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A Study of Verbs

Compounded with Aus, Ein, etc.
as contrasted with those Compounded with
Heraus, Hinaus, Herein, Hinein, etc.



BY

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PREFACE

The following study, which was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor George Hempl, is meant as a contribution to lexicography in general, and in particular to that branch of it coming under the head of semasiology. While the investigation is based on a certain group of verbal compounds, word-composition as such is treated only in so far as it has a direct bearing on the matter in hand. I present my material and the deductions drawn from it in the hope that it may add to the knowledge of some of the principles underlying semantic changes in language. Only five separable prefixes as elements of compound verbs are considered. Others will be treated at a future time.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professor William A. Cooper, who in the absence of Professor Hempl gave me unstintingly of his time and advice and who was ever ready to discuss with me all problems arising, of which there are many in a field still comparatively new. I also acknowledge the counsel and advice given me by Professor Karl G. Rendtorff. I owe much to my wife for her painstaking assistance in typewriting and proofreading.

C. R.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

(Figures in parentheses refer to sections.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY	6
INTRODUCTION	9
CHAPTER I. Aus, Heraus, Hinaus and their developments.....	17-44
Original force of Aus (1). Stereotyped phrases (2). Aus-Ein (3). Removal of clothes (4). Pointing to origin (6). To extend (7). Referring to voice issuing forth (8). To separate (9). To select (10). To wear out (11). To end (12). To empty (13). To complete activity (14). To do thoroly (15). To extinguish a light (16). To begin (17). Specialization (18). Intensifying (19). Literal translations (20).	
Original force of Her and Hin (21). Heraus and Hinaus (22). Spread of double prefixes (23). Weakening of double prefixes (26). Confusion of Heraus and Hinaus (28). Pointing to an origin (29). Referring to the publication of books, etc. (30). To give prominence to (31). To end (32). To empty (33). Extending the activity of verb (34). To issue forth (35). Auf-Hinaus (36). Über-Hinaus (37). Summary (38).	
CHAPTER II. Ein, Herein, Hinein and their developments.....	45-69
Ein and Inne (39). Original force of Ein (41). With preposition, <i>in</i> (42). With preposition, <i>zu</i> (43). With direct object (44). With indirect object (45). Aus-Ein (see 3). Specialized (47). To capture (48). To catch up with (49). To begin (50). To acquire possession (51). To contract (52). To collapse (53). To end (54). Ingressive force given to durative verbs (55). With preposition, <i>bei</i> (65). With preposition, <i>auf</i> (57). Proficiency (58). Intensifying (59). Supplanted by another prefix (60). Curiousum (61).	
Original force of Her and Hin (62). Herein and Hinein (63). Evidences of weakening (64). Spread of double prefixes (65). Confusion of Her and Hin (66-67). Specialized uses (68). With preposition, <i>zu</i> (70). Intensifies fossilized forms with Ein (71). With direct object (72). Mining terms (73). Summary (74).	
CHAPTER III. Ab, Herab, Hinab and their developments.....	70-92
Ab compared with other particles (75). Original force of Ab (76). Privative force (77). To descend (78). Auf-Ab (79).	

To remove clothes (81). To wear off (82). To decrease (83). To transfer possession (84). To refuse (85). To deny (85). To tear down (86). To depose (87). To end (88). To put out of existence (88). To set apart (89). To conclude an activity (90). To copy (91). To weary (92). To kill or die (93). Intensifying (94). To shoot off (95). To acquire proficiency (96). Contrast (97). To play from notes, etc., (98).

Original force of Herab, Hinab (99). Discussion (100). With direct object (101). Privative force of Ab intensified (103). Supplanted by Ab (105-6). To conclude activity (107). To descend (108). Specialized (109). Summary (110).

CHAPTER IV. Auf, Herauf, Hinauf and their developments. . . . 93-120

Auf with original force (112). Auf-Nieder (114). Rising of sun (116). Rise in ethical, political values (117). To grow up (118). To bring up (119). To erect a building (119). To open (120). To stop (121). To originate (122). Referring to voice (123). Verbs meaning to expand (124). To awaken (125). To pile up (126). Put an end to a thing (127). To wear out (128). Intensifying (129). Technical terms (131). To put on clothes (132). To take or give possession (133). To burden with (134). To postpone (135). Specialized (136). Supplanted by another particle (137). Highly specialized (138).

Particle Hin with preposition, *auf* (139). Original force of Herauf, Hinauf (140). Spread of compound prefixes (141). To come into view (142). Referring to the voice (143). To grow up or to bring up (144). To originate (145). To place upon surface (146). Confusion of Herauf and Hinauf (147). Highly specialized (148). Summary (149).

CHAPTER V. An, Heran, Hinan and their developments. 121-142

Original force of An (150-1). Denoting approach (152). Contact (153). Meanings of 'ansehen' (154). To arrive at (155). Attachment (156). 'Antun' (157). To attack (158). To beg (160). To strike, bump (161). To cover body (162). To begin activity (163). To instruct (164). To set fire to (165). To transfer possession (166). To land (167). Motion to a higher level 168. Highly specialized (169). 'Anwünschen' (170). Supplanted by another particle (171).

Heran, Hinan, general remarks (172). Spread of the double particles (173). Her intensifies An, 'to attach to' (174). Hinan indicating upward motion (175). To grow, develop (176). Specialized (177). Summary (178).

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INTRODUCTION

As the title of this investigation indicates, it is a study of the difference between verbs compounded with certain separable prefixes and those compounded with an augmented form of the same prefixes. The purpose is two-fold, viz., to investigate the difference in function between the simple and the double prefix, and to trace the corresponding differences in semantic development. I have found it necessary to limit myself to such verbs as form compounds with the simple prefixes 'aus,' 'ein,' 'ab,' 'auf,' 'an,' and also with the double prefixes 'heraus,' 'hinaus,' 'herein,' 'hinein,' etc.

In the older Germanic languages, the double prefix is entirely missing. The simple adverbial particles, which, as original adverbs of direction were used with verbs of motion only, sufficed to express the idea contained in the modern German double prefixes. This is made clear by the quotations from Old High German, Middle High German and early New High German writers, which will be found in the first part of each chapter. Old High German contains less than a half dozen verbs having a double prefix of the type considered in this investigation. (Cf. §§ 22, 63, 99, 140.) It will be noticed that neither 'herab' nor 'hinab' was found as a verbal prefix before the Middle High German period, while 'heran' is not recorded before the 17th century.

Altho there is an increase in the spread of these double prefixes during the Middle High German period, it is evident that they are still new formations; and in most cases the demonstrative force of 'her' and 'hin' is evident. But with the beginning of the New High German period, especially in the writings of Luther, the double particle appears thoroly established, as is apparent from the phonetic decay of 'heraus,' 'herein,' to 'raus,' 'rein,' etc., and 'hinaus,' 'hinein,' to 'enaus,' 'enein,' and even to 'naus,' 'nein.' Since that time the double prefix has steadily gained ground, usurping the function formerly possessed by the simple particle. At the present time, the simple prefix with its original force has entirely lost its power of entering into new formations, this office being now performed by one of the double prefixes. To determine the factors underlying the spread of the double prefix is one of the problems which I have attempted to solve in the present study.

The adverbial particles were originally prefixed to verbs of motion only, motion being taken in its broadest sense. The particle indicated the direction of the motion denoted by the verb. The relation of the motion to the speaker was determined from the context or situation. The 'her' and 'hin' of the new compound prefixes which supplanted the old simple prefixes are derived from an old demonstrative stem '*hi.' But the expanded form acquired eventually the identical force shown to have earlier been possessed by the simple particle.

It is clear that at the time when the double particle first makes its appearance, the simple prefix is undergoing a functional weakening. This deterioration of the particle is the result of its use as a prefix; for it is a linguistic law, that any combination or group of words occurring frequently together, comes to be a conceptual unity, the elements of which sacrifice their individuality in the group meaning. Thus it happens that a compound does not represent the sum of all the qualities of its component parts. On the contrary, each added element subtracts from the original value of the other parts in that it limits them.

Word-composition is a matter of psychology. It is a semasiological process. Mere juxtaposition of its parts never results in a compound unless there is also a unity of meaning, altho all compounds originated in juxtaposition of their elements.

Whenever an old word no longer clearly and effectively expresses an idea for which it formerly stood, some other word is employed to perform the function lost by the older term. In the case in hand, it is not a new word that is introduced, but a second element is added to the old, weakened word to revivify it. For a while the old and the new expression remained with practically parallel force. Then, as the old term continued gradually to lose its function, the new compound prefix came to occupy the field surrendered by the old simple particle.

It is instructive to follow the spread of the double prefixes from their first appearance in the 9th century to the present time, when they have entirely usurped the function once possessed by the simple prefix. During the period from the 9th to the end of the 15th centuries, verbs compounded with any of the double prefixes appear as isolated neologisms. It is evident from their use that they were not felt to possess a function differing from the simple prefixes. For a time the new elements appeared loosely connected with the old particle which they strengthened. They might precede or follow the particle. (Cf. § 26.) In fact, it would appear that people were still conscious of a demonstrative force contained in 'her' or 'hin.'

By comparing Luther's translations of Biblical passages with translations of the same passages in Tatian or Otfried's Gospel Harmonies, we find that Luther generally employed a verb with a double prefix where the Old High German writers used only the simple particle prefixed to the verb. This and the great increase of verbs with double prefixes, warrants us in assuming that the old simple form of the prefix was felt to be too weak to express the desired idea. The great disparity between the frequency of verbs compounded with double prefixes during the centuries preceding the New High German and the number found in the earliest records of the latter period, is significant of the linguistic attitude of the time. One of the chief factors operating toward the functional weakening of the adverbial particles was the semantic change these latter underwent as parts of a compound. The Middle High German classical period was especially prolific in new meanings given verbs by their adverbial prefixes.

As was stated, the chief factor active in limiting the use of the simple particle was its semantic development as part of a compound. Paul complains of the lack of data on the verbal compounds with the particles 'ab,' 'ein,' etc.¹ He requires the history of each word in order fully to understand its development. In this study, five of the particles are thus treated, and a history and explanation of the semantic changes has been attempted so far as this was possible from the available material. Since I am dealing with the prefix as an element of a compound, the history of the particle as an independent word need not be treated here. The change which its union with a verb has given the composite group will be treated. In many instances the verbs have undergone semantic changes independent of any formal elements added, as *e. g.*, 'lesen' = 'to read' < 'to collect'; 'write' < 'writan' = 'to scratch,' etc. Such changes do not properly come within the scope of the present study.

A compound is always a union of two elements, each of which may itself be a compound, tho in the new compound it is considered as a unit. For example, in 'Oberbefehlshaber,' 'Ober' is one unit, and 'befehlshaber,' altho composed of a number of elements, is the second unit. The same holds good for verbs compounded with 'heraus,' 'hinaus,' etc. So long as either of the particles 'her' or 'aus' was thought of as independent, it did not form a compound with the verb.

The act of entering into a composition has important consequences.

¹ Hermann Paul, *Über die Aufgaben der wissenschaftlichen Lexicographie.*

Oertel says: "Whenever adjacent concepts are condensed into one, the newly created conception contains a larger number of elements than either of the two original concepts, and its sphere is therefore narrower. This fusion of concepts finds its linguistic expression in two ways: namely, first by reduction; second, by the complete loss of one of the names of a concept."² Consequently a compound never has exactly the same meaning as the sum of its component parts.³

Tho at times one or the other of the elements of a compound may retain its original meaning longer than such element when used alone (cf. 'gift' in 'Mitgift'), the general tendency of the compound as a whole, is to change its meaning more than either component does. This is what has taken place in the majority of verbs compounded with one of the adverbial particles. Verbs compounded with one of the double prefixes have not undergone changes to the same extent, for the simple reason that the formations are still too new to have had time to adopt new meanings.

Concerning laws governing semasiology, Meyer quotes Thomas Pillet: "Il n'y a pas de lois en sémantique," concurring in this opinion, and adding that semasiology must be determined for each word.⁴ Altho it is true for a vast majority of semantic changes that they are not governed by laws, as is the case with phonology, the material offered in the body of this investigation seems to justify some general principles, at least so far as these compounds are concerned.

As all of the particles treated were originally adverbs of direction, obviously they were compounded with verbs of motion only, motion being understood in its broadest sense. The motion denoted by the verbs may be compared to that of a rolling ball, the motive force being contained in the verb, while the direction of the movement is determined by the adverbial particle. For example, the verb 'gehen' denoted a very general progress, but no starting point, goal or direction of the motion is indicated. The addition of the prefix 'aus,' however, makes of the general motion a special one. Altho the adverb originally denoted only an out-

² Hanns Oertel, *Lectures in the Study of Language*, p. 312. New York, 1902.

³ "Sämtliche Komposita stellen die unlösliche Einheit zweier Begriffe dar. Eine solche würde nicht zustande gekommen sein, wenn sie nicht etwas anderes zum Ausdruck bringen sollte, als die lose Verbindung derselben Begriffe, welche durch andere Ausdrucksmittel, z.B. Flexionsform, bewirkt wird. Die Komposita haben einen eignen, durch kein anderes Mittel genau ersetzbaren Wert für den Satz." B. Delbrück, *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik*, vol. 5, p. 140.

⁴ R. M. Meyer, *Bedeutungssysteme*, in *Kuhns Zeitschr.* 43, 353.

ward direction of the motion, it shows that the starting point of the progress indicated by the verb is within enclosed limits and the goal is outside of these limits. The opposite signification is given the verb by the prefix 'ein.'

The adverb 'ab' is more general in its application. It only vaguely implies a starting point, and indicates no goal of the motion. The verb 'gehen' with the prefix 'ab' meant originally 'to go away from,' without further specifying or limiting the progress. Similarly 'auf' prefixed to 'gehen' denoted that the direction was very generally upward. To come back to the figure of the rolling ball, in the one instance the ball rolls from an enclosed space out of this, and stops, having reached its goal ('aus'). In the second case the ball rolls into an enclosed space from outside, and stops, 'ein' indicating the goal. In the third case the ball starts from some surface and rolls away from this ('ab'), stopping when the impetus given by the verb is exhausted. The action is reversed in the case of verbs compounded with 'an.' 'Auf' would be represented by an upward progress of the ball, that is, to a position on a higher level than that from which the ball started. The duration of the progress, as in the case of verbs with 'ab,' is determined by the impetus given by the verb. From the above it may be seen that we have two distinct types of adverbs, the first indicating a starting point and a goal, the second showing merely a general direction. They must, in consequence, be treated separately.

As pointed out, the verbs with which the particles mentioned above could be compounded denoted motion. Furthermore, they were durative verbs. In the words of Spinoza, "Nothing is constant but change"; hence we may assume that a motion is not identical during the entire duration of the action. There are innumerable changes in the situation as an object proceeds from one place to another. There are certain barriers that must be overcome. To revert once more to the figure of the rolling ball, this may be deflected from its original course. The situation is interpreted in terms laid down by the person uttering the sentence,—starting the ball on its course, so to speak. As the ball passes away from the speaker, its relation to him is continually changing; but the transitions are so gradual that they are scarcely perceptible, except at certain points in the progress. At these points the transitions are so abrupt that the relation between the person and the ball is no longer the same. For example, let the direction be outward. The ball starts in the same enclosure with the person. Obviously, at the moment the ball leaves the

enclosure it no longer has the same relation to the person which it had up to that time; in fact, so far as the person is concerned, the ball has passed out of existence. Furthermore, since the outside is the goal of the action denoted by the verb compounded with 'aus,' this action is completed the moment the object has reached the outside. It is from a situation like this, that the force 'to complete the activity' or 'put an end to the object' is derived. "Das Feuer *geht aus*," "ein Lied *aussingen*," "den Tanz *austanzen*," etc. (Cf. §§ 12-14.)

But the speaker need not necessarily identify himself with the interior of the enclosure from which the motion starts. He may be on the outside of the enclosure; in which case the progress of the motion is toward him. The ball is approaching the speaker, but it is only in a very distant relation to him so long as it is moving toward the exterior. Not until it reaches the outside does it enter into close relation with him. As a rule, it is only then that its existence becomes a matter of observation to him. In other words, the activity, as well as the object, begins or has its origin at the moment the ball exits from within. *E. g.*, "ein Geheimnis *kommt aus*," "von einer Sache *ausgehen*," (cf. § 17). In this connection it is instructive to notice that 'heraus' may also give this force to a compound in which it is used, whereas 'hinaus' never has this power.

In view of this force given to verbs by the addition of 'aus' one might expect a corresponding opposite force to result from a combination with 'ein,' for the functions of these two particles are to indicate exactly opposite directions. This is just what has been found. More than that, whereas compounds with 'aus' with the force 'to end,' occur before compounds with the meaning 'to begin,' the reverse is true of compounds with the prefix 'ein.' Examples of compounds with 'ein' denoting the beginning of an action or a thing are: 'einführen,' 'eingehen,' 'einleiten' (cf. § 50). "Eine Tätigkeit *einstellen*," "eine Zeitschrift *geht ein*," etc., contain examples of compounds with 'ein' meaning 'to end' (cf. § 54).

A ball rolling away, or up from its original position, is not subject to such a complete transition from its former state as one rolling out of or into an enclosure. It never, at any point of its course, enters into an entirely new relation to a former position, until its progress is completed, that is, when a position sufficiently 'off' or 'up' has been reached. The emphasis in verbs compounded with 'ab' or 'auf' is on the time when the progress in a certain direction is completed, the important thing being the perfection of the action. This explains the semantic development of the

following compounds with 'ab': "die Uhr *läuft ab*," "eine Schande *abbüßen*," "eine Sitte *abschaffen*." (For further examples cf. § 88.) Compounds with 'auf' showing the same development are: 'aufbrennen,' 'aufessen,' etc. (Cf. § 127.)

Beside the semantic changes of these compounds caused by the centering of the emphasis on some particular point of the progress denoted by the verb, many meanings have become attached to them by virtue of the fact that they are frequently used with reference to some particular situation, that is, their use has become specialized.⁵ In fact the whole process of semantic changes noted in this study is a process of specialization. Even in the development discussed on the preceding pages, the changes in meaning are the result of the emphasis being shifted from a general to a special activity. The only class of compounds not coming under this head are those verbs which have shifted from denoting the original action to indicating the result of the action. Such compounds are: 'aufhören,' 'aufhalten,' etc. (§ 121), 'aufmachen,' meaning 'to open' (§ 120), 'sich abarbeiten' (§ 92), 'sich einarbeiten' (§ 58). All other semantic changes within the scope of this investigation had their rise in figures of speech.

Semantic changes, like all other linguistic developments, are chiefly a matter of time and circumstances. It is safe to say that virtually every word undergoes changes of meaning as time goes on. Conditions under which it is used may hasten or retard the development. From the nature of their use, nouns are less subject to change than verbs. Yet, even such words as 'Meer,' 'Fluss,' etc. awaken different ideas in the minds of different people. 'Phagos,' the Greek cognate of our word 'beech,' designated an oak tree for the former people.

The principal change which the demonstrative particle in composition has undergone, is a weakening from its demonstrative function to

⁵ Regarding this type of specialization, Paul says: "Dieselben Momente [accompanying circumstance], durch welche ein Wort konkrete Beziehung erhält, dienen auch zur Spezialisierung der Bedeutung. Ohne Mitwirkung besonderer Umstände wird man, wenn man ein Wort hört, zunächst an die gewöhnlichste unter den verschiedenen Bedeutungen desselben oder an die Grundbedeutung denken. Beides fällt häufig zusammen. . . . Unterhalten sich Tischler, Jäger, Ärzte oder sonst Leute von einerlei Beruf unter einander, so sind sie dazu disponiert alle Wörter von derjenigen Seite her aufzufassen, die ihnen dieser Beruf nahe legt. Von grosser Bedeutung ist die Verbindung, in der ein Wort auftritt. Durch sie können die verschiedenen Möglichkeiten der Auffassung eines Wortes auf eine einzige beschränkt werden. Cf. "ein schwarzes Mal," "ein zweites Mal," "ein reichliches Mal." *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, p. 81.

that of an intensifying element. Wherever compounds with the double prefix have undergone a change of meaning, it has been as a result of this intensifying force of 'hin' or 'her.'

The material upon which this investigation is based has been drawn largely from dictionaries, which I have supplemented wherever they seemed inadequate. In the discussion of the semantic development of compounds I have attempted, in every case, to give the earliest quotation in which a verb compounded with a given prefix had developed a certain meaning. The quotations in each section are arranged as nearly chronologically as possible.

Since none of the German dictionaries treat their material from a historical standpoint, and since only the date of the edition of a work abstracted is given by them, it was no small task to date all of the works cited. Thruout I have given only approximate dates, since an absolute time for the first use of a word can be definitely determined in but rare instances. For the older German writers, the exact dates of their activity are seldom known, while in the case of modern writers, the particular work in which a word appears for the first time is largely a matter of chance. Altho many of the words accredited to Goethe were not used by him until after the beginning of the 19th century, I have everywhere listed Goethe as an 18th century writer, for it was in that century that he acquired and developed his linguistic tendencies.

The body of this work is divided into five chapters, in each of which one of the adverbial particles and its augmented forms with 'her' and 'hin' are treated. The chapters are subdivided into four parts. In the first I have treated the verbal compounds with the simple prefix still having its original force; in the second I take up the development of new meanings given the verbs by the prefixes; in the third and fourth, verbs with the double prefixes are similarly treated. It should be added that only those verbs compounded with 'aus' which also have a parallel form in 'heraus' or 'hinaus' are considered. The same restriction holds for the other prefixes.

CHAPTER I.
AUS, HERAUS, HINAUS

PART I.

'AUS' WITH ITS ORIGINAL FORCE

§ 1. Originally 'aus' was an adverb which came in time to assume the function of a preposition as well. As an adverb it had the force 'out of', 'out from within'. This original force is still preserved by the Gothic adverb 'ut', 'us', and the Anglo-Saxon 'út', Modern English 'out'. In Modern English we say: "He came out when we called to him." A German would have to say: "Er kam *heraus*, als wir ihm riefen." That is, in German the particle 'aus' needs some element to strengthen it in order to express the idea for which the simple 'out' suffices in English. This weakening of the prefix in German is of comparatively recent date. Where the older German language used simply 'aus' compounded with the verb, it is now frequently necessary to substitute one of the double prefixes 'heraus' or 'hinaus'. Examples of this old force of 'aus' follow.

Otfried (9th C.): *fuar* er fon theru burg *uz* zi themo druhtines
hus (2, 11, 4).

ûzstiaz er se gilicho ioh filu kraftlicho (2, 11, 10). Cf. Joh.
2, 15: trieb sie Alle . . . hinaus.

dreip se al thanan *uz* (4, 4, 65). Cf. Mat. 21, 12: trieb sie
hinaus.

Tatian (9th C.): Lazarus, *cum ûz* (135, 26). Cf. Joh. 11, 43: kom
heraus.

sênu ih *leitu* inan iu *ûz* (197, 2). Cf. Joh. 19, 4: führe ihn
heraus.

thâr ist thanne uuoft inti zenô stredunga, mittiu ir gisehet
Abrahâm . . . ingangan in gotes richi, iuuuih *ûstriban*
(113, 2).

inti *vvurpfun* in *ûz* (132, 20). Cf. Joh. 9, 34: Stiessen ihn
hinaus.

Pfaffe Konrad (12th C.): di gîsel hiz er *ûz fâren* (M.).

Lamprecht (12th C.): die wartman *ûz* do *draveten* (Alexanderl.
4254, L).

Nibelungenlied (12th C.): *sô liep dir sî ze lebene, sô trit vil balde ûz an den sant* (1558, 4).

Walther von der Vogelweide (12th C.): *ein schar vert ûz, diu ander in, naht unde tac* (Bartsch 21, 77).⁶

Hartmann von Aue (12th C.):

dâ sach er zuo im ûz gân
eine riterliche magt (Iwein, 1152).

nû was der leu ûz komen
als ir ê habt vernomen,
dâ er dâ inversperret wart (Iwein, 7727).

In all of the examples cited above, it would now be necessary to substitute 'heraus' or 'hinaus' for the Old High German and Middle High German 'uz'. In many instances a modern German compound with 'aus' exists, but it has usually acquired a meaning different from that expressed by the compound with 'heraus' or 'hinaus'.

§ 2. But even in New High German the number of verbs compounded with the simple 'aus' greatly exceeds those compounded with 'heraus' or 'hinaus'. They may be divided into two classes:

1). Those in which the prefix retains its original force.

2). Those in which the prefix has developed a specialized meaning.

The prefixes of the first class have asserted their original meanings under rather adverse conditions. In the first place, we have seen that in the examples quoted above (§ 1) 'uz' has become so weakened, that for our present "Sprachgefühl" we require the addition of 'her' or 'hin' to express the old idea 'out of'. Furthermore, since 'heraus' and 'hinaus' have become recognized as prefixes expressing a certain idea, and since 'aus' has assumed a specialized meaning in many instances, we are surprised that 'aus' has kept its old function in any of the compounds. This may in part be accounted for by the fact that the preposition 'aus' still exists as an independent word with the old force of the adverb, namely, 'out of'. But, on the other hand, altho the preposition has aided in preserving a feeling for the old force of the prefix in existing compounds, the prefix itself is no longer capable of entering into new formations, when the meaning 'out of' is to be expressed. Nearly all of those compounds with 'aus' in which the prefix still shows its original force, are stereotyped expressions coming down from a time when the old concrete idea was still distinctly felt. The following examples show this clearly.

⁶ The modern German 'ausfahren' has become specialized.

Otfried (9th C.): maht lesan . . . uuio *fuaron* thiū diuful ir
uz (3, 14, 53).

In modern German we should probably translate this passage: 'Die Teufel verliessen sie.' In Luther's translation of the Bible we find: "Das Fieber verliess sie." (Cf. Mat. 8, 15.) In another passage, however, Luther has this sentence: "Fahre aus, du unsauberer Geist, von dem Menschen." (Cf. Mk. 5, 8.) Here we have 'ausfahren' preserved in a very old compound. Spirits, both good and evil, were believed to dwell within human beings. One means of exit was the mouth, hence there was a concrete idea of the spirit coming out of the human being. That Luther no longer visualized this passage of the spirit out of the man is evident from the phrase, "von dem Menschen." The sentence means to us, and no doubt already meant to Luther, 'verlasse den Menschen'. Hence Luther does not substitute 'heraus' for 'aus'. 'Ausfahren', 'aus-treiben', etc., are old compounds referring in this connection to the exit of spirits. It is interesting to compare the Gothic translation of the passage from Mark. Wulfilas translates: "usgagg, ahma unhrainja, us þamma mann."

While Wulfilas seems still to adhere to the old conception of the unclean spirit coming out of the man, he already feels the necessity of supporting the compound 'usgagg' with a preposition 'us', to express more clearly the idea of motion from within outward. In other words, even at the time of the writing of the Gothic Bible, the force of the prefix in 'usgagg' was weakening.

Otfried (9th C.): uuard tho mennisgen uue, thaz er nan [den Apfel]
uz thoh ni *spe* (2, 6, 27).⁷

Genesis (11th C.): Adam slief unde lach unz im got ein rippe *uoz*
prach (L.).⁸

Walther von der Vogelweide (12th C.): so man iuch *uz* ze boten
zendet (M.).

Friedrich von Husen (12th C.): mochte ich dir din krumbez ouge
ûz gestechen des hât ich recht . . . (Bartsch 8, 45).

Hartmann von Aue (12th C.): (der lewe) *souc* im *ûz* daz warme
bluot (Iwein 3899).

⁷ Originally 'ausspeien' no doubt had a distinct reference to a spitting out of the mouth, and the full force of 'aus' was felt. That idea has become weakened, however, to 'to spit away', 'dispose of something by spitting it from one'. Hence the demonstrative particle has not been added.

⁸ Altho we would now employ some other word in this connection, 'ausbrechen' is still common in phrases like "einen Zahn ausbrechen."

Gottfried von Strassburg (13th C.):

dannoch vor naht dô wart der schal
in dem lande fliegende überal,
daz der stolze Kâedin
ûz geriten solde sin
mit offenlicher reise (Trist. 18840).

§ 3. Another group of words coming under the head of stereotyped forms, is the one in which 'aus' and 'ein' occur as a fixed formula. As such, they have become fossilized and preserved in their old form and with nearly their original function. The prefix in this section is generally compounded with verbs having the idea 'to go' or 'to come'.

Tatian (9th C.): inti *ingêt* inti *ûzgêt* inti findit fuotrunga (133, 10).

Walther v. d. Vogelweide (12th C.): ein schar *vert ûz*, diu ander *in*,
naht unde tac (Bartsch 21, 77).

Ezechieles porte durch die der kûnec herliche wart *ûz* und *in*
gelan (M.).

du wilt gewalteclichen *gan*
zu minen herzen *ûz* und *in* (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Ich bin die Thûr; so Jemand durch mich eingeht,
der wird selig werden, und wird *ein-* und *ausgehen* und
Weide finden (Joh. 10, 9).

Jericho aber war verschlossen und verwahrt vor den Kindern
Israel, dass Niemand *aus-* oder *einkommen* konnte (Jos. 6, 1).

Opitz (17th C.): Viel Sachen *fallen* mir bei andern Sorgen *ein*, doch
fällt mir bald auch *aus*, was ich mir vorgenommen (DWb.).⁹

Friedrich v. Logau (17th C.):

Bei Hofe lernt man merken, dasz die die Besten sein
Die sonst nichts thun noch können, als *schlucken aus* und *ein*
(DWb.).

Adelung (18th C.): ausfliegen, mit dem Hülfsworde sein = hinaus-
fliegen, doch nur in der Redensart *ein-* und *ausfliegen*.

§ 4. Here also belong the words expressing the idea 'to undress' or, according to the older conception, 'to get out of one's clothes'. All of the verbs in this class are examples of metonymy when the clothes are the object of the sentence. The metonymic development was aided by the group of verbs compounded with 'ab' having the same general meaning.¹⁰

⁹ 'Ausfallen' is no doubt a humorous coinage formed in analogy to 'einfallen'.

¹⁰ The latter took their departure from such a sentence as: "Ich *bringe* daz harnasch *abe* im." (Cf. Parz. 156, 17.) In such cases the object of the preposi-

- Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.): ich *ziuhe* dich *ûz* rehte bloz (M.).
 Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): der wirt in sich *ûz sloufen* bat
 (Parz. 166, 12).
 Das alte Passional (13th C.): si *tâten* *ûz* ire kleit (DWb.).
 Luther (16th C.): Ob er die Kappe nicht hat *ausgeworfen* noch aus
 dem Kloster gelaufen (S.).
 Matthison (18th C.): Jetzt fing sie an die Kleider *auszuschleifen*
 (S.).
 Bettine v. Arnim (19th C.): Er meint immer ich habe die Kinder
 schuhe noch nicht ausgetreten ('ablegen', abziehen', DWb.).

 PART II.

NEW MEANINGS DEVELOPED BY 'AUS'

§ 5. In all of the quotations cited thus far, the old force of the particle 'aus' was still apparent. Turning now to a discussion of the figurative meanings of the prefix 'aus', an examination of any of the larger German dictionaries shows that this prefix has developed a number of meanings not originally possessed by it. On the one hand it acquired specialized force and on the other it deteriorated to express a very general idea. But none of these developments are treated historically. Not even the excellent "Deutsches Wörterbuch" of Hermann Paul consistently attempts a chronological consideration of the semantic development of these or any other words. Yet the period when a certain linguistic phenomenon took place is of extreme importance for a correct appreciation of the language and thought of that time.

§ 6. As will be shown later (§ 22), Otfried felt called upon in two instances, to support the prefix 'uz' by the old demonstrative particle 'her' or 'hin' in translating passages where Tatian used the simple prefix 'uz'. And yet, even for Tatian, the old force of 'uz' was beginning to weaken, as is apparent from the following sentence:

ûzgieng fon fater, quam in uueralt (Tatian 175, 6).

Luther translates this passage: "Ich bin vom Vater ausgegangen" (Joh.

tion could be dropped without danger of ambiguity, as the context would prevent this. There would be even greater tendency to omit the object of the preposition if it were identical with the subject of the sentence. The result was a sentence of the type: "ouch *sôch* im mêr gewandes *abe*, manec wol geborner knabe" (Parz. 243, 17). 'Im abe ziehen' is identical with 'abe im ziehen'. (Cf. § 81.)

16, 28). While the English version reads: "I am come forth from the Father." Neither Tatian nor Luther seemed to imply that there was any thought of a 'coming out of' but rather of a departure from a base. This is made clear by the preposition 'fon' (von). In this particular instance, we have a very old compound expressing an idea no longer felt even by the 9th century monk. The following list shows how early this meaning was acquired and how extensively it has asserted itself. The prefix shows, that the subject of the verb, which is always intransitive, is 'issuing forth' from somewhere, or is simply 'originating'. In almost every case it would be possible to substitute 'hervor' for 'aus' without altering the thought of the sentence.

Leben der hl. Elisabeth (14th C.): (Maria), dâ aller heilekeite
fluz dicke *ûz geflozzen* hâte (M.).

Chroniken d. deut. Städte (14th C.): alte röcke bletzern *kam ûs*
von künig Ruodolfe (9, 909, 6).

Luther (16th C.): An allen Orten ist auch euer Glaube an Gott
ausgebrochen (1 Thess. 1, 8).

Da *fuhr aus* der Wind von dem Herrn (4 Mos. 11, 31).

Wenn ein Feu'r *auskömmt* und ergreift die Dornen (2 Mos.
22, 6).

Hans Sachs (16th C.):

Ich hab etlich Schiffbruch genumen,
Bin in zwein allein *ausgeschwumen* (DWb.).

§ 7. Closely related to the development discussed in the preceding section, in fact one phase of it, is the meaning 'to extend'. In the sentences in section 6, 'us' points out that one thing is issuing forth from another, that is, departing from it as from a base. The action may, however, be no longer clearly realized, and the idea of a base from which a departure is made, gives way to the general idea of 'to spread out', 'enlarge', or 'extend'. The majority of the verbs belonging to this group of compounds are transitive.

Luther (16th C.): Denn S. Gregorius spricht, das göttlich Liebe
gegen sich selbst nicht bestehen kan, sondern sie musz sich
ausstrecken zu einem andern (DWb.).

Ein Geschrei der Tochter Zion, die da klagt und die Hende
auswirft (Jer. 4, 31).

Adam Olearius (17th C.): Adler mit *ausgesperreten* Flügeln
(DWb.).

J. H. Voss (18th C.): Die *weitausreichenden* Fluren (S.).

Höfer (19th C.): Er *legte aus*, ward grosz und stark (S.).

Grimm (19th C.): Der Krieg *zieht* sich *aus*==in die Länge (DWB.).
 Müller-Guttenbrunn (20th C.): Im weiten Bogen umfuhr ein Teil
 der Wagen den grandiosen . . . Besitz der Gemeinde, der
 sich über mehr als dreissigtausend Joch *ausbreitete* und von
 den zwei Flüssen begrenzt war (Glocken 251).

§ 8. The idea of going forth in a physical sense is readily transferred to the voice issuing forth from the mouth of the speaker. This in turn may become specialized to denote 'to declare openly', as compared with keeping one's thoughts to one's self. When the simple verb already contained the idea 'to utter' or a related conception, the prefix intensified this, frequently denoting an extended scope of the utterance.

Otfried (9th C.):

tho sprah thara ingegini auur thiū selba menigi
hazun uz in uaron thes selben muates uueuon (3, 16, 28).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

daz ein ritter dar was kommen
 der sich des hete *ûz getân* ['offen erklärt'],
 daz er wolde bestan
 den in dem boumgarten (Erec 8664).

Ludwig d. Frommen Kreuzfahrt (12th C.): man solt *ûz schrien*
 daz die graven quemen (M.).

Ulrich v. Zatzikhoven (13th C.): von der aventiure nôt die ir veter
uz bot (M.).

David v. Augsburg (13th C.): daz weder scham noch zuht den
 menschen kan gestillen sô im sîn vriunt tôt ist, ern *breche ûz*
 mit etelichem lûte (Deut. Myst. 1, 336, 14).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): der zorn ouch *schôz* an worten *uz*
 ('brach hervor', M.).

Meister Eckhart (14th C.): sol *ûz sprechen* unde für bringen daz
 wort (Deut. Myst. 2, 122, 5).

Hermann v. Fritzlar (14th C.): dô vrâgeten si allumme, wer di
 vrâge von êrst solde *ûz geben* (Deut. Myst. 1, 10, 27).
 und diz [was er sagte] *schal ûz* alsô wîte di lant waren (Deut.
 Myst. 1, 62, 9).

§ 9. It is not a long step from the meaning 'to come forth from', (as from a base or source), to that of 'separation' with the idea of 'away from', 'depart'. All that is required is to extend the action of the verb. The result will be, that an object which continues its course after coming out from somewhere, will soon pass away from its place of origin,—will

forsake it, so to speak. Altho this meaning is not recorded from Old High German sources, Middle High German shows it at a very early date.

Genesis (11th C.): so dir diu sêle *ûz gêt* (M.).

Deut. Gedichte d. 11ten u. 12ten Jh.: sint *us* von gote *gezogen*
(‘haben sich von ihm entfernt’, M.).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

er *nam* sich vor den andern *ûz*

do'r *ûfem* helme ersach den *strûz* (Parz. 72, 29).

dâne *scheide* ich *ûz* niht mêre [‘dabei bleibe ich’] (Parz. 269, 29).

Wirnt v. Gravenberg (13th C.): si waren niender *ûz getreten* ir
zuht stuont an der maze zil (‘von dem Rechten abgewichen’,
M.).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): sin wec besitzen *ûz trat* (M.).

Konrad v. Würzburg (13th C.): sin valsch wart *ûzgebrennet* in
heizer minne fiure (L.).

§ 10. One kind of separation is that which ‘selects’ one object out from a group. This meaning of ‘aus’ appears as early as the Middle High German period, tho it, like most of the specialized meanings developed by that particle, is still missing in Old High German. Frequently the verb by itself already contains the idea of selecting or choosing, which is intensified by the prefix.

Exodus (12th C.): niweht werkes solt ir tuon; iedoch gârwet iur
ezzen, daz ir welt niezen, daz eine si iu *ous genomen* mit mines
selbes urloube (M.).

Lamprecht (12th C.): Sâlemôn der was *ûz getan* der sich *ûzer* allen
kunegen nam (‘that sich hervor’, M.).¹¹

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

vrou Lûnet gap den eit,

und wart vil gar *ûz genomen*

daz im ze staten mohte komen

nâch dem si dâr solde varn (Iwein 7909).

Wirnt v. Gravenberg (13th C.):

dô gap si im mit freuden da

drizec huobe ze eigen,

und hiez im *ûz zeigen*

daz beste hûs, als er si bat,

daz iender stuont in der stat (M.).

¹¹ The prefix distinctly adds an idea to this sentence, namely, that Salemon was placed outside the group of ordinary kings, and being extraordinary was synonymous with being superior.

Die Klage (13th C.): sie het wol *ûz gescheiden* Hagenen von in (M.).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): den keiser man dô *ûz las* und hiez in durch ein êre alsus mit zunamen Augustus (M.).
ein herre der vur die andern *ûz schôz* ('sich erhob', M.).

Monumenta Zollerana (13th C.): wir haben aus dem kouf *aus genumen* und aus gezogen alle guet (L.).

Hermann v. Fritzlar (14th C.): man sal gote volgen luterlichin durch got alleine, wanne man sal got lip haben umme sich selber alleine; unde was her nicht inist daz sal man *ûz slizen* (Deut. Myst. 1, 202, 31).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): und schickt sin botschaft zu . . . dem herzogen von Burgunn, dass er einen vechtberen man wol gewapnet in sinem volk *ussûchte* (7, 22).

Düringische Chronik (15th C.): die fursten entpingen von om ir lehen, nôch deme alsô das zu rechte *uz gesetätzt* ['bestimmt'] ist (M.).

§ 11. There are different manners of separating one object from another or of removing part of an object from itself. Likewise the result may differ. It may cause the object to deteriorate, or it may enhance its value. When the primitive shipbuilder said: "Ich höhle den Baum aus," he was improving the state of the tree by removing out of it parts not needed. On the other hand, when we say: "Die Treppe is von dem vielen Gehen ausgetreten," we mean to say that it is worn and in consequence has deteriorated. The following list contains compounds to which the prefix has given the meaning 'to wear out'.

Günther (18th C.):

Die Weiber sind gar ausgelassen,
Sie thun es frei beim Mondenschein
So hitzig, dass auf manchen Gassen
Die Pflaster *ausgeritten* sein (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Tief *ausgefahrne* Löcher, in die der Wagen umzustürzen droht (15, 34).

Die Backsteine des Fussbodens waren tief *ausgetreten* (23, 231).

§ 12. The following quotation from Gottfried von Strassburg shows the transition of meaning of 'aus' from 'to go out', 'to depart', to 'to end':

nâch der pfingest wochen
ze *ûz gêndem* meien (Trist. 15315).

The figure is that of May 'going out', that is, 'departing', which is identical with 'ending'. Whether Gottfried still felt the old figure or whether 'usgan' already meant 'zu Ende gehen', is impossible to determine from the material at hand. But since we have examples of compounds from contemporary writers in which the prefix unmistakably denotes that the action of the verb is completed, that is, ended, we may assume that the figure of the exit of May was already becoming dimmed for Gottfried.

Truhsæse v. St. Gallen (13th C.): Min wân ist noch niht *ûz geselt* (Bartsch 30, 49).

Nicolaus v. Basel (14th C.): *ûz beten* = 'zu Ende beten' (L.).

Chroniken d. deut. Städte (14th C.): do die zwene mônôt *ûs kôment* (8, 293, 27).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): do nû die mess *us was*, do trank er sant Johannis segen (143, 6).

A further step of this development is denoted by a sentence like: "Mein Geld reicht aus bis ich nach Hause komme." Home is a goal or end of the journey. Hence 'ausreichen' denotes that the money will last until the journey is ended. Further examples are:

Das alte Passional (13th C.): mit dem guote *ûz komen* und êre erjagen (DWb.).

Closener Strassburger Chronik (14th C.): dô fuoren si zu dem bôbste, daz sie ir sachen dô wolden *us tragen* (M.).¹²

§ 13. In the preceding section I have shown that transitive verbs compounded with 'us' may denote that the object has been brought to an end by means of the action indicated by the verbs. The result of the completed action may differ according to the meaning of the verbs. In the following group the completed action causes the object 'to become empty'.

Wirnt v. Gravenberg (13th C.): einen *ûz schütten* ('berauben', L.).

Nicolaus v. Jeroschin (14th C.): der zorn *ûz trinkit* minen geist (M.).

Keisersberg (15th C.): du *zerest* dich *aus* wie ein spinn, die nur mucken facht, und *spint* sich ganz *aus*, und im winter hanget sie dort und ist nichts dan ein läre haut (DWb.).

¹² This verb itself has a highly figurative meaning. The compound, however, is sufficiently transparent to admit of an analysis and thus enables us to determine the force of 'aus' = 'to a close', hence, 'to carry, to bring the affairs to a (successful) close'.

Pfarrer v. Kalenberg (15th C.):

dem volck dem was die weil zu lanck
den wein es allen *ausz* do *trank* (452).

§ 14. According to section 12 'us' gives to verbs with which it is compounded, a perfective meaning. If such verbs are transitive they denote that the action causes the object of the verb to come to an end, 'to be completed'; for example, "er hat die Geschichte auserzählt," means, 'er hat die Geschichte zu Ende erzählt'. Having finished it, the story is now complete or 'perfect'. The semantic development is similar to that of the English verb 'to finish', which, in modern English may mean 'to make perfect'. From designating a state of perfection attained by means of the act represented by the verb, the force of the prefix may be weakened to signify that the condition of the object is only 'improved'. Both these forces of 'us' are represented by the following quotations.

Heinrich v. d. Türlein (13th C.): man began im *ûz machen* sin geziuge niuwe (L.).

Der j. Titurel (13th C.): [der Ritter] den sin amie *ous machet* liehter danne blüende heide (L.).

Keisersberg (15th C.): got hat das distelvögelin auf das allerschönst *ausgestrichen* mit hübschen farben (DWb.).

Luther (16th C.): Und da Salamo hatte *ausgebauet* des Herrn Haus (1 Kön. 9, 1).¹⁸

Opitz (17th C.): Die Natur hätte ihn nicht *ausgearbeitet*, sondern nur angefangen (DWb.).

Friedrich v. Logau (17th C.):

Wer nimmer nichts versucht, der weisz nicht was er kann,
Die Übung *würkt* uns *aus*, Versuch der führt uns an (DWb.).

Lessing (18th C.): Sie hatten von Natur schon Verstand genug,
und im Kriege haben sie ihn nur mehr *ausgeschliffen* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Der rohe Mensch ist zufrieden, wenn er nur etwas vorgehen sieht, der gebildete will empfinden, und Nachdenken ist nur dem ganz *ausgebildeten* angenehm (Werke 18, 138).

Wenn Stein noch zu Haus ist, sagen Sie ihm, ich möchte gern das neue Pferdchen stallmeisterlich *ausreiten* (An Frau v. Stein 1, 98).

§ 15. When we do something until it is completed, we generally

¹⁸ This clearly shows the close relationship between 'to finish building' and 'to make perfect by building'.

do it thoroly. As 'us' signifies the one thing, it may likewise come to mean the other, this being but a very short step removed. The point of contact between the two meanings is more apparent in some sentences than in others. The examples below do not contain sufficient material from an early period to justify definite conclusions concerning a point of departure.

Hermann v. Fritzlar (14th C.): aber di anderen brudere *swuren* sich *ûs*, daz si dar vone nicht inwisten (Deut. Myst. I, 168, 17).

One is tempted to assume a rather forced figure of the brothers swearing themselves empty, that is to say, swearing until they are no longer able to swear more, which means in turn, to the full extent of their power.

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.):

si hant einander wüst *uszgriben*
sind doch by alten eeren bliben (896, 7).¹⁴

Hieronymus Braunschweig (15th C.): da einer mit rûten *ausgeschlagen* ist (DWb.).

The weakening of this meaning of 'aus' is shown in the following example from Goethe, who adds "wacker" to show the thoroness of the action:

Den (Polacken) *schlug* ich wacker *aus* dazumal (8, 25).

Hans Sachs (16th C.):

Auch hat die Jungfraw mich mit Zorn
Gehandelt, und mir *ausgeschorn*
Mit Worten so heftig und scharf (DWb.).

Friedrich v. Logau (17th C.):

Verleumdung, Neid und Hasz, Trug, Heuchelei und Höhnen,
Die *ausgeschmückten* Wort und fälschliches Beschönen,
Das hatte hier nicht statt (DWb.).

Günther (18th C.):

Hier *peitscht* die keusche Lust den abgewiesnen Jammer
Der alten Einsamkeit mit Myrtenreisern *aus* ('durch Peitschen bestrafen', S.).

§ 16. As shown in section 12, 'us' compounded with certain transitive verbs denoted that the object had terminated as a result of the action of the verb. The following examples belonging to that group are listed separately, because all of them contain figures based on one particular idea, namely that of extinguishing a light. Obviously this is nothing

¹⁴ 'Einen beim Bad ausreiben' means 'gründlich trocken reiben'. Cf. Hildebrand, *Kleinere Schriften*.

more than putting a stop to its existence. There is only one example from Middle High German, and that is of a late date.

Nicolaus von Jeroschin (14th C.): *daz lieht wart ûz getân* (M.).

Sebastian Frank (16th C.): die Seel *ausblasen* (DWb.).

Lessing (18th C.): Auf einem zwischen inne stehenden Altare *auszudrücken* ('löschen', DWb.).

Göckingk (18th C.): Noch ist es Zeit dies Höllenfeur *auzzugiessen* ('auszulöschen', DWb.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Flamin habe dem Kammerherrn mit der Pistole das Lebenslicht *ausgeputzt* (DWb.).

Hellbemahlte Urne längst *ausgewischter* Tage (DWb.).

§ 17. In order to preserve our chronology it is necessary next to treat a development of 'us' to a meaning which seems to have nothing in common with those treated in the sections just preceding, namely, the prefix with the force 'to begin'. This is the opposite pole of 'to end', but the starting point of both is not so very far removed from either. The common source is 'us' with the secondary meaning 'to go forth from' (§ 6). If we consider this from the standpoint of 'departing' or 'going out', it is but a step to develop the meaning 'to end' (§ 12). If, on the other hand, the emphasis is laid on the 'issuing forth' or 'coming out', we are nearer the meaning 'to begin'. The 'beginning' is but a consequence of the 'issuing forth'.

Meister Eckhart (14th C.): *si sleht ûz* [fängt an] unde seit im alsô vil wonders (Deut. Myst. 2, 464, 6).

Lessing (18th C.): Da ich von dem Laokoon gleichsam *aussetzte* und mehrmals auf ihn zurückkomme ('ausging', DWb.).

Adelung (18th C.): sich *aussetzen* = acquit geben, beim Billiardspiel.

Der Gegner hat noch nicht *ausgestoszen*.

Campe (19th C.): *ausziehen* in Brettspielen = den ersten Zug thun.

Jeremias Gotthelf (19th C.): *austreten*, 'ausführen, ins Werk setzen' (S.).

§ 18. Thus far it has not been difficult to group the verbs compounded with 'us' into several well defined classes according to the meaning of the prefix. There are a number of compounds, however, whose prefixes have a force so general and varied in meaning, that it is impossible to fit them into classes. I have therefore not treated them in their chronological order, but will consider them now, before taking up

the semantic development of 'aus' during the New High German period. All of the meanings treated in preceding sections had their rise in Middle High German.

Since the prefix 'us' had assumed some very divergent meanings, it is not surprising that in some instances its force should become so dimmed that it adds nothing to the verb. This is the accompaniment of a paling of originally vivid figures of speech, or of the confusion of ideas, which could have taken place only after the original force of the particle ceased to be felt. Most of the compounds in this section have acquired a specialized meaning belonging to the technical terminology of various occupations, trades as well as sports.

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

dâ kêrte er sine reise hin.

dâ *stiesz* er *ûz*, dâ vand er in (Trist. 478).

Konrad Fleck (13th C.): dô er ze Nâpels *ûz stiesz* ('landete', M.).¹⁵

Arzneibuch (13th C.): den fuoz *ûz vallen* ('fallend ausrenken', L.).

Seifrid (14th C.): ein lampe diu was ein rubin, diu was *ûz gedra-*
jet wol (L.).

Endres Tucher (15th C.): die rinnen mit holz *ausz futtern* (L.).

Aventius (16th C.): Die Curetes *wurfen* in selbst *aus*, daher sie
Galli oder verschnittenen hieszen (DWb.).

Sebastian Frank (16th C.): Getulia ist ein Land das vil Elephanten
auszeucht (DWb.).

Joh. Fischart (16th C.): Waaren *ausnehmen* ('sie auf Credit kauf-
en', S.).

Joh. Balth. Schuppius (17th C.): hatte unter dessen mein Land
ausgestellt (DWb.).

Dietrich v. dem Werder (17th C.):

man kan bald weichen sie, bald für sich schreiten sehen,

bald *nehmen* sie Streich *aus*, bald lassen sie sie gehen (DWb.).

§ 19. One of the important things to be noticed regarding the particle 'aus' is its deterioration to a rudimentary condition. In a number of compounds the prefix 'aus' scarcely adds anything to the meaning of the simple verb, frequently nothing at all. In some cases, such as 'ausdeuten', the prefix may have been added by analogy to some other word, for instance, 'auslegen'. In the former word the prefix is purely tautological, while in other words it may have the force of intensifying the

¹⁵ Probably this is the result of fusing two ideas, namely, "da stieß er zu Neapel ans Land und stieg aus."

verb. Altho the prefix thus weakened occurs frequently since Luther's time, it is not represented by examples from an earlier period.

Luther (16th C.): Da sie hofften, *halfes* du ihnen *aus* (Psalm 22, 5).¹⁶

Weist du, wie sich die Wolken *ausstreuen*? (Hiob. 37, 16.)

Haben sie den Gast mit Dreck wöllen *auswerfen* (DWb.).

Ich will mein Netz über dich *auswerfen* (Hes. 32, 3).

Hans Sachs (16th C.):

Ei'm Buhler oft ein Glück zufällt

Dasz ihn ein schöne Frau *aushält* (S.).

Die Stiefel *ausputzen* ('putzen', S.).

Rechnets nicht zu den Ergsten *aus* (DWb.).

Opitz (17th C.):

Das sind der Jugend Sitten

Sie *schlägt* grimmig *aus*, und kan ihr nicht gebieten (DWb.).

Joh. Balth. Schuppius (17th C.): *Deuten* ihm fast alle seine Wort anders *aus* als seine Meinung war (DWb.).

Jucundi Jucundissimi wunderliche Lebensbeschreibung (17th C.):

Wie wunderlich uns die stiglfritzischen Spitzbuben mit dem Lustwasser *ausgezahlet* hatten (DWb.).

§ 20. The examples in this section are of verbal compounds with 'aus' which are obviously literal translations from a foreign language. There are many such thought translations in the language, as far back as the Gothic. In fact, wherever a translator finds himself confronted with an idea foreign to his mother tongue, there are but two ways out of the difficulty: either he must borrow the foreign expression, or fit a native term to the foreign idea. The innumerable loan words are examples of the former procedure, while 'Gewissen' < 'conscientia' and the German names for the days of the week are examples of 'thought transference'.

A collection of all such words with the history of their introduction, would be a work well worth doing. It may be assumed, that the expression existing in the language at the time the word was introduced, did not satisfy the author forming such a word. Whether an equivalent may in reality not have existed or whether the author may have preferred a new word, or rather an old one with a new signification, would

¹⁶ This is probably an elliptic sentence which originally contained an object for 'aus', for example, "aus der Not."

have to be determined. Such an investigation could not help throwing some light on the cultural condition of the period during which these words were coined. Considerable care must be taken to avoid including in this class, words which express ideas common to all peoples.

Adelung (18th C.):

“sich *ausreden* = sich durch Worte von einer Schuld oder Verbindlichkeit zu befreien suchen, sich entschuldigen. Sich mit etwas *ausreden*. In dieser Bedeutung ist ‘ausreden’ nach dem Latein ‘excusare’ gebildet, in welchem man das im Hochdeutschen veraltete *kösen, kosen, und kusen* (‘reden’), nicht verkennen kann” (Wörterbuch).

Tieck (19th C.): Ich habe nur *ausgezogen* [aus einem Buche] (DWb.).

Campe (19th C.): ein *ausgebissenes* Blatt (Folium erosum < ex rodo), in der Pflanzenlehre, dessen Rand ungleich ausgeschnitten ist, als wenn es benagt wäre.

PART III.

‘HERAUS’ AND ‘HINAUS’ WITH THEIR ORIGINAL FORCE

§ 21. As seen at the beginning of this chapter (§ 1), the adverbial particle ‘us’ in Old High German and Middle High German sufficed to express the idea now generally requiring ‘her’ or ‘hin’. The two Middle High German examples below, one from Hartmann, the other from Gottfried, show clearly the demonstrative force of ‘hin’ as it was originally felt. In both examples ‘us’ has retained its original force, ‘out of’, and ‘hin’ expresses the old idea, ‘away from the speaker’.

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

mit grözen kreften *stach* er in
enbor *ûz* dem satel *hin* (Iwein 4671).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

und *tâtens* alle mit gewalt
ûz hin ze velde vür den walt (Trist. 5478).

§ 22. In considering the next list of quotations, we can trace the gradual creeping in of the old demonstrative particle, beginning in the Old High German period, during which there is but one example each for ‘herauz’ and ‘hinauz’. Both of these are from Otfried’s Gospel Harmonies. That the original idea of direction contained in the adverb

could still be expressed by the adverbial particle unaided by 'her' or 'hin' is evident from a parallel passage from the translation of Tatian, where we find: "sênu ih *leitu* inan iu *ûz*" (197, 2). Otfried renders this passage: "*herauz*, quad, *leitu* ih inan iu" (4, 23, 3). The latter is more nearly like Luther's translation: "Ich *führe* ihn *heraus* zu euch" (Joh. 19, 4). Cf. the Latin: "adduco vobis eum foras."

Altho Otfried's work antedates the Old High German translation of Tatian by a few years, we may call the authors of the two works contemporaries. Thus we see, that at this time 'uz' and 'herauz' had nearly the same force. This is what we should expect at the time when a new expression is just beginning to supplant an old one. For a while both would be used synonymously, until gradually one or the other asserts itself. It would not be safe to draw conclusions as to the relative merits of the two old monks concerning their German "Sprachgefühl," for neither is especially independent of his Latin source.

Graff failed to record any verbs compounded with 'heruz' or 'hinuz' from Old High German. During the Middle High German period (12th to 15th centuries inclusive), there is, however, a noticeable increase in the number of verbs with the double prefix, tho even at the end of that period the number is still small, only twenty verbs having been added during those four centuries. In all of these the prefixes have a distinctly demonstrative force, and no doubt they were intended to express a little more than the simple particle could have done. It should not surprise us that of these twenty verbs, six were used by Wolfram von Eschenbach, for as we follow the spread of the double prefixes, we shall notice that those writers who possessed the deepest feeling for the subtleties of the language, and who had the courage to introduce new forms to distinguish fine shades of meaning, were also the men who were most free in their use of the double prefix.

The following comparatively complete list of quotations containing verbs compounded with 'herus' and 'hinus' shows the very small number of compounds thus formed prior to the New High German period. Only the first appearance of any verb with the double prefixes 'herus' or 'hinus' is listed.

Otfried (9th C.): *Herauz*, quad, *leitu* ih inan iu (4, 23, 3).

uurfet, quad er, thiz *hinauz!* (2, 11, 21.)

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

er *gienc hin ûz* zuo in zehant

da er sî ensamt sitzen vant (Iwein 883).

dô was diu juncvrouwe *genomen*

herûz dâ sî gevangen lac (Iwein 5149).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

dar zuo der zinnen ieslich
mit armbruste ein schütze pflac,
der sich schieszens *her ûz bewac* (Parz. 351, 30).
die [zwei Ritter] wârn *hin ûz gewangen*,
und *kômn her in* gegangen (Parz. 85, 7).
als gein einem æhtære
schupfterz volc hin ûz an in (Parz. 284, 9).
du *wære hin ûz ûf* den plan (Parz. 118, 20).
nu het ouch sich vil gar verholn
Parzivâl *her ûz verstoln* (Parz. 703, 22).
sus *zôch min hêr Gâwân*
daz ors *hin ûz ûf* den plân (Parz. 603, 16).

Thomasin v. Circlaria (13th C.): *her uz schütten* (DWb.).

Gedichte des 12ten und 13ten Jh.: hieszen den bachoven so vaste
heizen daz daz fiwer *her uz sluoc* (Hahn, M.).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): selmesse und gebet hât er vil *her uz*
gesniten ('befreit', M.).

Meister Eckhart (14th C.): daz von ûzen in wirt gesprochen, daz
ist ein grob dinc: ez ist in gesprochen, *sprich ez her ûz!* daz
ist: bevint daz diz in dir ist (Deut. Myst. 2, 207, 25).

Konrad v. Megenberg (14th C.): so reibt sich das tier an ainem
paum unz daz apostêm zerpricht und der unflât *her aus fleuzt*
(DWb.).

her ûz, her für *sliefen* (M.).

Ulrich Boner (14th C.):

ûz dem walde *kam er har ûz*
gegangen vür ein einig *hûz* (DWb.).

Clara Hätzlerin (15th C.): wir *gangen* spazieren *hin ûz* (M.).

Germania: do wart die kaiserinn eines sunes swanger ze Rom in
der stadt. Dar nach *fuer* der kaiser und die kaiserinne *her-*
aus gein tautschen lanten (DWb.).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): Und als man in *hinûs fûrt* zû
erhenken (119, 25).

do ir nû also das versechen was, dass si nit *hinus mocht kom-*
men (86, 2).

. . . dass er die tür, da si *hinus möcht* oder wölt gan (85, 27).

§ 23. The following table, compiled chiefly from dictionaries, shows the number of verbal compounds added during various periods. The figures for the 16th and 18th centuries are exclusive of Luther and

Goethe, both of whom are listed separately. Numbers in parentheses are those of verbs also recorded from writers subsequent to Campe.

	'HERAUS'	'HINAUS'	TOTAL
Old High German period	1	1	2
Middle High German period	11	9	20
Luther	31	15	46
Rest of 16th Century	8	—	8
17th Century	28	18	46
Goethe	22	17	39
Rest of 18th Century	66	21	87
Campe	37 (14)	61 (23)	98
19th Century	25	21	46
	229	163	392

§ 24. From the above statistics the great increase of verbs with the double prefixes since the end of the Middle High German period is readily seen. Luther alone with 46 verbs represents an increase of 65 per cent. It is evident from the weakening of the form 'heraus' to 'eraus', and even 'raus', which is found in early 16th century writers, that the double particle must have been in use for some time prior to this. The 18th century has produced the greatest number of new formations. As it was Wolfram in the 13th century and Luther in the 16th century, so in the 18th century it is the man with the deepest grasp of the spirit of the German language, who is freest in the use of the double compound, that is, Goethe. Klingler follows with 9, Wieland and Lessing with 8 and 6 respectively.

The most prolific contributor for the period was J. H. Campe in his dictionary. Tho this did not appear until 1807+, we may justly call it a product of the 18th century. The numbers in parentheses in the preceding section show that only a little over 35 per cent of the words first recorded by Campe have been accepted by subsequent writers. Campe does not cite an authority for any of these words, merely listing them. He had a weakness for new words, especially those of his own coinage. Most of those here considered are based on analogy, and all of them are possible compounds. In several instances Campe had a precedent for either a compound with 'heraus' or one with 'hinaus', so that he introduced but one or the other of the parallel forms. In many instances, however, his compound is a new coinage pure and simple.

§ 25. It has been shown that the addition of 'her' or 'hin' to the adverbial prefix restored to the latter its original force, that is, 'out of',

'outward from within', which original force the adverbial particle had come to sacrifice as part of a compound. It is to be expected that the new double prefix 'heraus' or 'hinaus' should also lose its original demonstrative meaning. Such deterioration is taking place. But many of the compounds are of such recent formation that they have not yet been blended into a group meaning. Then also, 'her' and 'hin' still exist as living words with an independent existence, which aids them in retaining their full force in the folk-consciousness even in compounds.

PART IV.

NEW MEANINGS ACQUIRED BY 'HERAUS' AND 'HINAUS'

§ 26. The functional weakening of the double prefix begins during the Middle High German period, but examples of it are rare. A passage from Hermann von Fritzlar (14th C.), shows beyond doubt that for him 'heruz', in this one instance at least, no longer constituted a prefix composed of a demonstrative and an adverbial particle whose combined force was equal to 'out of' and 'toward the speaker'. The sentence referred to is: *dô daz tir geloufen quam in daz hol und leite sich vor sine fuze, dô ginc der heilige man her ûz her und warte wer daz tir gejagete hete* (Deut. Myst. I, 193, 35). The additional 'her' after 'heruz' is strong evidence that the prefix was not strong enough to satisfy the author, hence an extra adverb to signify motion in a certain direction. Yet, in spite of the heaping of almost identical words, Hermann does not succeed in stating what he intended. 'Her' originally pointed out that the motion of the verb it modified was toward the speaker. Later, however, it became more general in its application, frequently referring to an approach to something outside the speaker. But in the above sentence it is impossible logically to conceive a point of approach for the verb 'ginc'. The author confuses 'her' and 'hin', a mistake rather common in modern German. (Cf. § 28.)

§ 27. As the force of 'her' and 'hin' was no longer clearly distinguished, this necessarily led to a dimming of the meaning of both prefixes. Which of the two was first to sacrifice its old force, and which to assume a specialized meaning, is impossible to determine. It is even impossible to say that one prefix developed one set of meanings, while the other developed in another given direction. In fact, they often coincide.

§ 28. It is interesting to note that it is the double prefix 'heraus' which is most subject to functional decay, so that it no longer denotes a motion toward the speaker. It is frequently difficult to determine just what the position of the speaker would be.

Luther (16th C.): Da *führen* die Kinder Benjamin *heraus*, dem Volke entgegen (Richt. 20, 31).

Adam Olearius (17th C.): Wer sich wider den Feind nicht *heraus lässt*, wird ihn nicht überwinden (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Aber warum *gehe* ich auch aus meinem Charakter *heraus!* (17, 106.)¹⁷

Bürger (18th C.): Den 'Hund' muss ich aus der Übersetzung *heraus lassen*, denn sonst schimpfte Achill wie ein deutscher Oberst (DWb.).¹⁸

F. Nicolai (18th C.): Ob ich gleich . . . mich vollkommen überzeugt habe, dass alles auf ein leeres Spiel mit Begriffen *herausgeht* (DWb.).

J. J. Engel (18th C.): sich selbst aus der guten Laune *heraus setzen* (S.).

Eichendorff (19th C.): (Ich sass im Wagen und) *lehnte* mich auf beide Arme zum Wagenfenster *heraus* . . . (Taugenichts).

Gutzkow (19th C.): Sie erzählte, wie sie . . . ihr Dasein, ihre Jugend, ihr Glück, rein an Nichts *herauswürfe* (S.).

Müller-Guttenbrunn (20th C.): Endlich ist es mir gelungen, sie *herauszutreiben* aus ihrer kühlen Reserve (Glocken 225).

§ 29. The confusion of ideas contained in 'heraus' and 'hinaus' resulted in the loss of the original force of the prefix and permitted it to acquire specialized meanings otherwise impossible. One of the first meanings developed by the simple prefix 'aus' was that signifying a 'departure from a source' (§ 6). In the oldest New High German records 'heraus' also has acquired this force.

Luther (16th C.): Denn ich schepfe meine Liebe nicht aus deiner Frömmkeit . . . das heisst, liebe deinen nehesten, da *geht* sie reichlich *heraus* (DWb.).

Und soll von dannen *heraus gehen* Lob- und Freudengesang (Jer. 30, 19).

¹⁷ 'Heraus' is justified if Goethe looks upon his character objectively.

¹⁸ The use of the intensive form is characteristic of Bürger. Cf. the author's article, *Bürger als Bereicherer der deutschen Sprache*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, 14, 225-279.

In both of the above quotations 'hervor' could be substituted for 'heraus' without changing the meaning of the sentence.

§ 30. Under the same head is to be classed the meaning 'to make an appearance', especially with reference to the publication of a book and the like. Altho various verbs are used to express the idea of publishing, the prefix 'heraus' is common to all of them.

Schuppilus (17th C.): Es hat . . . Herr Joh. Mich. Dillherr von dieser Materi, . . . nemlich von der heiligen Sontagsfeier, ein schönes, geistreiches, nützliches Büchlein *herausz gehen* lassen (DWb.).

Ich will unterschiedene theologische Tractätlein *heraus kommen* lassen (DWb.).

Dasz einer . . . ein . . . Pasquil wider mich habe *herausz gelassen* (DWb.).

§ 31. Another meaning of 'heraus' occurring as early as the writings of Luther, is that of 'coming or taking out of a group', and rising or raising above the rest of its kind, that is, 'to take on' or 'give prominence to'.

Luther (16th C.): Das innerliche Wesen muss sich nicht viel *heraus brechen* (DWb.).

Opitz (17th C.):

Wie sehr [eine Frau] an Ehrbarkeit und Tugend
Für aller ihrer Jugend *herauszgeschienen* hat (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Er wusste meine geselligen Talente *herauszusetzen* (25, 143).

Theo. Gottl. Hippel (18th C.): Er erhob seine Stimme, und diese *nahm* sich so *heraus*, dass jeder aufmerkte (DWb.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Hof konnt ich ohne Schaden *herausnennen* (DWb.).

Campe (19th C.): So sehr man auch die Weisheit unsers Jahrhunderts *herauspreiset*.

§ 32. While in the preceding three sections 'heraus' was shown to have followed a development similar to that of 'aus', the following two sections contain meanings of 'hinaus' almost identical with those of the simple prefix. As early as the beginning of the 12th century 'aus' had given to the verb the idea of perfected action. By the time of Luther, 'hinaus' had acquired the same force. Intransitive verbs show that the subject has terminated. The transitive verbs in this section denote that the objects are completed or finished by means of the action of the verb.

INTRANSITIVE VERBS

- Luther (16th C.): Es wird gewisslich so *hinausgehen*, wie der Psalm sagt (DWb.).
 Gesegnet seist du . . . du wirst es thun und *hinaus führen* (1 Sam. 26, 25).
 Adam Olearius (17th C.): Da siehet man, dass oft eines weisen Mannes Rath nicht nach seiner Meinung *hinaus schläget* (DWb.).
 . . . ein Zank, so endlich auf eine Schlägerei *hinaus lief* (DWb.).
 Goethe (18th C.): Es *kommt* auf Eins *hinaus*, wir sind aus unserm Kreise gedrückt (Götz 8, 134).
 J. H. Voss (18th C.): Möge . . . dir *hinausgehn* was du verlangst (S.).

TRANSITIVE VERBS

- Luther (16th C.): Wiewol ich nu zu gering bin, Stück fürzulegen zu solchs gewrichs Wesens Besserung dienlich, wil ich doch das Narnspiel *hinaus singen*, und sagen so viel mein Verstand vermag was wol geschehen möcht und solte (DWb.).
 . . . und sollen und wollen . . . das Spiel also hinaus machen (DWb.).
 Agricola (16th C.): Allein *bringestu* dein Ding und Tyranei mit Gewalt *hinauss*, und trittest alle Gesetz mit Füßen, so müsz es recht sein und heissen (DWb.).
 Schuppius (17th C.): Du (Gott) hast meine Sachen besser als ich gedacht, *hinaus geführt* (DWb.).
 Goethe (18th C.): Keiner von uns hatte das Buch *hinausgelesen*, denn wir fanden uns in der Erwartung getäuscht (26, 69).
 Herder (18th C.): Resultate eines über die Hälfte *hinausgelebten* thätigen Lebens (S.).
 Klinger (18th C.): Ich darf den Gedanken nicht *hinausdenken* (DWb.).

§ 33. Since it is the verbal compound with 'hinaus' which most frequently indicates the completion of an activity, we should expect the same prefix to be used with verbs referring to the act of 'drinking to an end'. But instead, 'heraus' is prefixed to certain verbs to denote that their objects have been emptied by means of the action indicated by the verbs, that is to say, all of the contents have been removed, the removing is complete. Psychologically this 'her' can be explained by the fact that

originally the subject of the sentence, that is, the point of approach, was the speaker.

Johann Pühler v. Schwandorf (16th C.):

Ich setzt das Gläslein an den Mund,
Trinks heraus bis an den Grund (DWb.).

Later this use was extended to a subject in the third person.

Joh. Peter Hebel (18th C.): Der Hausfreund hat schon manch
Schöpplein mit ihm *heraus gemacht* (S).

§ 34. In one group of durative verbs the prefix 'hinaus' emphasizes the 'duration of the action'. In intransitive verbs the action refers to the subject as extending or reaching out, while it is the object which is extended in the case of transitive verbs.

Luther (16th C.): (Die Grenze) . . . zieht sich von mitternachtwärts, und *kommt hinaus* gegen En Semes, und kommt hinaus zu den Haufen, die gegen Adumin hin auf liegen (Jos. 18, 17).

Grimmelshausen (17th C.): Damit (mit dem Gelde) *reichte* Julius nit weit *hinaus* (DWb.).

Butschky (17th C.): Also geschihet es auch unter geringeren Leuten, das sie einem bösen Rat folgen, der mehrmals über den, der ihn gibet *hinaus gehet* (DWb.).

Das Register [seiner Frevel] würde allzuweit *hinaus laufen* (DWb.).

Joh. Gottw. Müller (18th C.): Wir würden unser Buch in eine unendliche Länge *hinausspinnen* (DWb.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Viele Werke sollen ihrer Natur nach, wie Kalender, nicht ins Blaue *hinaus leben* (Wke. 1, 126).

The following quotations are examples of the same force of the prefix in a temporal sense.

Grimmelshausen (17th C.): Er hatte . . . viel zu wenig [Geld] seinen verschwenderischen Pracht *hinaus zu führen* (DWb.).

Stieler (17th C.): Die Zeit weit *hinausschieben* (DWb.).

Lessing (18th C.): Wann nur . . . der Ausgang der Entscheidung sich nicht ins Lange *hinausziehet!* (DWb.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Meinem Glück fehlte nichts, als dass gar der heutige Sektor glücklich geschrieben war, den ich bis heute *hinausspielte* (DWb.).

§ 35. Another instance in which the double prefix 'heraus' has usurped the meaning formerly possessed by 'aus', is that referring to the

voice as 'issuing forth', that is, 'coming out of someone'. The figure of the voice coming out of the mouth was employed very early, and was expressed by the particle 'aus' prefixed to an appropriate verb, for example: O. H. G., 'uzlazan', M. H. G., 'sich uztuon', 'uzschrien', etc. As time went by the figure was retained, but the function of the particle weakened. Hence, as in other cases, 'heraus' was substituted for 'aus'.

Adrian (17th C.): . . . *da schrei* herausz das tartarisch Gesind, sie wolten sich ergeben geschwind (DWb.).

Grimmelshausen (17th C.): Dass es redlicher und feiner sei, mit der Wahrheit *herauszugehen* (DWb.).

Christ. Weise (17th C.): Die sich so kühn und offenherzig nicht dürfen *heraus lassen* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Sie *wollte* mit der Sprache nicht *heraus* (21, 219, S.).

Wieland (18th C.): (Er) *zieht* aus tiefer Brust den längsten Seufzer *heraus* (S.).

Schiller (18th C.):

Er *ruft* den Zorn des Schwerbeleidigten,
Der Fürsten alte Schwüre jetzt *heraus* (DWb.).

J. H. Voss (18th C.):

Hat Leiden dir das Blut vergällt,
Und wühlt dir Groll im Herzen,
Ihn lieber grad *herausgebellt*,
Als unter bitterm Scherzen! (DWb.)

Christ. Fel. Weisze (18th C.): Ich muss doch ein bischen hören, was sie *herausgeben* (DWb.).

The next quotation is the only example of 'hinaus' in connection with this idea. 'Hin' indicates a subtle difference between this and the preceding sentences. In the latter, the perceiving of the voice by the speaker is of most importance, while in the sentence from Tieck, emphasis is laid on the fact that the utterance, in this case a hymn, is sent forth by some one.

Tieck (19th C.): Meinen Sie denn hier einen Montblanc etwa zu allererst erklettert zu haben, um in so unziemlichen Hymnen *hinaus zu brechen* (DWb.).

§ 36. The combination 'auf . . . hinaus' may be looked upon as one compound, since the group contains but one thought. 'Auf' points out the goal. Its force is similar to 'auf' in the combination 'auf . . . zu' = 'toward'. 'Hinaus' has retained its old force, but is used figuratively.

Friedrich v. Logau (17th C.): Der Adelstand der liegt, ein jeder *geht drauf naus* (DWb.).

F. Nicolai (18th C.): [Ich habe mich] überzeugt, dass alles *auf* ein leeres Spiel mit Begriffen *herausgeht* (DWb.).

Referring to this and the following quotation, DWb. says: "Verwechslung von 'heraus' mit 'hinaus' ist eingetreten."

Kant (18th C.): . . . dass alle diese Arbeit *auf* nichts *herauslaufe* (DWb.).¹⁹

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Gleichwohl seh ich noch kein einziges Schreiben gedruckt; man *setzt* die Publication, scheint es, *auf* mein Verscheiden *hinaus* (DWb.).

Frenssen (19th C.): Dann wird er ihn zum Konkurs treiben, *worauf* sein ganzer Plan seit Jahren *hinausläuft* (Sandgräfin 138).

§ 37. A similar combination is 'über . . . hinaus'. In this group the original figure is clear. It was a concrete conception of an enclosed space surrounded by a wall or hedge. The prefix 'hinaus' retained its original force. In order to get out of the enclosure it was necessary first to get over the wall. Hence, 'to get out', implies a little something more than 'to get over'. It denotes that the action has progressed to a point beyond the wall. In course of time this combination acquired the specialized meaning 'beyond'. And as 'über' frequently refers to an object as being over and above another in quality, the idea 'beyond' developed into 'superior to'.

The following list contains examples of the combination 'über . . . hinaus . . . verb', in which the old concrete force of each of the units of the compound is preserved.

Steinbach (18th C.): Das Lager ein wenig *über* einen Ort *hinausrücken* (DWb.).

Schiller (18th C.): *Rückte* sie die Grenzen ihres Gebietes *über* das Weltmeer *hinaus* (S.).

Müller-Guttenbrunn (20th C.): Er [Danubius] schwang seinen Dreizack und stieß sie [die Eismengen] zurück, staute sie zu Bergen auf und *warf* sie ebenfalls *über* den Damm *hinaus* (Glocken 251).

Quotations with the force 'beyond' in a figurative sense follow.

Goethe (18th C.): Doch als dieser schwieg und einer traurigen Erinnerung auszuweichen schien, hielt Eduard gleichfalls an, so wie auch Charlotte . . . *über* jene Äusserung *hinausging* (17, 44).

¹⁹ In these two quotations, the force of 'hinaus' borders on that discussed in § 32, namely, 'to terminate an act'.

Doch indem ich schon fürchten muss, *über* die Zeit *hinausgegriffen* zu haben, von der hier die Rede sein kann, kehre ich . . . (26, 199).

Woraus wenigstens hervorzugehen schien, dass man *über* die Unarten und Unschicklichkeiten jenes berufenen Mannes noch allenfalls *hinauskommen* werde (31, 235).

Ob sie gleich viel jünger ist als ich, so hatte doch die Gegenwart der ältern Freundin so viele Reize für dich, dass du *über* die aufblühende versprechende Schönheit *hinaussahst* (17, 20).

Ich verwünsche dabei die Matthissons, . . . die uns schwerfällige Deutsche sogar in Liedern *über* die Welt *hinausweist* (DWb.).

Wieland (18th C.): Aristipp, dem alles übertriebene, angemassste und *über* die Proportionen der menschlichen Natur *Hinaus-schwellende* lächerlich oder widrig ist (S.).

Kant (18th C.): Dass wir vermittelt des Begriffes der Endursachen *über* die Natur *hinauslangen*, und sie an den höchsten Punct in der Reihe der Ursachen knüpfen (DWb.).

Jahn (19th C.): Gräber *leben über* längst begrabene Völker *hinaus* (S.).

Börne (19th C.): Ein morscher Selbstling, dessen Geist nicht *über* den Augenblick *hinausragt* (S.).

Devrient (19th C.): Er hat es damit *über* hundert *hinausgebracht* (S.).

The last step of this development is shown in the following sentences. They denote that something rises or is elevated above the object of the preposition, figuratively speaking. This is identical to saying it is superior to that object.

Goethe (18th C.): Dreimal glücklich sind diejenigen zu preisen, die ihre Geburt sogleich *über* die untern Stufen der Menschheit *hinaushebt* (18, 247).

Wie viel Stücke haben wir denn, die nicht *über* das Mass des Personals . . . *hinausschritten?* (19, 159.)

Mich freut immer, wenn einzelne Personen fühlen, *über* was man sich *hinaussetzen* kann und soll (19, 7).

Schiller (18th C.):

So schreiten keine irdischen Weiber
Die zeugete kein sterblich Haus!
Es *steigt* das Riesenmass der Leiber
Hoch *über* menschliches *hinaus* (DWb.).

Ich fühle den Adel meines Bluts, kann es nicht dulden, dass dieses Haus Doria *über* unsre Ahnen *hinauswachsen* will (Fiesco I, 1).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): . . . weil an Höfen und Klavieren keine Taste *über* die andere *hinausklingen* darf (DWb.).
Ich werde mich *über* die Menschen *hinausreißen* (DWb.).

SUMMARY

§ 38. Summarizing briefly, the following points have been brought out in this chapter:

1). Originally 'aus' was an adverb of direction denoting 'out from within certain limits'. At the time of the earliest records of the Germanic languages it was already compounded with verbs, retaining its old function of denoting a motion out from somewhere, but it could be compounded with verbs of motion only.

2). But very early records show a weakening on the part of the prefix.

3). It was shown that the prefix acquired many different meanings, all growing out of its old force (§ 4 ff.). This tended further to reduce its scope of application in the original sense.

4). The result was that it gradually lost its old function of denoting a motion out from an enclosure.

5). Hence some other element was required to assume the function surrendered by 'aus'. For this purpose 'her' or 'hin', forms of an old demonstrative pronoun, were prefixed to 'aus' to denote respectively, a motion toward or away from a speaker.

6). Nearly all of the specialized meanings assumed by 'aus' were developed during the Middle High German period.

7). The double prefixes 'heraus' and 'hinaus', one example of each being found in Old High German, appeared only as isolated neologisms during the greater part of the Middle High German period. By the time of Luther, however, they had established themselves in the language and were employed commonly to indicate the idea formerly expressed by the simple prefix 'aus'. Many new compounds with 'heraus' and 'hinaus' have been introduced by subsequent centuries.

8). Finally, I have shown that the double prefixes which were introduced to replace the old weakened simple prefix, have themselves acquired specialized meanings, and are showing functional decay, tho not yet to such an extent as to require another substitute to denote their original force.

CHAPTER II.
EIN, HEREIN, HINEIN

PART I.

'EIN' WITH ITS ORIGINAL FORCE

§ 39. In section I 'aus' was shown originally to have been an adverb denoting motion 'out of a place'. Motion in an opposite direction was shown by the adverb 'ein' (< in). For the adverb of rest the form 'inne' was used. There are a few instances, however, in which the prefix 'ein' does not denote motion. These can be accounted for:

- 1). Because of a confusion and consequent blending of the two forms 'ein' and 'inne'.
- 2). Because of the fact that originally the idea of motion may have been present.

The latter development is well exemplified by a passage from Gottfried von Strassburg's "Tristan und Isolde":

Der getriuwe marschalch Fointenant
fuor heim und sprach sin sælic wip
und bevalch ir verre und an den lip,
daz si sich *in leite*
nâch der gewohnheite,
als ein wip kindes *inne lit* (1895).

It is readily conceivable that 'sich in legen' should influence 'inne ligen' to become 'inligen', which accounts for modern German 'einliegen'. To a similar development may be due the phrase, 'der einliegende Brief' < "der Brief, den ich einlegte." Such blending of ideas is not at all contrary to the psychology of language. In 'einhaben' we probably have an elliptic sentence to deal with, in which the verb of motion was omitted and eventually lost sight of entirely.

Pontus (15th C.): Die gar ein grosses feld *einhetten* (DWb.).²⁰

Joh. Fischart (16th C.): Schleuzt sie zwischen zwo Mauern und lāszt sie alda so lang leben als sie können, gleichwie man zu Altdorf, . . . hat sehen mögen, das etlich acht oder zehen, etlich zwanzig und dreiszig Jar lang *ingelegen* waren (DWb.).

²⁰ Modern German would substitute 'innehaben' for 'einhaben'.

While the prefix 'aus' has developed various widely divergent meanings, in some of which there is no longer any trace of the original force of the adverb, the particle 'ein' has preserved its old force in nearly every case where it is compounded with a verb, even when the verb has greatly changed its meaning, and the compound as a whole become highly specialized.

§ 40. It will be necessary to deviate slightly from the plan followed in Part I of the preceding chapter, because the development of 'ein' differs somewhat from that of 'aus'. It is possible to give a large number of examples of verbs compounded with 'aus' from the older language for which we should now substitute 'heraus' or 'hinaus'. The number of verbs formerly compounded with 'ein' but now requiring 'herein' or 'hinein' is much smaller. Altho 'ein' meaning 'into' is no longer common as an active prefix to verbs of motion, its old function is still so strongly felt, that the addition of 'her' or 'hin' has not been deemed so necessary as in the case of 'aus'. In general, it may be said that 'aus' as a prefix has rarely a force in modern German identical with 'heraus' or 'hinaus', while on the other hand, there are innumerable compounds with 'ein' which have a form with 'herein' or 'hinein' almost synonymous.

§ 41. In the following quotations the prefix 'ein' is used with its original meaning, 'into'. Altho the objects into which an entrance is made are omitted in the quotations in this section, they may readily be supplied from the context.

Otfried (9th C.): *giang aftar imo . . . thô er inan sah thara ingân*
(5, 6, 28).

Tatian (9th C.): *inti quad theru duriuuartun inti inleita Pêtrusan*
(186, 3). Cf. Joh. 18, 16: *fûhrte Petrus hinein.*
suochtun inan in zi traganne (54, 2).

Keronisches Glossar (11th C.): *in werphan* (= 'hereinwerfen',
Graff).

Heinrich v. Melk (12th C.):

si sint als ein durcheler sac,
vil wol ich siu alsô haizzen mac—,
dâ man oben in schiubet,
und niden ûzstiubet, (Priesterleben 744, L.).

Heinrich v. Veldeke (12th C.):

die salmen er in truhte
sam daz fuoter tuot daz vihe (M.).

Walther v. d. Vogelweide (12th C.):

so hân ich ouch im vil nâhen
in mime herzen eine stat gegeben,
dâ noch nieman *in getrat* (DWb.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.): dâ *reit* der wirt vor im *in* (Iwein 1095).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

er bat den gast, den er dâ sach
in füern, und schaffen sin gemach (Parz. 163, 14).²¹
dar nâch gebôt er im dô sân
daz er *hêrte* nâch im *in* (Parz. 42, 5).
der vilân *trat* wider *in* (Parz. 570, 25).
der marcgrâve zer künegin
sprach 'süeziu Gyburc, *lâ* mich *in*' (Willehalm 90, 2).
siniu kinder *liefen* vor im *in* (Parz. 23, 18).
dane wâren si [die Anker] ninder *in geslagen* (Parz. 15, 1).
[die Nâpfe] die *truagen* junchêrren *in* (Parz. 84, 23).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

hie mite *sante in*
einen boten nâch der künigîn (Trist. 10880).
aldâ *gezôch* sich Tristan *in* [in daz kastel] (Trist. 18773).

Meister Eckhart (14th C.): Got ist bi allen den, die in lockend und
in *in nement* und in *in sprechent* (Deut. Myst. 2, 102, 30).

Hermann v. Fritzlar (14th C.): do wisete in der oberste priester
abe und wolde nicht sin offer, wan iz was alsô geboten, daz
di nicht vrucht *inbrâchten* di wâren vorvluchit von gote
(Deut. Myst. 1, 195, 21).

§ 42. The following quotations contain a prepositional phrase introduced by 'in' denoting the direction and goal of the motion of the verb. In addition to this, a pleonastic adverbial 'in' is added as a prefix to the verb. Except for the addition of the prepositional phrase, this group is identical with the one of § 41.

Otfried (9th C.): *ilta in* thia burg *in* zen liuten (2, 14, 86).

faret in thia burg *in* (4, 9, 9).

giang mit kriste er tho fon in *in* thaz sprahhus *in* (4, 23, 30).

ni *quam* noh tho unser druhtin *in* thaz kastel *in* (3, 24, 41).

²¹ Cf. with the above, Parz. 163, 17:

hin in sin *fuorten* al zehant,
da er manegen werden riter vant.

Tatian (9th C.): grab, *in* themo noh nu nioman *ingisezzit* uuas (213, 1).

in skef *instigenti* (70, 2).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): Do nû der edel herr Wilhelm von Stretlingen heim kam und das heltûm und die friheiten mit grossen eren und lob gottes *in* die kilchen des Paradis was *ingefüert* (148, 9).

Keisersberg (15th C.): du solt das gelt *innegen in* den hût der gedult (DWb.).

Luther (16th C.): Diesen *setzet ein in* den Kerker und speiset ihn mit Brot und Wasser des Trübsals (1 Kön. 22, 27).

Friedrich v. Logau (17th C.): sprang und *stürzte sich ins* Wasser *ein* (DWb.).

Paul Fleming (17th C.): Auf Nordwind, *lege dich in* unser Segel *ein* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Wir sind auf die hohen Gipfel gestiegen und *in* die Tiefen der Erde *eingekrochen* (DWb.).

Aus einer Gesteinart, deren Wände fast ganz perpendicular *in* die Erde *einschiessen* (16, 247).

Wie ich mich zuletzt *in* den geborgten, abgetragenen grauen Rock *einzwängte* (25, 349).

Schiller (18th C.):

Leben um Leben tausend Siege jeder
Den Dolch *einbohrend in* des andern Brust (DWb.).

Grillparzer (19th C.):

Wenn du damals mir vergönntest
Feuerbrände *einzuschleudern*
In die schreckgeleerten Gassen (Traum IV).

The following are abstract in their meaning.

Luther (16th C.): Nicht *einführ* uns *in* Versuchung (Mat. 6, 13).²²

Dis ist aber seine Meinung als wir beten ein Vaterunser, und nicht uns *einleit in* Versuchung (DWb.).

Sebastian Frank (16th C.): Das die Kraft inwendig *in* Mark und Gebein sich *einkehre* und versammel (DWb.).

Lohenstein (17th C.): Wil Rom durch ihn (Varus) *in* unser Vaterland der warmen Länder abscheuliche Laster *einspielen?* (DWb.)

²² This is the older version for which "führe uns nicht in Versuchung" has now been substituted.

Goethe (18th C.): *In* die italienische Opernform und ihre Vortheile hatte ich mich recht *ingedacht* (31, 10).

Lass uns freudig und munter *in* das *ingreifen*, was die Männer unvollendet zurück gelassen haben (17, 175).

Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn (20th C.): Einige *bogen* laut *in* die milderen Geleise *ein* und rissen die andern mit (Glocken 203).

§ 43. The pleonastic 'in' treated in section 42 occurred as early as Old High German. Later, two other prepositions were introduced to denote 'an entrance into'. The earlier of these was 'zu', itself originally an adverb and denoting 'proximity to', but without further designating the relation. It denoted either rest in close proximity to some object, or motion to such a position. Later, 'zu' developed a step farther and came to mean not only 'contiguous to', but 'within'. Thus, 'zu München' (< 'ze den münechen' = 'at the monastery of the monks'), meant 'in the town at the monastery of the monks', with the emphasis on the town rather than on the monastery.²³ In the following quotations the preposition 'in' with its object in the accusative, could be substituted for 'zu' (ze) without in any way changing the thought of the sentence. In modern German it would, in general, be necessary to add a 'her' or 'hin' to the simple prefix, altho, as in the preceding section, there is still considerable variability in the usage of these prefixes.

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): Er *gienc zer* Kemenäten *in* (Parz. 566, 11).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.): daz er im daz sper *zem* giele *in stach* (Trist. 8981).

dâ wart der werde Riwalin
mit eime sper *zer sîten in*
gestochen und sô sêre wunt (Trist. 1134).

Luther (16th C.): Siehe, Herr, *kehret doch ein zum* Hause eures Knechts und bleibet über Nacht (1 Mos. 19, 2).

Da sie *zu* Bethlehen *einkamen* (Ruth 1, 19).

Friedrich v. Logau (17th C.): In guter Ordnung wie die Säu *zum* Thore *laufen ein* (DWb.).

The following show some figurative uses of the combination 'ein . . . zu'.

²³ The English preposition 'at' has undergone a similar semantic development. This preposition also originally denoted 'near', 'by the side of', but acquired the meaning 'in' in certain phrases. Cf. "I am stopping at the home of my friend."

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

Minne, aller herzen lāgærin
sleich zir beider herzen *in* (Trist. 11716).

Luther (16th C.): Musste nicht Christus solches leiden, und *zu*
 seiner Herrlichkeit *eingehen?* (Luc. 24, 26.)

§ 44. Altho one would expect the accusative case after a verb of motion compounded with 'ein', this case is far less common than the dative, as will be seen in the next section. The following six examples comprise a representative list of compounds governing the accusative case, from the Old High German to the present time. The earliest example is of an abstract idea, but the concrete meaning is more common.

Otfried (9th C.): Thaz liocht ist filu uuar thing, *inliuchtit* thesan uuoroltring (2, 2, 13).

Pfaffe Conrad (12th C.): Got den rât sie *in stiez* (M.).

Johannes Tauler (14th C.): Das Abgrunde das *inleitit* das Abgrunde (M.).

Hans Sachs (16th C.):

Da *trabt* ich gen der linken Hand
 Ein Holzweg *ein* mir unbekant (DWb.).
 Und als ich stund in den Gedrechten
 Welche Straszzen ich wolt *eingan* (DWb.).

Opitz (17th C.): Wann du mit kluger Macht das blawe Feld *ein-
 dringest* (DWb.).

§ 45. As early as Old High German the goal of the verbal compound, altho denoting motion, was in the dative case. In a great preponderance of cases, this dative, however, was a personal pronoun and had its starting point in a dative of interest. The entering into a person also benefited that person. It is but natural that most of the sentences with such a dative are figurative or abstract. The identity of the beneficiary and the recipient is especially apparent in the quotation from Otfried:

inliuhte imo io thar, uuunna, thia euuiniga sunna! (Ludowicum 96).

Heinrich v. Nördlingen (13th C.): als mir *in liuhtent* dine wort (L.).

Das Anengege (12th C.): er *blies* im sinen geist *in* (M.).

Bernger v. Horheim (13th C.):

als ich ir minen kumber klage,
 daz *gât* ir leider lützel *in* (Bartsch 12, 13).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.): und sollst auch disen allen *stoszen* ain herz *ein* (637, 5).

Keisersberg (15th C.): wen in der böß geist sie (die Gedanken) *in redet*, so musz er (der Mensch) eben tun, als ob ein ander Mensch unfletige ding redet (DWb.).

Luther (16th C.): er [Gott] *bliess* ihm [den Menschen] *ein* den lebendigen Odem in seine Nase (1 Mos. 2, 7).

Und Joab *gab* ir *ein*, was sie reden sollte (2 Sam. 14, 3).

Aimon (16th C.): Mir ist solche Forcht von iretwegen *ingeschossen*, das alles mein Geblüt sich gegen inen ensetzt (DWb.).

Sebastian Frank (16th C.): Ja welches uns nit ein geringe Hofnung *einwirft* (DWb.).

Carolus II starb, nit on Argwon eingenummens Gift von Se-dechia einem Juden im zubereit und *ingeschleicht* (DWb.).

Hans Sachs (16th C.):

O herzliche Tochter, ausschlag
Solch Danken aus dem Herzen dein,
Welche dir *speit* der Teufel *ein* (DWb.).

Jörg Wickram (16th C.): Aber dem Pfaffen *trieb* ers wieder *ein* (DWb.).

Joh. Fischart (16th C.): [in den Wein] einreden und einschmeicheln, ist besser als *giesz* man mirs *ein* (DWb.).

All the above quotations have figurative meanings. Those following have concrete force. There are few examples, and these are comparatively late.

Klopstock (18th C.): Um dieser blutigen Krone, die meiner Schläfe sich *ingrub* (C.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Es war dieselbe Stärke, womit er Psyches Flügelpferde den Zügel straf hielt und das Spornrad *Einstiesz* (DWb.).

§ 46. In the combination 'aus . . . ein', the adverbial particles have everywhere retained their original force up to the present time. They have become fixed formulas and do not require the support of 'her' or 'hin'. For examples see § 3.

PART II.

NEW MEANINGS DEVELOPED BY 'EIN'

§ 47. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the force of 'ein' is still apparent in nearly all of the compounds to which it is prefixed, even when they have acquired a specialized meaning. Altho the idea of motion into a place may have become rather vague, there are many ex-

amples of compounds in which the full force of the adverb is still felt, even when the compounds have acquired a special meaning as a result of having been applied to one certain action by a particular group or class of people for such a long time that the expression has become fossilized. In this section belong chiefly technical expressions employed by various trades, professions, sports, etc.

For each of these classes of people the compound has acquired a definite specialized connotation, altho originally having only the more general force of 'ein' compounded with a verb. Thus 'eintreten' has an entirely different meaning when used by a soldier than when employed by a person welcoming guests. Furthermore, when a musician says: "Ich *setze* nach dem zweiten Takt *ein*"; a gambler says: "Ich habe 10 Mark *ingesetzt*"; or a jeweler: "Ich *setze* den Rubin mit Gold *ein*", 'einsetzen' in all these cases denotes a passing of some object into another, but the compound, as such, has a very distinctive meaning in each case. Likewise, the same word may assume a specialized meaning when used by persons in different situations.

Reinhart Fuchs (12th C.): Die zagel habent *in gesmogen* [den Schwanz] (M.).

Nibelungenlied (12th C.): eine scharpfe strâle het er dar *in gezogen* [auf den Bogen gelegt] (936, 2).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

Jane vihtet iu hie nieman mite
der leu enwerde *in getân* (Iwein 6697).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): ir habt mich *in geslozzten* (Parz. 510, 22).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.): swiget unde *tuot* iuch *in* (Trist. 8703).

der getriuwe marschalch Foitenant
fuor heim und sprach sin sælic wip
und bevalch ir verre und an den lip
daz si sich *in leite*
nâch der gewoneheite
als ein wip kindes inne lit (Trist. 1895).
diu tassel, dâ diu solten sin,
dâ was ein kleinez snuorlin
von wizen berlin *in getragen* (Trist. 10941).

Wirnt v. Gravenberg (13th C.): mit ir goufen truoc si dar des wazzers unde *goz* im *in* (M.).

Monumenta Zollerana (13th C.): einen knecht mit eim pferd *einlegen* (L.).

Leben d. hl. Elisabeth (13th C.): einen *in legen* ('ins Grab legen', L.).

St. Galler Stadtbuch (14th C.): daz nieman enkainen *ingenæten* harnasch tragen sol inrent den gerihten (L.).

Zimmer'sche Chronik: das muss hernach, und dieweil es noch selbiger zeit so frue im jar, das man die stuben nit *einforet* (L.).

Meister Eckhart (14th C.): Dâvid sprichet 'got ist bi allen den, die in in nement und in *in sprechent* ['einladen'] (Deut. Myst. 2, 102, 30).

Chroniken d. deut. Städte (14th C.): auch haben sie in ausser procht gen Peterwardein und in vor herlich pegangen und *eingemacht* und in sein rittern und knechten überantwortet (3, 412, 10).

wenn die halben schutzen *schüszent*, dâ soltent die wile die andern halben ire bogene *inziehen* (8, 83, 4).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.):

ir zwen eprecher mit euren weiben
man wird euch alle fiere *einschreiben*
piz von heut über acht tag (328, 22).
so ich das ros *einsetzen* wil
do het es verlorn den aftersil (565, 35).
und kunt si in recht *einspannen*
als ander frauen tuon iren mannen (327, 16).

Diplomarium Habsburgicum (15th C.): kuntschaft *einlegen* (L.).

Keisersberg (15th C.): nieswurz, die enthaltet einen menschen vor groszem schaden, so ein arzet einem die vorbereitet hat, und sol die sunst nicht *einnehmen* (DWb.).

FIGURATIVE EXPRESSIONS

Meister Eckhart (14th C.): bekennen wir got in diesem liechte, daz muoz eigen sin und ingezogen âne allez *inrisen* deheiner geschaffener dinge (Deut. Myst. 2, 83, 29).

daz von ûzen *in* wirt *gesprochen*, daz ist ein grob dinc: ez ist ingesprochen sprich ez her ûz! (Deut. Myst. 2, 207, 25).

Chroniken d. deut. Städte (14th C.): Item man soll wissen, dasz ain hocher turn . . . auszen gemauert . . . und in der mitte kislingstain mit morter *ingerennt* und gegoszen (5, 315, 5).

The following quotations contain examples of metonymy. They occur only since the New High German period.

Opitz (17th C.):

Der Walfisch vom Haken *ingestochen*
Lâstz sich mit einem Nachen ziehen (DWb.).

Günther (18th C.): *Strich* Schlaf und Puls mit Balsam *ein* (DWb.).

§ 48. The following quotations contain words meaning 'to capture'. Originally, no doubt, the thought was that of capturing in a net, trap, etc.

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Inzwischen is das verdriessliche Gerücht schwerlich wider *einzufangen* (DWb.).

Campe (19th C.): *einwischen* = 'wischen oder haschen und festhalten'.

§ 49. Closely related to this meaning is that of 'catching up with'. The semantic development is as follows: the verb means 'to capture', then 'to be in a position to capture', that is, 'to catch up with'.

Campe (19th C.): *einholen* = uneigentlich, gleich kommen. Einen in Kenntnisse, Geschicklichkeit einholen.

The original concrete idea was to capture and 'fetch into captivity'. Then the idea of 'fetching into' was lost, the emphasis being on the 'ability' to fetch in (after capturing), rather than that act itself.

Grimm (19th C.): beim Laufen *inkriegen* = kriegen (DWb.).

§ 50. In § 12 it was shown that an exit of a thing might be identical with its ending, and that in this way the particle 'aus' came to acquire the meaning 'to end'. On the other hand, an entrance into a state or condition, especially if emphasis is laid on the moment of entering, may be identical with 'beginning an existence' in that state or condition. Certain compounds are given this force by the prefix 'ein'.

Deutsche Gedichte d. 11ten u. 12ten Jh.: . . . Do Alberich diz lit *inslûc*, do heter ein salemones pûch, da er ane sach (M.).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

nu war diu hohgezeit geleit
benennet unde besprochen
die blüenden vier wochen,
sô der vil süeze meie *in gât*
unz an daz, dâ er ende hât (Trist. 537).

The figure is that of May entering into the fields and forests. This entrance is identical with beginning. That 'ingan' here means 'to begin', is clear from the phrase "unz an daz, do er ende hat."

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

. . . der begunde
einen leich dâ lâzen *klingen in* (Trist. 3583).

Friedrich v. Logau (17th C.): Wie wol er gerne Darmgicht bringt, doch geht er *lieblich ein* (DWb.).

Geo. Christ. Lichtenberg (18th C.): Was mir bei dem nun *ein-tretenden* Laub gefällt (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Ich habe wieder Fenster, kann wieder Feuer *einmachen* (DWb.).

In present day speech we should say 'Feuer anmachen', 'an' having usurped the function of 'ein' in this sense.

Schiller (18th C.): . . . eine neue Ordnung der Dinge *führt sich ein* (C.).

§ 51. The meaning 'to acquire', or literally, 'to enter into possession of', becomes clear when we go back to the earlier examples of its use. The subject gains possession of the object. At first the object was thought of as entering into the subject, or something belonging to the subject. Thus, if I take money into my pocket, I take it into my possession, or as we say, "I take it in." This is one more example of an elliptic sentence with the object into which something enters omitted.

Das alte Passional (13th C.): dô er zu vil *în nam* (gewann) an deme heiligen krûce (M.).

Nicolaus v. Jeroschin (14th C.): vil groziu vromen daz *întrûc* (einbrachte) (M.).

Zürcher Jahrbuch (15th C.): dise vorgeschribenen alle wolten un-widerseit *în genomen* hân die stat zuo Zürich (M.).

Pfarrer v. Kalenberg (15th C.): er kam zu Steuermarck in das lant und *nam* ein neue pfar do *ein* (2123).

Melanchthon (16th C.): Bisz dasz sie [die Stadt] der Kaiser endlich durch Verräterei *einbekam* (DWb.).

Luther (16th C.): Da sie nun gen Capernaum kamen, gingen zu Petrus die den Zinsgroschen *einnahmen* und sprachen . . . (Mat. 17, 24).

Sebastian Frank (16th C.): Und wollen sich bei den Christen wider heilen und ihres Schadens *einkommen* (DWb.).

Opitz (17th C.):

Dasz er sie hat bestritten
Die Hauptstatt *eingekriegt* (DWb.).

Paul Fleming (17th C.): Es ist das hohe Haar der schönen Basil-
enen, durch welcher Trefflichkeit ich *eingenommen* bin
(DWb.).

Lessing (18th C.): Hier kann er einen Brocken Weisheit wieder
auskramen den er sich erst gestern *einbettelte* (DWb.).²⁴

Dolz (18th C.): Wo Lehrer noch ihre Besoldung *einsingen* müssen
(C.).

²⁴ That is to say, got into his possession by means of begging.

§ 52. In § 7 a number of verbs were noted to which the prefix 'aus' gave the force 'to extend', 'to expand'. The opposite meaning has been developed by a small group of verbs when compounded with 'ein', namely, 'to contract', 'to decrease in compass'. The underlying thought of this development is clearly distinguishable in the quotation from Konrad v. Würzburg (13th C.):

an füez und an henden wâren im die ballen so gänzlich *in gevallen* (M.).

There is a receding inward of the balls, that is, an entrance into themselves. As an object enters into itself there is an accompanying decrease of its compass, a shrinking.

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

sîn ors daz habete ein knappe dâ
in Spanienland noch anderswâ
wart nie kein schoenererz erzogen
ezn was niender *in gesmogen*

[eingefallen] (Trist. 6666).

Chroniken d. deut. Städte (14th C.): und also ward sich nun der krieg *einzeren* ie lenger ie fester (5, 245, 31).

Gryphius (17th C.): die *ingeschrümpften* Wangen (DWb.).

Gotter (18th C.): Die *ingesunkenen* Wangen (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.):

Der Sânger *drückt* die Augen *ein*
Und schlug die vollen Töne (18, 206).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Die Sonne *kroch* jetzt *ein* zu einem einzigen rothen Strahl (DWb.).

Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn (20th C.): . . . und die Schneeberge in den Strassen begannen allmählich *einzusinken* (Glocken 237).

§ 53. Closely related to the above idea of a motion inward into itself, in fact but one phase of it, is that of forcing a thing into itself. If the thing is hollow, there can be but one result, namely 'a collapse', which is equal to 'a destruction' of the object in question. The following list contains both transitive and intransitive verbs having this meaning.

Chroniken d. deut. Städte (14th C.): da in kurz vergangner zeitt der wirdig convent gotz hausz und closter . . . schwârlichen beschedigt und gantz alles uncz allain an die kirchen ze grund *ingebrannt* ist (5, 243, Anm. 1).

Der Hürnen Seyfried (16th C.):

der berg müsste *einfallen*
das es seyn leben verlür (133, 7).

Luther (16th C.): Ich will Samaria zum Steinhaufen im Felde machen, die man um die Weinberge legt, und will ihre Steine in das Tal schleifen und zu Grunde *einbrechen* (Micha I, 6).

Und will eure Städte wüste machen und eures Heiligthums Kirchen *einreissen* (3 Mos. 26, 31).

Opitz (17th C.): Sie sehen wol, dasz jetzt von vielen schönen Städten noch kaum der Name lebt, sie selbst sind *eingetreten*, verheert und ausgebrannt (DWb.).

Mühlport (17th C.): Verwirfst du diesen auch den deine Hand gebaut? Und *stöszt* der Meister selbst sein Meisterstück jetzt *ein*? (DWb.)

Schiller (18th C.):

Jetzt oder nie, wir sind allein,
Der Etikette bange Scheidewand
Ist zwischen Sohn und Vater *ingesunken* (DWb.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Weil die Ehrenpforte *einpurzelt* (DWb.).

Und erwägst Du deine Mittänzerin, die ja schamroth und leichenblas wird *einsinken* (C.).

Tieck (19th C.): So viel ich weiss, hat man keins der geschmackvollen zierlichen Komödienhäuser, ja keine . . . Loge in Trümmer blasen und *einschreien* können (DWb.).

§ 54. As 'aus' added to a verb may denote either that the action of the verb is beginning or that it has come to an end, and since 'ein' was already shown to give to the verb the idea of beginning, it is not surprising that 'ein' has likewise developed the meaning 'to end', 'to put a stop to'. It is conceivable for this latter meaning to have grown out of the one treated in the section just preceding, since a thing usually ends when it is destroyed. On the other hand, altho highly figurative, the thought underlying most of the verbs with this force, seems to be that of putting into a place of safe keeping, or withdrawing from an exposed position.

Keisersberg (15th C.): ich hab aimest neun Prediger davon gethon zû den Reuweren zu Straszburg, aber ich müsz es ietz zu den Orten *einschlagen* (= 'einstellen', 'unterlassen', DWb.).

Hans Sachs (16th C.):

Der wirt sein Bulerei *einsziehen*,
Das sunst nieman wirt innen mehr (DWb.).

Hans Schweinichen (17th C.): so bäte ich noch eins, i. f. gn. wollten es *einstellen* (DWb.).

Gellert (18th C.): Carlson blieb auf einer Stelle stehen und fragte hundertmal, was es wäre. Mein Mann wollte es ihm sagen und *kehrte* doch bei jedem Wort wieder *ein* (DWb.).

§ 55. In one group of compounds the prefix 'ein' gives ingressive force to durative verbs, that is, denotes an entrance into a condition, especially that of sleep and related states. Sleep, which is personified, receives into her embrace or care, the object, usually a person, by means of the action denoted by the verb.

Friederich v. Spee (17th C.):

Nahm ein Röhrlin wolgeschnitten,
Spielet seinen Wässerlein,
Sie zum Schlafen tät erbitten
Wollt sie süsslich *sausen ein* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.):

Meine Töchter führen den nächtlichen Reihn
Und *wiegen* und *tanzen* und *singen* dich *ein* (Erlkönig 20).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Er musste das innere Steppenfeuer auf das Kopfkissen betten und in sein *Einträumen* mischte sich der hohe Donner (DWb.).

Gökingk (19th C.):

Meines Weibchens, das den Jungen
Eben itzt hat *ingesungen* (DWb.).

Grimm (19th C.): *ingeigen* = mit Geigenspiel einschläfern (DWb.).

§ 56. In §§42, 43, the prepositions 'in' or 'zu' in connection with the adverbial particle 'ein' were found to affect a sentence very little, if at all. Their function seems to have been merely to intensify the force of the prefix. 'Bei', however, adds a definite idea to those sentences in which it occurs in conjunction with a verbal compounded with 'ein'. In general, it may be said that the verb has acquired a special meaning, which is no longer clearly visualized, and that, in the majority of cases, we have to deal with a figurative idea. The object of the preposition is always a person or group of persons thought of collectively.

Hans Sachs (16th C.): Das sich nichts args *bey* in [ihnen] *einplantz* (C.).

Friederich v. Logau (17th C.): Die Gicht *bricht* grob genug *bei* wem sie ankümmt *ein* (DWb.).

Stieler (17th C.): Die Kupplerin hat ihn *bei der Jungfrau ein- geliebelt* (DWb.).

Lessing (18th C.): Unter dem Vorwande, dass er und seine Freunde mit verschiedenen Urtheilen nicht zufrieden wären, *langte* er nicht bloß seine Läuterungen desfalls *bei dem Publico ein*, sondern errichtete selbst ein Tribunal (DWb.).

§ 57. As in the examples listed in the preceding section, the situations in the sentences at the end of this one are no longer clearly visualized. The idea expressed in the group 'auf . . . ein . . . verb' is one of approach, usually with some thought of violence, or at least vehemence, already contained in the simple verb. The preposition has the same force as: "Er kam auf mich zu," 'he came toward me', that is, it denotes direction toward something; while the compound with 'ein' is a remnant of a faded metaphor.

Lessing (18th C.): Nur immer mit einzelnen Beispielen *auf* mich *einstürmen* (DWb.).

Mit diesem Dolch kommen sie *auf* mich *ingerannt* . . . (DWb.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Wie der Hauptmann mit dem wachsenden Sturme *auf* ihn furchtlos *einblitzte* (DWb.).

Auch *rauscht* nicht eben die ganze Volksmenge *auf* den Menschen *ein* (DWb.).

Campe (19th C.): Nicht selten *jagen* sie (die Türkischen Kampfspieler) so wild *auf* einander *ein*, dass man glauben sollte, sie müssten einander über den Haufen rennen.

H. v. Kleist (19th C.): Das Tier *schoss* . . . mit wutherfüllten Sätzen *auf* mich *ein* (S.).

Karl Friedr. Becker (19th C.): Er *fuhr* dergestalt mit Drohungen *auf* sie *ein* (S.).

Friedr. Müller (19th C.): Neues *auf* mich *einstürzendes* Entzücken (DWb.).

Gutzkow (19th C.): Der Kutscher *schlug* *auf* die Pferde *ein* (S.).

§ 58. As the prefix 'ein' may denote that some one gains possession of a thing by means of an action indicated by a verb, this figure may be extended from a material to a mental acquisition. Acquiring a thing mentally gives one a knowledge of it and an accompanying proficiency in it. On the one hand the knowledge may be thought of as entering into the object by means of the action of the verb. On the other hand,

the figure may be that of an object mastering a thing by entering into it, by absorbing it, by means of frequent repetition or intensity of application. For instance, 'ein Pferd einreiten' means to ride a horse until it has become familiar with the art of being ridden. This figure may be transferred to an inanimate object, 'ein Gewehr einschossen'.

Goethe (18th C.):

Habt euch vorher wohl praepariert,
Paraphos wohl *einstudiert* (Faust 1959).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): In die Correcturzeichen hatt' er sich
längst *ingeschossen* (DWb.).

Campe (19th C.): Ich habe mich schwer in die Sache *eingearbeitet*.
Ein Stück gut *ingeigen*.

Einen Hund *einhetzen*.

Eintanzen = einen Tanz einüben, sich eintanzen.

Brandis (19th C.): Hätten beide Sutsos tiefer in die Geschichte und
in die Dichtkunst der hellenischen Vorzeit sich *ingelebt*, wie
ungleich bedeutendere Dichter würden sie sein (DWb.).

§ 59. There are a few compounds in which the prefix 'ein' adds scarcely anything, at most merely intensifying the verb. Their significance for this study lies in the fact that the adverbial prefix has become weakened to such a degree that it no longer affects the verb.

Luther (16th C.): Alsdann sollt ihr wieder umkehren in euer Land,
das euch Mose *ingegeben* hat zu besitzen (Jos. 1, 15).

Und das alles wider das *Einsagen* der Juden, die nicht wöllen,
das Maria ein Jungfrau Mutter sei (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Als durch einen gewissen Halbgeschmack die
lustige Person vertrieben ward, und obgleich geistreiche
Köpfe für sie einsprachen, dennoch weichen musste (26,
195).

§ 60. In several compounds the prefix 'ein' has given place to some other prefix. This is due to the fact that in a number of instances the several prefixes have developed identical force.

Goethe (18th C.): Ich habe wieder Fenster, kann wieder Feuer
einmachen (= 'anmachen', DWb.).

Grimm (19th C.): Ich kann den Stiefel nicht *einkriegen* (= 'an-
kriegen', DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.):

Anmutig Thal! du immergrüner Hain
Nehmt freundlich mich in eure Schatten *ein* ('aufnehmen').
(2, 141.)

§ 61. The following quotation from Lessing is added, not because it represents any particular development of 'ein' or the compound, but merely for the sake of completeness, because it is a curiosity brought down from by-gone times. The genitive is an old adverbial genitive.

Lessing (18th C.): Wir Wirte sind angewiesen, keinen Fremden, wes Standes und Geschlechts er auch sei, vierundzwanzig Stunden zu behausen, ohne seinen Namen . . . gehörigen Orts *einzureichen* (Minna v. Barnhelm 2, 2).

PART III.

'HEREIN' AND 'HINEIN' WITH THEIR ORIGINAL FORCE

§ 62. Similarly, as in the case of the prefixes 'heraus' and 'hinaus', the early German language contains very few examples of the prefix 'herein' and 'hinein', the simple prefixes 'aus' and 'ein' being sufficient by themselves to express the idea of motion toward or away from the speaker, the direction being indicated by the context.

When Otfried writes, "zi thiū *quam* ih hera in uorolt *in*" (4, 21, 29), he gives 'hera' its old demonstrative force, 'toward this place'. In the following sentence, also from Otfried, the original force of 'hin' is shown: *farames* aaur thara zi in, *hina* in iro lant *in* (3, 23, 28). The force of 'in faran' is nearly identical with modern German 'hineinfahren'. 'Hin' is a demonstrative adverb strengthening 'thara'. It is evident that to Otfried 'hin in faran' had not yet formed a compound in the present sense of that term. For him each of the words possessed full individual force.

§ 63. Graff records two Old High German passages in which there seems to be no doubt that the particles 'hera in' form a compound with their respective verbs. But neither in Tatian nor in Otfried's Gospel Harmonies are there examples of such compounds. The following is a relatively complete list of examples from Old High German and Middle High German records. Besides the two Old High German quotations recorded by Graff, Middle High German is represented by five verbs compounded with 'herein', while in seven verbs the prefix 'hinein' is used.

Boethius (9th C.): uuer *liez hara in* ze disemo siechen tise huorra (G.).

Old High German (10th C.): hueo *quam* du *hera in* (G.).

Reinhart Fuchs (12th C.): nu *stôz* dîn haupt *her in* (M.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

er sprach 'ich hân daz wol bedâht
 daz ich iuch hân *her in brâht*' (Iwein 6180).
 dô er noch lützel hêt geseit,
 do erwachte die künegin
 und hôrte sin *sagen hin in* ['into that place'] (Iwein 98).
 vür eine verrâtærinne
 bin ich dâ *her in geleit* (Iwein 4049).
 sus *wurfen* si mich dâ *her in* (Iwein 4171).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

dô des ûzern hers gast
 innen wart daz im gebrast
 dienst dankes von dem meister sîn
 (der was *gevangen hin in*),
 er reit da er sine knappen sach (Parz. 388, 14).
hin in sin *fuorten* al zehant,
 da er manegen werden riter vant (Parz. 163, 17).
 für daz poulûn dô reit
 zwên ritter ûf ir sicherheit,
 die wârn *hin ûz* *gevangen*,
 und kômn *her in* *gegangen* (Parz. 85, 8).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

nu si von dem gevilde
 verre *hin in kâmen* (Trist. 12775).

Konrad v. Megenberg (14th C.): daz winterzeiten die warmen
 dünst *hin ein* in daz ertreich *slahent*, aber sumerzeiten *slahent*
 si *her aus* (M.).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): . . . und liess ir machen ob der
 grossen kilchtür, da man vor *hin ingat*, ein porkilchen (84,
 30).

. . . und *reit* also *hinin* in Lamparten in die statt Cremonensis
 (92, 11).

§ 64. It is evident that 'her' and 'hin' of the double prefixes 'herein', 'hinein', were just being introduced during Old High German times, and had not yet become widely adopted as late as the end of the 14th century. The first element of the prefix was introduced to give added force to the simple prefix 'in', that is, to point out more clearly the direction of the motion of the verb in relation to the speaker. But, as in the case of 'heraus', 'hinaus', a weakening of this force is noticeable at a comparatively early date. It is interesting that the confusion of the two particles 'her' and 'hin' so common to modern German, appears as early

as the beginning of the 13th century, when we should expect the people still to be conscious of the full force of the demonstrative particle.

Hermann v. Fritzlar writes: *dô lif si hin in hin zu deme kunige unde sprach* (Deut. Myst. I, 189, 40).

It is clear that he no longer felt the force of 'hin' in 'hinin', hence added another pleonastic 'hin' to make clear the motion 'away from'. 'Herein' suffered a similar loss, as the following quotation shows.

Pfarrer v. Kalenberg:

wolt got und wer ich vor der thüer
der teuffel *precht* mich nit *herein*
her wider in des pfarrers hauss (1860).

One 'her', either the adverb or the prefix, is superfluous for our present feeling in the matter. This apparent tautology can be explained only if we assume, that for the author of this poem, 'herein' no longer denoted 'motion into and toward', but only 'motion into'. Hence he added a second 'her' to make clear this motion toward the speaker.

§ 65. In modern German the spread of the double prefixes 'herein' and 'hinein' was nearly parallel to that of 'heraus' and 'hinaus'. From Old High German and Middle High German there are recorded eight more verbs compounded with the latter prefixes. The type of verbs which takes the former two, does not differ from that taking the latter double prefixes. Hence the ratio of 22 : 14 is significant as showing the greater vitality of 'ein', which did not require the aid of the demonstrative particle to retain its old force as early nor to such an extent as 'aus'.

The number of verbs with the double prefix with 'aus', and those with 'ein', shows less discrepancy since the beginning of the New High German period than for Middle High German, as will be seen by comparing § 23 with the statistics at the end of this section. At the present time the number of verbs for each is almost equal. This is as might be expected, for potentially they are equal. One interesting fact, however, may be observed, namely, 'her' has been more frequently prefixed to 'aus', while 'hin' is more frequently prefixed to 'ein'. If we deduct the words introduced by Campe as of doubtful merit, we find that there are nearly three times as many verbs compounded with 'heraus' as with 'hinaus', while the inverse ratio holds for 'herein' as compared with 'hinein'.²⁵

²⁵ As stated in § 24, Campe formed many compounds with 'hinaus' in analogy to those with 'heraus' already existing in the language, hence the ratio of verbs with 'heraus' and 'hinaus' has been artificially disturbed. For 'herein' and 'hinein' he followed an inverse process.

It is suggestive that, while Campe has coined seventy-five per cent more verbs with 'herein' than with 'hinein', more than twice as many of the latter as of the former have been accepted by 19th century writers.

STATISTICS ON THE SPREAD OF 'HEREIN' AND 'HINEIN'.

	'HEREIN'	'HINEIN'	TOTAL
Old High German period	2		2
Middle High German period	5	7	12
Luther	5	27	32
Rest of 16th Century	3	9	12
17th Century	7	18	25
Goethe	8	11	19
Rest of 18th Century	13	60	73
Campe	95 (8)	55 (14)	150
19th Century	3	21	24
	141	208	349

PART IV.

NEW MEANINGS ACQUIRED BY 'HEREIN' AND 'HINEIN'

§ 66. In modern German speech the confusion of 'herein' and 'hinein' is of common occurrence. It is due to the fact that for some speakers 'her' and 'hin' no longer possess the force which originally belonged to them. The motion of the verb is not clearly visualized as being directed toward or away from the speaker. Very often the confusion is psychologically accounted for by a preceding sentence logically containing one or the other prefix, which is then repeated by another speaker when, from his standpoint, the motion of the verb is in an entirely opposite direction from that denoted by the first speaker. A good example of the influence of such a statement on a following reply is found in Hartmann v. Aue's Iwein. Lunet, imprisoned in a tower, says to Iwein:

sus schiet ich âne kempfen dan [from Arthur's court]
 des wart ich sô ze spotte hie
 daz es mir an mîn herze gie.
 sus *wurfen* sî mich dâ *her in* [into the tower] (4171).

Since she is inside and speaking of herself, 'her in' is what we expect. A few lines farther along Iwein, referring to her plight, says:

zwäre ich trûwe wol gesigen
 an den ritern allen drin,
 die iuch *geworfen* hânt *her in* (4226).

By no logical process could this 'her in' be explained, since Iwein is outside the chapel and cannot possibly have had in mind any idea of

approach toward himself. Altho several speeches intervene between Lunet's use of 'her in werfen' and Iwein's use of the same phrase, he has unconsciously retained her own expression, which he now employs. The force of the verb 'werfen' may have made a strong impression on him. There were several other expressions which a Middle High German speaker might have used, for example, 'hin in sperren' or 'hin in tun'; while Lunet herself uses 'her in legen'. (Cf. 4049.) Other examples of a confusion of the two prefixes are:

Pfarrer v. Kalenberg (15th C.):

ir müste do *her eine gan*,
do innen sitzet mein schuster (1408).

Kaspar Scheid (16th C.):

wolan disz buch hat schier ein ort . . .
so wil ich jetzundt, hab ich glück,
etlich probierte gute stück
zur letzt auch *schreiben* gleich *herein* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Dem sechzehnten Brief . . . wollen wir sein Wohlgedachtes nicht abläugnen, doch quilt auch da nichts aus der Seele, es ist so alles in die Seele *hereingedacht* (33, 94).

Sie hat darin (in der Menagerie) die wunderbarsten Thiere,
Und *kriegt sie rein*, weiss selbst nicht wie (2, 90).

Goethe is giving vent to his feelings concerning Lili Schönemann, whom he is comparing to Circe. He starts out his poem objectively, standing off at a distance and describing the wiles of his betrothed, who has inveigled numerous men into her net (Menagerie). But unconsciously Goethe turns to a subjective attitude, for the matter concerns him too, since he is one of the captured animals, hence thinks of himself as in the park. Therefore he uses 'herein' instead of 'hinein'.

Raabe (19th C.): . . . nachdem er sich halbwegs *herein gefunden* hatte, zeigte er sich nicht besser als jeder andere Schlingel (Hungerpastor 24).

§ 67. The following quotations show that the same confusion occurs regarding the use of 'hinein' for 'herein', but not to quite the same extent.

Wieland (18th C.):

Wir werden nie zu weise noch zu alt,
Ihr (Thorheit) süszes Gift mit Lust *hinein* zu *trinken* (DWb.).

Frenssen (19th C.): Dann fing der alte Mann an von alten Zeiten zu sprechen, bis in die Gegenwart *hinein* (Sandgräfin 29).

§ 68. In several instances the compound with 'herein' has become so highly specialized as a result of the paling of an old figure, that there is no feeling at all of direction, either toward or away from the speaker. This is evidently the case in the following quotation:

Luther (16th C.): Sie weren wol werd, beide Beschleffer und Beschlefferin, das sie zum wenigsten eine Zeitlang das Land müssten reumen, damit das Ergernis gebüszet oder *herein bracht*, und den andern ein Exempel zur Furcht gegeben wurde (DWb.).²⁶

Wie denn seine (des Moses) Weise ist, das er oft so *herein feret*, und also redet, das jedermann vestehet (DWb.).

Hie *fellet herein* (in d. Untersuchung) die alte Frage welcher Evangelist . . . die veterliche Schnur beschriebe (DWb.).

Ew. Gestrengen wollen sich unbeschwert *hereinfinden* (DWb.).

§ 69. A few compounds denote an 'entering' into our senses, for example, into our range of vision, or of hearing. There can be no visualization of a motion into something in these cases, but there is an idea of an approaching toward the speaker, in all of the following examples. Usually there is a reference to some natural phenomenon.

Luther (16th C.): Wenn wir diese Zeichen sehen mit Feuer, Wasser, Blitz, und Donner *hereinschlagen* (S.).

Luther probably thought of some extramundane being hurling the elements in upon the earth. Obviously this being is above the world, and the motion is assumed as coming downward. It is in a similar figure that most of the following expressions must have had their origin. In nearly all of them it would be possible to substitute 'herab' or 'hernieder' for 'herein' without in any way changing the thought.

Lessing (18th C.): Der schwüle Tag vergeht, der Abend *bricht herein* (DWb.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Das *hereinhängende* Himmelblau schien ihm eine dünne blaue Wolke (DWb.).

Von den Höhen *klangen* Alphörner *herein* (C.).

Aber als er innen in der Finsternis mit dem Kopfe am Felsen lehnte und die Töne neckend *hereinspielten* (DWb.).

Rosegger (19th C.): Ueber dieser (der Stirn) hingen quer ein paar rötlichblonde Haarlocken herein, bis zu den runden, ziemlich tiefliegenden Augen (Peter Mayr 7).

²⁶ Cf. Schiller: Ihr Versäumnis *herein* zu *bringen* und ihre Fehler zu verbessern (DWb.).

The idea expressed by Rosegger is sufficiently clear, but the force of 'herein' is not very evident.

§ 70. The simple prefix 'ein' frequently occurs with prepositional phrases introduced by 'in' or 'zu'. These denote the goal of the motion of the verb. Both of these prepositions occur with the double prefix. The preposition 'in' is of too common occurrence in this connection to require special treatment. A few quotations with 'zu' will suffice.

Luther (16th C.): er *führte* mich *hinein zum* Thore an des Herren Haus (Hes. 8, 14).

Jesus *gieng zum* Tempel Gottes *hinein* (Mat. 21, 12).

Goethe (18th C.): er *schüttet* die *Pfeile* zum Feuer *hinein* (DWb.).

§ 71. A large number of verbal compounds with 'ein' in its old force have come down to us as fossilized forms. Most of these have not been supplemented by a verb with the double prefix. Some writers, however, have coined an intensive form with 'herein' or 'hinein', which is a little stronger than the form with the simple prefix.

Luther (16th C.): Als wenn einer dem andern ein Trunk reichert und spreche, nemet hin, trinkt, hie sitze ich Hans mit den roten Hosen . . . oder *füret* sonst desgleichen einen Bossen *herein*, der sich gar nichts aufs Trinken reimet (DWb.).

H. Chr. Fuchs (17th C.):

Hat mich doch mein Schwager getrost
Mir kecken Mut *gepflantzt hinein* (DWb.).

Grimmelshausen (17th C.): Geschirr . . . den Wein von Palmen *hineinzufangen* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Wenn ich, auf morgen früh, dich *hinein* in meine Wohnung *lade* (9, 364).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Ich hatte heute eine . . . Freude an erbärmlichen Sitten, dass ich mir jeden Bissen *hinein predigen* liess. (DWb.).

Wilbrandt (20th C.): . . . ich kenne die Verhältnisse nicht, ich *mische* mich nicht *hinein* (Osterinsel 416).

Westermann's Monatshefte (1914): "Anleitung zu Lektüre" nennt es sich [R. M. Meyer's Büchlein], und es will allen Freunden deutschen Schrifttums den Weg zeigen, auf dem sie sich am besten in die deutsche Literatur *hinein-* und wieder *herauslesen* (Editorial p. 788).

§ 72. There is one instance in which the goal of the motion of a verb compounded with 'hinein' is in the accusative. It is possible that this accusative is the object of a prepositional phrase, the preposition having been omitted to meet the requirements of the meter. There are no examples of the goal being in the dative, while for the simple prefix this case is common.

Goethe (18th C.): Und so *trabt'* er die Höhle *hinein* (40, 202).

§ 73. The following are words taken from mining terminology. It is natural that men working in mines should have occasion to make frequent use of the particle 'herein' in various connections. These have come to acquire a specialized meaning for that trade.

Campe (19th C.): *hereinschlagen* = Massen Gesteins los schlagen, und so in den Schacht herein befördern.

Veith: *hereingehen* = in den Schacht stürzen (Bergwörterbuch 272).

hereinkeilen = die zu gewinnenden Massen mit Keilen loslösen, und so in den Schacht herein fallen lassen (Bergwörterb. 272).

hereinreissen = Kohle und Gestein so reissen, dass sie in den Schacht hereinfallen (Bergwörterb. 272).

hereinschiessen = eine anzugreifende Gesteinmasse mittels Schiessens lossprengen (Bergwörterb. 272).

hereintreiben = die zu gewinnenden Massen in grösseren Stücken loslösen (Bergwörterb. 272).

SUMMARY

§ 74. The following points were brought out in this chapter.

1). The original function of 'ein' was that of an adverb denoting motion into an enclosed space. In a few instances 'ein' was used in connection with a verb of rest, but this was the result of a confusion of ideas or of confusion with 'inne', the old adverb of rest.

2). 'Ein' retained its vitality longer than 'aus', many old compounds having come down to the present time. But it is no longer an active prefix.

3). The pleonastic use of the prefix 'ein' with phrases introduced by 'in' or 'zu', shows a weakening of the force of the particle as early as Old High German.

4). The semantic development of 'ein', tho not so great as that of 'aus', tended to restrict further use in its original function.

5). The semantic development of 'ein' began during the early Middle High German period, but most of the new meanings did not arise until after the time of Luther.

6). The functional weakening (indicated by 3) and the spread of specialized uses of 'ein' (4), necessitated the introduction of some other element to denote the force surrendered by 'ein'. 'Her' and 'hin' were prefixed to 'ein' for this purpose.

7). 'Herein' and 'hinein' as prefixes to verbs, make their first appearance during the Old High German period, altho missing for Otfried and Tatian. They are still very sparingly used during Middle High German times, but are already common by the time of Luther, with a function formerly possessed by the simple prefix.

8). The double compound is showing a tendency toward specialization. But this tendency does not antedate the 18th century. Nowhere are there any signs of a semantic development such as the simple compound has undergone.

9). There are more than three times as many verbs with 'hinein' as with 'herein'. (Cf. § 23 and § 65.)

CHAPTER III.

AB, HERAB, HINAB

§ 75. 'Aus' and 'ein' were originally adverbs of direction pointing out a relation to the interior of a thing. 'Aus' referred to a motion from the interior outward, 'ein' to a motion in an opposite direction, namely, into a thing. The other adverbial particles treated in this study, were more general in their application. 'Auf' denoted an upward motion. 'An' pointed out that the motion extended 'up to' a thing. 'Ab' denoted a departure from a surface. But there are two very distinct surfaces to an object to be considered here, namely, the superior and the lateral surfaces, the bottom of an object, upon which it normally rests, rarely offering a point of approach or departure. To the mature mind the two positions represent two very distinct conceptions, expressed by different adverbs (prepositions), 'auf' and 'an' in modern German. A departure from these positions means two different kinds of motion. One denotes a descent, that is, a vertical motion, the other a horizontal movement. Yet we have but one adverb to express these radically different ideas.²⁷ The original and still the more common force of 'ab' is that denoting a motion 'away from' or 'a separation', and these meanings it still preserves as an adverb in modern German, the preposition 'ab' having disappeared from the language. In view of the very common use of 'heran' and 'hinan' it is strange that a motion in an opposite direction should not have developed parallel forms 'herab' and 'hinab', but this has not been done, 'herab' and 'hinab' being reserved to intensify the more unusual meaning of 'ab', namely, that denoting descent, the opposite of 'auf', 'herauf', etc.

²⁷ English 'off' represents the same two meanings, *e. g.*, "he got off his horse" = 'he descended from his horse', while "they had driven off before we arrived" = 'they had driven away'. In present day English 'off' usually refers to a departure from a superior surface, or an idea of descent is implied. In colloquial speech a pleonastic preposition 'of' has been added to indicate a point from which the departure is taken.

PART I.

'AB' WITH ITS ORIGINAL FORCE

In view of the two distinct meanings of 'ab', it will be necessary to divide Part I of this chapter into two subdivisions.

A. will treat 'ab' denoting horizontal motion;

B. will take up the vertical motion of the same particle.

It is the first of these functions that has undergone the greatest semantic change.

A.

§ 76. In Indo-Germanic times 'ab' (< *apo) meant 'away from'. It has retained this function even in New High German. Sometimes the point of departure is expressed in the form of a prepositional phrase introduced by 'von'. Such is the case in the first of the following quotations from Old High German and Middle High German. In the other quotations the point of origin is not stated. In all of them the idea is one of departure from a position in close proximity to an object, to one farther away. Sentences with a figurative meaning follow those with concrete force.

Tatian (9th C.): inti gioffanôt uurdun irô ougûn, inti forstuontun inan, inti her *abfuor* fon irô ougôn (228, 4).

Nibelungenlied (12th C.): Gunther . . . *gie* von den sciffen *abe* (586, 2).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

dô *leite* in mit zûhten *abe*

Anfortas von dem gewerbe (Parz. 819, 14).

Der Winsbecke (13th C.): durch dine tugent des *helf* mir *abe* (M).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): dô quam ein widerkraft vil starc und begonn sie *abe triben* (M.).

Die Stadrechte v. Brünn aus d. 13ten u. 14ten Jh.: den käufer von erbgütern *abtreiben* (M.).

Das Leben d. hl. Ludwig (14th C.): also *sitzen* si *abe* vom lande (M.).

Die Jagd Hadamars v. Laber (14th C.): wil der hunt nâch allen verten balde *ab stozen* (M.).

Vom Herkommen der Schwyzer (15th C.): . . . und warent si also notigen mit sômlicher not, dass si begondent *abziehen* (191, 4).

FIGURATIVE

Nibelungenlied (12th C.): des willen in ir herzen *kom* si vil selten
abe (1396, 1).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

sô tuo ouch under wilên schîn
ob er noch riters muot habe,
und *entuo* sich des niht *abe* (Iwein 2856).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

hier über suochte er ir aller rât,
den zwifel umbe ir missetât,
wie er den sô hin *getete*,
als er es êre hæte,
eintweder *abe* oder *an* (Trist. 15301).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): des glouben zwifels schime begonde
ime *abe slifen* (M.).

wolt ir mir des *abe treten* ('darin von mir abweichen', M.).

Nicolaus v. Jeroschin (14th C.): dô si zum andrin mâle wâr dem
geloubin *abgevarn* ('vom Glauben abgefallen', M.).

daz ros ze mittem satel *abe* (Iwein 1114).
ez (das Falltor) *sluoc*, als ich vernomen habe,

§ 77. The Old High German particle gives privative force to the verb. This force is very closely related to the above, the difference being that in the above section one thing departs from another by means of a verb of motion, while in this section something is detached from a person or object. The original relation of the two objects was a closer one than that implied in the preceding section. The verbs of the compounds are not necessarily verbs of motion, but rather verbs of separation which denote the manner of the process.

Tatian (9th C.): *ababrâchun* hungerentê sinê iungiron thiu ehir
inti âzun (68, 1).

inti oba thîn zesuuuâ hant thih bisuihhe, *hou* sie *aba* inti uuirph
sia fon thir (28, 3).

oba thîn hant odo thîn fuoz bisuuiche thih, *abasnit* inan inti
aruuirf fon thir (95, 4).

Deutsche Gedichte d. 11ten u. 12ten Jh.: mach ich den chunig uber-
winden, daz ich dem die chrône *abe ziehe* (M.).

Ludwig d. Frommen Kreuzfahrt (12th C.): sinen bart *abe geschorn*
(M.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

ez (das Falltor) *sluoc*, als ich vernomen habe,
daz ros ze mittem satel *abe* (Iwein 1114).

Sprachdenkmäler d. 12ten Jh.: sô *bizzet* er ir daz houbet *abe* (M.).
Walther v. d. Vogelweide (12th C.): starken liuten *waet* erz houbet
abe (DWb.).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):
er valte ime ouch bürge unde stete
und *brach* im underwilen *abe*
sine liute und sine habe (Trist. 372).

Wolfdietrich (13th C.): daz houbet man im *abe schôz* (1071, 2).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):
'war zuo ist diz guot, (der Ringpanzer)
ine mag es niht *abe gewicken*' (Parz. 124, 4).

Berthold v. Regensburg (13th C.): daz er den hals *abe stôzet* oder
vellet (M.).

Ulrich v. d. Türlein (13th C.): eim schiltknechte wart lîhtê ein
spor hie zu hove *abe getreten* (DWb.).

Konrad v. Würzburg (13th C.): mit dem labe daz vil maneger
schüzzel *abe wart gespuolt* (M.).

daz *weschet* *abe* der brunne klar (M.).

Nicolaus v. Strassburg (14th C.): den hals *ab vallen* (Deut. Myst.
1, 295, 16).

Peter Suchenwirt (14th C.): der veinde spitz *abreiten* (M.).

Geo. Rollenhagen (16th C.):
Dasz ihm ein Groschen trag der Scherf,
Die Bratwurst ein Speckseit *abwerf* (S.).

B.

§ 78. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, one class of compounds with 'ab' denotes a descent from the top surface of an object. These are the verbs in which New High German usually substitutes 'herab' or 'hinab' for older 'ab', altho 'ab' with its old forcè is still an active prefix. In several of the following quotations the meanings 'down from' and 'away from' are so closely blended that it is difficult to determine which force is the more prominent in the mind of the speaker.

Genesis (11th C.): *abe wîelz* er den stein (M.).

Der Kahle Ritter (13th C.): unz im daz hiubel *abe* swanc, daz ime
daz houbet beleip (M.).

Die gute Frau (13th C.): si *reicht* von den sternem *abe* (M.).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):
sus kom unser toerscher knabe
geriten einer halden *abe* (Parz. 138, 10).

Ulrich v. Zatzikoven (13th C.): *bède wurfen* si sich *abe* ('von den rossen', M.).

Weisthümer (14th C.): den reiter vom pferde *abstoszen* (M.).

Suchenwirt (14th C.): die piderben helt die *vielen ab* ('sassen ab', M.).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): do si nû also trank, do beducht die tochter, wie ir ein brunnender brand durch ir kelen *abgienge* (55, 18).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.): dasz in die zeher die packen *ablaufen* (267, 21).

lasz *absincken* euren zorn (77, 31).

§ 79. The particle with the force shown in the section just preceding is still commonly used in the expression 'auf und ab'. That a downward motion is here denoted is clear from the contrast indicated by the adverb 'auf'. Such fossilized formulas containing two words with contrasting ideas are common to the language. (Cf. 'aus und ein', § 3.)

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

welt ir und die muoter min
mir teilen iwer varnde habe
sô *stîge* ich *ûf* und ninder *abe* ('ascend a
high position', Parz. 9, 22).

Hugo v. Trimberg (14th C.): *slæt* daz korn *ûf*, *slæt* ez *abe* (M.).

Heinrich der Teichner (14th C.): alle stîg die da *vuerent ûf* und *abe* (M.).

Vom Herkommen der Schwyzer (15th C.): das ist als vil, als von der sunnen *ufgang* unz zû der sunnen *abgang* (196, 12).

Goethe (18th C.): *Schweben auf*, *schweben ab* (12, 236).

Wieland (18th C.): An dem Arm sanft *auf* und *abstreichen* (S.).
Er wurde durch den Schwall der aufgebrachten Wogen lang
auf und *abgewälzt* (S.).

Rückert (19th C.): Sein Auge *lief* an mir *ab* und *empor* (S.).

SPECIALIZED MEANINGS

Goethe (18th C.): Das immer wiederholte *Ab-* und *Aufschlagen* des Lagers (6, 108).²⁸

Wieland (18th C.): Sie (die Bücherrolle) *auf* und *abrollen* (S.).

In the following quotations both 'auf' and 'ab' have lost their original force. In the first two the thought is of an 'up and down' in volume

²⁸ Cf. specialized meaning of 'auf', § 120, and of 'ab', § 86.

of light and speech respectively, while the last two have lost all idea of an upward or downward motion, meaning merely back and forth.

Walther v. d. Vogelweide (12th C.): der schin *nimt drâte ûf unt abe* (M.).

Heinrich der Teichner (14th C.): der niur stille geswigen kund und liez *reden ûf und abe*, ez gerou in nimmer sit (M.).

Kohl (19th C.): Thäler, in denen die Menschheit *auf-* und *abflutete* (S.).

Sealsfield (19th C.): Als er . . . halbrasend *auf-* und *abtohte* (S.).

Wilbrandt (20th C.): [er trat] auf den Gang hinaus und *schrift* hier eine Zeitlang, ohne anzuhalten *auf* und *ab* (Osterinsel 282).

PART II.

NEW MEANINGS DEVELOPED BY 'AB'

§ 80. In this Part the developments of the several concrete meanings of the particle 'ab' will be traced chronologically. There are three functions of the particle which have developed specialized meanings. All three of them existed in Old High German and, as seen in Part I of this chapter, were:

- 1). to denote a departure from an object;
- 2). a privative force, *i.e.*, a separation or detachment from an object;
- 3). to denote the descent from the top surface of an object.

The last of these meanings represents a limited action and does not lend itself freely to semantic development which always presupposes a weakening of a conception originally possessed by a word. The other two old meanings, however, have acquired a number of functions not originally belonging to the adverb or preposition.

§ 81. One of the earliest specializations of the prefix 'ab' was that referring to a removal of clothes from the body and to figures derived from this activity.

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): wie *bringe* ichz [daz harnasch] *ab* im unde an mich (Parz. 156, 17).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): [sie] heten *ab* im *gezert* hût, fleisch . . . (M.).

Speculum ecclesiae: daz joch der ubeln herscheft *abe* sime halse *scutte* (M.).

With the last quotation compare the following from Hartmann v. Aue: wan ich *schutte* in [den harnasch] *abe* und gie dan (Iwein 779).

A comparison of these quotations leads us to suspect that in the last sentence we have an elliptic sentence to deal with, an original object of the preposition 'ab' having been dropped. Such an object, even a whole phrase is frequently omitted when the situation makes the meaning clear.²⁹ Further examples of this use of the particle in a compound follow.

Gedichte des 11. und 12. Jh.: den balc *abe* *straufen* (DWb.).

Reinhart Fuchs (12th C.): daz heize wazzer *fuort* im *abe* hut unde har (M.).

Physiologus (12th C.): sô suochet siu einen locherohten stein, sliu-fet dar durch unde *streifet* die hûd *abo* (DWb.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

er brach sine site und sine zucht
und *zart* *abe* sin gewant (Iwein 3235).

ir rouwigen hende hâten daz gebende unschone *abe* *gestroufet*
(Erec 5321).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): der wâppen *teter* sich dô *abe*
(Parz. 92, 14).

si *want* mit ir hende
wider *ab* ir houbtgebende (Parz. 780, 8).
ouch *zôch* im mêt gewandes *abe*
manec wol geborner knabe (Parz. 243, 17).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): er sach si ir gebende *rîzen* *abe* (M.).
einem êre unde guot *abe* *strîchen* (M.).

Heinrich v. Meissen (14th C.): dô mir der angeborne nebel geist-lich wart *abgestrichen* (M.).

§ 82. During the Middle High German period, 'ab' prefixed to certain transitive verbs denoted that part of the object of the sentence was 'worn away' by the action of the verb, that is, it is a development of the privative meaning of the adverb. The earliest examples of this force of the particle are in connection with verbs of walking, riding, etc., which cause the wearing away by frequent repetition or long duration.³⁰

Nibelungenlied (12th C.): dô wart von guoten helden vil kleider
ab geriten von den hôchgemuoten nâch des landes siten (602,
1).

²⁹ Cf. "schlagen sie ein" = 'in meine Hand'. The station master calls: "Abfahren!" and everyone understands what is to ride away and from whence. Cf. § 47.

³⁰ For an identical force of 'aus' see § 11.

Minnesinger (13th C.):

die stige sint mir *abe getreten*,
die mich dâ leiten hin an dich (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Die Schneiden an den Sensen waren *abgearbeitet*
(1 Sam. 13, 21).

Agricola (16th C.): Die Pferde *stehn* ihre Bein *ab* und können
hernach niergend fortkommen (DWb.).

Gryphius (17th C.):

Sind diese die, die vor der Zeit
In Purpur, Seid, und Gold geglissen,
Und die, die in Gebrechlichkeit
Umirrten, kahl und *abgerissen*? (DWb.)

Goethe (18th C.): Die durch Kirchengänger *abgetretene* Grab-
steine (S.).

Bürger (18th C.):

Was zwischen manchem wilden Haufen
Sich Bullius, der Aldermann,
An Hörnern endlich *abgelaufen*,
Das läuft sein Weib ihm wieder an (DWb.).

Hartmann (19th C.): Nach und nach wurde mein Anzug so *abge-*
schoben und schäbig (S.).

Tieck (19th C.): Alle meine jugendlichen Empfindungen erschien-
en mir schal und *abgestanden* (DWb.).

§ 83. Closely related to the old privative meaning discussed in section 77 is the force of 'ab' shown by the following quotations. In all of these the compound with the prefix 'ab' denotes a gradual decrease of volume of the subject, all the verbs being intransitive. The idea upon which this development is based, is that of a separation of a part from the rest of the subject.

Arzneibuch des 12ten Jh.: die sint guot den, die *abenement* an dem
libe (M.).

Walther v. d. Vogelweide (12th C.): er hete an fröiden *abe ge-*
nomen (M.).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

(er fürchtete) im solte von dem bluote
an krefte unde an muote
in kurzen ziten *abe gân* (Trist. 16073).

Hans Sachs (16th C.): dir *get ab* an ghör (DWb.).

Friedrich v. Logau (17th C.): Es *fällt* viel *ab* von ihrem Willen
(A.).

Opitz (17th C.):

Siehe, wie ich *ab* sei *kommen*,
Wie mir alle Kraft genommen (C.).

Goethe (18th C.): Der hinein geworfne Stein treibt das Wasser nach allen Seiten, die Wirkung erreicht eine höchste Stufe, sie *klingt ab* und gelangt, im Gegensatz, zur Tiefe (52, 57).
Durch die milde Sommerluft war das Gewölbe immer mehr *abgeschmolzen* (S.).

§ 84. A verb compounded with 'ab' may denote that some part of a person or thing has been separated from him or it. But the thing separated from a person need not necessarily be a part of him physically, but may be something possessed by him. The accompaniment of the deprivation, or rather a result of it, may be 'a transfer of the possession' from the original owner to another, the verb denoting the means of transfer. For instance, the removal of an object from a person and its acquisition by another may be the result of force or superiority, which is expressed by the verb. The prefix 'ab' signifies that the original possessor is uppermost in the mind.⁸¹

Ludwig d. Frommen Kreuzfahrt (12th C.): einem den sige *abelâhen* (M.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

ichn ger niht iuwer habe,
ichn *gewinnes* iu *abe* (Iwein 2608).

Wackernagels Lesebuch: dasz sie grosze Beut . . . uns wolle *abstreifen* (S.).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.): das du mir mein kind hast *abgelogen* (43, 3).

das er mir tut mein pfrunt *absteln* (144, 13).

Luther (16th C.): Es müst ein armer Teufel sein, dem die solten eine Seele *abbeten* (DWb.).

Nicht zwingen, sondern durch freundliches Ermahnen *abbitten* (DWb.).

Solche Vermahnung nehmet für gut, die mir euer Sohn mit groszem Fleisz *abgeflehet* hat (DWb.).

⁸¹ By omitting the object of the preposition, the type is established for sentences such as those discussed in the present section. They may have had their rise in elliptic expressions.

von herzeleid geschah im daz
daz siz (daz vingerlin) im *ab* der hant *gewan* (Iwein 3199).

For the opposite attitude cf. 'aneignen', etc.

Hans Sachs (16th C.): Meinten die Schanz uns *abzudrenge*n (A.).

Den Kaufleuten ir Geld *abschrecken* (DWb.).

Den Himmel uns noch *abzustürmen* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Einem Gespenste gleich unter den Lebenden bleiben, und mit hohlem Ansehn einen Platz behaupten wollen, den ihm ein anderer *abgeerbt* hat und nun besitzt und genießt (8, 231).

Die Langeweile *forderte* mir eine mäszige Thätigkeit *ab* (31, 89).

. . . und er *horchte* ihnen ihre bestimmten Kentnisse *ab* (S.).

Wieland (18th C.): *Lockt* keinen Blick durch seinen Scherz ihm *ab* (DWb.).

Bürger (18th C.): Ihr ein Lächeln *abzuzwingen* (DWb.).

Schiller (18th C.):

Wie er räuspert und wie er spuckt,

Das habt ihr ihm glücklich *abgeguckt* (Lager 209).

§ 85. A strongly metaphorical force of the particle is that which gives to the compound the meaning 'to refuse', *i.e.*, turn away from a thing.

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

durch die selben und durch in

dem ich wol schuldec bin

daz ich im nihtes *abe gê*

daz im ze dienste gestê

muoz ich sî under wegen lân (Iwein 4909).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

mit êren âne schande

wart in geteilet dâ sîn habe,

mit valsche niht *gewiset abe* (Parz. 336, 24).

Livländische Chronik (13th C.): der bete er im niht *abe trat* (M.).

Peter Suchenwirt (14th C.): dem der tût hât *abgesait* daz leben (M.).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.): darumb woll wir die heirat *abschlâhen* (112, 32).

Luther (16th C.): So doch Gott selbs solchen ungehorsamen Kindern flucht und langes Leben *abspricht* (DWb.).

A refusal and a denial are very closely related, as is shown by the following sentences which constitute a denial, while those above denoted a refusal.

Meister Eckhart (14th C.): swer daz gote wolde *abe sprechen* (Deut. Myst. 2, 151, 40).

Arnim (19th C.): Seine Unterschrift *abschwören* (S.).

Gervinus (19th C.): Es ist thöricht dieser Gesellschaft grosse Einflüsse *abreden* zu wollen (DWb.).

§ 86. A German uses the compound 'aufbauen' to denote the construction of a building. The thought is that of putting one stone upon another or otherwise elevating the structure. The same idea is contained in English: "He is putting up a new house." But, whereas in English the opposite activity is indicated by a verb with the adverb 'down', Germans commonly employ the adverbial particle 'ab' in this sense, tho 'nieder' may also be used. In general, compounds so formed contained an idea of a violent 'taking down' or 'apart' of a structure, as the following quotations will show.

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

der küneec Gramoflanz enböt
ze Rosch Sabbins den sinen,
si solten sich des pînen
daz se *abe bræchen* bi dem mer (die Zelte)
und vor tage koemn mit sime her (Parz. 731, 17).

Der Stricker (14th C.): si brennent die burc oder *stözens abe* (M.).

§ 87. During the Middle High German period, a group of verbs compounded with 'ab' came to denote 'a removal from a position or office'. As faded metaphors they are still active with this force in modern German. The figure is that of some one descending, voluntarily or otherwise, from a throne or other position. The descent from an elevation, physical, social, political, is not any longer felt in all cases, there being chiefly a conception of a removal from such a position now. Thus the old form 'absetzen', and the newer one 'herabsetzen', have quite distinctive meanings, the one to remove, the other to degrade.

Livländische Chronik (13th C.): des amtes er niht *abe trat* (M.).

Urkunden Kaiser Ludwig des Bayern (14th C.): den rât setzen und *ablâzen* (L.).

Zürcher Jahrbuch (15th C.): der rât wart geendrot und entsazt und wurdent die gewaltigen alle *abe gestôzen* (M.).

Monumenta Habsburgica (15th C.): *abstehen* (= 'abtreten von einem Amte', L.).

Luther (16th C.): Er ändert Zeit und Stunde, er *setzt* Könige *ab*, und *setzt* Könige ein (Dan. 2, 21).

Jason, der seinen Bruder vom Amt *abgestoszen* hatte (DWb.).

§ 88. It has been seen that 'aus' and 'ab' have in several instances developed similar force. Another example of such parallel development is treated in this section, that is, the force 'to put an end to' or 'to stop', according to whether the verbs are transitive or intransitive. As in the case of many other compounds, some particular group of verbs served as a starting point for the semantic change, all of the early compounds having a privative force. In such cases a departure or separation of one thing from another is equal to putting an end to its existence.

Deutsche Predigten des 13ten Jh.: daz got din leben *abe snidet* (M.). The figure is similar to that of Fate cutting off the thread of life, which is equivalent to ending the life.

Die Stadtrechte v. Brünn aus d. 13ten u. 14ten Jh.: (eine Schuld) *abtragen* inner jârs vrist (M.).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): wand im sîn leben *abe trat* = endete (M.).

Nicolaus v. Strassburg (14th C.): der viel in einen zwivel, daz nâch disem lebende nit ein ander leben wêre, und *lie* sine erbarmherzikeit *abe* und gedâhte (Deut. Myst. 1, 265, 30).

Hermann v. Fritzlar (14th C.): aber iz geschach alsô vil bôsheit des nachtes, daz die heilige kristenheit diz (Fest) *abe leite* = 'abschaffen' (Deut. Myst. 1, 86, 29).

Peter Suchenwirt (14th C.): dem der tod hat *abgeseit* daz leben (M.).⁸²

Jacob Twinger v. Königshofen (14th C.): daz siu soltent die geischeler *abe duon* und verbieten (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Es gerate mit meinen Sprüchen wie es wolle, so viel sie auch den Ablasz *ablegen* (DWb.).

Mathesius (16th C.): So gehts auch in Zechen, das sich oft das Erz verdruckt oder gar *abschneidet* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Als ein für allemal *abgethan*, abgemacht, und fertig erklärt (S.).

The following have intransitive force.

Theophilus (12th C.): uns er *abe liez* (M.).

Minnesinger (13th C.):

svenne si ir strîten lânt
und die kriege *abe gânt* (M.).

Mai und Beafloer (13th C.): er *nam* niht *abe* von siner klage (M.).

Luther (16th C.): die Verheiszung *ist ab* (Römer 4, 14).

⁸² As seen in § 85, 'absagen' may mean to refuse or deny. In this passage that would be equal to 'to put an end to'.

Closely related to the above meaning, in fact, but another development of it, is the force of 'ab' acquired during late Middle High German times. The particle denotes that an object is 'put out of existence' by means of the action indicated by the verb, while in the preceding list the verb denoted the manner in which the end was brought about as an object (or subject). Frequently in the following list, the verb denotes the expiration of an indebtedness or a credit, that is, rubbing it off the slate.

Weisthümer: Die rechnung beim wirt *abtrinken* (M.).

kann er es *abgebeten*, so darf er es nit abgelten (M.).

Friedrich v. Logau (17th C.): Ob er gleich die Zins *abführt* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): *Bitte* den Göttern *ab* deine Noten über Homer! (S.).

Herder (18th C.):

Fleht tiefgebeugt ihr Alles *ab*
Was sie ihr Leids begunnt (S.).

Alxinger (18th C.):

Ich fühlte tief mein Unrecht und began
Es *abzubüssen*, abzuweinen (S.).

Fichte (18th C.): Sein Geld *abhören* wollen ('von dem Student, der für vorausgezahlt Geld Vorträge hört' (DWb.).

§ 89. By driving stakes or digging a ditch around a piece of land to indicate its limits it is separated from the surrounding territory.³³

Opitz (17th C.): Doch diese Dunkelheit hat *abgesteckte* Schranken (A.).

Goethe (18th C.): Schon hatte sich das Volk auf die oberwärts *abgestochnen* und vom Rasen entblösten Dämme gedrängt (17, 157).

Usually before thus dividing ground into smaller plots, these are measured; hence, compounds denoting such a division of land came also to acquire the force 'to measure'. One of the earliest methods of measuring was by pacing the distance in various directions.

Goethe (18th C.): Wenn ich sie herumziehen sehe mit losem Haar, im Mondschein einen Kreis *abgehn* (11, 50).

Adelung (18th C.): Einen Weg *abfahren* = durch ein Fuhrwerk abmessen.

³³ Cf. English, 'to stake off', 'to fence off', etc.

Campe (19th C.): Den Platz zum Lager *abreiten* = die Ausdehnung desselben durch Abzählen der Schritte des Pferdes reitend messen.

Abspannen = mit der Spanne, mit ausgestrecktem Daumen und kleinem Finger abmessen.

Altho in the following quotations the idea of measuring has been lost sight of, the underlying thought is the same. The compounds denote that an activity—that is, motion—extends over a certain area.

Olearius (17th C.): Eh dasz faule Schläfer den Kopf nach dem Wege aufrichten, so haben hurtige Gänger ihren Weg schon *abgelegt* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Oft *sieht* man gar nicht *ab*, wohin das Wasser seinen Ablauf nehmen will (27, 177).

Joh. Gottfr. Seume (18th C.): Wir *schlenderten* eine hübsche Partie *ab* (DWb.).

Adelung (18th C.): Man kann es mit dem nassen Finger *ablaufen*.

Sanders (19th C.): Ich bin danach die ganze Stadt *abgelaufen*.³⁴

§ 90. Beside denoting that an end has been put to something, or something has stopped existing, 'ab' may indicate that point of an operation at which the activity is concluded.

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.): lasz ichsz gar gutlich *abgen* (166, 16).

Sebastian Frank (16th C.): Wann das Wepp des Lebens die Parcen haben *abgewirkt* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Wo der Jugend ein gewisser Zwischenraum gegönnt war, in welchem sie sich *abtoben* möchte (43, 327).

Göckingk (18th C.):

Mein Tagewerk ist noch nicht ganz geendet

Lasz mich geschwind noch *ab* es *thun* (DWb.).

Joh. Gottfr. Seume (18th C.): Ich *machte* die fünf Meilen recht stattlich *ab* (C.).

Ich *tanzte* die Verse *ab* (S.).

³⁴ In the sentence, "Wir wollen es *abschen*" ('abschen' = 'wait and see'), we obtain a certain knowledge as a result of the action of the verb. 'Ab' has a similar force in 'abhören', 'abwarten', etc. Cf. the following:

Luther: Dabei ist *abzunehmen*, was für licht in der Archa gewesen sei (DWb.).

Döbel: Leget man sich auf den Boden und höret den rechten Ort *ab*, wo die Hunde vorliegen (S.).

Hans Wilh. Kirchhof: Der Feind vornemmen und Gelegenheit des Orts zu erfahren und *abzuschauen* (DWb.).

Moser: *Warten* Sie es nur *ab* (Bibliothekar I, 1).

Höfer: Knechte sollten die Umgegend *abstreifen* (S.).

Klamer Schmidt (18th C.):

Auf der verhängnisvollen Spindel
Läuft Wilhelms Faden *ab* (S.).

H. v. Kleist (19th C.): Bis das Gigantenjahr des Platon *abgerollt* (S.).

§ 91. In the metonymic expression, "Ich *schreibe* den Brief *ab*," 'ab' indicates that something is written off the letter, as from a source. All of the following compounds with 'ab' express a similar idea.

Cloesener (14th C.): wer die botschaft *abe schribet* (M.).

Keisersberg (15th C.): Heidnisch werk, wenn das eigentlich nach seinem Bildner *abgewirkt* wird (S.).

Luther (16th C.): Das ich sie bisher nicht recht und genug gemahlet habe, sondern allein auf ein Papier schlecht *abgerissen* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Da wird ein Todter geschwind noch *abgegossen* . . . und das heiszt man eine Büste (17, 206).

In dem die zu Weimar befindlichen Durchzeichnungen von diesen Kopien *abgenommen* sind (S.).

§ 92. The force 'to tire out', is developed from the meaning 'to wear out' noted in section 82. In the latter section (82) the object was inanimate, while the objects in the following quotations are animate beings. It will be seen that all of the sentences are metonymic, for it is not the object which is removed; on the contrary, this remains after some unnamed quality has been removed from it. It may further be added that a majority of the verbs in this section are reflexive.

Leos v. Roszmital Reise (15th C.): es machet *abgerittne* Pferd, müd Leut (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Hui Bock, sei zornig und stosz mich einmal, hol aber nicht zu weit aus, dasz du dich nicht *ablaufest* (DWb.).

Zinkgräf (17th C.): Etliche *abgeführte* [abgetriebene] Klosteresel zu Mark zu führen (S.).

Grimmelshausen (17th C.): Simplicius wolte die Wirthin sich nicht mehr so *abnöthigen* lassen (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Ich *arbeite* mich *ab* (2, 93).

Sich um der Gunst des Tags Willen *abzuhetzen* bringt keinen Vortheil für morgen und übermorgen (49, 137).

Bei Gott! wenn ich mich nicht *abritte* und *abarbeitete*, wir wären noch auf dem alten Flecke (57, 152).

Du bist schon wieder *abgetrieben* (11, 144).

§ 93. As early as late Middle High German 'ab' was prefixed to verbs denoting 'to die', 'to kill'. The idea added by the particle is that of 'off', 'away'. It is the same thought which is contained in English—'to depart', 'pass away' from this life, from among us. As will be seen from the following list of quotations, 'ab' is prefixed to verbs which by themselves express the idea of killing or dying, hence the prefix does little more than intensify the thought already contained in the verb.

Zürcher Jahrbuch (15th C.): diu edlen geschlecht von grâven, hêren diu alle vertriben und *ab gestorben* sind (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Wenn mann im ein hundert tausend. Man *abschläge*, so ist er bald wider da mit so viel Man (DWb.).

Wickram (16th C.): Damit sie des guten *abgestorben* Kerls desto ehe vergessen möchten (DWb.).

Hohberg (17th C.): Die verpflanzten Beischosz leichtlich *abstehn* (DWb.).

§ 94. As seen in the preceding section, 'ab' need add no new thought to the simple verb. The following list contains additional verbs to which 'ab' without any functional value is prefixed. At most it intensifies the idea already contained in the verb.

Luther (16th C.): Inen durre *absagen*, das sie von solcher Prophezei *abliessen* (DWb.).

So ist's kurzum *abgesagt* mit dem Spruch, das wir alle sterben müssen (DWb.).

Grimmelshausen (17th C.): Als es leider heutzutag dergleichen Kerle genug *abgebet* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Der Leibschneider, der seine Meinung *abgeben* musste (S.).

Wieland (18th C.): *Abprügeln* (= 'derb prügeln', DWb.).

Gessner (18th C.): Bei so sehr *abgeänderten* Sitten (DWb.).

Schiller (18th C.): Vom Schiff es springend *abzuerreichen* (DWb.).

Müller-Guttenbrunn (20th C.): Die grossen Buben haben das Vieh *abzufüttern*, ehe auch sie das Haus verlassen (Glocken 195).

In the following sentences the compounds with the prefix 'ab' denote 'to descend from'. The prefix points to a source, but since this is generally added in the form of a prepositional phrase, and since the simple verbs contain the force 'to descend', the prefix adds no new thought to the sentences.

Friedrich v. Logau (17th C.): Dasz von Kunst künstlich, können *abfliesz* (DWb.).

Hahn (18th C.): Irrthum derjenigen, die ihn von den schwäbischen Herzögen *abführen* (DWb.).

Bürger (18th C.): Aus diesem Samen *sprang* Diokles *ab* (S.).

§ 95. A number of verbs compounded with 'ab' refer to shooting or discharging a gun. Obviously these sentences are metonymic. The use of 'ab' in this connection instead of some other prefix, for example 'aus', would be easier to explain if its use could be shown to antedate the invention of gunpowder and the use of firearms. We might expect the particle 'ab' to refer to the departure of a bolt from a cross-bow but it hardly expresses the idea of a bullet leaving a gun.

Ayrer (16th C.): Hört wie man zur Freud *abgehen* lässt die Geschosz (DWb.).

Opitz (17th C.):

Wann dein Bogen wird von dir *abgezogen*,
Machst du sehen die andern Winden? (DWb.)

Iffland (18th C.): Auf einen *abschieszen* (DWb.).

Campe (19th C.): Alle Kanonen *prasseln* auf einmal *ab*.

Der Pfeil *schwirrt ab* durch die Luft.

Grimm (19th C.): Er *knallte* seine Flinte *ab* (DWb.).

§ 96. In the case of a few compounds, 'ab' seems to denote the 'acquisition of proficiency'. This force is probably developed from the meaning treated in § 90, denoting an action carried to completeness. The following is a representative list of compounds having this force.

Jesuitencomödie (17th C.): Ein Schuster hatte ein sehr bösen, in allerhand Bosheit *abgeführten* Buben (DWb.).

Hohberg (17th C.): Sperber, Falken, Habicht *abtragen* soll man im August (DWb.).

Adelung (18th C.): Ein Pferd *abreiten*, es nach der Kunst zureiten.

Müller-Guttenbrunn (20th C.): Dort hat mich der Lajos *abrichten* lassen (Glocken 67).

§ 97. 'Ab' may also give to the compound the idea of contrast. In section 89 'abstechen', etc., were shown to mean 'to set aside', *e. g.*, a piece of ground from the surrounding land. A ditch around it might set it off, *i. e.*, point out to whom it might concern that this particular piece of ground had a somewhat different status from the adjoining land. Already the idea of 'setting off', 'contrasting', is present. This is more or less emphasized by the situation described, as will be

seen from the following quotations. The 'setting apart' in this group is not brought about by means of the action implied by the verb, but as a result of qualities possessed by the objects themselves.

Brockes (18th C.):

Sticht ein beschattet Grün
Recht angenehm sich *ab* (DWb.).

Campe (19th C.): Diese . . . *schnitten* scharf dagegen *ab*.

Tieck (19th C.): Die singenden Mädchen *hoben* sich gegen den düstern Tannengrund allerliebste *ab* (DWb.).

Gutzkow (19th C.): Etwas *springt* gegen etwas *ab* (S.).

§ 98. When we say, "Er spielte einige Stücke auf dem Klavier ab," 'ab' means that he played them thru, but it may also imply that he played them 'off' from the notes; that is to say, 'ab' refers to a source which is not named, in fact we scarcely feel the presence of such a source, so accustomed have we become to these compounds with their specialized meanings. (Cf. § 91.)

Goethe (18th C.): Die Litanei demütig *abzubeten* (31, 37).

J. H. Voss (18th C.): Eine Sonat' *abbrausend* ('rauschend abspielen', S.).

Campe (19th C.): Der Prediger *orgelt* seine Rede *ab*.

Der Papst *schmettert* einen Bannfluch nach dem andern *ab*.

PART III.

'HERAB' AND 'HINAB' WITH THEIR ORIGINAL FORCE

§ 99. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, 'ab' as an adverb denoted a direction opposite to that indicated by 'auf' or 'an'. The original function was to denote a direction away from an object. This is still the more usual to this day. The particles 'her' or 'hin', however, are prefixed almost exclusively to 'ab' with its secondary meaning, 'to descend'.

Genesis und Exodus (12th C.):

der gelust si des bedwanch
daz si einz (obst) *her abe swanch* (M.).

Minnesinger (12th C.):

der viol stuont ûf einer stangen,
her Nithart tet in *herab langen* (M.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

ez *hanget* von einem aste
von golde ein becke *her abe* (Iwein 587).
(der Löwe lief den Riesen an)
und *zarte* im cleit und brât
als lanc sô der rûke gât
von den ahseln *her abe* (Iwein 5055).

Minnesinger (13th C.): ile und *kum her abe* (M.).

Rudolf v. Steinach (13th C.): *triuc* mich nicht *her abe* (M.).

Boner (14th C.): er *gieng her ab* balde unde sprach (DWb.).

Hermann v. Fritzlar (14th C.): dô *ginc her her abe* durch di bôs-
heit des volkes (Deut. Myst. 1, 167, 10).

Nicolaus v. Jeroschin (14th C.): von der vestin sich *herab machte*
brûdir Conrât Swâb (M.).

dô er sich *her abe* mit dem roube *wante* die diet in überrante
ûz derselben gegenôt (M.).

Zimmerische Chronik (14th C.): der jonfer den girtel under die
knie *heraff spannen* (M.).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): do zerbrach der strik und *viel* also
hoch *harab* von dem galgen (120, 6).

do ward der richter gebeten von sinen frûnden, dass si in
möchtent *harab nemen* und begraben und bestatten (54, 15).
der herr war bewegt zû erbarmherzigkeit und *gieng harab* von
sinem pferd und kusste in (20, 13).

und *trat harab* von sinem pferd und nam in in sin arm (20, 2).

The following Middle High German quotations contain verbs compound-
ed with 'hinab'. Of these there are seven.

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

er traf in dâ man hæht den schilt,
daz von Munsalvæsche der templeis
von dem orse in eine halden *reis*,
sô verr *hin ab* (diu was sô tief),
daz dâ sin leger wê nec slief (Parz. 444, 25).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): die heten sich nu ûz genumen und
giengen heimlich hin abe (M.).

si sâhen nider in dem grabe, wie Laurentius *hin abe ruckte*
(M.).

ir schif *sigelte hin ab* (M.).

Nicolaus v. Jeroschin (14th C.): sich *hinab machin* (M.).

er las ûz wol sechzic man und mit den *hin abe trat*, verholnlich
an ein stat (M.).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): und alsbald in der henker *hinab* *liess* an dem strick, do zerbrach der strik (120, 5).

§ 100. The prefixes 'aus' and 'ein' were found to have added the demonstrative particle 'her' and 'hin' to give additional force to the simple prefix as early as the Old High German period. The double prefixes 'herab' and 'hinab' do not occur until during Middle High German times. The emphasis in all of the examples in § 99 is on a motion downward toward, or away from the speaker. The point of departure denoting the base or origin, is frequently added as a complement to the verb.

A growth similar to 'heraus', 'herein', etc., may be noted for 'herab' and 'hinab'. By the end of the 14th century the number of compounds with the latter prefixes was almost twice as large as that of verbs compounded with either 'heraus' or 'herein', etc., but since the New High German period the spread of all of the double prefixes has been nearly parallel.

STATISTICS ON THE SPREAD OF 'HERAB' AND 'HINAB'

	'HERAB'	'HINAB'	TOTAL
Old High German period	—	—	—
Middle High German period	15	7	22
Luther	17	13	30
Rest of 16th Century	6	5	11
17th Century	14	8	22
Goethe	11	14	25
Rest of 18th Century	64	37	101
Campe	69 (10)	79 (17)	148
19th Century	9	11	20
	205	174	379

§ 101. Often a noun in the accusative denotes the surface over which a motion indicated by a verb is taking place.

Wieland (18th C.): *Tränen* rollen die Wangen *herab* (DWb.).

Göckingk (18th C.):

Ungern *schleichen* wir den Weg

Unsers Lebens bis zum Grab *herab* (DWb.).

PART IV.

NEW MEANINGS ACQUIRED BY 'HERAB' AND 'HINAB'

§ 102. Just as the simple particle 'ab' has not undergone as great changes as have 'aus' or 'ein', its original force being in general still transparent (cf. §§ 80-98), so the double prefixes 'herab' and 'hinab' show less tendency to semantic development than the double prefixes treated in earlier chapters.

Altho 'her' or 'hin' is regularly added to the prefix 'ab' only when it expresses the idea of a motion downward, they may be prefixed to 'ab' when the latter has a privative force. In fact, the few instances of semantic change of 'herab' and 'hinab' are developments of the privative force of the particle which is thus intensified.

§ 103. In the following sentence from Wolfram von Eschenbach, 'ab' does not indicate a downward motion, but a separation. 'Hin' must be considered from the standpoint of the object from which the separation is made, rather than with reference to the speaker.

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

Gâwân sich zuckes werte;
ein bein *hin ab* er im *swanc* (Parz. 571, 29).

J. H. Voss (18th C.): Ob die Furch' in einem Zug' ich *hinabschnitt* (S.).

§ 104. 'Herab' may develop a force almost identical with that discussed in the preceding section. Like 'hinab' it is merely an intensive form of 'ab'.

Stieler (17th C.): *herab trennen* = demetere, desecare, etc. (DWb.).
Goethe (18th C.):

. . . die Thürme schwanken,
Gefugte Steine *lösen sich herab* (9, 378).

Wieland (18th C.): Solche Brocken von der ersten besten Leichenpredigt *herabzuschneiden* (S.).

Campe (19th C.): Es *geht nicht herab* = kann nicht abgesondert werden.

§ 105. Hermann v. Fritzlar says: *di hunde schrieten sêre und hûleten, und di jegere di wunderten sich sêre und zugen her abe* = 'stellten die Jagd ein'.³⁵ In modern German we should say "zogen ab," and this also was the usual compound for Middle High German, but the

³⁵ *Deut. Myst.* I, 193, 22.

addition of 'her' seemed stronger to the mystic who was not famous for his simplicity of expression.

§ 106. The force of 'ab' treated in section 98, meaning to 'sing off', etc., has been intensified by the addition of 'her' in a few instances without making the figure any clearer or much more forceful.

Goethe (18th C.): Wenn man seine Perioden nicht nach der hergebrachten Weise *heraborgelte* (14, 74, S.).

Auerbach (19th C.): Mit Behaglichkeit hatte der Vorsänger seine Gesänge *herabgeleiert* (S.).

Grimm (19th C.): eine Melodie, eine Symphonie *herabspielen* (DWb.).

§ 107. In section 90 occurred the figure of Parcae spinning the thread of Fate to an end. In that case the compound 'abspinnen' denoted the continued spinning until fate had been fulfilled. Goethe uses 'herabspinnen' with almost identical force.

Goethe (18th C.): Dasz ich diese (Welt) noch lange, von dir beleuchtet, erblicke, *spinne* die Parze mir klug langsam den Faden *herab* (1, 283).

Goethe does not intend to express any idea of a downward motion, nor of an approach toward the speaker. In the preceding chapters it was shown that Goethe was very free with the use of 'her' and 'hin' as prefixes to verbs compounded with 'aus' and 'ein'. The demonstrative particle in most cases added a force no longer possessed by the old compound. Goethe with his keen feeling for the subtleties of language, realized the difference and employed the newer form whenever he saw fit, not being deterred by traditional forms and expressions. It need not surprise us to find an occasional use of such expanded prefixes in places where, to us, they do not seem to be required. The following citation from Campe is self-explanatory.

Die Seite *herabsingen* = die Seite bis unten zu Ende singen.

§ 108. One of the figurative meanings of verbs compounded with 'ab' is 'to descend' (abstammen). 'Hinab' has a like use.

Herder (18th C.): Die älteste, durch hundert Profeten *hinabgeerbte* Religion der Welt! (C.)

Schiller (18th C.):

Wo die Kränze des Ruhmes hängen
Und das goldne Zepter in stetiger Reihe
Wandert vom Ahnherrn zum Enkel *hinab* (C.).

§ 109. Finally there are a few verbs compounded with 'herab' which have acquired a specialized meaning, being employed as technical terms.

Herder (18th C.): Sie (die Gebirge) scheinen gleichsam der alte Kern und die Strebefelder der Erde zu sein, auf welche Wasser und Luft nur ihre Last ablegen, bis endlich eine Pflanzstätte der Organisation *herabgedacht* und geebnet ward (DWb.).

Campe (19th C.): In der Pflanzenlehre heisst ein Stengel herabgebogen wenn die Äste desselben in einem Bogen *herabhangen*.

In der Pflanzenlehre heisst ein sitzendes Blatt *herablaufend* wenn es mit seinem blättrichten Wesen am Stengel noch fortgeht.

SUMMARY

§ 110. Below is a summary of Chapter III.

1). Originally 'ab' was an adverb of direction denoting a departure from somewhere.

2). A prepositional function was acquired which was again lost during the early New High German period.

3). The departure indicated by 'ab' might be taken from the top surface of an object, thus giving to 'ab' the connotation downward. This was a secondary development.

4). Specialization and semantic change was noted as early as the 12th century. The development in nearly all cases was based on the original force of 'ab' denoting 'separation'.

5). While the particles 'aus' and 'ein' were aided in maintaining their old function by the prepositions 'aus' and 'in', 'ab' had no such support after the loss of the preposition 'ab'. Some other word is now used to express the horizontal motion formerly denoted by 'ab'.

6). 'Her' and 'hin' are prefixed to 'ab' to intensify it in its secondary function, namely, indicating a downward direction. It is first recorded during Middle High German times. The spread of the double prefix is rapid since the New High German period.

7). 'Herab' or 'hinab' are sometimes substituted for 'ab' in the specialized uses of the latter. In these cases they do not indicate a direction relating to the speaker, but merely intensify the simple prefix.

8). After deducting Campe's coinages, there are nearly twice as many verbs compounded with 'herab' as with 'hinab'.

CHAPTER IV.
AUF, HERAUF, HINAUF

§ 111. Like the other particles thus far treated, 'auf' originally was an adverb denoting direction. It was more general in its meaning than 'aus' or 'ein', in that no source or goal was indicated, but merely the direction upward. The adverb acquired the meaning 'upon', that is, on the superior surface of an object, only after the development of the preposition, not much before the Old High German period.³⁶ This development was probably the result of the ellipsis of a prepositional phrase with 'ûf'. Before the ellipsis, the particle 'ûf' indicated only the direction of the motion, while the preposition named the goal.

PART I.

'AUF' WITH ITS ORIGINAL FORCE

§ 112. Altho many compounds with 'auf' still retain the original force of the prefix, there is a large number of verbs compounded with this particle in the older language, which now require one of the double prefixes 'herauf' or 'hinauf' to express the same idea.

Muspilli (9th C.):

. . . die dâr fona himile quemant,

die *pringent* sia sâr *ûf* in himilo rihi (Braune-Leseb. 30, 13).

Otfried (9th C.): thes krûces horn thâr obana, thaz *seigôt ûf* in himila (5, 1, 19).

Tatian (9th C.): inti oba iz (d. Schaf) bifellet in Sambaztage in gruobe, nibi her neme inti iz *ûfheue?* (69, 6.)

uar zi themo sêuue inti uuirf thînan angul inti then fisg thie dâr êrist *ûf quimit* nim inti giofnôtomo sinemo munde fintis scaz (93, 3).

Nupties Marcurii et Philologiae (10th-11th C.): *fûorta ûf* (in daz hertuom) (G.).

Psalm (11th C.): *far ih uf ze himile* (G.).

Deut. Gedichte d. 11ten u. 12ten Jh.: daz si den berc *ûf cherten* (M.).

³⁶ 'An' was still the usual preposition denoting the relation 'upon'.

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.): sam si (d. Vögel) *ûf* zen lüften *swebten* (M.).

Minnesinger (13th C.): daz ir schal *ûf* durch diu wolken *dringet* (M.).

Lobgesang (13th C.):

du (Maria) bist diu barmherzkeit
diu höße *ûf* in den himel *treit* (M.).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

diu höße deist der höße muot,
der sich *ûf* in diu wolken *tuot* (Trist. 16944).

Heinrich v. d. Türlein (13th C.): ein gebirge ungehiure *steic* er
ûf in ein ander lant (M.).

Rudolf v. Ems (13th C.): daz wazzer in den munt *ûf* *werfen* mit
der hant (L.).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): ein stanc der *ûf* *ûzer* pftzen *swanc*
(M.).

Konrad v. Megenberg (14th C.): wenn der pfau höße *auf klimmet*
(L.).

Düringische Chronik (15th C.): die slügen daz vihe an vor Isenache
und *trebin* daz die Horsil *ûf* (M.).

It will be noted that the conception in all of the compounds is that of a motion upward, frequently toward a goal, but this goal is not the top surface of an object.

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): Gâwân *reit* *ûf* an den berc
(Parz. 352, 2).

'Uf' still retains its original force, denoting an upward motion, while the goal, namely the upper surface of the hill, is expressed by the prepositional phrase 'an den berc'.

The following quotations from New High German writers contain examples of verbs compounded with 'auf', which are customarily compounded with one of the double prefixes 'herauf' or 'hinauf'. But since many of these verbs have come down from a period when 'auf' still possessed its old function, they still have a force identical to forms with 'herauf' and 'hinauf'. The simple prefix with the old force is not found in new formations, however.

Joh. Fischart (16th C.): Aus der feisten Kuchen *aufdringen*
(DWb.).

spintisiert, wie die Mück die Wand *auf laufen* (DWb.).

Kirchhof (16th C.): Hohe Mawren, Wäll *aufklimmen* (DWb.).

Opitz (17th C.): nachdem Messias war zum Vater *aufgereist*
(DWb.).

- Stieler (17th C.): Steine, Holz *auf*langen (DWb.).
 Goethe (18th C.): Uns anzuziehen und in edlere Regionen *auf*-
zulocken (S.).
 J. H. Voss (18th C.): Wie ein Fischer . . . die zappelnde Beute
aufschwenkt an das Ufer (DWb.).
 Alxinger (18th C.): (Der Ritter) *ruft* zu Flandrinen *auf*: Seid
 ruhig! (S.).
 Fr. Müller (18th C.): Wenn einst die Seele *aufwandelt* über die
 Sternbahn (S.).
 Bacchus zogst sie dann hoch *auf*, dass sie herabkreisen von
 deinem Weingelände (DWb.).
 Lenau (19th C.):
 Die Seele *hastet* was sie kann,
 Auf nach des Berges steilen Zinnen (S.).
 Sanders (19th C.): Er ist den Berg *aufgejagt*.
 Wilbrandt (19th C.): Auch den dunkelsten (Grund) an das heilige
 Licht *aufzuzerren* (S.).

§ 113. As stated above, the original function of 'auf' was to denote a motion upward. Whereas the prefixes treated in preceding chapters usually require the addition of the demonstrative particle to give to them the old force of the adverb, 'auf' still appears without such support, because of its very general application, denoting neither a motion toward nor one away from the speaker.

- Otfried (9th C.): *stand ûf!* (3, 4, 27.)
 Tatian (9th C.): *thô leita her siê ûz in Bethanian inti ûferhabenên
 sinen hentin uuihita in* (244, 2).
*mit thiû siê thuruhuonêtun inan frâgêntê, arrihta sih ûf inti
 quad in* (120, 5).
ther heilant habênti sina hant huob inan ûf (92, 7).
 . . . *uuas nidar gineigit noh zi thuruhslahti ni mohte ûf
 scouuôn* (103, 1).
 Nibelungenlied (12th C.):
 ûf ruhete si ir gebende: ir varwe wol getân
 diu lûhte ir ûz dem golde (1351, 1).
 do er niht wolde erwinden, diu maget *ûf spranc* (670, 1).
 Reinhard Fuchs (12th C.): ein fuoz begunder *ûf hân* unde sere
 hinken (M.).
 Herbort v. Fritslar (12th C.): den schaft *ûf schutten* (L.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

sô sî wider *ûf gesach*
und weder gehôrte noch ensprach (Iwein 1327).
sîn rûke was im *ûf gezogen*,
hoveroht und *ûz gebogen* (Iwein 463).

Walther v. d. Vogelweide (12th C.): nû *riht* ich ez [das Haupt]
ûf nâch vollem werde! (Bartsch 21, 90.)

dô ich dem kûnege brâht daz mez, wie er *ûf schôz!* (Bartsch
21, 280).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

si *blicte ûf* und sah ir man (Parz. 800, 29).
ich sach mins bruoder wâpen tragen
mit *ûf kêrtem* orte (Parz. 91, 11).
ûf liez er doch den wigant (Parz. 540, 1).
diesen koph mîn ungefüegiu hant
ûf zuchte, daz der win vergôz
froun Ginovêrn in ir schôz (Parz. 146, 23).

Albrecht v. Halberstadt (13th C.): sîn (des Ebers) borste sich *ûf*
stalden, scharpf also nalden (M.).

Heinrich v. d. Tûrlein (13th C.): man sach den dicken melm *ûf*
mit kreften *stieben* (M.).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

ich weiz es wol, daz in dem sal
ûz maneges mannes munde
lobebrunnen vil begunde
ûf wallen unde enspringen (Trist. 11203).

Minnesinger (13th C.): *ûf gebogen* sach ich dâ wol stênde brâ (M.).
an dem tanz mit dem *ûf hûpfen* (M.).

si *swanc* sich *ûf* reht sam ein vogel (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Der Schmied, so die Kohlen im Feuer *aufbläst*
(Jes. 54, 16).

Und Gott *fuhr auf* von Abraham (1 Mos. 17, 22).

Und Aaron *hob* seine Hand *auf* zum Volke (3 Mos. 9, 22).

Joh. Fischart (16th C.): Es ist noch kein Khu *aufgeflogen* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Er *nam* ein Buch *auf* (19, 88).

Darauf *stiegen* wir verdrieszlich vom Tische *auf* (34, 227).

J. H. Voss (18th C.): Leise mit Kus and Gelispel erweck ich sie,
und wenn sie *aufstarrt*, "Schmücke dich," spott ich, "mein
Kind!" (DWb.)

Wilbrandt (20th C.): Einige Augenblicke stand sie noch so, dann
richtete sie sich *auf* (Osterinsel 372).

FIGURATIVE MEANINGS

- Lehman (17th C.): Affecten *lodern auf* wie ein Feuer (DWb.).
 Klopstock (18th C.): Der heilige Brand bei mir *aufflammte* (DWb.).
 Goethe (18th C.): Nun wurden die Überraschungen des Tages wieder *aufgenommen* (besprochen) (S.).
 Klinger (18th C.): Lasz mich einen Augenblick in die Luft, eine nie gefühlte Glut *kocht* in meinen Adern *auf* (DWb.).
 Wilbrandt (20th C.): Nein, so mein' ich's nicht, *fahr nicht auf* (Osterinsel 288).

§ 114. As in preceding chapters the combination 'aus . . . ein' and 'auf . . . ab' were found as frequent formulas, so likewise the pair 'auf . . . nieder' occur frequently. Like the other pairs, it contains two words expressing motion in opposite directions. It is natural that such stereotyped pairs should lose some of their vitality and from expressing two definite directions should come to signify a general motion. Cf. 'hin und her', 'nicht aus noch ein wissen', English 'back and forth'.

Tatian (9th C.): ir gisehet himil offanan inti gotes engilâ *ûf stig-antê* inti *nidarstîgantê* ubar then mannes sun (17, 7).

(Cf. Joh. 1, 51: die Engel Gottes *hinauf* und *herab fahren*.)

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

(er) lac *ûf* siner strâze
 in sô gefüeger mâze,
 daz ez noch *ûf* noch *nider wac* (Trist. 6587).

Konrad v. Würzburg (13th C.): vor leide brach er unde *want* die sine hende *ûf* unde *nider* (M.).

Heinrich d. Teichner (14th C.): *ûf* und *nider vüeren* niht, ie zu hin und dan her wider (M.).

ieder man trip sin behagen und lâz *ûf* und *nider sagen* (M.).

Klopstock (18th C.):

Wie am Ufer der stolzen Elbe
 Der Spreen schwarze Wolke
 Vom Gesträuch *auftönt*,
 Zum Gesträuch *niedertönt!* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Das *auf-* und *niedergerückte* Bild (DWb.).

Warum vermagst du nicht die Ahnung zu verscheuchen, die tausendfach in dir sich *auf-* und *niedertreibt?* (S.).

F. Nicolai (18th C.):

Es *strömet* das Blut
 Mir in dem Busen *auf* und *nieder* (S.).

Schiller (18th C.):

In der blut'gen Affaire bei Lützen
Ritt er auch unter des Feindes Blitzen
Auf und *nieder* (S.).

Müller-Guttenbrunn (20th C.): Aber als er das Haus der Wielandin
 verliess und noch immer wartend im Gässel *auf* und *nieder*
ging (Glocken 154).

§ 115. For the pair 'auf . . . ab' see § 79.

PART II.

NEW MEANINGS DEVELOPED BY 'AUF'

§ 116. One of the earliest specializations of 'auf' was in compounds referring to the rise of the sun, stars, clouds, etc. The old force of the particle in these compounds is retained because they are very old formations and have become fossilized. During the 18th century the intensive form 'herauf' came to be used in compounds expressing these phenomena, but the old stereotyped forms with 'auf' are still the more common.

Otfried (9th C.): thô *giang* uns *ûf* uunna! thi u êuuinigu sunna
 (4, 35, 42).

Heinrich v. Veldeke (12th C.): dô der tac *ûf* brach (M.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

der morgensterne möhte sîn
 niht schoener, swenner *ûf* gât (Iwein 627).
 diu wolken begunden
 in den selben stunden
 von vier enden *ûf* gân (Iwein 643).

Ulrich v. Türheim (13th C.): des morgens dô der tac *ûf* schein (L.).

Marienlegenden (13th C.): des morgens und die sunne *ûf* trat (M.).

Reinfried v. Braunschweig (13th C.): dur grâwiu wolken sach man
 liechten tac *ûf* liuhten (L.).

Heinrich v. Meissen (14th C.): den morgenstern, der gên tage *ûf*
dringen mac (M.).

The earliest of the above examples, the one from Tatian, is used figuratively, showing that the expression for the concrete idea must have existed before that time.

§ 117. One figurative use of compounds with 'auf' is 'to enhance', 'to exalt'. Generally the reference is to ethical values, but it may denote an elevation to a higher social or political position, or a rise in material value.

Tatian (9th C.): uuanta eogilih ther sih arheuit giôdmôtigôt inti ther sih giôdmôtigôt uuidit *ûf erhaben* (110, 3).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): Schionatulander an prise *ûf muoz stîgen* (Titurel 128, 1).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): ein keiser der mit gewalt so *ûf schôz* (M.).

Got unser here dich *ûf wac*, daz du pâbest soldest wesen (M.).

Konrad v. Würzburg (13th C.): er kan die schön *ûf bringen* die gevallen sint da nider (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Wir betriegen und teuschen unternander, *setzen auf* und machen Teurung (DWb.).

Opitz (17th C.):

An überwundner Schar dir desto mehr gebürt

Je mehr die Götter dich hoch haben *aufgeführt* (DWb.).

§ 118. The development of a growing object is generally upward. Hence it is natural that the direction of the act of growing should be designated by the particle (< adverb) 'auf'. The particle with this force, is found prefixed even to verbs which in themselves do not contain the idea of growth, but which have acquired that meaning after being compounded with 'auf'.

Tatian (9th C.): andara fielun in steinahte lant, thâr ni habêta mihhala erda, inti sliumo *giengun ûf* (71, 3). Cf. Luc. 8, 6: und da es *aufging*.

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

in den *ûfblüenden* jâren,

dô al sîn wunne solte enstân (Trist. 2072).

Jacob v. Warte (13th C.): man siht das gras *uf dringen* (DWb.).

Das Leben der hl. Elisabeth (13th C.): *uuos ûf* also ein meien zwig (M.).

Heinrich v. Meissen (14th C.): ich bin *ûf geschozzen* als ein lustic cêderboum (M.).

Altdeut. Historienbilder (15th C.): das volg ist vaste *ûf geswummen* und ist sêre vaste mechtig gewachsen (L.).

It will be noticed that all of the verbs in the above quotations are intransitive. This lies in the very nature of the action of growing.

Transitive verbs denoting that the object is caused to grow up, or aided in the process, do not occur until the end of the late Middle High German period.

Chroniken d. deut. Städte (14th C.): bôbest Innocencius, der den keiser Friderichen *ûf gezogen* hette wider keiser Otten (8, 146, 6).

ûf bringen = 'einen gross ziehen, pflegen' (L.).

Luther (16th C.): Das sie (die Knaben) also drei Jahre *aufgezogen*, darnach vor dem Könige dienen sollten (Dan. I, 5).

Wieland (18th C.):

So blühend und so frisch,
Als hätten für Cytherens Bett und Tisch
Die Grazien mit lauter jungen Rosen
Ihn *aufgefüttert* (DWb.).

§ 119. When 'putting up' a building, we think of erecting, elevating it. This idea is added to the verb by the particle 'auf'. Unlike the verbs in the preceding section, most of which are intransitive, all of the verbs in the following quotations are transitive.³⁷

Nibelungenlied (12th C.): dô sah man *ûf gespannen* hütten unt gezelt (1304, 2).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.): dô *sluogen* si *ûf* ir gezelt (Iwein 3067).

Gudrun (13th C.): Fruote hiez *ûf swingen* siner krâme dach (324, 1).

Chroniken der deut. Städte (14th C.): den turm *ûf machen* (L.).
einen graben *ûf werfen* (L.).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): dass si von nûwen *ûf* soltent ein ander hus *buwen* (48, 16).

The particle may refer to the dirt which is thrown up in digging a ditch, or 'ûf' may mean 'open' (cf. next section).

Luther (16th C.): der newlich hat ein Haus helfen *aufhauen* (DWb.).

§ 120. 'Auf' meaning 'open' still shows evidence of its old force in many of the following quotations. Concerning this development Paul writes: "Eine besondere Abzweigung von der Grundbedeutung ist eine Verwendung in der sich auf mit offen berührt als Gegensatz von zu. Ausgegangen muss diese Verwendung von solchen Fällen sein, wo das Öffnen

³⁷ In the few cases in which this idea is expressed by an intransitive verb the use is figurative. Cf. English: "A new house is going up next to us."

durch Aufheben eines Deckels oder dergleichen geschiet."³⁸ The earliest quotation I have found bearing out Paul's suggestion is from Wolfram von Eschenbach.

Parzivâl durch die niftel sîn
bat *ûf wegen* den sarkes stein (Parz. 804, 27).

sine gôz iedoch niht sêre [ihm Wasser in den Mund]
unz daz er d'ougen *ûf swanc* (Parz. 576, 19).

Nibelungenlied (12th C.): diu burc was entslozzen, vil wîte *ûf getân* (405, 1).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.): *wurfen ûf* daz burgetor (DWb.).

The quotations from Nibelungenlied and Hartmann von Aue suggest that the opening of a medieval castle offered a good starting point for this development. The portcullis was raised or lowered to open or close the castle. To raise the portcullis was equivalent to opening the castle. As the result of the raising was of greater importance than the raising itself, the compound assumed the former meaning. After the idea 'to open' had become associated with 'auf' that particle was employed in compounds which contain no thought of an upward motion.

Walther v. d. Vogelweide (12th C.):

din bluot hât uns begozzen,
den himel *ûf geslozzen* (Bartsch 21, 440).

Heinrich v. d. Tûrlein (13th C.): die tûr *stiez* er mit der hant *ûf* (M.).

Nithart v. Reuenthal (13th C.):

diu wât diu was in einem schrin versperret
daz wart bî einem staffel *ûf gezerret* (Bartsch 25, 236).

Gudrun (13th C.): dô wart *ûf gehouwen* vil manegez rîchez gadem (1499, 1).

Minnesinger (13th C.): ich *slüeg* in *ûf* als ein veiste kalben (M.).

Hermann v. Fritzlar (14th C.): sîn munt *quam* des nie *ûf* daz her sprêche (Deut. Myst. 1, 163, 3).

Goethe (18th C.): Wenn er gleich das Pergament mit einiger hast *aufrollte* (S.).

The quotations from Nibelungenlied and Walther give evidence that the meaning 'open' had been developed by 'auf' prior to the period for which we have the first records of such a force. At present the relation of 'auf' = 'upward', and 'auf' = 'open' is not felt at all.

§ 121. From what very different situations similar results may be obtained is exemplified by such words as 'aufhalten', 'aufhören', 'auf-

³⁸ Paul, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, p. 32. Halle a.S. 1897.

heben', all of which may mean 'to put an end to', 'to stop'. Originally that meaning was but a result of the activity expressed by the verbs. In time the original force of the verb was forgotten and it came to denote the result of the activity, this being the more important.

Nibelungenlied (12th C.):

"ir friunt unde mäge von Burgondenlant,
gehabet ûf des strîtes, lât hoeren unde sehen,
 waz hie deme degene von minen mannen sî geschehen.

In the next stanza we read:

dô der künec Gunther bat und ouch gebôt,
 si *habten ûf* mit swerten in des strîtes nôt (1990, 2).

(1989, 3.)

The men obeyed Gunther's command and 'held up' their swords. As a result the fighting stopped.

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): sin volc hiez er *ûf halden* gar
 (Parz. 59, 28).

die [sehzec ritter] riefen alle kêrâ kêr:
 mit *ûf geworfen* swerten
 die kranken strîtes gerten (Parz. 181, 15).

Later 'aufhalten' developed still further to mean 'to stop temporarily', i. e., 'to detain'. The semantic development of 'aufhören' follows.

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.): dâ mite was dâ *gehoeret* ('aufgehört', M.).

Ulrich v. d. Tûrlein (13th C.): vater, *hoere*, es ist genuoc (M.).

Ortnit (13th C.): nu heiz den Riuzen *ûf hoeren*, ir habet gnuoc gestriten (ed. Etm. 68).

In the quotations from Hartmann and Ulrich, 'hören' alone means 'to stop'. In Ortnit, 'aufhören' has this meaning. The difference between 'hören' and 'aufhören', as between 'horchen' and 'aufhorchen', originally was one of intensity only. The prefix 'auf' refers to the action of raising one's head in order to hear better. 'Hören' and the intensive form 'aufhören' acquired the meaning 'to stop', just as in English this is one of the meanings of 'listen', altho it is not yet generally recognized. When several persons are engaged in some activity causing more or less noise, and one of them hears another sound, the cause of which he wishes to ascertain, he says: "Listen!" He may not care whether the others listen or not, but he wishes them to stop making a noise, and he knows they will do this if they try to listen. The cessation of the noise is the important thing, just as a cessation of hostilities was the important thing in the passage from the Nibelungenlied. Hence the verb comes to express what primarily was but a result of the action which it indicated.

Paul explains 'aufheben' meaning 'to put an end to' as having developed from such expressions as "den Tisch aufheben," which meant to end the meal. The expression 'den Tisch aufheben' goes back to a time when the table, that is, the boards constituting a table, were actually lifted up and taken away. In Middle High German the simple verb 'heben' was sometimes used to denote the same thing.³⁹ From referring to meals, 'aufheben' came to be applied to other activities.

Weisthümer: ein urtel *ûf heben* (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Ich werde ihr Gedächtnis *aufheben* unter den Menschen (5 Mos. 32, 26).

Other compounds to which 'auf' has given perfective force follow:

Walther v. d. Vogelweide (12th C.): den sanc *ûf geben* (L.).

Ulrich v. Zatzikoven (13th C.): daz dervon wart *ûf gesetzt* der turnei der noch sibene tage solte weren (M.).

Nicolaus v. Jeroschin (14th C.): er *seite* den vride *ûf* den brudern (M.).

Liedersaal: der kouf wirt *stôzen ûf* ('Handel wird abgeschlossen', M.).

§ 122. 'Auf' prefixed to a verb might give to the compound the meaning 'to originate'. In some of the quotations, the figure seems to be taken from the rising of the sun (cf. § 117), which is identical with the beginning of day. In others, the idea apparently is a further development of the meaning treated in § 119. This is brought about by transferring the emphasis from the period of growth of a plant to the moment of its appearance above the ground, which is identical with beginning an existence.

Heinrich v. Veldeke (12th C.): do daz mære *ûf brach* (M.).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): ein mære *ûf gie* (L.).

dar umme ein kric *ûf trat* (M.).

Monumenta Wittelsbacensia (1300): alle die werren und kriege, die uns biz her *auf gelauffen* sint (L.).

Schaab (14th C.): einen zol *ûf werfen* ('neu einführen', M.).

Urkunde von 1414: unde fursten *ruckten ûf* eine itel newe munze (DWb.).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.): vil neuer siten sein *auf kumen* (107, 15).

Luther (16th C.): namen Feuerstein und *schlugen* Feuer *auf* (2 Macc. 10, 3).

³⁹ Cf. fn. 48, p. 131. Cf. also Hartmann v. Aue: swie schiere man die tische *ûf soch* (Erec 2947).

§ 123. As in English the phrase is used 'to raise our voices', so in German the voice is said 'to go up'. In none of the following quotations is there any distinct thought of a movement upward. The expression 'to raise our voices' may be a result of the blending of two ideas, 'to raise the head' and 'give forth our voices'. The head is raised in order to speak or call more loudly. Or the idea of raising may be based on the figure of elevating an object above other objects and thus giving it prominence.

Minnesinger (13th C.): man hoert daz gefügel *ûf schellen* (M.).

Sanct Alexius Leben: *ûf schrîen* (M.).

Copeybuch der gemainen statt Wienn (15th C.): wann man *auf*sag oder an die grössen glogken an slag, das ain ieder mit seiner were und harnasch kom (L.).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): . . . und kerte sich wider das volk des herzogen von Burgunn und *rûft uf* also: (8, 5).

Luther (16th C.): Dasz die Weisheit ihr Gebot *aufschreiet* öffentlich in den Strassen (S.).

Klopstock (18th C.):

Scholl da die Hölle nicht dumpf *auf*,
Voll des Entsetzens vor ihm? (DWb.)

J. H. Voss (18th C.):

. . . aber die Jungfrau

That als hörte sie nicht, und gewandt ihr erröthendes Antlitz
Sprach sie ein albernes Wort zu Amalia, *lachte* dann laut *auf*.
(Luise 3, 775).

Als von der obersten Höhe Saturnius schauet die Greuel,
Seufzet er *auf* (DWb.).

§ 124. In the following quotation from Gottfried v. Strassburg 'uf swellen' is but an intensive form of 'swellen'. 'Uf' vaguely denotes an 'expansion' which is already contained in the verb.

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

ir begunde ir herze quellen,
ir süezer munt *ûf swellen* (Trist. 11980).

That the verb and not the prefix expresses the idea, is shown by New High German 'anschwellen' and 'aufschwellen', which are synonymous. The primary difference between the two is that in 'aufschwellen' there may originally have been an idea of a rise upon a surface, while in 'anschwellen' the emphasis may have been on the attachment of the swelling to the surface. In the following compounds 'auf' denotes the 'expanding', 'increase in volume', of an object.

Nicolaus v. Strassburg (14th C.): behabe ich daz fûl gelide, sô *gât* ez mir *ûf* an den lip (Deut. Myst. I, 289, 35).

Konrad v. Megenberg (14th C.): ain *auf geplâsen* plâter (L.).
wenn der mond *aufnimpt* und abnimpt (DWb.).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): Und dabei *gieng* ir buch *uf* und geswal gross als ein flesch (55, 20).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.): das ir ein peul *auf lief* als ein salzscheib (L.).

The following figurative expressions are from New High German.

Luther (16th C.): Auf dasz sich nicht einer wider den andern um Jemandes willen *auf blase* (I Cor. 4, 6). Cf. Gothic: ei ains faur ainana ana anþarana *ufblesans* ni sijai.

Lohenstein (17th C.): als der erzurnte Strom die Wellen *aufgeschwellet* (DWb.).

§ 125. The original force of 'auf' is still apparent in compounds like 'aufstehen', 'arise from bed'; 'auftreiben', 'to cause to arise from bed'. By shifting this meaning, the compound may denote merely 'to awaken'. This may have come about as follows: some one says: "Ich *wecke ihn auf*" and means to say: "I shall awaken him so that he will arise." He is, however, but partially successful, namely, he wakens the other person, but the latter does not get up. Another explanation of the presence of 'auf' in this compound is to be found in the fact that one frequently starts up, sits up, when suddenly awakened from slumber.

Theo. Gottl. Hippel (18th C.): *aufsingen* ('singend wecken', S.).

Goethe (18th C.): Wenn ich von schweren Träumen *aufdämmere* (14, 63, S.).

Ob es gleich nur ein trauriger Dienst ist, wenn man uns aus einem Lieblingstraume *aufschüttelt* (20, 82).

Herder (18th C.): Den Morgen . . . der todte Welten vom Schlummer *lächelt auf* (S.).

Kosegarten (18th C.): Blätter haben dich oft aus der Ruh' . . . *aufgerauscht* (C.).

§ 126. One force given to the compound by 'auf' is not far removed ideally from that referring to erecting a building. This is the meaning 'to collect in a heap', 'pile up'.

Hermann v. Fritzlar (14th C.): dô nam er ein grôz holz und *rechete* daz fûr mitten *ûf* (Deut. Myst. I, 61, 24).

Nürnberger Polizeiordnung (15th C.): getreide *ûfschütten* ('aufspeichern', L.).

Gryphius (17th C.): *stoszt* ir den Holzstosz *auf* (DWb.).

Schiller (18th C.): Wir wollen Genua zusammenschmeissen, dasz man die Gesetze mit dem Besen *aufkehren* kann (DWb.).

Müller-Guttenbrunn (20th C.): Er (Danubius) schwang seinen Dreizack und stiess sie (die Eismengen) zurück, *staute* sie zu Bergen *auf* . . . (Glocken 251).

§ 127. "Ich habe das Holz alle *aufgearbeitet*" contains a type of another force given a verb by the particle 'auf', namely, 'to put an end to an object'. 'Auf' gives a perfective force to the durative verb 'arbeiten'. This force is more evident in the sentence below.

Athis und Prophilius (13th C.): vil kerzen wart da *ûf gebrant* (M.). Originally 'ûf' no doubt referred only to the direction of the flame or smoke. Then by a process already noted, the emphasis was fixed on the time the burning terminated. The result was that the object to which the activity of the verb had applied no longer existed.

The 'auf' of 'aufessen' contains the idea of picking up food and raising it to the mouth to eat it. As noticed before, the prefixes have a tendency to place the emphasis upon the end of an act denoted by a durative verb, that is, to give it perfective force. Thus, from originally indicating but a secondary element in the process of eating, 'auf' has come to denote the completed action. I am not able to explain the semantic development of the compounds in the following sentences. It is probable that analogy plays a part.

Der Ritter v. Staufenberg (14th C.): er liez *ûf gân* swaz er gülte hæte (L.).

Luther (16th C.): Da aber das Fleisch noch unter ihren Zähnen war und eh es *auf war* (4 Mos. 11, 33).

Gellert (18th C.): Eine Pfeife Taback *aufrauchen* (S.).

Ramler (18th C.):

Er thut seinen Rachen auf

Und *schlingt* den argen Fresser *auf* (S.).

Tieck (19th C.): Ist die *aufgetragen*, schaft man wol Rath zuner neuen (DWb.).

§ 128. In an earlier chapter I called attention to the fact that several of the particles have developed identical meanings. So the compound 'ausfahren' (§ 11) and 'abfahren' (§ 82) show parallel development with 'auffahren', denoting 'to wear out'. In each case the idea was

originally based on a concrete conception expressed by the prefix. In 'auffahren' the conception is that of the soil being turned up by the wheels of a wagon.⁴⁰

J. H. Voss (18th C.): Denn die Pflasterer haben ihn (den Weg) garstig *aufgewühlt* (DWb.).

Campe (19th C.): Den Weg *aufkarren*, ihn durch vieles Karren auf demselben schlechtmachen, Vertiefungen in denselben bringen.

Den Weg *auffahren*, Löcher hineinfahren.

A closely related conception is that contained in the following compounds. But while the above compounds are based on the old force of the particle meaning 'up', the following seem to have developed from the secondary meaning 'open'.

Weidwerkbuch (16th C.): Die Hund sollen auch, . . . nicht auf die Hasenjagt gebracht werden, denn sonst sie ire Füz *auflaufen* (DWb.).

Campe (19th C.): *aufwinden*, wund winden (selten).
Sich die Füße *aufgehen*, wund gehen.

§ 129. When a particle has been employed in a compound for a long period, it is likely eventually to lose its original force and become paled, or add little to a verb, at most intensifying it.

Pfarrer v. Kalenberg (15th C.): er sprach: pleibt hie, her pfarrer, wo *habt* ir euch *auf*? (811.)

Adam Olearius (17th C.): Da der gesandte zur Audienz sollte *aufgeholet* werden (S.).

Canitz (17th C.): Mein Tisch, mein Haus und Stall, ist kostbar *aufgeschickt* (DWb.).

Klopstock (18th C.): Der ich eine Wolke nur bin, woraus du mich *aufschufst* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Wo sich versteckte, wust er's *aufzufinden* (DWb.).

So könnte man auf ein freiwerdendes Quartier *aufpassen* (S.).

So dasz etwas zu Stande kam, was sich *aufzeigen* liesz (26, 43).

Schiller (18th C.):

. . . ein schwedischer Transport,
Den *griffen* die Croaten mir noch *auf* (DWb.).

⁴⁰ It is possible that the force of 'auf' in the preceding section may be felt in some of the compounds in this one.

Wilbrandt (20th C.): Adler *horchte auf* aus tiefen Gedanken (Osterinsel 32).

Es empörte ihn; es *reizte ihn auf* (Osterinsel 198).

§ 130. In this section are listed a number of compounds which have acquired a specialized meaning in consequence of being employed by various trades, professions, etc., in certain connections.

Monumenta Wittelsbacensia (14th C.): *laufet* chain ûf lauf in unserm land *auf* (L.). Cf. § 126.

Konrad v. Megenberg (14th C.): den slac *ûf heben* [to parry] (L.).

Monumenta Habsburgica (15th C.): die landleut wider den keiser *auf werfen* (L.).

Tschudi (16th C.): der künig hat sie in verdacht, si hettend in (Herzog Hansen) *ufgewisen* [incite] (DWb.).

Luther (16th C.): Wie etliche Geizige blasen thun, die auf benannte Tage Zins *aufheben* (DWb.).

Lasset uns einen Hauptmann *aufwerfen* (4 Mos. 14, 4).

Adam Olearius (17th C.): Ein geiziger Mönch, der hat sein Herz *aufgestellt*, die einfaltigen zu fangen (DWb.).

Ettner (17th C.): Sahe er, dasz der Führer auf ihn zurannte mit *aufgestrichener* Pistole ('pistole au poing', DWb.).

Tieck (19th C.): Sieh, wie schön die Kuchen *aufgegangen* (DWb.). *Aufheben* und in die Festung setzen lassen (DWb.).

§ 131. Thus far only those developments of 'auf' have been treated which had their rise in the original meaning of the adverb, denoting a motion in an upward direction. To a smaller extent the secondary meaning of 'auf', namely 'upon', has undergone semantic changes. As the adverb did not assume this force until after the prepositional function had been developed, the period during which changes could take place was not a long one, and consequently the changes are not as great nor as many.

§ 132. One of the earliest specialized meanings of the prefix with its secondary force compounded with a verb, was that referring to 'putting' or 'having' clothes on a person. Since 'auf' refers to a top surface, the compounds in this section refer to covering the head. The particle 'an' is used in connection with other clothes. As in the case of compounds denoting the opposite activity, 'ablegen', 'abziehen', etc., so here we may postulate the ellipsis of the object of the preposition 'auf'.

Exodus (12th C.): die *sazzenen ûf* ir houbet die helme (M.).

Nibelungenlied (12th C.): ir helme und ouch ir prünne si *bunden ûf* diu marc (891, 1).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

. . . ieslicher truoc
helm *ûf* houbt *gebunden* (Parz. 210, 21).

The next stage is a sentence of the type:

Er hêt in kurzen stunden
den helm *ûf gebunden* (Iwein 4974).

After the type had been established, it was possible to extend this use of the particle by means of analogy.

Nibelungenlied (12th C.):

dô sah der junge Giselher sinen sweher gên
mit *ûf gebunden* helme (2171, 2).

Walther v. d. Vogelweide (12th C.): mit den bluomen als irs *ûffe*
traget (M.).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): er hatte ein grüne krenzelin von
eime olboume *ûf gesat* (M.).

Chroniken d. deut. Städte (14th C.): die helme *ûf stürzen* (8, 80,
15).

Luther (16th C.): und sol den linnenen Hut *aufhaben* (3 Mos. 16,
4).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Bürgerkrone, die er *auf bekäme*
(DWb.).

Alexis (19th C.): Eine Kopfbekleidung *aufstülpen* (S.).

§ 133. In Middle High German 'uf geben' meant 'to give up', 'to surrender'. The two following sentences seem to indicate that the meaning of the particle is developed from the force 'upon'.

Margrave v. Hohenburc (13th C.): er *gap* sich *ûf* die triuwe min
(Bartsch 19, 54).

Nibelungenlied (12th C.):

ir helde, ir sult mir s'*ûf geben* [die Waffen]
ich wils' behalten lân (1745, 3).

Similar metaphors as these apply to the following sentences, but in most cases they have faded beyond recognition.

Heinrich v. d. Tûrlein (13th C.): Gawain daz in schimpf *ûf nam*
(L.).

Monumenta Zollerana (13th C.): er sol daz guot *ûf ziehen* und
aigen in allen dem rehten als man andriu guot *ûf* ziuhet und
an sich aiget (L.).

Klinger (18th C.): ein Frauenzimmer *aufgeben* ('sitzen lassen', DWb.).

§ 134. A large number of verbs compounded with 'auf' have a person in the dative as the goal of the motion of the verb. All of them are used figuratively. The verbs are transitive and generally signify that some quality, a guilt, an honor, or other abstract conception, has been placed upon the person, usually to the person's detriment. But, it may also be for his benefit. The dative may be interpreted as one of reference.

Albrecht v. Johansdorf (12th C.): wer hât iuch, vil lieber man, *betwungen ûf die nôt?* (Bartsch 11, 50.)

Das alte Passional (13th C.): Got wil in *ûf werfen* ein joch (M.).
welch wort im was *ûf gezogen* und wie sie habe betrogen Theodoros (M.).

Konrad v. Würzburg (13th C.): fröuten sich der mære daz in der orden wære *ûf gesetzt* und geblieben (M.).

Nicolaus v. Jeroschin (14th C.): welch ein joch die Rigêre *tribin* dort den brûdrin *ûf* (M.).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.): im sol niemant kein Sorge *aufthun* (DWb.).

Luther (16th C.): ich wil euch ein Râthzel *aufgeben* (Richt. 14, 12).

Wenn Jemand ein Weib nimmt und wird ihr gram, und *legt* ihr was schändliches *auf* (5 Mos. 22, 14).

Felsenburg (18th C.): Ja, ich war einsmals so verwegen eben dieses dem Kaiser selbst, da er bei guter Laune war, *auf* zu *binden* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Bewirtet er uns mit fetter Schafmilch, die er als höchst gesunde Nahrung pries und *aufnöthigte* (31, 223).

Viel zudringlicher noch *packt* sich Armor uns *auf* (1, 307, S.).

Dem Gerichtshalter und mir ist das ganze Geschäft *aufgewälzt* (20, 245).

Klinger (18th C.): einem seine Freundschaft *aufdrängen* (DWb.).

So sieht es leider mit gar vielen Opfern aus, die uns als grosze erhabene Thaten *aufgedrungen* werden (DWb.).

§ 135. 'Auf' may give the force 'to postpone' to a compound in which it occurs.

Heinrich v. Veldeke (12th C.): dô wart diu rede *ûf geschoben* (M.).

Wernher (14th C.): got *schübet ûf* lange sine gnâde swenner wil (M.).

The figure is that of pushing a thing forward from one position to another, farther removed. Cf. "Schiebe es nicht von einen Tag auf den anderen." Luther (quoted by Paul—Wb.).

Konrad v. Würzburg (13th C.): daz urluige *ûf geslagen* (M.).

§ 136. The following quotations contain compounds with the prefix 'auf' which have acquired specialized meanings. Altho the goal is omitted in all of them, it can be supplied from the context. Many of the expressions are figurative, but the concrete force 'upon' can be recognized.

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.): dô begund er sich *ûf machen* (auf d. Weg, M.).

er *saz ûf* und reit (Iwein 967).

die vinger wurden *ûf geleit*

alsus gap si den eit (Iwein 7923).

Herbort v. Fritslar (12th C.): daz si sine vart heten *ûf geleit* (M.).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): dô was ouch *ûf geleit* daz prôt (Parz. 165, 15).

Alpharts Tod (13th C.): fiur *ûf slahen* ('auf dem stein') (M.).

Hermann v. Fritzlar (14th C.): daz ich dir alle dinc gegeben habe, âne mine vrowenlichen êre, di wolde ich gern behalden haben; nu *trage* ich dir si *ûf* (Deut. Myst. I, 244, 27).

The figure is that of serving something on a plate or placing on a table.

Heinrich v. Neuenstadt (14th C.): irn dôrft nicht meinen, das ich iuch wolle lenger *ûfzien* [auf die Folter] (L.).

Der Veter Buch (14th C.): gegen einander *ûf treten* (auf den Plan) (L.).

Pfarrer v. Kalenberg (15th C.):

er sprach, ob er wolt wider han

sein pfarr im wechsel oder kauf,

so solt er im bar *geben auf*

der alten münzt wol dreissig pfundt (488).

Luther (16th C.): Mit dem vorigen Pfarrer abzuziehen und mit diesem genannten *aufzuziehen* (auf ein Grundstück) (S.).

Sebastian Frank (16th C.): In kriegn, die er ausz Notwâr *aufnemen* musz (DWb.).

A figure taken from picking up the gauntlet.

Grimmelshausen (17th C.): Mit fertigem Gewehr und *aufgepass-ten* Luntten (DWb.).

The compounds referring to playing on an instrument come under a subdivision of this section.

Nithart v. Reuenthal (13th C.): *strichet ûf* einen rechten hovetanz, die rechten hovestriche (M.).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): die spilliute *ûf slügen* (M.).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.): *schlag* ein reien *auf!* (552, 6.)

Joh. Fischart (16th C.): Trommeter *blas auf!* (DWb.).

As 'abspielen', 'absingen' frequently has the connotation to 'sing thru to the end', so 'auf' in the preceding passage may indicate that stress is laid on the beginning of the activity. (Cf. §§ 123, 137.)

Another subdivision of this section contains verbs having become specialized to denote 'to make an appearance', usually with more or less formality. The figure is taken from the stage (cf. *der Auftritt < auf die Bühne treten*), or entering upon some other place for purposes of display. Then the figures are expanded to other situations.

Seifrid (14th C.): si begunden *ûf rîten* mit den hunden (L.).

Luther (16th C.): Und alle seine Söhne und Töchter *traten auf*, das sie in trösteten (1 Mos. 37, 35).

Kirchhof (16th C.): Die Wache *aufführen* (DWb.).

Gryphius (17th C.): Er *zeucht* zwar nicht mit purpur *auf!* (DWb.)

Goethe (18th C.): Wenn sie das Lied singen und *aufführen* wollen (S.).

Klinger (18th C.): Dort kommen sie *aufgefahren* (DWb.).

Die Leute zum Hofstaat *aufstellen* (DWb.).

Schiller (18th C.): Unser gnädigster Landesherr liesz alle Regimenter auf dem Paradeplatz *aufmarschieren* (DWb.).

Compounds denoting that something has been put on paper, into a book, etc., also belong in this section. No records of this use were found earlier than the 16th century.

Paracelsus (16th C.): Doch aber (diese Bilder u. Figuren) nicht ohne grosze Ursach da sind, und von den alten Magis angezeichnet und *aufgerissen* worden (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Sobald er die Kreide [zum Rechnen] nam und was er *aufmachte*, war ihr recht (S.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Vortreffliche Werke *aufgesetzt* haben (DWb.).

Eichendorff (19th C.):

Der eine macht Geschichten

Der andre *schreibt* sie *auf* (DWb.).

§ 137. 'Auf' was formerly prefixed to a number of verbs which are now compounded with some other particle. They follow in alphabetical order of the prefix which has supplanted 'auf'.

AB.

Matthesius (16th C.): Darum wollen wir nicht *auffassen*, und sein Thorheit vollend aller Welt fürstellen (S.).

AN.

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):
er *huob uf* und seite in,
daz ime gesaget wære
vür ein wære mære (Trist. 18238).

The newer 'anheben' is formed in analogy to many other verbs containing that prefix and meaning 'to begin'. The same explanation applies to 'aufblasen' of the following quotation (cf. § 163).

Wolfdietrich (13th C.): daz her horn *uf blâsen* (V, 208, L.).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.): den spot musz ich do *aufnemen* (107, 25).

The older writer 'took scorn upon himself', now we 'take scorn unto ourselves', in German.

Keisersberg (15th C.): das du darumb nit strackes mit inen *uf bindest* und glichs in harnisch seiest (DWb.).

Murner (16th C.): Das *aufgenommene* Geld (S.).

'Geld aufnehmen' has acquired a specialized meaning, 'to take up a loan'.

Campe (19th C.): Ein Wort *aufführen*, es nach der Abzereihe am gehörigen Orte anführen, desselben Erwähnung thun.

AUS.

Luther (16th C.): Denn seid keine Pfaffen noch Münche, und halt des Babsts Gesetz nicht, gleubt im nicht, das es Sünde gewesen sei, was er für Sünde *aufgibt* (DWb.).

Grimm (19th C.): Ich habe diesen Menschen noch nicht *auffragen* können (DWb.).

Tieck (19th C.): Truppen *aufheben* ('gewöhnlich ausheben', S.).

EIN.

Berthold v. Regensburg (13th C.): Got hat die *ê uf gesetzet* (M.).

Iffland (18th C.): Wollen Sie mich bei der Frau Hofrâthin gefälligst *aufführen* (S.). The parlance of the stage may have influenced the playwright, Iffland.

UM.

Stadtrecht v. München: die schidunge *uf stôzen* ('die schiedsrichterliche Entscheidung anfechten, umstossen', M.).

UNTER.

Grimmelshausen (17th C.): Märlein, damit man die Kinder *aufhält* (DWb.).

ZU.

Mai u. Beafloer (13th C.): Bêaflôr diu guote *nam ûf* an süezem muote (M.).

§ 138. Finally, there are some compounds which have become so highly specialized that they could not be fitted into any of the preceding categories. Most of them are developments of the older function of 'auf', 'upward'.

Chroniken der deut. Städte (14th C.): sich vür einen kung *ûf werfen* (4, 116, 15).

Des Teufels Netz (15th C.): den lip *ûf machen* ('aufputzen', L.).

Luther (16th C.): Der Mensch soll *aufnehmen*, das alles von Gott zugeschickt werde (DWb.).

Matthesius (16th C.): Alle, die sich wider diese Schul und Kirch zu Wittenberg *auflegen* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Herder soll doch *aufstellen* [acht geben], er sieht vielleicht in einem Katalogus dies interessante Werk (29, 292).

Auerbach (19th C.): Wir sind Manns genug; für den Schaden *aufzukommen* (S.).

Specialized meanings derived from the secondary force of the adverb:

Luther (16th C.): Man *trug* ihm besonders *auf* und jenen auch besonders (1 Mos. 43, 32).

Weckherlin (17th C.):

Wan schon mit List, Gewalt, Macht, Schmach
Vil hunderttausend mir *aufpassen* (DWb.).

Günther (18th C.): Bloss weil mich die Natur zum Mitleid *aufgelegt* (DWb.).

Lessing (18th C.): Ich darf das Buch nur *auffallen* lassen, wo es auffallen will (DWb.).

 PART III.

'HERAUF' AND 'HINAUF' WITH THEIR ORIGINAL FORCES

§ 139. 'Herauf' and 'hinauf' denoted a direction opposite to that indicated by 'herab' and 'hinab'.

Parzival, 372, 22 following, contains these words:

der fürste Lippant kom geriten
an dem berge enmitten.
Obylôt und Clauditten
saher vor im *ûf hin gên*.

Every word in the last line still had vital force for Wolfram. The prince saw the two ladies before him (vor im); they were ascending (*ûf*), and going away from him (*hin*). The ideas contained in '*ûf+hin*' are now expressed by the compound '*hinauf*', the elements of which have lost their individuality thru the process of composition, that is, they have been blended into one idea.⁴¹

In the next passage the secondary force of '*ûf*' is shown.

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

si hete mit ir hende
underm kinne daz gebende
hin ûfez houbet geleit (Parz. 515, 1+).

'Uf' is a preposition meaning 'upon'. 'Hin' denotes a motion 'away from'; obviously this does not refer to the speaker, but the speaker thinks of the original position from which the bands are removed, *i. e.*, the chin. While these examples show that Wolfram still felt the force of the individual words '*hin*' and '*auf*', he also employs '*hinuf*' as a compound prefix.

§ 140. Altho neither the works of Otfried von Weissenburg nor the Tatian translation contain examples of either '*herauf*' or '*hinauf*' compounded with the verb, Graff records several such combinations from other Old High German writers.

Notker (10th C.): *flüg hara uf* in berg (G.).

Zeitsch. f. deut. Altertum: den berg Tabar *her ûf clamp* (17, 35).

Meister Eckhart (14th C.): *her ûf sprichet* Dâvit . . . (Deut. Myst. 2, 27, 2).

Vom Herkommen der Schwyzer (15th C.): und *suhent* den *heruf*, als das Plinius . . . , schribt in siner cronick (183, 1).

Notker (10th C.): *denschint hinâ ûf* (G.).

unz man *follechumet hina uf* ze demo gotes hus (G.).

unz er *hina ufchomet* (G.).

⁴¹ Additional examples are:

so'r *ûf hin komet* an den grabn,
ich wæn dâ müezt ir stille habn (Parz. 225, 27).
Gâwân die strâze al *ûf hin reit* (Parz. 508, 14).
Hêrre, swenne ir *ûf hin kumt* [hinauf zur Burg],
ein dinc iu zem orse frumt (Parz. 561, 3).

Boethius (10th-11th C.): *hina uf fliege* daz liehterâ fuir (G.).
hin uf kestigen (G.).

Nupties Marcurii et philologiae (10th-11th C.): *far hina uf* (G.).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

undr eine baniere wiz

ist er *hin ûf* *gevangen* (Parz. 673, 13).

er *steic hin ûf* an daz lant (Parz. 602, 28).

Lirivoyrn rief al diu schar,

die under der durch striten riten:

die hânt den pris *hin ûf* *erstriten* (Parz, 673, 20).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): do er nu *hinuf* an den galgen *ge-
 führt* wart von dem henker . . . (119, 29).

. . . do *gieng* er mit grossem zorn us der kilchen *hinuf* zu
 sinem hus (102, 9).

§ 141. The above list of quotations contains one example of 'herauf' and six of 'hinauf' prefixed to a verb by Old High German writers. During the Middle High German period, three compounds with the former and five with the latter prefix were added, showing an early preference for 'hin', as an added particle to strengthen 'auf'.

STATISTICS ON THE SPREAD OF 'HINAUF' AND 'HERAUF'

	'HERAUF'	'HINAUF'	TOTAL
Old High German period	1	6	7
Middle High German period	3	5	8
Luther	9	10	19
Rest of 16th Century	—	3	3
17th Century	2	7	9
Goethe	10	16	26
Rest of 18th Century	17	38	55
Campe	127 (18)	98 (16)	225
19th Century	9	6	15
	178	189	367

PART IV.

NEW MEANINGS DEVELOPED BY 'HERAUF' AND 'HINAUF'

§ 142. 'Auf' with a verb denoting the rising of the sun, stars, etc., was shown to have become a stereotyped expression still commonly used in its old sense. During the 18th century the simple particle 'auf' was occasionally thought to be too weak to denote these natural phenomena, and 'her' was added as an intensive element.

Gessner (18th C.): Die frühe Morgensonne flimmerte schon hinter dem Berge herauf (DWb.).

Klopstock (18th C.): Wenn der Abendstern am einsamen Himmel *heraufgeht* (C.).

Als die Sonne nunmehr hinsank, und das Dunkel *heraufzog* (C.).

Goethe (18th C.): *Bringt* der Tag eine Sonn *herauf* (S.).

Wenn . . . von der hinabgewichenen Sonne ein zitternder Schein am Horizont *heraufdämmerte* (18, 33).

Hölty (18th C.):

Schnell *rollten* Wetterwolken,
Von Blitz und Donner schwer,
Herauf (DWb.).

Klinger (18th C.): Die Sonne *treibt* so eben den Horizont *herauf* (DWb.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Er kriegte noch in sich, als der hinter ihrem Rücken *heraufgehobene* Mond ihre beiden Schattenkniestücke vor ihnen voraustrieb (DWb.).

Kinkel (19th C.): Die Abendsonne *blitz herauf* (S.).

Wilbrandt (20th C.): . . . vom Südosten her *stieg* aber, wie es schien, . . . Föhngewölk *herauf* (Osterinsel 313).

§ 143. The breath which enables people to utter sounds, comes from the lungs, which are located lower down than the mouth, where the sounds issue forth; hence, the particle 'auf' might be expected in connection with a verb to express the idea of a sound given forth. 'Her' is added to intensify the idea. The preference of 'her' to 'hin' is explained by the fact that one is inclined to locate himself in one's head, that is, at a point higher than that in which the breath (voice) originates. Hence the approach, figuratively speaking, is toward the speaker.

Gessner (18th C.): Was ist Das . . . , das aus meinem Busen *herauf seufzt?* (S.).

Klinger (18th C.): Dunkle, quälende Weissagung *drängt* sich aus meinem Herzen *herauf* (DWb.).

Alxinger (18th C.):

Nachdem er erst nicht ohne Müh
Die Stimme (denn der Zorn erstickte sie)
Herauf geschöpft, . . . (DWb.).

Gotter (18th C.):

. . . *athmet* matt
Ein Lebewohl *herauf* (DWb.).

Ense (19th C.): Die aus der innersten Seele *heraufstönende* Stimme (S.).

Freytag (19th C.): Es war Stolz, es war Neid, der aus einem bedrängten Leben *heraufquoll* gegen Glücklichere (DWb.).

The following is the only quotation with this meaning compounded with 'hinauf'.

Gessner (18th C.): Verdrücke den Seufzer nicht, der deinen Busen *hinauf dringt* (A.).

§ 144. In § 119 it was shown that 'auf' was frequently prefixed to verbs denoting 'to grow up', or 'to bring up'. The double prefix 'herauf' is also added to verbs with this signification. The expanded form of the prefix does not occur before the end of the 18th century, 'auf' having become the stereotyped form.

Goethe (18th C.): Hat ich nicht selbst sie genährt, und sanft sie *herauf* mir *erzogen* (I, 324).

(Krebse), . . . die er denn auch nachher durch besondere spagirische Nahrung zu merkwürdiger Grösze *heraufzufüttern* verstehe (31, 227).

Und so *wuchs* ich *herauf*, ein Ebenbild des Vaters (9, 29).

Uhland (19th C.):

Doch *sprosst* auch jedem aus dem düstern Gram
Ein süßes ahnungsvolles Glück *herauf* (DWb.).

§ 145. The expanded prefix could have an almost identical force with that of the simple one, as was shown in the section just treated. The same condition exists for verbs given the force 'to arise', 'come forth', 'originate', etc., by the prefix 'auf'.

Klopstock (18th C.):

Dein unermesslicher Kreis *heraufgerufen* zum Dasein
Bildete sich zu seiner Gestalt (C.).

Goethe (18th C.): Die schöne hippokratische Verfahrensart, wodurch sich, ohne Theorie, aus einer eignen Erfahrung, die Gestalten des Wissens *heraufgaben* (26, 9).

Schubart (18th C.):

Da *sprang* die Natur
Herauf aus des Undings Nacht (S.).

Gutzkow (19th C.): Die vorübergegangene Gelegenheit (be-) *schwört* keine Macht wieder *herauf* (S.).

§ 146. The secondary meaning of 'auf', indicating the upper surface of a thing, may also be denoted by the expanded forms.

Campe (19th C.): Es *geht* nicht alles *herauf* (auf den Tisch)

hinaufbauen = auf jenen Ort hinbauen.

hinaufstürzen = auf Etwas hin stürzen.

Rosegger (19th C.): Vom Papier habe ich's gelesen und die Bayern haben es *hinauf gedruckt* und es ist alles falsch! (Peter Mayr 244.)

In der Ortschaft nahmen sie einen Bauernwagen, *warfen* den Gefesselten *hinauf* (Peter Mayr 360).

§ 147. In the following sentence from Goethe, the common usage today calls for the simple 'auf', or the phrase "in die Höhe." If, however, we were to use a double prefix, we should probably take an objective attitude and employ 'herauf'. Goethe, however, identified himself with the subject.

Goethe (18th C.):

Dich nur sah ich, nur dich am Boden knieend, verdrieszlich;

Mit der einen Hand *hielst* das Gewand du *hinauf* (I, 310).

§ 148. There remain a few quotations in which a compound with 'hinauf' is used in a specialized sense.

Schiller (18th C.):

Eures Haders Ursprung *steigt hinauf*

In unverständ'ger Kindheit frühe Zeit (S.).

Adelung (18th C.): Eine Untersuchung bis zur Sündfluth *hinauf treiben*.

Gutzkow (19th C.): Es *läuft* sich wohl hoch *hinauf* (S.).

SUMMARY

§ 149. The following points have been developed in this chapter,

1). Like the particles treated in preceding chapters, 'auf' was originally an adverb of direction. It indicated that the motion of the verb with which it was compounded was upward, without further specifying the goal.

2). The adverb 'auf' assumed the function of a preposition meaning upon the top surface.

3). Under the influence of the preposition, the adverb developed a secondary meaning, 'upon'.

4). Specialization, starting from the original force of the adverb, began during Old High German times. Changes of meaning took place during the early Middle High German period.

5). Specialization and semantic changes based on the secondary meaning of the adverb began during the early Middle High German period.

6). As a result of the development noted above the old force of the adverb was lost.

7). As in the case of the prefixes already treated, 'her' and 'hin' were added to the weakened 'auf' to restore to it its old function denoting motion upward, with the additional force of indicating the direction toward or away from the speaker.

8). The double prefixes 'herauf' and 'hinauf' have not undergone any semantic changes, altho they are showing a tendency toward specialization in several instances, and in a few cases there is evident confusion regarding the use of 'herauf' and 'hinauf' as indicating the direction in respect to the speaker.

9). There are more than twice as many verbs compounded with 'hinauf' as with 'herauf'.

CHAPTER V.
AN, HERAN, HINAN

PART I.

'AN' WITH ITS ORIGINAL FORCE

§ 150. It is probable that the original function of 'an' was that of a preposition. In fact, all of the meanings developed by the particle may be traced to a prepositional force. It indicates proximity to or contact with an object, the relation being to the exterior generally. It might also indicate a motion to or toward such a position, according to whether the object of the preposition is in the dative or accusative. In their development the compounds with 'an' in nearly all cases still retain traces of these meanings of the preposition.

§ 151. A number of verbs formerly compounded with 'an' contained the same force which can now be expressed only by the double compound 'heran' as is shown by the following quotations. It is interesting to note that none of the following compounds would have the prefix 'hinar'.

Otfried (9th C.): ni dua thir thia arabeit, uuanta âband unsih *ana-*
geit (5, 10, 5).

Dietrichs Flucht (13th C.): diu naht begunde *slîchen an* (M.).

Weckherlin (17th C.): Der Sommer *dringet an*, eh kaum der Lenz
dahin (DWb.).

Grimmelshausen (17th C.): damit sie andere desto besser *anlassen*
(an d. Spiel), verspielen sie oft freiwillig etwas wenig
(DWb.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): lauerte eben auf den *anhüpfenden*
Finken (DWb.).

Bürger (18th C.):

Allmählich hub er an
Sich näher *ansudrehen* (DWb.).

J. H. Voss (18th C.): Kam, laut *anbrausend* der West (DWb.).

Freiligrath (19th C.):

Ankeuchen schon die Hunde
Herrgott zum Halali (DWb.).

§ 152. A motion toward an object is indicated by the compounds in the following quotations, often in a figurative sense. An arrival at is frequently implied.

Otfried (9th C.): ouh *blias* er sie *ana* then selbon heiligon Geist (5, 11, 9).

er tod sih *anauentit*, in themo thritten dage erstentit (1, 15, 34).

. . . nâmun sie tho steina

thaz sliumo sies gehulfin ioh inan *anawurfin* (3, 18, 70).

Tatian (9th C.): ther thie ūzan sunta si iuuar zi êristen *sente* sia stein *ana* (120, 5).

in ist giscinfit inti uuerdit bifillit inti *anagispīuuan* inti arhangan inti thritten tage arstentit (112, 1).

Notker (10th C.): *uuahet* sie *ana* sin geist (DWb.).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): . . . do viel si vor dem altar nider und *kam* si ein grosser schmerz *an* (89, 21).

Luther (16th C.): und *kamen an* zu Tyro (Apostelgesch. 21, 3).

Fischart (16th C.): *an* dem *seind*, dasz sie ersaufen wollen (DWb.).

The figurative meanings expressed in the following quotations are self-explanatory.⁴²

Otfried (9th C.): forahtun sie in thô gâhun, sô si inan (d. Hirten den Engel) *anasahun* (1, 12, 5).

beginnet *anascouuôn* thiô frônisgon bluomen (2, 22, 13).

sô thisu uuort (der Magier) thô gahun then kuning *anaquâmun* (1, 17, 29).

Nibelungenlied (12th C.): die übermüeten degne *sâhen* alle einander *an* (1730, 4, DWb.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

dô er sich ūf gerihte

und sich selben *an blihte* (Iwein 3506).

In the following the voice is thought of as being sent toward an object in the hope of reaching it.⁴³

⁴² Middle High German examples containing the prepositions with this force are:

Nibelungenlied: der künec *an* Hagenen blihte (1919, 1).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach: *an* Herzelayden er do sach (Parz. 96, 23).

⁴³ The preposition could be used with the same force.

Wolfram v. Eschenbach:

Flegetânis, der *an* ein kalp

bette als ob ez wær sin got (Parz. 454, 2).

ine mac niht wol benennen gar

an den ruoft der *heiden* sunderschar (Wilh. 372, 2).

Gottfried v. Strassburg: dâ *kam* si dô ze frumen *an* ir meister (Trist. 8003).

Kaiserchronik (11th C.): den die Kristen *ane beten* (M.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

der wec wart vinster und tief
daz si got *ane rief*
daz er ir nôt bedæhte (Iwein 5792).

Wirnt v. Gravenberg (13th C.): dô kom ein hund und *bal si an* (M.).

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): Do hûb uf der vil genant Theodricus von Stretlingen sine fust und hand und trôwt dem selben löwen mannlich und *schrei in an* (6, 21).

§ 153. The other old force, *i. e.*, indicating contact with an object, is shown in quotations of the present section.

Tatian (9th C.): *gôz thara ana* oli inti uuin [an die Wunden] (128, 9).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

dâ hiez si si *strichen an*:
so entwiche diu suht dan (Iwein 3445).

Biterolf (13th C.): der ditze mære *an schreip* (M.).

Ulrich v. Lichtenstein (13th C.): seht wie diu frowe sich *strichet an* (M.).

Predigten d. 13. Jh.: die slege die man dich hie *anleget* (M.).

Ayrer (16th C.):

Ein köstlich Wein
damit solt ihr Ochsen und Trachen *anspritzen* (DWb.).

Grimmelshausen (17th C.): Die armen Bauern erfahren es besser als man es alhier *ansetzen* kan (DWb.).

Gryphius (17th C.): Dem *schmiert* er Aufruhr *an*, der hat das Volk verhetzt (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Ein Marktschreier, der sich bei mir *anzustreichen* gewust [with the connotation 'gut'] (11, 54).

PART II.

NEW MEANINGS DEVELOPED BY 'AN'

§ 154. In § 152 the compound 'ansehen' is used in its original sense without any connotation. An object at which we look may awaken various feelings within us. The emotional condition thus aroused is of more importance than the mere act of looking toward or at an object, and consequently determines the conceptual content of the compound.

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.): nu *schinet* êrst *an* dir din triuwe (M.).
The preposition shows the probable origin of the particle.

Old High German: daz *skinet* dir *ana* (G.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

der selbe *sach* im daz wol *an*
daz er niht rehtes sinnes was (Iwein 3288).

daz er *an* den werken *sach*
daz sin wille und sin muot
was reine und guot (Iwein 5602).

daz mir daz solde geschehn
daz ich müese *an sehn*
schaden und schande
in miner vrouwen lande! (Iwein 3986.)

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): die *sah* ich für die sunnen *ana*
(Parz. 91, 6).

Keisersberg (15th C.): als mich die sache *ansicht*, so bist du ein
profet (DWb.).

Luther (16th C.): Du *siehest* die Schatten der Berge für Leute
an (Richt. 9, 36).

Fischart (16th C.): Ich *seh* euch an der Nasen wol *an* (DWb.).

Fr. Müller (18th C.): In diesen zwe Tagen wurde der Aufwand
von 700 Pfund nicht *angesehen* (S.).

Goethe (18th C.): Mit alledem war das Paar nicht *unangesehen*
auf der Oberwelt (S.).

§ 155. As was shown in the preceding chapters, the emphasis of a durative action might be placed on any stage of the progress indicated by the verb, the most important stages being the starting point and goal. In the following list of verbs the goal is the more important factor, the force of the compound being to indicate an arrival at an object.

Wulfilas (Gothic): *aggilus frauins anaqam* ins (Luc. 2, 9).

Pfaffe Konrad (12th C.): *elliu diu zirde di mich von erbe an chomen* ist (M.).

Heinrich v. Veldeke (12th C.): der scône somer *gât ons an*
(Bartsch 7, 158).

Sebastian Frank (16th C.): als das den Keiser *anlanget*, ward er
in einen Stall verschafft (DWb.).

Musäus (18th C.): Er *glangte* in seinem Waldschloss *an* (S.).

The connotation in the next two sentences has given the meaning to the phrase 'schön oder schlecht ankommen'.

Weisse (18th C.): Ich habe ihm schon gesagt, dass er bey mir unrecht *ankommt* (A.).

Goethe (18th C.): . . . konnte ich nicht umhin den Vorfall einem Manne zu erzählen, aber wie *kam* ich *an!* er sagte das sei sehr übel gewesen (16, 50).

The meaning 'to announce' acquired by certain compounds with 'an' is probably the result of a contamination of two ideas,—“er bliess (ins Horn) als sie ankamen.” Cf. “den Zug abrufen” = ‘rufen dass der Zug abfahre’.

Lohenstein (17th C.): Sie *bliessen* mit Krummhörnern die annahenden Sieger freudig *an* (DWb.).

O. Müller (19th C.): Dem Brautpaar die Ehe *anschiessen* (S.).

§ 156. A still further development is that indicating not only proximity to or contact with, but ‘attachment’ to an object.

Tatian (9th C.): daz *ana* si *hangan* quirnstein in sinan hals (94, 4).

Nibelungenlied (12th C.): du hâst mich ze dienste mit rede dich *an gezogen* (842, 2).

Deut. Gedichte d. 12ten u. 13ten Jh.: daz du dich lieze *an slahen* [an d. Kreuz] (M.).

Brant (15th C.): Knöpflin *setzen an* (DWb.).

Fischart (16th C.): Wie man die Ferklein *ansteckt* [an d. Spiess] (DWb.).

Menantes (18th C.): *Häkelt* sich *an* durch ein verliebtes Band (DWb.).

J. H. Voss (18th C.): Dasz nicht *anbrennte* die Speise (DWb.).

Schiller (18th C.):

Wie der Baum sich in die Erde schlingt
Mit seiner Wurzel Kraft und fest sich kettet,
So *rankt* das Edle sich, das Treffliche
Mit seinen Thaten an das Leben *an* (S.).

The object to which something is attached may be in the dative. This is a sort of dative of possession.

Tatian (9th C.): thiê (diebel) giuueso biroubôtun inan inti vvuntân *anagitânên* (128, 7).

Meister Eckhard (14th C.): daz licht daz ir *angeschaffen* ist (Deut. Myst. 2, 410, 36).

Jonas (16th C.): So doch auch die Schrift klar sagt, das uns solchs (d. Erbsünde) alles nicht *angeflohen*, sondern angeboren sei (DWb.).

Luther (16th C.): Schlug seine Feinde von hinten und *henget* inen ein ewige Schande *an* (Ps. 78, 66).

Sebastian Frank (16th C.): Daher Phebus erzürnet, *bildet* dem Midas Eselsohren *an* (DWb.).

Lohenstein (17th C.): So sucht man deinem Ruhm ein Brandmal *anzubrennen* (DWb.).

Bürger (18th C.):

Was zwischen manchen wilden Haufen
Sich Bullius, der Aldermann,
An Hörnern endlich abgelaufen,
Das *läuft* sein Weib ihm wieder *an* (DWb.).

Attachment, in a sense, is implied in the following sentences.

Möser (18th C.): Herzoge, die über den ganzen sächsischen Heerbann *angesetzt* wurden (DWb.).

Thümmel (19th C.): Dass die Mannschaft sich schlafen lege, die nicht *angestellt* ist (S.).

The meaning 'to advertise', 'estimate', etc., arose from the practice of affixing notices of sale, valuation, etc., at some prominent place, usually on the door of the city hall.

Minnesinger (13th C.): eine Steuer *anschlagen* (L.).

Anton Tucher (16th C.): Solch Mulberck [Mühlwerk] hab ich *angeschlagen* pro 1470 Gülden (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Ich *zeige* meine Missethäter vor ihm *an* (Ps. 38, 19, DWb.).

If something is attached to an object the latter may increase in volume, as the following show.

Ayrer (16th C.): Der die Wasser *anlaufend* macht (DWb.).

Schweinichen (16th C.): Welche aus Quittung 144 Thaler *anlief* (S.).

Friedrich v. Logau (17th C.):

Er steht viel fester noch als feste eedem stehn,
Die Regen, Thau, Reif, Schnee, Frost, Hitze wird *angehn*.
(DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Torfflächen, die . . . sich nach und nach wieder ausfüllen und *anmachen* (S.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Im Ritter war das vertrocknete Bett des Lebens wieder reichlich *angequollen* (DWb.).

§ 157. The thing which is attached to another may be thought of as a burden placed upon another object. Of this the following quotations are examples.

Brant (15th C.): man *dut* wisheit kein ere me *an* (DWb.).

(Cf. Erlkönig—"Erlkönig hat mir ein Leid getan."⁴⁴)

Luther (16th C.): Ob sie wider dich streiten, sollen sie dir doch

Nichts *anhaben* (Jer. 15, 20).

Thut inen die gebrandte Leid *an* (DWb.).

Und *kam* sie hart *an* über der Geburt (1 Mos. 35, 17).

§ 158. It has been pointed out before in this paper that one of the most prolific sources of semantic change was some connotation contained in a sentence of which the compound in question was a part. In the following quotations the purpose of the approach is of far more importance than the fact that an approach is made. The motive of the approach is a hostile one and the purpose is 'to attack'.

Tatian (9th C.): Thanân thô Zacharius uuard getruobit thaz sehenti inti forhta *anafiel* ubar inan (2, 4).

'Anafallan' is not thought strong enough to express the idea for the translator of Tatian, so he adds the preposition 'ubar', which has a force similar to the prefix 'über' in 'überfallen', whose semantic development is almost identical with that of such words as 'anfallen'. The next quotation from Tatian shows the force of 'anfallan', 'to attack', fully developed.

Tatian (9th C.): inti *ana gefiel* in thio**bâ** (128, 7).

Genesis (11th C.): nidelich *sprungen* si in *an* (M.).

Nibelungenlied (12th C.): ein ander *liefen an* Sivrit der küene und ouch Liudegêr (213, 2).⁴⁵

wart er *angerant* von drizec mannen (M.).

⁴⁴ This force of burdening someone, of enchanting one, is contained in the simple 'tun' in the following sentence.

Minnesinger: diu süezen wort diu habent mir *getan*, daz ich nien kan gedenken wan an si alters eine.

⁴⁵ The preposition may likewise be used with this force:

Heinrich v. Veldeke: *an* die heiden er sie *hatzte* (M.).

Nibelungenlied: daz swin zorneclîche *lief an* den küenen helet (938, 4).

In the last sentence 'an' may be either a preposition or a separable prefix. The close relation between the preposition and the adverbial particle is further shown by two quotations from Parzival:

ouch *grifet* sîn (des Priesters) gewihtiu hant
an daz hoeheste pfant
daz ie für schult gesetzt wart (502, 17).

In the above 'angrifen' merely means 'to take hold of', while in the following passage the meaning is 'to attack', that is, to take hold with the purpose of doing violence. Gawan threatens to lift Kamille upon his horse, and she says:

"uver unversichert hant mac *grifen* wol *an* smæher pfant."

Walther v. d. Vogelweide (12th C.): sô rechet mich und *gêt* ir alten hût mit sumerlaten *an!* (DWb.)

Ludwigs Kreuzfahrt (12th C.): itslich her besunder dô sine werch het und sin ebenhò, als an driu teilen die stat wolden *an sturmen* sie (M.).

FIGURATIVE FORCE

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

wan ez sint dri starke man
die mich alle *sprechent an* (Iwein 4086).

Luther (16th C.): Die Jünger aber *fuhren* sie *an* (Mat. 19, 13).

Hans Sachs (16th C.): Und *sprengt* den mit Worten *an* (DWb.).

From the attack itself the emphasis is transferred to the result to the object attacked, namely, a state of exhaustion due to sustaining the attack.

Goethe (18th C.): Es *greift* sie zu stark *an*, liebe Lotte (16, 84). The attack may require an exertion of strength; from such connotation a meaning like the following has arisen:

Goethe (18th C.): Sie konnte fast nicht reden, doch *griff* sie sich *an* und sagte mit Schmerzen (5, 192, S.).

§ 159. Transferring the emphasis from the attack itself to the original position of the attacking party, the compound indicates a motion toward the thing to be attacked, that is, forward or onward.

Nibelungenlied (12th C.):

daz si deste balder kæmen über fluot
diu ros si *ane sluogen* (1571, 2).

Nürnberger Polizeiornungen (14th C.): daz niemant den andern *annotten* sol weder des tages noch des nahtes âne ze hochzeiten (L.).

Bürger (18th C.):

Gehorchend *hieb* Saturnia
Die Rosse *an* (S.).

§ 160. To approach some one for purposes of begging or the like is also considered a form of attack.

Predigten des 13ten Jh.: waz *gât* mich und dich daz *an* (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Das man einen schwachen kranken Menschen in schwere Gefengnis legen sol und darnach auf solche treffliche Artikel so gehling zu respondiern *angelangen* (DWb.).

Ohne was sich sonst zuträgt, nämlich dass ich täglich werde *angelaufen* und trage Sorge für alle Gemeinden (2 Korinther 11, 28).

Sebastian Frank (16th C.): Einen *ankehren* ('sich an ihn wenden', S.).

Ayrer (17th C.): Derhalb wo unter uns ein Mann schon *anlangt* umb ein Jungfrau (DWb.).

Lessing (18th C.): Burleigh und Raleigh *treten* sie (Königin) um Erlaubnis *an* (DWb.).

§ 161. If one approaches an object, stopping when one reaches it, the force contained in the verb is that of arrival at (ankommen). If, however, the impetus is greater than that required just to reach the surface of an object, the impact is likely to be of a more or less violent nature, depending upon the force indicated by the verb in a particular sentence. Such is the force of the following compounds, 'an' adding to the simple verb the idea of 'against'.⁴⁶

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

nû hienc ein tavel vor dem tor
an zwein keten enbor
dâ *sluoc* er *an* daz ez erhal (Iwein 301).⁴⁷

Stretlinger Chronik (15th C.): . . . und *klopfet an* als ein bilger (24, 5).

Brant (15th C.): ich bin gar oft *gerennet an* (DWb.).

Luther (16th C.): Müssen sie (die Bösen) *anlaufen* und fallen (Ps. 27, 2).

Da fürchten sie sich, sie würden an harte Örter *anstoszen* (Apost. Gesch. 27, 29).

W. v. Humboldt (18th C.): (Dass das Schiff) am Felsenriff nicht *angeschleudert* scheidert (DWb.).

Gotthelf (19th C.): Die Rosinante musste . . . *angefahren* haben (S.).

§ 162. One of the earliest specializations of 'an' indicating a contact with an exterior surface, was developed in reference to the human

⁴⁶ This force is also shown by the preposition:

Walther v. d. Vogelweide: Ich *slüege* die gougelbühsen *an* daz houbet din (M.).

⁴⁷ From the figure of striking a drum or strings of an instrument and thus causing a response by the instrument, the following sentences may be explained.

Klinger: Das Weib gleicht einer Flöte, die jedem Töne gibt, der sie *anzublasen* weisz (DWb.).

Müller-Guttenbrunn: Pater Istvan Michlbach *schlug* jetzt einen anderen Ton *an* (Glocken 130).

body, that which came into contact with the body being clothes, armor, and weapons.

The quotations from Iwein and Parzival show this meaning contained in the preposition.

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

die marter und die arbeit
die si *an* sich selben *leit*
die solt ich billicher enpfân (Iwein 1666).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): den (mantel) *legt an* sich der wol gevar. (Parz. 228, 10).

Wie *bringe* ichz (daz harnasch) *ab* im unde *an mich* (Parz. 156, 17).

As is seen from the above quotations, the subject and the object of the preposition were the same person. In a sentence like, "den (mantel) *legt an sich* der wol gevar," 'sich' in time came to be omitted as superfluous (cf. § 81). The result would be, "den (mantel) *legt an* der wol gevar." When the group 'an + legen' had become specialized to refer to putting on clothes, the use was readily extended to sentences in which the subject and personal object (originally object of preposition), might be different persons.

Hildebrandslied: *gurtun* sih iro suert *ana* (5).

Otfried (9th C.):

bisah si thaz seltsana giuuati,
thaz thar uuiht ni rometi,
so er sih iz *analegiti* (4, 29, 37).

Genesis (11th C.): dâ nâch er in *ane warf* einen slâf (M.).

König Rother (12th C.): desse shô saltu mir *zien an* (M.).

Wirnt v. Gravenberg (13th C.):

zwô scharlaches hosen *streich* er *an*
mit flize *an* diu bein (DWb.).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): dar nâch êrlich sich *an tet*, als ein biscof zu rehte sal (M.).

Teuerdank (16th C.): Tewrdank legt sich in sein Zeug—*anlegte* sein Turnierzeug *an* (A.).

This sentence is interesting as showing that the author did not feel that 'in sein Zeug' nor 'anlegen' alone, were sufficient to express his idea. In the following the indirect personal object is omitted.

Notker (10th C.): die harrun *tragen* sie *ana* (Ps. 34, 26, DWb.).

Lamprecht (12th C.):

si *hânt* lützel umbe und *ane* (M.).
tût *ane* uber sarwât (DWb.).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

und wâren ir in den stunden
 ir cleider von ir getân
 und niuwan ir hemde *an verlân* (Iwein 5154).
 er *truoc an* seltsæniu kleit
 zwo hiute het er angeleit (Iwein 465).
 ein schalaches mântelin
 daz *gaþ* sî mir *an* (Iwein 327).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.): sine *fuorte* niht wan knoden
an (Parz. 257, 14).

§ 163. At a very early period the particle 'an' gave to the compound of which it formed a part, the meaning 'to begin an activity'. This is one of the most common meanings of verbs compounded with 'an' today.

In the following quotations the force of 'anafahan' is identical with the figure used in the English phrase 'to take hold of a thing' (a problem). The taking hold is the initial step of carrying out an activity.⁴⁸

Otfried (9th C.):

haben ih zi klagonne, ioh leidalih zi sagenne,
 ni ueeiz ih, les! in gahe, uuar ih iz *anafahe* (5, 7, 24).

Lamprecht (12th C.): waz si mohten *ane gân* (M.).

Heinrich v. Melk (12th C.): sô der *grîfet an* geistlich leben (M.).

Altho 'an' in the preceding passage may be either a preposition or an adverbial particle, the force of the group 'grîfet + an' is 'to begin'.

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

unz' daz diu naht *ane gienc* (Iwein 7347).
 die zwêne ungefüegen man
 die *huoben* in den strit *an* (Iwein 6718).

Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):

dô *huoþ* min hêr Gâwân
 an der eldesten zem êrsten *an*
 sus sprach er . . . (Parz. 672, 5).

This last is the most common use of 'anheben' in New High German.

Luther (16th C.): Küsset den Sohn, denn sein Zorn wird bald
anbrennen (Ps. 2, 12).

Later the meanings of these compounds expanded to include the whole of an activity.

⁴⁸ That the simplex might also express the idea 'to begin' is shown by the following Middle High German sentences:

daz gesinde *huoþ* grôzen schal (Iwein 1225).
 Cunnewâr daz êrste weinen *huoþ* (Parz. 319, 12).
 ein niuwez (spiel) *heben* (Gr. Rud. C. 12 per M.).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.):

des wil ich ewern rat haben dazu
wie wir dem sollen thun,
das wir das auf das best *antragen* (9, 15, 24).

Luther (16th C.): So müsse dich auch ein gut Jar *angehen!* (DWb.)
Sonst wo man solch gebet imerzu umb ein sach *antreibt*, ists
ein Zeichen, . . . (DWb.).

While in the above the verbs show that an activity has been begun, and will presumably be carried to completion, the following sentences contain verbs which indeed denote the beginning of an act, but they indicate that the activity may not be continued.

Minnesinger (13th C.): wenne ir *bîzt* an der spise *an* (M.).

Canitz (17th C.): Bei zween von Amorn *angeschosnen* Leuten
(DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Mit einer kaum *angeschriebenen* Feder (4, 183).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Dasz er dem Arrestanten den Ring
und den Ducaten wieder abjagte, die Beide zum Glücke weder
versoffen waren noch *angefeilt* (DWb.).

Waldau (19th C.): Sie *brechen*, da ihnen grünes Holz abgepfändet
wird, die Äste *an*, so dasz sie vertrocknen müssen (S.).

§ 164. The meaning 'to instruct' contained in such verbs as 'anweisen', etc., is arrived at by the following process:—By leading a person up to an object, he becomes acquainted with it, that is, acquires a knowledge concerning it. By a similar psychological process the type 'anweisen' acquired the meaning 'to instruct'.

Lieder d. 12ten u. 13ten Jh.: er *wiste* sin vihe *an* di guoten weide
(M.).

In this sentence is shown the starting point of the change further developed in the following sentences.

Rudolf v. Steinach (13th C.): da *wiste* gotes wort mich *an* (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Verstehst du auch was du ligest? wie kan ich,
so mich nicht jemand *anleitet?* (Apost. Gesch. 8, 30.)

Fischart (16th C.): Zu rechter weis *anführen* (DWb.).

Stumpf (16th C.): S. Benedikts Regel, nach der er erstmals die
Brüder reformiert und *anreiset* (S.).

§ 165. Closely related to such verbs as 'anhängen', etc. (§ 156), are those having acquired the meaning 'set fire to', 'ignite'. How this arose may still be seen from the use of the preposition 'an' in the first two of the following sentences.

Herbort v. Fritslar (12th C.): Als man daz vür *darane stach* (DWb.).

Mai und Beaflo (13th C.): die kamerære *stacten* diu lieht *an* die wende (M.).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):
dô kam diu rehte minne,
diu wære fiurærinne
und *stiez* ir sene fiuwer *an* (Trist. 929).

Wirnt v. Gravenberg (13th C.): daz viuer *warf* si in [eum] *an* (M.).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): wand er daz korn hete *an geleit* (M.).

Hermann v. Fritzlar (14th C.): liz Rome an vir enden *an stecken* zu burnende (Deut. Myst. I, 148, 7).

Pfarrer v. Kalenberg (15th C.): doch *macht* ich *an* ein feür vil frisch unter die heffen an dem hert (1081).

Luther (16th C.): Denn das fewr ist *angegangen* durch meinen Zorn (5 Mos. 32, 22).

Fronsperger (16th C.): vil weniger sol einer oder der ander das Lager *anfewren* od verbrennen (DWb.).

§ 166. An object may be brought to a person for the purpose of giving him possession of it.⁴⁹

Wirnt v. Gravenberg (13th C.): ein grafschaft, diu ist sin; die *brâht* in sin vater *an* (M.).

Das alte Passional (13th C.): der name si *an trat* von einer grôzen houbstat (M.).

Weisthümer (15th C.): daz er das gut nit *an langt* mit recht (M.).

J. H. Voss (18th C.):

Für eine Tonne Weizen
Schafft sich ein neuer Flausrock *an* (DWb.).

Tieck (19th C.): Dasz sich die Tochter doch wol irgend einmal einen reichen, angesehenen Mann *antansen* würde (DWb.).

The acquisition may be mental or ethical as in the following sentences.

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

waz töhte ob ich mich selben trüge?
swaz êren ich mich *anzüge*,
sô hânt si alle doch gesehn
waz under uns ist geschehn (Iwein 7574).

⁴⁹ In Gottfried v. Strassburg's Tristan, the prepositional phrase shows this force:

"seht, daz hât iuwer vater Kanêl *an* iuch *geerbet* unde brâht" (5193).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):

frouwe, ez enist kein man,
der sich hier umbe iht *nimet an*
und mich von minen èren
mit valsche wænet kêren (Trist. 9960).

Goethe (18th C.): Nach meinem *angeborenen* und *angebildeten* Realismus (22, 200).

Wer mit Angewohnheiten des Dialekts zu kâmpfen hat, suche das neu *Anzüübende* recht scharf auszusprechen (44, 297).

Devrient (19th C.): So trat er endlich mit der Gestalt, die er sich *angelebt* hatte, vor das Publikum (S.).

The various meanings of 'annehmen' may be treated in this section.⁵⁰

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

uns ist ein gebot gegeben
daz sich hie vor wip noch man
nem deheinen gast *an*
ûzerhalp dem bûrgetor (Iwein 6146).

Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.): *waz hâst du dich angenommen?* (Trist. 11326.)

Rudolph v. Steinach (13th C.): der sich *nam* sines râtes *an* (M.).

Luther (16th C.): Das ir euch umb die Redekunst so ernstlich *annemet* (DWb.).

Hagedorn (18th C.):

Die Ziege hört des Hasen Klagen
Mit *angenommner* Traurigkeit (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Ihre Freude ist stark, sie *nimmt* die Gestalt des Schreckens *an* (17, 306, S.).

Klinger (18th C.): *Nimm an*, ein Zaubrer brächte dir den Wunderstein (DWb.).

'Anbieten' merely denotes an earlier phase of a transaction contained in the meaning of 'annehmen', etc.

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.): dô *bôt* in der wirt *an* sine tohter (Iwein 6800).

Fastnachtspiele (15th C.): heur *trug* man mir ain altsz weib *an* (702, 12).

§ 167. The force of the verb compounded with 'an' meaning 'to stop at', 'to land', etc., requires no further explanation.

⁵⁰ As in most of the meanings treated, 'an' as a preposition seems to be the starting point of the new development.

Walther v. d. Vogelweide: mich hât daz rîche und diu krône *an* sich *genommen* (M.).

- Nibelungenlied (12th C.): Ze Misenburc der rîchen dâ *sciften* si sich *an* (1377, 1).
- Luther (16th C.): Kamen in das Land Genesareth und *fuhren an* (Marc. 6, 53).
- Sebastian Frank (16th C.): Unsre Schiff möchten *angeen* etwa an einen Schrofen und Felsen (DWb.).
- S. F. Hahn (18th C.): A. 852 *setzten* die Normanen mit 252 Schiffen wiederum in Friesland *an* (DWb.).
- Klopstock (18th C.): Endlich sinket sie ihm aus einem Nachen, der *antreibt*, an das schlagende Herz (DWb.).
- Gerstäcker (19th C.): Als ob wir die chinesische Küste *anlaufen* wollten (S.).

§ 168. Compounded with certain verbs the prefix 'an' gives to the compound the idea of an upward motion. This force, however, is not contained in the prefix but in the simple verb itself, or it is derived from the context. The double prefix 'hinan' is now generally used in this sense.

- Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):
 sus swebten sine sinne in einer ungewissen habe:
 tröst *truog* in *an* und zwifel *abe* (Trist. 890).
- Avanturier der Leipziger (16th C.): zu so einem *ansteigenden* vermögen gelanget (DWb.).
- Goethe (18th C.): Der höher *anstrebende* Geist, das Geschick seinen Lehrer an Zierlichkeit und Zartheit zu übertreffen (DWb.).
- J. H. Voss (18th C.): Des *hochanschwebenden* Adlers (DWb.).
- Schiller (18th C.): Nicht für möglich acht' ichs—so gar steil *geht's an* (S.).
- Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Da der Hügel am höchsten *anlief* (DWb.).
- Görres (19th C.): Zum Himmel *toste* ihr Kriegsgeschrei *an* (S.).

§ 169. As in the case of the compounds treated in the previous chapters, a number of verbs compounded with 'an' have become specialized thru their frequent use in certain trades, professions, etc.

- Nibelungenlied (12th C.): sit *truogen an* die helde daz si ze wibe nam Giselher (1679, 3).
- Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.):
 sô wart daz schif *gestôzen an*,
 alsus sô vuoren si von dan (Trist. 1581).

- Mühlhausener Rechtsbuch (13th C.):
anwisit abir he [macht anspruch]
 ûffi dechein gût mê (M.).
- Monumenta Zollerana (13th C.): Geld *anlegen* ('auf Zinsen anlegen', L.).
- Fragment (M. H. G.): kuochen mit rufolk *anslagen* (M.).
- Scherzii glossarium Germ. medii aevi: ein guot *an varn* ('es in Besitz nehmen', M.).
- Nürnberger Polizeiordnung (14th C.): die angiezzzer suln ir mâze mit in tragen in ainem sacke und sie suln *angiezen* vor dem kelr oder in den strâzen, swâ in daz trinken begegnet (L.).
- Pauli (16th C.): Mit seim Knecht het ein Wirt *angelegt*, welches weins er in hiesz bringen, so solt ers nit thun er geb im denn ein Warzeichen (DWb.).
- Hohenheim (16th C.): Das flüchtige Metall, als Gold und Silber, von den Erzen zu scheiden, welchs die Bergleut *angeflogen* nennen (DWb.).
- Seuter (16th C.): *Anraichen* ist anders nichts als wann sich ein Pferd mit den hindern Füeszen in die vordern tritt oder schlegt, welches ein gefährlich ding (DWb.).
- Zingkgraf (17th C.): Die Rede gieng, dasz er einer Damen ein Kind *angestellt* hatte (DWb.).
- Spee (17th C.): Verklagt und heftig *angebracht* (DWb.).
 Wie gefährlich es sei, mit der Welt sich *anzulegen* (DWb.).
- Olearius (17th C.): Obschon ein Spiegel anlaufft, wenn man ihn *anhaucht* (DWb.).
- Weckherlin (17th C.):
 Will er doch den Hof ganz zwingen,
 Basen, Vätter, Esel, Freund,
 Dieb und Kuppler hoch *anbringen* (DWb.).
- Steinbach (18th C.): Das Bier *bricht an* ('wird faul', A.).
- Hagedorn (18th C.): In Spanien *geht* dieser Fuszzwang *an* (DWb.).
- Goethe (18th C.): Grosze Strecken sind mit Weiden und Pappeln *angeflogen* (28, 9).
 Uebrigens schien der Unterricht nur auf Prellerei *angelegt* (20, 176, S.).
 Kein Mann auf den sie's *angelegt*, hatte sich verwahren können (25, 3).
 Sie werden zu Johanni reif, dann *setzt* der Baum noch einmal *an* (23, 352, S.).

J. v. Müller (18th C.): Sie wurden zu 7000 Gulden Kriegskosten *angelegt* (S.).

Schiller (18th C.): Auf das Haupt des Kindes *anzulegen* (S.).

§ 170. The word 'anwünschen', 'to adopt', is a literal translation from the Latin 'adoptare'.

Oberlinus: *angewunschene* Kinder (M.).

§ 171. The use of 'an' has become much restricted since Middle High German times, both as a preposition and as a prefix, some other preposition or prefix frequently being substituted in Modern German.⁵¹ In Gothic the feminine noun 'analageins' (< analagjan) occurs with reference to laying on of the hands, as in blessing or healing a person. Now we should say, "die Hände auflegen."

AUF now preferred.

Tatian (9th C.): *legetun* irô hant in then heilant *ana* (184, 6).

Her thô arstantenti sliumo fora in nam thaz thâr her *analog*
inti gieng in sin hûs mihhilôsônti got (54, 8).

Inti mittiu *anasazta* in sinô hentî, gieng thana (101, 1).

Hartmann v. Aue (12th C.):

an ein daz schoenste gras
da *vuorte* sî mich *an* (Iwein 336).

Monumenta Habsburgica (15th C.): die juden sollen ir geltbrief
ieden gelter *annotten* (L.).

Pauli (16th C.): Zu essen *antragen* ('an den Tisch', DWb.).

Luther (16th C.): Die Elephanten mit rothem Wein und Maul-
beersaft besprützen, sie *anzubringen* und zu erzürnen (1
Macc. 6, 34, DWb.).

Wolan, so *nimm* es *an* mit meinem Herrn (Es. 36, 8).

Fischart (16th C.): also ward Gargantua *angezogen* und guberniert
(DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Er war keinesweges schmeichelnd und *andring-*
end, das machte mich sorglos (19, 105).

⁵¹ Hartmann v. Aue says: "Ein ritter der gelêret was und ez *an* den buochen
las" (Iwein 21), where it would now be necessary to say: "in den Büchern." Cf.
also: "Er woltez (Kind) nimer lazen, und nam ez *an* den arm" (Wolfdietrich B.
169, 1).

Sagt im ze wortzeichen, er wizz wol waz er mir riet
des nahtes *an* dem bette, do er des morgens von mir schiet.
(Wolfdiet. B. 215, 4.)

an got vom himelriche unser beider leben stat (Wolfdiet. D. 100, 1).

- Gervinus (19th C.): Einem seine eignen Empfindungen unter- und
anschieben (S.).
- AUS.
 Luther (16th C.): Dasz arme Gesellen in dieser schweren Zeit mit
 solcher Besoldung, wie zu Braunschweig, nicht mögen *an-*
kommen (DWb.).
- Ayrer (17th C.):
 Ach solt mich der Fürst *setzen an*
 dem ich hab so vil guts gethan? (DWb.).
- BEI.
 Wolfram v. Eschenbach (13th C.):
 junchërre, komt ir in des [König Arthur] hüs,
 der *bringet* iuch *an* riters namn (Parz. 123, 8).
- EIN.
 Nibelungenlied (12th C.): ze Misenburc der richen dâ *sciften* si
 sich *an* (1377, 1).
 Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.): diz *truog* in grôzen jâmer *an*
 (Trist. 2583).
 Das alte Passional (13th C.): daz si an ieglicher stat bewiseten
 die sie *an trat* (M.).
 Luther (16th C.): man musz uns *ansingen* und *anblasen*, das wir
 den Herrn sollen preisen (DWb.).
 Dieweil der Türk dieser Zeit an viel Orten *anbricht* und der
 Christenheit groszen Abbruch thut (DWb.).
 Sebastian Frank (16th C.): An etlichen Orten verjahren [bekannten]
 dis die Juden darumb *angezogen* und gefoltert (DWb.).
 Hahn (18th C.): Von den vielen Competenten, die nach Henrici
 Tode sich zum Kaiserthum *angefunden* (DWb.).
- INNE.
 Otfried (9th C.): ther gotes geist, ther mo (dem Symeon) *ana-*
nuas, ther gihiaz imo thaz (1, 15, 5).
- § 172. Finally there are a few older compounds with 'an' in which
 the prefix is superfluous according to our modern speech sense.
- Gottfried v. Strassburg (13th C.): sô *tribe* wir vil harte unnütziu
 teidinc *an* (Trist. 6832).
- Fastnachtspiele (15th C.):
 mit singen und mit saitenspiel
 das sie *antreiben* dick und vil (735, 17).
- Luther (16th C.): Wie er sol Herr Leonharten gefenglich *an-*
nemen (DWb.).
- Sebastian Frank (16th C.): Wann man meint, si seien schon er-
 legen, und erschlagen, so ist in erst recht *angeholffen* (DWb.).

Fischart (16th C.): Nach disem Fürbild solt ihr euch weislich wissen *anzustellen* (DWb.).

Opitz (17th C.): Die Zeit, welche dazu nicht *anreicht* (DWb.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Er wurde von den Ideen entweder angepackt oder gar nicht *angestreift* (S.).

PART III.

'HERAN' AND 'HINAN' WITH THEIR ORIGINAL FORCE

§ 173. 'Heran' was the last of the double prefixes to develop, the first records occurring in the 17th century. The particle 'an' by itself denotes 'proximity to an object' or motion to such a position. When the speaker identifies himself with the object the direction of the motion indicated by a verb compounded with 'an' is obviously toward him. Hence the demonstrative 'her' is superfluous and was added only as an intensifying element in analogy to other compounds with 'her'.

'Hinan' occurred as early as Old High German, but the force is rather vague.

Otfried (9th C.): *ilêmês io hinana*, uuir fuarun leidor thanana (5, 23, 99).

zi theru burgi *faret hin ana* (1, 12, 19).

In the first sentence 'hin' would suffice, in the second 'hinin' would seem more accurate.

The next two sentences contain the preposition 'an' and the demonstrative 'hin' still considered as independent words.

Wirnt v. Gravenberg (13th C.): *leit in an daz schif hin* (M.).

Minnesinger (13th C.):

die stige sint mir abe getreten

die mich *leiten hin an* dich (M.).

STATISTICS ON THE SPREAD OF 'HERAN' AND 'HINAN'

	'HERAN'	'HINAN'	TOTAL
Old High German period	—	2	2
Middle High German period	—	—	—
15th Century	—	1	1
Luther	—	7	7
17th Century	11	4	15
Goethe	28	6	34
Rest of 18th Century	24	23	47
Campe	90 (15)	34 (5)	124
19th Century	8	5	13
	<u>161</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>243</u>

§ 174. 'Her' is sometimes prefixed to 'an' when the latter has the meaning 'to attach to'. (Cf. § 156.)

Campe (19th C.): *heranfeilen* = vermittelt der Feile heranbringen.

heranschleifen = durch Schleifen heranbringen.

heranschmieren = durch Schmieren, als eine Schmiere heranbringen.

heranschreiben = an diese Stelle herschreiben.

PART IV.

NEW MEANINGS DEVELOPED BY 'HERAN' AND 'HINAN'

§ 175. As the compounds with 'heran' and 'hinan' are of such recent formation, it is not to be expected that they have assumed many new functions. Both double prefixes are frequently compounded with verbs denoting an upward motion, which they intensify. This is especially true of 'hinan'.

Logau (17th C.): Klug, an Hirne
Schön, an Stirne
Bringt den Mann
Hoch *hinan* (DWb.).

Stieler (17th C.): Den Berg *hinanreiten* (DWb.).

Steinbach (18th C.): Bis an den Himmel *hinanheben* (DWb.).

Hoch ans Brett *hinankommen* (DWb.).

Gellert (18th C.): Er *sah* bald in das Thal und bald den Berg *hinan* (DWb.).

Goethe (18th C.): Als ich die neue Strasse *hinanfuhr* (DWb.).

Nur die technisch höchstgebildeten Völker *reichen* an jene *hinan* und übertreffen sie in Vielen (S.).

Wir *steigen* die Dole *hinan* (16, 234).

Sie *zog* mich zur Erd' ab, zum Himmel *hinan* (S.).

Stollberg (18th C.): Wie von einer Stadt der Rauch den Himmel *hinanwallt* (S.).

Schiller (18th C.): Groszer Thaten herrliche Vollbringer *klimmten* zu den Seligen *hinan* (DWb.).

Jean Paul Richter (18th C.): Wenn das Auge *hinanstrebt* in die ewigen Räume (DWb.).

Gökingsk (18th C.): Ich *kletterte* den Baum *hinan* (DWb.).

§ 176. 'Heran' is often prefixed to verbs indicating a 'growth', 'development'. The idea of 'growth' is present in the simple verb, the prefix denoting an approach toward the level of the speaker or something which he has in mind.

Rabener (18th C.): Und wenn die Fräulein ja heirathen will, so wird ihr der Oberste schon einen feinen vernünftigen Mann aussuchen, der in seinen besten Jahren ist, und die gute junge Fräulein vollends *heran ziehen* kann (DWB.).

Goethe (18th C.): Und so erfuhr ich auch hier bei einiger Nachfrage gar leicht, dasz von Dietrich . . . sich zu einem immer wachsenden Wohlhaben *herangearbeitet* habe (25, 331).

Ehe ich, . . . nach Hause kam, war das Stück (Clavigo) schon ziemlich *herangedacht* (26, 350).

Müssen wir auf das Herkommen, auf das *Herankommen* dieser schon zu hohen Jahren gelangten würdigen Person unsere Aufmerksamkeit richten (21, 120).

Sie (meine Schwester) . . . hatte mein ganzes bewusstes Leben mit mir *herangelebt* (25, 20).

Es (ein Buch) fordert uns auf, in das Allgemeinste, . . . unser Schauen hinzuwenden, und von da die Völkerschaften nach und nach zu unserm Blick *heranquellen* zu lassen (45, 407).

Schon zum voraus erkannte er was die neuen *heranstrebenden* Pflanzungen versprochen (17, 316).

Mit dem Wachstum des Knaben, der sich wirklich zum Jüngling *heranstreckte* (22, 153).

Das Kind *übt* sich im Leben an den irdischen Dingen selbst *heran* (25, 119).

Ein so schön *heranwachsendes* Mädchen (S.).

Wieland (18th C.): Das die Welt zu einer grossen Revolution *heranreife* (S.).

J. H. Voss (18th C.):

Die noch aus Staub allmählig keimend
Zu paradiesischer Blum' *heranblühn* (C.).

Prutz (19th C.): Er hatte sich den Heinrich speciell zu seinem Leibdiener *herangezogen* (S.).

Müller-Guttenbrunn (20th C.): Genau so wie der Bischof v. Temesvar, der ein geborner Schwabe war, madjarische Kleriker zu Hunderten *heranbildete* (Glocken 60).

§ 177. In the following quotations 'hinan' shows the beginning of specialization.

Luther (16th C.): Es steht aber dabei, das die Christen uber solchen Sieg müssen ir Leben *hinan setzen* (DWb.).

Herder (18th C.): *hinanwachsen* = fort wachsen (S.).

Arndt (19th C.): Hier ward ich also sogleich, wenn nicht mit hineingestellt, doch *hinangestellt*, und habe für die Bestimmung . . . der deutschen Legion manchen Dintentropfen aus der Feder lassen müssen (DWb.).

SUMMARY

§ 178. A summary of the fifth chapter follows.

1). Unlike the particles treated in preceding chapters, 'an' had a prepositional function since the time of its earliest records. As such, and later as an adverb, it denoted 'proximity to' or 'contact with' an object or motion to such a position.

2). Nearly all changes of meaning can be traced to one or the other of these two functions.

3). Frequently the particle seems to have arisen in an elliptic sentence, 'an' originally being a preposition whose object was omitted.

4). Both 'an' and 'her' indicate an 'approach', usually to a place with which the speaker identified himself. Hence, 'her' of 'heran' is superfluous. It does not occur until the 17th century, and then probably as a result of analogy to other compounds with 'her'.

5). 'Hinan' occurs as an adverb in Old High German, but no records were found for Middle High German.

6). There are nearly twice as many verbs compounded with 'heran' as with 'hinan'.





