

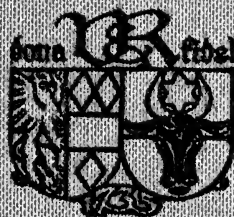
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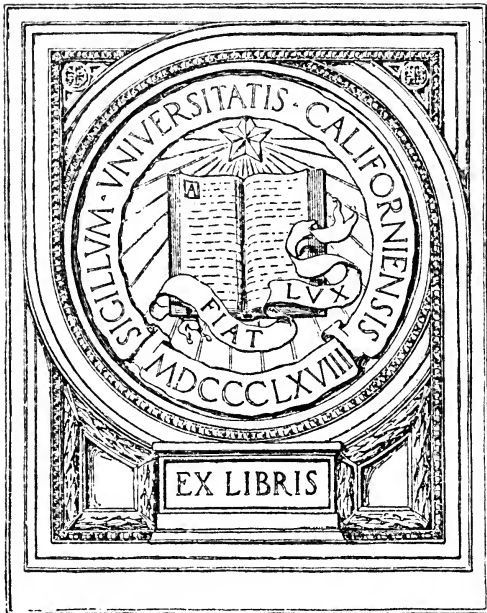


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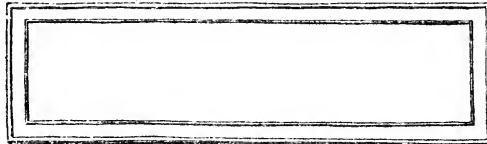
O. P. Rein

Mixed Preterites  
in German





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**Hesperia**

Schriften zur englischen Philologie  
herausgegeben von Hermann Collitz

— Nr. 5 —

**Mixed Preterites  
in German**

by

**O. P. Rein, Ph. D.**

Assistant Professor in the University of North Carolina



**Göttingen**

**Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht**

**1915**

**Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press**

# Hesperia

Schriften zur germanischen Philologie

herausgegeben von

Hermann Collitz

Professor of Germanic Philology  
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Diese Sammlung von Schriften ist aus den Bedürfnissen der germanischen Philologie in den Vereinigten Staaten erwachsen. Ihre Mitarbeiter werden in erster Linie Philologen sein, die an amerikanischen Universitäten wirken oder an solchen ihre Ausbildung erhalten haben. Mit Rücksicht hierauf hat sie den Namen 'Hesperia' erhalten, dessen Verwendung uns durch Professor Gildersleeves Schrift: 'Hellas and Hesperia' nahegelegt war.

Ausgegeben sind bis jetzt:

1. Hermann Collitz, Das schwache Präteritum und seine Vorgeschichte. XVI, 256 S. 1912. Geh. 8 *M*; Leinwdbd. 8,80 *M*.

Der herkömmlichen Ansicht gegenüber, welche in dem schwachen Präteritum eine Zusammensetzung mit dem Zeitwort „tun“ sieht, wird hier die Auffassung begründet, daß das schwache Präteritum als eigenartige Entwicklung des indogermanischen medialen Perfekts anzusehen sei. Die Einleitung gibt Auskunft über die bisherigen Versuche, die Entstehung des schwachen Präteritums zu erklären. Ein Anhang enthält Bemerkungen zum lateinischen Perfekt und eine neue Theorie des griechischen Passivaoristis.

Das Buch ist also auch für Altphilologen von Bedeutung.

2. Hans Sachs and Goethe. By M. C. Burchinal, Ph. D. IV, 52 S. 1912. Geh. 1,80 *M*; Leinwdbd. 2,50 *M*.

Diese Schrift behandelt vorzugsweise das Metrum des Urfaust in seinem Verhältnisse zu dem Verse der Spruchgedichte des Hans Sachs. Die verschiedenen Ansichten, die sich in der Auffassung des sogen. 'Kittelverses' geltend gemacht haben, werden eingehend besprochen.

3. Wörterbuch und Reimverzeichnis zu dem „Armen Heinrich“ Hartmanns von Aue. Von Guido C. L. Riemer, Prof. a. d. Bucknell-Universität, Lewisburg. IV, 162 S. 1912. Geh. 3 *M*; Lwdbd. 3,70 *M*.

Bei der Ausarbeitung dieses Wörterbuches hat dem Verf. ein ähnliches Ziel vorgeschwebt, wie es sich Benede bei seinem Wörterbuche zum Zwein gesteckt hatte. Namentlich gilt das insofern, als auch das vorliegende Buch sowohl dem Anfänger wie dem gelehrten Sachgenossen zu gute kommen möchte. Dem Anfänger zu liebe ist die Bedeutung der Wörter etwas ausführlicher dargestellt als bei B. Es erschien dabei rasam, möglichst auf die allmähliche Entwicklung der Bedeutungen der einzelnen Wörter Rücksicht zu nehmen und die verschiedenen Stadien in der Begriffsentwicklung klar hervortreten zu lassen. Der Absicht einer genauen Auffassung des mittelhochdeutschen Textes dienen auch die an vielen Stellen beigefügten Übersetzungen einzelner Sätze oder Satztheile. — Um die Brauchbarkeit des Wörterbuches für wissenschaftliche Zwecke zu erhöhen, ist auf die Varianten der Ausgaben von Haupt-Martin, von Wadernagel-Coisjer-Stadler und von Beck Rücksicht genommen. Das Reimverzeichnis ist nach einem neuen Plane (nach den Vorschlägen von Prof. Helm in Gießen) angelegt und kann daher geradezu als Vorbild für künftige Arbeiten dieser Art dienen.

Sortierung auf der 3. Umschlagseite.

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To my beloved wife  
Lucile Moore  
who died February 16, 1914

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## Introduction.

That form of the German strong preterite 1. and 3. sing. ind. ending in *-e* (e. g. *sahe*, *wurde* etc.) has been almost completely overlooked by grammarians. It is rare to find more than a single paragraph devoted to the subject by any one writer. No one at all has treated it at any considerable length. Some maintain that the form in question is due to this or that cause, some merely mention that such a thing exists, attempting no explanation, while others even fail to note its existence at all. This is the case notwithstanding the fact that the relative frequency of their occurrence in certain instances exceeds that of the correct forms without *-e*.

The form in question has been variously named; it is usually designated by the German scholars as "*das paragogische -e*". The object of the present investigation is to trace back to its origin the occurrence of the phenomenon and to indicate to some extent the geographical distribution of the forms throughout the various periods. An attempt will be made to show that its occurrence depends largely upon whether the document exists in manuscript or in a printed text, etc. Whenever the relative frequency of occurrence becomes very marked, enumerations will be given. Some statistics will be offered, showing the relation between strong and weak preterites in regard to final *-e*. Occasional reference will be made to subjunctive forms of the strong preterite. Throughout the whole, especially from the middle of the 15th century on, notice will often be taken of the radical vowels, and in some cases, of the radical consonants of the singular and plural of the strong preterite. These references are likewise chiefly incidental, the particular subject under discussion being the special

form of the strong preterite in *-e*. Some attention will be paid to the subject of apocope of final *-e* not only in verbs, but also in nouns and other parts of speech. Examples of the addition of a superfluous *-e* to words other than verbs will likewise occasionally be noted.

It is well at the outset to call attention to the difficulty of distinguishing in the early texts the indicative and subjunctive forms. Often, or rather, as a rule, there is no consistency in the use of the umlaut sign; sometimes no subjunctive forms have the sign; in other cases some forms that from the construction ought to be indicative have the sign. The confusion of forms becomes exceedingly easy whenever the rule to drop most final *e*'s in the subjunctive obtains, especially in view of the fact that at certain periods a great number of indicative forms take on a superfluous *-e*. This is especially the case in the South German dialects in the late 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. In these literary monuments, subjunctive strong preterites of the 1. and 3. sing. display the umlaut sign frequently, while omitting the final *-e*; at the same time, indicative forms may have the *-e* but no umlaut sign. In some rare instances the indicative may have both umlaut and final *-e*. This is especially confusing when the radical vowel is the same in the singular and plural, e. g. in the sixth class, or in cases where the radical vowel of the singular is not only identical with that of the plural but could not be mutated, as in case of reduplicating preterites. It will often be necessary to give the whole clause, or even sentence, in order to indicate the mood.

The subject could be treated in several ways — according to the chronological development, from a dialectical standpoint, or according to the various types of literature. Each of these methods has its objections. The occurrence of these *e*-forms of the indicative strong preterite is too general, at least for certain periods, to admit of a strictly dialectical treatment; furthermore, the texts cannot all be definitely located as to dialect. The various types of literature, although showing considerable well defined variations in the usage of these forms, cannot be so conveniently made the basis of a classification. Hence the subject matter will be presented strictly according

to chronological development. To be sure, the various dialects will always be considered; but they are not the basis of the classification. My selection of the various periods (each period being a century) is, it must be admitted, very arbitrary, but has been adopted because of its exceeding simplicity.

In presenting the material, the classification of verbs will be made, not according to the various classes of strong verbs, but with reference to the final consonant of the stem. This is the method followed by Kern<sup>1)</sup> and approved by K. v. Bahder<sup>2)</sup> in his review of Kern's article. In the case of compound verbs, only the verbal component as a rule will be given. This is in opposition to the often expressed view that one cause for the existence of strong preterites 1. and 3. sing. ind. in *-e* is the tendency to avoid monosyllabic forms and to make them bisyllabic by the addition of *-e*, and hence that compound verbs would show a smaller percentage of these forms than the simple verbs. But an examination of forms throughout the whole period leads to the belief that there is nothing whatever in this claim. The very first case of a strong preterite in *-e* on record is a compound verb — *irstarbe*<sup>3)</sup>. In the absence of statistics to sustain the one or the other view, I have not been able to note any variation in usage that would invalidate the method of giving only the simple form of the verb.

To Professor Collitz, whose aid in the way of making helpful suggestions has been invaluable to me, I owe by far more than can be repaid by a mere mention here.

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<sup>1)</sup> Paul Kern, *Das starke Verb bei Grimmelshausen*. Journal of Germanic Philology vol. 2 p. 33 ff.

<sup>2)</sup> *Zs. f. d. Ph.* 32, 106—111.

<sup>3)</sup> Hattemer, *St. Gallens altteutsche Sprachschätze*. Vol. 1, p. 326, 11th century.

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## A. Examples, statistics, etc.

### I. Exceptional instances. From earliest times up to 1300.

There are no examples of the strong preterite ind. in *-e* (1. and 3. sing.) in Old High German. No such forms are given in any of the Old High German grammars and the statement is made that the ind. prt. 1. and 3. sing. of strong verbs is without ending<sup>1)</sup>. Although there are no *e* forms of the st. prt. ind. 1. and 3. sing. in Notker<sup>2)</sup>, yet he has forms with analogical *-e* in the imper. sing. of strong verbs<sup>3)</sup>.

The earliest example of a st. prt. ind. 3. sing. in *-e* that has been found, occurs in the eleventh century, Hattemer I, 327<sup>4)</sup>. It is in a fragment of a creed. . . . *das er geboren wart unt gefangen wart, unt daz er irstarbe . . . daz er zerehelle fuor . . . nam . . . irstuont . . . daz er andemo fierzechōsten tage after siner urstende ze himile fuore . . . etc.*

These two examples, *irstarbe* and *fuore*, are clearly indicative but their final position in an object clause may have caused the writer to add an *-e* because of a sort of a confusion with the subjunctive. No other such forms occur in the whole of

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<sup>1)</sup> cf. R. Westphal, *Philosophisch-Historische Grammatik d. deutsch. Sprache*, Jena 1869, p. 239; W. Braune, *Althochd. Gramm.*, 4. Aufl., Halle 1911; Alois Walde, *Die German. Auslautsgesetze*, Halle 1900, p. 110 etc.

<sup>2)</sup> At least no mention of their occurrence is made by J. Kelle in his *Untersuchung zur Überlieferung etc. der Psalmen Notkers*, Berlin 1889.

<sup>3)</sup> cf. Graff, IV, 764 *hæe* imper. for *hah*; etc.

<sup>4)</sup> Hattemer, *St. Gallens altteutsche Sprachschätze*, Hs. 1394, XI. Jh. The first of these two examples is cited by Weinhold, *Alem. Gramm.*, § 345. An earlier example of a st. prt. ind. in *-a* occurs in Old Saxon. Heliand 2017.

. . . . . *Tho ni was lang te thiu*  
*thät it san antfunda frio sconiōsta,*  
*Cristes moder.*

vol. I. of Hattemer. The dialect is Alemannic and the period that of the transition from Old High to Middle High German.

*Genesis und Exodus*<sup>1</sup>).

In the rimed version of *Genesis and Exodus* several examples of the st. prt. ind. sing. in *-e* are found, all of them in the 3rd. person. The following enumeration contains all the examples in the *Genesis* together with some from the *Exodus*.

daz opfir was süzze,  
 unjer herre im *gehiezzze*  
 daz . . . Gen. 29, 11.  
 Do der bote ze huse thom  
 do *warde er wol enphangen* . . . Gen. 42, 35.  
 Swelhe er niht schinte  
 die *truge er in der hente* . . . Gen. 59, 35.  
 Laban süthot unde *vande*  
 niht sin apgot . . . Gen. 62, 10.  
 Wie in sin brüdir *enphienge*  
 so er heim *chome* . . . Gen. 63, 15.  
 Er tet siben venie  
 ê daz er im *chome entegene* . . . 66, 8  
 dar umbe *warde er unde sin vater*  
 erflogen an der stunde . . . 68, 2. 3.  
 da *parge er untir*  
 daz heidenische wöndir . . . 70, 4.  
 sie *truge im die gebaere*  
 die im waren unmaere . . . 78, 10.  
 daz er Joseph wart genaediç:  
 des *warde er vil saelich* . . . 80, 5.  
 sin chlage *ware ungefuge* . . . 98, 14.  
 von himel got jacob e erschein  
 da er nachtes *lage ein* . . . 101, 12.  
 da sin vater und sin ane *lage* 105, 14.

Thus we have in the *Genesis* *warde* 3, *vande* once, *truge* 2, *parge* once, *lage* 2, *enphienge* once, *chome* 2, *ware* once, *gehiezzze* once, a total of 14. 9 of the 14 examples occur immediately before a word beginning with a vowel. It seems that the following vowel is largely responsible for the *-e*. Perhaps the medial position of the final consonant of the verb between

<sup>1</sup> *Genesis und Exodus*, nach der Milstätter (Kärnthen) Hs. hrsg. von J. Diemer, Wien 1862. The date is early in the 12th century. The same poem is found in Hoffmanns *Fundgruben*, vol. I, but according to the Vienna Ms. No *e*-forms of the st. pt. were found in it.



vowels makes the consonant voiced and the *æ* is the sign of it. The *æ* may not have been pronounced. In nearly every case the *æ* is after a voiced consonant. In the rime and also in final position in the clause it was almost surely pronounced. Usually, when a consonant follows, these same preterites end in an unvoiced consonant, *wart* 116, 7, *lac*, etc. As a rule, however, when a vowel follows, such preterites have no final *æ* but the consonant is voiced, e. g. 100, 28; 114, 29, 30 etc. In the case of the weak pret. it is exactly the reverse. When a vowel follows, the final *æ* is dropped almost without exception and always retained in other cases. There is practically no apocope of final *æ* in the *Genesis* and the *Exodus*. The following examples occur in the *Exodus*:

Do Moyses zû im dôm do *warde*  
 er wol enphangen . . . . 124, 21  
 . . . . . ir tatet unrehte  
 daz diju rede ie *warde* erhaben . . . 134, 10.  
 Daz *warde* im vil unwert . . . . . 134, 18.

*mage* (= *mag*) 134, 27. *ſach* occurs exclusively. The 2. p. prt. ind. strong always ends in *æ*. In every case of the 3. p. forms in *æ* the radical vowel of the singular is kept. In some cases about this time the radical vowel of the plural is often found in the singular.

The following examples occur in "*Vom Leben und Leiden Jesu, vom Antichrist und vom jüngsten Gericht*"<sup>1)</sup>:

Do der unguete  
 ez allez ſamt *erfüre*  
 do hiez er ſi dannen gen . . . 145, 29.  
 Do *gienge* er uf einen berch hohen . . . 154, 37.  
 Darinne *bestuende* dehain ltp  
 wan Chriſt unde daz wtp . . . . 167, 5.  
 Geteilt was der ir ſin  
 idoch *gestuende* ſi bi in . . . . . 161, 32.  
 Ein *warfe* den Menſchen . . . . 193, 35.

*gabe*: *lage* 183, 17, 18; *ſach*: *nach* 164, 20 but *ich ſah*: *geſchah* 173, 4, 7. Original *uo* is usually *ue*, sometimes *u* as *ſtuend* (ind.) 173, 13 etc.; *trug* and *trug* 175, 7, 9; *hueb* 175, 37 etc. The *e*-forms occur before vowels and consonants indifferently. *ſunde*

<sup>1)</sup> In Hoffmanns *Fundgruben* für Geschichte der deut. Spr. Breslau 1830 Vol. I. Ms. from end of 13th, the poem from the 12th century.

occurs for *funden* 145, 45, just as in the Genesis *lage* (above p. 2) is either singular or plural.

*Speculum Ecclesiae*<sup>1</sup>).

The following examples are taken from this collection of sermons: *Den gwaht den er scon. Petro gab. den verlehe er ođ anderen sinen holdin.* p. 7; *in deisselbin lastir viel alliz manchunne. ê da3 der heilige Christ in diese werlt chome* p. 9; *den nam gab im der heilige engil. ê da3 sin mûtir sin swanger wrde.* p. 17; *der hiezze Nabuzardan (sic) wider zu ierlm.* p. 45; *ware (ind.)* p. 48; *tâte 63 but tet 64; s. Petrus. do er gotis driftunde verlögent. da3 enzêlt deheim bûch wa3 er sprach.* wan da3 eine. da3 er bitterlichen wainti . . . p. 50; *Ê aber von sinen iungirn schiede, so getroste er si* p. 79; *Zedem andeme mâle. warde er in . . . . gefant* p. 85; . . . *ê uf der erdi gegeben wurde. . . . .* p. 85; *Er vermeide den win . . .* 91 etc.

Here again we see that most of the forms with *-e* are in final position in subordinate clauses. This is very probably due to a sort of confusion with subj. forms that occur so frequently in this position. No difference whatever is made if a vowel follows the word in medial position. The percentage of all st. pts. that have an extra *-e* is very insignificant.

Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete<sup>2</sup>).

*Ê got geschuophe himel alde herde, do was er . . . 9, 2; Dar gienge er na3 ir bet. 22, 16; wie vande er ez do? vande er iz laere? Nein, er fand dar inne zwo swester . . . . 25, 19; . . . . . do er die vrone botscraft hin ze ir warfe, wie fand er sie? . . . 25, 26;*

<sup>1</sup>) *Speculum Ecclesiae* (altdeutsch). Hrsg. von J. Kelle, München 1858. Benedictbeurer Predigtsammlung. 12th century. The dialect is Bavarian.

<sup>2</sup>) Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Wackernagel, Basel 1876. Weinhold has an article p. 446-517, "Die Sprache in den Altdeutschen Predigten und Gebeten." In discussing the dialect he says (p. 449). "Eher kann af 26,18, das neben ab 26, 16 entschläpft, und warfe (= warb) 25, 26 als bairisches Zeugnis gelten." He very likely means only the use of *f* for *b*. The *-e* in the st. prt. ind. 1. 3. sing. is no indication of the Bavarian dialect as opposed to the Alemannic or any other High German dialect. This is true at least for the 12th and 13th centuries. Later it becomes more characteristic of the Alem. and the Swabian. The date of Wackernagel's *Predigten* is the 12th and 13th centuries.

Die seliteit die er uns zuo *truoge*, diu was unser. 65, 25; . . . . unt des bluotes ihesu Christi das von sinem toten lip unt hercen *flosse*, indem er uns zuo dem anderen male hat wider geboren . . . . 67, 15.

Here again we see that often when a vowel follows, the preterite has a final *-e*, while the same verb often omits the *-e* when the next word begins with a consonant. Here too it seems that strong preterites in *-e* occupy as a rule the final position in the clause.

Examples of ind. st. prt. in *-e* occur very rarely in Schönbach's *Altdeutsche Predigten*<sup>1)</sup>. I give below a few examples. In all the clauses beginning with *êe*, the verb is very likely in the subjunctive. There is, however, no such rule in the M. H. G. grammars. Weinhold cites a preterite as indicative in just such a sentence, which shows that he construed such verbs as indicative<sup>2)</sup>. Examples: er (Peter) was ein gût mane gewesen und gereht *êe* er befart *würde* zû dem hohen lebene 64, 7; ee da3 sie (Maria) *vûre* in die himelische Stat, joch *êe* dan si *würde* geborn 70, 13; Also ginch er in vor bis er *quame* ober da3 hûs 90, 34; Do Herodes da3 *vorname* 90/40; *irhube* (ind?) 98, 24; Iach und *beite* des dodes 104, 29.

No examples could be found in the text or the critical readings of Lachmann's edition of Iwein. In two of the Mss. of the Gregorius<sup>3)</sup> several st. prts. in *-e* occur: 2884 *stieffe* G (last half of the 14th C.), all others *stief*; 2910 *truge* G alone; 3126 *bestoffe* E (15th C. Bavarian dialect); 3182 *ietzze* G alone; 3535 *vergafe* E alone; 3542 *wurde* G, others *ward*.

In "*Altdeutsche Predigt von Kristi Geburt*"<sup>4)</sup> the following examples were found: do unser frowe joseph enphestenet *wære*. do *wære* sie swanger (p. 259); niwan da3 er *phlage* swa si *wære* und swellende sie *vûre*. un̄ so ouch unser herre geboren *ward* also ich in nu sagen wil (p. 260). *ware* and *vure* are very likely subj. er *ware* (ind.) so geweltlich p. 260. Other examples: *swure*, *gebute*

<sup>1)</sup> Graz, 1886. Only vol. 1. was examined.

<sup>2)</sup> *Alem. Gr.* § 345 p. 342. *gestuofe*, Wack. *Pr.* 9, 2. See above P. 4.

<sup>3)</sup> Pauls edition was used.

<sup>4)</sup> *Alemannia* 9, 255ff. The editor, A. Birlinger, says in regard to the date: "Diese . . . . . Predigt gehört der Grenzscheide des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts an; sie steht in einem Perg. Codex des XIII. sec., . . . . ist aus einer dem XII. sec. angehörigen Vorlage abgeschrieben." p. 260.

(= gebote), *gabe*, all p. 260. Such forms occur as *wart*, *hie3*, *was*, *genas*, *ϕom*, *erϕain*, etc. Old *ei* is written *ai*. The dialect is Alemannic.

Albrecht von Halberstadt<sup>1)</sup>.

The following instances were found:

ieslich ūbte sine kraft,  
 ſwer da *wurde* ſigehaft  
 dem wart ein Kranz eſp̄n . . . . 26, 821—23.  
 Nu ſi Jupiter ſus *ſchufe*  
 da3 ſie mit ir huſe  
 ir namen *ſchribe* im ſande . . . . 38, 79—81.

ſ̄ribe and ſ̄huſe are both indicative.

murmelende er eteſwa3 ſprach  
 als er es ir *erbunde* 55, 180, 1.  
 da3 der boum von dem laſte  
 ich wene zu der erde *ſige* . . . 61, 52, 3.  
 die maget hiez Ēϕo  
 der *verbunde* Juno  
 da3 ſi niht ſprechen kunde . . . . 71, 30—32.  
 Sie was ein maget Iſph̄aft (Ēϕo)  
 ê ſie *wurde* ſus verſ̄haft . . . 71, 36, 37.  
 ich quam liſtecliche dar,  
 ê ſie m̄n wurden gewar,  
 dem h̄uſe alſ̄o nahe,  
 un3 ich die ſweſter *s̄ahe* . . . . 87, 85—88.

This is the first example of *ſahe* found. All second persons ind. prt. of strong verbs end in *-e*, e. g. *du ſwure* 114, 261; *ſluge du* 115, 273, etc.

Thus we see that the *e*-forms of the 1. 3. sing. of st. prt. ind. are not confined at this time to the South German dialects. We have here several examples of the radical vowel of the plural carried over into the singular, e. g. *ſ̄ribe*, *erbunde*, *ſige*, *verbunde*, *wurde*, *ſahe*. All the *e*-forms found in Albrecht von Halberstadt (and only the *e*-forms) have the radical vowel identical with that of the plural. Thus levelling begins at this time, being first evident in the forms of the singular in *-e*.

<sup>1)</sup> Albrecht von Halberstadt. Translations from Ovid's *Metam.* 1210. Published by Karl Bartsch 1861. Quedlinburg und Leipzig. A. von H. was a Saxon but according to Bartsch (*Einleitung* CXXVIII) his dialect is Thuringian.

Konrad Fleck, *Flore und Blancheflur*<sup>1)</sup>.

Unde *h̄iels* in *da zuo*, 803, is given in the text but H has *hielse*—preterite of *h̄alsen*. *Er wart mir so ze teile* 5256; both B and H have *wurt*. *Si vieng in unde zuhte in dan* 7185; *vinge . . . . . zuh̄h̄* in H. These are the only examples in the whole poem. *Iteß* 5300 H is subj.

*Der Nibelunge Not*<sup>2)</sup>.

Of all the Mss. of *Der Nibelunge Not* only C has any considerable number of e-forms of the st. prt. Below are given all the examples that occur in the first 1000 quatrains of *Der Nibelunge Not*.

Wie *Sifrit ze Wormse* *some* C. *fame d* (beginning of the 16th C); 100, 3 *ware d*, others have *wart*; 203, 3 *sahe* C, others *sāh̄*, *sāh̄*; 207, 2 *truge* C, others *truoc*; 211, 2 *des lage ir* C, others *lag*, *lac*; 381, 2 *wurde* (ind.) A (Alemannic 1280); 486, 1 *Do ðome er fur* C, others *fam*, *fom*; 551, 1 *Iuode h I* (I 14th C); 526, 4 *ðome diu Vrowe* only C; 527, 1 *ðome* only C; 637, 2 *truge* C, others *truog*; *h̄ienge* C only; 649, 4 *truge* C, others *truoc*; 650, 1 *Da h̄ienge ich* C only; 659, *stunde im* C alone; 672, 3 *fi truge in mit gewalte* C alone; 683, 4 *da er warde wol empfangen* C alone; 767, 2 *ðome* C; 846, 1 *ðome* C alone; 948, 1 *ware d*, others have *wart*; 951, 3 *Im h̄ienge eine ziere wāfen* C alone.

There are thus in the first 4000 lines of C 16 cases of the st. prt. 1. 3. sing. ind. ending in *-e*; A has one, d 2, h and I one each. Here for the first time we see the superfluous *-e* in the 1. person, e. g. 650, 1 . . *Da h̄ienge ich*. Of course the 2. sing. ind. st. prt. still ends in *-e*. Occasionally words other than preterites add an extra *-e* but very rarely in C, e. g. *heime* 222, 2; *gewalte* 672, 3; *h̄ofe: biscofe* (both nomi-

<sup>1)</sup> Published by Emil Sommer 1846. The date is about 1212. Sommer gives the text of the Heidelberg Ms. H., 15th century. B is the Berlin Ms., also of the 15th century. Konrad Fleck was an Alsatian or a Swabian. Ms. B is written in the Alsatian dialect.

<sup>2)</sup> I used Bartsch's edition. Ms. C is from the beginning of the 13th C. cf. *Germ.* X, 505-7. Otherwise *Germ.* IX, 381. If the number of e-forms is any indication, the Ms. is very much later than the early part of the 13th century.

native) 658, 12. As a rule, however, only strong preterites 1. 3. sing. add a superfluous *-e*<sup>1)</sup>.

There are no *e*-forms of the st. prt. in the *Marienleben* of Bruder Philipp der Cartäuser<sup>2)</sup>.

In Lutwin's *Adam und Eva*<sup>3)</sup> several instances occur, All that occur in the first 2025 lines are given: Ich *gewanne* nie so gute ru 340; Do *fame* ein ungewitter noch (nach); Er *rüffe* lute 543; mir *riete* der (sic) Schlange 558; *gewanne*: wanne (= denn) 1593; *erschræfete*: wackete 1965; *wurt* is the usual subj. form, e. g. 452 etc. The 2. sing. st. prt. ind. may have no *-e* and no *-ft* ending, e. g., du *fam* 492 — thus being identical with the 1. 3. sing. There is some levelling, a fact which favors a late date (e. g. *verbargen* 534).

There is no example of a st. prt. ind. 1. 3. sing. in *-e* in Gotfried Hagen's rimed chronicle<sup>4)</sup>, nor in the *Martina* of Hugo von Langenstein<sup>5)</sup>, 1293. In both cases there is no levelling of radical vowels of sing. and plural. There is no apocope of final *-e* in the former and very little in the latter. This is about the time for the beginning of apocope of final *-e* in all words in the South German dialects. This was never practiced to any great extent outside of these dialects and almost none in the northern regions of Germany<sup>6)</sup>.

Several examples of st. prts. in *-e* occur in the *Regula*

<sup>1)</sup> Weinhold, *Alem. Gr.* § 345 cites two examples further on in C, *hienge* Nib. C. 5, 538 and *jahe* 16, 529. These are both for the first person. Other examples for the third person are *truge* Nib. C. 1665, *lage* 1697, *warde* 2058, *jahe* 2432 etc, all given above.

<sup>2)</sup> In Kürschner D. N. L. 10. B. (Edited by F. Bobertag) pp. 1—92. All the 3095 lines were read. The date is early in the 13th century. The dialect is Bavarian.

<sup>3)</sup> Hrsg. v. Wilhelm Meyer, Tübingen, 1881. BLV 153. Bd. According to Goedeke, Gr. 1. 130 the author is an Austrian and the date the 13th century. According the Meyer it is the 14th or the 15th century. See *Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akad. Phil.-Hist. Classe*, 4. Dez. 1880.

<sup>4)</sup> Gotfrid Hagen, "*Dit is dat boich van der stede Colne.*" 1270. Ch. D. S. 12. B. This is the oldest chronicle of Cologne.

<sup>5)</sup> Hrsg. v. A. v. Keller. BLV. 38. B. The dialect is Swabian.

<sup>6)</sup> "Entschieden mitteldeutsch ist die Beibehaltung der unbetonten Endvocale." O. Behagel, *Geschichte d. d. Sprache*<sup>8</sup> p. 67. "Mitteldeutsch" is used here in contradistinction to "Süddeutsch".

Selphardi<sup>1)</sup>: so beſahe man wol waz da behalten were 993,27; unde beginnet zesagene von siner herschaft wie rich er were 993,5: this is very probably subj. although the subj. here is in every other case were.

unde ſahe viel gerne daz 993,30; durch den er dannen gienge (ind.) 994,23; etc.

Only one example of a st. prt. in *-e* occurs in the first 620 lines of the *Demantin* of Berthold von Holle:

Mit wê gedanen gedinge

he ðaz an *gevinge* . . . 121, 2.

This is out of a total of 164 strong preterites that occur in this section of the poem. Among the forms are the following: reit, bot, 3ođ, quam, nam, ran, gaf, gap, geſchad, ſađ etc. wer is the regular subj. form. All other st. prt. subjs. have the *-e*. There are no extra final *e*'s except the one given. All weak preterites 1. 3. sing. end in *-e*. There is practically no apocope of final *-e* in any kind of words<sup>2)</sup>.

In Stricker's *Klage über den Verfall der Dichtkunst in Österrich*<sup>3)</sup> one example was found: Swie vil er gaz, so iahe er doch, Er hete grozen hungen noch, line 3. There is no levelling. We find such forms as reit 61, treip 91, ſprađ, worf but warf 86, 22 etc.

Weinhold in his *Alem. Gr.* § 345 gives several instances of st. prts. 1. 3. sing. ind. in *-e*. According to him, examples for the first person are something like two centuries later in occurring than those for the third person. This is the case for Alemannic. In Bavarian there is a difference of less than one century. This is due mainly to the fact that examples are found about a century earlier in Alemannic than in Bavarian. The greater relative frequency of occurrence of the 3rd person of the *e*-forms is due, in my opinion, to the relatively greater number of all 3rd person forms as compared with those of the 1st person. The fact remains, however,

<sup>1)</sup> A selection from this is printed in Wackernagel's *Altd. Lesebuch* col. 993 ff. 13th century.

<sup>2)</sup> The *Demantin* was published by Karl Bartsch. BLV. 123. Bd. The date is the end of the 13th century. Berthold was from near Hildesheim, but his dialect is mitteldeutsch.

<sup>3)</sup> Published in v. d. Hagen's *Germania*, II, 82. From the Heidelberg Ms., ca. 1300.

that there is something like a difference of a century between the time of the first appearance of 3rd and 1st p. forms of the strong preterite in *-e*. Most of the examples cited by Weinhold in his *Alem. Gr.* have either been given or will be given later. He cites many more forms in *-e* in his *Bair. Gr.* than in his *Alem. Gr.* He says nothing, however, about the relative frequency of occurrence of such forms in the *Alem.* and the *Bavarian* dialects. Practically all of his examples in either case are from the 12th and 13th centuries. With reference to the endings he says: Selten tritt dieses *-e* zu *-i* über; ich kenne aus unseren Quellen nur *fēngi, giengi*. *Osw. 934* (*St. Oswalds Leben*, Hrsg. von L. Ettmüller, Zürich, 1835, nach Schaffhauser Hs. von 1472). I have not found any such forms. In his *Bair. Gr.* § 290 a large number of st. prts. in *-e* is cited, which I shall not repeat here.

Since several examples of *e*-forms of the st. prt. occur in Ms. M of Gotfrid's *Tristan*, all the examples found in any of the *Tristan* Mss. irrespective of date will be give at this point<sup>1</sup>).

422 *wuſſe* MB, all others have *wuoſſs*; 1424, *geſwande* MW; 1441, *ſiels* M, *ſaſſte* B (weak); 2573, *truoge* M, all others *trug*; 2823, *mage* M alone; 2934, *ſewe* he N, *ſiege* er R, *ſewe* er S; 9166, *ſiewe* RS; 9327, *iage* MBE; 10342 *war* for *wart* (early for *war*); 13978 *geſaſe* M, *geſaſ* BbE, *geſaſe* others (subj.); 15312, *war* F for *wart*; 18434, *iage*: *tage* FW, others *iac*: *tac*.

In a collection of the rubrics occurring throughout E, given by Marold (Einl. XLVI) there are 55 st. prts. 1. 3. ind. and not one ending in *-e*. We find such forms as *traib*, *graif*, *was*, *ſies* (ließ), etc. The subj. has *-e*. In the same list there are 15 weak preterites without final *-e* and not one retains it. Thus the rule here is for all ind. prts. st. or weak not to have final *-e*, while the subjs. of both classes of verbs usually retain it. These rubrics are all in prose. With S it

<sup>1</sup>) The critical edition of Karl Marold, Leipzig 1906 was used. All the variant readings were examined closely. Mss. referred to: M, 13th century *Alem.*; H, 13th century, *Alem.*; F, 1343, *Alem.*; W, middle of 14th century, *Alem.* B, 1323, middle-Franconian; N 14th century; E, R, and S are all *Alemannic* Mss of the 15th century.



is somewhat different<sup>1</sup>). In the whole collection of all the prose rubrics in this Ms. there are 64 examples 1. 3. sing. st. prt. without *-e* and 4 with *-e*. In the same there are 22 weak preterites with final *-e* and 22 without *-e*. These are the 4 examples of the *e*-forms: 7040 *Wie Trifstan und Morolt mit einander kempften und wie Trifstan Morolt finen Helm abschluße, und in verwundet.* 8933 *Wie Trifstan mit dem Trachen streit und er in zu tode schluge und er ime die zunge uß sñent und die in finen Bufen tet.* 9496 . . . *das es nieman sahe* (ind.). 14346 *Wie der kunig Marde zu Walte fur mit finen Jegern und Trifstan doheim bleibe und sich siefch machet.* Such forms occur as *wart, was, hies, streit, sñent, bleibe, wurt* (ind.) 12, 160, *bott zoeh* etc. There is no levelling except in *wurt*. From the figures above we see that nearly 7% of all st. prts. (all 3rd sing.) ind. in the prose rubrics have final *-e*. The same Ms. has only two cases of such forms in all 19, 552 lines. Of course a scribe would take more liberties with the prose rubrics than he would with the text, but after all there remains in this case a considerable margin of difference between prose and verse. We shall see more about this later. In the rubrics of the Ms 50% of all weak preterites omit *-e*.

*Parzifal* . . . Ms D.

It is very seldom that one finds an example of a st. prt. ind. in *-e* in the critical readings of *Parzifal*. All that were found I give below. Lachmann's edition was used. 41, 27 *In dwunge sich Ggg*, others *Da twanc in*; 101, 16 *E er schiede von der frowen* (in text), *schied D, schiet gg*; 119, 13 *sie hiesse d*, others *hie3*; 208, 17 *Er lage an G*, others *lag, lac*; 460, 10 *chome G*, others *tom*; 485, 27 *hienge ers G*, others *hienc*; 517, 22 *im stunde ouch ietweder zan als einem eber wilde, D alone*; 541, 3 *chome G*, others *tom*.

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<sup>1</sup>) Marold, Einl. XLIX S, Hamburger Stadtbibliothek; Abschrift eines älteren Codex (1722). Das Original befand sich im Besitz von Schertz in Straßburg und war nach einer mitkopierten Notiz am Schlusse von Hans Brant 1489 geschrieben worden.

## II. More common occurrence. From 1300 to 1400.

Heinrich von Meissen (Frauenlob)<sup>1)</sup> does not use the *e*-forms of the st. prt. at all. In the preface to Frauenlob's poems, Ettmüller gives some anonymous verses which he would ascribe to him. In these few short poems such forms occur several times:

und hette dar  
 sin volk und sūh  
 über den fort mit listen  
 Jacob gebracht, da *blibe er ganz allein* XIII.  
 do er *sahe* das — XIV "Laiton 14"  
 Und als solche wort Rebecca *vername*  
 sprach sie zu Jacob irm son lobesame . . . XVI.

war XIV, Blüender ton 13, XV Guldin ton 8, and was XIV Radweis 9 etc. both occur. The usual form is *sach*. The 2. p. sing. st. prt. ind. still ends in *-e*, e. g. *du waere, du ließe*, etc. No examples of the st. prt. ind. 1st and 3rd sing. in *-e* occur in those poems of Frauenlob about the authorship of which there is no question. The whole of Ettmüller was examined pretty carefully. The examples given are all from the poems in the preface. If these poems are Frauenlob's they are from a Ms. much later than his other poems.

I could find no example of the form under discussion in Burkhart von Fricke's *Habsburg-Österreichisches Urbarbuch*<sup>2)</sup>. All weak preterites retain *-e*. There is very little apocope of final *-e* in any sort of words.

One verb in Matthias v. Beheim's *Evangelienbuch*<sup>3)</sup> has regularly the *-e* in the preterite, *-hiuwe*. No other strong verb has *-e* in the sing. ind. prt. I read only the book of Mark. In

<sup>1)</sup> Hrsg. von Ludw. Ettmüller, Quedlinburg 1843. H. v. Meissen (1253?—1318) was a Thuringian by birth. He won the name "Frauenlob" by his extravagant praise of women.

<sup>2)</sup> Hrsg. von F. Pfeiffer, Stuttgart 1850. BLV. 19. Bd. Early 14 century. The dialect is Bavarian.

<sup>3)</sup> Published by R. Bechstein, Leipzig 1867. Beheim lived in Halle and his dialect is Middle-German — "das mittelste Mitteldeutsch". His translation of the Gospels was made in 1343. "Die 3. P. praet. des st. Verbumb hat vereinzelt ein *-e* nach Analogie der schw. Conj. in *hiuwe* (von *houwen*) statt *hiu*. Nur einmal *hiuw* J. 18, 10." Einl. LXXVII.

this, one instance of *hiuwe* occurs, — *hiuwe ime* (das Or ab) 14, 47. There is practically no apocope of *-e*. All weak prts. retain the *-e*, as well as the st. prt. subj. sing. There is no levelling between the sing. vowel and that of the plural, but the vowel of the p. part. is often taken over into pt. pl., e. g. *worden* Mark 1, 5; *worfin* 12, 8 are the usual forms. Such sing. forms occur as *steic* 1, 19, *ſač* 1, 10, *bleip*, 1, 10, *treip*, *zureiz* 1, 26, *greif*, *zôč* etc. Two st. verbs are usually inflected weak: *rûfte* 1, 20; 3, 23 etc. and *ſcrite* (= *schrie*) 1, 23; 9, 24, etc. *worfe* and *worde* are subj. forms.

No *e*-forms could be found in *Elsässische Predigten*<sup>1)</sup>, nor could any levelling be detected. There is almost no apocope of final *-e*.

In Friedrich Closener's *Straßburgische Chronik*<sup>2)</sup> the *e*-forms of the st. prt. occur comparatively often. All that occur in the whole chronicle are given below.

<i>verlore</i> 24 . . . . . 2	<i>ſchluge</i> 35 . . . . . 2
<i>fure</i> 25 . . . . . 3	<i>lage</i> 45 . . . . . 3
<i>ſame</i> 64 . . . . . 1	<i>geſchæhe</i> 14 . . . . . 2
<i>name</i> 124 . . . . . 1	<i>weiße</i> 53 . . . . . 1
<i>erwarbe</i> 6 . . . . . 1	<i>ſtreiße</i> 53 . . . . . 1
<i>hube</i> 7 . . . . . 6	<i>ſpraçhe</i> 93 . . . . . 1
<i>ſtarbe</i> 15 . . . . . 3	<i>lude</i> 85 . . . . . 1
<i>bleibe</i> 35 . . . . . 2	<i>bote</i> 2 . . . . . 5
<i>begrube</i> 119 . . . . . 1	<i>riete</i> 94 . . . . . 1
<i>ſchuffe</i> 52 . . . . . 2	<i>hielte</i> 107 . . . . . 1
<i>riefe</i> 87 . . . . . 1	<i>bate</i> 116 . . . . . 1
<i>vienge</i> 9 . . . . . 10	<i>befaffe</i> 15 . . . . . 1
<i>gienge</i> 23 . . . . . 7	<i>affe</i> 47 . . . . . 1

total 61

Almost half of the examples are found with guttural stems. If the phenomenon were due exclusively to a confusion of strong and weak preterites as most grammarians

<sup>1)</sup> Published in *Alemannia* I, 60—78, 186—194, 225—250, II, 1—28, 101—119, 197—223. These are a translation from the Latin, — *Sermones in evangelia et epist.* (1362).

<sup>2)</sup> BLV. Vol. 1 pp. 1—127. This chronicle was finished in 1362. The author, F. Closener, a priest, translated the old Latin chronicle of Gottfried von Ensmingen (of a century before), adding much of his own material. The dialect is Alem. The whole chronicle was read. No account was taken of the number of the regular forms of the st. prt. occurring.

assume, one would expect the dental stems, especially the *t*-stems, to be far in the lead in number of verbs as well as in actual occurrences of *e*-forms.

There is no levelling at all. We find *reit*—*ritten*, *bleib*—*bliben*, *starb*—*sturben*, *was*-*waren*, etc. throughout. *ziehen* never occurs, *zogen* always being the inf. form. *zoch* occurs several times but the usual pt. is *zogte* which occurs dozens of times, e. g. p. 23. There are thousands of st. prts. in the whole chronicle. Less than 3% of all st. prts. have *æ*.

Only two examples of *e*-forms of the st. prt. could be found in the Chronicle of Jacob Twinger von Königshofen<sup>1)</sup>. These are: *stieße* 235, 20 and *der ginge ime* 236. 4. The 2. p. sing. ind. of the st. prt. ends in *æ*, e. g. *du riete* 238, 1, etc. *zogete* 251, 23; 264, 6 etc. and *rüfte* 270, 13 etc. are exclusive forms. There is no levelling in any class. The *æ* of the weak prt. is always retained even if the next word begins with a vowel, as *solte ustragen* 255, 14; *getroumde ime* 256, 10; *wolte er* 257, 6, etc. The pt. subj. always retains *æ*.

Two examples of the st. prt. in *æ* were found in Dalimil's *Chronik von Böhmen*<sup>2)</sup>: *ware* (ind.) 3, 25 and *virtruge* 24, 35. There is some levelling but only in class III. e. g. *starben* 17, 13; *wordin* 42, 30; in class I. we find *bleib* 29, 36; *erſchain* 37, 7; *ſchreib* (pt.) 18, 1; *ſchreib* (pres.) 18, 6; in class II. *flugin* 34, 6; *virlurin* 36, 1 etc. There are hundreds of examples of st. prts. but only 2 with *æ*. Practically all weak pts. drop final *æ*. Almost all *e*'s in final position are dropped.

No *e*-forms occur in Jörg Katzmair's *Denkschrift über die Unruhen zu München in den Jahren 1397—1403*<sup>3)</sup>. There are some examples of levelling in class I., e. g. *rit* 468, 25; *rait* 468, 32 etc. Such ind. forms occur as *ward(t)*, *waz*, *hueb*, *ſand pat*, *ſtarb*, etc. Old *uo* is usually *ue*. All weak prts. omit *æ*, e. g. *ſandt* 472, 3; *mueſt man* 465, 15; *fuert* 468, 26 etc. All st. prts. subj. also omit final *æ*, as *wär*, *erfund* 469, 15, *wurd* 480, 33 etc.

<sup>1)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 8. The date of composition was ca. 1400, the author, a priest.

<sup>2)</sup> Published by Venceslav Hanka, BLV. 4<sup>o</sup>. Bd. The Ms. is dated 1389. Only the first 53 pages were read.

<sup>3)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 15. The dialect is Bavarian.

In the *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>1)</sup> there are no st. prts. ind. or subj. that end in *-e*. All weak prts. too omit final *-e*. There is no levelling of radical vowels. Thus *reit* — *ritten* p. 41, *ſchran*; *ward(t)* — *wurden* 41, *ſand* — *ſunden* 47; *zoch* — *zugen*, etc. *rüft* (prt.) (46) is the usual form.

No examples of the form under discussion were discoverable in Ulman Stromer<sup>2)</sup>. Almost all prt. subjs. of st. verbs omit *-e*, as well as all weak preterites. According to Kern in his discussion of the language of Stromer p. 308, there is no levelling. He overlooked the forms *ſtarben* 85, 17 and *ſchid* 26, 19. The vowels of the sing. and the plural are usually kept distinct. Such forms occur as *belaiß* 31, 12, *rait* 35, 21, *ſtarb*; *barð* and *barff* almost always for *ward* and *warff*, *ſing* 39, 17, *ſil* 39, 17, *ſlieff* 69, 1, *ſliff* 65, 11, *lies* 42, 5, *ließ* 27, 4, *loff* (= *lief*) 76, 26, *geſach* (for *geſchach* always).

No case of the *e*-form of the st. prt. was found in *Die Weverſlaicht*<sup>3)</sup>. Several were found in "*Dat nuwe boich*"<sup>4)</sup>. In den irſten *geviere id zo einen ziden* 272, 16; *ginge* 273; *do ließe he* 304, 36; *do ließe in der rait uß geventniße* 280, 8; *do beboide der rait* — — 288, 6, so also 298, 6. These are all the examples that were found. They represent a very small percentage of all st. prts. Practically all weak preterites and st. subj. preterites retain final *-e*. Thus it would appear that the addition of an extra *-e* to st. prts. is independent of apocope. At least we cannot say that it is due directly to this, as some explain it.

<sup>1)</sup> "*Gesta Romanorum, das ist der Römer Tat*". Hrsg. von A. v. Keller. Quedlinburg und Leipzig 1841. The date of the translation is about the end of the 14th century. The dialect is Bavarian.

<sup>2)</sup> "*Püchel von mim geschlecht und abentewr*". 1349—1407. Ch. D. S. Vol. 1, Nürnberg. Edited by Theodor Kern, Leipzig, 1862. The chronicle was begun about 1360 and was continued up till Stromer's death in 1407.

<sup>3)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 12, Köln. This is in verse. The date is the latter part of the 14th century.

<sup>4)</sup> Also in vol. 12, Ch. D. S. This is in prose. Author unknown. The date is the very end of the 14th century.

Folk-song<sup>1)</sup>.

In No. 4 of Liliencron's *Volkslieder* (author a Swiss) there are no e-forms of the st. prt., save *zogete* 50. There is no apocope. In No. 13, *Schlacht bei Lampen* (Alem. 1339) there is one example: *Der fenrich witer sprache: grafē § 11*. There is much apocope, but no levelling. In No. 30 we find one instance: *Drum schwure ich nicht gern vor dich* 176. The vowel of the p. part. is often taken into both the sing. and also the plural. e. g. *hob* 174, *schwor* 333, *zogen* 289 etc. This song is Thuringian, ca. 1385. In No. 34, *Die Schlacht bei Sempach* (Alem. ca. 1386) we find one instance, *tame*<sup>2)</sup>. There are two versions of this poem, one of which is according to Tschudi; in stanza 26 (Tschudi) we find *grif*, other version *greiff*. Stanza 49 *dare: ware* (= wahr). No. 40 (1397—1400 Alem. scribe): *es was im hornunge, drumb es in ubel gelunge* p. 193, 2095. No. 51 Johannes Engelmair's *red vom concili zu Constanz*. (Kärnthen-Bavarian) 1414—1418: *von dem concili wil ich schreiben . . . wie es zum ersten vienge an* 67—69 p. 259; *landen: fandē* p. 259. No. 115, p. 535 (Bavarian, much later form than the date would indicate) 1462: *ziēle: entfiēle* stanza 15; *man zoge aus und st. 29; rit* (for *reitt*) in st. 4.

Thus we see that a minimum of use was made of the e-forms of the st. prt. ind. in the Folk-song. This may be partly due to the fact that such forms were never popular but belonged to the higher classes<sup>3)</sup>, or to the fact that only a very sparing use of them was ever made in verse.

The following examples occur in *Die Zerstörung der Burg*

<sup>1)</sup> Vol. 1 of Liliencron, *Volkslieder*, was examined pretty carefully and the very few instances discovered are here given. The songs are referred to by their number in Liliencron's collection.

<sup>2)</sup> Also given in Wack. *Altd. Lesebuch*. col. 1295.

<sup>3)</sup> See Rückert, *Schlesische Mundart im Mittelalter* p. 218: *In unserer Mundart erscheinen solche (e-forms of the ind. st. prt.) Formen sehr frühe, aber sehr vereinzelt, und es scheint, als wenn sie auch hier nie ein wirkliches Leben im Volke geführt hätten, sondern mehr ein Product der Reflexion, nur nicht gerade der gelehrten zünftigen Grammatiker geblieben sind. . . . W. (Weinhold) bemerkt mit Recht, daß man diese Form jetzt nur noch im Munde älterer Bürger höre, was auf dasselbe hinauskommt, wie unsere Behauptung, daß sie nie eigentlich volksmäßig gewesen ist."*

Salkenstein<sup>1)</sup>: Do wart irer einer erstochen; und ê denne er *ersturbe*, do fragetent in die unseren . . sp. 1303; der *pliese ein hörnellin* sp. 1308; Und also nament siu den vor genanten hans Snider, und *stiesse in* (for stießent) dâ hinâch 1305; Da *gienge* siu mit irem frangten lîbe von Sriburg und fand iren Mann sp. 1306. There are several examples of *wurde* that might be indicative forms. The subjunctives of st. prts. retain the final *æ* and the radical vowel has the umlaut sign. There is no levelling except in case of the *e*-forms.

### III. Gradual increase in number and more general extension.

#### From 1400 to 1500.

In this century the *e*-forms of the ind. st. prt. become much more common than in the previous century. However, not until after the advent of printing do we find any great percentage of these forms. Whether there is any causal connection between the rapid rise in the use of these *e*-forms at this time and the general extension of printing, or whether the connection is merely a chronological coincidence, is hard to say. In my opinion, there is some causal relation. The great difference between the high average percentage of *e*-forms in printed texts and the low percentage that is found in Mss., even though dating from 50 to 75 years later than the printings, is too striking to be merely accidental.

The following *e*-forms of the ind. st. prt. occur in Hans von Büchel's *Diocletianus Leben*<sup>2)</sup>: *hieße*: *ließe* 201, *entfließe*: *riefe* 329, *lieffen*: *stieffe* 1281, *stieße*: *enließe* 1327 — all indicative, and usually redup. verbs. But, *Der feiser erschracke aber jere* 686; *Er schwange und schwange mit grum und ad* 1300. Other examples: (*abe*:) *gabe* 1517, *entfließe* (in line) 1529, *lasse* (= *las*) 1706, *füre* (: *müre*) 1977; but (*abe*:) (*id*) *hab* 1979. Rarely do

<sup>1)</sup> Wackernagel, *Altd. Lesebuch*, col. 1303 ff. The date is the 14th century and the dialect Alemannic.

<sup>2)</sup> Hrsg. v. A. v. Keller, Quedlinburg 1841. All the examples that occur in the first 2500 lines are given. The date is ca. 1412. H. v. B. lived near Bonn, but his dialect is not Middle-Franconian — apocope is carried to too great an extent for this dialect.

other words take on an extra *-e*; e. g. *worte*: *gehorte* 1965. As a rule only st. prt. ind. forms admit of an extra *-e*. There is no levelling. Wk. prts. are practically all without *-e*. Thus, *mach̄t* 335, *zuch̄t* 1407, *für̄t* 1593, *ruff̄t* 596 and *zoḡt* 2371 are weak forms.

In Conrad von Weinberg's *Einnahmen- und Ausgaben-register*<sup>1)</sup> the following forms in *-e* are found: *gabe* (6) 14, *name* (9) 1, *ſame* (10) 8, *ließe* (10) 2, *ſchande* (16) 1, *ſtunde* (ind. 30) 1, *enphalle* (11) 1, *leſhe* (11) 3, *hübe* (ind. 16) 1, *füre* (ind.) 1, — 33 examples in all. In the same section there are 110 regular forms, most of which are in the expression *gab ich̄*. Thus over 23% of all st. prts. ind. 1st and 3rd sing. have *-e*. Often the *-e* is added even if the next word begins with a vowel, e. g. *gabe ich̄* 8, 14 etc., *ließe ich̄* 10, 28, *leſhe ich̄* 27 etc. All weak prts. except *hete* omit *-e*. There is no levelling. Some other words take on a superfluous *-e*, e. g. *heime*, *uſſe* (= aus); the expression *ſame heime* occurs frequently.

No example of the form under discussion could be found in Hermann von Sachsenheim's *Mörin*<sup>2)</sup>. The rule is for all final *e*'s to be dropped. Not one weak prt. with *-e* was found. Only one example of levelling was noticed: *ritt*: *mit* 514. The old *ei* of class I. (prt. sing.) is always *ai*. Such plural forms occur as *ſungen* 13, *bunden* 570, *wurffen* 113, *jugen* 284, etc.

### Chronicles.

Most of the chronicles of the series *Chroniken der deutschen Städte* were examined. Here the occurrence of *e*-forms is at a minimum, although most of the chronicles are in prose. In some cases there are very few preterites, this form having been supplanted by other tenses, usually the perfect.

### Nürnberg.

1. Several instances of *e*-forms were found in the *Chronik*

<sup>1)</sup> BLV. 18. Bd. Basel 1438. All st. prts. were counted in the first 32 pages.

<sup>2)</sup> Hrsg. v. Ernst Martin BLV. 137. Bd. Date ca. 1453. From Ms. A 2946, Hofbibliothek in Wien. This is a didactic poem of 6081 verses. The dialect is Swabian.



aus *Kaiser Sigmunds Zeit bis 1434*<sup>1)</sup>. The rule seems to have been to permit the *-e*, with only a few exceptions, only after *h*. We find *sahe* 346, 6, *geſchahe* 347, 14, *verlehe* 365, 3 frequently. One example of *warde* occurs, 365, 1. The percentage of all *e*-forms is very slight. No levelling was detected. All wk. prts. omit *-e*, e. g. *praht* 361, 17, *verprant* 362, 7 etc., but the final *-e* of nouns is generally retained, as *reife*, etc.

2. No ind. st. prts. in *-e* could be found in Endres Tucher's *Memorial*<sup>2)</sup>. Such forms as *ſač*, *geſčač*, *fros* (11, 6) *was*, etc. occur.

3. In *Nürnberg's Krieg gegen den Markgrafen Albrecht von Brandenburg*<sup>3)</sup> several instances occur: *sahe* 124, 24, *geſchahe* aber 161, 21, *zohe* er 155, 11 etc. Each of these occurs several times. No examples of *ſač* or *geſčač* were found but *zoč* 155, 12. Only one example other than *h*-stems was found: *bote* 127, 15. There is some levelling, e. g. *triß* 140, 28 but *rait* 152, 4; *reit* 125, 7 etc. In the plural we find *riten* 156, 8, *zugen* 148, 4, *ſunden* 166, 1, *luffen* (= *lieffen*) 157, 7 etc. Weak prts. all omit *-e*, e. g. *bračt*, *beſtellt* 125, 22 *verclagt* 138, 10 etc. Likewise with the prt. subj. sing. of st. verbs, as *würđ* 125, 24 etc. On the other hand, there is very little apocope of *-e* in nouns, e. g. *ſače* 126, 3 etc.

4. In Sigmund Meisterlin's *Chronik der Reichsstadt Nürnberg*<sup>4)</sup>, only two examples were found: *lehe* 106, 20 and *ſame* 66, 23. There is considerable levelling. Thus we find *ſtrit* 57, 2, but *lait* 57, 19, *ſchreib* 87, 14, *ſchraib* 57, 25 etc. In the plural of class II. we find *zogen* 41, 13 as well as *zugen*. Class III. shows many examples of the sing. vowel taken into the plural, as *warſen* 87, 5; *warden* 59, 24 is almost the exclusive form. There is very little apocope of *-e* except in wk. prts., most of which drop the *-e*.

#### Bavarian cities.

No *e*-forms of the st. prt. could be found in any of the

<sup>1)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 1.

<sup>2)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 2. Date 1421—1440.

<sup>3)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 2. 1449, 1450.

<sup>4)</sup> Hrsg. v. M. Lexer, Ch. D. S. From Ms., date 1488.

Bavarian chronicles. This is quite different from the situation in the 12th and 13th centuries.

1. In the *Mühdorfer Annalen*<sup>1)</sup> there is no levelling. We find *hüb* 385, 23 and *hueb* 384, 16 both ind., *starb* and *starib* 386, 31, *štrait* 384, 1, and *rait* 384, 11. Almost all wk. prts. omit *-e*, e. g. *maçht* 387, 24, *çauft* 387, 6 etc.

2. In the *Landshut*<sup>2)</sup> chronicle there is levelling between *war* 287, 11 and *was* 298, 9, *was* being the usual form. No levelling of radical vowels was detected in any class. We find *geřaç* 313, 26, *řhüeg* 315, 20, *belaib* 300, 25 etc. as ind. forms. Weak prts. usually omit final *-e*, e. g. *řagt* 297, 5, *řaift* 316, 23 etc. There is not much apocope of *-e* in nouns and inflectional endings other than that of wk. prts.

3. There is much levelling in Leonhard Widmann's *Chronik von Regensburg*<sup>3)</sup>. In class I. the old *ei* has given place to *i* from the plural, e. g. *ëiř* 185, 17, *ritt* 176, 7, *řieg* 23, 2. *was* is regular but *war* 16, 21 occurs. *řač* and *geřač* 29, 13 are exclusive forms. In the plural we find: *řohen* 182, 11, *wurffen*, *warfen* 25, 32 etc. There is very much apocope, e. g. *dieser gut alt vater* 28, 28, *die řač* 16, 21 etc. Almost all weak prts. omit *-e*.

### Augsburg.

No *e*-forms of the st. prt. ind. are found in the Augsburg chronicles until 1470. The first levelling is found in Erhard Wahrau's *Chronicle*<sup>4)</sup>, in the plural only. For instance we find *zugen* (usual) and *zogen* 227, 16, *numen* 227, 17, — a verb of class IV., analogous to the plural of class III.; *řurben*, *wurden* etc. are exclusive forms. Most weak prts. ind. and prt. subjs. of strong verbs 1. 3. sing. omit *-e*.

Considerable levelling occurs in the *Chronik der Gründung der Stadt Augsburg bis zum Jahre 1469*<sup>5)</sup>. Thus we find in class I *řraib* 288, 3 (always), *erřain* 291, 4; 295, 16, but *erřain* 292, 7, *iaid* 290, 1, *rait* 312, 12, but *beřtritt* 297, *wiđ* 307,

<sup>1)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 15. 1313—1428. Date of composition ca. 1428.

<sup>2)</sup> Ibid 1439—1505.

<sup>3)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 15. 1511—43, 1552—55. From Ms.

<sup>4)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 4. 1126—1445. Date of composition 1462.

<sup>5)</sup> Ibid. p. 263 ff.

5, *blib* 310, 12, etc. There is no levelling in the other classes e. g. *ward* – *wurden*, *fand* – *funden*, etc.

Several examples of e-forms occur in Burkhard Zink's Chronicle<sup>1)</sup>, nearly all of which are in the rubrics. In the first 50 pages we find *warde* (1, 17; 4, 24 etc.) 5 times, *wurde* (19, 26), and *name* (11, 24) twice. Euphony is not considered, e. g. *warde es* 49, 31 etc. There is the same levelling in the first class that we find above. In class II. the *u* of the plural is often taken into the sing., as *verdruf* 7, 17, *zug* 21, 12 (often): in the plural the *u* is generally retained as *zugen* 4, 7, *schluffen* 20, 14, *fluchen* 20, 21 etc. In class III. the plural vowel often goes over into the sing. e. g. *wurd* 10, 3, *fund* 35, 6 etc. and vice versa *warden* 3, 16; 33, 28 etc., but *funden* 4, 7, *wurben* 9, 12. In class IV. we find *nomen* 17, 14, with the vowel of the p. part. *war* and *was* both occur (21, 31; 1, 16). In the plural *wafen* 33, 18. In class VI, *hueb* 1, 4, *fuer*, *lued*, *schlueg*, etc. As a rule weak prts. omit *-e*.

No examples occur in Konrad Stolle's Chronicle<sup>2)</sup>. From p. 1 to p. 15 142 st. prts. without *-e* occur and not one with *-e*; in the same section 92 weak prts. with *-e* and not one without *-e* occur. There is some levelling but only in the plural. The vowel of the p. part. is frequently taken into the plural prt., e. g. *holfen* 3, *worden*, but never in case of *funden* 2, *bunden* 6, etc. In class IV. we find *quomen*, *nomen*; class V., *erfroden*, *sproden* 7, etc. There is practically no apocope of final *-e*. All infinitives drop final *-n*. *worde* 5, *storbe* 7, *worffe*, *worbe* 13, etc. without umlaut sign are subj. forms.

In the Chronicle of Mainz<sup>3)</sup> several instances of the st. prt. ind. in *-e* occur, but only in 3 verbs: *stunde ein zweitracht* 6, 22; *stunde* 28, 22; 118, 20, *gienge* 166, 29, and *riede in* 37, 5. There are very few preterites, the perfect being used instead. The weak prt. often omits *-e* but not as a rule. We find *gedachte*, *wolde*, *musste*, *irwectet*, *sagete in* 62, 28 etc. There is very little apocope of *-e*. Subj. prts. strong retain *-e*.

<sup>1)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 5. Date about 1470. From Ms.

<sup>2)</sup> Thuringian, Erfurt. From the original Ms. Hrsg. v. L. F. Hesse BLV. 32. Bd. The chronicle was finished about 1499.

<sup>3)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 17. 1332—1452. Date of composition about middle of the 15th century.

No st. prts. ind. in *-e* occur in the *Braunschweig Chronik*<sup>1)</sup>. Apocope is at a minimum here. All weak prts. retain *-e*. Usually the connecting vowel *-e-* is retained, even where it is elided in Modern German, e. g. *matebe*, *horebe*, etc.

One example of the form under discussion was found in the *Spiegel der Laien*<sup>2)</sup> *up de tit do Jhēsus mit Marien und Jōseph in Egipten vlōe*. No extended study of Low German has been made. Enough work has been done, however, to find out that these *e*-forms of the st. prt. are very rare in the North-German dialects.

The following are all the examples that occur in *Bruder Rausch*<sup>3)</sup> *hete* (= *hieβ*) 19, *iete* (= *lieβ*) 87, but *iet* 149, 286 etc., *beide* (ind.): *heiden* 251: *men hete en willetamen sin* 357.

In *Reinke de Vos*<sup>4)</sup> there are no ind. *e*-forms of the st. prt. unless we consider *scheden* a strong verb, as, *mit sodan worden schiede he van dan* 1366; *schede* 2264; *wo Reinke orlof nam unde schiede ut* 3855, etc. In his vocabulary p. 316 Lūbben gives for *scheden*: *schw. v. Praet. schēidebe u. schēide*. The weak form is very rare in *Reinke de Vos*, *schēide* being the usual form. This verb is strong in the other dialects and may be strong here with occasionally a weak form. Of course *schēide* could be a contraction from *schēidebe*, just as we often meet such forms as *antworte* for *antwortete*, etc. On the other hand it could very easily be the strong form with an additional *-e*.

One instance of the ind. st. prt. in *-e* was found in Low-Franconian: *genaße*, Germ. 26, 361, line 30 (14th century).

In Georg von Ehingen's *Reisen nach der Ritterschaft*<sup>5)</sup> many *e*-forms occur. The statistics below are based upon the section pp. 1—28, in which all preterites, strong and weak, were counted.

<sup>1)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 6. 15th century.

<sup>2)</sup> Zs. f. d. Ph. 6, 437. No. 111. Münstersche Hs. vom J. 1444. I am indebted to Professor Collitz for this example.

<sup>3)</sup> DNL. 11. Bd. Hrsg. v. F. Bobertag. 15th century printing, exact date and place of printing unknown.

<sup>4)</sup> Nach der ältesten Ausgabe, Lübeck 1498. Hrsg. v. August Lūbben, Oldenburg 1867.

<sup>5)</sup> BLV. Vol. 1. From the Ms. now in Stuttgart Library. The date is 1455, and the dialect Swabian. Written in prose.

gesǎh . . . . . 14	gesǎhe 2, 26 . . . . . 1
ǎarb . . . . . 5	ǎarbe 3, 11 . . . . . 1
belib . . . . . 1	belibe 3, 36 . . . . . 5
ritt 2, rait (10, 36) . . . . . 3	ritte er 5, 8 . . . . . 1
hielt . . . . . 10	hielte 7, 3 . . . . . 1
gab . . . . . 16	gabe 7, 17 . . . . . 8
ward . . . . . 55	warde 8, 1 . . . . . 2
total 104	19

Thus about 15% of all st. prts. ind. of these verbs that have e-forms in the prt. at all take on the extra *æ*. In the whole section read 294 st. prts. without *æ* and 19 with *æ* occur, or over 6% of all st. prts. ind. 1st and 3rd sing. have final *æ*. In the same section 160 weaks prts. 1st and 3rd sing. without *æ* and 41 with final *æ* occur, that is, only about 20% of all weak prts. retain final *æ*.

Class I. is about completely levelled between sing. and plural, and in favor of the plural vowel. Only 2 examples of the old *ei* (*ai*) in the sing. were noted: *ǎrai* and *rait* 10, 36. Numerous instances of the other forms occur: *ritt*, *ǎhied*, *belib*, *riß*, *ǎrit*, *ǎrib*, etc. The sing. vowel is never taken into the plural. There is practically no levelling in the other classes. Thus we have: *3oǎ* – *3ugen* (10, 9) always, *ǎand* – *ǎunden* (10, 10), *verluren* (27), etc. But *ǎand* (4, 8) 4 times, *ǎund* once (16, 3), *ǎonden* 24, 29. There is some confusion of weak and strong conjugations, e. g. *ruofft* (9, 9) always; prt. *begapt* (14, 17), etc. This is exceeding early for levelling to be carried to such a great extent. Compare this with the usage in Luther nearly a century later. *war* is almost the exclusive form, occurring 62 times to *was* 4 times (e. g. 5, 16). Compare this with the extent that *was* is used by Hans Sachs and Fischart over a century later. There is much apocope of *æ*. No extra *æ*'s are added except to st. prts. and *darabe* (10, 8). Most prt. subsj. strong omit final *æ*.

#### Fastnachtsspiele<sup>1)</sup>.

Only two examples of e-forms of the st. prt. ind. were noted in Part I of Keller's *Fastnachtsspiele*: *aine: uberschaine* 1,

<sup>1)</sup> Adelbert von Keller, *Fastnachtsp. aus dem 15ten Jh.* BLV. Vols. 28, 28, 30. Nos. 28 and 29 contain only the anonymous plays, most of which can be ascribed to one of the following: Rosenblut, Folz, Schernberg, or Gegenbach (s. III., 1077). These men are usually mentioned in

394, 7 and *ſchiede* 453, 16. Only one example could be found in Part II.: *kame*: *namen* 566, 5. No levelling could be detected. Old *ei* of class I is usually written *ai*, e. g. *traib* I, 438, 31, *ſlaich* II, 756, 4, but *greif* II, 758, 24, *vertreib* I, 495, 32, etc. *ſach* and *geſchach* are usual, but *Da ſah ich* II, 754, 25. Old *uo* is, as a rule, written *ue*, e. g. *hueb* 460, 16, *ſchlueg* 486, 1 but *ſchluoch* 446, 34. There is much apocope but not so much as is found farther south in the same period, Here, contrary to the general Alemannic and Bavarian custom, final *-e* is often retained in pres. ind. 1st person of verbs and in the dative sing. of nouns. In the poems ascribed to Rosenblut in Part III. the *e*-forms are much more common. In most cases they occur right at the beginning of the poem, and only there. It may have been felt as "high style" to use the *e*-forms. Further on in the poem the writer would drop back into his ordinary style. This is also the case in Hans Folz. The following examples are found in Rosenblut: *geſchae*: *ſahe* III, 1107; *murder* III, 178 but *wurd*, III, 1188; *clage*: *geschahe*, 1331 — first two lines of *Von dem Wolf*; *Ich gienge eins nachts* — at the beginning of *Die Stiefmutter*, 1331. The proportion of all st. prts. that have *-e* is very slight. There is considerable levelling: *ſchlich*, *ſchnit* 1144, but *graif* 1094, *ſchraib* 1096, *lanb* 1097, *lanz* 1098, *ſchneid* 1148, *reit* 1142; *zoach* 1094, *zohen* 1141; *jungen* 1125, *ſarben* 1132; *ſach* is usual but *ſah* 1124; *was* occurs exclusively.

In Hans Folz the following examples are found: *warte*: *harte* and *finge an* (in first lines of *Ein liet genant der pöſz rauch, in der ſlam weiß.* III. 1279); *kame* 1296; *tage*: *pflage* (at the beginning of *Ystori vom Römischen Reich.* Date, 1480). There is some levelling in class I: *rit*: *mit* 1310, *ſchrenb* 1198, *pleib*: *beſchreib* 1221, etc.; *ſanden* 1213; *was* is usual but *gar*: *war* in *Der fargen Spiel*.

One example of the st. prt. ind. in *-e* was found in Ulrich Fueterer's *Lanzelot*<sup>1)</sup>: *lage* p. 30. There are thousands of

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connection with the Fastnachtspiele of the 15th century. All the plays given by Keller are from Nürnberg. Vol. 30 contains the *Spiele* and *Sprüche* that are assigned to the various authors, Rosenblut, Folz, etc. Vol. 46, which is also in the collection, was not examined.

<sup>1)</sup> Prose romance of the last of the 15th century. BLV. 175. Bd. *Nach der Donaueschinger Hs.* Bavarian dialect.

regular forms of the st. prt. There is no levelling in class I. In the plural of class II we find *flußen* 11, *zohēn* 15, but *zugen* 31. *rufen* is always weak. We find here the usual South-German apocope.

### Medieval Drama.

The following examples occur in the *Frankfurter Passionspiel*<sup>1)</sup> *drenbe* 799, *he sprache* 818, *he wurde en . . .* 822, *lage er* 1708, *starbe: warb* 1708, *wurde* 1727, *riede* 1870, *liednam: name* 1909, *name* 2393, *bade (= bat)* 2507, *iđ riefte "Davidis sone"* und *bade in . . .* 3322; *iđ bade in, das* 3330; *kame* 4210. These are all the e-forms that occur in all 4408 lines. One often finds no -e where he would expect it to be added, e. g. *quam: lame* 870, 3328; *was: haffe* 1353, etc. The latest instances of the 2nd p. ind. of the st. prt. sing. in -e that I have found occur in this play, -e being the almost exclusive 2nd p. ending, e. g. *du wurde* 3684, *ginge du* 4335, *ginge* 2604, *du fluge* 2606, etc. There is very little apocope of -e. No levelling could be detected except in *wurde*.

Several e-forms are found in the *Alsfeld Passion Play*<sup>2)</sup>, but only in case of nasal and liquid stems: *vorname: man: bejann* 2390, *quame iđ* 2799, *iđ sale (soll)* 3720, 3740 etc., *vorhale: uberal* 3544, *gebarre eins kundes lipp* 4726, *gebare: gar* 6062. These are all the examples that occur in the whole play.

No examples of the form in question occur in the *Wiener Osterspiel*<sup>3)</sup> but we find indications of levelling e. g. *fanden* 102, 144. Nor do any e-forms occur in the *Redentiner Osterspiel*<sup>4)</sup>. We find here no evidences of levelling.

Several instances of the st. prt. ind. in -e occur in *Der Seele Trost*<sup>5)</sup>: *do zobarjde hei unzwei* I, 193, 11, *parfte (sic)* I,

<sup>1)</sup> Published by R. Froning in *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, Kürschner DNL. 141, II and III. The Frankfurt Passionplay is from a Ms. bearing the date 1493.

<sup>2)</sup> Froning II, III. From a Ms. of the last of the 15th century. It is in verse, as are all the plays of the series under consideration.

<sup>3)</sup> Froning I. From a Ms. 1472.

<sup>4)</sup> Froning I. 1464. Redentin in Mecklenburg.

<sup>5)</sup> In Frommann's *Deutsche Mundarten* I and II. *Der Seele Trost* is a collection of didactic stories in prose. Köln, 15th century. From manuscript. All the examples are given that could be found in the selections given by Frommann.

225, 66; *Der pais gave eme* einen brief I, 196, 17, *vloe* I, 200, 25. In this last example the *-e* may be merely orthographic as also *zoe*, *doe*, etc., I, 202, 28 and elsewhere. Other examples: *dat groive* (*grub*) *he* up I, 213, 52, but *groif* *fi* up I, 214; *droige he* I, 215, 55, *droige it* I, 222, *erfloige und* I, 223, 64, *reide* II, 1, 69, *floige und* I, 225, 66, II, 6, 75, II, 80, *verloire* II, 11, 80. Other examples are found in a selection from the same in Wackernagel's *Altd. Lesebuch*, e. g. *betroge Amelius* sp. 1314, *dreibe in uf* sp. 1315, *affe er* sp. 1316. There is some levelling but only in class I, e. g. *bliff* (= *blieb*) I, 206, 34, *schriff* (= *schrieb*) I, 209, 42, *begriff* I, 216; *reit*, *bleif*, etc. are usual. All weak prts. retain *-e*. There is practically no apocope of *-e*.

*Die Erste Deutsche Bibel*<sup>1)</sup>.

In Matthew and Mark combined 1033 examples of st. prts. without *-e* occur, and 41 with *-e*. The following with *-e* occur in Matthew: *stunde auf* 33, 44, *gienge aus* 108, 15, *schiede* 15, 35, *sache* 107, 5, *sache* OOa 79, 61, *sprache* 42, 23, *steige* 28, 7, *staige* 31, 31, *schlieffe* 30, 6, *vergabe im* 70, 33, *affe* 43, 44, *asse* 48, 32, *asse an* 109, 54, *gezame* 98, 46, *hienge* 108, 28. The following are some of the examples from Mark: *sache*, *wurffe* Z—Oa 171, 41, *gienge* 122, 43, *rieffe er* 122, 51, *lage* 123, 11, *schiede* 124, 34. Thus in these two books about 4% of all st. prts. 1st and 3rd sing. ind. end in *-e*. There is very little levelling<sup>2)</sup>. Apocope is carried

<sup>1)</sup> Hrsg. v. W. Kurrelmeyer. BLV. Vol. 234ff. The references are to page and line, unless otherwise specified.

<sup>2)</sup> This applies only to M, the earliest printing and to a few subsequent printings. Below is a list of the various printings and some variant readings to illustrate the matter of levelling. M, *Erste deutsche Bibel*, Straßburg ca. 1466; E, *EGgensteyn*, Straßburg ca. 1470 (?); P, *Pflanzmann*, Augsburg ca. 1473 (?); Z, *Zainer*, Augsburg ca. 1475; Za, reprint of Z; A, *die Schweizerbibel*; S, *Sorg*, Augsburg 1477; Zc, *Zweite Ausgabe von Zainer* 1477; Sa, *zweite Ausgabe von Sorg*, 1480; K, *Koburger*, Nürnberg 1483; G, *Grüninger*, Straßburg 1485; Sb, *Schönsperger*, Augsburg 1487; Sc, *zweite Ausgabe Schönsperger*, Augsburg 1490; O, *H. Otmar*, Augsburg 1507; Oa, *Silvanus Otmar*, Augsburg 1518. The references are to chapter and verse. Jerem. 50, 7 *fanden*, ZcSa, others *funden*; 51, 7 *tranden* Z—Sc (OOa u); 36, 20 *empfullen* MEWZ—Sa, *empfallen* K—Oa; 37, 14 *warden* Z—KSb—O; 38, 6 *wurffen* Z—Oa, *wurffen* MEP; *warden* occurs in ZcSa alone 52, 23, 25, 30, 34; Lam. 2, 8 *fanden* ZcSa; 2, 19 *verdarben* ZcSa, also 4, 5; 4, 9 *warden* ZcSa, so 5, 5; 4, 9 *starben* ZcSa. Thus we see that levelling in the plural



to a great extent. The subj. prt., strong and weak, may or may not have *-e*. Most weak preterites drop the *-e*, as the figures from Luke will show. In this book 298 weak prts. without *-e* and 18 with *-e* occur, or only about 6% of all weak prts. retain the *-e*. In this same book 21 st. prts. 1st and 3rd sing. ind. have *-e*. No account was taken of the number of regular forms. A few examples of the *e*-forms are given: *wärde* 212, 5 Z—Oa. *affe* 212, 5, *hübe* 224, 7, *sprachē* 229, 2, *gienge* in 229, 51, *jaſſe* 229, 61, *entſchlieſſe* 237, 26, *ſteige ab* 237, 27, etc. The following are found in John: *ſteige auf* 351, 45, *niederſteige* 360, 12, *kame* 365, 50, *gienge jeſunt* 386, 29. In Tobias (vol. 7) the following are found: *floſe allein* 3, 51, *gienge* 9, 61; 16, 31, *beleibe* in 10, 2; 16, 32, *rieſſe* 11, 37, *briete* 17, 44, etc.

*Das Deutsche Heldenbuch* <sup>1)</sup>.

In the prose summary of 11 pages at the beginning of this, 4 examples of the st. prt. in *-e* occur: *belibe* 8, 7, *geſtarbe* 8, 8, *jahe* 10, 22, *fienge er* 11, 2. Only 4 cases occur in the first 72 pages of verse: *würde* 59, 14, *empfinge*: *kinge* 53, 37, *jahe* 61, 28, *beite*: *wunderſeite*. The forms in *-e* occur much more frequently in the prose rubrics throughout the poem, e. g. *gabe er* 42, *lage es* 126, 4, *anſachē* 154, 3, *empfinge* 170, *erſachē* 342, etc. There is some levelling e. g. *greiff* 49, 6; 53, 22 *beite* 69, 6, *beleib*: *ſchreib* 26, 28, but *belibe* 8, 7, *griff* 44, 13; *jugen* 88, 28;

of class III does not occur before Z. It is most frequent in Zc and Sa. Very little evidence of levelling in the other classes was detected. In case of the *e*-forms of the prt. ind. almost nothing can be made out of the variant readings of the different editions. The critical readings for Matthew will illustrate. The references are to page and line. 12, 27 *ſchied* M—S—Oa, *ſchiede* Zc Sa; 15, 35 *ſchiede* all; 28, 27 *ſteige* all; 30, 6 *ſchlieſſe* M—P, *ſchlieſſ* Z—Oa; 31, 31 *ſtaige auf* all; 32, 44 *ſtunde auf* all; 43, 44 *affe* all; 48, 32 *jaſſe* all; 60, 60 *ſpraçhe* all; 66, 54 *tratte* K—Oa, others have a different word; 70, 33 *vergabe im* all; 79, 61 *erſache einen* OOa, others *ſach*; 97, 22 *gienge* all; 98, 46 *gezame* all; 107, 5 *ſache in* all; 108, 15 *gienge aus* all; 108, 27 *gienge hin* all; 108, 28 *hingē* all; 109, 51 *ſpraçhe* M—P, *ſpraçh* Z—Oa; 109, 54 *jaſſe an* all; 110, 6 *fienge* M, others have a different word; 113, 61 *ſchran* Za SKG Sc, *ſchran* Zc Sa Sb OOa.

<sup>1)</sup> Neu herausgegeben von A. v. Keller BLV. 87. Bd. According to the earliest printing G, place of printing and date unknown. According to Goedecke and Martin it was Straßburg 1477 (see Keller 765). Otherwise Zarncke in Germania 1, 62.

jungen 34, 2, wurden 50, 40 etc. are the usual forms, but warden 10, 37, halffen 26, 15 etc. sach is the regular form. was occurs exclusively, wafen 52, 20. The pres. inf. very often drops the final -n, e. g. erwinde 30, 17, treibe 30, 33, saume 69, 16, finde 98, 18 — a fact, together with the fact that î and û have become ei and au, that seems to indicate that it is not a Straßburg printing. As late as 1494 we have the long vowels î and û kept throughout (e. g. in Brant's *Narrenschiff*) in Straßburg. The omission of -n of the inf. is not characteristic of Straßburg, but occurs very frequently in the Thuringian dialect at this time.

*Decameron.*

In the prose translation of the Decameron<sup>1)</sup> a very high percentage of e-forms is found. I give below some statistics.

a) liquids I. r.	
No regular forms occur	fielē 36, 31 . . . . 5
	fure 36, 24 . . . . 2
b) nasals m, n	
fam . . . . . 43	fame, fōme 19, 23 . . 11
nam . . . . . 31	name 30, 21 . . . . 13
gewan . . . . . 3	schiene 44, 13 . . . 1
	77
	25
c) labials, 1. b	
gab . . . . . 20	gabe 21, 6 . . . . 31
hub . . . . . 15	hube 21, 11 . . . . 14
starb . . . . . 1	starbe 27, 17 . . . . 3
trenb . . . . . 1	treibe 30, 11 . . . . 1
beleib . . . . . 2	schobe 45, 29 . . . . 1
2. f	
grenff . . . . . 1	greiffe 31, 18 . . . . 2
schuff . . . . . 1	schufe 33, 25 . . . . 7
halff . . . . . 2	halffe 57, 8 . . . . 1
lieff . . . . . 1	lieffe 62, 24 . . . . 1
schlief . . . . . 1	
	6
	11

<sup>1)</sup> Long supposed to be by Steinhöwel, but now generally admitted to have been made by Arigo (see p. 32 below). Published by A. v. Keller in BLV. Vol. 51 as belonging to Steinhöwel. I take it up in this order because of convenience in comparing it with Steinhöwel's *Aesop* in regard to the -e of the st. prt. My results confirm the contention that the *Decamerone* and the *Aesop* are not by the same author. The Decameron was printed at Ulm by Johann Zainer of the 70's of the 15th century. My statistics are for pp. 18—73.

d) gutturals 1. g

ging . . . . . 14	betrage 19, 8 . . . . 1
lag . . . . . 2	ginge 19, 24 . . . . 28
	lage 22, 4 . . . . . 2
fing . . . . . 1	ſchluge 24, 37 . . . . 2
	finge 27, 15 . . . . . 9
	range 27, 16 . . . . . 1
	ſtenge 38, 7 . . . . . 2
trug . . . . . 3	flange 51, 2 . . . . . 1
zwang . . . . . 1	truge 56, 24 . . . . . 1
	<hr/>
	21 <span style="float:right">47</span>

2. h, ch.

ſprach . . . . . 117	floche 20, 15 . . . . . 1
geſchach . . . . . 1	ſprache 23, 9 . . . . 15
ſach . . . . . 9	geſchache 27, 2 . . . . 1
ſtach . . . . . 1	geſchache 37, 25 . . . . 1
	ſache 35, 14 . . . . . 4
	ſache 31, 29 . . . . . 19
	zoche 39, 26 . . . . . 8
	ſtache 43, 32 . . . . . 1
	<hr/>
	128 <span style="float:right">50</span>

e) dentals 1. d

ward . . . . . 29	warde 19, 13 . . . . 36
fand . . . . . 4	fande 19, 18 . . . . 11
ſtund . . . . . 2	ſchiede 27, 17 . . . . 4
	ſtunde 27, 32 . . . . 12
	<hr/>
	35 <span style="float:right">63</span>

2. t

pat . . . . . 4	ſchalte 26, 11 . . . . 1
rent . . . . . 2	pate 29, 27 . . . . . 3
	rente 31, 11 . . . . . 10
hielt . . . . . 3	gepote 38, 38 . . . . 10
all others . . . . . 2	hielte 48, 6 . . . . . 2
	<hr/>
	11 <span style="float:right">26</span>

f) ſ-stems 1. ſ

wa3, was . . . . . 190	verloſe 65, 7 . . . . . 1
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2. ſſ

ließ . . . . . 3	lieſſe 24, 6 . . . . . 12
ſaß . . . . . 5	ſaſſe 21, 11 . . . . . 13
	aſſe 41, 18 . . . . . 2
	<hr/>
	8 <span style="float:right">27</span>

## Summary.

Stems in	without -e	with -e	per cent
l, r	0	7	100
m, n	77	25	24
b	39	50	56
f	6	11	65
g	21	47	69
h, ch	128	50	28
ð	35	63	64
t	11	26	70
f	190	1	1/2
ff	8	27	77
total	515	307	37

If *was* and *sprach* are left out of account, over 58% of all st. prts. ind. end in *-e*. As a rule weak prts. omit *-e*. There is practically no levelling of sing. and plural vowels. *ei* or *en* is without exception the radical vowel of the sing. of class I. No evidence of levelling in any class was seen except in class II — *zugen* (usual) and *zogen* 66, 38. No forms as *warden*, *sangen*, *schnoren*, etc. occur. Occasionally other words besides st. prts. take on an extra *-e*, e. g. *palde*, *inne*, *tode* (nom.), *schnelle*, etc., but as a rule only st. prts. ind. 1st and 3rd sing. permit *-e*.

In a translation by Steinhöwel, his *Aesop*<sup>1)</sup>, made at about the same time as the *Decameron* and said to been printed by the same printer at Ulm, the *e*-forms occur very rarely. Out of a total of 255 st. prts. 1st and 3rd sing. ind. that occur in the section pp. 78—136 only 9 have final *-e*. These are: *warde* (88) 1, *erlaide* (89) 1, *schiede* (93) 1, *batte* (123) 2, *stieße* (99) 1, *sache* (104) 1, *lage* 1, *laffe* (133) 1 — a little over 3%. This difference between the use of *e*-forms in the *Aesop* and in the *Decameron* is inexplicable unless we assume that either they are by two different translators or were printed by different printers. The latter is out of the question altogether. Were the two translations made by the same man, it would be almost unthinkable that the same printer, issuing both

<sup>1)</sup> Hrsg. v. Hermann Oesterley. BLV. 117. Bd. According to O. the *Aesop* was printed at Ulm by Johann Zeiner in the 70's of the 15th century. Steinhöwel was born in Swabia in 1420. He graduated in medicine at Padua and settled as a physican at Esslingen. In 1450 he moved to Ulm where he remained until his death in 1482.

perhaps in the same year, should make such a great difference in the language in each case. Such an event is of course possible, but highly improbable. By far the more reasonable assumption is that the translations are by different authors.

Other examples in *Aesop*: *stieße* 157, *verpande* 170, *gefiel* 178, *gienge* 183, *luffe* (= *lieffe*) 184.

There is also a very great difference between the *Aesop* and the *Decameron* in regard to levelling. As was shown above, in the *Decameron* there is practically no levelling of radical vowels of sing. and plural. In the *Aesop*, on the contrary, there is much levelling. This is especially true of class I. Here without exception we have the plural vowel taken into the sing., e. g. *ergrif* 98, *riß* 118, *besiB* 153, *zig* (= *zieh*) 133, *wiñ*, etc. There is also considerable levelling in the plural of class III. Here it is in favor of the sing. vowel, e. g. *sprangen* 120, *bargen* 120, but *bunden* 101. In class II. there is also some levelling, as, *zoßen* 86, *floßen* 112, *u* being the rule. This, with the other differences, makes it very probable that the *Decameron* and the *Aesop* are not the work of the same printer, or are by different authors, — very probably the latter.

In the 1490 version of the *Aesop*<sup>1)</sup> the *e*-forms occur much more frequently than in the Ulm version but not nearly so often as in the Ulm printing of the *Decameron*.

Contemporary with Steinhöwel and Arigo, Niclas von Weil shows no *e*-forms whatever. All of his translations as published by Keller<sup>2)</sup> were examined carefully and not a single st. prt. ind. ending in *-e* was found. One wonders why

<sup>1)</sup> Printed at Basel. A selection from this version is contained in Wackernagel's *Alttd. Lesebuch*, col. 1439 ff.

<sup>2)</sup> BLV. Vol. 57. This is a reprint of A, the oldest printing, perhaps made at Esslingen by K. Fyner 1478. At this time Swabia is the district in which the greatest percentages of the use of *e*-forms of the st. prt. occur. The fact that Niclas von Weil does not employ them may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that he was not a native of Swabia. In his *Translations* p. 350 he says: "Ich bin bürtig von Bremgarten usz dem Ergöw: und hab mich anefangs, als ich in Schwäben kam, großes flyßes gebrucht, daz ich gewonte ze schriben ai fur ei". He says nothing, however, about the *e*-forms of the st. prt. that are so prevalent in his time around him. He does, however, combat the use of final *-e* in all places where it is used

such a marked difference in this regard exists between him and Steinhöwel and Augo, or between the printers. In each case it is prose translations from foreign languages, each printed in Swabia and that in or near the 70's of the 15th century. It is hardly possible to ascribe all the difference to the printers. Niclas von Weil did not follow the popular movement but very probably felt this *-e*, along with most other *e*'s in final position, to be foreign to the South-German dialect and accordingly treated this *-e* like the rest, — that is, he dropped it.

Arigo: *Blumen der Tugend*.

Vogt<sup>1)</sup> would ascribe to "Arigo" both the *Decameron* and the *Blumen der Tugend*. One of the points of similarity that he calls attention to is the use in both of *e*-forms of the st. prt. Karl Drescher is quite of the same opinion<sup>2)</sup>. On p. 203 he gives a list of st. prts. ind. that occur in the *Bl. der Tugend* of Arigo (but not in connection with the question of the identification of him with Steinhöwel): "St. Verba also mit unechtem *-e*, 22 *chome*, 22 *umfinge*, 22 *janče*, 22 *aufgabe*, 22 *starbe*, 22 *gabe*, 23 *warde*, 26 *sprachē*, 29 *aufhube*, 30 *warffe*, 30 *fiele*, 103 *waffe* usw. Zusammen ca. 530 Fälle. Die unechten *-e* sind

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by the Middle and North-German dialects. In his writings all words of wathever class are as a rule without *-e*. Practically all weak preterites omit *-e*.

<sup>1)</sup> Zs. f. dt. Ph. 28, 448—482. The date of the *Blumen der Tugend* is 1468. Among other similarities between the language in the D. and that in the *Bl. d. T.* which Vogt takes as evidence of the identity of the translators, he notes the custom in both of attaching extra *e*'s to words, by Vogt placed all in the same class. After calling attention to the superfluous *e*'s in words other than st. prts., which as a matter of fact are relatively rare, he refers to the *e*'s in the st. prt. 1st and 3rd sing. ind. He says: "Die bekannte Anhängung des *e* an starke Substantiva ist überaus häufig, zB. Dec. *lobe*, *troste*, *wege*, *note*, etc.; TBl *puče*, *teŋe*, *anfrage*, *luste*, etc., aber auch bei dem unflecierten Adj. wird es zugefügt. Beim Verbum sind nicht nur starke Präterita wie *starbe*, *ginge*, *gabe*, *floge*, *warde*, *sače*, *ŧome*, *ŧunde*, *hube* in dem TBl. die Regel, im Dec. mindestens eine ganz gewöhnliche Erscheinung, sind nicht nur Präterita præsentiä wie *mage*, *bedarffe*, *wille*, *weiße*, üblich, sondern das *e* wird auch den verschiedenen Arten des Endungs-*t* in auffälliger Weise angehängt" — p. 475.

<sup>2)</sup> *Quellen und Forschungen* No. 86. Arigo, der Übersetzer des *Decamerone* und des *Fiore di Virtù*.

also im st. praet. ganz besonders zahlreich". We cannot tell anything about the percentages of e-forms as he gives no figures for the regular st. prts. We can see, however, that it is comparatively high, perhaps as great as that in case of the *Decameron*.

*Tristrant und Isalde.*

In the first 30 pages of *Tristrant und Isalde*<sup>1)</sup>, the following e-forms occur:

fure 17, 16 . . . . . 1	zohe 4, 20 . . . . . 2
name 9, 17 . . . . . 1	geschache 6, 15 . . . . . 3
kame 25, 17 . . . . . 3	sahe 7, 1 . . . . . 14
gewane 27, 22 . . . . . 1	warde 1, 11 . . . . . 8
befalhe 5, 11 . . . . . 2	stonde 25, 5 . . . . . 1
schuffe 7, 13 . . . . . 1	riete 8, 11 . . . . . 1
truge 17, 24 . . . . . 2	bate 8, 14 . . . . . 3
gienge 21, 16 . . . . . 2	liehe 27, 17 . . . . . 1

total 46.

In the same section (pp. 1—30) 287 examples of st. prt. ind in *æ* occur. That is, about 14% of all st. prts. end in *æ*. The following forms occur for class I: *flit*, *schreib* 8, 4, *reit* 9, 15, *belib* 15, 24, *schin* 25, 7, *schneid* 27, 24, *griff* 27, 10 etc. *was* is the usual form but *war* 3, 26. No example of *sch* or *sch* occurs in the section under consideration. Practically all weak prts. omit final *æ* as well as st. prt. subjs. From critical readings we see that W has many more e-forms than A<sup>2)</sup>. There is

<sup>1)</sup> Prose romans of the 15th century. Edited by Fr. Pfaff, Tübingen 1881. Pfaff gives the text of A, the Augsburg printing 1498. W is the Worms printing, undated. Relative to the subject of levelling Pfaff says, p. 222: "Eindringen des Pluralvocal des Praet. in den Sing. zeigt W in wurffe, sprunge, schnitte, murde. reit, ritte, ritt gehen in AW neben einander her. Dagegen braucht W stets das alte beleib, bleibe, ergreiffe (aber doch griff) . . . A beleibe, belib, ergriff. Den Singularvocal in den Pl. eingedrungen zeigt A in vanden." We see from this that the printers at Worms also make a very liberal use of the e-forms of the st. prt. ind.

<sup>2)</sup> Karl v. Bahder, *Grundl. d. neuhochd. Lautsystems* p. 14ff, gives a short history of the various "Druckersprachen". In his discussion of the language of the Augsburg printers, for the period before 1500 he makes no mention of e-forms of the ind. st. prt. but refers to the interchange of radical vowels e. g. *rait*, *rit*, *zugen*, *zogen* (p. 18) etc. For the 2nd half of the 16th century he says: "e wird auch öfters angehängt, z. B. wurde". He

very little levelling in A outside of that in class I. With e-forms of the ind. st. prt. there seems to be here as in most places a decided preference for final position in the clause or sentence. No considerations whatever were had for euphony. e. g. *warde er* 12, 18, *befalhe en* 5, 11, *sahe im* 19, 2, *wiederriete im* 8, 11, *kame ein Mann* 27, 1, *ließe er* 27, 17 etc. The following sentence defies all rules: *Als er do gesehen ward, warde er . . . . gelobt.* 9, 16.

In "*Die cronica van der hilliger stat van Coellen*"<sup>1)</sup> printed in Köln by Koelhoff in the year 1499 the forms in question occur frequently. No statistics were made. The percentage of such forms may be estimated at 3 or 4% of all st. prts. Some examples are given: *entstonde ein* 648, 13, *hielde auch* 658, 30, *afftonde ein* 648, 13, *hielte* 666, 13, *stunde* 729, 37, *verlore* 665, *zoighe* 719, 34, *wurde* 724, 9 etc.

There is practically no levelling except in the plural of class III, where the plural often has the vowel of the p. part., e. g. *stornen* 667, 22 etc. but (usually) *sturnen* 664, 11. All weak prts. retain *-e*. There is no apocope of final *-e* in any class of words.

No st. prts. ind. 1st and 3rd sing. in *-e* occur in the language of Berthold von Chiemsee<sup>2)</sup>, nor in the selections given in Wackernagel's *Altd. Lesebuch* from Petermann Ettelin's *Chronik der Eidgenossenschaft* (Basel 1507) and from Geiler v. Kaisersberg's "*Der Has im Pfeffer*", Straßburg 1511.

In Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*<sup>3)</sup> no e-forms occur. Here apocope of *-e* is at its height. Practically every *-e*, inflectional or otherwise, is dropped. This is in no way due to negligence, as it is well known that Brant exercised a close supervision over the printing of his *Narrenschiff*. There is no levelling. The *ei* of the sing. of class I is retained without exception.

has surely overlooked the fact that in the 1498 printing referred to above many e-forms occur. It seems that as 14% of all st. prts. in this have *-e*, he should have noticed and noted the occurrence of such forms in Augsburg printings before the middle of the 16th century.

<sup>1)</sup> Ch. D. S. Vol. 14. Köln No. 3.

<sup>2)</sup> At least there is no mention of such forms in W. F. Lubke's extended study of the language of Berthold, *Mod. Phil.* X, 208 ff.

<sup>3)</sup> Kürschner DNL. 16 B. Basel 1494.



## IV. Great frequency of occurrence. From 1500 to 1600.

In this century the forms of the st. prt. in *æ* are extended very much over the whole of Germany. This is due largely to the extension of printing, the practices of the printers of one locality being copied more or less by those in another locality. This applies, in my opinion, especially to the use of *e*-forms of the st. prt. by the printers of South-Germany, particularly of the Alemannic and Swabian cities. Although the printers, as well as the authors, of Middle and North-Germany make use of these forms, their use of them at no time ever reached very high percentages as compared to the usage in the South. Thus we see Luther making a slight use of these forms, in my opinion, whether in him or his printer, a conscious borrowing from the Oberdeutsch. But this in Luther is confined to a very few forms, two or three of which however are used almost exclusively. Although never used to a great extent in a large part of Germany, yet in the 16th century these *e*-forms were extended more or less all over Germany. But withal, the South-German dialects still maintain by far the distinction of being the great center of these *e*-forms.

No example of the form under discussion could be found in Thomas Murner's *Narrenbeschwörung*<sup>1)</sup>, although Balke calls attention to the occurrence of such forms in the poem, citing as an example *geſſahe* but giving no reference. Such forms do occur in Murner but very rarely unless we identify Murner with the author of Till Eulenspiegel. The variation between the usage of *e*-forms of the st. prt. in Murner's poems and that in Till Eulenspiegel would not militate against the view that Murner is the author of the latter, knowing as we do the great difference in this regard between prose and verse. Shumway<sup>2)</sup> calls attention to several instances but gives no references. The examples that he gives are for only classes I

<sup>1)</sup> Straßburg 1512. DNL. 17. Bd. Edited by G. Balke.

<sup>2)</sup> Daniel B. Shumway, *The verb in Thomas Murner*. *Americana Germanica* I, No. 3 p. 17 ff.

and III, — verlic̄he, verlic̄he, lic̄he and only one example in class III: halfe.

In *Till Eulenspiegel*<sup>1)</sup> 2122 st. prts. without *-e* and 71 with *-e* occur, or nearly 4% have *-e*. I give some of the examples of the *e*-forms; trūge 22, 15, gienge 43, 36, fienge 24, 13, trange 63, 17, zohe 28, 17, flohe 44, 20, sahe 27, 7, stūnde 35, 12, bande 28, 12, bote 48, 31, liehe 54, 10, gosse 57, 35, lieffe 46, 7 etc. The following figures relative to levelling might be of interest: was 216, war (24, 2) 11; sah, sach 54, sahe 27. In class I we find bleib 16, blib 2; treib (27, 29) 6, trib (24, 26) 3; schneid (25, 18) 12, schnitt 3 — never schneit or schnid, steig 5 stig 1; schweig (38, 16) 14, schwig 2, etc. Thus in class I the *ei* predominates. In class II there is some levelling chiefly in the plural. For the sing. zug and jut occur once each; in the plural zohen and zugen are about aually divided. No example of the plural vowel taken into the sing. of class III occurs. The *a* of the sing. in liquid+cons. stems is frequently taken into the plural, e. g. warden 24, 16 (the usual form) and halffen 22, 21, etc., but never in case of the nasal+cons. stems, e. g. jungen 58, 7, sprungen 58, 7, trungen 59, 26 etc. All the *e*-forms with only one exception have the vowel of the sing. In every case of levelling, if there is a difference of radical consonants, the radical consonant always follows the radical vowel, e. g. schneid but schnitt always. zohe, zohe but zug, job (usual) but jut; plural zohen and zugen, never zuhen or zogen. In class VI stūnd is usual, but once stōt 30, 10. There is very much apocope of final *-e*. Over 50% of all weak prts. drop the *-e*. The prt. subj. of strong verbs (1st and 3rd sing.) generally omits *-e* and very frequently the umlaut sign is also dropped.

In the *Pfarrer von Kalenberg*<sup>2)</sup> all weak prts. drop final *-e*, as well a most st. prt. subjs. 1st and 3rd sing. There is much apocope of *-e*. Among hundreds of examples of ind. st. prts. no *e*-forms occur.

In the *Histori Peter Lewen des andern Kalenbergs*<sup>3)</sup> many

<sup>1)</sup> Straßburg 1515. Kürschner DNL. 25. Bd. *Volksbücher des 16ten Jahrhunderts*. Hrsg. v. F. Bobertag.

<sup>2)</sup> End of 15th or beginning of 16th century. Vienna printing. In verse. DNL. 11. Bd. Hrsg. v. F. Bobertag.

<sup>3)</sup> Frankfurt ca. 1557. Also in verse. DNL. 11. Bd. Ed. F. Bobertag.

e-forms occur, but they comprise only a small percentage of all st. prts. All that occur in the whole poem are given: *wurde* ein 71 (*wurd* ihr 279, *wurd* alles 720); *wurd* is the usual form 365, 833, 1045 etc.; *ward* is very rare; *erschrackte*: *padte* 183; *affe* 496, *begabe* 501, *sante*: *ertrante* 692, *tame* 789, *sahe* er 791, *empfande*: *fande* 855, 58, *zohe* 882, but *zoch* 902, *gabe* erst 948, *stiehe* 1145, *bliebe* 1213, *auffahe* 1222, *gefiele* 1241, *budhe* 1308, *verfahe* 1367; *sach* is the usual form, 243, etc., but *sah* euch 731; *was* 1035 and *war* 1105, 1160, both occur. Class I has been almost completely levelled out in favor of the plural vowel and this i has been lengthened in many cases to ie. Practically all weak preterites omit *-e*.

In Johann von Morzzheim's *Spiegel des Regiments*<sup>1)</sup> not one st. prt. ind. in *-e* occurs out of a total of 70. There is no levelling of radical vowels. In class I *ei* occurs always, e. g. *scheib* 50; *war* 33 and *was*: *mas* 53 both occur; *sah* 125, 157, etc. and *sa* 592 but never *sach*. Practically all words irrespective of class omit *-e*.

In Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*<sup>2)</sup> only 3 st. verbs have forms with *-e* in the prt. ind. 1st and 3rd sing.

<i>zoch</i> . . . . .	4	<i>zohe</i> . . . . .	4
<i>sach</i> . . . . .	2	<i>sahe, sahe</i> . . . . .	17
<i>was</i> (3) . . . . .	81	<i>fienge</i> . . . . .	1
<i>war</i> . . . . .	8		
all others . . . . .	414		
	509		22

Thus about 4% of all st. prts. ind. have *-e*. Up to No. 26 there are 149 weak prts. without *-e* and just one with *-e*, or less than 1% of all weak prts. retain *-e*. There is almost no levelling, except in class II, — *zohe*n etc., but *sutten*. In the sing. of the first class we find *ei* without exception, e. g. *schei*, *treib*, *scheib*, etc.

The e-forms of the st. prt. ind. are much more numerous

<sup>1)</sup> Hrsg. v. K. Goedeke. BLV. 37. Bd. "Getruickt zû Oppenheim". At the end of the poem we find "Geendet seligklich 1515". All 957 lines were read.

<sup>2)</sup> Straßburg 1522. Selections in Kürschner DNL. 24. Ed. F. Bobertag. Statistics are based upon pp. 1—50.

in Jörg Wickram's *Rollwagenbüchlein*<sup>1)</sup>. All the st. prts. in *e* that occur in the selection in DNL. Vol. 24 are given.

schren . . . . .	4	schreie . . . . .	1
fiel . . . . .	4	fiele . . . . .	2
was 30, war 45 . . . . .	75	ware . . . . .	2
kam . . . . .	29	kame . . . . .	12
		blibe . . . . .	2
treib . . . . .	6	tribe . . . . .	1
gab . . . . .	21	gabe . . . . .	1
hub . . . . .	4	hube . . . . .	1
schlug . . . . .	2	schluge . . . . .	1
fieng . . . . .	9	fienge . . . . .	3
trug . . . . .	4	trüge . . . . .	1
gieng . . . . .	9	gienge . . . . .	3
erschrad . . . . .	1	erschrade . . . . .	1
zog, zoch . . . . .	7	zoh . . . . .	3
sach . . . . .	2	sah . . . . .	9
fand . . . . .	5	fande . . . . .	2
ward . . . . .	31	warde . . . . .	12
aß . . . . .	7	affe . . . . .	2
ließ . . . . .	17	ließe . . . . .	1
all others . . . . .	168		
	416 13%		65

There is some levelling here but mainly in the first class. The old *ei* of the sing. is usual but occasionally forms like *tribe*, *blibe*, *griff* p. 188 occur. In the plural of class II, *zugen*, *zogen* and *zugen* all are found. In the plural of the third class the *u* is always retained e. g. *trunden*, *funden* etc. There is very much apocope here. About as many weak prts. have the *e* as st. prts. do. About half of the st. prt. subjs. omit final *e*.

Valentin Schumann, *Nachtbüchlein*<sup>2)</sup>.

was 2, war 25 . . . . .	27	ware . . . . .	4
führ . . . . .	1	füre . . . . .	1
kam . . . . .	13	kame . . . . .	6
nam . . . . .	12	name . . . . .	2
	53		13

<sup>1)</sup> DNL. 24. Bd. pp. 233—270. Wickram was "Stadtschreyber zu Burckhaim". The date of the first printing 1555, place unknown. The 1565 version was printed by Sigmund Feyerabend at Frankfurt a. Main.

<sup>2)</sup> Kürschner DNL. 24. Bd. Leipzig early in the 16th century. Prose. All the st. prts. in the whole section that is given where counted.

	53		13
trieb 2, treib 1 . . . . .	3	tribe . . . . .	2
		schlaffe . . . . .	1
		schweige . . . . .	1
gieng . . . . .	11	gienge . . . . .	2
		stac̄e . . . . .	1
sach, sah . . . . .	4	sache . . . . .	8
sprach . . . . .	63	sprache . . . . .	1
stund . . . . .	5	stunde . . . . .	5
fand . . . . .	2	fande . . . . .	4
ward . . . . .	11	warde . . . . .	2
all others . . . . .	99	wande . . . . .	1
	<u>251</u> 14 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>10</sub>		<u>41</u>

The sing. of class I is about equally divided between the *ei* and *i*. The plural of class II usually has the vowel of the singular as *zogen* etc. The plural of class III is divided between the *a* and *u*, perhaps with the sing. vowel predominating, e. g. *halffen*, *warden*, but *wurffen*; *sprangen*, *trand̄en*, *besunnen* etc. In the same section 86 weak prts. without *-e* and 9 with *-e* occur a percentage of *e*-forms much less than that of the *e*-forms of the st. prt. Usually the weak preterite ends in *-et* as in Luther.

Michael Lindener, *Rastbüchlein und Katzipori*<sup>1)</sup>.

was 1, war 30 . . . . .	31	ware . . . . .	1
tam . . . . .	5	tame . . . . .	2
nam . . . . .	8	name . . . . .	1
gab . . . . .	8	gabe . . . . .	1
		schribe . . . . .	1
		drunge . . . . .	1
zog . . . . .	2	zoge . . . . .	1
gieng . . . . .	8	gienge . . . . .	2
fieng . . . . .	2	fienge . . . . .	1
		sache . . . . .	7
		geschache . . . . .	1
ward . . . . .	3	wurde (p. 288) 1, warde 2	3
fand . . . . .	2	funde . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	51	bate . . . . .	2
		schnitte . . . . .	1
	<u>120</u> 18 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>10</sub>		<u>26</u>

No example of *ei* was found in the sing. of class I. The *e*-form often has the plural vowel when the form without *-e*

<sup>1)</sup> Leipzig 1558. DNL. 24. Bd. All st. prts. that occur in the selection from this book given in Kürschner were counted p. 278 ff.

retains the sing. vowel, e. g. *drunge*, *wurde*, *funde*. Most weak prts. drop final *-e*.

Hans Wilhelm Kirchhoff, *Wendunmuth* <sup>1)</sup>.

was 6, war 30	, . 36	ware (340)	. . . . . 1
gieng . . . . .	26	gienge . . . . .	1
trug . . . . .	8	truge . . . . .	1
ſach . . . . .	2	ſahe . . . . .	7
ſtach . . . . .	1	ſtoche (345)	. . . . . 1
ſtund . . . . .	8	ſtunde . . . . .	3
		underwande . . . . .	1
ward . . . . .	22	warde . . . . .	1
hielt . . . . .	5	hielte (340)	. . . . . 1
trat . . . . .	2	tratte . . . . .	1
All others . . . .	158		
	<hr/>		
	268		18
	6%		

In the sing. of class I *ei* is the rule, only one example of *i* occurring in the whole selection. In the plural of class III *a* is never borrowed from the sing. e. g. *funden*, *verſchwunden*, etc. *worden* occurs, the *o* being taken from the p. part. Most weak prts. drop *-e*.

Jacob Frey, *Gartengesellschaft I* <sup>2)</sup>.

ſam . . . . .	17	ſame 232	. . . . . 1
nam . . . . .	16	name 215	. . . . . 2
gab . . . . .	15	gabe 214	. . . . . 1
		betroge 220	. . . . . 1
gieng . . . . .	14	gienge 235	. . . . . 1
ſah, ſach . . . . .	2	ſahe . . . . .	4
ſoh . . . . .	1	ſohe . . . . .	13
ward . . . . .	30	wurde (214) 1, warde	
		(214) 4	. . . . . 5
ſand . . . . .	2	ſande 220	. . . . . 1
ließ . . . . .	11	ließe 219	. . . . . 2
trat . . . . .	1	tratte 222	. . . . . 1
ſcheiß . . . . .	2	ſchiße 224	. . . . . 1
		maße 226	. . . . . 1
aß . . . . .	3	aße 234	. . . . . 1
All others . . . .	161		
	<hr/>		
	272		35
	11%		

*war* occurs 16 times, *was* 46. In the sing. of class I *ei* and *i*

<sup>1)</sup> Frankfurt 1563. DNL. 24. Bd. My figures are based upon pp. 308—350.

<sup>2)</sup> DNL. Vol. 24. The edition of 1575 is followed; the place of the printing is unknown. Frey was "Stattschreyber zu Maurszmünster" See Goedeke Grdr. § 159. The earliest edition bears the date 1556.

are about equally divided, e. g. *ſteig*, *reit*, *ſcheiß* etc. and *blib*, *verwiß* etc. There is no levelling in class III except in *wurde* and *warde*. Most weak prts. drop *-e*. St. prt. subjs. forms with *-e* and without *-e* are about even in number.

Martin Montanus, *Gartengesellschaft II* <sup>1)</sup>.

fam . . . . .	19	fame 244 . . . . .	3
ſtig . . . . .	2	zoge, zohe 240 . . . . .	9
gieng . . . . .	12	ſtige 244 . . . . .	1
ward . . . . .	9	ginge 244 . . . . .	3
ſtund . . . . .	2	warde 241 . . . . .	4
fand . . . . .	2	ſtunde 242 . . . . .	2
		fande 248 . . . . .	1
		ſahe 242 . . . . .	7
batt . . . . .	2	batte 245 . . . . .	1
reit . . . . .	5	ritte 246 . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	97		
	<u>150</u>		<u>32</u>
	17%		

*was* occurs 9 times, *war* 15. Only one verb in class I has the old *ei* in the prt. sing. ind., — *reit*. In all other cases we find *i*, as *blib*, *trib* etc. In class III *a* of the sing. is often taken into the plural e. g. *warden* 246, etc. Most words, including weak prts. omit final *-e*.

In the same author's *Wegkürtzer* <sup>2)</sup> we find a much higher percentage of *e*-forms. This difference is most probably due to the printers and not to the author. The date is about the same in each case, both written in prose. All the *e*-forms are given.

befahl . . . . .	1	befahle 256 . . . . .	2
nam . . . . .	5	name 261 . . . . .	1
lieff . . . . .	3	befane 225 . . . . .	1
		lieffe 257 . . . . .	2
		ſprange 257 . . . . .	1
ſchlug . . . . .	3	ſtiege 255 . . . . .	2
gieng . . . . .	7	ſchluge 256 . . . . .	1
fieng . . . . .	4	gienge 256 . . . . .	1
		fienge 260 . . . . .	2
		ſahe 254 . . . . .	12
		geſchahē 255 . . . . .	1
3ođ . . . . .	1	zohē 260 . . . . .	2
	<u>24</u>		<u>28</u>

<sup>1)</sup> Straßburg 1557. DNL. 24. Bd.

<sup>2)</sup> Frankfurt 1565. DNL. 24. Bd. Schwänke 316--318.

	24		28
stund . . . . .	2	stunde 257 . . . . .	3
fand . . . . .	1	fande 256 . . . . .	1
ward . . . . .	7	warde 256 . . . . .	2
thet, that . . . . .	6	thete . . . . .	2
tratt . . . . .	2	trate 254 . . . . .	1
		bate 254 . . . . .	1
		laje 255 . . . . .	1
hieß . . . . .	1	hieße 255 . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	63		
	106		40
	27%		

war occurs 11 times, was 5. Here also the ei of the sing. of class I is practically supplanted by i. This i is very often lengthened and such forms as bließ, trieb, stiege, but schnitt, schwig etc. occur. Thus in the sing. of class I we find ei, i and ie. In class III verbs whose stems end in r+cons. almost always have a in the prt. plural e. g. warden 256, warffen etc., but those with n+cons. never, e. g. funden 256 etc.

Only one example of a st. prt. ind. in -e occurs in Paul Rebhun's *Susanna*<sup>1)</sup>, — ware: offenbare 1, 1, 20. Throughout the play there is an alternation of scenes containing either all masculine or all feminine rimes. In case of the example given the -e is added merely to produce a feminine rime. The reverse is very often the case. In the scenes with masc. rimes the final -e is often dropped in both words and that contrary to Rebhun's usual practice, e. g. (die) gab: (iç) hab, etc. Strong preterites occur frequently both in rime and verse but only one example with -e is found in the whole play.

#### Luther.

The use of e-forms of the st. prt. by Luther is different from that of any before him and from that of most writers until the beginning of the 18th century. Although the percentage of all such forms is greater in Luther than that in the First German Bible, yet practically all of this is to be accounted for by the use of jaße, which occurs almost exclusively. Of course other forms in -e occasionally occur, yet their occurrence is so rare that it leaves the percentage essentially

<sup>1)</sup> Paul Rebhun's Dramen. BLV. 49. Bd. Susanna, 1535, Zwickau.



unaffected. Thus in Luther the use of the st. prt. in *-e* is practically confined to *jahe*, but this form, with very rare exceptions, is the exclusive form whether in his Bible or elsewhere.

In Genesis<sup>1)</sup> *jahe* occurs 63 times; *jah* does not occur; *flohe* 8 times 39, 12, 13, 15; 14, 10; 16, 6 etc. Other examples: *gienge* 37, 14, *treibe* 39, 10, *stunde* 41, 17. In Matthew *jahe* is found 25 times; *jach* or *jah* does not occur. No other *e*-forms of the ind. are found in Matthew. In Mark *jahe* occurs 32 times, *hube* (6, 2) only once, and *flohe* (14, 52) once. In Luke, we find *jahe* 38 times. No other *e*-forms occur. Thus to summarize: In the four books of the Bible that were read we find *jahe* 158 times, *flohe* 9 times, all others combined 5 times. No example of *jach* or *jah* was found anywhere in the Bible, even when the next word begins with a vowel. Other examples from the Bible: *schuge* I. Maccab. 5, 3, *laje* 5, 14, *zoge* aus 5, 65, etc. Other examples found in Luther: *lage* am K 15, 320, *fiele* 325, 34, *wurffe* (?) 325, 37. In all the "*Geistliche Lieder*" given in DNL. 15. Bd. *jahe* does not occur but *jah* (once) and *jach*: *geschach* p. 361 occur. In all these poems not one example of a st. prt. ind. in *-e* is found. One example occurs in the Fables, *stunde* p. 434. Other examples: *laje* E, 1, 4, *wurde* 1, 18, *stunde*. Two examples of *jahe* are found in *Wider Hans Worst*. In Gen. 24, 53 we find *gab* but *gabe* in the corresponding passage in the sermon on Genesis, 1527.

In all my reading in Luther I have been able to find only one example of *jach* and two of *jach*, each time riming with *geschach*. *war* is the exclusive form. There is some levelling but chiefly in the plural of classes II and III. In class I the old *ei* without exception is kept. In the plural of class II we usually find the vowel of the sing. e. g. *zogen*, *zohen*, *flohen* etc. In class III the plural of the verbs with stems in liquid+cons. very frequently has the *o* of the p. part. e. g. *worffen*, *worden*, Matth. 25, 5, etc, but never in case of *n+cons.*-stems as *trunden*, *funden* etc. There is some apocope of final *-e*, especially in the weak prt. Perhaps more than half of all weak prts. in

<sup>1)</sup> For the readings in the Bible the critical edition of Bindseil und Niemeyer was used. There is very little difference in the variant readings in regard to the *e*-forms. My other readings in Luther are referred to by letter: K. = Kürschner DNL. 15. Bd.; E. = Enders I.

Luther retain the connecting vowel *-e-* but drop *-e*, as *bawet*, *maçet*, *nennet*, etc. Frequently both *e*'s are dropped. In the various editions of the Bible and parts of it there is a great confusion of subj. and ind. forms of the st. prt.

### Hans Sachs.

The occurrence of *e*-forms of the st. prt. in all the poems of Hans Sachs except his *Meisterlieder* is very rare indeed. In the 12 Vastnachtspiele published in Braune's *Neudrucke* Nos. 26 and 27, among over a hundred examples of strong preterites ind. 1st and 3rd sing., with 43 verbs represented, not a single preterite indicative 1st and 3rd sing. ends in *-e*. The situation in the *Einfache Sprüche*<sup>1)</sup> is about the same. In all the Sprüche read only two examples in *-e* occur: *gäbe* 21, 273, *vergienge* 18, 7. There are in the same poems 401 examples of st. prt. ind. without *-e*, 214 weak preterites without *-e* and not one with *-e*. In his strophic poems<sup>2)</sup> there are many forms in *-e*. Here much freedom was permitted and almost any liberty was taken to secure a rime. This liberty consisted both in adding and in dropping off end-vowels. Often a final consonant was dropped: sometimes even *-e* was added after a consonant had been dropped, e. g. *fure: wure* (= *wurd*), *entrune: stune* (= *stund*) etc. Here levelling is carried to a much greater extent than in his other poems, this largely on account of the convenience in forming rimes. All examples that occur in the selection in DNL. 20. Bd. are given<sup>3)</sup>. No statistics were made but the percentage of all st. prts. that have *-e* is not great. The references are to page and line: *stune: entrune* 48, 52, 3, *fure: wure* (= *wurd*) 61, 11, *fraße (: Straße)* 62, 36, *gepare (: dare)* 62, 6, *einließe: stieße* 64, 4, 8, *warße (: scharfe)* 65, 38, *name: kame* 67, 1, *geschriebe (: liebe): pliebe* 72, 1—3, *prone* (= *brann*) (: *schone*) 72, 5.

<sup>1)</sup> Edited by B. Arnold, Kürschner DNL. 20. Bd. The following "*Sprüche*" were read: Nos. 2 (1530), 3 (1530), 4 (1530), 7 (1533), 11 (1539), 12 (1540), 14 (1540), 18 (1545).

<sup>2)</sup> DNL. 20. Bd.

<sup>3)</sup> For other examples of the st. prt. in *-e* see D. B. Shumway's Göttingen dissertation, *Das ablautende Verbum bei Hans Sachs*. Every st. verb is taken up in detail and occasionally forms in *-e* are given. There is, however no attempt at completeness in this regard. To many verbs that in the list below have *e*-forms (there are no such forms) cited by Shumway at all.

verlore: gepore 74, 67, (junge:) sprunge 74, 74, (gewone:) entrone 76, 139, umbfinge: entfinge: ginge 77, 174, jahe 78, 219, gienge (: Jünglinge) 79, 235, triebe (: liebe) 79, 236, abschwunge 79, 258, punde (: alstunde): stunde (verb) 80, 282, dratte 80, 288, schriebe (: liebe) 80, 281, pefchlieffe: entlieffe 81, 321, gepare (: jare) 81, 327, wafe: afe (= af) 82, 341, (liebe:) pefchriebe 82, 349, ginge: anfinge 82, 2, erfhine er 89, 3 (pure:) fuere 91, 56, wafe (: StraÙe) 93, 63, faÙe: wafe 94, 1, fchame: kame 95, 53, warffe (: fcharffe) 69, 27, ware (: gare) 97, 1, wuere (= wurde): anfuere 98, 15, (ftras:) was 99, 51; the next two lines end ware (: jare); kame: fchwame 99, 5, fturbe: verdurbe 103, 17, durchdrunge: fchlunge 103, 31, gelange (: Scllange) 104, 39, ware (: jare) 105, 1, verfwunde (: munde) 107, 74.

From this it is seen that nearly all of the e-forms of the st. prt. ind. occur in the rime. If there is a difference between radical vowels, that vowel is used that suits the rime; when not in the rime, it seems that the vowel of the plural is preferred. All the examples above are for the period 1524—54. Later Hans Sachs came to exercise more care in the use of final e's<sup>1</sup>).

Levelling is carried to a much greater extent in Hans Sachs than in Luther. This applies to all his poems, strophic or otherwise. It consists, in the main, in the frequent transfer of plural vowel into the sing. of classes I, II, and III, none of which occurs in Luther. The reverse is very frequent in classes II and III but never in class I. In class I we find *treib*, *zerreiß*, *fchran* 74, 69, *fchweig* 64, 18, *fchneid* 64, 22, *fchein*, etc.; *trieb*, *blieb*, *riß* 103, 18, *fchriebe*, *fchnit*, *erfhine*, *fchlich* 64, 15 etc. In class II: *zog*, *zug* (frequently), *bot*, *verfur* etc.; pl. *zogen*, *zugen* 102, 29,

<sup>1</sup>) Among the rules imposed by the *Mastersinger* guilds upon the members of the guilds at this time in Nürnberg we find these prohibitions: 1) *Verstöße gegen die Sprache der Lutherischen Bibelübersetzung* and 2) "ungehörige Flexionen. Unterdrückung der Flexionssilben, oder Hinzufügung (wafe für was etc.);" — see Goedeke *Grundriß* § 139. It is very probable that No. 2 was largely due to Lutheran influence. Thus we see that the influence of Luther tended to lessen rather than to increase the use of e-forms of the strong preterite. This applies to the percentage of all st. forms that have *-e* and to the number of verbs that permit the *-e*, but not to the exclusive use of such a form as *jahe*, which is practically the only e-form in Luther, — but more about this later.

44 etc. In class III *wart*, *wartf*, *ſchlang*, etc.; *wurt* 103, 21, 75 102 etc., *wurff*, *ſturbe*, *verdurbe*, *drunge*, *ſchlunge* etc.; plural: *u* is usual but *warfen* 68, 38. In class IV many such forms as *num*: *tum* 6, 32, *numb* etc. analogous to class III occur. There is very little levelling in any of the other classes. *was* and *war* are about equally divided in occurrence, *was* usual in rime and *war* either in verse or rime; *wäſen* occurs in Braune *Neudrucke* 26, 6, 117.

There is the usual South-German apocope. Most weak prts. and st. prts. subj. omit final *-e*. Many words other than verbs may take on an extra *-e* but not nearly to the extent that st. prts. (ind.) do. For instance, we find *den Weine*: *alleine* 95, 50. This is true only in the strophic poems.

#### Fischart.

The examination of the language of Johann Fischart<sup>1)</sup> is interesting in that it shows very clearly the difference between prose and verse in regard to the use of the *e*-forms of the st. prt.

In the first 2166 lines of "*Eulenspiegel Reimweiß*" (exclusive of the prose rubrics) 318 st. prts. without *-e* occur within the verse and 107 in the rime; in the same selection only 5 with *-e* occur, all within the verse: *warde*, *ware* 262, *lieffe* 335, *gabe* 1995, and *bate* 2081, or only about 1% of all st. prts. have *-e*. In all the rubrics throughout the poem 62 st. prts. without *-e* and 18 with *-e* occur, or over 22% of all st. prts. in prose have *-e*. Of the 62 examples without *-e* 41 are final in the clause, or 66% are final; of the *e*-forms 15 are final and 3 are within the clause, or over 83% are final in the clause. Some of the examples are given: *zoge* p. 38, *affe* 70, *blieſſe* er 118, *überwande* 126, *wuſche* 155, *ſode* er 228, *fame*<sup>2)</sup> 172, *gabe* 268, *warde* im 305, 408, *lude* 353, *hienge* 353, *ſchiede* 374, *ſchunde* 377 etc. Only 4 examples occur in *Der Flöhaz*: *fame*, *griffe* 844, *ſchweige* 220, *hube*.

Levelling in class I is about complete, and in favor of the plural vowel; but *ſchweige* *Eulens.* 2163, *beit* 566, *ſchneid* p. 212,

<sup>1)</sup> Only *Der Flöhaz*, *Neudrucke* 5 (1573) and *Eulenspiegel Reimweiß* (1572) in DNL. 18 II. were examined.

ſchreib p. 29. The plural of class II has the o of the sing. In class III the u of the plural is often taken into the sing. but only in the rime, e. g. fund: fund 269, fund: fund 2093, gefung: jung 336, but band 834, drang 862; the plural usually has u but warffen 453. In case of the n+cons.-stems the a of the sing. is never taken into the plural. In the first 6 chapters of "Eulenspiegel" was occurs 7 times, war 27 times, was usually in rime and war in rime and verse. No example of ſahe was found. Redup. verbs as hielt etc. occur as hult, fuł, luf, etc.

#### Hymnwriters<sup>1)</sup>.

No e-forms of the st. prt. are found in Christof Schwerer (Catholic, last quarter of 16th century); was 10, 13 (: Gras) and war (in verse) 12, 42 both occur. Nor in Paul Speratus (South-German); but there is much apocope. Nor in Erasmus Alberus (North-German Protestant, contemporary with Luther); war is the rule; old ei of class I is often retained e. g. ſtreit 35, 11. One example occurs in Burkard Waldis (1490—1556): zwei Schwerter sahe ich glühen 52, 43; war is the rule; old ei in class I is often retained e. g. bleib 53, 68. No examples in -e occur in Nicolaus Hermann (Bohemian Lutheran, first half of the 16th century), although very many st. prts. occur. Levelling is going on: ſchreib 61, 79, beſchnitt 61, 70, trieb 67, 16, etc.; jung 57, 24, wurd (very frequent) 67, 19; 68, 46 etc. jung und flung: ſprung 69, 72, but rang (: bang) 72, 37; was and war are about equally divided, was 58, 25, war (: Bahr) 58, 28; ſach: ſprach 58, 9 but erſah 60, 29. There is very much apocope. Many weak prts. as tanzet 63, 139 (as in Luther) occur. No e-forms are found in Ringwalt (Lutheran, last half of the 16th century). In class III the p. part. vowel is often transferred to the pl. prt. e. g. worden 83, 46, but wurden 83, 38, ſunten 83, 40 etc.

In the hymns of the authors named above many st. prts. occur but in all only one example with -e. Thus again we see that there is very little use made of the e-forms in verse. Paul Gerhardt and Friedrich Spee will be taken up in the next period.

<sup>1)</sup> DNL. No. 31. *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied des 16. und 17. Jahrh.* Edited by E. Wolff. The reference to the language of the various hymnwriters is confined to so many of their hymns as are given here.

Götz von Berlichingen, *Lebensbeschreibung*<sup>1)</sup>.

In Götz von Berlichingens *Lebensbeschreibung* the following e-forms were found; *ſchre* (65) 4, *nahme* (31) 1, *kame* (79) 2, *erfuhre* (71) 2, *gabe* (71), *truge* (118) 1, *ſahe* (34) 10 (exclusive form), *ſohe* (53) 2, *geſchahē* (51) 5, *liehe* (61) 2, *ſtunde* (118) 1, *wurde* (31) 4, *wurd* (34) 12, *ſunde* (111) 1, *hielte* (91) 1, *verriethe* (100) 1, *bate id* (24) 1. For *ſagt* p. 144 the editor conjectures *ſahe* as a probable reading. The examples given represent a comparatively large percentage of all st. prts. when we remember that in the *Lebensbeschreibung* most of the prts. are paraphrased by the perfect.

Levelling is far from being complete: *reit* 34, *ſchren*, *ritt* 47, *trand* 85, *wurff* 41 etc. *wurd* (usually); pl. *trunden* 85, *ſprangen* 65, *wurffen* 41; *war* is the exclusive form. *rufen* is always inflected weak (34, etc.). There is much apocope of final *-e*.

A striking difference between the use of the forms in question in verse and in prose is manifest by the fact in the "*Straßburgisches Liederbuch*" (1592) published in Alemannia I, 1—59 and among hundreds of st. prts. in "*Das große Rottweiler Herrenschießen. Anno 1558. von Lienhard Flexel*", Alemannia VI, 201—224, not one instance of a st. prt. in *-e* occurs. In the same period in Alsatian and Swabian prose very high percentages of e-forms are found. There is very much apocope of *-e* in both the *Liederbuch* and the *Herrenschießen*.

Federmann's *Reisen in Süd-Amerika*<sup>2)</sup>.

In the first 52 pages of this, the following examples of the st. prt. in *-e* occur:

<sup>1)</sup> About 1562. The edition printed at Nürnberg 1731 was used. In the publisher's *Zuschrift* p. 3 we find . . . *ſo nahmē ich mir gleich vor* . . . No statistics of the forms without *-e* were made. All e-forms occurring in the first 125 pages are given.

<sup>2)</sup> BLV. 44. Bd. E. Klüpfel. This book was published at Hagenau 1557. Federmann was a native of Ulm. All the e-forms that occur in the section pp. 1—52 are given.

fure 14 . . . . .	1	zohe 26 . . . . .	3
ware 14 . . . . .	5	geſchæhe 37 . . . . .	2
fame, fhame 9 . . . . .	6	gebrache 44 . . . . .	1
name 18 . . . . .	6	ſahe 6, 4 . . . . .	10
hube 13 . . . . .	5	wurde 6, 10 . . . . .	6
gabe 14 . . . . .	10	warde 18 . . . . .	3
blibe 25 . . . . .	1	ſtunde 13 . . . . .	4
lage 17 . . . . .	5	fande 23 . . . . .	6
ſtuge 24 . . . . .	1	wande 42 . . . . .	1
ſchluge 37 . . . . .	1	hielte 34 . . . . .	1
zuge 49 . . . . .	1	verwiſſe 27 . . . . .	1

total 80.

No account was taken of the number of prts. without *-e* occurring to each verb. The total number of all st. prts. ind. 1st and 3rd sing. in the section is 207. That is, 27% of all st. prts. ind. 1st and 3rd sing. end in *-e*. *was* is the exclusive form. No example of *ſah* or *ſach* was found. *ward* is usual.

The usual South-German apocope is found here. This applies to weak prts. as well as to nouns etc. The radical vowel of the sing. of class I is about equally divided between *i* and *ei*, e. g. *ſchreib* p. 8, *beleib* 9, *belib* 10, *blib* 38. In case of the *e*-forms only *i* is found. Only in case of *wurde* is the *u* of the plural of class III taken into the sing. The reverse is very frequent. Such plural forms are found as *warden* 7 (usual), *murden* 13 (rare), *worden* 27, *warffen* 6, *verbargen* 45 etc. In this class stems in liquid + cons. almost always have the *a* in the plural; in case of stems in *n* + cons. *u* is considerably in the lead, e. g. *ſprungen* 7, *drungen* 21 etc.; *funden* and *fanden* are about even in occurrence. Analogously *ſtanden* and *ſtunden*. A following vowel does not affect the *e*-forms, e. g. *zohe* *ich* 26, 41, *hielte* *ich* 34, *ſchluge* *ich* 37 etc.

*Zimmerische Chronik*<sup>1)</sup>.

war 43, was (1,17) 3 . 46	ware 9, 39 . . . . .	2
nam . . . . .	name 2, 34 . . . . .	3
fam . . . . .	fame 22, 38 . . . . .	1
		6
		60

<sup>1)</sup> Published by K. A. Barack. 4 Vols. 2nd ed. Tübingen 1882. The authors were Graf Froben Christolf and his secretary Johannes Müller; Zimmern in Swabia. 1564—66. See IV, 334. From Ms. All st. prts. were counted in the section pp. 1—30 of Vol. IV.

	60			6
gieng . . . . .	5	gienge 9, 1 . . . . .		1
		hienge 10, 25 . . . . .		1
		zoge, zohe 19, 37 . . . . .		3
		ſahe 2, 5 . . . . .		6
ſtand . . . . .	1	ſtande, ſtuende 29, 18 . . . . .		3
ſchied . . . . .	2	ſchiede 2, 8 . . . . .		1
wardt 31, wurt (9, 26) 1	32	warde 18, 9 . . . . .		2
		wande 19, 2 . . . . .		1
ſandt . . . . .	4	ſande 23, 27 . . . . .		2
rieth . . . . .	1	riethe 27, 3 . . . . .		1
hielt . . . . .	7	hielte 8, 2 . . . . .		1
ließ . . . . .	6	lies (ließ) 7, 15 . . . . .		1
ſas(s) . . . . .	2	ſaße 11, 33 . . . . .		1
All others . . . . .	70			
	190			30
	14%			

Other examples: ſahe 31, 32; 35, 40 etc., ſchlieffe 35, 29, gienge 38, 11, name 38, 24; 39, 3, fuere 39, 1; 41, 20, ſpielte 42, 6, beſahe 43, 13. In the same section pp. 1—30 there are 151 weak prts. without *-e* to 39 with *-e*, or only 20% of all weak prts. retain *-e*. Levelling is mainly confined to classes I and III. In class I *i* is the rule without exception, e. g. grif, litt, triß, riß 23, 12, pliß 23, 15, ſchriß 23, 28 etc. Such plural forms occur as erſchinen 23, 28 etc., blißen 6, 28, zogen 18, 4 (always), worden 19, 34, warden 27, 16 (usually); wurden was not found, halßen 15, 11 etc. Stems in *n*+cons. have *u*, e. g. funden 6, 3 etc. Apocope is carried to a very great extent. Final *-e* is generally dropped in 1st p. pres. of all verbs, in subj. prt. (strong and weak), in ind. weak prts., and in nouns that usually end in *-e*. Old *uo* is written *ue*, e. g. ſtuende 29, 118, ſchuef etc. Most of the *e*-forms of the st. prt. occur in final position.

*Amadis*<sup>1)</sup>.

ſtale 32 . . . . .	1	zoge 34, zohe 36 . . . . .	6
befahle 42 . . . . .	1	ſahe 15 . . . . .	9
ware 17 . . . . .	1	wiße 24 . . . . .	2
name 13 . . . . .	15	wiße 24 . . . . .	2
	18		19

<sup>1)</sup> BLV. Ed. A. v. Keller. This is according to the oldest German prose version of the *Amadis*, printed by Sigmund Feyerabend, Frankfurt a. M. in 1569. Statistics were made for pp. 13—46. Only the forms in *-e* are given.



	18		19
schwamme 30 . . . . .	1	liebe 26 . . . . .	2
kame 15 . . . . .	9	erschraße 15 . . . . .	2
schiene 41 . . . . .	1	fanbe 15 . . . . .	1
gabe 14 . . . . .	3	stunde 16 . . . . .	3
bliebe 32 . . . . .	2	schiede 25 . . . . .	1
riete 37 . . . . .	1	botte 14 . . . . .	1
traffe 17 . . . . .	1	tratte 15 . . . . .	2
schluge 14 . . . . .	2	thette 16 . . . . .	2
gienge 16 . . . . .	4	bate 24 . . . . .	2
fienge 15 . . . . .	1	ritte 35 . . . . .	1
stiege 15 . . . . .	2	hielte 44 . . . . .	1
lage 20 . . . . .	2	frage 13 . . . . .	1
schwange 29 . . . . .	1	riffe 15 . . . . .	1
zoge 34, zohe 36 . . . . .	6	schlosse 28 . . . . .	1
sahe 15 . . . . .	9		

total 86.

In the same section read 162 examples of st. prts. ind. without *-e* occur, or 35% of all st. prts. ind. have *-e*.

Levelling is complete in classes I. and II. and nearly so in class III. In the 4th and 5th classes, as the vowels of sing. and plural were always the same, only with a difference of quantity, there is no problem of the interchange of vowels. In class VI. frequently the vowel of the p. part. is taken into the sing. and plural prt. *war* is the usual form but *was* 44. No example of *saḥ* or *saḥ* occurs. Such plural forms occur as *blieben* 26, *zogen* 38, *flohen* 44, *fanben* 15, *stunden* 25, *standen* 43 etc.

#### *Wormser Chronik* <sup>1)</sup>.

Only 5 instances of st. prt. ind. 1st and 3rd sing. in *-e* occur in the first 75 pages of Friedrich Zorn's *Chronicle*: *zoge* (16) once, *sahe* (45) 3 times, *stunde* (75) once. There are 56 examples of the st. prt. without *-e* in the same section, or about 9% of all st. prts. have *-e*. This is from Ms. So the 14% in *Zimmerische Chronik*. Compare this with the high percentages in the *Amadis*, 27% and *Federmann's Reisen*, 35%, both of which are from printings. Although no proof,

<sup>1)</sup> By Friedrich Zorn. Worms 1570 — with contributions by Franz Berthold von Flersheim 1604. From Frankfurt Ms. Most prts. are paraphrased by the perfect. The contributions of Flersheim are mostly in Latin. His German is essentially the same as that of Zorn.

yet this [is some indication of the difference between manuscript and printings. Of course other figures might be picked out that would seem to indicate the reverse, but upon the whole the higher percentages are almost always from the printings.

In Zorn's Chronicle levelling in class I has been completed. The sing. of class III sometimes has the *u* of the plural, e. g. *wurd* 46. No example with *a* in the plural occurs: *funden* 14, *wurden* 19 etc. As a rule all weak prts. omit final *-e*.

Between 10% and 15% of all st. prts. ind. in Herzog H. Julius von Braunschweig's prose play „*Vincentius Ladislaus*”<sup>1)</sup> have *-e*: Some examples are given: *ſahe* *iđ* 397, 15; 405, 34; 406, 2 etc. (no example of *ſađ*) *biſſe* *es* 411, 15, *barſte* 414, 34, *ritte* 412, 13, *thate* 421, 28, *gabe* 422, 4, *erfuhre* 422, 24. No example of *wurd* was found. All weak prts. have *-e* unless a vowel follows. Hitherto in the use of final *-e* in the st. prt. no attempt at euphony had been made.

Spieß *Faustbuch* <sup>2)</sup>.

a) liquids

<i>fiel</i> . . . . .	14	<i>fielle</i> . . . . .	4
<i>ſchwur</i> . . . . .	5	<i>ſchwure</i> . . . . .	3
<i>fuhr</i> . . . . .	13	<i>fuhre</i> . . . . .	5
<i>befahl</i> . . . . .	1	<i>befahle</i> . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	153		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	186		13

b) nasals

<i>nam</i> . . . . .	0	<i>name</i> . . . . .	24
<i>ſam</i> . . . . .	32	<i>ſame</i> . . . . .	22
<i>ſchien</i> . . . . .	3	<i>ſchiene</i> . . . . .	16
		<i>bejunne</i> . . . . .	1
		<i>branne</i> . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	1		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	45		64

<sup>1)</sup> Wolfenbüttel 1594. DNL. 22. Bd. *Das Drama der Reformationszeit*.

<sup>2)</sup> Volksbücher des 16. Jh. Edited by F. Bobertag. DNL. 25. Bd. Straßburg 1587. My statistics are for the whole book.

## c) labials 1. b

hub . . . . .	11	hube . . . . .	4
gab . . . . .	20	gabe . . . . .	5
trieb 1, trieb 2 . . . . .	3	triebe . . . . .	6
bleib . . . . .	1	bliebe . . . . .	2
		grube . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	1		
	<u>36</u>		<u>18</u>

## 2. f

warf . . . . .	2	wurffe . . . . .	1
schlieff . . . . .	2	grieffe . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	10	schlieffe . . . . .	1
	<u>14</u>		<u>3</u>

## d) gutturals 1. g

schlug . . . . .	7	schluge . . . . .	4
gieng . . . . .	22	gienge . . . . .	15
sprang . . . . .	4	sprange . . . . .	1
		floge . . . . .	1
		stiege . . . . .	1
fieng . . . . .	4	fienge . . . . .	4
zog . . . . .	2	zoge . . . . .	1
lag . . . . .	3	lage . . . . .	1
		truge . . . . .	4
		schwige . . . . .	1
		mislunge . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	3		
	<u>45</u>		<u>34</u>

## 2. t, d

erschradt . . . . .	3	erschrade . . . . .	4
All others . . . . .	1		
	<u>4</u>		<u>4</u>

## 3. h, ch

stach . . . . .	2	stache . . . . .	1
geschach . . . . .	6	geschache . . . . .	8
sah . . . . .	0	sache . . . . .	56
		troche . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	22		
	<u>30</u>		<u>66</u>

e) dentals 1. *ð*

fa <i>nd</i> . . . . .	5	fu <i>nde</i> . . . . .	1
ve <i>r</i> ſchwa <i>nd</i> . . . . .	5	ſtu <i>nde</i> . . . . .	8
wa <i>rd</i> 36, wu <i>rd</i> 3 . . . . .	39	ve <i>r</i> ſchwa <i>nde</i> . . . . .	5
		wu <i>rd</i> e . . . . .	11
		ſch <i>ie</i> de . . . . .	1
		lu <i>de</i> . . . . .	1
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	50		27

2. *t*

bo <i>t</i> . . . . .	1	bo <i>tte</i> . . . . .	3
t <i>h</i> at . . . . .	12	t <i>h</i> ate . . . . .	14
ba <i>t</i> . . . . .	2	ba <i>te</i> . . . . .	8
		ri <i>e</i> t <i>h</i> e . . . . .	1
h <i>ie</i> lt . . . . .	5	h <i>ie</i> lte . . . . .	4
tra <i>t</i> . . . . .	2	tra <i>te</i> . . . . .	1
ri <i>t</i> t . . . . .	1	ri <i>t</i> te . . . . .	4
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	23		35

f) *ʃ*-stems 1. *ʃ*

o <i>th</i> ers . . . . .	2	e <i>r</i> wi <i>e</i> ſe . . . . .	1
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2. *ʃʃ*

a <i>ʃ</i> . . . . .	2	a <i>ʃ</i> fe . . . . .	1
lie <i>ʃ</i> . . . . .	15	lie <i>ʃ</i> ſe . . . . .	3
h <i>ie</i> ʃ . . . . .	1	h <i>ie</i> ſſe . . . . .	2
		fl <i>o</i> ſſe . . . . .	1
		ma <i>ʃ</i> ſſe . . . . .	1

All o <i>th</i> ers . . . . .	12		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	30		8

## Summary.

Stems in	without <i>ʃe</i>	with <i>ʃe</i>	per cent
r, l	186	13	7
m, n	45	64	59
b	36	18	33
f	14	3	20
g	45	34	43
t	4	4	50
ç, h	30	66	68
ð	50	27	35
t	23	35	60
ʃ	2	2	50
ʃʃ	30	8	20
total	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	465	274	37%

Omitting *wa*r which occurs 151 times and which has no *e*-

forms, we have 314 to 274, or 47% of all st. prts. ind. 1st and 3rd sing. have *-e*.

If stems in liquids and nasals are left out of account, 38% of all st. prts. with voiced stems and 54% of those with unvoiced stems have final *-e*. In the table above we notice the high percentage of the stems in *ŋ*, *h* and those in *t*, perhaps to be accounted for. But we wonder why the nasal stems should also have such a high percentage.

As will be seen from the list of *e*-forms above, when there is a difference between the radical vowels of the sing. and plural the forms in *-e* may have either vowel, but there is a decided preference for the plural vowel. There is no attempt at euphony in regard to the *e*-forms, e. g. *name an* 185, 20, *ſtunde* in 186, 23 etc. There are a few examples of old *ei* in the prt. sing of class I. The plural of class III has almost exclusively *u* but *warden* occurs once, *ſanden* once, *verſchwanden* twice. The plural of class II has *o* always, as *zogen*, *flohen* etc. *rufen* is usually inflected weak. Almost all weak prts. end in *-e*. There is very little apocope of final *e*. No words except st. prts. admit of an extra *-e*. Some old *e*'s are retained as *iſme* etc.

The Berlin edition (1590, B<sup>1</sup>) of the first Faust-book has no forms in *-e* except *ſahe* which occurs exclusively. Thus we see the great variation that exists between printers. The Frankfurt printers, as we have seen in several cases, made a very great use of the *e*-forms throughout the whole 16th century. The North German printers are more sparing in their use of these forms and often confine themselves to Luther's forms, *ſahe* and *flohe*. By the middle of the 17th century there is not so much difference. But even then the Swabian, Alsatian and Franconian printers as a rule employed more *e*-forms than those to the east and north.

*Schiltbürger Buch*<sup>1)</sup>.

a) liquid stems.

<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">fiel . . . . .</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: right;">17</td> </tr> <tr> <td>All others . . . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">58</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">75</td> </tr> </table>	fiel . . . . .	17	All others . . . . .	58		75	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">fielē . . . . .</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: right;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ſchalle . . . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>verloſhre . . . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">4</td> </tr> </table>	fielē . . . . .	2	ſchalle . . . . .	1	verloſhre . . . . .	1		4
fiel . . . . .	17														
All others . . . . .	58														
	75														
fielē . . . . .	2														
ſchalle . . . . .	1														
verloſhre . . . . .	1														
	4														

<sup>1)</sup> DNL. 25. Bd. *Volksbücher des 16. Jh.* The edition of 1605 is followed by Bobertag. The earliest version was of the year 1598, place of printing not known. My statistics are for the whole book.

## b) nasal stems

fam . . . . .	27	fame . . . . .	3
All others . . . . .	11		
	<u>38</u>		<u>3</u>

## c) labial stems 1. b

gab . . . . .	8	gabe . . . . .	3
blieb 2, bleib 1 . . . . .	3	bliebe . . . . .	3
hub . . . . .	1	hube . . . . .	1
		triebe . . . . .	1
		schobe . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	2		
	<u>14</u>		<u>9</u>

## 2. f

lief . . . . .	1	lieffe . . . . .	4
traff . . . . .	1	traffe . . . . .	1
griff . . . . .	1	greiffe . . . . .	1
	<u>3</u>		<u>6</u>

## d) guttural stems 1. g

gieng . . . . .	32	gienge . . . . .	2
trug . . . . .	1	truge . . . . .	7
schlug . . . . .	1	schluge . . . . .	1
		betroge . . . . .	1
zog . . . . .	6	zoge . . . . .	9
fieng . . . . .	9	fienge . . . . .	1
stieg 1, stieg 2 . . . . .	3	steige 1, stiege 1 . . . . .	2
sprang . . . . .	4	sprange . . . . .	1
hieng . . . . .	1	hienge . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	8		
	<u>65</u>		<u>25</u>

## 2. t

trandt . . . . .	1	trandte . . . . .	1
Others . . . . .	1		
	<u>2</u>		

## 3. h, ch

sah . . . . .	0	sahē . . . . .	14
froh . . . . .	2	frohē . . . . .	2
sprach . . . . .	26	sprachē . . . . .	2
		geschahē . . . . .	7
brach . . . . .	1	brachē . . . . .	1
		liehē . . . . .	1
		flohē . . . . .	1
	<u>29</u>		<u>28</u>

e) dental stems 1.  $\delta$ 

ward 58, wurd 1 . . . 59	wurde 17, warde 7 . . . 24
	wande . . . . . 1
stund . . . . . 4	stunde . . . . . 8
fand . . . . . 4	fande 4, funde 4 . . . 8
	lude . . . . . 1
All others . . . . . 1	
	<hr/>
68	42

## 2. t

thet . . . . . 7	thete . . . . . 7
trat . . . . . 4	trate . . . . . 3
	bate . . . . . 2
hielt . . . . . 2	hielte . . . . . 2
reit . . . . . 3	ritte . . . . . 1
	<hr/>
16	15

## f) ff-stems

ließ . . . . . 8	liesse . . . . . 5
vergaß . . . . . 1	vergasse . . . . . 3
	ase (affe) . . . . . 2
saß . . . . . 5	sasse . . . . . 4
stieß . . . . . 3	stiesse . . . . . 2
	flosse . . . . . 2
hies . . . . . 2	hiesse . . . . . 1
	wuchse . . . . . 1
	frasse . . . . . 1
biß . . . . . 1	bisse . . . . . 1
	<hr/>
20	22

## Summary.

Stems in	without =e	with =e	per cent
l, r	75	4	5
m, n	38	3	7
b	14	9	39
f	3	6	67
g	65	25	28
t	2	1	33
h, $\alpha$	29	28	49
$\delta$	68	42	38
t	16	15	48
ff	20	22	52
total	<hr/> 330	<hr/> 155	<hr/> 32%

If we omit *war* (56), which has no forms in *-e*, almost 38% of all st. prts. have *-e*. There are several instances of old *ei* in the sing. of class I, — almost the latest that I have noted it. Here different from the Faust-book, *e*-forms of the same verb may have the vowel of sing. and plural e. g. *ſteige* and *ſtiege*, *warde* and *wurde*, etc. In class III *a* of the sing. has entered the plural often in case of the liquid.+cons.-stems but only rarely in case of the nasal +cons. stems.

### V. Period of greatest vogue. From 1600 to 1700.

In this century, more specifically, in the period 1650—1675, the occurrence of the *e*-forms of the st. prt. ind. reaches the highest point that it attains to in all of its history. After this it begins to decline in frequency. By the middle of the following century the *e*-forms are confined to some half-dozen verbs, and by the end of that century to only about two, *ſahe* and *wurde*. Today *wurde* is the sole survivor of a family that at one time was so very large.

In Aegidius Albertinus' *Lucifer's Königreich und Seelengejaidt*<sup>1)</sup> about 12% of all ind. st. prts. have final *-e*. All the examples that occur in part I are given:

<i>ware</i> 68, 10 . . . 1	<i>flohe</i> 110, 29 . . . 1
<i>piſſe</i> 44, 19 . . . 1	<i>ſtritte</i> 8, 5 . . . 1
<i>griffe</i> 100, 20 . . . 1	<i>gebotte</i> 48, 9 . . . 2
<i>beſchahe</i> 8, 16 . . . 1	<i>bate</i> 55, 13 . . . 3
<i>ſahe</i> 20, 22 . . . 12	<i>thate</i> 73, 5 . . . 1
<i>zohe</i> 48, 17 . . . 2	<i>litte</i> 97, 20 . . . 1
<i>ſtahe</i> 67, 19 . . . 1	<i>riffe</i> 58, 37 . . . 2

total 30

Of all the verbs that have *e*-forms in the preterite only *war* (54 times) and *ſtritt* (once) occur without *-e*. In the section read 228 examples of the st. prt. ind. without *-e* occur, or 12% have *-e*. If *ware* is excepted, all the *e*-forms are with un

<sup>1)</sup> München 1616. Hrsg. v. R. Frhr. von Liliencron. DNL. 26. Bd. All st. prts. were counted in part I, pp. 1—131.



voiced stems. Class I is completely levelled out in favor of the plural vowel. The sing. of class III never has the u of the plural; both a and u occur in the plural, e. g. *ſtarben, wurden, ſtanden* (usual), *ſtunden* 42, 17 etc. There is very much apocope of final *-e*. The final *-e* of most nouns, inflectional or otherwise, is dropped, e. g. *Nam, Bäum, Höll, Red, Süß*, etc. No words except st. prts. and occasionally pronouns have an extra *-e*, e. g. *deme, ihme, weme* etc.

### Martin Opitz<sup>1)</sup>.

All the *e*-forms found in my reading in Opitz are given: *r̄hiet'* 33, 6; *ſahe* 33, 11 occurs 9 times — no case of *ſaḥ* — *geriethe* 108, 22, *ſch̄nitte id̄* 109, 24, *hieße* 120, 32, *ſch̄iene* occurs 6 times, *hielte* twice, *ſchwiege* 126, 24, *laſe* 126, 24, *zoge* 136, 11, *bliefe* *Trostg.* II, 221, *riſſe* *Trostg.* III, 265, *ſtritt'* *er* *Trostg.* III, 293, *zoh'* *id̄* *Trostg.* IV, 292, *gebott'* *auf* *Trostg.* IV, 293, or a total of 29 examples. Excepting *war*, which is not counted, 275 regular forms occur. Thus about 7% or 8% of all st. prts. ind. have *-e*. This is by far the highest percentage found in verse so far. This is largely accounted for by the frequent occurrence of such forms in the prose sections of the *Schäfferey von der Nimfen Hercinie* (pp. 107—147), all of which were counted in with those in verse. In the prose sections the *e*-forms are usually in final position e. g. *geriethe* 108, 22, *ſch̄iene* 109, 25, *hielte* 119, 1, *ſch̄iene* 132, 18 etc. In the *Deutsche Poeterey*, *Neudrucke* No. 1, pp. 1—27, four examples occur: *aufginge* p. 5. *antriebe* p. 8, *geſch̄ahe* 11, *wurde* 18; these constitute almost half of the st. prts. that occur in the section read. In Opitz's verse the *-e* always counts for a syllable (see DNL. 28, 137, 15, *Trostg.* I, 184, II, 148 etc.). This choice of forms either with or without *-e* renders verse-making much less difficult. There is very little evidence of levelling going on. The plural

<sup>1)</sup> *Vermischte Gedichte* DNL. 27. Bd. The following poems were read:

1) *An die Deutsche Nation*, 2) *Geburtsgetichte*, 3) *Vom Abwesen seiner Lieben*, 4) *Neujahrs Getichte*, 5) *An eine Jungfrau*, 6) *Nachtklage*, — *Oden*, — *Schäfferey von der Nimfen Hercinie* — *Vesuvius* 147—163 — *Trostgedichte in Wiederwertigkeit des Krieges*, all 4 cantos. All the st. prts. ind. except *war* in my reading in Kürschner were counted.

of class III usually has u, but occasionally the o of the part. is taken over, as *worden* (very frequent), *spinnen* etc.

Several examples of the form in question occur in Paul Fleming's poems<sup>1</sup>). All examples that occur in Kürschner DNL. 28. Bd. are given: *Ich hört'*, *ich sah'*, *ich griffe* [ie ja hier 37, 17; *Ich bünde* [ie mit mir . . . 25, 9; *wurd'* 23, 31; *sähe* kommen 22, 122 but . . . und [ah erbärmlich aus 20, 68; *vorlieb: trieb'* 22, 116; *schien'* 21, 81, *ließe* 20, 37, *Striße: wiche* 19, 26, *grüne: schiene* 43, 23, *Liebe: triebe* 71, 27, *umfinge* in title of sonnet No. 25; *sunge: Junge* p. 100, sonnet 25; *Ich käme* gletch darzu . . . sonnet 29. *ich sah'*, sonnet 32, *ließe* (ind.): *hieße* (subj.), sonnet 32, *starb' ich* sonnet 60; *als er sie schlafende funde . . .* in title of sonnet 79. In almost every case when the radical vowels of the sing. and plural are different, the e-forms have the vowel of the plural, e. g. *bunde*, *wurd'*, *junge*, etc. There is no levelling except in class III.

#### Friedrich Spee (1591—1635)<sup>2</sup>.

*riete* 238, 94, *verstunde* (: *Munde*) 239, 142, *fame: nahm*e 257, 57, *riefe* 260, 6, *fande* 261, 14, *fame: vernahm*e 264, 21, *empfande: geschwande* 264, 129, *verschwunde: umwunde* 280, 9, (*Stunde:*) *stunde* 281, 75, *wurde* 379, 56, (*Liebe:*) *vertriebe* 403, 19, *thate* 410, 107 *schluge* 410, 104, *ware* 410, 92; 413, 197, *thate* 410, 141, *gab*e 412, 169, (*Vatersliebe:*) *vertriebe* 416, 311, *wurde* 418, 384, *lage* (: *Klage*) 420, 1, (*zähme:*) *fame* 427, 89, *fame* (: *Lahme*) 427, 97. On page 427, 4 stanzas in succession begin with rimes each containing *fame*, 1. *kame: zähme*, 2. *kame: Lahme*, 3. *kame: benahme*, 4. *kame: Blumenframe*; *ihr Nahme: nahm*e 461, 7; *Was dann wäre fränk und reüdig* 427, 93, but *Dá war alles frißch und fréudig*, 95. The *Hirtengesänge* have very many e-forms. The following examples all occur in *Ein Hirtengesang* pp. 446—453: *truge: schluge* 29, *ware* 29, *thate* 35, *ließe* 77, *ware* 95, 181, *ware* (: *offenbare*) 97, (*Morgenstunde:*) *erstunde* 139, (*Purpurfarbe:*) *starbe* 151; the next line begins with *starb*. In the whole of *Trutz-nachtigall* not one example of *sahe* occurs; many examples of

<sup>1</sup>) DNL. 28. Bd. Edited by H. Oesterley. No statistics were made.

<sup>2</sup>) DNL. 31. Bd. *Das deutsche Kirchenlied des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, von E. Wolff. *Trutz-Nachtigal*, 1649. All the e-forms that occur are given. No statistics were made.

ſaß occur, as 236, 25; 258, 87 etc. Here, as a general rule, the voiced stems have the *-e*, — just the very opposite to the situation in Albertinus. Class I has been completely levelled. The plural of class II always has *o*, e. g. *zogen*, *ſlogen* 268, 126, 8, *ſoßen* 292, 62 etc. In class III the *e*-forms almost always have *a* whenever the *u* is not used for the sake of the rime except *wurde* (never *warde*) e. g. *ſande* 26, 14, *empfande*: *geſchwände*. In case of the regular forms only *wurd* has the *u* of the plural. When not influenced by the rime, the plural of class III practically always has *a*, e. g. *ſchwanden* 360, 7, *drangen* 371, 20, but *entbunden* (: *Morgenſtunden*) 319, 139, (*Jungen*:) *ſprungen* 353, 43 etc. One example of *was* (: *Unterlaß*) 246, 68 occurs—late for *was*. Occasionally words besides st. prts. add an extra *-e*, but not at all to the extent that the st. prt. does. More often the *-e* is dropped for the sake of the rime, e. g. *mag*: *meiner Frag* 270, 20, *ſo ſchöner Nam*: *Sternenfram*, etc.

About 10% of all st. prts. in Spee have *-e*, a percentage much larger than that in Opitz — the largest found in verse at any time or in any author. This cannot at all be attributed to the influence of Luther. Spee was born among the Jesuits, was educated by them, became, lived, and died a Jesuit. Besides, he has none of the forms so common in Luther, as *ſaße* and *ſoße*. The influence of Luther can, it seems to me, be claimed for a post-Lutheran author who uses only such forms and who may or may not use them exclusively.

The situation in Paul Gerhardt is quite different. Here was a man who was completely under Lutheran influence, — in language as well as in other respects. In all the hymns of Gerhardt given by Wolff in *Das deutsche Kirchenlied des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. DNL. 31. Bd. pp. 127—215, among hundreds of regular st. prts. only 5 examples with *-e* are found, all in the rime: *ſchoße*: *beſchoße* 137, 9, *Tage*: *lage* 180, 25, *ſaße*: *geſaße* 181, 63. We see here, as elsewhere, that the influence of Luther is not in favor of the frequent use of *e*-forms. It no doubt was to a large degree responsible for the use of such forms as occur in Luther's works by authors who otherwise would not have had any forms in *-e* at all. This seems especially true of the prolonged use of *ſaße* in the 18th century. This could not, however, explain the adoption of *wurde* as the regular form.

Philipp von Zesen, *Adriatische Rosemund*<sup>1)</sup>.

ſah . . . . .	2	ſahe 11 . . . . .	35
ſand . . . . .	13	ſöhne . . . . .	2
ſtund . . . . .	13	ſande (: ſtrande) 14 . . . . .	1
ſan . . . . .	1	ſtunde 17 . . . . .	2
ſchlugh . . . . .	5	laſe, laſ' 18 . . . . .	6
All others . . . . .	410	befann' er 36 . . . . .	1
	444	geſchah' es 52 . . . . .	1
		ſchluge 53 . . . . .	1
			49
		10 %	

This was a North-German printing. In the same period in the South-German prose printings as a rule almost half of all st. prts. end in *-e*.

Zesen employs a very peculiar spelling. It consists mainly in the insertion of *h* after every long vowel and often after short vowels, or what are usually short. In the sing. of classes IV and V this would indicate that these classes have been levelled out in favor of the plural vowel. Some examples of his peculiar spelling as found in the st. prt. ind.: *ſchrih*, *ſchih*, *blih*, *ſchwihg*; *wohg*, *boht*, *ſahm*, *nahm*; *brah*, *gah*, *lahg*, *traht*, *ſtaht*, etc. In the plural of class III we very often find the *a* of the sing. as *warden* 14, 30 (almost the exclusive form) etc., but *jungen* etc.

Moscherosch, *Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald*<sup>2)</sup>.

## a) vowel stems

*ſchr̄e* . . . . . 2

b) liquid stems *r*, *l*

<i>verloh̄r</i> . . . . .	1	<i>verloh̄re</i> . . . . .	1
<i>fuhr̄</i> . . . . .	3	<i>fuhr̄e</i> 71, 4 . . . . .	3
<i>fiel</i> , <i>fuhl̄</i> . . . . .	2	<i>ſchwure</i> 105, 23 . . . . .	1
<i>befahl̄</i> . . . . .	1	<i>fiel̄e</i> 131, 23 . . . . .	2
<i>war</i> . . . . .	110	<i>befahl̄e</i> 151, 18 . . . . .	1
	117		8

<sup>1)</sup> Amsterdam 1645. *Neudrucke* Nr. 160—163. A list of all the *e*-forms that occur in pp. 1—66 is given. Zesen was born in Dessau, studied in Halle and Wittenberg. Cf. Goedecke *Grundriss* III. p. 95 ff.

<sup>2)</sup> Straßburg 1650 DNL. 32. Bd. Statistics were made for pp. 1—198.

## c) nasal stems m, n

ʔam . . . . .	46	ʔame 85, 1 . . . . .	13
naʔm . . . . .	11	naʔme 61, 12 . . . . .	9
		rane 90, 1 . . . . .	1
ʔpan . . . . .	<u>1</u>		
	58		<u>23</u>

## d) labial stems l. b

trieb . . . . .	1	triebe . . . . .	1
gab . . . . .	25	gabe . . . . .	1
ʔub . . . . .	4	ʔube 37 . . . . .	2
		ʔʔriebe 83, 21 . . . . .	3
blieb . . . . .	<u>1</u>	bliebe 195, 36 . . . . .	<u>2</u>
	31		9

## 2. f

griff . . . . .	1	grieffe 72, 10 . . . . .	2
lieff . . . . .	2	lieffe 54, 24 . . . . .	2
All others . . . . .	<u>6</u>		
	9		<u>4</u>

## e) guttural stems l. g

ʔog . . . . .	6	ʔoge 72, 17 . . . . .	15
ʔieng . . . . .	7	ʔienge 56, 19, funge 75, 9	3
gieng, gung . . . . .	7	gienge 46, gunge 71, 26	24
		trange 72, 18 . . . . .	2
trug . . . . .	4	truge 46 . . . . .	3
ʔlog . . . . .	1	ʔloge 61, 3 . . . . .	1
lag . . . . .	2	lage 79, 5 . . . . .	2
ʔʔlug . . . . .	3	ʔʔwiege 120, 18 . . . . .	2
		ʔʔluge 176, 33 . . . . .	1
		loge 189, 16 . . . . .	1
rang . . . . .	<u>1</u>		
	31		<u>54</u>

## 2. ʔ

erʔraʔ . . . . .	1	erʔraʔe 129, 19 . . . . .	2
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## 3. ʔ, ʔ

ʔaʔ 102, 1 . . . . .	3	ʔaʔe 56, 4 . . . . .	69
		geʔaʔe 72, 20 . . . . .	6
ʔpraʔ . . . . .	172	ʔpraʔe 34 . . . . .	1
		ʔʔliche 79, 25 . . . . .	2
All others . . . . .	<u>4</u>	ʔʔricʔe 83, 21 . . . . .	<u>2</u>
	179		80

## f) dental stems 1. ð

fanð . . . . .	2	fanðe 112, 18 . . . . .	14
ftund . . . . .	2	ftunde 77, 34 . . . . .	15
ward 27, wurd (46, 1) 2	29	wurde 81, 19 . . . . .	15
		wand 49 . . . . .	1
verschied . . . . .	1		
	<u>34</u>		<u>45</u>

## 2. t

trat . . . . .	2	trate 56, 17 . . . . .	3
		bate 82, 14 . . . . .	9
		ſchritte 56, 4 . . . . .	1
		hielte 71, 16 . . . . .	3
tthat, tthet (160) . . . . .	2	tthate 83, 17 . . . . .	4
		geriethe 175, 28 . . . . .	1
		ritte 192, 24 . . . . .	1
	<u>4</u>		<u>22</u>

## g) s-stems 1. ſ

was . . . . .	1	laſe 85, 15 . . . . .	5
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## 2. ſſ

		ſchloſſe . . . . .	1
		ſtieſſe 71, 23 . . . . .	4
ließ . . . . .	14	lieſſe 61, 19 . . . . .	1
		riſſe 75, 7 . . . . .	1
hieß . . . . .	4	hieſſe 83, 4 . . . . .	5
ſaß . . . . .	5	ſaſſe 83, 5 . . . . .	2
All others . . . . .	4	aſſe 83, 28 . . . . .	2
	<u>27</u>		<u>16</u>

## Summary.

	without -e	with -e	per cent
vowel stems	0	2	100
stems in l, r	117	8	7
m, n	58	23	27
b	31	9	22
f	9	4	30
g	31	54	64
t	1	2	67
ch, h	179	80	30
ð	34	45	57
t	4	22	84
ſ	1	5	83
ſſ	27	16	36
total	<u>492</u>	<u>270</u>	<u>36%</u>

If we omit *war* and *ſpraçh*, 55% of all st. prts. ind. 1st and 3rd sing. end in *-e*. In this table we notice the high percentages of the dental stems. But one wonders why the *g*-stems should have such a high percentage too.

Levelling is still going on in the plural of class III, e. g. *fanden* 49, *verſchwanden*, *warffen* 84; but *wurffen* 33, *worden* 47 (frequently), *ſtunden* 79, 9 etc. There are no examples with *u* in sing. except *wurd*. In this class practically all the *e*-forms have *a*. *was* occurs once, — the latest occurrence that I have noted. *darffe es* 131, 9 is an analogical form. *rufen* is usually inflected weak. Almost all weak prts. have *-e*. There is much less apocope of final *-e* than a half-century before this date. At this time the number of *e*-forms occurring is at its highest point.

Below are some of the results of Kern's investigation of the st. prt. in *Grimmelshausen*<sup>1)</sup>. Only a summary of the number of the forms, made according to the stem-ending, is given.

		without <i>-e</i>	with <i>-e</i>	percentage
vowel stems		53	27	35
liquid stems		330	69	17
nasal stems	1. m	1317	55	4
	2. n	72	89	55
labial stems	1. b	735	94	11
	2. f	355	86	19
guttural stems	1. g	1932	98	4
	2. k	81	3	4
	3. çh, h	276	821	75
dental stems	1. d	1415	709	33
	2. t	797	335	30
ſ-stems	1. ſſ	806	526	39
	2. ſ	45	111	71
	total	8214	3023	27%

Of the verbs with long radical syllables 31% have *-e*; with short radical syllables 23%; with voiced radical consonants 18%; with unvoiced consonants 43%. Other figures: *ſaħ* 1, *ſaħe* 647; *geſçah* 1, *geſçaħe* 95; *ward*, *wurd* 846, *wurde* 419.

<sup>1)</sup> Paul Kern, *Das starke Verb bei Grimmelshausen*. Journal of Germanic Philology II, 33 ff. Kern's results are based upon all of Grimmelshausen's works. For a review of this article see K. v. Bahder, Zs. f. dt. Ph. 32, 106 ff.

The percentages of the various stems differ considerably from those in Moscherosch. The greatest difference is in the g-stems — 4% in Grimmelshausen, to 64% in Moscherosch. Other classes also show great divergence. We see that from the earliest times the percentages are not at all uniform for any class of preterites. Furthermore, there is considerable shifting of the balance, at one time in favor of the voiced stems and then again in favor of the unvoiced stems.

### J. G. Schottel.

In regard to the e-forms of the st. prt. in the language of J. G. Schottel, H. C. G. von Jagemann says: „The inorganic *æ* in the 1. and 3. sing. pret. is occasionally found after *h*: *diehe* (by the side of the queer *diehte*) in B and C; *friche*, *liehe*, *ziehe* for the 1. person, by the side of the irregular *ziehet* for the 3. person, likewise *verziehe*; *flohe*; *sahe* for the 1. person by the side of *saß*; once the *æ* occurs after another consonant: *fohte*<sup>1)</sup>“. My own examination of Schottel confirms Jagemann's statement as to the *æ* being found only after *h*<sup>2)</sup>. I have found only *sahe* and *flohe*, which, however, are the usual forms. Schottel's language, as is well known, is modelled on that of Luther. In the matter of the st. prt. also, he agrees with Luther. This again bears us out in saying that the influence of Luther tended to lessen rather than heighten the percentage of the use of the e-forms of the st. prt.

In Andreas Gryphius' *Horribilicribrifax*<sup>3)</sup> only one example with *æ* occurs: *entschließe* p. 76. In this play there are 42 examples of the st. prt. without *æ*. *Saß* occurs twice, *saß'* once. We shall see that the Silesians, with the exception of printings of their prose novels made in the South-German cities, made a very sparing use of these e-forms.

Pfitzer's *Faustbuch*<sup>4)</sup> has many more forms of the st. prt. with *æ* than those without it.

<sup>1)</sup> *The Language of J. G. Schottel*. Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. 8, 420.

<sup>2)</sup> I have examined only his "Friedens Sieg" *Neudrucke* Nr. 175.

<sup>3)</sup> Braune *Neudrucke* Nr. 3. Breslau 1663.

<sup>4)</sup> Nürnberg 1674. Published in the Spemann Collection, edited by H. Düntzer. My statistics are based upon pp. 38—136.



## a) liquids r, l

fiel . . . . .	1	fielē 74 . . . . .	3
war . . . . .	52	ware 38 . . . . .	18
ſchwur . . . . .	2	ſchwure 46 . . . . .	2
fuhr . . . . .	3	fuhre 46 . . . . .	4
befahl . . . . .	1		
	<u>59</u>		<u>27</u>

## b) nasals m, n

nam . . . . .	4	name 38 . . . . .	12
ſam . . . . .	8	ſame 38 . . . . .	12
	<u>12</u>	ſchiene 46 . . . . .	1
			<u>25</u>

## c) labials l. b

hub . . . . .	1	hube 104 . . . . .	4
		triebe 38 . . . . .	3
		bliebe 46 . . . . .	2
gab . . . . .	9	gabe 66 . . . . .	8
ſchrieb . . . . .	1	ſchriebe 93 . . . . .	1
	<u>11</u>		<u>18</u>

## 2. f

		warffe 107 . . . . .	2
		ſchlieffe 107 . . . . .	2
ſoff . . . . .	1	ſoffe 64 . . . . .	1
lieff . . . . .	1	lieffe 130 . . . . .	1
	<u>2</u>	traffe 131 . . . . .	2
			<u>8</u>

## d) gutturals l. g

gieng . . . . .	10	gienge 38 . . . . .	12
fieng . . . . .	2	fienge 49 . . . . .	4
ſchlug . . . . .	1	ſchluge 104 . . . . .	3
		ſchwiege 59 . . . . .	4
lag . . . . .	1	lage 63 . . . . .	7
zog . . . . .	1	zoge 110 . . . . .	2
All others . . . . .	3	ſtiege 120 . . . . .	1
	<u>18</u>		<u>33</u>

## 2. t

erſchrad . . . . .	3	erſchraße 110 . . . . .	2
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## 3. ſ, h

ſprach . . . . .	27	ſpraße 72 . . . . .	5
		ſaße 72 . . . . .	23
	<u>27</u>	geſchraße 104 . . . . .	2
			<u>30</u>

## e) dentals 1. ð

ward . . . . .	12	wurde 38 . . . . .	14
stund . . . . .	2	stunde 46 . . . . .	19
verschwand . . . . .	1	verschwanðe 53 . . . . .	2
		lude 95 . . . . .	1
		fande 98 . . . . .	2
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	15		38

## 2. t

		hielte 38 . . . . .	6
		geriethe 38 . . . . .	4
thät . . . . .	1	thate(49) 3, thäte(63) 9	12
		ritte 112 . . . . .	3
tratt . . . . .	1	tratte 59 . . . . .	3
		bate 61 . . . . .	4
		bote 73 . . . . .	3
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	2		35

## f) þ-stems 1. þ

laþe . . . . . 1

## 2. þþ

lieþ . . . . .	1	lieffe 39 . . . . .	9
saþ . . . . .	2	saþfe 51 . . . . .	2
		verðroffe 127 . . . . .	1
		stieffe 118 . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	2	hieffe 57 . . . . .	1
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	5		14

## Summary.

	without æe	with æe	percentage
a) r, l	59	27	31
b) m, n	12	25	69
c) 1. b	11	18	62
2. f	2	8	80
d) 1. g	18	33	65
2. t	3	2	40
3. h, ch	27	30	53
e) 1. ð	15	38	72
2. t	2	35	94
f) 1. þ	0	1	100
2. þþ	5	14	74
total	<hr/> 154	<hr/> 321	<hr/> 60

Or, if we omit *war* and *spraç* as well as *ware* and *spraçe*, 74% of all st. prts. ind. 1. 3. sing. have *æ*. With a very few exceptions all weak preterites retain *æ*. No extra *e*'s are added except in case of the st. prt. but are retained in *deme*, *iñme*, etc. *rufen* is inflected weak, *ruffte* 92 etc. Such plural forms occur as *wurffen* 115, *såwummen* 113, *ver[så]wanden* 113, *stunden* 115, *worden* 105 (often), *sprangen* 121 etc.

In the selection in Kürschner DNL. 37. Bd. from Anton Ulrich Herzog von Braunschweig's „*Durchleuchtige Syrerinn Aramena*“ (Nürnberg 1678) almost all the st. prts. end in *æ*. The only forms without *æ* are *war* 7, *fur* 1—8. All the forms with *æ* are given:

<i>ware</i> 455, 13 . . . 3	<i>gesåahe</i> 458, 17 . . . 1
<i>åame</i> 455, 13 . . . 4	<i>bråçe</i> 460, 22 . . . 2
<i>sonne</i> 458, 44 . . . 1	<i>sahe</i> 460, 41 . . . 1
<i>såiene</i> 460, 23 . . . 1	<i>fañde</i> 455, 15 . . . 4
<i>triebe</i> 455, 25 . . . 1	<i>wurde</i> 458, 11 . . . 4
<i>hube</i> 456, 21 . . . 3	<i>foçhte</i> 455, 14 . . . 2
<i>bliebe</i> 460, 16 . . . 1	<i>hålte</i> 461, 3 . . . 2
<i>gabe</i> 460, 33 . . . 2	<i>bliefe</i> 458, 30 . . . 1
<i>gienge</i> 458, 33 . . . 2	<i>stiefe</i> 455, 11 . . . 2
<i>såwiege</i> 459, 19 . . . 2	<i>saße</i> 455, 19 . . . 1
<i>sprange</i> 460, 27 . . . 1	<i>riffe</i> 458, 13 . . . 2
<i>såwunge</i> 461, 24 . . . 1	<i>verdroße</i> 458, 42 . . . 1
<i>spraçe</i> 457, 31 . . . 2	<i>ließe</i> 459, 20 . . . 4
	<i>vermaße</i> 459, 30 . . . 1

Or a total of 52 examples with *æ*: that is 87% of all st. prts. ind. 1. 3. sing. have *æ*, — the highest percentage found in any author. This, like all the other high percentages, is in a South-German printing. The fact that in this case the author is a North-German would lead one to believe that even as late as this, the printer is very largely responsible for the great number of superfluous *e*'s.

Almost all weak prts. have final *æ*. No other words have an extra *æ* except *deme*, *iñme*, etc., in which it is merely a retention.

In Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau's prose introductions to his *Heldenbriefe* (DNL. 36. B. pp. 5—79), only verbs whose stems end in *ñ* have *æ*. Out of a total of 120 st. prts. ind. 1. 3. sing. in this selection only 5 have *æ*: *gesåahe* es 27, 18, *gesåahe* auß 34, 30, *sahe* 28, 3; 74, 6, *flohe* 28, 12. These verbs have no forms without *æ*. About 4% of all st. prts.

ind have *-e*. This is true and that within two years of the high percentage of *e*-forms noted above. Here again we have an example of a very low percentage of *e*-forms in a Middle-German printing. Perhaps if this had been printed in the South, these prose sections would have had a great many *e*-forms. Of course the verse would have been unaffected by the change. No *e*-forms, or practically none, are found in Hofmannswaldau's verse.

We find the same situation in case of Lohenstein's *Arminius und Thussnelda*, a selection from which is printed in Kürschner DNL. 37. Bd., 462--479. Out of a total of 154 strong preterites that occur, only 8 have *-e*: *jahe* (462, 15) 7, and *sohe* (465, 6) 1. *jah* occurs once. Thus about 5% of all st. prts. end in *-e*. *Arminius und Thussnelda* was printed at Leipzig in 1689.

Another striking example of the difference between the South-German printings and those of the North and East in regard to the *e*-forms of the st. prt. is Christian Weise's *Die drei ärgsten Erznarren in der ganzen Welt* (Neudrucke 12--14. Date 1673). Here the percentage of *e*-forms is very insignificant. No statistics were made. The only *e*-forms that were found are *wurde*, *ritte* (14, *ritte auf* 18), *jahe ihm* 32, 78, 83 etc. and *shiene* 25; *jah* occurs about as often as *jahe*; *ward* and *wurde* are about equally divided in occurrence, *rufen* is always inflected weak, e. g. 27, 30, 60. 63 etc. The plural of class III often has *u* still, e. g. *befunden p.* 6.

In the first 102 pages of the selection (DNL. 40) from Abraham a Santa Clara's *Judas der Ertz-Schelm* (Salzburg, 1686) the following strong preterites with and without *-e* occur:

<i>war</i> . . . . .	70	<i>ware</i> 13, 5 . . . . .	13
<i>nahm</i> . . . . .	1	<i>nahme</i> 42, 3 . . . . .	2
<i>gab</i> . . . . .	1	<i>gabe</i> 31, 27 . . . . .	4
<i>fand</i> . . . . .	1	<i>fande</i> (43, 28) 3,	
		<i>empfund</i> e (28, 3) . . . . .	4
<i>ftund</i> 66, 3 . . . . .	1	<i>truge</i> 68, 10 . . . . .	1
		<i>jahe</i> 19, 17 . . . . .	5
		<i>gienge</i> 25, 12 . . . . .	2
		<i>wurde</i> 28, 5 . . . . .	9
All others . . . . .	5	<i>ge chahe</i> 97, 33 . . . . .	1
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	79	34%	41

If *war* and *ware* are omitted 76% of all st. prts. end in *-e*. There is no consideration, it seems, in regard to euphony, e. g. *gabe ihm* 31, 27; 40, 1; *fande er* 43, 28; *wurde er* 51, 22 etc. Other examples of *e*-forms: *ware* 111, 2, 3; 123, 23; 123, 33; 124, 32, 33; 125, 31; 138, 35; 149, 8 etc.; *wurde* 116, 10; *liesse* 149, 22; *sprache* 154, 8; *truge er* 173, 6; *stunde* 172, 24; *erchiene* 257, 15; *schore ihnen* 259, 23; *schnitte ihre Kleider ab* 259, 34; *gabe* 297, 15; *lude* 327, 19; *fame aus* 338, 12; *ware es* 339, 1, 2; *Es geschah*e aber 352, 17 etc.

The greater part of all prts., strong or weak, have given place to the perfect. This accounts for the small number occurring in the long section read. Most weak preterites retain *-e*. Many strong verbs have weak prts., e. g. *gleichete* 37, 28; 41, 34 etc.; *lauftete* 41, 35; *ruffete* 42, 31 etc.; *tringete* 170, 15; *wachstete* 49, 16; *scheintete* 54, 37 (always) etc. Practically all final *e*'s in nouns, masc. or fem. are dropped, e. g. *die Traum* 14, 10; *die Sach* 16, 10; *die Gnad* 17, 10, *die Schlange* 17, 25, *die Meng* 28, 16 etc., but *das Strohe* 21, 6. The number of superfluous *e*'s outside of those in the st. prt. is very small; they are practically all in the st. prt.

In Chr. Reuter's *Schelmuffsky* 1696, *Neudrucke* 57, 58) several strong verbs have *e*-forms in the prt. ind.: *sah*e, with one exception (*sah* p. 22) the exclusive form; *verjah*e 41, *ausjah*e 49, *geschah*e 40, *fame* 40, *stunde* 68, 83 etc., *roch*e 50, *gienge* 55, *wurde* (usual), *liesse* 81, *zoge* 81, *thate* 23, *chiene* 28, *ware* 33, etc. The percentage of all st. prts. that have *-e* is not very large. In class III the *u* of the plural is often transferred to the sing., e. g. *trunt* 74, *jung* 67, 76, *sprung* 70, *bund* 81, but *sand* 67 etc.

This is the latest specimen of the 17th century that has been examined.

At this time and from now on the number of *e*-forms rapidly decreases. It had reached its highest point, as we have seen, in the South-German prose-printings from 1650—1680, in some cases going as high as 75—80% of all st. prts. After this time the decline is very rapid. By 1750 only *sah*e, *geschah*e, *flohe*, and *wurde* are at all common. Of these *sah*e and *wurde* alone have been kept until the present time, the former occurring only very rarely and in authors who wish to be archaic, not necessarily Biblical, and the latter in universal use.

VI. Rapid decline, especially toward the end of the period.  
From 1700 to 1800.

Anselm von Ziegler, *Asiatische Banise*<sup>1)</sup>.

a) liquids.			
war . . . . .	210	ware 111, 13 . . .	1
fuhr . . . . .	26	fuhre 112, 1 . . .	1
fiel . . . . .	35	fiel 127, 34 . . .	3
All others . . . . .	19	erföhle 141, 7 . . .	1
	<u>290</u>		<u>6</u>
b) nasals n, m			
ſchien . . . . .	14	ſchiene 14, 27 . . .	25
All others . . . . .	99		
	<u>113</u>		<u>25</u>
c) labials l. b			
blieb . . . . .	5	bliebe 49, 6 . . .	1
trieb . . . . .	2	triebe 91, 20 . . .	1
		abriebe 99, 4 . . .	1
All others . . . . .	94	ſturbe 102, 7 . . .	1
	<u>101</u>		<u>4</u>
2. f			
All f-stems without <i>re</i>	147	with <i>re</i> . . . . .	0
d) gutturals l. g			
gieng . . . . .	21	gienge 96, 21 . . .	2
		ſunge 48, 16, ſange	
		64, 20 . . . . .	2
ſchlug . . . . .	6	ſchluge 98, 6 . . .	1
lag . . . . .	5	lage 101, 35 . . .	1
trug . . . . .	4	truge 133, 33 . . .	1
All others . . . . .	62		
	<u>98</u>		<u>7</u>
2. t			
All t-stems without <i>re</i>	14	with <i>re</i> . . . . .	0
3. ch, h			
		ſahe 11, 28 . . .	65
geſchach . . . . .	2	geſchache 97, 9 . . .	1
All others . . . . .	38	flohe 141, 16 . . .	1
	<u>40</u>		<u>67</u>

<sup>1)</sup> Leipzig 1707. There are earlier editions but this is the one followed in Kürschner DNL. 37. Bd. My statistics are based upon pp. 1—171.

e) dentals 1.  $\delta$ 

ward . . . . .	57	wurde 11, 34 . . . . .	63
fan $\delta$ . . . . .	23	fan $\delta$ e 45, 27 . . . . .	2
ʃtan $\delta$ (52,22) 2, ʃtun $\delta$ 26	28	ʃtun $\delta$ e 150, 38 . . . . .	1
	<u>108</u>		<u>66</u>

2.  $t$ 

hielt . . . . .	10	hielte 24, 15 . . . . .	18
		durchflochte 126, 38 . . . . .	1
rieth . . . . .	8	riethe 28, 3 . . . . .	2
All others . . . . .	22		
	<u>40</u>		<u>21</u>

f)  $\text{ʃ}$ -stems 1.  $\text{ʃ}$ 

wies . . . . .	2	erwiese 23, 11 . . . . .	4
All others . . . . .	6		
	<u>8</u>		<u>4</u>

2.  $\text{ʃʃ}$ 

lie $\text{ʃ}$ . . . . .	82	lie $\text{ʃ}$ e 38, 24 . . . . .	3
rie $\text{ʃ}$ , ri $\text{ʃ}$ . . . . .	4	bi $\text{ʃ}$ e 151, 29 . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	32	ri $\text{ʃ}$ e 144, 39 . . . . .	1
	<u>118</u>		<u>5</u>

## Summary.

	without $\text{e}$	with $\text{e}$	percentage
a) liquids 1, r	290	6	2
b) nasals m, n	113	25	18
c) labials 1. b	101	4	4
2. $\text{f}$	147	0	0
d) gutturals 1. g	98	7	7
2. $\text{t}$	14	0	0
3. $\text{tʃ}$ , $\text{h}$	40	67	63
e) dentals 1. $\delta$	108	66	38
2. $\text{t}$	40	21	34
f) $\text{ʃ}$ -stems 1. $\text{ʃ}$	8	4	33
2. $\text{ʃʃ}$	118	5	4
	<u>1077</u>	<u>205</u>	<u>16%</u>

All that is noteworthy in this table is the almost complete absence of  $\text{e}$ -forms in the labial and guttural stems except in case of  $\text{h}$ -stems, and the number of such forms in the  $\text{h}$ -stems, mainly due to  $\text{ʃaʃe}$ , and in the dental stems, perhaps partly due to a sort of confusion with the weak preterite.

Levelling in the *Asiatische Banise* is not yet complete, especially in class III. Such forms for the plural are found as *fanden* 118, 12; 166, 12, *wurffen*, *jungen*, *drungen*, etc. *rufen* is usually weak. Only strong preterites admit of an extra final *-e*. There are, however, some retentions of old *-e*, as *deme*, *ihme*, *weme*, etc.

In all the poems of Brockes that are given in Kürschner DNL. 39. Bd. a total of 110 strong preterites 1. 3. sing. ind. occur, of which 11 have *-e*: *liefe* (5, 3) 2, *flosse* (7, 5), *finge* (7, 29), *triebe* (7, 171) 4 (always in rime, usually with *Liebe*), *sahe* (16, 1) 3 (*saß* 4 times). That is to say, 10% of all st. prts. have *-e*, — a very high percentage for verse, especially at this time. The *-e* in the st. prt. always counts for a syllable here as well as elsewhere, e. g.

*Ich sahe mit betrachtendem Gemüte* 1, 16, 1, and

*Die Erde sahe jüngst der Lüfte schönes Bláu* 11, 3, 1; but

*Sah ich von ungefähr* 1, 16, 17. This choice of forms is very convenient for verse-making.

*Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden*<sup>1)</sup>.

In the *Faustbuch*, von einem christlich Meynenden, the percentage of *e*-forms is very great for such a late date.

		<i>schre</i> 14, 28 . . . . .	1
		<i>fiele</i> 16, 36 . . . . .	1
<i>grieff</i> 8, 14 . . . . .	1	<i>griffe</i> 16, 34 . . . . .	1
<i>rief</i> . . . . .	2	<i>rieffe</i> 17, 30 . . . . .	2
		<i>pfiffe</i> 22, 33 . . . . .	2
<i>gieng</i> . . . . .	1	<i>gienge</i> 4, 16 . . . . .	1
		<i>sange</i> 17, 37 . . . . .	1
<i>fieng</i> . . . . .	2	<i>fienge</i> 22, 11 . . . . .	1
		<i>sahe</i> 6, 3 . . . . .	5
		<i>geschähe</i> 7, 20 . . . . .	1
<i>ward</i> . . . . .	3	<i>wurde</i> 4, 28 . . . . .	7
<i>fand</i> . . . . .	1	<i>fande</i> 5, 33 . . . . .	3
<i>hielt</i> . . . . .	2	<i>hielte</i> 13, 7 . . . . .	2
		<i>lase</i> 5, 30 . . . . .	1
		<i>wiese</i> 19, 37 . . . . .	1
All others . . . . .	57	<i>schlosse</i> 18, 33 . . . . .	1
	69	30%	30

<sup>1)</sup> Frankfurt 1725. Reprinted in DLD. No. 39. My statistics are for pp. 1—23.



*Die Insel Felsenburg*<sup>1)</sup>.

In *Die Insel Felsenburg* many e-forms of the st. prt. occur, but the percentage of all st. prts. that have *æ* is very slight. *ſahe* is the exclusive form; the *æ* is never dropped even when a vowel begins the next word, e. g. *ſahe ein* 27, 30, *ſahe unter* 31, 35 etc. Other examples: *wurde* (almost exclusive, *ward* occurring very seldom), *ſchlene ihr* 33, 26; 39; 34; 83, 1 etc., *zoge* 43, 27, *geſchahe* 46, 34; 50, 14 etc.; *Es beſtunde aber* 73, 10, *ſchrne* 88, 7; *rufen* is very often inflected weak as 25, 14; 90, 30, 110, 30, etc. In class III the u of the plural often goes over into the sing.: *ſung* 5, 31, *verdung* 9, 22, *wurde*, etc., perhaps on the analogy of *ſtund-ſtunden*.

## Hagedorn.

The following examples of e-forms of the st. prt. were found in Hagedorn<sup>2)</sup>: *Dort ſing' er an: Hier liegt er ſchon.* 27, 163; *ſchlene (ind.) Vorrede* 6, 5; *doch ſchlene er mir. Vorrede* 9, 16; *geſchahe Vorrede* 10, 5, *entſchiede (in prose)* 70, 27; *erhielte* 70, 28 (in prose); *es wurde aber (in prose)* 71, 16. Thus in the short prose sections which comprise a very small part of the whole, all but one of the e-forms that were found occur.

The only st. prts. in *æ* that were found in Gleim<sup>3)</sup> are *ſahe* and *wurde*, each being used according to the demands of meter. Thus, *Das dacht er, ſahe Morgenrot* 9, 26 but *Verſpottend ſah er uns vereint* 21, 87 etc. So with *ward* and *wurde* 25, 57; 32, 216 etc.

## Gessner.

The e-forms are very rare in Gessner's language, — even in his prose — although he comes from a locality where the st. prt. in *æ* is very common. This may probably be attributed to the fact that Gessner was a philologist. In *Der Tod Abels* *ſah* is found 58 times, *ſahe* once: *Eva ſahe das Jammern ihrer Töchter mit gedoppeltem Schmerz* (DNL 41 1., 173, 10). One other example of a st. prt. in *æ* occurs in *Der Tod Abels*: *ſht*

<sup>1)</sup> DLD. Nos. 108—120. Printed at Nordhausen 1731.

<sup>2)</sup> Versuch einiger Gedichte: Hamburg 1729. DLD. No. 10.

<sup>3)</sup> Preußische Kriegslieder DLD. No. 4.

hingē sie weinend an der Mēhala Schūlter — 139, 2. hūb occurs 10 times, hōb 10 times. No example of wurde occurs.

#### Albrecht von Haller.

Many e-forms occur in Haller's language. Zagajewski in his study of Haller's language<sup>1)</sup> gives many examples as ver-  
schwande etc. The percentage of all forms in -e is not large. The sing. of class III often has the u of the plural, e. g. bund, fund, etc.; the plural of this class often has u still. The preterite is rarely used, it being paraphrased by the perfect.

#### Bodmer.

Bodmer furnishes us with the striking example of a man who at one time in some of his writings used practically all e-forms and at another (and later) time no strong preterites in -e at all. For example, in the *Erster Discours des zweiten Theils 1722 (Die Discourse der Mahlern)* DNL. 42. Bd. pp. 11—18 the following e-forms are found: ware 11, 32, fieler 15, 21, nahme 11, 28, besonne 12, 25, befame 13, 5, ronne 14, 11, gabe 15, 24, traffe 11, 20, warffe 13, 2, stiege 12, 4, fienge 12, 12, drange 13, 34, gienge 13, 35, boge 14, 5, lage 14, 23, verbarge 14, 31, hienge 15, 18, truge 15, 23, sahe 14, 33, fande 11, 22, stuhnde 11, 23, lude 13, 5, umwande 15, 17, unterhielte 12, 2, bote 15, 24, lafe 11, 17, bewiefe 12, 7, saffe 11, 12, fortriffe 13, 34, schlosse 14, 25, ließe 14, 29 — a total of 46 instances. Only 9 examples without -e occur: ließ 2, nahm 1, sand 1, schien 1, ward 3, lag 1. Thus 84% of all st. prts. ind. 1. 3. sing. end in -e. This -e is not dropped for the sake of euphony, e. g. 11, 12; 11, 32; 12, 7; 12, 12; 15, 21, 23, 24 etc.

In the first canto of *Die Rache der Schwester* (1767, in hexameters) 126 examples of the st. prt. without -e and 3 with -e occur; 45 different verbs have forms without -e. The e-forms are: sahe 332, 322 and entflohē 302. In case of sahe 322 and entflohē 302 the final -e is added to complete the final spondee in the verse. Other examples in the poem are: sahe 1003,

<sup>1)</sup> K. Zagajewski, *Albrecht von Haller's Dichtersprache*. Quellen und Forschungen No. 105. Längin in his dissertation on Herder's language Freiburg i. Br. 1891, p. 66 cites the following from Haller: ließe, gienge, umfienge, fande, annahme, lafe, ware, sahe, and triebe.

1067, 1182, *geſchähe* (end of verse) 1340, 1372. *ward* and *wurde* are used in accordance with the demands of meter. Class III is not completely levelled, e. g. *ſchwung* 137, *ſchwang* 871, *ſprang* 866; in the plural, *entſprungen* 873, *trunden* 990 etc.

In Bodmer's drama *Karl von Burgund* (DLD. No. 9, 1771) all st. prts. are without *-e* even *ſah* 15, 3; 15, 33 etc. *ward* is the exclusive form.

In the Vorrede to the first edition of his *Cato* (1732, DNL. 42. Bd.), Gottsched writes *ſahe* 42, 20; but *ſas auch* 42, 26; *ſahe* 44, 18; *hielte außer* 45, 4. In the text of *Cato* several examples of *ſah* occur but none of *ſahe*. Gottsched is known later to have combatted the use of these preterites<sup>1)</sup> and very likely followed his own preaching. No extended study of Gottsched has been made. This much, however, has been found out, that st. prts. ind. in *-e* are very rare in Gottsched's writings, even in his early writings. Class III is far from being levelled either in the sing. or the plural, e. g. 46, 8; 51, 22; but *wiederſtunden*: *befunden* *Cato* 1075 etc.

#### Gellert.

The only *e*-forms that were found in Gellert are *ſahe* and *wurde*. Only the *Vierter Teil* of his *Sämtliche Schriften* (Leipzig, 1784. Weidmanns Erben und Reich) was examined. Some examples are given: *ich ſahe*, *ſahe ich*, *anſahe* p. 147; *Ich ſahe ihn* 103, *ſahe Sie* 183; *ſah* is the usual form, occurring dozens of times in the book. *ward* is the regular form, *wurde* occurring only very rarely, in almost every case final in the clause, e. g. 105, 350, 362 etc. It is seen that the form *ſahe* occurs frequently even when the following word begins with a vowel.

In Cramer's *Gedichte, dritter Teil* (Carlsruhe 1784), the only st. prt. in *-e* that occurs is *wurde*, the occurrence of which is very rare. In the whole book *ward* occurs 23 times, *wurde* 3, *ſah* 9, *ſahe* not once. One would expect *ſahe* to be very common in the language of a man like Cramer. It often happens that where we should expect the influence of Luther we do not find it. If *ſahe* occurs in Cramer's language at all it is very seldom.

<sup>1)</sup> See below.



II:

Und mit Iéísem Röcheln ent floh die Séele voll Unſchuld  
Line 130 in both versions:

Dón dem Váter, und ſáh den Meſ ſtas im Grabmal da hérgehñ  
ſahe is never used when the dactyl is complete with ſah. See  
also 157 (1748), 251, 254, 422, etc. So with floh 195 etc.

I. 133,

Sátan hör't es, und ſahe be ſtürzt durch die Öffnung des Grabmals  
In II:

Sátan hör't es, und ſáh be ſtürzt durch die Öffnung des Grabmals  
Line 276, both versions: . . . . . Ihñ ſahe kein Auge

I. 737,

Willigt dar éín, den Meſ ſtas zu tödten. Der gleichen That ſahe  
II. Williget ein, den Meſ ſtas zu tödten. Seit dém Gott ſchüf, ſah

I. 777,

híer ſtand er ſtill. Er ſahe die Wélt und den göttlichen Hímmeł  
In II:

. . . . . Er ſahe die Welten

Line 833, both versions: . . . . . Jezt ſahe den Érdkreis

Other examples of ſahe: II, 818; III, 569. From the  
examples above it is seen that the e-forms can stand in any  
position in the verse, even in the last foot; the most common  
position, however, seems to be in the 5th foot — always  
a dactyl. They are never used when the next word begins  
with a vowel. The following summary might be of interest.

In canto I

1748 warð occurs 2, wurde 1, ſah 11, ſahe 2.

1799 warð occurs 2, wurde 1, ſah 10, ſahe 2.

In canto II

1748 warð occurs 2, wurde 1, ſah 17, ſahe 7, floh 5, flohe 1.

1799 warð occurs 7, wurde 0, ſah 17, ſahe 4, floh 5, flohe 1.

In the later version several e-forms were dropped as well  
as many other forms avoided that were felt to be archaic, e. g.  
zurüde, etc. Frequently preterites of class III have the u of  
the earlier version changed to a in the latter e. g. ſchlung II, 209,  
ſtunden 505 etc.

The following examples of the st. prt. in *-e* occur in the Odes: Als ich zum erstenmal dich sahe,

Als ich dich sahe, und du mich nicht kanteft.

An des Dichters Freunde 86, 87—1771.

In the edition of 1799 the second sahe is changed to sah. —

Mich nur flohe die Ruh, und mein Gespieler sonst.

Petrarka und Laura, line 19.

Udli, ich sahe dich

Gegenwart der Abwesenden, line 19.

Other examples of sahe: Der Jüngling (1764), line 1; Die Frühen Gräber (1764), line 12; An Freund und Feind (1781), line 59. In all these odes we find sah 36, sahe 6, and flohe once.

### Lessing.

Several st. prts. in *-e* occur in Lessing. One form, sahe, although not the exclusive form, occurs almost always when a consonant follows. On the other hand ward is the usual form; wurde occurs only occasionally. For certain readings in Lessing the following figures were made: ward 42, wurde 7, sah 23, sahe 26, schiene 2, flohe 1, geschaher 1, liesse 1. Some examples with and without *-e* are given:

1. In the first 52 letters in Vol. 17 (Lachmann-Muncker) sahe occurs twice (in Nos. 2 and 6), sah, not at all; ward and wurde are here about evenly divided.

2. *Fabeln* (Lachmann-Maltzahn), Book I, No. 25 sahe, Book II, No. 1 sah ich; No. 17, Der Fuchs sahe, daß . . .; Book III, No. 3 ich sahe ihren Wandel; No. 12 sahe twice; No. 15 sahe; No. 21 der Wolf flohe, but Der Pfeil floh in die Ferne, Anhang.

3. *Poems*. The forms in *-e* are used according to the demands of meter and to suit the poet's convenience. The *-e* is never added before a vowel. Examples: sahe : nahe (Der Eremit in Vol. 1), schiene (: Mine) 1, 227; sahe 1, 229, sah ich 1, 236; (Bühne) : schiene (Der müßige Pöbel 1751). The *-e* is consistently dropped because of a following vowel only in verse.

4. *Der Junge Gelehrte*. : geschaher 1, 273; sahe er etwa auf die Erde? 1, 275; wurde 1, 277; liesse 1, 324; Ich sah es nicht 1, 334.

5. *Minna von Barnhelm*. All examples that occur are given. sahe 1, 553, 561, 585; sah ihm nach, but Das Fräulein sahe

mit<sup>4</sup> 587; *ſahe* alſo 587. The only case of *ſaḥ* that I have found in Lessing that is not followed by a word beginning with a vowel occurs on p. 587. In the whole play *ward* occurs 6 times, *wurde* does not occur. Lehmann is mistaken when he says (p. 213) that *ſahe* is the exclusive form in Lessing.

6. The only e-form that occurs in the *ſaſoon* is *ſahe*; examples: VI (Lachmann-Maltzahn), 416, 419, 425; *ſahe Achilles* 431 etc.

Other examples of *ſahe* found in Lessing: I, 249, 250; II, 141; *ſaḥ' ſie* II, 146 (*Emilia Galotti*), 539; VI, 40; *ſahe es* 41; 190; VII, 290, 291. Thus we see that *ſahe* and *ward* are the usual forms in Lessing, while *ſaḥ* and *wurde* occur only occasionally. At present the situation is exactly reversed.

### Wieland.

In Wieland's early writings, prose and verse, the e-forms of the st. prt. occur frequently, especially *ſahe*. Later Wieland removed these forms from his language altogether. The latest example that I have found in Wieland is *ſahe*, *Oberon*, canto VIII, stanza 44 (Gruber edition 1824). This is in all editions, as the -e is necessary for the meter. This is the only example in the whole poem. Some examples from other works of Wieland are as follows<sup>1</sup>):

#### 1. *Der Gephyfte Abraham*.

Und er *sáhe* mit éinem Blíſſe die ménſchliche Seele 107, 83.  
*ſahe* in the last foot of the hexameter:

. . . . Da kam auch *ḥenoch* und *ſahe* 110, 207.

Other examples of the same: 110, 209; 118, 511; 145, 386; 155, 144 etc.

*ſahe* in the dactyl of the first foot:

*Sahe* die *Aſche* des einzigen Sohns — . . 110, 210: but the next line:  
*Saḥ* ſie und *ſchwantete* nicht . . 110, 211 etc.

*ſaḥ* is often used in a spondaic foot between dactyls where *ſahe* would have completed the dactyl. Wieland seems to have avoided as much as possible a succession of dactyls. The 1799 revision of the early cantos of the *Messias* seems to show that Klopstock felt somewhat the same way about the matter.

<sup>1</sup>) In the case of *Der Gephyfte Abraham* and the *Gesicht des Mirza* the references are to the edition of Wieland's works by Fritz Homeyer, Berlin, 1909. I. Abt., II. Band.

Examples of *ſaḥ* in this position: 120, 29; 120, 30; 121, 80 etc. Other examples of *ſaḥ* in a complete dactyl: 120, 56; 121, 77; 123, 158; 123, 162; 151, 6, 15 etc. Other examples of *ſaḥe* in a dactyl: 143, 290; 145, 393. Only one example of *wurde* is found in the whole poem, 124, 203; *wurð* occurs once:

Niemals *würd* iḥ es mḥde, die frommen Gefänge zu hören, 124, 203. He may have used *ward* here as in line 207. In the verse we often find the *u* of the plural of class III in the sing. e. g. *ſāwung* 106, 47; *ſālung* 129, 409 etc. We find such forms as late as Oberon but only in the rime e. g. (*Myrtenrund* :) *ſtund* 12, 21, but *ſtand* : *ſand* 12, 23. In Wieland's early works *hub* and *hob* are about evenly divided in occurrence.

2. *Gesicht des Mirza* (in prose). In this, *ſaḥe* is almost the exclusive form. Only *ſaḥe* and *wurde* have the *-e*. Examples: *ጆ hub* meine Augen auf und *sah* eine weite Ebene 298, 26; *ſaḥe* iḥ 300, 5; *Man ſaḥe* nichts 301, 18. *ጆ ſaḥe* auch 301, 36; 302, 21; 303, 38; *ጆ ſaḥe* auf 303, 35; other examples: *ſaḥe* 299, 19; 302, 38; 303, 4; *wurde* 302, 23 etc. In the prose there is no regard, as is seen, for euphony.

Other examples in the same volume: *ſaḥe*: 6, 204; 13, 98. There is some levelling in class VI, e. g. *hob* 303, 33; 261, 132 etc.; *hub* 261, 122; 298, 21, etc.; *beſchwur* 261, 118. In class III we find *ſtand* 303, 11, but *ſtunden* 304, 3; 261, 134, *ſtanden* 162, 374. *rufen* is sometimes inflected weak, — *ruſte* 261, 136, etc.

3. In *Musarion* only one example of *ſaḥe* occurs:

Und óḥ ne Gſft. Nie *sah* e mán die Mú ſen I, 155, but  
Und dá er *sáh*, es ſei Muſaríón I, 168.

In the whole poem *ſaḥ* occurs 10 times, *ſaḥe* once, *ward* 5 times, *wurde* twice. In *Géron der Adelige* *ſaḥ* occurs 14 times; *ſaḥe* does not occur; *ward* is found 11 times, *wurde* twice (485, 492).

4. In *Die Geschichte der Abderiten* as printed in DNL. 53. Bd. (ed. Pröhle) there is no example of *ſaḥe*. In book I, chapter 5, p. 51, in Vol. 19 of the edition by Gruber we find *ſaḥe* man. I have not investigated the cause of this variation. Some figures from the first three books of the *Abderiten* might be interesting. In book I we find *ſaḥ* 17, *ward* 2, *wurde* 25. In books II and III only *ward* and *wurde* were counted: book II *ward* 1, *wurde* 11; book III *ward* 0, *wurde* 37.



From our examination of Wieland we see that in his early prose *ward* is the usual form; in his later prose (cf. *Abderiten*) *wurde*; in early prose *ſahe* is almost the exclusive form; in later prose *ſah* is the only form found.

In his early verse both forms, *ſahe* and *ſah*, are employed in accordance with the demands of meter, *ſahe* predominating. Later all *ſahe* forms are discarded. In the matter of levelling, Wieland, like the most of his contemporaries, makes use of double forms in classes III and VI.

#### Herder.

I have made no special study of the use of the *e*-forms of the st. prt. ind. 1. 3. sing. by Herder, but have depended upon the results in Längin's dissertation<sup>1)</sup>. Längin gives several examples of the form in question from Herder: „Bei H. finden sich noch einige solche Praeterita, am häufigsten von *ſehen* und seinen Compositis, doch nicht durchgängig. *ſahe* I, 208, 211, 314, 320, 345, 373, 411, 418. II, 8, 252, 258, 13. IV. 85; *anſahe* I, 17; daneben beliebig *ſah* z. B. I, 398, *litte* I, 18, *geſſahe* I, 193, ferner *wurde* I, 211, III, 199, neben überwiegendem *ward* I, 5, 153, 154, 157, 211, 262, 266, 312, 313, 368. II, 60, III, 198, 199, 200 usw.“ His references are to the Suphan edition of Herder's works. Herder's later language shows scarcely any of these *e*-forms.

#### Goethe.

In Goethe's early writings the forms of the st. prt. in *-e* occur comparatively often. In some cases the very frequent occurrence of such forms may be ascribed to the copyist. However, we must not be too insistent on robbing the youthful Goethe of all these forms on the ground that these preterites in *-e* do not belong to his dialect. They were, on the contrary, very common in Frankfurt at this time. As has been seen above (see p. 74), as late as 1725 in a Frankfurt printing 30% of all st. prts. end in *-e*. Furthermore, in many instances such forms are most assuredly Goethe's own.

<sup>1)</sup> Theodor Längin, *Die Sprache des jungen Herder*. Inaugural-Dissertation. Freiburg i. Br. 1891.

1. In *Götz von Berlichingen*<sup>1)</sup> (1773) *ſahe* occurs twice and *flohe* once — *ſahe* 50, 5; 71, 3. *Es flohe Freund und Feind* 102, 24. In the whole play *ward* occurs ten times, *wurde* 4.

2. According to Lauterbach<sup>2)</sup> there was apocope of final *e* in the first version of *Werther's Leiden*. In all, over 100 cases of apocope were corrected in the second version of which 60 are in verbs. With reference to the *-e* of the st. prt. Lauterbach says (P. 21): „Die paragogischen *-e* des starken Praeteritums, die in I. einige Male sich finden, aber in II. getilgt werden, gehören nicht G.s Mundart an; sie sind eine Eigenheit der süddeutschen Schriftsprache jener Zeit und werden z. B. bei Haller angetroffen, desgl. in G.s Jugendbriefen“. The various critical readings of the Weimar Edition relative to these forms show *ſahe*, *hielte*, *wurde* and *ſoſchte*<sup>3)</sup>. The omission of *-e* in the second version mentioned by Lauterbach applies only to *ſahe*. On the contrary, H. uses, with only two exceptions, in the whole book, *hielte* instead of *hielt* of the earlier version. Readings for *ſahe*: II, 14 *ſahe* h<sup>2.3</sup>; 35, 16 E<sup>1-6</sup> h<sup>2.3</sup> H *ſaſ*'; 49, 6 *ſahe* E<sup>1-6</sup> h<sup>2.3</sup> *ſaſ*' HS-C<sup>2</sup>; 81, 14 *ſahe* h<sup>2</sup>; 104, 22 *ſaſ*, Weimar Ed. has no readings, but the Weigandsche Buchhandlung (1775) reprint of E<sup>1</sup> has *ſaſ*' as also the Fleischhauer Ed. 1778, 146, 15; 134, 5 *ſahe* *iſ* HS-BC<sup>1</sup>C,I has *ſaſ* *iſ*. Examples of *hielte*: 14, 1 *erhielte* H; 17, 7 *erhielte* H; 20, 6 *unterhielte* H; 26, 23 *hielte* H; 55, 18 *hielte* H; 64, 16 *hielte* E<sup>1.2</sup> H; 86, 7, 9 *hielte* H. Other examples of *hielte* and its compounds in H: 92, 24; 97, 10; 99, 18; 119, 19; 120, 16; 152, 21; 92, 25 *ſoſchte*. In the whole book (II) *ward* occurs 20 times, *wurde* 12 times. In the early editions and in H we find very often *ſtund* and *ſtunden* and compounds which S without exception

<sup>1)</sup> The references are all to the Weimar Edition unless otherwise specified, that is to the variant readings and not to the text of the Weimar Edition.

<sup>2)</sup> Martin Lauterbach, *Das Verhältnis der zweiten zur ersten Ausgabe von Werthers Leiden*. Quellen und Forschungen Nr. 110.

<sup>3)</sup> E<sup>1</sup> *Die Leiden d. jungen Werthers*, Leipzig. In der Weigandschen Buchhandlung, 1774. E<sup>2</sup> is a reprint of E<sup>1</sup>. E<sup>3</sup>, second ed. 1775. E<sup>4</sup>, <sup>5</sup>, <sup>6</sup> are reprints of E<sup>3</sup>. h<sup>1.2.3</sup> Himburg, Berlin 1775, 1777, 1779. — These contain the first version. H (second version) 1786, Ms of second version by Vogel and Seidel with corrections by Goethe. See Weimar ed. 19, 329. The subsequent editions are all well known.

changes to *stand* and *standen*. In like manner *hub* ist changed to *hob*. There seems to have been no consideration for euphony at all e. g. 134, 5 *sahe ich* HS-BC'C; 152, 21 *hielte ich* H; etc.

3. In the *Theatralische Sendung*<sup>1)</sup> many examples of *sahe* and *hielte* and occasionally other prts. as *ware*, *gabe* etc. occur. Harry Maync has a paragraph (51, 292) on this subject under the heading „Das paragogische -e“, which is very interesting. He would ascribe most of the strong preterites in -e to the copyist. I quote the paragraph: „Ferner zeigen Briefe und H übereinstimmend die vielfach gebrauchten, in den Lesarten sämtlich verzeichneten Praeteritalformen *hielte*, *sahe*, *nahm*e; auch dieses (spezifisch süddeutsche) paragogische -e des starken Praeteritums wurde, obwohl es sich (51, 144, 4) auch in einem freilich erheblich älteren Verse und ferner im Werther von 1774, in Briefen der zehn Jahre (z. B. *unterhielte*, *litte* Briefe 4, 128, 17; 5, 211, 2) und selbst noch im ersten Druck von L (vgl. zu 21, 261, 8 und zu 22, 260, 20. 275, 4; 346, 21) ein paar Mal findet, durchweg getilgt, wie es Goethe in der 2. Werther-Ausgabe von 1787 consequent getilgt hat (vgl. Lauterbach S. 21); desgleichen *ihme* statt *ihm*. Es sind das (vgl. Burdach, Verhandl. d. 37. Versamml. deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner in Dessau 1885, s. 173) Eigentümlichkeiten, die nicht dem Dialekt, sondern höchstens der unter oberdeutschem Einfluß stehenden Schrift des jungen Goethe angehören. In Bābes Briefen sind diese *ware*, *litte*, *sahe*, *Regel*; sie gehen wohl auch in H wesentlich auf die Abschreiberin zurück“. I give below a list of all the st. prts: in -e that occur in the Ms of the *Theatralische Sendung*. Vol. 51: *sahe* 3, 19; 22, 16; 27, 18; 140, 12; 156, 1; 176, 8; *befashe*. Vol. 52: *verfashe* 29, 16; *sahe* 45, 16; 200, 8. Examples of *hielte* and its compounds: Vol. 51: 42, 16; 77, 4; 79, 27; 105, 8; 106, 12; 107, 1; 121, 5; 129, 6; 133, 22, 23; 144, 4. Die *Stebe hielt*e mit dem *sänftem Arm gebunden*. Maync says with reference to this: „Dieses schon durch den Vers gesicherte *hielte* eines in die erste Jugend zurückreichenden Stückes war natürlich zu konservieren“ — 51, 305. Other examples of *hielte*: 155, 26; 159, 5 163, 21; 177, 21; 187, 12; 194, 11; 195, 13; 199, 24; 203, 20; 214, 21; 215, 14; 216, 9; 227, 16; 229, 20; 232, 13; 236, 17;

<sup>1)</sup> Weimar Ed. Vols. 51 and 52. Edited by Harry Maync.

238, 7; 241, 13; 256, 4; — (Vol. 52) 4, 20; 6, 1; 23, 24; 24, 2; 27, 13; 32, 7; 43, 21; 46, 22; 49, 15; 49, 18; 62, 22; 71, 11; 72, 5; 74, 24; 76, 16; 80, 1; 80, 5; 83, 14; 96, 27; 97, 10; 97, 28; 98, 9; 105, 8; 118, 10; 134, 26; 137, 5; 148, 9; 151, 15; 155, 12; 157, 4; 164, 23; 188, 10; 189, 3; 228, 7; 275, 20; 72, 4 *hielt'*. Other verbs with *-e*: (51) 3, 10 *wäre*; 12, 24 *bliebe*; 33, 15 *ausgab*e. (52) 104, 4 *ließe*; 119, 13 *gab*e; 219, 11 *schien*e. The following figures are for Vol. 51: *jaß* 69, *jaße* 6, *hielt* 23, *hielte* 30. No summary was made for vol. 52. In this volume *hielte* out-numbers *hielt* by far. *jaße* occurs 3 times.

It can scarcely be believed that all these st. prts. in *-e* are to be ascribed to the copyist. Goethe, as well as Bäte, makes use of many such forms in his early letters. The fact that Goethe incorporates into his story a poem containing *hielte* would lead us to suspect that he may have used the same form in his text. Furthermore, this is before the time of H, the Ms. of the second version of Werther, which has many cases of *hielte*, and which, although not written by Goethe, certainly passed under his supervision and received corrections, but not in this regard. Of course it is very probable that the copyist added the *-e* in many cases, and we might say in all cases outside of *jaße* and *hielte*, and many of these.

Other examples in Goethe: In a collection of *Volkslieder* made by Goethe at Strassburg (DLD. No. 142, p. 32 line 16), we find the line: „*Es gab*e seinen klaren Schein“. This of course very probably does not belong to Goethe. — *jaße*, *zum Schafespears Tag* DNL. 107, 22, 18. — In *Clavigo*, Original Edition (see *Jubiläums-Ausgabe* 11, 96, 15) we find *jaße* just once. This has come down through all editions. — The first line of *Heidenröslein* was printed by Herder in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*, Hamburg, 1773, and again in his *Volkslieder* Leipzig 1779 thus: *Es sah'* ein Knab ein Röslein rot. — Only one example of an ind. st. prt. in *-e* occurs in the *Urfaust*, Schmidt<sup>3</sup> (1894) p. 78, *striche*. — In Goethe's *Faust Fragment* (1790) published by Holland, *Spaziergang*, P. 97 *jaß'* occurs. This is the latest that I have found such forms in Goethe.

In regard to levelling, we find that up to about 1790 Goethe uses double forms in classes III and VI. The two most common examples of this are *stund*, *stand*; *hub*, *hob*—both

originally of class VI. In the case of a work dating from before S (Göschel 1787), *stund* and *hub* are usual. S, in nearly every case, makes the change to *stand* and *hob*. Other examples from these classes with u occur, but only rarely.

### Schiller.

I have not made a special study of Schiller in regard to the strong preterite. Consequently I must rely upon the results obtained by others. Below are some of the examples noted in Pfeleiderer's article on Schiller's language<sup>1</sup>). The references are S, *Schillers Schriften* hrsg. v. Goedeke 1871 and Br. *Briefe*. I quote in the order given by Pfeleiderer. „gebare 1, 222, 56 (Reim), *schlosse* 1, 29, 57 (im Reim; der Herausgeber des Schwäbischen M(agazins), in dem das betreffende Gedicht erschien, läßt, um etwas grammatikalisch korrekter zu sein, die Form *schlos* in Klammern beidrucken!) *hielte* 1, 90, 111 (im Vers). 2, 299, 21 A; *stosze* 2, 178, 21; *gediehe* 2, 391, 17; *ich sahe* 1, 57, 4. 110, 19. Br. 19, 26; *verliehe* 1, 36, 18; *lude* 68, 23; *riß* 1, 281, 46; *schmiß* 1, 346, 29; *versprache* Württ. Repert. 132“. He says relative to *sahe* (P. 382): „Bei Schiller ist später hauptsächlich *sahe* noch sehr üblich“. Schiller seems to have used *sahe* occasionally as long as he lived, the latest example noted being in *Die Braut von Messina* 1, 1498. This form is found right often in the *Abfall der Niederlande*. Pfeleiderer gives many more examples of e-forms from Schiller's early writings, only part of which will be repeated here. — *sahe* 28 times from the *Schriften* and 3 times from the letters; *hielte ich* Br. 1, 201, 23; *geschähe* S. 7, 154, 11; *es stitte* Br. 1, 116, 11; *stosze* S. 3, 401, 7; 5<sup>1</sup>, 134, 2805; 5<sup>2</sup>, 247; 7, 98, 21; *zuschriebe* S. 10, 415, 10; *hub* 2, 213, 14 (*Die Ausgabe von 1802*) etc.

<sup>1</sup>) *Die Sprache des jungen Schiller*. PBB. 28, 273—424. It seems to me wrong to say „Die Fälle bei Schiller sind, soweit sie nicht im Vers oder gar im Reim stehen, meist durch ein gewisses Pathos der Rede hervorgerufen“ — P. 381. Eberhard Paulus, *Zur Geschichte der Schriftsprache in Schwaben im 18ten Jh.*, comments on this: „Für Schi. bemerkt Pfeleiderer, dass die Formen mit parag. e teils im Vers, teils in pathetischer Rede stehen. Für die von mir untersuchten Quellen kann ich solche Unterschiede nicht feststellen“ — 222. Nor can I find any such distinction in any writer from Notker to Nietzsche.

Thus we see that the st. prt. ind. in *-e* is very much more common in Schiller than in Goethe. This is very likely due to the fact that Schiller was from Swabia, the locality where these forms from the very first have been most numerous.

Various other writers of the second half of the 18th century show *e*-forms, usually only *sahe* and *wurde*, but occasionally other preterites also. I shall give a few examples from some of these writers.

In the *Poetische Schriften von F. W. Zachariä*, Amsterdam 1767. Erster Band, neueste Ausgabe — *Der Renommist*, p. 19 we find *sahe* (:nahe); but p. 21 (nah:) *saḥ*. Such *e*-forms occur very seldom in the language of Zachariä. —

In Vol. I of the *Wandsbæder Bothe* (Matthias Claudius) 1774 we find p. 55 *Ḥ saḥ' ihu*; p. 56 *er flohe fort*; *beschnitte* p. 87; *Ḥ saḥ' einst einen Knaben zart* 127. *saḥ* is the exclusive form in prose and the usual form in verse; *ward* is the only form in prose, *wurde* occurs once in verse p. 159.

No example of *sahe* occurs in Klinger's *Ḥwillinge* (DNL. 79. Bd.), but in his *Sturm und Drang* (DNL. 79. Bd.) 86, 2 we find *sahe Sie*. In these plays of Klinger the plural vowel of class III is very frequently found in the sing. e. g. *schlung* 38. 22; 56, 13; *fund* 55, 39; *stund* is the exclusive form. The plural of this class very often has the *u*. *hub* is regular.

In Leisewitz's *Julius von Tarent* (DNL. 79) we find: *was ich in jedem sahe* 339, 5 but *saḥ ich* 339, 33. *stand* 340, 3; 344, 33 etc. is the exclusive form.

Neither *sahe* nor *wurde* is found in J. J. Engel's „*Herr Lorenz Stork*“ (DNL. 136); *saḥ* and *ward* occur very frequently: *saḥ* 324, 37; 336, 10; 340, 12 etc. *ward* 328, 12; 333, 32; 334, 26 etc.

In Adolf Freiherr von Knigge's „*Reise nach Braunschweig*“ (DNL. 136) we find *geschahe* 220, 38; 292, 17; *sahe* 299, 29, *wurde* occurs exclusively. *saḥ* is the usual form e. g. 251, 252, 272, 287, etc. No example of *geschaḥ* was noted.

*sahe* is the almost exclusive form in Karl Philipp Moritz's *Anton Reiser* (Berlin 1785, DLD.). Examples: *sahe er* 16, 12; *So sahe er* 21, 3; *sahe* 19, 30; 28, 14; 35, 27; 42, 1; 51, 4; 51, 7; 154 etc. *ansahe* 32, 10 etc. *saḥ* occurs very seldom, e. g. 25, 24; 350, 25. *geschahe* 16, 23; *liehe* (ind.) 174, 27; *wurde* and *ward* are used indiscriminately, *wurde* prevailing.

Examples of strong preterites in *-e* can be shown from many more writers of this period. It is rare to find a man in this century whose writings do not somewhere show forms of the st. prt. in *-e*. Enough examples, however, have been cited to show the status of the matter.

### VII. From 1800 to the present.

As has been said, by the year 1800 the forms of the st. prt. in *-e* have almost completely vanished from the written language. This applies of course to those forms in *-e* exclusive of *wurde*, which, as is well known, soon comes into universal use. However there are some few scattered examples of other forms in *-e*, chiefly confined to *jahe*. At the beginning of the century there is a considerable use made of *jahe*, especially by those who have a high regard for Biblical language. The influence of the philologists, too, was still in some cases somewhat favorable to the use of *jahe*. Adelung's dictionary, coming through its various editions, and enjoying a very general recognition, lent the weight of its authority to the perpetuation of *jahe*, for, as is well known, under the verb *sehen* only *jahe* (without parallel forms) is given as the prt. sing. ind. Furthermore, the Grimm Brothers very frequently make use of the form *jahe* in their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.

No special study of the 19th century in regard to the *e*-forms of the st. prt. has been made. The few examples that I give below are largely the result of accidental finding. It is very seldom that one runs upon a strong preterite in *-e* except *wurde* in this century.

Ludwig Tieck occasionally employs the form *jahe* in his early writings. This form occurs frequently in *Stanz Sternbald* (1798). In his later works no examples of *jahe* seem to occur.

Friedrich Blatz<sup>1)</sup> gives an example of *stunde* from *Immermann* and *stunde* from *Kerner*, but cites no references in either case. Relative to these *e*-forms he adds: „Erst die neue Prosa hat dieses Anhängsel endgiltig beseitigt“.

The following example was found in *Rückert's Sämtliche Werke* (1882) 5, 60: *die Anmuth, die er jahe*.

<sup>1)</sup> Νευηορόδ. Gr. Dritte Aufl. Karlsruhe 1895. I, 509.

The latest example of *ſahe* that I have found occurs in Friedrich Nietzsche's *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (Leipzig, 1904). We find here: *ſahe* 16, 349, *ſahe er* 18, 355, 366, 375, 383; *ſahe ich* 120. This use of *ſahe* is evidently due to a desire to sound Biblical, or perhaps more exactly, merely archaic. *ſaſ* is by far the more common e. g. 22, 27, 53, 84, 86, 99, 103, 112, 141, 170, 174, 185, 190, 204, 229; 245, 263, 328, 344, 360, 366, 377 etc. Not until the 4th part does *ſahe* occur anywhere except right at the verry beginning of the various parts. Very likely after getting started the author would forget that he wished to write in an archaic manner. When he would begin a new book, he would remember to write *ſahe* for *ſaſ*. *ward* and *wurde* both occur, *wurde* by far the more usual: *ward* 36, 48, 97, 107, 401, 464, etc.; *wurde* (es 23), 25, 56, 104, 119, 154, 176, *wurde* (ich 185), 188, 194, 195, 247, 218, 228, 308, 343, 349, 352, 377, 452 etc.

Thus to-day these e-forms, which once were so numerous, are confined in the written language to *wurde*, in universal use, and *ſahe*, found only in authors who manifestly wish to appear archaic.

As to determining the relative frequency of occurrence of *ward* and *wurde* nothing has been done. Längin<sup>1)</sup> is of the opinion that to-day the use of *ward* again exceeds that of *wurde*. I cannot say how it is. The relative frequency of occurrence of these two forms varies in the various types of literature and in the different classes of writers. Of late there has been, it seems, on the part of the philologists and grammarians an attempt to resuscitate *ward*. But even in the language of those informed on the subject of German Philology, *ward* and *wurde* are usually used indiscriminately. On the other hand, among the rank and file of writers generally, *wurde* is almost the exclusive form.

In the modern dialects there are some traces of an extra vocalic syllable in the st. prt. ind. 1. 3. sing., perhaps nothing more than a prolonged pronunciation of the final consonant. It is very probable that this has nothing, or at most, very little to do with the phenomenon discussed above. It is found

<sup>1)</sup> Cited above p. 103.



to-day only in isolated districts and in territory where these *e*-forms of the written language were never at all common. In those regions where these *e*-forms of the written language were so very numerous, the dialects have lost the preterite altogether<sup>1)</sup>.

In the modern Mecklenburg dialect, according to Karl Nerger<sup>2)</sup>, there is something similar to this final *-e* in the st. prt. The Indicative form of the st. prt. has been lost and the Ind. mood has adopted the Subj. form. But here, where there is a sort of extra syllable, it is merely a retention of the voiced pronunciation of the final consonant, perhaps like English *gave* etc.

Kurt Jacki in his article on the strong preterite<sup>3)</sup> enumerates in detail the various South-German and Middle-German dialects that have lost the ind. prt., its place being taken by the perf.: „Der Indicativ praet. fehlt im heutigen Hochalemannischen (§ 1), im Niederalem. (§ 21), ist im Schwäb. spurlos geschwunden (§ 37), im bayrisch-österreichischen Sprachgebiete so gut wie ausgestorben (§ 51), im Ostfränkischen geschwunden (§ 69)“. There are no traces of it to be found in Lorraine (§ 81); in Middle-Franconian the ind. prt. is not at all general (§ 93). North of the Main the preterite is the rule; in Thuringia any st. verb may have a preterite (§ 105). For Mansfeld he gives such forms of the st. prt. with an extra syllable as *ʃpunə*, *punə* (= *band*) (§ 111); *ʃtun(ə)* in Stiege and Mansfeld, *ʃtanə* and *ʃtunə* in Mansfeld (§ 114); *lofə*, *rotə*, *brotə* (for *lief*, *riet*, *briet*) in Mansfeld (§ 115).

„In der Mundart der Mansfelder Grunddörfer gilt jetzt anscheinend die Regel, daß sowohl im Ind., als auch im Conj.

<sup>1)</sup> Relative to this see the discussion of the South-German use of paraphrase for the simple preterite by H. Wunderlich in his *Deutscher Sprachbau I*, 222 ff. Stuttgart 1901. Also Hans Reis, *Das Praet. in den jüdt. Mundarten*, PBB. 19, 334—337. After discussing the loss of the ind. prt. (strong and weak) in the South-German and Middle-German dialects, Reis accounts for it about thus: In the South unaccented *-e* was dropped; thus *er spielte* would become *er spielt* (= *er spielt*, pres.). This rise of ambiguous forms led to the avoidance of the prt. altogether and caused the substitution of the perf. instead. This was first true only of the weak prt. and by analogy, he thinks, it became the rule for st. verbs also.

<sup>2)</sup> *Grammatik des mecklenburgischen Dialektes älterer und neuerer Zeit*. Leipzig 1869 § 20.

<sup>3)</sup> PBB. 34, 425—529.

praet. die langsilbigen Vb. und die kurzsilbigen auf mhd. 3 endungslos sind, die kurzsilbigen außer denen auf mhd. 3 aber die Endung *-a* haben, also z. B. *ful*, *nemp*, *jaft*, *jos*—*rofa*, *ſum̄a* (§ 116). *ſtānt̄a* im östlichen Erzgebirge“ (§ 125). Relative to the endings he says (§ 127): „Bemerkenswert sind nur die 1. und 3. sg. Im ind. praet. sind sie gewöhnlich endungslos. Nur im östlichen Erzgebirge nehmen sie regelmäßig, im Osterländischen bisweilen, nach dem Muster der schwachen Praet. und des Ind. praes. die Endung *-a* an“ And again (§ 138): „Die 1. und 3. sing. hatte im Ind. praet. in früherer Zeit schlesisch oft die Endung *-a* . . . Zu Weinholds Zeit hörte man es jedoch nur noch vereinzelt bei alten Leuten (Weinhold s. 126). Inzwischen mag es ganz ausgestorben sein“. In § 144 he sums up the various localities where an extra *-a* in the strong preterite is still heard: „1) im Osterländischen, 2) im östlichen Erzgebirge, und 3) im Mansfeldischen.“

## B. Grammarians.

Under this head will be considered not only the treatment of the st. prt. in *-e* in the formal grammars, but also the criticism of these forms in general. We may expect to gain full confirmation of the statement that the use of the st. prt. in *-e* is very characteristic of the South-German dialects, more especially of the Alemannic. In like manner, it will appear that not until the 18th century was there on the part of the grammarians any united opposition to the usage of such forms, and that the rapid decadence in their use in the 18th century was not only contemporaneous with, but also largely due to this opposition.

The earliest opposition to the strong preterite in *-e* that I have been able to discover came from Niklas von Weil. Although this author says nothing specifically about these forms, yet he does nevertheless (cf. p. 32.) combat all forms of words in *-e* as being contrary to the South-German usage (cf. BLV. 57. Bd. p. 350). Furthermore, the fact that not a single example of a st. prt. in *-e* could be found in his works and this too at a time when, around him in Swabia, in some cases as high as

37% of all st. prts. have *-e*, shows that he opposed the usage of such forms not only in theory but also in practice.

However much the grammars of Albert Ölinger and Laurentius Albertus may be mutually dependent, they are quite independent in regard to the strong preterite. A consideration of these two grammars together with that of Johannes Clajus reveals many interesting things in regard to the extension of the st. prt. in *-e* throughout Germany in the last half of the 16th century.

Ölinger<sup>1)</sup> as a rule employs only the forms in *-e*; the cases without it are very exceptional. This is a very fair indication of the status of the matter in Alemannic, and agrees very closely with what we have already seen. Verbs are divided into 4 conjugations as in Latin, and each class is treated at length. In illustrating the various tenses, Ölinger gives for the imperfect: Imperfectum praeteritum, *ich schreibe/scribebam* (66). With reference to the pluperfect he says: Et sic Plusquamperfectum, praeposito auxiliari verbo, *ich hatte/vel ware/per numeros & personas* (68); and in discussing the optative: Et praeteritum perfectum & plusquamperfectum optativi, similia sunt plusquamperfecto indicativi, mutato tantum verbo auxiliari *hatte/in hette/& ware/in were* (71). But in his conjugation of *sein* we find: Imperfectum, *ich war/& quidam, was*. Plusquamperfectum (76) *Ich ware gewesen, du warest* etc. (no 3. p. given). For the imperfect of *werden* (79) he gives: *Ich ward vel ware . . . er ward; plural, wir warden vel waren, wardet, warden*. There is absolutely no consistency in the use of *war* and *ware*. *wurde* or *wurd* never occurs, as this class is almost everywhere levelled out in favor of the sing. vowel.

Under the heading: De prima conjugatione (81), Ölinger gives as principal parts ( I omit the inf. and p. part.): *ich schreibe/ich schriebe; ich bleibe/ich bliebe; ich preise/ich prissee; ich schneide/ich schinne; ich streite/ich stritte; ich leide/ich litte*. Other examples for the prt. *schreibe, hüesse (hieße)*.

In the paradigm of *schreiben* we find: Imperfectum. *Ich schreibe/du schriebest/er schrieb* (82) The optative of all verbs

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<sup>1)</sup> Die deutsche Grammatik des Albert Ölinger. Hrsg. v. Willy Scheel. Halle 1897. Published first at Strassburg 1573.

except the auxiliary verbs almost always omits *-e*—just the reverse of the indicative. E. g. Optativus (83). Praesens & Imperfectum. *Ōh oder wilt Gott das ich schrieb/du schriebs/oh das er schrieb.*

*De secunda conjugatione* (83). Exempla. *ich finde/ich fande; ich trinck/ich trancke.* Sie *schwimmen, singen, finden* etc. Excipiuntur haec: *ich zinde/ich zunde; ich schinde/ich schunde; ich hinde/ich hancke vel huncke.* In the conjugation of *binden* we find (84). Imperfectum, *Ich bande, du bandest, er bande/wir banden,* etc.

*De tertia conjugatione.* Exempla. *ich gieße vel geuße/ich gosse; ich neuße/ich nosse; ich wirffe/ich warffe; but ich hilfe/ich half. ich sauf/ich soffe; sic nemmen, abbrechen* etc.

In an „Appendix (86) we find the queer rule: Quae in penultima syllaba simplicem consonantem habent, mutant in praeteritis in duplicem & e contra: ut, *Bieten/ich botte/ich hab gebotten/Gießen/ich gosse/Nemmen/ich name/non bote, goße, namme.*

In the paradigm of *gießen*, the imperfect is given as: *Ich gosse, du gossest, er gosse, wir gossen* etc. (87).

*De quarta conjugatione.* In this class there is a complete confusion of strong and weak verbs as the examples will show. *ich lehre/ich lehrete; ich uebe/ich uebete; ich falle/ich füele; ich dilg/ich dalge; ich lig/ich lag; ich pitte/ich pate; ich schide/ich schuckete; ich darffe/ich dorffte; ich kane/ich kondte; ich kome/ich kame* etc.

Paradigma passivorum verborum (90).

Indicativus — Imperfectum.

*Ich ward geschlagen, du wardest* etc.

Other examples in *-e*: *Es verdrosse* (92), *ich füenge* (95), *güenge, stüende* etc. *thate* (95), *sasse* (95), *befahle vel befalch* (95); *hawen/ich hüege* (95), *zoge* etc.

Thus we see that nearly all ind. st. prts. 1. and 3. sing. end in *-e*. The form in *-e* is not discussed at all but is merely given without comment as the regular form. In the ind. 1. sing. the *-e* is usually kept except in the case of the auxiliary verbs where it is usually dropped. The vowel of the 2nd sing. st. prt. ind. is always the same as that of the first and third sing. — in contrast with the situation in Clajus, where the 2nd sing. always has the plural vowel.

In the grammar of Laurentius Albertus („Osterfrank“)<sup>1)</sup>,

<sup>1)</sup> Hrsg. v. Carl Müller-Fraureuth. Strassburg, 1895.

based upon the East-Franconian dialect and published in the same year as that of Ölinger, all st. prts. are given without *æ*. But the forms in *æ* are allowed. Albertus gives a very interesting rule as to the use of final *æ*, which we may interpret as explaining partly at least the reason for the use of the strong preterites in *æ*. This suggests a wholly new solution of the question of the cause of the origin of these forms. Perhaps after all it is to be best explained as due to a sort of feeling that to employ the forms in *æ* was to write in elevated style; the final *e*'s were very probably considered highly ornamental. I give Albertus' rule: *Observandum deinde, quod omnia simplicia primitiva verba, in prima indicativi praesentis temporis persona, monosyllabica sint: ið red Loquor, ið Ier Doceo, ið streit Pugno: quibus vel propter orationis numerum, vel propter rithmas et nostrum genus versuum, aut etiam in cantilenis, et nonnunquam ex consuetudine litera æ accedit/als ið Rede/Æere/Streite &c, quae litera in communi quotidianoque usu dicendi non exprimitur, nisi orationis gravitas requirat. Idque servatur in alijs omnibus verborum temporibus et personis, et in omnibus orationis partibus: als/unde als er ihne eigentliðe gefraget hette/sprache unde antworttette jener ihne hinwider/quae ita simpliciter leguntur: und als er ihn eigentlið gefragt hett/sprach und antworttet jener ihm hinwider &c. This rule applies, as is seen, not only to the addition of superfluous *e*'s (as in *sprache* etc.) but also to the retention of *e*'s in cases where it should be kept (as in the 1. p. pres. ind.). This confusion of *e*'s is very likely responsible in great measure for the great number of superfluous *e*'s found in the South-German dialects. This explanation is quite different from that given by Behaghel which will be referred to further on.*

In discussing the vowels of the radical syllables of verbs Albertus says with regard to *i*: *3, plerumque manet, als ið flic neo, suo. ið flicte suebam etc. — Transit autem aliquando in a, als ið bind Ligo, ið bandte ligebam, ið sprich Loquor, ið sprach, ið brich Frango ið brach. Raro etiam in u mutatur, als ið schind deglubo, ið schunde (100).*

On page 101 we find a very interesting rule which shows a complete confusion of strong and weak verbs: *Terminatio imperfecti, ut plurimum t est, exceptis paucis, als ið schlieff/ið*

vergaß/&c non raro autem e litera in fine accedit, als ich theilte/ich schlieffe. Non ergo numerus syllabarum secundum analogiam crescit.

Class I is completely levelled. In class III in the case of werden the u of the prt. plural is often found in the prt. sing.: Ich wurd fiebam, Du wurdst, Der wurd fiebat (III). The prt. subj. of st. verbs may or may not have -e. e. g. ich were & wer 1. & 3. person (p. 112).

### Johannes Clajus.

As is evident from the title<sup>1)</sup>, Clajus bases his grammar upon the language of Luther, and accordingly uses only such forms of the st. prt. in -e as are to be found in that author. Only preterites in h permit the -e and by no means all of these. We find given for sehen — Imperfectum ich sah & sahe (p. 102); 30ch & 30g (102) but not 30he; ich floh & flohe (102); Imperfecto Es geschah vel geschah/e/Sicut er sah vel sahe (117). These are all the forms in -e that are to be found in Clajus' grammar.

In class I the 1. and 3. sing. always has the old ei, as schreib scribebam (71), schneid (96), greiff etc. The 2nd sing. ind. prt. always has the plural vowel, as du schriebest, du schnittest (96). This is also true of class III. Thus: ich starb, du stirbest (89) & storbest (93); ich halff, du hulffest (99); ich warff, du wurffest (99); du fundest (74) etc. The plural always has u except in those cases where it has o from the p. part. as sie storben vel stirben (93); wir stirben (89); wir jungen etc. There is nothing to be noted about the other classes.

Clajus makes no comment on the subject of the st. prts. in -e. He has no theory in regard to the forms. Although he divides all verbs, strong or weak, into classes according to the stemending or the radical vowel of the present infinitive, yet in inflecting the verbs the two classes are kept distinctly apart. Nearly all weak preterites have final -e.

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<sup>1)</sup> *Grammatica Germanicae Linguae M. Iohannis Claj Hirtzbergensis: ex Bibliis Lutheri Germanicis et aliis eius Libris Collecta.* Leipzig 1578. This grammar is reprinted with an introduction by Friedrich Weidling, Strassburg 1894.

Thus in considering the three grammars, of Clajus, Albertus, and of Ölinger, we can detect a uniform rise in the use of strong preterites in *-e* as we go southward. Clajus in Middle-Germany says nothing about *e*-forms but incidentally gives some three or four examples. Albertus writing in East-Franconia, although he gives very few forms in *-e*, yet sanctions as correct any st. prt. ind. in *-e*. Ölinger, writing a grammar of the Alemannic dialect shows extraordinary preference for the st. preterite in *-e*, forms without *-e* being rare exceptions. His treatment of the weak prt. is in marked contrast to that of Clajus. It is also interesting to note that Albertus and Ölinger, both of whom permit a great percentage of *e*-forms, are alike independent of Luther, whereas Clajus, professedly following Luther has only the Lutheran forms<sup>1)</sup>.

There is no discussion of the question in *Die Teutſche Haupt Sprache* (1663) or in the *Teutſche Sprach Kunst* (Braunschweig 1641) of *J. G. Schottelius*. In Grimm's *Wörterbuch* under *ſehen* we find this quoted from Schottel: „Perf. *ich ſah* oder *ich ſahe* 596“. As has been seen above (p. 66), only those st. prts. whose stems end in *h* have *-e*. This essentially agrees with the usage in Luther upon whose language he bases his grammar.

In the *Teutſche Grammatica*<sup>2)</sup>, published at St. Petersburg in 1745 a list of strong verbs contains the following forms in *-e* and which are given as regular forms with no comment whatever: *befliſſe mich*, *flochtē*, *fochtē*, *glitte*, *litte*, *liehe*, *prieſe*, *ritte*, *ſahe*, *ſtritte*, *wurde* and in a paradigm p. 242 *ſtarbe*, by the side of *ſtarbe*.

Friſch in his *Deutſch-Lateiniſches Wörter-Buch* (Berlin 1741) has such forms as *befliß*, *pries*, *ſarb*, *ſtritt*, all without *-e*; *ſahe* is the exclusive form; *riſſe* also occurs. Friſch gives no theory as to this point.

<sup>1)</sup> See K. v. Bahder, *Grundlagen des neuhochd. Lautſystems*. Straßburg, 1890. p. 12.

<sup>2)</sup> *Teutſche Grammatica*. Aus unterschiedenen Auctoribus ehemals zusammen getragen, nunmehr aber von neuem übersehen und vielverbessert zum Gebrauch des St. Petersburgischen Gymnasii herausgegeben — St. Petersburg, gedruckt bey der Kayserl. Academie der Wissenschaften 1745.

In regard to this and the references to Friſch and Schönaich that follow, see Längin, *Die Sprache des jungen Herder*, pp. 65, 66.

Gottsched in his *Sprachkunst*<sup>1)</sup> battles against this use of e-forms, not even allowing it to the poets, although he admits that it occurs in the Bible, especially the form *sahe*. Relative to it he says: „das ist eine übel angewandte Nachahmung der richtigen (weak) Abwandlung.“ Thus we see that he would attribute it to a confusion of the weak and strong inflections.

Schönaich<sup>2)</sup> ridicules the use of such forms by Haller: *Sn. Gnaden machen sich die poetische Freyheit, bey schriebe, a. St. schrieb, zu Nutze: eine Freyheit, die von Stümpfern errichtet und von Säulen beschützt wird* (p. 389).

The greatest opposition, however, on the part of the grammarians to the e-forms of the st. prt. was made toward the end of the 18th century in South-Germany, particularly in Swabia. This opposition was directed not only against the st. prt. in *-e* but also against almost all final e's whether inflectional or otherwise. The Catholics of South-Germany, especially the Jesuits, were almost all hostile to final *-e*, „das Lutherische *-e*“, as it was called by them. By some, the *-e* of the st. prt. is included by mistake in the list of final e's not to be tolerated in the language of South-Germany. On the other hand others who oppose bitterly the other final e's have nothing to say whatever about the *-e* of the st. prt. In some cases the opposition to the *-e* of the st. prt. in the South, like that in the North, came from Protestants.

Kluge in his book, *Von Luther bis Lessing*<sup>3)</sup> gives an interesting account of the opposition to the Lutheran language on the part of the Catholics of the South, chiefly centering around the question of the final e's. For the sake of the light that it will throw upon the special case of the final *-e* under consideration, that of the ind. st. prt., I shall give a brief account of the controversy.

In the year 1730 the Jena Professor Litzel published

<sup>1)</sup> 5th edition, Leipzig 1762. p. 330. See p. 77 above.

<sup>2)</sup> v. Schönaich, *Die ganze Aesthetik in einer Ruß, oder Neologisches Wörterbuch; aus den Accenten der heil. Männer und Barden . . . zusammen getragen und den größten Wort-Schöpfern unter denselben — — geheiligt von einigen demüthigen Verehrern der Schraffischen Dichtkunst* — Without place of publication. 1754.

<sup>3)</sup> Second edition, Strassburg 1888, pp. 128—144.



under the pseudonym Megalissus a challenging article entitled „Der undeutsche Katholik oder historischer Bericht von der allzugroßen Nachlässigkeit der römischen Katholiken in Besserung der deutschen Sprache“. He discusses the lack of interest in the German language and the un-German spirit manifested by the Catholics of the South. In the following year he published a collection of literary selections from Catholic authors of the South, showing how negligent and careless they were in matters of language. One is very much struck by the absence in the specimens of final e's, e. g. die Stuff, der graufamb Tod, die höll, Die hitz, der Nam, etc., die Leut, die Feind etc. Of course other practices besides the usual omission of final -e are discussed and ridiculed.

Litzel's books, however, called forth little opposition compared with that with which Gottsched was met 25 years later. In 1755 in answer to Gottsched's utterances on behalf of the German literary language as an outgrowth from that of Luther, the fanatical priest Augustin Dornblüth came forward as the champion of the Oberdeutsch. His language bears the characteristic marks of the South-German dialects of this time, apocope and syncope of e. The forms without -e are the rule, e. g. die Sprach, die Lieb, die Köpf etc. He inveighs against the „Saxon -e“ in Glaube, Name, Same, Knabe, Rabe, Bube etc. He would have: ich nimb, ich gib, ich sprich, ich hab etc. However, he would have -e in the present subjunctive. In turning away from the language of Luther, Dornblüth recommended to his fellow-Catholics „das eifrige Studium der Gerichts- und Prozeßschriften des Kammergerichts zu Speyer“, and that of the period 1680—1690, 75 years before. Kluge says this about him: „Er hat den letzten Versuch gewagt, seine Glaubensgenossen von dem protestantischen Deutschland zu emanzipieren und dem großen Streben unsrer besten Köpfe nach einer einheitlichen Schriftsprache einen Damm entgegenzustellen“ (p. 138).

From the middle of the century on we find more of an inclination on the part of the Catholics to compromise. A notable example of a Catholic who gives his vote in favor of a unified written language is the Jesuit Ignaz Weitenauer, professor of the Semitic Languages at the University of Freiburg. Weitenauer published about this time a book entitled Zweifel

von der deutschen Sprache vorgetragen, aufgelöst oder anderen aufzulösen überlassen; samt einem orthographischen Lexikon. This shows in a striking manner the change in Catholic opinion since Dornblüth. In discussing the much debated question of final *-e* in the written language he says, addressing his fellow-Catholics: „Woher entspringt doch dieser unversöhnliche Haß wider das unglückliche *e*? Ist der Übelklang des armen Buchstaben oder ein unerbittliches altes Vorurteil oder wohl gar die Religion an seiner Verdammung schuld? Von der Religion erstlich zu reden, ist es schwer zu begreifen, wie man sie in die Rechtschreibung eingemischt. Was hat immermehr die Glaubenslehre mit dem *-e* zu thun? Welchen Artikel hat dann derjenige abgeschworen, welcher hie und da ein Nennwort um eine Silbe verlängert“? He then cites examples from prominent Catholic writers who employ such forms as *die Sünde, die Beine, die Hände, die Füße* etc. Another point that he adduces in favor of the „Lutheran *-e*“ is the added harmony that final *e*'s give to the language.

In 1769 the court-chaplain at Mannheim, Jacob Hemmer published his treatise: *Abhandlung über die deutsche Sprache zum Nutzen der Pfalz*, in which he deplores the wretched state of linguistic affairs around him in the Palatinate. The subject of final *-e* is still the chief bone of contention. He refers to the fact that in the pre-Lutheran Bibles the hateful forms as *die Sünde, Herde, Dinge, Tage, Berge*, are the rule, and emphasizes the importance of leaving out of account the question of religious faith when a matter of so much national importance is at stake.

The result was to call forth a great number of hostile answers from the Catholics who were not like-minded with him. But all opposition is soon silenced into acceptance, and before the century closes, „the Lutheran *-e*“ has made its way throughout the South. As an indication of this we have an account (for 1782) in *Der Freimütige*, a monthly periodical published in Freiburg i. Br., which was strongly Catholic in sentiment<sup>1)</sup>. A writer recalls, not without some bitterness, the good old days when things were different: „Wenigstens waren die Schriften eines Gellerts, eines Rabeners, und noch viel mehr eines Gessners

<sup>1)</sup> Published in *Alemannia IX.*, 265.

selbst Schullehrern verbotene Bücher. Ja sogar Gottscheds Sprachlehre — wie uns ein Exjesuit versicherte — musste man vor den Obern verborgen halten. Freilich haben die Katholiken aus diesen Werken viel Gift gesogen. Wenn nichts wäre als das „lutherische -e, das sie sich durch Lesung derselben allmählich angewöhnten — immer schade genug! Es klang doch ehemals so genuin Katholisch: die *Seel*, die *Tron*, die *Sonn*, die *Blum* usw. — und nun schreiben die unsrigen fast durchgängig: die *Seele*, die *Krone*, die *Sonne*, die *Blume*, — wie die leibhaften Ketzler auch schreiben!“

In all this discussion there is found no reference at all to the final -e of the st. prt., wick as we have seen, was very common at this time in South-Germany. It is very probable that the majority of Catholics did not feel that the final -e of these peculiar preterite forms was distinctly Lutheran — which as a matter of fact it was not. Very likely most of them felt that this -e, as well as the -e in a few other forms as *iñme*, *iñne*, *deme*<sup>1)</sup>, etc. was very characteristic of the Southern dialects. It is very probable that it was more or less with them as it was with such South-German writers as Abraham a Santa Clara 50 years before, who, as we have seen, dropped almost all final e's, even many of those of the weak preterite, while permitting almost 50% of all st. prts. to take on an extra -e. Furthermore, what need is there for attributing to them the feeling that the -e, like all other e's in final position, was foreign to the genius of their language, since, as we have seen, from the earliest times this part of Germany was the chief center for such forms, so that the language 50 years before Luther exhibited in some cases nearly 50% of all st. prts. with -e? A very high percentage of e- forms of the st. prt. ever since that time was maintained in the South-German dialects, whereas in no period do the writers who come under Lutheran influence show high percentages of e- forms unless their works are printed in southern cities, or at least as far south as Frankfurt or Nürnberg. On the other hand it seems to me much more reasonable to suppose that Luther's use of the st. prt in -e was borrowed from the south and that it was felt by

<sup>1)</sup> See Kluge. p. 139.

the majority of the South-German grammarians to have had this origin. Otherwise, why is this *æ* not generally included with the other cases of Lutheran *æ* which are combatted so fiercely?

This does not, however, exclude the fact that many of the grammarians of South-Germany did actually confuse this *æ* with the other „Saxon“ *æ*'s; or at any rate it was condemned alongside of the other *e*'s in final position, although it is nowhere referred to as the „Saxon“ or „Lutheran *æ*“. With reference to the final *æ* in other words besides verbs, M. H. Jellinek<sup>1)</sup> quotes some interesting data from Nast and F. C. Fulda<sup>2)</sup>, two Swabian grammarians of the time just before Schiller. Nast calls the Saxon *æ* „eigenmächtig und bloß willkürlich“ and rejects it especially in case of all masculine and neutre nouns. The „weiblich *æ*“, added in Saxony in words like *Affe*, *Knabe*, is „wider die Natur der Sprache“. Feminines are divided into three groups: 1) those from adjectives; 2) those from verbs. Here the *æ* must not be omitted, „ungeachtet diß in Südteutschland häufig geschieht“; 3) those that have taken on the feminine *æ*. These may drop the *æ*; *Aue*, *Baße* etc. are allowable but *Au* and *Bas* are preferable. The *æ* of the uninflected adj. „ist ein Sprachfehler“ of the North-Germans.

Fulda is much more tolerant of these final *e*'s. But in regard to the *æ* of the st. prt. he says (p. 98) that *ich gabe*, *saße*, etc. are „wider die Natur“ and (92) „Schnitzer sind . . . . *ich ware*, etc.“ Nast (*Spr.* 1. 115) says: „Es ist also ein Fehler, wenn man ein *æ* anhenkt: *bate*, *bließe* etc.“ On p. 114 he says: „Das Imperf. Indik. ist immer einsilbig (in the strong conjugation), also, *ich bat*, *las* usw., nicht *ich bate*, *lase*“. In the *Schwäbisches Magazin von gelehrten Sachen*, Stuttgart, 1775—80, the statement is made relative to those who consider as correct the forms *ware*, etc.: „Sie verstehen ihre Muttersprache so gar nicht“.

<sup>1)</sup> Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte der deutschen Grammatik (in: Abhandlungen zur german. Philologie. Festgabe für R. Heinzel) p. 88 ff. Cf. also Pfeleiderer, l. c. (PBB. 28), p. 307 ff.

<sup>2)</sup> „Der teütsche Sprachforscher, allen Liebhabern ihrer Muttersprache zur Prüfung vorgelegt“ (Stuttgart 1777/78), including Nast's *Die edste Lehre von der teütschen Declination und Conjugation* and Fulda's *Grundregeln der teütschen Sprache*.

Occasionally at this time there are in the various lists of errata in the text of books published, references to such forms as *ſahe* etc., showing that the publishers also are endeavoring to get rid of these forms. For example, in a translation of Ossian, *Die Gedichte Oſſians neupertuſchet* (Tübingen 1782), in a list of corrections to be made in the text (p. 509) we find the following note: „Durch die verschiedenen Abſchreiber iſt die Rechtschreibung verschieden geworden. Man ändre also durchaus *ſahe* in *ſah*, *ſiehe* in *ſiſ*, etc.“

Thus we see that in the South there was a general opposition on the part of the grammarians to almost all final *e*'s. This was directed against not only „das Lutherische *e*“, but also toward the end of the century in some cases against the *æ* of the st. prt. as well.

In the North there was opposition only to this latter *æ*, which outside of South-Germany, was confined at this time, as we have seen, to some 4 or 5 preterites, e. g. *ſahe*, *geſchahe*, *flohe* (rarely) and *wurde* (fast becoming the general form). This concerted opposition by the grammarians had, in my opinion, very much to do with the rapid decline in the use of such forms at this time. Perhaps we can now see why Gessner, who comes from a district where the *e*-forms are very common, uses practically none. As was suggested, it was very probably because he was a philologist.

But not all of the grammarians are opposed to all the *e*-forms of the st. prt. This is especially true for the central and northern part of Germany where *ſahe* holds on so tenaciously. For example, Adelung and Campe use *ſahe* exclusively. As was said above, Adelung gives in his dictionary under *ſehen* only *ſahe* as the preterite. In his *Sprachlehre* 1806 he has nothing at all to say about this point. He uses no other forms in *æ* except *wurde*. With reference to final *æ*, he divides words in *æ* into those which have the *æ* because of the soft (or rather voiced) pronunciation of the final consonant (as *b*, *d*, *g*, *s*), and those which admit it in order to avoid the monosyllabic harshness that the words would have without it — but this without any reference to strong preterites in *æ*.

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## C. Views.

In this chapter will be given a summary of the various views held and explanations offered relative to the question under discussion. Some comment will be made upon the correctness or incorrectness of these views. The plausibility of some explanations will be denied, that of others will be questioned. In many instances only negative results have been reached; these, however, are at least to be preferred to false conclusions. I have not so much a positive explanation to offer as the evidence to show that many of the explanations already given are inadequate and untenable.

As has been said above, this subject has been generally neglected by the grammarians of the German language. Many, or rather the majority, refer to it, but most of them say the same thing. None says much, perhaps assuming that the explanation is so very self-evident that very little is necessary. Perhaps it may be urged that this general agreement among the grammarians as to the explanation of the origin of these *e*-forms is proof of the correctness of their view. But on the other hand, we have numerous examples of such agreement upon a point, grammatical or otherwise, in which the view expressed is not the independent opinion of each of the writers, but only of him who first expressed it: they had all slavishly copied from their original. It would be rash to assert that this is the case with respect to our question; but, on the other hand, the possibility of this state of things can surely not be denied. Authority is a terrible monster that intimidates faint-hearted little Truth.

Grimm has no theory as to the origin of these *e*-forms. He gives in his grammar some examples but ventures no explanation. We are left to infer that the phenomenon begins with the 17th century. Nor does he mention the fact that Luther makes use of these forms: „Man findet im 17. jh. und in der ersten Hälfte des 18. oft *jahe*“. He then cites some examples. This is a very inadequate treatment of the subject. (See *Gr. I*, 903, 1870). With reference to the Middle Dutch verb he says (*I*, 889) that the strong preterite 1. 3. sing. „*gibt die bloße*

abgelautete Wurzel, ohne Flexion“. In his dictionary written many years later, under „ſehen“ he gives many examples of ſahe from Luther.

Kehrein gives a large number of examples of st. prts. in *-e* from the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, but hazards no suggestion whatever as to the origin of these forms<sup>1)</sup>.

Karl Weinhold<sup>2)</sup> suggests that perhaps the *-e* in the German strong preterite is due to the influence of the weak preterite. In his *Мѣд. Гр.* he makes the assertion that it *is* due to this cause<sup>3)</sup>. „Seit dem 13. Jh. läßt sich für die 1. Antritt eines unechten *e* nachweisen, das bei der 3. noch früher und häufiger vorkommt.“ He then gives examples for the 1st person. Continuing, he says „Die Flexion der schwachen Verba mag eingewirkt haben“ . . . Die 3. Sg. Pt. hat ihre Flexion (*-ti*) ebenfalls sehr früh verloren und unterscheidet sich daher von der 1. nicht. Im 11. Jh. taucht zuerst ein unechtes *e* als schlechter Ersatz auf“ — *Alem. Gr.* § 345. In his *Мѣд. Гр.* he has this to say: „Seit dem 12. Jh. zeigt sich in beiden Personen zuweilen ein epithetisches *e*, z. B. — — etc. Md. tritt derselbe Zusatz auf, auch hier findet sich namentlich im 14., 15. Jh. dieses epithetische *e* häufig. Der Grund davon lag in der auffallenden Endungslosigkeit dieser Formen, die zu einer Anähnlichung an die Endung der schw. Perfectformen verleitete. Nicht darf aber dieses *e* als Rest eines uralten *â* betrachtet werden, wie Cosijn *Оуднедерл. Псалм. S. 52* gelegentlich des in den *Psalm. 54, 17* geschriebenen *riepo* behauptete“ (§ 374).

Most of the grammarians explain the origin of these *e*-forms as due to analogy with the weak prt. and with that alone. Some class this *-e* with the *-e* in the present imperative of st. verbs, as *ſiehe* etc., in which it is clearly due to analogy to the present imperative of weak verbs, and perhaps to that alone. They fail to see that in case of the *-e* in the st. prt. a half-dozen other forms, either singly or in conjunction, may have influenced these forms.

Behaghel<sup>4)</sup> classes all superfluous final *e*'s together irres-

<sup>1)</sup> *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache des 15.—17. Jh.* Leipzig, 1863.

<sup>2)</sup> *Alem. Gr.* Berlin, 1863. § 345.

<sup>3)</sup> Second Edition, Paderborn, 1883. § 374.

<sup>4)</sup> O. Behaghel, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. Dritte Aufl. § 210, p. 178.

pective of the class of words in which they are found: „Seit dem 12. Jahrh. erscheint — besonders in oberdeutschen Quellen — am Ende von Wörtern ein *e*, wo die ältere Sprache überhaupt keinen Vocal hatte. Es begegnet hauptsächlich im Ausgang des Mhd. und beim Beginn des Nhd.; es reicht aber in einzelnen Belegen bis in das 18. Jahrh. hinein. Es erscheint wesentlich in einsilbigen Verbal- und Nominalformen: *empfahe*, *fande*, *harte*, *sahe* = *empfaßl*, *fand*, *hart*, *saß*; *boume*, *steine* = *Baum*, *Stein*. In einzelnen Fällen liegt hier ganz unmittelbare Analogiebildung vor; wenn z. B. die Nominative und Akkusative Sg. der weiblichen *i*-Stämme ein solches *e* aufweisen, so hat das Vorbild der weiblichen *â*-Stämme eingewirkt. Der Hauptgrund aber für das Erscheinen jener *e* liegt in dem Auftreten der Schriftsprache. Gehörte ein Schreiber einer Mundart an, welche das *e* der Endsilben tilgte, und bemühte sich dieser, in einer Sprache zu schreiben, welche das Schluss-*e* bewahrt hatte, so entstand leicht eine Unsicherheit über die Fälle, wo er ein *e* ansetzen musste, und wo nicht; so konnte es geschehen, dass das *e* auch da verwendet wurde, wo es der betr. Schriftsprache nicht zukam (Hyperhochdeutsch).“

As Behaghel includes in this list all words that have a superfluous *æ*, he could have said with more exactness that the phenomenon goes back to the early 11th century. As has been seen above (p. 1) Notker frequently has strong imperatives ending in *æ*. But, in my opinion, these words ought not to be all classed together. Only the *æ* in the st. prt. and that in the st. imper. could in any way be properly classed together. Their respective origins are scarcely a century apart in point of time. In the other cases, although the *æ* is met with early (but not so early as the *æ* in the st. imper. and st. prt.), it dies out also at an early date, practically nothing of it being seen since the 16th century; whereas it is in the 17th century that the highest percentages of strong preterites in *æ* occur. Furthermore, there never was a great percentage of these *e*'s outside of the strong preterite. Relatively to the number of *e*-forms of the st. prt. these *e*-forms occur very rarely. Only in the first few centuries was there any approach to a numerical equality in their occurrence. Of course in many cases where such an extra *æ* does occur, it may be explained as due to analogy to some other form.



Behaghel ventures a further explanation. He would, in all cases alike, partly account for the extra *-e* by supposing that it is due to a confusion of forms in *-e*. If we suppose with him that a writer, who belonged to a dialect that dropped all final *e*'s, should attempt to write in a dialect in which all final *e*'s were retained, then it would probably follow that the dialects retaining final *e*'s would show a much higher percentage of *e*-forms than those dialects that dropped all final *e*'s. Or, to be specific, the Middle and North German dialects would show many more superfluous *e*'s than the South German dialects where apocope was carried to such a great extreme. But, as a matter of fact, the reverse is actually the case. As has been seen above, at no time until after it had become a literary fad to add these extra *e*'s to the strong preterite, did these forms become at all numerous in the Middle and North German dialects. Even in the 16th and 17th centuries, where such high percentages in the South German dialects occur, only a small percentage of *e*-forms is found further north. Furthermore, if Behaghel's supposition were correct, we should find that in the majority of cases where superfluous *e*'s were added, the author would prove to be a wandering scribe who was writing in an adopted dialect. But such is not the case. In most instances where the *-e* was added, the author was writing in his own dialect. There was very likely confusion as to where the *-e* legitimately belonged and where not. This confusion occurred most probably in the case of South German authors, writing in their own dialect. Given the general tendency to apocope, and on the other hand the idea that to retain old *e*'s was to write in „high style“, we can very readily see that it would be very easy for an uninformed writer to become completely bewildered, should he attempt to replace the *e*'s „to put on airs“. If a grammarian (cf. Albertus, p. 95 above) is quite confused on this matter, what would be expected of an ordinary layman? To be sure, there was very likely uncertainty about the *e*'s, but uncertainty in those writing in their own dialect.

In the matter of the printed text one cannot always say who is responsible for the form of the language. It soon became the custom to print in a certain way in the various

localities and often the language was changed to suit the convenience of the printer. In this regard also the South German dialects are the home of the superfluous *e*'s as well as of the apocope of final *-e*.

In like manner Vogt<sup>1)</sup> places all these extra *e*'s in the same category.

As was said above, the usual explanation of the forms of the st. prt. in *-e* is that it is due directly to analogy to the 1. and 3. sing. of the weak preterite. This is the view of the majority of those who express an opinion upon the subject. For M. H. G. Paul says<sup>2)</sup>: „In der 1. und 3. sing. ind. praet. wird zuweilen nach Analogie der schwachen Verba ein *-e* angehängt, z. B. *fände, warde, ſchuofe*.“ So also Wilmanns<sup>3)</sup>: „Der 1. und 3. Sg. Prät. wird nach dem Muster des schwachen Prät. *-e* angehängt, eine Gewohnheit, die besonders im späteren Mitteldeutschen weit verbreitet und in einem Verbum auch von der jetzigen Schriftsprache anerkannt ist: *würde* neben *ward*“. From this one gets the impression that the *e*-forms of the st. prt. occurred most commonly in the 14th and early 15th centuries, and not the 17th century, as we have seen.

In his review of Kern's article, *Das starke Verb bei Grimmlshausen*, cited above, Karl von Bahder gives an explanation of some of the *e*-forms found in Grimmlshausen. *flochte* (found also in Luther, according to von Bahder) and other *t*-stems are explained thus: „Ihre Ansetzung mit *-e* gibt uns die Erklärung an die Hand: sie sind wegen des stammauslautenden *t* in die Analogie der schw. Praet. geraten, wie auch *borfte, ſchalte, litte* usw. im älteren Nhd. nicht selten vorkommt“. In my opinion this explanation is altogether untenable. Had von Bahder looked at Kern's summary of verbs, made according to the stem-ending, he would have seen that 35% of all vowel-stems, 55% of *n*-stems, 75% of *ŋ*-stems, 71% of *ʃ*-stems, 39% of *ʃ*-stems, 33% of *ð*-stems have *-e*, whereas only 30% of *t*-stems admit the final *-e*. An examination of the statistics given above will reveal much the same situation. Very rarely

<sup>1)</sup> Zs. f. dt. Ph. 28, 475.

<sup>2)</sup> H. Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*. § 165. Anm. 6.

<sup>3)</sup> W. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*. III. Abt., 1. Hälfte. Straßburg, 1906. *Das Verbum*, § 31, Anm. 2.

can the *t*-stems or even the *ð*-stems be shown to be decidedly in the lead. On the other hand they are frequently in 3rd or 4th place. Were the *e*-forms of the *st. prt.* due directly to analogy to the weak *prt.* and to that alone, we should expect the percentage of *t*-stems from the very first to lead all others. But such is not the case.

v. Bahder would explain the almost exclusive use of *jaŕe* by Grimmelshausen as due directly to Lutheran influence. But one must remember that *jaŕe* early became a common, and in some writers an exclusive form, long before Luther's time. This was true especially of the writers of the South. Furthermore, we find it, along with other forms that Luther does not use, in such Catholic writers as Abraham a Santa Clara, in which case there can be no possible reference to the influence of Luther. Many such cases could be cited. The influence of Luther in regard to *jaŕe* etc. is not to be assumed in cases where there is a very high percentage of *jaŕe* together with forms in all other preterites, but only in cases where the forms in *æ* are confined to those forms used exclusively by Luther. Even if we grant Lutheran influence in the case of Grimmelshausen, which, to say the least, is doubtful, nothing very striking is revealed by the figures that v. Bahder gives. E. g. 27% of all *st. prts.* in Grimmelshausen have *-e*, whereas when all *ŕ*-stems are left out of account, 22% have final *-e*, — a very little difference upon which to base such sweeping conclusions. If a high percentage of *jaŕe* always presupposes Lutheran influence, then we must assume that in many cases his influence becomes operative years before his birth.

v. Bahder makes a very good suggestion relative to the stems ending in a media, which, though it does not necessarily explain the *e*-forms of this class, yet seems to indicate the reason why, for example, we find in early times such frequent use of *warde*, even in places where we should not expect it: „Diese Erweiterung, eine im 17. Jh. häufige Erscheinung, tritt besonders nach Medien auf, um den Stammaslaut rein zu halten“ (p. 111). After giving these explanations, v. Bahder has to admit their inadequacy: „Für manches, z. B. das häufige *ŕhiene*, *lieffe*, *lieŕe* fehlt eine plausible Erklärung“ (p. 111).

A discussion of an original (*a*; *e*; *i*) in the ending of the

pre-Germanic st. prt. is found is Alois Walde's *Die Germanischen Auslautgesetze*, Halle, 1900, pp. 110—112. Walde's contention is that there was no pre-Germanic end-vowel in the ending of the ind. st. prt. 1st and 3rd sing. Van Helten<sup>1)</sup> had contended apropos of the Old Frisian strong preterites *strêf, bigrêf, wêt; wan, band, sang, fand, fan* etc. that there was an original *-e* or *-i* in the pre-Germanic strong preterite. van Helten bases his claim upon the fact that these are umlaut-forms and hence that they presuppose an original *-i* (*-e*) to have caused the mutation. This, according to van Helten, was first true only of the 3rd person and then by analogy extended to the 1st person.

None of the grammarians think seriously of explaining the st. prt. ending in *-e*, which first made its appearance in German in the 11th century, as a reappearance of pre-Germanic vowel ending. Hence nothing more will be said on this point.

Vilmar<sup>2)</sup> mentions the phenomenon of the occurrence of the *e*-forms of the strong preterite, but does not offer any explanation. „Nhd. haben sich schon im 16. Jahrh. einige Unregelmäßigkeiten eingeschlichen und sehr lange erhalten, wiewohl sie immer als Sprachfehler gerügt worden sind, z. B. die Präterita *sahe* (so Luther), *erwarbe*, *starbe*, *stunde* (*stande*), u. dergl. statt *saħ*, *erwarb*“ — p. 53.

As to the date he is quite mistaken. His statement that these forms in *-e* have always been denounced as ungrammatical is incorrect, for, as we have seen, the grammarians (e. g. Ölinger, Albertus etc.) have at times either positively recommended these forms or at least silently sanctioned them, and not until the middle of the 18th century is there any concerted opposition to this *-e*.

F. Kauffmann, in his *Deutsche Grammatik* (5th edition, Marburg, 1909) has replaced Vilmar's statement by the following note (§ 30, Anm. 1): „Nach Mustern wie *wolt: wolte* sind schon im 12. Jahrh. Analogieformen starker Verba gebildet: Prät. *saħ, sahe; gab, gabe* u. ähnl.“

This explanation of Kauffmann is one of the best that have been offered, but like most of them, is very inadequate.

<sup>1)</sup> PBB. 24, 282 and 17, 567.

<sup>2)</sup> A. F. C. Vilmar, *Anfangsgründe der deutschen Grammatik*. Marburg, 1871. I, § 30, Anm. 6.

It is very good as a partial explanation, but applies only to that period in the history of the phenomenon in question in which apocope of final *-e* was extensively practised. Nor could it possibly be made to account for the phenomenon in the first three centuries of its history in South Germany or in the central and northern regions of Germany in any period of its history.

Brenner<sup>1)</sup> has some very interesting comments on the subject. Some of his views, however, seem untenable. He would explain the *-e* in the st. prt. as due to analogy jointly with the weak preterite and the 1. person sing. ind. present. After having discussed the apocope of final *-e* in Oberdeutsch, he says: „In Bayern – Österreich scheint man zuerst in der alltäglichen Sprache . . . . die unbetonten *e* im Auslaut beseitigt . . . . zu haben; später auch in Schwaben, Franken und nördlicher. Im östlichen Mitteldeutschland dagegen, wodoch Nachsilben in so ausgedehntem Masse fielen, hielt man an den Endungs-*e* fest und nahm sie auch an Stellen wieder an, wo sie verloren waren, ja wo sie nie gestanden hatten, sagte also *vare*, *dere*, *rittere*, *ið* *sahe*, *gabe* u. s. w. Auch in Oberdeutschland konnten solche Formen entstehen; wenn ein Schreiber sich bemühte „fein“ zu schreiben, setzte er an allen möglichen Stellen *-e* an; so schon der Schreiber der Nibelungen-Handschrift C: *den tijðe*, *ið* *mage*“ (§ 5, p. 8)<sup>2)</sup>. He continues: „Die oberdeutschen Formen (present) ohne

<sup>1)</sup> Oskar Brenner, *Grundzüge der geschichtlichen Grammatik der deutschen Sprache*. München, 1896.

<sup>2)</sup> Here Brenner has a note reading as follows: „Man vgl. den englischen Schreibbrauch: *wife*. *weib* hatte im Englischen nie ein *-e* im Auslaut.“ The inference is that this *-e* was an extra syllable added (and pronounced) merely to be „fein“. This *-e* was never pronounced but was added merely to indicate the length of the preceding syllable. As late as Chaucer and much later, it is usually written *wif*. No extra syllables have been added in English. In such cases as *gave*, *bade*, *sate* etc. the *-e* was never pronounced. All such *e*'s have been added since the Middle English period. O. E. Emerson in the extensive grammatical introduction to his *Middle English Reader* (New York 1905) gives for the 1st and 3rd sing. ind. of strong verbs all forms without *-e* (cf. §163). He says that the 2nd sing. is most commonly without the *-e*, analogous to the 1st and 3rd sing. An examination of the st. prt. forms in a few pages of Chaucer might be interesting. The references are to Emerson's Reader. *ȝaf* (=gave) 238,8; *was*, *ȝet* (=ate) 238,28; *cam* (= came) 239,13; *sat* 239,12; *ran* 242,5; *ȝraf* (=spake) 242,13; *quod* 242,14;

Endungs-*e* haben nur vorübergehend (14.—16. Jh., Ende des 18. in volkstümlicher Literatur bei den Stürmern) vorgeherrscht. Seit den Schlesiern dringt *e* an alle Stellen, die es im Mhd. inne hatte. In den Sing. des Perfects drang *e* aus dem schwachen Verb und aus dem Praesens ein (das Paar *ich gib—gab* wird verjüngt in *ich gibe—gabe*). Dem Widerstreben der md. Mundart nachgebend verzichtete die Schriftsprache noch im 18. Jahrhundert auf das *e*; nur die Dichter brauchen es als bequemes Mittel Senkungen im Vers zu erhalten bis ins 19. Jahrhundert herein, vor allem bei *ſaße*“ § 57.

Several things in this deserve comment. In the first place, the extra *e*'s in the st. prt. were always very uncommon in the East Middle German dialects. Strange to say, it was in the South German dialects where apocope was carried to such a great extent that we find such a large number of extra final *e*'s in places where they never belonged. Brenner omits all reference whatever to Luther. He is quite misinformed as to the date of the origin of these forms. He supposes that they have originated since Opitz and are due to the gradual extension of final *-e* as a reaction against the South-German tendency to apocope. Thus the couple *ich gib—gab* was „verjüngt“ into *ich gibe—gabe*. Furthermore, this leaves out of account all reference to the third sing., which had the *-e* earlier and more frequently than the first person. Again, had he not shut his eyes to Luther and to others centuries earlier, he would have seen that this phenomenon antedates by far the reaction against excessive apocope, even going back in its origin to a period antecedent to the manifestation of the tendency to apocope.

Rückert<sup>1)</sup> discusses the question at greater length than any other grammarian. He explains the *-e* in the present imperative and the preterite ind. of strong verbs as analogical formations. After explaining the strong imperative as due to analogy to

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*bād* (=bade) 243, 7: *dranf* 245, 26; *wroqt* 245, 29 etc. *ſhoope* 245, 13 is only one syllable. The line reads: *For ál the nýgſt he ſhóope hym fór to swýnfe*. Final vowels before a word beginning with *h* were usually not pronounced. See Emerson LX. §88.

<sup>1)</sup> Entwurf einer ſyſtematiſchen Darſtellung der ſchleſiſchen Mundart im Mittelalter, von Heinrich Rückert. Hrsg. v. Paul Pietsch, Paderborn, 1878.

the weak imperative, he continues: „Das gleiche gilt für die starken Prät. auf *-e*, *barſte*, *hilde*, *ſprache*, etc., die hier so häufig sind, wie im Mhd. selten (s. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.* § 357), aber doch schon älter als man gewöhnlich annimmt, so steht z. B. schon in dem Wurmsegen einer Hs. d. 12. Jh. (s. *Sitzungsb. d. Münch. Ac.* 1867, II., s. 17) *lage* für *lag*“ — P. 218. „Der Zusatz eines *e* am Ende der 1. 3. Sg. Prät. — offenbar um die Analogie der vocalisch ausgehenden Formen des schw. Prät. *walten* zu lassen — ist bekanntlich uralte . . . . In unserer Mundart erscheinen solche Formen sehr frühe, aber sehr vereinzelt und es scheint, als wenn sie auch hier nie ein wirkliches Leben im Volke geführt hätten, sondern mehr ein Produkt der Reflexion, nur nicht gerade der gelehrten zünftigen Grammatiker, geblieben sind. Es wäre nebenbei bemerkt, sehr verdienstlich, wenn diese *e*-Formen, so wie die genau damit zusammenhängenden der starken Imperative und manche andere, die in sehr alten und sehr guten Hss. des Mittelalters begegnen, z. B. in der bekannten Nibelungenhandschrift C, einmal genauer untersucht und gewürdigt werden möchten, namentlich in ihrem Verhältnis zu der jedesmaligen lebendigen Volkssprache, mit der man gewöhnlich ihre Erklärung abzufertigen pflegt, während sie doch nach meiner Ansicht gar nichts damit zu tun haben . . . . Einige Beispiele des *æ* der st. Prät. sind Ps. *ich hilde*, das einzige hier erscheinende, lehrreich, weil das *ð* des Stammes unzweifelhaft, indem es für *ð* des schw. Prät. genommen wurde, Anlaß dazu gegeben hat“ — P. 256. He then gives other examples, *ich ſprache*, *bevalthe er* etc. for which he wisely ventures no explanation.

At another place<sup>1)</sup> he says: „Neben den auf den bloßen Wortstamm zusammengedrängten Formen des st. Präter. hat sich schon sehr frühe die Neigung hervorgetan, ihnen durch ein angehängtes *e* eine Art von Endung zu geben. Nicht das deutsche allein, sondern auch das nordgerman. Idiom mit seinem *rêri* von *rôa*, *grêri* von *grôa* wandelt darin auf derselben Bahn. Aber erst im 15. Jahrh. greifen diese Formen mehr um sich und sind besonders im Kanzlei- und Kurialstil, aber auch in der Erbauungsliteratur nicht selten. Luther hat sie relativ sparsam

<sup>1)</sup> *Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache.* II., 79.

verwandt, geschrieben da, wo er sich natürlich gehen lassen konnte, also in seinen vertrauten Briefen, niemals. Sein *jaþe*, *floþe*, etc. klingen ihm offenbar majestätischer als *jađ* oder *jaḥ*, *flođ* oder *floḥ*, und aus solchen rhetorischen Gesichtspunkten verwendet er sie immer in bewußtem Tun, nie zufällig“.

The views of many more scholars could be discussed. But further additions to the list would involve a mere repetition of what has been said. What has been given above may stand as fairly representative of the comment on this subject. There is in general very great agreement among the writers as well as considerable conflict of opinion. All the views have an element of truth; many have an element of error. No one explanation given seems to me to be adequate. Perhaps the best explanation could be given by combining the various suggestions offered, since the phenomenon cannot be explained from any one point of view alone.

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### D. Conclusion<sup>1)</sup>.

As was said above, the present study advances no special theory for explaining the origin and development of the special class of preterites under consideration. In the last chapter above some reasons were given for objecting to the explanations usually offered. These reasons are here supplemented by others, and by the mention of certain possibilities through which this phenomenon may in part be accounted for. The subject will be discussed according to the periods of the historical development of the forms in question.

#### I. Old Saxon *antfunda*.

The earliest example of a 3rd sing. st. prt. ind. with a vocalic ending that occurs in German is the form *antfunda* (referred to above P. 1) *Héliand* 2017. This is clearly indicative as the *-a*, as well as the construction shows. This is the only example that occurs in the *Heliand*, *fanđ* being the form elsewhere.

<sup>1)</sup> I am especially indebted to Professor Collitz for suggestions as to the explanation of the phenomenon under discussion.



It was construed by Schmeller as subjunctive. In his glossary to the Heliand under *findan* he says (P. 35): „Praet. conj. *fundī* inveniret 64, 24 *antfunda* (pro *antfundī*) perciperet 11, 13“. He does not give the inf. form *findan* at all. Heyne in his edition of the Heliand (Paderborn 1866) gives under *findan* the form *antfand* 1127, but „in unregelmäßiger Form (wie ags. *fundē*) *antfunda* 2017“. The inf. *findan* occurs regularly in M., e. g. 403, 1799, 1913, 2643, 3808, etc. C always has *findan*; pres. subj. pl. *finden* 2826 M, *findan* C; pres. ind. 3. pl. *findad* 2827 M. *fand* occurs in both M and C: 805, 818, 2160, 3735, 4773, 4799 etc. Plural *fundun* 431, 463, 548, 807, 1173, etc.; pret. subj. *fundī* 2126. Sievers (*Heliand*, Halle 1878, Anmerk. p. 518) refers in connection with *antfunda* 2017 to the occurrence of a similar form in *Beowulf*: *sōna þaet onfunde*, lines 705 and 1497, both indicative. The regular form in *Beowulf*, however, is *fand* e. g. 1890 *þaet sōna onfand* 2300, 2713, *onfand* 2288 etc. The inf. is always *findan*.

The indicative forms *antfunda* in O. S. and *onfunde* in A. S. must be explained as due to the influence of the weak preterite. Germanic *finþan* should have given (and actually did give) *findan* in O. S. and A. S. The prt. *fand* should have given *fōđ* — a form outside of the general scheme of ablaut. As the prt. pl. and p. part. originally had *ð*, — due to grammatical change, the forms prt. pl. *fundun* and p. part. *fundan* were fixed. In order to avoid such a preterite as *fōđ*, and influenced obviously by the weak prt. *munda* (the meaning of which, furthermore, was not so very different), the mixed preterite *funda* was formed. The plural forms *fundun*—*mundun* were a link in the chain of analogy. Contemporaneous with this other analogical forms of the same verb were made: given such forms as *band*—*bundun*, *wand*—*wundun*, it was easy to arrive at *fand*—*fundun* (*fundun* already given). And so also the p. participles *fundan* and *gi*—*bundan* agree. By a similar analogy the old inf. *findan* later on gave place to the new *findan* (analogous to *bindan*, *windan* etc.). Thus during the process of passing from *finþan*—*fanþ fundun*—*fundan* to *findan*—*fand* etc., the O. S. form *funda* (A. S. *fundē*) with ablaut and weak ending, was a by-product. After the transition had been made, *findan* fell regularly into the conjugation of the 3rd class strong, and thereafter showed no mixed forms in the preterite.

## II. All other mixed preterites.

- 1) *From the earliest occurrence in the 11th century until about the end of the M.H.G. period.*

The first examples of the st. prt. ind. in *-e* occur just after the *-a* of the weak prt. and the *-i* of the subj. prt. (strong and weak), and the 2nd sing. of the ind. st. prt. have been weakened down to *-e*. These mixed forms are due to the tendency to level out inflections, and to bring in uniformity where it did not exist. The sing. of the ind. st. prt. furnished a striking example of irregularity; it provided the one great exception to a uniform inflection of the whole verb, strong and weak.

In two respects the sing. of the st. prt. ind. differed from the usual inflection of the verb: 1) the 1st and 3rd sing. have no ending. This occurs elsewhere only in the 2nd sing. of the imperative (as *gib, nim* etc.), in which on account of its special function, the ending could be dropped. Here too analogical formations (forms of the st. imperative with the *-e* of the weak imperative) occur early (as in Notker. See p. 1 above); throughout the whole period of their existence they have at times become numerous and in the 18th century very common, *gebe, nehme*, etc. occur frequently in Goethe; in Modern German the phenomenon is quite general, e. g. *laufe, trage, hebe, binde*, etc.

2) The 2nd sing. has a vocalic ending, whereas in all other cases in the indicative and subjunctive it ends in *-s, -t, or -st*. Furthermore, in respect to its stem-vowel (and in addition usually in the matter of umlaut) the 2nd sing. agrees with the prt. subj. Here again was an occasion for the attempt to unify or normalise the inflection.

The attempt to give the 1. 3. sing. prt. ind. an ending and the endeavor to change the ending of the 2nd sing. of the st. prt. are very likely connected. Both begin in the 11th century. The latter process, however, is completed centuries before there is any fixed rule relative to the ending of the 1. 3. sing. Weinhold has correctly interpreted the situation: „Wie gegen die flexionlose 1. 3. sg. so regte sich der Widerstand auch gegen diese auffallende 2. sg. in *-e*. Seit dem 11., 12. Jh. beginnt sich md. und obd. *-es, -est* statt *-e* dem conjunctiven

Stamm anzufügen“.)<sup>1)</sup> On the same page he ventures another explanation of the tendency to unify the inflection of the 2nd sg. „Nach kurzen Stämmen wird das *-e* gemäss der Regel apocopiirt; die Baiern und Österreicher thun dies aber auch nach langen: *du waer, ſaez, gieng*, wobei der Umlaut auch aufgehoben wird. So braucht Suchenwirt im Reim *du nâm: anzam* 41, 303 . . . . Besondere Erwähnung verdienen die apocopiirten 2. sg. *du gie: die Otack. c. 439“.* etc.)<sup>1)</sup> He is very likely wrong as to the cause; the procedure just described is most probably due to the tendency to give to the 2nd sing. the same form as that of the 1. and 3. sing. or else the plural stem (ind.) without umlaut, instead of the subjunctive stem with umlaut.

Other evidences of the influence of the 1st and 3rd sing. upon the 2nd sing. is the fact that from the 14th century on, the 2nd sing. frequently has the radical vowel of the indicative, in cases where the *-e* of the ending has given place to *-ſt*<sup>2)</sup>. From this time and on, the examples of the 2nd sing. ind. with the radical vowel of the sing. become more and more frequent. This occurs often long before the radical vowels of the sing. and plural are levelled out<sup>3)</sup>. Such usage is practically uniform in the late 16th, 17th, and even into the 18th century, whenever the radical vowel of the plural is different from that of the sing. The 2nd sing. has the radical vowel of the sing.

Another example of the working of analogy in the inflection of the 2nd sing. st. prt. is the addition of the ending *-t* instead of *-e*. This is referred to by Kauffmann<sup>4)</sup> and explained as an ending borrowed from the preterite-present verbs (as *du maht* etc.). Weinhold<sup>5)</sup> explains it otherwise: „Im 14. Jh. kommt obd. noch eine andere Form der 2. sg. Ind. Pf. auf, nämlich *-t* an conjunctivem Stamm, vgl. *du ſaecht, ſpraecht, geſcheft, verlurt*

<sup>1)</sup> Mhd. Gramm. Zweite Ausgabe. § 374. p. 399.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. Weinhold Mhd. Gramm. § 374 (p. 400). *genafest Lieders.* 28, 657. *ſâft: genas Wolkst.* CII. 3, 8. (*ſâft* should very likely be written *ſaft*).

<sup>3)</sup> S. Carl Franke, Grundzüge der Schriftsprache Luthers. Görlitz 1888 § 235. *Paradigmen der Konjugation bei Luther.* Imperfekt; Ind. st. *ſang(e) ſangeſt, ſang(e), ſungen, ſunget, ſungen.*

<sup>4)</sup> *Gefchichte der ſchwäb. Mundart.* Strassburg 1890. § 150. Anm. p. 189. He gives many examples, all from the 15th century.

<sup>5)</sup> Mhd. Grammatik<sup>2</sup>. § 374, P. 400

etc.; es scheint hier das *s* vor *t* unterdrückt, und diese Form also nur eine Abänderung der Endung *-est*.“

The real cause of this transformation of the inflection of the sing. of the st. prt. is not so much the preponderant importance of the weak preterite as the feeling of the irregularity, as well as the inadequacy of the inflection of the st. prt. In its inflection, language always seeks regularity and clearness and endeavors to introduce them where they do not apparently exist.

In this unification of the inflection of the st. prt., the weak prt. naturally furnished the model. They both agreed otherwise in everything else except the ind. sing. Thus ind. 1st and 3rd plural *nâmen—hörten*, 2. pl. *nâmet—hörte*; subj. 1. 3. sing. *naeme—hörte*, 2. sing. *naemeft—hörteft*; 1. 3. pl. *naemen—hörten*, 2. pl. *naemet—hörte* but 1. 3. sing. ind. *nam—hörte*, 2. *naeme—hörteft*. The result could easily follow that the endings of the ind. sing. strong would become like those of the subjunctive since they were identical in the weak preterite.

We could also construe the matter as involving only the question of the mutual influence of the endings of the indicative and subjunctive of the st. prt. and thus leave the weak preterite out of consideration altogether. Such a state of things is, however, very improbable, since only the weak prt. furnished the model for the identity of the endings of the various persons in the two moods, whereas in the present tense the endings of the 3rd sing. in case of both weak and st. verbs are different, e. g. *nimet—neme*, *höret—höre*. Only the inflection of the weak verb could furnish the rule: in the present sing. the indicative and subjunctive have different endings, but in the preterite the same endings.

It is thus a question of a tendency to systematise the inflection of the st. prt. sing. ind., to make it uniform. This process remained true to the following models: 1) the indicative and subjunctive preterite of weak verbs and 2) the subjunctive prt. of strong verbs. That the subjunctive preterite of strong verbs was not unconcerned follows indirectly from the fact that contemporaneous with the transformation of endings, the radical vowel of the 2nd sing. ind. of the st. prt., which originally corresponded to the subjunctive stem-vowel, was also

changed. This normalising process is extended at the same time to both the endings and the stem-vowels of the sing. forms of the st. prt.

Originally the endings of the subj. and ind. were different, as was still the case in O. H. G. The earliest forms of the st. prt. in *-e* that have come down to us show that the process described above first began only when the *-a* and the *-i* had both united in *-e*.<sup>1</sup> Previous to this, the weak preterite could not furnish a model for the identity of the endings in the indicative and subjunctive singular, e. g. *hôrta* and *hôrti*.

In this connection the two Alemannic forms *er ir̄starbe* and *er fuore* of the 11th century must be mentioned. The monument in question, a confession contained in the St. Gall Ms. No. 1394 dates from a period when not only final *-i* but also final *-a* had in most cases become *-e*. This fact is significant that all the forms of the prt. sing. strong or weak, indicative or subjunctive, in so far as they end in a vowel, end in the vowel *-e*. In other words *-e* is the only vocalic ending in the prt. sing. e. g. *ir̄starbe*, *fuore* as also *gedāhte* and *gefrumete*. To be sure, the phenomenon is as yet only in its very beginning, as most of the sing. prts. have the forms without the *-e*.

That the weak prt. and not the inflection of the subj. has played the chief rôle in the matter, follows indirectly from the fact that preterite-present verbs, which according to their form, can be classed with the st. prt., remained at first altogether unaffected (and very little affected at any time) by the transformation, for the very reason that from their meaning they are not preterites<sup>1</sup>). They are, however, indicative to be sure. They have no inflection in the 1st and 3rd sing. because from their form they are st. prts. But from considerations of their meaning, they were placed in the same class with the present, and their lack of ending was supported by such monosyllabic forms as *ich tuon*, *ich gân*, *ich stân*, etc.

<sup>1</sup>) When they did have an *-e*, it was very probably due to analogy to the 1. p. sing. of other present tenses and not to the weak preterite. An example of this kind is that of *mage* in *Der Nibelunge Not* referred to above. Weinhold calls attention to this phenomenon (Mhd. Gr. p. 441): „Versuche die anomale Präsensform *mac maht* durch scheinbar regelmäßiges *mage magest* zu verdrängen, treten seit 12./13. Jh. obd. auf, AGr. BGr. a. a. O.“

*2. From late M. H. G. to Luther. The principle of uniformity is crossed with the tendency to the apocope of final -e. The invention and extension of printing.*

What has been said above applies in the main to that period in the history of the German language from the 11th century to the period when apocope of *-e* becomes decidedly common. The considerations made above are adequate only when it is the rule to retain final *e*'s. As the final *-e* of the weak prt. is dropped more and more frequently as time passes, the aspect of the question changes accordingly. Thus a new principle is introduced. The problem is now more than a mere question of normalising the inflection; real confusion as to where the *-e* properly belongs immeasurably complicates the matter. This apocope of *-e* is carried to its greatest extent in the late 15th and the 16th centuries. As was shown above, in some cases there is a close relation between the percentage of the st. prts. in *-e* and that of the weak prts. that retain *-e*. To illustrate, in The First German Bible about 4% of all st. prts. and about 6% of all weak prts. (by actual count in selections) have *-e*. In the South-German dialects at this time, weak preterites irrespective of class or of any other consideration, as a rule, omit final *-e*. At the same time there is a marked rise in the number of st. prts. with *-e*. In general, where apocope was greatest, the number of *e*-forms of the st. prt. was also greatest. The weak preterite was vacillating, for example, between forms like *wolt* and *wolte*. Accordingly the st. prt. was likewise divided between such forms like *ſaĥ*, *ſam* etc. and *ſaĥe*, *ſame* etc. Thus to the tendency toward the normalisation of the inflection there is added a positive confusion as to where the *-e* properly belonged. Both tended to increase the number of such *e*-forms.

This apocope of *-e* is characteristic of the Southern dialects. Luther, however, has some forms of the weak preterite that regularly drop *-e*, e. g. *wolt*, *ſolt*<sup>1)</sup>. In case of such forms as

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Franke, *Grundzüge der Schriftsprache Luthers*. § 231, 2: „Während Luther der 1. u. 3. Pers. S. des st. Imperf. gern ein *e* anhängt, wirft er es in denselben schwachen Formen mindestens ebenso so oft ab, als er es setzt; durchaus überwiegend geschieht dieses in *ſolt* = *ſollte* und *wolt* = *wollte*.“

folft and wolft the monosyllabic forms folll and will were perhaps partly responsible. In other cases (perhaps more often than otherwise) the connecting vowel *-e-* is retained and the final *-e* is dropped. The weak prts. are usually longer than the st. prt. Hence the phonological tendency toward shortening became more manifest and as a result we have such forms as *antwortet*, *prediget*, etc. Such weak preterites may have had another reason for existing; namely, in order to produce an agreement of the weak preterite with the p. part., e. g. *ge-prediget*. However, apocope is not practiced by Luther or any others in the North to any degree comparable to that in the South. In like manner the *e*-forms of the st. prt. found in the North are correspondingly rare.

No uniform rule, however, can be given for the treatment at this time of the *-e* in the st. prt. In some cases where there is a very general practice of dropping the *-e* of the weak preterite no *e*'s whatever are added to the st. prt., as in the case of Niclas von Weil and in practically all verse at this time. Again in other cases without any apparent reason, at the very same time, in the very same locality, in the same kind of literature, almost half of all st. prt. have the *-e*, as in the *Decameron* and the „*Blumen der Tugend*“, etc. Many other facts do not submit to a definite rule. The almost complete absence of the phenomenon in the folk-song and in other emanations from the uneducated ranks of the people (the very place where we should expect confusion), the great difference in regard to the use of this *-e* in prose and in verse that is always found from this time on until the 18th century, and many other things are as yet to be explained. The attempt to normalise the practice in regard to *-e* varied with the various writers.

The most important event in the history of the phenomenon under consideration was the invention and extension of printing. Contemporary with this and very probably causally connected with it, there is a very sudden and a very marked increase in the use of these *e*-forms. Perhaps this fact was merely coincident with the rise of the *Gemeindeutsch*. At any rate the extension of these forms was largely made possible by means of printing. Furthermore, the use of the *-e* in the

st. prt. seems to have been in many cases the conscious trick of the printer (and then only in prose). It varied considerably among printers (cf. the great variation between the Basel and the Ulm printings of the *Æsop* and the Augsburg and the Worms printings of *Triftrant und Jsaße*. See pp. 30, 31, 33 above).

With the further extension of printing and the gradual rise of the *Öemeindeutfß* these forms in *æ* continued to increase in number, as well as to be adopted in territory where hitherto they were not known<sup>1)</sup>.

### 3) *From Luther to Gottsched. Period of greatest vogue.*

As the „Schriftsprache“ is gradually accepted, the *e*-forms also continue to increase. The separation of dialect and literary language becomes sharper. The *e*-forms become decidedly characteristic of the would-be-fashionable writers. These forms continue to become more and more common, both in the percentage of occurrence and in geographical distribution, until in the 3rd quarter of the 17th century, the occurrence reaches its highest point. Although extended more or less over all Germany, the phenomenon is still preeminently characteristic of the South-German dialects, as the figures above will show. A consideration of the statistics for this period will reveal the striking difference between the use of these *e*-forms in verse and in prose. At no time has more than 10% of all st. prts. that have *æ* been found in verse, whereas in this period the figures for prose often run as high as 75% and occasionally as high as 85%. In the case of the same writer a marked difference can often be detected in his use of *e*-forms in prose and in verse (cf. Fischart and Opitz etc.). For this period the phenomenon becomes very characteristic of prose.

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Kauffmann, *Geſchichte der ſchwäb. Mundart* § 122, Anm. 2, p. 146: „Der umgekehrte Vorgang, daß Silbenvermehrung im Wortkörper durch Anfügung neuer Lautelemente einträte, ist nur in Folge analogischer Prozesse wirklich geworden. Typisches Beispiel hierfür sind die unter Einfluß der Flexion der schwachen Verba gebildeten starken Präterita auf *æ*, die sich auf schwäb. Boden allerdings nur spärlich nachweisen lassen und durch die Gemeinsprache eingeschleppt sind . . . .“ This was especially true of the northern parts of Germany where, previous to the time of printing, these *e*-forms were in general very rarely found.



Now for the first time the forms in *-e* receive the notice of writers on grammar. In the South at the beginning of the period they are usually more or less favorable to the forms in *-e*, often positively recommending them (as Ölinger). Farther toward the North they either silently sanction all such forms (as Albertus) or still farther north allow only the three or four forms that are commonly found in Luther (as Clajus; his forms being *ſahe*, *flohe*, *geſchahē*). Thus it is very evident that there is no uniformity in the practice in this regard. In the case of the various writers the attempt to normalise takes different directions. In some (perhaps the majority of writers), especially toward the end of the 17th century, a great percentage of *e*-forms of the st. prt. exists alongside of all weak preterites ending in *-e* (as in Grimmelshausen). In other cases very many *e*-forms of the st. prt. are found in writers who drop many of the final *e*'s in the weak preterite (as in case of Abraham a St. Clara). Various tendencies are manifest. In the South toward the end of the period, the matter is complicated by a more or less general opposition on the part of the Catholics to the Lutheran *e*, an opposition sometimes by mistake directed against the *-e* of the st. prt. which is not characteristically Lutheran. In the North the Lutheran forms *ſahe*, *flohe*, *geſchahē*, etc. are still in general use, *wurde* is not so common.

#### 4) *Since Gottsched.*

Although the forms in *-e* had begun to decrease by the end of the 17th century, yet it remained for the grammarians of the 18th century, particularly Gottsched, to prepare the way for their practically complete disappearance. Gottsched's importance in this matter cannot be over-estimated. Possessing as he did an authority almost beyond question where the new *Schriftsprache* was accepted, his decisions in matters concerning language as in regard to literature were all but supreme. Hence it is easy to see what a telling effect his opposition to these forms in *-e* actually had. To be sure, the others who took their stand against these forms were also influential in bringing them into general discredit, but Gottsched is evidently by far the most important.

The immediate result was the rapid decrease in the total number of such forms occurring, as well as in the number of

verbs that permitted such forms. By the time of Gottsched's death the total number of such forms had been reduced to a very insignificant proportion of the whole. By the beginning of the last quarter of the 18th these forms are confined, even in the South, in the main to some three or four preterites, as *ſahe*, *geſchahe*, and *flohe*, fast going out, and *wurde* fast coming into vogue. These forms, with the exception of *wurde* are, as we have seen, the very same forms that are so common in Luther.

In this period the tendency to normalisation has only one direction — namely, that of gradually reducing the number of these forms in *-e*. By the end of the 18th century practically all have disappeared except *wurde* and very rarely *ſahe*. At this time in contradistinction to the situation in the previous period, there seems to be no difference between prose and verse, unless it is that the forms occur more often in verse than in prose. As verse is always, as a rule, more archaic than prose, it is quite natural that such forms, which in the period of their decadence were doubtless felt to be archaic, should be retained more often in verse than in prose.

Thus this phenomenon, which had its origin and early growth in the tendency to unify and normalise the inflection of the st. preterite, and which was greatly advanced in the early Modern German period by a complication of other causes, chiefly the confusion due to the apocope of final *-e* and the origin of the *Gemeindeutsch*, together with the invention and extension of printing, came in the 17th century into its greatest vogue, and then, opposed by the grammarians in their endeavors to bring uniformity into the language, gradually passed out of the language, until to-day the sole exception to the uniform inflection of the strong preterite is the one form *wurde*.

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