

# ***Old Saxon***

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## FORWARD

The concept behind this work is to present first a brief introduction to Old Saxon as a historical phenomenon with information on the people(s) who once spoke dialects of what has become known by that designation and on their origin and fate. Since the language is attested mainly by the lengthy story of Christ known as *Heliand*, it is appropriate to offer a description of that work and of its significance. To explicate the synchronic phonology of Old Saxon with somewhat more clarity it is appropriate to present a brief sketch of (Proto-)Germanic before proceeding to a discussion of Old Saxon.

The *Heliand* presents problems of language beyond vocabulary and grammar in that it was evidently also employed as an instrument of Christian proselytizing and as such needed to find innovative ways of employing native vocabulary. The biblical languages were, of course, unknown to the native audience. The problem was, namely, how to begin to alter the semantics of certain Old Saxon words to bring them into line with Latin and/or Greek concepts. Even more difficult, for example, was expressing the notion of, say, 'humility,' which was absent even as a conceptual category in the society that was the target of Christianization. Nor was there a native word for 'sin,' etc.

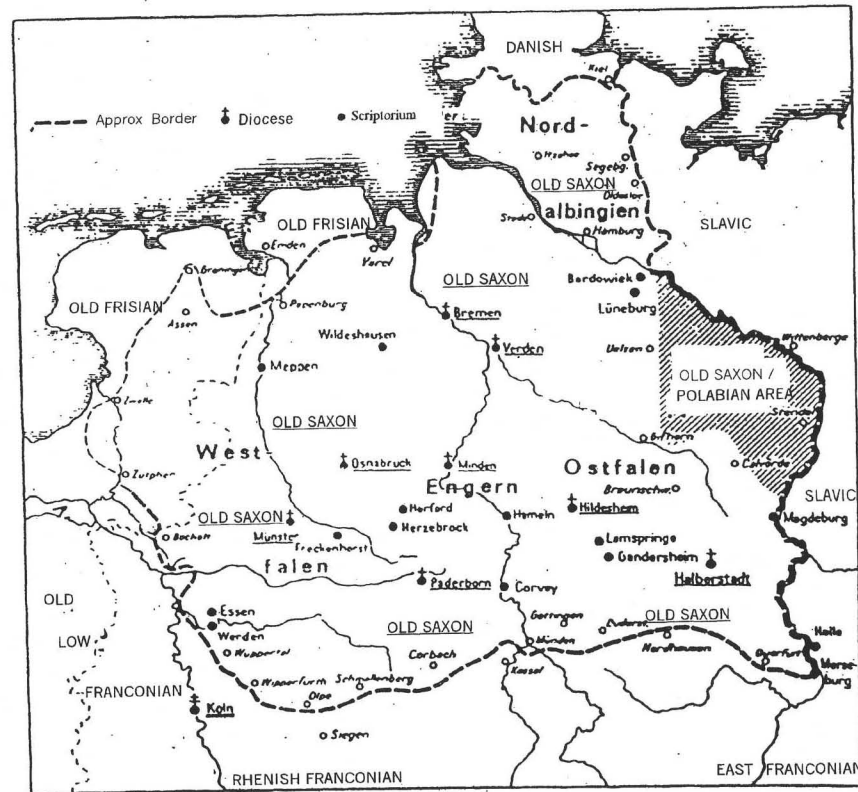
From its amalgamation as a language from whichever dialects of Germanic were spoken by the diverse groupings of peoples that went into the make-up of the Saxons, to its representation in the documents of the 8th and 9th centuries, and closing with its later medieval transition to the stage known by the cover term 'Low German,' the period of Old Saxon as we know it was fairly brief and approximately coterminous with the rule of Charlemagne, i.e., 768-814 A.D, although the repercussions of his war against Saxons and ultimately successful attempt to Christianize them had as one result the composition of the *Heliand* in about the year 830.

The sequential presentation of the grammar is arrayed in the pattern set by the *Junggrammatiker* that is familiar to Germanists and adhered to in virtually all grammars of Old High German, Old Icelandic, etc.

## ABBREVIATIONS

**A** accusative  
**ADV** adverb  
**D** dative  
**DET** determiner  
**G** genitive  
**I** instrumental  
**ind** indicative  
**inf** infinitive  
**N** noun/nominative  
**NEG** negation  
**NUM** number  
**p** past  
**pl** plural  
**ppt** past participle  
**pr** present  
**PREP** preposition  
**PRO** pronoun  
**sg** singular  
**str** strong  
**subj** subjunctive  
**V** verb  
**wk** weak





OLD SAXON TERRITORY\*

\*map based on Rauch 1992: Plate V.

## 0. INTRODUCTION

Old Saxon is a member of the Western group of Germanic that also includes its more closely related languages Old Frisian and Old English along with Old High German. Old Saxon was spoken approximately between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries by an unknown number of speakers but likely in the tens of thousands. There were likely various dialects spoken in what is now North Germany by indigenous groupings occupying territory bounded roughly by the Weser river in the west, the Elbe river in the east, the sea coast in the north (where it was not occupied by Frisian speakers), and the Lippe river in the south. Old Saxon is best attested by documents from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, most prominently the so-called *Heliand*, a story of Christ told in 5983 alliterating lines, and the Old Saxon *Genesis* in 337 lines. The *Heliand* is of particular interest as a proselytizing document, which, while being theologically correct, is couched in terms acceptable to a pre-Christian sensibility of traditional poetics. The *Genesis*, of which only a fragment exists, was translated into an Old English version with some 700 surviving lines. Beyond these there are smaller attestations by way of tithing lists, place names, personal names, etc.

## 0.1 The Saxons and their language

Old Saxon is descended from Proto-Germanic. By means of comparative linguistic reconstruction, earliest recoverable Germanic is posited as having had a common or at least mutually understood sound system (phonology) constituting words (nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc.) in spoken use in a territory extending over what is now southern Scandinavia and the northern coast of Germany during a period up to about the third century A.D.<sup>1</sup> Common Germanic evolved from its oldest reconstructable stage into Northwest Germanic and East Germanic. The former further evolved into North Germanic and West Germanic, of which Old Saxon is one of several attested languages.

The Roman historian Tacitus placed the precursors of the Saxons in southern Denmark, north of the Eider river, in the first century A.D. According to the Greek explorer Ptolemaeus, they lived in what is now Holstein (between Eider and Elbe rivers) during the second century A.D.<sup>2</sup> Herbert considers the Saxons from the point of view of the Angles, ancestors of the English:

“South of [the Angles], in the lands around the lower Elbe and Weser, were the Suebic tribes. The first Roman writer to mention the English makes no reference to the Saxons. Like Franks, it is the name of a later confederation of tribes from this area. The Saxons were of Suebic stock; their earlier English neighbours called them *Swæfe*; later they were known as Old Saxons, to distinguish them from the folk who had crossed to Britain” (1994:9).

The Saxons did not expand their territory beyond the Elbe until the third century but were fighting with the Franks to their south by 350 in the area between the lower Rhein and upper Weser rivers. By the 400s they were plundering the coasts of southern England and of France and together with the Angles some of them settled in England beginning in about 450.

<sup>1</sup>cf. Grønvik (1998:139)

<sup>2</sup>See Capelle (1998: 12 ff.)

Toward the end of the 600s the continental Saxons were as far south as the Lippe river and in Thuringia, but by the 700s the Franks located to the south of the Saxons were able to exert sufficient pressure to contain them. The extension of Old Saxon in the period around 750 encompassed what are now the German areas of Holstein, Westfalen, Engern, and Ostfalen south to a line just north of Cologne, Kassel, and Nordhausen.

## 0.2 The Saxons and their Literary Monuments

### 0.2.1 The Saxon *Genesis*

This work of 337 alliterating lines is only loosely based on the biblical Genesis and many portions are, as Doan states: "... mediated through the *Heliand* version of them" (1991: 94). A reciprocal influence of Old English and Old Saxon is evident throughout.

### 0.2.2 Minor Documents

A number of so-called *Heberollen* (lists of tithes mainly in the form of farm products), blessings, church calendars, a confession of faith, a renunciation of the devil, single words (glosses) in manuscripts written in Latin, and personal and place names are further attestations of the language. (See Gallée.)

### 0.2.3 The *Heliand*

To speak of Old Saxon is to a predominant degree to speak of the *Heliand*, a narrative of the life of Christ couched in terms appropriate to the cultural context of Saxon society. Our remarks will now concentrate on this work. In order to understand the *Heliand* it is useful to adumbrate what we know of the Christian mission, Charlemagne's 30-year campaign against the Saxons, and intellectual history leading to its composition.

Up to the time shortly preceding the composition of the *Heliand* Germanic groups were still in the process of settling their territories and frontiers. Their world view was by definition pre-Christian. Although the Frankish king Clovis had been converted to Roman Catholicism through baptism in 496, the general population had been left largely undisturbed by missionizing efforts. Only later did the mission come, but not, as we might expect, directly northward from Rome but rather it took a long sweep through time and geography.

## 0.3 The Saxons, Early Medieval Europe, and Christianity

### 0.3.1 The Early Missions and the *Heliand*

The effort to missionize the Saxons had its historical roots with the Celts of Roman Britain, where Christian churches had been established during the third century. From post-Roman Britain the effort of conversion proceeded to Ireland in the fourth century. The increasing settlement of England by Anglo-Saxons from the continent during the fifth century interrupted communications between Rome and Britain, and the center of the Celtic Church shifted to Ireland, a land little touched by Roman influence. The Irish, in turn, brought the Church back to Britain by establishing northern monasteries at Iona and Lindisfarne. From these outposts Irish monks preached the gospel in Scotland and northern England, while the English south remained

The Franks had long been on the periphery of Roman influence, particularly after they entered northern Gaul, which retained a continuation of Roman administration in the form of the Gallo-Roman church. The key turning point in the history of this Church in the West came with the conversion of the Frankish king Clovis to Roman Catholicism when, according to the story in the *History of the Franks* by Gregory of Tours, Clovis' god of battle (i.e. Wodan) failed him but his calling upon Christ routed the enemy. (Hillgarth 1986:82) From that time the Franks were at least nominally Catholic.

At about the same time that the Celtic Catholic Columban was establishing his Burgundian monastery at Luxeuil in the French Vosges, the Roman Catholic Pope Gregory I in 596 sent a mission in the opposite direction, from Rome to Britain, led by Gregory's appointee as Bishop of London, but who was later to be known as St. Augustine of Canterbury (died in 605). Gregory set down the ground rules for conversion in a letter sent from Rome in 601 to give guidance to Augustine. These rules stated, in part, that idols were to be removed from heathen temples, but the temples themselves should be purified and Christian altars should be set up in them. In other words, the tactic was to replace the content of the old forms, including the content (semantics) of certain vocabulary.<sup>3</sup> Since kings were understood in their native, pre-Christian context as intermediaries with the gods, their conversion was always paramount. The ancient poetic form likewise received new content in the *Heliand*, which retains abundant allusions to older conditions.

Russell (1994:154) notes that "[f]rom the death of Clovis in 511 until the arrival of the Irish missionary monk Columban in Gaul about 590, the progress of Christianization among the Germanic peoples, aside from the Merovingian court, was negligible," but he asserts further (1994:156) that "the heroic self-discipline and asceticism of Irish monasticism may have appealed to the Germanic warrior spirit" and that "[w]hatever the sources of attraction were, Columban and his followers succeeded in establishing a network of monasteries, free from local episcopal control, on the property of the northern Frankish aristocrats." Whether this attraction represents the continuation of pre-Christian religious control by the nobility or new ways of thinking or even so mundane a matter as the teaching of innovative methods of agriculture by the monasteries, the church had effectively found a method of influencing the Franks and eventually recruiting them to its teachings or perhaps it was rather that the Frankish aristocracy used the church for the sanctioning of its domination.

It was not obvious during these centuries that Europe as a whole would become and remain Christian. The effort to convert the Saxons approximately one hundred years after the victory over the Arabs and the threat of an Islamic Europe at Poitiers was still part of an attempt to consolidate Europe for Christianity. Power politics and the Church in Rome were inextricably linked during the period under consideration. Rome was under pressure from Byzantium to the east, and the Arabs coming from the south through Spain pressed Europe as a whole. Rome had reached a nadir of power. Syria, Palestine, North Africa, and Spain had all converted to Islam. Greece and Southern Italy (Sicily and Calabria) came under the influence of the Eastern Rite in Byzantium after 731. The Germanic Langobards, who adhered to the heretical christianity of Arianism, threatened Rome from the north, and only central Italy and France remained under the Roman Church. Arianism as a rival theology ceased to be a threat to the Roman Church by the

<sup>3</sup> cf. Hempel (1970: 57)

middle of the 7th century, but the disposition of the Franks seemed uncertain indeed. The position of the Pope threatened to be reduced to that solely of the Bishop of Rome.

### 0.3.2 The English Mission to the Saxons

From southern England the next great Christian missionary journeyed south. Wynfrith, known as Boniface, (born about 675, died in 754) was educated in the abbey of Nursling near Winchester. Upon being elevated to the rank of bishop in 722 he was charged by Pope Gregory II to work in Germany. At Geismar near Fritzlar in Hessa Boniface toppled the pillar that supported the pre-Christian Saxon worldview, a great oak dedicated to the god Thor. In not being punished by the gods for his heresies, Boniface and his fellow missionaries demonstrated the primacy of the Christian God among the heathen. The foundation by Boniface of the monastery at Fulda in 743 was less dramatic than the cutting down of the oak at Geismar but key to the ongoing effort to missionize the entire north of the continent. Thus were the first blows struck for Christianity on Saxon territory about one hundred years prior to the composition of the *Heliand* at a time when Islam was firmly established in Spain and posed a considerable threat to the Roman Church (then restricted to part of what is now Italy).

It was Boniface who began to change the situation by calling a synod in 747 at which all Thuringian, Bavarian, and Frankish bishops swore allegiance to Rome. Four years later, following the deposition of the last in the line of Merovingian kings, Pippin III (714-768) was anointed in 751 as king of the Franks in the presence of Boniface. Pippin subsequently pledged by oath in 754 to Pope Stephen II to protect the Roman Church against the Langobards, thereby effecting the rescue of Rome, which otherwise would probably have sunk to the status of a minor power. The consolidation of Frankish allegiance to and protection of Rome continued under the reign of Pippin's son Karl (768-814), also known as Charlemagne, who was the greatest of Frankish kings.

### 0.3.3 Charlemagne and the Saxons

The Saxons were the only large unconverted grouping left in the west of the continent, and Charlemagne led numerous campaigns against them in the period 772-804. The Saxons were not a single people but rather a confederation of different groups that occupied the northern German areas with their various political or juridical districts. There was no single king, and Charlemagne had to fight grueling wars against separate entities. The only unifying instance was an annual assembly at Marklo on the Weser River. Present at the assembly were about 3700 representatives: the heads of the hundred political districts (*Gaue*) with thirty-six elected representatives from each district, twelve each for the three estates of the nobles, freemen, and tenant farmers. Only the thralls were excluded. During the reign of Charlemagne a champion emerged on the side of the Saxons in the person of the Westphalian duke Widukind, who had a strong following among all the people.

The Saxons gained strength under Widukind and took some Frankish territory to the south of Westphalia. Charlemagne recognized the danger and swore in 775 either to Christianize the Saxons completely or to liquidate them. In 777 Charlemagne moved with a large army to Paderborn and convened the Frankish assembly (*Reichsversammlung*) there on Saxon territory, to which location he also ordered their assembly. Charlemagne required those whose representatives

attended to pledge to him and to the Christian faith their fealty or risk losing their freedom and property. Those Saxons promised loyalty to Charlemagne and accepted Christianity, which meant in effect that the southern part of Saxon territory became part of Charlemagne's Frankish lands. A mass baptism took place, and Abbot Sturm from the newly founded monastery at Fulda with its approximately 400 monks took charge of further religious instruction. However, because of the procedure followed by the monks from Fulda in setting baptism as the first goal of their mission and in mercilessly carrying it out by destroying all heathen cult sites, they triggered a reaction on the part of the Saxons.

Widukind, the leader of Saxon resistance, had to this point not challenged Charlemagne but had instead withdrawn to the Danish court. After the aggressive behavior of the missionaries, however, the general populace was prepared to resist this strange and seemingly destructive new religion and united in great numbers behind Widukind, who in 778 led a campaign that destroyed churches and cloisters in the west of the territory all the way to Deutz by Cologne and south to the mouth of the river Lahn. Only a defense by the Alemans and East Franconians saved the monastery at Fulda. Charlemagne countered in 779 by moving back into Saxon territory, and all went as before. The Eastphalians and Engern gave hostages and cooperated. Charlemagne reshuffled the structure of the mission, and the situation quieted. He made his next move in 780, when he called together a *Reichsversammlung* at the source of the river Lippe at which he partitioned Saxony into missionary dioceses and appointed bishops, priests, and abbots from other parts of his territories to run them: the Bishop of Würzburg went to Paderborn, the Abbot of the cloister at Amorbach went to Verden, etc. Charlemagne was in Italy in 781, and all was quiet in Saxony.

In 782 Charlemagne held another *Reichsversammlung* at Lippspringe, this time to dissolve the old Saxon political structure. Instead of bringing in Frankish nobility, he installed Saxons from notable families as dukes on the Frankish model in an effort to co-opt at least part of the previously loosely organized political system.

Widukind and his followers reacted vigorously to the confiscation of property, the introduction of mandatory tithing, and the overthrow of the old way of government by annual assembly. This time he and his troops attacked missionaries and the newly installed dukes and nobles. Charlemagne ordered loyal Eastphalians, Palatinates, and allied Saxons together with Frankish forces to meet Widukind. Charlemagne's forces were wiped out almost completely. Charlemagne hurried north and conferred with the leader of his loyal Saxon troops, after which the survivors of the battle against Widukind were marched up, and Charlemagne had them all executed. Even though Widukind won the battle, he must, however, also have suffered great losses, as he returned to the Danes after this victory.

Charlemagne persevered and in 783 led a campaign to Detmold, where the Saxons had prepared to do battle. Charlemagne won a bloody victory and withdrew to Paderborn to await reinforcements. His next move was to the river Hase where he won a bitter battle against Saxon forces. In spite of these successes, a new campaign was necessary in 784, but nothing decisive came of it. Charlemagne convened the *Reichsversammlung* again in Paderborn in 785, but no record survives of what transpired there. In any case, following the *Reichsversammlung* of 785 there were no more hostilities in the middle and southern territories. Charlemagne began negotiations with Widukind, and they exchanged hostages. The result was that Widukind along with his hostages from Charlemagne traveled to Attigny and was baptized there in 785. Charlemagne himself was Widukind's sponsor.



### 0.3.4 The Consolidation of Power

The law known as *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* came into force on October 28, 797, in which was stipulated that only the king, Charlemagne in this case, could convene a Saxon assembly. The position of the church was strengthened in that the death penalty was imposed for heathen belief and practices. Attendance at mass and the hearing of sermons as well as tithing were made obligatory. The Saxons had to build new churches, each with a house of worship and two manses. For every group of 120 men a servant and a servant girl had to be assigned for work in the church. In other words, the draconian measures that had led to rebellion in 778 were codified and legally reinforced, but the struggle continued for the northern territories, and Charlemagne was involved until 804 with subduing Saxon groups there.

As in the advice given by Pope Gregory I in his letter of 601, the leader was here again the key figure in the process of conversion. After Widukind submitted to baptism, the missionaries had at least an easier time of converting the populace. The *Hêliand* was likely still a part of the effort of persuasion and pacification when it was composed some forty years after Widukind's baptism.

## 0.4 Language and the *Hêliand*

### 0.4.1 Linguistic Hurdles to the Task of Conversion

One overriding concern is the meaning (semantics) of the Old Saxon words in the work of conversion to Christianity. Deep cultural divides had to be crossed on the way to conversion, not the least of which was the gap between a world-accepting native religiosity and a world-rejecting<sup>4</sup> religion, Christianity. Putting missionaries in the field among uncomprehending or even hostile Saxons was hazardous enough, but perhaps the most difficult practical problem was the translation of Christian concepts, as the pre-Christian Saxon conceptions of the world and of behavior in it were at considerable odds with the message of Christianity.

The Saxons engaged in some form or another of religious practice common to Germanic groups. There was no uniform ritual but various forms were tolerated, i. e., there was no one specific way to worship but rather many ways to (attempt to) gain the favor of the gods. Sacred springs and trees were worshipped, and there were cult sites. The monk Ruodolf of Fulda (d. 865) reported that the Saxons also worshipped in open air a wooden idol of considerable size that was placed vertically. They called it the *Irmensûl*, a world pillar (a fixture in religious life venerated by various groups in various parts of the world as the axis that connects the earth and heavens). There was a store of treasure at the temple, where gods called Saxnot (perhaps another name for Wodan), Thor, and others were honored.<sup>5</sup> To the Saxon mind the world was ruled by forces in it, not apart from it. When the world perished at the end of our time, everything including the gods would go down with it. Thus one of the primary Christian messages to be imparted was of a God Who stands eternally beyond the visible.

<sup>4</sup>See Russel (1994).

<sup>5</sup>A brief description is to be found in Leube, Vol. 2, p. 468. The literature on this topic is expansive and can be referred to in bibliographical entries cited below.

### 0.4.2 The vocabulary of the *Hêliand*

Perhaps more troublesome were socio-cultural standards that had to be overthrown in order that Christianity might prosper. The very vocabulary with which this new religion had to be described contained meanings at odds with the Christian message, most particularly as regards the place of the individual among other members of society and the attitude of the individual to God. The missionaries had to persuade converts that the proper attitude was one of humility before God and good will towards their fellow humans. The pre-Christian mind set was rather the opposite, and the words with which the new message had to be conveyed were in themselves frequently opposite to what was meant. It was necessary for the mission to persevere and subvert the old words to convey new meanings, as imported words from Latin would necessarily have remained in a realm foreign from daily life.

The Germanic ethic required behavior that with Christian sensibility was understood as *superbia*. To the traditional Germanic, and thus Saxon, mind set the egocentric goal of achieving fame in this world as an individual (and proper status for one's family) was all that would live on after one's death. Tales told of dead heroes constituted the only transcendent realm in a world defined merely by what is here and now.

Fame was attained not through good works but rather through glorious and brave deeds on one's own behalf and/or against one's opponents. Positive words of praise, including adjectives like *bald* 'brave, bold', *frôkni* 'bold', *gêl* 'boisterous', and *ôbarmôdig* 'proud' or nouns like *êra* 'honor,' *gelp* 'terrifying battle cry' or *hrôm* 'fame', were not matched by words in the Saxon vocabulary like 'reticent,' 'modest,' 'gentle,' or 'humble.' Belief in one's own might was paramount.

The egocentric native concepts of 'honor,' 'fame,' etc. were not directly confronted by the Church, as this would have been counterproductive. Russell writes,

"The notion of Christian honor, with its goal of individual salvation, directly opposed the supremacy of the Germanic concept of ... the bond of kinship which could be extended to others through an oath of loyalty... This bond included the duty to avenge a kinsman or lord's death, as well as the obligation to follow one's lord into a battle, even if death was imminent. To survive one's lord in battle was cause for disgrace, exceeded in shamefulness only by acts of cowardice and outright betrayal" (1994:121)

Although the societal context was not chaotic, not 'every man for himself,' homicide within legal parameters was a common means of achieving individual goals, be it for maintenance of property rights or in order to gain renown as a member of a fighting troop. Great leaders attained their position through eloquence, bravery, and strength, and their followers gained fame in turn for the same qualities along with their faithfulness to the leader. There was a strong bond to kinship and prestige group, but such bonds were maintained through individual strength instead of humanitarian sympathy. Ethical values were posited on individual qualities instead of considerations for the good of the group. Hempel writes, "Daher ist die Kirche genötigt, in Morallehre wie Gesetz immer wieder den Totschlag ..., die Rache ..., den Raub ... als Todsünden zu brandmarken und ihnen breite Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen"<sup>6</sup> (1970:53). The Church in its

<sup>6</sup>"The Church is thus obligated again and again to brand manslaughter, ... vengeance, ... robbery as deadly sins in moral teaching as well as in law and to devote much attention to

preaching focused on the deadly sins of homicide, revenge, and pillage.

To convey the message of Christian charity and ego-denying *humilitas* the native words that were negative and pejorative in the context of Christian sensibilities were employed with the (indeed eventually realized) hope that the Christian content would also convert their meanings.<sup>7</sup> Subversion of the vocabulary was the only possible method available to spread the gospel. As Russell puts it,

“Instead of directly confronting this opposing value system and attempting to radically transform it -- an approach which almost certainly would have resulted in an immediate rejection of Christianity -- the missionaries apparently sought to redefine the Germanic virtues of strength, courage, and loyalty in such a manner that would reduce their incompatibility with Christian values, while at the same time ‘inculturating’ Christian values as far as possible to accommodate the Germanic ethos and world-view” (1994:121).

To Saxons presented with the story of Christ in the form of the *Heliand*, a work necessarily written in a way that would appeal to a pre-Christian or newly converted audience, the choice of vocabulary that rang with old associations and carried old meanings must have at least to some extent clashed with the intent of the story.

## 0.5 The writing system

Latin letters were used for transcription of the hithertofore unwritten language to the extent that they adequately covered the individual units of the pronunciation, i.e., other than phonemes or certain allophones not present in Latin. The documents themselves were written largely in the Carolingian minuscule. Where the Latin alphabet was not sufficient, Old English graphs were borrowed. A crossed <d>, i.e. <ḏ> or <ð> is from Old English, which then inspired a crossed <b>, i.e. <ḅ>, to represent the bilabial spirant of Old Saxon that later evolved to /v/.

Length of consonants between vowels is indicated by single or double representation but long consonants are not so written in word final position (See 1.2.6 f). Short vowels are indicated by simplex representation and long vowels by means of a circumflex, although this distinction is not evident, for example, in manuscript M. (See the sample in Fischer 1966).

It has been proposed that the language of the *Heliand* is a koine of Saxon dialects, but beyond that consideration particularly East Franconian influences recur with regularity. Assuming that the *Heliand* was committed to parchment in a cloister and that scribes from various areas of what is now Germany were engaged in that work, the representation of etymological long /o:/ as <uo> in accordance with East Franconian instead of “genuine” Saxon <ō> can be attributed to the hand of an East Franconian scribe or scribes. Similar Frisian influence is found in the representation of the diphthong /io/ as <ia> in some lines, e.g. <kiasan> in place of <kiosan> ‘chose’. (See Liberman 1995 for a survey.)

them.”

<sup>7</sup> cf. Hempel (1970:57)

## 0.6 The Form and Dating of the *Heliand*

### 0.6.1 The Manuscripts of the *Heliand*

The Old Saxon *Heliand* as presented in the standard edition (*Althochdeutsche Textbibliothek 4*) is edited from the M and C manuscripts. The surviving manuscripts are the M in Munich, the C in the British Museum, the P in Prague, the S found at Straubing, and the V at the Vatican. M and C descend from a common prior manuscript \*CM, while P and V seem to stand apart from that and from each other. According to Taeger (1979) there are indications of a connection SM as against C but also CS as against M, a finding which demands further clarification. Taeger (1984) admits the possibility that identical mistakes in C and M could have been made independently by different scribes. In his introduction to the ninth edition of *Heliand und Genesis* Taeger also postulates a common line of descent connecting C and P, evidently posterior to \*CM. In any case, he correctly states (1979) “Ein vollständiger Stammbaum ist natürlich nicht voll erweisbar, wenn er außer aus zwei Handschriften nur aus Fragmenten konstruiert wird, die sich an keiner Stelle überlagern”<sup>8</sup> (p. 187). From these manuscripts, chiefly C and M, 5,983 lines can be edited to form our reading of the *Heliand*. There is evidence also for a lost manuscript \*L from the library in Leipzig, about which very little is known.

The work was composed during the long period of decline of Germanic culture and slow encroachment of European culture during which Christianity had begun to replace ancient forms of worship, while the poetic forms, although not given up, were abandoning their strict alliterative and metrical constraints everywhere on the continent. The *Heliand* shows a mixture of the more strictly controlled old poetic form and a discursive, prose-like overlay. (See *Heliand Verse* below.)

Although the new culture was slowly and against considerable odds being introduced to northern Germany from the monasteries at Fulda or Werden (as Drögereit argued) or Corvey (Gantert, 1998:280 ff.), the old culture had very deep roots indeed. One can observe throughout the corpus of the *Heliand* words and phrases whose semantic content at least historically referred to conditions of earlier belief and behavior, although it seems clear that by the time of the composition of the work many of the meanings had changed. Nevertheless, we can wonder what reactions certain words and phrases would have triggered in a contemporary audience still cognizant of (or even still practicing) pre-Christian habits of thought.

The assumption here is that because of its traditional, alliterative form the *Heliand* was written to be read aloud. Taeger (1978) discusses the musical notation found over lines 310-313 in manuscript M and tentatively concludes “daß auch der ‘Heliand’ vor dem Horizont halbliturgischen Gebrauchs zu sehen sein dürfte.”<sup>9</sup> The question of which audience it addressed cannot be settled with finality. Perhaps it was intended as an exercise for monks or even as mealtime devotional readings read aloud to them. Perhaps it was written in order to be read (or ‘sung’) in episodes before groups of potential converts who had already suffered baptism by coercion and who now needed to be persuaded of the validity of the new faith. Drögereit (1970:465)

<sup>8</sup>“A complete stemma is of course not completely demonstrable when, beyond the two manuscripts, it is constructed only from fragments that do not overlap.”

<sup>9</sup>“that the Heliand too should be viewed against the background of semi-liturgical use”

hypothesizes that “der unbekannte Dichter, wohl ein Friese, [verfaßte] sein Predigt-Epos nicht einmal für Mönche, sondern für adlige Damen in einem der zahlreichen Kanonissenstifte, nämlich Essen.”<sup>10</sup>

The question of the site of composition has been debated for a century and a half. The general body of opinion tends to favor Fulda, for among other reasons because the *Hêliand* reflects the commentary on Matthew written by the Abbot of Fulda, Hrabanus Maurus, and because there was a copy of the work known as *Tatian* there. A version of *Tatian* was used as a basis for the structure of the *Hêliand*. There are, however, arguments in favor of other monasteries. Drögereit (1978) favors Werden on paleographic evidence, namely the fact that only at Werden was the letter <b> used, which is characteristic of the M and P manuscripts, and on evidence of the presence of Frisian monks there. The *Hêliand* evinces so-called Frisianisms in the spellings <kiasan> and <niate> in lines 223 and 224. These views are, however, challenged by Bischoff (1952) who claims that many manuscripts that Drögereit attributes to Werden were instead brought there from the monasteries at Corbie in France or its Saxon offshoot Corvey or from elsewhere or never were there at all. Another scholar, Krogmann, believes that Fulda must be excluded as the site of composition on the basis of the word *pâscha* instead of *ôstara/ôstarun* for ‘Easter’. The latter word was used only in the Archdiocese of Mainz, and Fulda was in its territory. Werden was under the Archdiocese of Cologne, where *pâscha* was the term for ‘Easter’, and Krogmann also adduces the paleographic evidence of <b> in favor of Werden.<sup>11</sup> Gantert (1998) points out that the sons of Saxon nobility had been schooled in Corbie in the Picardy and were then instrumental in founding the Corvey in 815 on Saxon territory, which at least would provide a fertile ground for the reception of the *Hêliand*.

In any case, whether composed at Fulda or Werden or Essen, the *Hêliand* adheres faithfully to the Christian gospel while the work is couched in terms acceptable to a northern audience familiar with stories of Germanic mythology and historical culture presented in alliterative verse.

#### 0.6.2 *Hêliand* Verse:

Pre-literate societies preserve their literary monuments in memorized, oral form. Essential to long recitations is a mnemonic code to cue speakers when memory lags. The Germanic code had as constants over the span of centuries alliteration, word-initial syllable stress, and a fixed number of dynamic stresses per line. In the simplest, and perhaps original, form the ‘long line’ consisted of eight syllables containing four stresses, two in each ‘half line’ on either side of a pause (Latin *caesura*; German *Zäsur*). Schematically, we can represent a basic line as

' \_\_ ' \_\_ ' \_\_ ' \_\_ ,

where the ' indicates a stressed syllable and \_\_ an unstressed syllable. Alliteration was superimposed on the pattern of stresses. (A certain leeway in filling the syllables, which is called

<sup>10</sup> “The unknown poet, likely a Frisian, [composed] his sermon-epic not for monks but rather for noble ladies in one of the numerous religious communities of canonesses, namely in Essen.”

<sup>11</sup> cf. Krogmann (1973:25-26).

*Füllungsfreiheit* in German, was allowed.) The term alliteration (German *Stabreim*) indicates an initial “rhyme” of consonants or vowels with each other in such a manner that certain specified stressed syllables each begin with either the same single consonant, with identical clusters of initial *ʒ* plus a consonant, or with initial vowels of any quality. (End rhyme, which affected unstressed syllables, did not play a role here and B in any case B was a later borrowing, perhaps from Latin hymns.) The key position was the first stress in the second ‘half-line’ (the third stressed syllable from the beginning of the ‘long line’), which should contain a ‘heavy’ syllable defining the alliteration on the whole line. (A ‘heavy’ syllable is one that has a stressed vowel followed by a consonant cluster or one that has a diphthong.) That is, if the third stressed syllable started with /h/, then the first stressed syllable had to, and commonly the second stressed syllable then also started with /h/. The fourth stress (second stress in the second ‘half-line’) could not alliterate. An ancient example in North Germanic is found on the Gallehus horn from about 400 A.D.:

ek hlewagastiR holtijar horna tawidō

‘I Hlewagast, son of Holt, made this horn.’

In the Gallehus inscription we hear alliteration on the /h/ in /horn-/ in the first and second stressed syllable, and we also find various unstressed syllables including one before the first stress in /hlewa-/. The presence of an initial unstressed syllable (Greek *anacrusis*, German *Aufstakt*), here /ek/, is thus also an ancient feature of the poetic form, which is much used and expanded on in the *Hêliand* – also before other than the first stressed syllable.

The *Hêliand* does not, on the whole, represent an ideal of alliterative verse. Dynamic stress played less of a role in Old Saxon than in earlier stages of Germanic dialects, and the author was constrained to proselytize with a theologically sound message as well as to entertain. We are thus confronted with a great mixture of lines varying from what might be termed “pure” alliterative to almost prose-like poetry. Within close proximity of each other one finds a variety of lines, as in the sequence 978-981. An example of a rather well formed line in the historical alliterative tradition, whereby Old Saxon still maintained word-initial syllabic stress, is

978: dôpte allan dag druhtfolc mikil.

In this line we see that the third (and ‘heavy’) syllable /druXt/ in *druhtfolc* (a noun: ‘retainers; people’) sets the alliteration, which is carried through in the verb *dôpte* (‘baptized’) and *dag* in the phrase *allan dag* (‘all day’) in the first and second stresses. The fourth stressed syllable, /mi-/ in *mikil* (an adjective: ‘great’) properly lacks alliteration. Line 979 is also fairly well formed, although it contains a few extra unstressed syllables. This line alliterates on /w/, here again on a noun phrase (*uualdand Krist* ‘ruling Christ’) in the key third position.

979 uuerod an uuatere endi ôk uualdand Krist.

The next line, 980, is also a good example, this time alliterating in /h/ on the third stress in the phrase *handun sînun* ‘with his hands’:

980 hêran hebencuning handun sînun.



An example of a more typical line in the *Hêliand* is 981, which properly alliterates in /b/ but shows many more unstressed syllables:

981 an allaro baðo them bezton endi im thar te bedu gihnêg.

In this last example we find a fairly long anacrusis before the first alliterating syllable in *baðo* and a very long unstressed anacrusis before the key alliteration in the third stressed syllable in *bedu* ('and kneeled [*gihnêg*] there to him in prayer [*te bedu*']). Although line 981 alliterates, it is so filled out with unaccented syllables that it is more discursive while yet still true to the poetic convention. McLintock has this to say about the form of the *Hêliand*:

"The biblical epic in alliterative verse flourished in England, and the *Heliand* may have been composed in imitation of such works as a consequence of Anglo-Saxon participation in the conversion of the Saxons. A literary link with England is attested not only by the Cotton manuscript but also by the existence of an Old English translation of the *Genesis* (the so-called *Genesis B*). Differences in verse technique may be explained partly by the differing grammars of the two languages. Notable features of Old Saxon verse are density of alliteration and the proliferation of unstressed syllables, especially before the first ictus of the b [second half-line] verse" (1985:150).

Many words have been written about alliterative verse and about the language of the *Hêliand*. A good overview is given by Lehmann (1973). See also Doan (1991:89-92).

### 0.6.3 The Dating of the *Hêliand* and its 'Praefatio'

The direct evidence which, according to Drögereit, links the letter <b> to Werden also frames the date of composition. Drögereit adduces paleographic features he claims were used only at Werden and only between about 850 and 900, stating that

"[b] begegnet während einer kurzen periode n u r in Quellen der um 800 gegründeten Abtei Werden, und zwar in einem lateinisch-altsächsischen Glossar von ca. 850 und vor allem in den Werdener Heberegistern von ca. 900. Wir können dieses [b] ferner noch für die etwa 864 dort abgefaßte Originalhandschrift der dritten Vita Liudgers, des friesischen Gründers Werdens, erschließen"<sup>12</sup> (1978:53).

A certain form of large <N> also appearing in the M and P manuscripts of the *Hêliand* was written that way only in Werden up to the period in question (Drögereit, *op. cit.*, p. 54). This dating, which Drögereit (1951) first established, contradicts the previous accepted dating made on the basis of the Latin *Praefatio*.

The Latin *Praefatio et Versus* is customarily divided into *Praefatio A*, *Praefatio B*, and *Versus*.

<sup>12</sup> "[b] occurs during a short period *only* in attestations from the abbey in Werden, which was founded around the year 800, in a Latin-Old Saxon glossary from about 850 and especially in the tithing registries from about 900. We can also reconstruct this [b] from the original manuscript of the third Vita of Liudger, the Frisian founder of Werden, which was written there in about 864."

Although the preface has not been seen physically attached to any manuscript of the *Hêliand* – at least since its publication by Flacius Illyricus in 1562 – there is internal and external evidence that the two at one time were connected.

The *Praefatio A* describes the commissioning of a translation of the New Testament with the words: *Præcepit namq[ue] cuidam uiro de gente Saxonum, qui apud suos non ignobilis Vates habebatur, ut [uetus ac] nouum Testamentum in Germanicam linguam poetice transferre studeret, quatenus non solum literatis, uerum etiam inlitteratis sacra diuinorum præceptorum lectio panderetur*.<sup>13</sup> This passage has been thoroughly dissected by Krogmann (*op. cit.*), among others, and revealed to have its faults, including words and phrases added at a date later than its original composition. The phrase *uetus ac* is perhaps among them, although it could be taken to refer to the Old Saxon *Genesis* if the *Praefatio* was introductory to both works. The grammatical subject of *præcepit* is *Ludouicus pijssimus Augustus*, identified by most scholars as Louis the Pious (Ludwig der Fromme), who ruled from 813 to 840. The *Praefatio* thus seems to establish a *terminus ante quem* of Louis' death date, if the perfect form *præcepit* is understood to mean that the *Hêliand* was commissioned during his lifetime and if *Ludouicus pijssimus Augustus* indeed refers to Louis the Pious. Drögereit (1951a) points out, however, that a son of Louis the Pious, Louis the German, was called *augustus* in the year of his birth in 805, which – if this is the correct *Ludouicus* – would push the possible dating of composition to his death in 876. Against this argument stands the dating of the manuscript and fragments, of which three can be restricted to about 850.

The prose *Praefatio B* is a rendering of Bede's story of Caedmon's dream, in which the poet, a simple herdsman, while asleep receives divine impulse to compose in verse. The *Versus* relates basically the same poetically, establishing the modest credentials of the divinely inspired, humble man of the countryside.<sup>14</sup>

The *terminus post quem* for the composition is generally linked to the composition of Hrabanus's commentary on Matthew, which was finished in 822.

The allusion to Caedmon and his dream-inspired talent as a poet serves to set the *Hêliand* in a tradition of Germanic divinely inspired eloquence. North (1991:26) in discussing the 'unflawed gift' of poetry cites Cynewulf's *Elene* and claims that "Cynewulf's poetic predecessors ... before the Conversion ... believed in the divinely invested integrity of poetic skill." The *Hêliand* makes many allusions to the prestige and importance associated with speaking eloquently, which we can with some certainty view as an attribute of leadership as practiced in earlier times. Cathey (1996) expands on this topos. Of course, the *Hêliand* itself was written in alliterative verse for reasons of prestige and as an aid to its reception among the Saxons.

From the considerations given above, it is reasonable to consider the *Hêliand* to have been written between the years 822 and 850.

<sup>13</sup> "For [he] ordered a certain man of the Saxon people who was deemed among them to be no inglorious bard to devote himself to a poetic translation into the German language of the Old and New Testaments so that the holy reading of the divine commandments might be diffused not only to the literate but also to the illiterate."

<sup>14</sup> cf. Andersson (1974).

## 1.0 PHONOLOGY

1.1 The reconstructed sound system of Germanic: We present a brief depiction of Germanic phonology on which to base the following diachronic rules of Old Saxon phonology.

## 1.1.1 Germanic Vowels

SHORT		LONG		DIPHTHONGS	
front	back	front	back		
<b>high</b> / i	u	<b>high</b> i:	u:		
		e: <sub>2</sub>	o:	eu	
<b>low</b> e	a	<b>low</b> e: <sub>1</sub>	a:	ai	au /

The short vowels were reduced from the posited precursor, Indo-European, to a set of four: two pronounced in the front of the oral cavity and two in the back. Each pair was distinguished by height, namely relatively higher and lower, and by ancillary non-phonemic (non-critical) features of the pronunciation such as rounding of the lips for /u/.

The long vowels were six arrayed front and back in the vocal tract on three levels. The distinction between /e:<sub>1</sub>/ and /e:<sub>2</sub>/ was strictly one of height. The lower, pronounced perhaps [æ:] as in American English 'bat' is the inherited reflex from Indo-European, while the mid-level vowel /e:<sub>2</sub>/ is posited to account for words attested in later languages (such as Old High German), which show a distinction between two different inherited long e's. The source(s) of /e:<sub>2</sub>/ seem actually to postdate Common Germanic. Germanic \*/a:/ is derived solely from earlier short \*/a/ which was lengthened when \*/n/ was vocalized in the syllabic string \*/anX/. Some instances of Germanic \*/i:/ and \*/u:/ were derived from earlier \*/i/ and \*/u/ in the strings \*/inX/ and \*/unX/, respectively.<sup>15</sup>

Three diphthongs are posited for Germanic, all ending in a high vowel. Germanic /u/ was the second element in diphthongs with /a/ and /e/ as the first element. Germanic /e/ can also pair with a following /u/, but because pre-Germanic \*ei became Germanic /i:/, it does not appear as a diphthong at that stage.

<sup>15</sup>Note: An asterisk (\*) indicates that a form is not attested but rather reconstructed. A colon (:) indicates that a vowel is long. In Old Saxon a circumflex (^) is used for the same purpose. Slanting lines (/ /) around segments indicate phonemic (underlyingly systematic) status, square brackets ([ ]) indicate phonetic status (as pronounced), while angle brackets (< >) show the orthographic representation.

## 1.1.2 Germanic Consonants:

	labials	dentals	palatal	velars	glottal
Stops					
unvoiced	/ p	t		k	
Spirants					
voiced	b	ð z		ɣ	
unvoiced	f	þ s			X
Resonants	w	r	j		
Lateral		l			
Nasals	m	n			/

Here the consonantal phonemes of Germanic are arrayed in a schematic of the vocal tract from the lips on the left side to the glottis at the right, but not according to a dimension of height as with the vowels. Instead, the vertical axis indicates the nature of the consonants. Note that \*/b/, \*/ð/, and \*/ɣ/ (voiced bilabial, dental, and velar, resp.) remained voiced spirants (fricatives) in Germanic except after nasals, where they were realized as the allophones \*[b], \*[d], and \*[g]/, resp., in the strings \*[mb], \*[nd], and \*[ŋg]. Early on, these phonemes were also realized as stops initially, e.g. Germanic \*\*/beran-/ became \*[beran-], etc.

## 1.2 The sound system of Old Saxon

## 1.2.1 Vowels of Old Saxon:

SHORT		LONG		DIPHTHONGS	
front	back	front	back		
<b>high</b> / i	u	i:	u:	iu	io
<b>low</b> e	a	e:	o:	ei	ia
		e:	o:		au /

## 1.2.2 Diachronic vowel change:

- Old Saxon /e:/ and /o:/ were low vowels derived from Germanic \*/ai/ and \*/au/, respectively. Old Saxon /au/ continued Germanic \*/aw/ when it occurred before the homorganic glide /w/, as in *gihauuan* 'hauen';
- Germanic \*/i/ and \*/u/ were subject to **lowering** (from high to mid) under certain conditions when /a/ was present in a following syllable and became Old Saxon /e/ and /o/, respectively. Examples are:
- Germanic \*/hulta-/ > *holt* 'Holz; woods', \*/gulpa-/ > *gold* 'gold' (but *guldin* 'gilded'), \*/wurpan-/ > *giworpan* 'geworfen; thrown', etc.;



- d) Germanic \*/i/ and \*/u/ remained as such in Old Saxon if followed by \*/m/ or \*/n/ plus consonant, e.g. in strong verbs of the type *bindan* 'binden; bind' (cf. 2.8.1 c);
- e) or in contact with a labial consonant, e.g. as in the past participle *gimunan* 'genomen; taken', or
- f) if the next syllable began with \*/j/ or contained the high vowels \*/i/ or \*/u/, as in *huldi* 'Huld; favor' (cf. *hold* 'hold; well disposed towards' < \*/hulpa-/), etc.
- g) Raising of Germanic \*/e/ to Old Saxon /i/ occurred under the conditions described above at c) for the retention of Germanic \*/i/ and \*/u/, as in \*/neuja-/ > *niuui* 'neu; new', \*/helpu/ > *hilpu* 'ich helfe; I help', etc.

### 1.2.3 Graphemic variation

Old Saxon manuscripts and their transcriptions evince considerable free variation in the writing of vowel phonemes. This seems in part to have been induced by influences from graphic practices imported from farther south (where the translation of biblical texts had a longer history) based on phonemes particularly of Old East Franconian, e.g. the monophthong <ô> vs. the East Franconian diphthong <uo> as in <bôk> and <buok> 'book.'

The most prominent feature is, however, the 'weakening' of unaccented vowels be they in endings or as the unaccented element of diphthongs. As for the latter, the variation may possibly indicate differing diphthongal stress, although that is speculative. Consider the neuter noun <liof> or <leof> 'something good, dear' that appears in the genitive singular as <liobes> and <leobes>, etc. The vowels of unaccented syllables show similar variation, e.g. <liudio> and <liudeo> 'people' (genitive plural), the dative plural ending <-iun> vs. <-eun>, etc.

Generally speaking, unaccented /u/ was written as <u>, <o>, /o/ as <o>, <a>, or even <e>, /i/ as <i>, <e>, /e/ as <e>, <a>, and /a/ as <a>, <e>. Mid-height /o/ is, however, never written as the high vowel <u>, /e/ never as <i>, and /a/ never as <u>, <i>. The article <theru> can thus also be written <thero>, and then <thero> as <thera>. The noun 'end' can be written as <endi> or <ende>. Forms of the adjective 'holy' appear as <hêlag> or <hêleg>, <hêlaga> or <hêlage>, etc. See Rauch (1992: 205), who states: "The obdurate question of the phonetic reflex of graphic variation under weak stress has vexed OS research to such an extent ... that it may be allocated to one of the notorious moot questions of Germanic linguistics."

More specifically, there are exceptions to the weakening of unstressed syllables when there was danger of semantic confusion. Thus, for example, the nominative feminine singular pronoun 'she' <siu> is kept separate from its accusative form <sia> or <sie>.

This graphemic indeterminacy, which Rauch (1992: 107) accurately describes as "widely visible, excruciatingly so for the reader," was explained by Gallée in the following way:

"Wenn so das Sachsenland zum grössten teile von missionären aus den Frankenlanden, aus Fulda, Köln, Mainz, aus nord-fränkischen klöstern, wie Corbie in Picardie, christianisiert worden war und der einfluss Charlemagnes des Grossen und seiner nachfolger auf jedem gebiete sehr wirksam war, so müssen doch auch die Angelsachsen oder in englischen klöstern erzogene mönche, wie Liawin, der Niederfranke Liudger u. a. ..., in der kunst, der litteratur und der sprache spuren ihrer tätigkeit hinterlassen haben"<sup>16</sup> (1894: XIX).

<sup>16</sup> "If the territory of the Saxons was for the most part Christianized by missionaries from

### 1.2.4 Consonants of Old Saxon:

	labials	dentals	palatal	velars	glottal
Stops					
voiced:	/ b	d		g	
unvoiced:	p	t		k	
Spirants:					
voiced:	β	ð	j	ɣ	
unvoiced:	f	þ s			X
Resonants	w	r			
Lateral		l			
Nasals	m	n			/

In the above table the phoneme /p/ indicates the voiceless pronunciation *th* as in 'thin', /ð/ the voiced pronunciation *th* as in 'then', /X/ as in German 'ach', and /ɣ/ a voiced counterpart of /X/. Germanic \*/ð/ became /d/ initially as well as in the inherited past tense ending of weak verbs in Old Saxon. It became /dd/ when geminated (cf. 1.2.6 c); \*/β/ became /b/ initially and /bb/ when geminated; \*/ɣ/ remained initially or merged with /j/ in that position<sup>17</sup>, while it became /gg/ when geminated. Germanic \*/p/ became /ð/ in voiced medial surroundings. Germanic \*/z/ merged with /r/.

### 1.2.5 Phonological and graphemic alternation

In final position Germanic \*/β/ was devoiced to /f/, and \*/f/ was voiced between voiced sounds, appearing there as /β/. Hence \*/β/ and \*/f/ merged as /f/ in final position and as /β/ in voiced medial surroundings and were so represented graphemically. When /w/ occurred before /u/, the result could be either <uu> or <uuu>, as in <uurðun> or <uuurðun> (3rd plural past indicative of *uuerðan*).

### 1.2.6 Diachronic rules of sound change to Old Saxon

the territory of the Franks, from Fulda, Cologne, Mainz, north-Franconian cloisters, like Corbie in the Picardie, and the influence of Charlemagne and his successors was very active in all areas, then the monks educated in Anglo-Saxon or English cloisters, such as Liawin, the lower Franconian Liudger, and others, must have left traces of their activities in art, literature, and language."

<sup>17</sup> Note that /ɣ/ — whatever its quality when initial — in effect spells and alliterates with /j/ when before stressed /i/ or /e/ in Old Saxon. Words like *geder* 'udder', *gehan* 'affirm' (cf. German *Beichte* 'confession' < \*bi-jiht- or \*bi-ɣiht-), *gêr* 'Jahr; year', or *giu* ~ *iu* were pronounced either as /jeder/, /jehan/, /je:r/, and /ju/ or as /yedet/, /yehan/, /ye:r/, and /yu/.

- a. *i*-umlaut<sup>18</sup> of \*/a/ appears regularly as /e/ in Old Saxon except before consonant clusters of /X/ (spelled <h> and perhaps pronounced like [h]) plus a consonant, or before /r/ plus /w/. Thus, for example, Germanic \*/taljan/ became Old Saxon *tellian* ‘tell’ (with gemination of /l/, see below.) Indication of umlaut with other vowels is sporadic and possibly due to the influence of Frisian. See Rauch (1970).
- b. Raising of \*/e/ to /i/ when a high vowel follows in the next syllable. Thus the verb /yeX+an/ <gehan> ‘affirm’ has, for example, present tense forms <thu gihis> ‘you affirm’, <he gihid> ‘he affirms’, /yeb+an/ <geban> ‘give’ has <ik gibu> ‘I give’, etc.
- c. Gemination (the doubling of a single consonant in medial position) occurred in West Germanic and thus in Old Saxon when any consonant (except \*/r/) was followed by \*/j/. The \*/j/ surfaced in Old Saxon as /i/ or /e/. Thus Germanic \*/kwaðjan/ became OS *queddian/queddien/queddean* ‘greet’. The doubled consonant was shortened after a long vowel or a diphthong. Gemination also occurred before Germanic suffixes containing \*/l/, \*/n/, or \*/r/, e.g. \*/akraz/ > *akkar* ‘Feld; acre’ (cf. Gothic *akrs*).
- d. Loss of nasals before fricatives: Old Saxon (along with Low German dialects generally, including Anglo-Frisian) underwent loss of a Germanic nasal before tautosyllabic \*/f/, \*/s/, or \*/p/. A preceding short vowel was thereby lengthened (cf. German *fünf*, *Gans* vs. English *five*, *goose*). Before \*/s/ and \*/p/ a long /a:/ (from \*/ans/ or \*/anp/) normally appeared as /ô/ in Old Saxon, e.g. *gôs* ‘goose’ (cf. German *Gans*), *ôðar* ‘other’ (cf. Gothic *anþar*; German *sanft*, *ander-* vs. English *soft*, *other*), etc.
- e. Reduction of vowel distinctions in unstressed syllables: In addition to the frequent loss of unstressed short vowels, unstressed polar vowels (\*/i/, \*/u/, and \*/a/) tended to become centralized in Old Saxon; /i/ and /a/ frequently appear as /e/, while /u/ alternates with /o/, e.g. *seggian* ~ *seggean* ~ *seggien* ‘say’, *liudiu* ~ *liudeon* ‘people’ [D pl], *hêlagaro* ~ *hêlagero* ‘holy’ [G pl]. (See 1.2.3 above.)
- f. Simplification of terminal long consonants occurred in West Germanic. Examples in Old Saxon are *man* but *mannes*, *snel* but *snelle*, etc. (Compare English ‘tap’ but ‘tapped’ and ‘tapping’ or ‘man’ but ‘manned’ and ‘manning’ etc.)

### 1.2.7 Synchronic Old Saxon reflexes of Germanic vowels

#### a. Short Vowels

##### Germanic

- \*/a/ **fadar** ‘father’; **gast** ‘guest’; **salt** ‘salt’. Umlaut: **sendian** ‘send’ (< \*/sandjan/); (but **mahtig** ‘mighty’, cf. point 1.2.6 a). Loss of nasals: \*/amf/ - **sâft** ‘soft’; \*/anþ/ - **ôðar** ‘other’ (cf. 1.2.6 d).
- \*/e/ **etan** ‘eat’; **sehs** ‘six’; **beran** ‘bear, carry’; Raising: **hilpu** ‘I help’ but **helpan** ‘help’ (cf. 1.2.6 b), **bindan** ‘bind, tie’ (cf. 1.2.2 c 1).
- \*/i/ **skip** ‘ship’; **uuika** ‘week’; **quik** ‘alive’. Lengthening: \*/finþan/ - **fiðan** ‘find’ (cf. 1.2.6 d).
- \*/u/ **jung** ‘young’; **uuunda** ‘wound’; **uuulf** ‘wolf’; **fugal** ‘bird’; **gumo** ‘man’.

<sup>18</sup> *i*-umlaut is the fronting of a back vowel in stressed position in anticipation of a high, front vowel in the following syllable, i.e. \*/j/, \*/i/, or \*/i:/.

Lowering: **opan** ‘open’; **storm** (< \*sturmaz) ‘storm’; **dohter** ‘daughter’; **giboran** ‘born’ (cf. 1.2.1 b).

Lengthening: \*/unX/ - **thûhta** ‘seemed’ (cf. 16.5 d).

#### b. Long Vowels

##### Germanic

- \*/a:/ One source of â in Old Saxon was from Germanic \*/anX/ or \*/anf/ (cf. 1.2.6 d): **thâhta** ‘thought’; **brâhta** ‘brought’; **fâhan** ‘seize’, **sâftur** ‘softer, easier’, etc.
- \*/e:ɪ/ Germanic \*/e:ɪ/ was a second source of West Germanic, thus Old Saxon, â, as in **mâno** ‘moon’; **dâd** ‘deed’; **gâbun** ‘they gave’, etc.
- \*/e:ɔ/ **hêr** ‘here’; **mêda** ‘reward’; **lêt** ‘let’ (past singular), etc.
- \*/i:/ **tîr** ‘fame’; **suuîn** ‘swine’; **stîgan** ‘climb’, etc.
- \*/o:/ **stôd** ‘stood’; **hôdian** ‘guard’; **brôðar** ‘brother’, etc.
- \*/u:/ **hûs** ‘house’; **bûan** ‘dwell’; **trûon** ‘trust’, etc.

#### c. Diphthongs

The Germanic diphthongs \*/au/ and \*/ai/ were generally monophthongized in Old Saxon, but note their retention before \*/u/ or \*/i/, respectively. Germanic \*/eu/ shows variants.

##### Germanic

- \*/au/ **bôm** ‘tree’; **dôð** ‘death’; **sôhta** ‘sought’, etc. Note: before \*/w/ **hauuan** ‘hew’; **thau** ‘custom’.
- \*/ai/ **dêl** ‘part’; **uuê** ‘woe’; **êð** ‘oath’, etc. Note before \*/i/ as in **tuueio** ‘two’ (genitive), perhaps pronounced as /tweijo/.
- \*/ia/ **sia** ‘she’ [A sg], **tellian** ‘tell’, perhaps segmented into syllables as /tel.ljan/ or /tel.li.an/, etc.
- \*/eu/ **dior** ‘animal’; **liof** ‘dear’; **fliogan** ‘fly’; **liuhtan** ‘gleam’; **bium** ‘am’. This diphthong appears as <eu> in <leutcunnia> ‘humanity’. Note: before \*/u/, when it is final or followed by \*/a/ or \*/e/ as in **hreuuan** ‘reuen; rue’ /hreu.uuan/, **treuuua** ‘fidelity’ /true.uua/, **heu** ‘hewed’ /heu/, etc.

### 1.2.8 Consonants

##### Germanic

- \*/w/ **uuulf** ‘wolf’; **hîuuisiki** ‘family’; **niuuan** ‘renew’. Vocalized to /o/ in **skado** ‘shadow’; **garo** ‘ready’ and reduced to /u/ in **thau** ‘custom’.
- \*/j/ **giu** ‘long ago’; **jâmar** ‘sorrow’; **biddean** /bid.di.an/ or /bid.djan/ ‘request’; **tuueio** ‘two’ (genitive)
- \*/r/ **rîki** ‘realm’; **tharf** ‘need’, **erða** ‘earth’; **hers** ‘horse’; **ôðar** ‘other’.
- \*/l/ **lâri** ‘empty’; **uuulf** ‘wolf’; **salbon** /sal.bon/ ‘anoint’; **fugal** ‘bird’.
- \*/m/ **manag** ‘many’; **simbla** ‘always’; **bium** ‘am’.
- \*/n/ **naht** ‘night’; **bindan** ‘bind’; **thunkian** ‘seem’.
- \*/f/ **fregnan** ‘ask, find out’; **tharf** ‘need’; **thurbân** ‘need’; **uuulf** ‘wolf’; **uuulbos** ‘wolves’ (cf. 1.2.4 and English *wolf*: *wolves*).
- \*/p/ **thunkian** ‘seem’; **uuiðar** ‘against’; **sôð** ‘true, for sooth’.
- \*/s/ **skôni** ‘beautiful’; **uuirs** ‘worse’; **hûs** ‘house’; **lesan** ‘gather up’.
- \*/X/ **hûs** ‘house’; **sah** ‘saw’; **dohtar** ‘daughter’; **sehs** ‘six’; **hlahan** ‘laugh’.
- \*/b/ **betara** ‘better’; **geban** ‘give’; **selbo** ‘self’; **hebbian** /heb.bi.an/ or /heb.bjan/ ‘raise’;

**lamb** 'lamb'.

\*/z/ **nerian** 'rescue'; **mêr** 'more'; **curun** 'they chose'.

\*/ɣ/ **geban** 'give'; **galgo** 'gallows'; **liggian** /lig.gi.an/ or /lig.gjan/ 'lie'; **magu** 'boy'; **lag** 'lay'.

\*/p/ **plegan** 'play'; **diop** 'deep'; **dôpian** 'baptize'.

\*/t/ **tîd** 'time'; **lâtan** 'permit'; **settian** /set.ti.an/ or /set.tjan/ 'set'; **sat** 'sat'.

\*/k/ **knio** 'knee'; **kiosan** 'choose'; **makon** 'make'; **ôk** 'also'.

\*/ð/ **dragan** 'carry'; **fadar** 'father'; **fandon** 'tempt'; **tîð** 'time'.

1.2.9 Minimal pairs: Here we present some minimal pairs, when they can be found, and some near minimal pairs without being exhaustive.

vowels:

quantitative:

/a/ ~ /a:/ uuan 'mangelnd; lacking' ~ uuân  
'Hoffnung; hope'

/e/ ~ /e:/ uue 'we' ~ uuê 'woe'

/i/ ~ /i:/ uuis 'certain' ~ uuîs 'wise';  
skimo 'light' ~ skîmo 'shadow'

/o/ ~ /o:/ hof 'house and yard' ~ hôf 'hoof'

/u/ ~ /u:/ budil 'Büttel; bailiff' ~ bûdil 'Beutel;  
bag'

qualitative:

/a/ ~ /e/ uual 'wall' ~ uuel 'well'

/a/ ~ /i/ that 'that' ~ thit 'this'

/a/ ~ /o/ hald 'just as little' ~  
hold 'hold; well disposed towards'

/a/ ~ /u/ uuarm 'warm' ~ uuurm 'serpent'

/a:/ ~ /o:/ mâd 'Matte, Wiese; meadow' ~ môd  
'Gemüt; disposition'

/e/ ~ /i/ drenkian 'drench' ~ drinkan  
'drink'

/e/ ~ /o/ geld 'reward' ~ gold 'gold'

/e/ ~ /u/ uuerð 'wert; value' ~ uuurð  
'Boden; ground'

/e:/ ~ /i:/ lêðan [m A sg] 'evil' ~ liðan 'pass'

/i/ ~ /o/ hild 'Kampf; battle' ~ hold  
'hold; well disposed towards'

/i/ ~ /u/ hildi 'Kampf; battle' ~ huldi  
'Huld; favor'

/u/ ~ /o/ huldi 'Huld; favor' ~ hold  
'hold; well disposed toward'

/a:/ ~ /o/ hâf 'lame' ~ hof 'house and yard'

consonants:

quantitative:

/d/ ~ /dd/ gebîdan 'expect' ~ gebiddian  
'invite'

/g/ ~ /gg/ sêgian 'sink' ~ seggian 'say'

/p/ ~ /pp/ apuldra 'apple tree' ~ appul  
'apple'

/t/ ~ /tt/ hrîtan 'scratch' ~ hrittian

'carve'

/k/ ~ /kk/ Bekinun 'Neuenbeken' ~  
bekkîn 'pitcher'

qualitative:

/ð/ ~ /t/ uuurð 'Boden; ground' ~

uuurt 'Wurzel; root'

/ð/ ~ /n/ drugîða 'Trugbild;  
deception' ~ drugina  
'Betrug; deceit'

/l/ ~ /h/ land 'land' ~ hand 'hand'

/l/ ~ /t/ land 'land' ~ tand 'tooth'

/l/ ~ /n/ suuebal 'Schwefel; sulfur' ~  
suueban 'Schlaf; sleep'

/l/ ~ /r/ spel 'speech' ~ sper 'spear'

/p/ ~ /s/ driopan 'drip' ~ driosan 'fall'

## 2. Morphology

### 2.1 Gender, Stem, Number, and Case:

- a. There are three overriding morphological classifications of nouns and adjectives that were named 'masculine,' 'neuter,' and 'feminine' by early philologists.
- b. Within each gender there are classificational subcategories based on historical vowels (or lack of same) that occurred between the stem (the 'meaning-bearing' unit) and its case ending. Masculine and neuter nouns are thus subcategorized as Germanic *a*-stems, *ja*-stems, *wa*-stems, *i*-stems, *u*-stems, non-thematic stems, etc. Feminine nouns evince similar subcategorical classification. (See 2.1 below).
- c. There are three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. The dual occurs only in pronouns.
- d. There are five cases nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, and instrumental with the following functions:
  1. nominative: denotes subject of verb or predicative adjective or noun, i.e. X BE X as in 'It is I.'
  2. genitive:
    - a. partitive usage: *uateres drinkan* 'drink (of) water'; *skapu uuârun lîdes alârit* 'containers were emptied of wine'; *barno that besta* 'the best of children'; etc.;
    - b. object of certain verbs, e.g. *uualdan* 'rule,' or complement of certain nouns, e.g. *giuuald* 'dominion' or *uualdand* 'ruler': *quað that he thesero uueroldes uualdan scoldi* '... said that he would rule this world'; *giuuald habes himiles endi erôn* '(you) have dominion over heaven and earth'; *uueroldes uualdand* 'ruler of the world'; etc.;
    - c. possession: *that godes barn* 'that child of God'; *uuâpnes eggion* 'by means of (the) edge of (a) weapon'; *thar thes heritogen hîuuiski uuas* 'where (the) family of the duke was'; *mid iro uuordun* 'with her words'; etc.
  3. dative:
    - a. object of certain verbs: *gode thankoda* '(he) thanked God'; *im halp* '(he) helped him'; *Habde iru thô giholpen hêlag barn godes* '(the) holy child of God had helped her'; *ni scal that lîcon uuel mînumu hêrron* 'that will not well be pleasing (to) my lord'; etc.
    - b. indirect object: *endi sprak iru mid is uuordun tô* 'and (he) spoke to her with his words'; *biûtan that man iru Iohannes an theru hallu innan hôbid gâbi* 'other than that one should give the head of John to her in the hall'; *huanen scolde imu sulic geuuit cuman* 'from where should such intelligence come to him'; etc.
    - c. reflexive complement of certain verbs, e.g. *Satanas giuuet im thuo* 'Satan went then', where *im* serves as a reflexive pronoun; *geng imu thô uuið thea man sprekan* '(he) went then to speak with the men'; *bûida im bî thero brâdi* '(he) lived with the woman'; etc.
    - d. object of certain prepositions, e.g. *af* 'from', *biforan* 'because of', *êr* 'before': *hie im af them uuihe fuor* 'he went from the temple'; *biforan thero derebeon dâdi* 'because of the evil deed'; *êr dômes dage* 'before the day of doom'; etc. (See also below at 5.1.)

4. accusative:
    - a. object of certain prepositions: *âno is helpa* 'without his help'; *thurh thi uulcan* 'through the clouds'; *unt âband* 'until evening'; etc. (See also below at 5.)
    - b. direct object of certain verbs: *huô sie ina sô craftagne fan ênumu clibe uurpin* 'how they should throw him, such a powerful one, from a cliff'; *grôte ina* '(she) greeted him'; *Thô bigan ina Crist sehan an mid is ôgun* 'Then Christ began to see him with his eyes', etc.
  5. instrumental: This case indicates 'by means of' but was in the process of being replaced by the dative in that function. For avoidance of ambiguity a preposition was frequently added to the dative substituting for instrumental, generally *mid* 'with'. (Note the instrumental usage of 'with' in English as in 'with a hammer' as opposed to the other 'with' that means 'in the company of,' as in 'with my friends.')
- Often one also sees both *mid* and an instrumental form of the object (instead of dative), i.e. instrumentality was redundantly marked twice in such cases, once by a preposition and once by the instrumental form. The instrumental form, uniquely marked by the ending *-u*, was restricted to the singular of masculines and neuters, although dative with its own endings as a substitute for the instrumental also occurs in feminine singular and all plural forms.
- a. object of certain prepositions: *aftar thi u* 'after that, then'; *far thi u* 'for this (reason)'; *mid ênu uuordo* 'with one word'; *mid hluttru hugi* 'with pure mind'; *mid thi u godes barnu* 'with the child of God'; *te thi u* 'thereto, for this reason'; etc.
  - b. in the meaning 'by means of':
    1. marked in the masculine and neuter singular by the ending *-u*: *qualmu sueltan* 'die by murder'; *than man thes lichamon liudibarno môsu bimorna* 'than one should provide the body of people with food'; *lîbu beneotan* 'rob of life'; *fiuru befallen* 'crash down with fire'; etc.
    2. marked in the feminine singular instrumental identically with the dative, e.g. *uuâpnes eggion* 'by means of (the) edge of (a) weapon'; etc.
  - c. marked in the plural by the dative ending: *handon anhrînan* 'touch with hands'; *tandon bîad* '(they) bite with teeth'; etc.
  - d. instrumental of comparison: *sô mikilu is he betara than ic* 'he is better than I by so much'; *erlos thrungun nâhor mikilu* 'men crowded closer by a lot'; etc.

### 2.2 Strong Noun Declension

The nominal declensions have two numbers (sg 'singular', pl 'plural'), three genders (m 'masculine', f 'feminine', and n 'neuter') and as many as five cases (N 'nominative', G 'genitive', D 'dative', A 'accusative', I 'instrumental'). The instrumental was restricted to masculine and neuter singular. The so-called strong declension continues (with changes) categories found in Indo-European. Forms below marked \* are unattested.

## 2.2.1 Masculine

a) *a*-stems: These descend from Indo-European forms with the so-called *o*-thematic vowel between the stem of the noun and its endings. Short \**o* became \**a* in Germanic, hence their designation as *a*-stems, but subsequent changes have eliminated obvious traces from Old Saxon. The nominative and accusative plural shows either the North Coast Germanic (as also with Old Frisian and Old English) ending *-os* / *-as* or Old High German *-a*, which was likely an influence of Old East Franconian.

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N	dag 'day'	dagos, -as, -a	hof 'court'	hobos, -as, -a
G	dages, -as	dago	hobes, -as	hobo
D	dage, -a	daġon, -un	hobe, -a	hobum, -un, -on
A	dag	dagos, -as, -a	hof	hobos, -as, -a
I	dagū, -o		hobū, -o	

b) *ja*-stems: These forms also had an Indo-European *o*-thematic vowel but it followed \**j*, which emerges as /i/ and its orthographic variants <i> and <e> in Old Saxon.

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N	hirdi, -e 'herder'	hirdios, -eos	heri 'army'	herios, -eos, -a
G	hirdies, -ias, -eas	hirdio, -eo	heries	herio, -ea
D	hirdie, -ia, -ea	hirdium, -iun, -ion, -eon	herie, -ia, -ea	herium, -iun, -ion, -eon
A	hirdi, -e	hirdios, -eos, -a	heri, -e	herios, -eos, -a

c) *wa*-stems: These forms too were Indo-European *o*-thematic but with initial \**w*.

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N	sê, sêo, -u 'sea'	not attested
G	sêuues, -as	
D	sêuue, -a	
A	sê, sêo, -u	

d) *i*-stems: Here the inherited thematic vowel was \**i*. Note the difference in the plural markers vis-a-vis the *a*-stems. The *i*-stems historically lack the N/A pl ending *-os* of the *a*-stems, although the short stem forms evince two occurrences of the ending *-ios* in manuscript C of the *Héliand* (cf. Holthausen 1921:101). In other words, form classes seem to be coalescing at least to some extent.

	long stems <sup>19</sup>		short stems <sup>20</sup>	
	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N	gast 'guest'	gesti, -e	uuini 'friend'	uuini, -ios
G	gastes, -as	gestio, -eo	uuinies, -ias	uuinio
D	gaste, -a	gestiun, -ion, -eon	uuini, -ie, -ia, -ea	uuinium, -ion
A	gast	gesti, -e	uuini	uuini, -ios

e) *u*-stems: This small group of words has for the most part joined the *i*-stem nouns, as a comparison with *uuini* shows. Because of historical convergence and analogy only the nominative and accusative singular retain unambiguous *u*-stem characteristics.

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N	sunu, -o 'son'	sunī
G	sunies, -eas	sunō, -io
D	sunō, -u, -e, -ie	sunun, -iun
A	sunu, -o	sunī

f) Root-stems: This group of words consisted in Indo-European of just the stem and endings without a thematic vowel. Elision of final short vowels produced a paradigm with many homophonous forms, i.e. nominative, dative, and genitive singular along with nominative and accusative plural. Analogy has supplemented these forms with endings borrowed from other paradigms.

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N	man 'man'	man, men
G	mannes, -as	manno, -a
D	man, manne, -a	mannum, -un, -on
A	man	man, men

g) *nd*-stems: These words are masculine only and were originally formed from present participles of verbs. (See 2.9.)

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N	friund 'friend, kinsman'	friund, -os, -a
G	friundes, -as	friundo
D	friunde, -a	friundum, -on
A	friund	friund, -os, -a

<sup>19</sup>Long stems have two consonants following the first vowel (as /VC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>/ or /VC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>/) or have a diphthong (/VV(C)/) or long vowel (/V:(C)/) with or without a following consonant.

<sup>20</sup>Short stems have one (or no) consonant after the first short vowel.



h) *r*-stems: These nouns constitute a closed group of names of relationship, such as *fader* 'father', *brôðar* 'brother'.

<i>singular</i>		<i>plural</i>
N brôðer, -ar	'brother'	brôðer, -ar
G brôðer, -ar		-----
D brôðer, -ar		brôðarun, brôðrun, -ron
A brôðer, -ar		brôðer, -ar

### 2.2.2 Neuter

Neuter nouns are marked by identical forms of the nominative and accusative in singular and plural, respectively.

a) *a*-stems: Long-stem neuter nouns have identical forms in both singular and plural of the nominative and accusative, while short-stem nouns retain the vowel /u/ in the nominative and accusative plural (cf. footnotes 19 and 20).

<b>long stems</b>		<b>short stems</b>	
<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N uuord 'word'	uuord	graf 'grave'	grabu
G uuordes, -as	uuordo	grabes, -as	grabo
D uorde, -a	uordum, -un, -on	grabe, -a	grabum, -un, -on
A uuord	uuord	graf	grabu
I uuordu, -o		grabu, -o	

b) *ja*-stems: Germanic neuter *ja*-stems resemble the *a*-stems as to the distribution of forms except for the terminal vowel /i/ as a reflex of the \*/j/. Original short-stem forms like *flet* ~ *fletti* from Germanic \*/flat-ja/ evince gemination of final stem consonant, here *t*, by *j* and retention of the latter as *i*. This *i* in short-stem forms could also be truncated by regular sound changes, thus yielding alternate forms.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N erbi 'inheritance'	erbi	flet(ti) 'room'	fletti
G erbies, -ias, -eas	erbio, -eo	fletties, -eas	flettio, -eo
D erbie, -ia, -ea	erbium, -iun, -ion, -eon	flettie	flettium, -iun, -ion, -eon
A erbi	erbi	flet(ti)	fletti
I erbiu, -io		flettii, -io	

c) *i*-stems: these forms show the reflex of the *i*-thematic vowel, but the plurals are on their way to joining masculine forms like *gesti* (see above). Note that the example *halsmeni* is a compound noun. The second element *meni* is a short-stem form like *graf* or *flet(ti)*. Its plural forms have gone over to the masculine forms (cf. *uuni*, *-ios*).

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N halsmeni 'necklace'	halsmeni, -ios
G halsmenies, -ias	halsmenio
D halsmeni, -ie, -ia, -ea	halsmeniun, -ion
A halsmeni	halsmeni, -ios
I halsmeni, -iu	

d) *wa*-stems: The terminal /o/ is the reflex of the Germanic \*/w/.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N knio, *kneo 'knee'	kneo, knio
G *kneues -as	*kneuo
D *kneue, -a	kneohon (= kneon)
A knio, *kneo	kneo, knio

(See Holthausen § 279 f.)

e) *u*-stems: Neuter *u*-stems are represented only by *fehu* and *uuidu* 'wood' as the first element of compound nouns and in the dative singular in the *Freckenhorster Heberolle*.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N fehu, -o 'cattle, property'	not attested
G fehes, -as	
D feho, -e	
A fehu, -o	

### 2.2.3 Feminine:

a) *ô*-stems (NOTE: words in this declension often also have endings as in 2.3.3.)

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N geba 'gift'	geba
G geba, -u, -o	gebano
D gebu, -a, -o	gebun, -um, -un
A geba, -e	geba

b) *i*-stems: The long stems pattern as do the masculine *i*-stems as regards umlaut (cf. 2.2.1 d). The short stem forms show umlaut throughout.

long stems		short stems	
<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N fard 'journey'	ferdi	stedi 'stead'	stedi
G ferdi, -e	ferdio	stedi, -e	stedio
D ferdi, -e; -iu	ferdium, -iun	stedi, -e; -iu	stediun
A fard	ferdi	stedi	stedi

Note, however, long stems of the type *huldi* 'Huld; favor' that show the pattern of the short stem forms. (See Holthausen § 293.)

c) *u*-stems: This paradigm is in the process of joining the *a*-stems or *i*-stems (cf. Holthausen § 300) with only a few exemplars left. The short stem forms are represented only by *duru* 'door' in compound nouns.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N hand 'hand'	hendi, handi
G ----	hando
D hand, -i	handun, -on, -iun
A hand	hendi, handi

d) Root-stems: Note the remarks above at 2.2.1 f. Many of these forms are analogized to *i*-stems.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N burg 'city'	burgi	naht 'night'	naht
G burges	burgo, -io, -eo	nahtes	nahto
D burg, -i	burgun, -ion, -eon	naht, -a	nahtun, -on
A burg	burgi	naht naht	

e) *r*-stems: These include names of relationship, such as *suuester* 'sister', *mōdar* 'mother'. Cf. 2.2.1 h.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N suuester, -ar 'sister'	suuester, -ar
G suuester, -ar	-----
D suuester, -ar	suuestrun, suuestarun, -ron
A suuester, -ar	suuester, -ar

f) Abstracts in *-i*: All words in this category are abstract nouns based on corresponding adjectives, i.e. *helti* relates to *halt* 'lame', etc.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N helti 'lameness'	helti
G helti	helti, -io
D helti	heltion
A helti	helti

### 2.3 Weak Noun Declension

These nouns are from the same Indo-European source as, for example, a Latin word like *homo* : *homines*, where an *n*-formant appears other than in the nominative singular. Saxon *gumo* is directly cognate with Latin *homo*.

#### 2.3.1 Masculine

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N gumo, -a 'man'	gumon, -un, -an
G gumen, -an, -on	gumono
D gumen, -an, -on	gumon, -un
A gumon, -an	gumon, -un, -an

#### 2.3.2 Neuter

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N herta, -e 'heart'	hertun, -on
G herten, -an, -on	hertono
D herten, -an, -on	hertun, -on
A herta, -e	hertun, -on

#### 2.3.3 Feminine

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N tunga, -e 'tongue'	tungun, -on, -an
G tungun, -on, -an	tungono
D tungun, -on, -an	tungun, -on, -an
A tungun, -on, -an	tungun, -on, -an

## 2.4 Pronouns

## 2.4.1 Personal Pronouns

The pronouns show expected reflexes of north seacoast dialects including the indeterminacy of dative vs. accusative. Forms like accusative *mik* are features from Old High German. A dual category was retained from Indo-European.

## a) First Person

<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
N ik 'I'	uuit 'we two'	uui, uue 'we'
G mîn	unkero, -aro	ûser
D mî, me	unk	ûs
A mî, me, mik	unk	ûs

## b) Second Person

<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
N thû, tu 'thou'	git 'you two'	gî, gi, ge 'you'
G thîn	inkero, inka	iuuuar(o), -er(o)
D thî, thi	ink	eu, iu, giu
A thî, thi, thik	ink	gî, gi, ge

## c) Third Person

<b>masculine</b>		<b>feminine</b>	
<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N hê, hie 'he'	sia, sea, sie	siu 'she'	sia, sea, sie
G is, es	iro, ira, era	iru, ira	iro, -a, -u, era
D imo, imu, im	im	iru, iro, ira	im
A ina, ine	sia, sea, sie	sia, sie, sea	sia, sea, sie

<b>neuter</b>	
<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N it, et, 'it'	siu, sia, sea, sie
G is, es	iro, ira, era
D imo, imu, im	im
A it, et	siu, sia, sea, sie

## 2.4.2 Reflexive Pronouns

The G/D/A forms of the Personal Pronouns are also used as reflexive pronouns, cf. *fâhit im* 'make for themselves', *ne uuissa, huarod siu sia wendian skolda* '(she) didn't know, where she should turn her(self) to'. See also Holthausen § 334 and below at 2.5.1 e.

## 2.4.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
<b>masculine</b>		<b>masculine = feminine</b>
N the, thie, se 'that'	thiu, thea, thia	thea, thia, thie, the, thâ
G thes	thera, -o, -u	thero, -a
D themu, them	theru, -o, -a	them, then
A thena, there, thana	thea, thie, thiu	thea, thia, thie, the
I thiu		

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
<b>neuter</b>		
N that	thiu (or = masculine/feminine)	
G thes, thas	thero, -a	
D themu, -o, them	them, then	
A that	thiu (or = masculine/feminine)	
I thiu		

## 2.4.4 Compound Demonstrative Pronouns

These are historically the compounding of the demonstrative pronouns with a Germanic deictic element \*se. Compare the Old Norse demonstrative *sá*, the German compound *dieser*, etc.

	<b>masculine</b>		<b>feminine</b>	
	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N these 'this'	these, -a	thesaru, -o, -oro	thius	thesa, -e
G theses, -as	thesaro, -oro	thesaru, -o, -oro	thesara, -o, -oro	thesaro, -oro
D thesumu, -amo,	thesum -un, -um, on	thesaru, -o, -oro	thesaru, -o, -oro	thesum, -un
A thesan, -en, -on	these, -a	thesa, -e	thesa, -e	thesa, -e
I thius				

<b>neuter</b>	
<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N thit	thius
G theses, -as	thesaro, -oro
D thesumu, -amo, -um -un	thesum, -on
A thit	thius
I thius	



## 2.4.5 Interrogative Pronouns

masculine/feminine	neuter
N huuê, huue	huuat
G huues	huues
D huuemu, huuem	huuemu, huuem
A huuena, huueene	huuat
I -----	huuî, huuiu, huueo, hû, huuô

2.4.6 **huueðar** and **huuilik**

**huueðar** 'which of two' stands as a pronoun or with a following genitive and is inflected as a strong adjective.

**huuilik** 'which' stands as a pronoun or a strong adjective and may have **sô/sulik** 'so/such' as a correlative.

## 2.4.7 Indefinite Pronouns

**ên** 'a, one'; **ênhuuilik** 'a certain (one)'; **ênig** 'any'; **gihuuê** 'each'; **gihuuilik** 'every'; **dago gihuuilikes** 'every day'; **huuat** 'anything, something'; **manages huuat** 'many kinds of'; **iouuiht** 'something'; **man** 'someone'; **neuuethar** 'neither'; **nigên** 'no, none'; **nioman** 'no one'; **niouuiht** 'nothing'; **ôðar ... ôðar** 'the one ... the other'; **sô huuê sô** 'each who'; **sô huueðar sô** 'whosoever'; **sum** 'a certain one; some'; **sô huuilik sô** 'whosoever'; **sum ... sum** 'the one ... the other'; **uuuiht** 'something'.

## 2.5 Adjective Declensions

## 2.5.1 Strong Declension

These forms historically stood semantically for what might be termed 'open categories.' That is, there were no limiting contexts as, for example, after 'the' or 'our'. Cf. 2.5.2 and 7.1.2.

a) *a-* and *ô-*stems

masculine		feminine	
<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
N hêlag 'holy'	hêlaga, -e	hêlag	hêlaga, -e
G hêlages, -as	hêlagaro, -ero	hêlagaro, -era	hêlagaro, -ero
D hêlagum, -om, -omu, -emo	hêlagum, -un, -om, -on	hêlagaru, -eru	hêlagum, -un -omu, -emo
A hêlagna, -an	hêlaga, -e	hêlaga, -e	hêlaga, -e
I hêlagu, -o	-----		

		neuter
<i>singular</i>		<i>plural</i>
N hêlag		hêlag, hêlage
G hêlages, -as		hêlagaro, -ero
D hêlagu, -umu, -un, -um		hêlagum, -un, -om, -on
A hêlag		hêlag, hêlage
I hêlagu, -o		

Monosyllabic words in the above class have **-an** or **-on** in the masculine singular accusative; in manuscript M of the *Heliand* the endings are commonly **-ana**, **-ane**, **-ene**.

b) *ja-* and *jô-*stems

These are inflected as in 2.5.1 a, except in the nominative singular masculine and feminine and in the nominative singular and plural neuter, where they end in **-i**. The **-i** is often reduced to **-e**, particularly before a following **a** or **o**. Examples of this class are **skôni** 'beautiful'; **rîpi** 'ripe'; **nutti** 'useful'; **lâri** 'empty'; **hrêni** 'pure'; **derni** 'hidden'. The adjectives **spâhi** 'wise' and **skîr** 'pure, clean' often decline as *ja*-stems.

c) *wa-* and *wô-*stems

These too are inflected as 2.5.1 a, except where the **-e** or **-u** ending is followed by **w**, e.g. **garo** 'ready' G **garouues**; **glau** 'wise' N pl **glauuue**; or **blâo** 'blue' G **blâuues**.

d) *u-*stems

Very few historical *u*-stems still remained in Old Saxon. The form **filu**, **-o** 'many, much' was retained in the nominative and accusative singular, but **hard** 'hard', **quik** 'alive' are inflected as *a*-stems, **glau** 'wise' as a *wa*-stem, and **engi** 'narrow' as a *ja*-stem.

## e) Possessive adjectives:

These inflect as in 2.5.1 a. They are **mîn** 'my, mine', **thîn** 'thy, thine', **sîn** 'his', **unka** 'both of our(s)', **inka** 'both of your(s)', **ûsa** 'our(s)', **euuua**, **iuuua** 'your(s)'.

## 2.5.2 Weak Declension

These belong after limiters such as 'the', etc. Their forms are identical with the respective weak nouns, cf. 2.3.

		<i>singular</i>	
masculine	feminine		neuter
N hêlago, -a 'holy'	hêlaga, -e		hêlaga, -e
G hêlagen, -an -on	hêlagun		hêlagen, -an, -on
D hêlagen, -an, -on	hêlagun, -on, -an		hêlagen, -an, -on
A hêlagon, -an	hêlagun, -on, -an		hêlaga, -e

<i>plural</i>	
(all genders)	
N	hêlagun, -on, -an
G	hêlagono
D	hêlagum, un, on
A	hêlagun, on, -an

*ja-* and *wa-* stems are inflected in the same manner.

### 2.5.3 Comparison of Adjectives

- 2.5.3.1 Form: The *comparative* form of the adjective is constructed by the addition of endings **-or-**, **-ir-**, **-ar-**, **-er-**, e.g., positive **uuîd** 'far'; comparative **uuîdora** 'farther'. The *superlative* is formed by the addition of **-ost-** or **-ist-**, thus **uuîdost** 'farthest'.
- 2.5.3.2 Inflection: Any of these derived forms may be inflected. The **comparative** is inflected according to the weak adjective declension only (cf. 2.5.2). The **superlative** can show strong adjective declension in the nominative singular of all genders and in the accusative singular of the neuter. Otherwise the superlative shows weak inflection.
- 2.5.3.3 Suppletive Forms: In the following forms the positive derives from a different stem than that of the comparative and superlative:

**gut** 'good' : **betera**, **-ara** 'better' : **best** 'best'  
**ubil** 'bad' : **uuirsa** 'worse' : **uuirsist**, **uuirrist** 'worst'  
**mikil** 'big' : **mêra** 'more' : **mêst** 'most'  
**luttil** 'little' : **minnera**, **-ara** 'smaller', **minnist** 'smallest'

Note: The comparative forms take weak adjective endings as per section 2.5.2.

### 2.6 Adverbs

Adverbs are frequently formed from adjectives by adding the suffixes **-o**, **-ungo**, **-liko** or **-samo** to the stem, e.g. **derno** 'secretly'; **darnungo** 'secretly'; **gâhliko** 'quickly'; **friðusamo** 'peacefully'. Otherwise certain forms are adverbs by definition, e.g. **thô** 'then', **êr** 'previously', **atsamna** 'together', **bihuuî** 'why', **rûmor** 'farther away,' etc.

### 2.7 Numerals

#### 2.7.1 Cardinal Numbers

a) The number 'one': The number 'one' (**ên**) is usually inflected as a strong adjective corresponding to the English 'a, an', but if it is preceded by an article, it is inflected weak and then has the meaning 'the one', 'alone', 'the only'.

b) The number 'two':

	<b>masculine</b>	<b>feminine</b>	<b>neuter</b>
N	tuuêne, tuuêna	tuuô, tuuâ	tuuê
G	tuuêio	tuuêio	tuuêio
D	tuuêm, tuuên	tuuêm, tuuên	tuuêm, tuuên
A	tuuêne, tuuêna	tuuô, tuuâ	tuuê

c) The number 'three':

	<b>masculine</b>	<b>feminine</b>	<b>neuter</b>
N	thria, threa, thrie	thria, threa, thrie	thriu, thrû
G	*thrio	*thrio	*thrio
D	thrim	thrim	thrim
A	thria, threa, thrie	thria, threa, thrie	thriu, thrû

d) Higher Numbers: The numbers from 4 to 12 are: '4' **fiuuar**, **fior**, **fiar**; '5' **fiif**; '6' **sehs**; '7' **sibun**; '8' **ahto**; '9' **nigun**; '10' **tehan**, **tian**, **tein**; '11' **eleban**; '12' **tuuelif**, **tuulif**. These may take the strong inflection when used as adjectives or pronominally – all genders with the endings: N **-i**, G **-io**, D **-iun**, A **-i**. The numbers 13 to 19 add **-tein** to the simple number, for example **fiiftein** '15'.

The denominations of ten from 20 to 60 add **-tig** to the simple number, as in **fiiftig** '50'. These are old nouns and are followed by the genitive plural.

The numbers of ten from 70 through 99 are often formed by the prefix **ant-** or **at-** on a special form of the simple number, as in '70' **antsibunta** or '80' **ahtoda** or **antahto(da)**.

The number 100 is **hund**. A compound number may appear as, for example, **fior endi antahtoda** 'four and eighty'.

#### 2.7.2 Ordinal Numbers

<b>êrist</b> , <b>furist</b> , <b>formo</b> 'first'	<b>sehsto</b> 'sixth'
<b>ôðar</b> , <b>andar</b> 'second'	<b>sibendo</b> 'seventh'
<b>thridde</b> 'third'	<b>ahtodo</b> 'eighth'
<b>fiorðe</b> 'fourth'	<b>niguða</b> 'ninth'
<b>fiifto</b> 'fifth'	<b>tehando</b> 'tenth'
	<b>ellifto</b> 'eleventh' (no others are attested)

#### 2.7.3 Other Forms of Numbers

**ênfald** '(onefold), simple', **tuuêdi** 'half', **thrio** 'three times', **ôtherhalf** 'one and one half'; multiple 'times' may be written with **sîð** 'time', as in **ôðaru sîðu** [1 sg] 'another time, twice'.

## 2.8 Verbal Morphology

## 2.8.1 Strong Verbs

These verbs that distinguish tense and participle forms through vowel change are termed 'strong.' Their forms are conventionally arrayed as shown below. Alternations of *s - r*, *ô - d*, *h - g*, and the like are reflexes of Verner's Law.<sup>21</sup>

infinitive	past singular	past plural	past participle
------------	---------------	-------------	-----------------

a. Class I: This class is characterized by the alternations *i - ê - i - i*.

skînan 'shine'	skên	skinun	giskinan
skrîban 'write'	skrêf	skribun	giskriban
giuuîtan 'go'	giuuêt	giuuitun	giuuitan
snîðan 'cut'	snêð	snidun	gisnidan
farlîhan 'give'	-----	-----	farliuuan

b. Class II: This class is characterized by the alternations *io - ô - u - o*.

biodan 'bid'	bôd	budun	gibodan
fliotan 'flow'	flôt	flutun	giflotan
griotan 'weep'	grôt	grutun	gigrotan
kiosan 'choose'	kôs	kurun	gikoran
tiohan 'draw'	tôh	tugun	gitogan
NB: bûgan 'bend'	bôg	bugun	gibogan

c. Class III:

Changes in Germanic broke this class into two parts, depending on whether a nasal + consonant or a non-nasal resonant + consonant followed the stem vowel. Metathesis of *r* with the stem vowel also disrupted the basic pattern. Vocalic alternations are (a) *i - a - u - u* before a nasal consonant + following consonant and (b) *e - a - u - o* before a non-nasal resonant + following consonant.

(1)

bindan 'bind'	band	bundun	gibundan
drinkan 'drink'	drank	drunkun	gidrunkan

<sup>21</sup>Verner's Law concerns the alternation of voicing between unvoiced spirants /f, þ, s, X/ and their voiced counterparts /b, ð, z, γ/, where the former set derives from Indo-European /p, t, x, k/ word-initially or when syllabic accent precedes, while the latter set appears in Germanic when the syllabic accent follows. (Compare, for example, the English words 'exercise' and 'exert' to illustrate the appearance of /ks/ when accent precedes vs. /gz/ when it follows.)

(2)

uuerpan 'throw'	uuarþ	uuurpan	giuuoopan
uuerðan 'become'	uuarð	uuurðun	giuuoordan
NB: brestan 'burst'	brast	-----	-----
fregnan 'find out'	fragn	fragnun	-----

d. Class IV:

This class resembles Class III, but no further consonant occurs after the resonant consonant /l, m, n, r/. Another distinction is that the past plural vocalism differs from Class III (in that it shows the reflex of the lengthened Germanic ablaut grade \*ē). Verbs with /m/ following the vowel show deviation, as in *niman*, which also evinces *neman*, but note the vowel of the past participle. The verb \**kweman* has undergone changes in the infinitive/present and participle, and its perfective semantics preclude redundant marking for perfective with the prefix *gi-* in the past participle. Verbs like *brekan* and *sprekan* belong here only on the basis of their vocalic alternation *e - a - â - o*.

beran 'bear, carry'	bar	bârun	giboran
stelan 'steal'	stal	stâlun	gistolan
niman 'take'	nam	nâmun	ginuman
kuman 'come'	quam	quâmun	kuman
brekan 'break'	brak	brâkun	gibrokan
sprekan 'speak'	sprak	sprâkun	gisprokan

e. Class V:

This class resembles Class IV except for the vowel of the past participle. The consonant following the stem vowel is not resonant. Alternations are *e - a - â - e*. Some verbs in this class show the reflex of an Indo-European *j*-present marker which raised the stem vowel of the infinitive/present tense from \**e* to *i* and geminated the consonant after that vowel.

geban 'give'	gaf	gâbun	gigeban
sehan 'see'	sah	sâuuun	gisehan
uuesan 'be'	uuas	uuârun	-----
queðan 'say'	quað	quâdun	giquedan
<i>jan</i> -presents			
liggian 'lie'	lag	lâgun	gilegan
sittian 'sit'	sat	sâtun	gisetan
biddian 'ask for'	bad	bâdun	gibedan

f. Class VI:

This class is based on a different alternation set: *a - ô - ô - a*. Indo-European *j*-present is represented in one verb, and there is one verb with an Indo-European *n*-present marker (as in English). The alternations in *slahan* derive from the effects of Verner's Law (cf. footnote

21).			
farān 'journey'	fōr	fōrun	gifaran
slahan 'strike'	slōg	slōgun	gislagan
<i>jan</i> -present			
hebbian 'raise'	hōf	hōbun	gihāban
<i>n</i> -present			
standan/stān 'stand'	stōd	stōdun	gistandan

## g. Class VII:

Germanic had a class of reduplicating verbs that marked tenses beyond present by means of a repeated syllable. Compare Old Saxon *hêt* below with Gothic *haihait* (infinitive: *haitan*). These verbs contracted before the later period of attestation of the other Germanic languages, although Old Norse and Old English show some traces of reduplication.<sup>22</sup>

(1)			
haldan 'hold'	held	heldun	gihaldan
gangan 'go'	geng	gengun	gigangan
fāhan 'catch'	feng	fengun	gifangan
(2)			
lātan 'let'	lêt	lêtun	gilātan
slāpan 'sleep'	slêp	slêpun	gislāpan
(3)			
hêtan 'be called; command'	hêt	hêtun	gihêtan
(4)			
hrôpan 'cry out'	hriop	hriopun	gihrôpan
hlôpan 'run'	hliop	hliopun	gihlôpan
hauuan 'hew'	heu	heuuun	gihauuan
<i>jan</i> -present			
uuôpian 'weep'	uuiop	uuiopun	giuuôpan

## 2.8.2 Weak Verbs:

These verbs are all marked with a dental consonant, /d/ or /t/, to indicate the past tense and past participle forms.

- a. Class I: To this class belong certain verbs with a Germanic *\*jan*-suffix (-ian/eān in Old Saxon). The /j/ caused gemination (doubling) of the preceding consonant except for *\*t/* and *\*ð/*. Under gemination *\*b/* developed into /bb/. Umlaut of an *\*a/* in the stem of the verb is normal. From the *\*j/* in the *\*jan*-suffix /i/ is normally retained as a

<sup>22</sup>Reduplication is an Indo-European device to mark tense. Note, for example, the Latin present and past alternations *canō* : *cecimī* 'sing', *tundō* : *tutuī* 'beat', or Sanskrit *tud-* : *tutōda* 'beat', etc., even though these examples of reduplication may not be reconstructable as reduplicated forms for Indo-European just as the Germanic forms are innovations based on the principle of reduplication.

connecting vowel in the past tense and participle forms wherever the stem syllable was originally short; after a long stem the /i/ disappeared before it could cause umlaut of the stem vowel *\*a/*.

infinitive	past tense (3 <sup>rd</sup> per sg ind)	past participle
frummian 'accomplish'	frumida	gifrumid
tellian 'tell'	talda	gitald
fullian 'fill'	fullda	gifullid
kûðian 'make known'	kûðda	gikûðd
nerian 'rescue'	nerida	ginerid
kussian 'kiss'	kussta	gikusst

with no original connecting vowel

sôkian 'seek'	sôhta	gisôht
thenkian 'think'	thâhta	-----
thunkian 'seem'	thûhta	-----
brengian 'bring'	brâhta	-brâht
uuirkian 'work'	uuarhta	-uuarht
buggian 'buy'	-----	giboht
bûan 'dwell'	bûida	-----

- b. Class II: Here the adjunct to the stem is /o/.

makon 'make'	makoda	gimakod
bedon 'pray'	bedoda	gibedod
tholon 'suffer'	tholoda	githolod

- c. Class III: Four verbs may be listed for this group, the infinitive forms of which place them in Class I but whose past forms indicate late loss of a connecting vowel /e/ from *\*e:/*

infinitive	past tense (3 <sup>rd</sup> per sg ind)	past participle
hebbian 'have'	habda	gihabd
seggian 'say'	sagda	gisagd
libbian 'live'	libda	gilibd
huggian 'think'	hogda	gihogd

## 2.8.3 Preterite-Present Verbs:

Preterite-presents resemble in their present tense forms the past tenses of strong verbs (cf. 2.8.1 a-f). They are present in all Germanic daughter languages, but no one language has all of them. Their present tense forms and use derive from Indo-European. Subjunctive endings are as per 2.9.2.

- a. **uuitan** 'know': 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> pr sg **uuêt**; 2<sup>nd</sup> p sg **uuêst**; 3<sup>rd</sup> pr pl **uuitun**; 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> p sg **uuissa**; 3<sup>rd</sup> p pl **uuissun**.  
**êgan** 'own, have': 3<sup>rd</sup> pr pl **êgun**; 3<sup>rd</sup> p sg **êhta**; 3<sup>rd</sup> p pl **êhtun**.<sup>23</sup>
- b. **\*dugan** 'be good for': 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> pr sg **dôg**; 3<sup>rd</sup> pr pl **dugun**; p sg **\*dohta**.
- c. **\*unnan** 'grant': 3<sup>rd</sup> p sg **afonsta** 'begrudged'.  
**\*durran** 'dare': 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> pr sg **gidar**; 3<sup>rd</sup> pr pl **durrun**; 3<sup>rd</sup> p sg **gidorsta**.  
**thurban** 'need': 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> pr sg **tharf**; 2<sup>nd</sup> pr sg **tharft**; 3<sup>rd</sup> pr pl **thurbun**; 3<sup>rd</sup> p sg **thorfta**.  
**kunnan** 'be able to; know': 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> pr sg **kan**; 2<sup>nd</sup> pr sg **kanst**; 3<sup>rd</sup> pr pl **kunnun**; 3<sup>rd</sup> p sg **konsta**. NB: The historical p participle **kûð** is used only as an adjective.
- d. **\*skulan** 'ought to': 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> pr sg **skal**; 2<sup>nd</sup> pr sg **skalt**; 3<sup>rd</sup> pr pl **skulun**; 3<sup>rd</sup> p sg **skolda**.  
**\*munan** 'believe': 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> pr sg **farman**; 2<sup>nd</sup> pr sg **farmanst**; 3<sup>rd</sup> pr pl **munun**; 3<sup>rd</sup> p sg **farmonsta**, **farmunsta**.
- e. **\*mugan** 'be able to': 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> pr sg **mag**; 2<sup>nd</sup> pr sg **maht**; 3<sup>rd</sup> pr pl **mugun**; 3<sup>rd</sup> p sg **mahta**, **mohta**.
- f. **môtan** 'be permitted to'; 'be able to'; 'have to': 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> pr sg **môt**; 3<sup>rd</sup> pr pl **môtun**; 3<sup>rd</sup> p sg **môsta**; 3<sup>rd</sup> pl subj **môstin**.

## 2.9 Verb Conjugations

## 2.9.1 Strong Verbs

*infinitive*: kiosan 'choose' - uuerðan 'become'

## present

	indicative		subjunctive
Sg 1	kiosu, -o	uuirðu, -o	kiose, -a
2	kiosis	uuirðis	kioses, -as
3	kiosid, -t	uuirðid, -t	kiose, -a
Pl	kiosad, -t	uuerðad, -t	kiosen, -an

*imperative*: 2<sup>nd</sup> sg kios, kius; pl kiosad.

*present participle*: kiosandi; uuerðandi.

*gerund*: kiosanne, kiosannes; uuerðanne, uuerðannes

<sup>23</sup>It is not clear under which entry **êgan** belonged in this scheme.

## past

	indicative		subjunctive
Sg 1	kôs	uuarð	kuri
2	kuri	uurði	kuris
3	kôs	uuarð	kuri
Pl	kurun, -on	uurdun, -on	kurin

*past participle*: gikoran, uuordan.

## 2.9.2 Weak Verbs

*infinitive*: sôkian -ien, -ean 'seek'; tholo(ia)n -ogean, tholian 'suffer, endure'

## present

	indicative		subjunctive
Sg 1	sôkiu	tholon	sôkea
2	sôkis	tholos	sôkeas
3	sôkid, -t	tholod, -t	sôkea
Pl	sôkiad, -ead, -t	tholod, -oiad, -t	sôkean -ian, -ien

*imperative*: 2<sup>nd</sup> sg sôki, tholo; pl sokiad, tholod.

*present participle*: sôkiandi, -iendi, -eandi; tholo(gea)ndi, tholiandi

*gerund*: sôkianne, sôkiannes; tholo(ia)nne, tholo(ia)nnes

## past

	indicative		subjunctive
Sg 1	sôhta, -e	tholoda, -e	sôhti
2	sôhtos, -as, -es, -os	tholodes, -as	sôhtis
3	sôhta, -e	tholoda, -e	sôhti
Pl	sôhtun	tholodun	sôhtin

*past participle*: gisôkid (inflected as adjective: gisôht-); githolod.

*infinitive*: hebbian 'hold, have'; seggian 'say'

## present

	indicative		subjunctive
Sg 1	hebbiu; habbiu	seggiu, -o	hebbie, -ia; habbie
2	habes, -as	sagis	hebbias
3	habed, -ad	sagad	hebbie, -ea
Pl	hebbiad; habbiad	seggiad	hebbean

*imperative*: 2<sup>nd</sup> sg habe, saga; pl hebbiad, seggiad

*present participle*: hebbiandi, seggiandi.

*gerund*: hebbianne, hebbiannes; (gi)seggianne, \*seggiannes.

	<b>past</b>		
	<i>indicative</i>		<i>subjunctive</i>
Sg 1	habda, habda	sagda	-----
2	habdes	sagdās	-----
3	habda	sagda	habdi sagdi
Pl	habdun	sagdun	habdin sagdin

*past participle*: gihabd, gisagd.

### 2.9.3 Irregular Verbs

#### a) **uuesan** 'be', **dôn** 'do'

*imperative*: 2nd sg uuis, dô; pl uuesad, dôt, duad

*present participle*: uuesandi; -----

*gerund*: uuesanne, uuesannes; duonne, duonnes

	<b>present</b>		<i>subjunctive</i>	
	<i>indicative</i>			
Sg 1	bium, -n	dôm, -n, duom, -n	sî	dôe, dûa, dûe
2	bist	dôs, duos	sîs	duoas
3	is, ist	dôd, duod, duot	sî	dôe, dûa, dûe
Pl	sind(un) sindon, sint	dôt, duod, duat	sîn	dôan, dûon dûan, duoian

#### **past**

Sg 1	uuas	deda, -e	uuâri	dâdi, dêdi
2	uuâri	dâdi	uuâris	dâdis, dêdis
3	uuas	deda, -e	uuâri	dâdi, dêdi
Pl	uuârun	dâdun, dêdun	uuârin	dâdin, dêdin.

*past participle*: ----; -duan.

#### b) **uullian** 'to will'

#### **present**

	<i>indicative</i>	<i>subjunctive</i>
Sg 1	uulliu	uullie
2	uullis, uuilt, uuli	uullies, -eas
3	uuli	uullie, -ea, uuelle
Pl	uulleat, -iad, -ead	uullean

*infinitive*: uullien, uullian

*present participle*: uulliandi.

*gerund*: -----

#### **past**

Sg 1	uueda, -e; uualda; uuolda	uuedi; uuoldi
2	uueldeas, -es	-----
3	uueda, -e; uualda; uuolda	uuedi; uuoldi
Pl	uuedun; uuoldun	uuedin.

*past participle*: ----

### 3. Stress Assignment

Old Saxon maintains late Germanic fixed accent (primary dynamic stress) on the first syllable of the nominal, adjectival, or verbal stem. Prefixes such as <a->, <af->, <an(d)->, <be->, <ge->, and <te-> constitute the first element of nouns and carry primary stress but stand before the main stress in adjectives, adverbs, and verbs. Subsequent syllables may have secondary stress. Compound words show primary stress on first constituents and reduction to secondary on second constituents.<sup>24</sup>

Some examples are:

- 3.1 Simplex words have stress on the first syllable: /'hirdi/ 'Hirt; shepherd', /'tungal/ 'constellation', /'niuwian/ 'erneuen; renew', /'bittar/ 'bitter', etc.
- 3.2 Compound words have primary stress on the first element and secondary on the following or final element: /'nahti`gala/ 'Nachtigall; nightengale', /'aðal`boran/ 'von edler Geburt; of noble birth', /'ur`dêli/ 'Urteil; judgment', /'bihêt`word/ 'vow', /'magað`hêd/ 'maidenhood', /'hêlag`ferah/ 'of holy demeanor', /'alligi`liko/ 'exactly equal', etc.
- 3.3 Prefixes are either:
  - a) inside the scope of stress assignment in nouns, i.e. certain prefixes plus stem act as compounds. As the first morpheme in the total word, the prefix takes the stress, much in the same way as did the first element of compound words, cf. /'af`grund/ 'Abgrund; abyss', /'an`ginni/ 'beginning', /'bi`gihto/ 'Beichte; confession', /'bi`graft/ 'Begrâbnis; burial', etc. This condition can be viewed schematically as [bi + graft]<sub>N</sub>, etc., where the prefix is inside the nominal compound.
  - b) outside the scope of stress assignment in nouns. The prefix /gi-/ was invariably unstressed. Note collective nouns of the kind /gi`benkio/ 'Bankgenosse; benchmate' (cf. /bank/ 'Bank; bench') or /gi`gengi/ 'sequence' (cf. /gang/ 'course'). Also abstract nouns

<sup>24</sup>In what follows, German glosses will be included when cognates are present.



of the type /bi'gengitha/ 'sect', /bi'thurft/ 'Bedürfnis; necessity', /bi'thuuunga'nussi/ 'Strenge; stringency', etc. have stress on the stem of the word. This condition can schematically be viewed as bi + [t'hurfti]<sub>N</sub>, gi + [gengi]<sub>N</sub>, etc., where the prefix is outside of the nominal stem. The distinction between stress assignment on, for example, /bigraft/ vs. /bithurft/ is further described with examples from Old High German in Cathey (1984).

- 3.4 Prefixes are outside the scope of stress assignment in adjectives, adverbs, and verbs:
- adjectives: /bi'lang/ 'related', /bi'tengi/ 'allied', /gi'wirðig/ 'wertvoll; worthy, valuable', /thurh'fremid/ 'completely done', etc.
  - adverbs: /gi'dago/ 'daily', /gi'liko/ 'in like manner', /gi'nôdo/ 'urgently', /gi'siht'liko/ 'visibly', /un'efno/ 'unevenly', /ungi'liko/ 'unsimilarly' (with two unaccented prefixes), etc.
  - verbs: /a'belgan/ 'be angry', /be'driogan/ 'betrügen; deceive', /far'liosan/ 'verlieren; lose', /gi'beran/ 'gebären; bear', /te'fallan/ 'zerfallen; disintegrate', /thurh'gangan/ 'go through', /uuiðar'standan/ 'widerstehen; resist', etc.
- 3.5 Derivational suffixes and the second elements of compound nouns are secondarily stressed: /a'bolgan'hêd/ 'anger', /gi'fagir'iða/ 'Schmuck; adornment', /uundar'liko/ 'wondrously', /'erð'bað/ 'warm bath', /'afgodo'hûs/ 'temple of an idol', /'Haxtsuuiðe'hûsun/ 'Haxthausen', /'kel'giriði/ 'glottony', /'eðiligi'burd/ 'of noble birth', /'af'brekan/ 'abbrechen; interrupt', /'ahto'tehan/ '18', /'ana'stôtan/ 'anstoßen; push on', etc.

#### 4. Derivation

It is unsure how productive individual derivational processes were synchronically. We can, however observe clear results of processes of derivation between form classes within the language regardless of diachronic or synchronic status. Some are briefly outlined with examples in the following:

##### 4.1 Formation of nouns:

- The bracketing construction /gi- + stem + -i/ formed neuter collective nouns from other nouns, e.g., *berg* 'Berg; mountain' and *gibirgi* 'Gebirge; mountain chain'; *feld* 'Feld; field' and *gifildi* 'Gefilde; plain'; *skôh* 'Schuh; shoe' and *giskuohi* 'footwear'; *sîð* 'path, trip' with its derivation *gisîð* 'travel companion' and collective noun *gisîði* 'crowd' (on the road or journey); *uuâd(i)* 'garment' and *giuuâdi* 'clothing'; *uuâpan* 'weapon' and *giuuâpni* 'weaponry'; *uwerk* 'Werk; work, deed' and *giuuirki* 'work', etc.
- The suffix /-hêd/ formed feminine abstract nominals from adjectives or other nouns, e.g., the adjective *abolgan* 'angered' is nominalized as *abolganhêd* 'anger'; *lêf* 'weak' as *lêfhêd* 'illness'; *juguð* 'Jugend; youth' as *juguðhêd* 'youth'; *magað* 'maiden' as *magaðhêd* 'maidenhood'; *spâh(i)* 'wise, experienced' and *spâhhêd* 'wisdomt', etc.
- The suffix /-i/ formed feminine abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g., the adjective *blôð* 'fearful' as the feminine abstract noun *blôði* 'fearfulness'; *dôpi* 'Taufe; baptism' an

abstract noun based on the same stem as in the causative verb *dôpian* 'baptize' (cf. 'dip') and also more concretely *diop* 'deep' : *diupi* 'depth'; *gram* 'hostile' : *gremi* 'anger'; *fehogiri* 'greed' based on a word for property *fehu* plus the stem present in the verb *geron* 'begehren; covet'; *finistar* 'finster; dark' and *finistri* 'darkness'; *gôd* 'Gutes; something good' and *gôdi* 'Güte; goodness'; *hêl* 'hale' and *hêli* 'haleness', *hold* (< \*hulda-) 'well disposed toward' and *huldi* 'Huld; favor'; *kindisk* 'childish' and *kindiski* 'childhood'; *mennisk* 'menschlich; human' and *menniski* 'humanity'; *strang* 'strong' and *strengi* 'strength', etc.;

- The suffix /-iða/ formed feminine-gender nouns, e.g. *brêbian* 'write up' and *brêbiða* 'register'; *drugi* 'Trug; deceit' and *drugida* 'deception'; *efni* 'even' and *emniða* 'plain'; *engi* 'eng; narrow' and *engida* 'narrowness'; *fagar* 'fair' and *gifagiriða* 'adornment'; *fôgian* 'zusammenfügen; fit together' and *gifôgiða* 'Gefüge; structure'; *hêr* 'hehr, hoar' and *hêriða* 'dignity'; *mâri* 'renowned' and *mâriða* 'wonder'; *spâh(i)* 'wise, experienced' and *spâhiða* 'wisdom', etc. (Cf. English formations with this nominalizer, e.g. 'strong' and 'strength'.)
- The suffix /-iði/ formed neuter-gender collectives, e.g. *ask* 'ash (tree)' and the place name *Askiði* 'Eschede' (ash grove); *birkiði* 'birch grove'; *êk* 'oak' and *êkiði* 'oak grove'; *elis* 'alder' and *ereliði* 'alder thicket' with rhotacism and metathesis (cf. OHG *elira*); *farn* 'fern' and *ferniði* 'fern thicket'; *hasal* 'hazel' : *hesliði* 'hazel bush', etc.
- The suffix /-ilo/ formed diminutives, e.g., *armilo* 'arm ring, sleeve', etc.
- The suffix /-inga/ formed feminine abstract from concrete nouns, e.g. *dêl* 'Teil; part' and *dêlinga* 'Teilung; partition', etc.
- The suffix /-io / formed agent nouns from other nouns, e.g. *fard* 'Fahrt; journey' and *ferdio* 'traveler'; *sedal* 'seat' and *ênsidlio* 'Einsiedler; hermit'; *gibergan* 'protect' and *burgio* 'Bürge; guarantor', etc.
- The suffix /-isli/ formed neuter nouns from adjectives, e.g., *hard* 'hard' : *herdisli* 'strength', etc.
- The suffix /-islo/ formed masculine nouns from adjectives, e.g., *hard* 'hard' : *herdislo* 'strength', etc.
- The prefix /obar-/ means 'over' in such examples as *obarât* 'overeating', *obar drank* 'drunkenness', *obarfaro* 'transgressor, trespasser' (cf. *faran* 'go, travel, fare'), *obarhòbdio* 'ruler', *obarlibo* 'survivor, Überlebender', etc.
- The suffix /-nessi(a) ~ -nissi(a) ~ -nussi(a)/ formed neuter or feminine abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g., the adjective *gilic* 'gleich; same' as *gilicnessi* 'likeness', *gôdlik* 'goodly' as *gôdliknissea* 'goodliness', *hêða* 'heath' as *hêðimussia* 'heathenism', etc.
- The suffix /-o/ formed weak masculine agent nouns from verbal stems, e.g. *biodan* 'bieten; bid' and *bodo* 'Bote; messenger'; *ferian* 'ferry' and *fergio* 'Ferge; ferryman'; *geban* 'geben; give' and *bâggebo* 'ring-giver, leader'; *geldan* 'entgelten; pay' and *biorgeldo* 'beer tax payer'; *sakan* 'sue' and *andsako* 'adversary'; *sehan* 'see' and *seho* 'pupil of the eye (seer)'; *skenkian* 'einschenken; pour' and *skenkio* 'Schenke; ale-house'; *uualdan* 'walten; wield' and *alouualdo* 'all-wielder', etc.
- The suffix /-skepi/ is itself derived from the same stem as in the verb *skeppian* 'schaffen, bestimmen; determine' and formed abstract nouns from other nouns, e.g., the concrete noun *ambaht* 'servant' as *ambahtskepi* 'service'; *bed(di)* 'bed' as *bedskepi* 'marriage';

*bodo* ‘Bote; messenger’ and *bodskepi* ‘Botschaft; message’; *brôðar* ‘Bruder; brother’ and *brôðarskepi* ‘Brüderschaft; brotherhood’; *druht* ‘troop’ and *druhtskepi* ‘dominion’; *erl* ‘earl’ and *erlskepi* ‘body of men’; *gisîði* ‘retinue’ and *gisîðskepi* ‘followers’; *mâg* ‘(male) relative’ and *mâgskepi* ‘relationship’; *thegan* ‘thane’ and *theganskepi* ‘(military) service’, etc.

#### 4.2 Formation of adjectives

- a. The prefix /bar-/ acts as intensifier, e.g. *barwirðig* ‘very worthy’.
- b. The suffix /-în/ forms an adjective generally denoting a characteristic, e.g., *ask* ‘ash (tree)’: *askîn* ‘eschen; of ash’; *bôm* ‘tree’: *bômin* ‘wooden’; *ebîna* ‘oats’: *ebenîn* ‘of oats’; *strîd* ‘strife’: *strîdin* ‘pugnacious’, *mapulder* ‘maple tree’: *mapuldrin* ‘of maple’, etc.
- c. The suffix /-isk/ forms adjectives from nouns, e.g. *kind* ‘Kind; child’: *kindisk* ‘young’; *Franko* ‘Frank’: *frenkisk* ‘frankish’; *frôho* ‘lord’: *frônisk* ‘lordly’; *Galilêa* ‘Galilee’: *galilêisk* ‘galileean’, etc.
- d. The suffix /-lik/ forms adjectives from nouns or other adjectives, e.g., *berht* ‘bright’: *berhtlik* ‘brilliant’; *burg* ‘town, fortification’: *burglik* ‘urban’; *erða* ‘Erde; earth’: *erðlik* ‘earthly’; *êrist* ‘erst; foremost’: *êristlik* ‘original’; *fêkan* ‘craftiness’: *fêkanlik* ‘crafty’; *fenni* ‘fen’: *fenlik* ‘swampy’; *forhta* ‘fear’: *forhtlik* ‘fearsome’; *mâri* ‘renowned’: *mârlîk* ‘marvelous’; *torht* ‘bright’: *torhtlik* ‘brilliant’; *thegan* ‘thane’: *theganlik* ‘manly’, etc.
- e. The suffix /-môd, -môdi/ formed adjectives referring to disposition, e.g. *dol* ‘toll; foolish’ and *dolmôd* ‘of foolish demeanor’; *frâh* ‘froh; glad’ and *frâhmôd* ‘happy’; *gêl* ‘boisterous’ and *gêlmôd* ‘of boisterous demeanor’; *hard* ‘hard, bold’ and *hardmôd* ‘of bold demeanor’; *jâmar* ‘sad’ and *jâmarmôd* ‘of sad demeanor’; *slîði* ‘evil’ and *slîðmôd* ‘of evil demeanor’; *stark* ‘strong’ and *starkmôd* ‘brave’; *uuêk* ‘weak’ and *uuêkmôd* ‘discouraged’, etc.
- f. The prefix /obâr-/ means ‘over’ and appears in such examples as *obarmôdig* ‘proud’ (cf. verbs below).
- g. The suffix /-sam/ is equivalent to English ‘-some’ as in ‘burdensome’, e.g., *arbed* ‘toil’: *arbedsam* ‘toilsome’; *lang* ‘long’: *langsam* ‘long lasting’; *lof* ‘Lob; praise’: *lofsam* ‘praiseworthy’; *uuunnia* ‘joy’: *uuunsam* ‘joyous’, etc.

#### 4.3 Formation of verbs

##### 4.3.1 Verb-forming suffixes:

- a. Causative verbs were derived historically with the stem suffix /-j/ from
  1. the *o*-grade or lengthened *o*-grade (also represented in the vowel of the past singular indicative) of the strong verb stem, e.g., *drank* ‘drank’: *drenkian* ‘drench’; *dual* ‘linger’: *duellian* ‘hinder’; *flôt* ‘float’: *flôtian* ‘rinse’; *huuarf* ‘revolved’: *huuerbian* ‘turn’; *ginas* ‘ginas; recovered’ : *nerian* ‘save’; *quað* ‘quoth’: *queddian* ‘greet’; *fôr* ‘fuhr; fared’: *fôrian* ‘führen; lead’, etc.
  2. nominal stems, e.g., *bôg* ‘bow’: *bôgian* ‘bow’; *brust* ‘breach’: *brustian* ‘break open’; *dôm* ‘doom, judgment’: *dômian* ‘deem’; *hals* ‘Hals; throat’: *helsian* ‘embrace’; *ôga* ‘eye’: *ôgian* ‘show’, etc.

3. adjectival stems, e.g., *darn-* (cf. *darnhôt* ‘Tarnhut; camouflaging hat’) : *dernian* ‘tarnen, darn (a hole)’; *fast* ‘fast, fixed’: *festian* ‘fasten’; *hêl* ‘heil; hale’: *hêlian* ‘heal’; *lat* ‘late’: *lettian* ‘let, hinder’; *niuuii* ‘new’: *niuuiian* ‘renew’, etc.
- b. Inchoative verbs derived by an *n*-suffix are represented well in Gothic and English (like *redden*, *brighten*, *awaken*, *sicken*, etc.) but are syncretized with other form types in Old High German, Old Saxon, etc. Some apparent examples from this category are *fastnon* ‘fasten’ (cf. *fast* ‘fast’), *githionon* ‘dienen; serve’ (cf. Gothic *þiwi*, Old Saxon *thiu(ui)* ‘Dienerin; servant maid’), *uuitnon* ‘punish’ (cf. *uuîti* ‘punishment’), *spurnan* ‘spurn, tread on’ (cf. *spurihelti* ‘lameness’), but note the similarity with those below.
- c. Derivation from adjectival or nominal stems by means of /-o:-/ generally with a durative or iterative meaning as in pairs of the kind *aldar* ‘old age’: *aldron* ‘age’, *ard* ‘place’: *ardon* ‘inhabit’, *arm* ‘poor’: *armon* ‘become poor’, *beda* ‘prayer’: *bedon* ‘pray’, *betara* ‘better’: *betaron* ‘improve’, *bliði* ‘blithe, glad’: *bliðon* ‘rejoice’, *endi* ‘end’: *endion* ‘end’, *fisk* ‘fish’: *fiskon* ‘fish’, *hard* ‘hard’: *farhardon* ‘harden’, *quik* ‘quick, alive’: *aquikon* ‘vivify’, *salba* ‘salve’: *salbon* ‘salve’, etc.

##### 4.3.2 Verb Prefixes

Prefixes: The semantics of individual prefixes were not as sharply drawn as apparently was the case in earlier stages of Germanic, although general meanings or categorizations can be sketched.

- a. /a-/ is historically derived from Germanic \*uz- and functioned to indicate the onset of an event, i.e. it originally had an inchoative meaning, or punctuality. Some examples are *abelgan* ‘become angry’ (cf. *belgan* ‘swell (with anger)’), *aquikon* ‘vivify’ (cf. *quik* ‘quick, alive’), *alesan* ‘gather up’ (cf. *lesan* ‘gather’), *asittian* ‘sit up’ (cf. *sittian* ‘sit’), *aslahan* ‘slay’ (cf. *slagan* ‘beat’), etc. Some verbs with this prefix seem to have shifted semantically away from an inchoative or punctual meaning, e.g. *akuman* ‘start with fright’ whose cognate *usqiman* in Gothic meant ‘kill’, etc.
- b. /af-/ conveys the notion ‘from’ or ‘away’, as in English ‘off’, also metaphorically. Examples are *afbrekan* ‘break off’ (cf. *brekan* ‘break’), *afsteppian* ‘step off (onto)’ (cf. *steppian* ‘step’), *afthian* ‘deprive’ (cf. *thian* ‘accuse’), *afthohan* ‘abziehen; remove’ (cf. *thohan* ‘ziehen; pull’), etc.
- c. /an(a)-/ indicated the various meanings also inherent in English ‘on’, including ‘along’, etc. Some examples are *anbiotan* ‘summon’ (cf. *biotan* ‘bieten; bid’), *anbûtan* ‘eat’ (cf. *bûtan* ‘beißen; bite’ and German *Imbiß* ‘snack’), *anagangan* ‘enter into’ (cf. *gangan* ‘go’), *anaklebon* ‘stick onto’ (cf. *klebon* ‘stick’), *anbûan* ‘inhabit’ (cf. *bûan* ‘dwell’), etc.
- d. /and-/ had the meanings ‘off, away from’, and inchoative. Some examples are *antbinden* ‘entbinden; untie’ (cf. *bindan* ‘bind’), *andhlidan* ‘open up’ (cf. *hlidan* ‘close’), *antfôrian* ‘remove’ (cf. *fôrian* ‘führen; lead’), *antheftian* ‘unfetter’ (cf. *heftian* ‘fetter’), *antsakan* ‘deny’ (cf. *sakan* ‘dispute’), *andstâdon* ‘resist’ (cf. *stada* ‘site, place’), *antspringan* ‘run away from’ (cf. *springan* ‘run’), etc.
- e. /bi-/ served both to intensify and to make transitive from intransitive verbs. Examples are *bifindan* ‘confirm’ (cf. *findan* ‘finden; find’), *bigiotan* ‘begießen;



moisten' (cf. *giotan* 'gießen; pour'), *bihlahhian* 'deride' (cf. *hlahhian* 'lachen; laugh'), *bineglian* 'nail' (cf. *neglian* 'nageln; nail'), *bithihan* 'accomplish' (cf. *thihan* 'gedeihen; prosper'), *biuuānian* 'be capable of' (cf. *uuānian* 'hope, expect'), etc.

- f. /far-/ syncretizes three Indo-European functions (cf. Greek *parà*, *pró*, and *peri*) involving the notions 'forward, beyond' (e.g. German *verfahren*, *verschlafen*, *versetzen*), 'negation' (e.g., *verbrechen*), and 'opposite, vis-à-vis' (e.g., *verhalten*), although these distinctions are often difficult to detect at this stage of semantic development. Some examples from Old Saxon are *faruuimnan* 'lead astray' (cf. *uuimnan* 'acquire'), *fardôn* 'do in, ruin' (cf. *dôn* 'do'), *farhuuerbian* 'convert' (cf. *huuerbian* 'turn'), *farslitan* 'use up, wear out' (cf. *slitan* 'wear, tear'), *farhuggian* 'disdain' (cf. *huggian* 'think of'), etc.
- g. /ful-/ brings an action to full completion. Examples are *fulgân* 'fulfill' (cf. *gân* 'go') and *fullēstian* 'help' (cf. *lēstian* 'carry out, do').
- h. /gi-/ was a perfective prefix (still extant in German past participles). Some examples are *giberan* 'gebären; bear' (cf. *beran* 'bear'), *gihalon* 'attain' (cf. *halon* 'fetch'), *giqueðan* 'announce' (cf. *queðan* 'speak'), *gifregnan* 'find out about' (cf. *fregnan* 'ask'), *gigirnan* 'attain' (cf. *girnian* 'covet'), *giuuendian* 'hinder, turn back' (cf. *uuendian* 'turn'), etc.
- i. /obar-/ serves the same semantic function as it does with nouns and adjectives, i.e. 'over', in such examples as *obardreppan* 'übertreffen; exceed', *obarfāhan* 'cover over', *obarhōrian* 'overhear', etc.
- j. /te-/ indicated dissolution or destruction (cf. German *zer-*). Examples are *tebrestan* 'zerbersten; burst apart' (cf. *brestan* 'bersten; burst'), *tefallan* 'zerfallen; fall apart' (cf. *fallan* 'fallen; fall'), *tefaran* 'disperse' (cf. *faran* 'fare, go'), *teuuerpan* 'scatter' (cf. *uuerpan* 'werfen; throw'), etc.
- k. /un-/ indicated negation. Examples are *unfōdi* 'insatiable', *ungilōbig* 'ungläubig; unbelieving', *ungiuuideri* 'Ungewitter; thunderstorm', *unlēstid* 'unfulfilled', *unōði* 'not easy', *unqueðandi* 'unspeaking', etc.

- 4.4 Formation of adverbs: Beyond items already marked in the lexicon as adverbs, such as *forð* 'forth', *lēs* 'less', *wirs* 'worse', *leng* (< \*langir) 'länger; longer', adverbs were derived from adjectives by means of the suffix /-o/ or its expansion /-liko/. Examples are *arbid* 'toil' : *arbidliko* 'toilsome', *bald* 'bold' : *baldliko* 'boldly', *bar* 'bare' : *barliko* 'obvious, clear', *bittar* 'bitter' : *bittro* 'bitterly', *diop* 'deep' : *diopliko* 'deeply', *fagar* 'fair' : *fagaro* 'beautifully', *fast* 'firm' : *fasto* 'firmly', *flit* 'zeal' : *flitliko* 'zealously', *uuundarlík* 'wondrous' : *uuundarlíko* 'wondrously', etc.

## 5. Prepositions

Prepositions govern objects. The case of the object was fixed by the preposition or varied as to the semantics involved.<sup>25</sup>

- 5.1 with dative object: *af* 'from', *êr* 'before' (temporal), *biforan* 'because of', *angegin* 'entgegen; opposite', and *fram* 'ahead of';
- 5.2 with accusative object: *and*, *und* 'until', *āno* 'ohne; without', *farūtar* 'apart from', *thur(u)h* 'through', and *umbi* 'um; about';
- 5.3 with dative or instrumental<sup>26</sup> object: *after* 'after, along', *an* 'in, at', *fan*, *fon* 'from', *mid* 'mit; with', *te*, *ti* 'to', *undar* 'under, during', and *uiið(ar)* 'against'. The instrumental usage of *after*, *an*, *undar* and *uiið(ar)* occurs only in conjunction with *thiu* as *aftar thiu* 'after that', *an thiu* 'thereon', *undar thiu* 'during that' and *uiið(ar) thiu* 'thereagainst'. The nominal object of *mid* often remained marked for instrumental case, e.g., *mid uuīmu* 'with wine', *mid goldu undi godouuebbiu* 'with gold and costly weave'; *mid ubilu* 'with evil', *mid uuāpnu* 'with a weapon', etc.;
- 5.4 with dative or accusative object: *at* 'at, on, to', *inman* 'in', *obar* 'over', and *uppan* 'on'. As in German, stationary location was signaled by dative, while motion into position or non-literal meaning was indicated by the accusative, e.g. *obar them hūse* 'over the house' but *obar thesa uuerold* 'across the world' as in: *Thō uuarð that managun cūð obar these uiidon uuerold* 'Then that became known to many across this wide world' or *Thō he sō hardo gibōd*, *Erodes obar is riki* 'then he ruled so severely, Herold over his realm', *uppan ūses drohtines ahslu* 'on the shoulder of our Lord' with dative of location, but *an thana berg uppan faran* 'go up onto that mountain' with accusative;
- 5.5 with dative, accusative, or instrumental object: *an* 'in, at', *bī* 'by', *far*, *for(a)* 'before, for', *undar* 'under, during', and *wið(ar)* 'against'. As indicated in 5.3, certain prepositions can take instrumental objects but can also behave as 5.4 with differentiation as to location or motion.

## 6. Compounding

Nominal and adjectival compounding was accomplished either by direct adjoining of stems (so-called 'echte Zusammensetzungen') or in combination with a genitive ('unechte Zusammensetzungen'):

- 6.1 Direct adjoining of stems: These compounds are likely to be the oldest and are the most common in Old Saxon. Certain of the genitive compounds can be dated to more recent

<sup>25</sup>These data are taken mainly from Holthausen (1921:183 f.).

<sup>26</sup>The instrumental case marking and usage was in the process of syncretizing with the dative. Clear cases of the instrumental ending *-u* are found in compounds such as *bī + thiu* > *bithiu* 'therefore', *bī + huui* > *bīhuui* 'how', etc. but also as phrases like *aftar thiu* 'after that' and together with *mid* in the sense 'by means of' as in *mid uuāpnu* 'with a weapon'. The instrumental case also occurs many times as such, for example *drōru* 'by blood' in line 5153, but also as an instrumental dative, e.g., *fingaron* 'with (their) fingers' in line 32.

times, as in the case of ecclesiastical terminology (see below at 6.2). Examples of 'echte Zusammensetzungen' are *abendsterro* 'evening star', *uuordspâh* 'word-wise', *treulogo* 'faith breaker', *suhbed* 'sickbed', *meristrôm* 'ocean stream', *himilkuning* 'heaven-king', *liudskado* 'people-scather', *hugiderbi* 'bold in thought', *hôhhurnid* 'high-cornered, high-horned', *ahaspring* 'water spring', *gastseli* 'guest hall', *hanokrâd* 'Hahnengeschrei; rooster's crowing', *êosago* 'law-speaker', etc.

- 6.2 Genitive compounds of the type: *jâresdag* 'Jahrestag; anniversary', *dômesdag* 'doomsday', etc. are astoundingly rare in Old Saxon, certainly as compared with modern German.
- 6.3 Consituents of compounding:
- Noun + noun: *hanokrâd* 'Hahnengeschrei; rooster's crowing', *jâresdag* 'Jahrestag; anniversary', etc. as above.
  - Noun + adjective: *bôkspâhi* 'book-wise', *elleanrôf* 'famed for strength', *êrthungan* 'rich in honors', *hebanriki* 'commanding heaven', *herugrim* 'sword-grim', *liflos* 'lifeless', *sêoliôandi* 'sea traveling', *uuedaruuis* 'weatherwise', etc.
  - Verb + noun: *suuefresta* 'confinement to bed' (cf. *suueban* 'sleep').
  - Adjective + noun: *hêlagdôm* 'Heiligtum; shrine', *aldfader* 'Altwater; patriarch', *hêlagferah* 'of holy demeanor'
  - Adjective + adjective: *baruuirôig* 'very worthy', *gêlmôdig* 'boisterous of demeanor', *gôdsprâki* 'well-spoken', *managfald* 'manifold', *slîduuuardi* 'grim-worded', *uuîdbrêd* 'extensive', etc.
  - Adjective + verb: *fulgangan* 'obey'.
  - Adverbial + noun: *misdâd* 'misdeed'.
  - Adverbial + adjective: *mislik* 'various', *ôbarmôdig* 'übermütig; high-spirited', *thurhfremid* 'completely done', *umbiitharbi* 'useless', *unfôdi* 'unsatiable', etc.
  - Adverb + adjective: *filuuuis* 'very wise'.

## 7. Syntax

Much work is still to be done on the syntax of older Germanic languages. Holthausen (1921) made an important beginning already in his 'Dritter Hauptteil: Syntaktisches' where he described the rection of prepositions and verbs, verbal combinations, congruence, types of clauses, etc. Rauch (1992:24f.) presents the most complete remarks to the syntax under her notions of 'linear syntax' with basic verb-first word order and 'non-linear micro-syntax' that concerns concatenation of grammar through correct interpretation on the morphemic level.

### 7.1 Clauses

#### 7.1.1 Simple sentences:

- The normal (unmarked) word order sets the finite verb in first position in an independent clause. Alternatively, the subject or another syntactical unit, typically an adverb or verbal object, may be initial in the clause. When the subject is overtly expressed and is not in initial position, it is inserted directly behind the finite verb. Some

examples, with line numbers from the *Hêliand* are:<sup>27</sup>

Bidun allan dag that uuerod for them uuîha ...  
wait - 3 pl p ind all - A sg day - A sg DET - N sg crowd - N sg PREP DET - D sg temple - D sg

The crowd of people waited all day before the temple ... [175]

Bêd afar thiû that uuîf uurdigiscapu.  
wait - 3 sg p ind PREP DET - I sg DET - N sg woman - N sg fate - A pl  
After that the woman awaited fate. [196]

Skrêd liocht dages, sunne uuarð an sedle ...  
proceed - 3 sg p ind light - N sg day - G sg, sun - N sg become - 3 sg p ind PREP seat - D sg  
The light of day passed, the sun was in its seat ... [2908]

Côs imu iungarono thô sân afar thiû Sîmon Petrus,  
choose - 3 sg p ind PRO - D sg disciple - G pl ADV ADV PREP DET - I sg, Simon - A sg,  
Iacob endi Iohannes ...  
James - A sg CONJ John - A sg  
(He) chose (of) disciples for himself soon after that Simon Peter, James, and John ... [3107]

Lâte man sie an iro môdsebon selbon keosen ...  
let - 3 sg pr subj PRO - N sg PRO - A pl PREP PRO - G pl heart - A pl self - A pl choose - inf  
One may let them choose themselves in their hearts ... [3405]  
Stôd that barn godes fast under fiundun  
stand - 3 sg p indic DET - N sg child - N sg God - G sg fast - N sg PREP enemy - D pl  
That Child of God stood caught among enemies. [5118]

Thô sagdun sie lof gode ...  
ADV say - 3 pl p ind PRO - N pl praise - A sg God - D sg ...  
Then they said praise to God ... [3583]

Thiû uuerold uuas thô sô farhuerbid ...  
DET - N sg world - N sg be - 3 sg p ind ADV ADV dispoil - ppt/N sg  
This world was then so dispoiled ... [3609]

thea uuârun imu triuuuiston man obar erðu  
PRO - N pl be - 3 pl p ind PRO - D sg faithful - N pl man - N pl PREP earth - D sg  
They were the most faithful men to him on earth. [3518]

<sup>27</sup> Abbreviations: **A** accusative; **ADV** adverb **D** dative; **G** genitive; **I** instrumental; **ind** indicative; **inf** infinitive **N** noun/nominative; **NEG** negation; **NUM** number; **p** past; **pl** plural; **ppt** past participle; **pr** present; **PREP** preposition; **PRO** pronoun; **sg** singular; **subj** subjunctive; **V** verb; **X<sub>i</sub>** trace.

Gescriban uuas it giu lango ...  
 write - ppt/N sg be - 3 sg p ind PRO - N sg ADV ADV  
 It was written long ago ... [1085]

'thes ni mag ênig tueho uuerðen'  
 DET - G sg NEG can - 3 sg pr ind DET - N sg doubt - N sg become - inf  
 'Of that no doubt may arise' [3520]

sân upp ahlêd thie grôto stên fan them  
 ADV ADV open - 3 sg p ind DET - N sg great - N sg stone - N sg PREP DET - D sg  
 grave ...  
 grave - D sg  
 Soon the great stone opened up from the grave ... [5803]

- b. The unmarked order is frequently violated in various ways for stylistic effect or in order to meet the demands of alliteration. Some examples are:

Uuas im thoh an sorgun hugi ...  
 be - 3 sg p indic PRO - D sg ADV PREP worry - D pl mind - N sg  
 His mind was though (filled) with worries ... [85]

Here the verb is first but the subject postponed for stylistic effect.

Sea ên thegan habda, Ioseph gemahlit ...  
 PRO - A sg DET - N sg thane - N sg have - 3 sg p ind, Joseph - N sg name [ppt/N sg]  
 A (certain) thane named Joseph had (married) her. [253]

Thar gi ina fîðan mugun, an Bethlemaburg.  
 ADV PRO - N pl PRO - A sg find - inf can - 3 pl pr ind, PREP Bethlehem - D sg  
 There you will find him in Bethlehem. [404]

Thô habda thero gumono thar the neriendo Krist  
 ADV have - 3 sg p ind DET - G pl man - G pl ADV DET - N sg saving N sg Christ - N sg  
 niguni getalde  
 NUM count - ppt/A pl  
 The Saving Christ had nine of the men counted (among his disciples). [1266]

Sâlige sind ôc undar thesaro managon thiudu thie  
 blessed - N pl be - 3 pl pr ind ADV X<sub>i</sub> PREP DET - D sg many - D sg people - D sg PRO<sub>i</sub> - N  
 hebbiad iro herta gihrênod ...  
 pl have - 3 pl pr ind PRO - G pl heart - A sg cleanse - ppt/A sg  
 Blessed are also (X<sub>i</sub> = those) among the many people who<sub>i</sub> have their heart cleansed [1315]

The subject of the predicate adjective *sâlige* is present only as a trace<sup>28</sup> held in anticipation of the relative pronoun *thie* at the head of the dependent clause.

Inuidrâdo, lêðaro sprâka, alles is mi.  
 evil counsel - G pl, hateful - G sg speech - G sg, DET - G sg be - 3 sg pr ind PRO - D sg  
 nu thes lôn cumen  
 ADV DET - G sg reward - N sg come - ppt/N sg.  
 Reward has (is) now come to me of evil counsels, hateful speech, of all of it. [3373]

'huat uuilliad git mînaro hêr', quað he,  
 what - A sg want - 3 pl pr ind PRO - N dual my - G pl ADV, say - 3 sg p ind PRO - N sg],  
 'helpono habben?'  
 help - G pl have [inf]  
 'What do you two want to have of my help?' he said. [3573]

'te huî bist thu sô gern tharod', quaðun  
 PREP what - I sg be - 2 sg pr ind PRO - 2 sg ADV eager - N sg ADV, say - 3 pl p ind  
 sia, 'frô mîn te faranne?'  
 PRO - N pl, lord - N sg my - N sg, PREP go - inf/D sg  
 'For what are you so eager to go there, my Lord?' they said. [3988]

Thar thegan manag huurbun umbi iro heritogon. [5124]  
 ADV thane - N sg many - N sg turn - 3 pl p ind PREP PRO - G pl duke - A sg  
 There many a thane surrounded their duke.

(In this example there is an adverb and subject both preceding the finite verb. There is also the obvious clash between the singular subject and the plural verb, as also in line 175 above. This phenomenon of *pars pro toto* is alive and well in British usage of the sort "The government are ...", "The faculty were", etc.)

7.1.2 Commands, but verb first word order can also be violated, as in lines 223, 259, or 328:

Uuita kiasan im ôðrana niudsamna namon.  
 let - 3 sg subj choose - inf PRO - D sg other - A sg nice - A sg name - A sg  
 Let us choose for him another nice name. [223]

<sup>28</sup> Trace: "A term ... to refer to a FORMAL means of marking the place a CONSTITUENT once held in a DERIVATION, before it was moved to another position by a TRANSFORMATIONAL operation. The position from which the constituent was moved is known as a 'trace' (*t* makes its place in the REPRESENTATION) .... The moved constituent and the EMPTY NODE it leaves behind are COINDEXED." (Crystal 1985: 312)

'Hêl uuis thu, Maria,' quað he ...  
 hale - N sg be - imp sg PRO - N sg, Maria - N sg, say -3rd sg p ind PRO [N sg]  
 'Be you well, Maria!' he said. [259]

Ne lâtt thu thi thînan hugi tuiflien ...  
 NEG let - imp sg PRO -N sg PRO - D sg your -A sg mind -A sg doubt - inf  
 Don't let your mind doubt (for you) ... [328]

Dôt im gôdes filu ...  
 do - imp pl PRO - D sg good - G sg much - A sg  
 Do much of good for them ... [1456]

Lat thi that an thînan hugi fallan ...  
 let - imp sg PRO - D sg DET - A sg PREP your - A sg mind - A sg fall - inf ...  
 Let that come to your mind ... [1707]

Antdrâdad iu uualdand god ...  
 fear - imp pl PRO - D pl ruling - A sg God - A sg ...  
 Fear Ruling God ... [1907]

### 7.1.3 Complex sentences

- a. Coordination: Clauses separated by *endi* 'and', *ac* 'but rather', or other coordinating conjunctions evince the word order subject + object, often with elision of parallel subject construction. Some examples are:

That scoldun sea fiori thuo fingaron scriðan, settian  
 DET - A sg shall - 3 pl p ind PRO - N pl NUM ADV finger - D pl write - inf, set - inf  
 endi singan endi seggian forð  
 CONJ sing - inf CONJ say - inf ADV  
 The four (evangelists) should write that then with fingers, set and sing and say (it) forth [32]

thuo hie êrist these uuorold giscuop endi thuo all  
 CONJ PRO<sub>t</sub> - N sg ADV DET-A sg N - A sg create - 3 pl p ind CONJ X<sub>t</sub> ADV all - A sg  
 bifieng mid ênu uuordo  
 capture - 3 sg p ind PREP NUM - I sg word - I sg  
 When he first had created this world and (he) then encompassed everything with one word  
 [40]

Ni quam ic an thesa uuerold te thiu, that  
 NEG come - 3 sg p ind PRO - N sg PREP DET - A sg world - A sg PREP DET - I sg, CONJ  
 ic feldi thero forasagono uuord, ac ic  
 PRO - N sg fell - 3 sg p subj DET - G sg prophet - G sg word - N pl, CONJ PRO -N sg  
 siu fullien scal.  
 DET - A pl fill - inf shall - 3 sg pr ind  
 I came not into this world for this, that I would fell the words of the prophets, but rather I  
 shall fulfill them. [1428]

sôkiad iu burg ôðra ... endi ne lâttad thes  
 seek - imp pl PRO D pl town -A sg other - A sg ... CONJ NEG let - imp pl DET - G sg  
 melmes uuiht folgan an iuuuom fôtun  
 dust - G sg any - A sg follow - inf PREP your - D pl foot [D pl]  
 Seek now another town ... and let not any of the dust follow on your feet [1945]

sô huemu sô mînun hîr uuordun hôrid endi thiu  
 ADV PRO - D sg ADV my - D pl ADV word - D pl hear - 3 sg pr ind CONJ DET - A pl  
 uuerc frumid  
 work - A pl further - 3 sg pr ind  
 to whomever attends to my words here and furthers the deeds [1981]

is ni uuas farlêbid uuiht huergin an themu  
 PRO - G sg NEG be - 3 sg p ind left - ppt/N sg anything - N sg ADV PREP DET - D sg  
 hûse, that for thene heri forð skenkeon drôgin,  
 house - D sg CONJ PREP DET - A sg army -A sg ADV cupbearer - N pl draw - 3 sg p subj,  
 ac thiu scapu uuârun lîðes alârid  
 CONJ DET - vessel - N pl be - 3 pl p ind wine - G sg emptied - ppt/N pl  
 of it not anything was left anywhere in the house that the cupbearers might draw forth for the  
 army, but rather the vessels were emptied of wine [2013]

Thô habda eft is uuord garu mahtig barn  
 ADV have - 3 sg p ind ADV PRO - G sg word - A pl ready - A pl mighty - N sg child<sub>t</sub> - N sg  
 godes endi uuið is môder sprac  
 God - G sg CONJ X<sub>t</sub> PREP PRO - G sg mother - A sg speak - 3 sg p ind  
 Then (the) mighty Child of God had his words ready again and (he) spoke with his mother  
 [2024]

- b. Subordination: Word order following subordinating conjunctions such as *sô* 'as, so', *that* 'that', *if* 'if', etc. varies between conjunction+subject+object of verb+finite verb and conjunction+finite verb+ ... + subject. Some examples are:

Reht sô he thô that uuord gisprac, sô  
 ADV CONJ PRO - N sg ADV DET - A sg word - A sg have spoken - 3 sg p ind, CONJ  
 uuarð thar engilo te them ênun unrîm  
 become - 3 sg p ind ADV angel - G pl PREP DET - D sg NUM - D sg multitude - N sg  
 cuman  
 come - ppt/N sg  
 Just when he then had spoken that word, then a multitude of angels was come there to the one  
 (angel). [410]

selihûs uuirkean, thar it uuestrani uuind endi uuâgo  
 dwelling - A sg make - inf, CONJ PRO - A sg west - N sg wind - N sg CONJ wave - G pl  
 strôm, sêes ûðeon teslâad  
 stream - N sg, sea - G sg wave - N pl destroy - 3 pl pr ind  
 make a dwelling, where the west wind and stream of waves, waves of the sea, destroy it  
 [1820]

'if thu sîs godes sunu', quað he,  
 CONJ PRO - N sg be - 2 sg pr subj God - G sg] son - N sg, say - 3 sg p ind PRO - N sg,  
 'scrîd thi te erðu hinan.'  
 jump - imp sg] PRO - D sg PREP earth - D sg ADV  
 'If you be the son of God', he said, 'jump to earth from here' [1984]

than sie brustiad endi blôiat endi bladu  
 ADV PRO<sub>i</sub> - N pl sprout - 3 pl pr ind CONJ X<sub>i</sub> bloom - 3 pl pr ind CONJ leaf - A pl  
 tôgeat, lôf antlûkad  
 X<sub>i</sub> show - 3 pl pr ind], leaf - N pl X<sub>i</sub> open - 3 pl pr ind  
 then they sprout and (they) bloom and (they) show leaves, (they) open foliage [4340]

Satanas giuuet im thuo thar thes heritogen  
 Satan - N sg go - 3 sg p ind PRO - D sg ADV CONJ DET - G sg duke - G sg  
 hîuuiski uuas an thero burg innan.  
 family - N sg be - 3 sg p ind PREP DET - D sg town - D sg ADV  
 Satan went then where the family of the duke was inside that town. [5440]

7.2 Attributive Constructions: Adjectives are classified as either 'strong' or 'weak' depending on the distribution common in Germanic languages, i.e. they are 'weak' when restricted in semantic scope by definite articles, possessive pronouns, and the like. Examples showing the semantics in English (without the distinctive morphology) are, for example, 'a big book' or 'big books' which are unrestricted in scope and quite general, versus 'the big books' or 'my big book', which are specific and restricted in scope. The classification is marked by selection of 'strong' endings as above at 2.5.1 or 'weak' ending as at 2.5.2. A codicil to this general condition is that all comparative forms of adjectives are weak. Examples in Old Saxon are

<b>strong:</b>	<b>weak:</b>
burg ððra	obâr thea berhtun burg.
town - A sg other - f A sg	PREP DET - A sg bright - A sg town - f A sg
another city [1945]	across the bright city [433]

In line 1945 the ending *-a* is as in 2.5.1, while after the definite article in line 433 the ending on the adjective *berht-* is weak as in 2.5.2.

hêlag uuord godas	thurh thius mîn rehtun
ADJ - A pl word - A pl God - G sg	PREP DET - A pl DET - A pl righteous - A pl
holy words of god [7]	uuord - A pl
	through these my righteous words [1894]

In line 7 the adjective ending is *-zero* as in 2.5.1, while after the possessive pronoun in line 1894 the adjective ending is as in 2.5.2.

7.3 Predicative Constructions: Predicative adjectives agree in number, case, and gender with their antecedents. All participles functioned as adjectives. Examples are

Thuo gifrang	ik	that	thar	te	Criste
ADV have found out - 1 sg p ind	PRO - N sg	CONJ	ADV	PREP	Christ - D sg pl
cumana uurðun	bodon	fan	Bethaniu		
come - ppt/N become - 3 pl p ind	messenger - N pl	PREP	Bethania - D sg		
Then I found out that messengers from Bethania were come to Christ there. [3964]					

In line 3964 the past participle *cumana* shows the masculine nominative plural ending *-a* in agreement with the antecedent *bodon*, cf. 2.5.1.

Thea man	stôdun	garouua,	holde	for	iro
DET man - N pl	stand - 3 pl p ind	ready - N pl	faithful - N pl	PREP	PRO - G pl
hêrron					
lord - D sg					
The men stood ready, faithful before their lord [675]					



In line 675 the adjectives 'ready' and 'faithful' agree with the N pl head 'men'.

Sume ... uuârun thar gefarana  
 PRO - N pl ... be - 3 pl p ind ADV travel - ppt/N pl  
 Some were/had traveled there [1227 f.]

Here we see coordination between the N pl pronoun and its predicate adjective *gefarana* in its adjectival/past participle form.

Old Saxon thus maintains concord of adjectives in predicate position as in older Germanic and modern Scandinavian languages.

#### 7.4 Comparative and Superlative Phrases:

- a. Comparative forms were declined as weak adjectives (cf. 2.5.2) with the comparandum in the instrumental case. Examples are

sô mikilu is he betara than ic  
 (by) so much [n I sg] is he better [n N wk sg] than I [941]

Uuirs is them ôðrun, gibîðig grimmore thing  
 Worse (it) is for the others, given a grimmer [n N wk sg] thing' [1347]

- b. Superlative forms were declined as either strong or weak adjectives, depending on their context. Examples are

hêlandero bestan  
 best of saviors [m A str sg] [50]

allaro cuningo best  
 best of all kings [m N str sg] [3644]

barno that besta  
 of children the best [n A wk sg] [5306]

allaro gumono then beston  
 of all men the best [m A wk sg] [5566]

#### 8. Lexicon

The lexicon is composed for the greatest part of Germanic etymons but with cultural imports particularly from Latin or Greek via Latin. A few words can be identified as having been borrowed from further south in Germany. There are numerous loan translations or calques based on foreign concepts. For Old Saxon etymologies and some Germanic cognates see Sehrt (1966) and Holthausen (1967).

8.1 Loanwords from various earlier and later periods from Latin: These are ecclesiastic terms such as *hêretikeri* 'heretic' from *haereticus*, medicinal herbs like *afrêta* 'Aberraute' (Artemisia abrotanum) from *abrotanum*, agricultural terms like *segisna* 'sythe' from *sacēna*, clothing like *kugula* 'monk's cowl' from mlat. *cuculla*, fiscal terms like *sekkil* 'purse, pouch' from *sacculus*, and construction technology like *pâl* 'post' from *pâlus*,

8.2 Loan translations or calques of words from Latin or Greek: The word *godspell* 'gospel' is a calque on *εὐαγγέλιον* 'good message' that underwent a folk-etymological transformation to 'God's message' through the substitution of *god* for *gôd*. Ilkow summarizes,

"Eine direkte Lehnübersetzung aus gr. *εὐαγγέλιον* (daraus lat. *evangelium*) 'die gute Botschaft' ist ae. *gôd-spell*. Wäre diese Entlehnung im Ahd. vor sich gegangen, dann müßte das ahd. Komp. \**guot-spell* lauten. Im Ae. dagegen konnte das lange ô der Stammsilbe lautgesetzlich verkürzt werden; dadurch fiel der erste Teil in der Lautung mit *god* 'Gott' zusammen und das Komp. wurde volksetymologisch in 'Gottes Botschaft' umgedeutet"<sup>29</sup> (p. 150).

It is less clear whether words indicating Christian virtues like *gôduuillig* 'of good will' are also descriptive of native virtues or render borrowed phrases like *hominibus bonae voluntatis*, as indicated by Sehrt (p. 206).

Perhaps more remarkable are words from Latin that reflect realia in everyday life, but even these can perhaps be traced to tithes imposed on Saxon farmers by the Church. Examples, among others, are *milli* 'millet' from Latin *milium*, *segina* 'fish net, seine' from Latin *sagēna* (from Greek), *muddi* (a measured amount of grain) from Latin *modius*, *bulit* 'mushroom' from Latin *bōlētus* (from Greek), and the word for 'tithe' itself: *degmo* from Latin *decimus*.

8.3 Words borrowed from other Germanic languages, a few so-called *Wanderwörter* brought most likely by English or Franconian missionaries. Among them are the southern (Franconian) form *godkund* 'divine' composed of the word for 'God' and *-kund* with retained nasal before historical spirant. The native Old Saxon for of this word is *kūð* 'knowledgeable, known' with loss of nasal from the reconstructed Germanic form \**kunþ-* (cf. 1.2.6 d).

The word *dôpian* 'baptize' is ultimately from Greek βαπτειν 'dip' but is also a *Wanderwort* in the

<sup>29</sup>"OE *gôd-spell* is a direct loan translation from Greek *εὐαγγέλιον* (loaned into Latin as *evangelium*) 'good news.' If this loan had gone through OHG, the compound would have been \**guot-spell*. In OE, on the other hand, the long <ô> of the root syllable would have been shortened; because of this the first part coincided in pronunciation with *god* 'God' and the compound was understood as 'God's news.'"

context of missionizing, i.e. it was not independently translated by the Saxons. This form is a causative *jan*-verb based on the *o*-grade ablaut of the root of the adjective *diop* 'deep', i.e. \**daupjan* 'make deep, dip'. It is possibly a borrowing from Gothic, in which the Greek word is translated as *daupjan*, and intermediated through dialects further south in Germany.

8.4 It is perhaps of interest to mention that there are some words that have English but no German cognates such as *refter* 'rafter' (German *Sparren*) or *mapulder* 'maple' (German *Ahorn*).

### 9. Sample Text

Than stuod sêragmuod ên thera idiso ôðersîðu  
griotandi obar them grabe, uuas iro iâmar muod --  
Maria uuas that Magdalena --, uuas iro muodgithâht,  
sebo mid sorogon giblandan, ne uuissa hwarod siu sôkian scolda  
thena hêrron, thar iro uuârun at thia helpa gilanga. [5912]

A: orthography; B: morphophonemics; C: morpheme-by-morpheme gloss; D: loose translation; E: freer translation; adj - adjective; adv - adverb; conj - conjunction; d - dative; g - genitive; inf - infinitive; f - feminine; m - masculine; n - nominative; num - number; p - past: pl - plural; pr - present; prep - preposition; sg - singular; 3 - 3rd person. We represent orthographic <gi-> here as YI, cf. footnote 17.

A1: Than stuod sêragmuod ên thera idiso ôðersîðu  
B1: THAN STUOD SE:RAG+MUOD E:N ðERA IDISO O:ÐERSI:ÐU  
C1: THENadv STOODp sg 3 SORROWFUL+MINDEDadj n sg ONEnum f n sg  
THOSEg pl WOMENg pl SECOND TIMEadv  
D1: Then stood sorrow-minded one of those women for a second time  
E1: One of those women then stood for a second time sorrow-minded

A2: griotandi obar them grabe, uuas iro iâmar muod --  
B2: GRIOTANDI OVAR THEM GRAVE, WAS IRO IA:MAR+MUOD  
C2: WEEPINGpres part n sg OVERprep THEd sg GRAVED sg, WASp sg 3 HERd sg  
SADadj n sg  
D2: weeping over the grave, was to her sad  
E1: weeping over the grave, she was sad

A3: Maria uuas that Magdalena --, uuas iro muodgithâht,  
B3: MARIA WAS ðAT MAGDALENA --, WAS IRO MUOD+YIPA:XT  
C3: MARIAn sg WASp sg 3 THATn sg MAGDALENAn sg --, WASp sg 3 IROd sg  
MUODYIPA:XTadj n sg  
D3: Maria was that Magdalena --, was to her an emotion  
E3: That was Maria Magdalena --, she was emotional

A4: sebo mid sorogon giblandan, ne uuissa hwarod siu sôkian scolda  
B4: SEVO MID SOROGON YIBLANDAN, NE WISSA HWAROD SIU SO:KIAN  
SKOLDA  
C4: SEVOn sg MIDprep SOROGONd pl YIBLANDANpast part n sg, NE WISSAp sg  
3 HWARODadv SIUn sg SO:KIANinf SKOLDAp sg 3  
D4: emotion with sorrow blended, not knew whither she seek should  
E4: emotion mixed with sorrow, she knew not where she should seek

A5: thena hêrron, thar iro uuârun at thia helpa gilanga.  
B5: ðENA HE:RRON, ðAR IRO WA:RUN AT ðIA HELPA YILANGA  
C5: ðENAm a sg HE:RRONa sg, ðARconj IROd sg WA:RUNp pl 3 ATadv ðIAf n pl  
HELPA f n pl YILANGAadj n pl  
D5: the Lord, where to her were at the aids available  
E5: the Lord, where help was available to her.

Translation:

One of those women then stood for a second time sorrow-minded  
weeping over the grave. She was sad.

That was Maria Magdalena. She was emotional.

(With) emotion mixed with sorrow she knew not where she should seek  
the Lord, where help was available to her.

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 14 **Tyvan dictionary** Gregory Anderson  
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