, pl. **muozun**, subj. **muozi**, pret. **muosa**.

Some forms of **skal** occur occasionally without **k** or **c**, e.g. Tatian **sal**, **solta**.

The 2 S **-t** with 'singular' grade is the original Perfect ending, and general ending of 2 S strong pret. in E and NGc; the **-i** with the same grade as plural of the WGc strong pret. is from the IE Aorist (with the same grade throughout (in *e*-verbs) as Perfect plural), IE **\*-es**, Gc **\*-iz**. Cf. 4. 49.

**Onsta**, **konsta**, are by analogy with **gitorsta** (pres. **\*-rs-**, > **-rr-**). On weak pret. generally see 4. 59.

**Elgun** has its vowel from S, **mag** (originally Class VI? pl. (Perfect) **\*mægh-** extended to sing.?) its alternative forms from Class IV.

**sol-** from **\*skl-** zero-grade dropping **k** between consonants.

#### 4. 63. The verb 'to be'.

##### *Present*

	IND.	SUBJ.
S 1.	<b>bim, bin</b>	<b>sī</b>
2.	<b>bist, bis</b>	<b>sīs(t)</b>
3.	<b>ist</b>	<b>sī</b>
P 1.	<b>birum, birun</b>	<b>sīm, sīn</b>
2.	<b>birut</b>	<b>sīt</b>
3.	<b>sint</b>	<b>sīn</b>

Inf. (not in very oldest OHG) **sīn**.

These forms have occasional alternatives from **wësan** (4. 54), which supplies the remaining forms.

This and the succeeding verbs (4. 64, 65) were *athematic -mi* (cf. Latin *sum*) as opposed to *thematic -ō* verbs; the *-m* from *\*-mi* has been extended to the originally thematic weak verbs in *-ōn* and *-ēn*.

IE and pr.Gc forms of the present indicative were

- S 1. *\*esmi, \*izmi* (Go *im*, ON *em* (with *e-* from *er-* of pl.), OHG and OS (*bium*, cf. OE *eom*) from contamination with *\*bheu-* (Latin *fu-*).
2. *\*essi* (Latin *es*), *\*isi* (Go *is*, ON *est*, OHG and OS (*bis(t)*) as S 1).
3. *\*esti* (Latin *est*), *\*isti* (Go *ist*, OS *is(t)*, ON *es*, later *er*).
- P 3. *\*senti, \*sindi* (OS 1 2 3 *sind(un)*, OE 1 2 3 *sind(on)*, beside Go 3 *sijun*, ON 3 *ero* (*\*-ŋt*, and 3. 32)).

#### 4. 64. The verb *tuon*, 'to do'.

IND.	TATIAN	OTFRID	NOTKER
S 1.	<i>tuon</i>	<i>duan</i>	<i>tûon</i>
2.	<i>tuos(t), tûis</i>	<i>duas(t), duis(t)</i>	<i>tûost</i>
3.	<i>tuot</i>	<i>duat, duit</i>	<i>tûot</i>
P 1.	<i>tuomēs, tuon</i>	<i>duen</i>	<i>tû(o)en</i>
2.	<i>tuot</i>	<i>duet</i>	<i>tûont</i>
3.	<i>tuont</i>	<i>duent, duant</i>	„
SUBJ.			
S 1, 3.	<i>tuo (tuoe, tuoa, tue)</i>	<i>due</i>	<i>tû(o)e</i>
2.	<i>tûēs</i>	<i>duest</i>	<i>tû(o)est</i>
P 1.		<i>duen</i>	<i>tû(o)en</i>
2.	<i>tuot</i>		<i>tû(o)ent</i>
3.	<i>tuon</i>		<i>tû(o)en</i>
IMPER.			
S 2.	<i>tuomes</i>	<i>dua</i>	<i>tûo</i>
P 1.	<i>tuomēs</i>	<i>duemēs</i>	
2.	<i>tuot</i>	<i>duet, duat</i>	<i>tûont</i>
INF.	<i>tuon</i>	<i>duan</i>	<i>tûon, tûen</i>
PART.	<i>tuonti</i>		<i>tûonde, tûende</i>

The preterite is inflected like a strong verb of Class V, except that the 1 and 3 sing. have the form **tēta** (OS also rest of pret. also **dēdos**, &c.), e.g. **tātun**, **tāti**; the p.p. is **gītān**.

While the pret. pl. **-ā-** beside sing. original reduplicating **-e-** (Perfect, or Imperfect of Present (cf. OS **dedos**)) is by analogy with Class V verbs, the p.p. **-ā-** (OS **gidān** beside **gidō(e)n**, **gidūan**) comes from the original **ē-**grade as in noun **tāt** (3. 15).

4. 65. The verbs **gān** (**gēn**), 'to go', and **stān** (**stēn**), 'to stand'.

The strong verbs **gangan** (4. 56) and **stantan** (4. 55), which regularly form their preterites **giang**, **stuont**, have beside these shorter present forms. The Alemannic dialect has the forms **gān**, **stān**, while Bavarian and Franconian have mostly the forms **gēn**, **stēn**.

		IND.	SUBJ.
S 1.	<b>gām</b> , <b>gān</b>	<b>gēm</b> , <b>gēn</b>	<b>gē</b>
2.	<b>gās(t)</b>	<b>gēs(t)</b>	<b>gēs(t)</b>
3.	<b>gāt</b>	<b>gēt</b>	<b>gē</b>
P 1.	<b>gāmēs</b> , <b>gān</b>	<b>gēmēs</b> , <b>gēn</b>	<b>gēn</b>
2.	<b>gāt</b>	<b>gēt</b>	<b>gēt</b>
3.	<b>gānt</b>	<b>gēnt</b>	<b>gēn</b>
IMPER.			
S 2.	[ <b>gāng</b> ]	Inf. <b>gān</b> , <b>gēn</b>	
P 1.	<b>gāmēs</b> , <b>gēmēs</b> , <b>gēn</b>	Part. <b>gānti</b> , <b>gēnti</b>	
2.	<b>gāt</b> , <b>gēt</b>		

The 2 S ind. is in Otfried **geist**, **steist**, and the 3 S mostly **geit**, **steit**.

While **standan** is an extended form (cf. Latin **stat-uere**) of **stān** (IE **\*stā-**), **gangan** (IE **\*gh-**, cf. 3. 28a) and **gān** (**\*ghē**) are originally unconnected. **Stān** has its **ā** (beside **ō** from IE **\*ā** in pret. **stuo-**) from **gān**; **gēn** and **stēn** their **ē** from weak verbs like **folgēn** (cf. OS **ful-gan**, **-gangan**, 'to fulfil', beside **folgon?**).

## 4. 66. The verb 'will'.

*Present*

	IND.	SUBJ.
S 1.	<b>willu (wille, willa)</b>	<b>welle</b>
2.	<b>wili(s)</b>	<b>wellēs(t)</b>
3.	<b>wili(t)</b>	<b>welle</b>
P 1.	<b>wellemēs, wellen</b>	<b>wellēmēs, wellēn</b>
2.	<b>wellet</b>	<b>wellēt</b>
3.	<b>wellent</b>	<b>wellēn</b>
	Inf. <b>wellen</b>	Pres. part. <b>wellentī</b>

*Preterite*

	IND.	SUBJ.
S 1.	<b>wolta</b>	<b>wolti, -ī</b>

The present forms which have the stem vowel **e**, have **o** in Franconian by analogy with the preterite, thus inf. **wollen**, &c.

The present tense of this verb was originally an optative form of a **-mi** verb, used indicatively, cf. Go **wiljau**. To this was formed a new subjunctive and a weak preterite; and the present 'indicative', beginning with plural and S 1, assimilated to regular verbs.

The **-e-** beside S **willu** (OS **willi(u)**, **wili(s)** or **wilt**, **wil(i)**, **williad**, **willien**, **willeandi** beside **welliu**, **welliad**, **wellian**) may come from **wellen**, 'to choose', Go **waljan** (cf. OS **walda** beside **welda**, **wolda**?), or **ë** by analogy with strong Class III; **-o-** is probably by analogy with **skolta** (4. 62).

## V

# SYNTAX (DESCRIPTIVE)

### CASES

**5. 1.** The **Nominative** is used as in MHG, e.g. **Fater unser** (vocative) . . . *sī giheilagōt thīn namo* (subject); *thō gisaz er muadēr bī einem brunnen; ob er arbeiði sō jung tholōn mahti; thuruhwonēta er stum; ungilōnōt ni bileip; bist druhtīn* (complement) *thū gimuato in himilom io hōhēr* (cf. 5. 8); *kind warth her faterlōs; ther blint hier betolōnti saz.*

**5. 2.** The **Accusative** is used for the direct object, including cognate e.g. *slāf slāfan; werk wirken; sang singan; rauba birahanen*, and internal, e.g. *weinōta then bruaeder; thaz kind sie thar thō betōtun; er theso dāti zurnta; unsar brōt taḡalīhhaz gib uns hiutu; wīhi namun dīnan; chlagēta in sie dir*; including in impersonal expressions, e.g. *al dax in lusta; mih ist wuntar*; for objective complement, e.g. *ih mih gotes sunu nemnu; er saztaz widar heilaz; sīnan stual er liaz ītalan; funti ḡangan sīnan sun; den himil offanan sehan; der sich suntīgen weiz; dū dīne geista machōst poten*; cf. Gothic *so sunja frijans izwis briggip*; for adverbial expressions of: quantity, e.g. *luzil drank ih es thār, luzil ih es mohta joh gōrag es gismakta; thō nōttun sie nan ḡinuogi; hinterquāmun mēra* ('erschrecken mehr'); *sie sih zi sīnen guatīn thōh etheswaz gifuagtīn; gib uns follon thīnes selbes lēra*; degree, e.g. *ḡinuog ziero; michil gimuati; al gilīcho*; respect, e.g. *niowiht ni dīhemēs; fleisg nist biderbi niowiht*; manner, e.g. *sārio thia meina; ḡānun; illun; manīga wīsa; andrawīs*; space and time, e.g. *alla fart; floug er sunnun pad, sterrōno strāza, weḡa wolkōno; fuarun andara strāza*; (OS) *ḡengun weḡos endi waldos; skenkit allan then daḡ; sih*



*inhabēta er zwēne daga; thaz man firōti eina wechūn; lag fiardon dag bigrabanēr; betōta allo stunta; alle daga-firisti gote thionōn; hīnaht; eina wīla . . . andera wīla; thrittun stunt; allaz, &c.* Double accusative: *thaz ni hilu* ('hehle') *ih thih; er lērta sie ōtmuati; lērtun sie inan einan ruam;* (OS) *lērda thia liudi langsamana rād;* cf. Gothic *laisida ins in gajukom manag* (note not noun) ('he taught them many a thing in parables').

**5. 3.** The Genitive is used possessively, e.g. *stimma ruafentes in wuastinnu; truhtenis ist diu erda; theiz allaz sīnes fater was;* subjectively, e.g. *thes widarwerten fāra* ('temptation by the devil'); of identity, e.g. *daz sīnes līchamen hūs; des steines burdīn;* (OS) *kuninges namo;* qualitatively, e.g. *guotero slahta man; comman adales; ein ediles man; wīb erwirdigero tāti; sint tie liute danne sō ganzes sinnes;* of appertaining, e.g. *hwelīhhes cnuosles dū sīs;* partitively, e.g. *evangeliōno deil; mēra tolaheiti; lides zwei mez; stucchiu brōtes; sīnero degano filu; kinuoh hilfa; dero slahet ir sume;* similarly with numerals (and cf. 5. 12) e.g. *mānōdo fiari; sumaro endi wintro sehstic;* also as partitive object, e.g. *skankta sīnan fanton* (cf. 5. 4) *bitteres lides; bringan thero fisgo; sie* (cf. 5. 2) *thes brōtes giward;* objectively in general, e.g. *alles kawalt; darba fateres mīnes; sluzzila himiles;* of exclamation, e.g. *sō wē hin hio thes lībes!;* depending on adjective (more widespread than in MHG), e.g. (objective) *gommanes wīs; thū ni bist es wīs; ferahes frōtōro* ('more experienced of life'); (respect) *sie sint gotes wortō flīzig filu hartō; alt jāro; sumēr biscof namen Zacharias; tie imo des newaren geuolgig;* (ablative) *arbeo laosa* ('deprived of heritage'); (causal) *sīnes wortō frō;* of measure, e.g. *zueio elnōn lang alde breit;* of manner generally (cf. 5. 5), e.g. *heimwartes; thes thritten dages; elilentes* ('abroad') *fuor in verra lantscaf; thes ganges sie iltun; eines blickes;*

**mīnes dankes**; thus gradating into adverbs, e.g. *sewara se geloufan waldes ode weges ode heido*; *in ēwun sīnro thenken sal dages inde nahtes*; *winteres . . . sumeres*; **alles**; including from adjectives, e.g. *sōsō mir anderes giburidi*; **rehtes**; **niuwes**; **tagoliches**; and causally, e.g. *chūmīg bin ih jaro ju filu manegero*; *wurtun tōte man queke sīnes wortes*; **thera ferti er ward irmuait**; *hintarquam er harto thero selbero worto*; *wuntorōta dero worto*; **tōdes sterban**; gradating into secondary object, e.g. *waz quidis thū es?*; *in des biten*; **thes wāges er sie wīsta**; (cf. 5. 2) **des ist mih wuntar**; **nū dih es lustit**.

It is thus used regularly with particular types of verbs (cf. MHG § 101, vii), e.g. (separation) *furlāz uns unsara sculdi*; **lōsen**; **biroubōn**; (need) **thurfan**; **intberan**; **mangalōn**; *gibrīstī imo des gīsiunes* ('he lacks sight'); (partitive) **corōn** ('to taste, test'), **costōn** (also acc.); *korōn wolta sīn Got*; **walten**, &c.: *so brūhhe er es lango*; *huoten ēwo*; (aim) **īlen**; **gāhen**; **gerōn**; **fragēn**; **beitōn** ('to await'); **āhten** ('to persecute'); *zilōt iuer*; **sin quemantes bītan**; (mental) **denken**; **dingen** ('to hope'); **hūggen**; **suorgen** ('to take thought for'); **zwīfalōn**; **rehtes sie githāhtun**; *wānit sih kināda*; (communication) **jehan** ('to say'); **bijehan** ('to confess'), also acc.; (fur)lougnen; (emotion) **lachen**, **klagōn**.

5. 4. The Dative is used for the indirect object, e.g. *sō wir furlāzamēs unsarēn sculdīgōn*; *giwalt gab mannum*; *dat sagētun mī*; *garwen truhtine thuruhthīgan folc*; of motion, e.g. *boton quement mīne thir*; *nū willih thaz mir folgōn*; (OS) **im giganan**; *wī im folgōdun*; for the sole object of certain verbs (cf. **furlāzan** above and with acc. *dese solihhe farlāzzante saar dei iro sint willoom eiganeem farlāzzante*), e.g. **helfan**; **fluohhen**; **gode thancodun**; *dher gerno gode dhionōt*; (OS) **gode thionōda**; (OS) *he williad iro drohtine hōrian* (but **hēlag word hōrian**); **dativus commodi** or **incommodi**, e.g.

*her imos* (cf. 5. 3); *iu scal sîn heil*; *wē demo in vinstri*; including with another dative, e.g. *thēn wortun mir giloubi*; *ginadōt er uns thēn sēlon*; with impersonal, e.g. *chilihhedā iru in imu mīneru sēulu*; ethic, e.g. *scein uns der sterro*; also *dir tet panttera*; and cf. 5. 12; with nominal expressions, e.g. *ther in drost was*; gradating into equivalent of genitive: (OS) *wārūn imu friund*; *nī ward in sun* (cf. Gothic *nī was im barne*); *themo namo was Joseph*; *dū wart demo Balderes volon sîn vuoꝝ birenkit*; *nī ist in kihuctin himilskin gōte*; with certain adjectives, e.g. *chūd was her chonnēm mannum liuten kelop*; OS *gīlīk drohtine*; adverbially for time, place, manner, e.g. *eineru stunthwīlu*; *ju manageru zīti*; *sārio thēn stuntōn*; *dritten tage*; *morgāne*; *ther gotes wizzode kleib*; *dū habēs hēme herron gōten*; *allēn halbōn*; *selbēn thesēn worton*; *vollen guot*; *einazzēn*; *luzīgēm*; *smalihhēm*; *offenlihin*; thus absolutely with participles, e.g. *ūfgānganteru sunnun*; *tougalo gīhalotēn magin* ('the magi having been summoned secretly'); *bin gōte helphante thero arabeito zi ente*; *bislozanēn thīnen turin*; *ce himele fuor, sīnēn iungerēn ana sehentēn*; *selbemū gōtes sune quhedhendemu*; *gisantēn sīnen herin*; *gībuntanēn sīnēn fuozin inti hentin*; and of comparison, e.g. *thesēn mēr*; *hlūttrōr liohte*; *wīzero snēwe*; *bezzer sint dīne spunne demo wīne*; *waz ist hugelichera unde minnesamera wīne?*; *beziron theru iuweru guatī*; cf. Gothic *swinþoza mis* ('mightier than I').

5. 5. The Instrumental or Dative is used for instrument or means, e.g. *swertu hauwan*; *lambes giskirmtēr bluote*; (OS) *dōpte Krist handun sīnun*; *wīli mih dīnu speru werpan*; *cheisuringu gitān*; cf. OS *wordun wehslan*; *hordīn imu wordu*; cause, e.g. *hungīru irsterban*; (OS) *wundun siok*, *wāpnum wund*; accompanying circumstance, e.g. (OS) *listiun talde*; (OS) *hreopun hlūdero stemnun*, *strīdiun geng*

(cf. *tholoda githuldion*); **hlüttru muatu singit**; *fuurun sēragemo muate*; *liuti fēhemo muate*; respect, e.g. (OS) **wordun wīs, handun gibundan**; thus measure with comparatives, e.g. *liuzelu minnerun*; **michilu menigiron**; (OS) **sehs nahtun ēr, mikilu betara, suliku swīsor; diu mēr; thi wirsi**; (*des*) **diu baz; desde drahor**; (in demonstrative pronoun) as correlative of causal conjunction, **diu dax, diu wanta** (cf. 5. 38); (also confined to demonstrative) **diu gilīh** (and cf. 5. 6).

The construction with **mit** (or other prepositions, cf. 5. 6) and Instrumental or Dative that finally altogether supplanted the instrumental expression without preposition, is found from the earliest, e.g. *mit geru, mit dinēm wortum; bretōn mit sīnu billiu*.

The distinct instrumental case is formed only from nouns (cf. 4. 1) signifying tools, parts of the body, weapons, material, abstracts (not from animates, cf. the possibly agential dative *fatere giboran*), and is not used with individuating qualifiers (exceptions occur like *mit diu vuiru*), e.g. *mit drostu, mit themo droste, mit scazzu, mit mihhilemo scazze, mit ezzichu, mit bitteremo līde* (theheino mezzo is an apparent exception). It is formed from adjectives and pronouns usually only in the substantival neuter, but there are exceptions (some among examples above), e.g. *mit sīnu nīde*.

## 5. 6. Prepositions govern

Accusative: **āno, duruh, furi, suntar, umbi, unz (an)**.

Dative: **aba, az, ēr, gēgin, oba, ūz (ūzze), ūzzar**.

Dative or Instrumental: **fona, nāh**.

Dative, and pronominal Instrumental **diu wiu: after, zuo**.

Accusative and Genitive: **inne**.

Accusative and Dative: **fora, hintar, obar or ubar, ūffan, untar, widar**.

Accusative and Dative or Instrumental: **ana(n), bi, in.**

Accusative, Dative, and Genitive: **innan, ūzzan.**

Instrumental or Dative and Accusative: **mit.**

Some pronouns present other peculiarities: government of different cases, e.g. **after des, āno sīn**; use with prepositions of the demonstrative (and relative) and interrogative adverbs **dār, wār, dannān, &c.**

#### ADJECTIVES

**5. 7.** The weak adjective is used after the definite article, e.g. *thia dagalichūn zuhti*; *der mahtīgo khuninc*; *thie hōhun altfatera*; *daz luzzela . . . daz michela*; and after the pronoun **dese**, e.g. *diz guota barn*; but is also found without these preceding, both as substantivized adjective, e.g. **neri-ento, almahtīgo**; *oh the sindun unchilaubun Iudeo liudi*; and qualifying noun, e.g. **himiliskin** (cf. 5. 10) *gote*; *engil gotes guato*; *fon himilisgen liohte* (all these containing a definite meaning); *unser tāgelīcha brot*; including in vocative use, e.g. *truhtīn guoto*; *cot almahtīgo*.

**5. 8.** The strong adjective is used with no qualifier preceding, e.g. *iudiisgēr man*; *in sālīgeru zīti*; *fon heidinemo wibe*; including vocative, e.g. *heil magad zieri, thiarna sō scōni*; after **ein** and the possessives, e.g. *ein tiurlih marigreoꝝ*; *unserēn sculdīgēn*; *unsar brōt tagalihhaz*; *broot unseraz emezzigaz*; and substantivally, e.g. *gab armēr joh ther rīcho antwurti gilīcho*; *der dār arteillan scal totēn enti quekkhēn*; *blinte gisehent, halze gangent*; *snel indi kuoni, thaz was imo gekunni*; and in *mir armeru*; *uns firdānēm*; but is also found after the definite article, e.g. *thes christanes folches, then fronisgan wīn* (beside *then guaton wīn*), *thero scōnero wortō, dea kahōnte*.

The 'inflected' or pronominal forms of the nominative and accusative (4. 18-19) are found predicatively as well as

attributively (attributively they are more usual (with the exception of NAPN) after the noun than before it (cf. 5. 34), e.g. **giwelih buohhāri gilērtēr in rihhe himilo**), e.g. *ther līchamo ist iu fūlēr*; *thaz wīg thaz ist sō hebigaz*; *wārun steinīniu thiū faz*; *engēr wec ist*; *thō ward ther fater altēr gotes wīhi irfultēr*; *fon in ward ouh giboraniu sīn muater*; *dia fianta sint bifangulōte*; *sie wurtun slāfente fona engilon gimanōte*; *dea kaladōte wārun*; *er fand inan tōtan*; *thār findist inan gizaltan*; (OS) *quidi werðad wāra*; *wurdun giōgida*; *weros sind kumane*; *fand sie slāpan sorgandie*; *hie hābit sia farfarana*; and the nominal forms of the SN (and Neut. A) are found attributively, e.g. *prooth unseer emezzihic*; *blint man*; *eogawelīh scriba galērit in rihhe himilo*; as well as predicatively, e.g. *alt was siu jāro*; *thiz was sus gibāri*; but the AS and NAP only predicatively, e.g. *er fand inan tōt*; *khenfun sint sō kreftic*; *thie zīti sint sō heilag*; *thū findist fol then salmon fon thesēn thingon*; (OS) *findis thū gisund* (beside *gisundan*) *magujungan man*. The present participle, however, is found in its uninflected form (cf. 4. 23) not only in both numbers of the nom., e.g. *inan ni findanti fuorun widar*, but in the Dative Absolute (cf. 5. 4), e.g. *twāla tuonti themo brütigomen*.

5. 9. Most indefinite pronouns are always declined strong (4. 46); the comparative and superlative always weak (4. 25, 26), e.g. *thū bezzisto Theophile*; *Adam was manno ēristo*; *er ward altero*; *er mir liobōsto was*; *er ist furisto*; similarly ordinals, e.g. *nu ist thritto tag*; *er thrittūn stunt nan gruazta* (4. 32, 36).

**Ein** strong (4. 33) has uninflected forms preceding noun, with **andar**, or with genitive, e.g. *thero gomono ein*; inflected when alone, e.g. *sagēn ih thir einaz* (also *ih sagēn thir ein*), preceded by genitive plural of a personal pronoun, or correlative with **anderēr**, e.g. *einēr imo den stuol ze Romo undergieng unde alla Italiam*, **anderēr nāhor imo Greciam begreif**.

**Ein** = 'alone' is weak (4. 33), e.g. *steig in berg eino betōn* (but also *wer mag furlāzan suntā noba ein got?*); *ænon muotin*; *wanana sculun Francon einon thaz biwankōn*.

**Al** is always strong, most often uninflected, or **al** in all cases before **der**; e.g. *elliū werolt*; *thisu worolt ellu*; **all(az)** *daz tuon*; **al** *daz in lusta*.

**Selb** has all forms, e.g. **selb** *druhtīnes*; **selbēr** *ther diufal*; **selbo** *druhtīn*; *des birit ir iu selbun urchundun*. In Otfred it is mostly weak, in Notker mostly strong.

## PRONOUNS

5. 10. The **Definite Article** (4. 41), originally a demonstrative, indicates something already referred to, e.g. *sumiu fielun in thorna, tho wohsun thie thorna*; *thahta, welih wari thaz wolaqueti* ('she wondered what this greeting might mean'); gradating into generally definite, e.g. *brah inti ziteilta sīnen iungiron, thie iungiron thō thēn manigīn*; *joh kundtun ouh thō māri thaz er ther kuning wāri*; *sār sō sih diu sēla in den sind arhevit enti si den lihhamun likkan lazzit*; (OS) **an them** *himilo rīkea*; including with substantivized adjective, e.g. **thio** *tumbun thēn spahon quādun*; or generic, e.g. *denne der man in pardīsu pū kiwinnit*. Definiteness may be expressed without the article, e.g. **sunna** *ni skīnit*; *huob er gundfanon ūf*; *dār scal denne hant spreghan, houpit sagen*. Thus with proper names, e.g. **Krist** *guatēr*, and similar nouns (having pronominal accusative, 4. 2d), e.g. *holōda inan truhtīn*; *ni ist in kihuctin himiliskin gote*; and usually with prepositions, e.g. *in erdu, ufin himile, ūx lante, zi holza, in henti, zi herzen*; *tumbo sax in berge*. Usage varies with noun qualified by noun in genitive, e.g. *(der) boto gotes*; *mannes sun habēt giwalt in erdu* (cf. above) *zi furlāzzene suntā*; or by possessive pronoun, e.g. *(der) fater mīn*, or by adjective, e.g. *suasat chind*; *hwitte scilti*; *ther ira sun guatēr*.

**5. 11.** The **Indefinite Article** (4. 46) gradates from its original sense of *one*, including translating Latin *unus*, e.g. *hier ist ein kneht* (puer unus) *ther habēt fimf leiba; fundanemo thanne einemo* (una) *diuremo merigriozē; einēr* (unus) *fon sīnen iungirōn; sō quimīt ein heri fona himilzungalon, daz andar fona pehhe*; through ‘a certain’, e.g. *sie . . . sterron einan sāhun; einan kuning weiz ih, heizit her Hludowīg; in dagon eines kuninges was ein ēwarto*; and ‘a case of’, e.g. *thū mohtis einan ruam joh ein gifuari mir giduan*; (plural:) *uaptun thār thie liuti einō brūtloufti* (cf. *eino zīti, in einēn buachon*); *abacus ist ein descriptio, daz chūt ein bilde*; to ‘some’, ‘any’, e.g. *ein bilde an einemo brete alde an einero pagina; philosophi habēton ein bret fore in, daz sie hiezen mensam*; this last use is fully developed in Notker (though in OS the Heliand already has it). The indefinite article is often omitted (cf. 5. 10), e.g. *quam boto fona gote; daz ist reht firinlih ding*; especially with internal object (Notker always, Otfrid sometimes), e.g. *gibirit sun*; regularly in the plural, e.g. *dat sagētun mī sēolīdante*; and particularly in the ‘any’ sense, e.g. *thie thār* (5. 15) *gisihit wīb; gilih ist rīhhi himilo* (5. 10) *tresewe giborganemo in accare; sō man guatemo scal, sō muater kindelīne duat*; with abstract nouns, e.g. *si habēta gilouba filu festa* (‘she had a very firm faith’); with negatives, e.g. *nist man, thaz gumisgi al gizelle* (‘there is not a man that could count the whole human race’); with words like *sō, sus*, e.g. *dat* (5. 32) *was sō friuntlaos man* (‘he was so friendless a man’); and with prepositions, e.g. *steig thō in skifelīn*.

In the more definite senses (‘a certain’, ‘one’ and ‘other’) is found **sum**, usually uninflected (contrast Gothic **sums**, 5. 14), e.g. *sum man habēta zwēne suni; sum was lugināri, sum skachāri*; but inflected in *sumēr biscof*.

**5. 12.** The **personal pronouns**, when subject apart from impersonal 3 S, e.g. *mih hungirit, dih es lustit, brast thes*



*wīnes, ward thō* (cf. *sōz regenōt, sō nāzzent tī bouma, sō iz wāt, sō wagōt iz; in sīnen dagon was iz fram; iz mohta wesana sexta zīt*), are usually expressed, e.g. *dat gafregin ih; ik gihōrta ðat seggen; was iz ouh giwāro gotes drūt*; at least the first time in the sentence, e.g. *thū fundi huldi mit gote, sēno nū inphāhis in reve inti gibiris sun*; cf. *her thō arstantenti sliumo fora in nam thaz thār* (5. 15) *her analag*; but, whether as survival of IE usage or as imitation of Latin, are often omitted (more frequently in Tatian than in Isidore), e.g. *pifilhu mīn herza; thār fundist inan gizaltan; wio dāti sō bī then wīn?*; *sprichist, thaz* (5. 15) *ni scalt*. They are regularly omitted in imperative, e.g. *faramēs*, but may be inserted for emphasis, e.g. *heil wis thū*, especially with negative, e.g. *ni forhti thū thir*. They are also found pleonastically (or for emphasis) with nominal subject, e.g. *Lazarus er was iro ein* (5. 11); *selbo Moyses er quidit, as is der*, e.g. *thie morganlīhho tag ther bisuorget sih selbo; Agamemnon, der irrah an dero zestōrdo Troiae. . . Der* is found elsewhere for *er*, e.g. *der hapēt in ruovu rahōno welīha; fundanemo . . . einemo diuremo merigriozie . . . coufta then*.

Reflexive pronouns (4. 38, 39) graduate to pleonastic and ethic dative use, e.g. *sih druabte thes muates; ni mīduh mih thero wortō; mannolīh sīn goume; sie sorgent iro thāre; zi hiun er imo quenūn las; ik mī dē ōdre wēt* (cf. Gothic *miton sis*); *er sah imo thaz iamar; du bist dir altēr Hun, ummet spāhēr*.

For 1, 2 S reflexive genitive, Otrifrid uses with *selb* the *-es* form of the possessive pronoun, e.g. *thīnes selbes lēra; mīnes selben wīsi*; and so emphatic 3 S *faru in sīnes selb gisihti*.

5. 13. The indefinite personal pronoun is *man* (cf. 4. 46), gradating from meaning of 'a man', e.g. *wanta ēr ni hōrta man thaz, thaz io fon magadburti man giboran wurti; dār man poah pirgit; bitet inti iu gibit man*. But the indefinite meaning is also expressed by *er* (*zi manne*, with negative, . . . *er*), e.g. *ni*

*ward er io zi manne* ('there was not born any man'), *ni er gisehe wanne . . . then druhtīnes heilant*; or by 3 P, e.g. *dhazs danne sie inan chisāhin dhoh sō chilaubidin*.

5. 14. The following pronouns (cf. 4. 44-46) are followed by the genitive, plural or neuter singular: **weliĥ, ġiliĥ, wiht, niwiht, iht, niht, waz, wer, weder, nohhein, dehein, nioman**, e.g. *allero lido welihc; rahhōno welihha; ni allero manno welih; allero ubilo ġihuelih; allero teilo ġiliĥ; chunno ġiliĥaz; ist thār wiht sō sarphes odo iawiht ouh sō ġelphes; ist iaman hiar in lante es iawiht thoh firstante?*; *ni habēs, quad si, fro min, fazzes wiht zi thiū hera in . . .?*; *hwer sīn fater wāri fireo; waz ist libelōses. . .?* (cf. *daz upiles; al daz tir ġewāhtlīches ist*); (OS) *manno nigēn, hwat manno, hweðeron sia thero tweio tuomian weldin*; cf. Gothic *sums manne*. So also corresponding adverbs, e.g. *sō wār sō er lantes ġiang; wanana lantes thu sīs*.

5. 15. The **Relative Pronoun** is sometimes omitted, e.g. *then weg, sie faran scoltun; mit themo brunnen, thū nū quīst; funtun einan man, mit namon Simeon hiez; ein slahta natarōno, heizit vipera; wē demo* (cf. below) *in vinstri scal sino virinā stūēn; ih scal iu sagen imbot, gibōt ther himilisgo got*.

The usual relative pronoun is **der**, with or without correlative demonstrative **der**, e.g. *der sī doh nu argōsto ostarliuto der dir nū wīges warne; ter demo dienot, ter ist follūn vrī; then tag, in themo thise werdent; birit dar durih den drāchen dēr iro uāret; o sponse, den ih mit allen chreften minno; ih bin Gabriel, thie azstantu fora gote; thaz* may be used for other genders, e.g. *nist man, thaz gumisgi al gizelle*. The antecedent may be not expressed, e.g. *tho quamun óstana in thaz lánt thie irkantun súnnun fart; niuse dē mōtti* ('try who may'); *gode thancodun thē sīn beidōdun; sprihhist, thaz ni scalt; tho ward thar irfullit thaz forasago singit; tuont daz sie ni muozun tuon; unde daz*

*ouh wirsera was*; cf. Gothic *wait atta izwar þizei jus þairbuþ*, and contrast (as well as *waz* in 5. 16) (OS) *hie it gihuggion ni muot, thes hie bitharf*. Or one word may combine form of relative and case of antecedent ('attraction of relative') with or without antecedent separately expressed (cases above like *er rihtit thaz in worolt ist* could be regarded as a special case of this), e.g. *thia gilouba . . . lāz ih themo iz lisit thar*; *alles des ih io missasprah*; *des wazares des man gisōhe*; *dera calaupā, dera ir in herzin cahuctliho hapēn sculut*; *allero mīnero sunteno thero ih gidāhda*; *denne werit er ze deru mahalsteti deru dār kimarchōt ist*; *mit wortun then er thie altun forasagon zaltun*; cf. Gothic *hva wileiþ ei taujau þammei qiþiþ þiudan Iudaie?*

Relative adverbs of place (cf. 5. 38) are used with or without preposition (cf. 5. 6), e.g. *daz leitit sia sar, dar iru leid wirdit*; *dero burg ēo, dannān du burtig pist*; (OS) *te them knuosle, thanan hie was*; (OS) *fuor hie thār hie wolda*; *būohchamera tār tú gerno inne sāze*; *er uonder magede lībe mennesgen lih- hamin fīnc, dār er unsih mite lōsta*.

The adverb *dār* (*dar, der*) is found together with the relative pronoun, e.g. *mīnen wortun, thiu thar gifultu werdent*; *ther ther thanne thiob was*; *geizzo corter* ('a herd of goats') *daz der gēt ūffe demo berge Galaad*; *der dir skephan ist himilis*; *ther thir Heinrih ni gerade*; (OS) *buotta them thar blinda wārun*; and forming a relative expression with a personal pronoun, especially 2 S, e.g. *fater unser, thu thar bist in himile*; *wir dar mihhil teil birun*; *ih tir ēr tēta frolihhiu sāng*; the personal pronoun alone is also used as relative, e.g. *fater unser, thu in himilom bist*; *cot almahtīco, dū himil inti erda gaworahtōs*; *heil thū krist, thu therero liuto kuning bist*; *sprah Thomas, er ein thero einlifo was*.

Another relative expression, especially in Otfried and in OS, is the particle *the* for all parts of the pronoun, e.g. *thie wega rihtet alle the ze herzen iu gegangen*; *in berge, the er mo zeinti*;

*furi thie the giloubenti sint; thih waltu (= thero); in doufe the (beside thiu) unsih reinōt; (OS) thena balkon the thū habes; (OS) thia the thār gifulda sindun; this is also combined with the relative pronoun, e.g. Judas, nalles therde kariothis heiz-zit; (OS) mannon sagda them the hie gikoran habda; cf. OS manega wāron, the sia iro mōd gespon. The relative adverb of manner sō gradates into another pronoun-equivalent, e.g. pist alsō gialtēt man, sō dū ēwīn inwit fuortōs; ne teta ēr ze ērest nieht uber daz sō demo cheisere lieb was; thero giloubun sōso er gisah; allaz sō thir liub ist; (OS) allaro erlo gihwēm, sō im fruokno tuo ferahes āhtid; (OS) kuningduom, sō ina thie kēsur gaf.*

5. 16. The generalizing relative pronoun is (sō) wer sō (wār sō, &c.), e.g. (sō) hwer sō wili gihaltan wesan; sō hwer sō farah forstilit; sōwār sōse er wilit sachun sīnu ce geuene; sōuerse sachun sīnu thuruhe sālīchedi sēlu sīneru . . . versellan wilit; swer zuo ir beginnet van, si machōt iz imo also wunderlieb.

Without the relative adverb of manner sō (cf. 5. 15) the indefinite-interrogative pronoun is also used as relative, e.g. thaz er thaz gihōrti, waz druhtin thes giquāti; (OS) ne mag that gitellean man, hwat thār warō.

## VERBS

### Tense

5. 17. **Aktionsart and Tense.** *Aktionsart* is the linguistic category expressing the temporal character of the action in itself. The determinate *Aktionsart* indicates a specific terminus to the action, e.g. findan beside suohhen; this may be its inception (ingressive), e.g. gistantan (which comes to mean 'begin' in general (5. 27), e.g. her fragen gistuont). All prefixed verbs are determinate, e.g. ni ist sō listīc man der dār iowiht arliugan megi; thus almost any simple verb may be made determinate by the prefix gi-, e.g. sie gisehente ('catching

sight of') *then sterron gifāhun; ipu sia daz Satanazses kisindi kiwinnit* (winnan, 'to struggle'). In certain verbal forms the determinate meaning is extended to one more associated with tense; but note that this is *not* generalized into an obligatory expression of *perfective aspect* (cf. 5. 22) as in the Slavonic languages. Thus in PP (5. 34), dependent infinitive (5. 27), and subjunctive (5. 42); in preterite, Perfectic meaning (5. 20); in present, future meaning (5. 18); but in all except PP of most verbs (5. 34) the unprefixd form also occurs (see examples there).

5. 18. The **Present**, besides being used for present time, e.g. (OS) *gī sind nū sō druobia*, and general time, e.g. *nōt nimet ten gewalt*, (OS) *thu bist liocht mikil*, is found at least once for past, Historic Present: *thō ni was iz burolang, fand her thia Northman: Gode lōb sagēda, her sihit thes her gerēda*; and often for the future, e.g. *Elisabeth gibirit thir sun inti nemnis thū sīnan namon Iohannem; ih irstān after thiū; after dhiu sō dhū slāfis* (dormieris) *mit dhīnem faterum; quimit he gisund ūz, ih gilōnōn imoz; quement noh thio zīti; fon thir quimit tuomo, ther rihtit mīn folc Israhel; luzzila stunta ni gisehet ir mih; karisit denne, daz allero manno welih sih selpan des wirdīcan gatōe* (5. 25), *cotes sun ze wesam; sō daz Eliases pluot in erdo kitriufit; sō hwanne sō* (5. 16) *dhū dhīna daga arfullis* (impleveris).

5. 19. The **Future** is also expressed by auxiliary verb with infinitive, e.g. *berga sculun swīnan; daz hōrtih rahhōn . . . , daz sculi der antichristo mit Eliase pāgan; sō denne der mahtigo khuninc daz mahal kipannit* (5. 17, 18), *dāra scal queman chunno kilihaz; nū scal mih swāsat chind swertu hauwan; inde in ēwun sīnro thenken sal dages inde nahtes; ih arwehhu dhīnan sāmūn after dhir, dher wesam scal fona dhīnem sunim; (OS) ik skal iu seggean; wuo mag daz sīn?; wār mugun wir nū biginnan, mit koufu brōt giwinnan?; wio meg iz io*

**werdan wār, thaz ih werde swangar ?; an dero werlte muozzint ir fressan habin; ih willu faran betōn nan; wil thū thaz rīchi irsezzen; er scal sīnen drūton thrāto gimuntōn, then altan Satanasan wilit er gifāhan.**

For expression of the Conditional see 5. 44. (Preterite indicative of the 'future' auxiliaries is used only for 'future in the past' (inasmuch as non-modal, cf. 5. 24).)

**5. 20.** The **Preterite**, besides being used for simple past, e.g. *ther kneht wārlihho wuohs inti strangēta*; (OS) *giwēt imu an Galileo land*; is used for perfect, e.g. *ik gihōrta ðat seggen*; (OS) *sō alde man sprākun*; or pluperfect, e.g. *sō imo se der chuning gap* ('which the king had given him'); *thiz zeichan deta druhtin krist mennisgōn zi ērist sīd er hera in worolt quam joh mannes lichamon nam; ūzzan er iz mit alamusanu furiviegi; thō sie gihōrtun then cuning, fuorun*. It is also used gnomically, i.e. for general statements, e.g. *ungilōnōt ni bileip, der gotes wizzōde kleib; io āhta thes guaten, ther thār ubil was*; and for wishes, e.g. *kesah in got, der sih kērōt iro ze gesatōnne; ward wola in thēn thingon*.

**5. 21.** The **Perfect** is also expressed by auxiliary verb with past participle, e.g. *unseru liohtfaz sint erlosganu; nū ist er queman herasun; mīn quena fram ist gīngangan in ira tagun*; (gradating from objective complement) *phīgboum habēta gīpflanzōtan* (arborem . . . plantatam); *sie eigun mir gīnomanan lioban druhtin mīnan; er habēt uns gizeigōt; tū habēst tih selbo vertriben; nū habēt Uodalrīch firloran ērōno gilīh; heigun* (4. 62) *sa Northman harto biduungan; thār sah si druhtin stantan joh habēta inan funtan; pidax er in werolt kiwerkōt hapēta; denne der paldēt der kipuazzit habēt*; OS: *sind mīna tīdi kumana; sia wārun kuman; hē is ferahes haḃad farwerkot; habda sie gīnerid; habda im hēlagna gēst bifolhan; that sea bihlidan ēgun; habdun im widersakon gīhaloden te helpu*. It is found for preterite in

Otfrid for rhyme's sake, *er habēt in thār gīzaltan drōst managfaltan*.

Notker has perfect infinitive (*zigen si mih pesmizzen habēn*) beside present for perfect (*wer zwīvelōt Romanos iu wesen allero rīcho hērren*).

5. 22. Auxiliary verb with present participle is used to translate the corresponding construction, and others, in Latin, and may be regarded as expressing an imperfective aspect (i.e. not marking the action as completed), including the continuous meaning of the corresponding English construction, e.g. with **wesan**: *thiu menigī was thes folkes ūzze betōnti*; *sō wārun sie unz an enti thaz līb leitenti*; *joh was sih lōsenti theru zungūn gibenti*; (*engil*) *was sīn beitōnti*; *was thaz folc beitōnti*; *auh ist galihsam himilo rīhhe demo suohhenti ist guote marigreoza*; *was er liut beranti*; (OS) *thia muoder thes mendendia sind*; *fon anagenge worolti ist er gīnādōnti*; with **werdan** (cf. 5. 23): *wirdist swīgenti*; *tho ward mund sīnēr sār sprechantēr*; *wio er sehanti wurti*; (OS) *wurdu in is wangun blīkandi*; cf. Gothic *was Iohannes daupjands*.

#### Voice

5. 23. The **Passive**, which in the Present Gothic expresses by inflection, e.g. *praŭfetus hauhistins haitaza* ('thou shalt be called prophet of the highest'), is expressed by the auxiliaries **wesan** or **werdan** with PP (cf. *Go qam Iesus jah daupiþ was fram Iohanne*; *sabbato in mans warþ gaskapans*). The ingressive meaning of **werdan** can develop into future meaning (cf. 5. 17), cf. *thār wirdit wuoft inti clafunga zenio* ('there will be wailing and gnashing of teeth'), (OS) *thes wirōid sō fagan man*, and (5. 22) *wirdist swīgenti*, e.g. *denne wirdit untar in wīc arhapan*, cf. *Go gaaiskwoþs waírþa* ('I shall be ashamed'). From the ninth century **werdan** and **wesan** begin to have the MHG meanings (MHG § 109), cf. *Go gameliþ ist* ('it is

written'). E.g. *sī giheilagōt thīn namo*; *sang was gisungan*, *wīg was bigunnan*; *kepiotantes stimma tātim sī kefolgēt*; (OS) *nū ist Krist giboran*, *Erodes was gikoran*; *dīn namo werde gehēiligōt*; *gientōt werde ubarloubnissi*; *dār der hēligo Christ ana arhangan ward*; *wārun frāgenti*, *wār er giboran wurti*; (OS) *werðad mīna hendi gibundan*; *wurdun farworpan*.

Passive infinitive is found, e.g. *mugut ir gītoufit wesan*; cf. *Go skal sunus mans uskusans wairþan*; but *fona discoom keban kerīsit*; *ir gisehet umbigeban fon here Hierusalem*; cf. *Go qemun þan motarjos daupjan*; and mixed, *bezzera vanden mugun werthan*.

### Mood

5. 24. The **Indicative** is the mood of reality, including in subordinate clauses, e.g. *sō wir furlāzemēs unsarēn sculdigōn*; *bithiu wanta Elisabeth was unberenti*; *ibu du mī ēnan sagēs, ik mī dē ōdre wēt*; *fiuhit er in then sē, thār giduit er imo wē*. It may be used as in Latin with modal auxiliary verbs, e.g. *sie mohtun bringan mēra* ('they could have (*poterant*) brought more').

5. 25. The **Subjunctive** is used in main clauses (Present) for jussive (including first person imperative), will or wish, e.g. *singēm*; *petōēm*; *duruch wachēēm*; *nū frewēn sih es alle*; *ni gileitēst unsih in costunga*; *queme thīn rīhhi*; *gisegenōt sīs thū untar wībun*; *wese mir after thīnemo worte*; *themo sī iamer heilī*; *thīn herza mir geloube*; OS *faran wī!*, *witin gī!*, *diuriða sī drohtine!*, *wīta kiosan!*; (Preterite) unreal wishes (Latin *utinam*), e.g. *wolti got*, *habētīn wir deheina*; *wolti got*, *erwundīn dise zūte* (*utinam redirent*); (Present and Preterite) deliberative or dubitative questions, e.g. *wax tuoien wirs* (5. 3) *bruodera?*; *thū sus inan nū lāzēs?*; *scolti er sīn Krist guatēr?*; (exclamatory) *wer eo dix gahōrti!*; (Present and



Preterite) hypothesis conditionally possible of fulfilment or (Preterite) hypothesis impossible of fulfilment, e.g. *wārist thū hiar, ni thultin wir nū thesa quist; iz ne mahti nioman anderro getuon; guot wāri imo, thaz giboran ni wāri ther man; sōse mīn sculd wāri* ('as I should have done'); OS: *ef wī gisaldin siluberskatto twē hund samad, tweho wāri is noh than; nio it than te sulikaru frumu ni wurdi; wēst thū, that thū giwald hebbian ni mohtis*; potential, e.g. *ih wāne, therēr fulle alla, thaz ih wille; thu mohtis ein gifuari mir giduan* (beside *maht*, cf. 5. 24); (OS) *ūs wāri thes firiwit mikil te witanne; thū mahtis man wesan thes the thār stēd*.

On Subjunctive in various types of complex sentences see 5. 40-50.

5. 26. Examples of the Imperative are: *arlōsi unsih fona ubile; heili thih selbon!*; *giheili mih fon theru stuntu!*; *giougi thih themo biscofe!*; *ouget mir then muniz thes zinzes!*; *faramēs; bittemēs*; (conditional) *stīg nidar, wir gilouben thir sār*.

#### *Non-Finite Verb Forms*

5. 27. The Infinitive is used with auxiliary verbs (cf. 5. 19), e.g. *wir wollemēs then heilant gisehan; bimīdan thu ni wollēs; hiar mag er lernēn; ni mohtun giheilan inan; ni kan inan bimīdan*; (OS) *skalt thū libbian*, (omitting infinitive) *gī an that fur skulun*; and other verbs, e.g. *ih meino danchōn guotēn unde undanchōn ubilēn*; (OS) *inan niðar werpan hogdun*; expressing purpose with verbs of motion (Latin Supine), including (gi)stantan (5. 17), and *wesan*, e.g. *si wārun in thero burg, koufen iro nōtdurf; stūonden tro dīng slīfen*; OS *gēng wið iro kind spreken, fuorun that barn sehan, gēng im gisittian, gēng furi is thiodan stān, ūte wārun weros wiggeo gomean*; OS *giwēt im faran (gangan), giwitun im siðon, siðodun gangan*; similarly after verbs of sending with (or without) object, e.g. *ih santa*

*iwih arnōn* (*si santun zi Kriste; kunden iro sēr*); and transitive verbs generally, e.g. *aethici sint the unsih lērent haben rehte site*; (OS) *thū ūs bēdon lēras; oba iz irloubit si in sambaztag wola tuon odo ubilo; then fater hōrt er sprechan; daz hōrtih rāhhōn dia weroltrehtwison*; (OS) *hie ina kuman gisah, gihōrdun ina tellian; ih irkanta thia kraft faran fona mir*; (OS) *fundun ina sittian; her wolta inan ginemitan wesān*; (OS) *thū mahtis that hūs standan giduon, thuo bādun thia liudi that word wendian, bādun drohtin antlūkan thia lēra, thes ik sia lēstian hētu; ni liaz regonōn*; (OS) *that man ina gāngan liet, ik giwaldan muot thik quikan lātan*; gradating into accusative and infinitive for indirect speech as in Latin, e.g. *mihhil götlih ist, daz der man den almahtigun truhtin sīnan fater wesān quidit; nu quedet ir mih wesān; Mercurium saġet kehūien ze philologia; biknāta ih sia wesān mīna ammūn; er sih saġēt got sīn; er chad sih finden sīn herza; wāntun sih geist gisehan*; (OS) *thār hē thena man wissa gōma thiggean*. It is also found instead of participle (5. 29), e.g. (OS) *weros gāngan quāmun; swōgan quam engil*.

5. 28. The Infinitive as Substantive. Nominative or accusative, e.g. *minnon mēra ist thaz; daz trinkan; daz firstantan; lā dīn menden sīn, lā dīn furhten sīn*. Genitive, e.g. *gilusten weinōnnes; traġannes anst; fona minnu des anplasannes; ni gab si . . . thes ruaffennes stal; Petrus sār thes sindes swimmannes begonda*; (OS) *ik giuhu sweriannias, kussiannias*. Dative, e.g. *hweo ist in Salomone zi firstandanne; forgip mir tiuflan zi widarstantanne; ih habēn giwalt thih zi irhāhanne; was giwon ther gravo zi forlāzanne; uns sint kint zi beranne daga furifarane; habo ih zīt ze ougenne; ih tuon dir stata ze sprechanne; garo bin zi faranne; wedar ist ōdira zi quedanne . . . odo zi quedanne . . . ; ōdira ist olbentūn thuruh loh nāldūn zi faranne;*

*was ube imo ne tohta ze lebenne; waz scal es sō zi frāgenne; oba iz ward zi fehtanne; santa er mih fon himile thiz selba thir zi saganne; si quāmun al zisamane thaz kindilīn zi sehanne; giengut ir mit suerton inti mit stangon mih zi fāhanne; sie blyent sar zerthorrenne; ziu si iro frowun etewaz nelieze slāfen, iro scōnī ze behaltenne; za petōnne ist; nist zi chilaubanne; mannes sun ist zi sellenne (tradendus est) in hant manno; ih habēn thir sihwaz zi quedanne; thō sleih ther fārāri irfindan, wer er wāri, thaz zi irsuachenne ubar al; in gilimphit wahsan, mih zi minnirōne; (OS) gisendid was te rihtianne; fundos te faranne; hē im bifalh te seggeanne; hie kan te gethenkianne; ūs girīsid gihwilik te gifullianne; giwald habda te gitōgianne; garo te geḅanne; fūs te faranne; that is mīn te duonne.*

**5. 29.** The **Present Participle** is used predicatively (uninflected, but also, like adjectives in general (5. 8), inflected, cf. examples in 5. 22 and (OS) *thar hie wissa hrēo hangondi, fand sia slāpandia*), e.g. *betolonti sizzen, dawalōnti liggen, forahntenti stantan; fuar druhtīn bredigōnti; joh fuar er kundinti thaz; (OS) quam thar tuo gangandi*; also attributively after noun (cf. 5. 34), with object in imitation of Latin, *man filu ezzenti*. Where the predicative use is quasi-adverbial, an adverb formed from it in **-o** may be used instead, especially translating Latin ablative gerund in **-ō**, e.g. *er fuar ilento; oh sie danne zellanto (dicentes) quedant; inti unsih sehanto (videndo) kirihti; singento ode betento; wanta jū ēr consules in curru rītento ad curiam darūfe sāzun*.

**5. 30.** The **Past Participle** is also used predicatively (besides in periphrastic verbal forms, cf. 5. 21, 23), e.g. *giscriban stān; bigraban liggen; mit thēn er lag biwuntan; wir se sehēn genērēte; (OS) kumad gifaran*. All verbs that have not already an inseparable prefix take **gi-** (5. 17), except (usually) a few that are necessarily determinate in themselves: *endi wardh*

wordan *druhtīnes wort*; *iz dunkal eigun funtan*; *zuēne chūninga nórdenān chómene*; *brāht*; *troffan*; and except in a few particular phrases, e.g. *wuntane baugā*; *filu kepan* (valde data); *preitit ward*; and except original participles that have become independent adjectives: from preterite-presents, e.g. *kund*; from other simplex verbs, e.g. *trunkan*; in compounds, e.g. *ēristboran*.

5. 31. Negation is expressed by the adverb **ni** before the verb, alone, e.g. *ni princ unsih in khorunka*; (OS) *ni tharft thū stum wesan*; or with indefinite pronoun or adverb, e.g. *ni wāniu ih iū līp habbe*; *er wiht es thoh ni westa*; (OS) *that sia im wedares giwin wiht ni andrēdin*; (OS) *ni was iu werð eowiht*; or some other general expression, e.g. *neo dana halt*; *nio in altare*; or with other *negative* words, e.g. *nioman nist in thīnemo cunne*; *sie ne quedent imo niowiht*; *noh poum noh pereg ni was*; *tar ne waltest nehein manegi nieht*; *nales forhta nihein*; *rīhtuom ne ist ándereswīo nīeht kemeine*; OS: *ne ik giō mannes ne warð wīs*; *nek it ōk god ni geskōp*; *noh ēnig gumono ni skal*; *nia thana wīh ni forlēt*; *ne ik thī ni dēriu neowiht*; *ni swerea neoman*; *ni was im tweho nigēn*.

The adverb **ni** is found in subordinate clauses after verbs of prevention, and in subordinate clauses without conjunction (5. 37), gradating into use as conjunction itself (5. 38, 44), e.g. *er mo firbōt thio dāti, thaz er ni suntōti*; *thaz man sih ni firswerie, thaz, wān ih, wizzōd werie*; *mīniu wort thiu werrent, thaz ir sār ni suerrent*; *nist man nihein, ther queme zi themo fater, ih inan ni leite*; *nist ther in himilrīchi queme, ther geist joh wazzar nan nirbere*; *joh mennisgon alle, ther se iz ni untarfalle, al eigun si iro forahtha*; *sō duan ih, dōt ni rette mir iz, al thaz thū gibiudist*; *ni magin die biderbin vergin sih des nieht irwergin si ni muozzin folevaran zi des meris parm*; *ni firliax in ther nōti ni si imo folgēti*; *wanana sculun Francon einon thaz biwankōn, ni sie in frenkisgon biginnen, sie gotes lōb singen?*; OS (usually

with subjunctive after negative present): *thō ni was lang the thiu, ni it gilēstid warð; ni mahta hē bimīðan, ni hē sprak; nis thes tweho ēnig, ni sie fargelden; that eo ni bilībid, ni hē thes lōn skuli antifāhan; gī biwardon ni mugun, ni gī awerdiat.*

## CONCORD

**5. 32. Gender.** Violation of grammatical gender concord by natural gender concord is found, e.g. (OS) *gisāhun that barn ēnna standan; iogiwelīh thie thār gisihit wīb sie zi gerōnne; thiz wīb firworaht habēt ira līb, bifangan ist si . . . ; quāmun zi bisnūdanne daz kind, namtun inan Zachariam; gieng in, thār thaz magatin lag, inti fieng ira hant inti quad iru; ist thiz kint iuer, ther blintēr ward gīboranēr.* Neuter plural is used for different genders combined, e.g. *siu* (Zacharias and Elisabeth) *wārun rehtiu beidu*, cf. *Go wesunuh þan gāraihta ba*; (OS) *thiu gōdun twē, Josep endi Maria, be iu*; (OS) *wīn endi brod wīhude bēðiu*. Apparent lack of concord may be due to adjective, but not noun, following Latin gender, e.g. *managiū* (multa) *enti unerrimitiu sint mīno sunta*. The identifying pronoun does not necessarily agree in gender with the identified noun, e.g. (OS) *sagde that hē/it iro hērro was*. Similar (but cf. also OS in 4. 25, 26) is use of neuter comparative or superlative, e.g. *thū mo liabara bist thanne al gifugiles; bist thū ni zi wāre furira Abrahamē; theist dages heizesta joh arabeito meista; manno liobōsta; tōdo wirsesta*.

**5. 33. Number.** The identifying pronoun does not necessarily agree in number with the noun, while the verb does with the latter, e.g. *thiz sint buah frōno*; (OS) *thit sind thie skuldi*. Similarly with a pronoun referring back, e.g. *thō wōhsun thie thorna, inti furthamftun iz*. A verb may be singular with singular subjects co-ordinated, e.g. *gab armēr joh ther rīcho antwurti gilīcho*; (OS) *wan wind endi water*; or even with plural

(neuter) subject, e.g. **wuofit sih allu erdcunnu**; (OS) *themu is be iu gidūan*. A singular pronoun or adjective may refer to plural noun or pronoun, e.g. *alte joh junge, in thiu er tharazua githinge, nietōt er sich lībes*; *sō sint se alle girrit, thes wiges gimerrit, ther in thera nōti thār imo folgēti*; *thoh sie sih westīn reinan* (to rhyme with *einan*). Collective singulars may be referred to as plural, e.g. *liut sich in nintfuarit, ni sie in thionōn*; *gisah meniġī sturmenta inti wuofenta inti weinōnte*.

### WORD-ORDER

**5. 34.** The **Noun** is most often preceded by its adjective, but for emphasis or in verse the adjective often follows, e.g. *fon altēn wīzagōn*; *thia dāgalichun zūhti*; *thaz minnisti deil*; *hērron gōtēn*; *barn unwahsan*; *gūdea ġimeinūn*; *Krist guatēr*; *kuningin thia rīchūn*; *broot unseraz emezzīgaz*. Similar variation is found with personal pronoun, the combination being preceded or not by **der**, e.g. *thīn namo*; *namo thīn*; *nāmo thiner . . . thinaz rīchi . . . thīnes selbes lera*; *ther ira sun guatēr*; *thaz sīn adalkunni*; and with genitive, with or without the genitive article, e.g. (*der*) *ġotes boto*, (*der*) *boto ġotes*; *des hūses wirt*; *fon anagenge werolti*; *ze ende dero werlte*.

**5. 35. Preverb, Preposition.** Stressed preverbs are separable from the verb except when it is finite and final (5. 36), e.g. *suohtun inan in zi traganne*; *mīn quena fram ist ġigangan in ira tagun*; *dō quam des Adames sun und sluog des tiufeles sun zuo zeinero stūdon*; *dea ubilun avar wurphun ūz*; *thie ubilon ūzwurphun*. Separable preverb gradates into postposed preposition, e.g. *ic dir nāch sihe*, *ic dir nāch sendi*; *sō ih sia diu ougon ana firliaz*; *der rīhtuom einemo zuo slingit*; *ist in iowiht ana*; (OS) *stōd ina werod umbi, ina āno*.

**5. 36.** Position of the **Verb**. Normal position for the verb in a main clause is the second place, with either subject or some

other part (including interrogative words other than conjunctions (5. 50)) preceding, e.g. *dîn rîche chome, dîn willo gescêhe . . .*; *dhazs kind was gerōndi fona muoter brustum; ich scal imu wesan in fater stedi; giwîhit sî namo thîn; unsar brôt tagalîhhaz gib uns; ni unsih firleiti in khorunka; unde in chórunga ne lēitêst du únsih; taz urlub kab imo Zeno; só chāmen aber nordenān Langobardi; tōt ist Hiltibrant; thō quam Herodes; zi gote rihta si iro muat; mit gēru scal man geba infāhan; wela gisihu ih in dīnem hrustim; jā bin ih scalc thîn; unde cham mir ougōn lieht; wētту irmingot, quad Hiltibrant, obana ab hevane; sorgēn mac diu sēla; pidiu scal imo helfan des himiles kiwaltit. Final place occurs as survival in verse, and, even where not in Latin original, in prose before Notker, e.g. *sunufatarungo iro saro rihtun; ik mī dē ōdre wēt; forn her ōstar giweit; sīd Dētrîhhe darbā gistuontun; fona hreve aer Lucifere ih dhih chibar* (genui te). Initial place is emphatic, found in questions without interrogative word (cf. 5. 50), with imperative with or without subject or jussive, &c., subjunctive (5. 25), and in graphic narration, e.g. *sî thîn willo; sî giheilagōt thîn namo*; (OS) *gef ūs dago gehwilikes rād; wand her dō ar arme wuntane bauga; holōda inan truhtîn; lietz her heidine man obar sēo līdan; fuar thō sancta Maria.**

In subordinate clauses the verb may be found in any position, e.g. *thū thār bist in himile; sō wir furlāzemēs unsarēn sculdigōn; ein bret . . . daz sie hiezen mensam; taz tu ne weizt noh ne chanst cheden chuospinci; daz hōrtih rāhhōn dia werolt reht wison, daz sculi der antichristo mit Eliase pāgan*; but the tendency is to position after two elements, including final position, e.g. *fater unser, thu in himilom bist*; (OS) *al sō wē ōthrum mannum dōan; ēr Antichristo richesōn begondi; daz Elias in demo wīge arwartit werde; sō daz Eliases pluot in erda kitriufit; wanta er ni hōrta man thaz io fon magadburti man giboran wurti; dō dār niwîht ni was* (cf. *dō was der eino*); *sō iz regenōt* (cf. *sō nazzent die bouma*); *si garo ze*

*vergebenne daz luzzela alsō er welle daz imo vergeben werde daz michela; bittēm wir, thaz sīn namo in uns mannom werdhe giwīhit thuruh guodiu werc; penultimate position is often found, in particular when the finite verb is part of a periphrastic form or otherwise accompanying non-finite part, e.g. thaz wir sīn thionōnti; dō manige liute . . . hara ubere bigondon varen; sō hwēr sō wānit, dhazs izs in Salomone wāri al arfullit.*

Thus the order in clauses generally may vary between the extremes of apparently conforming completely to Modern German usage, e.g. *dō quam des tiufeles sun ūf Adames bruggen unde sciteta einen stein ce wite; Petrus gesanta Paulum sīnen bruoder, daz er Aderūna āderon ferbunde; and diversity like ahā artruknent, muor varswilhit sih, suilizōt lougiu der himil, māno valit, prinnit mittilagart, stēn ni kistentit.*

#### CLAUSES

5. 37. Clauses may be in effect co-ordinated or subordinated without conjunctions, e.g. *quāmun fleogente, frāzun daz; spenis mih mit dīnem wortum, wili mih dīnu speru werpan; einēr frāgēt, anderēr antwurtit; ward thō in themo ahtuden tage, quāmun zi bisnūdanne thaz kind; (OS) Johannes stōd, dōpte allan dag; ich weiz her imos lōnōt; ni wāniu ih iu līb habbe; quad, himilrichi nāhti; stimma mānōt, quedēm lōb truhtīne; (OS) quað, hē is geld gerewedi. Thus conditional clauses with initial verb, e.g. ni duas thū sō, lōn ni habēs thū es nihein; wile du wizen wannān du burtig sist . . .; quimit hē gisund ūz, ich gilōnōn imoz; (OS) wāri it nū thīn willio, than ni wāri ūs wiht sō guod; (OS) wissin sia that, than ni gidorstin sia; nist ther thia (jungistun zīt) gizeino, ni sī mīn fater eino; thū alleswio ni dāti, ni sī al sōs ih thih bāti; OS: mīð is, ni sī that imu god helpa farlīhe; bi hwī it mahti giwer an sō, ni wāri that it gibod godes selbes wāri; ne wāri that it thī god fargābi.*

Expressions like *ni sī*, and *ni* (5. 31), gradate into conjunc-



tions, as do correlated demonstratives like **der** and **sō** (cf. 5. 15), while new correlative expressions emerge, e.g. **sō unpilōpōno enti sō ērlīcho sōsō dē engila in demo himile dīnan willun arfullant, des mezzes wir inan arfullan muozzīn.**

**5. 38. Conjunctions.** Co-ordinating: **avar, but, again, dō, duo, but, for, doh, yet, but, also, eddo (odhe, &c., OS efđo), or, eddo . . . eddo (OS also the), either . . . or, enti, and, ja (ouh), and, joh, also, even, and, noh, and not, oh (OS ak), but, yet, ouh, also, but, for, suntar, but, ūzzan, except that, unless, but, ūzzar, unless, but, ūzzouh, but, wanta, for.**

Subordinating: **danān, whence, wherefore (5. 15), danne, when, because, than (5. 43, 46, 47), danta, because (5. 47), dār, where (5. 15, 44), dara, whither (5. 15), daz, that (5. 40-43, 49), diu, the with comparatives (5. 47, 41), after diu, nāh diu, after (5. 43), bidiu, because (5. 46), fone diu, therefore, in diu, when, if (5. 43, 44), innan diu, while (5. 43), mit diu, when, while (5. 43), zi thiū, in order that (5. 41) (all of which may have **daz** after **diu**), **doh, although (5. 45), dō, duo, as, when, while (5. 43, 47), ēr (ē), before (5. 43, 44, 47), ibu (oba, ube, OS ef, of), if, whether (5. 44, 50), inu, nonne, num (5. 50), ni, unless, that not (5. 31), nibu, unless, except that, but (5. 44), niwan, unless, except that (5. 44), nū (nu), num, numquid (5. 50), sīd, since, because (5. 43, 46), sō, as, as when, as soon as, so that (5. 42, 43, 47), sama sō, just as (5. 47), sō . . . sō, as . . . as, the . . . the (5. 47), suntar, but that (5. 48), unz, until (5. 43), ūzzan, unless (5. 44), wanta, because (5. 46), wedar . . . eddo, whether . . . or (5. 50), wio, as, as when (5. 47).****

**5. 39. Mood and Tense in Subordinate Clauses.** Mood in subordinate clauses depends on whether the reference is to reality or on the type of clause (5. 40-50), tense depends on the tense of the main clause; e.g. **zi thiū thax ir wizzit . . . thir quidu; in lōzze framgieng thax her wīhrouh branti; ih sentu, thax ir irkiasēt; riat er, wio er Abelan sluagi.**

Apparent exceptions are due to expression of further time relations or to direct quotation, e.g. *ni hugi weih thir sagēti*; (OS) *skerida im, that hē ni mahta sprekan, er than thī wīr-did kind giboran*; or in Otfrid to rhyme, e.g. *gīduent sie lūtmāri, thaz er io druhtīn wāri*; *kundt er imo in droume, er thes wībes wola goume*.

**5. 40.** Indirect Command has the transposition into subordinate clause of the jussive subjunctive (5. 25), e.g. *god mir gibod thaz ih hier gīvuhti*; *Sanctus Paulus kehiez . . . taz er ēr nechame, ēr* (5. 37) . . . ; *butem wir dhaz sīn namo in mannom werdhe gīwīhit*; *nemet gouma thaz ir ni sīt thie bouma*; OS: *hiet, that fruod gumo foroht ni wāri*; *gibōd, that git it hētīn sō*; *kuōda, that sie buottin*; *wisda, that sie lēstin*; *ni gibu ik that te rāde, that hē biginne*; *bādun, that sie mōstin*; *thigida ina, that hie muosti alōsian*; *ne welleo ik, that gī it wiodon*; *thes willeon haḥad, that hē gīlēstea*; cf. (OS) *ēwa gībiudit, that thū man ni slah!*

**5. 41.** Final (Purpose) Clauses have similar subjunctive, e.g. *brāhtun . . . thaz sie inan gote gīantwurtīn*; *dāz . . . tū . . . in nōt prāht wērdēst*; *thaz ig iz cosan muozi*; *daz er sīn reht allaz kirahhōn muozzi*; *solīhhiu gisarawi, diu dih skirmtīn*; OS: *harmskara, the im hēlag god, mahtig marcoda, that hē godes ni forgāti*; *hwat skal ik dūan, an thiu the ik heḥanrīki gehalon mōti?*; *sie hietun im hwīt giwādi umbi leggian, thiu mēr hie wurdi them liudion te gamne*; *ne wārun gewuno, that sie gehōrdin*; *ik biun garo, that ik fasto gīstande*; *gern was hē, that hē mōsti*; *wirōig is the wurhteo, that man ina fōdea*; *thea gumon giwarō, that sie ina gīhōḥin*; *is betara, that hē werpa*; *liof is gīhwilikumu, that man ina alāte*; *was im tharf mikil, that sie gīhogdin*; *that is mīn te duonne, that ik mīna fuoti sette*; *ef thū gīkiosan wili, that man gīwirkea*; but indicative if the purpose is stated as also an achieved result (cf. 5. 42), e.g. OS: *lēddun ina forō, that sie an Abrahames barm seola gīsettun*;

*gengun, that sie wið Krist sprākun; haḅad gimarkot, that wī skulun; gikoran habda, that hē welda; cf. gibodan haḅad, that sie wardos sind; verbs of admitting take subjunctive only when they are in preterite, e.g. OS: im giwald fargaf, that sie mōstin; im habde farliwan, that hē mohte; ni was im thiū fruma gibidig, that sie mōstin.*

**5. 42. Result Clauses** have subjunctive, especially after negative, e.g. *sō thaz . . . thaz einnissi in thrīnisse zi ērenne sī; OS: ni was fēmea sō gōd, that siu lang libbian mōsti; wit thes gigirnan ni mohtun, that wit erbiward ēgan mōstin; hwō mag that giwerðan sō, that ik magu fōdie?; ni mahtun giwinnan, that sie farfengin; hē ni mahta gibiddian, that man weldi; god ni giskuop, that the bōm bāri; or indicative, e.g. OS: habda them heriskipie herta gisterkid, that sia habdun bihwungana thiodo gihwilika; willik thī tōgean sulik tēkan, sō thū an treuwa maht wesan an werolde; stuod ēn man garo, that hie nam; hē habad maht, that hē alātan mag.*

**5. 43. Temporal Clauses** have indicative after most conjunctions, subjunctive after *ēr* when the main clause is not negative, e.g. *ēr an himile sternon skīnēn; OS: wit habdun aldres twentig wintro, ēr than quāmi thit wif; thes sie ni mahtun farstandan, ēr it im Krist seggean welda; cf. OS: that jār furðer skrēd, und that that barn fiartig habda dago; be that hē thea wurdi farsihid, than wēt hē; sō hē thena wīrōk drōg, grurios quāmun im.*

**5. 44. Conditional Clauses** have both Moods, e.g. *rīhtuom, den manige habēn ni mugun, anderēn ni arme; in thiū thaz er mig sō sama duo; OS: ef thū ni bist that barn godes, bist thū than Helias?; hū skulun wit libbian, nū hier wind kumit?; hie ni mohta sprekan, newan that hē wīsda; the subjunctive is used when the condition (whether or not possible) is unreal (the apodosis may be indicative, e.g. (OS) wāh warð*

*thesaro weroldi, ef thū iro skoldis giwald ēgan*; (OS) *welda ina man gerno farlātan, thār hie is habdi giwald*; or (cf. 5. 25) *ih mag giwinnan heriscaf, engilo giwelti, ob ih iz duan wolti*), e.g. *ube er in uberwunde*; *ubi Christus Got ni wāri*; OS: *ef it giwerðan muosti, than ne wurdi giō the dag kuman; lībes weldi ina bilōsian, of hē mahti; thār thū mī nahor wāris, than ni thorfti ik sulik harm tholon; an thiū the sea libbian weldin*; or (unlike Gothic) after 'unless', e.g. *nioman mag queman zi mir, nibi thie fater ziohe inan; sō thaz winloub ni mac beran wahsmon, nibiz wone in theru winrebun, sō ir, nibi ir in mir wonēt; eno unsar ēwa tuomit siu man, nibi gihōre fon imo*; OS: (cf. *nisthī werð eowiht te bimīðanne, nebo thū simlun that reht sprikis*) *it wesan ni mag, nebu ik tholoie; ni was im tweno nigēn, nebu sie weldin siðon*.

5. 45. **Concessive Clauses** have usually subjunctive, e.g. *dhoh er in Cyres namin quāti; ūzzan er iz mit alamusanu furiviegi*; OS: *ne lāt thū sie thī thiū lēðaron, thoh siu ēgi barn; ward spraka bilōsid, thoh hē spāhan hugi bāri*; but (OS) *thoh thū . . . habes*.

5. 46. **Causal Clauses** have indicative, e.g. *bi thiū, thaz ih irdualta . . . scal ih iz mit willen . . .*; OS: *that was sō sālig man, hwand hie gerno gode thionoda; ik thī skal biddean, nū ik sus gigamalod bium; sō (5. 37) wit sō managan dag wārun an thesaru weroldi, sō mī thes wundar thunkid*.

5. 47. **Comparative Clauses** with 'than' in general have Potential Subjunctive, but sometimes indicative after negative main clause, e.g. *gituost . . . kurziron tag danne diu naht sī; fuar si . . . baz . . . thanne ther kuning dāti*; OS: *thiū habad fridu mēran, than thea man ēgin; ni gisah ēnig mēron minnia, than hē te them mannum ginam; thia man hangon ni lietun lengeran hwīla, than im that lif skrīdi; betara is imu than oðar, that hē thana friund farwerpa, than sie helligithwing bēðea*

**gisōkean**; *ni mugun iuwa werk biholan werðan, than mēr the thiū burg ni maġ, thiū an berge stād, biholan werðan.* Comparisons of equality and clauses of manner have mood depending on reality, e.g. OS: *habda hē gilēstid, al sō is gigengi was; was im thō, al sō hē thritig habdi wintro; sō deda the sunu, sō neo Ʒudeon umbi that thiū mēr ni gilōbdun; sō kumid the dag, sō it ēr these liudi ni witun.*

**5. 48. Relative Clauses** with superlative, and generic relative clauses (5. 15, 16) in general, as also negative relative clauses, also have potential subjunctive, e.g. (OS) *hōrdes mēst thero thie gio man ehti* (beside (OS) *allero liðo lofsamost thero the ik eo ġisah*); *ih wirdu bijhtig, thes* (5. 15) *ih unrehtes ġisāhi; swer* (5. 16) *dar-inne welle zimberōn; niuse dē mōtti; nist man nihein in worolti, thaz saman al irsagēti . . .; nist boum nihein . . . suntar siu nan suente*; OS: *bist thū ēnig thero thī hier ēr wāri?*; *sō hwat sō ik thes gidēda, thes withar mīneru kristinhēdi wāri; ni was forlebid wiht, that skenkin druogin* (beside *ne williad thes farlātan wiht, thes sie spenit*).

**5. 49. Indirect Speech** has subjunctive, e.g. *joh kundtun ouh tho māri, thaz er ther kuning wāri; quedant, dhaz noh Christ ni quāmi; daz hōrtih rahhōn, daz sculi der antichristo mit Eliase pāgan*; OS: *quādun, that sie wissin; hiet skrīban, that that wāri kuning Ʒudeono; ārundi brāhta, that siu ġisāwi; sum sagad, that thū Elias sīs; hie sagit, that hie drohtin sī; sagda, that kuman skoli ēn kuning; sagda, that hie weldi; ni weldun antkennian, that hē god wāri; ni gilōbdun, that hie alowaldo wāri; wāniu ik, that thanan stank kume; mī thunkid, that hie sī betara; gitruoda siu, that is waldandes barn helpān weldi; antrēd, that sie bināmin*; also indicative for facts, e.g. OS: *seggiu ik iu, that gī ne mugun fargeban; sagda, that barn kuning sokean welda*; and with affirmative verbs of objective perception, e.g. OS: *gisāwwun, that thanān bluod endi water*

**sprungun; farstōd, that hie hērron habdun; was that skīn, that hē drohtin was; gikūōda, that hie habda kraft.**

5. 50. Indirect Question has similar use of Moods, e.g. *sih wio wīt si sī; sorgēn mac diu sēla, zi wederemo herre siu gihalot werde; er fragēn gistuont . . . wer sīn fater wāri; OS: fragodun, ef hē wāri that barn godes; wolda is muodseban undarfīndan, hwat hie mohti; bigan thenkean hwo he sie forlēti; gibōd, hwār sie gangan skoldin; wundrodun, bihwī hē thorfti; hwat quedat these, hwat ik sī?; hie it gihuggian ni mōt, hwō hie giwirkie; habda gilērid, hwō sie lōf wirkean skoldin; sagda, hwilik thero wāri; wolda skrīban, hwō sia skoldin frummian; hōrdun, hwō thiū engilo kraft lōbodun; ni forstodun, bi hwī hē gisprak; wēt god, hwes thea bithurbun; kūōdun, hwilik im thar bilīdi warō gitōgid; ni williu ik helan, hwat iu skal te sorgu gīstandan; hē gihugid, hwat hē gifremida; skal lērean, hwō sea skulun; mag seggian, hwō it giwerōan skal; giskriban was it, an bōkun giwritan, hwō giboden habad alomahtig fader; seggiu ik, hwō eo gībiudit.*

Direct questions may be introduced by the conjunctions that introduce indirect questions, functioning as interrogative adverbs, like Latin *-ne, num, nonne*, with or without 'or', e.g. *enoni tuont thaz heidane man? (nonne); inno trifet tih tero deheinez ana? (num); (OS) hweōer lēdiad gī wundan gold?; (OS) hweōer thū that fan thī selbon sprikis, the it thī ōōra sagdun? (cf. (OS) is it reht, the nis?).*

# VI

## SPECIMEN OF OHG DIALECTS AND OTHER OLD GERMANIC LANGUAGES

### 6. 1. East Franconian, ninth century, Tatian.

Fater unser<sup>1</sup>, thū<sup>2</sup> thār<sup>3</sup> bist<sup>4</sup> in himile<sup>5</sup>, sī<sup>6</sup> giheilagōt<sup>7</sup> thīn namo<sup>8</sup>, queme<sup>9</sup> thīn rīhhi<sup>10</sup>, sī thīn uuillo<sup>11</sup>, sō<sup>12</sup> her<sup>13</sup> in himile ist, so sī her in erdu<sup>14</sup>, unsar<sup>15</sup> brōt tagalīhhaz<sup>16</sup> gib<sup>17</sup> uns hiutu<sup>18</sup>, inti<sup>19</sup> furlāz<sup>20</sup> uns unsara<sup>21</sup> sculdi<sup>22</sup>, so uuir furlāzemēs<sup>23</sup> unsarēn<sup>24</sup> sculdigōn<sup>25</sup>, inti ni gileitēst<sup>26</sup> unsih<sup>27</sup> in costunga, ūzouh<sup>28</sup> arlōsi<sup>29</sup> unsih fona<sup>30</sup> ubile.

1. 4. 40, cf. nn. 14, 19.
2. th- 3. 41.
3. 5. 15.
4. 4. 63.
5. 4. 2, 5. 10.
6. 4. 63, 5. 25.
7. 4. 60.
8. 4. 12; on order see 5. 36.
9. 4. 49 and 53, MHG § 36, ii.
10. 4. 3.
11. See n. 8; uu 2. 3.
12. 5. 38.
13. 4. 38c.
14. 4. 5, 5. 10.
15. 4. 40a.
16. 4. 19.
17. 4. 49 and 54.
18. From \*hiu (cf. 4. 38c) tagu, instrumental.
19. 5. 38.

20. 4. 49 and 56; **-u-** 3. 27.
21. 4. 40 (and see n. 15) and 4. 19 (cf. 4. 2a).
22. 4. 10.
23. 4. 49 and 56.
24. 4. 40 and 19.
25. 4. 22.
26. Subjunctive, 4. 58, 5. 25.
27. 4. 38.
28. 5. 38.
29. 4. 58; **a-** 3.27.
30. 5. 6.

## 6. 2. South Rhenish Franconian

(a) eighth century, Weissenburg Catechism.

Fater unsēr, thu in himilom<sup>1</sup> bist<sup>2</sup>, giuuīhit<sup>3</sup> sī namo thīn<sup>4</sup>,  
 quaeme<sup>5</sup> rīchi thin, uerdhe<sup>6</sup> uuilleo<sup>7</sup> thin, sama<sup>8</sup> sō in himile  
 endi<sup>9</sup> in erthu. Broot<sup>5</sup> unseraz emezzigaz gib uns hiutu, endi  
 farlāz<sup>10</sup> uns sculdhi unsero, sama so uuir farlāzzēm<sup>10</sup> scolōm  
 unserēm, endi ni gileidi unsih in costunga, auh<sup>11</sup> arlōsi unsih  
 fona ubile.

1. 4. 2.
2. 5. 36.
3. **uuīh-** vocabulary shared with Go, as opp. Tatian (6. 1)  
 (and Notker (6. 5) and later German generally) **heilag-**  
 shared with OE (and ON).
4. 5. 34.
5. 2. 2.
6. 3. 41.
7. 2. 3, 3. 48, 4. 13.
8. 5. 38.
9. 3. 43.
10. 3. 27, 4. 49.
11. 5. 26.



(b) ninth century, Otfrid (II. 21, v. 27-40).

Fáter<sup>1</sup> unser gúato<sup>2</sup>, bist drúhtin thu gimúato  
 in hímilom io hóher, uuíh si námo thiner.  
 Biquéme uns thinz ríchi, thaz hoha hímilríchi,  
 thára<sup>3</sup> uuir zua io gíngen<sup>4</sup> ioh emmizigen<sup>5</sup> thíngen.  
 So uuillo thin hiar nídare, sos ér ist ufin hímile<sup>6</sup>.  
 in érdu hilf uns híare, so thu engilon duist<sup>7</sup> nu tháre.  
 Thia dágalichun<sup>8</sup> zúhti gib híut uns mit ginúhti  
 ioh fóllon ouh, theist<sup>9</sup> méra, thínes<sup>10</sup> selbes lera.  
 Scúld bilaz uns állen, so uuír ouh duan uuóllen,  
 súntha thia uuir thénken ioh émmizigen uuirken.  
 Ni firláze<sup>11</sup> unsih thin uuára in thes uuídaruuerten fára<sup>12</sup>,  
 thaz uuír ni missigángen, thara ána ni gifállen.  
 Lósi unsih io thánana, thaz uuír sin thíne thegana  
 ioh mit ginádon thinen then uuéuuon<sup>13</sup> io bimíden. Amen.

1. Otfrid marks stressed vowels ', cf. 6. 5.
2. 5. 7; -ua- 3. 16.
3. 5. 6.
4. 4. 58.
5. 5. 4.
6. 5. 10.
7. 4. 64.
8. 5. 7.
9. 4. 41.
10. 5. 12.
11. 5. 25, 3. 27.
12. 5. 3.
13. 4. 12.

### 6. 3. Alemannic, eighth century, St. Gall.

Fater unseer, thū pist<sup>1</sup> in himile, uuīhi namun dīnan, qhueme<sup>2</sup>  
 rīhhi dīn, uuerde uuillo diin, sō in himile sōsa<sup>3</sup> in erdu. Prooth<sup>4</sup>  
 unseer emezzihic kip uns hiutu, oblaz uns sculdi unseero, so  
 uuir oblāzēm uns sculdikēm, enti ni unsih firleiti in khorunka<sup>5</sup>,  
 ūzzan<sup>6</sup> kaneri<sup>7</sup> unsih fona allēm suntōn.

1. 3. 43.
2. 3. 42.
3. 5. 38.
4. 2. 2.
5. 3. 42 and 43.
6. Cf. 6. 1, n. 26.
7. 3. 27.

6. 4. Bavarian, ninth century, Freisingen.

Fater unser, dū pist in himilum. Kauuīhit sī namo dīn. Piqhueme rīhhi dīn. Uuesa<sup>1</sup> dīn uuillo, sama sō in himile ist, sama<sup>2</sup> in erdu. Pilipi unsraz<sup>3</sup> emizzīgaz kip uns eogauuanna<sup>4</sup>. Enti flāz<sup>5</sup> uns unsro<sup>6</sup> sculdi, sama so uuir flāzzamēs unsrēm scolōm. Enti ni princ unsih in chorunka. Ūzzan kaneri unsih fona allēm suntōn.

1. See 6. 1, n. 19.
2. 5. 37.
3. 4. 19.
4. eo (MHG ie) and **gawanna**, cf. **giwelih** in 4. 46.
5. 3. 27.
6. 4. 40.

6. 5. Tenth to eleventh centuries, Notker, Bavarian.

Fáter unser dū<sup>1</sup> in himele bist, dīn námo werde gehéiligot. Dīn rīche<sup>2</sup> chome<sup>3</sup>, dīn wīllo gescéhe<sup>4</sup> in erdo<sup>5</sup>, álsô in hīmele. Unser tágelīcha<sup>6</sup> brot kib<sup>7</sup> uns híuto unde únsere scúlde belāz úns, álsô óuh wir belāzen unserēn scúldīgēn<sup>8</sup>. Unde in chórunga ne léitēst du únsih. Núbe lôse únsih fōne úbele.

1. Notker marks stressed short vowels ´, stressed and some unstressed long ˆ, diphthongs on first vowel (cf. 2. 2), closing ones (i.e. narrower vowel last) and iu ´, opening ˆ. For the *Anlautgesetz* see 3. 43.

2. 3. 23.
3. 4. 42.
4. 3. 27.

- 5. 3. 5.
- 6. 4. 22, 5. 7.
- 7. 3. 43.
- 8. 5. 8.

### 6. 6. Old Saxon, ninth century, Heliand.

Fadar<sup>1</sup> ūsa<sup>2</sup>, thu bist an them<sup>3</sup> himilo rīkea<sup>4</sup>. Geuuihid sī thīn namo. Cuma thīn riki. Uuertha thīn uuilleo, sō sama an ertho, so an them himilo rīkea. Gef<sup>5</sup> ūs<sup>6</sup> dago<sup>7</sup> gehuuilikes<sup>8</sup> rād<sup>9</sup>, endi alāt<sup>10</sup> ūs managoro mēnsculdio<sup>11</sup>, al sō uuē<sup>12</sup> ōthrum<sup>13</sup> mannum dōan<sup>14</sup>. Ne lāt ūs farlēdean lētha uuihti, ac<sup>15</sup> help us uuihtar allun ubilon dādiun.<sup>11</sup>

- 1. 3. 41, 23.
- 2. 3. 49, 4. 40.
- 3. Alternative to **themu** (4. 41), as **-m** to **-mu** in adjectives (4. 19); 5. 10.
- 4. 3. 42, 48, 4. 3.
- 5. 3. 51.
- 6. 3. 49.
- 7. 4. 2.
- 8. 4. 46.
- 9. NHG Rat.
- 10. a- = OHG ar-, with \*-z- lost before consonant (as in WGc \*mēda (3. 16), Go mizdo) after unstressed vowel.
- 11. 4. 10; mēn = OHG mein, *crime*.
- 12. 4. 38.
- 13. 3. 49, 4. 19.
- 14. Frisian form (cf. 4. 64).
- 15. 5. 38.

### 6. 7. Gothic.

Atta<sup>1</sup> unsar þu in himinam<sup>2</sup>, weihnai<sup>3</sup> namo<sup>4</sup> þein. Qimai þiudinassus<sup>5</sup> þeins<sup>6</sup>. Waírþai<sup>7</sup> wilja<sup>8</sup> þeins, swe<sup>9</sup> in himina jah<sup>10</sup> ana<sup>11</sup> aírþai. Hlaif<sup>12</sup> unsarana<sup>13</sup> þana<sup>14</sup> sinteinan gif uns himma<sup>15</sup>

daga. Jah aflet uns þatei<sup>16</sup> skulans<sup>17</sup> sijaima<sup>18</sup>, swaswe<sup>19</sup> jah weis<sup>20</sup> afletam þaim<sup>21</sup> skulam unsaraim. Jah ni briggais<sup>22</sup> uns in fraistubnjai<sup>23</sup> ak<sup>24</sup> lausei<sup>25</sup> uns af þamma ubilin<sup>26</sup>.

1. Go **fadar** occurs only once, in SN, cf. 4. 16.
2. 4. 2; different suffix (-n-) from German (-l-), cf. 6. 8, n. 5.
3. -n- inchoative suffix, Go 4th weak conjugation.
4. Neuter, 4. 13.
5. 4. 11; from **þiudans**, *king*, **þiuda**, *people*, OHG **diot-**.
6. 4. 40, 19.
7. 2. 2.
8. 3. 39.
9. *as*, cf. **sō**, 5. 38.
10. OHG **joh**, 5. 38.
11. 5. 6.
12. *brēad*, OE **hlāf**, OHG **leib** (3. 50).
13. 4. 19—OHG **unsaran** by 3. 19.
14. 4. 41.
15. 4. 38c.
16. -ei forms relative pronouns; thus = **daz** conjunction.
17. 4. 12.
18. Regular subjunctive inflexion added to subjunctive stem of \*es- (cf. 4. 49, 63).
19. Cf. n. 9.
20. 4. 38.
21. 4. 41, 5. 34.
22. 5. 25, 4. 58.
23. 4. 3.
24. Cf. 6. 6, n. 15.
25. 4. 58.
26. 4. 13.

### 6. 8. Old English.

Faeder<sup>1</sup> ūre<sup>2</sup> ðū ðe<sup>3</sup> eart<sup>4</sup> on heofonum<sup>5</sup>, si ðin nama gehālgod. Tō becume ðin rice. Gewurðe ðin willa on eorþan<sup>6</sup>

swā swā on heofonum. Ūrne<sup>7</sup> dæghwāmlican hlāf syle<sup>8</sup> ūs tō dæg. And forgyf ūs ūre gyltas<sup>9</sup>, swā swā wē forgyfaþ<sup>10</sup> ūrum gyltendum. And ne gelæd ðū ūs on costnunga ac ālȳs ūs of yfele.

1. 3. 12.
2. Possessive pronoun from GP **ūre** beside **ūser**.
3. Cf. 5. 15.
4. **a** broken to **ea** before **r**; this 2 S and pl. **earon** are probably from perfect of **\*er-**, Latin **orior**.
5. 2. 4; = Go **himin** with dissimilation of **m**, so OS **heþan** beside **himil** (6. 7, n. 2).
6. **e** broken (n. 4) to **eo**.
7. 4. 19.
8. OHG **sellen**, OE also **sellan**.
9. 4. 2.
10. 4. 49.

## 6. 9. Old Norse.

Faðer vār<sup>1</sup>, sá þū ert i<sup>2</sup> hifne, helgesk<sup>3</sup> nafn<sup>4</sup> þitt<sup>5</sup>. Til kome þitt ríke. Verðe þinn<sup>6</sup> vile, suā ā<sup>7</sup> iqrð<sup>8</sup> sem ā hifne. Gef oss ī dag vārt dagligt brauð. Ok fyrerlāt oss<sup>9</sup> ossar skulder, suā sem vēr fyrerlātom ossom skuldo-nautom. Ok inn<sup>10</sup> leið oss eige i freistne. Heldr<sup>11</sup> frels þū oss af illo.

1. New formation from F **ōr** (cf. 2. 4) < **\*unsarō-** (cf. **ossar**, **ossom** below, and n. 9), with **v-** from **vēr**.
2. < **\*in**, with 'compensatory' lengthening.
3. Middle voice, cf. 4. 47 (from suffixed **-sik**).
4. < **-mn-**, cf. 6. 8, n. 5.
5. < **-nt**, cf. nn. 2, 9.
6. < **-nr**.
7. < **\*an**, cf. n. 2.
8. **e u-Umlauted** (2. 4) to **jǫ** before **\*-u** < **\*-ō** (4. 5).
9. < **\*uns**, cf. n. 5 (and n. 1).

10. OHG **inne**.

11. Go **haldis**, OHG **halt**, *rather*.

6. 10. The Latin Original.

Pater noster, qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum.  
Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua in caelo et in terram.  
Panem nostrum cottidianum da nobis hodie. Et remitte nobis  
debita nostra, sicut et nos debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos in-  
ducas in temptationem, sed libera nos a malo.

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