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INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

OF

OLD HIGH GERMAN

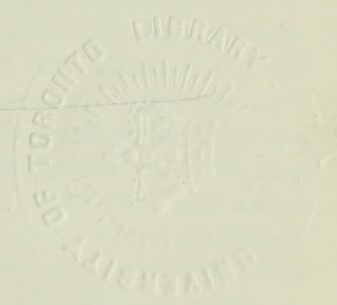
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BY

LIONEL ARMITAGE, M.A. TRIN. COLL. OXON.

LECTURER IN MODERN LANGUAGES, BALLIOL COLLEGE

AND TAYLOR LECTURER IN GERMAN 1900-1910



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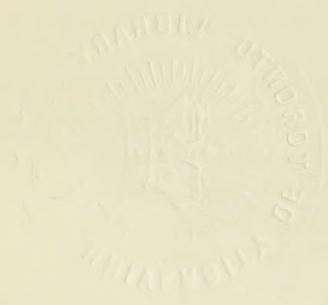
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INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

OLD HIGH GERMAN

BY HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
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PREFACE

THIS introduction to the study of Old High German aims at determining for the English student the position and importance of Old High German amid the sister languages of Germanic. After many years' experience of teaching Philology at Oxford I have arrived at the conclusion that the English student of Germanic is at the outset greatly hampered by the lack of scientific English books on the subject. In German such books exist in abundance, but it is a fact which we in England have too long overlooked, that German methods of arrangement, however excellent, are not adapted to the previous training of the English student. My intention has been to compile a grammar of Old High German which shall provide the serious student of the language with all the material that he will require to master it, not to treat Old High German, however, as an entity in itself, but to link it at once with the parent Germanic, and to link Germanic in outline to Indo-Germanic. The student will thus be enabled from the beginning to utilize for this new subject his knowledge of Greek and Latin. In this respect my grammar differs from such others as Sievers' *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, Braune's *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, Noreen's *Altnordische Grammatik*, which presuppose a wide knowledge of Germanic philology in general, and give no help to the learner not thus equipped.

I have sought to avoid this danger, and to make my grammar from the outset clear and comprehensible in itself, and on the other hand I have strenuously tried to avoid the faults of many elementary primers, which attain apparent clearness at the expense of accuracy.

Germanic philology offers many still unsolved problems, and many knotty questions on which authoritative scholars hold different views. In the main I have tried to present clearly the most generally accepted theory, to avoid useless controversy and the tempting opportunity of advancing untried hypotheses of my own, but I have not slurred over the diffi-

culties, and in all such contexts have given full references to the literature on the subject.

As regards terminology, while I have avoided neologisms of my own, I have discarded such misleading terms as 'strong and weak nouns,' 'strong and weak verbs,' 'breaking' (when applied to Primitive Germanic mutation), &c., &c., and have, as far as lay in my power, made my nomenclature consistent,¹ convinced that much of the difficulty a beginner finds in Philology is due to want of precision in such matters.

Though there is nothing in my book that is not already known to the expert, yet I claim that in the arrangement and handling of the materials at my disposal it has something new to offer, and will provide a useful textbook for students of Germanic philology, and, if I have at all succeeded in my aim, a reliable book of reference for my colleagues.

In a work of this kind my debt to such authorities as Paul, Braune, Streitberg, Dieter, Sievers, Wilmanns, has obviously been great, but I am more especially indebted to Professor A. S. Napier, who has shown the most generous kindness in encouraging me by criticism and advice, as also to Professor R. Pribsch, who has always been ready to help me with suggestions and emendations of the greatest value, and to Professor Macdonell, who has kindly taken the trouble to normalize my Sanskrit transcriptions.

I wish further particularly to express my thanks to my former pupil, now my colleague in Oxford, Miss Overend of Somerville College, for the very great help she has given me by putting my draft chapters to a practical test, and for sparing me the tedious task of index-making.

¹ For the term 'graded verbs' which I have adopted in preference to 'strong' I am indebted to Professor Macdonell, who introduced it in his Sanskrit grammars.

CONTENTS

PART I

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| <i>a.</i> Classification of Gmc. Languages | 9 |
| <i>b.</i> Survey of Old German Literary Monuments | 11 |
| <i>c.</i> Paradigms. Verb | 14 |
| Noun | 16 |
| Adjective and Pronoun | 17 |
| <i>d.</i> Transcription and pronunciation of OHG. | 20 |

PART II

CHAPTER I. IG. AND PR. GMC. CONSONANT SYSTEMS

| | |
|---|----|
| Definitions and classifications | 24 |
| First Sound-Shift | 30 |
| <i>a.</i> Aspirated Tenuis | 30 |
| <i>b.</i> Aspirated Mediae | 31 |
| <i>c.</i> Tenuis | 33 |
| <i>d.</i> Mediae | 36 |
| <i>e.</i> Verner's Law | 38 |
| IG. Gutturals in Gmc. | 39 |
| Exceptions to the First Sound-Shift | 41 |
| Combinative Consonant Changes in IG. and Gmc. | |
| <i>a.</i> Assimilation | 42 |
| <i>b.</i> Dissimilation | 43 |
| <i>c.</i> Minor Changes | 45 |
| Consonants in Final Syllables | 45 |
| Loss of Consonants in Non-Final Syllables | 46 |
| Intrusion of Consonants | 48 |

CHAPTER II. PR. GMC. CONSONANT SYSTEM

| | |
|--|----|
| Changes in Pr. Gmc. Period | 49 |
| Changes in West Gmc. Period | 50 |
| <i>a.</i> Lengthening | 50 |
| <i>b.</i> Voiced Spirants | 52 |
| <i>c.</i> Loss of Semi-Vowels | 54 |
| <i>d.</i> Loss of Final <i>z</i> | 55 |

CHAPTER III. OHG. CONSONANT SYSTEM

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Changes in OHG. period | 57 |
| HG. Sound-Shift | 57 |
| <i>a.</i> Tenues | 57 |
| <i>β.</i> Voiced Spirants | 61 |
| <i>c.</i> Table | 63 |
| Uncertainties of HG. Sound-Shift | 63 |
| Pr. Gmc. <i>þ</i> → OHG. <i>d</i> | 65 |
| Results of Verner's Law in OHG. | 65 |
| Notker's Law of Initial Consonants | 69 |
| Review of OHG. Consonants individually | 70 |
| Minor Points of Dialect and Writing | 78 |
| OHG. Consonants and their Origin. Tabular Review | 106 |

CHAPTER IV. VOWEL SYSTEM

| | |
|--|-----|
| IG. Vowel System | 109 |
| Development of Pr. Gmc. Vowel System | 112 |
| Vowel Gradation | 114 |
| Changes in Pr. Gmc. Period | 114 |
| Development of Pr. Gmc. Vowel System in OHG. | 117 |
| <i>a.</i> In Accented Syllables | 117 |
| <i>b.</i> In Unaccented Syllables | 125 |
| OHG. Vowels and their Origin. Tabular Review | 131 |

CHAPTER V. VERBAL SYSTEM

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| IG. Verbal System | 132 |
| IG. Perfect, Gmc. Preterite | 136 |
| Conjunctive Mood | 143 |
| Imperative | 144 |
| Infinitive | 145 |
| Participles | 145 |
| Verbal Inflexion in OHG. | 147 |
| Gradation Series | 154 |
| Reduplicating Verbs | 161 |
| Non-Graded Verbs (Weak) | 162 |
| Anomalous Verbs | 170 |

CHAPTER VI. NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL SYSTEM.

| | PAGE |
|---------------------------------|------|
| NOUNS. A Stems | 178 |
| O Stems | 184 |
| I Stems | 187 |
| U Stems | 189 |
| Consonant Stems | 190 |
| PRONOUNS. Personal | 199 |
| Possessive | 203 |
| Demonstrative | 203 |
| Interrogative | 208 |
| ADJECTIVES. Inflexion | 208 |
| Comparison | 214 |

CHAPTER VII

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| NUMERALS | 218 |
| ADVERBS | 221 |
| TABLE OF OHG. VERBS | 223 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 231 |
| INDEXES | 233 |

MAP *face page 9*

ABBREVIATIONS

- Al. Ps. = Alem. Transl. of Psalms.
Arnst. Marienl. = Arnstein Marienleich.
BR. = Benedictinerregel.
Exh. = Exhortatio ad plebem Christianam.
Fr. Geb. = Fränkisches Gebet.
Fr. Pn. = Freising Paternoster.
Freis. O. = Freising MS. of Otfrid.
H. = Interlinear Version of Hymns.
Hel. = Hêliand.
Hl. = Hildebrandslied.
Is. = Isidor. Translations.
K. = Keronic Glosses.
Leid. Will. = Leiden MS. of Williram.
Lw. = Ludwigslied.
M. = Monsee-Wiener Fragments.
Mers. Zs. = Merseburger Zaubersprüche.
M.M. = Memento Mori.
Mons. = Monsee Glosses.
Musp. = Muspilli.
N. = Notker's Translations.
Np. = Notker's Psalms.
O. = Otfrid.
Otloh. = Otloh's Gebet.
Pa. = Paris Glosses.
Pn. = St. Gallen Paternoster.
Phys. = Physiologus.
R. = Hraban Glosses.
R^{abcd}. = Reichenau Glosses.
Sam. = Christus und Samariterin.
T. = Tatian. Translations.
Tr. Cap. = Trierer Capitulare.
Voc. = Vocabularius St. Galli.
Wess. = Wessobrunner Gebet.
Will. = Williram. Hohes Lied.
Wk. = Weissenburger Katechismus.



B. V. Charlshire, Oxford, 1910.

Scale 0 50 100 Engl. Miles

PART I

CLASSIFICATION OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

THE German language is a member of the great Indo-Germanic **1** group, and in particular of the **Germanic** branch, of which one of the main characteristics was that it possessed a fixed accent.

Germanic is further distinguished by having undergone certain transformations of the consonant system, which are grouped together under the name of the First Sound-Shift. Like the parent **Indo-Germanic**, **Primitive Germanic** tended to become disintegrated by dialectal developments, and already in prehistoric times three subdivisions are to be noted:—

- a. **East Germanic** (Gothic).
- b. **North Germanic** (Scandinavian).
- c. **West Germanic**.

West Germanic comprised—

- Old English.
- Old Frisian.
- Old Low German (Old Saxon, Low Franconian).
- Old High German.

The distinction between **Old High** and **Low German** was caused **2** by the language of the South undergoing certain modifications of the consonant system, termed the **Second** or **High German Sound-Shift**, by which, in the main, the consonant of Northern Germany was unaffected, and thus remained on the same level as that of **Old English**.

[A line—the so-called Benrather Linie—drawn through Aachen and Köln northwards to the Elbe, a little south of Magdeburg, may roughly represent the boundary between Old Low and Old High German; *Grundriss*², i, p. 662.]

In the earliest monuments dialectal peculiarities are already present **3** which have caused a subdivision of High German into—

- a. **Upper German**. Alemannic; Bavarian.
- b. **Middle German**. Franconian; Thuringian.

All these dialects are grouped together under the name of **Old High German**, which is the term applied to the language affected by the **Second** (HG.) **Sound-Shift** (139), during the period when it was still possessed of full inflectional endings, viz. till about 1050.

- 4 The special features of these several dialects will be given below, but it will be convenient to give here a rough sketch of their geographical limits, and the sources whence they are known.

A. **Upper German** comprises Alemannic and Bavarian.

(a) **Alemannic** was spoken in the district now comprising Switzerland, South Baden, Western Bavaria as far as the river Lech, and Elsass. The main centres were the monastery of St. Gallen, near the Lake of Constance, that of Reichenau on an island in the lake, and Murbach in Elsass.

(b) **Bavarian** was spoken in the Danube country and Alpine districts, and later on through the greater part of Austria.

- 5 B. **Middle German** comprises Franconian and Thuringian, of which the latter has left no distinct literary monuments of this period.

Franconian. Only the southern part of Franconia was affected by the **HG.** or Second Sound-Shift. The northern part, i.e. the portion lying roughly north and west of a line drawn from Aachen to Düsseldorf, remained untouched by this movement, and thus belonged to the Low German group. The portion affected by the **HG. Sound-Shift** is subdivided into (1) East Franconia, (2) Rhine Franconia, (3) Middle Franconia. Cf. *PBB.* i. 1.

1. **East Franconia** is the district lying eastwards of the Rhine as far as the Fichtelgebirge.

2. **Rhine Franconia** is the district bordering on the Rhine, and extending as far as Weissenburg southwards. The dialect of the southern portion varies slightly from that of the northern, and is sometimes distinguished under the name of South Rhine Franconia.

3. **Middle Franconia** lay north of Rhine Franconia from the Mosel country northwards; bordering on Low German territory, its dialect shares some of the latter's peculiarities.

- 6 **NOTE.**—In the following list of monuments those marked * are to be found wholly or in part in Braune's *Lesebuch*; those marked † in Müllenhoff and Scherer, *Denkmäler*. Where these only give selections the most complete edition has also been mentioned. The works referred to will be found to contain extensive bibliographies. The capitals give the abbreviations under which the work is usually referred to.

It must be borne in mind that in many cases, especially those of poetical fragments, a great deal of doubt exists as to the exact date and dialect, and the arrangement adopted is therefore only provisional. Discussions of all such problems will be found at length in the various editions of the texts.

The glosses are collected in the four-volume edition of Steinmeyer and Sievers, *Althochdeutsche Glossen*, Berlin, 1879-98.

History of Literature.

7

- Paul. *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie.* (2nd ed., vol. ii. *Geschichte der althochdeutschen Litteratur.* Kögel and Brückner.)
- Kögel. *Geschichte d. deutschen Litteratur bis zur Mitte d. 11ten Jahrhunderts.*
- Kelle. *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur bis 1050.*
- Vogt and Koch. *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur.*

Selected Texts.

- Müllenhoff. *Sprachproben.*
- Müllenhoff and Scherer. *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem 8ten bis 12ten Jahrhundert,* ed. Steinmeyer. [+]
- Braune. *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch.* *
- Piper. *Die älteste deutsche Litteratur.* DNL. vol. 1.
Nachträge zur älteren deutschen Litteratur. DNL. vol. 162.
- Heyne. *Kleinere altniederdeutsche Denkmäler.*
- Gallee. *Altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler* (facsimiles).
- Wadstein. *Kleinere altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler.*

SURVEY OF OLD GERMAN LITERARY MONUMENTS.

Alemannic. Centres: St. Gallen, Reichenau, Murbach. 8

Prose.

Glosses and Names.

- 8th cent. *St. Galler Paternoster und Credo.* *—†
Interlinear Version of Benedictinerregel. DNL. 162 (22-162). *—† [BR.]
- 9th. *Interlinear Psalms.* Müllenhoff, *Sprachproben.* DNL. 162 (309-10). *
Murbach Hymns, ed. Sievers. DNL. 162.
- 10-11th. Translations by Notker, ed. Piper. *—† [N.]
- 12th. *Physiologus.* DNL. 1 (461-7). *—† [Phys.]

Verse.

- 9-10th? *Christus und Samariterin.* DNL. 1 (262). *—† [Sam.]
? *Georgslied.*

Bavarian. Centres: Wessobrun, Freising, Tegernsee, Regensburg, Monsee. 9

Prose.

Glosses and Names.

- 8th. Translations of Isidor of Seville, ed. Hench. * [Is.]
- 9th. *Monsee-Wiener Fragmente,* ed. Hench. *—† [M.]
- 9th. *Exhortatio ad plebem Christianam.* DNL. 1 (102). *—† [Exh.]

- 9th. *Freisinger Paternoster*. *DNL.* I (91). *—†
St. Emmeraner Gebet. *—†
Carmen ad Deum. *—†

9-10th. *Priestereid*. †

- 10th. *Ältere bairische Beichte*. *—†
Jüngere bairische Beichte. *—†

11th. *Otlohs Gebet*. *—†

Verse.

8th? *Wessobrunner Gebet*. *DNL.* I (139). *—† [*Wess.*]

9th. Freisinger MS. of Otfrid (see below, Otfrid).

- Petruslied*. *—†
Muspilli. *—† [*Musp.*]
Contra vermes. †

10th. *Wiener Hundeseugen*. *—†

10 **East Franconian.** Centres: Würzburg, Bamberg.

Prose.

Glosses and Names.

9th. Translations of Tatian, ed. Sievers. *—† [*T.*]

9th. *Lex Salica*. *—†

Würzburger Beichte. †

Würzburger Markbeschreibung. *—†

10th. *Fuldaer Beichte*. *DNL.* 162. *—†

11th. Translations by Williram. *DNL.* I, ed. Seemüller. *

11 **Rhine Franconian.** Centres: Metz, Weissenburg, Lorsch, Worms, Mainz.

Prose.

Glosses and Names.

8th. Translations of Isidor of Seville, edd. Weinhold, Hench.

DNL. I. * [*Is.*]

Weissenburger Katechismus.

Fränkisches Gebet. *—†

Fränkisches Taufgelöbniß. *—†

Strassburger Eide. *DNL.* 162. *—†

Lorscher Beichte. *DNL.* 162. *—†

9-10th. *Pfälzer Beichte*. *DNL.* 162. †

10th. Interlinear Version of the Cantica. *

10th. *Aldeutsche Gespräche*. *DNL.* 162.

Mainzer Beichte. *—†

Verse.

- 9th. *Otfrid Evangelienbuch*. *DNL.* 1, ed. Kelle, Erdmann, Piper.
 *—† *O.*
Ludwigslied. *DNL.* 1. *—† [*Lw.*]
Lorscher Bienensegen. *—†
- 9-10th. *Augsburger Gebet*. *—†
 ? *Georgslied*.
 ? *Christus und Samariterin*.

Middle Franconian. Centre : Trier. 12

Prose.

Glosses and Names.

- 9-10th. Interlinear version of Psalms, ed. van Helten.
Trier Capitulare. *—†

Verse.

- Merseburger Zaubersprüche*. *DNL.* 162. *—†
 (probably Thuringian).
 10-11th? *de Heinrico*. *DNL.* 162. *—†

Low German (including Old Low Franconian and Old Saxon). 13

Centres : Werden, Essen, Freckenhorst.

Prose.

Glosses and Names.

- 8th. *Sächsisches Taufgelöbniß*. *—†
- 9-10th. Interlinear Psalms, ed. van Helten. *DNL.* 162. *
- 10th. *Sächsische Beichte*. *—†
 Translation of Homily of Beda. *DNL.* 162. †
Abecedarium Normannicum. †
Essener Heberregister. †
Werdener Heberregister. †
- 11-12th. *Freckenhorster Heberregister*. †

Verse.

- 8th? *Hildebrandslied*. *DNL.* 162. *—† [*Hl.*]
 ? *Wessobrunner Gebet*. *DNL.* 1. *—†
- 9th. *Héliand*, edd. Sievers, Heyne, Behaghel. [*Hel.*]
Genesis. Fragment in OE. *Genesis*, ed. Sievers.
 Fragment in Vatican MS., edd. Zangemeister,
 Braune.
Héliand and Genesis. Piper.
Héliand and Genesis. Behaghel.

14

OHG. GRADED VERB

| Indicative. | Conjunctive. | Imperative. |
|-------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| Present. | | |
| Sg. 1. <i>nīmu</i> | <i>neme</i> | — |
| 2. <i>nīmīs(t)</i> | <i>nēmēs</i> | <i>nīm.</i> |
| 3. <i>nīmit</i> | <i>neme</i> | — |
| Pl. 1. <i>nemem(ēs)</i> | <i>nēmēm</i> | <i>nemem(ēs)</i> |
| 2. <i>nemet</i> | <i>nēmēt</i> | <i>nemet</i> |
| 3. <i>nemant</i> | <i>nēmēn</i> | — |
| Preterite. | | |
| Sg. 1. <i>nām</i> | <i>nāmi</i> | Infinitive. <i>neman</i> |
| 2. <i>nāmi</i> | <i>nāmīs</i> | Pres. Part. <i>nemanti</i> |
| 3. <i>nām</i> | <i>nāmi</i> | Past Part. <i>ginoman</i> |
| Pl. 1. <i>nānum(es)</i> | <i>nāmīm(es)</i> | |
| 2. <i>nāmut</i> | <i>nāmīt</i> | |
| 3. <i>nāmun</i> | <i>nāmīn</i> | |

15

GRADATION SERIES

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|
| I. i | ei, e | i | i |
| <i>grīfan</i> | <i>greif</i> | <i>griffum</i> | <i>gigriffan</i> |
| <i>zīhan</i> | <i>zēh</i> | <i>zigum</i> | <i>gizigan</i> |
| II. io | ou, o | u | o |
| <i>liogan (liugu)</i> | <i>loug</i> | <i>lugum</i> | <i>gilogan</i> |
| <i>biotān (biutu)</i> | <i>bōt</i> | <i>butum</i> | <i>gibotan</i> |
| III. e, i | a | u | o, u |
| <i>helfan (hilfu)</i> | <i>half</i> | <i>hulfum</i> | <i>giholfan</i> |
| <i>bintan</i> | <i>bant</i> | <i>buntum</i> | <i>gibuntan</i> |
| IV. e | a | ā | o |
| <i>neman (nimu)</i> | <i>nam</i> | <i>nānum</i> | <i>ginoman</i> |
| V. e | a | ā | e |
| <i>geban (gibu)</i> | <i>gab</i> | <i>gābum</i> | <i>gigeban</i> |
| VI. a | uo | uo | a |
| <i>farān (feris)</i> | <i>fuor</i> | <i>fuorum</i> | <i>gifaran</i> |

OHG. NON-GRADED VERB

16

Class I. Got. **-jan**, OHG. **-en**.

| Indicative. | Conjunctive. | Imperative. |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| Present. | | |
| Sg. 1. <i>neriu</i> | <i>nerie</i> | — |
| 2. <i>neris(t)</i> | <i>neries</i> | <i>neri</i> |
| 3. <i>nerit</i> | <i>nerie</i> | — |
| Pl. 1. <i>neriem(ēs)</i> | <i>neriēm(ēs)</i> | <i>neriem(ēs)</i> . |
| 2. <i>neriet</i> | <i>neriēt</i> | <i>neriet</i> |
| 3. <i>nerient</i> | <i>neriēn</i> | — |
| Preterite. | | |
| Sg. 1. <i>nerita</i> | <i>neriti(i)</i> | Infinitive. <i>nerien</i> |
| 2. <i>neritōs(t)</i> | <i>nerifās</i> | Pres. Part. <i>nerienti</i> |
| 3. <i>nerita</i> | <i>neriti(i)</i> | Past Part. <i>ginerit</i> |
| Pl. 1. <i>neritūm-ōm</i> | <i>neritīm(es)</i> | |
| 2. <i>neritūt-ōt</i> | <i>neritīt</i> | |
| 3. <i>neritun-ōn.</i> | <i>neritīn</i> | |

Class II. Got. **-ōn**, OHG. **-ōn**.

17

| | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Present. | | |
| Sg. 1. <i>salbōm</i> | <i>salbo</i> | — |
| 2. <i>salbōs(t)</i> | <i>salbōs(t)</i> | <i>salbo</i> |
| 3. <i>salbōt</i> | <i>salbo</i> | — |
| Pl. 1. <i>salbōm(ēs)</i> | <i>salbōm</i> | <i>salbōmēs</i> |
| 2. <i>salbōt</i> | <i>salbōt</i> | <i>salbōt</i> |
| 3. <i>salbōnt</i> | <i>salbōn</i> | — |
| Preterite. | | |
| Sg. 1. <i>salbōta</i> &c. | <i>salbōti(i)</i> &c. | Infinitive. <i>salbōn</i> Pres. Part. <i>salbōnti</i> Past Part. <i>gisalbōt</i> |

Class III. Got. **-an**, OHG. **-ēn**.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| Present. | | |
| Sg. 1. <i>habēm</i> | <i>habe</i> | — |
| 2. <i>habēs(t)</i> | <i>habēs(t)</i> | <i>habe</i> |
| 3. <i>habēt</i> | <i>habe</i> | — |
| Pl. 1. <i>habēmes</i> | <i>habēm</i> | <i>habēmēs</i> |
| 2. <i>habēt</i> | <i>habēt</i> | <i>habēt</i> |
| 3. <i>habēnt</i> | <i>habēn</i> | |
| Preterite. | | |
| Sg. 1. <i>habēta</i> &c. | <i>habēti(i)</i> &c. | Infinitive. <i>habēn</i> Pres. Part. <i>habēnti</i> Past Part. <i>gihabēt</i> |

NOUNS

18 In OHG. nouns are divided into two classes according to the original ending of the stem: if it had ended in a vowel the noun belongs to the vocalic (strong) declension, if in a consonant the noun belongs to the consonant declension.

A. Vocalic Declension.

(1) a stems. (2) ō stems. (3) i stems. (4) u stems.

(1) a stems.

| Masculine. | Neuter. |
|------------------------|---------------|
| Sg. N. <i>tag</i> | <i>wort</i> |
| A. <i>tag</i> | <i>wort</i> |
| G. <i>tages</i> | <i>wortes</i> |
| D. <i>tage</i> | <i>worte</i> |
| I. <i>tagu</i> | <i>wortu</i> |
| Pl. N. <i>tagā, -a</i> | <i>wort</i> |
| A. <i>tagā, -a</i> | <i>wort</i> |
| G. <i>tago</i> | <i>worto</i> |
| D. <i>tagum</i> | <i>wortum</i> |

19

(2) ō stems. Feminine.

| |
|--------------------|
| Sg. N. <i>geba</i> |
| A. <i>geba</i> |
| G. <i>geba</i> |
| D. <i>gebu</i> |
| Pl. N. <i>gebā</i> |
| A. <i>gebā</i> |
| G. <i>gebōno</i> |
| D. <i>gebōm</i> |

20

(3) i stems.

| Masculine. | Feminine. |
|----------------------|---------------|
| Sg. N. <i>gast</i> | <i>anst</i> |
| A. <i>gast</i> | <i>anst</i> |
| G. <i>gastes</i> | <i>ensti</i> |
| D. <i>gaste</i> | <i>ensti</i> |
| I. <i>gastiu, -u</i> | — |
| Pl. N. <i>gesti</i> | <i>ensti</i> |
| A. <i>gesti</i> | <i>ensti</i> |
| G. <i>gesteo</i> | <i>ensteo</i> |
| D. <i>gestim</i> | <i>enstim</i> |

(4) u stems. In OHG. these stems have almost entirely passed over into the *a* or the *i* declension, and there are but few traces of them left.

B. Consonant Declension.

21

(1) n stems. (2) r stems. (3) s stems. (4) nt stems.

(1) n stems.

| | Masculine. | Neuter. | Feminine. |
|--------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Sg. N. | <i>hano</i> | <i>herza</i> | <i>zunga</i> |
| A. | <i>hanon, un</i> | <i>herza</i> | <i>zunga</i> |
| G. | <i>hanen, in</i> | <i>herzen, in</i> | <i>zungūn</i> |
| D. | <i>hanen, in</i> | <i>herzen, in</i> | <i>zungūn</i> |
| Pl. N. | <i>hanon, un</i> | <i>herzun</i> | <i>zungūn</i> |
| A. | <i>hanon, un</i> | <i>herzun</i> | <i>zungūn</i> |
| G. | <i>hanōno</i> | <i>herzōno</i> | <i>zungōno</i> |
| D. | <i>hanōm</i> | <i>herzōm</i> | <i>zungōm</i> |

(2) r stems.

(3) s stems.

(4) nt stems.

| | | | |
|--------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Sg. N. | <i>bruoder</i> | <i>lamb</i> | <i>friunt</i> |
| A. | <i>bruoder</i> | <i>lamb</i> | <i>friunt</i> |
| G. | <i>bruoder</i> | <i>lambes</i> | <i>friunteſ</i> |
| D. | <i>bruoder</i> | <i>lambe</i> | <i>friunte</i> |
| I. | — | <i>lambu</i> | — |
| Pl. N. | <i>bruoder</i> | <i>lambir</i> | <i>friunt(a)</i> |
| A. | <i>bruoder</i> | <i>lambir</i> | <i>friunt(a)</i> |
| G. | <i>bruodero</i> | <i>lambiro</i> | <i>friunto</i> |
| D. | <i>bruoderum</i> | <i>lambirum</i> | <i>friuntum</i> |

ADJECTIVES

As with the nouns, the distinction of vocalic and consonant declension is made with the adjectives also. The consonant inflection corresponds exactly to that of the nominal *n*-stem declension, and therefore need not here be considered.

The vocalic inflection is not identical with that of the noun, but shows a mingling of nominal and pronominal inflection.

| | Masculine. | Neuter. | Feminine. |
|--------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Sg. N. | <i>blint, blintēr</i> | <i>blint, blintaz</i> | <i>blint, blint(i)u</i> |
| A. | <i>blintan</i> | <i>blint, blintaz</i> | <i>blinta</i> |
| G. | <i>blintes</i> | <i>blintes</i> | <i>blintera</i> |
| D. | <i>blintemu</i> | <i>blintemu</i> | <i>blinteru</i> |
| I. | <i>blintu</i> | <i>blintu</i> | — |
| Pl. N. | <i>blinte</i> | <i>blint(i)u</i> | <i>blinto</i> |
| A. | <i>blinte</i> | <i>blint(i)u</i> | <i>blinto</i> |
| G. | <i>blintero</i> | <i>blintero</i> | <i>blintero</i> |
| D. | <i>blintēm</i> | <i>blintēm</i> | <i>blintēm</i> |

23

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns.

| 1st Pers. | | 2nd Pers. | Reflexive. |
|------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| Sg. N. | <i>ih</i> | <i>dū</i> | — |
| A. | <i>mih</i> | <i>dih</i> | <i>sih</i> |
| G. | <i>mīn</i> | <i>dīn</i> | <i>sin</i> |
| D. | <i>mīr</i> | <i>dīr</i> | — |
| Pl. N. | <i>wir</i> | <i>ir</i> | — |
| A. | <i>unsih</i> | <i>iuwih</i> | <i>sih</i> |
| G. | <i>unsēr</i> | <i>iuwēr</i> | — |
| D. | <i>uns</i> | <i>iu</i> | — |
| | | 3rd Pers. | |
| Masculine. | | Neuter. | Feminine. |
| Sg. N. | <i>er</i> | <i>iz</i> | <i>siu, sī</i> |
| A. | <i>īnan, in</i> | <i>iz</i> | <i>sia</i> |
| G. | <i>(sīn)</i> | <i>is, es</i> | <i>ira</i> |
| D. | <i>īmu, o</i> | <i>īmu, o</i> | <i>īru</i> |
| Pl. N. | <i>sie</i> | <i>siu</i> | <i>sio</i> |
| A. | <i>sie</i> | <i>siu</i> | <i>sio</i> |
| G. | <i>iro</i> | <i>iro</i> | <i>iro</i> |
| D. | <i>im, in</i> | <i>im, in</i> | <i>im, in</i> |

24

Demonstrative Pronouns.

| (1) (ther), der. | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Masculine. | | Neuter. | Feminine. |
| Sg. N. | <i>der</i> | <i>da_z</i> | <i>dīu</i> |
| A. | <i>den</i> | <i>da_z</i> | <i>dea, dia</i> |
| G. | <i>des</i> | <i>des</i> | <i>dera</i> |
| D. | <i>demu, o</i> | <i>demu, o</i> | <i>deru, o</i> |
| Pl. N. | <i>dē, dea, dia, die</i> | <i>dīu (dei)</i> | <i>deo, dio</i> |
| A. | <i>dē, dea, dia, die</i> | <i>dīu</i> | <i>deo, dio</i> |
| G. | <i>dero</i> | <i>dero</i> | <i>dero</i> |
| D. | <i>dēm, dēn</i> | <i>dēm, dēn</i> | <i>dēm, dēn</i> |
| (2) (theser), desēr. | | | |
| Sg. N. | <i>dese, desēr</i> | <i>dīz</i> | <i>desīu, disīu</i> |
| A. | <i>desan</i> | <i>dīz</i> | <i>dēsa</i> |
| G. | <i>deses</i> | <i>dēsses</i> | <i>desera</i> |
| D. | <i>desemu, o</i> | <i>desemu, o</i> | <i>deseru</i> |
| I. | — | <i>desīu, desu</i> | — |
| Pl. N. | <i>dese</i> | <i>desīu</i> | <i>dēso</i> |
| A. | <i>dese</i> | <i>desīu</i> | <i>dēso</i> |
| G. | <i>desero</i> | <i>desero</i> | <i>desero</i> |
| D. | <i>desēm, desēn</i> | <i>desēm, desēn</i> | <i>desēm, desēn</i> |

Interrogative Pronouns.

25

| Masc. and Fem. | Neuter. |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| Sg. N. <i>hwer, wer</i> | <i>hwaz, waz</i> |
| A. <i>hwenan, wenan, wen</i> | <i>hwaz, waz</i> |
| G. <i>hwes, wes</i> | <i>hwes, wes</i> |
| D. <i>hwemu, o</i> | <i>hwemu, o</i> |
| I. — | <i>hwiu, wiu</i> |

NUMERALS

| Cardinal. | Ordinal. |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 <i>einēr, -az, -iu</i> | <i>ēristo</i> |
| 2 <i>zvēne, zveī, zvē, -ō</i> | <i>ander</i> |
| 3 <i>drī, driu, drīo</i> | <i>dritto</i> |
| 4 <i>feor, fior</i> | <i>feordo</i> |
| 5 <i>fīmf, fīnf</i> | <i>fīmfsto</i> |
| 6 <i>sehs</i> | <i>sehsto</i> |
| 7 <i>sibun</i> | <i>sibunto</i> |
| 8 <i>ahto</i> | <i>ahtodo</i> |
| 9 <i>niun</i> | <i>niunto</i> |
| 10 <i>zehan</i> | <i>zehanto</i> |
| 11 <i>einlif</i> | <i>einlifto</i> |
| 12 <i>zweelif</i> | <i>zweelifto</i> |
| 13 <i>drīzehan, &c.</i> | <i>dritto zehanto, &c.</i> |
| 20 <i>zweinzug</i> | <i>zweinzugōsto</i> |
| 30 <i>drīzzug</i> | <i>&c.</i> |
| 40 <i>fiorzug, &c.</i> | |
| 100 <i>zehanzug</i> | |
| 200 <i>zwiro zehanzug</i> | |
| <i>zwei hunt</i> | |
| 1000 <i>dūsunt</i> | |

TRANSCRIPTION AND PRONUNCIATION OF OHG.

26 ALL lengthier monuments are written in the Latin alphabet, but OHG. possessed many sounds not existing in Latin, e. g.—

(1) The voiceless guttural spirant, phonetically denoted by χ : the sound in NHG. *Buch*.

(2) The corresponding voiced guttural spirant g , as in South German pronunciation of *Wagen, Regen*.

(3) The voiceless dental spirant þ , as in English *think*.

(4) The corresponding voiced spirant ð , as in English *breathe, this*.

(5) The voiceless dental fricative ts , as in NHG. *Zahn, Tanz*.

(6) The voiceless labial fricative pf , as in NHG. *Pferd*.

As a result it is by no means easy to determine with certainty the exact value of all the symbols and combinations of letters which occur in any given OHG. manuscript.

27 The MSS. as a rule take no account of vowel length. Occasional, though never consistent efforts are made to distinguish long vowels:

(1) By writing them double, as in NHG. *Seele, Waare*, in the BR. (not only in the root but also in secondary syllables), Isidor, Hraban Glosses, and in Tatian occasionally.

(2) By the use of the circumflex, in the Paris Glosses and sometimes in Tatian.

(3) By the use of the acute (perhaps OE. influence), mostly in the Hraban Glosses.

These various systems are used indiscriminately side by side in many MSS. Notker († 1022) is the first to use accents with any real method. He marks every long accented vowel by $\hat{\text{}}$, every short accented vowel by ' , and often gives a $\hat{\text{}}$ to a long vowel even in a secondary syllable. Cf. Paul Sievers, 'Die Akzente im Ahd.', *Palaestra*, lvii.

The following survey of OHG. pronunciation will guide the beginner:—

28

OHG. Vowels.

LONG.

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| a | <i>slāfan, hāhan, thār</i> | Open, as in NHG. <i>Vater</i> . |
| e | (1) <i>hēr</i> (Pr. Gmc. \bar{e}) | Probably closed. |
| | (2) <i>mēro, ēwig, sē</i> (Pr. Gmc. $\acute{a}i$) | Open at first as in <i>Gräfin</i> , then later closed. |
| i | <i>mīn, grīpan</i> | As in NHG. <i>sieben</i> . |
| o | (1) <i>gōt, bōh</i> (Pr. Gmc. \bar{o}) | Closed as in NHG. <i>Boot</i> . |
| | (2) <i>hōren, lōs</i> (Pr. Gmc. $\acute{a}u$) | Open at first, then closed. |
| u | <i>iūba, hūt</i> | As in NHG. <i>Flur</i> . |

NOTE.—The above \bar{e} and \bar{o} only occur in early OHG.: they pass later into *ie* and *uo* respectively.

SHORT.

29

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| a | <i>habēn, kann</i> | As in NHG. <i>Mann, hat.</i> |
| e | (1) <i>nēman, ezzan</i> (Pr. Gmc. <i>i</i> or <i>e</i>) | Open <i>e</i> as in NHG. <i>essen, felt.</i> |
| | (2) <i>heri, heffen</i> (Pr. Gmc. <i>a</i>) | Closed as in (South) German <i>besser.</i> |
| i | <i>finden, bilidi</i> | As in NHG. <i>finden.</i> |
| o | <i>got, giboran</i> | Open <i>o</i> as in NHG. <i>Gott.</i> |
| u | <i>munt, gibundan</i> | As in NHG. <i>Bund.</i> |

OHG. Diphthongs.

30

| | | |
|-----|------------------------|--|
| (ai | <i>hailen, tail</i> | As in NHG. <i>Waise</i> (only early OHG.). |
| (ei | <i>heilen, teil</i> | As <i>e + i</i> (probably). |
| (au | <i>bang, araugnan</i> | As in NHG. <i>Haus</i> (only early). |
| (ou | <i>boug, aroungnan</i> | As in <i>o + u</i> . |
| iu | <i>liuti, liuhtan</i> | As <i>i + u</i> . |
| (eo | <i>leoht, beotan</i> | As <i>e + o</i> . |
| (io | <i>lioht, biotan</i> | As <i>i + o</i> . |
| (ie | <i>lieht, bieten</i> | As <i>i + e</i> . |
| (ea | <i>hear</i> | As <i>e + a</i> . |
| (ia | <i>hiar</i> | As <i>i + a</i> . |
| (ie | <i>hier</i> | As <i>i + e</i> . |
| (uo | <i>muoter, guot</i> | As <i>u + o</i> . |
| (ua | (only dialectal) | As <i>u + a</i> . |
| oa | („ „) | As <i>o + a</i> . |

OHG. Consonants.

31

[Only those are given whose pronunciation differs from NHG.]

| | | |
|------|--|---|
| w | <i>uuar, uuendan</i> | Like Eng. <i>w</i> but bilabial, as in Suabian pronunciation of <i>Schwester, bequem.</i> |
| i, j | <i>iar, biht</i> or <i>bigiht</i> | (Often written <i>g</i> before vowels) like Eng. <i>y</i> . |
| r | <i>ritan, brehhan, uerdan</i> | Trilled <i>r</i> , as in the German 'Bühnensprache.' |
| n | (1) <i>bindan, nioman</i> (= <i>n</i>) | Dental as in NHG. <i>binden.</i> |
| | (2) <i>singan, iung</i> (= <i>v</i>) | Guttural as in NHG. <i>singen.</i> |
| f | (1) <i>findan</i> (Pr. Gmc. <i>f</i>) | Labio-dental as in NHG. <i>finden, Hefe.</i> |
| | (2) <i>scaf, slāfan</i> (Pr. Gmc. <i>p</i>) | Pronounced as <i>ff</i> , and probably bilabial. |
| g | (1) <i>guot, liggan</i> | Voiced explosive as in Eng. <i>garden</i> , when initial or doubled. |
| | (2) <i>dagā, sagēn</i> | Sometimes a voiced spirant [as in South-East German <i>Wagen, Regen</i>] when intervocalic, more often as (1). |
| h | (1) <i>habēn, hūs</i> | When initial, like NHG. <i>Haus.</i> |
| | (2) <i>sēhan, hōh</i> | When not initial a spirant, = χ , as in NHG. <i>Joch, Macht.</i> |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| th, dh <i>thiudisc, thaz</i> | Dental spirant. In Pr.Gmc. voiceless, but in earliest OHG. probably = <i>ð</i> . |
| s <i>sunā, wēsān</i> | Voiceless spirant as in Eng. <i>son</i> . |
| z, zz <i>ezzan, az</i> | Also a voiceless spirant, but never confused with <i>s</i> because more dental, = <i>ʃʃ?</i> , so-called 'lisped <i>s</i> '. |
| z <i>ziōhan, herza</i> | Voiceless fricative as in NHG. <i>Zahn, Tanz</i> . |

PART II

CHAPTER I

INDO-GERMANIC AND PRIMITIVE GERMANIC CONSONANT SYSTEMS

BEFORE passing on to consider the Consonant and Vowel Systems **32** of Primitive Germanic in relation to those of Indo-Germanic and Germanic, a brief explanation of what is meant by the terms Primitive Germanic and Indo-Germanic may be useful, and short definitions of the more technical terms which will be employed. These definitions make no pretence to be exhaustive or scientific, but are intended merely to prevent ambiguity and misunderstanding.

By Indo-Germanic is meant the parent language from which Sanskrit, **33** Greek, Latin, Germanic, &c., are all sprung, as it must have existed when the ancestors of all these peoples lived together before their separation. Of the home of the Indo-Germanic races nothing is known with certainty : no record of their language is extant, neither is any knowledge to be gained of the period during which it was spoken nor of its previous evolution. It is only known that it must have had a long and gradual development in prehistoric days, yet it is possible theoretically to reconstruct in its essentials the Primitive Indo-Germanic language (so-called pro-ethnic), as it must have existed before its disintegration, by a comparative study of the daughter languages and their historic development. The oldest recorded IG. language is Old-Indian or Sanskrit. In this the Vedas—the sacred books of the Hindus—were written, at latest, about fifteen centuries before Christ. Next in point of antiquity comes Zend or Old Persian, in which the Parsee scriptures were written about eleven centuries B. C. The earliest Greek monuments date from about 750 B. C., the earliest Latin from about the fifth century B. C., and, after a long interval, the earliest Germanic from the fourth century A. D. In all these cases the historic development of the language can be traced in a more or less unbroken line down to our day. Sanskrit, for instance, dies out, but it is succeeded by Prākṛit and Pāli, and these in turn by the many and various languages of modern India. It must not be forgotten that each of the IG. languages, after its severance from the others, had in prehistoric times its own private and particular development, subject to new influences,

and entirely independent of its sister tongues before it was first committed to writing. Consequently it is necessary to be acquainted with the sound-laws, which are peculiar to the individual languages, before generalizing from them. Though Sanskrit is, by many centuries, the nearest in point of time to the parent language, and thus in many cases represents it more faithfully than do its younger brethren, it does not, for instance, preserve the vowel-system in nearly the same purity as Greek; nor does Greek, though far older, always represent the IG. consonant as faithfully as does Latin.

- 34 By Primitive Germanic is meant similarly the language finally spoken by the Germanic races before their separation into tribes and nations. Just as in the case of IG., there is no written monument of the Pr. Gmc. language, but it is possible here with even greater exactness to reconstruct it from its later development, since the phenomena are of more or less historic times. The earliest Germanic monument is the translation of the Bible into Gothic in the fourth century, and then, from the eighth century onwards, there are records in OE., OHG., OLG., down to the modern language of English and German, while from the tenth century Scandinavian literature is continuous.

35

DEFINITIONS

The sounds which collectively form a language may be conveniently divided into Sonants and Consonants.

SONANTS. A sonant is any sound capable of being pronounced alone without the aid of any other sound. Such are—

- (1) All vowels.
- (2) The sonant liquids, *l*, *r* (written *l*, *r* phonetically to distinguish them from the consonants *l* and *r*), as in *able* (*abl*), German *Acker* (*akr*).
- (3) The sonant nasals *m*, *n* (written *m*, *n*), as in *chasm*, *heaven* (*heavn*).

- 36 **VOWELS.** A vowel is the sound produced when the breath, passing over the vocal chords and causing them to vibrate, issues unobstructed from the mouth. Vowel-sounds can be indefinitely modified, according to the shape given to the passage through which the breath has to pass, and are thus indefinitely numerous. In most of the languages to be dealt with in the following, the chief vowel-sounds group themselves round five vowels, which are commonly described by the symbols *a*, *o*, *u*, *e*, *i*. In addition to these there is a colourless sound, which is represented by an inverted *e* (*ə*), constantly heard in unaccented syllables. Almost any sound, if sufficiently unstressed, may be re-

duced to *e*, though it may continue to be written as before : cf. English *swain* beside *coxswain* (*koksən*).

Vowels may according to their duration be either short or long. **37**
A distinction is further made, in the cases of the vowels *e*, *o*, between open and closed. The difference is best illustrated by examples :

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| e | Open (\bar{e}) long as in Germ. <i>Gräfin</i> | Closed (\bar{e}) almost as in Germ. <i>Seele</i> |
| | (\check{e}) short as in Eng. <i>men</i> , <i>pet</i> | (\check{e}) as in Fr. <i>été</i> |
| o | Open (\bar{o}) long as in Eng. <i>law</i> | (\bar{o}) as in Germ. <i>so</i> |
| | (\check{o}) short as in Germ. <i>kommen</i> | (\check{o}) as in Fr. <i>côté</i> |

According to the portion of the throat and mouth which plays most part in producing them, vowels are further distinguished as (1) guttural vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*; (2) palatal vowels, *e*, *i*: but the distinction is a relative rather than an absolute one; *o*, for instance, is more guttural than *e*, and *e* less palatal than *i*. *O* and *u* are also sometimes termed labial vowels.

Guttural \rightarrow *a* \bar{o} \bar{u} *u* \check{e} \check{i} \rightarrow Palatal.

DIPHTHONGS. A diphthong is a sound produced when two vowels **38**
are pronounced in quick succession with one effort of the breath, but with unequal intensity, as, for instance, in *boy* ($\bar{o}i$), *new* ($i\bar{u}$), *Haus* (au). If the first element bear the greater stress, the diphthong is said to be a falling one, *boy*: if the second element is the more intense, a rising one, *new*.

CONSONANTS. A consonant is the sound produced when the **39**
articulation of a vowel is partially or completely stopped by the organs of speech (lips, teeth, palate, throat). It can be clearly seen that no hard-and-fast rule can be drawn between vowels and consonants: in fact, the consonants *w* and *j* (as Eng. *y*) are nothing but the vowels *u* and *i* with a trifling modification, and the two (*w*, *u*, and *j*, *i*) constantly interchange, so that it is not uncommon to denote the sounds of *w*, *j* by the symbols \bar{u} , \bar{i} . In most diphthongs the less-accented element is really a consonant:

boy = $\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{i}$; new = $n\bar{i}\bar{u}$; Haus = $hau\bar{s}$.

Consonants may be divided:—

(1) According to the organs which check the breath, into Labials, **40**
Dentals, Palatals, Gutturals.

(2) According to the amount of resistance offered to the breath, into Explosives, Spirants, Aspirates, Semivowels.

Explosive. An explosive is a consonant in the pronunciation **41**
of which the breath is for an instant completely arrested and then abruptly released. Such are: *p*, *b*; *t*, *d*; *k*, *g*.

- 42 Spirant.** A spirant is the name given to the consonant produced when the breath is only partially obstructed. Such are :

f, b, v : p, d, s, z : š, ž, χ, g.

p = th, as in Eng. *thin* : *d = th*, as in Eng. *this* : *š = sh*, as in Eng. *hush* : *ž = zh*, as in Eng. *pleasure*.

χ and *g* are rare in English but common in German. *χ* = the hard sound of *ch*, as in *Buch, Dach*. *g* = the sound heard in South German pronunciation of *Wagen, Regen*.

- 43 Fricative.** A fricative is the compound sound of explosive plus spirant. Such are : German *pf*, as in *Pferd, Pfund* : *ts*, as in Eng. *hats*, denoted in German by *z*, as in *Tanz, Zahn* : *tš = ch* as in Eng. *church* : *dž = j* as in Eng. *joke*. In these fricatives it will be noted that the two elements are always homo-organic, i.e. both dentals or both labials.

- 44 Explosives, Spirants, Fricatives** may be each divided again into voiced and voiceless, according to whether the vocal chords vibrate in producing them or not.

Voiced : Explosive: *b, d, g*. Spirant: *š, v, g, d, z, ž*. Fricative: *dž*.

Voiceless : „ *p, t, k*. „ *f, χ, s, š, b*. „ *tš, pf*.

The voiced explosives *b, d, g* are further often termed *Mediae*, and the voiceless *p, t, k* *Tenuis*.

- 45 Aspirate.** An aspirate is a consonant which is merely an audible breathing ; it is denoted by *h* (E. *habit*, G. *Herz*).

An aspirated explosive is one which is pronounced followed by a breathing. In English they may be found in compound words. Such are :

kh as in *ink-horn*.

gh as in *log-hut*.

ph as in *top-hat*.

bh as in *cab-horse, abhor*.

th as in *boat-house*.

dh as in *paid-hand, adhere*.

- 46 Nasals.** A nasal is the sound pronounced when the breath passes out through the nose. Such are Labial *m*, Dental *n*, Guttural *ŋ* : viz. *m, n*, as in *jam, pen*, and the sound which in English and German is usually denoted by *-ng*, as in *singer*, but is phonetically represented by the symbol *ŋ* = *singer*.

- 47** There are, of course, an infinite number of possible consonant sounds and consonant combinations, but only those are here mentioned which are necessary for the treatment of Germanic.

NOTE 1. The English sound of *v* is, strictly speaking, labiodental, produced, that is to say, by the teeth and lips : another pronunciation is possible, in which the lips only are used, and which is called bilabial. It is heard in the Suabian pronunciation of German *w*, and is something between an Eng. *w* and a *v*. This bilabial *v* in the following is denoted by the symbol *ḃ*.

- 48** NOTE 2. *Velars*. Beside the ordinary gutturals *k* and *g*, such as

are found in Greek, Latin, and Germanic, IG. appears to have had another series of gutturals, pronounced yet further back in the throat, at the base of the soft palate (*velum*), hence known as the velars (cf. the difference in pronunciation of the guttural in Modern German or English, according to the quality of the nearest vowel: *Buch* beside *Bücher*, *Sack* beside *Säcke*).

These velar gutturals in IG. could occur before any vowel, even a palatal vowel, and the more palatal gutturals likewise before guttural as well as before palatal vowels. There are various notations adopted to represent these IG. velar gutturals: the symbols *k* and *g* are here used to denote the ordinary guttural (from the Gmc. point of view), and *k''*, *g''*, *k''h*, *g''h* to denote the velar guttural. It is a curious fact that none of the descendant IG. languages have preserved both sets of gutturals. The Indian, Armenian, Iranian, Albanian, Slavonic, and Baltic languages retain the velars, but lose the palatal gutturals, while Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Germanic retain the palatals and lose the velars. The languages which have lost the palatal guttural have substituted in its stead a spirant or fricative *š* or *ž*, *tš* or *dž*, and the two great groups are consequently distinguished (by their inability or ability to retain as a guttural the *k* of IG.) as the '*šatam*' and the '*centum*' languages respectively:—

| | | | |
|----------|-----------------|--------|----------------|
| Sanskrit | <i>šatam.</i> | Greek | ἑκατόν. |
| Zend | <i>šatim.</i> | Latin | <i>centum.</i> |
| Lith. | <i>szimtas.</i> | Celtic | <i>cēt.</i> |
| | | Gmc. | *χund- |

The '*centum*' languages either made no distinction between the velar gutturals and the palatal gutturals, as Latin and Gmc., or substituted other consonants for them, as did Greek. In some cases in Lat. and Gmc. an IG. velar appears as an ordinary guttural + *u*. It has been assumed therefore that Pr. IG. had (1) plain velars and (2) labialized velars, i.e. velars + *u*, but the point is far from being proved.

Examples of the varying treatment of IG. velars will be found in the paragraphs on the First Sound-Shift and in 88.

To show the cross-classification the consonants may be thus tabulated:—

| | EXPLOSIVES. | | ASPIRATED EXPLOSIVES. | | FRICATIVES. | | SPIRANTS. | |
|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| | Voiceless | Voiced | Voiceless | Voiced | Voiceless | Voiced | Voiceless | Voiced |
| LABIALS | <i>p</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>ph</i> | <i>bh</i> | <i>pf</i> | | <i>f</i> | <i>v, ð</i> |
| DENTALS | <i>t</i> | <i>d</i> | <i>th</i> | <i>dh</i> | <i>ts, tš</i> | <i>dž</i> | <i>s, š</i> | <i>z, ž</i> |
| GUTTURALS | <i>k</i> | <i>g</i> | <i>kh</i> | <i>gh</i> | | | <i>x</i> | <i>g</i> |
| VELARS | <i>k''</i> | <i>g''</i> | <i>k''h</i> | <i>g''h</i> | | | | |

| | | |
|------------------|------------|--------------|
| There remain the | Liquids | <i>l, r.</i> |
| | Nasals | <i>m, n.</i> |
| | Semivowels | <i>u, i.</i> |
| | Aspirate | <i>h.</i> |

52 Indo-Germanic possessed the following consonant sounds :—

| | Labials. | Dentals. | Palatals. | Velars. |
|----------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| TENUES | <i>p</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>k</i> | <i>k^u</i> |
| MEDIAE | <i>b</i> | <i>d</i> | <i>g</i> | <i>g^u</i> |
| Aspirated Ten. | <i>ph</i> | <i>th</i> | <i>kh</i> | <i>k^uh</i> |
| Aspirated Med. | <i>bh</i> | <i>dh</i> | <i>gh</i> | <i>g^uh</i> |
| SPIRANTS | | <i>s, z</i> | | |
| LIQUIDS | | <i>l, r</i> | | |
| NASALS | <i>m</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>ŋ</i> | <i>ŋ^u</i> |
| Semivowels | <i>u</i> | | <i>i</i> | |

It is noteworthy that the IG. consonant system did not contain the spirant sounds *χ, g, þ, ð, f, ð.*

53 As mentioned in the introductory chapter, one of the chief characteristics which separate Gmc. from all the other languages of the IG. stock is a different consonant system. The whole system of explosive consonants has been revolutionized by a series of phenomena which are summed up in the term 'First Sound-Shift'.

Rask and Grimm were the first to formulate these changes, and the First Sound-Shift is often spoken of as Grimm's Law. The most important apparent exception to Grimm's Law was demonstrated by Verner to be merely an extension of it, and the law which governs this further phenomenon is known as Verner's Law and forms an integral part of the First Sound-Shift.

54 The **First Sound-Shift** affected the four series of explosives of IG. :—

- (1) Aspirated Tenuis ;
- (2) Aspirated Mediae ;
- (3) Tenuis ;
- (4) Mediae ;

and consisted of four separate phenomena, which were neither dependent on one another nor simultaneous. The most diverse theories are advanced as to the relative chronological order of the four groups of phenomena (see Wilmanns, i. § 29, *Zs.f.d.A.* 45, p. 101 ; Streitberg, *U. G.* § 126, and literature quoted there), and the approximate date of the Sound-Shift altogether. It seems probable that the whole revolution in the Gmc. consonant system was completed in a comparatively short space of time, i.e., between 400 and 100 B.C., and that the order was the one here adopted. In the

following pages detailed examples of the First Sound-Shift are given, but a table is prefixed to show at a glance the main changes :—

(1) Aspirated Tenues are very rare in IG. and their development 55 is obscure.

(2) Aspirated Mediae become in Gmc. Voiced Spirants.

(3) Tenues become in Gmc. Voiceless Spirants.

(4) Mediae become in Gmc. Tenues.

| | IG. | Gk. | Lat. | Gmc. | 56 |
|---|---|----------|-----------------------|------------------------|----|
| 2 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} bh \\ dh \\ gh \end{array} \right.$ | ϕ | <i>f</i> (<i>b</i>) | <i>b̥</i> | |
| | | θ | <i>f</i> | <i>ð</i> | |
| | | χ | <i>h</i> | <i>g</i> | |
| 3 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} p \\ t \\ k \end{array} \right.$ | π | <i>p</i> | <i>f</i> (<i>b̥</i>) | |
| | | τ | <i>t</i> | <i>þ</i> (<i>ð</i>) | |
| | | κ | <i>k</i> | <i>χ</i> (<i>g</i>) | |
| 4 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} b \\ d \\ g \end{array} \right.$ | β | <i>b</i> | <i>p</i> | |
| | | δ | <i>d</i> | <i>t</i> | |
| | | γ | <i>g</i> | <i>k</i> | |

| | Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Gmc. | Got. | OHG. |
|---|----------------------------|----------|----------------|----------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 2 | <i>bhārāmi</i> | φέρω | <i>fero</i> | * <i>beran</i> | <i>baíran</i> | <i>beran</i> |
| | (<i>dā</i>) <i>dhāmi</i> | (τί)θημι | <i>fa-cere</i> | * <i>ðæð</i> | (<i>ga</i>) <i>dēþs</i> | <i>tāt</i> |
| | IG. <i>angh</i> | ἄγχω | <i>ango</i> | * <i>ang</i> | <i>aggwus</i> | <i>angi</i> |
| 3 | <i>pīlār</i> | πατήρ | <i>pater</i> | * <i>faðr</i> | <i>fadar</i> | <i>fater</i> |
| | <i>trāyas</i> | τρεις | <i>trēs</i> | * <i>þrīz</i> | <i>þreis</i> | <i>drī</i> |
| | <i>śalām</i> | εκατόν | <i>centum</i> | * <i>χund</i> | <i>hund</i> | <i>hund</i> (<i>l</i>) |
| 4 | | | <i>trabs</i> | | <i>þaurp</i> | <i>dorf</i> |
| | <i>ādmi</i> | ἔδομαι | <i>edo</i> | * <i>etan</i> | <i>itan</i> | <i>ezzan</i> |
| | <i>jānāmi</i> | γινώσκω | <i>gnosco</i> | * <i>kann</i> | <i>kann</i> | <i>kann</i> |

NOTES. It may be well to point out here that—

57

(a) Gk. ϕ , θ , χ had by no means the pronunciation of *f*, *þ*, and *k*, but were originally the voiceless aspirated explosives (45) *p* + *h*, *t* + *h*, *k* + *h*. The Greek χ = *k* + *h*, occurring in Greek words, must of course not be confounded with the voiceless spirant, as in *Loch*, which is denoted in Gmc. by the symbol χ .

(b) Greek unvoiced the IG. mediae aspiratae to tenues aspiratae, 58 so that the Gk. ϕ may represent (1) IG. *bh*, (2) IG. *ph*, &c. (Greek treated the velars in different ways, replacing them now by the labial explosives β , π , now by the dental explosives δ , τ , and sometimes by the palatal gutturals. Cf. Gk. *λείπω*, Lat. *linquo*, Gk. *τίς*, Lat. *quis*. Cf. Hirt, § 217.)

(c) Latin shifted the IG. aspirated mediae first to aspirated tenues 59 like the Greek, and then further to spirants like Gmc. The Latin symbol *f* represents two distinct sounds :

- (1) a bilabial *f*, Gk. *φέρω*, Lat. *fero* ← IG. *bh*; and
- (2) a dental *f*, Gk. *θύρα*, Lat. *fores* ← IG. *dh*.

Latin *h* had originally the sound of guttural spirant χ .

60 (d) Gothic *b* and *d* between vowels have the sound of *þ* and *ð* respectively.

(e) Germanic χ in most of the Gmc. languages is written *h*. Initially and later between vowels it tends in all to take the sound of a mere aspirate.

FIRST SOUND-SHIFT

61 I. **IG. Aspirated Tenues.** In Greek, as ϕ , θ , χ , the aspirated tenues fall together with the aspirated mediae, which also become ϕ , θ , χ , but in Gmc. they seem rather to have fallen together with the simple tenues and to have become spirants (see III). Examples are:—

62 (a) **IG. ph** → **Gmc. f**.

? Sk. *phala* = ripe, falling fruit. Pr. Gmc. **fallan*, OE. *feallan*, OHG. *fallan*.

IG. *phr-*, Gk. $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$. Pr. Gmc. **frap-*, OE. *frod*, OHG. *fruot*.

In the IG. combination *sph* IG. *ph* → *p* and remains so in Gmc.: Skr. *sphāṭati* = it spreads out. Pr. Gmc. **spelđ*, Got. *spilda*, ON. *spjalða*, OHG. *spaltan*.

63 (b) **IG. th** → **Gmc. þ**.

Gk. $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ ($\theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$) $\theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, Got. *þragjan*, ON. *þrall*, OHG. *drigil*.

Gk. $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, Got. *skapjan*, ON. *skedja*, OHG. *skadon*, OE. *sceppan*.

IG. *th* after *s, f, h* → *t* and remains so in Gmc.

Suffix *-tha*, Gk. $-\theta\alpha$, Gmc. *-t*.

Sk. (*vít*)*tha*, Gk. (*oĩo*) $\theta\alpha$, but Gmc. (*gaf*)*t*, (*táuh*)*t*, (*káus*)*t*: from such verbs *t* was generalized to verbs with other root consonants, e. g. *namt*, *bart*, &c., and this is the origin of the *-t* in the 2nd pers. sing. of the Preterite of Gothic and ON. strong verbs: Got. *gaft*, *namt*, ON. *gaft*, *namt*, &c.

64 (c) **IG. kh** → **Gmc. χ**. There are no certain examples.

(d) **IG. k^{uh}** → **Gmc. χ**. Lat. *habēre*, Pr. Gmc. **χaban*, Got. *haban*, OE. *habban*, OHG. *habēn*.

65 (e) **IG. k^{uh}** → **Gmc. χw**.

? Sk. *nakhás*, Gk. $\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\xi}$, Lat. *unguis*, Pr. Gmc. **naχwl*, ON. *nagl*, OE. *næzl*, OHG. *nagal*.

After *s*, *k^{uh}* appears to remain as Gmc. *k*.

? Sk. *skhalāmi*, Pr. Gmc. **skal*, Got. *skal*, ON. *skal*, OE. *sceal*, OHG. *scal*.

Far more important than the shift of the aspirated tenues are the three following:—

66 II. IG. aspirated mediae → Gmc. voiced spirants: *bh, dh, gh, gh, gh* → *b, d, g*: *g* OF *gu*.

(a) IG. *bh* → Gmc. *b*.

| IG. | Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Pr. Gmc. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
|----------------|-----------------|--------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| | <i>bharāmi</i> | φέρω | <i>fero</i> | * <i>beran-</i> | <i>báiran</i> | <i>bera</i> | <i>beran</i> | <i>beran</i> |
| | <i>bhrātar-</i> | φηγός | <i>fāgnus</i> | * <i>bōk-</i> | <i>bōka</i> | <i>bōk</i> | <i>bōc</i> | <i>buohha</i> |
| <i>bhāghus</i> | <i>bāhus</i> | φράτορ | <i>frāter</i> | * <i>brōþ-r</i> | <i>brōþar</i> | <i>brōðir</i> | <i>brōþor</i> | <i>bruoder</i> |
| | <i>bhrāmi</i> | πήχης | <i>fundo, fidi</i> | * <i>bōg-</i> | <i>bōg</i> | <i>bōgr</i> | <i>bōg</i> | <i>buog</i> |
| | <i>nāhus</i> | νεχέλη | <i>nehula</i> | * <i>bītan-</i> | <i>bētan</i> | <i>bīta</i> | <i>bītan</i> | <i>bīzgan</i> |
| | | | | * <i>nebul-</i> | <i>nifl (heimr)</i> | <i>nifl</i> | OS, <i>nehal</i> | <i>nebul</i> |

67 (b) IG. *dh* → Gmc. *ð* (OII.G. *t*).

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------------------|------------------|--|--------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>dharom</i> | (<i>dādhāmi</i> <i>dār</i>) | (τύθημι θύρη) | <i>fac-ito</i> <i>forēs</i> | * <i>lād-</i> * <i>ður-</i> | <i>gadēls</i> <i>daúr</i> | <i>dād</i> <i>dyrr</i> | <i>dād</i> <i>duru</i> | <i>lāt</i> <i>turi</i> |
| | <i>mādhyas</i> | μέσος | <i>medius</i> | * <i>medj-</i> | <i>midjís</i> | <i>miðr</i> | <i>mid(dic)</i> | <i>mitli</i> |
| | <i>rudhirātē</i> | έρυθρός | (<i>ruber</i>) | * <i>raud-</i> | <i>rāups</i> | <i>raudr</i> | <i>rēad</i> | <i>rōt</i> |
| <i>dh-</i> | <i>dūhitār-</i> | θύγάτρ | | * <i>duχtr-</i> | <i>daúhtar</i> | <i>dóttir</i> | <i>dohtor</i> | <i>tohter</i> |
| | <i>vidhāvā</i> | ἰδέσθαι | <i>vidua</i> | * <i>vidhāv-</i> | <i>vidhāvō</i> | | <i>vidhāve</i> | <i>weihavea</i> |
| | <i>bāndhanam</i> | παιθερός | (<i>of</i>) <i>fendi-</i> <i>mentum</i> | * <i>bīndan-</i> | <i>bindan</i> | <i>binda</i> | <i>bindan</i> | <i>binian</i> |

68 (c) IG. gh → Gmc. g.

[In Sk. represented by *h*: in Gk. by *χ*: in Latin by *h* when initial before vowels or intervocalic, by *f* when initial before *u*, by *g* before and after consonants. Sommer, § 115. 3.]

| IG. | Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Pr. Gmc. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| | <i>hárīs</i> | <i>χάρῖος</i> | <i>hárus</i> | * <i>getvas</i> | | <i>gulf</i> | <i>ʒolo</i> | <i>gelo</i> |
| | <i>hásás</i> | <i>χῆν</i> | (<i>h</i>) <i>anser</i> | * <i>gans-</i> | (<i>ga</i>) <i>weigan</i> | <i>gós</i> | <i>ʒós</i> | <i>gans</i> |
| | <i>vahāmi</i> | <i>ὄχος</i> | <i>vaho</i> | * <i>veg-</i> | <i>deigan</i> | <i>vaga</i> | <i>weʒan</i> | <i>wegan</i> |
| | <i>dehī</i> | | <i>fīʒ-o</i> | * <i>dhg-</i> | <i>gadgis</i> | | <i>dāʒ</i> | <i>teig</i> |
| <i>ghorto-</i> | | <i>χόπρος</i> | <i>hortus</i> | * <i>gard-</i> | <i>dāigs</i> | <i>gardr</i> | <i>ʒard</i> | <i>gart</i> |
| | | | <i>homo (hemōn)</i> | * <i>gum-</i> | <i>gards</i> | <i>gumi</i> | <i>ʒuma</i> | <i>gomo</i> |
| | <i>hyás</i> | <i>ἄγχι</i> | <i>heri</i> | * <i>ang-</i> | <i>guma</i> | | <i>enze</i> | <i>engi</i> |
| | | <i>χθές</i> | <i>hisco</i> | * <i>gesir-</i> | <i>aggvus</i> | <i>igær</i> | <i>ʒeostra</i> | <i>gestron</i> |
| | | | <i>fundo</i> | * <i>ginan-</i> | <i>gistra-</i> | <i>gīna</i> | <i>ginan</i> | <i>ginēn</i> |
| <i>ghet-d</i> | | <i>χέω</i> | | * <i>geulan-</i> | <i>giutan</i> | <i>gjōta</i> | <i>ʒōlan</i> | <i>giogan</i> |

69 (d) IG. g^{uh} → Gmc. g.

[In Sk. represented by *gh* or *h*: in Gk. by *χ* or *φ* or *θ* (Hint, § 220): in Lat. by *h* before vowels: by *g* before consonants (Sommer, §§ 116, 117. 3).]

| IG. | Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Pr. Gmc. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
|---------------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| | <i>jānghā</i> | <i>χαυδάνω</i> | (<i>prae</i>) <i>hendo</i> | * <i>gongan-</i> | <i>gagan</i> | <i>ganga</i> | <i>ʒangan</i> | <i>gangan</i> |
| | | | <i>hostis</i> | * <i>getan-</i> | (<i>bi</i>) <i>gitan</i> | <i>geta</i> | <i>ʒitan</i> | (<i>bi</i>) <i>geʒgan</i> |
| | <i>stighnōmī</i> | <i>στέχω</i> | <i>lectus</i> | * <i>gastis</i> | <i>gasts</i> | <i>gast</i> | <i>ʒest</i> | <i>gast</i> |
| | <i>dirghās</i> | | <i>longus</i> | * <i>stigan-</i> | <i>stigan</i> | <i>stiga</i> | <i>stigan</i> | <i>stigan</i> |
| | | | | * <i>legjan-</i> | <i>ligan</i> | <i>liggja</i> | <i>litʒean</i> | <i>liggen</i> |
| <i>dlg^hhos</i> | | | | * <i>laug-</i> | <i>laggs</i> | <i>langr</i> | <i>lanʒ</i> | <i>lang</i> |

70 (c) IG. *g^{uh}* → Gmc. *g^(w)*.

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-----|------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| IG. | Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Pr. Gmc. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
| | <i>dróghas</i> | | | * <i>draugw-</i> | | <i>draugr</i> | <i>bidrēozan</i> | <i>treogan</i> |
| | <i>drúbyati</i> | | | * <i>draugm-</i> | | | <i>dream</i> | <i>traum</i> |
| | | | | * <i>singwan-</i> | <i>siggwan</i> | <i>syngva</i> | <i>sinzan</i> | <i>singan</i> |
| | <i>laghus</i> | | | * <i>lungw-</i> | | | <i>lunzer</i> | <i>lungar</i> |

71 III. IG. Tenuis → Gmc. voiceless Spirants. *p, t, k, k^h* → *f, þ, X, X^w*.

(a) IG. *p* → Gmc. *f*.

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>piár-</i> | <i>πατήρ</i> | <i>pater</i> | * <i>fadr-</i> | <i>fadar</i> | <i>fadr</i> | <i>faler</i> | |
| <i>pād-</i> | <i>παύς</i> | <i>pēs</i> | * <i>fót-</i> | <i>fōtus</i> | <i>fōtr</i> | <i>fuoꝛ</i> | |
| <i>pāsu-</i> | | <i>pecu</i> | * <i>fexu-</i> | <i>faihu</i> | <i>fē</i> | <i>fihu</i> | |
| | | <i>capio</i> | * <i>χafjan-</i> | <i>hafjan</i> | <i>hefja</i> | <i>heffen</i> | |
| <i>nāpāl</i> | <i>ἀνεψιός</i> | <i>nepos</i> | * <i>nef-</i> | | <i>nefa</i> | <i>nefo</i> | |
| | | <i>piscis</i> | * <i>fisk-</i> | <i>fisks</i> | <i>fiskr</i> | <i>fisk</i> | |
| <i>pāñca</i> | <i>πέντε</i> | <i>quinque</i> (* <i>penque</i>) | * <i>fimf-</i> | <i>fimf</i> | <i>fif</i> | <i>finf</i> | |
| | | <i>plus</i> | | | | | |
| <i>purás</i> | <i>πολύ</i> | <i>porcus</i> | * <i>felu-</i> | <i>filu</i> | <i>fiel</i> | <i>fela (feolu)</i> | |
| | <i>πόρκος</i> | | * <i>farχ-</i> | | | <i>fearh</i> | |
| | | | | | | | <i>spēhōn</i> |
| | | | | | | | <i>spornōn</i> |
| | | | | | | | <i>spīwan</i> |

72 The IG. combination *sp* remains in Gmc.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>spās-</i> | <i>specio</i> | <i>spā</i> | <i>spēhōn</i> |
| | <i>sperno</i> | <i>sporna</i> | <i>spornōn</i> |
| | <i>spuo</i> | <i>spjja</i> | <i>spīwan</i> |

(¹ Gk. πτ ← *þj*. Cf. Hirt, § 241b; Brugmann, Gr.³ i. §§ 299 and 567.)

73 (b) IG. t → Gmc. þ (OHG. *t*).

| IG. | Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Pr. Gmc. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
|-----|-----------------|----------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| | <i>trám</i> | τῷ | <i>tu</i> | * <i>þu</i> | <i>þu</i> | <i>þú</i> | <i>þū</i> | <i>dū</i> |
| | <i>tráyas</i> | τρῆς | <i>trēs</i> | * <i>þrīs</i> | <i>þreis</i> | <i>þrīr</i> | <i>þrē</i> | <i>dri</i> |
| | <i>lanómī</i> | τείνω | <i>lando</i> | * <i>þanjān-</i> | <i>þanjān</i> | <i>þenja</i> | <i>þenian</i> | <i>deun</i> |
| | <i>bhrālār-</i> | φράτηρ | <i>frāter</i> | * <i>þrōþr-</i> | <i>brōþar</i> | <i>brōþir</i> | <i>brōþor</i> | <i>bruoder</i> |
| | <i>dān</i> | ὄδους | <i>dens</i> | * <i>þyþ-</i> | <i>tunþus</i> | <i>tonn</i> | <i>tōþ</i> | <i>zand</i> |
| √ | <i>tul-</i> | τλήναι | <i>tollo</i> | * <i>þoljān-</i> | <i>þulan</i> | <i>þola</i> | <i>þolian</i> | <i>dolēn</i> |
| | <i>śātām</i> | ἑκατόν | <i>centum</i> | * <i>χund-</i> | <i>hund</i> | <i>hund</i> | <i>hund</i> | <i>hunt</i> |
| | <i>catūāras</i> | τέσσαρες | <i>quattuor</i> | * <i>þeþw-</i> | <i>fidewōr</i> | <i>þjōrir</i> | <i>þyþer-</i> | <i>fior</i> |
| | <i>lanús</i> | ταυρός | <i>tenuis</i> | * <i>þunw-</i> | | <i>þunnr</i> | <i>þynne</i> | <i>dmni</i> |

74 *t* in IG. combinations *st*, *pt*, *kt* does not shift to þ, but remains Pr. Gmc. *t* in *st*, *ft*, *χt*.

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>ásti</i> | ἄστυ | <i>stō, stāre</i> | * <i>standan-</i> | <i>standan</i> | <i>standa</i> | <i>standan</i> | <i>stantan</i> |
| <i>astāú</i> | ἄστύ | <i>est</i> | * <i>isti</i> | <i>ist</i> | | | <i>ist</i> |
| <i>nāktis</i> | ὄκτώ | <i>octo</i> | * <i>axl-</i> | <i>ahliáu</i> | <i>álta</i> | <i>ahla</i> | <i>ahlo</i> |
| | νύξ, νυκτός | <i>nox, noctis</i> | * <i>naxt-</i> | <i>nahls</i> | <i>nólt</i> | <i>niht</i> | <i>nah</i> |

[On *t* → *s* before *k*, *k*^h see Brugmann³, i. § 795, 1, and Kluge, *Nom. St.* § 209; Noreen, *U. L.*, p. 116.]

75 (c) IG. k → Gmc. x. (IG. *k* = Sk. *ś*.)

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>śātām</i> | ἑκατόν | <i>centum</i> | * <i>χund-</i> | <i>hund</i> | <i>hund</i> | <i>hund</i> | <i>hunt</i> |
| <i>dāśa</i> | καρδιά | <i>cor</i> | * <i>χert-</i> | <i>hairiō</i> | <i>hjarla</i> | <i>heorte</i> | <i>herza</i> |
| <i>śvā</i> | δέκα | <i>decem</i> | * <i>lex-</i> | <i>taþun</i> | <i>tiu</i> | <i>tiēn</i> | <i>zēhan</i> |
| <i>śvāsūras</i> | κύων | <i>canis</i> | * <i>χund-</i> | <i>hunds</i> | <i>hundr</i> | <i>hund</i> | <i>hunt</i> |
| <i>peśālās</i> | ἑικοπός | <i>soer</i> | * <i>swexr-</i> | <i>swaiþra</i> | <i>swēōr</i> | <i>swēōr</i> | <i>swēhur</i> |
| | ποικίλος | | * <i>faix-</i> | <i>fāils</i> | <i>fāh</i> | <i>fāh</i> | <i>fēh</i> |

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>dūco</i> | *τευχ- | <i>tiuhan</i> | <i>tjá</i> | <i>teon</i> | <i>ziohan</i> |
| <i>clino</i> | *χλωιν- | <i>hlāins</i> | <i>hleim</i> | <i>hlīmian</i> | <i>hlīnēn</i> |
| <i>cluo</i> | *χλωτρ- | <i>hlātrs</i> | | <i>hlūttor</i> | <i>hlūtтар</i> |
| <i>clueo (inclusus)</i> | *χλωυβ- | <i>hliuþ</i> | <i>hljóð</i> | <i>hlēopor</i> | <i>hliu-mund</i> |
| <i>dico</i> | *λαχτ- | (<i>ga</i>) <i>teihan</i> | <i>tjá</i> | <i>tēon</i> | <i>zihan</i> |
| <i>lacrima (dacruma)</i> | | <i>tagr</i> | <i>tár</i> | <i>tēar</i> | <i>zabar</i> |

IG. *sk* remains Gmc. *sk*.
σκαύ

76 (d) IG. *k^u* → Gmc. *χ*.

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------|
| <i>caput</i> | *χαυβιδ- | <i>háubijþ</i> | <i>hǫfð</i> | <i>hēāfod</i> | <i>houbil</i> |
| <i>seco</i> | *σαχσ- | | | <i>seax</i> | <i>sahs</i> |
| <i>vinco</i> | *ωϊχ- | <i>weihan</i> | <i>veigr</i> | <i>wīzan</i> | <i>wīhan</i> |
| <i>cruor</i> | *χραυ- | | <i>hrár</i> | <i>hrcaw</i> | (<i>h</i>) <i>rō</i> |
| <i>capio</i> | *χαβι- | <i>hafjan</i> | <i>hefja</i> | <i>hebban</i> | <i>heffen</i> |
| <i>cano</i> | *χαν- | <i>hana</i> | <i>hani</i> | <i>hana</i> | <i>hano</i> |

IG. *sk^h* remains *sk* in Gmc.

77 (e) IG. *k^u* → Gmc. *χw*.

| | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| <i>quod</i> | *χwat- | <i>hwa</i> | <i>hwat</i> | <i>hwæt</i> | (<i>h</i>) <i>τεωγ</i> |
| <i>linguo</i> | *λιχwan- | <i>leiþan</i> | <i>ljá</i> | <i>lēon</i> | <i>lihan</i> |
| <i>aqua</i> | *αχwa | <i>aba</i> | ǰ | <i>ēa</i> | <i>aha</i> |
| <i>quies</i> | *χwit- | <i>heila</i> | <i>hwíla</i> | <i>hwíl</i> | <i>hwíla</i> |
| <i>equus</i> | *εχw- | <i>aíwa</i> | <i>jór</i> | <i>eoh</i> | OS. <i>ehu-skalkōs</i> |

(Hirt. § 218).

78

IV. IG. Mediae → Gmc. Tenues. IG. *b, d, g, s* → Gmc. *p, t, k, k^h*.
 (a) IG. *b* → Gmc. *p* (OHG. *pf* or *f*).

| IG. | Slk. | Gk. | Lat. | Pr. Gmc. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
|-----|------|--------|------------------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------|
| | | βλέπω | | * <i>plegan-</i> | | | | |
| | | βαίρη | | * <i>paid-</i> | <i>paída</i> | | <i>pād</i> | <i>pflegan</i> |
| | | κύμβος | <i>cannabis</i> | * <i>χυμφ-</i> | | <i>hanpr</i> | <i>hæncp</i> | NHG. <i>humpen</i> |
| | | | <i>vūbro</i> | * <i>wūp-</i> | <i>wāips</i> | | <i>hæncp</i> | <i>hanpf</i> |
| | | | <i>trabs</i> | * <i>þorp-</i> | <i>þaurp</i> | | <i>þorp</i> | <i>wipfl</i> |
| | | | (<i>s</i>) <i>lābricus</i> | * <i>slcup-</i> | <i>slūpan</i> | | <i>slūpan</i> | <i>dorf</i> |
| | | | | | | | | <i>sliofan</i> |

79 (b) IG. *d* → Gmc. *t* (OHG. *z* or *z*).

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | <i>dāmas</i> | δῶμα | <i>domus</i> | * <i>timrjan-</i> | <i>timrjan</i> | <i>timbra</i> | <i>timbrīan</i> | <i>zimbrōn</i> |
| | <i>dāksinas</i> | δεξιός | <i>dexter</i> | * <i>teχw-</i> | <i>taíhswa</i> | | | <i>zestwa</i> |
| | <i>ádmi</i> | ἔδω | <i>edo</i> | * <i>clan-</i> | <i>itan</i> | <i>eta</i> | <i>etan</i> | <i>eggan</i> |
| | <i>pād-</i> | πούς, ποδός | <i>pēs, pedis</i> | * <i>fōl</i> | <i>fōtus</i> | <i>fōtr</i> | <i>fōl</i> | <i>fuoz</i> |
| | <i>sādas</i> | ἔδος | <i>sedo</i> | * <i>seif-</i> | <i>sitan</i> | <i>sitha</i> | <i>sittan</i> | <i>siezzen</i> |
| | <i>wēda</i> | φοῖδα | <i>wideo</i> | * <i>wait-</i> | <i>wāit</i> | <i>wait</i> | <i>wāt</i> | <i>wēiz</i> |
| | | ρίζα | <i>rādix</i> | * <i>wurt-</i> | <i>waurts</i> | <i>wrt</i> | <i>wyrt</i> | <i>wurz</i> |
| | | μέδομαι | <i>meditor</i> | * <i>met-</i> | <i>miōn</i> | <i>meta</i> | <i>metan</i> | <i>mezzan</i> |
| | <i>damáyati</i> | δαμάω | <i>domo</i> | * <i>tamj-</i> | <i>ga-tamjan</i> | <i>tenja</i> | <i>temian</i> | <i>zenman</i> |
| | | δέκνυμι | <i>dico</i> | * <i>tiχan-</i> | <i>ga-tēhan</i> | <i>hjá</i> | <i>tēon</i> | <i>zihan</i> |
| | <i>udān-</i> | ὔδωρ | <i>unda</i> | * <i>wat-</i> | <i>watō(-ins)</i> | <i>wah</i> | <i>wæter</i> | <i>waggar</i> |
| | <i>dis</i> | δυσ- | <i>dis-</i> | * <i>tuz-</i> | <i>tuz(-werjan)</i> | <i>tor-</i> | | <i>zur-</i> |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|--|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|--|
| 80 | (c) | IG. g → Gmc. k (OHG. <i>k</i> or <i>h</i>). | | | | | | | | |
| | IG. | Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Pr. Gmc. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. | |
| | | <i>jānāmi</i> | <i>γεννώστω</i> | <i>gnosco</i> | * <i>ku</i> | <i>kann</i> | <i>kann</i> | <i>cann</i> | <i>kann</i> | |
| | | <i>jāmbhas</i> | <i>γομφος</i> | | * <i>kamb-</i> | | <i>kamb-</i> | <i>camb</i> | <i>kamb</i> | |
| | | √ <i>jus-</i> | <i>γενο</i> | <i>gusto</i> | * <i>keusan-</i> | <i>kuisan</i> | <i>kjósa</i> | <i>ceosan</i> | <i>kiosan</i> | |
| | | <i>jānas</i> | <i>γενος</i> | <i>genus</i> | * <i>huj-</i> | <i>kuni</i> | <i>lyn</i> | <i>cynn</i> | <i>kunni</i> | |
| | | <i>mījati</i> | <i>ἀμέγλω</i> | <i>mulgeo</i> | * <i>mek-</i> | <i>miluks</i> | <i>mjolk</i> | <i>meole</i> | <i>miluh</i> | |
| | | <i>ājras</i> | <i>ἀγρός</i> | <i>ager</i> | * <i>akr-</i> | <i>akrs</i> | <i>akr</i> | <i>æer</i> | <i>ackar</i> | |
| | | <i>mahānt-</i> | | <i>magnus</i> | * <i>mek(i)-</i> | <i>mihils</i> | <i>mjók</i> | <i>mycel</i> | <i>mihhil</i> | |
| 81 | (d) | IG. g^u → Gmc. k (OHG. <i>k</i> or <i>h</i>). | | | | | | | | |
| | | <i>jārate</i> | <i>γηράτω</i> | <i>garrio</i> | * <i>kar-</i> | | | <i>ceorian</i> | <i>kerran</i> | |
| | | <i>sthagayati</i> | <i>στέγω</i> | <i>tego</i> | * <i>pak-</i> | | <i>þak</i> | <i>þæc</i> | <i>dah</i> | |
| | | <i>gātās</i> | <i>βοῦς</i> | <i>bos</i> | * <i>ku-</i> | | <i>kyr</i> | <i>cū</i> | <i>kuo</i> | |
| 82 | (e) | g^u → Gmc. kw. | | | | | | | | |
| | | <i>jivās</i> | <i>βίος</i> | <i>vivus</i> | * <i>kriv-</i> | <i>qius</i> | <i>kveikr</i> | <i>crvic(u)</i> | <i>quec</i> | |
| | | <i>gācchāmi</i> | <i>βαίνω</i> | <i>venio</i> | * <i>kveaman-</i> | <i>qiman</i> | <i>koma</i> | <i>cuman</i> | <i>queman</i> | |
| | | <i>jānis</i> | <i>γενή</i> | | * <i>kvein-</i> | <i>qinō</i> | <i>kona</i> | <i>(cvein)</i> | <i>quena</i> | |
| | | <i>nagnās</i> | | <i>nūdus</i> | * <i>nakvō-ð</i> | <i>naqaps</i> | <i>nokkveðr</i> | <i>nacod</i> | <i>nahhul</i> | |

VERNER'S LAW

- 83 It has been shown that IG. voiceless explosives became voiceless spirants in Gmc. From some of the above examples it will have been noticed that they do not always remain so: when initial (unless in unaccented syllable, prefix, or second part of noun compound) or immediately preceded by the accent in IG. the voiceless spirants are retained, but in all other cases these voiceless spirants become voiced. IG. *p, t, k, k^u* is in Gmc. represented by:—(1) *f, þ, χ, χ, χw*; (2) *ð, ð, g, g, gw*.

In the second case (2) the IG. tenues fall together with the IG. aspirated mediae, and the Gmc. *þ, ð, g*, from whatever source they arise, share the same development in the various Gmc. dialects.

- 84 As cognate words in IG., or even the same word in different conditions, might have the accent on different syllables, there exists in Gmc. a regular interchange of *f, þ, χ*, on the one hand, with *ð, ð, g* on the other, and to these may be added the Gmc. voiceless *s* (IG. *s*), which under the same circumstances becomes voiced to *z*. The law of the interchange between voiced and voiceless spirants in Gmc. was discovered and formulated by Karl Verner, and is known as Verner's Law. It began to operate soon after the original shift of tenues to spirants (71) and before the shifting of mediae to tenues (see Wilmanns, i. § 29; Streitberg, *U. G.*, § 126, *Gr.*² i, p. 369, *PBB.* xx. 294), and is, strictly speaking, an integral part of the First Sound-Shift, though it is convenient to treat it later.

- 85 IG. *p, t, k, k^u*, Pr. Gmc. *þ, ð, g, g, gw*.

(a) IG. *p* → Gmc. *þ*.

| Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Pr. Gmc. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>saptá</i> | <i>επτά</i> | <i>septem</i> | * <i>sēþn</i> | <i>sibun</i> | <i>sjau</i> | <i>seofon</i> | <i>sibun</i> |
| <i>limpáti</i> | | | * <i>liþan</i> | <i>leiban</i> | | <i>be-lifan</i> | <i>beliban</i> |

(b) IG. *t* → Gmc. *ð*.

| <i>pílár-</i> | <i>πατήρ</i> | <i>pater</i> | * <i>faðr-</i> | <i>fadar</i> | <i>faðir</i> | <i>fæder</i> | <i>fater</i> |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>mātár-</i> | <i>μήτηρ</i> | <i>māter</i> | * <i>mōðr-</i> | | <i>mōðir</i> | <i>mōdor</i> | <i>muoter</i> |
| <i>trítayas</i> | | <i>tertius</i> | * <i>þriðj-</i> | <i>þridja</i> | <i>þriði</i> | <i>þridda</i> | <i>dritto</i> |
| | <i>κρατύς</i> | | * <i>χardþ-</i> | <i>hardus</i> | <i>hardr</i> | <i>heard</i> | <i>harti</i> |

- 86 (c) IG. *k* → Gmc. *g*.

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--|------------|-----------------|-----------|--|-----------|---------------|
| <i>śvaśrūs</i> | | | * <i>swegr-</i> | | | | <i>swigar</i> |
| | | <i>cum</i> | * <i>ga</i> | <i>ga</i> | | <i>ze</i> | <i>gi</i> |

(d) IG. *k^u* → Gmc. *gw*.

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|
| | | <i>aqua</i> | * <i>a(g)w-</i> | <i>(alwa)</i> | <i>(ǫ)</i> | <i>ǣ</i> | <i>ouwa (aha)</i> |
| | <i>αιρεί</i> | <i>aevum</i> | * <i>ai(g)w</i> | | | <i>ǣw</i> | <i>ēwa</i> |
| <i>sēhas</i> | | | * <i>sai(g)w</i> | <i>saiws</i> | <i>sǣr</i> | <i>sǣ</i> | <i>sēo</i> |

(e) **IG. s** → **Gmc. z** (in ON. and all W. Gmc. dialects → *r*).

| Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Pr. Gmc. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>snušá</i> | <i>rvós</i> | <i>nurus</i> | * <i>snuz</i> | | <i>snþr</i> | <i>snoru</i> | <i>snura</i> |
| <i>áyas</i> | | <i>aes</i> | * <i>aiz</i> | <i>aiz</i> | <i>cir</i> | <i>ār</i> | <i>ār</i> |

The operation of Verner's Law is especially noteworthy when exemplified in two forms of the same word, or in cognate words from the common root. In such cases it is often referred to as Grammatical Change, a term used by Grimm and more or less consecrated by usage. It is most clearly seen in the root-forms of graded verbs. In IG. the perfect singular, like the infinitive, was accented on the root, the perfect plural, like the past participle, on the inflexional syllable: e. g.—

| IG. (I have shown). | Sk. | Pr. Gmc. | OHG. |
|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>dedóika</i> , &c. | 1. <i>didéša</i> | * <i>laiχ-</i> , &c. | <i>zēh</i> |
| | 2. <i>didéšilha</i> | | [<i>zigi</i>] |
| | 3. <i>didéša</i> | | <i>zēh</i> |
| <i>didikamé</i> | 1. <i>didísimá</i> | <i>lig-</i> | <i>zigum</i> |
| | 2. <i>didíšá</i> | | <i>zigut</i> |
| | 3. <i>didíšúr</i> | | <i>zigun</i> |
| Past Part. <i>dikonós</i> | | <i>lig-an-</i> | (<i>gi</i>) <i>zigan</i> |

The regular working of Verner's Law is somewhat obscured in all Gmc. dialects by levelling or the operations of new sound-laws. For its effect on OHG. in detail see 165.

The IG. Gutturals in Gmc.

The main developments of the IG. gutturals in Gmc. have already **88** been dealt with, but a few words more may not be out of place on this vexed and most difficult question.

IG. seems to have had originally two series of gutturals: the palatals (*k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*) and the velars (*k^u*, *k^uh*, *g^u*, *g^uh*).

The articulation of the velars appears to have involved a certain closure or rounding of the lips, and when a velar occurred in front of a non-labial vowel (i. e. before *a*, *e*, *i*) a labial glide was developed, thus giving rise at an early date to a third series of IG. gutturals, the labialized velars or labio-velars (*k^uu*, *k^uhu*, *g^uu*, *g^uhu*), see Q. & F. 32. 8; *PBB.* vii. 482. When the IG. velars occurred before the labial vowels *o* and *u*, the necessity for a labial glide was of course absent. Hirt tries to prove that IG. originally possessed only velar and labio-velar gutturals (*k^u*, and *k^uu*, &c.), and that the palatal gutturals were a later development from the velars before a palatal vowel (I. F. vi. 3). From the Gmc. point of view, however, the only **89** fact of importance is that IG. possessed eventually three series of gutturals: *k*, *k^u*, *k^uu*. The two former of these coincided in Gmc. as

voiceless or voiced spirants (χ or g), but the third (k^u) often retained the labial glide and became voiceless or voiced spirant χw or $g w$.

Thus:— IG. $\underbrace{k, k^u}_{k^u}$. IG. $\underbrace{g, g^u}_{g^u}$. IG. $\underbrace{g^h, g^u h, g^u h u}_{g^u h u}$.
Gmc. χ (g), χw , $g w$. Gmc. k $k w$. Gmc. g . $g w$.

In most cases this w is retained in Gmc., as is clearly seen in Gothic. In the group χw ($g w$) and $k w$, w always falls before u , and, when final, initially before any consonant, medially before j , t , s , and, later, l , m , n , r ; in the group $g w$ (from $g^u h u$) the w seems to have been always lost initially, and when immediately following an accented vowel, after an unaccented vowel, is treated like the $g w$ (from k^u); see Zupitza, *Germanische Gutturale*.

From Gmc. alone it is obviously impossible to ascertain the exact origin of any given guttural, since k and χ have three, and g even six possible IG. origins:—

$$k \leftarrow \begin{cases} g \\ g^u \\ g^u u \end{cases} \quad \chi \leftarrow \begin{cases} k \\ k^u \\ k^u u \end{cases} \quad g \leftarrow \begin{cases} g^h \\ g^u h \\ g^u h u \end{cases} \quad \text{or} \leftarrow \begin{cases} k \\ k^u h \\ k^u h u \end{cases}$$

- 90 Only by a comparison with other IG. languages, especially Aryan, Baltic, Celtic, and Slavonic, can the ultimate origin of Gmc. gutturals be determined, and even then many cases remain doubtful. Cf. Zupitza, and Brugmann³, i. § 649 ff.

It was long believed that in a few obscure cases, especially in the neighbourhood of some other labial, the Gmc. labialized consonants $k w$, χw , $g w$, arising from IG. labio-velars, underwent a curious assimilation by which the labial element in them prevailed in prehistoric times and yielded Gmc. p , f , \tilde{b} or w . Among the most commonly cited of such cases were:—

OE. *hopian*, OHG. *hoffen*: OE. *hyht*.

Eng. *wisp*: OHG. *wisc*.

Got. *fimf*: IG. **peṛkue*, Gk. *πέντε*.

Got. *wulf̥s*: Sk. *vṛkas*, Gk. *λύκος*.

OE. *ofen*, OHG. *ofan*: Got. *aúhns*.

OE. *dūfan*: OE. *deāzian*.

OE. *bana*, OHG. *bano*: IG. **g^uhuan*, Sk. *han-ti*.

Got. *sweiban*: OHG. *swigēn*.

Got. *warmjan*: Sk. *gharmá*. Cf. Brugmann³, i. § 686.

- 91 NOTE.—Zupitza clearly shows, what Bartholomae (*Studien zur IG. Sprachgesch.* ii. 13) and Osthoff (*PBB.* xviii. 249) suspected already, that it is quite impossible to prove any such development, and that the cases which were supposed to do so can all be otherwise explained.

The etymology may be entirely false, as in the case of *hopian*, *zwarmjan*, *ofen*, &c. : the labial and guttural may belong to two independent suffixes as in *dūfān*, *deazian*; the labial may have arisen by assimilation, as in *fimf*, or have been transferred from a related word, as in *fidewor*, which owes its *f* to *fimf*, and so on. See Zupitza, and cf. further Osthoff, *M.U.* 68, note; Bezzenberger, *BB.* xvi. 234; Bechtel, *Hauptprob.* ix.

EXCEPTIONS TO THE FIRST SOUND-SHIFT

(i) In the IG. consonant combinations *kt*, *pt*, *sk*, *st*, *sp* the second 92 element remains unshifted (see examples above).

NOTE.—The cause of the *t* in IG. *kt*, *pt* not shifting may have been a latent instinct of dissimilation. Just as Gk. and Sk. could not endure two spirants in close succession, and as Gmc. could not retain two explosives (99), a similar instinct may have prevented the development of *sk*, *st*, *sp* into *sχ*, *sþ*, *sf*. Or it may be that in these consonant groups the two sounds are so closely blent that they represent practically but one consonant (see Wilmanns², i, § 38).

(ii) Apparent exceptions arise from the working in Sk. and in Gk. of the law of aspirate dissimilation, whereby the aspirate element was lost in one or other of two aspirates in close succession, so that Gk. *φείγειν* corresponds to Gmc. *biugan* and Gk. *γ* to Gmc. *g*, but this is explained since Gk. *φείγω* ← *φείχω*, IG. *bheugho*, &c. For other isolated exceptions due to individual peculiarities see Brugmann³, i, § 699 ff.

COMBINATIVE SOUND-CHANGES IN IG. AND GMC. CONSONANTS

The consonant changes considered under the collective name 93 of the First Sound-Shift are often known as isolative phenomena, since they take place independently of neighbouring sounds. From the very earliest times other sound-changes are at work in all IG. languages, so-called 'combinative' changes, where the articulation of one sound is modified by others near it. Most of such combinative sound-changes are caused by—

(1) **Assimilation**, which takes place when two dissimilar sounds, 94 occurring close together, tend to become similar, or

(2) **Dissimilation**, when two similar sounds tend to become different.

Assimilation and Dissimilation play a large and important part in all IG. languages down to the present day, so that, while they are very active in Gmc., there is, in contrast to the First Sound-Shift, nothing

distinctively Gmc. about them, and many are far older than the isolative phenomena of the First Sound-Shift. In another point, too, these combinative changes contrast with those of the Sound-Shift. Whereas in the latter certain sounds in a given period were shifted once and for all, but the same sound arising later was unaffected, the changes caused by assimilation and dissimilation are always liable to recur in similar conditions, so that it is impossible to assign them to any one period, and in many ways the working of these laws seems arbitrary and erratic. It is consequently not always possible to say whether a certain manifestation of assimilation or dissimilation is IG. in date or Gmc., and the discussion of these phenomena has therefore been deferred until now.

95

Assimilation.

A. **Partial.** (1) Voiced consonant + unvoiced yield either two voiced or two unvoiced consonants.

(a) Gk. ζυγόν beside ζευκτός (γ + τ) Lat. *jungo* beside *junctus* (g + t)
 Got. *giban* „ *gifts* (ǰ + t) „ *scribo* „ *scriptus* (b + t)
 „ *mag* „ *mahls* (g + t)

(b) Gk. ποδός beside ἐπίβδαι (π + δ) Lat. *ap(erio)* beside *ab-do* (p + d)
 „ *custos* „ Got. *huzd* (s + d)
 „ *hasta* „ „ *gazds* (s + d)

96 (2) Labial nasals become dental before a dental (i. e. *m* → *n*), or conversely dental nasals become labial before a labial (*m* → *n*).

(a) *m* → *n*.

Lat. *eundem* (*eumdem*), *septendecim* (*septem*); Got. *skanda*, OHG. *scanta* beside Got. *skama*, OHG. *scama*.

(b) *n* → *m*.

Gk. πέμπε beside πέντε.

Gk. σύμβολον beside συνέρχεσθαι.

Got. *fimf* beside Lat. *quinque*, Gk. πέντε.

97

B. **Complete.** (a) *lr* → *ll*.

| Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
|---------------|---------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>pūrñás</i> | | <i>plēnus</i> | <i>fulls</i> | <i>fullr</i> | <i>full</i> | <i>fol</i> |
| <i>ūrñā</i> | | | <i>wulla</i> | | <i>wulle</i> | <i>wolla</i> |
| | κολωνός | <i>collis</i> | <i>hallus</i> | <i>hallr</i> | <i>heall</i> | |
| | | (<i>colnis</i>) | | | | |
| | | <i>pellis</i> | <i>fill(eins)</i> | <i>fjall</i> | <i>fel</i> | <i>fel</i> |
| | | (<i>pelnis</i>) | | | | |

98

(b) *mn* → *mm* (cf. 96).

| Pr. Gmc. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|
| * <i>stemn-</i> | (<i>stibna</i>) | | | <i>stimna</i> , <i>stimma</i> |
| * <i>χramn-</i> | | (<i>hrafn</i>) | <i>hræm(m)</i> | <i>hram(m)</i> |

(But see Brugmann, § 421, note.)

It is often difficult to decide whether *mm* arises from *m + n* or from *m + w*: cf. Noreen, *U. L.*, p. 157.

(c) *nu* → *nn*.

| Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
|---------------|--------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>hánuš</i> | γένυς | <i>genuinus</i> | <i>kinnus</i> | <i>kinn</i> | <i>cinn</i> | <i>kinni</i> |
| <i>dhanva</i> | τανύω | <i>tenuis</i> | | <i>þunnr</i> | | <i>dunni</i> |
| | μινύθω | <i>minuo</i> | <i>minniža</i> | | | <i>minniro</i> |

NOTE i.—The *-nn* of *brinnan* and *rinnan* in Got., OHG., &c., beside *-n* of *brunsta*, *runs*, ON. *bruni*, *runi*, is accounted for by the fact that *-n* inflections originally alternated with others without *-n*, and double forms arose. (Noreen, *A. I. Gr.*, § 252, *U. L.*, p. 159.)

NOTE ii.—The *nn* of Got. *manna* beside *manasēps* probably from the gen. and dat. pl. *mannē*, *mannam* (cf. *abuē*, *abnam*, &c.: Noreen, *U. L.*, p. 159, note 3).

NOTE iii.—For the more or less obscure assimilation of IG. *pn*, *bn* → *pp*: *ln*, *dn* → *tt*: *kn*, *gn* → *kk* cf. Noreen, *U. L.* p. 154 and Brugmann³, i. § 421.

Dissimilation.

A. When two explosives occur in close succession to each other **99** the former is dissimilated to a spirant in Gmc.

(1) Before *t* IG. *p*, *b*, *bh* → Gmc. *f*.

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Got. <i>þu gaft</i> , <i>gifts</i> | Got. <i>giban</i> |
| OHG. <i>gift</i> | OHG. <i>geban</i> |
| Got. <i>gaskafts</i> | Got. (<i>ga</i>) <i>skapjan</i> |
| OHG. <i>giskaft</i> | OHG. <i>skepfen</i> |
| OE. <i>zeseaft</i> | OE. <i>scieppan</i> |
| Gk. κλέπτῆς | Got. <i>hliftus</i> . |

(2) Before *t* IG. *k*, *g*, *gh* → Gmc. *χ*.

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Got. <i>mahta</i> , <i>maht</i> | Got. <i>mag</i> |
| OHG. <i>mohta</i> | OHG. <i>mag</i> |
| Got. <i>þāhta</i> | Got. <i>þagkjan</i> |
| OHG. <i>dāhta</i> | OHG. <i>denkan</i> |
| OE. <i>þōhte</i> | OE. <i>þencean</i> , &c. |

NOTE.—Before tenues the aspirated consonants had probably long **100** lost their aspiration in IG.

(3) Before *t* any dental gave rise, already in earliest IG., to some form of *s* sound. See Noreen, *U. L.*, p. 189 (whether through the intermediate stage *tʰt* or *tʰt* is not clear. Cf. Brugmann³, § 794, and *I. F.* iv. 341).

In Gmc. dental plus *t* gives *ss*, which is simplified to *s* after a long vowel or when final.

Cf. Lat. *sessum* to *sedeo*, *passus* to *patior*, *messum* to *meto*, *usus* to *utor*. Noreen, *U. L.*, § 52; Sommer, §§ 123, 132.

101 Before *r* dental plus *t* gave *str*.

Cf. Lat. *assestrīx* to *assessor*, Got. *blōstreis* to Got. *blōtan*, OHG. *bluostar*.

Gk. *πατέρομαι*, Got. *fōdjan*, ON. *fóstr*, OE. *fōstor*. Brugmann³, i. § 794.

It is possible, though not probable, that in these cases *t* is merely a consonant glide. Cf. *PBB.* ix. 150.

In all other cases where *st* is found instead of *ss* arising from dental plus *-t*, the *t* has crept in by analogy. Thus beside OHG. *wissa*, is found *wista*, beside *muosa*, *muosta* (but *gīwīss* where no analogy).

Got. *du gast* (for *qass*) from *qīpan*, *báust* (for *báuss*) from *biudan*.

Before *n* a dental apparently changes to *s* :

Cf. Got. *biudan*, *anabusns*; *beidan*, *usbeisns*. Here, however, suffix is *sn* and a *t* has fallen (**butns*). *t* disappears before *sk* suffix; cf. OHG. *rasc* (*ratsk*) to *rad*, *waskan* to Got. *wato*; cf. Brugmann³, i. § 795.

Gmc. *dt* → *ss*.

Cf. Got. *afstass*, *ustass* to Got. *standan*, *uswiss* to *gawīdan*.

Gmc. *tt* → *ss*.

Got. *weis*, *gawīss*, *wīssa*, to *wītan*, *hassaba* to *ga-hvōljan*.

Gmc. *þt* → *ss*.

Got. *mīssa* to *meīpan*, OHG. *mīdan*: Got. *gagīss* to *qīpan*.

102 B. Two different nasals, if not completely assimilated, dissimilate the former to a spirant.

Pr. Gmc. **χemn-* Got. *himins* but ON. *hifne* OE. *heofon* OS. *heþan*
 **gaimn-* ON. *geimi* „ OE. *zeofon* OS. *geþan* (sea).
 **stenn-* OHG. *stimma* „ Got. *stibna* OE. *stefn*
 **emn-* „ Got. *ibus* OE. *efen* OHG. *eban*.

Lat. *-umnia*, (*cal*)*umnia*, Got. *-ubni* (*fráistubni*), *-ufni* (with further dissimilation after *d*) (*waldufni*). Streitberg, *Got. Gr.* § 117.

NOTE.—The hypothesis of a change from *ml* → *mn*, especially when *i*-sound intervenes (cf. OHG. *cumil*, Lat. *cuminum*; OHG. *himil*, Got. *himins*; see *Kl. Wb. s. v.*, *Gr.*¹ 382), is not tenable. OHG. *himil*, Got. *himins*, are not identical; the root is the same, but there are two different suffixes in IG., *el* and *en*; cf. Gk. *κμῆ(εθρον)*. On such difference IG. nominal suffixes rest:—

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Gk. <i>μεγάλο-</i> | beside Lat. <i>magnus</i> |
| „ <i>όμαλός</i> | „ Got. <i>samana</i> |
| „ <i>ήλιος</i> , Lat. <i>sol</i> , Got. <i>sauil</i> , OE. <i>sol</i> | „ „ <i>sunno</i> , OHG. <i>sunne</i> |
| OE. <i>deāzol</i> | „ OHG. <i>tougan</i> |
| „ <i>symbol</i> | „ „ (<i>zi</i>) <i>samene</i> |
| Lat. <i>similis</i> | „ OE. <i>sannian</i> |

A similar interchange of *r* and *n* is found, especially in neuter nouns

(cf. Noreen, *U. L.* § 53). Grk. ἴδιον, OHG. *waggar*, OE. *wæter*: Sk. *udán*, Got. *watō-ins*, ON. *vatn*.

Minor Consonant Changes.

Intervocalic *u*, especially before *u*, sometimes becomes *g* in Gmc.; 103 the exact conditions under which this change takes place are still obscure.

Sk. *yúvan-* (IG. *iúunda*), Lat. *juvenis*, *juventa*, OE. *ƷeoƷob*, OHG. *jugund*; Gk. ἦλιος from σαφέλιος, Got. *sugil*, ON. *sygel* (the rune *s*), OE. *syƷel*. See *PBB.* xiii. 504; Brugmann³, i. § 373.

Perhaps parallel to this is the characteristic E. and N. Gmc. hardening of *u* or *uu* and *i* or *ii* in certain cases after a short accented vowel to *ggw*, *ggj* (Got. *ddj*). Cf. :—

| Pr. Gmc. | OHG. | OE. | Got. | ON. |
|------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------------|----------------|
| *bli <u>u</u> an | <i>bliuwan</i> | | <i>bliggwan</i> | |
| *tri <u>u</u> | <i>triuwi</i> | <i>trīwe</i> | <i>triggwa</i> (ba) | <i>tryggr</i> |
| *glau <u>u</u> | <i>glauwer</i> | <i>Ʒlēaw</i> | <i>glaggwō</i> | <i>glogggr</i> |
| *scuu <u>u</u> | <i>scuweo</i> | <i>scūwa</i> | <i>skuggwa</i> | <i>skuggi</i> |
| *wa <u>i</u> i | | | <i>waddjus</i> | <i>veggr</i> |
| *hu <u>a</u> i | <i>zweio</i> | | <i>twaddjē</i> | |

Though the circumstances attending these phenomena are not quite clear, so much seems certain that they were in some way dependent on the IG. accent, and that the explosive was only developed if the accent fell on a short vowel immediately preceding. A sort of grammatic change occurs: cf. Got. *frijōn*, ON. *Frigg*; Got. *sniwan*, ON. *snæggr*; Got. *hawi*, ON. *hoggva*. See Brugmann³, §§ 309 and 373.

Consonants in Final Syllable.

I. Nasals.

104

(1) *m* → *n* in accented final syllable after a short vowel.

| Sk. | Lat. | Got. | OE. | OHG. |
|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>saptá</i> (<i>septm</i>), | <i>septem</i> | <i>sibun</i> | <i>seofon</i> | <i>sibun</i> |
| | <i>tum</i> | <i>þan</i> | <i>þon</i> | |
| | <i>quum</i> | <i>hwan</i> | | |

(2) In unaccented final syllable or after a long vowel *m* → *n* (as in Gk.), but then falls in Gmc., leaving nasalized vowel behind (but see Brugmann³, § 397).

Acc. Sing. *-m* or *-n*, Sk. *-am*, Gk. *-on*, Lat. *-um*, ON. *-a* (runic).

Gen. Pl. Fem. IG. *-ōñ*, Gk. *-ōv*, Got. *-ō*.

Sk. *ahám*, Gk. *ἐγώ(v)*, Lat. *ego*, ON. (runic) (*e*)ka, *ek*, Got. *ik*.

IG. *-ēm*, Lat. *-em* (*quidem*, *idem*), Got. *-a*, *ina*, *þana*.

NOTE.—In Got. *niun*, *laihun*, the *-n* has probably been restored from the ordinal *niunda*, &c. *M. U.* iv. 131.

For IG. *m* → *n* in Got. *þana* see *PBB.* xvii. 298.

105 II. Dentals.

(1) After an unaccented vowel or an accented long vowel, IG. dental explosive, as in Greek, tends to fall, having of course first become a spirant.

[A few particles appear to retain the dental: Sk. *ud*, Got. *ūt*, ON. *ūt*, OHG. *ūz*, Lat. *ad*, Got. and ON. *at*, OE. *æt*, OHG. *az*: this was probably due to analogy with compounded forms in which the dental was not final. Noreen, *U. L.*, p. 170, note.]

IG. 3rd pers. Opt. sing. *uelit*, Lat. *velit*, Got. *wili*.

IG. *bhéroit*, Sk. *bhárēt*, Gk. *φέρου(τ)*, Pr. Gmc. *þerai*, Got. *baírái*.

Sk. *napāt*, Lat. *nepōs*, ON. *nefi*, OE. *nefa*, OHG. *nefo*.

(2) After a short accented vowel explosives remain.

IG. *lod*, Sk. *tád*, Gk. *τό(δ)*, Lat. (*is*)*tud*, ON. *þat*, OE. *þæt*, OHG. *daz*.

Lat. *quod*, ON. *hvat*, OE. *hwæt*, OHG. *hwaz*.

106 NOTE A.—Forms without a dental, such as Got. *þa* in *þa + ei* > *þei*, OHG. *tha + iz* > *theiz*, go back to proclitic forms, which were unaccented: thus Got. *hva* beside ON. *hvat*, &c.

NOTE B.—Where forms in which the dental was originally final alternate within the same paradigm with forms in which it was followed by flexional syllables, double forms are found arising; thus are found:

Pr. Gmc. inflected: Nom. **mænō(þ)*, Obl. cases **mænōþ-*.

OHG. *mānōd*, Got. *mēnōþs-*, ON. *mónogr-*, OE. *monaþ* from the oblique case.

OHG. *māno*, Got. *mēna*, ON. *máni*, OE. *mōna* from the nominative case.

Thus arise in OE. *ealu*, gen. *ealoþ*: *hæle*, plural *hæleþ*; ON. *halr-hǫldr*, OHG. *helid*.

OHG. *hemidi*, OE. *hemeðe*, beside ON. *hamr*, OHG. *hamo*, OE. *hama*.

Got. *mitaþs*, OE. *metod*, ON. *mjotudr*: OE. *met*. See Noreen, *U. L.*, p. 171.

107 Loss of Consonants in other than Final Syllables.

In groups of several consonants IG. always had a tendency to simplify. Cf. Latin *suspicio* (*sub-specio*), *traduco* (*trans-duco*), and so forth.

I. Dentals.

(a) IG. dental explosives fall in Gmc. between *n* and *j*:

Sk. *satyas* (*satjās*), Pr. Gmc. **sundja-*, Got. *sunjeins*.

Got. *gaminþi*, OHG. *minnea*, ON. *minni*,

Apparent exceptions like Got. *tundnan*, &c., are new formations. Brugmann³, § 798; and see Streitberg, *Z. Germ. Sprachg.* 15.

(b) Dental explosives fall between two *n*'s:

Got. *sinþs*, OHG. *sinuan* (**sinþnan*).

For the apparent disappearance of a dental explosive in such forms as: Got. *sibun* beside Lat. *septem*, Gk. *ἑπτὰ*, and OHG. *āband*, OE. *æfen*, beside ON. *aptan*, OE. *æftenīd*, see Brugmann³, § 980.

(c) Dental explosives fall before *s* + consonant:

OHG. *wascan* (*walscan*) to Got. *watō*, Got. *waúrstu* (*waúrksstu*), OHG. *rasc* to *rad* (*ratsk*) (101).

II. Semi-vowels.

108

(a) *y* after consonant falls before *i̇*:

Got. *hardjana* (*hardujana*). Got. *stōjan* (*stōwjan*).

(b) *y* falls before *u*, and *i̇* before *i*:

Sk. *náva* (*neuy*), Gk. *ἕνεφα*, Lat. *novem* (*neuy*), OHG. *niun*; Sk. *tráyas*, Got. *þreis* ← **þriiiz*, OHG. *drī*.

In very many cases, however, the semi-vowels are restored by analogy, especially in verbal forms: cf. OHG. *gi-swumman* to *swimman*, Got. *ga-swultans* to *ga-swiltan*; and in many others it is impossible to tell whether the loss of *y* and of *i̇* is Pr. Gmc. or whether it took place at a later date. See Brugmann³, § 377, and Noreen, *U. L.*, p. 176.

III. Gutturals.

109

(a) In the combination *gw*, arising by Verner's Law from *χw*, *g* fell in certain cases. Gmc. *χ* and *w* are shown in a relation of grammatic change, and in certain cases the *w* is lost (129), so that double forms exist, some with *g* and some with *w*:

Got. *magus*, ON. *mogr*: Got. *marwi*, OE. *mēowle*, ON. *mār*; OE. *hnīzan*, ON. *hnīga*, OHG. *hnigan*: Got. *hneiwian*.

Got. *bagms* (*ḡag(w)m*): OHG. *boum* (*ḡa(g)wem*), OE. *bēam*.

ON. *flýja*, OE. *flēozan*: ON. *flaumr*, OE. *flēam*.

ON. *þegn*, OHG. *degan*: Got. *þius*, *þiwi*.

Got. *áugō*, *áugjan*, OHG. *ougen*: OE. *eowian*, OHG. *awi-zorahht*.

(b) Guttural *n* (*w*) is lost in Gmc. before *χ* with compensation lengthening of the preceding vowel (266):

Got. *weihan*, OHG. *wīhan* to Lat. *vinco*; Got. *jūhiza* beside *juggs*, OHG. *jung*, *jungiro*.

110

Intrusion of Consonants.

From the earliest times in IG. a consonant glide tended to be developed in certain cases to aid the pronunciation of a consonant group. Cf. Gk. β after μ : *μεσημβρία* beside *ἡμέρα*, *μέμβλωκα* beside *μολεῖν*, or δ between ν and ρ : *ἀνδρός* instead of *ἀνρός*, *σινδρός* beside *σιναρός*.

Latin inserts *p* between *m* and *t*: *emptus*, *emo*: *sumptus*, *sumo*.

111 Such consonant glides are :

(a) *t* between *s* and *r*. Sk. *srávāmi*, ON. *straumr*, OE. *strēam*, OHG. *stroum*, *strōm*.

Sk. *támisrā*, Lat. *tenebrae* (**temesrae*), OHG. *dinstar*.

[For relation of OHG. *dinstar* to OHG. *finstar* see *Kl. Wb.* and Noreen, *U. L.*, p. 197.]

Sk. *svásr*, Got. *swistr*, ON. *syster*, OE. *sweostor*, OHG. *swester*.

(b) *f* between *m* and *t*. OHG. *kumft* to *queman*, *zumft* to *zeman*.

(c) *s* between *n* and *t*. OHG. *brunst* to *brennen*, *kunst* to *kunnan*, *konsta* beside *konta*.

(d) *b* between *m* and *r*. Got. *timrjan* beside *timbrjan*, ON. *timra*, OHG. *zimbarōn*.

Bugge asserts the development of Pr. Gmc. *w* → *k* (*PBB.* xiii. 515), but cannot be said to have established it; cf. Noreen, *U. L.*, p. 167. The relation of Sk. *naús*, Gk. *ναῦς*, Lat. *nāvis*, ON. *nór*, OE. *nōwend* (cf. Napier, *OE. Gl.*), to ON. *nokkvi*, OE. *naca*, OHG. *nahho*, seems, having regard to the length of the IG. vowel, extremely doubtful.

112 Sometimes in related Gmc. words a consonant relation is found which at first sight is not easy to explain, but which arises from the fact that the two forms come from two cognate IG. forms with different consonants. Only a few of the more striking are noted here (see Noreen, *U. L.* chap. iii).

From IG. *p*: *b* (Pr. Gmc. *f* or *b*: *p*):

OE. *dýfan*, OHG. *tobal*: Got. *dauþjan*, OE. *deop*, OHG. *tiōf*.

Got. *stabim* (dat. pl.), OHG. *stab*, OS. *staf*, OE. *stōpol*, OHG. *stafol*.

From IG. *t*: *d* (Pr. Gmc. *þ*, *ð*: *t*):

Got. *frapjan*, *frōdis* (gen. sg.), ON. *froðr*, OHG. *fruo*: Got. *us-fratwjan*.

OHG. *hadubrant*, OE. *heado-lac*: Got. *hatis*, OHG. *haz*,

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC CONSONANT SYSTEM

After the First Sound-Shift the Pr. Gmc. Consonant System consisted of the following sounds:—

| | Labials. | Dentals. | Gutturals. |
|--------------------------|----------|-------------|------------|
| Tenues | <i>p</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>k</i> |
| Spirants, voiced | <i>b</i> | <i>ð, z</i> | <i>g</i> |
| Spirants unvoiced | <i>f</i> | <i>þ, s</i> | <i>x</i> |
| Liquids | | <i>l, r</i> | |
| Nasals | <i>m</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>ŋ</i> |
| Semivowels <i>u, i</i> . | | | |

In comparison with IG., Gmc. thus is poorer by the loss of all its aspirated consonants, all its mediae, and all its velar gutturals: it is richer by two new series of spirants:—

(1) *b, ð, g*; (2) *f, þ, x*;

of which the voiced series underwent some modifications before the OHG. period.

Changes in Pr. Gmc. Period.

The voiced spirants *b* and *ð* must have shown very early a tendency to become voiced explosives (mediae). [*b* → *b*, *ð* → *d*].

(1) Initial. This change was probably complete before Gothic 114 times, so that we find:—

| Pr. Gmc. | Got. | OE. | OHG. |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| * <i>þeran-</i> | <i>baíran</i> | <i>beran</i> | <i>beran</i> |
| * <i>ðuχtr-</i> | <i>daúhtar</i> | <i>dohtr</i> | <i>tohter</i> |

(2) Following their respective nasal:—

| Pr. Gmc. | Got. | OE. | OHG. |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| * <i>lamþ-</i> | <i>lamb</i> | <i>lamb</i> | <i>lamb</i> |
| * <i>þinðan</i> | <i>bindan</i> | <i>bindan</i> | <i>bintan</i> |

(a) The fate of *g* in Pr. Gmc. when initial is not so clear. It probably remained a spirant all through this period, and was taken into the various Germanic languages as such. For its value in Gothic see Streitberg, *Got. Gr.*, § 113.

(b) After its nasal (*ŋ*) *g*, like *b* and *ð*, became an explosive:

Pr. Gmc. **singwan*, Got. *siggwan*, OE. *sinzan*, OHG. *singan*.

In all other positions *þ*, *ð*, *g* retained their character of voiced spirants in Pr. Gmc.

Gothic retains *þ* and *ð* medially between vowels (though written *b* and *d*), but converts them into mediae after consonants. Similarly, it is probably right to assume that Gothic retains *g* between vowels (see Streitberg, Got. Gr. § 35). For the W. Gmc. development of *þ*, *ð*, *g* see 122.

Thus at the end of the Pr. Gmc. period practically the same consonant system exists as above (113), with the addition of the new mediae *b*, *d*, *g*, of which all three occur after nasals, while *b* and *d* are also found initially.

West Germanic Consonant Changes.

- 116 A. The most important of the distinctively W. Gmc. changes is that known as the W. Gmc. Lengthening of Consonants.

It is characteristic of West, as opposed to East and North Germanic, that single consonants are lengthened before *i*, and also, though less extensively, before *u*, *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*.

Before *i* all consonants except *r*.

„ *u* Pr. Gmc. *k* and *χ* (?).

„ *r*, *l* Pr. Gmc. tenues.

„ *n* „ „ explosives and fricatives.

„ *m* a few single instances.

The lengthening is in all languages denoted by doubling the consonant in writing, so that this phenomenon is sometimes alluded to as the W. Gmc. Doubling or Geminatio of Consonants. The lengthening of consonant here is not due to an assimilation in which the consonant owes its length to the absorption of a second consonant, which consequently disappears, as in the Pr. Gmc. cases of lengthening cited above (97), for here the consonant which caused the lengthening is retained. The cause of this lengthening is not yet satisfactorily explained, but the effects of it are clear enough: cf. *PBB.* v. 125; vii. 105; xvi. 262; and xxi. 437.

The date of the W. Gmc. lengthening can be approximately determined by the fact that many Latin loan words are affected by it:—

| | | |
|--------------------|------------------|--|
| Lat. <i>puteus</i> | OE. <i>pyll</i> | OHG. <i>puzzi</i> , <i>phuzzi</i> (<i>zz</i> ← <i>tt</i>). |
| <i>cuprum</i> | (<i>copor</i>) | <i>kupfar</i> (<i>pf</i> ← <i>pp</i>). |

- 117 NOTE.—Kaufmann (*PBB.* xii. 520) advanced the theory that this lengthening depended on the Pr. Gmc. division of syllable. According to him, Pr. Gmc. divided such forms as *tala*, *naka*, thus: *ta-la*, *na-ka*, so that the first syllable was open, but when an *i* or *u* occurred in the inflection this *i* or *u* became initial in the second syllable, and

the first syllable became closed, thus: *tal-ja*, *nak-ya*. There arose thus in the same word an interchange of open and closed syllable *ta-la*: *tal-ja*, which was then levelled out in favour of the closed syllable, so that *ta-la* → *tal-la*, *na-ka* → *nakka*, and the doubled consonant was then further introduced into the other forms, thus *tallja* and *nakka*. Sievers, however, has conclusively shown that the Pr. Gmc. division of syllable was *ta-lja*, *na-kyā*, so that Kaufmann's hypothesis falls through: cf. *PBB.* xvi. 262, and *Gr.*² 426. Sievers explains the phenomenon as a spontaneous lengthening of the quantity of the syllable, which found expression in lengthening the consonant.

Lengthening before *ī*:

118

| Got. | OS. | OE. | OHG. |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>sibja</i> | <i>sibbia</i> | <i>sib(b)</i> | <i>sippa, sippia</i> |
| <i>hugjan</i> | <i>huggian</i> | <i>hyczan</i> | <i>huggen, hukken</i> |
| <i>bidjan</i> | <i>biddian</i> | <i>biddan</i> | <i>bitten</i> |
| <i>halja</i> | <i>hellia</i> | <i>hell</i> | <i>hella</i> |
| <i>skapjan</i> | <i>sceppian</i> | <i>sceppan</i> | <i>skepfen</i> |

NOTE.—

a. ON. also has an early lengthening of *g* and *k* before *ī*:

Got. *lagjan*, ON. *leggja*; Got. *hugjan*, ON. *hyggja*,

parallel to the W. Gmc. lengthening, but it only affects guttural explosives.

b. (1) *r* resists lengthening: Got. *nasjan*, OE. *nerian*, OHG. *nerien*. 119

(2) Double consonants are reduced after a long syllable or when final:

| | | |
|--------------------|------------------|---|
| Got. <i>dōmjan</i> | OE. <i>dēman</i> | OHG. <i>tuomen</i> . |
| <i>hāusjan</i> | <i>hūeran</i> | <i>hōren</i> (only UG. <i>hōrren</i>). |

But see also *PBB.* xxi. 438.

That the W. Gmc. lengthening took place after long vowel is proved by UG. forms, *hōrren*, &c., though the other dialects show no signs of it. German has preserved yet another trace of this lengthening after long syllables in such forms as OHG. *wulpa*, MHG. *wülpe* (she-wolf), MHG. *diupe* (she-thief) from Pr. Gmc. **wulb̄j-*, **diub̄j-*, in which this OHG. MHG. *p* can only come from W. Gmc. *bb*, while *b̄* would yield OHG. *b*. Cf. Streitberg, *U. G.*, § 131, and Brugmann³, § 807.

The lengthening before *-ī* is the only one which is regularly and uniformly carried out in all dialects. Much more restricted in their working are the following:—

(a) Before *-y*. This only affects originally labialized velars, and then not always.

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| Got. <i>aqizi</i> | (OS. <i>acus</i>) | OHG. <i>ackus</i> |
| <i>naqaps</i> | (OE. <i>nacod</i>) | <i>nackot</i> (<i>nahhu</i>). |

[Lengthening of *k* before *-y* is also found in ON. Thus: O.N. *rök(k)r*, Got. *riqis*. Cf. *A. I. Gr.*, § 220.]

(b) Before *r* and *l*. This only affects Germanic tenuis:—

| | | | |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
| <i>snutrs</i> | <i>snotr</i> | <i>snottor</i> | <i>snottar</i> |
| <i>báitrs</i> | <i>bitr</i> | <i>bittor</i> | <i>bittar</i> |
| <i>hlūtrs</i> | | <i>hlūttor</i> | <i>hlūttar</i> |

Gmc. **kupr-*, OHG. *kupfar* (but OE. *copor* without gemination).

Gmc. **apl-*, OHG. *apful*, OE. *appel* (beside OHG. *affol-tra*, OE. *apul(dre)*).

121 (c) Before *n*. The lengthening of consonant before *n* is especially important in *n* stems. As in all these cases lengthening only takes place when the one consonant follows hard on the other, double forms may occur in a paradigm, in which forms with single consonant alternated with lengthened forms. The declension of **knaþ(en)*, for example, would be:—

| | | |
|----------|--------------------|------------------|
| | Pr. Gmc. | W. Gmc. |
| Nom. Sg. | * <i>knaþō</i> | * <i>knaþō</i> |
| Gen. Pl. | * <i>knaþnōm</i> | * <i>knaþnōn</i> |
| Dat. Pl. | * <i>knaþnumiz</i> | * <i>knaþnum</i> |

In the subsequent levelling, the forms with a single consonant are most often carried through, but doublets sometimes arise.

| | | | |
|-----------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | OHG. | OE. | OHG. |
| Doublets: | <i>knappo</i> | beside <i>cnafa</i> | and <i>knabo</i> |
| | <i>rappo</i> | „ <i>hræfn</i> | „ <i>rabo</i> |
| | <i>roggo (rokko)</i> | „ <i>ryze</i> | „ ON. <i>rugr</i> |
| | <i>trakko</i> | „ <i>draca</i> | „ <i>trahho</i> |

But cf. Wilmanns², i, §§ 136 and 142.

NOTE.—Pr. Gmc. *þ*, *ð*, *g*, when lengthened in W. Gmc., yield always lengthened explosive *bb*, *dd*, *gg*.

122 B. Pr. Gmc. *ð* (where retained) → W. Gmc. *d* (OHG. *t*).

| | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Pr. Gmc. | Got. | OS. | OE. | OHG. |
| * <i>gōð-</i> | (<i>gōþs</i>) <i>gōdis</i> | <i>gōd</i> | <i>zōd</i> | <i>guot</i> |
| * <i>þīðan-</i> | <i>beidan</i> | <i>bīdan</i> | <i>bīdan</i> | <i>bītan</i> |
| * <i>nazið-</i> | (<i>nasjan</i>) <i>nasida</i> | <i>nerida</i> | <i>nerede</i> | <i>nerita</i> |
| * <i>χauðig-</i> | (<i>háubij</i>) <i>háubidis</i> | <i>hōbid</i> | <i>hēafod</i> | <i>houbit</i> |
| * <i>siðu-</i> | <i>sidus</i> | <i>sidu</i> | <i>sidu</i> | <i>situ</i> |

Whereas in W. Gmc. every *ð* → *d*, *þ* and *g*, where still remaining, go through the different developments in the different dialects, which for convenience may be here summed up.

123 Pr. Gmc. *þ*. The Low German dialects and Mid. Franc. retained the spirant *þ* after vowels and liquids, unvoicing it to *f* when final.

OS. writes it as (occasionally as *u*, or even *f*); OE. writes it

as *f* (as *b* only in the earliest MSS.). In the HG. dialects, on the other hand, *ð* seems to have become a voiced explosive *b*.

OS. *gēban*, *gaf*; OE. *ziefan*, *gaf*; Mid-Franc. *gevan*, *gaf*; OHG. *geban*, *gap*.

Pr. Gmc. g. The Low German dialects and Mid. Franc. retain the spirant sound of *g*, both initially and medially. OE. denotes by the sign *z*. OS. sometimes by *i*, *e*, *gi*, or by *g*, but the spirant value of the sign *g* in OS. is proved by the fact that *g* alternates with *i* and is used interchangeably with it.

In the UG. dialects *g* becomes the voiced explosive *g*, but see also Brugmann³, § 806, and Br. *Ahd. Gr.* § 88.

(For the further development in OHG. of *g* see 183 and 219.)

W. Gmc. *ð* → OHG. *b*.

| Pr. Gmc. | Got. | OS. | OE. | OHG. | 124 |
|------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|-----|
| * <i>χaubið-</i> | <i>háubiþ</i> | <i>hōbid</i> | <i>hēāfod</i> | <i>houbit</i> | |
| * <i>arði-</i> | <i>arbi</i> | <i>erði</i> | <i>ierfe</i> | <i>erbi</i> | |
| * <i>geðo-</i> | <i>giba</i> | <i>geþa</i> | <i>ziefu</i> | <i>geba</i> | |
| * <i>arbáid-</i> | <i>arbáips</i> | <i>arbēd</i> | <i>earfod</i> | <i>arabeit</i> | |

Pr. Gmc. *g* → OHG. *g*.

| | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| * <i>gard-</i> | <i>gards</i> | <i>gard</i> | <i>zeard</i> | <i>gart</i> |
| * <i>gēban-</i> | <i>giban</i> | <i>gēban</i> | <i>ziefan</i> | <i>geban</i> |
| * <i>agis</i> | <i>agis</i> | <i>egiso</i> | <i>ežesa</i> | <i>egiso</i> |
| * <i>morgn-</i> | <i>maúrgins</i> | <i>morgan</i> | <i>morzen</i> | <i>morgen</i> |
| * <i>stigan-</i> | <i>steigan</i> | <i>stigan</i> | <i>stīzan</i> | <i>stīgan</i> |

C. In W. Gmc. every non-final Gmc. z (arising from IG. s 125 by Verner's Law) → r.

[Gothic sometimes has *s* corresponding to Pr. Gmc. *z*, either due to variation of accent, cf. Got. *áusō* beside OE. *ēare*, OHG. *ōra*, or to analogy: cf. p.p. *kusans* (OE. *zecoren*, OHG. *gikoran*) to Inf. *kiusan*, *láisjan* (OE. *lēran*, OHG. *lēren*) to perf. pres. *láis*.]

| Pr. Gmc. | Got. | OS. | OE. | OHG. | 126 |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----|
| * <i>auzō</i> | (<i>áusō</i>) | <i>ōra</i> | <i>ēare</i> | <i>ōra</i> | |
| * <i>χuzð</i> | <i>huzd</i> | <i>hord</i> | <i>hord</i> | <i>hort</i> | |
| * <i>razð-</i> | <i>razda</i> | | <i>reord</i> | <i>rarta</i> | |
| * <i>láizjan</i> | (<i>láisjan</i>) | <i>lērian</i> | <i>lēran</i> | <i>lēran</i> | |
| * <i>hazjan</i> | <i>hazjan</i> | <i>herian</i> | <i>herian</i> | <i>herien</i> | |
| * <i>kuzenaz</i> <i>anaz</i> | <i>kusans</i> | <i>gi-koran</i> | <i>ze-coren</i> | <i>gi-koran</i> | |
| * <i>luzenaz</i> <i>anaz</i> | <i>lusans</i> | <i>far-loran</i> | <i>forloren</i> | <i>fer-loran</i> | |
| * <i>máiz-</i> | <i>máiza</i> | <i>mēro</i> | <i>māra</i> | <i>mēro</i> | |

NOTE.—Pr. Gmc. *z* also became *r* in N. Gmc., but, whereas the W. Gmc. *r* ($\leftarrow z$) does not appear to have been distinguished in value from W. Gmc. *r* ($\leftarrow r$), the ON. *r* ($\leftarrow z$) must have had a much more palatal quality than original *r*, since it is able to work palatal mutation, as original *r* does not. Cf. Got. *áuso*, ON. *eyra*, OHG. *gifroran*, ON. *frærimn*, Got. *díus*, ON. *dýr*, &c. Moreover, in the Runic inscriptions it is distinguished by a separate sign *r* ($\leftarrow r$) = *R*; *r* ($\leftarrow z$) = *Y* or *Y*, see *Gr.*² i, p. 260.

W. Gmc. *r* (\leftarrow Gmc. *z*) occurs frequently in grammatic change with *s* (see 86).

127 D. Loss of *j* and *w* (*i* and *u*) in W. Gmc. :

(1) *J* (*i*). Already in Pr. Gmc. *i̇* showed a tendency to fall before a following *i*, but in many cases it is not possible to tell whether the loss of *i̇* took place in the Pr. Gmc. period or during W. Gmc. times. This loss of *i̇* is for W. Gmc. very important, since words whose root contained *i̇* would necessarily show lengthening of consonant where *i̇* was retained, and would lack it where *i̇* was lost. Thus the present of the verb **ligjan* would run :—

| Pr. Gmc. | W. Gmc. | OE. | OHG. |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| * <i>ligjō</i> | * <i>liggju</i> | <i>licze</i> | <i>liggu</i> |
| <i>ligisi</i> | <i>ligisi</i> | <i>lizest</i> | <i>ligis</i> |
| <i>ligiþ(ð)</i> | <i>ligiþi</i> | <i>lizep</i> | <i>ligit</i> |

So in all *-jan* verbs, whether belonging to the first class of non-graded verbs or to one of the graded series, the W. Gmc. languages have 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. of the Present Tense without gemination (see 356).

128 Mahlow's reason for assigning all these losses of *i̇* before *i* to Pr. Gmc. is that, if the law operated early, the Got. infinitives *sitan*, *ligan*, *swaran* (without *j*) could be explained, beside W. Gmc. forms which prove the original presence of an *i̇*,

| OS. | OE. | OHG. |
|----------------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>siltēan</i> | <i>siltan</i> | <i>sizzen</i> (not <i>sizzan</i>) |
| <i>liggean</i> | <i>liczan</i> | <i>liggen</i> |
| <i>swerian</i> | <i>swerian</i> | <i>swerien</i> |

as an early Gothic levelling in favour of forms without *i̇* by analogy with the 2nd and 3rd person sing. (for similar levelling in late OHG. see 356). The data as yet are insufficient to decide the point. Cf. Mahlow, *A. E. O.*, p. 43; Osthoff, *M. U.* iv. 27; *PBB.* xii. 59, xiv. 165, xv. 287 and 489, xvi. 272 and 318; and Kluge, *Nom. St.*, § 14. Conversely, if this theory be true, in the Gothic forms *nasjis*, *nasjiþ*, &c., the *j* must have been reintroduced by analogy. Brugmann³, § 312.

Some similar interchange must have taken place also in *j* stems of nouns and adjectives, between those cases whose inflection began with

- \ddot{z} and those in which it did not, though it is not easy to trace. It would account, however, for many so-called exceptions to the W. Gmc. lengthening and for double forms:—

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---|
| as OHG. <i>beti</i> | beside MHG. <i>betti</i> | |
| <i>rippi</i> | „ | <i>ribe</i> |
| <i>menni</i> | „ | OE. <i>mene</i> (ornament) |
| <i>tilli</i> | „ | <i>dile</i> . See <i>Gr.</i> ² p. 427. |

(2) **w (u)**. (a) A loss of \underline{u} before *u* or *o* appears to have 129 occurred already in Pr. Gmc., but how widely it acted is by no means clear, and its importance is greater in W. Gmc., so that, like the similar loss of \ddot{z} , it has been reserved for this chapter. Like the loss of \ddot{z} , it must sometimes have taken place before the W. Gmc. consonant lengthening.

Pr. Gmc. **nakuod-* OE. *nacod* OHG. *nahhut*, while
**nakuuð-* *nackut* ON. *nokkweðr*.

Here, again, many doublets may arise:—

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| OHG. | ON. |
| <i>nahho</i> (← <i>k</i>) | <i>nokkvi</i> |
| <i>wado</i> | <i>wopvi</i> |
| <i>swala</i> | <i>swakwa</i> . Cf. <i>Gr.</i> ² p. 428. |

(b) *w* seems frequently to have been lost in W. Gmc. after a long 130 syllable, but it is highly probable that in such cases first it fell only before *u* (according to (a)) and was then generalized:—

| | | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Got. | OE. | OHG. | |
| <i>gatwō</i> | | <i>gazza</i> | |
| <i>ūhtwō</i> | <i>ūhta</i> | <i>ūhta</i> | |
| Got. | ON. | OE. | OHG. |
| <i>siggan</i> | <i>sökkva</i> | <i>sincan</i> | <i>sinkan</i> |
| <i>stiggan</i> | <i>stökkva</i> | <i>stincan</i> | <i>stinkan</i> |
| <i>siggwan</i> | <i>syngva</i> | <i>sinzan</i> | <i>singan</i> |
| <i>salipwa</i> | | <i>seld</i> | <i>selida</i> |
| | <i>þryngva</i> | <i>þrinzan</i> | <i>dringan</i> . |

Parallel to this is the later loss in OHG. of *w* in the second part of compounds: *wurzala* = OE. *wyrt-walu*, *burgara* ← **burg-wara*, *ērahhar* ← *ērwachar*, *Otahhar* ← *Otawahhar* = OE. *Eadwæcer*, &c. Also Proper names in *-olf* (← *wolf*). See *Gr.*² p. 428.

E. Loss of final *z* in W. Gmc.

Pr. Gmc. final *z*, corresponding according to Verner's Law (88) 131 to IG. *s*, is early lost in W. Gmc., so that:—

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Pr. Gmc. | Got. | ON. | W. Gmc. | OE. | OHG. |
| * <i>ðagaz</i> | <i>dags</i> | <i>dagr</i> | <i>daga</i> | <i>deʒ</i> | <i>tag</i> |
| * <i>gastiz</i> | <i>gasts</i> | <i>gestr</i> | <i>gasti</i> | <i>ziest</i> | <i>gast</i> |
| * <i>wilz</i> | <i>wileis</i> | <i>vill</i> | <i>wilī</i> | | <i>wili</i> |

It is not possible to ascertain the exact date of this apocope, but the Malberg Glosses and the *Lex Salica*, though they show their antiquity by retaining the stem vowel, have already lost the final *z*: *focla* = **fogla(z)*, OHG. *fogal*; *lammi* = **lambi*, OHG. *lamb*, &c. In contrast to the ON. Runic inscriptions the German ones already show a nominative case with no ending, thus: *Wodan* ← **Woðanaz*, &c., *Gr.*² p. 423.

- 132 Final *z* of Pr. Gmc. is only preserved in W. Gmc. in the nominal forms: OHG. *mir*, *wir*, *dir*, *ir*, *er*, *der*; Got. *mis*, *weis*, *jus*, *þus*, *is*, and Nom. Masc. adj. (*blind*)*ēr*, OHG. *hwer*, Got. *was*: in Got. *máis*, OHG. *mēr*, and the comp. adv. ending Got. (*sniumund*)*ōs*, OHG. *-ōr*, also perhaps in OHG. *zwirōr* (beside *zwirō*), from Pr. Gmc. **twizwōz*, ON. *twysva*. See *PBB.* vi. 547 and *ZsfdA.* xx. 397.

At the end of the W. Gmc. period Pr. Gmc. *ð* and *z* have given way to *d* and *r*, and a number of long consonants have appeared, but otherwise the consonant system is substantially the same as at the end of the Pr. Gmc. period (115).

CHAPTER III

OHG. CONSONANT SYSTEM

OHG. inherited from W. Gmc. the following system :—

133

| | LABIALS. | DENTALS. | GUTTURALS. |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| EXPLOSIVES. | | | |
| Tenuis | <i>p</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>k</i> |
| Mediae | <i>b</i> | <i>d</i> | <i>g</i> |
| SPIRANTS | | | |
| voiced | <i>β</i> | | <i>g</i> |
| voiceless | <i>f</i> | <i>h</i> | <i>x</i> |
| LIQUIDS | | <i>l, r</i> | |
| NASALS | <i>m</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>ŋ</i> |
| Semivowels | <i>u, i.</i> | | |

Probably in the very earliest times W. Gmc. *β* and *g* became mediae *b* and *g* in OHG. (see, however, 160), so that they may here be practically disregarded.

OHG. is distinguished from all other W. Gmc. languages by a series of Sound-changes affecting its consonant system, which are usually grouped together under the name of the Second or HG. Sound-Shift.

This HG. Sound-Shift took place in historic times, probably 134 between the fifth and seventh century, but in all essentials is complete before there are any literary monuments in OHG., i. e. before the end of the seventh century.

The HG. Sound-Shift began in the south and spread northwards, affecting first the Upper German dialects, then Franconian, and leaving the Low German dialects untouched. It was consequently most strongly felt in Upper Germany, and indeed one of the chief criteria for the dialects of OHG. is their attitude towards the various processes of the Second Sound-Shift.

The only consonants affected by the HG. Sound-Shift were the 135 explosives :—

I. *p, t, k.*

II. *β, d, g* (Pr. Gmc. *β, d̄, ḡ*).

The HG. Sound-Shift affects these more completely when medial or final after vowels, and less completely when post-consonantal, doubled, or initial.

136 In the changes of the HG. Sound-Shift two groups must therefore be distinguished according as the consonant in question occurs:—

- (a) Medially (or finally) after a vowel.
 (b) Initially, post-consonantal, or doubled.

I. W. Gmc. *p*, *t*, *k* appear to have become first aspirated, = *p + h*, *t + h*, *k + h*, and then to have developed a tendency to pass over into fricatives, i. e. *pf*, *ts*, *kχ*, as which they remain when initial, post-consonantal, or doubled; but when medial or final after vowels the spirant element of the fricative would seem to have assimilated to it the explosive and they pass further into lengthened spirants: *ff*, *zz*, *χχ*. Cf. Braune, and *Gr.* § 87; Wilmanns², i. § 40-3.

Thus W. Gmc. *p*, *t*, *k* → (a) *ff*, *zz*, *χχ*;
 (b) *pf*, *ts*, *kχ*.

137 (a) W. Gmc. *p*, *t*, *k* medial or final after a vowel → long voiceless spirants *ff*, *zz*, *χχ* (frequently shortened in writing when final or after a long vowel).

138 (a) W. Gmc. *p* → OHG. *ff* (f).

| Got. | OS. | OE. | OHG. |
|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| <i>skīp</i> | <i>skīp</i> | <i>scīp</i> | <i>skif</i> |
| <i>greīpan</i> | <i>grīpan</i> | <i>zrīpan</i> | <i>griffan</i> (f) |
| <i>sliupan</i> | (<i>slōpian</i>) | <i>slūpan</i> | <i>slioffan</i> (f) |
| <i>slēpan</i> | <i>slāpan</i> | <i>slæpan</i> | <i>slāffan</i> (f) |
| | <i>opan</i> | <i>open</i> | <i>offan</i> |
| <i>wēpna</i> (Pl. N.) | <i>wāpan</i> | <i>wæpen</i> | <i>wāffan</i> (f) |

139 (β) W. Gmc. *t* → OHG. *zz* (z).

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|
| <i>īlan</i> | <i>etan</i> | <i>etan</i> | <i>ezzan</i> |
| <i>lētan</i> | <i>lātan</i> | <i>lætan</i> | <i>lāzzan</i> (z) |
| <i>hāitan</i> | <i>hētan</i> | <i>hātan</i> | <i>heizzan</i> (z) |
| <i>giutan</i> | <i>giotan</i> | <i>zēotan</i> | <i>giozzan</i> (z) |
| <i>niutan</i> | <i>niotan</i> | <i>nēotan</i> | <i>niozzan</i> (z) |
| <i>fōtus</i> | <i>fōt</i> | <i>fōt</i> | <i>fuoz</i> |
| <i>wāit</i> | <i>wēt</i> | <i>wāt</i> | <i>weiz</i> |
| <i>bōta</i> | <i>bōta</i> | <i>bōt</i> | <i>buozza</i> (z) |
| <i>mītan</i> | <i>metan</i> | <i>metan</i> | <i>mezzan</i> |
| <i>batiza</i> | <i>betaro</i> | <i>betera</i> | <i>bezziro</i> |

NOTE.—The OHG. *zz* is written in MSS. *zz*, but in order to distinguish this *zz* from the strong fricative *ts*, which is also written *zz*, it is usual to adopt the writing *zzz* for the former. The writing *hh*, *ch*, or *h* is usual for *χχ*. [For the writings found in the OHG. MSS. see below, 201.]

(γ) W. Gmc. **k** → OHG. **hh** (h).

| Got. | OS. | OE. | OHG. | 140 |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------|-------------------|-----|
| <i>reiki</i> | <i>riki</i> | <i>rīce</i> | <i>rīhhi</i> | |
| <i>juk</i> | | <i>ȝeoc</i> | <i>joh</i> | |
| <i>miluks</i> | | <i>meole</i> | <i>miluh</i> | |
| <i>ga-lūkan</i> | <i>ant-lūkan</i> | <i>lūcan</i> | <i>ant-lūhhan</i> | |
| <i>siuks</i> | <i>siok</i> | <i>seoc</i> | <i>sioh</i> | |
| <i>áukan</i> | <i>ōkian</i> | <i>ēacan</i> | <i>ouhhōn</i> | |
| <i>sōkjan</i> | <i>sōkian</i> | <i>sēcan</i> | <i>suohhen</i> | |
| <i>ga-leiks</i> | <i>gilik</i> | <i>ȝelīc</i> | <i>gilih</i> | |
| <i>táikns</i> | <i>tēkan</i> | <i>tēcen</i> | <i>zeihhan</i> | |

This first act of the HG. Sound-Shift (*p*, *t*, *k* after vowel) is the 141 most strongly marked and the most complete. *t* is the earliest to shift, then *p*, then *k*, but all three are carried out in all HG. dialects. A curious exception is found in Mid. Franconian, where in the pronominal forms *it*, *dat*, *dit*, *wat*, *allet*, *t* remains unshifted. If, however, intensity of stress favours the original development of *t* to *zz*, it is possible, since all these words are proclitic and in their nature unstressed, that in Mid. Franconian (the most northern of all the HG. dialects) they were able to resist the shifting entirely. Paul goes even further, and claims that in Mid. Franconian every final *t* evaded the Sound-shift, but whereas in verbal and nominal forms the *zz* crept in by analogy with the forms in which *t* was not final, these five words, not being subject to influence from cognate forms, escaped. (Cf. *PBB.* vi. 554, and Wrede, *Zs.f.d.A.* xxxvii. 291; also Wilmanns, i. § 50, note.)

(b) W. Gmc. *p*, *t*, *k* when initial or post-consonantal and when 142 double become OHG. fricatives *pf*, *ts*, *kχ*.

W. Gmc. **p** (or **pp**) → OHG. **pf**.

| Got. | OS. | OE. | Mid. and Rh. Fr. | E. Fr. and UG. |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| <i>páida</i> | <i>pēda</i> | <i>pād</i> | <i>peit</i> | <i>pfeit</i> |
| <i>skapjan</i> | <i>scapian</i> | <i>scieppan</i> | <i>sceppen</i> | <i>skepfen</i> |
| Lat. | | | | |
| <i>pondus</i> | | <i>pund</i> | <i>punt</i> | <i>pfunt</i> |
| <i>puleus</i> | | <i>pytt</i> | <i>puzza</i> | <i>pfuzza</i> |
| <i>pavo</i> | | | | <i>pfāwo</i> |

The shift of *p* to *pf* is only carried through in E. Franconian and in 143 Upper German. In Mid. Franconian *p* is unshifted; in Rhine Franconian *p* is only shifted after *l* and *r*, but, as seen above, not when initial nor in gemination.

| Got. | OS. | OE. | Mid. Fr. | R. Fr. | E. Fr. and UG. |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>hilpan</i> | <i>helpan</i> | <i>helpan</i> | <i>helpan</i> | <i>helpfan</i> | <i>helpfan</i> |
| <i>wairpan</i> | <i>werpan</i> | <i>weorpan</i> | <i>werpan</i> | <i>werpfan</i> | <i>werpfan</i> |
| | | | <i>thorp</i> | <i>thorph</i> | <i>thorpf</i> |

NOTE.—After *l*, *r* the spirant *f* soon replaces the fricative *pf*: already in the ninth century *f* appears in these words: *dorf*, *helfan*.

144 **W. Gmc. t (or tt) → OHG. ts (written z or zz).**

| Got. | OS. | OE. | OHG. |
|------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>tiuhan</i> | <i>tiohan</i> | <i>tēon</i> | <i>ziohan</i> |
| <i>tagrs</i> | | <i>tēar</i> | <i>zahar</i> |
| <i>lāikns</i> | <i>tēkan</i> | <i>tācen</i> | <i>zeihhan</i> |
| <i>tunpus</i> | <i>tand</i> | <i>tōp</i> | <i>zand</i> |
| <i>tuggō</i> | <i>tunga</i> | <i>tunge</i> | <i>zunga</i> |
| <i>hāirtō</i> | <i>heria</i> | <i>heorte</i> | <i>herza</i> |
| <i>nati</i> | <i>netti</i> | <i>net</i> | <i>nezzi</i> |
| <i>leitils</i> | <i>lutil</i> | <i>lytel</i> | <i>luzzi</i> |
| <i>satjan</i> | <i>settian</i> | <i>settan</i> | <i>sezzen</i> |
| <i>skatts</i> | <i>skat</i> | <i>scealt</i> | <i>scaz</i> |
| (<i>sitan</i>) | <i>sittian</i> | <i>sittan</i> | <i>sizzen</i> |

145 This shift of *t* to *ts*, like the medial shift of *p*, *t*, *k*, is common to the whole OHG. area, and is a most characteristic mark of High as opposed to Low German.

NOTE.—The OHG. *atto*, MHG. *atte* (beside Got. *atta*, Lat. *atta*, Gk. *ἄττα*) with unshifted *tt* is remarkable: cf. *PBB.* ix. 160; xii. 534.

W. Gmc. k or kk (written variously ck or cc) → UG. kχ (written kh or ch), but remains unshifted in Franconian.

| Got. | OS. | OE. | Franc. | UG. |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>kaúrn</i> | <i>korn</i> | <i>corn</i> | <i>korn</i> | <i>khorn</i> |
| | <i>werk</i> | <i>weorc</i> | <i>werk</i> | <i>werch</i> |
| <i>us-wakjan</i> | <i>weckian</i> | <i>weccean</i> | <i>wecken</i> | <i>wecchan</i> |
| <i>uf-rakjan</i> | | | <i>reken</i> | <i>recchan</i> |

This shift of *k* to *kh* is the most restricted of all, and is confined to UG. dialects. Here one would expect a fricative *kχ*, parallel to *pf*, *ts*, such as is found in the modern dialect round St. Gallen, but it is a question how far the *kh* (*ch*) of UG. does really represent the fricative, and how far merely an aspirated stop, such as we have presumably in Isidor's *ch*, which notation he always uses initially and after liquids and nasals. (Hench.)

146 As W. Gmc. *pp*, *tt*, and *kk* are due to lengthening before *j*, and as there often occur cognate forms without *j*, an interchange frequently takes place:

OHG. *pf* : *ff* (W. Gmc. *pp* : *p*)*z* : *zz* („ *ll* : *l*)*kk* : *hh* („ *kk* : *k*)OHG. *skepfen* : *skaffōn**essen* : *essan**hizza* : *heiz**lessen* : *láz*, *lazzēn*OHG. *nezzen* : *naz**sizzen* : *gisezzan**dekken* : *dah**stekken* : *stehhan**wrekko* : (*w*)*rehhan*

Just as in the First Sound-Shift, and perhaps for the same reason, 147 the sounds *p*, *t*, *k*, in certain consonant combinations *sp*, *st*, *sk*, remain unshifted (97). In OHG. *t* remains also in *ht*, *ft*, and *tr*.

Thus OHG. and even NHG. *p* and *t* in such cases represent Pr.Gmc. and IG. *p* and *t*.

| | Gk. | Lat. | Got. | OHG. | NHG. |
|----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| p | πτύω | <i>spuo</i> | <i>speiwan</i> | <i>spīwan</i> | <i>speien</i> |
| | σκέπτομαι | <i>-spicio</i> | | <i>spehōn</i> | <i>spāhen</i> |
| | σπαίρω | <i>sperno</i> | | <i>spurnan</i> | |
| t | ἀστήρ | <i>stō</i> | <i>stairno</i> | <i>sterno</i> | <i>Stern</i> |
| | ἴστημι | <i>stō</i> | <i>standan</i> | <i>stān</i> | <i>stehen</i> |
| | ἔστι | | <i>ist</i> | <i>ist</i> | <i>ist</i> |
| | στιζω | <i>instigo</i> | <i>stikan</i> | <i>stehhan</i> | <i>stechen</i> |
| k | | <i>piscis</i> | <i>fisks</i> | <i>fisc</i> | <i>Fisch</i> |
| | σκιά | | <i>skeinan</i> | <i>skinan</i> | <i>scheinen</i> |
| | | <i>pосco</i> | | <i>forscōn</i> | <i>forschen</i> |

NOTE.—OHG. *tr*, except when initial, tends to generate later a 148 secondary vowel (285); so beside Got. *hlūtrs*, OHG. *hlūttar*, Got. *wintrus*, OHG. *wintar*, &c. The unshifted *t* of OHG. *hlūttar*, *wintar*, *bittar*, *eittar*, &c., is explained by the fact that *t* and *r* at the time of the Second Sound-Shift were still united.

NOTE.—Pr. Gmc. *tu* → sometimes in Alem. (*kw*) *qu*: Got. *tweiþs* → Alem. *quifalōn*; elsewhere *tu* became *zw*: *tweiþs* → *zwifalōn*.

II. Pr. Gmc. *þ* (*b*), *ð*, *g* (*g*) having already become OHG. *b*, *d*, *g* in 149 all cases (except Mid. Franc. *þ*, *g*, 123), tend to become unvoiced to *p*, *t*, *k* respectively; but again position and dialect call for different treatment.

(a) OHG. *b*, *d*, *g* medial or final after a vowel tend to become *p*, *t*, *k*.

W. Gmc. **b** (*b*): OHG. **b** (except in Mid. Franc.) → OHG. **p**.

| Got. | OS. | OE. | Mid. Fr. | E. Rh. Fr. | Bav. |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>ubils</i> | <i>ubil</i> | <i>yfel</i> | <i>uwil</i> | <i>ubil</i> | <i>upil</i> |
| <i>giban</i> | <i>geban</i> | <i>ziefan</i> | <i>gevan</i> | <i>geban</i> (<i>keban</i>) | <i>kepan</i> |
| <i>hāubip</i> | <i>hōbid</i> | <i>hāofod</i> | <i>houvit</i> | <i>houbit</i> | <i>houpit</i> |
| <i>sibun</i> | <i>sibun</i> | <i>seofon</i> | <i>sivun</i> | <i>sibun</i> | <i>sipun</i> |

150

W. Gmc. *d*: OHG. *d* → OHG. *t*.

| Got. | OS. | OE. | Mid. Fr. | E. Fr. | UG. |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>biudan</i> | <i>biodan</i> | <i>bēodan</i> | <i>biodan</i> | <i>biotan</i> | <i>piotan</i> |
| <i>beidan</i> | <i>bīdan</i> | <i>bīdan</i> | <i>bīdan</i> | <i>bītan</i> | <i>pītan</i> |
| <i>þiuda</i> | <i>thiod</i> | <i>þēod</i> | <i>thioda</i> | <i>diota</i> | |

OHG. *d* becomes *t* in UG. and in E. Franc. Mid. Franc. preserves *d* when initial and medial, and in Rh. Franc. *d* varies with *t*. Otrifrid in South Rh. Franc. nearly always writes *d* when initial, but *t* medial. See Wilmanns², i. § 59, 3, and Braune, § 163, 2; Böhme, *Zur Kenntnis des Oberfränk.*

W. Gmc. *g* (OHG. *g*) → OHG. *k*.

| Got. | OS. | OE. | Fr. | UG. |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>sleigan</i> | <i>stigan</i> | <i>stīzan</i> | <i>sligan</i> | <i>stikan</i> |
| <i>áugō</i> | <i>ōga</i> | <i>ēaze</i> | <i>ouga</i> | <i>ouka</i> |

In all Franconian dialects OHG. *g* post-vocalic remains unshifted, and even in Upper German the forms with *k* are rare and soon gave way to those with *g*. In gemination *kk* is normal in UG.

151 (*b*) W. Gmc. *þ* (*b*), *d*, *g* (*g*), initial, post-consonantal, or doubled, tend to become *p*, *t*, *k*.

W. Gmc. *þ* (*b*) or *bb* → OHG. *p*.

| Got. | OS. | OE. | Franc. | UG. |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>bairan</i> | <i>beran</i> | <i>beran</i> | <i>beran</i> | <i>peran</i> |
| <i>silba</i> | <i>self</i> | <i>self</i> | <i>selb</i> | <i>selp</i> |
| <i>sibja</i> | <i>sibbia</i> | <i>sib(b)</i> | <i>sibbia</i> | <i>sippia</i> |

Both Upper German dialects shift *b* to *p*; but later UG. tends to replace *p* by *b* when medial; later also even when initial, till at length UG. only retains *p*, in gemination *pp*.

152

W. Gmc. *d* or *dd* → OHG. *t*.

| Got. | OS. | OE. | Mid. and Rh. Fr. | E. Fr. and UG. |
|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>daúhtar</i> | <i>dohter</i> | <i>dohtor</i> | <i>dohtar</i> | <i>tohtar</i> |
| <i>bindan</i> | <i>bindan</i> | <i>bindan</i> | <i>bindan</i> (<i>bintan</i>) | <i>pintan</i> |
| <i>bidjan</i> | <i>biddian</i> | <i>biddan</i> | <i>bidden</i> (<i>bitten</i>) | <i>pitten</i> |
| <i>badi</i> | <i>bed</i> | <i>bed(d)</i> | <i>beddi</i> (<i>belli</i>) | <i>petti</i> |

Mid. and Rhine Franconian retain the original *d*, except when doubled, in which case all dialects except Mid. Franc. have *tt*.

153

W. Gmc. *g* (*g*) or *gg* → OHG. *k*.

| | Got. | OS. | OE. | Franc. | UG. |
|----------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| | <i>gasts</i> | <i>gast</i> | <i>ziest</i> | <i>gast</i> | <i>kast</i> (<i>gast</i>) |
| | <i>giban</i> | <i>geþan</i> | <i>ziēfan</i> | <i>geban</i> | <i>keban</i> (<i>geban</i>) |
| | <i>siggwan</i> | <i>singan</i> | <i>sinzan</i> | <i>singan</i> | <i>sinkan</i> (<i>singan</i>) |
| Pr. Gmc. | <i>*ligjan-</i> | <i>liggian</i> | <i>liczan</i> | <i>liggen</i> | <i>likkan</i> |
| | <i>*rugj-</i> | | <i>rycze</i> | <i>ruggi</i> | <i>rukki</i> |

OHG. *g* remains in all Franconian dialects, and in UG. is regularly replaced by *k* only when doubled: initially in UG. *k* is frequently but not always found, and post-consonantal it is even less frequent. In later UG. *g* is restored everywhere except in gemination. (See 183.)

NOTE.—By a curious coincidence the Second Sound-Shift in shifting Gmc. *þ*, *ð*, *ǥ* to OHG. *p*, *t*, *k*, in some cases restores the original IG. consonants:—

| | | |
|------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>t</i> . | Gk. <i>πατήρ</i> <i>κπατίς</i> | OHG. <i>fater</i> <i>harti</i> |
| <i>k</i> . | Lat. <i>con, cum</i> | UG. <i>ka-</i> |
| <i>p</i> . | <i>septem</i> | Bav. <i>sipun</i> |

The results of the Second Sound-Shift may be tabulated thus:— 154

| Pr. Gmc. | OS. | Mid. Fr. | Rh. Fr. | E. Fr. | Alem. | Bav. |
|--------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| I. <i>p</i> | <i>p</i> | (a) <i>ff</i> | <i>ff</i> | <i>ff</i> | <i>ff</i> | <i>ff</i> |
| | | (β) <i>p</i> | <i>p</i> (<i>pf</i>) | <i>pf</i> | <i>pf</i> | <i>pf</i> |
| <i>t</i> | <i>t</i> | (a) <i>zz</i> (<i>t</i>) | <i>zz</i> | <i>zz</i> | <i>zz</i> | <i>zz</i> |
| | | (β) <i>z</i> | <i>z</i> | <i>z</i> | <i>z</i> | <i>z</i> |
| <i>k</i> | <i>k</i> | (a) <i>hh</i> | <i>hh</i> | <i>hh</i> | <i>hh</i> | <i>hh</i> |
| | | (β) <i>k</i> | <i>k</i> | <i>k</i> | <i>kh</i> | <i>kh</i> |
| II. <i>þ</i> | <i>þ</i> (<i>v, f</i>) | (a) <i>v</i> (<i>f</i>) | <i>b</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>p</i> |
| | | (β) <i>b</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>p</i> | <i>p</i> |
| <i>ǥ</i> | <i>ǥ</i> | (a) <i>g</i> | <i>g</i> | <i>g</i> | <i>g</i> (<i>k</i>) | <i>g</i> (<i>k</i>) |
| | | (β) <i>g</i> | <i>g</i> | <i>g</i> | <i>k</i> (<i>g</i>) | <i>k</i> (<i>g</i>) |
| <i>ð</i> | <i>d</i> | (a) <i>d</i> | <i>d</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>t</i> |
| | | (β) <i>d</i> | <i>d</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>t</i> |

(a) denoting, as above, post-vocalic position.

(β) denoting, as above, initial, post-consonantal, or doubled position.

Uncertainties of the HG. Sound-Shift.

The introductory chapter touched on the difficulty of ascertaining 155 the phonetic value of the symbols of the Latin alphabet, as used to transcribe OHG., and nowhere is this difficulty so grave as in the phenomena of the HG. or Second Sound-Shift.

Doubts arise especially as regards the shift of Gmc. *þ* and *ǥ*. That in Mid. Franc. medial *b* had spirant value is evident from the notation *v*, Tr. Cap. *selvo, leven, &c.* This *v* (*f*) is also found in MG.: Arnst. Marienl. *wif, gesriven*: Leid. Will. *selvo, salvon*: and in de Heinr. (probably Mid. Fr.), *selvemo, hafoda*.

As regards *ǥ* the evidence is not so clear. Spirant pronunciation seems indicated by the use of *h, ch, gh* to replace *g*, and also by the

use of *g* to replace *h*, *ch*, and *j*. Braune (§ 164, 1) assumes as certain that *g* was spirant in Mid. Franc. and Northern Rh. Franc. on the evidence of the rhymes *Hludwig* : *ih*, Lw. *zwiġ* : *dich*, Arnst. Marienl., and the forms *mach* (to *mugen*) : *dach*; but Jellinek (*PBB.* xv. 268) points out that in the ninth century there were only two instances of *h* being used for final *g*: *genāthih*, Augs. Gebet, and *wirdih*, Hymns; and that had medial *g* been a spirant it would naturally, when final, have always been represented by *h*. He suggests that *g* was not a spirant but a fricative; and Wilmanns² i. (§§ 69–70) appears inclined to accept this for *g* when final, but not when medial. See also *PBB.* ix. 388. Further, it is very doubtful whether the UG. writing of *p* and *k* for Franc. *b* and *g* really denotes a change of sound from media to tenuis. In England and Northern Germany the mediae are always voiced and the tenues always unvoiced, but this is not always so in South Germany. There a voiceless media (*lenis*) takes the place of the ordinary media, and to unaccustomed ears is not easily distinguishable from the tenuis (*fortis*).

This unvoicing of the mediae in Upper German to lenes, without the extra violence of articulation which would have converted them into tenues, very probably began in OHG. times, and gave rise to hesitation in writing between *p* and the voiceless *b* and between *k* and the voiceless *g*. In Upper German of this time there was no Gmc. *p* left, all had become *ff* or *pf*, just as all *k*'s had become *hh* or *kh*; so that to all intents the voiceless *b* or *g* might, without risk of confusion, be written *b* or *p*, *g* or *k* indiscriminately. That this lack of discrimination was present in Upper German is proved by the borrowed Latin words in which *b* and *p*, *g* and *k* are confused.

156 Examples of loan-words in OHG. where *p* is represented by *b*, which has persisted into Modern German:—

| | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Lat. <i>pirum</i> | OHG. <i>bira</i> | NHG. <i>Birne</i> |
| <i>pumex</i> | <i>bumis</i> | <i>Bims-(stein)</i> |
| Gk. ἐπίσκοπος | <i>bischof</i> | <i>Bischof</i> |
| <i>πυξίς</i> | <i>buhsa</i> | <i>Büchse</i> |

In other cases NHG. restores the *p*:—

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Lat. <i>pīx</i> | OHG. <i>beh</i> | NHG. <i>Pech</i> |
| <i>praedicare</i> | <i>bredigōn</i> | <i>predigen</i> |
| Gk. πᾶσις | <i>babes</i> | <i>Pabst</i> |

OHG. *g* for *k*:—

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| Lat. <i>clocca</i> | OHG. <i>glocka</i> |
|--------------------|--------------------|

Cf. Franz, *Lat.-Rom. Lehnwörter im Deutschen*.

Only the Gmc. *tenuēs*, *p*, *t*, *k*, and the Gmc. voiced spirants, were **157** concerned in the HG. or Second Sound-Shift. Another consonant change takes place a little later which is distinguished from the changes of the Second Sound-Shift by not being specifically HG. (though also beginning first in UG.). It is already to be found about 750 in UG., and can be seen at work during the literary period of OHG., so that its gradual progress northwards can be traced, and it forms a valuable criterion for date and dialect (see 180). This is the change of Gmc. *þ* to OHG. *d*.

Germanic *þ* was a voiceless spirant, but since the OHG. *th* (which **158** represents it) is immediately replaced by *d*, a voiced explosive, it seems most probable that both in High and Low German the symbol *th* has really the intermediate value of *ð*. This hypothesis is further confirmed by Isidor's notation *dth* (see 208) in Rhine Franconian of the eighth century.

The change of *th* (= *ð*) → *d* appears to have come in first after the consonants *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, then medially in any position, and lastly also initially.

NOTE.—OHG. *dw* ← Pr. Gmc. *þu* became towards the end of the OHG. period *tw*: *dwingan* → *twingan*.

Verner's Law in OHG.

Now that the chief consonant changes from IG. to OHG. have been **159** traced in broad outline, the effect of Verner's Law in OHG. can be better followed and understood. It must be borne in mind:—

(a) Gothic has levelled out all traces of this law from its strong **160** verbs, except in a few isolated cases which are wholly exceptional.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Pr. Gmc. <i>þarf</i> : <i>þurð-</i> | Got. <i>þarf</i> , <i>þaurbum</i> |
| <i>aiχ</i> : <i>aig-</i> | <i>aih</i> , <i>ai gum</i> |
| <i>filχan</i> : <i>flg-</i> | <i>filhan</i> , <i>fulgins</i> (originally a past part. but now adjective). |

NOTE.—Such cases as (1) *báup*—*budum* (*þ* : *ð*) from *biudan*, or (2) (*wald*)*ufni*—(*fráist*)*ubni* (*f* : *ð*), are not examples of Verner's Law, but rest on (1) the Gothic law of the unvoicing of voiced spirants when final or before voiceless consonant; (2) the Gothic law of dissimilation in secondary syllables, according to which *ð* follows voiceless, but *f* follows voiced consonant. Cf. Streitberg, *Got. Gr.* §§ 101, 117, 131.

(b) In W. Gmc. every *ð* → *d*.

ð → *b*, initial, after a nasal, or in gemination.

z → *r*.

- (c) In OHG., W. Gmc. $\bar{b} \rightarrow b$ (1114) or \bar{p} .
 $\bar{p} \rightarrow d$ (122).
 $d < \bar{d} \rightarrow d$ or t (1114).
 $\bar{g} \rightarrow g$ (1115) or k .

OE. $\bar{b} > v$ (f); \bar{g} remains written $ȝ$.

161 Consequently the original Pr. Gmc. interchange of:—

Pr. Gmc. $f, \bar{p}, \chi, \chi w, s : \bar{b}, \bar{d}, g, gw, z$

OE. $f, \bar{p}, h, h(w), s : bb, \text{ or } v(f), d, ȝ, (ȝ)w, r$

becomes in OHG. $f, \bar{d}, h, hw, s : b, t, g, gw, r$.

I. Grammatical Change in Strong Verbs.

Gmc. $f-\bar{b}$.

OHG.

heffen, huob, huobun, gihaban,
(h)werfan, hwarf, hwurbun, gihworban

162 Gmc. $\bar{p}-\bar{d}$.

OE.

līpan, lāp, lidon, liden
snīpan, snāp, snidon, sniden
scrīpan, scrāp, scridon, scriden
sēōpan, sēāp, sudon, soden
cwēpan, cwēp, cwēdon, cweden
weorpan, wearp, wurdon, worden

OHG.

līdan, leid, litun, gilitan
snīdan, sneid, snitun, gisnitan
mīdan, meid, mitun, gimitan
siodan, sōd, sutun, gisotan
quedan, quad, quātun, giquetan
werdan, ward, wurtun, wortan

163 Gmc. $\chi-g$.

hēon, hāh, hizon, hizen
iēon, iēah, tuzon, tozen
flēon, flēah, fluzon, flozen
slēan, (slōz), slōzon, slæzen
ðwēan, (ðwōh), ðwōzon, ðwezen

dīhan, dēh, digun, gidigan
ziohan, zōh, zugun, gizogan
flīohan, flōh, [fluhun, giflohan]
slahan, sluoh, sluogun, gislagan
dwahan, (druog), druoogun, gidwagan

164 Gmc. $\chi w-g(w)$ (for loss of g before w , 109).

lēon, lāh,
sēon, sēah $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} s\bar{e}ōzon \\ s\bar{e}āh \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} sezen \\ serwen \end{array} \right.$

līhan, lēh, liwun, giliwan
sehan, sah, sāhun $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} gisewan \\ gisehan \end{array} \right.$

165 Gmc. $s-z$.

cēosan, cēas, curon, coren
frēosan, frēas, fruron, froren
for-lēosan, lēas, luron, loren
wesan, was, wæron

kiosan, kōs, kurun, gikoran
frīosan, frōs, frurun, gifroran
fir-liosan, lōs, lurun, loran
wesan, was, wārun, (giwesan)

NOTE.—It will be observed that the consonant of the preterite plural has frequently crept into the preterite singular.

II. Grammatical Change in Derived Verbs.

IG. had a large number of causative verbs which were formed from 166 others by the derivative suffix *-ejo-*. Cf. Gk. *τρέπω*—*τροπέω*, *τρέμω*—*τρομέω*, *στρέφω*—*στροφέω*.

These derivatives were always accented on the suffix, so that the consonants of the original and the causative verb are frequently found in a relation of grammatical change to one another in Germanic.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Got. <i>frawairþan</i> , to perish. | <i>frawardjan</i> , to destroy. |
| { OE. <i>līðan</i> , to go. | <i>læðan</i> , to lead. |
| { OHG. <i>līdan</i> , to go. | <i>leiten</i> , to lead. |
| { OE. <i>ze-nesan</i> , to recover. | { <i>nerian</i> , to save. |
| { OHG. <i>gi-nesan</i> , to recover. | { <i>nerien</i> , to save. |
| Got. <i>lāis</i> . I know. | { OE. <i>læran</i> , to teach. |
| | { OHG. <i>lêren</i> , to teach. |

III. Grammatical Change in Adjectives, Nouns, &c.

In the IG. declension of the noun the accent also constantly varied 167 (cf. Gk. *βοῦς*, *βοός*, *βόες*), consequently Verner's Law should operate between various cases of the same noun in Germanic also. The interchange must, however, have been early levelled out, and traces of it remain only when it has given rise to doublets in the same or cognate dialects. Similarly, all sorts of related words, particles, and inflections may, in the same or cognate languages, show forms now with one of a pair of related consonants, now with another.

A. Gmc. *f*—*b*.

168

OHG. *ruofa* : *ruoba* (number).

fesa : *ga-bissa* (chaff, weed).

graveo : *grābo* (count).

hefig : *hebīg* (heavy).

tūfar : *tūbar* (foolish).

diufa : *diuba* (theft).

hof : MHG. *hübesch*.

Skr. *áparas*, *aparám*; Pr. Gmc. *af* : *aþ*; Got. *afar*, OS. *aþaro*, OE. *cafora*; OHG. *avar* : OHG. *abur*.

Skr. *úpa*, *upári*; Gk. *ὑπό*, *ὑπέρ*; Pr. Gmc. *uf* : *uþ*; Got. *uf*, *ufar*, OE. *ofer*, OS. *uþar* : OHG. *oba*, *ubar*.

Skr. *ápas*, Lat. *opus*; Pr. Gmc. *af* : *aþ*, OHG. *afalôn* : *abali*.

Got. *aflifnan*, *twalif*, OE. *twelf*, OHG. *zweelif* : Got. *bileiban*, OS. *bilīban*, OE. *lifan*, OHG. *bi-liban*.

Got. *þarf*, OHG. *durfan* : Got. *þaúrban*, *ga-þarban*, OHG. *darbēn*.

OHG. *hwerfan* : Got. *hwairban*, *hwarbōn*, OHG. *hwerban*.

169 B. Gmc. þ—ð.

Got. *magapi* : OE. *mæzden*, OHG. *magafin*. OE. *corþor* : OHG. *kortar*.

Got. *dáupus*, OE. *dēap*, OHG. *tōd* : Got. *dáups* (*dáudis*), OE. *dēad*, OHG. *tōt*.

Got. *fraþjan* : *frōdei*, *gasōþjan* : *saps* (*sadis*).

Got. *náupjan* : *náudi*-(*bandi*), OE. *nēad*, OHG. *nōt*.

Got. *sinþs*, OE. *sīþ* : *sandjan*, *sendan*, OHG. *senden*.

Got. *alþeis* : *framaldrs*, OE. *eald*, OHG. *alt*.

170 C. Gmc. χ—g.

Got. *swaíhra*, OHG. *swehur* (= Skr. *śváśura*), OE. *swēor*.

OHG. *swigar* (= Skr. *śváśrūs*), OE. *swezer*.

OHG. *foraha* : Got. *faírguni*, OE. *fírzen*.

Got. *hiuhma*, *háuhs*, OE. *hēah*, OHG. *hōh* : OE. *hēaz*, OHG. *houg*.

OHG. *zahar*, OE. *tēar* : Got. *tagrs*, OE. *teazor*.

Got. *láuh*(*muni*), OHG. *lōha* : ON. *lógi*; OE. *līz*, OHG. *loug*.

Got. *weihan*, OHG. *wīhan* : Got. *wigans*, OHG. *wīgant*.

Sk. *dása*, Gk. *δέκα*, Got. *táihun*, OHG. *zehan* : Gk. *δεκάς*, Got. *tigus*, OHG. *zug*.

171 D. Gmc. χw—gw.

Got. *aha* : Gmc. *auja*; OHG. *ouwa*. Got. *saihan* : *siuns*.

Got. *faírhus*; OE. *feorh*; OE. (*mid*)*fyrwe*.

OHG. *fōh* (Lat. *paucus*) : Got. *fawái* (pl.), OE. *fēa*(*w*).

E. Gmc. s—z(r).

Got. *ásusō* : OE. *ēare*, OHG. *ōra*.

Got. *asans* : OE. *earnian*, OHG. *aran*.

Got. *rásus* : OHG. *rōr*.

Got. *eisarn*, OHG. *isern* : OE. *iren*.

Got. *ahs* : OHG. *ahir* : OE. *eār*.

OHG. *haso* : OE. *hara*.

OHG. *tusīg* : OHG. *tōr*.

The differences of treatment which OHG. consonant sounds underwent at different periods in different dialects, as well as the inadequacy and irregularity of OHG. transcription, make it necessary to add some notes on each of the Pr. Gmc. consonant sounds individually to show its development in OHG. and its notation by various scribes.

Notker's Law of Initial Consonants.

Notker's orthography is in some points different from the current 172 UG. of his time, and is extremely instructive, for Notker gave more intelligent thought to the notation of the sounds he heard and used than OHG. writers were wont to do.

He carries consistently through his writings a system by which Gmc. *ð*, *g*, *þ*, which Franconian represented by *b*, *g*, *d*, and UG. by *p*, *k*, *t* respectively, are regularly denoted as in other UG. writings by *p*, *t*, *k*, unless immediately following a sonant, i. e. a vowel, liquid, or nasal. In the latter case Notker writes systematically *b*, *d*, *g*.

From the fact that *p*, *t*, *k* are used initially in clause or sentence, and after most consonants, we must assume that they represent Notker's normal pronunciation of these consonants, but that in the neighbourhood of sonant sounds their pronunciation was in some way modified by Sentence Sandhi.

It is erroneous, however, to imagine, as some have done, that this 173 interchange can have been one of tenuis and media. It was seen above (155) that in UG. the mediae had lost their voice and had become merely lenes, that is, tenues pronounced with slightly more gentle articulation, but nevertheless voiceless, and Notker's interchange is clearly nothing more than that of fortis and lenis, in spite of Wilkens, *Zum hochalem. Kons. der Ahd. Zeit*; cf. *PBB.* xv. 37, xviii, 302; *Zs.fdA.* xvi. 139.

For a discussion of the working of Notker's pronunciation in its relation to the modern dialects cf. Heusler.

Examples of the working of Notker's Law :—

dáz *pegínnuēt óugen* ; *rīchesōn begóndi* ;
táz *ten chéiser lústa* ; *únde in dār*.
ír gewált kân ; *daz wáizer umbe gāt*.

It is noteworthy that the interchange of *t* and *d* in Notker only affects such UG. *t*'s as came from Gmc. *þ*, while OHG. *t* from Gmc. *d* always remains as *t*.

tes tages ; *ih tuon* ; *unde demo tage* ; *tu tuost*, &c.

A few isolated cases (such as *nehein deil*) where this *t* does appear as *d* are obviously clerical errors, and occur so seldom that they may be ignored. A similar interchange of *f* and *v* (for Gmc. *f*) is partly carried through in Notker's writings, but not so consistently as the above.

174 Initial *v* can only appear after sonants (the few exceptions are unquestionably errors), but the possibility of *f* is not excluded, thus :

ih fahe ; but *tu fahest* or *vahest*.

The law of initial consonants is carried through with the utmost rigour in all the works of Notker which we possess in old MSS. Only the late MSS. of the Psalter neglect or confuse it. The interchange of *f* and *v*, however, appears most frequently in the treatises on Aristotle, less often in Boethius, and seldom in Mart. Cap., in which only *f* is regular.

Notker's Law is not anything personal or peculiar to himself. It has plenty of parallels in other languages and in modern dialects, and similar phenomena are observable to any careful ear in the pronunciation of English, though the literary language ignores them in its orthography. Moreover, though Notker is the only person consistently to demonstrate the working of the OHG. Sandhi, there are not infrequently traces of it in other sources, especially in the Glosses. Cf. *Zs.f.d.A.* xvi. 139, and Pietsch, 331.

THE GERMANIC CONSONANTS IN OHG.

175 I. Explosives and Spirants.

- i. Labials: *p b f*.
- ii. Dentals: *t ð þ s*.
- iii. Gutturals: *k g χ*.

P. Germanic *p* (IG. *b*) is rare initially. After the period of the First Sound-Shift the number of *p*'s in Germanic is increased by borrowing from Latin and Greek (OS., OE. *pund*, *penning*, &c.).

Gmc. *p* is frequent medially and finally.

In W. Gmc. *pp* arises by the W. Gmc. lengthening of consonants (116).

According to the Second Sound-Shift Gmc. *p* becomes in OHG. :—

(a) *ff* (138).

(b) *pf* (142); it remained, however, unshifted, when initial, in Mid. and Rh. Franc.;

(c) remains in a few cases unshifted (147).

(a) Medial between vowels Gmc. *p* → *ff* in OHG. This is common to all dialects. This *ff* is usually simplified to *f* after a long vowel or when final. The writing *ff* after long vowel is found, however, in the earliest texts (*BR. K. Pa. Gl.*, &c.), and sporadically in later ones (Otloh : *släffentemo*). Occasionally single *f* occurs also after short vowel.

Isidor is quite consistent in writing *ff* after a short vowel: *f* after a long vowel and when final. (For the distinction of this *f* from Gmc. *f* see 177.)

(b) Initial in word or post-consonantal or geminated, Gmc. *p* → OHG. *pf* (often written *ph*). This only takes place regularly in UG. and E. Franc. In Rh. Franc. only after *r* and *l*, and never initially. S. Rh. Franc. also after *m*.

(c) Pr. Gmc. *p* remains throughout unshifted—

(1) in the combination *sp*, as *springan* (147);

(2) in foreign words imported after the Second Sound-Shift, e. g. *predigōn*, *priestar*, *pīna*, &c. In late UG. this often → *b*, as *bīna*, &c.

B. As was seen (66), IG. *bh*, and in certain cases (85) IG. *p*, 176 yielded Gmc. *þ*, which became *b* initially, when doubled, and after *m*, but remained *þ* medially between vowels, and was unvoiced to *f* when final (123). Such is the state of affairs in Got., OE., OS., but in OHG. Pr. Gmc. *þ* becomes *b* in all positions; only Mid. Franc. retains medially the same spirant value as OS.; cf. Tr. Cap. initial *b*, *bodum*, *bat*, beside medial *þ* (*v*), *selvo*, *erze*, *leven*, *ergeven*, &c. (155).

This OHG. *b* (← Pr. Gmc. *þ*) is preserved in all positions in Franc. Only in gemination does *pp* sometimes occur beside *bb*, evidently an effort to denote the sharper sound of the doubled consonant. T. *krippea* beside *sibbe* (Oufrið has even *krippha*). Occasionally in smaller Franc. texts *bp* or *pb*; Isid. *sipbea*; Lorsch. B. *unsipberon*, &c. Cf. *PBB.* vii. 129.

UG. tends to write *p* for *b*: Alemannic retains *b* medially between vowels, but Bavarian introduces *p* even there. In late UG. the writing *b* gains the day, and *p* is only retained in gemination.

F. Gmc. *f* (IG. *p*) is always retained when initial in OHG. Medially 177 and finally Gmc. *f* is comparatively rare, since by the working of Verner's Law *f* frequently passed to *þ* → *b* in OHG. Such Gmc. *f*'s as remain medially are usually written *u*(*v*), which, however, represents a voiceless spirant. The writing *f* is rare medially, unless in a group of consonants: *heffen*, but *hēvis*, *hevig*. *ft* and *fs* are never written *u*. Gmc. medial *f* does not coincide with OHG. *ff*, arising from post-vocalic *p* (175), nor with *f* arising from *pf*. This new *ff* (← Gmc. *p*) differed from original Gmc. *f*, not only by being long but probably in pronunciation also. It seems likely that, whereas the Gmc. *f* had adopted in OHG. the labiodental pronunciation like English *f* (NHG. *v*), the OHG. *ff* was bilabial. That the two *f*'s, (1) ← *f*, (2) ← *p*, were not confused in OHG. is clear from the fact that the symbol *u*(*v*), which in the MSS. is in habitual use for the former when initial or medial, is never used to represent the latter.

The Gmc. *f*'s are reinforced in OHG. by borrowing from Latin and Romance: *v* is taken over into OHG., to which the sound of *v* was unknown, as *f*, e. g. *brief*, *euangelio*, *tiufal* (← late Latin *diabolus*, not *diabolus*), &c., &c. See Franz, 20, and *Gr.*² i. 333-54.

178 T. Gmc. *t* (IG. *d*) is frequent in all positions and in gemination.

As was stated, Gmc. *t* is represented in OHG. after the Second Sound-Shift by:—

(a) *zz*, written *zz(z)* (139).

(b) *ts*, written *z*, *zz* (144).

(c) *t* unshifted (147).

OHG. spelling does not distinguish the voiceless spirant sound, which is here denoted by *zz*, from the fricative *ts*, written *zz*, or *z*, but writes both *zz* or *z*. Isidor alone consistently distinguishes them: he writes the spirant *zz* as *zss*, or when final *zs*, but the fricative as *z* or *tz*: *wazssar*, *dhazzs*, but *zvēne*, *setzan*. For greater clearness the notations *zz* and *zz* have here been adopted, though if the etymology of words and the laws of the Second Sound-Shift be borne in mind the distinction is scarcely necessary.

a. Medial between vowels Gmc. *t* → OHG. *zz*.

This is common in all dialects of OHG. After a short vowel *zz* was usually retained, but after long or when final *zz* was simplified to *z*. Thus *ezzān* (: Got. *itan*), but *bīzān* (: Got. *beitan*), though the writings are rather inconsequent, and *z* or *zz* are used somewhat indiscriminately for either. This 'ss' sound (*zz*) arising from Gmc. *t* appears to have been clearly distinguished in OHG. from the *s* ← Gmc. *s*. It was more purely dental, partaking perhaps of the nature of *ʃ* (a so-called 'lisped' *s*). Cf. Sievers, *Phonetik*³, 58, 120.

b. Initial or post-consonantal or geminated, Gmc. *t* → *ts* (*zz*, *z*).

The value of this fricative was probably *t* plus *z* (i. e. a very dental *s*, almost = *ʃ*; see above). In loan-words borrowed before the operation of the Second Sound-Shift the same shift takes place as in native words, Lat. *tegula* → OHG. *ziagal*. [In younger borrowings OHG. *z* represented Latin *c* before *e* and *i*, which about 700 had become a fricative. Lat. *census* → *zins*. See Kluge, *Wb.* s. v.]

c. Gmc. *t* remains unshifted in OHG.:—

(1) In certain cases of consonant combination: e. g. *st*, *tr*, *ft*, *ht* (147).

(2) In loan-words taken over into Gmc. after the Second Sound-Shift, *tempal*, &c.

(3) In Mid. Franc. pronouns: *that*, *thit*, &c. (141).

Ð. Pr. Gmc. *ð* [IG. *dh* (67) or *t* (73)] becomes *d* universally in 179 W. Gmc. (122). It is frequent in all positions and in gemination.

In OHG. the W. Gmc. *d* has a tendency to become *t*, but not equally in all dialects. The shift of *d* to *t* is only complete in UG. and in E. Franc. (where exceptions are very rare), and in all dialects when geminated. Rh. and Mid. Franc. shifted *d* to *t* when final, but tend to retain *d* when medial and initial. Initial *d* maintains itself longest of all. Otfrid always has initial *d*, medial *t*. In Rh. Franc., and especially in S. Rh. Franc., *t* is not infrequently found beside *d*.

E. Franc. *tag, tot, trinkan, truhtin, biotan, thritto.*

O. *dag, dot, drinkan, druhtin, biotan, thritto.*

Is. *dag, dot, drinkan, druhtin, biotan, dhritto, hanl, hendl.*

Gmc. *dd* → *tt* in all dialects. It tends to be simplified after a long vowel, but is frequently retained in UG. Some OHG. *tt*'s arise merely from the accidental collision of two *t*'s, e. g. in the preterite of certain verbs: *skutta, leitita, &c.*: this *tt* is, however, not infrequently simplified.

For the conditions of the *d* shifting in the Franc. dialects cf. O. Böhme, *Zur Kenntnis des Oberfrk.*

þ. Pr. Gmc. *þ* (IG. *t*). The voiceless spirant is represented in the 180 earliest OHG. by the symbol *th* (or *dh*), which, however, was probably already voiced (= *ð*). This *ð* tends to pass over into the voiced explosive *d* in all dialects (158). The change shows itself first in Bavarian, in which, in the eighth century, *th* is already rare. Alemannic completes the change in the latter half of the ninth century, so that from the ninth century onwards *d* is the usual UG. representative of Pr. Gmc. *þ*.

T. has *th* initially, but *d* medially and in all other positions. During the latter half of the ninth century even initial *th* becomes *d*. Mid. Franc. and other Middle German dialects follow suit during the tenth and eleventh centuries, finally Saxon and Low Franc. also (*PBB.* i. 53), so that the change eventually is not a specifically OHG. one, though HG. carries it through before LG.

OHG. *d* (← *þ*) is never in OHG. unvoiced to *t* (see *þ*), so that it is clearly distinguished from the *t* ← *d* ← *ð*, and the Pr. Gmc. grammatical change of *þ*: *ð* is therefore preserved in OHG. as an interchange between *d*: *t*.

S. Pr. Gmc. *s* was inherited without change from IG. During the 181 Pr. Gmc. period, however, the number of Germanic *s*'s was greatly reduced by the operation of Verner's Law, by which, in many cases, *s* became *z*, and, in W. Gmc., *r* (125). The *s*'s which escaped Verner's Law are still preserved in OHG. as voiceless spirants, and

are distinguished in pronunciation from the new $z\zeta$ (\leftarrow Gmc. t). See 165, 166, 171.

S geminated.

(1) OHG. ss is usually derived from Gmc. ss (often arising from dental plus t).

(2) OHG. ss sometimes, though rarely, is derived from W. Gmc. $ss \leftarrow$ Gmc. s plus j . Musp. *wīssan* (**wīsjan*), *lōssan* (**lōsjan*). OHG. *knussen* \leftarrow **knusjan*.

(3) OHG. ss is occasionally due to recent assimilation: *wassen* beside *wahsan*.

(4) OHG. ss arises from composition in *desse*s (see 469).

In consequence of Gmc. ss so often arising from tt (or other dental plus t) OHG. ss often interchanges in cognate words with z ($\leftarrow t$) or $z\zeta$ ($\leftarrow tt$), e. g. *wessa*, *gewisser* : *wīzzan*; *muossa*, *muosa* : *muoz*; Got. *mats* : OHG. *muos*, *maz*.

OHG. *mezzi-sahs* (so in R^b *Gl.* i. 542), by a curious instance of dissimilation, develops into *mezzirahs* (later *mezzarehs*, *messires*, NHG. *Messer*), unless this is to be treated as an instance of Verner's Law. Cf. Wilmanns², i, § 24, and Brugmann³, § 903.

182 K. Gmc. k (IG. g) is frequent in all positions. Geminated k arises often in W. Gmc. (116): when k is retained in OHG. it is often written c before consonants and guttural vowels: kw is often written qu . After the Second Sound-Shift Gmc. k has three representatives in OHG.:—

a. Gmc. k becomes hh (140).

b. Gmc. k remains k or $\rightarrow kh$ (145).

c. Gmc. k remains unshifted.

(a) Medially between vowels Gmc. $k \rightarrow$ OHG. hh in all dialects, simplified to h after a long vowel or when final. Occasionally h is found for hh and vice versa.

(b) Initial, post-consonantal, or geminated. Gmc. $k \rightarrow kh$ in UG., but in Franc. remains k . Gmc. $kk \rightarrow kh$ in UG. and remains kk in Franc., when kk is usually written ck . Final or before a consonant kk is frequently reduced to k .

(c) Gmc. k remains unshifted (1) when initial or geminated in Franc. (see *b*); (2) in combinations sk , &c.

183 G. Gmc. g [IG. gh (68) or k] is common in all positions. When doubled it early lost its spirant value in Gmc., and $gg \rightarrow gg$: similarly, after nasal $g \rightarrow g$ (115). How long its spirant value was retained in other cases is a very moot point (155). Probably before

historical OHG. times every Pr. Gmc. *g*, in whatever position, had become *g* over almost all OHG. territory, with the possible exception of Mid. and Rh. Franc. (Cf. Wilmanns², i, § 68.) This OHG. *g* remains unaltered in Franc., whether single or geminated, but in UG. it shows a strong tendency to become unvoiced to *k*. This change always took place when doubled, usually when initial, especially in the earliest texts, when final *k* is usual, but *g* is not uncommon: medially *g* is by far the more usual. This UG. *k* ($\leftarrow g$) may of course, like OHG. *k* in general, be also written *c*, but not before the vowels *e* and *i*.

X. Pr. Gmc. χ was a voiceless guttural spirant [IG. *kh* or *k* 184 (75)] common in all positions. In all Gmc. languages χ is written *h*, and in all it early showed a tendency in certain cases to lose its spirant character and to become a mere spiritus asper, though medially and finally in Gothic it probably retained the full value of Pr. Gmc. χ (but see Streitberg, *Got. Gr.*, § 35, and Jellinek, *PBB.* xv. 277). In OHG. *h* is always a spiritus asper when initial, probably also between vowels, as *hano*, *herza*, *sehan*, &c., but remains a voiceless spirant when final or before consonant, *sah*, *maht*, &c. Initial *h* is only retained before vowels in OHG. The combinations *hl*, *hn*, *hw*, which have regularly *h* in the earliest texts, appear as simple *l*, *n*, *r*, *w* respectively after the ninth century (LG. dialects retain *h* longer in these cases). T. and O., and all other later Franc. texts, have no trace of this initial *h* before consonant, except in proper names: *Hludwīg* (but O. *Ludouuīg*). In UG. texts there is more hesitation (see below). Finally or before consonants OHG. *h* is frequently denoted by *ch*, e.g. *reht* or *recht*, *sah* or *sach*. In sound this OHG. *h* ($\leftarrow \chi$) appears to fall together with OHG. *hh* \leftarrow Pr. Gmc. *k*.

II. Liquids. l and r.

L. Pr. Gmc. *l* (IG. *l*) remains unaltered in OHG. Double *l* is very 185 common in OHG., arising from:—

(a) IG. or Gmc. assimilation (97).

(b) W. Gmc. lengthening (118).

(c) More rarely from OHG. assimilation, e. g. *guollih* \leftarrow *guollih*.

R. Pr. Gmc. *r* (IG. *r*) remains unchanged in OHG. The number of original Pr. Gmc. *r*'s is increased in Gmc. by those arising from Pr. Gmc. *z* (125).

This W. Gmc. *r* \leftarrow *z*, in contrast to N. Gmc. *r* \leftarrow *z* (cf. Noreen, *AI. Gr.*, § 216), does not appear to have been distinguished in sound from the original Gmc. *r*. Pr. Gmc. *r* is rarely doubled in W. Gmc. by

j (119): OHG. *nerien*, &c. Only Alemannic and occasionally Franc. have forms *nerren*, &c., and even *rr* after a long vowel, e. g. *hōrren*, &c.

Nevertheless, *rr* frequently arises from assimilation or juxtaposition:—

(a) from *rn*, e. g. *sterro* ← *sterno*, beside Got. *stairnō* (perhaps difference of accent), OE. *steorra*.

(b) from *rz*, e. g. OHG. *merren* : Got. *marzjan* ; OHG. *irri* : Got. *airzeis*.

(c) from *r* plus *r*, e. g. *hērro* ← *hēriro*.

III. Nasals. *m* and *n*.

186 **M.** Pr. Gmc. *m* (IG. *m* or *n*) remains in OHG. : it can only stand before consonants when these are labials (96), though it may come next to dental by loss of intervening vowel, e. g. *rūmta* ← *rūmita*.

OHG. *mm* arises from:—

(a) Pr. Gmc. *mm*, as *suimman*.

(b) W. Gmc. *mm*, as *frummen* (in UG. also after a long vowel : *sūmman* (119)).

(c) Late assimilation, as *frammort* ← *framwert* (242), *stimma* ← *stīmna*, &c. When flexional *m* comes to stand final in OHG. it passes to *n* from the ninth century onwards (as IG. final *m* had done): OHG. *habēm*, later *habēn* ; *tagum*, later *tagun*, &c. When final *m* in OHG. is felt to be part of the root, it remains, influenced, no doubt, by inflected forms, where *m* was medial and was therefore preserved : *arm*, *armes* ; *tuom*, *tuomes* ; *nim*, *neman*.

187 **N.** Pr. Gmc. *n* (IG. *n* or *m*) remains for the most part unchanged in OHG. Before dental consonants *n* is found: original *n* cannot stand before labials, but may come into that position by syncope or composition just as *m* may come to stand before dentals, e. g. *inbīz* (later *imbīz*).

Before gutturals *n* has the value of guttural nasal *ŋ*. (Pr. Gmc. *ŋ* had been lost before *χ*; see 109.) OHG. *nn* may arise from:—

(a) Gmc. *nn*, e. g. *rinnan*, *kunnan*, *mannes*, &c.

(b) W. Gmc. *nn*, e. g. *kunni*, &c., and UG. even after long vowels : Musp. *suannan*.

(c) Late assimilation, e. g. *fīrstannissi* ← *fīrstantnissi*.

IV. Semi-vowels. *j* and *w*.

188 Consonantal *i* is usually denoted in OHG. manuscripts by the symbol *i*, and is therefore not distinguished in writing from the vowel. Sometimes *g* is found for *j*, so that the consonantal value of *j* as opposed to vowel *i* was evidently clearly marked, and in certain cases approached even to the sound *g*.

Notker's system of accentuation marks clearly the difference between the two: *iār, iāng* beside *īo, bīeten, iuuēr*. Initially Pr. Gmc. *j* remains in OHG., but it is not a common sound. Medially after vowels *j* is especially frequent in OHG.: it is often inserted as a glide between two vowels. Medially after consonants *j* is frequent in Gmc. owing to the large number of formative suffixes, both nominal and verbal, which contained *j*. OS. preserves such Gmc. *j*'s, but OHG. shows from the earliest times a marked tendency to lose them, and by the end of the ninth century they are all gone. After consonants *j* in OHG. is usually written *i*, but before the vowels *a* and *o* it is more often written *e*: *gilaubiu, minnea, sippea, willio* or *willeo*, &c. *j* persists longer after *r* (which resisted the W. Gmc. lengthening; cf. 119). From the ninth to the eleventh century texts which have no other *j*'s after consonants retain such forms as *nerien* (*nergen* or *nerigen*), &c., especially in Bavarian. On the other hand, Alemannic and Franc. tend to double this *r* and lose the *j*, e. g. *nerren*, &c.

This doubling of *r* before *j* is quite peculiar to OHG. and has no parallel in any other Gmc. dialect.

Finally. When *j* comes to stand finally it becomes *i* and remains to bear witness to original *j*-formations after the corresponding medial *j*'s have long disappeared: *kunnu—kunnes, waltanti—waltantēr, mārī—māro*, &c.

W. OHG. *w* is inherited from Pr. Gmc. and IG. consonantal **189**
u. OHG. *w* has the sound of English *w* (perhaps slightly more bilabial), not of NHG. *w*. In OHG. the sound *w* was denoted by writing *u* twice over: *uu* (or *vu*, since *u* and *v* in MSS. are only variations of the same letter and are used without distinction). Not till late OHG. is the ligature *w* in use. Single *u* is frequently used instead of *uu*, especially before another *u* or after consonant.

(a) Pr. Gmc. initial *w* remains in OHG. before vowels: before consonants *l* and *r* it has fallen in pre-literary times.

OHG. *rehhan*, Got. *wrikan*, OE. *wrecan*, OS. *wrecan*.

OHG. *ruogen*, Got. *wrōhjan*.

OHG. *antluzzi*, Got. *wlits*, OS. *wliti*.

Pr. Gmc. *w* is preserved in OHG. after initial consonant in *kw* (Franc. *qu*, UG. *chu*); *hw* (*h* early lost), *dw*, *tw*, *zw*, *sw*.

Cf. *quemen, quedan, hwēr, hwīz* (later *wēr, wīz*), *dwīngan, twelan, zwēnē, swarz*, &c.

(b) Pr. Gmc. final *w* is vocalized to *o*, whether final in word or syllable: e. g. *knewes—kneo, sēwes—sēo, spīwan—spēo, garwen—garo*, &c.: *garawita*, or, with syncope, *garola*, &c. After the mid-ninth

century, final *o* ($\leftarrow w$) falls after a long vowel: *sēo*—*sē*, *snēo*—*snē*, *spēo*—*spē*, *grāo*—*grā*.

(c) Pr. Gmc. medial *w* after a consonant is rare, except after *r* and *l*. It is retained in OHG.; e. g. *melo*—*melwe*, *farwa*—*swalwa*, &c. Here OHG. tends to generate a secondary vowel: *melwes* or *melawes*, &c., see 242.

(d) Pr. Gmc. medial *w* after a long vowel is frequent in OHG.: *w* is constantly generated as a glide between vowels in hiatus. Example, see 243.

(e) OHG. medial *w* after a short vowel has a complicated history, since it may rest on (1) Pr. Gmc. single *w*; (2) on original *ww*, whether Pr. Gmc. or of later development in W. Gmc.

MINOR POINTS OF DIALECT AND WRITING¹

Explosives and Spirants.

I. LABIALS.

190 P. i. Isidor has unshifted *p* twice: *scaap* (*scāf*), *ubarhlaupnissi*. Cf. Hench, 83.

ii. Some words which usually have *pf* \leftarrow *pp* are also found with *ff* (*f*), but such forms are generally traceable to original double forms, in which *pp* alternated with *p* (125). Such cases are: *tropfo*—*trof*; *apful*—*affoltra*, OE. *apuldre*, ON. *apaldr*.

WRITINGS.

iii. For *ff* occasionally *ph* is written, especially in the Mons. Gl. *untiuphi* (i. 326), beside *tiuffi* (i. 385), *irruophent* (i. 370).

The Bair. B. once has *slāphanto*, Mainz. B. once *sclāphun*; T. *ofphano* (104. 3) and *scāph* (133. 11).

The Leid. Will. regularly has *ph* for *ff*. This *ph* is, however, not the fricative in these cases, but merely a graphic variant for *ff* (i. e. a long voiceless spirant). This value is proved by the fact that the same texts write *ph* for Gmc. *f*; e. g. *thuruphtigōn* = *thurftigōn*.

iv. U. Alem. simplifies *pf* to *f*. BR. *fund*, *farra* (= *pfarra*).

So also late Alem. N. *fād*, *falenza*, *flēgen*, but *skepfen*, *tropfo* (see 192).

191 v. There exists in all dialects a general tendency to simplify *mpf*, *npf*, *lpf*, *rpf* to *mf*, &c., especially in certain words such as *werfan*, *dorf*, &c.; e. g.:

O. *scepfen*, *werpfan* (and *werfan*), *helpfan* (and *helfan*).

T. *scephen*, *werphan* (rarely *werpfan*), *helpfan* (*helfan*).

Musp. *khenfun*, *helfan*, *hilfa*. BR. *sceffan*, *helfan*.

vi. Earliest Rh. Franc. (Isidor) has unshifted *p* after *l* and *r*.

¹ The following details are for the most part drawn from Braune, *Aha. Gr.*; but for the sake of clearness his valuable material has been rearranged and added to.

Is. *hilpit arweorpanan*, Fr. Gebet. *hilp*, but the Lw. has *hilph* (23), and even *kampf* (56).

Beside the usual *mph* O. occasionally has *mp*: *limpit* (ii. 23. 16, iv. 29. 2), *gelumpfih* (i. 16. 25), *intslupta* from *intslupfen* (v. 10. 26).

vii. Where *p* appears sporadically for *pf* in UG. texts, it must be taken to be due simply to imperfect spelling. In the same way the E. Franc. *pentinga* of the Lex Salica is probably to be explained. The Ker. Gl. have *p* for *ph*, which Kögel interprets as due to Rh. Franc. influence: *plöh* (= plough), *stapot*. Cf. *PBB.* ix. 312.

viii. The Freis. O. frequently replaces Otfrid's *p*'s by *ph*, but more often allows *p* to stand. M. also leaves the *p* of the Franc. original in three words: *pendinc*, *ardempant*, *ardampta*.

ix. Though U. Alem. tends to reduce the *pf* to *ff* or *f*, *pf* is not quite supplanted, and frequently remains, especially in gemination. 192
Voc. *pfarra*, *tropfo*. N. *pf* always in gemination, otherwise *ff*. K^b *pf*, while K^a has *ff* (see Kögel).

It is noteworthy that the Alem. scribe (γ) of Isidor has introduced forms like *flanzōn*, *sceffen*.

x. Though in U. Alem. the Gmc. *p* when initial apparently falls together with *f* (*flegan* beside *faran*) there must have been some difference between them, for Gmc. *f* is often written as *u(v)*, but Gmc. *p* never. See Kögel, *PBB.* ix. 317.

xi. Inasmuch as modern Alem. dialects all carefully preserve the fricative *pf* and not the simplified *f*, the theory is that the old Alem. writing of *f* betokens merely inadequate spelling; cf. *Gr.*² i. 730, but see also Kauffmann.

xii. *ph* for *pf* is especially frequent in E. Franc. and UG. texts: T. *phlanzōn*, *phunt* beside *pfenning*, &c.; R. *phinōn* beside *pfad*.

pph (← *pp*) and *ppf* are sometimes found for *pf*: O. *gilepphēs*; Wk. *scepphion*.

fph, *pf*, *fpf*, *bhh* are sporadically found for *pf* (← *pp*), and even for *pf* (← *p*).

xiii. In the case of the loan-word *offerōn* and its derivatives, 193
beside the *offerunc* of Isidor, the double forms are explained by the fact that they rest on two different Latin words: *operāri* and *offerre*.

xiv. The foreign words *psalmo* and *psitich* (← *psalmum*, *psittacus*) usually lose the initial *p*.

xv. *sp* is occasionally found as *sb*. Often in Will. *sbrehhan* &c. beside *sprung*. Elsewhere only sporadically in the Glosses.

xvi. The unshifted *p* of foreign words in late UG. is often replaced by *b*. In Franc. this *b* is rare (T. *bīminza*); only the words *beh* and *bredigōn* (← *pix* (*picus*) and *praedicare*) are consistently spelt with *b* by O., who otherwise never has *b* for *p*.

B. Franconian.

i. Instead of *b* occasionally *p* is found in Franc. when final, especially 194
after consonant. T. *giscrip*, *tumpnissi*; O. *bileip*, *dumpmuate*, *irstartp*; Is. *selp*, *chilaupnissa*, &c.

ii. This *p* for *b* is sometimes found written *ph*: Is. *screiph*, *bileiph*. This *ph* is, however, probably merely an inexact writing for *p*: con-

ceivably it denotes some shade of aspiration (cf. Hench, 83). M. *liph*, *lauph*.

iii. *p* for *b* is occasionally found before *t* in O.: *gilouptun*, *gikrumpti*, *kleipta*.

iv. Except in the above cases *p* for *b* is only sporadic in Franc.: T. *intprennent* (25. 2), and frequently in the sections written by Alem. scribe (γ): *prah*, *pittent*, *perahntissi*; cf. Sievers. *Lex Sal. haupt*. (For details from minor texts see Pietsch, *Oberfr. Lautstand*.)

Bavarian.

195 v. Medial intervocalic *p* for *b* is characteristic of older Bavarian, but *b* is also found. Cf. Steinmeyer, *Z. f. d. Ph.* iv. 88; Schatz, § 69.

p is practically universal in Exh. and Cassel Gl., Wess., Freis. Pn., Musp., Ps. 138.

After the eleventh century medial *p*'s began to disappear; in Merigarto are still found: *perge*, *prunno*, *pī* (beside *bī*), &c., but only *uber*, *lib*, *ebene*, &c.

In Oulōh *b* is everywhere except *pist*, *tumpheit*. So in all late Bav. texts *p* or *b* initially, but always *b* medially.

vi. Bavarian copies of Rh. Franc. originals.

M. and Freis. O. have now and then introduced Bavarian *p* medially, but more often retain the original *b*.

Alemannic.

196 vii. In BR. *p* is found initially (only eight *b*'s), *b* medially (only seven *p*'s), *b* finally (only five *p*'s). Soon initial *b* becomes more frequent; cf. Al. Ps., Sam., &c.; but initial *p* remains beside *b* until MHG. times. Cf. *PBB.* i. 418.

viii. Notker alternates *p* and *b* according to his law of Initial Consonants.

ix. Only the oldest Alemannic texts have medial *p* with any frequency. Pn. *ubile*, *kilaubu*, but also *picrapan*. In K^b and R^a the medial *b*'s are in a minority. Thus the very oldest Alem. is not distinct in this particular from the oldest Bavarian.

Gemination.

xi. In UG. geminated *bb* always appears as *pp* even in texts which otherwise favour *b*. The form *cota-uuebbes* R^d is quite isolated. Occasionally geminated *b* is retained in UG. even after a long vowel. BR. *erlauppe*, *lippanti*, and (once) *libbe*. Exh. *galauppenne*, R^b *biwāppo*.

WRITINGS.

xii. For UG. *pp* sometimes *bp* or *pb* is found: *ubper*, *ubpīgī*.

F. Initially.

197 i. Initial *f* after a prefix *ant-*, *int-*, tends, through a sort of assimilation of *ff*, to pass into the fricative *pf* (*ph*), especially in later texts. OHG. *infāhan*, *infāhan* occurs, as early as T., as: *intphāhan* or *inphāhan*. Later this becomes more frequent; it is often written *infāhan*, but this *f* is evidently still felt as *pf*, for it is never written *u*.

ii. The assimilation of *nf* to *mf*, which may be assumed to have taken place (94), is rarely represented in writing. Such forms as *imphāhet*, N. 45. 8, are but seldom met with. (Graff, iii. 399.)

iii. The writing *u* (printed *v*) for Gmc. *f* is rare, even in the oldest OHG. manuscripts. Pa., K., and Isidor have scarcely a trace of it.

In Franc. sources O. almost always writes *f* (Kelle, 479); T. more often *u* (especially γ , Sievers, § 14): *uerit*, *uior*, *uolla*, and as prefix *uor* for *for*.

In UG. sources R^b prefers *f*, but Musp. 21 *u*: 18 *f*.

After the ninth century *u* becomes more frequent: in the Lw. it is common, in Merseb. Charms general. During the tenth and eleventh centuries *f* and *u* are interchangeable, though *f* still preponderates.

N. usually has *f* (though often *v* after sonants), but the *f* which he writes for *pf* ← Gmc. *p*; he never writes *u* (the rare examples *ulāgin* = *pflāgin* Boet. 27^b are obviously clerical errors). Will. has universally *u*; *f* only before *u*, *l*, *r*, which is a frequent usage in MHG.; cf. Wüllner.

Medially.

iv. W. Gmc. *ff* in the verb *heffen* (Got. *haffjan*) is frequently reduced 198 to *f* by analogy with the 2nd and 3rd person, in which one *f* is regular: *hevis*, *hevit*. Some texts write *pf* for this *ff* in *heffen*: Is. *hepfu*, *ubarhepfendi* (Graff, 4. 817), *urhepphantiu* (822). Braune, § 139. 4, takes this *pf* to be merely an inexact writing, but it is quite possible that the forms with *pf* are due to analogy with the verb *skepfen* (Got. *skapjan*), a strong verb of the same class (see Hench, 85) with the same *j*-suffix.

v. OHG. *f(u)* stands in a relation of grammatic change with OHG. *b* (← *ḅ*), see 168.

In levelling, double forms of the same word are often obtained, varying with dialect and period. T. and O. *werban*: *hwerfan*; O. *hebig*: *hevig*; T. *abur*: *avar*.

Also in UG. *b* is found instead of *f(u)*. Pa., K. *hwerban*, *hwerfan*: *hwerpan*; R^b, BR. *ruaba*: *ruova* (Musp.); but not until Notker's time do the forms *aber*, *werben* oust the older *auar*, *werfan*.

vi. OHG. forms with *f(u)* frequently stand in a relation of Verner's Law to Gmc. forms with *ḅ* (168): Got. *ḅaurban*; OHG. *durfan*, &c.

WRITINGS.

vii. The writing *f* between vowels is frequent in the oldest texts; 199 BR. *zwifal*, *diufa*; T. *hefit*, *diufale*; O. *afur*. Later *v(u)* prevails.

Even after consonant *u(v)* begins to preponderate: *uuervan* is found for *hwerfan*, &c. Only *darf*, *durfun* are never found with *u* for *f*; possibly here *f* stands for IG. *pp* ← *pn*. Cf. Kluge, *Gr.*² i. 240, and Wilmanns, iii. 93.

viii. *uu* (for *u*) as a writing for *f* is rare. It is found especially in M. *auuar* = *auar*, *hreuue* to *href* (Hench, 116). It occurs once in H. *auuar* (43).

ix. In *ft* and *fs* the sound of *f* evidently remained owing to the voiceless *t* and *s*. Late Bavarian texts even write *pf* for it: Mons. Gl. *aphter* (Gl. i. 361), *unsemphti* (404). Also in Franc. texts:

Mainz. B. *thuruphtigōn*; Leid. Will. *gescriphte*. The writing *pt* in *hapt*, *heptidun*, *haptbandun* of the Merseb. may probably be taken as an imperfect writing for *pht* = *ft*.

x. Mid. Franc. has occasionally the LG. *ht* for *ft*: cf. Tr. Cap. *ather* = *after* (with transposed *ht*), a peculiarity found often in Mid. G. texts of the MHG. period.

- 200 T. i. In the case of words which are not found in any other Gmc. dialect save OHG., and whose etymology is obscure, the OHG. *z* leaves much doubt whether it denotes *zz* or *ts*: e. g. OHG. *fizus* = sly. It occurs, however, as *ficise* and *ficislichō* (Graff, 3. 737), and it is thus possible to decide for *ts*. OHG. *azzasi* (= *Gerät*) is written by Notker *azase*, thus may be assumed to be *zz*. OHG. *hirz* is of uncertain value: its doublet OHG. *hiruz* (OE. *heorot*) has spirant *z*, but the shortened *hirz* (OE. *heort*) may have had the fricative, for in MHG. *hirtz* and modern dialects forms are found to correspond. So beside *lezzisto*, a rare form *lecisto* = *lezisto*, and beside *biz* N. has a dat. sg. *bizze*, which corresponds to MHG. *bitz* beside *biz*.

There is in OHG., as in M. and NHG., occasional dialect hesitation between *z* and *z* forms, and in such cases care is necessary not to overlook the possibility of original doublets without and with a *j*-suffix (*t* beside *tt*) as in the case of *f*: *pf* and *ck*: *hh*.

ii. That the two values of *zz* and *z* were, in spite of the ambiguity of spelling, entirely distinct is quite indisputable:

(a) Isidor carefully distinguishes them.

(b) On analogy with the shift of *p* it is *a priori* most probable that *t* shifted differently according to its position in the word.

(c) While *c* is a frequent writing for *zz* = *ts* before *e* and *i*, it is never found denoting *zz*.

(d) The NHG. development keeps them apart.

WRITINGS.

- 201 iii. The almost universal writing for *zz* in OHG. is *zz* after a short vowel, *z* after a long or when final. Some early texts do not yet observe this distinction, e. g. Pa., K., BR., and the first part of H. always write *zz*. Voc., R^a, and M., on the other hand, always use *z* irrespectively of preceding vowel. O. usually writes only single *z*, though he scans a word like *uuazar* as a long syllable. T. usually distinguishes *zz* from *z*, as above, though one scribe uses *zz* even after long vowel. R. after a long vowel has 32 *z*: 6 *zz*; after a short vowel 13 *z*: 13 *zz* (Wüllner).

N. always writes *z* (for *zz*) even after short vowel to distinguish from *zz* = *ts*: only the last MS. of the Psalter has often *zz* for *z*.

After long vowel *zz* (beside *z*) is still frequent in OHG. till the eleventh century; cf. Will., Otlöh, Merig, &c.

iv. Other writings for *zz* (*z*) are rare and quite sporadic: only Isidor's notation (178) is consistently carried through.

zs. M. twice has *zs*: *forlāzseno* (i. 15), *ūzserōm* (29, 25); cf. Hench, 112. Lw. 1 *heizsit*; N. *nazscent* (Proverbs).

sz. BR. *kiwiszida*, *wiszum*; T. *gisasznissi* 84. 2 (Sievers, 42); Würz. B. *hasze*.

sc in a few glosses: *floscan*, *friscit* (Graff, 5. 565).

s final. BR. *das*, *cinas*; H. *kalichas* (Sievers, 14); Freis. O. (see Kelle).

In O. final *z* is occasionally assimilated to following *s*: *waz sies* → *was ses*. Very rarely and almost completely confined to Glosses are writings for *sz*(*sz*) that usually denote *ts*, such as *c*, *zc*, *cz*, *zsz*, *tz*: Wk. *emetszigaz*; Lw. II *lietz*; Lorsch. B. *ūcze* = *ūzsz*. Isidor's *chilōthzssōm* (to *gihlōzszo*) is unique (Hench, 79).

v. The fricative *z* is in many MSS. denoted by *c* before the vowels *e* and *i*: BR. *eit*; this usage is not infrequent even in T., O., N. 202

Other writings occur sporadically:

cz. Lw. *czala*, *māgaczogo*, 4. 8.

ç. M. *herçin*, *liuçilōm*, *uurçin*.

c (other than before *e* and *i*) is rare, and only occurs in careless Glosses. *cucincug* = *zweinzug*, Gl. 2. 47; *uarca* = *warza*, 240; *sprincuurc* = *wurz*.

vi. Instead of *zz* in gemination:

tz is not regularly used save in Isidor. It occurs sporadically at first, becomes more frequent in late OHG., and is the rule in MHG.

c before *e* and *i* is not so frequent as for *z*: T. *lucil*, *annuci* (= *luzzil*, *annuzzi*); O. *lichicera*, ii. 20. Pa. has *c* regularly (Kögel, 63): *pismicil*, *ficeot*, &c.

cc. Very rare: Pa. *foalaccit* = *palpat*, 44. 6.

zc. Very rare: K^a *lazcende*, K^b *luzcic*; BR. *kasezcida*; M. *sizcente*, *gaszcet*; Al. Ps. *luzcila*.

cz, *tc*, *ztc*, &c., are isolated: K^b *ficze*.

zz is especially often simplified in unaccented syllable: O. *einizēn*, *heilezen*; so also in N. *leidezen*, &c. It is a mistake to assume with Holtzmann that in this case the single *z* in N. denotes the spirant (as it usually does with him). Sievers, T., gives a number of instances.

vii. In K^b the initial group *zw* shows a tendency to become *qu* (*quiro*, *quet*): traces of the same in Pa. (*queot*, *queon*).

viii. Mid. Franc. *thit* (in which *t* probably represents *tt*?) does not shift it to *thiz* (de Heinrico, 26 *thid*), but cf. MHG. *ditze* (Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.* § 485).

ix. The loan-word *kurz*, from Latin *curtus*, is occasionally found 203 both in UG. and in Franc., as *kurt* with unshifted *t* (O. ii. 3. 28): H. *churteru*; Exh. *churnassi*.

x. Since *t* remains unshifted in Gmc. *tr*, Gmc. *dr* falls together with *tr*, and is in most cases not distinguishable from it. Original *dr* does not, however, undergo gemination before *r*: OHG. *fuotar*, *lotar*, *wetar*, beside *bittar*, &c. When the *tt* (← *tr*) is simplified after *u*, the distinction is again lost: *wintar* (**winttar*) beside *wuntar*. In Notker, however, original *t* is not voiced after *n*; he therefore distinguishes *winter* from *wunder*.

xi. Rh. Franc. frequently has *d* for *t* in *ht*, *ft*, occasionally also in *st*, and very rarely in *tr* (only O. uses *dr* regularly, as always *d* for *t*).

Isidor *cowuihd, unrehd*; Lorsch. B. *unrehero, priesda*; Reichn. B. *dahda, durfdige*; Tr. Cap. *selhafdiu*; T. *drisiuuit*. Cf. *PBB.* ix. 313 and 399.

xii. Often *ht, ft* are written *htt, ftt*: e. g. BR. *rehtteru, notdurufhti*; R^b *rehtto*; O. *slihtlī* (i. 1. 36); and in Rh. Franc. often *dt* or *td*: Lorsch. B. *druhdlin*; Reichn. B. *unrehtdes*; cf. Sievers, *Hymnen*.

Probably this is not merely a writing, but a mark of syllabic division. Litbl. 1887, 109.

xiii. The *t* of *ht, ft, st* is occasionally lost entirely when it comes to stand before other consonants: BR. *forahlīhhun, rehlihhū*; H. *urtrūhlichō* (Sievers, 13); T. *girehfestigōt*; O. *geistlichun* (iv. 5. 1); Phys. *gēslichō, unrehlīhon*.

t even is sometimes lost when final before an initial consonant: Sam. 27 *nis dīn*; Lex Sal. *cowih rimit*; T. *niouuiht ni*; O. *fastōs mohtun* (iv. 27. 18); Phys. *nih war, sigehaf*.

Loss of final *t* is rarer before a vowel: Augs. Gebet. *eigenhaf* (see § 8); *unthurf* (O. ii. 4. 80); T. *uuuof inti*. Kögel quotes examples from K.

204 D. i. Rh. Franc. hesitates between *d* and *t*. Is. *fater, muoter, dhrato* beside *dhrado*, and *faterlos, rītan* beside *sundiōno, wolda*, Lw. *dugidi, gedeilder*. Finally *t* is more common: Lw. *lonōt, got, nōt, &c.*; *d* is rarer: *gisund, gibōd, skild, god*. For minor texts see Pietsch.

ii. Otfrid, in the main, is very consistent about his initial *d* and medial *t* (see Kelle, 492 and 495), though he writes *tōd* (death) more often with *t*, and *dōt* (dead) with *d*. The Pfälzer B. is, like Otfrid, quite consistent. Most other S. Rh. Franc. monuments show great hesitation, which probably denotes that S. Rh. Franc. had lost the voice of its mediae and found the distinction between tenuis and fortis not clear. Otfrid's regularity is probably rather an index of his own orthographical pedantry than of his pronunciation. See 203 and *PBB.* ix. 313-399.

iii. E. Franc. T. has a few *d*'s initially, especially scribe ζ. It is remarkable that the word *diuri* and its derivatives are usually spelt with *d*. Medially *d* is rare (Sievers, 29. 30); see Pietsch.

The Merseb. Charms with *d* are not original E. Franc., and the *d*'s of de Heinr. are Thuringian: *guodo, thid, geried*.

205 iv. In UG. *d* is more rare even than in E. Franc. Such examples as are found are chiefly after *n*: BR. *standan, horendo* (*PBB.* i. 414); H. *standantēr*; Voc. *mundrī*, and once *diufī* with initial *d*. K^b has constantly *d* for *t*; in K^a, like Pa. and R^a, *d* only occurs in isolated cases. In the group *nt* (and in less degree *rt* and *lt*) *t* shows a tendency to become *d* again. See Kögel, 96, and *PBB.* ix. 314, where Franc. influence is assumed.

Notker has regularly *nd* (and even *md*) as in MHG., only preserving *t* where Gmc. *t* underlies it, and in the preterite, where *t* = *tt* or *dt*. For Notker's initial *d*'s see 172. N. *bindan, hende, wānda, riumda, skirmda, &c.*

v. OHG. $d \leftarrow \beta$ may stand in a relation of grammatic change with $t \leftarrow d \leftarrow \delta$. In verbs this is frequently preserved, but in nouns it is mainly levelled out, giving rise to double forms in certain words:

OHG. *ātum* ($\leftarrow \delta$): OE. *æþm*, OS. *āthōm*, Is. *ādhmōt*.

OHG. *kind*: *khindh*, Ofrid *kinthes* i. 4. 50.

Got. *skáidan*, OE. *scādan*: OS. *skēthan*, OHG. *skcidan*.

OHG. *brōt*: *prooth* (Pn.), *brōth* (M.).

OS. *mendian*: OHG. *menden*, *mandhendi* (K.), *menthenti* (O.).

OHG. *alt*, *altar*: *eldiron*, *elthiron* (T.), *allhrōm* (K.).

The formula *conaldre*, *neonaldre* of the BR. which occurs also in T. (twice)—as *neo* in *aldere*, beside *nio* in *altare*—is probably a mere archaism.

vi. In loan-words *d* sometimes remains: BR. *dihlōn*, *diubil*; T. *diufal*, *disk*; but it is more usually shifted to *t*: *tiufal*, *tisk*, *tihlōn*, except in late borrowings like *firdamnōn*, *dezemōn*, &c. Cf. Franz.

vii. Double *tt* occasionally arises from other sources than those already mentioned. Assimilation accounts for *brettan* \leftarrow **bregdan*, OS. *bregdan*, and analogy for *mittamen* (T., O., N.) from *metamo* (OE. *medema*, cf. Got. *miduma*), which was popularly connected with *mitti*.

WRITINGS.

viii. Sometimes *th* is written for the *d* of Rh. Franc. and the **206** of OHG. in general. In most cases it is probably a blunder. O. *thōd*, *walth* (v. 8. 55; 16. 19), *sunthar*; more frequently in the P. and Freis. O.); T. *thruhtin*; Exh. *thictōta*, further in R^b and in K^b (see Kögel). Even more often in Glosses and in late OHG., especially when final: Pa. *liuth* 38. 16; Np. *guoth*, *piboth*.

ix. For geminated *tt* sometimes in Rh. Franc. *td* is found: Reich. B. *betdi*; Lorsch. B. *bitdiu* (*PBB.* vii. 135).

dd is very rare: K *irleidda*, *meddiladaccum* (Kögel).

x. *tt* occasionally appears for single *t*: K. 103. 3, *cotto* (= *deorum*), *rottendit*; T. 87. 5 *bettōn*; Bair. B. *werollti*; T. 141. 15 *allteri*; more frequently after *h* and *f*, when representing Gmc. *ht* and *ft*.

Bavarian.

Þ. i. The Bav. Pa. has a few initial *th*'s, and a few even more rare **207** examples of medial *th*: in all 29 *th*'s: 218 *d*'s (see Kögel, 115). In R. *d* is the only form (*dhuahal*, *thuuihal* are probably from original; see Wüllner, 27¹). The initial *th*'s in Exh. are remarkable; see Wüllner, 110, who ascribes them to the influence of a northern dialect.

Alemannic.

ii. The St. Gallen documents still have more often *th*, *dh* initially, lasting in preponderance till 779 (Henning, 127). K. *th* still predominates; Pn. *thū*, *dhana*, *kemcīnitha*: 9 *d*'s; BR. has 12 forms of root: OHG. *diō*, *deo* (Got. *þiu*) written with *th* (*PBB.* i. 416); H. has *th* initial, but rarely elsewhere (Sievers, 14); R^b frequent *dh*. For further examples of *th* in Alemannic see *PBB.* ix. 309.

East Franc.

iii. In the early ninth century *th* everywhere. Lex Sal. has only one *d*. The Taufgelöbnis and the older Fulda documents, though older than the Lex Sal., have several *d*'s, but this is in all probability merely an imperfect writing for *ð* (such as is found also in the earliest OE.), for *d* instead of *th* appears first in Tatian, medially and finally (only γ writes occasionally *d* initially). The Fulda B. has the same proportion of *th* to *d* as Tatian, but the Würzburg B. at the end of the ninth century has also *d* initially.

Rh. Franc.

208 iv. Wk. initially always has *th* (once *dh*), medial usually *dh* (only γ *th*'s and γ *d*'s). Isidor always has the spirant (the form *drādo*, which occurs once, is certainly a blunder, see Hench) when initial: more often the spirant also when medial, but beside it numerous *d*'s, especially after *n*: *ander*, *chundan*, &c. (when final this *d* then becomes *t*: *chunt*, *bifant*), but *chindh*, *jugundhi* preserve the spirant even after *n*. *d* is also frequent after *l* and *r*: *huldin*, *uuirdit* beside *wirdhit*, *wardh*. *d* is rarest after a vowel. In Otfrid, with rare exceptions (in V.), initial *th* is the rule. P. reduces the number of exceptions (Kelle, 502), while the Freis. O. of course frequently changes the *th* to *d*. Final *th* occurs once in Otfrid: *ōth*; medially *th* is fairly common: *bruather*, *anther*, &c., especially *sinthes*, *tōthes*, *dōthe* (see Kelle, 494). Lw. has, in the main, *th* initial, *d* medial, *th* final (except *bidungan*, *leidhor*, *quādhun*, *gund-fanon*, *dōt*). Mainz. B. initial, 11 *th*'s: 6 *d*'s. For minor texts see Pietsch.

209 v. Middle German *th* is still everywhere: in the Mid. Franc. (Thur.) de Heinr. as late as the second half of the tenth century, and still in the eleventh century it is universal in the Leid. Will.

vi. OHG. $d \leftarrow \beta$ is never unvoiced to *t*. Not till after the eleventh century do such forms as *leit*, *sīt*, *wart* (OHG. *leid*, *sīd*, *ward*) come in; they prevail, however, in MHG. As late as Notker *d* is still the rule. Occasional isolated *t*'s for $d \leftarrow \beta$ occur earlier. M. *quat*, *wirt*, *wart* beside *quad*, &c., and even *warth*. K. often has *t* after *n*, *l*, *r* (Kögel, 119); Isidor also after *n*; T. *abasnit*, *wart*, *quat*, *fant*; cf. Sievers, 55. All these, however, are verbal forms, and are probably due, not to a phonetic development, but merely to levelling out of grammatic change from plural to singular.

vii. Sporadically *t* occurs initially (for $d \leftarrow \beta$): R^c 2. 232: *torrēn*, *tarbēl*, *tavingit*; late OHG. *trūbo*, *tūsunt* for *drūbo*, *dūsunt* have retained *t* in MHG. (see Kauffmann, 217, who assumes that *d* and *t* had fallen together universally in OHG. with loss of voice).

viii. It is important to bear in mind that Got. has final β , replacing Pr. Gmc. δ (Streitberg, *Got. Gr.*² 110), and that therefore such OHG. forms as *houbit*, Got. *háubiβ*, OHG. *birit*, Got. *baírīβ*, are not examples of $\beta \rightarrow d \rightarrow t$, but revert respectively to Pr. Gmc. * χ auβið and * β erið, and exemplify $\delta \rightarrow d \rightarrow t$.

ix. Grammatical change in OHG. *d*: *t* (Pr. Gmc. β : δ) and doublets arising from it, see 169. Isidor's *zīdh* (for *zīd*, *zīt*) and the *hinwarth* of the Lw. (for *hinavart*) are probably remains of double forms,

though the latter might be a trace of LG. influence; cf. OS. *farth*, L. Fr. *ūferthi* (Ps. 73).

x. OHG. *thw*, *dzw* tends in late OHG. to become *tw*, though the 210 change is not very regularly carried through before MHG.

xi. Where *t* is found beside *th* in texts where the *th* is still the rule, some blunder may probably be assumed. T. has *trūen* beside *thruoēn*, K. *trumum*, *triu*, &c.; see Kögel, 118. This *t* for *th* is especially common in proper names, probably due to the influence of a Romance scribe, not parallel to the $t \leftarrow d \leftarrow \beta$ discussed in note vii.

xii. Geminated *h* is rare in Gmc.; it arises occasionally in W. Gmc. from *hj*, OHG. *dd*, *tt*, earlier *thth*, *dhdh*; cf. *PBB.* vii. 135. Isidor *fethdhahha*, later *fettah*. The writings *ddh*, *tth*, &c. are also found. The *tt* of OHG. *spottōn*, *kledda—kletta* (Graff, 4. 554) is probably old.

Got. *aíþþáu*, probably on account of its proclitic nature, is represented in OHG. by forms with one *d*: *etho*, *edo* or *odho*, *odo*. Occasionally are found forms with *dd*: Hl. *eddo*; and curious forms also with *rth*, *rd*: K^b *edtho*, *erdo*, usually *edho* (Kögel, 120); Lex Sal. *erðo*; Wk. *erdho*; Hl. 62 *erdo*; Mainz. B. *order*. The two words *without* (Got. *míþþanc*) and *ethes* (Got. *aíþþau*), which occur in Otfred, have no apparent trace of gemination with him; on the other hand, they are never written with *d*, and MS. P. transcribes as *tth*. Perhaps these forms are parallel to the unexplained appearance of *rd* for *β*: Pa. *wirþar* (= *wipar*); R^a *wirdar* (Kögel, 54); T. *wirdar*, and also in the Glosses; Hl. *hwerdar*; Gl. *wirdrōta* to *widarōn*; Lex Sal. *wirðria*.

S. i. Scherer (*Zur Gesch. d. dt. Sprache*) advances the theory that 211 Gmc. *s* was only distinguished from *z* in OHG. by having become voiced. Paul (*PBB.* i. 168) and Braune (*PBB.* i. 529) show that this theory is untenable, partly because in direct conflict with modern pronunciation, partly because MHG. carefully distinguished between final *s* and *z* in rhyme. Moreover *ss* never became voiced.

ii. It is worth noting that *sl* is sometimes written *skl* or *scl* in OHG. This is especially frequent in H. (occurring 8 times): *sclaf*, *sclahan*, *sclacter*; Lw. *thuruhscluog*; R^a *piscluoc*; Mainz. B. *sclāphun*; Phys. *sclahda*. Scherer's explanation of this is probably the correct one (*Z. Gesch.* 127): *l* under the influence of voiceless *s* had itself become voiceless (as in Welsh), and the writing *scl* is an attempt to denote the sound.

iii. For *sk*, *sg*, *sch* see 216; for *sp*, 193; for *st*, 203; for *sw*, 242; for *hs* see 227.

iv. OHG. *s* (\leftarrow Pr. Gmc. *s*) is very seldom written *z* in OHG. H. *crucez* (2); Freis. O. *krucez*; R. 85. 29 *huaszemo* = *huassemo*; BR. *wazkan*, *deze*.

K. i. Sometimes OHG. *ck* (= *kk*) is found: OHG. *hh*, that is W. Gmc. 212 *kk*: W. Gmc. *k*; viz. forms with or without *j*-suffix originally (cf. *pf*: *ff*, *zz*: *zz*). Such doublets are: *seckil*, UG. *secchil*: T. *sekhil*, *sekila*, *sechil*, O. *sechil* and *sekil*. *nackot*: M. *nahhut*, BR. *nahhutan*. *quec*: M. *queh*, *quehhes*. *backo*: *bahho*. *stecko*: *stehho*.

ii. In unaccented syllables *hh* is frequently reduced to *h*: *solihhēr*, *welihhēr* beside *solihēr*, *welihēr*.

WRITINGS.

iii. As well as *hh* the notation *ch* is used over all OHG. territory for this spirant *hh*, but it then falls together in appearance with the UG. *ch* (*kh*) for the fricative. The date of this *ch* for *hh* is not easy to fix. Isidor has only *hh*, e. g. *zeihhan*, *boohhum*, &c. (once *hch* in *scahche*). Wk., on the other hand, has regularly *ch*. Tatian has *hh*, but often *ch*, and his different scribes vary (see Sievers, 53). O. and later Fr. writings have *ch*. In UG. Pa., K^b, R^a, and R. have *hh* and few *ch*'s. Musp., M. and Al. Ps. all have *hh*, but H. already has *ch*, and BR. and R^b have numerous *ch*'s beside the regular *hh*, so that from the use of the two symbols no certain clue as to the date of a document is to be found. Only so much is certain, that *hh* is the older, but *ch* begins to appear as early as the eighth century, and from the tenth century on is usual.

213 iv. Single *h* is often found for *hh* even after a short vowel (cf. *f* for *ff* and *z* for *zz*). R^a only has *h*: *mihil* as well as *sprāha*, *zeihan*, &c. Voc. and Pa. have mainly *h*. T. scribe ζ only writes *h*. R^b 66 *hh*: 56 *ch*: 49 *h*. Single *h* is also found sporadically in various texts which otherwise have *ch*: and occasionally O. (Kelle, 522): *firsuahun*, *erdrihes*, *spihiri*, *skahāri*; Phys. *brihit*, *bezēhinet*, &c.

v. Of other writings for *hh*, *hch* is fairly common. It is regular in K^a (Kögel), frequent in K^b, and common in second half of BR. (*PBB.* i. 409); in many other texts sporadically: R^b *stehchalēr*; T. *brechchanne*; O. *gimahchaz*, *sprichchu*; Phys. *buhche*, *mihcheliu*; Wiener N. *sprichchet*.

kh = *ch* is very rare: O. *bisūkkhit*, *bisūkkhe* (v. 23. 260); K^b *sprikkhit*, *prūkkumēs*; de Heinr. 22 *sprākha*. *chh*: Pa. *intlūchhante* (Kögel, 82). *cch*: H. *frecchi*; Otlōh *gimacchōst*. *hk*: K^b *sōhken*. *hc*: H. *rihces*. *chch*: R^b *curtilachchan* (Gl. i. 336); Freis. O. *gimachchaz* (iv. 4. 42). *hcch*: R^b *kimachchōta*. *chc*: O. *dohc*.

vi. Final *h* is the normal form until the eleventh century, but *ch* appears sporadically: H. *pech*; Fr. Pn. *gōtlīch*; Freis. O. *sprach*, *buach* (Kelle, 525); O. *spracher* = *sprach er*, where *h* is treated as if medial. Will. frequently has *ch*.

hc is sporadic: H. *cocalīhc*, *uuntarlīhc*; R^b *chelihc*, *duruhsiumlīhc*; Musp. *uuehlīhc*; Fr. O. *egeslīhc*.

c: Fr. Pn. *unsic*. *g*: de Heinr. *ig*, 25; Arnst. Marienl. *gelīg*, *oug*.

Franconian.

214 vii. Geminated *kk* in O. is generally denoted by single *k*: *akar*, *lokōn*, &c.; but O. always scans such syllables as long and so must have pronounced *kk*. Sometimes O. writes *kk* or *ck*, in isolated cases *gk*: *irquigken*, *quegkez*; frequently *ch*: *irrechen*, *wachar* (Kelle, 521). This *ch* is for the most part only graphic, but might be explained as reverting to W. Gmc. *k*.

viii. For single *k*, *ch* (or *cch*) is very rare in Franc. It occurs only once in T.: *untarmerchi*, 107. 3 (the forms *uuechit*, *achre*, *uuirche*,

folchē, *worsenchit* are γ, i. e. the Alem. scribe). O. has a few initial *ch*'s: *chēret* (Salomo, 25), *chēri* (Hartmuat, 55) are caused by anagram. Otherwise medial: *scalches*, *archa*. Wk. *gotchundī*, *gīwurchen*, *quecchēm*; Fr. Taufgelöb. *chirichūn*; Strassb. Eide, *folches*; Mainz. B., &c. (see Pietsch). These Franc. *ch*'s must, of course, be taken as purely graphic and carefully distinguished from UG. *ch*, the fricative. See, however, Kauffmann, p. 242.

ix. Isidor's writing is unique. He writes *c* when final: *folc*, *fleisc*, *bauhnunc*; *sc* (for *sk*) before *a*, *o*, or *u*, or before a consonant: *sculim*, *scriban*, *sculd*. On the other hand, always *ch* when initial: *chumft*, *chirūni*, *chraft*, after consonants: *folches*, *werchum*, and in gemination: *arwechu*; always *chh* or *sch* before *e* or *i*: *fleisches*, *scheffidhes*, and always adds an *h* after *qu*: *quhad*, *quhāmi*. Kögel (*PBB.* ix. 307) assigns the value of pure tenuis *k* to all these symbols, but Nörrenberg (ib. 384) is strongly inclined to interpret it as an aspirated *k*. So, too, Braune, *Ahd. Gr.*, § 143, and Hench, p. 85.

x. Otfrid often writes *g* for *k* before *t* of the preterite: *drangta* or *drankta*; see Kelle, 523, and Pietsch, 429. He has also occasionally *g* for *k* when final: *thang*, *werg*; but such forms were probably due to the scribe of V. and frequently corrected to *k* by the revisor (Kelle, 524). This *g* may represent a less strongly articulated *k*: so initially in Will. *gucht* = *kneht*. The Freis. O. has sometimes *g* for initial *k*: *gorōti*, *gūmigan*, &c.

Upper German.

xi. The fricative or aspirate (see 145) is usually written *kh* or *ch* in 215 UG., when double often *chh*. Corresponding to the Franc. *qu*, UG. writes *chu* or *chuu*, in older texts *qhu*, and, though more rarely, *quh*. Cf. *PBB.* ix. 307. But UG. sources, especially in early times, often write *k*, *c*, *qu*, with no apparent difference from Franc.

xii. Heusler and Kauffmann try from modern dialects to prove that the fricative *k* only existed in Upper Alem., and that the greater part of Alemannia, as well as Elsass, Suabia, and Bavaria, only knew the aspirated *k* (*k+h*) or the simple *k* of Franc. Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* § 144. 7.

xiii. The writing *kh* is not so common as *ch*. K^b uses *kh*. St. Gal. Pn. *qhuekke*, *khorunka*, *khirihhun*; Musp. *khenfun*, *khuninc*, *quekkhēn*, otherwise only sporadic. *K*, *c*, *qu* in the UG. texts must be taken as merely an inexact rendering of the shifted *k*. Some of the earliest texts are entirely free from it: Pa., R., K^a, H., R^b, BR.; others have a number of *k*'s. So Sam., M., &c. In the Gl. *h* for *ch* occurs, probably merely miswriting (*PBB.* ix. 305). In later UG. of the tenth and eleventh centuries *ch* is regular; *k* is very rare. Notker has *ch*; Wien N., Otlöh, Merig., Ps. 138, Freis. O. insert *ch* for Fr. *k*. This late UG. *ch* may represent a phonetic change of *kh* to χ, the voiceless guttural spirant, which probably did take place in Alem. (*PBB.* vi. 556); cf. Alem. *pf* to *f*.

The writing *ch*, used both for *kh* and *hh*, makes it difficult to ascertain the exact sounds of Alem., but Notker's writings seem to prove

that, in certain cases at least, no difference was felt between *ch* ← *kh* and *ch* ← *hh*: we find *starchēr* and *starh* and *starhta*; cf. *sprechan*, *sprah*. On the other hand, Notker also writes *cch* or *ch*, and, when final, *g*: *hecches*—*cheg*, *danchōn*—*dang*; so that in these cases he must have heard an aspirate explosive and not a spirant. In other late UG. sources, besides N., final *h* (which must denote a spirant) is also found. Wess. Pred. *werh*, *werhliute*; M. *scalh*; H. *folh*. In Wien N. *werc*, *werch*, *werhc*, *werh* are all used.

Gemination.

- 216 xiv. The writing *cch* in UG. for *kkh* is found, beside the more usual *ch*, at all periods of Alem. In N. *cch* is the only form (*cch* is rarely found for single *k*). Other writings occur sporadically: *kh*, *hk*, *kkh*, *hck*, *ckh*, *hcc*, &c. (cf. Kögel, 85).

xv. OHG. *sk* by MHG. times has become a single sound (= *š*, NHG. *sch*), and is often written *sch*. Exactly when this change took place is not known; it must have, however, begun in OHG. times, and we may probably assume an intermediate stage *sk*, *sχ*, *š*, and certain hesitations in OHG. orthography strengthen the supposition that *sk* was not always pure *s+k*. The writing *sk* or *sc* remains nevertheless the current one all through OHG., so that we are not justified in assuming the shift *sk* to *sχ* to be part of the Second Sound-Shift as Kauffmann maintains.

WRITINGS.

- 217 xvi. *sc* is regularly used in Pa., K^a, K^b, R^a as a writing for *sk*, and is even used before *e* and *i*: O. *scirm*, *scīn*, T., &c. *sch* appears early; Is. and M. have *sch* usually before *e* and *i*, and other early texts have it sporadically. T. *bischein*, *lantscheffī*, *himilisches*; BR. *unchūschida*. Also Pa., K., R^a, occasionally. In Freis. O. *sch* is constantly found replacing the *sk*, *sg* of the original (Kelle, 506). Fairly frequent is *sch* in R^b, especially before *e* and *i*. Otherwise *sch* is found only sporadically, but begins to gain ground after the eleventh century. Will. and Wien N. have many *sch*'s beside *sc*. Likewise the St. Gallen copy of N.'s Ps. has many *sch*'s, though the oldest N. MSS. are free from them. *sg* is rare for initial *sk*, but is found in Pa. and K^a 18 times: *sgalto*, *sgero*, and elsewhere sporadically. In the eighth and ninth centuries medial or final *sg* for *sk* is fairly common. In T. some scribes always have it (Sievers, 50). O. has it regularly except initial, and writes *scado*, *scaf*, but *mennisgo*, *fleisges*, with rare exceptions such as the words *ciscōn* and *biscof*. H. has *sg* before *e* and *i*: *fleisge*, but *horsco*, *fleisc*. Later *sg* became more rare, though occasionally found: Wien N. *wungendo*; Will. *irdisgen*. In N. *sg* is only found final: *fīsg*, *fleisg*, but *fisca*, *fleisco*; so probably we are dealing with less strong articulation. In most cases, however, we are perhaps justified in seeing in these *sg*'s an effort to render a spirant element heard in the *k* after *s* (= *sg*) (cf. Kögel, 93). The *sg* is at any rate clearly not parallel to the *sb* and *sd*, which occur much more rarely and in few sources. *sg*

is far more frequent, and is, moreover, found in texts which never have *sb* or *sd*.

The writing *x* (= *k* + *s*) [O. *gīwunxti* (ii. 2. 37)] is quite isolated.

After the twelfth century we frequently find in Alem. texts *s* for *sc* (cf. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 156). This probably denotes the simple sound *ʃ*.

xvii. The *k* of *sk* often disappears in cons. groups, especially in the preterite of weak verbs of first class. N. *wista* ← *wiscta*; O. *fleislichemo* (ii. 2. 29); Nps. *fleisliche* (158). 218

xviii. *skal*—*skolta*, &c., after eleventh century, more usually appear as *sal*, *solta*; forms without *k* are rare earlier. The loss of *k* is probably due to want of accent, consequent on the proclitic character of the verb, not original Pr. Gmc. weak grade (cf. *PBB.* xiv. 295), but want of sentence stress in OHG. itself (cf. the similar forms *sal*, *sulde* for *shal*, *shulde* in the northern dialect of ME.).

OHG. *sarph*, *sarf* (OS. *skarp*, OE. *scarp*, ON. *skarpr*) appears in the oldest texts without a *k*. Isolated *k* forms in Hl. are perhaps LG. In the tenth and eleventh century *scarph* begins to crop up and finally predominates. In MHG. *sarpf* is already rare: this phenomenon is unexplained.

Franconian.

G. i. Initially and medially *g* is the only correct writing in Franc., 219 but often *c* is found for *g* when final. Examples of *c* final are frequent in minor texts (Pietsch) and in Isidor (iv). Mainz. B.: *bigienc*, *bigihdīc*, *sculdīc*; Lorsch. B. *heilac*, *unbigihdīc*, *unwirdīc*; Lorsch. Bs. *fluīc*, *flūc*. T. also has frequently *c*, especially scribe *γ*. O. has 5 *c*'s for the sake of his anagrams: *Ludowīc*, *wirdīc*, *githīc*, and 5 *k*'s. Otherwise final *g* is the norm. in Franc.

Gank, *gīfank*, *sank* (2), *cdilīnk*: these final *k*'s are strong evidence of the *g* having had the value of an explosive in Franc., but other final writings *ch*, *gh*, *h* would seem to presuppose a spirant value. This spirant value is, in fact, almost assured for Mid. and North Rh. Franc. Tr. Cap. (*mugen*): *mach*. Lw. *hludwīg*: *ih*. Arnst. Marienl. *dach*: *mach*, *mīg*: *dich*. In the Leid. Will. *gh* and *ch* are frequently used to denote *g*: *homīgh*, *cinīgh*, *eīnech*. Augs. Geb. *genāthīh*. In these parts also a writing is found of medial *g* as *i* (= *j*), which seems to confirm its spirant value. Tr. Cap. *innenwendīum* (= *igun*); *ūzzenwendīum*, *thegein* (= *dchein*), but also *neicīna*.

h perhaps represented *g* (= *g*) in *herihunga*, &c.

ii. When *g* comes to stand before *t*, especially in the preterites of weak verbs, it usually remains unchanged (at any rate in writing) in Franc., always in O.: *ougta*, *neigta*, &c.; and also in T. (*eroucta* only once). *c* instead of *g* before *t* occurs sometimes in the minor texts: Fulda B. *gīhancti*; Mainzer B. *gīhanctī*, *gīhancti*. See Pietsch.

Geminated.

iii. *gg* remains *gg* in Franc. O. *īrhuggu*, *luggi*, &c.; T. *luggi*, *gīwiggī*. 220

[In verbs like *huggen* and *liggen* Tatian, like later OHG., usually carries through forms with a single *g*.] Once T. has *cg*: *mucgūn*.

cc occurs for *gg* in Is., and in the minor texts *c*: Frankf. *dicanne*.

iv. Isidor has several peculiarities in his rendering of OHG. *g* as in that of *k*. He writes *g* initially before *a, o, u, r*, but *gh* before *e* and *i*: *gotes, gheist, langhe*. Medially the same system is observed, except that either *g* or *gh* is used before *e* and *i*: *berge, berghe, meghin, strengi*. Finally *g* is always represented by *c*: *burc, heilac, baummunc*, and *gg* always by *cc*: *hrucca*. It is, however, remarkable, and as yet not satisfactorily explained, that the prefix *gi* (which only once appears as the *ghi* we should expect) is always written with *ch*, which in Is. is the accepted symbol for *k*: *chilaubu, chiminnan, chisah, &c.* Except in this prefix *ch* is never used for *g* (with two isolated exceptions, medially *bluchisōe* (*PBB.* xii. 552), and finally *einich*). The Fr. original of M. must have had the same system of notation for *g*, except that the form of the prefix was *ghi* (not *chi*), for traces are still found in the Bav. copy: *gheist, ghiri, saghēm, ghifinstit, ghirūni* (*PBB.* ix. 302). In other texts *gh* for *g* is rare: Wk. *eitlarghebōn*, and occasionally in Gl^s. The Alem. Jun. Gl., which have a number of *gh*'s, may perhaps rest on a Rh. Fr. original like that of M. (see Kōgel). The exact value of this *gh* of Is. is, no doubt, as the final *c* would indicate, that of the pure explosive, the same as the *g* before *a, o, u, r*; and the insertion of *h* after it before *e* and *i* is possibly to prevent the Romance pronunciation of *g* before *e* and *i*.

Upper German.

- 221 v. The writing *c* for *k* ← *g* is used in the same way as in the case of Gmc. *k*, not before *e* and *i*: *cabis* but *keban*.

Alemannic.

vi. In the very oldest Alem. texts we find *g* initial and medial. According to Henning *g* is the rule and *k* the exception till 772, but after 772 the *k* begins to preponderate initially, though medial *g* still remains the rule. K^a, the oldest part of K., and R^a still have many initial *g*'s, while texts like BR. and H. are almost free from them. Amongst the Alem. texts of the eighth and ninth century the Pn. is the only one which has *k* for *g* consistently in all positions: not only *kīp, kol*, but also *sculdikēm, khorunka, almahlicun, kiscraft, take, ēwīkan, &c.* *g* appears only once: *inphangan*. After Pn., K^b is the sole important text which, beside initial *k*, has medial *k* in far greater number than medial *g* (Kōgel, 110). In all other Alem. texts, while *k* predominates initially, medial *g* is more usual. In BR. medial *k*'s increase in second half (*PBB.* i. 406). K^a, R^{abd}, H., and other texts, have very few medial *k*'s.

Bavarian.

vii. In the oldest Bav. texts also medial *k* for *g* is rare, but initial *k* is already established there, though *g* is not infrequent. Of the larger early texts Pa. and R. are the only ones which have a noteworthy

number of medial *k*'s. Of the smaller : W. *manake*, *almahtico*; Fr. Pn. *suonotakin*, *pisankan*, *ēwikemo*, *makan*, *chorunka*, *mekin*. Otherwise we only find medial *g*. Freis O. often substitutes *k* for initial *g*, but only in eleven cases *k* for medial *g* (Kelle, 516).

viii. Finally in UG. The older UG. texts have usually *k* (or *c*), but *g* is not rare : *tac* or *tag*. *k* is frequent also at end of a syllable : *blūcnissa*, *oucta*, *kiouclēr*, *manacfalt*, *sorcsam*, *sorchaft*. In Alem. we meet very rarely *ch* (or *h*) for final *g* : Ja. *halspauch*; H. *wirdih* (Sievers, 18), or even *hc*. In Bav., on the other hand, such *ch*'s are not infrequent, especially after the end of the ninth century. Musp. *zwarch*, *wihc*, *ēnhc* beside *tac*, *mac*, &c.; Petrusl. *mach*; Ps. 138 *wech*, *tach*; Freis. O. very frequent, *burch*, *ginuach*, *kuninch* (Kelle, 518). Also often in Bav. Gl.

Paul (*PBB.* i. 182) tried to prove from these final *ch*'s that medial *g* in Bav. was a spirant (= *g*). Jellinek, however (*PBB.* xv. 268), shows, with great probability, that this Bav. *ch* for final *g* has the value of the fricative *k*_χ, since it is rigorously distinguished in Bav. from the spirant *h*. If Jellinek is right, we must assume that at some time in the ninth century final *k* in Bav. underwent a further shift to *k*_χ, which was denoted by the symbol *ch*. In this case the fricative *k*_χ was not confined, as has hitherto been thought, to U. Alem. See Braune, *Ag. Gr.* § 149.

ix. In late Alem. (10th–11th century) *g* fell in the group *egi*, so that a new diphthong was created : N. *keantseidōti* from *antseidōn* = *antsegidon*. So also in proper names : *Mein*, *Rein* (← *Megin*, *Regin*), *AnzfdA.* xvi. 284. So in late OHG. in general, *g* tends to fall after *i*. Nps. *predion* = *predigōn*; *bimuniun* = *bemunigōn*; *gnadie* = *gnadige*. In all these cases we should probably suppose that a spirant value for *g* preceded its loss.

x. After the tenth century medial *k* for *g* is quite obsolete in UG., and the writing *g* becomes more and more usual even for initial *g*.

Merig., Otloh have only initial *g*. A few late texts, however, such as Wiener N., still cling to occasional *k*'s even medially. In the eleventh century even final *g* again makes its appearance : *tag*, *gieng*.

xi. Notker alternates initial *g* and *k* according to 172.

223

Geminated.

xii. In UG. *gg* becomes *kk*, which is usually denoted by *ck*, *kk*, or *cc*, but the gemination is only retained after a short vowel : *huckan*, *liccan*, *rukki*, *mucca*, &c. After a long vowel *kk* is simplified to *g* or *k*; only one text retains geminated *kk* (from *gg*) after a long vowel : BR. *auckan* (beside *augan*), *hneickan*, &c. (*PBB.* i. 407). Double *kk* (← *gg*) remains so written in UG., even after simple *k* has been restored to *g*, and persists until MHG. Musp. *likkan*, *huckan*; Merig. *gihukka*, *manslecken*; N. *lukke*, *rukke*. Only in verbal forms where *gg* alternated with *g* are the forms with simple *g* generalized in late OHG. This analogical simplification of *gg* to *g* in such cases had been carried out in T. even earlier.

WRITINGS.

xiii. Sometimes *kk* is denoted by *cg*, due no doubt to the influence

of Eng. scribes. Voc. *pruce, mucge*; Pa. *hucgent, leggende*. Other writings beside *ck* and *cc* are very rare:

ch: Sam. *thicho*, 21.

cch: M. *licchentan, zwiicchēm*.

k: K^b *luki, irlikent*, and so frequently.

gg: Voc. *luggeo*,

gk in Pa. and K.

For single *g* other writings than *k* and *c* are rare in UG.

ch: Fr. Pn. *cumflichēm*; H. *chrimmiu, eochalīchera*, &c.; K. *plichit, machun, irzochan*. *gh* is often found in the Jun. Gl., especially in J^a, and otherwise in the proper names of UG. documents, notably those from St. Gallen, which also often have *ch*: *Eghilfrid, Odalgher* (*PBB.* ix. 302 and 307).

Inorganic *h*.

224 i. Initial in word or syllable.

That OHG. *h* when initial in word or syllable had only the value of an aspirate is clear:

(1) From the fact that it is found sporadically in the most varying texts, intruding into words where it has no etymological right to be. Cf. H. *hensti, huns*; K. *ummezhalt, arhaltet*; M. *herda*; BR. *hubilan, heru, herist, heikinin*; Al. Ps. *hiuuīh, hewigōn*: in Fr. texts, Lorsch. B., Musp., *hūcze = ūzze, hurolob*; Lw. *heigun (= eigun)* 24; *hiu (= iu)* 32. The Fr. pronoun *her* is, of course, not an instance of intrusive *h*. These inorganic *h*'s are merely inaccuracies of spelling, for they only occur in any number in careless and inaccurate texts; some are possibly due to Romance scribes or to Romance influence. In T. there are only nine cases, and in all the MSS. of O. only two.

(2) That *h* is used medially between vowels to express the slight cons. glide developed in hiatus: *sāan, sāhan; wāen, wāhen; bluoaan, bluohan*, &c. (cf. *PBB.* xi. 61). N. treats this cons. glide (*h*) in exactly the same manner as the *h* ← χ , so it must have had the same aspirate value as the latter between vowels. Examples of this *h* glide are especially common in verbs which have root ending in a long vowel or diphthong and in their derivatives. Otherwise it is rare. Al. Ps. *ketrūhēnt = trūēnt*.

225 ii. In contrast to cases (1, 2) where inorganic *h* had the value of a glide, we find sporadically in OHG. a medial *h*, to which no value at all can be attached (*PBB.* xi. 62). H. *hohubit (= houbit)*; Pa. (22. 31) *flohat*; Pn. *stehic (steic), emezzihic (-zic)*; R^b *arprahastun*. The exact value of *h* in the extended subjunctive forms in Alem. sources is doubtful. BR. *piscawōhe, duruftigōhe*; H. *apanstōhēm, kafrehtōhēm* (*PBB.* ix. 507).

iii. In the rare forms *herihunga* Gl. 1. 371, *werihan* K. (Kögel, 44), *hefhanne* (R^a), *h* perhaps denotes the voiced spirant *g* otherwise denoted by *g*, or, and more probably, is merely a cons. glide. Cf. Litbl. 1887, iii.

Initial *h*.

iv. Franc. Wk. retains the *h* before cons.: *hlūttru, unhreinita, eogihuar*; so, with a few exceptions, do Isidor and Lex Sal. See Pietsch.

UG. *h* seems first to have fallen before *w* (Kögel, 132), but it con-

tinued to be written after it was no longer heard, and this reacts on the spelling, for we find not infrequently *h* written before consonant in words which etymologically have no right to it, especially in R^a: *hrinmit*, *hliuchtenti*, and even *hsēo* (Kögel, 130). Voc. retains correct *h*: *hros*, *hrind*, &c. (Henning, 73); M. the same (except *wales* for *hwales*); R. also (see Wüllner, 29). In Pa. and K. *w* is more frequent than *hw*, but *hl*, *hn*, *hr* are retained, especially in K^b. K^a has a few *l*, *n*, *r*'s, beside *hl*, &c. (Kögel, 126). Exh. and Cass. Gl. *hw* has become *w*: *wanta*, *waz*, &c., but *hl* and *hn*, *hr* remain: *hlōset*, *hrindir*, &c. In BR. certain sections have *l*, *n*, *r*, others *hl*, *hn*, *hr* (PBB. i. 410). R^b still retains traces of *h* before cons. In H. and Musp. *h* before cons. has quite vanished. Musp. alliterates *wiu*: *weiz* (62), *lēwo*: *lōssan* (82); the one initial rhyme which involves *h* is *horn*: *kihlūtīt* (73); probably a traditional formula. In all later ninth-century texts *h* has quite disappeared. In the ninth-century copies from older originals we find some *h*'s correct and incorrect; cf. the Tegernsee and Emmeraner Gl. (Wüllner).

In the Hildebrandslied the alliteration shows that initial *h* before cons. was pronounced: *helidos*: *hringā* (6); *hēremo*: *hrusti* (56); *heuwun*: *hwitte* (66); *hiutu*: *hwērdar*: *hregilo* (61), though in the MSS. the scribes in many cases omitted them.

v. Initial *h* before vowel is sometimes omitted in careless MSS. 226 We have no example in T. or O. (except a solitary *elfa* (= *helfa*) in V. I. 128. 5); BR. *ōrren* (= *hōrrēn*); Strassb. Eide, *ge-almissi*.

vi. In compound words in which *haft*, *heiz*, *hold* form the second half of the word, *h* is frequently lost owing to want of stress. H. *triuaftle*, *triuaftemu*; Pa. *namaaftosto*, *samanaftic*; R^a *unolda*, *agana*; Würz. B. *inteiz* (= *intheiz*). Compare OE. *licuma* (← *lic homa*); *Aelfelm* ← *Aelfhelm*, &c. Sievers, *Ag. Gr.* § 217.

Medial *h*.

vii. Careless texts occasionally omit *h* between vowels: *sean* for *sehan*, *dian* for *dīhan*. H. *hōi*; BR. *kisiit*; Freis. O. *bihian*. For Notker's *h* see below (xiii).

viii. In late Mid. Germ. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries medial *h* vanishes entirely: *gān*: *gesān* (= *gesāhen*), Friedberger Christ. Cf. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.*² 244.

Loss of *h*: final or before consonant.

ix. (a) *h* is sometimes lost in the compound: *wīrauh* = *wīh rouh*.

(b) *h* is occasionally lost in the preposition *duruh*, late OHG. *dur*, *dure*. Once in K^a: *thur*.

(c) *h* sometimes falls in cons. groups, especially *hs* + cons. OHG. *mist*: Got. *maihstus*. OHG. *zeswa*: Got. *taihswō*. *deismo* ← **dihsmo*. OHG. *lastar* (to *lahan*) ← *lahstar*. OHG. *wast*: Got. *wahsts*. *wasmo*: *wahsmo*; *weslen*: *wehslen*. Cf. PBB. vii. 193 and viii. 148.

Assimilation of *h*.

x. The assimilation of *hs* to *ss* which is common in LG. is very rare 227 in OHG. Isidor *folwassan* = *folwahsan*; M. *flas* (= *flahs*); Phys. *wasset*. Further *giuwasana*, *gauwasemo*.

WRITINGS.

xi. *h* (= χ) is sometimes written *ch*, not very often but usually in the same texts which use *ch* for *hh*. Freis. O. (Kelle, 529) is the only text which does so regularly.

hc. Reich. B. *duruhc*; H. *farlūhc*, *arrihtit*.

c. H. *duruc*, *roc*, *slectēr*, *rect* (Wüllner, 113).

g. Only in late Fr. texts. Arnst. Marienl. *rog*, *durg*, *sag*, &c.

Freis. O. *zō* for *zōh* is probably a mere blunder.

hs is seldom written *x* or *xs*. Graff, I. 682 *waxsanne*, Is. *waxsmo*, T. O. *sextun*, *wexsal*.

ht is often written *th*. Lorsch. B. *nath* (= *nah*); Tr. Cap. *ather*; Ezzo. *lieth*; Freis. O. *reth*, *math*, *kneth*; O. (even V.) *lioth*, i. 15. 9 (Kelle, 528).

t sometimes stands for *ht*, probably not a real loss of *h*, but a mere inaccuracy of spelling. H. *liotfaz*, *leotkar*, *trutines*; Tr. Cap. *retliche*; Carmen. *leot*; Phys. *trotin* beside *trohtin*; N. (prov. 5) *furtin*, *furhten*.

Geminated *h*.

- 228 xii. Germ. $\chi\chi$ ($\leftarrow \chi j$) is written *hh* in OHG. and falls together with OHG. $hh \leftarrow k$. Gmc. $\chi\chi$ is very rare. Got. *hlahjan*, OE. *hliehhan* is lost in OHG. and replaced by derived weak verb, *lahhēn*, *lachen*; *bluhhen*: Pa. *pluhhenti* = *flagrans* (142. 14); *intrihhen* (= reveal); *kihōhhu* = I shall exalt (Gl. I. 278). Further examples Litbl. 1887, 111. A few rare cases where gemination has been caused by *w*: M. *nahhitun*; Got. *nēhidēdun* (Hench, 120); *sehhan*: *sāhhun* (Got. *sāhwan*: *sēhun*); O. *firliche*. Got. *leihwan* more usually *-lihe* (cf. Kelle, 528). Possibly, other examples levelled out by reviser.

hh caused by *n*: *zuhhun* beside *zugun* (Graff, 5. 620; *PBB.* xii. 524). An apparent secondary gemination is occasionally found in OHG. in such forms as: *dehhein*, *nohhein*, beside *dehein*, &c. These probably arose because *h* is not initial in the second syllable, therefore not mere aspirate, but final in first, therefore still = χ , and thus for clearness written *ch*.

Notker.

- 229 xiii. *h* in Notker has a different effect on neighbouring vowel according to its value.

(a) Medial *h* is a mere aspirate which often falls between short vowels, causing contraction and lengthening: *zehen*: *zēn*, *sweher*: *suēr*, *trahan*: *trān*, *mahalōn*: *mālōn*. *h* occasionally falls in other words also: *slahen*, *sehen*, &c. After long vowels *h* rarely falls: *gāhes*: *gāes*, *huohe*: *hūe*, *hōho*: *hō*. As a rule, however, *h* remains after long vowel, but makes it short: *sāhun*: *sāhen*, *nāhor*: *nāher*, *lihan*: *lihen*, *ziohan*: *zihen*, *scuoha*: *scúha*, &c. Even the *h* found after long vowels as cons. glide produces the same effect: *sāet*, N. *sāhet*; *mūet*, N. *múhet*; but cf. Kögel, *PBB.* ix. 541.

In Np. *i* becomes *ie* before *h*: *sího*, N. *sicho*; *gíhet*, N. *jiehet*; even the short *i* which has arisen from *ī* under influence of *h*: *lihan*, N. *lihen*, *lihen*.

(b) $h = \chi$ in N. causes *ū* to become *ūo*, and *ī* to become *īe*: *lihti*, N. *liehti*; *dūhta*: *dūohta*, *rūh*: *ruoh* (but *rúher*). Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* § 154.

xiv. *h* is in gram. change with *g* or with *w*. Double forms arising from levelling : *gigehan* : *gejehen*, *gisehan* : *gisewan*, *herizoho* : *herizogo*, *zuhil* : *zugil*, &c. ; such cases are not of course to be misinterpreted as change of *h* to *g*, or *h* to *w*.

II. LIQUIDS *l* AND *r*.

i. *l* in OHG. appears to have become voiceless in the neighbourhood of voiceless *s*, and the group *sl* is therefore sometimes denoted by *skl*, *sel* (211).

ii. *l* sometimes appears for *r* in foreign words ; this change is usually due to some form of dissimilation. Lat. *peregrinus*, OHG. *piligrim* ; Lat. *murmurāre*, OHG. *murmulōn* (or *murmurōn*). Occasionally alternative forms arise. Beside the OHG. usual *martorōn* O. has *martolōn*, and beside *chirihha* N. has *chilichā*, which is a characteristic Alem. form.

Loss of *r*.

i. In monosyllables after long vowel *r* falls in OHG. after the eleventh century. Will. *wā*, *dā*, *hie*, &c. We find *hia* even earlier : Sam. 30 and Freis. O. (see Kelle, 512). Sporadically we find OHG. *sprehhan* appearing without *r* as *spehhan* : Graff, ii. 369 ; Litbl. 1887, 110 (cf. OE. *specan*).

ii. *ll* : O. has *ll* ← *il* in *guallūhi* : ← *rl* in *fillorane*, *filloriniu*.

iii. The pronunciation of *r* in final unaccented syllables may not have been very decided. O. rhymes *arnōn* : *korn*, *gisamanōt* : *wort*, *nōt* : *gibōt* : *widerort*, and even writes *widarot* (cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gr.* § 120).

r as cons. glide.

iv. *r* is sometimes found as a cons. glide between two vowels in hiatus. Lw. *wola-r ubar*, 57 ; Erf. Judeneid. *bistu-r-unschuldic*.

Metathesis of *r*.

v. Metathesis of *r* is extremely rare in OHG., though more frequent in MG. and LG. Lorsch. B. *Kirst*.

vi. Some curious *r*'s are not yet quite satisfactorily explained.

rd for *th* (Got. *þþ*) in *erdo*, Got. *aīþþáu* (210).

r in the preterite of some reduplicating verbs. *r* in *scrirun*, from *scrīan* (perhaps here as a glide (iv), or by analogy to verbs in *s* (236) which take *r* in the pret. plural by Verner's Law).

III. NASALS *m* AND *n*.

Assimilation of OHG. *m*.

i. *mn* is usually assimilated either to *mm* or to *nn*. Is., T., &c. 232 *nemnian*, *stimna*, later *nennen*, *stimma*.

ii. When *m* comes by composition to stand before dental cons. in late OHG. times it is rarely assimilated in writing, though it is quite possible that it was so in popular pronunciation : *tuontag*, *harmscara*, *ruomgerni*, &c. The *haranskara* of Lw. is quite exceptional.

iii. OHG. *m* before *pf* or *f* (from *þ*) usually remains labial : *kempfo*, *kemfo* (Isidor's *kenfo* is exceptional) ; but OHG. *m* before *f* from Gmc. *f* tends to become *n*, which proves that Gmc. *f* must have

begun to lose its pure bilabial quality and to become labio-dental (cf., however, Heusler, 122 (192). This tendency of *m* to pass to *n* before Gmc. *f* is first observable in Fr. after the beginning of the ninth century: *finf*, *zunft*, *semfli* become *fnf*, *zunft*, *senfli*. Isidor still has *m*. T. hesitates, O. has *n* everywhere: UG. retains *m* longest; as late as the eleventh century the *n*'s are still in the minority (cf. Kögel, 59). K. has 2 *n*'s: *unsenfti*, *fnfta*. Not till MHG. does *n* become the rule in UG. also.

iv. In OHG. *ram*—*rammes* beside *raban*—*rabanes* is a case of assimilation. Pr. Gmc. **χraβan*, gen. **χraβnes*, should give OHG. *hraban*—*hrammes*. The double forms arise by levelling in both directions (cf. OE. *hræfn* beside *hræm*, and N.E. Ramsborough, &c.).

v. When *m* comes in OHG. to stand before *t*, a *p*-glide is sometimes generated between them: Freis. O. *giruamptin*.

Final *m* in OHG.

vi. Final flexional *m* tends to become *n*; this change began in the Fr. before mid-ninth century. Is. and Wk. still have *m*, T. a few *m*'s, but mostly *n* (Sievers, 20); O. and later only *n*. In UG. the change began even earlier. The oldest Gl., as well as B., R^b, M., Exh., have already some *n*'s; in H. *n* appears in considerable numbers. But *m* maintains its ground beside *n* in UG. till the beginning of the ninth century. By the time of Musp. *n* has been completely triumphant.

WRITINGS.

- 233 vii. Final nasal, whether *m* or *n*, can be denoted in MSS. by a horizontal stroke above the vowel, so that during the transition stage (vi) doubt may exist whether the stroke denotes an *m* or an *n*. Thus: Pa. *zūpfien*, K. *sigintūftl*, Lex Sal. *sinē*. The scribes themselves evidently hesitated, so that they even write an *m* where it has no etymological justification. Pn.: *kot fater almahticum*. Examples also in Pa., K., R^a, Kögel, 57, and Graff, ii. 590.

N. I. Pr. Gmc. *n* (IG. *n* or *m*) remains for the most part unchanged in OHG. Before dental cons. *n* is found; original *n* cannot stand before labials (98), but may come into that position by syncope, just as *m* may come to stand before dentals: *inbīz*, later *imbīz*. Before gutturals *n* has the value of guttural nasal *ŋ* (Pr. Gmc. *ŋ* had been lost before *χ*, 109). OHG. *nn* may arise from: (a) Gmc. *nn*: *rinnan*, *kunnan*, *mannes*, &c.; (b) W. Gmc. *nn*: *kunni*, &c., and UG. even after long vowel *suannan* (Musp.); (c) Late assimilation: *firstannissi* from *firstantnissi*.

II. Assimilation of *n* in OHG.

i. The change *n* to *m* before labials no doubt took place in OHG. pronunciation even in recent compounds, but these by analogy retained the writing of *n* (232): *wīn-beri*, *bein-berga*, *eben-michel*, &c. Exceptions are rare: cf. *spambette* (Graff, iii. 51); N. *skīnbāre* beside *skīnbāre*; Hl. *staimbortchludun*. In the case of prefixes *in* and *un*,

though *unmaht*, *imbōt* are the most usual forms, we find occasionally *ummaht*, *imbōt*, &c. (Hl. 25. *ummet*).

Dissimilation of *n*.

ii. *n* appears to have been dissimilated before *m* in Fr. *slimo*. 234 T., O. for UG. *sniumo*; the *l* form does not extend to the UG. till late, but N. has *slimo*. OHG. *kumil*: *kumin*, *himil*, (ot. *himins*, are not cases of dissimilation but different suffixes (102).

Loss of *n*.

iii. *n* occasionally falls when final, especially in E. Fr. Würz. B. *faste*, *gihōre*, *furstā*; T. *fara*, *arouge*, *unza*: *unzan*; cf. Pietsch. O. often omits final *n* in rhyme: *gistual*: *guat*. In late OHG. we find examples of this loss of final *n* even in UG. Merig. *uuese* (= *wesan*, 52). Loss of final *n* is comparatively frequent in certain MHG. dialects (Weinhold², § 372).

iv. In secondary syllable *n* in *ng* (= *ɲ*) tends to disappear in OHG. As early as T. we find *kunig* for *kuning*, *pfennig* for *pfenning*, *suntrigun* for *suntringun*; M. *pendigo*; Gl. i. 309. 27 *chuniges*. In late OHG. this loss of *ɲ* becomes more common (*Zs.f.d.A.* 37. 124).

In some texts *n* for *ng* (= *ɲ*) occurs, especially in the Phys. *gevanen* for *gevangen*, *springel* for *springel*, *zunon* for *zungon*. Gl. ii. 162 *prinit* = *pringit*, 169 *prunan* = *prungan*, 188 *peziruno* = *pezirungo*.

v. Careless scribes sometimes omit *n* (Kögel, 61), H. *ast* = *anst*; or *n* is ignored by copyist of forms like *uualih* = *wantih*, T. 205. 3.

vi. Phys. has *n* for *nd* in *un* = *und*. *dorstuner* = *do crstund er*. *un* is often found in MSS. of thirteenth century and appears to be a secondary form of *und*.

vii. Occasionally *nn* is found for *n*. O. *fonne*, *thannana*, *binnih* = *bin ih*, i. 25. 5; Kelle, 513. Phys. *annimo* = *an imo*. *daranna*, &c. And *ng* for *g*: *einingeru*, *iungundi*, *iungundlih*.

Semi-vowels *j* and *w*.

i. Initial *j* is sometimes lost in late UG. O. *iamēr*, *genēr*; N. *amēr*, 235 *enēr*: the two words are rare except in O. and N.

ii. The writing *g* for *j* is especially frequent before the vowels *e* and *i*, probably for graphic reasons. From the verb *jehan* the preterite *iah*, *iahun*, but Infinitive *gehan*, pres. *gihu*, and derivatives *bigiht*, *gigiht*, &c.

Similarly the verbs *jetan*—*jesan*, often *getan*—*gesan*. In the eighth and ninth centuries *g* is the more usual writing in these words, though Is. has *biihti*, Wk. *biichamōs*. Later *i* comes into vogue beside *g* even before *e* and *i*, especially in N. and Will. N. *iēhet*, W. *iēhent*. Before other vowels than *e* and *i* the writing *g* for *j* is very rare. M. *gungiron* = *iungiron*, Wess. Pred. *ze gunste* (*jungiste*).

iii. The part. *jū* is frequently written *giū* beside *iū*. In N. the *j* of *iu* appears to have become a vowel, for he writes *iū* or *iū*. Kögel explains this *giū* as = *jiu*, and as standing in graded relation to *jū*. Litbl. 1887, 110.

J as consonant glide.

236 iv. (a) Medially between vowels *j* frequently appears in OHG. as a cons. glide. It is especially common in verbs whose roots end in a long vowel or a diphthong: *sāen* and *sāian*, *bluoan* and *bluoian*, &c. So also after *i* or *ei* before a vowel: T. *fūiant* beside *fiant*, Mers. Zs. *vīgandum*, T. *frīge* to *frī*, BR. *frīgēr*. So in the words *eigen*, *eis*, or pl. *eiger*; see (e): *scriān*, pres. *scrīit* or *scrīgīt*.

(b) In some cases the *j*-glide is introduced into words which originally had a *w*. From *hīwi*—*hūen*, *hīgi*, *hīgiski*, &c. Similarly from *fuir*—*vugir* (Musp. 59).

(c) In the originally reduplicating verbs whose stem ends in *ā* or *uo* the *j* that is frequently found in their flexion may arise from analogy with the non-graded verbs of Class I.

(d) In UG., especially Bav., the non-graded verbs of II and III (in *ōn* and *ēn*) adopt the endings of Class I in the subj. pres., and frequently then develop a *j*-glide before the flexional *e*. For *salbō* occur *salbōe*, *salbōje* or *salbōge*, for *habē*, *habēe*, *habēje*, or *habēge*; so *rīchisōia*, *chōsōge*, &c.

(e) In a few words medial *j* between vowels is not an OHG. glide developed, but is historically correct from Pr. Gmc. *ij* (103); so OHG. *ci*, ON. *egg*, OHG. *zweiio*, ON. *tveggja*, Got. *twaddjē*, OHG. *hwaijōn* = to neigh. Cf. *PBB.* ix. 542.

237 Medially after consonant.

v. *j*, as seen above, tends to fall medially after consonant. In the ninth century Pa., K., R^a frequently retain *j*; later Alem., B., R^b, H. *j* is very rare: Bav., Exh. *christiāniun*, *purgeo*, *filleol*, *redia*, *sunteono*; Wess. Geb. (if Bav.) *enteo*, *wenteo*, *willeon*. Musp. only has *lougiu* (53), otherwise *j* is gone.

Fr. early texts. Wk. *rehtiu*, *helliū*, *gilaubiū*, *scepphion*, *thurfteo*, *sundeōno*, *secchia*, *gihōrie*; less frequently *j* is lost: *sunta*, *heilanto*, *thisu*. In T. *j* has fallen before *e*, though still frequent before *u*: *waniū*, *cunniū* (Sievers, 7). In O. the *j* is completely lost.

The exact chronology of this loss of *j* it is not possible to determine, as *j*'s keep reappearing throughout the whole period. It seems probable that *j* produced a slight modification of the preceding cons. (cf. NHG. *Familie*, *Signal*), which some scribes were content to ignore and some chose to denote by following *j*, so that, while Isidor writes scarcely any *j*'s and O. none, the Lw., which is later than either, still has its *j*'s quite correctly: *geendiōt*, *sundiōno*, *willion*, *kunnie*, *ellian*. (It must be borne in mind, however, that the Lw. is not free from traces of LG. influence, and it is possible that this retention of *j* might be such another.) The quality of following vowel appears to have had some influence on the falling of *j*: *j* falls earliest before *i* prior to OHG. times (127). In OHG. it is rarest before *e*, more frequent before *a*, most frequent before *o* and *u*.

J after r.

238 vi. Kluge holds that *j* after *r* had already in Pr. Gmc. become vocalic, a fact that would account both for the lack of lengthening in W. Gmc.

and for the persistence of *i* after *r* in OHG. Forms like *nerien* are then three-syllabled (*Gr.*² i. 379). Heinzel corroborates this view (*Z. f. öst. Gym.* 41. 227) by showing that the music of the Petruslied scans *nerian* and *skerian* as trisyllabic. In the writings *nerigen*, &c., *g* is then a *j*-glide secondarily developed (iv). Braune, on the other hand (*Ahd. Gr.* § 118. 3), contends, though not convincingly, that *j* after *r* differed from other *j*'s, not in being vocalic, but in partaking more of the nature of *g*, and he explains the three-syllabled *nerigen*, &c., as arising from the development of a secondary vowel between *r* and *g*. This view might seem to be strengthened by the fact that in three or two words OHG. *j* after *r* has passed into NHG. *g*; cf. *Ferge* (OHG. *ferio*, *vergo*), *Scherge* (to OHG. *scāra*), *Latverge* (late Latin *electuarium*, MHG. *electuārje*) (cf. Kluge, s. v.). Against Braune's view may be noted the forms in which *h* occurs instead of *j*: Gl. i. 371 *herihunga* beside *heriunga* and *herigunga*; K. *werihan* beside *werien* and *werigen*, &c.; which strengthen the interpretation of the *g* in *nerigen* as a glide, since *h*, *j*, and *w* were interchangeable in this capacity.

vii. The Fr. and Alem. *rr* from *rj* after short vowel is a purely OHG. assimilation, not a W. Gmc. lengthening, for while there occur in early OHG. *willio*, *sellien*, &c., OS. *willio*, *sellian*, &c. (which prove that the W. Gmc. lengthening took place before the loss of the *j*, and could not consequently be due to assimilation), *nerrien*, *sverrien* are never found. The *rr* forms are, however, not the only ones in Fr. and Alem., and as late as N. we still find *rj* side by side with *rr*. N. Boeth. *genérien*.

viii. The OHG. *rr* found after long vowel in UG. is to be distinguished from the above. It occurs only in the UG. texts which show lengthening of all other consonants also after long syllable: BR. *hōrran* for O. *hōren*, *lērran* for O. *lēren*; but here it is merely the W. Gmc. lengthening, and in earlier texts *rōrriūn*, *rōrreōno* (R¹) are found. Such *rr*'s are common in N.: *wārra*, &c.

ix. A very few words in OHG. appear to have had vocalized *i*, not *j*, after consonant.

(1) *Winia* (f. of *wini*) = beloved, N. and Will. It occurs in Merig. also (80) as *winiga*.

(2) Beside *brunna* (OE. *byrne*) O. has the form *brunia*, with single *n* and retained *i*. Graff, iii. 312.

(3) OHG. *kevia*, Lat. *cavea*, has vocalic *i*; MHG. *kevie*, *kevige*; NHG. *Käfig* (*j* → *g* as in *Ferge*, &c.).

x. OHG. *reda*, *redōn* bear no trace of the lengthened *d* to be expected from the *j* forms met with in OHG. B. *radia*, *redia*, *redēa*; so Exh. and M., and even O. frequently retains *j*: *redia*, *rediōn*, adj. *redie* (i. 1. 75).

xi. In secondary syllables *j* appears to have exercised in OHG. a partial progressive assimilation on a following *a*, so that *ja* → *je* and with the loss of *j* → *e*. Hence the infinitive of weak verbs of Class I (and certain *jan* presents of graded verbs) ends in the oldest OHG. in *en*, while the ordinary graded verbs end in *an*. Thus

nerien, *sizzen*, *swerien*, *bitten* beside *wesan*, *neman*, &c. : similarly, the third person of the same verbs : *nerient* beside *nemant*. This alternation was, however, soon levelled out by analogy, regardless of original presence or absence of *j*, and different dialects level out differently, so that roughly it may be said that UG. prefers *a*-forms, Franc. the *c*-forms.

In nouns the same difference existed originally. The nomin. of the *o*-stems : *geba*, of the *jo*-stems : *sunte*. Very early, however, in the eighth and ninth centuries the doubly analogical form *suntea* comes into use (modelled on *geba* and oblique cases like *suntiu*). Cf. Bernhardi, *Phil. St.* 1896.

w.

- 241 i. After initial cons. *w* often falls before *u* (or *o*), as already W. Gmc. *u* had done. OHG. *huosto*, OE. *hwōsta*; OHG. *suozj*, OE. *swēle*.

Forms with *w* are rare : Pa. has 15; Freis. O. *suuazi* (Kelle, 483). *Sorga* would seem to come under the same category if *sworga*, a form found both in T. and O., is taken to be the original form, but all the Gmc. dialects have forms without the *w*. Except in these cases, loss of *w* is rare in OHG., even before *o* and *u*, because it is usually retained or restored by analogy to forms in which it precedes other vowels. Instead of *suor* (*suar*), &c., which is found in O. (Kelle, 482), more often *suor* occurs by analogy to infinitive *swerien*; so beside *duog* (to *dwahan*) more often *duog*. The past part. of *dwingan* in the oldest texts is often *gedungan* or *githungan* (Musp. 61 *pidungan*), later *gidwungan*. Is. *swimman*, Gl. 1309; past part. *uzsumman*; see Litbl. 1888, 109, and *PBB.* vii. 160, *Gr.*² i. 378.

ii. OHG. *kw* (*qu*) loses its *w* in late Alem. OHG. *quedan*, N. *cheden*, *quellen*—*chelen*, *quc*—*cheg*, *erquickit*; Physiol. *erchichit*, *quat*—*chat*, *choat*. The other dialects retain *qu*.

iii. Common to all dialects in late OHG. is *ko*—*ku* = *que*—*qui* in the verb *queman*—*quimu*, which appears as *comen*—*cumu*. Not till very late do other words with *que* follow suit: *quena*, *quenala* occur as *chone*, *conela*; and in late Bav. we find *choden* for *quedan*. Merig. 92 *chodint*.

iv. *w* after cons. affects a following *i* before double nasal, and rounds it to *u* in N. (probably = *ü* (Litbl. 1887, 109)). OHG. *swimman*, N. *suuúmmen*; OHG. *gewinnan*, N. *gäuúnnen*. But N. has *gewinnen* when *e* of prefix is not syncopated (*gäuúnnen*, however, also occurs, and in N. Ps. *geuuuunnen*, with *e* of prefix restored).

v. *zw* after initial dental cons. tends in UG. to generate a secondary vowel: K. *zowīval* = *zwwīval*, &c.

Final w.

- 242 vi. Occasionally *u* appears instead of *o* for vocalized or medial *w*. M. *sēu*; R. *ikaruta*, *inkarutēr*; Is. and M. *sēula* (OS. *sēola*, Got. *sárwala*) (Leid. Will. *siela*, otherwise OHG. *sēla*). See *PBB.* vii. 168.

vii. Already in O.'s time final *o* after long vowel has completely disappeared. In *ēo*, *hwēo* the diphthong was shortened before loss of *o*, therefore *eo*, *io*, and *h)wēo*, *h)wīo* do not drop the *o*.

Medial **w** after cons.

viii. *w* after *s* is rare: *zes(a)zwa*; *treso—tres(a)zes*: generally a secondary vowel is developed and in many cases OHG., in common with other W. Gmc. dialects, had lost *w* after cons. (except *l* and *r*):

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Got. <i>alwa</i> | OHG. <i>aha</i> | Got. <i>siggan</i> | OHG. <i>sinkan</i> |
| <i>nēhw</i> | <i>nāh</i> | <i>ubiswa</i> | <i>obasa</i> |
| <i>leihwan</i> | <i>līhan</i> | <i>aqizi</i> | <i>ackus</i> |
| <i>saihwān</i> | <i>schan</i> | <i>naqaps</i> | <i>nackot</i> , &c. |

See *Gr.*² i. 378, 428.

It is highly probable that this loss of *w* is merely due to analogy, as it first occurs before guttural vowels and after long syllables. Words which originally had *hw* or *kw(q)* occasionally appear with lengthened *h* or *k*, showing the working of the *w* (Litbl. 1887, 109): *ahha*, *sehhan*, *ackus*, *nackot*, &c. (cf. 129, 130).

ix. In the second half of compounds initial *w* often falls, and the following vowel is obscured (cf. OE. *hlāford* for *hlāf-weard*): **heimwart* → *heimort*, **framwert* → *frammort*; OE. *wyrt walu*, OHG. *wurzala*. Cf. *PBB.* xii. 378, and especially in proper names compounded with *-walt*, *-wolf*, which become *-olt*, *-olf*.

Medial **w** after an originally long vowel.

x. After long vowel medial *w* is frequent in Gmc. and in OHG.; 243 cf. *brāwa*, *frāwer*, *ēwa*, *spīwan*, &c. This *w* sometimes falls both in early and late OHG., and in various texts we find forms like: *grāēr*, *ēa*, *spīan*, *wīāri* (beside *wīwāri*, Lat. *vivarium*). The *w*-forms are the more usual, however, unless a cons. follows, in which case *w* is always lost: pret. *hīta* to *hīwen*, *lāta* to *lāwen* (*PBB.* xi. 71).

w as glide.

xi. After a long vowel or diphthong in OHG. *w* is often merely a cons. glide developed in hiatus, especially after *u*: *sāen* or *sāwen*, T.; *bluoan* or *bluowan*.

The forms with *w*-glide are especially popular in E. Fr., but the glideless forms predominate. In some cases it is not easy to determine whether *w* is original or is merely a glide, as in: *būan* beside *būwan*, *trūen* beside *trūwen* (*PBB.* vi. 569). As has been seen, *h* and *j* (written sometimes as *g*) are also frequent in such words as glides: *sāen*, *sāhen*, *sāian* or *sāwen*, &c. Sometimes *h* or *j* even replace an original *w*.

T. *hīen*, *hīgiski*, *hīgi* (to *hīwī*); Ja. *unkihīgītēr* (unmarried); Phys. *uspīget*; *Denkm.*³ xxx. 162 *itniugiū* = *niuwīū*; N. *ge-hīen*, *hīion*; O. (P.) *hīhun*; Np. *ēha*.

To explain this the loss of *w* must of course be first assumed, and then the development of the glide in hiatus.

w after a short vowel.

ww.

xii. Original *ww*, whether Pr. Gmc. *ww* (*a*) or W. Gmc. *ww* (*b*) 244

(116), vocalizes the first *w* in OHG. to *u*, which then forms a diphthong with whatever vowel precedes.

(1) Pr. Gmc. *a^ua* gives OHG. *awa*.

(2) Pr. Gmc. *a^uua* gives OHG. *auwa*.

But OHG. spelling often confuses the two, for (1) is written *auua* and (2) *auuuu*, and (2) is constantly simplified to *auua*, and the OHG. spellings are thus very little clue to the actual value of the sounds.

(a) Pr. Gmc. *ww* is replaced in Got. by *ggw*, in ON. by *ggv* : in OHG. *aww* becomes *ouw*.

ON. *hoggva*, OHG. *hawwan*, *houwan*.

Got. *glaggwus*, ON. *glöggr*, OHG. *glauwēr*, *glouwēr*
skuggwa *skauwōn*, *skouwōn*.

When Pr. Gmc. *ww* came to stand final, as in the strong preterite or uninflected adjective, &c., *ww* was of course simplified to *w* and forms a diphthong. To *bliuwan*, *riuwan*, pret. *blou*, *rou*. To *glouwēr*—*glou*, *touwes*—*lou*, &c.

ww after **e** and **i**.

In Pr. Gmc. *e* and *i* interchange by *i/j* mutation : OS. *triuua* and *triuui*; in OHG., however, *i* always stands before *ww*, thus OHG. *triuwa* and *triuwi*, *riuwan*, *iuwēr*, *bliuwan* (Got. *bliggwan*, OE. **blēowan*). Here, again, when *ww* becomes final the second *w* falls, and only the diphthong is left. To *spriuwes*—*spriu*, to *triuwa*—*triuhaft*, to *iuwer*—*iū* (dat. pl.). In all these cases writings with three *u*'s are very common. Cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gr.*, § 30. 2; *PBB.* vi. 87.

ww after **u**.

The result is of course *ūw*. Pret. pl. of *bliuwan* = *blūwun*, past part. *giblūwan*.

- 245 (b) W. Gmc. *ww*. Forms which in W. Gmc. have *ww* arising from *w* followed by *j* almost always alternate with forms with *w* where no *j* was present, and both must therefore be treated of together.

Single **w**.

(a) After *a*: W. Gmc. **fraw-*, uninflected OHG. *frao*, soon contracted to *frō*, inflected became *frawēr*, which passed to *frowēr* (influence of *w* on *a*). The *ō* of the uninflected form influences the inflected form, and it appears as *frōēr*. So with the words *frō*, *rō*, *strō*, *fō*, &c.

When *j* follows in W. Gmc. doubling arises and the consequent diphthong + *w* in OHG. Pr. Gmc. **frawj-*, W. Gmc. **frawwj-*, OHG. **frawwa*, *frowwa*.

The diphthong is incapable of undergoing *i*-mutation in OHG., so that it remains : OHG. *frouwen*, from **frawwjan*.

In cases, however, where *i*, not *j*, followed in W. Gmc., there is no doubling, consequently no diphthong, and the simple *a* before simple *w* is able to undergo *i*-mutation in OHG. The pret. of the verb *frouwen* thus is *frewita*, from **frawiða*.

Similarly, from nom. **hawi*, gen. **hawwjes*, the OHG. forms are

hewi—*houwes*, likewise *gewi*—*gouwes*. The natural confusion and double levelling ensue, so that in OHG. both *hewi*—*hewes* and *houwi*—*houwes*, &c., are found.

The *w* forms and lack of mutation prevail in Bavarian, which 246 prefers: *houwi*, *gouwi*, *frouwen*—*frouita*, while the single *w*-forms with mutation are more popular in Alem. and Franc.: *hewi*, *gewi*, *frewen*—*frewita*.

Otfrid's metre shows clearly that the OHG. writing *frewen* = *frewen* and not *frewen*, because he scans the first syllable as short (*PBB.* ix. 529). Moreover, there is no OHG. *i*-mutation of *ou* to *eu*.

Isolated forms occur in Wk. Originally *w* seems to have given rise to a diphthong: Is. *frewui*, *frewuidha*.

Similarly, the apparent change of *a* to *o* in *frawer* to *frower* may point to the diphthong **frawuer* as an intermediate stage. This is rendered more likely by occasional forms as O. *frou* = *frō*, R^d *strau*, *strou* = *strō*.

(b) After **e** and **i**.

Gmc. *e* remains unaltered before single *w*. OHG. *gewōn*, *giserwan* (p.p. to *sehan*).

Final *w* became *o*: *knewes*—*kneo* (or *knio*).

When *i* follows in W. Gmc., *e* → *i*; when *j* follows, *e* → *i* and *w* → *w*. **sīwējan*—**sīwida*, OHG. *sīuuen*—*sīwita*. **newjo*, OHG. *nīuwi*.

Gmc. *i* remains before single *w*. Pret. pl. *liwun*, *spīwun*, &c., to *lihan*, *spīwan*, &c. The MSS. sometimes have three *u*'s here where there is no justification for them: *ferliuuuen*, &c. (*PBB.* ix. 539).

xiii. A medial *w* in secondary syllable is sometimes vocalized owing to want of stress, and then combines with the preceding stressed vowel to form a diphthong or long vowel. OHG. *frewita*; N. *fréula*, *sēula*, *sēla*, *ēo*, *hwēo*, *eo*, *hweo* (Litbl. 1887, 110). Cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gr.*, § 30. 2 and § 114.

OHG. CONSONANTS AND THEIR ORIGIN

247 In the last chapter the development in detail was traced of the Gmc. consonants in OHG., and it may be of use to review the same ground from the reverse standpoint. In the following are given, in alphabetical order, the chief consonant sounds of OHG., their Pr. Gmc. and Gothic equivalents, with an example of each to serve as a key-word.

Account is taken of the chief dialect variations, but of course the entirely exceptional developments which are already dealt with in 190 ff. are not cited, nor are fancy spellings which but rarely occur, such as *bph*, *ckh*, *ffp*, as these have no etymological interest and have been already noticed.

| OHG. | Pr. Gmc. | | OHG. | Got. |
|--|--|--------------------------------|--|----------------|
| B | <i>b</i> | | <i>bindan</i> | <i>bintan</i> |
| BB | <i>bj</i> | W. Gmc. <i>bb</i> or <i>bb</i> | <i>sibbea</i> | <i>sibja</i> |
| C (<i>k</i> before <i>a, o, u</i> , and in <i>sc</i>) | <i>k</i> | | <i>cunnan</i> | <i>kunnan</i> |
| (<i>z</i> before <i>e, i</i>) | <i>t</i> | | <i>cīl</i> | |
| CC | <i>kʳ</i> | W. Gmc. <i>kk</i> | <i>accar</i> | <i>akrs</i> |
| CCH | <i>kʳ</i> | „ „ | UG. <i>acchar</i> | |
| CH (for <i>hh</i>) | <i>k</i> | | <i>zeichan</i> | <i>táikns</i> |
| („ <i>kh</i>) | <i>k</i> | | UG. <i>khorn</i> | <i>kaúrn</i> |
| („ <i>kkh</i>) | <i>k</i> | W. Gmc. <i>kk</i> | „ <i>achar</i> | |
| („ <i>qu</i>) | <i>ku</i> | | Late Alem. <i>cheden</i> = <i>queden</i> | |
| CHU | <i>kū</i> | | UG. <i>chuedan</i> | <i>qīpan</i> |
| CK | <i>kʳ</i> | W. Gmc. <i>kk</i> | <i>ackar</i> | <i>akrs</i> |
| D | <i>þ</i> | | <i>bruoder</i> | <i>brōþar</i> |
| | <i>ð</i> | W. Gmc. <i>d</i> (122) | M. and | |
| | | | Rh. Fr. <i>dag</i> | <i>dags</i> |
| DD | <i>þþ</i> | | <i>eddes</i> | <i>aīþþáu</i> |
| DH | <i>þ</i> | | Is. <i>bruodher</i> | <i>brōþar</i> |
| E | <i>j</i> (before <i>a</i> and <i>o</i>) | | <i>sibbea</i> | <i>sibja</i> |
| F | <i>f</i> | | <i>farán</i> | <i>farán</i> |
| | <i>p</i> | | <i>slāfan</i> | <i>slēpan</i> |
| (for <i>pf</i>) | <i>p</i> | | Alem. <i>flegan</i> ← <i>pflegan</i> | |
| FF | <i>p</i> | | <i>giscaffan</i> | <i>skapans</i> |
| | <i>fj</i> | W. Gmc. <i>ff</i> (116) | <i>heffen</i> | <i>hafjan</i> |
| (for <i>pf</i>) | <i>pʲ</i> | W. Gmc. <i>pp</i> (118) | Alem. <i>sceffen</i> | <i>skapjan</i> |
| G | <i>g</i> | | <i>geban</i> | <i>giban</i> |
| = <i>j</i> | <i>j</i> | | <i>genr</i> | <i>jáins</i> |
| GG | <i>gʲ</i> | W. Gmc. <i>gg</i> | <i>huggen</i> | <i>hugjan</i> |

| OHG. | Pr. Gmc. | | OHG. | Got. |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--|------------------|
| H | χ | | <i>naht</i> | <i>nahts</i> |
| | χ ^{re} | | <i>sehan</i> | <i>saihan</i> |
| HH | k | | <i>zeihhan</i> | <i>táikns</i> |
| | h ⁱ | W. Gmc. <i>hh</i> | <i>lahhen</i> | <i>hlahjan</i> |
| I | i | | <i>iung</i> | <i>juggs</i> |
| J | i | | <i>jung</i> | <i>juggs</i> |
| K | k | | <i>wirken</i> | <i>watárkjan</i> |
| | g | | UG. <i>keban</i> | <i>giban</i> |
| KH | k | | „ <i>khorn</i> | <i>kaúrn</i> |
| KK | k | W. Gmc. <i>kk</i> | <i>akkar</i> | <i>akrs</i> |
| | g | W. Gmc. <i>gg</i> | UG. <i>hukken</i> | <i>hugjan</i> |
| KKH | k ^r | W. Gmc. <i>kk</i> | <i>akkhar</i> | <i>akrs</i> |
| L | l | | <i>lang</i> | <i>laggs</i> |
| | r | | <i>pilcrim</i> (Lat. <i>peregrinus</i>) | |
| LL | ll | | <i>foll</i> | <i>fulls</i> |
| | li | W. Gmc. <i>ll</i> | <i>willio</i> | <i>wilja</i> |
| M | m | | <i>maht</i> | <i>mahts</i> |
| | n | | <i>ummet</i> ← | <i>unmet</i> |
| MM | m ⁱ | W. Gmc. <i>mm</i> | <i>frummen</i> ← | <i>*frumjan</i> |
| | mn | | <i>stimma</i> | <i>stimna</i> |
| N | n | | <i>nezzj</i> | <i>nati</i> |
| | hn | | <i>nīgan</i> | <i>hnciwān</i> |
| | ɥ before gutturals | | <i>denken</i> | <i>þagkjan</i> |
| | m final | | (b) <i>in</i> | <i>im</i> |
| NN | nn | | <i>kunnan</i> | <i>kunnan</i> |
| | n ⁱ | W. Gmc. <i>nn</i> | <i>kunni</i> | <i>kuni</i> |
| | mn | | <i>nennen</i> | <i>nannjan</i> |
| P | þ | | UG. <i>piltan</i> | <i>bidjan</i> |
| | þ | M. and Rh. Fr. | <i>pund</i> | <i>pund</i> |
| PH (<i>þf</i>) | þ | | <i>phunt</i> | <i>pund</i> |
| PF | þ | | <i>helpfan</i> | <i>hilpan</i> |
| | þ ⁱ | W. Gmc. <i>pp</i> | <i>scepfen</i> | <i>skapjan</i> |
| PP | þ ⁱ | W. Gmc. <i>pp</i> (142) | M. and Rh. Fr. | |
| | | | <i>sceppen</i> | |
| | þ ⁱ | W. Gmc. <i>bb</i> | UG. <i>sippen</i> | <i>sibja</i> |
| { PPF (for <i>þf</i>) | þ ⁱ | | UG. and E. Fr. | |
| { PPH (for <i>þf</i>) | | | <i>scepphen</i> | |
| { QHU (for <i>chu</i>) | | | UG. <i>quhedan</i> | |
| { QU | ky | | <i>quedan</i> | <i>qipan</i> |
| { QUH (= <i>qu</i> Is.) | | | <i>quhedan</i> | |
| R | r | | <i>beran</i> | <i>baíran</i> |
| | hr | | <i>reini</i> | <i>hráins</i> |
| | wr | | <i>rehhan</i> | <i>wrikan</i> |
| | z | W. Gmc. <i>r</i> | <i>hord</i> | <i>huzd</i> |
| RR | z ⁱ | | Alem. <i>hōrren</i> | <i>háusjan</i> |
| | rn | | <i>sterro</i> | <i>stáirno</i> |
| | rz | W. Gmc. <i>rr</i> (125) | <i>merren</i> | <i>marzjan</i> |
| S | s | | <i>sehan</i> | <i>saihan</i> |

| OHG. | Pr. Gmc. | OHG. | Got. |
|----------------|--|--|------------------|
| SS | <i>ss</i> | <i>gūwiss(er)</i> | <i>gawiss</i> |
| | <i>s^j</i> W. Gmc. <i>ss</i> (116) | <i>knussen</i> | * <i>knusjan</i> |
| T | <i>ð</i> W. Gmc. <i>d</i> (122) | UG. and E. Fr. <i>tag</i> | <i>dags</i> |
| | <i>t</i> | <i>stein</i> | <i>stáins</i> |
| TH | <i>þ</i> | Fr. <i>bruother</i> | <i>bröþar</i> |
| TT | <i>ð^j</i> W. Gmc. <i>dd</i> (121) | <i>bitten</i> | <i>bidjan</i> |
| | <i>t^r</i> W. Gmc. <i>tt</i> (120) | <i>bittar</i> | <i>báitrs</i> |
| | <i>þ^j</i> W. Gmc. <i>þþ</i> (116) | <i>feltah</i> | |
| TZ | <i>t^j</i> W. Gmc. <i>tt</i> (116) | <i>setzen</i> | <i>sitjan</i> |
| U (<i>f</i>) | <i>f</i> | <i>uaran</i> | <i>faran</i> |
| (<i>w</i>) | <i>u</i> | <i>uunt</i> | <i>wounda</i> |
| UU | <i>u</i> | <i>uuolf</i> | <i>wulfs</i> |
| | <i>χ^w</i> | <i>uuer</i> | <i>has</i> |
| W = <i>uu</i> | | | |
| X = <i>hs</i> | | Is. <i>wexsal</i> , OHG. <i>wehsal</i> | |
| Z = <i>ts</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>herza</i> | <i>háirtō</i> |
| | <i>tt</i> | <i>scaz</i> | <i>skalto</i> |
| | <i>t^j</i> W. Gmc. <i>tt</i> | <i>sezzen</i> | <i>satjan</i> |
| | | (more often <i>sezzen</i>) | |
| = <i>z</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>lāzan</i> | <i>lētan</i> |
| ZZ = <i>ts</i> | <i>t^j</i> W. Gmc. <i>tt</i> | <i>sezzen</i> | <i>satjan</i> |
| = <i>zz</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>ezzan</i> | <i>itan</i> |

CHAPTER IV

VOWEL SYSTEM

SINCE the earliest monuments of OHG. go back only to the eighth century, the OHG. vowel system cannot be understood without a comparison with the vowel systems of Pr. Gmc. and of IG. As has been shown, the chief vowel sounds group themselves round five vowels, denoted by the symbols *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, which, according to their duration, may be either long or short and, according to their quality, either open or closed: cf. 37.

A further distinction is made according to the mode of production of the respective sounds:

(a) Guttural vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*.

(b) Palatal vowels, *e*, *i*.

IG. had the following vowel system:

Short vowels, *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*.

Long vowels, *ī*, *ē*, *ā*, *ō*, *ū*, and further the colourless sound *ɚ*, known as the 'Schwa' or reduced vowel (264). This sound is present in all IG. languages, and varies in shade of tone between *a* and *e*, according to the consonant which it precedes. Thus in stressed syllable it appears in Gmc. as *a*, in unstressed syllable as *u*; in Sk. usually as *i* (*a* before *i*-vowels, see Brugmann, i, § 109). IG. **pōlar*, Sk. *pīlār*-, Gk. *πατήρ*, Got. *fadar*, OHG. *fater*.

Each of the above vowels could form a diphthong with a following *i* or *u*. If the first component was short, the diphthong was a normal one; if the first component was long, then the diphthong was long. Thus IG. has the following:

$e_i, eu, a_i, au, o_i, ou, \varepsilon i, \varepsilon u.$
 $\bar{e}_i, \bar{e}u, \bar{a}_i, \bar{a}u, \bar{o}_i, \bar{o}u.$

Of the latter, $\bar{o}_i, \bar{a}u$ were shortened and treated like o_i, au . (For \bar{e}_i see 260-1.) εi and εu need not be considered, as in Gmc. they coincided with a_i and au .

Beside these vowels, IG. had the sonant liquids *l*, *r*, and the sonant nasals *m*, *n*. These were vocalic, i.e. could be syllabic. Various theories have been advanced as to the origin of this force; some hold

that vocalic *l, g, n, m* are due to the reduction of the vowel in unstressed syllable, e. g. in an original *el, em, &c.*, just as *i* resulted from *i̇, i̇e*; others, that the weak vowel maintained itself in unstressed syllable; cf. Brugmann, i. 192, and Bechtel, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 115. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that in all IG. languages these consonants are or can be sonant, but tend to produce a vowel sound which varies in each language. This usually preceded the consonant, but also can follow it; in Gk. *α*, in Lat. *o* ($\rightarrow u$) with liquids and *e* with nasals. No explanation of this development which has as yet been brought forward is entirely satisfactory.

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>l, r</i> | Sk. <i>rk̄sas</i> | Gk. <i>ῥκτος</i> | Lat. <i>ursus (orsus)</i> |
| <i>m, n</i> | <i>dás̄a</i> | <i>δέκα</i> | <i>decem</i> |

The IG. vowel system did not pass into Pr. Gmc. without changes. In the following only those changes are enumerated which took place in stressed syllable, as the Germanic fixing of the accent, which heretofore had been free, caused unaccented and final vowels to develop on different lines, so that they require separate treatment.

251 I. IG. *ā* becomes *ō*:

| Sk. | Gk. (Dor.) | Lat. | Got. | OE. | OHG. |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>mātā</i> | <i>μάτηρ</i> | <i>māter</i> | | <i>mōdor</i> | <i>muoter</i> |
| | <i>φαγός</i> | <i>fāgus</i> | <i>bōka</i> | <i>bōc</i> | <i>buohha</i> |
| <i>bhrāta</i> | <i>φράτωρ</i> | <i>frāter</i> | <i>brōþar</i> | <i>brōþor</i> | <i>bruoder</i> |

II. IG. *o* becomes *a*:

| Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Got. | OE. | OHG. |
|---------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|-------------|
| <i>ašt̄au</i> | <i>ὄκτώ</i> | <i>octo</i> | <i>ahtl̄au</i> | (<i>eahta</i>) | <i>ahto</i> |
| | | <i>hostis</i> | <i>gasts</i> | (<i>ziest</i>) | <i>gast</i> |
| | | <i>nox</i> | <i>nahts</i> | (<i>niht</i>) | <i>naht</i> |

Hence also the diphthongs *oi̇* and *ou̇* become respectively *ai̇* and *au̇*:

| Sk. | Gk. | Lat. | Got. | OE. | OHG. |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| | <i>οἶδα</i> | | <i>wāit</i> | <i>wāl</i> | <i>weiz̄</i> |
| | | <i>oinos-unus</i> | <i>āins</i> | <i>ān</i> | <i>ein</i> |
| IG. <i>roudhos</i> | | <i>rūfus</i> | <i>rāuþs</i> | <i>rēad</i> | <i>rōt</i> |
| Gen. Sg. <i>-ous</i> | | <i>fruct-ūs</i> | <i>sun-áus</i> | | |
| | <i>ἀκούω</i> | | <i>háus-jan</i> | <i>hīēran</i> | <i>hōren</i> |

NOTE.—IG. *ōu̇* in Gmc. before consonant becomes *ō* in all the dialects, but before vowels in Gothic it $\rightarrow au$ [= *ō̇*?], in OHG. $\rightarrow ū$; Gothic *bauan, trauan*; OHG. *būwan, trūwan*. See *PBB.* vi, pp. 382 and 564, also R. Trautmann, *Germ. Lautgesetze*.

252 III. IG. *ē* becomes Pr. Gmc. *æ* (i. e. an open *ē*). This may, however, be only an apparent change, as possibly IG. *ē* was open.

It appears in Gk. as η , in Lat. as \bar{e} , in Got. as \bar{e} , in OHG. as \bar{a} .

| Gk. | Lat. | Got. | Pr. Gmc. | OHG. |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| | <i>sēdimus</i> | <i>sētum</i> | * <i>sē̄t-</i> | <i>sāzūm</i> |
| | <i>ēdi</i> | <i>fr-ēt</i> | * <i>ē̄t-</i> | <i>āz</i> |
| $\mu\eta\nu$ | <i>mensis</i> | <i>mēna</i> | * <i>mē̄nō</i> | <i>māno</i> |

IV. In Gmc. stressed syllable the liquids and nasals \int , m , n , r 253 develop the sound u , which as a rule precedes the consonant.

| IG. | Got. | OE. | OHG. |
|------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|
| * <i>plnós</i> | <i>fulls</i> | <i>full</i> | <i>voll</i> |
| * <i>bhr̄tís</i> | <i>ga-baúrþs</i> | <i>3e-byrd</i> | <i>gi-burt</i> |
| * <i>kmtóm</i> | <i>hund</i> | <i>hund</i> | <i>hunt</i> |
| * <i>dnt-</i> | <i>tunþus</i> | | |

Thus from the IG. vowel system have been lost the sonant liquids and nasals, the Schwa vowel, long \bar{a} , short o , and the diphthongs oi and ou . Long \bar{e} has now become an open \bar{e} (æ , see note), but together with it there is in Pr. Gmc. another \bar{e} , the origin of which is obscure, as it does not appear to be a legacy from IG. It has been suggested that this \bar{e} (e^2) [which according to some scholars was open, according to others closed (cf. Franck, *Zs.f.d.A.* 40, 51, &c.; Wilmanns², i. § 190; for genitive, &c., cf. Feist, *PBB.* xxxii, Franck, 501)] derives \bar{e}^2 by contraction from the diphthong $\bar{e}i$, since the few words in which it occurs have cognate forms with \bar{i} or \bar{i} , with which $\bar{e}i$ could interchange: thus Got., OS., OE. *hēr*, OHG. *hear*, *hiar*, beside Got. *hidrē*, OS. *hir*. These Gmc. \bar{e}^2 's are reinforced by a few words adopted from the Latin, as *mensa*, vulg. Lat. *mēsa*, Got. *mēs*, OHG. *meas*, *mias*. In Gothic both Pr. Gmc. \bar{e} and $\bar{æ}$ are given by the same sign \bar{e} , but certainly a distinction was preserved in pronunciation, as in later Gothic the $\bar{e} \leftarrow \bar{æ}$ was occasionally written *ei*, but $\bar{e} \leftarrow \bar{e}$ never (cf. Streitberg, Noreen, and *PBB.* xi. 302, xv. 131 and 297, xvi. 238, and xviii. 499; Franck, *Zs.f.d.A.* 40).

NOTE.—The development of Pr. Gmc. $\bar{æ}$ in the various Gmc. dialects 254 is somewhat complicated:

(a) E. Gmc. (Gothic) represents it in most cases by \bar{e} (long closed e) as in IG. That it was closed in Gothic and not open is seen from the confusion in writing with \bar{i} (written *ei*) and even with \bar{i} (cf. Streitberg, *Got. Gr.*, § 77).

(b) N. Gmc. represented by \bar{a} . Noreen, *A. I. Gr.*, § 54.

(c) W. Gmc. represented by \bar{a} , preserved thus in OHG., and for the most part in OS. The OE. dialects, on the other hand, do not retain the \bar{a} of W. Gmc.; West Saxon reverts to the $\bar{æ}$ of Pr. Gmc., while Kentish and Anglian have the long closed \bar{e} sound: Sievers, *Ag. Gr.*, § 57 and § 150, i.

It results from this law that the diphthong *ei* became *iġ*, which was then contracted to *ī* :—

| Gk. | Lat. | Got. | OE. | OHG. |
|----------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| δείκνυμι | <i>dīco</i> (<i>deico</i>) | <i>ga-teihan</i> (<i>ei=ī</i>) | (<i>tēon</i>) | <i>zīhan</i> |
| στείχω | | <i>steigan</i> | | <i>stīgan</i> |
| | | Pr. Gmc. * <i>deuriz</i> | | <i>diuri</i> |

and that Pr. Gmc. *eu* before *i, j* → *iu* : **leuχtjan*—*luhten*.

(b) When followed by a nasal consonant.

| Lat. | Got. | OE. | OHG. |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>ventus</i> | <i>winds</i> | <i>wind</i> | <i>wint</i> |
| <i>gens</i> | | | <i>kind</i> |
| <i>sentis</i> | <i>sinþs</i> | | <i>sind</i> |
| <i>mentha</i> | | <i>minte</i> | <i>minza</i> |

NOTE.—*c* also → *i* in original (i. e. IG.) unstressed syllable :

*IG. *egom*, Lat. *ego*, ON. (stressed) *ek*, OHG. (unstressed) *ik*, OE. *ic*.

Nom. pl. of cons. stems: IG. *-es*, Gk. *πόδες*, Lat. *pedes*, Pr. Gmc.

**fōtiz*, OE. *fēt*.

ii. **u** → **o** by *a/o* mutation. Before an *a, o* in following syllable, **258** unless an *i* or *j* or nasal in the same syllable intervene. The same process, of course, took place with the diphthong *eu*, which became *eo* before *a* following *a* or *o*, e. g. Lat. *gustāre*, OHG. *kostōn*, but Lat. *gustum* : Pr. Gmc. **kustiz*, Got. *kusts*, OHG. *kust*, Gk. *ζυγόν*, Pr. Gmc. **juka-m*, OHG. *joh*, OE. *zeoc*.

So OHG. *giholfan* beside *hulfum*.

gūvorfan „ *wurfum*.

gizogan „ *zugum*.

gibotan „ *butum*, but *gibundan*, *giswumman*, where the

vowel *u* is protected by a nasal.

It should be noted that only Germanic *a* and *o* in following syllable can produce this mutation, not any secondary vowel generated in OHG. (285) : e. g. *kupfar* to Latin *cuprum*.

With reference to a possible Pr. Gmc. *a/o* mutation of *i* (→ *e*), see below, 277.

iii. **a, i, u** → **ā, ī, ū**. Where *a, i, u* were followed by nasal plus **259** Gmc. *χ*, the nasal fell and the vowel was lengthened and nasalized. It remained nasalized in Gmc., as is shown by the OE. forms ; e. g. :

Pr. Gmc. **χαρχαν*, Got. *hāhan*, OE. *hōn*, OHG. *hāhan* beside pret. *hieng*.

Pr. Gmc. **παρχα*, Got. *pāhta*, OE. *ðōhte*, OHG. *dāhta* to infin. Got. *þagkjan*, OE. *ðencean*, OHG. *denken*.

Pr. Gmc. **φαρχαν*, Got. *fāhan*, OE. *fōn*. OHG. *fāhan*, pret. *fieng*.

Pr. Gmc. **wiwoχan*, Got. *weihan*, OHG. *wīhan* to Lat. *vinco*.

Pr. Gmc. **þiwoχan*, Got. *þeihan*, OE. *ðeōn*, OHG. *dīhan* to OS. p.p. *gihungan*, OE. p.p. *zēdunzen*.

Pr. Gmc. **þriwoχan*, Got. *þreihan*: OE. *drinzan*, OHG. *dringan*.

Got. *jūhiza* comparative to *juggs*, OHG. *jung*.

Got. *hūhrus* to OHG. *hungar*.

Pr. Gmc. **uwoχ*, Got. *uh* ← *ūh* to Lat. *umque*.

At the close of the Pr. Gmc. period, that is, at the point when the original Germanic languages began to split up into the several dialects, the following vowel system existed:—

Short Vowels *a, e, i, o, u* as compared with *a, e, i, u* (at the commencement).

Long Vowels *ā, ē, æ, ī, ō, ū* as compared with *æ, ē, ī, ō, ū*.

Diphthongs *ai, au, eu, iu, eo* as compared with *ai, au, eu*.

VOWEL GRADATION

260 Vowel gradation is the term used to denote the certain variations in quality and quantity of the sonant element (whether in root stem or suffix) of cognate words, or within the various forms of the same word when such variations are rooted in differences which existed already in IG. These were due to manifold causes, such as reduction of sonant in weak stressed syllable, shortening, lengthening, accentuation, &c.

Gothic: *malan, mōl, mulda*; OHG. *melo*.

Greek: *πατήρ, πατέρα, πατρός, πατράσι*; *φέρω, φόρος, φώρ*.

The causes of this interchange of vowel sounds are very diverse, and they are not yet systematized beyond a certain point. Doubtless in the main the variation of sound is due to variation of stress accent, for in the IG. and the early Gmc. period this accent was free (i. e. unrestricted in its position by number of syllables, or by any question of quantity), and certainly until after the time of the operation of Verner's Law could rest on any syllable in the word, while in duration it was either acute (*δέα*) or slurred (*δεās*). In Greek it was ultimately restricted to one of the three final syllables. In Latin its place was eventually determined by the quantity of the penult, though the occurrence of such words as 'ópitumus' points to a period when the accent could draw still further away from the final syllable, as the older 'opitumus' could not have lost the *i* had this been accented, thus an original 'ópitumus' must be assumed. But not all variations can be accounted for in this way; there are others which are probably due to

IG. having had, beside the stress accent, also a pitch or musical accent, which seems to have predominated towards the close of the period, though in Gmc. the accentuation became again primarily one of stress. Thus a distinction has to be made between grade of stress (quantitative grade) and grade of pitch (qualitative grade). The result of both systems combined is that the related vowels vary with one another in a certain definite series, termed the IG. vowel gradation series.

There were three Quantitative Grades :—

261

(a) Strong Grade Long (Dehnstufe): *ōψ, ōdi, vōx, rēx, qēns, bērusjōs.*

(b) Strong Grade Short (Vollstufe): *ōψis, odium, vocare, rego, qinō, baíran.*

(c) Schwa or Vanishing Grade (Reductionsstufe): *datus, *dedmus* beside *donāre.*

These are due to lengthening of the vowel under special conditions, or to its being weakened by loss of stress.

A secondary lengthening, not originally the result of vowel gradation, also frequently took place in IG. ; it probably was caused by the loss of syllable or of individual consonants, and was apparently compensatory for this syllabic or consonant loss ; e. g. IG. **pōd-s*, Sk. *pād(a)*, Gk. (Dor.) *πῶς*, Lat. *pēs* (for *ped-s*), Got. *fōtus*, OE. *fōt*, OHG. *fuoz*; *exāmen* ← *exā(g)men*; *πατήρ* for **pāters*; cf. the similar phenomenon in Gmc. Got. *fāhan* ← *fanχan*, &c. Cf. *I.F.* iii. p. 305.

Inasmuch as this secondary long vowel might alternate with vowels of a Gradation series, it is not always possible, and is here unnecessary, to distinguish it from the Long Strong Grade vowel.

Reduction occurred when the chief accent came to rest on the syllable preceding or following the vowel affected. The process may be briefly summed up as follows: all vowels not bearing the stress tended to be reduced.

(1) The long vowels *ē, ā, ō*, when unaccented, appear usually as the Schwa (*ɔ*), i. e. Sk. *i*, Gk. *ε, α, ο*, Lat. *a, datus* ← **dātos*. If the vowel was followed or preceded by an *ĭ* or an *u̇*, the *ĭ* or *u̇* appear to have become syllabic, and with the Schwa resulting from the vowel to have become *ī* or *ū*: cf. the optative suffix *iō, s-ĭō-m* → *sīmus*.

262

(2) The short vowels *e, a, o* fell in the syllable preceding that which bore the main stress :—

Sk. *'s-anti*, Lat. *'s-unt*, Got. *'s-ind*: *√es*. Beside Skr. *pi-tar-am* (acc.) the gen. *pi-tr-ās*, Lat. *pa-tr-is*, Got. *fa-dr-s*.

If the vowel was preceded or followed by an *ĭ* or an *u̇*, the *ĭ* or *u̇* became syllabic on the fall of the vowel and remained as *i* or *u*.

Gk. *λείπειν*, *λιπέιν*, *φείγειν*, *φυγέιν*; Got. *gráip*—*grípum*, *báug*—*bugum*.

If the vowel stood immediately before or after an *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, these consonants became sonant on the fall of the vowel:—

Lat. *dentis*, Got. *tunþus* ← *tnþus*, IG. *þnos* → Got. *fulls* ← *fl-*.

Qualitative Gradation.

263 The causes for this interchange have not been satisfactorily explained. It may be that as quantitative gradation was certainly induced by the varied stress, so qualitative gradation was brought about by the varying pitch, but though there is much to be said for this theory it is evident that by no means all cases could be thus explained.

It no doubt originally affected the vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables alike, but inasmuch as the vowels in unstressed syllables were reduced to the 'Schwa' or vanishing point, the only result of qualitative gradation which claims attention is that of the Strong Grade vowels. For the subsequent development in Gmc. the only qualitative grade of importance is that of the Strong Grade.

Strong Grade. Long \bar{e} : \bar{o} .
Short \acute{e} : \acute{o} .

264 The combined result of the two types of gradation gave in IG. six series:—

| Qualitative and Quantitative. | | | | Qualitative. | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------|-----------|----------------------|
| 1. | <i>e</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>ɔ</i> | 6. | <i>a</i> | \bar{a} | <i>ɔ</i> |
| 2. | <i>eĭ</i> | <i>oĭ</i> | <i>i</i> | | <i>o</i> | \bar{o} | <i>ɔ</i> |
| 3. | <i>eu</i> | <i>ou</i> | <i>u</i> | | | | <i>u</i> |
| 4. | <i>eĭʳ</i> | <i>oĭʳ</i> | <i>ĭʳ</i> | | | | <i>ĭʳ</i> |
| | <i>eĭ^m</i> | <i>oĭ^m</i> | <i>ĭ^m</i> | | | | <i>ĭ^m</i> |
| 5. | \bar{e} | \bar{o} | <i>ɔ</i> | | | | |

These are the only gradation series which occur clearly in Gmc.

| | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|---|--|---|
| Got. 1. | <i>gĭban</i> | <i>gaf</i> | <i>gĭbans</i> | Gk. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ | $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\rho\kappa\alpha$ | $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$ |
| 2. | <i>stĕigan</i> | <i>stáig</i> | <i>stĕigans</i> | $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\omega$ | $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\alpha$ | $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\nu$ |
| 3. | <i>biugan</i> | <i>báug</i> | <i>biugans</i> | $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ | $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\acute{\eta}\lambda\omicron\nu\theta\alpha$ | $\acute{\eta}\lambda\upsilon\theta\omicron\nu$ |
| 4. | <i>bindan</i> | <i>band</i> | <i>bundans</i> | | | |
| | <i>hĭlþan</i> | <i>halp</i> | <i>hulþans</i> | | | |
| 5. | <i>lĕtan</i> | <i>laĭlōt</i> | <i>(lĕtans)</i> | | | |
| 6. | <i>faran</i> | <i>fōr</i> | <i>farans</i> | | | |

It should not be overlooked that this vowel gradation took place not only in root, but also in stem, and thus gave rise to the manifold forms in the inflection of noun and verb, beside the numerous cognate forms from the same root, e. g. :—

Lat. *cōlare*, *super-cilium*, *frāter*—*frātri*; OE. *fela*, Lat. *plus*, Gk. *πολύς*.

Got. *hilms*; OHG. *helm*—*hālum*; Got. *brōþar*—*brōþr*; *hanans*—*hanins*.

Got. acc. sg. *aúhsan*, dat. *aúhsin*, gen. pl. *aúhsnē*.

Owing to the operation of the various sound-laws which have already been stated, this vowel gradation does not appear quite so clearly in Germanic as it does in IG., though it is still one of the main features of the language, and in the verb determines the whole system of conjugation.

Germanic gradation will be treated in the chapter dealing with the OHG. Strong Verbs. For full details of IG. vowel gradation, see Hirt, *IG. Ablaut*, Bechtel, *Hauptprobleme*, 4, 5, Brugmann³, § 533, Noreen, *Urg. L. L.*, and Streitberg, *UG.*, § 44.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PR. GMC. VOWEL SYSTEM IN OHG.

A. IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

Long Vowels.

The changes effected in the vowel system during the OHG. period 265 are, so far as the long vowels are concerned, but few.

Pr. Gmc. *æ* became *ā*, and *ē* and *ō* were diphthongized: the rest remained unchanged.

(1) Pr. Gmc. *æ* (*ǣ*) (IG. *ē*) became *ā* and coincided in all respects in W. Gmc. with the *ā* which had developed from the fall of the nasal in the sound group *anχ* (109), e. g. :—

| Pr. Gmc. | Got. | OHG. | Got. | OHG. |
|------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| * <i>lǣtan</i> - | <i>lētan</i> | <i>lāzan</i> | <i>ētum</i> | <i>āzum</i> |
| * <i>rǣðan</i> - | <i>rēðan</i> | <i>rātan</i> | <i>mēna</i> | <i>māno</i> |
| * <i>mǣrig</i> - | <i>mērs</i> | <i>māri</i> | Lat. <i>Suēbi</i> | NHG. <i>Schwaben</i> |

The evidence of Germanic names preserved in Latin writings goes to show that this change began at a very early date, in UG. already in the third century, whereas in Franconia it was not effected until the sixth to seventh century (see Streitberg, *UG.*, § 77, *Gr.*² p. 421).

(2) IG. *ēi*, Pr. Gmc. *ē*, was diphthongized in the eighth century to *ea*, and this passed in the ninth century to *ia* and *ie*.

There are but few instances of Pr. Gmc. *ē* derived from IG. *ēi*. In 266 OHG. the number of words with the closed *ē* is greater, owing (1) to the reduplicating perfects of the *i*-class having developed *ē*, e. g. Got. *hāihald*, OHG. *hēllt*, and (2) to some Latin words with root syllable

in *ē* or *ĕ* having been borrowed. These two *ē*'s of OHG. are not distinguished in treatment.

Examples :

| | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ē ← IG. <i>ei</i> . | Pr. Gmc. * <i>hēr</i> | OHG. <i>hēr, hear, hiar, hier</i> |
| | * <i>Krēkiz</i> | <i>Chrēh, Chreach, Kriach</i> |
| | * <i>mēđō</i> , | <i>mēla, meata, miala, miete</i> |
| | Got. <i>mizdo</i> | <i>skēro, skiaro, skiero</i> |
| | | <i>fēra, feara, fiara</i> |
| | | <i>zēri, ziari, zieri</i> |
| | | <i>ziagal</i> |
| | Lat. <i>tegula</i> | |

267 ē arising in W. Gmc.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| (a) Got. <i>háiheit</i> | OHG. <i>hēz, heaz, hiāz, hiēz</i> | Got. <i>háihalt</i> | OHG. <i>hialt</i> |
| <i>raírōp</i> | <i>riat</i> | <i>sáislēp</i> | <i>sliaf</i> |
| (b) Lat. <i>mēs</i> | OHG. <i>meas, mias</i> | Lat. <i>speculum</i> | OHG. <i>spiagal</i> |
| <i>bēta</i> | <i>biezā</i> | <i>remus</i> | <i>riemo</i> |
| <i>breve</i> | <i>briaf, brief</i> | | |

NOTE.—The form *ie* became fixed about A. D. 850, and was preserved until well into MHG. times. After the turn of the tenth century it coincides with an *ie* obtained from the weakened *io* out of *eu*. Otfrid and Muspilli use *ie* and *ia*; Isidor *ea*; Tatian *ie*.

268 (3) Pr. Gmc. *ō* (IG. *ā* or *ō*) was diphthongized in the eighth century to *oa*, *ua*, *uo*; e. g. Got. *gōþs*, OHG. *gōt, coat, guat, guot*. Got. *brōþar*, OE. *brōþor*, OHG. *bruoder*. Got. *flōdus*, OHG. *fluot*. Got. *bōka*, OE. *bōc*, OHG. *buohha*.

Latin loan-words with open *o* underwent the same change, e. g. *scōla*, OHG. *scuola*.

This change set in gradually, and its rate of progress varied in the several dialects:—

(a) In Alemannic *ō* and *oa* are found up to the mid-eighth century; at the close of the century *ō* and *oa* have been replaced by *ua*; this held its own for well-nigh the whole ninth century, after which Alemannic also adopted *uo*.

(b) In Upper Franconian and in Rhine Franconian the diphthongization begins about 750, and *uo* gradually prevails over *ō*. At the close of the century *ō* finally vanishes in favour of *uo*, without first passing through *oa* and *ua*; the form *uo* was adopted from the outset, and by the commencement of the ninth century was fixed, a whole century earlier than in Alemannic.

(c) In South Rhine Franconian the intermediate stage *ua* is the prevailing one during the ninth century. The form *uo* occurs a few times in Otfrid through assimilation to a following *o*, *u*, and *e*, and he occasionally writes *ya* for *ua*; see Kelle, 461, and Braune, § 39. 8.

(d) In Bavarian the *ō* was preserved up to the ninth century, then

gradually began to give way to *uo*, but the latter did not predominate until the close of the century. For particulars cf. Braune, § 39.

3, 4.

Thus:—

269

| | 8th. | 9th. | 10th. |
|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Bavarian | <i>plōt, ploat</i> | <i>plōt</i> | <i>pluot</i> |
| Alemannic | <i>plōt, ploat</i> | <i>pluat</i> | <i>pluot</i> |
| Up. and Rh. Fr. | <i>blōt, bluot</i> | <i>bluot</i> | <i>bluot</i> |
| South Rh. Fr. | <i>blōt</i> | <i>bluat</i> | <i>bluot</i> |

At the close of the century the form *uo* is universal in all dialects.

NOTE.—In all dialects we find occasional variations, many of which may safely be attributed to clerical errors. Thus we have *ū* for *uo* and *ua*, often in MG. and occasionally in UG. The latter has also now and then *ou*, as *brouder*, &c., but these writings are so isolated that they need not here be taken into consideration.

(4) Pr. Gmc. *ū* (IG. *ū* and *ū* ← *u* before *ʀχ*) remains unaltered, e. g. 270
Got., OHG. *rūna*, Lat. and OHG. *mūra*, Got. *þūhta*, OHG. *dūhta*.

NOTE.—Notker in Alemannic writes regularly *ūo* for *ū* before the spirant *h*, e. g. *scūoh*, and before *ch* in *brūochen*; in other cases the vowel is always shortened: *scuoha* = *scuha*. See 229 a.

(5) Pr. Gmc. *ī* (IG. *ī* and *ī* ← *i* before *ʀχ*) remains unaltered: Lat. *sūnus*, Got. *sweins*, OHG. *swīn*; Gk. *στείχω*, Got. *steigan*, OHG. *stīgan*.

Diphthongs.

I. Pr. Gmc. *ai* (IG. *oi* or *ai*) had twofold development, becoming 271 either:

(1) *ei* (after the eighth century);

or (2) *ē* before *r*, *w*, and *h* (← Gmc. *χ*), and when final.

| | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (1) | Got. <i>áins</i> <i>hláifs</i> <i>háils</i> <i>dáils</i> <i>táikns</i> | OHG. <i>ein</i> <i>(h)leib</i> <i>heil</i> <i>teil</i> <i>zeihhan</i> |
| (2) | Got. <i>láihv</i> <i>máizα</i> <i>áihts</i> <i>sáir</i> <i>sáirws</i> <i>sái (= Lat. ecce)</i> | OHG. <i>lēh</i> <i>mēro</i> <i>ēht</i> <i>sēr</i> <i>sēo (sēwes)</i> <i>sē</i> |

The oldest MSS. write *æ* or *ē* for this latter sound, which must therefore originally have been open, but from the close of the eighth

century this sound had passed from open to closed \bar{e} , and the notation $\bar{æ}$ is no longer found.

- 272 Special cases.** The numerals *zwēne* and *bēde* and the adjective *wēnags* are exceptional. The former are Got. *twái*, *bái*, and probably the influence of the monosyllabic forms, **zwē* and **bē*, where *ai* was final, preserved the \bar{e} in the fuller forms. *Wēnag* is probably cognate with Got. *wái* = *woe*, and as the adjective *wēnag* in German had the meaning of 'unfortunate', in this case the \bar{e} is again most probably due to the analogy of the root.

The writing \bar{e} for *ei* is not infrequently found in MSS., not of any one district or of any one period, but throughout OHG. This must be ascribed to carelessness on the part of the scribes, as the *ei* was pronounced *e+i* (not as Mod. *ei*), and might easily be mistaken for the closed \bar{e} . With careful writers, such as Otfrid, the error does not occur. On the other hand, *ei* for \bar{e} stands perhaps in *eiris* (First Merseburg Charm), and occasionally in Glosses.

- 273 II. Pr. Gmc. *au*** (IG. *ou* or *au*) also had a twofold development in OHG. :—

(1) *ou* (after the eighth century);

(2) \bar{o} before all dental consonants and *h* (← Gmc. χ).

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| (1) Got. <i>háubip</i> | OHG. <i>houbit</i> |
| <i>áukan</i> | <i>ouhhôn</i> |
| <i>dáupjan</i> | <i>loufen</i> |
| <i>biugan, báug</i> | <i>biogan, boug</i> |
| (2) Got. <i>dáupus</i> | OHG. <i>tōd</i> |
| <i>háuhs</i> | <i>hōh</i> |
| <i>stáutan</i> | <i>stōzan</i> |
| <i>(tiuhan) táuh</i> | <i>(ziohan) zōh</i> |
| <i>ráus</i> | <i>rōr</i> |
| <i>láun</i> | <i>lōn</i> |

- 274** The process of contraction of *au* to \bar{o} began in the opening of the eighth century, through the stage of *ao* to open *o*, but after the diphthongization of original \bar{o} was complete it became a closed sound. The stage *ao* is virtually only found in Bavarian MSS., in which it prevails until the ninth century.

Beside the Pr. Gmc. *au* another *au* was developed from Pr. Gmc. *auw* (Got. *ggw*) → *au+w*, which also passed into *ou*; e. g. *auwja*—*auwia*—*ouwa* (244). As with the other diphthongs, variations in writing are occasionally found: *o* for *ou*, and also *uo* for *ou*, but these cases are rare. It should be noted, however, that Williram writes regularly \bar{o} i for *ou*: thus *hōibet*, *trōif*. (See Franck, § 35.)

III. Pr. Gmc. *eu*.

275

Already in Pr. Gmc. *eu* had become (257):

iu by *i/j* mutation in OHG. it became *iu* also before *u*.

eo by *a/o* mutation (258).

This *eo* then passed to *io* and then to *ie*, but this change is not carried through systematically, except in Franconia. In UG. a following labial or guttural consonant, with the exception of *h*, prevented the *a/o* mutation, and *eu* passed here also to *iu* (*PBB.* iv. 457).

eu → *iu*:

| | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Pr. Gmc. * <i>leuχtj-</i> | Got. <i>liuhtjan</i> | OHG. <i>liuhten</i> |
| * <i>seuχi-</i> | <i>siukei</i> | <i>siuhhi</i> |
| * <i>leuχō-</i> | <i>tiuha</i> | <i>ziuhu</i> |
| * <i>beutō-</i> | <i>biuta</i> | <i>biutu</i> |

eu → *eo*:

| | | |
|------------------|----------------|---------------|
| * <i>beutan-</i> | <i>biutan</i> | <i>biotan</i> |
| * <i>leuχa-</i> | <i>liuhaps</i> | <i>liocht</i> |

eu → Fr. *eo*, UG. *iu*:

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| * <i>seuχa-</i> | Franc. <i>seoh</i> | UG. <i>siuh</i> |
| * <i>beuā-</i> | <i>theob</i> | <i>diup</i> |

In the change from *eu* to *ie* the first stage was *eo*, which held its own 276 until the commencement of the ninth century, when *io* began to creep in and soon completely ousted *eo*. After a century *io* in its turn gave way to *ie*, so that in the tenth century *ie* was universal and coincided with the *ie* obtained from *ē* through *ea* and *ia* (265). Otfrid, in South Rhine Franconian, often writes *iu* for *io*, always in the word *liublih*, but generally *ia*, especially in the verbs of the II. series, *biatan*, *niazan*, as in the red. pret. *riat*, *stiaz*. Thus, while Franconian had maintained two distinct developments of Pr. Gmc. *eu* → ^{*iu*}_{*eo*} according to whether it was subject to *i/j* mutation or to *a/o* mutation, UG. had not at first done so. This Franconian distinction is now adopted also by UG., and is universal after the ninth century, so that common OHG. of the tenth century has *liogan*, *liugu* beside the earlier forms UG. *liugan*, Franconian *liogan*.

In the words *ēo* and *hwēo*, from Got. *áiw*, *hwáiw*, the *ē*, owing to lack of stress, was shortened at an early date, and thus they became *eo* and *hweo*; this *eo* coincided with the *eo* obtained from *eu* through *a/o* mutation, and passed like it into *io*, thus: *io*, *hwio* (Otfrid *ia*, *wia*), and finally *ie* and *wie*.

Short Vowels.

277 Pr. Gmc. *i* (IG. *e* or *i*) remains *i* in most cases in OHG.: Lat. *piscis*—*fisc*, Lat. *vidua*—*wituwā*, Got. *witun*—*wizzum*, but sometimes → *e* in OHG. before an *a* or *o* in following syllable, unless protected by a nasal + consonant or by an *i* or *j*: Lat. *vices*—*wehsalōn*: **nisdos* [Lat. *nidus*] → *nest*, *stigum*: *stega*, but *suimman*, *suintan*, *rinman*.

The *a/o* mutation, by which already in Pr. Gmc. *i* tended to pass to *e* before *a* or *o*, did not operate consistently throughout Pr. Gmc., nor does it in OHG. In great part it was cancelled by the new formations and by levelling out in favour of the form in *i*. The exceptions are so numerous and so systematic that many have denied the law altogether, while others are inclined to seek the cause of the change of *i* → *e* rather in consonant than in vowel influence, and in fact the combination of *s* + consonant is almost invariably accompanied by forms in *e*: *nest*, *wessa*, &c. It is noteworthy that the whole class of Graded past participles of the first series show throughout an *i* where the mutation would necessitate an *e*: *gistigan*, *gizigan*, *giritan*, &c.; and, again, the pronominal forms *imo*, *inan*, *ira* show an *i* in place of an *e*. Brugmann's statement that analogy and levelling out cover almost all exceptions to the rule is hardly satisfactory. In OHG. doublets repeatedly occur, i.e. forms with *e* or *i*: *wissa*—*wiste* in UG. and *wessa*—*westa* in Franc. Thus *ledic*—*lidic*, *klebēn*—*klīban*, *lebēn*—*liban*, *lernēn*—*lirnan*. Words taken from Latin in most cases retain the *i*: *dictare* → *dictōn*, *discus* → *tisc*, but some show *e*, as *pīx* → *bech*, *bicarium* → *behhāri*, *signum* → *segan*. *PBB.* vi. 82, vii. 417. For another theory cf. Collitz, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xx (1905), 65-8; R. Trautmann, *Germ. Lautgesch.*, 110.

NOTE.—Kock's hypothesis (*PBB.* xxiii. 84) that all past part. of the first series originally took the suffix *-īnaz* (*enos*), not *-anaz* (*onos*), through a kind of vowel harmony, would cancel the objection.

It has been shown that in Pr. Gmc. times already *e* passed to *i*:—

(1) Before a nasal in the same syllable: Lat. *ventus* → OHG. *wint*.

(2) Before an *i* or *j* in the following syllable: Lat. *medius* → OHG. *mitti*. To this must now be added in OHG.:

(3) Before *u* in following syllable, unless the *u* in its turn is followed by an *o* or an *a*. Lat. *pecus*, OHG. *fihu*, Lat. *septem*, OHG. *sibun*.

This later operation is particularly marked in the conjugation, while in the nominal inflexion levelling out has affected uniformity. The inflectional endings of the sing. present were in OHG.: *u*, *is*, *it*, hence

OHG. verbs of the first series such as *neman* inflect *nimu*, *nimis*, *nimit*, but the plural retains the *e*: *nemamēs*, *nemet*, *nemant*, and so all verbs with an *e* in root: *beran*, *geban*, &c.

Hence, too, the majority of the nouns of the *u*-declension have an *i* in the stem, as *fridu*, *situ*, &c. Even when the *u* had fallen, as it did after a long stem syllable, the *i* was retained: e. g. Got. *skildus*, OHG. *scilt*, Got. *qairnus*, OHG. *quirn*.

The exceptions are in most cases due to levelling out: *fehu* beside *fihu*. The presence of the double form may be accounted for by the fact that the gen. and dat. sing. ended respectively in *es* and *e*; thus the declension would run: *fihu*, *fēhes*, *fēhe*, *fihu*, and it is natural that the *e* of the oblique cases should have entered the nominative. As an example of *u* failing to effect this change because itself followed by an *a* or *o*, the large class of nouns with suffix *-unga* retain *e* in root because the final *a* has impeded the change: *skellunga*, *stredunga*.

NOTE.—This mutation of *e* to *i* is most important in OHG. and in 278
NHG. alike: to it are due the numerous cognates in Modern German with *e* and *i* from the same root: thus *erde* (*erda*) and *irdisch* (*irdisc*), *recht* and *richten*, *Herde* and *Hirte*, and in the large class of collective nouns the *i* of the root is due to an *i* originally following: *Feld*—*Gefilde*, *Berg*—*Gebirge* (*gabirgi*). Again, the second pers. sing. of the present of the Graded verbs ended in *-esi*, the third in *-eti* (291). IG. *e* → Gmc. *i* (257); thus **gebese*, **gibisi*, OHG. *gibis*, NHG. *gibst*, *gibl*.

It is noteworthy that *e* followed by *i* or *u* passed to *i* before all consonant groups without exception, even those which were able to resist the OHG. *i/j* mutation of *a* to *e*, but that the secondary *u* generated by the sonant liquids had no effect: *swehur* ← **sweχroz* retains its *e* beside *sweigar* ← **swegruz*: so also *ebur* ← **ebroz*, *nebul*, &c.

Pr. Gmc. *a* (IG. *a* or *o*) remained unchanged in OHG. except before 279
a following *i* or *j*, which mutated it to *e*. This is termed the OHG. *i/j* mutation.

Got. *gast*, OHG. *gast*, but Got. *gasteis*, OHG. *gesti*, and in OHG. *lang*: *lengi*; *faru*: *feris*, *ferit*; *fasto*: *festi*.

There is no direct proof of any other vowel except *a* being thus mutated during the OHG. period, but there is strong reason to infer from later developments that *u* and *o* were early modified in pronunciation, and it is possible that the *ibilo* of Merigarto (62), *muillen* of the Georgslied, and the *hiule* of Notker, are attempts to denote a mutated vowel.

This *i/j* mutation was universally checked by certain consonant groups, chiefly those which contained an *h* or a *w*:—

(1) By *ht* and *hs*: *mahti, gislahti*.

(2) By consonant + *w*: *farwen, garwila*.

Dialectally only (UG.):—

(3) By *l* or *r* + consonant: Franc. *giwelli, ferri, elli*; UG. *kíwältit, farri, alti*.

(4) By *h* ← Gmc. *χ*: Franc. *chir, slehit*; UG. *ahir, slahit*; cf. *PBB.* iv. 540.

(5) By *hh, ch* ← Gmc. *k*: O. *firsehit*; UG. *sachit*.

A necessary condition for the operation of this *i/j* mutation was that the *a* to be mutated was in an accented syllable, and the *i* or *j* in an unaccented syllable immediately following upon it. Hence:—

(a) Mutation could as a rule only take place within the compass of one word, though in Otfrid the *i* of enclitics such as *ih, iz* not infrequently effects mutation of the vowel in the preceding word: e.g. *meg ih*.

(b) The derivative syllables *-nissa, -nissi, -lih*, having a strong secondary accent, do not effect the mutation in OHG. *finstarnissi, harmlihho, langlih*.

(c) In the suffixes *-hafti, -scaffi, -sami*, the *a* did not bear the chief accent but only a secondary one, hence it was left untouched by the following *i*. There are, of course, many exceptions to this *i/j* mutation, due to the force of analogy and to the constraint of noun and verb accidence. Thus in the nom. sing. fem. and nom. pl. neut. the adjective ended in *-iu* and the preceding vowel should be mutated, as Otfrid *elliu, ellu*, Merigarto *endriu*, but the force of the other cases was usually too strong and the mutation was levelled out. In the same way the gen. and dat. sing. of the OHG. weak nouns ended in *-in*: *hano—hanin*, and there are a few forms which show mutation, as *scado—scedin, namo—nemin*, frequent in Isidor and M., but only in early texts, for the root *a* of the other cases soon penetrated into the gen. and dative. The conjunctive present of the weak verb ended in *i*: OHG. *santi, zalti*, but it never shows mutation. Gradually the mutating force of the *i* or *j* extended to a vowel not immediately preceding; the mediate vowel was first assimilated, and then mutation of the root syllable became possible also, though not regularly carried out until after the OHG. period: OHG. *zaharin* and *zahirin*, MHG. *zeheren*, OHG. *fravali* and *fravili*, MHG. *frevel*, OHG. *mangi* and *menigi, framidi* and *fremidi*. The result of this 'younger' mutation is a very open *e* (*ä*) sound. This OHG. *i/j* mutation did not begin until shortly

after 750. as the St. Gallen Glosses before that date have no instance of it. It then spread rapidly, and was universal after the beginning of the ninth century. It only affected *a*, which in critical texts is written *e* (in distinction to *ê* ← Gmc. *e*), but in the oldest MSS. was noted by *e*, *ai*, *ei*, as showing that it was then an open sound: this *e* from *a* became closed about the commencement of the ninth century. The mutation movement was probably from the north southwards, losing strength as it passed into UG., for the cases of resistance to it are far more numerous there than they are in Franconian.

Gmc. *u* and *o* remain in OHG.

280

There is a frequent interchange of *o* and *u* in stem-word and derivative, according to the vowel of the next syllable:

| | | |
|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>gold</i> — <i>guldin</i> | <i>coran</i> — <i>ni curi</i> | <i>fol</i> — <i>fulli</i> |
| <i>got</i> — <i>gutin</i> | <i>dorrēn</i> — <i>durri</i> | <i>holz</i> — <i>gihulzi</i> |
| <i>ortforma</i> — <i>ortfrumu</i> (gen.) BR. | | |

In many cases, however, one form has overpowered the other, and the distinction has been obliterated by analogy, especially in the noun inflection, thus: *gold*, inst. *goldu*, *holz*, nom. pl. *holzir*.

It is to be noted that this *a/o* mutation only took place before a Pr. Gmc. *a* or *o*, and not before an *a* or *o* of merely OHG. origin; cf. OHG. *sumar*, *ubar*, *kupfar*, Pr. Gmc. **sumur*, *ubur*, Lat. *cuprum*. See *PBB.* xii. 549 and *IF.* iii. 381.

The *o* in the perfect presents, *onda*, *konda*, has not been satisfactorily explained; it is generally accepted as the result of analogy to the other perfect presents, *mohta*, *scolta*, &c.; but see Behaghel, *Germania*, xxxi. 382.

In some instances *o* has replaced *a*, especially before *l*, *r* and nasals: e. g. *fona*, *nollas*, *nols*, *noles*, *olde*, *vorwe*, *soma*, Is. 9. 1 *womba*; O. has several times *infolto*, Gl. *viffoldamo*, *tuuifolda*. Other cases are *oh*, *joh* (Got. *ak*, *jah*). Double forms also occur in *a* and *o*, as *halōn* and *holōn*: Franconian has an imperfect *mohta* to *mugen* in place of the older *mahta*: Notker uses *s(k)ol* for *s(k)al*; see *PBB.* xi. 287, xv. 210 and 377.

B. IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

With the end of the Pr. Gmc. period the accent, as has been said, **281** became fixed, consequently the degree of stress put on the various syllables varied considerably: root vowels acquired ever more and more force, and medial and final ones became weaker and weaker, so that a distinction hitherto unnecessary has to be observed between the treatment of accented vowels and of unaccented vowels. It will be

well to premise that the history of the development of vowels in unaccented syllables is most involved, and, though agreement as to general principles has been reached, no law has been formulated which has met with universal acceptance. It is, however, possible to observe the guiding principle underlying the whole, and also to show certain definite changes which are beyond all doubt.

The main principle seems to have been that every vowel in unaccented syllable tended to be shortened in duration: diphthongs became monophthongs, vowels with the slurred accent lost some of their length and took the acute accent, long vowels became short, short vowels fell. Naturally, the vowels which suffered most by the fixing of the accent were those most remote from the root and unprotected by a following consonant group: the greater the stress laid on the root, the more the final vowel was weakened. Thus, having no support, a short final syllable following on a long syllable lost its vowel more quickly than did a medial syllable under the same conditions. The power of resistance offered by the respective vowels varied: *u* and *i* persist longer than *e* and *a*, while *e* is more stubborn than *a*.

282 In discussing the fate of IG. unaccented vowels regard must be had to:—

(1) Their original degree of duration, for IG. distinguished three degrees of duration: slurred (= extra long), long, and short, which might be represented by $\overset{\circ}{\text{p}}$, $\overset{\circ}{\text{p}}$, $\overset{\circ}{\text{p}}$ respectively. *BB.* xvii, p. 106.

(2) Their original position, which could be (a) absolutely final, (b) before a final consonant, (c) medial, (d) in prefix.

(a) and (b).

IG. short vowels in final syllable when followed by only one consonant either in Pr. Gmc. or in W. Gmc. lost this final consonant in Pr. or W. Gmc. In Gmc. the general tendency was to lose all such final vowels. IG. *o*, *a*, *e* (Gmc. *a*, *a*, *i*) fell already in the Pr. Gmc. time: IG. *u* and *i* were more persistent: in the W. Gmc. dialects they are retained after a short root, but lost after a long or polysyllabic one, while Gothic loses *i* but retains *u*, e. g.:

| IG | Pr. Gmc. | Gk. | Got. | OHG. | OE. |
|----------|----------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>o</i> | <i>a</i> | ζυγόν | <i>juk</i> | <i>joh</i> | <i>zeoc</i> |
| <i>a</i> | <i>a</i> | οἶδα | <i>wait</i> | <i>weiz</i> | <i>wāt</i> |
| <i>e</i> | <i>i</i> | πέντε | <i>fimf</i> | <i>fimf</i> | <i>fif</i> |
| <i>i</i> | <i>i</i> | Lat. <i>hostis</i> | <i>gasts</i> | <i>gast</i> | <i>ziest</i> |
| <i>u</i> | <i>u</i> | Pr. Gmc. <i>*skilduz</i> | <i>skildus</i> | <i>scilt</i> | <i>scild</i> |
| | | Lat. <i>pecus</i> | <i>faihu</i> | <i>fihu</i> | |

Diphthongs and long vowels in unaccented syllables :

283

The IG. diphthongs had undergone already the following changes :—

| | |
|---------------|--|
| <i>oi, ai</i> | had passed to Got. <i>ai</i> , W. Gmc. \bar{e} (or <i>e</i>). |
| <i>ou, au</i> | „ „ <i>au</i> „ \bar{o} (or <i>o</i>) and the long vowels. |
| \bar{o} | „ „ <i>a</i> „ <i>u</i> . |
| \bar{i} | „ „ \bar{i} , <i>i</i> „ <i>i</i> . |

These in their turn underwent modifications :

W. Gmc. \bar{e} and \bar{o} (arising from *ai* and *au* respectively) were shortened, unless followed by a consonant which protected the length, e. g. :

| Got. | OHG. | OE. | Got. | OHG. |
|----------------|---------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| <i>baírái</i> | <i>berē</i> | <i>berē</i> but <i>baíráis</i> | | <i>berēs</i> (i. e. before original <i>s</i>) |
| <i>ahtáu</i> | <i>ahto</i> | <i>cahta</i> „ | <i>*frijáus</i> | <i>fridō</i> „ „ „ |
| <i>blindái</i> | <i>blinte</i> | <i>blinde</i> „ | <i>blindáim</i> | <i>blindēm</i> „ „ „ <i>m</i> |

W. Gmc. *i* and *u* (arising from IG. \bar{i} and \bar{o} respectively) were treated like the originally short IG. *i* and *u*, viz. they fell after long, remained after short syllable.

Levelling out, however, soon obscured the original state of affairs : thus in OHG. in the \bar{o} declension the nom. sing. should have retained *u* after a short syllable and lost it after a long, e. g. OHG. **gebu* but *lēr* (OE. *ziefu* and *lār*), but the acc. form has been adopted for the nom., e. g. *geba*, *lēra*. In the pres. ind. the first pers. sing. should have varied in the same way—*ih nimu* but *ih *bind*, but levelling out has given the *u* to both long and short stems. It is important to note that \bar{o} has a different development if originally followed by a consonant, in which case it must be distinguished from slurred \bar{o} in similar position (see below).

Vowels bearing the slurred accent were also reduced and eventually became short, falling after a long accented syllable unless the Pr. Gmc. form had ended in *n* or *z*.

In IG. there existed \bar{o} and \bar{o}^s : and further, if originally followed by an *n* or *s*, \bar{o}^n and \bar{o}^s , \bar{o}^n and \bar{o}^s .

Pr. Gmc. \bar{o} absolutely final yields short vowel in W. Gmc., Gk. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$,
OHG. *biru*.

„ \bar{o} absolutely final yields short vowel in OHG. Lat. *homō*,
OHG. *gomo*, OE. *zuma*.

„ \bar{o}^n and \bar{o}^z absolutely final yields short vowel in OHG.
zungōno, OE. *tungena*.

„ \bar{o}^n and \bar{o}^z absolutely final yields short vowel in OHG.
zunga, OE. *tunze*, OHG. *geba*.

See Brugmann³, § 1029.

(c) Medial vowels are exposed to great variations through the 284

operation of Syncope and Vowel Harmony: frequently they themselves become final owing to the loss of inflectional endings, as in the nom. pl. of neut. nouns, &c.

Syncope. Brugmann states, as a general law, that while short unaccented vowels persist in Pr. Gmc., they fall in W. Gmc. after a long stem syllable.

Got. *háusida* OHG. *hōrta* but Got. *nasida* OHG. *nerita*
jūhiza *jungro* *batiza* *bezziro*.

NOTE.—The most numerous examples of Syncope occur in the preterites and past participles of the Non-Graded Verbs, Class I. Forms such as *hōcta*, *salta*, *zalta*, *gisalt*, &c., which appear to contravene the law that *i* is retained after a short root syllable, are in all probability remains of a Pr. Gmc. pret. formation without *i*: cf. Got. *bugjan*, *baūhta*, *þugkjan*, *þūhta*. It is true that the forms *hugita*, *hebita*, *selita*, *giselit* are also found, but these are more recent analogical formations. See Sievers, *PBB.* v. 99, but also Paul, *PBB.* vi. 1.

Only vowels which were completely unaccented were subject to Syncope: consequently such suffixes as OHG. *ig*, *in*, *od*, *isc*, *oh*, *unga*, *lih*, *scaf*, *hafti*, *nissa*, &c., which bore a secondary accent, retain their vowel intact.

Vowel Harmony. Medial vowels tended to be assimilated to final vowels in Gmc. Examples are specially frequent in OHG.: *keisar* but *keiseres*, *offan* but *offonōn*, *hungar* but *hungirita*. Such assimilations are to be observed particularly in Otfrid. There is tendency in OHG. to weaken vowels in medial syllable to *e*: Otfrid, *wurzelun*, *bittero*, *manegan*, *jungero*.

285 Secondary Vowels. The frequent loss of IG. final syllable in Gmc. had of course the result that consonants which originally had been medial became final in Gmc.

When a group of consonants, one of which was nasal or liquid, thus became final, the W. Gmc. dialects tended to generate a secondary vowel between these consonants which, though not arising in OHG. when the group was not final, eventually established itself even in the inflected forms when the group was medial, e. g.:

| | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Got. <i>fugls</i> | OHG. <i>fogal</i> | OE. <i>fugol</i> |
| <i>ibns</i> | <i>eban</i> | <i>efen</i> |
| <i>báutrs</i> | <i>bittar</i> | <i>bitter</i> |
| <i>akrs</i> | <i>ackar</i> | <i>æcer</i> |
| <i>wintrus</i> | <i>wintar</i> | <i>winter</i> |

This secondary vowel in OHG. was usually *a* before *l*, *n*, *r*; *a* or *u* before *m*.

In OHG. this generation of secondary vowels was not confined to groups of final consonants, but even took place medially between *rh*,

lh, *ræ*, and *læ*. These 'secondary' secondary vowels are not systematically developed, and the same MS. often shows forms with and without them: they do not persist in MHG.

The vowel generated was, in these cases, usually *a*, but sometimes took colour from neighbouring vowels: e. g. *zorht*—*zorah*t, *forhta*—*forah*ta, *garæwer*—*garawer*, (*melo*) *melæws*—*melawes*.

UG. is particularly subject to secondary vowels, developing them in all *r*-combinations (though rarely with dentals), and even between *szw*, *zæw*, *sm*; e. g. UG. *perac*, *purikio*, *starach*, *duruft*, *waram*, *werach*, *kifuraptin*, *kafuribil*, *haramscara*, *zæwei*, *suwimman*.

(d) Vowels in prefix.

286

The vowel of the prefix, lying as it did immediately before the accented vowel, was especially exposed to weakening. It passed gradually to a colourless vowel *e*, but with unequal progress in the several dialects: as a rule UG. showed a preference for *a* where Franconian had *i*. This fact, that the dialects varied considerably in their treatment of the prefix vowel, is very useful in determining the age and origin of a manuscript.

OHG. had as prefixes: *ab*, *ant*, *bi*, *ga*, *ur*, *za*, *zer*; and with these may be included the prepositions *az*, *bi*, *ur*, *za*, as *bi* and *za* at any rate were always proclitic, and they shared the same treatment as prefixes in OHG.

As prefixes to the verb these particles were always unaccented, though in the nominal composition they had originally the full accent.

Az (Got. *at*) is never found in OHG. as a verbal prefix: it is always preposition or adverb, and is very soon replaced by *zi*, *zuo*. [It is only preserved in MHG. as *unz* ← *unt az*.]

[**Ab** is very seldom found as a verbal prefix, being replaced by *aba*. It occurs occasionally as *ob* or *b*: Notker *blaz*. Kuhns, *Zs.* xxvi. 40.]

Ant corresponds to Got. *and*: Got. *and-beitan*; and supplants the Got. prefix *in*: *in-brannjan*. OHG. *antbīzan*, *antbrennan*.

In OHG. *ant* was weakened to *int*, and when the *t* fell it became *in*. It occasionally occurs as *unt*: *untwīchan*.

Bi preserved the *i* throughout the ninth century, but then passed into *be*. In the oldest UG. MSS. the form *ba*, *pa* is found, but BR. has *pi*: *pidiu*, *piporgen*. The adverbial *bī* with fully stressed vowel finally established itself. See Wilmanns², § 328, note.

Far, fur, for. In its oldest form this prefix appears as *fur*, *for*. It was then weakened to *far*, *fir*, and *fer*. The OHG. *fer* represents three Gothic particles—*fra*, *faír*, *faúr*: in OHG. these were not felt to be distinct and became merely dialectal distinctions. In UG.,

namely, the usual form is *far*, as also in the Weissenburg K., whereas Rh. Franconian has *fir*, *fer*, and East Franconian *for*, *fur*. This holds good for the ninth century, after which the form *fer* became universal. Bethge (153) quotes :

Hildebrand, *furlet*; Tatian, *furlazan*, *forlazan*.
 Weiss. K. *farlaz*, Isidor, *firleazssi*, *fyrstant*.
 Otfrid, *firlazu*, *fersagenti*, *unfarholan*.
 Notker, *ferleiten*; Will. *versagen*.

Ga (UG. *ka*, Got. *ga*) passed very soon to *gi* in Franconian: in Alemannic the form *ga* held until the commencement, in Bavaria until the middle of the ninth century. From the end of the century the form *gi* (*ki*) was universal. Alemannic monuments have mostly *ka—ki*; Bavarian at first *ca* and then *ka*. Franconian has *g* only, except Isidor, who writes *cha*, *chi*. The vowel could be assimilated to the root of the word, as Otfrid's '*ungamachu*,' or even suppressed, as O. *gāzun*, N. *guan*. In some of the older texts the vowel is occasionally suppressed before initial consonant *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *w*, as Tatian, *gloubit*; and this usage became common in some dialects during the tenth century, though never universal.

Ur. In OHG. *ur* (Got. *us*) is both preposition and prefix. Compounded with verbs it preserved the *u* only in UG.: the predominant form was *ar*, and this passed during the ninth century to *ir*, which gradually became the universal form by the end of the century. As with *gi*, the *i* gradually gave way before *e*, and by the eleventh century *er* is the definitely fixed form. The preposition *ur* went through the same early stages, but fell into disuse during the ninth century, except as noun prefix, in which capacity it has survived.

Za, zi, ze. This particle was prefix and preposition, but represents in reality two separate words. The preposition *za* is the weak degree of *zō*, *zuo*, *zua* (NHG. *zu*), while the prefix *za* has lost original *r* ← *z*. Got. *tuz*, Lat. *dis*? (Cf. *her—he*, *theser—these*.) The nouns *zurlust*, *zurkank*, &c., preserve the full form of prefix. See Braune, § 72, and Paul, *PBB*. vi. 552.

The UG. form is *za* until the ninth century, then Alem. adopted *zi*, but Bav. kept *za* through the century. Franc. from the first had only *zi*, which in the tenth century became universal, passing eventually into *ze*.

Development in OHG. of W. Gmc. Vowels in Accented Syllable.

| W. Gmc. | OHG. | W. Gmc. | OHG. | MHG. | NHG. | 287 |
|---------------------|--|---|--|--|--|-----|
| <i>ai</i> | <i>ei</i> <i>ē</i> | * <i>staina</i> * <i>mair-</i> | <i>stein</i> <i>mēr</i> | <i>stein</i> <i>mēr</i> | <i>Stein</i> <i>mehr</i> | |
| <i>au</i> | <i>ou</i> <i>ō</i> | * <i>auga-</i> * <i>hauh-</i> * <i>hauhjan-</i> | <i>ouga</i> <i>hōh</i> <i>hōhen</i> | <i>ouge</i> <i>hōh</i> <i>hoehen</i> | <i>Auge</i> <i>hoch</i> <i>höhen</i> | |
| <i>iū</i> | <i>iū</i> | * <i>liuhjan-</i> | <i>liuhten</i> | <i>liuhten</i> | <i>leuchten</i> | |
| <i>eo</i> | <i>eo</i> (<i>io, ic</i>) | * <i>beotan-</i> * <i>leohta-</i> | <i>beotan</i> <i>leoht</i> | <i>bieten</i> <i>licht</i> | <i>bieten</i> <i>Licht</i> | |
| <i>ā</i> (1) (2) | <i>ā</i> <i>ā</i> | * <i>brāhta</i> * <i>lātan-</i> * <i>slāpan-</i> | <i>brāhta</i> <i>lāzan</i> <i>slāfan</i> | <i>brāhte</i> <i>lāzen</i> <i>slāfen</i> | <i>brachte</i> <i>lassen</i> <i>schlafen</i> | |
| <i>ē</i> (1) (2) | <i>ea</i> (<i>ia, ic</i>) <i>ea</i> | * <i>hēr</i> * <i>hēl</i> | <i>hear</i> <i>heaz</i> | <i>hier</i> <i>hiezz</i> | <i>hier</i> <i>hiess</i> | |
| <i>i</i> | <i>ī</i> | * <i>lihan-</i> | <i>lihan</i> | <i>lihen</i> | <i>leihen</i> | |
| <i>ō</i> | <i>uo</i> | * <i>dōn</i> * <i>mōdar</i> * <i>gōdi</i> | <i>tuon</i> <i>muoter</i> <i>guoti</i> | <i>tuon</i> <i>muoter</i> <i>guele</i> | <i>tun</i> <i>Mutter</i> <i>Güte</i> | |
| <i>ū</i> | <i>u</i> | * <i>hūs</i> * <i>lūdjan-</i> | <i>hūs</i> <i>lūten</i> | <i>hūs</i> <i>liuten</i> | <i>Haus</i> <i>läuten</i> | |
| <i>a</i> | <i>a</i> | * <i>man-</i> | <i>man</i> | <i>man</i> | <i>Mann</i> | |
| <i>ǣ</i> | <i>ǣ</i> | * <i>fadar</i> | <i>fater</i> | <i>vater</i> | <i>Vater</i> | |
| <i>ę</i> | <i>ę</i> | * <i>narjan</i> | <i>nerien</i> | <i>neren</i> | <i>nähren</i> | |
| <i>e</i> | <i>ę</i> | * <i>framadi</i> | <i>fremidi</i> | <i>fremede</i> | <i>Fremde</i> | |
| <i>i</i> | <i>i</i> | * <i>werþan-</i> * <i>neman-</i> * <i>wīnd-</i> * <i>līgġjan</i> | <i>werdan</i> <i>nemen</i> <i>wīnt</i> <i>līggen</i> | <i>werden</i> <i>nemen</i> <i>wīnt</i> <i>līgen</i> | <i>werden</i> <i>nehmen</i> <i>Wind</i> <i>liegen</i> | |
| <i>o</i> | <i>o</i> | * <i>goda-</i> | <i>got</i> | <i>got</i> | <i>Gott</i> | |
| <i>u</i> | <i>u</i> | * <i>kunsti</i> * <i>suhti</i> * <i>gulþin</i> * <i>wunni-</i> * <i>sunu-</i> * <i>kuning-</i> | <i>kunst</i> <i>suht</i> <i>gulđin</i> <i>wunni</i> <i>sunu</i> <i>kuning</i> | <i>kunst</i> <i>suht</i> <i>gülden</i> <i>wünne</i> <i>sun</i> <i>kunic</i> | <i>Kunst</i> <i>Sucht</i> <i>gülden</i> <i>Wonne</i> <i>Sohn</i> <i>König</i> | |

CHAPTER V

THE VERBAL SYSTEM

288 THE IG. verbal system was far more complete than that of Germanic. It possessed four moods, six tenses, three voices, three numbers; of these, Germanic retained three moods, Indicative, Optative, Imperative; two voices, Active and Middle; and only two tenses, viz. Present and Preterite. Furthermore, the Middle Voice is only found in Gothic, and of the three numbers, Singular, Dual, and Plural, the Dual is retained only in Gothic.

In IG. the tenses served merely to distinguish the mode, and not the time of action: thus the Perfect marked not action in the past, as it does now, but the completed state. The formal distinction of time of action, such as is made by the modern tense, was in IG. marked, not by the verbal form itself, but by separate particles, which became affixed to the verb, either as prefixes or suffixes. In the case of action in the past the Augment *e*, an independent temporal adverb, was prefixed to the verbal form which denoted duration, inchoative, iterative action, &c., and for action in the future the suffix *-sīe*, *-sīō* was added; present time was left undenoted so far as affixes are concerned.

289 IG. verbs were either (*a*) Thematic, or (*b*) Athematic.

(*a*) Thematic verbs are those in which in the Present a so-called thematic vowel intervened between root and personal ending; this thematic vowel was *e* or *o*. The root could have either Strong or Reduced vowel-grade, but it remained unchanged throughout the Present, e.g.: IG. **bhér-ō*, *bhér-e-si*, *bhér-e-ti*, *bhér-o-mes*, *bhér-e-the*, *bhér-o-nti*.

(*b*) Athematic verbs are those which in the Present added the personal endings direct to the bare root or to the suffix (295) without any intervening vowel: the root had in the singular the Strong grade, in the plural the Reduced grade of vowel, e. g.:

Sing. **es-mi*, Sk. *ás-mi*, Gk. *εἶ-μί*, Got. *i-m*, OHG. (*b*)*i-m*.

Plur. **s-enti*, Lat. *s-unt*, Got. *s-īnd*, OHG. *sint*.

Both classes agree in the main in the Personal endings, except that in the 1st person singular the Athematic verbs added the ending *-mi*,

while the Thematic verbs had no personal ending, but merely lengthened the thematic vowel *-o* to *-ō*.

The Personal endings of the Present are classed as (a) Primary, and 290 (b) Secondary.

(a) Primary or Absolute endings are characterized in IG. by final *-i*: in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd sing., and 3rd plur., they appear in those forms in which the verb is used absolutely or independently, e. g. in the Indicative Present.

(b) Secondary or Conjunctive endings (without final *-i*) are always found in the tenses formed with an augment and in the Optative, probably arising from an enclitic use of the verb.

The Perfect Indicative had its own special endings in the singular.

PRESENT: SINGULAR.

291

1st person.

Primary *-mi*. **es-mi*. Pr. Gmc. **im-mi*, Got. *im*.

Secondary *-m*. Lat. *siē-m*. [This *-m* → *n* in Pr. Gmc. and fell.] OHG *s ī*.

2nd person.

Primary *-si*. **es-si*. Pr. Gmc. (*s* → *z*) **birizi*, Got. *baírís*, OHG. *birís*.

Secondary *-s*. Lat. *siē-s*. This *-s*, though retained in E. Gmc., Got. *wil-eis*, fell in W. Gmc., OHG. *wili*.¹

3rd person.

Primary *-ti*. **es-ti*. Pr. Gmc. **is-ti*, Got., OHG. *ist*.

Secondary *-t*. Lat. *siē-t*. This *-t* fell in Gmc., Got. *wili*, OHG. *wili*.

PLURAL.

1st person.

Primary *-mes, mos*. Lat. *feri-mus*, Got. *baír-a-m* (with fall of short vowel and assimilation of *ms*).

Secondary *-men, mē*. Gk. *ἐφέρομεν*, Gmc. *-mē* → *ma*, Got. *baírái-ma*, OHG. *berēm*.

2nd person.

Primary *-the*. Sk. *bhar-a-tha*, Gk. *φέρετε*, Got. *baírīþ*, OHG. *berēt*.

Secondary *-te*. After the IG. period the distinction between *-the* and *-te* is lost. Sk. *abhar-a-ta*, Gk. *ἐφέρετε*, Got. *baírīþ*, OHG. *berēt*.

¹ For *-s* in OHG. *birís*, *berēs*, &c., cf. 323.

3rd person.

Primary *-nti*. Sk. *bhár-a-nti*, Gk. *φέρουσι*, Got. *baírand*, OHG. *berant*.

Secondary *-nt*. Sk. *abhar-a-n*, Gk. *ἔφερον*, Lat. *ferēbant*, OHG. *berēn*. Sk. and Gk., like Gmc., lose the final *-t*¹

292 I. **Thematic Verbs.** The Present stem was formed by the addition to the root of the thematic vowel *e : o*. The 1st person of all three numbers had the grade *o* (Gmc. *a*), as had also the 3rd person plural; all other forms had *-e*, which, being in unstressed syllable, gave Gmc. *-i*.

The 1st person is formed without personal ending, but has the lengthened vowel :

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| * <i>bherō</i> | Gk. <i>φέρω</i> | Got. <i>baíra</i> | OHG. <i>biru</i> |
| * <i>bheromes</i> | <i>φέρομεν</i> | <i>baíram</i> | <i>beramēs</i> |
| * <i>bheronti</i> | <i>φέρουσι</i> | <i>baírand</i> | <i>berant</i> |

293 According to the place of the accent there were two main divisions of Thematic Presents :

(a) Those in which the accent lay on the root syllable and which showed the Strong grade of the root, as Gk. *φέρω*, *φέρουσι*, Lat. *fero*, *ferunt*, Got. *baíra*, *baírand*, Gk. *στείχω*, Pr. Gmc. **stīgō*, Got. *steiga*, OHG. *stīgu*.

(b) Those in which the thematic vowel bore the stress, and which showed the reduced or vanishing grade of vowel in the root, as IG. **tudéli* → *tudéli*, Sk. *tudáti*.

These latter are called Aorist-Presents, for Presents with stress on the Thematic vowel, having the same accentuation, had also the same root vowel as the Aorist: cf. Got. *dīgan* with *ī* beside *beidan* (*ī*), *trudan*

294 beside *nīman*, &c. When the meaning of the root was modified by the addition of a suffix, the Thematic vowel was added to this suffix. Only the chief of such formations which have left traces in OHG. are here mentioned:—

i. Suffix *ne : no*. Gk. *κάμνω*, *ἔκαμον*; Lat. *sperno*, *sprevi*; Got. *fráihnan*, *frah*, OHG. *spurnan*, or (with assimilation of *n* to preceding consonant), OHG. *gellan* (*ll* ← *ln*), *backan* (*ck* ← *gg* ← *gn*).

ii. Suffix *te : to*. Gk. *κλέπτω*, *κέκλοφα*; Lat. *plecto*, *plexi*; OHG. *slehtan*, *brestan*.

iii. Suffix *nuē : nuo*. Gmc. *nu* → *nn* (98); OHG. *winnan*, *brīnnan*.

¹ Got. *baírāina* for **baírāin* is probably due to the analogy of the 1st pers. pl. *baírāima*.

iv. With an inset nasal in the root. Lat. *rumpo, rūpi, linquo, liqui*; Got. *standan, stōþ*, OF. *stōd*.

v. Suffix $\dot{i}e : \dot{i}o$. IG. distinguished two classes of $\dot{i}e : \dot{i}o$ presents: the first in which $\dot{i}e : \dot{i}o$ remained unchanged throughout the stem; the second in which the $\dot{i}e$ forms showed reduction to j . Only this latter class is represented in Gmc. The i (in 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and 2nd plur.) was followed by the *-is, -iþ* of the ending. After a short root-syllable this $i + i$ seems to have given ji in Got., but after a long it gave \bar{i} ; cf. Got. *bidjis* but *sōkeis*; but cf. 127. In W. Gmc. the long and short roots are not distinguished, but j is lost before i , and consequently the 2nd and 3rd pers. show no lengthening of consonant. OHG. *hefu, hevis, hevīt . . . heffent*; Got. *bidjan*, OS. *biddean*, OHG. *bitten*, but OS. *bidis*, OHG. *bitis*.

vi. Suffix *-eġe, -eġo*. These were causative verbs. As Gmc. unstressed *-e* gave i , the 2nd pers. *-eġesi* necessarily gave $\bar{i}s$, and the 3rd *-iġeti* gave $\bar{i}l$. They thus coincided with the long syllables in $\dot{i}e, \dot{i}o$ and passed into that category.

II. **Athematic Verbs.** In these the Present stem consists either **295** of the bare root or is formed with a long vowel or diphthong suffix: the 1st pers. ends in *-mi*.

i. Verbs with bare root as Present stem have the Strong grade in the Singular and the Reduced grade in the Plural: e. g. **es-mi, es-ti*, but **sni, &c.*

ii. Verbs with IG. suffix *-ē* or *-eġ* have Reduced vowel-grade in the root and Strong in the suffix: these show Gmc. \bar{e} , e. g. OHG. *habē-m*.

iii. Verbs with IG. suffix *-ā* and *-ō* coincided in Gmc. in *-ō*: these may be either Primary, OHG. *borōm* (Lat. *forāre*), or Denominative, OHG. *salbōm* (Lat. *salba*).

iv. Verbs in *-nāj*, which in Gmc. becomes *-nā*, are mostly Inchoatives, e. g. Got. *ga-þaúrnsnan, ga-staúrknan*; ON. *slitna, brotna*; OHG. *hlinēn*.

Gmc. made considerable changes in this IG. system of Present **296** formation. While in IG. several forms of the same verbal root with different Present stems denoting different shades of meaning were in use, Gmc., as a rule, discarded all but one, and generalized that one. If two forms were retained, Gmc. usually used them independently with different meanings; cf. OHG. *spanan*, to tempt, and *spannan*, to stretch. Further, the various suffix consonants, with the exception of j in the $\dot{i}e$ and $\dot{i}o$ stems, showed a strong tendency to become part

of the verb stem, and therefore to be retained throughout the whole system of their respective verbs, instead of being confined to the Present only: thus, beside Got. *frāihnan*, *frāh*, OE. forms *3e-frīznan*, *3e-fræzn*. Finally, nearly all Athematic Verbs, with the exception of the stems with *-ē* and *-ō*, passed into the Thematic class, consequently in OHG. there are but few traces left of any special Present form in distinction to other verbal forms. Of the *j* Present stems apart from those of Non-Graded Class I (see below), Gmc. has still:—

| | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|--|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Got. <i>bidjan</i> | | OHG. <i>bitten</i> | |
| | <i>hafjan</i> | | <i>heffen</i> | |
| | <i>skapjan</i> | | <i>skepfen</i> | |
| | <i>hlahjan</i> | | <i>lahhēn</i> | |
| * <i>siijan</i> | <i>sitan</i> | | <i>sizzen</i> | OE. <i>sittan</i> |
| * <i>ligjan</i> | <i>ligan</i> | | <i>liggen</i> | <i>liczan</i> |

Perfect Tense in IG. and Preterite in Gmc.

297 Personal endings, IG. In the Plural these are the same as in the Present, but in the Sing. are *-a*, *-tha*, *-e* for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd persons respectively; cf. Gk. *οἶδα*, *οἶσθα*, *οἶδε*.

In Germanic final *a* and final *e* fell; thus Sk. *veda*, Gk. *οἶδα*, Pr. Gmc. **wait*, Got. *wāit*, OHG. *weiz*. In the 2nd pers. *-tha* should in Gmc. have become *þ* except after *f*, *h*, *s*, when it would have given *t* (63), and after dentals, when it would become *ss* (100): thus Got. *þarft*, OHG. *darft*, OE. *þearft*; Got. *mag-t* ← **mah-t*, &c., but the *t* became generalized; Got. *skall*, not **skalþ*.

298 Reduplication. The original IG. Perfect was generally formed from the root by a special form of reduplication, i. e. by the addition of the initial root consonant plus *-e* before the root and the suffixing of the personal endings. In the Singular the root was originally stressed, having the Strong vowel grade, while the Dual and Plural had stress on the personal endings and consequently Reduced vowel grade.

Gk. *πέποιθα*, Got. *þand*; Gk. *πέποιθα*, Got. *þáiþ*; Gk. *κέκλοφα*, Got. *hlaþ*.

Roots beginning with double consonants no doubt originally repeated both consonants, and Gothic has retained reduplication with initial *st* and *sþ*: e. g. *skáidan*, *skáiskáiþ*, (*ga*)*staldan*, (*ga*)*stai-stald*. In most cases, however, simplification set in; cf. Sk. *sthā*: *tiṣṭha*, Gk. *φείγω*: *πέφυγα*, Lat. *spondeo*: *spondendi*, Got. *slēpan*: *saislēp*.

299 The vowel of the reduplicating syllable was *e* (Sk. *a*). From the earliest times a certain class of verbs whose root consisted of a single vowel flanked on each side by a single consonant, while reduplicating normally in the Perfect singular, show in the Plural a curious con-

traction of the reduplicating prefix with the unaccented form of the root which results in the vowel \bar{e} , e.g. Sk. *pac*, sing. *pa-paca*, plur. *pācuh*; cf. Lat. *capio*, *cēpi*, with long \bar{e} spread to the Sing.

The Gmc. languages tend to abolish reduplication entirely where the difference of tense is sufficiently marked by internal vowel change, but in the case of the verbs corresponding to the class just mentioned the reduplication could not be lost in the plural, owing to its complete fusion with the root, and hence arise the anomalous pret. plurals of Gmc. gradation series 4 and 5 (see Wilmanns, iii, p. 36; Brugmann, *K. Vgl. Gr.* §§ 708, 709; Feist, *PBB.* xxxii. 462).

| Got. | | OE. | | ON. | | OHG. | | 300 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-----|
| Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. | |
| <i>bar</i> (for * <i>be-bar</i>) | <i>bērun</i> | <i>bær</i> | <i>bæron</i> | <i>bar</i> | <i>bōru</i> | <i>bar</i> | <i>bārun</i> | |
| <i>qap</i> (for * <i>qc-qap</i>) | <i>qāpun</i> | <i>cwæp</i> | <i>cwædon</i> | <i>kvað</i> | <i>kvōðu</i> | <i>quad</i> | <i>quātun</i> | |

A parallel development, perhaps, may be observed in the progress of Gmc. itself where those verbs which still retain reduplication in Gothic, like *hāitan*, *hāihāit*, &c., appear in ON. and W. Gmc. with a long \bar{e} vowel, possibly produced by the fusion of the two syllables in the plural, and which then spread to the singular. ON. *heita*, *hēt*; OE. *hātan*, *hēt*; OHG. *heizzan*, *hēz* (later *hiaz*).

It should be stated that this explanation of the unreduplicated perfects in the later Gmc. dialects, in verbs which show reduplication in Gothic, is rejected by many scholars, who consider that these are descended direct from IG. unreduplicated perfects, and that the reduplication in Gothic was very often an analogical innovation and not an historical survival. Feist (*PBB.* xxxii. 458) maintains that Gmc. from the beginning possessed a number of verbs with unreduplicated perfects, in which, however, the perfect was sufficiently distinguished from the present by its endings, and sometimes also by its root vowel, but the fall or weakening of the endings and the coinciding of the root vowels in consequence of various developments obliterated the distinction between present and perfect, and it became necessary to distinguish them in some other way. Gothic in many cases adopted reduplication on analogy with its existing reduplicating verbs, while N. and W. Gmc. adopted from such verbs as P. Gmc. **lætan*, **lēt* on the one hand, and Pr. Gmc. **áukan*, **eauk* on the other, a vowel \bar{e} (*e*) or *eo* to denote its perfects.

ON. and OE. retain traces of the original reduplication in isolated forms:—

ON. *róa*, *rera*; *sá*, *sera*; *snua*, *snera*.

OE. *hātan*, *heht* (beside *hēt*); *lācan*, *lealc* (beside *lēc*).

The above explanation of the anomalous \bar{e} pret. plurals of Gmc. in Classes iv and v leaves unaccounted for the forms of the Pret. Present verbs, Got. *man*, *munnum* (iv), *mag*, *magum* (v), OHG. *mag*, *magun* (and *mugun*), where forms **mēnum* (cf. Sk. *mēnuḥ*) and **mēgun* might be expected. The Pret. Present Got. *skal*, *skulun*, though usually classed as Class iv, more probably should be reckoned to Class iii, since with double initial consonant it could never have contracted its perfect plural.

Gradation in Gmc.

301 In Gmc. the Preterite (IG. Perfect) of Thematic verbs is characterized by the vowel gradation, which had arisen in IG. from the different accentuation of Sing. and Plural, and these verbs are classified according to the regular variation of related vowels.

I. IG. e : o series.

a. With accent on the root in the Present.

These verbs had in the root of the Present *e*, in the Perfect Singular *o*, while in the Perfect Plural and the Past Participle they showed the Reduced grade.

| Gothic. | OHG. |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>steigan</i> , <i>stáig</i> , <i>stigum</i> , <i>stigans</i> | <i>stīgan</i> , <i>steig</i> , <i>stigum</i> , <i>gīstigan</i> |
| 2. <i>biugan</i> , <i>báug</i> , <i>bugum</i> , <i>bugans</i> | <i>biogan</i> , <i>boug</i> , <i>bugum</i> , <i>gibogan</i> |
| 3. <i>hilpan</i> , <i>halp</i> , <i>hulpum</i> , <i>hulpans</i> | <i>helfan</i> , <i>half</i> , <i>hulfum</i> , <i>giholfan</i> |
| 4. <i>niman</i> , <i>nam</i> , <i>nēnum</i> , <i>numans</i> | <i>neman</i> , <i>nam</i> , <i>nāmum</i> , <i>ginoman</i> |
| 5. <i>giban</i> , <i>gaf</i> , <i>gēbum</i> , <i>gibans</i> | <i>geban</i> , <i>gab</i> , <i>gābum</i> , <i>gigeban</i> |

These verbal series represent the series of vowels obtained from the combination of qualitative vowel gradation with quantitative (264).

In the Singular these verbs show the gradation *e : o* (*ei : oi*; *eu : ou*), which in Gmc. gave *e* or *i* : *a* (*ī : ai*, *eu : au*). In the Plural the vanishing grade occurred; thus in roots with diphthong the second component \bar{i} or \bar{u} became syllabic: e. g. *biudan*, *báuh*, *budum*.

With roots which contain a liquid *l*, *r* or nasal *m*, *n*, either before or after the root-vowel, the sonant *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* are represented in Gmc. by *ul*, *um*, *un*, *ur*, or *lu*, &c., e. g.

Got. *hulpans*, *numans*, *bundans*, *waúrþans* (← **wurþans*).¹

302 β. The second class of Thematic Presents were those which stressed the Thematic vowel, the so-called Aorist-Presents. Cf. Sk. *tudáti*, Gk. *τρίβω*. See above, 293.

This class, though extremely important in IG., is in Gmc. no

¹ In Class v, where the Past Part. has neither the second element of a diphthong nor the *u*-vowel accompanying the nasals and liquids, the vowel of the Past Part. seems to have been lent by the Infinitive.

longer living; it was in the main absorbed by the root-accented verbs, but a proof that it was once of some extent is afforded by the fact that in OE. and OS. the 3rd person plural of all verbs ends in the voiceless spirant *þ* (IG. *t*), which originally can have belonged by right only to forms in which the accent lay on the stem-vowel immediately preceding the IG. *-nt*, e. g. *IG. *-ónti*, Gmc. *-ánþ*, OE., OS. *āþ* [beside Gmc. *and̄*, Got. *and*, OHG. *ant*].

Traces of these stem-accented presents surviving in Gmc., and 303 showing therefore in the root of the present the vowel which in Gmc. is commonly the mark of the Preterite Plural or Past Participle, are the following:—

| Got. | OE. | ON. | OHG. |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| <i>digan</i> i | — | — | — |
| <i>trudan</i> ii | [<i>tredan</i>] | <i>troða</i> | [<i>tretan</i>] |
| — | <i>sūgan</i> ii | <i>súga</i> | <i>sūgan</i> |
| — | — | — | <i>sūffan</i> |
| <i>wullan</i> iii | <i>spurnan</i> | — | <i>spurnan</i> |
| — | <i>murnan</i> | — | — |
| <i>lūkan</i> iv | — | <i>lúka</i> | <i>lūhhan</i> |
| — | <i>cuman</i> | <i>koma</i> | — |

Sometimes in Class ii this *u* has undergone a secondary lengthening.

A certain number of these stem-stressed verbs passed into the weak 304 conjugation, notably those which had an *īo* present and therefore corresponded closely with the weak verbs having *j* presents; such are Got. *namnjan*, *hrōþjan*, *hafjan*, *brukjan* (but OE. *brūcan* remains graded), &c. In some cases Aorist present verbs of the first series which had present root vowel *i* like their Past Part. joined the fifth series, and new forms were created in consequence, e. g. Got. *bidjan*, **bheidh*, Gk. *πείθω*, formed a preterite *baþ* by analogy to *giban*, *gaʹ*, in place of **baiþ*, the form to be expected; cf. Gk. *πέποιθα*. These transferences from one series to another occur especially frequently among verbs with inset nasal, e. g. *scindo*—*scīdi*, *linquo*—*līqui*, Got. *standan*—*stōþ*. In Gmc. this nasal of the present has in most cases adhered to the root, and has become part of it in all forms. Cf. Lat. *pango*—*panxi*, *jungo*—*junxi*, Got. *siggan*, OHG. *sinkan*, Got. *stiggan*, OHG. *stinkan*, but OHG. *dringan* beside G. *preihan*, and further OHG. *stantan* *stuont* *windin*, *klimban*, *swintan*, &c.

II. A-Presents and Reduplicating Verbs.

305 A number of verbs in Gmc. contain an *a* in the present root which has never been sufficiently explained. (Probably a number of verbs of very different origin have fallen together.) It might be of three origins: (1) arising from IG. *o*; (2) arising from IG. *a*; (3) arising from Gmc. Schwa vowel, if the verb was a stem-accented one.

A large class of these *a*-presents in Gmc. alternate with a long \bar{o} in the preterite, and may perhaps belong to those IG. verbs whose conjugation shows only quantitative gradation—*o* : \bar{o} or *a* : \bar{a} (Gmc. *a* : \bar{o}): Lat. *odio, ōdi*; Got. *faran, fōr*; OE. *faran, fōr*; OHG. *faran, fuor, &c.*

306 i. The Gmc. *a* : \bar{o} verbs are commonly classed as the sixth series of Graded verbs. Their Preterite Plural shows an anomalous \bar{o} , which has apparently been lent by the Singular instead of the Schwa vowel which would be expected.

| Gothic | OHG. |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>faran, fōr, fōrun, farans</i> | <i>faran, fuor, fuorun, gifaran</i> |
| <i>hafjan, hōf, hōfum, hafans</i> | <i>heffen, huob, huobun, gihaban</i> |

ii. A second class of *a*-presents in Gmc. show in Gothic reduplication without vowel-gradation. The vowel *a* of the present may occur before consonant or before \dot{i} and \dot{u} , yielding the diphthongs *ai* and *au* respectively. They fall into the class of non-graded reduplicating verbs like *slēpan*. Such are:—

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Got. <i>haldan, haithald</i> | OHG. <i>haldan, hēlt (hialt)</i> |
| <i>falpan, faifalþ</i> | <i>faltan, fēlt (fialt)</i> |
| <i>haitan, haithait</i> | <i>heizzan, hēz (hiaz)</i> |

307 Verbs of this class which in Gmc. have the root-vowel *a*, \bar{a} , *ai* show contraction to \bar{e} , but those with root vowel \bar{o} or *au* in the present (verbs in OE. like *feallan, feoll, &c.*, are anomalous) show in all other dialects except Gothic the diphthong *eo*.

| Got. | OHG. | OE. | ON. |
|----------------|------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>hláupan</i> | <i>loufan—leof</i> | <i>hlēapan—hlēop</i> | <i>hlaupa—hlióp</i> |
| <i>hwōpan</i> | <i>zuofan—*weof (zwofta)</i> | <i>hwōpan—hwēop</i> | |
| <i>áukan</i> | <i>ouhhōn (*ouhhōta)</i> | | <i>auka—iök</i> |

A number of verbs belonging to this class in OHG., *spaltan, walzan, skallan*, are denominatives of OHG. origin; see *PBB.* xxiii. 303.

308 iii. The IG. \bar{e} : \bar{o} series corresponding to a Gmc. \bar{a} : \bar{o} series.

Gk. $\rho\acute{\eta}\gamma\nu\nu\mu\iota$, $\epsilon\pi\pi\omega\gamma\alpha$.

Got. *lētan, laifōt* [*laifōtum, lētans*].

Got. *tēkan, taifōk* [*taifōkum, tēkans*].

OHG. *lūzan, liaz, liazum, gi-lūzan*.

It is possible that some verbs classed in Gmc. as belonging to Series 6 are historically stem-accented Presents of this \bar{o} -series; cf. adj. *lats* in Got. beside *lētan*, *láiōt*, and the ON. conjugation of *taka*, *tōk* beside Got. *tēkan*, *taítōk*.

The long \bar{o} of the Singular is carried through the Plural: this was no doubt facilitated by the fact that the \bar{o} of this class coincided with the \bar{o} (IG. \bar{o} and \bar{a}) of the series above. This section of Reduplicating verbs fell together by contraction in the later dialects with the other sections which show no gradation.

Non-Graded Preterite in Gmc.

The Preterite form inherited by OHG. from IG. is thus characterized **309** by the gradation of vowel, but the great majority of OHG. verbs form their preterite by a specially Gmc. formation, which consists in the addition of a dental to the verb-stem. This mechanically formed Preterite was termed by J. Grimm the 'weak' Preterite, and the term has been retained for all verbs which are conjugated in this way, i. e. the greater number of the $i\bar{o}$ class of Presents and the Athematic verbs and new derivatives.

NOTE.—As to the origin of this dental suffix opinions are still very much divided. The question whether it derives from IG. *t* or *dh* cannot be answered with certainty, as the evidence is very conflicting. In Got. *kunþa*, OE. *cūðe*, OHG. *konda*, Got. *ga-daursta*, OE. *dorste*, OHG. *gi-torsta*, Got. *þáurfta*, OE. *ðorfte*, OHG. *dorfta*, and the like, it would appear to have originated in IG. *t* or *th*, but other preterite forms, as Got. *skulda*, *munda*, OS. *habða*, *hogða*, OE. *sceolde*, &c., can only be explained as arising from IG. *dh*.

The explanation most generally accepted is that this dental suffix is **310** of twofold origin: (1) That the dental formation of the Preterite is a periphrastic formation created specially for the Denominative verbs which had originally only a present tense, i. e. that it is a combination of the verbal stem with a past tense of the verb 'to do', either Perfect or Aorist, e. g. Got. *salbō-da* = *salve I did* (cf. in classical Sk. the periphrastic perfect of causative verbs *gamayāṃ cakara* and *gamayām āsa*; Macdonell, *Sk. Gr.*, § 139). The vast majority of verbs with this formation are, as has been stated, derivatives and mostly denominatives, which in IG. had no perfect. When the need for an expression of past action arose with such verbs the root **dhē* was employed, with some oblique case of the verbal noun. To the IG. root *dhē* the Aorist form was *edhē*, cf. Sk. *adhām*, *adhās*, *adhāt*, and the Gk. Aorist

311 $\xi\theta\eta\nu$, $\xi\theta\eta\varsigma$, $\xi\theta\eta$, Got. *-da*, *-dēs*, *-de*. The Perfect form was **dhēdhō*, Pr. Gmc. **ðeðō*, OHG. *teta*, OE. *dyde*. The Gothic plural terminations *-dēdum*, *-dēdub*, *-dēdun*, which must closely represent Pr. Gmc., correspond so exactly to the OHG. perf. of the verb 'to do', *tātum*, *tātut*, *tātun*, that they are no doubt identical, but neither of them have been entirely explained. The Gothic inflexion of the weak verbs in the Preterite would be therefore due to a mixture of Aorist and Perfect forms.

(2) That it arose in part also from verbal forms in which a *-t*, *-th* suffix in IG. appeared. In the 2nd person sing. of the perfect there existed beside the personal ending *-tha* also a secondary ending *-thes*, Sk. *-thas*. This is the Gk. *-θης* of the weak Aorist Passive, e. g. $\xi\delta\acute{o}\theta\eta\varsigma$, Sk. *á*, *-thas*, on the model of which Gk. created personal endings for the 1st and 3rd person *-θην*, *-θη*, in analogy to $\eta\nu$, $\eta\varsigma$, η . This IG. *-thēs* would give birth to a Gmc. dental suffix in the 2nd pers., and as a form of this origin Got. *kunþēs* would coincide with a form *salbodēs* derived from the periphrastic formation cited above. Gmc., like Gk., formed a 1st pers. and 3rd pers. to match, e. g. Got. *kunþa*.

Thus is explained the dental suffix of the Preterite Presents which was joined immediately to the root without medial vowel.

For the formation of the Weak Preterite in Gmc. see *PBB*. vii. 457, xxxiv. 127; Wilmanns, iii, § 38.

Perfect Personal Endings.

312 Singular.

1. *-a*. Sk. *vēda*, in Pr. Gmc. **waita*, Got. *wait*.
2. *-tha*. Sk. *vētha*, in Pr. Gmc. *th* after *f h s* → *t*: *darf -t*, in other cases it should have given *þ* (*ð*), but the *-t* was generalized.
3. *-e*.

Plural.

1. *-um* (in Gmc.). Got. *bērum*, ON. *bǫrum*, OHG. *bārum*, OE. *bæron*.
2. *-ub* „ Got. *bērub*, ON. *bǫruð*, OHG. *bārut*.
3. *-und* „ Got. *bērun*, ON. *bǫru*, OHG. *bārun*.

i. The origin of the *-u* in plural terminations is not clear: it is common to all Gmc. languages, and is found in the Dual (Got.) as well as in the Plural.

ii. The 3rd pers. pl. in Pr. Gmc. ended in *-und*, which ← IG. *-nū* (sonant *u*): probably from this person the *u* was adopted for the 1st and 2nd persons also. So much is clear that this *u* represents the vanishing grade of vowel in IG.

| | Perfect Indic. Graded (Strong). | | Non-Graded (Weak). | |
|-------|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| | Gothic. | OHG. | Gothic. | OHG. |
| Sing. | 1. <i>bar</i> | <i>bar</i> | <i>salbōda</i> | <i>salbōta</i> |
| | 2. <i>bart</i> | <i>bāri</i> | <i>salbōdēs</i> | <i>salbōtos</i> |
| | 3. <i>bar</i> | <i>bar</i> | <i>salbōda</i> | <i>salbōta</i> |
| Plur. | 1. <i>bērum</i> | <i>bārum</i> | <i>salbōdēdum</i> | <i>salbōtum</i> |
| | 2. <i>bērup</i> | <i>bārut</i> | <i>salbōdēdub</i> | <i>salbōtut</i> |
| | 3. <i>bērun</i> | <i>bārun</i> | <i>salbōdēdun</i> | <i>salbōtun</i> |

W. Gmc. only shows the termination *-t* of the 2nd pers. in the 313 Preterite Presents, e. g. *darft*, *maht*, &c. With other graded verbs it has replaced the normal 2nd person by a form terminating in *-i*, whose root has the same vowel as the Plural, i. e. in the reduced or vanishing grade, e. g. :

| | | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------------|-----|--------------|
| OHG. | <i>ih bant</i> | but <i>du bundi</i> | OE. | <i>bunde</i> |
| | <i>ih zōh</i> | but <i>du zugi</i> | | <i>tuze</i> |
| | <i>ih zēh</i> | but <i>du zigi</i> | | <i>tiže</i> |
| | <i>ih sluoh</i> | but <i>du sluogi</i> | | <i>slōže</i> |

This form in *-i* is probably the remnant of an augmentless aorist, as Gk. *λείπω*, (*ἔ*)*λιπες*. The IG. termination *-es* became in Gmc. *-iz* : final *-z* would fall in W. Gmc., while *-i* would remain after a short but be lost after a long syllable until constraint of system replaced it.

This Aorist-form is foreign both to Gothic and to ON., though found in all W. Gmc. dialects, and must thus be a purely W. Gmc. survival : it forms one of the distinguishing characteristics of W. Gmc. as opposed to East and North Gmc.

Conjunctive.

IG. kept distinct the two moods, Optative and Conjunctive ; while 314 Gmc. unites the functions of both in its conjunctive (also variously styled Optative and Subjunctive), which in the main inherits the terminations of the IG. Optative. This was formed by the addition of a mood-suffix to the stem, plus the tense-suffix (if there was one). The Optative suffix was *-je* : *-i*, to which were added the secondary personal endings : thus in the Gk. *λυθείην*, *λυ* is root, *θε* tense-suffix, *η* mood-suffix, *ν* personal ending. Lat. *s-je-m*, *s-i-m*. In Gmc. the *-je* suffix gave way to *-i*, though traces of it are preserved in Gothic *sijau*, *sijáis*, &c.

Thus the Reduced grade of suffix was generalized and is found in Athematic and Thematic verbs alike. Pres. Got. *wileis*, *wileima* ; OHG. *sī*, *sīs*, *sī*, &c. ; OE. *sīe*. Got. *bēreis*, *bēri*, *nēmeis*, *nēmi*. OHG. *nāmīs*, *nāmi*, *tātīs*, *tāti*. OE. *bære*, *bære* ; *næme*, *næme*.

In the Thematic verbs the thematic vowel *o* in the Present combined with the Optative suffix to form *oi*, e. g. Gk. *φεύγοις, φεύγοι*. Pr. Gmc. **beraiŕz* (IG. *-o* → *a*), Got. *baíráis*. W. Gmc. *ai* in unstressed syllable gave *ē* and was weakened to *e* when final; thus Got. *baíráis*, OS. *berēs*, OHG. *berēs*, OE. *bere*.

In the Athematic verbs with suffix *-ē* or *-nā* the Optative suffix *-i* was added to the stem suffix *-ē* and *-nā* respectively, and as *-ēi* and *-āi* became in Gmc. *-ai*, the Optatives of these verbs coincided with those of the Thematic class: e. g. OHG. *habēs, habe*; Got. *habáis, habái, háilnáis, háilnái*.

The verbs in *-o* should equally have *-ai*, but with them the original Conjunctive terminations appear to be retained in Gmc.: e. g. Got. *salbō*, OHG. *salbō*.

Imperative.

- 315 The 2nd person shows the bare stem without any personal ending, whether in Thematic or Athematic verbs: the former originally had the termination *-e* of the Present stem, but IG. final *-e* was lost everywhere, cf. Streitberg, p. 55 (but also Van Helten, *PBB.* xvii. 567), so that all graded verbs eventually are without it:

Athematic. IG. \sqrt{i} , to go: Gk. (ἐξ)ει, Lat. (ex)i, Got. (hir)i.

Thematic. IG. \sqrt{bher} , to bear: Lat. fere, Pr. Gmc. **bere*, Got. *baír*. So Got. *steig, far, gif*, and OHG. *slig, far, gib*, OE. *slīz, far, zief*.

The *j*-stems varied between **iġe*, **i*, and *ī*, which resulted in *ji* (→ *i*) in W. Gmc. after a short and *ī* after a long syllable: Got. *bidei* for **bidji*, OS. *bidi*, OHG. *biti*, OE. *bide*, but Got. *dōmei*, OS. *dōmī*, OHG. *tuomī*. (OE. must have generalized *-i* in all cases and have lost it after a long stem, e. g. *dēm*.)

The 3rd person was formed by the addition of the particle *tōd* which gave **tō*, e. g. Lat. *fertō*, Pr. Gmc. **ðō* (Got. *dau?*), and to this a 3rd person plural was formed in *-ntōd*; cf. Lat. *ferunto* (Gmc. *-ndō, -ndō*). Gmc. final *-ō* usually yields Got. *-a*, and the forms to be expected would be Got. **nimada* and **nimanda*. The *-au* actually found is still unexplained: it may stand for *-aú* (= *o*) or *-áu*; cf. Bethge, § 204; *PBB.* xxviii. 546; *IF. Anz.* xv. 263. These forms, however, are only found in Got. and do not occur in OHG.

| | Got. | OHG. | OE. |
|----------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Sing. 2. | <i>nim</i> | <i>nim</i> | <i>nim</i> |
| 3. | <i>nimadau</i> | | |
| Plur. 1. | (<i>nimam</i>) | (<i>nememēs</i>) | |
| 2. | (<i>nimiþ</i>) | (<i>nemct</i>) | (<i>nimab</i>) |
| 3. | <i>nimandau</i> | | |

The Infinitive.

Originally the Infinitive was a noun which expressed the action of 316 the verb—the doing, the coming—but it soon was felt to be a part of the verb. There was no one common form for the Infinitive (Vedic Sk. had twelve forms): like the noun, it was composed with various suffixes. Germanic had but one form, the Infinitive Present Active, with the suffix (IG. *-ono*: *-eno*: *-no*) added to the present stem.

This Infinitive was in all probability a Neuter Substantive: *-no^m*, *-ono^m*, **bheronom*, Sk. *ádanam* = the eating, Pr. Gmc. **clanam*, Got. *ítan*. In Gmc. the usual ending is *-an* ← *-onom*, OE. *etan*, OHG. *ezzan*; but in OHG. the *-jan* verbs soon weaken the *a* to *e* under influence of *j*, and their Infinitive ends therefore in *-en*, e. g. *sizzen*, *nerien*, &c.

Athematic verbs have *-n* in W. Gmc.: OHG. *gān*, *stān*, *habēn*, *salbōn*, *tuon*.

In IG. the Infinitive suffix was at first added to the root and not to any tense or mood stem, but as the initial vowel *o* coincided with the thematic vowel the Infinitive in Gmc. followed the formation of the Present tense, and the Infinitive suffix was added to the present stem even when extended, e. g. Got. *fraihnan*, *bidjan*, *standan*, &c., not *fraih-an*, *bid-an*, *stad-an*.

Participles.

A. Present Participle. In the parent language the stem of the 317 Present Participle, which was declined like a noun, was formed by the addition of the suffix *-nt* to the present stem, e. g. IG. **bhéro-nt*, Gk. *φέρων* (← *φεροντος*), *φέρωντος*, Lat. *ferens* (← *ferents*), *ferentis*, Got. *baírands*. This suffix had gradation, i. e. could be *-ont*, *-ent*, or *-nt*; cf. Lat. *iens—euntis* (← *iontis*). Gmc., like Gk., generalized the *o*-grade, while Latin adopted the *e*-grade, but the reduced grade has been preserved in a few isolated substantives in Gmc., e. g. Got. *hulundi* beside OHG. *helanti*, Pr. Gmc. **burgundi* → *Burgund-*; Got. *sunjis* = true, **sunđjo* to *√ es* = to be (cf. Lat. *s-ons*, *sontis*); Got. *tunpus* to *√ ed* = eat, Lat. *d-ent*; ON. *tind-r*, OE. *tind*, OHG. *zinn*; beside Gk. *όδοντ-*, OHG. *zand*, OS. *tand*, OE. *tōð*, ON. *tōnn*. In the vocalic athematic verbs the long vowel should have been shortened in OHG. before double consonance, but constraint of system seems to have caused its retention, e. g. *salbōnti*, *habēnti*, but Got. *habands*. In occasional substantival forms the shortened form is found: Pr. Gmc. **fri-jōnd-* → Got. *frijōnds*, but OE. *frē-ond*, OHG. *friunt*; Pr. Gmc. **fijēnd-* → Got. *fijands*, OHG. *fiant* (to OHG. *fiēn*), OE. *feond*.

The Present Participles were by their formation *-nt-* stems, and are declined as such in Gk. and Lat. In Gmc., however, their declension as consonant-stems is much restricted, and in fact is only retained in the few present participles which are felt to be rather of a nominal than an adjectival character; cf. Got. *frijōnds*, *fijands*, &c. (eleven cases in all). In OHG. these are restricted to *friunt* and *fiant*; OE. has *frēond*, *fēond*, *zōddōnd*, *hettend*, *āzēnd*, *hǣlend*, *neriend*, and *rīdend*.

In cases where its adjectival value was felt E. and N. Gmc. declined it like an *n*-stem, so that in form it coincided with the so-called weak adjective. The W. Gmc. languages treated this adjectival Present Participle as a *ja*-stem, which might be declined either strong or weak in OHG. and OE.: e. g. OHG. *nemanti* or *nemanlēr*, OE. *nimende*, &c. From IG. times the feminine forms of the Present Participle have been formed by *-iē* or *-ī*-suffix (cf. Sk. *bhavanī*), and Got. alone retained this peculiarity, e. g. Masc. *nimanda*, Fem. *-ei*, Neut. *-ō*.

B. Past Participle.

318 The Past Part. in IG. was formed either—

(a) with suffix **-ono*: *-eno*: *-no*;

(b) with suffix *-to*.

(a) The suffix *-ono*: *-eno*: *-no* occurs only with primary graded verbs, and of these the last is generalized in Gothic and OHG. in thematic verbs. The Past Participle had suffix stress, hence the root-vowel was in the Reduced or Vanishing grade. In verbs not belonging to the *e*:*o* series (Gmc. *i-v*) the Schwa of the Past Participle gives Gmc. *a*, which in the case of the *a*-presents thus coincides with the Infinitive. Got. *faran*—*farans*, *haldan*—*haldans*, &c.

Verbs of the *æ*:*ō* series had in the Preterite Pl. vowel *ō*, in common with the *a*:*ō* series, and appear to have followed their example in adopting the same vowel for the Past Participle as they had in the Present: *lētan*—*lētans* (**latans*), *hwōpan*—*hwōpans* (**hwapans*).

It is noteworthy that the grade *-ono* was not generalized in OE. or in ON. These dialects preferred the suffix *-eno*,¹ hence beside Got. *baúrans* and OHG. *giboran* stand ON. *borinn* and OE. *boren*; beside Got. *fulhans*, OHG. *gi-folhan*, stand Got. *fulgins* (adj.), ON. *fólgin*, OE. *folzen*.

319 The Athematic verbs adopted the grade *-no*: e. g. OHG. *gi-ta-n*, OE. *ze-dō-n*, and a few isolated forms which, though not actually Past Participles, yet belong to the verb, show this suffix also; e. g. Got.

¹ Such at least seems the generally accepted theory, but compare the ingenious theories of A. Kock, *PBB*. xxiii. 84.

us-lūkn-s (adj.) to *lūkan*, OHG. *scī-n* to *scīnan*. Got. *bar-n* to *baíran*, Got. *liug-n* to *liugan*, Got. *alls* ← **alns* (*n* assimilated) to *alan*.

(b) The IG. suffix *-to* (Gmc. *-ǰ-*) was in Gmc. almost restricted to 320 derivative verbs, although in the parent language it appears to have been used with Primary and Secondary alike: e. g. Pr. Gmc. **salboǰaz*, Got. *salbōþs*, OHG. *gisalbōt*, OE. *ǰesealfod*; Got. *nasipþs*, OHG. *ginerit*, OE. *ǰenered*; Got. *habáiþs*, OHG. *gihabēt*, OE. *gehæfd*.

A few Primary verbs in Gmc. also have this suffix *-to* in place of *-ono*: these are the Preterite Presents, as Got. *þaúrftis* to *þarf*, *mahts* to *mag-*, Got. *-wiss*, ON. *-vis*, OE., OHG. *-wis* (← Pr. Gmc. **uis(s)az* ← IG. *ūit-to-s*), and some of the Primary *j*-Presents, as Got. *bugjan*, *waúrþkjan*, *þagkjan*, p.p. *baúhts*, *waúrhts*, *þáhts*, &c. These participial formations with suffix *-to* were often used as adjectives; indeed, it is impossible to draw a dividing line between the two usages in many cases. It is, however, frequently the case that as adjectives they had the strong grade of root-vowel and the voiceless spirant *þ*, while as participles, of course, they had the reduced grade and the voiced spirant *ǰ*. In the Gothic *kunþs* ← Pr. Gmc. **kun-þo*, ON. *kunnr*, *kuǰr*, OE. *cūǰ*, OS. *kūǰ*, the root-vowel (*u*) points to former suffix stress (vanishing grade), while the *þ* points to root-stress: it must thus represent a blending of the two forms—originally **g-ú-to-s* (adj.) and **g-n-tó-s* (p.p.). The true participial form survives in Got. *-kunds*: in *airþa-kunds*, *gōða-kunds*, *himina-kunds*.

Personal Endings in OHG.

THEMATIC VERB AND NON-GRADED VERB IN *-ja* (i).

Present.

| IG. | Got. | OHG. | | | | Notker. | 321 |
|--------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|---------|-----|
| | | 8th cent. | Tat. & Is. | O. | | | |
| Sg. * <i>nemō</i> | <i>nima</i> | <i>nimu</i> | <i>nimu</i> | <i>nimū</i> | <i>nimo</i> | | |
| <i>nemesi</i> | <i>nimis</i> | <i>nimis</i> | <i>nimis(t)</i> | <i>nimis(t)s</i> | <i>nimesl</i> | | |
| <i>nemeti</i> | <i>nimiþ</i> | <i>nimil</i> | <i>nimil</i> | <i>nimit</i> | <i>nimet</i> | | |
| Pl. <i>nemomes</i> | <i>nimam</i> | <i>nemamēs</i> | <i>nememēs</i> | <i>nemen(mēs)</i> | <i>nemēn</i> | | |
| <i>nemete</i> | <i>nimiþ</i> | <i>nemet(at)</i> | <i>nemet</i> | <i>nemet</i> | <i>nement</i> | | |
| <i>nemonti</i> | <i>nimand</i> | <i>nem-ant</i> | <i>nemant</i> | <i>nement</i> | <i>nement</i> | | |

i. The first person singular.

IG. *-ō*, when final, → *u* in W. Gmc. in unaccented syllable. A root vowel *e* → *i* in OHG. before a following *-u* (277). This ending in *-u* was preserved until the end of the ninth century, after which it passed regularly into *-o*, but *-o* is found already sporadically in the ninth century: K., Ra *inhezzo*, *spano*, *zisceido*, *piuuerbio*, *inginno*.

Before vowel this *-u* is occasionally elided, especially before enclitic *ih*: T. *gih ih, uuill ih, O. heiz ih, scrib ih, wān er, zell iu, &c.* After a long syllable final *-u* should have fallen in W. Gmc., but was retained by analogy with short syllables (283). K. has once *-a* for *-u, hriusa* (63. 16).

323 ii. Second person singular.

Pr. Gmc. *-si*: *-zi* (*s*:*z*) according to the place of accent in IG. O. N. has generalized the *-zi* forms while OHG. shows those←the voiceless *s*. The presence of *-s* in OHG. is due partly to confusion between the two classes of Thematic verbs, those with root and those with stem (Aorist Presents) stress: in which latter [Gmc. **lukési*]-*s* would remain. In part, perhaps, also the *-s* in OHG. is due to the fact that the pronoun when following the predicate was often attached to the verb enclitically: e. g. *gibizi þu* → *gibistu*, and thus the *-s*, not being felt to be final, was preserved. The same explanation applies to the *-s* in the 2nd person singular of all tenses; see Wilmanns, i. § 150, iii. § 3; *PBB.* xxxiv. 138.

In the ninth century the ending *-is* was, in the Indicative, replaced by *-ist*, at first in Franconian and then in the tenth century in UG. also: Fr. Taufgel. *forsahhistu* and *forsahhist thu*; T. *gisihist thu* beside *gisihis thu, quidist, nimist, &c.* The form *+t* is generally used by Notker, though the shorter form lives on into MHG. This accrescent *-t* was of course due to the enclitic adherence of the pronoun *thu* to the verb, and was probably not uninfluenced by the 2nd person of the Preterite Presents which ended in *-t*, e. g. *weist, gitarst, &c.* See *PBB.* vi. 549. From the Indicative the extended form passed gradually into the Conjunctive. O., though using the forms in *t* fairly often, never does so for the Conjunctive.

324 iii. Third person singular.

Nimit is the regular development of IG. **nemeti*. The dental passed from IG. *t* to Gmc. *þ* → *ǰ* → W. Gmc. *d* → OHG. *t*. In both 2nd and 3rd person singular contracted forms are occasionally found: first with Otfred, as *quīs, quīst, quīt* for *quidist, &c.* The form *laz* (Otfred, iv. 24), which has been considered a contracted form for *lazis*, is explained by Erdmann as a clerical error for *liaz = liazi*. In Notker the contracted forms of *quedan, chīst, chīt* for *chidīst, chidit* are common: he also uses the form *wirt* for *wirdit*, to *werdan*, and *fert* for *ferit*, to *faran*.

325 iv. First person plural.

The OHG. ending *-mēs* presents many difficulties. IG. **nemomes* would give Gmc. and OHG. **nemam*; cf. Got. *nimam*. Bethge (§ 211)

assumes OHG. *-mēs* to be the direct descendant of the Primary (IG.) *mēs* with lengthened vowel-grade, but does not explain the retention of the *-s*, nor the lengthening of *-e*. Kögel (*PBB.* viii. 126) refers *mēs* back to an IG. **māsi*; cf. Vedic *masi* (with, however, short *-a*), and claims that the original form was in IG. **maísī*, Gmc. *-ē ← ai*, and the *-s* would be protected by the accent and the final *-i*: this explanation is open to objections not less grave. Yet another theory: that OHG. *mēs* is a new OHG. innovation and represents an enclitic personal pronoun (*I.F.* xvii. 73), is equally unsatisfying. The whole question is still open. In Gmc. as in Gk. the 1st pers. plural shows only secondary termination in the Indicative and Conjunctive alike, except only in OHG., which retains the original distinction between Primary and Secondary, and distinguishes Indic. *nemamēs* from Conj. *nemēm*, Pret. *nāmum*, Conj. *nāmūn*. Only after a struggle is the Primary ending *-mēs* of the Indicative supplanted by the Secondary *-m*. The oldest OHG. forms of Indicative are probably *nemumēs*, &c., which, however, are only preserved in the Keron Glosses and in Pa., for the ending *-mēs*, of whatever origin, if it bore the accent, would cause vanishing grade of thematic vowel before *-m*, which would therefore yield *-umēs*, while, if the *-mēs* was not accented, IG. *o* before *m* would likewise yield *u*. Elsewhere the vowel appears by analogy as either *-a* or *-e*, the form *-amēs* being peculiarly favoured by UG. and *-emēs* by Franconian. The oldest OHG. monuments confine the ending *-mēs* to the Indicative Present; e.g. Ind. *dikkamēs*, Conj. *dikkēm*. Isidor and M. have the ending *-mēs* in the Indic. Pres. and Pret. Conj.; Pa., R^a, K. have it for Pres. Ind. and Conj., but not in the Pret. T. uses it throughout, beside the shorter form in *-m*.

In the older MSS. *-m* in the Indicative only occurs four times, and of these thrice in the Wk. Confusion soon sets in, and in later OHG. the forms in *-mēs* and *-m* are used indiscriminately until *-m* at last prevails to the exclusion of *-mēs*, and the Present Indicative *-amēs*, *-emēs* is supplanted entirely by the Conjunctive *-ēm* (*-ēn*). This is the universal form for the Indicative in Otfrid, who only once writes *-mēs*, iii. 3. 13, *lāzēmēs* (for which a variant *lazēmus* is given in F.). See *PBB.* ii. 137, iv. 421, viii. 126.

In Tatian and some other MSS., forms occur in *-unmēs*, i.e. in **326** which the ending *-mēs* has been added to an already complete plural form in *-un*, e.g. *gābunmēs*, *quāmunmēs*, *gihalōtunmēs*. These are all Preterite forms in which the secondary *-m* (*n*) was regular and thus had *-un* before the *-mēs* was added in analogy to the Present. Further:

in some of the Glosses *-mas* occurs for *-mēs*: *uuirdineozamas* (i. 38. 3), and there are five instances of *-mus* for *-mēs*: *zaspallemus*, Pa. *perpur-nemus*, and three in the Freis. O.: *singemus*, *ilemus*, *bittemus*, all of which are probably mere clerical errors. The same may be said of the frequent forms in *-men* in the Glosses, as they only occur where the original had the shortened notation *-m̄* for *-mēs*, and the copyists may have mistaken this *-m̄* to stand for *-en*, the suffix which was current in their day, and have created the hybrid form *-men*.

In Notker, Will., the final *-n* often suffers apocope before a following pronoun. This also occurs once in O. ii. 6. 32, *uuege wir*.

327 v. Second person plural.

The IG. ending of the 2nd person plural was in the Indicative *the*; cf. Sk. *bhāratha*, Gk. *φέρετε*, Lat. *vehite*. IG. **bherete* → in Gmc. **birīði* [Paul maintains that the final *-e* fell before becoming *-i*, and that the penultimate *-e* was retained in Gmc., thus Pr. Gmc. **bered*: but this penultimate *-e* must have become *-i* in Gmc., since it was unaccented], Got. *baírīþ*, OHG. *birīt*. (OE. and OS. adopt for the 2nd person the form of the 3rd person *berað*.)

In OHG. one monument only shows the old forms at all consistently, viz. the Mons. Frag. Here there are twelve instances of a 2nd person plural in *-it*, and it is important to note that the *-i* has effected mutation, *ir quidit*, *gasihit* for *quedit*, *gasehet*, *firit* for *faret*: thus they must be historically old forms and not due to analogy. In the Imperative also the ending *-it* stands. The oldest form of Present would then be: *quidhu*, *quidhis*, *quidhit*, *quedhumes*, *quedhit*, *quedhant*. Imperative: *quidh*, *quedham*, *quidhit*. The form, however, which is more or less universal is not *-it* but *-et*, which may be analogy to 1st and 3rd person plural. It has been suggested though that this is the old 2nd person dual, Pr. Gmc. **beredam*, Gk. *φέρετον*, with secondary suffix. In it the penultimate *-e* would not have passed to *-i*, owing to the original presence of guttural vowel following: the *-et* form probably existed in the oldest OHG. side by side with the form in *-it*. The adoption of this dual form for the plural was favoured by the fact that constraint of system demanded the same vowel throughout the plural (cf. ON. *fariþ* beside Sing. *ferr*), e. g. *quedhumes*, *quedhet*, *quedhant*. See Wilmanns, iii. § 28; *PBB*. iv. 403, viii. 135, ix. 355, xiii. 125; Walde, *Auslautgesetz*, p. 119. The ending *-et* is the general one, but in Alemannic (R^b and B.) *-at* often occurs, a form which appears to be due to the influence exerted by the 3rd person in *-ant*. In later Alemannic the 3rd person is adopted bodily into the 2nd person *-ant* or later *-ent*,

at first only sporadically, but with Notker throughout, e. g. Pa. and K. *ir firnemant, dannent, haffent* (imp.), and even in Franconian: Tatian, *ir quédhent, bringent, uizzent, uuolent, &c.*; Otfrid, ii. 12. 56 *ir infāhent* (v), ii. 19. 8 *swerrvent*. Other forms in Tatian (γ) are found in *-unt* (*uuizzunt*, 104. 8; *gihōrtunt*, 30. 1; *saztunt*, 135. 21; *ingringunt*, 87. 8; *santunt*, 88. 11) and *-ant*: in Sam. 31 *sagant*.

vi. Third person plural.

328

The regular ending is *-ant* (from IG. **nemonti*) for the strong verb and *-ent* for the *-jan* presents and Non-Graded verbs, i, as the *a* following *j* would → *e*. Only a few older MSS., however, observe this distinction carefully; Pa., K., R., M. have regularly *quedant, singant, uuahsant, &c.*, but *danchent, uuānent, &c.* Soon, however, interchange arises: in UG. *-ant* becomes predominant, *-ent* in Franconian for all verbs: *varant, pāgant, Musp.*, but Tatian and Otfrid have regularly *-ent*. Otfrid has once *ferant* (F. v. 22. 1), and once *sizzint* (F. i. 10. 25). Franconian has everywhere *-ent* except with Isidor, who writes always *-ant*: e. g. *rinnant, infahant, chiborant, ezzant*, and only once has *-ent*, e. g. *sizzent*.

Present Conjunctive.

329

| IG. | Got. | 8th cent. | OHG. Is. and Tat. | O. | N. |
|------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------|
| * <i>nemoi</i> | (<i>nimau</i>) | <i>neme</i> | <i>neme</i> | <i>neme</i> | <i>neme</i> |
| * <i>nemois</i> | <i>nimáis</i> | <i>nemēs</i> | <i>nemēs(t)</i> | <i>nemēs</i> | <i>nemēst</i> |
| * <i>nemoi</i> | <i>nimái</i> | <i>neme</i> | <i>neme</i> | <i>neme</i> | <i>neme</i> |
| * <i>nemoim-</i> | <i>nimáima</i> | <i>nemēm</i> (<i>amēs, emēs</i>) | <i>nememēs(en)</i> | <i>nemēn</i> | <i>nemēn</i> |
| * <i>nemoite</i> | <i>nimáiþ</i> | <i>nemēt</i> | <i>nemēt</i> | <i>nemēt</i> | <i>nemēt</i> |
| * <i>nemoint</i> | <i>nimáina</i> | <i>nemēn</i> | <i>nemēn</i> | <i>nemēn</i> | <i>nemēn</i> |

These are old Optative forms. The suffix *-i* plus the thematic vowel *-o* → IG. *-oi*, which in Gmc. → *ai*. Thus **nemai, &c.*: *ai* → *-ē* in secondary syllables, which preserved its length when protected by a consonant, e. g. *nemēs, nemēm*, but was reduced to *-ě* when final: e. g. in the 1st and 3rd persons singular *neme*. The length of *-ē* is clearly demonstrated by the older writing *-ee, BR., &c.*, and by Notker's notation with circumflex.

i. Occasionally the *-e* of the 1st and 3rd persons singular passes into *-a* in Bavarian: cf. the Freis. Pn. *uuerda* and *wesa*; and this is not infrequent in later Bavarian; in other dialects it is rare: Sam. *geba, Isidor bichnāa*.

Like the *-u* of the Ind. Pres. the final *-e* is frequently elided before following pronouns: O. *help er, inbiel er, niaz er, uuerd er*.

ii. The final *-s* of the 2nd person sing., as in Indicative, is not normal in root-accented verbs (323). OE. preserves in the conjugation the true *s*-less form *þu bere*, *þu nime*, &c. As was shown, this *ēs* was towards the end of the ninth century extended to *ēst* by analogy to the Pres. Ind.

iii. For the ending of the 1st person plural see Indicative (325). The Conjunctive ending should be and was at first *-ēm* with long *-ē*, later *-ēmēs*, but *ēmēs* is the Indicative form which has passed into the Conjunctive. In the ninth century *-ēn* occurs and eventually becomes universal. For Pers. endings of Conj. Present Non-Graded verbs see 370.

Imperative.

330 In the Imperative 2nd person singular in OHG. the final vowel of Thematic verbs *-e* was lost before the OHG. period, and the double consonance which would be expected, arising from gemination before *ji* after short stem, was simplified, e. g. *biti* beside *bitten* (315).

| Got. | OHG. | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------|
| | 8th cent. | Is. and Tat. | O. | N. |
| <i>nim</i> | <i>nim</i> | <i>nim</i> | <i>nim</i> | <i>nim</i> |
| <i>nimadau</i> | | | | |
| <i>nimam</i> | <i>nemamēs (ēm)</i> | <i>nememēs (ēn)</i> | <i>nememēs</i> | <i>nemēn</i> |
| <i>nimij̃</i> | <i>nemet (al)</i> | <i>nemet</i> | <i>nemet</i> | <i>nemet</i> |

The form in *-ēn* for the 1st person plural is originally an optative.

The original form was, like that of the 2nd person plural, identical with the Pres. Ind. Plural, ending in *-amēs*, *-ēmēs*: of this there are many instances in Otrid (*billēmēs*, &c., Kelle, p. 37) and Isidor, but very early the Conjunctive was employed for the Imperative, and the endings *-amēs*, *-emēs* gave way to the conjunctive form *-ēm*, *-ēn*: e. g. Murb. Hymns, *singēm*, *petōem*, *chuedēm*, *frauuēm*, *duruchuuachēm*, *kakanlauffēm*, &c. For Imperative of Non-Graded verbs see 371.

Preterite.

| 331 | Got. | OHG. | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--|
| | 8th cent. | Is. and Tat. | Otf. | Notker. | |
| | <i>nam</i> | <i>nam</i> | <i>nam</i> | <i>nam</i> | |
| | <i>namt</i> | <i>nāmi</i> | <i>nāmi</i> | <i>nāmi</i> | |
| | <i>nam</i> | <i>nam</i> | <i>nan</i> | <i>nam</i> | |
| | <i>nēmum</i> | <i>nāmum (umēs)</i> | <i>nāmum</i> | <i>nāmen</i> | |
| | | <i>unmēs, un</i> | | | |
| | <i>nēmuj̃</i> | <i>nāmut</i> | <i>nāmut</i> | <i>nāmet</i> | |
| | <i>nēmun</i> | <i>nāmun</i> | <i>nāmun</i> | <i>nāmen</i> | |

Gothic shows the strong vowel-grade throughout the singular:

OHG. only in the 1st and 3rd sing. In the 2nd pers. it has the vowel of the plural.

i. The *-t* of Got. in the 2nd person has already been referred to, and it is clear that it is regular only with those stems which terminate in labial, guttural or *-s*; otherwise it should show *þ*. OHG. only shows the *-t* with the preterite presents: in all other graded verbs OHG. has in the 2nd person singular *-i*, which has also been already referred to (313). It is an augmentless aorist form with final *-i* preserved, even after long roots, by analogy to the verbs with a short root, as *bundi*, *sligi*, like *buti*, &c. Cf. *PBB.* ii. 155.

ii. Common to all Gmc. languages is the *-um*, &c., of the dual and 332 plural. It should be noted that the OHG. Non-Graded verbs with Isidor and in Alemannic do not show this ending *-um*, *-un*: but *-ōn*, *-ōt*, *-ōn* (*PBB.* ii. 136); the other dialects make no difference in this respect between the Graded and Non-Graded verb. Occasionally in Franc. Bav. the *-un* is weakened to *-on*, thus Freis. O. *sagēton*, *bigunnon*, and sometimes also to *-an*: *irluagētan*. Sporadically cases occur of a 1st person plural in *-mēs*, *-amēs*, and *unmēs* (R., R^b, and T.) by analogy to the present, but after the ninth century these no longer occur and the universal ending is *-un* until the days of Notker, when the weakened *-en* becomes fixed. For forms in *unmēs* see 326.

Preterite Conjunctive.

| IG. | Got. | OHG. | | | | 333 |
|-------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------------|-----|
| | | 8th cent. | Is. and T. | O. | N. | |
| *-jem | <i>nēmjau</i> | <i>nāmi</i> | <i>nāmi</i> | <i>nāmi</i> | <i>nāme(-i)</i> | |
| -jes | <i>nēmeis</i> | <i>nāmīs</i> | <i>nāmīs(t)</i> | <i>nāmīs</i> | <i>nāmīst</i> | |
| -jet | <i>nēmi</i> | <i>nāmi</i> | <i>nāmi</i> | <i>nāmi</i> | <i>nāme(i)</i> | |
| -im | <i>nēmeima</i> | <i>nāmīm (imes)</i> | <i>nāmīmēs(in)</i> | <i>nāmīn</i> | <i>nāmīn</i> | |
| -ite | <i>nēmeiþ</i> | <i>nāmīt</i> | <i>nāmīt</i> | <i>nāmīt</i> | <i>nāmīt(int)</i> | |
| -int | <i>nēmeina</i> | <i>nāmīn</i> | <i>nāmīn</i> | <i>nāmīn</i> | <i>nāmīn</i> | |

As was seen in section 314, the Optative suffix was *-ie* or *-i*: in Pr. Gmc. *-i* became adopted for the singular and plural alike, and in OHG. was shortened to *-i* when final in Bavarian and Franconian, but remained long when protected by a consonant.

In Alemannic and in the Franconian Isidor the length of final *-i* is preserved with the Non-Graded verbs; hence with Notker these, *salbōfi*, &c., have the *-i* still long, but *nāmi* is already weakened to *nāme*.

The plural has at first in the 1st person only *-im*, then for a short time *-imēs* and *-in* side by side; finally after the ninth century only *-in*. In late Alemannic the 2nd person usually ends in *-int*, as in the Indicative *-ent*, see 328.

Prefix *ga*.

334 In OHG. most verbs, whether Graded or Non-Graded, form their Past Participle not only with the suffix *-an* or *-t*, but also with the prefix *gi-*. This is the Gothic *ga*, Lat. *cum* (*con*), and was used already in Gothic not only with the original meaning 'together': *garinnan*, Mk. i. 33 = *to run together* (*gabaíran* = *confero*), *gaqiman sik* = *to gather themselves together*, but also in many cases to attribute perfective meaning to a verb, which otherwise had only imperfect meaning, or to convert a preterite into a pluperfect (*galáusida* = *he had loosed*, Mk. v. 4; *gahabáida* = *he had taken*, John vi. 17, &c.): also *slēpan* = *to sleep*, beside *gastlēpan* = *to fall asleep*, *rinnan* = *to run*, beside *garinnan* = *to obtain by running*, 1 Cor. ix. 24. In this sense it was naturally combined more often with the Past Participle than with other forms of the verb, and in OHG. gradually all simplex verbs adopted it save those in which the perfective sense was still strong, as to come, to find, &c., e.g. *queman*—*quoman*, *fintan*—*funtan*, *bringen*—*brungan*, *uuerdan*—*uuardan*, and those used as adjectives: e.g. *trunkan*, *kund* to *kennen*, *sculd* to *sculan*, *eigan* to *eigun*, in which the adjectival sense was yet alive, but *gi-noman*, *gi-loufan*, *gi-graban*, *gi-salbōt*, &c. Verbs compounded with inseparable prefixes such as *bi*, *gi*, *fir*, *int*, *zi*, *ar*, did not take this prefix, e.g. *binoman*, *firnoman*, &c., but where the prefix was separable, as with *ab*, *uz*, the prefix *gi-* is inserted, e.g. *abaginoman*, *uzginoman*.

Forms of the Past Participle without the prefix in simplex verbs are rare. Tatian *heizzan* (13. 1), *hangan* (94. 4), *rehtfestigōt* (64. 14) beside *girehtfestigōt* (62. 12); Otloh *rihtet*, *preitet*, *frezzen*; Pa. *kepan*; Hl. *wuntane* (*bougā*); R. *phinōt*. PBB. xiii. 516 and xv. 70.

GRADATION SERIES I-V.

1. IG. *e : o* Series.

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 335 I. Pr. Gmc. | <i>ī</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>i</i> | * <i>slīgan-</i> | * <i>staig</i> | * <i>stigum</i> | * <i>stiganaz</i> |
| Got. | <i>ei</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>steigan</i> | <i>stáig</i> | <i>stigum</i> | <i>stigans</i> |
| OHG. (a) | <i>ī</i> | <i>ei</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>stīgan</i> | <i>steig</i> | <i>stigum</i> | <i>gi-stigan</i> |
| (b) | <i>ī</i> | <i>ē</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>zīhan</i> | <i>zēh</i> | <i>zigum</i> | <i>gi-zigan</i> |

All verbs showing the gradation IG. *e : o* in which the root-vowel *e : o* occurred before *ī* belong to series I (301).

i. Verbs with root ending in *-h* or *-w* in OHG. have *ē* instead of *ei* in the pret. sing. (271).

ii. The verb *spīwan* has a variety of forms: Alemannic has as infinitives *spian* and *spigan*: the preterite occurs with Otfrid as *spē*

with fall of the *-o* and with Notker as *spēh*, analogous to *lēh*, &c.: in the plural Otfrid has *spium* for *spīwun*, and Tatian *spuun* by analogy with *bluwcun*, &c.: and in the *Denkmäler* (91. 49 and 90. 23) Past Part. *gespūen* and *ge-spīren* beside *gispiuuan* are also found. The form *spīren* is probably in analogy to *giscriran*, as is *spīt* to *giscriūt*. Phys. has a form *ūzspīgel*. Cf. 231.

Verbs belonging to Class I. a are:—

336

| | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>bītan</i> , wait | * <i>līdan</i> , go | <i>slīfan</i> , slip |
| <i>bīzan</i> , bite | * <i>mīdan</i> , avoid | <i>slīzan</i> , tear |
| <i>blīchan</i> , shine | <i>nīdan</i> , envy | <i>smīzan</i> , smear |
| <i>flīzan</i> , to be zealous | <i>rīban</i> , rub | * <i>snīdan</i> , cut |
| <i>glīzan</i> , glitter | <i>rīdan</i> , writhe | <i>slīgan</i> , mount |
| <i>gnītan</i> , rub | <i>rīman</i> , touch | <i>strīchan</i> , stroke |
| <i>grīfan</i> , seize | * <i>rīsan</i> , rise | <i>strītan</i> , struggle |
| <i>grīman</i> , grin | <i>rīlan</i> , ride | <i>swīchan</i> , weaken |
| <i>hlīfan</i> , open | <i>rīzan</i> , tear | <i>swīnan</i> , vanish |
| (<i>h</i>) <i>nīgan</i> , bow | <i>scīnan</i> , shine | <i>trīban</i> , drive |
| <i>hrīnan</i> , touch | <i>scrīan</i> , cry | <i>wīchan</i> , yield |
| <i>kīnan</i> , open (bud) | <i>scrīban</i> , write | <i>wīfan</i> , wind |
| <i>klīban</i> , cling | <i>sīgan</i> , conquer | <i>wīzan</i> , punish |
| <i>līban</i> , remain | <i>slīchan</i> , creep | |

To Class I. b belong:—

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| * <i>dīhan</i> , thrive | <i>sīhan</i> , filter | * <i>wīhan</i> , fight |
| * <i>līhan</i> , lend | <i>tīhan</i> , accuse | <i>zīhan</i> , accuse |
| <i>rīhan</i> , order | | |

Of these a number (marked *) show grammatic change: *s* : *r*, *d* : *t*, *h* : *g* or *w*, e. g. *rīsu*—*rīrum*; *snīdu*—*snitum*; *wīhu*—*wīgum*; *lihu*—*līwum*.

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|
| II. Pr. Gmc. <i>eu</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>u</i> | * <i>beugan-</i> | * <i>baug</i> | * <i>bugum</i> | * <i>buganaz</i> | 337 |
| Got. (a) | <i>iū</i> | <i>áu</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>biugan</i> | <i>báug</i> | <i>bugum</i> | <i>bugans</i> |
| (b) | <i>iū</i> | <i>áu</i> | <i>áú</i> | <i>áú</i> | <i>tiuhan</i> | <i>táuh</i> | <i>taúhum</i> | <i>taúhans</i> |
| OHG. (a) | <i>iū</i> | <i>ou</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>o</i> | UG. <i>biugan</i> } | <i>boug</i> | <i>bugum</i> | <i>gibogan</i> |
| | <i>io</i> (<i>eo</i>) | | | | Fr. <i>biogan</i> } | | | |
| (b) | <i>io</i> (<i>eo</i>) | <i>ō</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>ziohan</i> | <i>zōh</i> | <i>zugum</i> | <i>gizogan</i> |

All verbs showing the gradation IG. *e* : *o* in which root vowel *e* : *o* occurred in front of *u* belong to II.

In OHG. Pr. Gmc. *au* → *ō* before *h* and dentals: in other cases it remains a diphthong, hence *biotan*—*bōt*, but *slīofan*—*slouf*. Pr. Gmc. *eu* → OHG. *eo* (*io*) before a following *a* or *o* in Franconian, but in UG. → *iū* before labial or guttural, *eo* only in other cases (275), hence Fr. *liogan*, UG. *liugan*.

Verbs belonging to Class II. a are :—

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>biogan</i> , bend | <i>kriochan</i> , creep | <i>sliofan</i> , slip |
| <i>fliogan</i> , fly | <i>liogan</i> , lie | <i>stioban</i> , rush |
| <i>hiofan</i> , lament | <i>riochan</i> , smell | <i>triofan</i> , drip |
| <i>klioban</i> , cleave | <i>skioban</i> , push | <i>triofan</i> , deceive |

338 i. Verbs terminating in *-wan*, as *bliuwan*, (*h*)*niuwan*, *kiuwan*, have in the Present *-iu* in all forms, both in UG. and in Franconian: they also differ from the class in having a long *-ū* in the Pret. Plur. and the Past Part. Thus: *ih bliuu—blou—blūwum—giblūwan*; *kiwan*, *kiuuit*, *kou—kūun—gikūuuan*. In the Past Part. the *w* often falls, e. g. *gibluan*, *ginuan*. They had in Pr. Gmc., it would seem, *ww* and *ū*, probably ← *u + w*. Got. *bliggwan*, &c., belong to III.

ii. OHG. *riuwan*, to crush, MHG. *riuwen*, though probably belonging originally to reduplicating verbs like *buan*, &c., follows the conjugation of *bliuwan*.

iii. *Hiofan*, to mourn, only occurs in UG. texts Pa., K., therefore always as *hiufan* (or *hiupan*).

339 Verbs belonging to Class II. b are :—

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| <i>biotan</i> , offer | <i>giozan</i> , pour | <i>niosan</i> , use |
| <i>diozan</i> , sound | (<i>fir</i>) <i>griozan</i> , crumble | <i>riozan</i> , weep |
| <i>driosan</i> , fall | * <i>kiosan</i> , choose | * <i>siodan</i> , seethe |
| <i>fliohan</i> , flee | <i>far</i> -* <i>liosan</i> , lose | <i>skiozan</i> , shoot |
| <i>fliozan</i> , flow | <i>ar-liotan</i> , grow | <i>sliozan</i> , shut |
| * <i>friosan</i> , freeze | (<i>h</i>) <i>liozan</i> , draw lots | |

iv. *Fliohan* has given up its grammatical change in OHG. and forms *fluhum*, *giflohan*, perhaps to avoid falling together with *fliogan* (a).

v. The verbs *sūgan*, *sūfan*, and *lūhhan* differ from the rest of the class in having a long *ū* throughout the Present, but in the other forms they agree with *biogan*, e. g. *louh*, *luhhum—gilohhan*. They are old stem-accented Presents (293), and the *ū* represents the weak vowel grade with secondary lengthening.

340 III. Pr. Gmc. *e, i a u u* **bindan-* **band* **bundum* **bundānaz*
 Got. (a) *i a u u bindan band bundum bundans*
 (b) *aí a aú aú waírþan warþ waírþum waírþans*
 OHG. (a) *i a u u binlan bant buntum gibuntan*
 (b) *e a u o werdan ward wurtum wortan*

To Class III belong verbs showing IG. *e : o* gradation whose root begins or ends in double consonance: if the root-vowel is followed by a nasal, the verb follows the example of *bindan*, if by any other consonant it belongs to III b.

Thus to Class III. a belong:—

| | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>brinnan</i> , burn | <i>krimphan</i> , crumple | <i>sinkan</i> , sink |
| <i>dinsan</i> , draw | <i>bi-limphan</i> , happen | <i>sinnan</i> , think |
| <i>dringan</i> , press | <i>gi-lingan</i> , succeed | <i>slintan</i> , devour |
| <i>dwingan</i> , force | <i>bi-linnan</i> , cease | <i>spinnan</i> , spin |
| * <i>findan</i> , find | <i>gi-nindan</i> , to be willing | <i>springan</i> , spring |
| <i>bi-ginnan</i> , begin | <i>rimphan</i> , rumple | <i>swimman</i> , swim |
| <i>hinkan</i> , limp | <i>ringan</i> , wrestle | <i>swingan</i> , swing |
| (<i>h</i>) <i>limman</i> , growl | <i>rinnan</i> , flow | <i>trinkan</i> , drink |
| <i>klimban</i> , climb | <i>int-rinnan</i> , flee | <i>winnan</i> , rage |
| <i>klingan</i> , sound | <i>scrintan</i> , burst | <i>wintan</i> , turn |
| <i>krimman</i> , scratch | <i>singan</i> , sing | |

And to Class III. b:—

| | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>belgan</i> , be angry | <i>helpfan</i> , help | <i>snerfan</i> , pucker |
| <i>bellan</i> , roar | <i>hrespan</i> , snatch | <i>snerhan</i> , wind |
| <i>berwan</i> , procure (Kögel, <i>*hwerban</i> , act, turn | <i>*hwerfan</i> , throw | <i>sterban</i> , die |
| <i>Lg. i. 2. 434</i>) | <i>ar-leskan</i> , extinguish | <i>*swelhan</i> , swallow |
| <i>brestan</i> , burst | <i>melkan</i> , milk | <i>swellan</i> , swell |
| <i>brettan</i> , draw, weave | <i>quellan</i> , swell | <i>sverban</i> , whirl |
| <i>dreskan</i> , thresh | <i>skellan</i> , sound | <i>telban</i> , dig |
| <i>fehian</i> , fight | <i>skellan</i> , blame | <i>wellan</i> , roll |
| <i>felahan</i> , hide | <i>skerran</i> , scratch | <i>*werdan</i> , become |
| <i>flehtan</i> , weave | <i>smelzan</i> , melt | <i>werpfan</i> , throw |
| <i>geltan</i> , to be worth | <i>smerzan</i> , smart | <i>werran</i> , confuse |
| <i>hellan</i> , resound | | |

341

i. *Findan* shows at first grammatic change, *fand*—*fantum*, but very soon the forms begin to level out, especially as *t* tends to → *d* after nasal. Tatian has nearly everywhere the form in *d*, and by Notker's time all difference has vanished.

ii. *Biginnan* more often has a weak form of preterite than the strong: *bigonda* or *bigonta* for *bigan*(*n*), and Isidor writes *bigunsta*, *bigonsta*, which seems in analogy to *unnan*—*onsta*.

iii. To *bringan* the historically correct preterite *brang*, *brungum* occurs in Otrifrid; the weak form *brähta* from the causative [Got. **braggjan*, OS. *brengcan*, OE. *brengan*] is, however, the more usual. The past part. *brungan* is more generally used than *bräht* in the oldest documents.

iv. *Spurnan* also has a weak preterite in use, *spurnta*, beside the strong forms *fir-spurni* (O. iv. 4. 20) and *fir-spurnan* (p.p.). As the *u* in infinitive shows, it is an old aorist present.

v. The verb *brestan* has also forms as if from Class IV, pret. *brästum*, so always N. (*brästēn*).

vi. The regular form of past part. to *dwingan* is *gidungan*, pret.

343

plur. *dungum* (*w* lost before *u*, 129), but only the older texts like K. have consistently forms without *w*.

vii. The preterite *ginand* used by O. must belong to infin. **ginindan* (= to show courage).

viii. The verb *hwerfan*, *hwarf*, *hwurbum*, *gihworban* shows levelling in all directions, so that two verbs arise from it, *hwerfan* and *hwerban*, of which the former is preferred in Isid. and Alem., but the latter in T. and O. *f* (*v*) occurs mostly in present in UG. texts, and occasionally in pret. plural and past participle.

ix. To *hellan* the only past part. recorded in OHG. is *gehellan*, as if belonging to Class V, but MHG. has *gehollen*.

x. Verbs like *fehlan*, in which root-vowel is neither preceded nor followed by liquid or nasal, should normally have past participle either with *ə*, Gmc. *a* (OHG. **gifahtan*), or, as in Class V, *ə* assimilated to vowel of present (**gifehtan*); the past part. *gifohtan* must be analogical with verbs of Class IV.

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|
| 344 IV. Pr. Gmc. | <i>e</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ǣ</i> | <i>u</i> | * <i>þeran-</i> | * <i>þar</i> | * <i>þǣrum</i> | * <i>þuranaz</i> |
| Got. (a) | <i>i</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ē</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>niman</i> | <i>nam</i> | <i>nēmum</i> | <i>numans</i> |
| (b) | <i>aí</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ē</i> | <i>aú</i> | <i>baíran</i> | <i>bar</i> | <i>þērūm</i> | <i>baúrans</i> |
| OHG. | <i>e</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ā</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>beran</i> | <i>bar</i> | <i>bārum</i> | <i>giboran</i> |

To this class belong historically only graded verbs *e*:*o*, whose root originally contained only single consonants, one of which must be liquid or nasal. Thus: *beran*, *helan*, *lehhan* (*hh* ← Gmc. *k*), *neman*, *quelan*, *queman*, *queran*, *rehhan* (← *k*), *zeman*, *zeran*.

A number of other verbs have crept into this class in OHG.: *brehhan*, *breman*, *dweran*, *skeran*, *sprehhan*, *stehhan*, *swehhan*, *treffan*, *trehhan*, *twelan*.

345 *Queman* is inflected throughout according to this class only in Isidor, H., and M. Beside the present forms founded on the root **kwem* (Got. *qiman*) others occur very early, and especially in Tatian, which are founded on an aorist present root **kum*. Thus: *kumu*, *kumist*, *kumit*, conj. *kome*, pres. part. *komentī*, past part. *kumen*; cf. OE. *cuman*, ON. *koma*. These forms gradually displaced the older ones from **kwem* in the present, and are the only ones used by Notker, so that *queman* had fallen from use by the twelfth century. The preterite remained regular: *quam*, *quānum*, though in late OHG. the labial *-u* tended to turn the following *-a* into *-o*, *chom*, *chōmen*. The past part. is regularly *queman* as if from Class V in all older MSS.: with Notker it becomes *chomen*.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|-----|
| V. Pr. Gmc. | <i>e</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ǣ</i> | <i>e</i> | * <i>gēban-</i> | * <i>gab</i> | * <i>gēbum</i> | * <i>gēbanaz</i> | 346 |
| Got. (a) | <i>i</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ē</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>giban</i> | <i>gaf</i> | <i>gēbum</i> | <i>gibans</i> | |
| (b) | <i>ai</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ē</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>saihwan</i> | <i>sah</i> | <i>sēhwum</i> | <i>saihwans</i> | |
| OHG. | <i>e</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ā</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>geban</i> | <i>gab</i> | <i>gābum</i> | <i>gigeban</i> | |

To this class belong those graded *e : o* verbs whose consonants are other than those mentioned in Classes III and IV, thus :—

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>gi-fehan</i> , fit oneself, rejoice | <i>jetan</i> , weed | * <i>sehan</i> , see |
| <i>gi-fezzan</i> (← <i>t</i>), fall | <i>knetan</i> , knead | <i>wēban</i> , weave |
| <i>fnehan</i> , breathe | * <i>lesan</i> , read | * <i>wegan</i> , move |
| <i>gezgan</i> (← <i>t</i>), get | * <i>gi-nesan</i> , recover | <i>wēhan</i> , contend |
| * <i>jehan</i> , say | * <i>quedan</i> , say | * <i>wesan</i> , to be |
| * <i>jesan</i> , foam | * <i>redan</i> , speak | <i>wētan</i> , bind |

and the three *j*-present verbs : *bitten*, *liggen*, *sizzen*.

A number of other verbs from Classes III and IV have joined this class in OHG. :—

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------------|
| <i>klenan</i> , smear | <i>mezzan</i> , measure | <i>gi-skehan</i> , hasten |
| <i>kresan</i> , creep | <i>pflegan</i> , wait upon, to be wont | <i>stredan</i> , gush |
| | | <i>tretan</i> , tread |

i. Verb roots ending in *s*, *d*, and *h* should show grammatic change: 347 of these, those in *s* do show the change *s : r* with some regularity: *las*—*lārut*, *gīnas*—*gīnārūm*, *wesan*—*wārūm*. Of *quedan* the forms *quātun* and *giquetan* are common at first, but soon succumb to levelling. Those in *h* rarely have the change to *g* or *w*, though Notker writes always *gejegen* and often *geseuuen*. *Ezzan* and *frezzaan* differ from the rest in having long vowel in the preterite singular: *āz*, *frāz*; cf. Got. *frēt*, OE. *ǣt*, but it is curious that twice with Otrid this *āz* should rhyme with *gisāz*: iii. 6. 35 and v. 14. 24. Williram writes *āz*: *Zs.f.d.A.* 44. 12, &c.

ii. Contracted forms occur in the present of *quedan*, *quīs*, *quīt*; N. *chīs*, *chīt*. In late Bavarian a past part. *choden* occurs according to Class IV.

iii. In *bitten*, *liggen*, *sizzen* the old present formation with *-i-* suffix 348 yielded the same result in present tense as in the weak *j*-presents; it caused also gemination of consonant, except in 2nd and 3rd person, e. g. *bittu*, *bitis*, *bitit*, **bittemēs*, *bittet*, *bittent*, but of course only in the present: *liggen*, *liggu*, *sizzen*, *sizzu*, but *lag*, *saz*, &c. By degrees the form from single consonant prevailed in most cases and penetrated into the whole present already with Tatian, while Notker has only the forms

biten and *ligen*, &c. On the other hand the *zz* (← *tt*) of *sizzen* &c. prevailed.

iv. The OHG. verb *tretan*, OE. *tredan*, is in Got. an aorist present, *trudan*, and has there joined Class IV.

2. Pr. Gmc. a : \bar{o} Series.

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 349 VI. Pr. Gmc. | <i>a</i> | \bar{o} | \bar{o} | <i>a</i> | <i>*faran-</i> | <i>*fōr</i> | <i>*fōrum</i> | <i>*faranaz</i> |
| Got. | <i>a</i> | \bar{o} | \bar{o} | <i>a</i> | <i>faran</i> | <i>fōr</i> | <i>fōrum</i> | <i>farans</i> |
| OHG. | <i>a</i> | <i>uo</i> | <i>uo</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>faran</i> | <i>fuor</i> | <i>fuorum</i> | <i>gi-faran</i> |

The origin of the verbs which belong to this class has already been discussed (305). They are :—

| | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>bahhan</i> , bake | <i>malan</i> , grind | <i>stantan</i> , stand |
| <i>dwahan</i> , wash | <i>nagan</i> , gnaw | <i>tragan</i> , carry |
| <i>galan</i> , sing, charm | <i>sahhan</i> , quarrel | <i>gi-wahan</i> , call |
| <i>graban</i> , bury, dig | <i>skaban</i> , scrape | <i>wahsan</i> , grow |
| <i>hladan</i> , load | <i>slahan</i> , hit | <i>waskan</i> , wash |
| <i>laffan</i> , lick, lap | <i>snahhan</i> , creep | <i>watan</i> , wade |
| <i>lahan</i> , blame | <i>spanan</i> , entice | |

and *j*-presents : *heffen*, *skepfen*, *swerien*.

350 i. Grammatical change is shown regularly by those whose root ends in *h*, but the consonant of the preterite plural has passed into the singular : *dwahan*, *dwag*, *gidwagan*, *slahan*, *sluog*, *sluogum* ; so also *luog*, *giwuog*, &c.

To **giwahan*—*giwuog* Otfred forms a present *giwahinen* and a past participle *giwahinit* (i. 9. 1). In older texts the dental change is shown in the past participle, *kihlatan*, *kilatanan* to *hladan*, but Monsee Fr. has always *giladan*, and O. and T. always *d*. A curious form is *kihliad* (R^a, Graff. 4. 1113), which, however, Kögel explains as a clerical error for *kihluad*.

ii. *Stantan* should of course have the in-fixed nasal only in the present, but it forms regularly *stuont*—*gistantan*, nevertheless there is, especially in early texts (Wk.), a second form without the nasal, *stuat*, *stuot* (Got. *stōþ*, ON. *stōð*, OE. *stōd*). T. has *vorstōtun*, O. *gistuat* (ii. 6. 40), *gistuatīn* (i. 9. 23 ; 20. 5).

351 iii. OHG. has two present forms for *bahhan* (← Pr. Gmc. *k*) : Gl. i. 274, *za pahanne*, and ii. 252, *ungipahaniu*, but i. 713 *zi bakkane* and Notker's *pacchet* (← Pr. Gmc. *kk*). PBB. ix. 583. To this class belong also several verbs with *j*-suffix in present, e.g. *heffen*, *skepfen*, *swerien*, **intsteffen* and *hlahhen*, which last, however, passed into the third weak class, as Notker writes *lachēn*, preterite *lacheton* : it only occurs as a strong verb in R. *hlōh*. To *heffen* the Present at first runs : *heffu*, *hevis*, *hevit*, *heffemes*, &c. (127), but soon

single *f*, written *v*, spreads over the whole tense. Grammatical change is shown *f*: *b* with the *b* extended to the singular: *heffu*—*huob*—*huobum*. Notker levels out in favour of *f* in past part. *erhaven*.

iv. In *skepfen* (Got. *ga-skapjan*) the *j* has caused in the present W. Gmc. gemination, and in OHG. the fricative persists throughout the singular, though properly it should alternate with *ff* (← W. Gmc. single *p*) in 2nd and 3rd person. The preterite is regular: *skuof*—*skuofum*—*giskaffan*.

OHG. formed another present, *skaffan*, and Otfrid has a weak form *scaftin* (i. 9. 8). The infinitive to *intsuab*, *insuabun*, Otfrid, and *insefit*, *ensebben*, must have been **intseffen*.

v. The past participle to *swerien* is always *gisworan* (for **giswaran*).

Reduplicating Verbs.

Pr. Gmc. had two classes of verbs with reduplicated perfects: (a) those ³⁵² in which the preterite showed a vowel different from the present; (b) those which had the same vowel in present and preterite, e. g. :

(a) Got. *grētan*, *gaígrōt*, *gaígrōtum*, *grētans*.

(b) Got. *háitan*, *haiháit*; *stáutan*, *staístaut*; *haldan*, *haihald*; *hāhan*, *haihāh*; *flōkan*, *faíflōk*.

In OHG. these verbs have no reduplication, but show an apparent vowel gradation of a different type from that already discussed (305), according to which they are divided into two classes:—

(a) Those with preterite vowel, W. Gmc. *ē*, OHG. *ea*, *ia* (the present *ā*, *a*, or *ei*).

(b) Those with preterite vowel, W. Gmc. *eo*, OHG. *eo* and *io* (the present *ō*, *ou*, *uo*). E.g.

(a) *fallan*—*fial*—*fialun*—*gifallan*; *slāfan*—*sliaf*—*siafun*—*gislāfan*; *heizan*—*hiaz*—*hiazun*—*giheizan*.

Such verbs are: *bāgan*, *bannan*, *blantan*, *blāsan*, *brātan*, *fāhan*, *faldan*, *fallan*, *gangan*, *hāhan*, *haltan*, *heizan*, *lāzan*, *meizan*, *rātan*, *int-rātan*, *salzan*, *skaltan*, **skeidan*, *slāfan*, *spaltan*, *spannan*, *sweifan*, *walkan*, *walzan*, *fir-wāzan*, *zeisan*, and the *j*-present *erien* (*erren*).

i. Isidor and Tatian write short *e* before *ng* in place of *ia*: e. g. *genc*, ³⁵³ *infenc*, *arhenc*; and the same is the case in the Monsee Fr. (*PBB*. i. 507). To *fāhan* a preterite without nasal sporadically occurs: e. g. *T. infiegun*, *phiegin*, &c.; see *PBB*. vi. 544, note.

ii. Noteworthy is the short imperative to *lāzan*, Ps. 138. 35, *lā*. Syncopated forms of the present, as *lāl*, &c., are not uncommon, and a pret. *līe*, in which, perhaps, analogy with *gān* and *hān* is to be seen.

iii. Of the verbs with *ā*-presents which formerly also had a reduplicated perfect, one strong past part. is still preserved in K.: *ziplāhannēr* (63. 18), Pa. *zaplāhannēr*, Rⁿ *ziplānēr*, *inblāhenen* to *blāan*.

(b) *houuan*—*hiu* (*hio*)—*hiuum*—*gihouuan*, *stōzan*—*stiaz* (*stēz*)—*stiazum*—*gistōzan* (Got. *au*); *wuofan*—*wiof*—*wiofum*—*wuofan* (Got. *ō*).

i. In UG. these verbs whose roots ended in a labial have of course *iu* instead of *io* (275): T. *liof*, N. *liuf*.

ii. To *hruofan* and *wuofan* there are also *j*-presents, *hruofen* ← *hrōppjan* and *wuofen* ← *wōppjan*, which occur side by side with the form without *j* in Franconian, but in UG. are alone used, and have weak preterite and past part. *ruofta*, (*ana*)*ruoftun*.

354 Very curious, and possibly a remnant of the old reduplicating perfect, are certain forms with *r*, which occur in verbs of this class: e. g.

To *stōzan*: *steroz*, *stiriz*, *sterozun*; to *skrōtan*: *kiskrerot*; to *plōzan*: *pleruzzun*, *capleruzzi*; to *buan* (O.): *biruun*, *biruuuis*. The *r*, however, is more probably not etymological, but rather a consonant glide.

See *PBB.* viii. 551, ix. 525, xv. 350, xxxii. 488 ff.; J. Schmidt: *Kuhne*, *Zs.* xxv; *Wilmanns*, iii, p. 38.

The weak verb *fluohhōn* replaces *fluohhan*, of which only past part. (*far*)*fluahhan* is recorded.

Similarly *būan* forms preterite *būta*, but past part. *gibūan*, preserved till MHG. (*gebūwen*).

The Non-Graded (Weak) Verb.

355 The weak verb is characterized by the absence of Gradation and the formation of preterite and past part. by dental suffix.

In Pr. Gmc. there were the following classes:—

(1) Verbs which were originally causatives (as Got. *lagjan* = to lay) or denominatives (as Got. *wēnjan*, to hope ← *wēns*, *hāiljan* ← *hāils*) with *j*-suffix, Got. *lagjan*, *lagida*, *lagips*, and with these were joined also some primary verbs with *j*-presents, G. *waürkjan*, OHG. (*wirkan*) *wurken*. These yield Got. and OHG., Class I.

(2) Denominatives from feminine (Pr. Gmc. *-ō*) stems with athematic present: Got. *salbōn*, OHG. *salbōn*. Got. and OHG., Class II.

(3) Primary verbs with athematic suffix *ē*: *io* or *ējo* (cf. *taceo*—*tacēre*) ← *ēi*. Got. and OHG., Class III. Got. *haban*, OHG. *habēn*. *Wilmanns*, iii, § 47.

(4) Inchoatives with suffix *-nan*. Got., Class IV. Got. *full-nan*, in OHG. lost or absorbed into other classes.

In OHG. there survive the first three classes: (1) verbs whose infinitive ends in *-en* (← *jan*), pret. *-ila, -ta*; (2) *-ōn*, pret. *ōta*; (3) *-ēn*, pret. *ēta*.

I. (a) The verbs with infinitive in *-en* are a very numerous class, consisting chiefly of causatives, e.g. *sezzen—leggen*, and denominatives from nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, and also some originally strong verbs, e.g. *būan, slūen, &c.*

This class is divided according to the stem into—

- (1) Verbs which originally had a short stem.
- (2) Verbs which originally had a long or polysyllabic stem.

(1) SHORT-SYLLABLED STEMS.

By the W. Gmc. law of gemination of consonants the final consonant was geminated in the 1st pers. sing. and in the plural before *j*, but not in 2nd and 3rd sing. where *j* was absent: thus *zellu, zelis, zelit, zellemēs, zellet, zellent*, but very soon levelling out began, usually in favour of the single consonant, thus *zelu, zelemēs, zelent*. This is not consistently carried through until the tenth to eleventh century, except by Tatian, who writes regularly *zelen, &c.*, while Otfrid still uses the geminated forms. It is rare that the double consonance ousts the single.

i. Verbs with affricata *zz, pf, ck* (← *tt, pp, kk*) extend these to the whole present, instead of alternating with *zz, ff, hh* (← *t, p, k*), e.g. *sizzen, sizzit, sizzemēs* for *sizzen, sizzit, sizzemēs*. 357

ii. Verbs with *w* have double forms: *ww* develops with vowel preceding to a diphthong *auw* → *ouw* not subject to mutation, while before single *w* the *a* was mutated. An interchange would thus be expected: Pr. Gmc. **frawjan*, OHG. *ih frouwu, du frewis, er frewit, wir frouwemēs, &c.*, but levelling soon disturbs the normal course of development. Bavarian prefers the former, the *ouw*-forms ← *ww*, Franconian the *ew*-forms ← *w*: e.g. Bav. *frouwen, strouwen, louwen*; Franc. *frewen, strewen, touwen*, and the forms with mutated *a* passed also into the preterite. Such verbs are: *bewen, dewen, drewen, flewen, zewen*; see *PBB.* ix. 528.

iii. Verbs in which *r* precedes *j*. These mostly retain the *j* without geminating the *r*: *nerien, nerigan, nergan*; the writing with *ig* is particularly frequent in Bavarian up to the twelfth century. On the other hand, Alem. and Franc. favour forms with geminated *r*: *nerren*. Otfrid uses either, more or less indifferently, but seems to prefer to retain the *i* with single *r*.

(2) LONG OR POLYSYLLABIC STEMS.

358 After long vowel the consonant in these stems should remain single, and it does so in Franconian (save T. 57. 5, *hōrrenne*), but in UG. geminated forms are fairly frequent in the older texts, especially in B., where even *b* and *g* are geminated: *keaućkan* (ii. 51), *kelaubpames*, *erlauppe*. With *t*, *r*, *l*, *s*, *m*, *n* gemination occurs most often and is retained longest: *hōrran*, *lērran*, *wīssan*, *leittan*; the Muspilli has many instances: *wīssant*, *arteillan*; see *PBB.* vii. 110.

I. Verbs with root-vowel, Gmc. *ō* (→ OHG. *uo*, *ua*), as *muoen*, *bluoen*, *druoen*, *gluoen*, (*h*)*luoen*, *spuoen*, were conjugated quite regularly so long as the vowel remained not diphthongized, but when *ō* → *uo(ua)* they mostly drop the second component of the diphthong and lengthen the *u*: e. g. *blūit*, *glūent* in place of *bluoit*, *gluoent*. At the same time these other forms occur also, as do forms in which it is the diphthong which is kept intact and the flexional vowel which falls: e. g. *bluonti* for *bluoenti*. *PBB.* xi. 61. Occasionally also these verbs develop an *h*- or *g*-glide: *bluohen*, *muogen*; rarely a *w*-glide: *bluowen*.

Verbs with the root-vowel *ā*, which were formerly included in the Reduplicating verbs, such as *sāen*, *bāen*, *nāen*, &c., also belong to this class. They frequently have an *h*-glide: e. g. *blāhen*, *bāhen*, and sometimes a *j*: e. g. *blājen*, *sājen*. E. Franc. prefers a *w*: *blāwen*, *sāwen*, T. *PBB.* xi. 51.

359 II. Verbs with Infin. in *-ōn*.

These are mostly denominatives and rarely iteratives.

i. Sporadically *u* is written in place of *ō*, e. g. Tatian 89. 1 *satumēs*, 97. 5 *goumumēs*. Isidor once (4. 3) has the *ō* diphthongized in *ādhuot*.

ii. When these verbs are derived from a nominal *j*-stem they show in the oldest texts the *j* still preserved (mostly as *e*), e. g. *enteōn*, *minneōn*; especially is this the case in Pa., K., R^a: *ungaanteōt*, *kientīōt*, *kienteōd*. Tatian, 88. 5, has *sunteōn* beside *suntōn*, and Otfrid *rediōn* beside *redōn* elsewhere.

360 III. Verbs with Infin. in *-ēn*.

These are chiefly intransitives expressing condition or—as derivatives from adjectives—entering into a condition, *arallēn* = Lat. *inveterasco*, *rīfēn* = to grow ripe.

Not infrequently, and especially in Bavarian texts, *a* is found for *ē*. Otfrid has many instances (see Kelle, 74), and Tatian: *sagant*, *wuonanti*, *fastante*; this also occurs sporadically in Alemannic, to which dialect also the double forms in the Optative are virtually restricted.

The Non-Graded Preterite.

Where the Non-Graded Preterite in OHG. had been formed from **361** primary verbs it had the ending *-ta* (see above), and this *-ta* followed directly on the root (Got. *mahta*, *waúrhta*), but in far the greater number of cases the verbs which show a non-graded preterite are of secondary origin, and the *-ta* is linked to the root by a characteristic vowel; in 1st non-graded class (*-en* presents) this vowel is *-i-* (*nerita*), which causes mutation if not early syncopated (*zelita* or *zalta*); in 2nd non-graded class (*-ōn* presents) *-ō*, *salbōta*; and in 3rd (*-ēn* presents) *-ē*, *habēta*.

CLASS I. In Class I, as a general rule, the short stems have *-ita*, **362** the long stems and polysyllabic stems *-ta* with syncope of *i*, but there are exceptions to this:—

(1) Verbs with originally short stem ending in Gmc. *pj*, *tj*, *kj*, i. e. with OHG. *pf*, *zz*, *ck* (UG. *cch*) in the present, have *-ta* and not *-ita*; e. g. *stepfen*, *sezzen*, *wecken*; *stafta*, *sazta*, *wahta*. Tatian once writes *arrekita*, and forms with *-ita* are also found in Isidor and M.: *rehhita*; Merseb., Sp. *lezidun*. *PBB.* vii. 139.

(2) Verbs with stems ending in Gmc. *dj* or *lj*, i. e. with OHG. *tt* or *ll* in the present, have as a rule *-ta*: e. g. *skutta* (*skutita*), *zalta* (*zelita*).

UG., on the whole, prefers the form without *-i* for roots ending in *ll* and *tt*: *scutta*, *zalta*; while Otf rid uses both indifferently.

NOTE.—An *a* of the present root generally → *e* mutated by the following *j*. In the preterite, where the *i* was syncopated before mutation set in, the *a* is preserved, e. g. *zellen* (← *zaljan*), Pret. *zalta*, and an apparent vowel-gradation (J. Grimm's 'Rückumlaut') distinguishes preterite and present.

(3) Franconian shows numerous long stems with preterite in *-ita*, **363** especially in Isidor and M. Tatian has *-ita* in polysyllabic verbs and those ending in double consonance and *h*: *ambahtita*, *giarbitite*, (*h*)*naffezitun*, *nāhita*, &c. *PBB.* ix. 322.

Isidor has two long stems without *-i*, *chihōrdon* and *bichnādī*. Otf rid also has some few with *-i*, but the vast majority without.

(4) When already in Pr. Gmc. a root ending in *g* or *k* took the preterite ending *-ta* without any intervening vowel, this *g* or *k* → Gmc. *χ*: Got. *bugjan*—*baúhta*, *þagkjan*—*þāhta*, OE. *byczan*—*bōhte*, *þencean*—*bōhte*, OHG. *denken*—*dāhta*. So also OHG. *dūhta*, *worhta*, *brāhta*, &c.

When *-ta*, however, came at a much later period in OHG., to follow directly on *ck*, only through syncope of the intervening vowel, the

change of *ck* to *h* before *t*, though usual, is not invariable: thus OHG. *decken* forms preterite *dahta* or *dackta*. The latter seems to be preferred in Bavarian and Franconian, while Alem. prefers *ht*, and O. consistently has *kt*, and T. only once *ht* (*wahta*).

364 It should be noted that certain changes of the stem are brought about by the dental suffix:—

(a) Verbs in Gmc. *-wjan* vocalize the *w* to *o* in the preterite when they syncopate the *i*, e. g. *garota* (Hild. *garutun*) or *garwita*.

(b) *k* in the combination *skt* often falls, *mista* to *miskan*, *wunsta* to *wunskan*; this is frequent with Notker.

(c) Assimilation takes place and *-ta* of suffix unvoices a final voiced consonant of root: *ougen*—*oucta*, *gilouben*—*giloupta*. This change, which no doubt always took place in pronunciation, is not always denoted in writing; the forms *ougta*, *giloubta* are more frequent than the others in Franc., but UG. prefers the forms with *k* (*c*) and *p*.

(d) Other changes are purely orthographical, e. g. gemination is simplified and *t + t*, *d + t* after consonant are reduced to *t*: *hungarran*—*hungarta*, *illan*—*ilta*, *ahlen*—*ahta*.

365 The original conjugation of the verbs in *-ēn* seems to have coincided in some details with that of the verbs in *-jan*, hence to *habēn*, *lebēn*, *sagēn*, Sing. Pres. forms occur: *hebis*, *hebit*; *lebis*, *lebit*; *segis*, *segit*, and further the Preterites *hebita*, *lebita*, *segita*, more especially in UG. (M.), but also occasionally in Isidor, who has the form *hapta* (cf. OS. *habda*). For these three verbs a pre-OHG. syncopated Preterite must be assumed: **habda*, **sagda*, **libda*; or a Gmc. formation without linking vowel. *PBB.* ix. 520.

Past Participle.

366 The Past Participle usually follows the form of the Preterite: those verbs which have only *-ita* forms have only a form *-it* in the participle, and where the preterite was formed in *-ta*, e. g. *sazta*, the inflected forms of the participle are similar: *gisaztēr*; but uninflected have *-it*, and, where possible, mutation: e. g. *gisezzit*—*gisaztēr*, *gihōrit*—*gihōrtēr*, &c.

The uninflected forms without *-i* are very rare. Otfred has *ginant*, *biknāt*, and T. also a few instances: *giwant* (67. 9), *giruort* (11. 71), and *erduompt* (172. 5). The short stems in *-l* have occasionally forms without *-i*, as *gizalt*, *farsalt*, *kasalt*.

The Past Part. of Non-Graded Verbs has of course the prefix *gi-* in OHG., see 334.

NON-GRADED VERB. CLASS I.

Indic. Pres.

| | | | |
|--------|-----------------|--|-----|
| Sg. 1. | <i>zellu</i> | <i>neriu, nerru, nero</i> | 367 |
| 2. | <i>zeliš(t)</i> | <i>neriš, neriš</i> | |
| 3. | <i>zeliš</i> | <i>neriš</i> | |
| Pl. 1. | <i>zellemēs</i> | <i>(neriemēs), nerrēn, nerēn</i> | |
| 2. | <i>zelleš</i> | <i>neriat, neriet, nerret, nerēt</i> | |
| 3. | <i>zelleš</i> | <i>neriant, nerient, nerrent, nerent</i> | |

Conj. Pres.

| | | |
|--------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| Sg. 1. | <i>zelle</i> | <i>nerie, nerre, nere</i> |
| 2. | <i>zelleš(t)</i> | <i>neriēs, nerrēs, nerēs</i> |
| 3. | <i>zelle</i> | <i>nerie, nerre, nere</i> |
| Pl. 1. | <i>zelleš(emēs)</i> | <i>neriēn, nerrēn, nerēn</i> |
| 2. | <i>zelleš</i> | <i>neriēt, nerrēt, nerēt</i> |
| 3. | <i>zelleš</i> | <i>neriēn, nerrēn, nerēn</i> |

Indic. Pret.

| | | |
|--------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Sg. 1. | <i>zalta, zelita</i> | <i>nerita</i> |
| 2. | <i>zaltōš(t), &c.</i> | <i>neritōš (-ōš)</i> |
| 3. | <i>zalta,</i> | <i>nerita</i> |
| Pl. 1. | <i>zaltum</i> [Alem. -ōm, -ōn] | <i>neritum, -unmēs, -un</i> |
| 2. | <i>zaltut</i> [, -ōt, -ōnt] | <i>neritut</i> |
| 3. | <i>zaltun</i> [, -ōn] | <i>neritun</i> |

Conj. Pret.

| | | |
|--------|----------------------|--|
| Sg. 1. | <i>zalti, zeliti</i> | <i>neriti</i> [Alem. and Is. <i>neriti</i>] |
| 2. | <i>zaltīs(iš)</i> | <i>neritīs(iš)</i> [Alem. and Is. <i>neritīs</i>] |
| 3. | <i>zalti</i> | <i>neriti</i> [Alem. and Is. <i>neriti</i>] |
| Pl. 1. | <i>zaltīm, -īn</i> | <i>neritīmēs</i> |
| 2. | <i>zaltīt</i> | <i>neritīt, -īnt</i> |
| 3. | <i>zaltīm</i> | <i>neritīm</i> |

Imperative.

| | | |
|--------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| Sg. 2. | <i>zeli, zele</i> | <i>neri, nere</i> |
| Pl. 1. | <i>zellemēs</i> | <i>neriemēs, nerrēn, nerēn</i> |
| 2. | <i>zelleš</i> | <i>neriat, nerret, neret</i> |

Infinitive.

| | |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| <i>zellen</i> | <i>nerien, nerren</i> |
|---------------|-----------------------|

Pres. Part.

| | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>zellenti</i> | <i>nerienti, nerrenti, nerente</i> |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|

Past Part.

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>gizeliš, gizalt</i> | <i>ginerit, generet</i> |
|------------------------|-------------------------|

CLASS II.

CLASS III.

Indic. Pres.

| | | | |
|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|---|
| 368 | Sg. | 1. <i>salbōm</i> , -ōn, -ō | <i>habēm</i> , -ēn (-o, -on) |
| | | 2. <i>salbōs</i> , -ōst | <i>habēs</i> , -ēst, <i>hāst</i> |
| | | 3. <i>salbōt</i> | <i>habēt</i> , <i>hāt</i> |
| | Pl. | 1. <i>salbōmēs</i> , -ōn, -ōēn | <i>habēmēs</i> , -ēn, -ēēn |
| | | 2. <i>salbōt</i> (-ōnt) | <i>habēt</i> |
| | | 3. <i>salbōnt</i> , <i>salbōn</i> | <i>habēnt</i> , <i>habunt</i> , <i>hānd</i> |

Conj. Pres.

| | | | |
|-----|-----|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Sg. | 1. | <i>salbo</i> , -oe, -oje (a) | <i>habe</i> (-a), -ee |
| | | <i>salbōs</i> (-t), -ojēst | <i>habēs</i> (-t), -eēst |
| | | <i>salbo</i> , -oe, -oje | <i>habe</i> (-a), -ee |
| | Pl. | 1. <i>salbōm</i> , -ōn, -ōēn | <i>habēm</i> , -ēn, -ēēn |
| | | 2. <i>salbōt</i> , -ōēt | <i>habēt</i> , -eēt (-ēnt) |
| | | 3. <i>salbōn</i> , -ōēn | <i>habēn</i> , -eēn |

Indic. Pret.

| | | | |
|-----|-----|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Sg. | 1. | <i>salbōta</i> | <i>habēta</i> , <i>hāte</i> |
| | | <i>salbōtōs</i> (-ōst) | <i>habētōs</i> |
| | | <i>salbōta</i> | <i>habēta</i> |
| | Pl. | 1. <i>salbōtum</i> [Alem. -ōm] | <i>habētōm</i> (-um) |
| | | 2. <i>salbōtut</i> | <i>habētōt</i> , -ōnt, -ut |
| | | 3. <i>salbōtun</i> | <i>habētōn</i> , -un |

Conj. Pret.

| | | | |
|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Sg. | 1. | <i>salbōti</i> [Alem. and Is. -ī] | <i>habēti</i> [Alem. and Is. -ī] |
| | | <i>salbofīst</i> | <i>habēfīst</i> |
| | | <i>salbōti</i> [Alem. and Is. -ī] | <i>habēti</i> [Alem. and Is. -ī] |
| | Pl. | 1. <i>salbōtīm</i> , -īn | <i>habētīm</i> , -īn |
| | | 2. <i>salbōtīt</i> , -īnt | <i>habētīt</i> |
| | | 3. <i>salbōtūn</i> | <i>habētīn</i> |

Imperative.

| | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Sg. | 2. | <i>salbo</i> | <i>habe</i> |
| Pl. | 1. | <i>salbōm</i> , <i>salbōmēs</i> , -ōn | <i>habēm</i> , <i>habemēs</i> , -ēn |
| | | 2. <i>salbōt</i> (-ōnt) | <i>habēt</i> (-ēnt) |

Infinitive.

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>salbōn</i> | <i>habēn</i> , -een, -an, -on |
| <i>salbōnnes</i> | <i>habēnnes</i> |
| <i>salbōnne</i> | <i>habēnne</i> |

Participles.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>salbōnti</i> , <i>gisalbōt</i> | <i>habēnti</i> , <i>gihabēt</i> |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|

Non-Graded Verb. Personal Endings.

The inflexional endings of the Non-Graded verb are in the main **369** identical with those of the Graded verb (321): only the few cases in which they differ are here mentioned.

Indicative Present.

The 1st pers. sing. of the *-jan* verbs ended originally in *-iu*, e. g. *wāniu*, that of the *-ōn* and *-ēn* verbs in *-ōm* (*salbōm*) and *-ēm* (*habēm*) respectively. The ending *-iu* was reduced to *-u* (*wānu*) by analogy to Graded verbs, and *-ōm*, *-ēm* pass to *-ōn*, *-ēn* in the ninth century. Late Rh. Fr. Williram spread the *-n* form to all the conjugations, the *-i* only remaining sporadically and after *-r* in short syllables. Gl. *herio*, O. *nerru*; Will. often ascribes the *-ō* form to verbs in *-ēn*, &c.: *habōn*, *slafōn*.

Conjunctive Present.

The verbs of the First Class (those in *-jan*) agree entirely in the **370** personal endings with the Graded verbs; but those of the Second and Third differ. These form the Conjunctive either with long *ō* or *ē*, alone or plus an inflexional vowel, e. g. *salbō*—*salbōe*, *habē*—*habēe*. The short forms only are used in Franconian (one exception, Is. 3. 5 *blūchisōe*), and the long occur consistently in Alem. In Bavarian the long forms of verbs in *-ōn* are common, *salbōge*, *salbogēst*, *salbōge*; but of verbs in *-ēn* they are rare. Wilmanns, iii, § 85, derives these forms from an original *-ōja*—*ōje*. Brugmann considers them new formations.

Notker uses only the long forms, and does not mark the length of the vowel preceding: e. g. *danchōēn*, *choroēn*, showing that the *ō*, *ē* of the stem had been shortened. See *PBB.* ix. 506. The lengthened forms often develop consonant glide (236).

Indicative Preterite.

The *ō* of the 2nd person sing. (*-ōs*) is occasionally replaced by *a* **371** and by *u* in Tatian (cf. Sievers, 47. 8, *giloubtus*; 21. 4, *sagetus*; 81. 4, *zuehotus*; 233. 8, *giloubtas*; 238. 4, *woltas*). Isidor has *chiminnerodēs*. In the plural the dialects differ: Bavarian and Franconian have *-tum*, *-tut*, *-tun* in Graded and Non-Graded verbs alike, but Alemannic has forms in *u* only with the Graded verbs (332), and with the Non-Graded always has *-tōm*, *-tōt*, *-tōn*. This practice is followed by Isidor alone of non-Alem. writers, e. g. *salbōtōm*, *habētōm*, but *griffum*, &c. In Notker the distinction is still clearly marked.

Conjunctive Preterite.

The *i* is long when followed by a consonant : e. g. in 2nd pers. sing. and 1st, 2nd, 3rd pl. : in 1st and 3rd sing. it is short when final, *salbōti*, except in Isidor and in Alemannic, where the old length is preserved even when final.

Imperative.

In contrast to the Imperative of the Graded verbs, the Non-Graded verbs form theirs with vocalic ending, *i*, *o*, or *e*. The verbs with *j*-Presents form it in *-i*, *ligi*, &c. ; those with double consonance, *zellen*, reduce this to single consonant, *zeli*. Cf. *PBB.* vii. 112, 161, and note that this *i* in Class I is often elided before following vowel : e. g. O. *gizel uno, kēr iz, giscier iz*, &c.

Anomalous Verbs.

A. Preterite Presents. B. Verbs in *-mi*.

372 Gmc. has a considerable number of anomalous verbs, of which the forms which express present meaning have the vowel gradation and inflexions of a preterite. Such verbs were not unknown to IG., and seem to have arisen by a natural development of meaning. The completion of one action is often the starting-point of another or the justification of a statement, and so the perfect tense of one verb may logically become, as it were, the present of another, with due modification of meaning. The IG. \sqrt{wid} = to see, but the perfect : Sk. *veda*, Gk. *oīda*, Got. *wāit*, OHG. *weiz*, OE. *wāt*, has become equivalent to 'I know', though the original meaning is preserved by other parts. Cf. Gk. *ιδεῖν* and Lat. *video*, *vīdi*.

Greek has of such verbs *oīda*, Latin a few more ; *nōvi* = I have recognized, therefore know, *ōdi*, *memini*. Gmc. shows many more of such verbs : Got. *wāit*, *lāis*, *dāug*, *kann*, *þarf*, *gadars*, *skal*, *man*, *binah*, *mag*, *gamōt*, *ōg*, *āih*. OE. *wāt*, *dēāz*, *cann*, *ðearf*, *dearr*, *sceal*, *an*, *man*, *mæz*, *mōt*, *āz*. These are commonly known as—

373 Preterite Presents. As a consequence of their origin¹ the inflection in the existing present of these verbs in OHG. is that of the Strong Pret., with the exception that the 2nd pers. sing. retains the original Gmc. ending *-t* (313). A new preterite is formed which

¹ Kluge and Wilmanns claim that a certain number of Gmc. Pret. Pres. (Got. *kann*, *an*, *þarf*, &c.) arise from old *-mi* presents through analogical formations. *Gr.* i. 440 ; Wilmanns, iii, § 57. 3. The point, however, is still obscure, but whatever their origin these verbs in Gmc. have perfect inflexions of graded verbs in the present tense. These they retain in OHG., as also the *-t* of the original Gmc. in the 2nd pers. sing.

inflects like the preterite of the Non-Graded verb, but is formed without mediate vowel. OHG. has preserved eleven such verbs which, according to the vowel of their original perfect, can be assigned to the gradation series:—

SERIES I. **weiz** = I know.

374

| | | | |
|--------------|---|------------------------|---|
| Ind. Sing. | Plur. | Conj. Sing. | Plur. |
| <i>weiz</i> | <i>wizzum, -umes, -un</i> | <i>wizzj, -e</i> | <i>wizzin</i> |
| <i>weist</i> | <i>wizzut, -unt, -un</i> | | |
| <i>weiz</i> | <i>wizzun, -en</i> | | |
| | Pret. Ind. | | Pret. Conj. |
| Sing. | <i>wissa, wista, wessa, westa, wissost, &c.</i> | Sing. | <i>wissi, wessi, westi, wissis, &c.</i> |
| | Imperative. | Pres. Part. | Past Part. |
| | <i>wizze, wizzet (-ent)</i> | <i>wizzanti, -enti</i> | <i>gïwizzan</i> |

Thus in Gmc. to the weak grade of the root were formed a new preterite, an infinitive, and present and past part.

i. The preterite *wissa* is only UG.; *wessa* and *westa* are Franconian. (For origin of double forms see 101.)

ii. The old participle of *wizzan* is *gawis*, *gïwis*, *gwis*, but in OHG. it has become adjective.

SERIES II. **toug** = it befits. 3rd pers. sing. It is in OHG. an 375 impersonal verb to which an Infinitive form does not occur.

3rd pers. sing.: *toug*, *taoc* (*toik*), *touk*. Plur. *tugun, -en*. Opt. *tuge*.

Pret. *tohta* (*dohta*). Plur. *tohtun* (*dohtun*). Opt. *tohti*. Pres. Part. *toganti*.

SERIES III. (a) **darf** = I am allowed, I venture.

376

Pres. *darf, darft, darf, dur-* Conj. *durfi(e)*
fun
 Pret. *dorfta, dorfton* *dorfti*

(b) **skal** = I owe, I am obliged, I must.

377

| | | |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Pres. <i>skal, sal, sol</i> | Conj. <i>skuli, sule</i> | Pres. Part. <i>skulinti</i> |
| <i>skalt, salt, soll, solst</i> | <i>sulist</i> | <i>skultanter</i> |
| <i>skal, sal, sol</i> | <i>skuli, sule</i> | Inf. <i>skolan, suln</i> |
| <i>skulumes, -un, sulin, suln</i> | <i>skulim, sulin</i> | |
| <i>skulut, skult, sulet, -ent, -ut</i> | <i>skulit, sulin</i> | Past Part. <i>kiskolet</i> |
| <i>skulun, sulun, -on, -in, suln</i> | <i>skulin, sulin</i> | (Gl. ii. 223. 26) |
| Pret. <i>skolta, skolda, solta</i> | <i>skoldi, solti</i> | |

The forms without *c* (*k*) prevail after the tenth century: they are regular with Notker; the *c* (*scāl*) remains longest in Bavarian; *sal* in Franconian. In Tatian are forms without *c*: *solta*, *sal*, *sulut*. In late Alem. a contracted form *sund* ← *sulent* (M.M.) for the 2nd pers. plural.

378 (c) **an** = I grant.

3rd pers. pl. *unnum*, *-en*. Opt. *unni(e)*, *unnin*.

Pret. *onda*, *ondun*. Conj. *ondi*. Infin. *unnan*. And with *-gi-*:

3rd pers. pl. *gunnen*. Pret. *geondost*, *gionsta*. Conj. *gionsti*.

(d) **kan** = I know, I am (mentally) able.

Pres. *kan*, *kanst*, *kan*. Pl. *kunnun*, *-en*. Conj. *kunni*.

Pret. *konda*. Conj. *kondi*. Infin. *kunnan*. Pres. Part. *kunnanti*.

Otfrid has, as with *unnan*, a secondary preterite form in *-sta*, originally *konsta*, and there is a rare Bavarian form *kunda*. The old Past Part. *kund* has become an adjective.

(e) **gi-tar** = I dare. Pl. *giturrun*. P.p. *gitorran*.

379 SERIES V. (a) **ginag** = 'it suffices' only occurs in this one form.

(b) **mag** = I am able (physically).

Pres. *mag*, *maht*, *mag*, *magun*, *magut*, *magun*. Conj. *megi*.

Pret. *mahta*. Pres. Part. *maganti*. Infin. *magan*.

Beside these forms, which are the oldest, others are developed with root-vowel *u* in the Plural: first in Franconian with T. and O. Thus: *mugun*, *mugut*, *mugun(ent)*. Similarly, in the Preterite the form *mohta* (: *scolta*) creeps in beside *mahta*. These new forms then pass into Alemannic and are all regularly used by Notker except *mohta*. Otfrid retained the older Conjunctive form *megi* beside *mugi*, and in Bavarian these older forms *magen*, &c., lasted till the close of the eleventh century. *PBB.* xv. 210.

380 SERIES VI. **muoz** = I may.

Pres. *muoz* (*muaz*, *moaz*, *moz*), *muost*, *muoz*, *muozun*, *muozent* (Alem.), *muozun*. Conj. *muozi*.

Pret. *muosa*, *muosun* (*muoson*, Alem.). Conj. *muosi*.

Williram has a Preterite *muosta*.

eigun = we possess. Of *eigun* (Got. *áih*), *eigut*, *eigun* there is in OHG. no singular. Conj. *eigi*. Imperative *eigint*. The Participle *eigan* is an adjective.

The verb is comparatively rarely used and disappears in the eleventh century, when it is replaced in its functions by *habēn*.

In R^b there is found a form *sigamēs* in which the inflectional vowel of the Present has been carried through, representing the oldest form of the 1st person plural (325).

B. Verbs in *-mi* (295).

(1) The verb substantive.

381

(2) *tuon*.

(3) *gān* and *stān*.

(4) *wollen*.

(1) The **verb substantive** in OHG. derives from three roots:— 382

(a) Root **es* (IG. **es-mi*, **s-mes*, **s-īe-m*).

(b) Root **bheu* (Gk. φύω, Lat. *fuī*), OE. *bēo-m*, OS. *biu-m*, OHG. *b-im*.

(c) Gmc. strong verb **wes-*, Got. *wisan*, ON. *vera*, OE. *wesan*, OHG. *wesan*.

From (a) are formed the 3rd pers. sing. and pl. pres. indic., the conj. sing. and pl.

From (a) and (b) are formed the 1st and 2nd sing. and pl. indic. pres.

From (c) are formed the pret. ind. and conj., the imper., and the participles.

The infinitive (*sīn*) is an OHG. innovation.

| | Got. | OHG. | | Got. | OHG. |
|-----------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Pres. Sg. | <i>im</i> | <i>bim</i> | Pres. Conj. | <i>sijáu</i> | <i>sī</i> |
| | <i>is</i> | <i>bist (bis)</i> | | <i>sijáis</i> | <i>sīs(t)</i> |
| | <i>ist</i> | <i>ist</i> | | <i>sijái</i> | <i>sī</i> |
| Pl. | <i>sijum</i> | <i>birum (-un, -umēs)</i> | | <i>sijáima</i> | <i>sīm(-es), sīn</i> |
| | <i>sijub</i> | <i>birut (birt, birent, bint)</i> | | <i>sijáip</i> | <i>sīt, sīnt</i> |
| | <i>sind</i> | <i>sint (sintun)</i> | | <i>sijáina</i> | <i>sīn</i> |

The W. Gmc. present is formed from a mingling of root **es* with root **bheu*: OHG. *bim*, OS. *bium* beside Got. *im*, and *bist* beside Got. *is*; *birum*, *birut* ← $\sqrt{bheu} + \sqrt{es} +$ pret. ending. Only OE. has a full Present from the root **bheu*, which root is entirely lacking in Got. and ON.

The preterite and other forms are derived regularly from \sqrt{wes} , thus pret. *was*, *wāri*, *was*, *wārun*. Imper. *wis*. Infin. *wesan*. Part. present *wesanti*. [*aruueranēr* = Lat. *confectus* preserves the old past part. of *wesan*, but is only used as adj.]

i. In the Ind. and Conj. pres. forms of *wesan* are occasionally used (cf. Otfrid, ii. 9. 19), and again for the Infin. *wesan* Otfrid frequently uses the new form *sīn*, which occurs first in Is. and T., but with Notker predominates over *wesan*.

ii. The 2nd pers. sing. of the indicative rarely occurs without *t*: *bist* is found already in the earliest texts, which in other verbs have only forms in *-s*, *uimis*, *neris*, &c.: it may have been lent by the pret. pres. or by 3rd pers. *ist*. When *bis* is found in T. (and R^b) it is possibly not original, but merely false resolution of *bist* + *tu* into *bis-tu*; yet *bis* occurs regularly in the Bavarian poem *Daz himilríche* of about 1185.

Sintun (M.), *sindun* (Is.), which adds a secondary ending to a primary form, probably arose through analogy to the preterite presents, helped perhaps by the preterite endings of *birum*, *birut*.

iii. For the imper. *wis* a form *bis* occurs once in OHG. (R^b Gl. i. 425 *pis*).

384 (2) **tuon.** Normal forms. (Tatian.)

| | | | | | |
|----------------|--|-------|--|---|------------|
| Pres. Ind. Sg. | <i>tuon</i> <i>tuos(t)</i> <i>tuot</i> | Conj. | <i>tuō, tuoe</i> <i>tuēs(t), tuoēs</i> <i>tuō, tuoe</i> | Imper. Sg. | <i>tuō</i> |
| | Pl. <i>tuomēs (-on)</i> | | <i>(tuēm, tuoēm)</i> <i>tūēt, tuoēt(-ēnt)</i> <i>tūēn, tuoēn</i> | Pl. <i>tuomēs</i> ,, <i>tuot</i> | |
| Pret. Ind. Sg. | <i>teta</i> <i>tāti</i> <i>teta</i> | Conj. | <i>tāti</i> <i>tātis(t)</i> <i>tāti</i> | Pres. Part. <i>tuonti</i> Past ,, <i>gitan</i> | |
| | Pl. <i>tātum (-umēs)</i> | | <i>tātim (-imēs)</i> <i>tātūt</i> <i>tātun</i> | | |

385 There is great confusion of forms within the system of this verb: how great may be seen from the various forms for the 2nd pers. sing.: *tuos*, *duas*, *tuas*, *toos*, *toas*, *duost*, *tois*, *duis*, *duest*, *tuest*, *deist*. Braune claims that all these derive from the one IG. root *dhē*: *dhō* (Gk. *τιθημι*): that the forms in which *ō* appears not diphthongized, e. g. *tōm*, &c., are the oldest, and that then the *ō* → *oa*, *ua*, *uo*, and also the influence of the Graded verb made itself felt in adding an inflectional vowel, before which the diphthong usually occurs as *ū*. Thus Pa., K. *toam*, *toat*, B.H. *tuam*, Musp. *tuō*, while the influence of the Graded verb shows itself in such forms as R. *tōit*, Is. *duoe*, N. *tūēn*, *tuomēs*, &c., when the root *tō*, *tuō* is given thematic inflections. Wilmanns, on the other hand, claims that the various forms which occur in OHG. point to varying stems in Gmc. Thus:—

1. The usual Pres. Ind. *tuon*, Opt. *tuō*, Imper. *tuō*, must derive from a Gmc. stem *dō*, possibly IG. *dhō* in gradation relation with *dhē*.

2. In Alemannic forms occur of the Optative as if derived not from

a form *dō* but from an extended form in *-ōjo*. Notker (Psalms) writes Conj. Pres. *tuōie, tuōiest, &c.*, but mostly does not mark the *i*, writing *tuōe, tuōēst, &c.* Elsewhere also the form *tuoge* is found.

3. In South Rh. Franconian (O.) the forms which occur are derived from a form *dū*. O. has for the Plural Pres. Ind. *ducn, duet, duent*, and for the Sing. *duas, duat* beside *duis, duil*. This *ui = ue* is a diphthong, not *u + i* or *u + e*.

4. In Mid. Franc. forms *deist, deit* must derive either from the root *dhē* + thematic endings or from an extended stem *dhējo*. See Braune, § 380; *PBB.* ix. 508-9; Wilmanns, iii, § 33.

(3) *gān* and *stān*.

386

Beside the usual forms of the verbs *gangan* and *stantan*, the verbs *gān* and *stān* (originally *-mi* verbs, perhaps from same root) are found, which are frequently erroneously explained as contracted forms of *gangan* and *stantan*. They appear either as *gān, stān*, or as *gēn, slēn*. The former prevail in Alem., while Bavarian and Franconian have mostly *-ē*.

| | Pres. Ind. | Conj. | Imper. |
|------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| | Alem. | Fr. Bav. | |
| Sg. <i>gām</i> | <i>gēm'n</i> | <i>gē</i> | Sg. (<i>gang</i>) |
| <i>gās(t)</i> | <i>gēs(t), geist</i> | <i>gē, gēs(t)</i> | Pl. <i>gāmes, gēmēs, gēn</i> |
| <i>gāt</i> | <i>gēt, geit</i> | <i>gēt</i> | „ <i>gāt, gēt</i> |
| Pl. <i>gāmes</i> | <i>gān, gēmes, gēn</i> | <i>gēn</i> | |
| <i>gāt</i> | <i>gēt</i> | <i>gēt</i> | Pres. Part. <i>gānti, gēnti</i> |
| <i>gānt</i> | <i>gēnt</i> | <i>gēn</i> | Infin. <i>gān, gēn</i> |

Stān, slēn is inflected in precisely similar fashion.

387

i. For an explanation of the twofold vowel see Wilmanns, iii, § 35, and *PBB.* xi. 41.

ii. Although the forms in *-ē* are only Franconian and Bavarian, both Otfrid and Tatian have the infin. *stān*, the 1st pers. sing. *stān*, and the part. *stānti*. Further, the 3rd pers. sing. *gāt, stāt* appears less often than *gēt, stēt* (Tatian).

iii. Otfrid has the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. *geist, steist, geit, steit*.

iv. In Alem. only *-ā* forms are found.

v. Very late in OHG. a form *gie* (cf. *lie* 353) appears for the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. pret. Merig. has this twice. Brg. ii; *PBB.* xxiii. 315; I.F. xii. 197.

(4) *wellan*.

388

The verb *wellan* (*wollen*) presents a medley of old forms with others analogous to the preterite presents and the Non-Graded verbs in *-en*.

It is derived from root **uel*, the Optative of which already in Pr.Gmc. had the functions of an Indicative; cf. Got. *wiljáu* = I will, &c. A Conj. was formed to this, and a Non-Graded preterite, Got. *wilda*, ON. *vilda*, OHG. *welta*, formed from strong grade of root. OHG. *welta* is rare, and the usual *wolta* seems to have been formed from reduced grade **wōlda* → *wulda*, and by *a*-mutation *wolta*, OE. *wolde*.

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Pres. Ind. <i>willu</i> | (<i>e, a, o</i>), <i>wella, wili, wile, wil</i> |
| <i>wili</i> | <i>wile, wil, wilis, wilt</i> |
| <i>wili</i> | <i>wile, willi, wilit, wil</i> |
| <i>wellemēs</i> | <i>wollemēs, wellen, wollen</i> |
| <i>wellet</i> | <i>wollet, wollent, wellent</i> |
| <i>wellent</i> | <i>wellant, wollent, wolent</i> |

389 i. In the older texts *willu* is the regular form, Is., K., B., O., but O. has also *wille* and Tatian *willa* (*PBB.* iv. 379 and vi. 258); the other forms are late OHG.

ii. For the 2nd and 3rd pers. *wili* is the normal form: *wilt* occurs in Williram and *wilit* in O. (*willi* once in Pa. and K.), after the analogy of the *-jan* verbs.

iii. The *e* of the other plural forms is probably borrowed from OHG. *wellen*, to choose, Got. *waljan*, and is certainly mutated *a* → *e*, not Gmc. *e*, as was formerly assumed. *PBB.* ix. 563.

iv. The present plural and the preterite have only *o* in Franconian. O. and T. both write *wollemēs* (*en*), &c. In UG. the *e* forms remain prevalent, both in the present and in the preterite: *wella*; elsewhere *wolta* is usual.

CHAPTER VI

NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

NOUNS

IN IG. nouns and adjectives were declined in the same way, but the **390** pronoun had different inflection, and this distinction in inflection is reflected in all Gmc. languages. In Germanic the substantive preserves in the main the original nominal inflection, the pronoun the original pronominal, while the adjective declension has become a compound of both.

IG. had three genders: Masculine, Feminine, and Neuter, and three Numbers: Singular, Dual, and Plural; of these Germanic retained the three genders and two numbers—Singular and Plural, but it lost the Dual almost entirely.

IG. had eight cases: Nominative, Vocative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, Ablative, Locative, and Instrumental.

Of these Gmc. has preserved the first four, though in W. Gmc. the **391** Vocative coincided with the Nominative. To do duty for the remaining four, Gmc., in the main, retains but one, termed the Dative, which may in form be the descendant of any one of the four, though in the plural it has usually descended from the IG. Instrumental, and in the singular from either the Locative or the Instrumental. A separate case with Instrumental function occurs in Gothic only in a few fossilized forms: *þē, hvē*; and in OHG. only in the *a-* and *i-*stems of nouns and adjectives. Traces of a separate case for the Locative are still more rare.

According to the ending of the stem, nominal inflexion is either **392** vocalic, if the stem ended in a vowel, or consonantal, if it ended in a consonant.

Noun declension in OHG. varied, as in all other Gmc. languages, according to the nature of the stem-suffix which had been added to the root. The case-suffixes were originally identical in all declensions, distinguishing masculine, feminine, and neuter in the Nominative and Accusative, and the later differences arose solely from the difference in stem-ending, and the fusion of these with the case-suffix.

According to the original stem-ending the following classes of nouns are distinguished in OHG. stems: A stems (-*ja*, -*wa*); \bar{O} stems (-*jō*); I stems; U stems, and Consonant stems.

It is at first sight not an easy matter to determine to which class the nouns respectively belong, as, owing to the fall of final vowels and consonants, many IG. and even Pr. Gmc. distinctions, notably that between masculine and feminine noun-stems, have vanished, and the Nom. Sing. of various stems are left identical in appearance: e. g. *lamb*, *wort*, *tag*, *anst*, while the Plural shows that they differ from one another: e. g. *lambir*, *wort*, *taga*, *ensti*.

393 The original case-endings of IG. (omitting those which have left no trace in OHG.) were:—

| | | | |
|----------|--|----------|---|
| Sg. Nom. | -s, or without an ending. -m (neuter) | Pl. Nom. | -es |
| Acc. | -m | Acc. | -us |
| Gen. | -so, <i>sīō</i> , -s (pronominal form) | Gen. | -ōm |
| Dat. | -ai | Dat. | -bh or -m |
| Inst. | -(<i>ō</i> , <i>ē</i>) - <i>ō</i> , -m (<i>ā</i>) - <i>ā</i> , -m | Inst. | - <i>ōis</i> , with <i>e</i> : <i>o</i> stems -m „ all others. |
| Loc. | -i, or without ending. | Loc. | -su, -si? |

A. VOCALIC (STRONG DECLENSION).

I. A Declension.

394 This declension comprised those nouns, Masculine and Neuter, whose stem in Pr. Gmc. ended in -*a*: it corresponds to the Greek and Latin *o*-declension, and is thus from the IG. standpoint often termed the *o*-declension.

1. Pure A stems. a. Masculine Nouns.

| | Pr. Gmc. | Got. | OHG. |
|----------|-------------------------|---------------|--|
| Sg. Nom. | - <i>a-z</i> | <i>dags</i> | <i>tag</i> |
| Acc. | - <i>a-m</i> | <i>dag</i> | <i>tag</i> |
| Gen. | - <i>e-so</i> | <i>dagis</i> | <i>tages</i> , - <i>as</i> , - <i>is</i> |
| Dat. | - <i>ai</i> | <i>daga</i> | <i>tage</i> , - <i>a</i> |
| Inst. | - <i>ō</i> , - <i>ē</i> | | <i>tagu</i> , - <i>o</i> |
| Pl. Nom. | - <i>ō-z</i> | <i>dagōs</i> | <i>tagā</i> , - <i>a</i> |
| Acc. | - <i>a-nz</i> | <i>dagans</i> | <i>tagā</i> , - <i>a</i> |
| Gen. | - <i>ō(m)</i> | <i>dagē</i> | <i>tago</i> |
| Dat. | - <i>o-miz</i> | <i>dagam</i> | <i>tagum</i> |

395 i. Nom. Sg. The IG. case termination was -*s*, which was added to the stem ending -*o*. IG. **eknos*, Gk. ἵππος, Lat. *equo-s*. This -*os* in Gmc. became *az*. The -*z* fell already in W. Gmc. and the -*a* becoming final fell also: e. g. W. Gmc. **daga* → OHG. *tag*.

ii. Acc. Sg. The IG. case termination was *-m*, **εκυο-m*, Gk. ἵππο-ν, **396**
 Lat. *equo-m*. In Pr. Gmc. this *-m* became *-n*, then fell, leaving the
 vowel unprotected, and this fell also.

It should be noted that Proper nouns ending in a consonant, which
 are declined by this declension, sometimes show in OHG. an Accusa-
 tive in *-an*, as do also certain other words frequently used as Appella-
 tives: e. g. *truhtinan*, *fateran*, *mannan*, and (once) *cotan* (= *Gott*) in
 BR. (Otfrid, v. 17. 62 *Polōnan*, Acc. to *Polōni* = *Stella Polaris*).
 This *-an* is the adjectival termination for the Accusative, and is natural
 with Gmc. Proper names which were, to start with, compounds with
 adjectival meaning. Their influence affected foreign names, and there
 were formed *Petrusan*, *Zachariasan*, *Christan*, &c., on the analogy of
Hludnigan (battle-famous), *Hartmuotan* (boldheart), *Werinprahtan*, &c.

✕ iii. Gen. Sg. The normal OHG. form is *-es*: *tages*, formed from **397**
 the pronominal ending *-so* in IG. (**þe-so*, Got. *þis*) with vowel-gradation
 of stem *eso*: *oso*, but this IG. *-e*, being in unaccented syllable, → *i* in
 Pr. Gmc. and was weakened in OHG. to a colourless *-e*. The
 OHG. form in *-as* is not, as might at first sight appear, the original
-as from IG. *-oso* (which would give Gmc. *-as*, but a later dialect varia-
 tion which occurs especially in Bavarian after the close of the ninth
 century. This *-as* for *-es* is extremely rare in Franc., but *masas* occurs
 in the Stein Gl. 602; cf. Franck, *Allb. Gr.*, § 131.

The ending *-es* of W. Gmc. Genitive (OE. *dæses*, OS. *dagas*, OHG.
tages) presents many difficulties. When the accent lay on the root of
 the noun (as it is assumed to have done in Gmc.) Pr. Gmc. *-es* would
 become *-iz* and the final *-z* would fall in W. Gmc. Two possibilities
 would account for the retention of *-s*: (1) there may have been a
 fluctuation of accent in some nouns and the Gen. have had the accent
 on the stem and not the root, in which case Pr. Gmc. *-és* would remain
 W. Gmc. *-es*; or (2) the noun may have borrowed the ending from the
 Genitive of the demonstrative pronoun which, being monosyllabic, was
 stressed, and therefore Pr. Gmc. **þeso* became *W. Gmc. *þes*, OHG.
des, whence by analogy OHG. *tages*.

iv. Dat. Sing. The normal form is *-e*: *tage*. The case-ending in **398**
 IG. was *-ai*, which with the *-o* of the stem became *-ōi*; cf. Gk. ἵππῳ,
 Lat. *equoi*. This in N. and W. Gmc. → *-ai* which, being unaccented,
 passed first to *-ē*, and then, being final, to *-e*. In OHG. *-a* for *-e* in the
 Dative is found in UG. monuments and three times in T.

Got. *daga* is probably in origin an Instrumental from *dagō* (cf. OHG.
tagu → Pr. Gmc. *ðag-ō* or *-ē*, cf. Got. *hē*, *þē*, *hwammēh*), as the
 Normal Dative would have been *dagai*.

399 v. Instrumental. The Instrumental is in OHG. only found in the Singular of the *o*- and *i*-stems, and ends in *-u* (← Gmc. *-ō*). In the earliest monuments it is used indifferently for the Dative or Instrumental, then it is restricted to use with the prepositions *mit*, *ze*, *bi*, and finally it is replaced by the Dative in all its functions. The *-u* is preserved in OHG. *tagu*, OS. *dagu*, and was weakened to *-o* at the close of the ninth century. (But see Walde, *Germ. Ausl.*, p. 77.)

400 vi. Nom. Pl. The Nominative termination was in IG. *-es*, which combined with the stem termination *-o*, giving in IG. *-ōs*, in Gmc., Got. *-ōs*: *dagōs*, ON. *dagar*. The quantity of final *-a* in OHG. is doubtful: the Nom. form to be expected would be *tagā* (283). Notker marks the *-a* occasionally as long (nine times in all); but the evidence of the Nom. Pl. of the *ja*-stems (*ja* → *e*) goes also to prove that it was short, or at any rate had very early become short (before the development of *-ja* to *-e*). It may be that the Accusative had supplanted the Nominative,¹ See *PBB.* ii. 135.

vii. Acc. Pl. The Accusative form to be expected is *taga* with loss in W. Gmc. of *-nz*; Streitberg, *U.G.* § 172.

401 viii. Gen. Pl. The termination in IG. of the Genitive was *-ōm*, which with the stem-ending *-o* gave *-ōm*, Gk. *ὠν* (this *-ō* was apparently then extended to all stems, whether originally *o*-stems or not): OHG. *tago*.

The Gothic *-ē* is unparalleled in any other IG. language: it may be a purely Gothic innovation, or perhaps vowel gradation: *ē*: *ō*; cf. *PBB.* xvii. 570.

402 ix. Dat. Pl. The Dative, as has been stated, at an early period was replaced by the Instrumental in its functions. The case-ending was in IG. *-mis* (this *-mis* appears as *-ms* in W. Gmc. Datives of names in Latin inscriptions, as *Aflims*, *Vatvims*; cf. Streitberg, *U.G.* § 172). The OHG. form admits of two interpretations: either (*a*) the ending *-mis* was added to the vanishing grade of the stem; *-s* in unaccented syllable → *-z*, which fell in W. Gmc., and sonant *-m* yielded *-u*, hence *dag-um*; or (*b*) *-ms* was added to the *o*-grade, IG. *-o* remained before *-m* (Pr. Gmc. **ǰagom*), and then before *-m* became in all dialects *-u*: OE. *dazum*, OS. *dagum*, OHG. *tagum*; Brugmann³, § 269.

Of the double forms *-un* and *-on* for the Dative Pl. the prevailing one is *-un* in Isidor and UG. and *-on* in Franconian.

¹ OS. *dagos* (Hild. 6 *helidos*), OE. *dajas*, are insufficiently explained, as final *-s* would have fallen in W. Gmc.: they are generally assumed to base upon an IG. extended form *ōs*: *es*, from which possibly Got. *-os* and O. Fris. *-ar* (*fiskar*) also derive. Cf. Wilmanns, iii, § 160, and Bethge, § 318.

In very late texts *-en* is found: M.M., Ezzo, &c., or *-an*: Bamb. Glaube, *werchan*.

An apparently uninflected Dative is found in three words: *hūs, dorf, holz* (T. and O.). It is perhaps a trace of an original Locative in *ē: ō*, in which *-ē* would have fallen in Gmc. after long syllable.

Most Masculine nouns in OHG. are inflected like *lag*: thus—

403

| | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>arm</i> , arm | <i>hals</i> , neck | <i>nīd</i> , envy |
| <i>berg</i> , hill | <i>himil</i> , heaven | <i>rat</i> , help, counsel |
| <i>boug</i> , armlet | <i>kuning</i> , king | <i>regan</i> , rain |
| <i>fingar</i> , finger | <i>lefs</i> , lip | <i>sind</i> , path |
| <i>fisk</i> , fish | <i>leih</i> , melody | <i>skaz</i> , treasure |
| <i>fogal</i> , bird | <i>māg</i> , kinsman | <i>thegan</i> , thane |

and a few foreign words, as *bischof, martyr*, &c.

NOTE.—Words in *al, ar, an* following a long root-syllable have at first the *a* only in the Nom. and Acc. Sing., but gradually it creeps into all cases: e. g. *fingar, fingres, fingrum*, but later *fingares, fingarum*. Words with short root of course retain the *a* throughout from the earliest times.

b. Neuter Nouns.

404

| Got. | | OHG. | |
|----------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Sg. Nom. | Pl. <i>waúrda</i> | Sg. <i>wort</i> | Pl. <i>wort</i> |
| Acc. | " | " | " |
| Gen. | <i>waúrdis</i> | <i>wortes, -as</i> | <i>worto</i> |
| Dat. | <i>waúrd</i> | <i>worte, -a</i> | <i>wortum, -on, -un</i> |

i. Nom. and Acc. Sing. develop like the Masc. Acc. Sing.

As regards the Genitive and Dative cases of the Neuter nouns, what has been said of the Masculine applies to them also: they differ only in the Nom. and Acc. Pl.

ii. Nom. and Acc. Pl. An original *-ā* must be assumed in IG. This *-ā* became in Gmc. *-ō* (which is preserved as *-ō* in Gothic monosyllables; cf. *þō*); Pr. Gmc. *-ō* when final became in E. Gmc. *-a*, in N. and W. Gmc. *-u*, which falls after a long but remains after a short syllable. In OHG. this *-u* has fallen entirely, only leaving traces of its existence in the Alem. diminutives in *-lī* (Franc. *-līn*), which have their Plural in *-liu* (though *-īn* in the oblique cases): Nom. Acc. Pl. *chindiliu* to *chindilīn*, *ephiliu* to *ephilīn*, &c., and in the Neuter of the *ja*-stems in Tatian, *cunnu*. A certain number of words in *-īn* (Fr.), *-ī* (UG.), as *chussī, pekhī, einbērī*, are treated in the same way.

405 2. JA stems.

Masculine.

| | Got. | OHG. |
|----------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| Sg. Nom. | <i>hāirdeis</i> | <i>hirti</i> |
| Acc. | <i>hāirdi</i> | <i>hirti</i> |
| Gen. | <i>hāirdeis</i> | <i>hirtes</i> |
| Dat. | <i>hāirdja</i> | <i>hirtie, -e</i> |
| Inst. | | <i>hirtiu, -u, -o</i> |
| Pl. Nom. | <i>hāirdjōs</i> | <i>hirte, -a</i> |
| Acc. | <i>hāirdjans</i> | <i>hirte, -a</i> |
| Gen. | <i>hāirdjē</i> | <i>hirteo, -io, -o</i> |
| Dat. | <i>hāirdjam</i> | <i>hirtum, -im, -on, -un.</i> |

Neuter.

| | | |
|----------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| Sg. Nom. | <i>kuni</i> | <i>kunni</i> |
| Acc. | " | " |
| Gen. | <i>kunjis</i> | <i>kunnes</i> |
| Dat. | <i>kunja</i> | <i>kunnie, -e</i> |
| Inst. | | <i>kunniu, -u, -o</i> |
| Pl. Nom. | <i>kunja</i> | <i>kunni</i> |
| Acc. | " | " |
| Gen. | <i>kunjē</i> | <i>kunneo, -io, -o</i> |
| Dat. | <i>kunjam</i> | <i>kunnim, -in, -om, -on, -un.</i> |

406 i. For case terminations see above. In the Nominative and Accusative Singular, as in *tag*, the bare root + *j* stands, case-suffix and stem-vowel have fallen, leaving *-j* final: **hirtj*, and final *-j* is vocalized to *-i*.

In the Nominative and Accusative Plural Masc. final *-ja* in the earliest period becomes *-e* (279), so that the oldest form of Nominative Plural is *hirte*, which is found in Pa. and Ka. without exception. In the ninth century the *j*-stems began to be confused with the pure *a*-stems, and the Nominative *hirta* was formed.

ii. The oldest form of Dative Singular is *-ie* (Ps. 138 and R^a *entie*, O. *herie*, Lw. *chunnie*). Otfred has occasionally forms in *-i*: *einwigi*, *anagengi*, *heri*. The ending *-e* is of later date.

407 iii. The Nominative and Accusative Plural Neuter is normally the bare root + *j*, *kunni*, without final *-u*, but Franconian (T.) has forms in *-iu* and, with loss of *-i*, in *-u*: e. g. *nezziu*, *giwatiu*, *beru*, *cunnu*, *gibirgu*, &c.

iv. The Dative Plural has *-um* (*-ūn*, *-ōn*) like *a*-stem, or *-im* (*-in*). The latter is probably the regular development of the older *-iom*, *-icn* and not an analogical formation from the *i*-stems (*PBB*. vi. 221 and vii. 113). Masculine nouns prefer *-im* in Franconian and *-um* in

UG., while Neuters in UG. generally, and nearly always in Franconian, have *-im*.

408

Words declined like *hirti* are:—

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>asni</i> , hireling | <i>puzzi</i> , Lat. puteus |
| (<i>lant</i>) <i>deri</i> , robber | <i>tili</i> , dill |
| <i>hirsī</i> , millet | <i>wēizi</i> , wheat |
| <i>hrucki</i> , back | <i>wiari</i> , ordinator |
| <i>lahhi</i> , leech | <i>wini</i> , friend |

and the nouns in *-āri*, nomina agentis, as *betāri*, *helfāri*, &c., to which should be added the foreign words *altari* and *karkari*.

v. Words with *w* before the *-j* show double forms: *gouwi*, *gewi*.

NOTE.—Beside suffix *-āri* a suffix *-eri* also appears frequently; thus, although it is clear from Notker's accentuation that the *-a* in *-āri* was long, the presence of forms in *-āri* must also be assumed, since in Franconian (Is. and Otf.) such forms as *skaheri*, *driageri*, *sangheri*, *sccepheri*, *salleri*, &c., occur, showing mutation. In Alemannic the fall of the *j* frequently caused gemination of the *r* in these nouns ending in *-āri*: *betāri*—*betārres*.

3. WA stems.

These differ from the *a*-stems only in the Nominative and Accusative Singular and the Neuter, Nominative, and Accusative Plural, where the final *-w* is vocalized to *-o*. 409

| | Neuter. | | Masculine. |
|---------------|---------------|---|---|
| | Got. | OHG. | OHG. |
| Sg. Nom. Acc. | <i>knīu</i> | <i>kneo</i> | <i>snēo</i> , <i>snē</i> |
| Gen. | <i>knīwis</i> | <i>knewes</i> | <i>snēwes</i> |
| Dat. | <i>knīwa</i> | <i>knewe</i> | <i>snēwe</i> |
| Pl. Nom. Acc. | <i>knīwa</i> | <i>kneo</i> | <i>snēwā</i> , <i>a</i> |
| Gen. | <i>knīwē</i> | <i>knewo</i> | <i>snēwo</i> |
| Dat. | <i>knīwam</i> | <i>knewum</i> , <i>-un</i> , <i>-on</i> | <i>snēwum</i> , <i>-un</i> , <i>-on</i> |

i. Already in the ninth century *wa*-stems with preceding long vowel, 410 as *hlēo*, *sēo*, *snēo*, *ēo*, &c., lost their final *-o*: thus *hlē*, *sē*, *snē*, &c. This fall of the *w* in the Nominative seems to have influenced occasionally the oblique cases, as in these also the *w* is now and then absent: *rēcs*, *sēcs*, *ēs*, &c.

ii. When the *w* followed on a consonant, a secondary vowel, mostly *a*, but sometimes *o* or *e*, was often developed: e. g. *skato*, genitive *skatwes* or *skatawes*, dative *skatwe* or *skatawe*.

iii. The words *bū*, *sprīu*, *sou*, *tou*, seem never to have had a final *o*: they appear to have had *-ww* in Pr. Gmc. and thus show final *-u*.

Other words declined like *knēo* are :

| | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| <i>horo</i> , dirt | <i>melo</i> , dust | <i>treso</i> , treason |
| <i>hrēo</i> , corpse | <i>strō</i> , straw | <i>zeso</i> , right |

II. Ō declension.

411 This declension includes Feminine nouns only, and forms the complement to the *a*-declension of Masculine and Neuter nouns. It corresponds to the Gk. and Lat. *ā*-declension, and is therefore sometimes termed the *ā*-declension.

It also is subdivided into pure *ō*-stems and *jō*-stems: the *wō*-stems are treated in the same way as the pure *ō*-stems.

Ō stems.

| | Pr. Gmc. | | Got. | | OHG. |
|----------------------|------------------|--|--------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| Sg. Nom. * <i>-ō</i> | Pl. * <i>-ōz</i> | | <i>giba gibōs</i> | | <i>geba gebā</i> |
| Acc. <i>-ōn</i> | <i>-ōz</i> | | <i>giba gibōs</i> | | <i>geba gebā</i> |
| Gen. <i>-ōz</i> | <i>-ōn</i> | | <i>gibōs gibō</i> | | <i>geba (-u, -o) gebōno</i> |
| Dat. <i>-ōi</i> | <i>-ōmiz</i> | | <i>gibái gibōm</i> | | <i>gebu, -o gebōm, -ōn, -un</i> |

412 Jō stems.

OHG.

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|
| (a) Sg. Nom. | <i>sunte, -ea, -ia, sunta</i> | Pl. | <i>sunte, -eā, -iā, suntā</i> |
| Acc. | „ „ „ „ | | „ „ „ „ |
| Gen. | „ „ „ „ | | <i>sunteōno, suntōno</i> |
| Dat. | <i>suntiu, suntu</i> | | <i>sunteōm, -ōm, -ōn.</i> |
| (b) Sg. Nom. | <i>kuningin</i> | Pl. | <i>kuninginnā</i> |
| Acc. | <i>kuninginna (-in)</i> | | <i>kuninginnā</i> |
| Gen. | <i>kuninginna</i> | | <i>kuninginnōno</i> |
| Dat. | <i>kuninginnu</i> | | <i>kuninginnōm, -ōn</i> |

413 i. Nominative Singular. In IG. the nominative singular ended in *-ā* without suffix: Skr. *kāntā*, Gk. *θεά*, Lat. *dea*. This IG. *-ā* gave Pr. Gmc. *-ō* → *a* in Gothic when final (unless preserved by enclitics, or in monosyllables, e. g. in *ainō-hun* (= Lat. *nulla*), *sō*, &c.). In W. Gmc. the final *-ō* became *-u*, which was syncopated after a long syllable and in polysyllabic nouns. Thus in OHG. the nominative should end in *-u* after a short and be without a final vowel after a long syllable; cf. OE. *ziifu* beside *lār* (283). The OHG. nominative form in *-a* is that of the accusative which has passed into the nominative. There are, however, in some of the oldest monuments, B., R., Is., Monsee Fr., instances of the regular nominative form without final vowel after long syllable: e. g. Isidor, *chimeinidh* (= *gimeinith*), and in the Ker. Gl. several words in *-unc*, as *kisamanunc*, *festinunc*, *uurdunc*. To

these may be reckoned a number of \bar{o} -stems which show, beside the usual nominative in $-a$, a nominative without final vowel: these are *buoz*, *halb*, *huuīl*, *uuīs*, *stunt*: they are used in formulae and standing expressions, such as *ander halb*, *thiu stunt*, *ander wīs*. The regular nominative is further found in the proper names declined like the $\bar{j}\bar{o}$ -stems and in words ending in $-in$ and $-un$, as *burdīn*, *wurzun*, &c. The nouns with termination $-in$ originally had only the nominative without final vowel; gradually the accusative form $-inna$ sometimes found adoption as nominative, while, on the other hand, the uninflected nom. form extended over the whole singular; finally the two forms existed side by side, giving rise to the double form in MHG. *kunigin* and *kuniginne*. See *PBB.* v. 142.

ii. Accusative Singular. Pr. Gmc. $-\bar{o}m$ yielded Got., OHG., and OS. a , but OE. e .

iii. Genitive Singular. The case termination was added to $-\bar{a}$, e.g. 414 $-\bar{a} + -so$, giving $-\bar{a}so$ (Gmc. $-\bar{o}z$) (cf. Gk. $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}s$, Lat. *pater-familiās*, Got. *gibōs*), whence in OHG. $-\bar{a}$ should be expected (with W. Gmc. loss of $-z \leftarrow s$), and possibly the $-a$ was long in the earliest OHG., though the older Genitive form of the $\bar{j}\bar{o}$ -stems ending in $-e \leftarrow -ja$ is an argument against this (cf. above, *tagā*, 400). A strong tendency existed to level out the genitive and dative cases: the $-a$ of the Genitive is found sporadically in the Dative. Otfrid uses it in *sēla*, *ahta*, *fāra*, &c., probably for the sake of the acrostic, but it occurs more often in B.: on the other hand the $-u$ ($-ui$), $-o$ of the Dative penetrated into the Genitive. Isidor *rehtmissu*, BR. *lēru*, Tat. *uuīsungu*, *sahhu*, *spahidu*, &c. Otfrid, again, probably for the sake of the rhyme, has *thera redīnu*. Notker uses only $-o$. Most texts after the tenth century show $-u$ and $-o$ indifferently in both cases.

iv. Dative Singular. IG. $-\bar{a} + -ai \rightarrow$ Gmc. $-\bar{a}i$, Got. $-ai$. Got. 415 *gibái*, OE. *ziefē*, OHG. *gebu*, OS. *gebu*, are old instrumentals $\leftarrow \bar{o} \leftarrow \bar{a}$. This $-u$ should fall after a long syllable, but in most cases is restored; cf., however, the formula '*ze dero selbun uuīs*' (*PBB.* xii. 553).

v. Nom. and Acc. Pl. For the Nominative the regular form would 416 be $-\bar{a}$, *gebā*, as IG. $-\bar{a} + -es$ yields $-\bar{a}s$, Gmc. $-\bar{o}s$, W. Gmc. $-\bar{o}z$, OHG. $-\bar{a}$. For the Acc. IG. $-\bar{a} + -ns$, with loss of $-n$, would yield $-\bar{a}s$, \rightarrow OHG. $-a$. There would therefore be a distinction to be made in the quality of the $-a$ between the Nom. and Acc. in OHG., which, however, was levelled out; see van Helten, *PBB.* xvii. 273. The usual $-a$ is accented long by Notker, and thus was presumably still long in his day, but it is curious to find that again the older $\bar{j}\bar{o}$ -stems have $-e$ (414). In Bavarian the ending is $-a$ for Nom. and Acc. alike, but in the mid-

eleventh century this *-a* frequently gives way to *-e*; cf. Schatz, *Altö. Gr.*, § 110 d. Some older Alem. texts show Nom. and Acc. Pl. in *-o*; thus in the BR. and in the Interl. Hymns *kebo*, *firino*: Isidor once has *miltnisso*.

- 417 vi. Gen. Pl. Pr. Gmc. \bar{o}^n should yield OHG. \bar{o} ; *gebō* (like *tagō* above); cf. OS. *geþo*, OE. *ziefæ*, but the feminine \bar{o} -stems in OHG. borrow their Genitive Pl. form from the feminine *n*-stems; thus *gebōnō*. [If, however, an IG. ending $-nō \leftarrow -nōm$ be assumed, this would yield regularly $-\bar{o}nō$; cf. Wilmanns, iii, § 159. 3.] At a later date the Gen. ending passed in UG. from $-\bar{o}no$ through $-\bar{o}ne$ to $-\bar{o}n$: which form is used by Notker. In Franc., however, instead of the second *-o* being weakened, the first is shortened to *-o*, giving $-onō$ and then weakened to $-eno$.
- 418 vii. For the Dative, $-um$ in place of $-\bar{o}m$ is rare: B. has it a few times, Isidor once, *dheodum*, and Tatian in the three texts α , β , γ , in which *u* often stands for *o*.

The nouns declined like *geba* form a very large class, including the numerous derivatives from weak verbs, i. e. those ending in $-unga$; the abstract nouns in $-nissa$ and $-ida$, and further, after the ninth century, the feminine nouns formed from masculines with W. Gmc. derivative, suffix $-innjō$, lose the $-jō$ forms and inflect like *geba*, e. g. *burdin*, *lentin*, &c.

Nouns of the \bar{o} -declension have several forms in common with the nouns of the *n*-declension of feminines (cf. the Nominative Sing. and Dative Plural), and it is very natural that considerable intermingling should have taken place: from the earliest times the Gen. Plural is borrowed from the *n*-stems. Nearly all writers use both vocalic (strong) and *n*-stem (weak) forms of the same noun: Braune (§ 208) gives a list of seventeen such nouns used in double form by Otfrid alone. The $j\bar{o}$ -stems, on the other hand, had strong affinity with the feminine *i*-stems, and most of them, especially those in $-nissa$, have a secondary form in $-i$, e. g. *folnissi* beside *folnissa*.

- 419 The Nom. and Acc. Sing. in $-e$ is of course the normal development of $j + a$. The $-ea$, $-ia$, $-a$ are later analogical formations. Before the $-\bar{o}nō$ of the Gen. Pl. j is most often written e : cf. 240.

$J\bar{o}$ -stems show mutation of the root-vowel where it is *a*, and gemination of consonant after a short vowel.

$J\bar{o}$ feminine stems show a strong tendency to be confused with the feminine $-\bar{i}$ formations, and in many cases the same word shows two alternatives: e. g. *minnea* beside *minnī*, &c., &c.

The OHG. *thiu*, *diu*, a maiden, OS. *thiu*, Got. *þiwi*, *þiujōs*, histori-

cally belongs to this declension, but in the main it has gone over to the feminine *i*-stems (*PBB.* ix. 538), and the original *jō*-inflections are rare (cf. Notker, gen. pl. *thivōn*).

III. I Declension.

This declension contains only masculine and feminine nouns.

420

a. Masculine.

| Pr. Gmc. | | Got. | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Sg. Nom. * <i>gastiz</i> | Pl. <i>gastiz</i> | Sg. <i>gasts</i> | Pl. <i>gasteis</i> |
| Acc. * <i>gastin</i> | <i>gastinz</i> | <i>gast</i> | <i>gastins</i> |
| Gen. * <i>gastaiz</i> | <i>gastiō(n)</i> | <i>gastis</i> | <i>gastē</i> |
| Dat. * <i>gastēj</i> (loc.) | <i>gastimiz</i> | <i>gasta</i> | <i>gastim</i> |
| Instr. * <i>gastī</i> | | | |

OHG.

| | |
|---|--|
| Sg. Nom. <i>gast</i> | Pl. <i>gesti</i> |
| Acc. <i>gast</i> | <i>gesti</i> |
| Gen. <i>gastes</i> | <i>gesteo</i> , <i>-io</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| Dat. <i>gaste</i> | <i>gestim</i> , <i>-in</i> |
| Instr. <i>gastiu</i> , <i>-u</i> , <i>gestiu</i> , <i>gastu</i> | |

i. With nouns of short root-syllable, whether masculine or feminine, 421 the Nominative and Accusative should end in *-i* (283) (cf. OE. *wine* beside *ziest*); but already in the early period of OHG. the distinction between short and long had been effaced, and there are but few instances of *-i* being preserved after a short syllable: *wini*, *risi*, and the verbal abstracts *quiti*, *huki*, and (in compounds) *kumi*. Kögel, p. 157.

ii. It will be seen that the Gen. Sing. should have yielded OHG. *gaste* (*ái* → *ē* → *ě* when final), but in Pr. Gmc. already the analogy with the *a*-stems affected the singular, and a Genitive was formed in *-es*; cf. Got. *gastis*, ON. *gests*, OE. *ziestes*.

iii. The Dative Masculine both in Got. and OHG. is also formed by analogy with the *a*-stems. The usual OHG. Instr. *gastu* is probably formed by analogy with the *u*-stems. Cf. Brugmann, ii. 386.

iv. The Nom. Pl. in *-i* is regularly formed from IG. *ei-cs*, Gmc. *-īz*, 422 Got. *eis*.

v. The Dative Plurals Masculine and Feminine usually remain *-im*, *-in*, till the end of the tenth century, when the weakened form *-en* regularly supplants them. Sporadically *-em*, *-en* are found in early texts.

vi. The plural of nouns with root-vowel *-a* shows mutation, except of course in the oldest texts, but, as certain consonant combinations

impeded mutation in UG. and not in Franc., so UG. shows forms such as *palgi, pachim, falli*, Inst. *falliu*, while Franc. has *belgi*, &c.

423 A large number of nouns are declined like *gast*. The *i*-declension coincided in OHG. with the *a*-declension in the singular, and with the *u*-declension in the Nominative and Accusative plural: as a result, nearly all the nouns of the latter passed into the *i*-declension, and there are many transfers from the *a*-declension to the *i*- and vice versa. The *i*-declension is also reinforced from original consonant stems, *fuoz*, &c. Hence a considerable variety of forms is found: many *i*-stems have a plural as if from an *a*-stem, and double forms both of *a*- and of *i*- abound: e. g. *winta—winti, scilt—scilta—scilti*; in fact it is needful to refer largely to other Gmc. languages in order to be able to assign a noun to its rightful declension, unless by chance the Instrumental or the plural happens to have been preserved. With the change of declension came often a change of gender.

424 *b. Feminine.*

| | Pr. Gmc. | | Got. | | OHG. | |
|------|------------------|------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------|
| | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. |
| Nom. | <i>-iz</i> | <i>-iz</i> | <i>anst</i> | <i>anstēis</i> | <i>anst</i> | <i>ensti</i> |
| Acc. | <i>-im</i> | <i>-iz</i> | <i>anst</i> | <i>anstins</i> | <i>anst</i> | <i>ensti</i> |
| Gen. | <i>-ōiz: -īz</i> | | <i>anstáis</i> | <i>anstē</i> | <i>ensti</i> | <i>enstio, -co</i> |
| Dat. | <i>-ei</i> | | <i>anstái</i> | <i>anstim</i> | <i>ensti</i> | <i>enstim, -in</i> |

i. Here, too, the distinction between long and short syllable in the Nom. Sing. has been effaced, except in the case of *turi, kulti*, and a few others (421). As regards mutation the same rule obtains in the plural as with the Masculine nouns.

ii. The OHG. Gen. in *-i, ensti*, has been variously explained: some see in it a gradation change, Got. *anstáis*, OHG. *ensti*: others analogy to the Dative form. See Wilmanns, iii, § 165, and literature there quoted.

iii. The *-i* of the Dative is of equally dubious origin. Brugmann derives it from an Instrumental in *-ī*, van Helten (*PBB.* xxviii. 539) from an original *ei*: possibly both Got. *anstái* and OHG. *ensti* derive from the same form *ēi*, which in E. Gmc. → *ái*, in W. Gmc. → *ei* → *ī*. Very occasionally in OHG. a Gen. or Dat. Sing. is found without any ending, e. g. Fr. Pn. *mit dinera anst* (34), Ps. 138 *mit dinero gúwalt* (22). It is possibly an old Instrumental, in which *-i* has fallen after long stem.

iv. The Feminines have no Instrumental in regular use, but a couple of early texts have forms in *-co, -iu*, with an apparent locative meaning:

Pa. *excalso loco—haohero steko*, St. Gall. *Credo in kirvalliū* (*Zs.f.d.A.* 28. 113).

The Feminine nouns declined according to the *i*-declension in OHG. are very numerous; to it belong all feminine nouns which in Nom. sing. end in a consonant, all abstracts formed with the suffixes *-scaft*, *-scaf*, the verbal abstracts in *-t*, as *fart*, *lāt*, &c., a few of the older concrete nouns formerly belonging to the consonant stems, as *eih*, *gans*, *mūs*, and the monosyllables *au* (sheep), *kuo*, *suo*.

IV. U Declension.

This declension is preserved only in a few words; apart from the 425 forms of the Nom. and Acc. Singular, only the oldest MSS. show genuine *-u* inflections: most nouns with long stem syllable which lost the final *-u* in W. Gmc. passed over into the *i*-declension before OHG. times, and a few joined the *a*-declension. Those with short stem in the main preserved the *-u* in the Nom. and Acc. Singular, but formed all other cases after the *i*-declension.

| | Pr. Gmc. | Got. | OHG. | |
|----------|--------------|---------------|---|-------------------------------|
| | | | Masc. | Neuter. |
| Sg. Nom. | <i>-us</i> | <i>sunus</i> | <i>sunu</i> (<i>suno</i>), <i>sun</i> | <i>fihu</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| Acc. | <i>-un</i> | <i>sunu</i> | <i>sunu</i> (<i>suno</i>), <i>sun</i> | <i>fihu</i> , <i>-o</i> |
| Gen. | <i>-ōūs</i> | <i>sunáus</i> | <i>sun</i> (<i>-ō</i>), <i>sunes</i> | <i>fehes</i> |
| Dat. | <i>-ēū</i> | <i>sunáū</i> | <i>suniu</i> , <i>sune</i> | <i>fēhe</i> |
| Pl. Nom. | <i>-iūiz</i> | <i>sunjus</i> | <i>sunī</i> | (<i>fihiu</i>), <i>fēho</i> |
| Acc. | <i>-unz</i> | <i>sununs</i> | <i>sunī</i> | <i>fihiu</i> , <i>fēho</i> |
| Gen. | <i>-uōm</i> | <i>suniwē</i> | <i>suneo</i> , <i>-o</i> | <i>fieho</i> (N.) |
| Dat. | <i>-umiz</i> | <i>sunum</i> | <i>sunim</i> | <i>fiehen</i> (N.) |

i. The Nom. Singular of this originally *-cu* class had the reduced 426 vowel grade, *sunu-s*; the *u* is preserved in T. and O. (*fridu*, *situ*, *hugu*), but passed later into *o*, hence such double forms as: *meto—mito*, *fēho—fīho*, in which *i* is due to the former presence of an *u*. Notker always uses the *o* form: in early texts it is rare.

ii. The Genitive in IG. ended in *-ōūs*; cf. Got. *sunáus*: this should have given OHG. long *-ō*, and there are instances of this form in Isidor: *fridō*, Ker. Gl. *witō* (the length of vowel is assumed to be proved by the writing '*fridoo*' in K.; see, however, Kögel, Ker. Gl., p. 164), but these are very rare: nearly everywhere *-es* is used by analogy with the *i*-stems with which the Nom. Pl. of the *u*-stems coincided, e. g. *gesti—sunī*.

iii. The Dative goes back, as in the *o*- and *i*-stems, to an old locative 427 with lengthened grade (cf. Got. *sunáū*); *-ēū* became E. Gmc. *-au*, W. Gmc. *-eu*, then *-iu*. In OHG. this form in *-iu* is in use as a Dative

in the oldest monuments: Is. 3. 10, *suniu*; 3. 16, *sidiu*; O. *fridiu*; M. *fuozziu* (on foot), beside *hugiū*, *sigiu*. This Dative form coincided with the Instrumental of the *i*-stems, and when the *u*-stems passed into the *i*-declension it took up Instrumental function, while the Dative in *-e* of the *i*-declension replaced it as Dative: e. g. *sune*, *sile*, &c. See, however, also van Helten, *PBB.* xxviii. 539 (already referred to for the Dat. Sing. of *i*-stem), in which he derives this Dative from a form in *-eūi*, parallel to Dat. in *-i* of the *i*-stems from *-eīi*.

428 iv. The only feminine noun of this class, *hant*, is declined like an *i*-stem in all cases except the Dative plural, which it forms in *-um*, *-on*, *-un*. Notker writes *handen* without mutation, though in late OHG. the form *hentin* had already appeared. The only Neuter noun is *fihu*, which, apart from the Nom. and Acc. *-u*, is irregular.

v. Otfrid, iv. 5. 59, has an Acc. Plur. in *-u*: *situ* (cf. Gothic *sununs*). Isidor has once a Dative *sunī* (cf. *PBB.* ix. 549, for nom. *sunu*—*sun*).

B. CONSONANT DECLENSION (WEAK).

I. N stems.

429 This declension comprises Masculine, Feminine, and Neuter nouns.

Masculine: stem IG. *-ōn*, *-žn*, *-n*.

Gmc. *-an*, *-in*, *-n*.

| | |
|---|--|
| Pr. Gmc. Nom. Sg. <i>-ō</i> , Gen. <i>-inzo</i> | Nom. Pl. <i>-aniz</i> , Gen. <i>-nōn</i> |
| Acc. Sg. <i>-anm̄</i> | Acc. Pl. <i>-nuz</i> , <i>-nunz</i> ; <i>-anuz</i> , <i>-anunz</i> |
| Dat. Sg. <i>-ini</i> | Dat. Pl. <i>-miz</i> , <i>-umiz</i> |

Feminine and Neuter Nom. Sing. *-ōn*; other cases as the Masc.

430

| | Got. | | OHG. | |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|---|
| | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. |
| Masc. Nom. | <i>hana</i> | <i>hanans</i> | <i>hano</i> | <i>hanon</i> , <i>-un</i> (N. <i>-en</i>) |
| Acc. | <i>hanan</i> | <i>hanans</i> | <i>hanon</i> , <i>-un</i> | „ „ „ |
| Gen. | <i>hanins</i> | <i>hananē</i> | <i>hanin</i> , <i>henin</i> | <i>hanōno</i> (N. <i>-ōn</i>) |
| Dat. | <i>hanin</i> | <i>hanam</i> | „ „ | <i>hanōm</i> , <i>-ōn</i> (N. <i>-ōn</i>) |
| Fem. Nom. | <i>tuggō</i> | <i>tuggōns</i> | <i>zunga</i> | <i>zungūn</i> |
| Acc. | <i>tuggōn</i> | „ | <i>zungūn</i> | „ |
| Gen. | <i>tuggōns</i> | <i>tuggōnō</i> | „ | <i>zungōno</i> (N. <i>-on</i>) |
| Dat. | <i>tuggōn</i> | <i>tuggōm</i> | „ | <i>zungōm</i> , <i>-ōn</i> |
| Neut. N. A. | <i>hāirtō</i> | <i>hāirtōna</i> | <i>herza</i> | <i>herzun</i> , <i>-on</i> (N. <i>-en</i>) |
| Gen. | <i>hāirtins</i> | <i>hāirtanē</i> | <i>herzen</i> , <i>-in</i> | <i>herzōno</i> (N. <i>-on</i>) |
| Dat. | <i>hāirtin</i> | <i>hāirtam</i> | „ „ | <i>herzōm</i> , <i>-ōn</i> (N. <i>-on</i>) |

The stems which in IG. ended in *-n* could have as the full stem: **431** *-on*, *-en*, *-n*, or *-η*, and in certain cases the lengthened grade *-ōn*, *-ēn*, so that the history of their Germanic development is not simple.

i. Nom. Sing. Masc. and Neut. The Nom. Masc. in IG. consists of stem without suffix, but with lengthened grade of vowel: by the side of *-ōn* (cf. ἡγεμόν) and *-ēn* (ποιμήν) were also Nom. forms in *-ō* without *-n*, possibly with a slurred accent, cf. *Catō* ← *Catōn*. In the Nom. W. Gmc. *ō* gave OHG. *-o*: *gumo*. Neuters only differ from the Masc. in the Nom. and Acc. Sing. and Pl. The Neut. and Fem. Sing. ended in IG. *-ōn* → Pr. Gmc. *-ōn* (not like the Masc. in *-ō*); Got. *hairtō*, *tuggō*; OHG. *herza*, *zunga*. The quantity of the *-a* is uncertain (cf. Schatz, *Allb. Gr.*, § 112, A).

ii. Acc. Sg. Masc. IG. *-ōn* + *-η* (Catōnem), Gmc. *-anum*: Got. **432** *hanan*, OE. *hanan*. OHG. has two forms, *hanun*, *hanon* (OS. *hanon*). Of these the first possibly represents the vanishing vowel-grade in the stem, though it is frequently accepted as the weakening of *-o* to *-u* before nasal + *-u*, like the *-um* of the Dative Pl. (402), thus: Pr. Gmc. **χanonu(m)* gave OHG. *hanun*. The second form *hanon* is more difficult to explain, and no entirely satisfactory attempt has yet been made. It is possible (1) that IG. *o* was preserved in OHG. and OS., and never passed into *a* in these dialects, because the following *u*, developed before *n* in Gmc., preserved it (cf. the retention of IG. *o* before *-m* in **dagom*, Dat. Plur. (2) That IG. *o* passed into *a* in OHG. and OS. as in Gothic, but under the influence of the Gmc. *-um* following suffered mutation to *o* parallel to the mutation caused by *i* in verbal forms: *bindēsi*, *bindis*. Van Helten's attempt to account for the OHG. *-un* forms as *u* mutation of *-on* forms is not convincing; cf. for the whole question Streitberg, *U. G.*, § 180; *PBB.* xv. 460 and the literature there cited.

In OHG. Isidor and the earliest UG. texts show preference for the form *hanun*, while Franc. favours the form *hanon*.

iii. Gen. and Dat. Sg. Masc. and Neut. As stated above, the *n*-stems **433** had in their stem-forming suffix partly the grade *-en* and partly that of *-on* (264). The IG. *-en* form is one which survives in the Gen. and Dat. Sing. (Gmc. *-in*) in Got. and W. Gmc.; cf. Got. *hanins*, *hanin*, OHG. *henin* [while IG. *-on* (Gmc. *-an*) is preserved in the Acc. Sing. and Nom. Pl.]. OHG. weakens Pr. Gmc. *-in* frequently to *-en*, and Isidor and UG. show a preference for *-in*, Franc. for *-en*.

iv. Nom. Pl. Masc. IG. **-ones*, Gmc. **-aniz*, yielded Got. *-ans* and in OHG. would → *-an* (cf. OE. *hanan*), but the termination in OHG. is *-on*, *-un*. This has been explained as the Accusative form which

has penetrated into the Nominative, but this is hardly satisfactory, and it is most probable that the *-on*, *-un* is due to the influence of the following nasal (432).

v. Acc. Pl. Masc. The Acc. Pl. in Gmc. would have either (1) vanishing grade *-n* + *-ns*, or (2) *-o* grade, *-an* + *-ns*. The former is perhaps preserved in Got. *aúhnuns* (*PBB.* viii. 115) and in the OHG. *hanun* form. OHG. and OS. revert to the *-o* grade, Gmc. *anunz* (or *onunz* with retained IG. *-o*) yield *-on* in OHG. like the Acc. Sing. (432).

- 434 vi. Nom. and Acc. Pl. Neuter. The Neuter Pl. seems originally to have been intimately connected with the Feminine abstract sing., and to have had in IG. the feminine suffix *-ā* added either to the vanishing grade or to the lengthened *-ō* grade of the stem. This IG. vanishing stem *-nā* appears in Lat. *nomīna*, and is preserved in Got. *namna*, *abna*, and in OHG. *herzun*; while Got. *hairtōna* is the regular descendant of the lengthened stem *-ōnā*. The OHG. *herzun* sometimes in later texts appears as *-on* through confusion with the masculine or through mere weakening, and is of course by Notker's time reduced to *-en*. Forms like *herza* for Nom. and Acc. Pl. (*ouga* B., *herza* B. and O.) are probably singular, and are used as plural on the analogy of the Neuter *a*-stems, where the two forms are the same. See J. Schmidt, *IG. Neutra*, but also Brugmann², § 480.

vii. Gen. Pl. The stem originally had only vanishing vowel-grade *-n* before *-ōm*, Sk. *rājñām*, Got. *abnē*, *mannē*, *aúhsnē* (*PBB.* xii. 543). Got. *hananē* is a new formation in analogy with the *-an* cases. OHG., like the other W. Gmc. dialects, borrows the Masc. and Neuter Gen. from the Pr. Gmc. **-ōnōm* (Got. *tuggōnō*), OHG. *hanōno*, *herzōno*, *zungōno*, OE. *hanena*, *heortena* (f.), *tunzena*. For the development in OHG. of Pr. Gmc. *-ōnōm* see 417.

- 435 viii. Dat. Pl. The stem here originally had the reduced grade *-ŋ* or *-n* before consonant suffix, which should yield Pr. Gmc. **-nmiž*, Got. *-num* (OE. rare *oxnum*). Got. *abnam*, *watnam* retain the stem *-n*, though their *-am* seems to have been borrowed from the *a*-stems. Got. *hanam*, *hairtam*. Otherwise in Gothic and in all Germanic languages the *-n* of the stem has entirely disappeared, and the Dat. Pl. OHG. *hanōm*, *herzōm*, *zungōm* has been adopted from some other declension.

- 436 NOTE.—Of the varying forms: *-un*, *-on* for Acc. Sing. and Nom. Pl., *-in*, *-en* for Gen. Dat. Sing., those in *-un* and *-in* are the older, and are those used by Isidor. They are preserved in UG., but later Franconian uses the *-on* and *-en* forms. In the Gen. and Dat. Sing. the older texts

duly have the mutated root-vowel, as *henin*, *nemin*, from *hano*, *namo*, but constraint of system soon levelled out the mutated forms in favour of the unmutated forms like the Nom. Notker uses the weakened form *-en* in all cases except the Nom. Sing. and the Gen. Pl.; cf. *PBB.* iv. 358 and 408.

A very large number of Masculine nouns belong to this class: the many *n*-stem words expressive of agency formed from verbs, as *gebo*, *forasago*, &c., see *Klugē*, § 15, and *PBB.* iii. 1.

Many Masculine nouns in Gmc. had formerly a *j* preceding the suffix, i.e. were *-jan*, *-jin* stems, but as the *j* had vanished, as everywhere before an *i*, and *ja* had become *e*, its former presence can, after the ninth century, only be recognized by the gemination in words like *gisello*, or by the mutated vowel, as *crbo*, *kempho*, *fetiro*, and in a few nouns with *-rj*, as after *r* the *j* maintained itself longer, e.g. *ferio*, *burio*, *skario*, &c. See Braune, § 223.

Feminine.

i. The Nom. Sing. is the same as that of the Neuters.

438

ii. Oblique cases. Sing. and Nom. Acc. Pl.: the *-un* of these cases in OHG., OS. *-un*, ON. *-u*, is not explained. (Brugmann³, § 271.) OE. has levelled *-an* throughout to match the Masc.; cf. *PBB.* xv. 463. In OHG. the Gen. and Dat. Pl. of the Feminine nouns have been adopted for the Masc. and Neuter (see above), and the Gen. Pl. has also been taken over into the feminine stems.

NOTE.—There are but few Neuter nouns following *herza*, only *ouga*, *ōra*, *wanga*. Otrifrid uses a Dat. Sing. *herzen* as Dat. Pl.; cf. Kelle, 249. There are many nouns declined like *zunga*: here too there were former *-jan*, *-jin* stems, as *kevia*, *redia*, *brunia*, and what has been said about the Masc. applies to them also. To the Nomina agentis in *-āri* there were also Feminines in *-aria*, *-arra*, and *-ara*; cf. Braune, § 226.

II. Abstract Nouns in *-ī*.

This declension in OHG. comprises (a) adjectival abstract nouns in *-ī*, such as *helli*, *milli*, *tiuri*, *ziōri*, &c., and (b) verbal abstracts, as *mendi*, *diki*, &c. The former were in OHG. a very large class, as they could be formed from any adjective, the latter were comparatively few. The adjectival abstracts had as stem-ending originally *-īn* (*n*-stem), Got. *managei*, *manageins*; the verbal nouns had *-īni* (*i*-stem), Got. *dāupeins*, *dāupeināis*. Confusion between the two declensions and subsequent levelling out have caused a great simplification in the OIIG. inflections of such feminine nouns, and the two fall together in the one OHG. paradigm.

| | Got. | | OHG. | |
|------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. |
| Nom. | <i>managei</i> | <i>manageins</i> | <i>menigī (-n)</i> | <i>menigī (-īn)</i> |
| Acc. | <i>managein</i> | <i>manageins</i> | „ | „ „ |
| Gen. | <i>manageins</i> | <i>manageinō</i> | „ | <i>menegīno</i> |
| Dat. | <i>managein</i> | <i>manageim</i> | „ | <i>menegīm, -īn</i> |

440 i. The forms with *-īn* in the Nom. and Acc. Pl. are used consistently only by Isidor and in the Mons. Fr., M.: elsewhere they are sporadic. The Dat. Pl. in *-īn* is replaced in Alem. occasionally by the extended forms *-īnom, -īnum*, e. g. *hōhīnum*. Notker forms a Nom. and Acc. Pl. *hōhīna*, so that the whole plural is as if formed with the suffix *-īni*: e. g. *heilina, heilino, heilinon*. The Gen. Pl. is rare: O. once has *resto*, Gen. Pl. from *restī*, instead of *restīno*. (*PBB.* ix. 319.)

ii. A number of nouns with suffix *-in*, which strictly belong to the *jō*-stems, have virtually joined this class: e. g. *burdin, lugin, lentin, hartin, butin, lungin (-un)*. At least they waver between the *jō*-class and this, but tend to adopt the *-ī* forms. Thus in the singular they have forms in *-ī*, and throughout the plural show the *-īn* forms, as Notker does. Mons. Fr. has beside a Nom. *burdi* a Dat. Pl. *burdinum*; Nom. *lugin*, Gen. Pl. *luginō*, T. *luginā*.

III. (a) R stems. (b) ND stems. (c) Monosyllabic
Consonant stems. (d) S stems.

(a) R stems.

441 These are nouns denoting relationship, e. g. *fater, bruoder, muoter, swester, tohter*, which have preserved consonantal inflection throughout the earlier monuments, but show a strong tendency to be influenced by other declensions.

| | Got. | | OHG. | |
|------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. |
| Nom. | <i>brōþar</i> | <i>brōþrjus</i> | <i>bruoder</i> | <i>bruoder</i> |
| Acc. | <i>brōþar</i> | <i>brōþrun</i> | „ | „ |
| Gen. | <i>brōþrs</i> | <i>brōþrē</i> | „ | <i>bruodero</i> |
| Dat. | <i>brōþr</i> | <i>brōþrum</i> | „ | <i>bruoderum, -un, -on</i> |

442 IG. *r*-stems in the main are words denoting relationship and Nomina agentis: as in the case of the *n*-stems the *r* is preceded by a vowel which may occur in the *e:ō* grade, the vanishing or the lengthened grade *ē:ō*. For the alternation of full vowel and vanishing vowel grade before *r* cf. Gk. *πατέρα, πατρί*.

The only *r*-stems which survive in OHG. are Masculine *fater* and *bruoder*, Fem. *muoter, swester, tohter*.

i. Nom. Sing. In IG. this case is formed as in the *n*-stems without

suffix, but with compensatory lengthening of stem-vowel; cf. Gk. *πατήρ*, *φράτωρ*.

In Gmc. the long vowel is shortened before *r*: in E. Gmc. *-ēr* and *-ōr* yield *-ar* (Got. *fadar*, *brōþar*); in OHG. both result in *-er*, *fater*, *bruoder* (a form like *bruodar* is quite exceptional, *PBB.* ii. 141. iv. 419); while in OE. the final vowel is coloured by that which precedes: *fæder*, but *brōðor*.

ii. Acc. Sing.: the stem *-e* or *-o*, cf. Gk. *πατέρα*, *ρήτορα*; thus *-er* 443 + *-m*: *-or* + *-m*. Final *m* was lost in Gmc., and also the distinction between *-er* and *-or*. Got. *fadar*, *brōþar*; OHG. *fater*, *bruoder*.

iii. The Gen. Sing. has the vanishing grade stem-vowel and the usual suffix (*-oso*: *-cso*: *-so*: Gk. *πατρός*, Lat. *pateris*, Pr. Gmc. **brōþriz*, Got. *brōþrs*). Final *z* falls in W. Gmc., and OHG. and OE. develop a secondary vowel between *l* and *r*: OHG. *bruoder*, OE. *brōðor* (later *brōðres*).

iv. Dat. Sing. This is an old Locative in *-i*, cf. Lat. *patri*; stem in the vanishing grade: Got. *brōþr*. In OHG. *bruoder* has a secondary vowel as in the Gen.

v. Nom. Plur. Pr. Gmc. **faðeriz* as in Greek had the full grade of stem; cf. *πατέρες*. OHG. *fater*, OE. *fæder*.

vi. Acc. Plur. IG. had the vanishing grade-stem + *-us*, Lat. 444 *patrēs* (← **patrens*), Pr. Gmc. **faðr-uz*, Got. *fadruns*. OHG. and the other dialects use the Nom. as Acc.

vii. Gen. Plur. The stem was in the vanishing grade; cf. Gk. *πατρῶν*, Lat. *patrum*, Got. *fadrē*. The other dialects adopt forms with full grade stem from the other cases: OHG. *bruodero*, *fatero*, OE. *fædera*.

viii. Dat. Plur. The stem was in Gmc. vanishing grade + *-miz*; Pr. Gmc. **faðrmiz*, Got. *fadrum*. The W. Gmc. dialects carry through the stem-vowel from the other cases: OHG. *faterum*, OE. *fæderum*.

In OHG. the Feminines preserve more faithfully than the Masc. 445 their original declension. Not till very late do they show the analogy with the *ō*-declension, and then only in the Plural. Notker, Gen. Sing. *tohter*, Nom., Acc. Pl. *tohtera*, Dat. *tohterōn*. A Dat. Pl. from the *n*-declension is also found in Notker, *tohterun*. The Fem. form *swiger* = a mother-in-law is historically an *ō*-stem, and usually retains its inflection as such (T. and O. always), but in N. shows a Gen. *swiger* by analogy with the *r*-stems.

Of the Masculine *bruoder* is more faithful to its old declension than *fater*. *Fater* has in no single instance in OHG. its true plural, *fater*, but always appears as *fatera* like an *a*-stem, while, except in B., *bruodera* does not occur before Notker.

On the other hand, in the singular gen. of *faler*, *fateres*, dat. *faler* and *fateres* exist side by side in early texts. A Dative Pl. in *-on* is found for both words in T. and in O., *fatoron*, *bruodoron*, even *-an*: *bruadaran*, with sympathetic colouring of the stem-vowel; cf. *PBB.* vi. 252.

The Accusative *fateran* (H.) is dealt with above, 396.

446 (b) ND stems.

These are participial stems: IG. *ent*: *out*: *nt*. Of Gmc. Participles Present in *-nd*, those which had lost all participial meaning and had become true substantives retained their true consonantal declension: of these only two remain in OHG., *friunt*, *fiant*, and these are strongly contaminated by the inflection of the *a*-stems.

| Got. | | OHG. | |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------|---|
| Sing | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. |
| Nom. <i>frijōnds</i> | <i>frijōnds</i> | <i>friunt</i> | <i>friunt</i> , <i>-ā</i> , <i>-a</i> |
| Acc. <i>frijōnd</i> | <i>frijōnds</i> | " | " " |
| Gen. <i>frijōnd's</i> | <i>frijōndē</i> | <i>friuntes</i> | <i>friunto</i> |
| Dat. <i>frijōnd</i> | <i>frijōndam</i> | <i>friunte</i> | <i>friuntum</i> , <i>-un</i> , <i>-on</i> |

447 i. The inflection in OHG., except for the Nom. Sing. and Pl., is that of the *a*-stems. *Friunt* is the usual form for the Nom. Pl., while of *fiant* the form in *-a* is more general. Only Isidor and BR. have Nom. and Acc. Pl. *fiant*. A Dative Sing. *friunt* occurs once in Gl. i. 705. The Pl. *lantpūant* = *indigenos* Voc. 453 is the only other consonant plural in OHG.

ii. OHG. has a certain number of other substantival participles in *-ant*, as *waltant*, *heilant*, *skepfant*, *helfant*, *wigant*, &c., but these show no trace of consonantal inflection except for the Nom. Sing. (which is without the *-i* of the Present Participle *waltanti*), and in the main a present participle in OHG., even when used as a noun, keeps the adjectival *-ja* stem-inflection in contrast to the other dialects: OS. *neriand*, OHG. *nerrendevo* (Is.) (weak *-ja* inflection); OS. *waldand*, OHG. *waltanto* (wk.), or *waltanti* (str.).

(c) Monosyllabic Consonant Stems.

448 (a) **Masculine.** The nouns belonging to this class show few traces of consonantal inflection: they have in part adopted that of the *u*- and *i*-stems.

Fuoꝝ (Lat. *ped-*, Gk. *ποδ-*) has passed into the *i*-declension, only retaining the *-um* ending of the Dat. Pl. *fuoꝝzum* (ON. Nom. Pl. *fōtr*, OE. *fēt* show still consonantal inflection). The one noun which in early OHG. had pure consonantal inflection was *man*.

| | Got. | | OHG. | |
|------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. |
| Nom. | (<i>manna</i>) | <i>mans</i> (<i>mannans</i>) | <i>man</i> | <i>man</i> |
| Acc. | (<i>mannan</i>) | „ „ | <i>man</i> | <i>man</i> |
| Gen. | <i>mans</i> | <i>mannē</i> | <i>mannes</i> | <i>manno</i> |
| Dat. | <i>mann</i> | (<i>mannam</i>) | <i>manne, man</i> | <i>mannum, -un, -on</i> |

i. As Gen. Sing. the form *man* is twice found in Otfrid, ii. 18. 21 **449** and v. 21. 11, both apparently *metri gratia*.

ii. The Nom. Pl. is always *man* until quite late, when a plural after the *a*-stems appears: e. g. *scefmanna*, &c.

iii. Isidor always and the Mons. Fr. and BR. often use a pronominal Acc. Sing. *mannan*, treating the word as an appellative, 396.

The compounds *coman*, *ucoman*, which are used as pronouns, always have the pronominal Acc.

iv. In compounds *man*, as a rule, is treated as the simplex: to this there is one notable exception—*goman*, compounded of *gomo* and *man*, which, though still retaining the Nom. and Acc. Pl. *gomman* and the Gen. Sing. *gommannes*, has also many weak forms: when it was no longer felt to be a compound of *man* the secondary accent fell, and the *-man* was treated as a derivative syllable, thus *-a* weakened to *-e*, and *-un* was reduced to *-n*. Then arose such forms as: *commanna*, *gomanes*, *gomennes*, *gomenen* (with reduced *-mm*).

(b) **Feminine**. Of these the greater part had passed into the *i*-declension: there are only left *naht* (Lat. *noct-*), *burg*, *brust*, and *buoh*, *bruoh*, which latter two as Feminines are only used in the plural. **450**

| | Got. | | OHG. | |
|------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. |
| Nom. | <i>nahts</i> | <i>nahts</i> | <i>naht</i> | <i>naht</i> |
| Acc. | <i>naht</i> | <i>nahts</i> | <i>naht</i> | <i>naht</i> |
| Gen. | <i>nahts</i> | <i>nahtē</i> | <i>naht</i> | <i>nahto</i> |
| Dat. | <i>naht</i> | <i>nahtam</i> | <i>naht</i> | <i>nahtum, -un, -on</i> |

i. A form *nahtes* is found in adverbial use only, though late in OHG. it has the definite article with it: O. *this nahtes*. *Tages inti nahtes* was a standing idiom often found in O., T., &c., and the form *nahtes* is clearly analogical to *tages*.

ii. Of *buoh* no singular form is known except the Nom. *Buoh* = *Biblia* is regularly Fem. Pl. until the end of the ninth century (*zewho puah*) when it began to appear as a Neuter: O. *this buah*. Notker has *diu buoh*. Otfrid, for the sake of the rhyme, twice uses a Gen. Sing. *buacchi*.

iii. *Burg* and *brust* more commonly have forms after the *i*-declension. *Brust* has a Nom. Pl. *brust* in K., R^a, cf. Kögel, Ker. Gl. 171; elsewhere the Nom. Pl. is *brusti*. For *dūsunt* see 498.

451 (d) S stems.

These neuter nouns are frequently included in the *a*-declension in OHG. grammars because their inflexion in the singular is identical with that of *wort*. They are, however, consonant stems in which the stem-forming suffix has been treated as a case ending.

The stem in IG. was of the *os : es : s* gradation, corresponding to the Lat. *opus, oper-is* class, Gk. *γένος, γένεσις*. These *s*-stems originally had in the Nom. and Acc. the mere stem *-os*; the *-os* of the stem in Gmc. became *-as, -az*, and fell in W. Gmc., leaving, so far as the Nom. and Acc. were concerned, no distinguishing mark between the *s*-stems and the neuter *a*-stems, OHG. *lamb, s*-stem, OHG. *wort, a*-stem [as in the latter the IG. suffix *-om* had fallen]: in the oblique cases the *es*-stem was protected by the case-ending following, and therefore should have been retained in W. Gmc. *-ir*, but owing to the Nom. and Acc. forms most of the *s*-stems passed into the *a*-stems in the singular, while retaining in the plural the *-ir* ← *es* stem (Pr. Gmc. *-iz* = W. Gmc. *-ir*). In the oblique cases of the singular *-ir* was retained in a few forms, as *chalbires, hrindires* for *hrindares, westir, ahir* with *-ir* levelled back into the Nom. and Acc., and doublets (cf. OE. *sigc—sigor*), and in the names of places, as *Kelbirisbach*; cf. *PBB.* iv. 415.

452 The number of words rightly belonging to the *s*-stems in Gmc. was at first small, but as the *-ir* was soon adopted as a plural-forming suffix they were soon reinforced already in OHG. by the inclusion of neuter nouns originally belonging to other declensions: e.g. *holz, huon, chrut, ei, hār, rad, hrīs, hrind, loh, loub, noz, bant, bret, farh, blat*, and occasionally *suñ, tal, kar*.

Otfrid *diufilir*, iii. 14. 53; Phys. *wihtir*; and see Teg. Gl., *Georgics*, iv. 309, *Aen.* ix. 224.

The root-vowel was mutated by the following *-i*: thus *kalb—kelbir, grab—grebir*, &c. Where the root-vowel was *o* arising from P. Gmc. *u*, the plural sometimes retains the original *u*, as *loh—luhhir, abgot—abgutir*, though levelling out soon took place in favour of the root-vowel of the singular.

| | | | |
|----------|------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| Sg. Nom. | <i>lamb</i> | Pl. | <i>lambir</i> |
| Acc. | <i>lamb</i> | | <i>lambir</i> |
| Gen. | <i>lambes</i> | | <i>lambiro</i> |
| Dat. | <i>lambe</i> | | <i>lambirum, -un, -on</i> |
| Inst. | <i>lambu, -o</i> | | |

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns.

It is not possible to speak of an actual declension of pronouns in **453** IG., as the pronominal forms show no trace of case inflection: they appear to have been merely roots originally combined with enclitic particles, which latter took the function of case suffixes; cf. Gk. ἐμε-γϵ, Gmc. **meke*, **mek*, Got. *mik*, OHG. *mih*. Owing to the presence in the parent language of unaccented forms beside accented (cf. OE. *ic*, ON. *ek*, Lat. *ego*), it is not always possible to state the original form with accuracy, but in OHG. the large majority of pronominal forms derive from the Pr. Gmc. unaccented forms.

| | Got. | OHG. | | Got. | OHG. |
|---------------|--------------|------------|-----|-------------------|--------------|
| 1st Pers. Sg. | <i>ik</i> | <i>ih</i> | Pl. | <i>weis</i> | <i>wir</i> |
| | <i>mik</i> | <i>mih</i> | | <i>uns, unsis</i> | <i>unsih</i> |
| | <i>meina</i> | <i>mīn</i> | | <i>unsara</i> | <i>unsēr</i> |
| | <i>mis</i> | <i>mir</i> | | <i>uns, unsis</i> | <i>uns</i> |

i. Nom. Sing. Sk. *ahám*, Gk. ἐγώ(*v*), Gmc. **ek*, *ik*. In the Glosses, **454** i. 30, 39, the form *ihha*, *ihcha* occurs, Lat. *egomet*. The form *ih* frequently is used with verbal forms enclitically, in which case Otfrid often elides the vowel, e. g. *zelluh* = *zellu ih*.

ii. Acc. Sing. Sk. *mām*, *mā*, Grk. ἐμέ + the particle -γϵ = ἐμέγϵ (Gk. γϵ = Pr. Gmc. **ke*), **meke*, hence Pr. Gmc. **mek*, *mik*.

iii. Gen. Sing. For the genitive of the personal pronouns the forms of the possessive adjective were used. The process has been explained as follows: at first the ordinary use of the genitive (possessive) was marked by the case-ending (cf. 'father's house'), or by a special word, as *mīn*; when, however, verbs and adjectives governing the genitive were introduced it became necessary to have a genitive form, and this was supplied by the possessive, which then was generally adopted as the genitive of the pronoun (see 464).

iv. Dat. Sing. IG. **me*, to which was added in Gmc. *-z. Pr. Gmc. **455** accented **mez*, unaccented **miz*; Got. *mis*, OHG. *mir*.

v. Nom. Pl. IG. **wei* (Sk. *vayám*) with *s* in Gmc., the sign of the plural, Got. *weis*, OHG. *wir* unaccented (early Alem., Pa. *wer*, an accented form).

vi. Acc. Pl. IG. -*ns* (reduced grade to **nes*), Sk. *nas*, Lat. *nos*, Gmc. **uns*. OHG. *unsih*, in analogy with the Sing. *mih*; Got. *unsis* in analogy with the Dative Sing. *mis*, or possibly with the Plural of the 2nd person: *izwis*.

456 Second Person. Pr. Gmc. *tu*, Gk. *τὺ*, Lat. *tu*, Gmc. **þu*.

| Got. | | OHG. | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| Sg. <i>þu</i> | Pl. <i>þus</i> | Sg. <i>dū</i> | Pl. <i>ir</i> |
| <i>þuk</i> | <i>izwis</i> | <i>dih</i> | <i>iuwih</i> |
| <i>þeina</i> | <i>izwara</i> | <i>din</i> | <i>iuwēr</i> |
| <i>þus</i> | <i>izwis</i> | <i>dir</i> | <i>iu</i> |

457 i. The Nominative when used enclitically was shortened. Acc.: as with the 1st pers., the particle *-ge* was added to *tu*: **tu-ge* (cf. Gk. *σν-γε*), giving Got. *þuk*; OE. *thec* ← *te + ge*: **tue*: *tu*: *te*. To this *te* the Dative added *-z*, Pr. Gmc. **þiz*, OHG. *dir* (though Got. *þus* after Acc. *þuk*). The Got. Nom. Plur. is formed from the original root *iu* (Sk. *युयाम*) + the *-s* of the plural: the other Gmc. languages have adopted a form in analogy to the 1st pers. *wir*: ON. *jer*, OE. *3e(r)*, OHG. *ir* (← **jer*, **jir*), old Alem. Ps. *ier*, Is. and M. *er*, *aer*, De Hein 14 *gī*, with fall of final *r*. Braune, § 282. 3.

ii. The forms in the Acc. and Dat. Pl. *uns* and *unsih*, *iu* and *iuwih* are generally quite clearly distinguished in use, but there was in OHG. already a tendency to confuse them, which is indicated in several passages. Thus the Ludwigslied has four cases of *iu* for the Acc. Pl., and the Augsb. Gebet has *uns* as Acc. Pl. (37. 1), MM. 3. 130. Graphically there were variations in the oblique cases. Otfrid writes a single *u* for *uw*: *iūēr*, *iuh*, &c., where others use two and sometimes three *u*'s: *iuuēr*, *iuuūēr*. Isidor has occasionally forms with *e* instead of *i*: *eu*, *euuuh*, B. once *euuuh*, Al. Ps. *euuuh*, and towards the close of the eleventh century a contracted form *iuch*, *uch* makes its appearance. Braune, § 282. 6.

iii. The Genitive forms were, as has been said, derived from the Possessive adjective. IG. **meios*, *teuos* (cf. Lat. *meus*, *tuus*) had for some reason fallen into disuse, and were replaced by Pr. Gmc. **mīno-z*, *þīno-z*, *sīno-z*, derived either from **me*, *te* (Gmc. *þe*), *se* with the adjectival suffix *-ino* (cf. Got. *gulþeins*, Lat. *faginus*), or from the Dat.-Loc. **mei*, *tei*, *sei* (Gmc. **mī*, *þī*, *sī*) with suffix **-no*. Otfrid, in several instances, uses a form *mīnes* for the Genitive when it is combined with *selb*: thus iv. 31. 25 *mīnes selben uuīsi*, and once v. 7. 61 *faru in sīnes selb gisihti*, but he never uses this extended form in connexion with a feminine noun. Bethge, § 322. 2.

458 iv. The Plural of the Possessives was formed by the suffix *-ero* (possibly the comparative suffix, cf. *-tero*, which is used in Lat. *noster*, &c.), **unsero-z*, Got. *unsara*, OHG. *unsēr*, &c. The length of *-e* in these forms, *unsēr*, &c., is marked by Notker, and is also proved by the

double *-ee* in B. and St. Gall. Pn., probably in analogy with the Nom. Masc. of the adjective, which also ended in *-ēr*; but see Kögel, *PBB.* ii. 140 and viii. 128.

v. Dual. The Dual, which in Got. is still extant, has left hardly any 459 traces in OHG.: Otfrid has a form *-unker zucio* (iii. 22. 32) as Gen. Pl. of the 1st pers., and Nom. *git*, Acc. *ink*, for the 2nd pers. occur; moreover, the forms in Mod. Bav. *ös* and *enk* beside a possessive *enker* must derive from an original dual and show that such a form did exist in German. The stem of this Dual was the same as that of the Plural: 1st pers. Nom. *-ue* + *-d* → Gmc. **ævet*, OS. *weít*, OE. *weít*; Acc. *-n* + the article *-ke* = Got. *ugk*, OS. *unk*. 2nd pers. Nom. *-iu* + Gmc. *-t* → Got. **jut*. In W. Gmc. analogy to *weít* caused the form OHG. *git*, OS. *git*, OE. *git*: the Acc. *inc* has yet to be explained.

Reflexive Pronoun.

Stem **se* (*sue*), cf. Lat. *se*, Got. *sik*—*seina*—*sis* for all numbers and 460 persons, *sik* ← **se* + *ge*. In OHG. the Reflexive has but two cases, the Gen. *sīn* and the Acc. *sih*: the remainder are supplied from the pers. pronoun. *sih* was not used for the Dative until late. Muspilli, 28, is the earliest instance.

Third Person.

| | Got. | | | OHG. | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| Sg. | <i>is</i> | <i>ila</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>ir, er</i> | <i>iz</i> | <i>siu</i> <i>sī, si</i> |
| | <i>ina</i> | <i>ila</i> | <i>ija</i> | <i>in, inan</i> | <i>iz</i> | <i>sia</i> (<i>sie</i>) |
| | <i>is</i> | <i>is</i> | <i>izōs</i> | (<i>sīn</i>) | <i>es, is</i> | <i>ira</i> , (<i>o, u</i>) |
| | <i>imma</i> | <i>imma</i> | <i>izái</i> | <i>imu, o</i> | <i>imu, o</i> | <i>iru</i> , (<i>o</i>) |
| Pl. | <i>eis</i> | <i>ija</i> | <i>*ijōs</i> | <i>sie</i> | <i>siu</i> | <i>sio</i> |
| | <i>ins</i> | <i>ija</i> | <i>ijōs</i> | <i>sie</i> | <i>siu</i> | <i>sio</i> |
| | <i>izō</i> | <i>*izē</i> | <i>izō</i> | <i>iro</i> | <i>iro</i> | <i>iro</i> |
| | <i>im</i> | <i>im</i> | <i>im</i> | <i>im, in</i> | <i>im, in</i> | <i>im, in</i> |

The pronoun of the 3rd person in Gmc. is derived from three 461 distinct roots, from the IG. demonstratives (1) **so, sa* (*sjo, sja*), (2) from *ei* with the reduced grade *i*, and (3) from *ejo*: *eja*, cf. Lat. *is, ea, id*.

i. Masc. Nom. *ir, or, er*, Got. *is*, Lat. *is* ← root *i*.

Neut. „ *iz* „ *ita* „ *id*.

In OHG. Isidor uses for the Nom. Sg. always *ir*, the Mons. Fr. show forms *er, aer*. Occasionally the LG. form *hē* occurs in the Ill., Lw., and Mers. Sp., seven times in Tatian, which, with the prevailing form *her* of Franc. monuments, is the descendant of IG. **ki*, Lat. *cis, citra*, Got. **his, hina*. The Neuter *iz* becomes *es* in later OHG.

ii. Masc. Acc. *Inan* is the regular form until the eleventh century. *In* is the only form in Notker, and occurs occasionally in earlier writers, e. g. Musp. 19, and frequently in Tatian beside *inan*.

iii. Genitive. The genitive of the Masculine should be the same as that of the Neuter, viz. *is*, *es*, but these forms were lost very early in OHG. and replaced by the reflexive *sīn*. The oldest form of the Neuter Gen. is *is*, which begins to be replaced by *es* as early as the eighth century, and occurs with T. and O. always. *Sīn* for the Neuter Gen. is also found.

iv. Dative. To the root *i* was originally added the stem **sm* (cf. Sk. *tasmai*, *tasmīn*), Pr. Gmc. **mm*, to which was joined the instrumental ending *e: o*, Got. *-a*, OHG. *-u(o)*. (Got. *imma*; OHG. *imu*, with single *m* owing to the want of stress.) In OHG. *imu* is the regular form; this passed into *imo* in the ninth century, in Franc. first, and later in UG. (But see Jellinek, *PBB.*, who derives *-o* in all monuments which do not weaken *-u* to *-o* from IG. Abl. in *-ōd*.)

462 v. Feminine. Nom. *sīu*, *sī*. The root was IG. **sīā*, Gmc. *sīā*, which unstressed would give *sīu*, OE. *sēo*. This *sīu* is in OHG. the usual form: the secondary forms *sī* and *si* occur at later times and are equivalent to Got. *si*, from **sīē* → *sī*. The alternating quantity of OHG. *-i* in *sī* and *si* is due to the change from stressed to unstressed position in the sentence (cf. *dū* and *du*). Notker marks it by circumflex as long, but when used enclitically it is short. Otfrid frequently writes *sī*. In the ninth century *si* is rare. (Muspilli, 3.)

Acc. *sīa*, *sīe*. *Sīa* is regular until the end of the ninth century, and then begins to pass into *sīe*: in T. the form *sīe* occurs.

Gen. *ira*, Dat. *iru*. The initial *i* is rarely weakened to *e*, K., Merseb. 31. 1, and Otfrid. The final vowel *u*—*o* varies as in the *o*-stems, and at an early date the distinction between the Genitive and Dative was levelled out and the *u* of the Dative penetrated into the Genitive, but rarely the *a* of the Genitive into the Dative.

463 Plural. The Nom. Acc. *sīe*, *sīu*, *sīo* represent the original root with the adjectival endings. Otfrid has fairly frequently the Masc. form *sīe* for the Neuter *sīu*, and replaces the Fem. *sīo* by *sīe* (*sīa*). Notker has only *sīe* for all three genders, Gen. plur. reg. form *iro*. Tatian once writes for the Gen. Pl. *ero*, and very rarely the forms *iru* and *ira* are found (for *iro*). In the paradigms the pronominal forms are given in their full, i. e. independent shape, but after stressed words the pronoun lost its stress and was joined to them as an enclitic. The changes which this usage occasioned are clearly seen in O. With him the monosyllabic forms with initial vowel lose this vowel after vocalic

ending, e. g. *wior* = *wio er*, *zaltaz* = *zalta iz*, *sastaz* = *sasta iz*, though in the case of *er* it is generally the preceding vowel which falls, e. g. *giloubt er*. The disyllabic forms as a rule lose their initial vowel after a vocalic or a consonantal ending alike : e. g. *erm antwurtli* = *er imo antwurtli*. Thus are obtained the forms: *nan*, *mo*, *sa* ← *sia*, *se* ← *sie*, *ses* ← *sies*, *siuz* = *si iu iz*. *Sī unreini*, *sīj ouh*. *sa* is rare; cf. Lw. 24 *heigun sa*. (Unaccented *sia*, *sa*, *se*, *seo*, *sie* or *so*.)

Possessives.

As was stated in 454, the OHG. possessive pronoun was a new 464 formation in Pr. Gmc.: **mīno-z*, Got. *meins*, OHG. *mīn*, &c. The Pr. Gmc. *sīno-z* was used for all genders and numbers like Gothic *seins*; but OHG. restricted *sīn* to the Masc. and Neuter Sg., the Fem. and Plural used the Gen. of the Pers. pronoun *ira*, *iro*, *ir*, of course indeclinable [inflected forms, as *ircs*, *iren*, belong to the 11th–12th century]. *Mīn*, *dīn*, *sīn* had the inflexion of the strong adj. (cf. *mīner*, *mīnaz*, *mīniu*, &c.), but in the Nom. as a rule the uninflected form stood when preceding the noun and varied with the inflexional form when following. Weak inflexion occurs twice in Otfrid, i. 2. 20 and iii. 7. 53: *mīno*. Franconian, lying between L. and UG., had a special form of declension of the possessives based on the OS. form, except in the Nom. Masc. It treated them as if the stem were *uns*, *iu*, &c., e. g. declined: Nom. *unsēr*, *unsaz*, *unsu*, Acc. *unsan*, *unsaz*, *unsu*, Gen. *unses*—*unsera*, Dat. *unsemo*—*unseru*; but these shortened forms were not so much in use as the regular ones, and Tatian restricts his use of those of *iuuēr* to those cases in which two syllables commencing with an *r* would follow upon each other: *iuuereru*—*iuueru*, while Otfrid writes *iues*, *iuc*, *iuo*, *iuēn*, &c. In UG. sporadic forms occur which apparently indicate the shortened stem, but they are all forms in which an *er* is suppressed through dissimilation: *unserero* → *unsero*; Notker's *unserro* shows the intermediate stage. Syncope of the *e* in the older OHG. is very rare, and is only met with in Bavarian (Freis. Pn. *unsro*, *unsrēm*), although it becomes frequent after the early eleventh century; cf. *PBB.* v. 94. Occasionally *a* has replaced *e* (often with Tatian): H., R^b, M. *unsariu*, *unsarēm*, *iuuarēm*.

Demonstratives.

In Gmc. the demonstrative pronouns (Got. *sa*, *sō*, *þata*) are derived 465 respectively from the roots **so*, (**sā*), **to*. Gothic forms from root **so*, while OHG. has lost the **so*—*sā* roots as demonstratives, and retained the *to* : *te* roots.

| | Got. | | | OHG. | | |
|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------------------------|------------------|--|
| | M. | N. | F. | M. | N. | F. |
| Sg. Nom. | <i>sa</i> | <i>þata</i> | <i>sō</i> | <i>der, dē</i> | <i>daz</i> | <i>diu</i> |
| Acc. | <i>þana</i> | <i>þata</i> | <i>þō</i> | <i>den</i> | <i>daz</i> | <i>dea, dia</i> (<i>diē</i>) |
| Gen. | <i>þis</i> | <i>þis</i> | <i>þizōs</i> | <i>des</i> | <i>des</i> | <i>dera</i> (<i>-u, -o</i>) |
| Dat. | <i>þamma</i> | <i>þamma</i> | <i>þizái</i> | <i>demu, -o</i> | <i>demu, -o</i> | <i>deru, o</i> |
| Instr. | — | <i>þē</i> | — | — | <i>diu</i> | |
| Pl. Nom. | <i>þái</i> | <i>þō</i> | <i>þōs</i> | <i>dē, dea,</i> <i>dia, diē</i> | <i>diu (dei)</i> | <i>deo, dio</i> |
| Acc. | <i>þans</i> | <i>þō</i> | <i>þōs</i> | <i>dē, dea,</i> <i>dia, diē</i> | <i>diu (dei)</i> | <i>deo, dio</i> |
| Gen. | <i>þizē</i> | <i>þizē</i> | <i>þizō</i> | <i>dero</i> | <i>dero</i> | <i>dero</i> |
| Dat. | <i>þáim</i> | <i>þáim</i> | <i>þáim</i> | <i>dēm, dēn</i> | <i>dēm, dēn</i> | <i>dēm, dēn</i> (<i>deam, dien</i>) |

466 In IG. the two stems **so* and **to* supplemented each other in such a way that from the former were taken the Nom. Sg. Masc. and Fem., and all other cases from the latter. In place of **so*, **sā* IG. could use **sjo* and **sju*, and for **to*, **tā* also **tjo* and **tju*: hence OHG. Nom. Sg. Fem. *siu* and Nom. Pl. *diu*.

Nom. Masc. Sg. IG. **so* was used as bare stem as in Sk. *sa*, Gk. *ó*, Got. *sa*, *sái*. OHG. *sē* represents this *so*-stem + *-i* (cf. Lat. *go-i* → *qui*), Got. *sái* (= *ecce*), OHG. *sē*. OHG. *der* (**þe* + the *-r* of Nom.) is a new formation which replaces *s*-roots. LG. and MG. *dē*, *thē* show loss of *r* and compensation lengthening. Franc. uses *thē* and even diphthongizes this *ē* to *ie*, frequently in T., *thie*. Other HG. variants are *de* Pa., *dee* R^a, and *dhe* (*selbo*) Is.

Accusative. IG. **to-m*, Sk. *tám*, Gk. *τόν*, Lat. *is-tum*, OS. *then*, OHG. *den*, in which the *e* is derived from analogy to the other cases.

Neuter Sg. Nom., Acc. IG. **to-d*, Sk. *tád*, Gk. *τό*, Lat. *is-tud*, ON. *þat*, OS. *that*, OHG. *daz*. Got. *þata* has an adjoined particle *-a*.

Instrumental. OHG. *diu* ← IG. **tiō*, as Got. *þē* ← IG. *tē*. It appears behind *des* before comparatives (Otfried *thes thiū mīn*), as *de* weakened to *te* with Will. and Notker, Notker *des te spātōr*.

467 Dative. In Gothic *þammēh* the vowel *ē* shows that this case must have been an Instrumental, which in IG. ended in a lengthened *ē*. Beside *-ē* the vowel *-ō* occurred → West Gmc. *u* (cf. OS. *themu*): the *a* (IG. *o*) of root varies in gradation to *e*, Got. *þamma*: OHG. *demu*. The *mm*, in OHG. simplified to *m*, derives from IG. *-sm*; cf. Sk. Dat. *tasmai*, to which OHG. (late) *demo* with *o*—*u* corresponds. In OHG. the earliest form is *demu* (*dhemu*) Is., B., but Pa., K., H. have already *demo* beside *demu*, and *demo* becomes universal in the ninth century.

Plural Masc. IG. **tai*, Sk. *tē* (but cf. Wilmanns iii, p. 422, 7). Gk. *τοι*, Got. *þái* should give OHG. *thē*, *dē*, which forms are actually found in Bav. and in the Ker. Gl., but Alem. and Franc. have the diphthongized forms *deu*, *theu*, *diu*, *thiu*, Tatian and Otfrid *thie*, and after the tenth century the form *diē* is general. Thus OHG. *ē* coincided with Pr. Gmc. *ē* and became *ea*, *ia*, *ie*, but Wilmanns (iii, § 201. 7) and Franck. (*ZsfdA.* 40) reject this explanation and ascribe these diphthongized forms to analogy with those of the Pron., 3rd pers.

Accusative. IG. **tous*, Gk. *τούς*, Got. *þans*, but already in early OHG. the Nom. is used for the Acc.

The Nominative-Accusative Plural Neuter is formed from the \sqrt{to} + endings like neut. noun. A curious form, *dei*, is found from earliest times in UG., and is preserved until the twelfth century. It has not been explained, Wilmanns², § 201. 8.

Genitive. The pronominal termination was *-sōm*, which joined the stem in *-oi*, e. g. IG. **toisōm*, Sk. *tēṣam*, Pr. Gmc. **þaiza*, OE. *ðāra* would be OHG. *deiro*, but OHG. *dero* has *e* for *ei* from the Gen. Sg.

Dative. IG. The same stem **toi* + *-mis*, *toimis*, Pr. Gmc. **þaimiz*, Got. *þáim*, OHG. *dēm*, in the ninth century *dēn*. In Alem. are found *deam*, *diem*, *dien*, with diphthong from *-ē*, which in other dialects appears to have been early shortened.

Feminine. Root *sā*, *siā*, Sk. *sā*, Lat. *ip-sī*, Got. *sō*, OE. *sēo*; OHG. **468** would yield *siu*, but has taken the initial consonant from the root *to*: *liō*.

Genitive. Dative. **tesiai*, Sk. *tasyai*, Pr. Gmc. **þesai*, Got. *þizái*; OS. *theru* and OHG. *deru* are Instrumentals in *ō* formed by analogy to the nominal declension.

Plural. The Nom. and Acc. have nominal inflection: IG. **tās*, Sk. *tās*, Got. *þōs*. Beside IG. **tās* there was **liās*, Pr. Gmc. **þioz*, from which OHG. *deo* is derived. The older forms *theo*, *deu*, *diu* pass in the tenth century to *diē*, but already in the oldest texts are often represented by the Masc.: Is. *dheu*, BR. *deu*, *diu*, Otfrid and Tatian *thie*, *thiu*. N. always *dīe*.

Like *er*, so *der* shows many contractions, especially in Otfrid.

The forms ending in diphthongs, *diē*, &c., in the Nom. Masc. Pl., are sometimes replaced in the oldest monuments by *the* and *de*. Otfrid elides final vowels before initial vowel, marking their fall by a point under the vowel to be elided, *thiꝛ engila*, or writing in one word, as *thiuuō* for *thie iuuō*. Consonantal termination is even more drastically contracted, as *themo* = *ther imo*, *ther* = *then er*, *theih* = *thaz ih*, &c.

After *ze* the article is shortened: *zeru*, *zer*, *zen*. Isolated is *ubar iz* (= *daz*) *wazzzer*, Tat. 89. 4.

- 469 Dese, deser.** This compound pronoun is specifically Gmc.: it is composed of the IG. root **to*, **so* + the particle **si* (cf. *isdem*, *eadem*, &c.), and appears first in NGmc.: old Norse Runic Nom. *sasi*, *susi*. Originally only the pronominal part was inflected, as *þansi*, *þasi*; then, when the sense of composition was lost, the inflection was transferred to the particle: *þesēr*, *þesses*, on the lines of the Strong Adjective declension, OHG. *dese*, *desiu*, &c. In OHG. the forms of the pronoun vary considerably according to dialect and scribe; some show the inflection of the pronoun, others that of the particle.

470 (a) Is., Tat., Otfrid.

| | M. | N. | F. |
|----------|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Sg. Nom. | <i>these</i> , <i>thesēr</i> , O. <i>therēr</i> | <i>thiz</i> | <i>thisiu</i> , O. <i>thisu</i> |
| Acc. | <i>thesan</i> , <i>thesen</i> | <i>thiz</i> | <i>thesa</i> |
| Gen. | <i>theses</i> , <i>thesses</i> | <i>thesses</i> | <i>therra</i> , -o, O. <i>therera</i> |
| Dat. | <i>thesemu</i> , -o | <i>thesemu</i> , -o | <i>therru</i> , -o, O. <i>thereru</i> |
| Pl. Nom. | <i>these</i> | <i>thisiu</i> , O. <i>thisu</i> | <i>theso</i> |
| Acc. | <i>these</i> | " " | " " |
| Gen. | (<i>desero</i>) <i>thesero</i> , <i>therro</i> | " " | O. <i>therero</i> |
| Dat. | <i>thesēm</i> , -en | | |

Is. has same forms with *dh*: *dhese*, *dhiz*, *dhiesiu*.

(b) Notker.

| | M. | N. | F. |
|----------|--------------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| Sg. Nom. | <i>disēr</i> (<i>dirro</i>) | <i>diz</i> | <i>disiu</i> |
| Acc. | <i>disen</i> | <i>diz</i> | <i>disa</i> , -e |
| Gen. | (<i>dises</i>) <i>disses</i> | | <i>dirro</i> |
| Dat. | <i>disemo</i> | | <i>dirro</i> |
| Pl. Nom. | <i>dise</i> | <i>disiu</i> | <i>diso</i> , -e |
| Acc. | <i>dise</i> | | |
| Gen. | <i>dirro</i> | | |
| Dat. | <i>disēn</i> | | |

471 (c) UG.

| | M. | N. | F. |
|----------|-----------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Sg. Nom. | <i>deser</i> | <i>diz</i> (<i>dezzi</i>) | <i>desiu</i> , <i>deisu</i> |
| Acc. | <i>desan</i> | " " | |
| Gen. | <i>desse</i> , <i>desse</i> | | <i>desera</i> , <i>deser</i> |
| Dat. | <i>desemu</i> , -o | | <i>deseru</i> |
| Pl. Nom. | <i>dese</i> | <i>disiu</i> , <i>desiu</i> , <i>deisu</i> | <i>deso</i> |
| Acc. | <i>dese</i> | | " " |
| Gen. | <i>derero</i> | | |
| Dat. | <i>desēm</i> | | |

The *e* of the root passed in the ninth century to *i* in those forms which had final syllable with *i*, and then gave way to *i* in all cases,

owing to levelling; by the eleventh century this process is complete, as will be seen by reference to the paradigm of Notker's forms.

Nominative. The Nom. Acc. Sing. *diz*, *dhiz*, with the affricata ζ 472 (not ς , as proved by Isidor's spelling *dhiz*, not *dhizs*), corresponds to OS. *thit* (*thilt*), and possibly represents the ON. rune *þatsi*, in which *ts* \rightarrow *th*, *þatsi* \rightarrow *þatti* \rightarrow **þetti*.¹ In UG. such forms as *dezzi*, *dizzi*, or *dezi* occur sporadically. The Nominative Feminine *deisu* only occurs in Alem. (See below.)

Genitive. The regular form would be *deses*. In the Muspilli (103) is found the old form *desse*, showing inflection of the pronominal component only; the form *deses*, showing inflection of the particle only, is very infrequent in OHG.

Plural Neuter. *Deisu*, *deiso* (see *dei* above) are found in old UG. monuments only: hence probably the use of the same form for the Nom. Sing. Fem., as these forms are identical in the declension of *der*.

Ienēr (Got. *jains*) (\leftarrow **jō* + Suffix *-no*), UG. *enēr*, is virtually only used by Otfrid and Notker. It is inflected as a strong adjective.

Selb = *ipse*, Gmc. **selbō*, Got. *silba*, shows both strong and weak inflection in OHG.: *selber*, *az*, *iu*; after the article it is equivalent to Lat. *idem* and has exclusively weak inflection, e. g. *der selbo*. O. *selbo*, uninflected form.

Samo. IG. **somo*, Got. *sama*, is only preserved in a few traces found in the Ker. Gl.: *den samun*, *daz sama*, *der selpo samo*.

The root **hi** (IG. *ki*, Lat. *cis*, &c.) is not extant as an independent one in OHG. It is preserved in such words as *hiutu*, *hiuru*, *hiar*, *hina*, the old superlative *hitamum*, and probably in *her* for *er* (cf. above).

Pr. Gmc. had formed the comparative pronoun **szwalik* = Lat. *talis* (Got. *szwaleiks*), which was preserved as **solih** in OHG. The noun *lik* lost its secondary accent, *k* \rightarrow *hh*, then was simplified to *h*, and in Alem. often fell entirely. *ī* was shortened to *i* (weakened to *e* and also fell). OHG. *sulih* in Tatian and Isidor generally, but UG. *solih*. Secondary forms are *solihcher*, *suliches*, *solehes*, *solees*, *solemo*.

OHG. had no relative pronoun: the functions of the relative were performed by the demonstrative *der*, *daz*, *dīu*.

¹ But OS. *thit* and OHG. *diz* correspond in pointing to a Pronominal form *to-d* in conjunction with a particle beginning with *d* or a consonant. Cf. Gk. *ὄδε*, *ἦδε*, *τὸδε*.

Interrogatives.

474 The only substantival interrogative is *hwēr*, *hwaz*, which has no special form for the feminine.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| IG. | Sk. | Lat. | Got. |
| <i>k^vo, k^vā</i> | <i>kás (kā), kád</i> | <i>quod</i> | <i>was</i> |
| <i>k^vi</i> | <i>cid</i> | <i>quid</i> | <i>wi (leiks)</i> |

OHG. *hwēr* with *e* in analogy to the pronoun *er*:

| | | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| | M. | N. | M. | N. |
| N. | <i>hwēr</i> | <i>hwaz</i> | <i>wēr</i> | <i>waz</i> |
| A. | <i>hwenan</i> | „ | <i>wenan, wen</i> | „ |
| G. | <i>hwes</i> | | <i>wes</i> | |
| D. | <i>hwemu</i> | | <i>wemo</i> | |
| I. | | <i>hwiu</i> | | <i>wiu, wuo</i> |

For the Nominative Masculine Tatian has once *wie*, cf. *thie* for *ther*. In Otfrid occasional contraction takes place: *uweih* = *uwaz ih*; *uweist* = *uwaz ist*, cf. *theist* for *thaz ist*, &c.

Accusative. The normal form is *hwenan*: Tatian has twice *uuen*, but this form only prevails in the tenth century; cf. *inan*, *in*. The old instrumental of the interrogative *wuo* is used adverbially by Tatian by the side of *uuio*, but generally *uuēo*, *uuio*, Got. *hwáwa*, is used in this function. *Hwiu*, *wiu* is a recent formation in analogy to *thiu*.

Tatian, 59. 3, twice writes *uuie* (cf. OS. *hwie*), altered into *uuer*, and his dative plural *uuen* for *wuen* (93. 2) is probably due to the influence of the Lat. original: *a quibus*.

Adjectival interrogatives are (*h*)*wedar* = *uter*, (*h*)*welih* = *quis*, and *huueolih*, *uuioh* = *qualis*. *Hwelih* = Pr. Gmc. **χwalik*, not = Got. *hwileiks*.

The same process took place with *hwelih* as with *solih*, to which it forms the correlative, thus *welihhēr*, *welihēr*, *welchēr*, *welhēr*, or Alem. *welcēr*, *welēr*. From these latter forms a stem *wel* or *wol* was deduced, which was then inflected *welēr*, *-iu*, *-az*, &c.; cf. *PBB*. ii. 135.

ADJECTIVES

475 The declension of adjectives in Gmc. differs in two important particulars from that of the parent IG., and from that of all other IG. languages—

(1) By adopting in a large number of cases pronominal for nominal inflections.

(2) By the creation of a new system of inflection.

The IG. nominal declension had always shown some tendency to be affected by the ending of the demonstrative pronoun (cf. Sk. *kāntēna*, *kāntanya*, Lat. *-ārum*, *-ōrum*, &c.), but Gmc. was the first to adopt the pronominal endings to any great extent, and to differentiate in this way adjective from noun.

The pronominal inflections first spread to adj. *ǝ*-, *ā*-stems, which, like the pronoun, clearly marked the three genders, and this was facilitated by the fact that the two methods of declension coincided in some cases.

The mixture of forms in Gothic is already strongly marked [in the neuter sing. nom. and acc. the alternative forms exist side by side], but is carried even further in the later dialects (see accompanying tables).

The mixture of nominal and pronominal forms is perhaps most satisfactorily seen by comparing the actual paradigms. In each case the adjective is in the central column.

SINGULAR.

476

Gothic.

| Masculine. | | | Neuter. | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| Noun. | Adjective. | Pronoun. | Noun. | Adjective. | Pronoun. |
| <i>dags</i> | <i>blinds</i> | <i>sa</i> | <i>waúrd</i> | <i>blind, blindata</i> | <i>þaka</i> |
| <i>dag</i> | <i>blindana</i> | <i>þana</i> | <i>waúrd</i> | <i>blind, blindata</i> | <i>þata</i> |
| | <i>dagis</i> | | <i>blindis</i> | <i>þis</i> | |
| | <i>daga</i> | | <i>blindamma</i> | <i>þamma</i> | |
| | | | Feminine. | | |
| | <i>giba</i> | | <i>blinda</i> | <i>sō</i> | |
| | <i>giba</i> | | <i>blinda</i> | <i>þō</i> | |
| | <i>gibōs</i> | | <i>blindáizōs</i> | <i>þizōs</i> | |
| | <i>gibái</i> | | <i>blindái</i> | <i>þizái</i> | |

OHG.

| Masculine. | | | Neuter. | | |
|------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Noun. | Adjective. | Pronoun. | Noun. | Adjective. | Pronoun. |
| <i>tac</i> | <i>blint, blintēr</i> | <i>der</i> | <i>zewort</i> | <i>blint, blintaz</i> | <i>dag</i> |
| <i>tac</i> | <i>blintan</i> | <i>den</i> | <i>zewort</i> | <i>blint, blintaz</i> | <i>dag</i> |
| | <i>tages</i> | | <i>blintes</i> | <i>des</i> | |
| | <i>tage</i> | | <i>blintemu</i> | <i>demu</i> | |
| | | | Feminine. | | |
| | <i>geba</i> | | <i>blintiu</i> | <i>diu</i> | |
| | <i>geba</i> | | <i>blinta</i> | <i>dia</i> | |
| | <i>geba</i> | | <i>blintera</i> | <i>dera</i> | |
| | <i>gebu</i> | | <i>blinteru</i> | <i>deru</i> | |

PLURAL.

Gothic.

| | Masculine. | | Neuter. | | |
|---------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------|
| Noun. | Adjective. | Pronoun. | Noun. | Adjective. | Pronoun. |
| <i>dagōs</i> | <i>blindái</i> | <i>þái</i> | <i>waúrda</i> | <i>blinda</i> | <i>þō</i> |
| <i>dagans</i> | <i>blindans</i> | <i>þans</i> | <i>waúrda</i> | <i>blinda</i> | <i>þō</i> |
| | <i>dagē</i> | <i>blindáizē</i> | | <i>þizē</i> | |
| | <i>dagam</i> | <i>blindáim</i> | | <i>þáim</i> | |
| | <i>gibōs</i> | <i>blindōs</i> | | <i>þōs</i> | |
| | <i>gibōs</i> | <i>blindōs</i> | | <i>þōs</i> | |
| | <i>gibō</i> | <i>blindáizō</i> | | <i>þizō</i> | |
| | <i>gibōm</i> | <i>blindáim</i> | | <i>þáim</i> | |

Feminine.

OHG.

| | Masculine. | | Neuter. | | |
|-------------|---------------|--------------------------|-------------|----------------|------------|
| Noun. | Adjective. | Pronoun. | Noun. | Adjective. | Pronoun. |
| <i>taga</i> | <i>blinte</i> | (<i>dia</i>) <i>dē</i> | <i>wort</i> | <i>blintiu</i> | <i>diu</i> |
| <i>taga</i> | <i>blinte</i> | (<i>dia</i>) <i>dī</i> | <i>wort</i> | <i>blintiu</i> | <i>diu</i> |
| | <i>tago</i> | <i>blintero</i> | | <i>dero</i> | |
| | <i>tagum</i> | <i>blintēm</i> | | <i>dēm</i> | |
| | <i>gebā</i> | <i>blinto</i> | | <i>dio</i> | |
| | <i>gebā</i> | <i>blinto</i> | | <i>dio</i> | |
| | <i>gebōno</i> | <i>blintero</i> | | <i>dero</i> | |
| | <i>gebōm</i> | <i>blintēm</i> | | <i>dēm</i> | |

Feminine.

- 477 In Gmc. the consonant adjectival stems perished, and of the vowel-stems only *a*-, *i*-, *u*-stems were left, which virtually all adopted the inflectional system of the *a*-stems (the old *i*- and *u*-stems becoming in Gmc. Masc. *īa*-, Fem. *īō*-stems). In addition to these *a*-stems, which retained the whole system of their original inflection, a secondary adjectival form arose through extending the root by means of the suffix *-n*: *-en*: *-on*, and thus forming an *n*-stem with a substantival, or rather individualizing, meaning when not actually in apposition to a noun. As Gk. *στραβός* = squinting, *στράβων* = the man who squints, or Latin *Catus* = sly, *Cato -ōnis* = the sly fellow, so Gmc. **blindaz* = blind, but *blindō* = the blind one. This definitive sense of the adjective led to its being most often used with the Demonstrative (Got. *manna sa blinda* = the man, the blind one = the blind man, cf. *þu is sunus meins, sa liuba*), and the distinction grew up between the adjective form in *-s* (declined

as *a*-stem) and that in *-n* (as *n*-stem), that the latter was always used as marking a special individual with the definite article, while the former, being quite general in application, stood with the substantive without the article. This distinction again rendered necessary the formation of Feminine and Neuter forms for these new adjectives in *-n*, and, as this *n*-stem Masc. adj. was identical with the *n*-stem noun, so for the corresponding feminine and neuter adjective were adopted the endings of the *n*-nominal stems.

It will in the ordinary adjectival declension (Strong) be noted that 478 OHG. alone among Gmc. dialects has spread the pronominal form over the Nom. sing. Masculine and Feminine and Neuter, in which OE. and OS. retain the nominal endings. The old nominal inflection remained in use especially predicatively: thus there are in OHG. apparently three inflectional systems for the Nominative case Masculine and Neuter:—

(a) The nominal, usually miscalled the uninflected form.¹

(b) The strong, usually without accompanying pronoun and used as attribute or predicate.

(c) The weak, usually used after a demonstrative pronoun.

The Strong Adjectival Declension.

The strong declension of adjective is divided into pure *a*-, *ō*-stems, 479 *ja*-, *jō*-stems, and *wa*-, *wō*-stems, as are the nouns, but there is no difference in their inflection except in the nominal, i. e. the flectionless form. This in the case of *ja*-, *jō*-stems ends in *i*, e. g. *festi*, *hrēini*; in the case of *wa*-, *wō*-stems it ends in *-o* after a short vowel or a consonant, cf. *falo*, *garo*, *frāo*, and after a long vowel the final *-o* falls already in the ninth century, cf. *grā*, *blā*, &c.; see 189.

a-stems. Nom. singular Masculine and Neuter. The *-e* of the 480 pronominal termination *-ēr* was long, for which a satisfactory explanation has not yet been found (cf. Wilmanns², § 427); this is proved by double spelling and by Notker's accentuation; see *PBB.* ii. 98 and viii. 127. In Bavarian (and once in Tatian *leobar*) this *-ēr* is weakened to *-ar*, but otherwise it is universal. In the tenth century *-az* of the Neuter became *eꝛ* (*iꝛ*), about the same time that the weakening begins of *-an* to *-en* in the Acc.

The Genitive in *-es* has in late Bavarian a variant in *-as*, corresponding to the Gen. of the substantive (above). The Dative singular was originally *-amu*, *-amo*, which is found in the UG. texts of the eighth century by the side of *-emu*, *-emo*: from the ninth century on *-emu* is

¹ The use of the flectionless adjective spreads from the nominative to other cases, and even to the feminine, especially in predicative use.

the form generally in use, until Notker, who elides the *e* after *l*, *r* in polysyllabic words, e. g. *luzzelmo*, *andermo*.

- 481 Feminine. In the Nominative singular UG. diverges from Franconian, in that UG. preserves the diphthong *iu* (Notker places the accent on the *i* = *iu*), while Franconian at an early date converts *iu* into *u* (the *i* in this *iu* was not here syllabic but = *j*, and falls thus according to rule). With Tatian the forms in *u* are the more numerous, while Otfrid rarely has any other (see Kelle, 271, 273); see *PBB.* ii. 165.

The case termination *-iu* should cause *i*-mutation of the preceding vowel; but this is only regularly the case in one word, *al*, in Franconian: *elliu*, *ellu* is regular with Isidor, Tatian, and Otfrid, while UG. nearly always has *alliu*. Other instances are rare—*endriu* occurs in Merigarto, 2. 20. Cases occur sporadically of a feminine singular accusative in *-e* in place of *-a*, e. g. *alle*, *sīne*; these are found in the older MSS., apparently in analogy to the *jō*-stems.

- 482 Plural. The nominative masculine is often written with *-a* in later Bavarian, and occasionally so in Franc. and Alem.; cf. K. *andhra*, Is. *māna*, *dhāna*.

Notker uses the Masculine form for the Feminine (*blinde* is with him Nominative and Accusative plural Masculine and Feminine), as he does with the weak adjective declension (486). The Nominative plural Neuter ending in *-iu* is treated in identically the same manner as the Nominative singular Feminine in *-iu*, e. g. Alem. *-iu*, Franc. chiefly *-u*. Variations of the Dative Plural (normally *ēm*, *ēn*) occur in late Bavarian monuments, but also once in Tatian, 89. 1, and in the Lw.: *mānan* l. 23, *sīnan* l. 43.

- 483 *jō*-stems. Of these it has been said above that they differ from the pure *a*- and *ō*-stems only in the flectionless form, which with them ends in *-i*, whereas the former always have a consonant ending. Only in the oldest texts, and then rarely, do forms occur which show the older formation in the oblique cases with *-j*, *-i*, *-e* before the inflection: R^a *kaumantian*, *farlikantian*, O. *redie* for *redi*.

Words with short root-vowel show the original presence of *j*-suffix by gemination—and where possible *i*-mutation: such forms as *milti*, *luggi*, *nuzzi* point unmistakably to an original **miðjiz*, Got. *midjis*, &c. Gemination after a long syllable exists in Alem. (occasionally with *-n* and *-t*, cf. (*h*)*reinnan*, *spāttiu*), and is frequent in UG. with *-r*: thus *māri*, *mārrer*, *mārriu*, *mārraz*, &c.

- 484 The *wa*-, *wō*-stems are few in number. It was stated that in the flectionless forms they end in *-o*, but otherwise coincide with the

strong adjective *blind*. A distinction, however, should be made between (a) those in which a consonant or short vowel precedes the *w*, and (b) those in which a long vowel precedes.

a. *wa-*, *wō-*stems, with a consonant preceding the *w*, usually develop a secondary vowel *a*, *e*, *o* before the *w*: e. g. *garo*, *garwer* or *garawēr*, *maro*, *marwes* or *marawes*; such words are: *falo*, *kalo*, *salo*, *elo*, *zeso*.

b. Those with preceding vowel lose the *o* already in the ninth century if the vowel be long, and contract the root-vowel and *o* to *ō* in the uninflected cases if it be short, e. g. *grāo*, *blāo*, *lāo*, *slēo* become *grā*, *blā*, *slē*, *lā*, whereas *frāo*, *rao*, *fao* become *frō*, *rō*, *fō*. In the inflected forms both retain the *w*: *blāwes*, *frāwes*.

Often the contracted uninflected form was taken to be the stem and to it was added a strong inflection: *frōēr*, *frōun*, *frōaz*. In *fō* there is alternation between *h* and *w*, *fōhēr*, *fōhēm* beside *fouuēr*: this is not grammatical change, but merely a glide or sign of the division of syllables.

Glou had *-zew* from Pr. Gmc., Pr. Gmc. *azew* → *au* → *ou* (cf. Got. *glaggwō*), and thus never had a final *-o* in the uninflected form (above, (b)). It inflects regularly, *glouuēr*, &c. Curiously in Otfred the *-au* has not become *-ou*: iv. 7. 9, *glauue*; v. 23. 15, *glauen*; see Kögel *PBB.* vii. 167 and ix. 526.

The Weak Adjectival Declension.

Gothic.

| | Sing. | | | Plural. | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----|
| | Masc. | Fem. | Neut. | Masc. | Fem. | Neut. | 485 |
| N. | <i>blinda</i> | <i>blindō</i> | <i>blindō</i> | <i>blindans</i> | <i>blindōns</i> | <i>blindōna</i> | |
| A. | <i>blindan</i> | <i>blindōn</i> | <i>blindō</i> | " | " | " | |
| G. | <i>blindins</i> | <i>blindōns</i> | <i>blindins</i> | <i>blindanē</i> | <i>blindōnō</i> | <i>blindānē</i> | |
| D. | <i>blindin</i> | <i>blindōn</i> | <i>blindin</i> | <i>blindam</i> | <i>blindōm</i> | <i>blindam</i> | |

OHG.

| | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| N. | <i>blinto</i> | <i>blinta</i> | <i>blinta</i> | <i>blinton,</i> <i>-un</i> | <i>blintūn</i> | <i>blintun,</i> <i>-on</i> |
| A. | <i>blinton,</i> <i>-un</i> | <i>blintūn</i> | " | " | " | " |
| G. | <i>blinten,</i> <i>-in</i> | <i>blintūn</i> | <i>blinten,</i> <i>-in</i> | <i>blintōno</i> | <i>blintōno</i> | <i>blintōno</i> |
| D. | " | " | " | <i>blintōm,</i> <i>-ōn</i> | <i>blintōm,</i> <i>-ōn</i> | <i>blintōn,</i> <i>-ōn</i> |

Generally speaking, the inflectional system is identical with that of 486 the *n*-stem nouns, only in certain texts discrepancies have arisen: Otfred, for instance, makes the Nominative and Accusative Masculine

Plural of the noun end in *-on*, but that of the adjective in *-un*: and only once uses the form *-ōno* for the Genitive Pl. Tatian also seems inclined to the *-un* form. Notker, on the other hand, as in the other instances (482), uses the Masculine ending *-on* for the Feminine also, and it is noteworthy that for the Dative plural he invariably writes the strong adjective inflection *-ēn* in place of the weak *-ōn*: thus *blintēn* (*PBB.* ii. 136). The *ja-* and *wa-* *n*-stems inflect regularly as above, only occasionally showing traces of the original *j* as *-e* and *-i*: Wess. *māreo*; Is. *nerrendeo*, *waldendeo*; M. *festeōm*.

Participles.

- 487 In OHG. both participles, the Present ending in *-enti* as well as the Perfect ending in *-an* or *-t*, may show the triple declension like other adjectives: (1) The nominal (uninflected).
 (2) The strong.
 (3) The weak.

The Present Participle in *-enti* is treated as a *ja*-stem (479), and thus has its Nominative in *-i* for the so-called uninflected form *nemanti*. The inflected forms *nemanter—az—iu* have no trace of the *-j*. The Past Participle of both graded and non-graded verbs is inflected exactly like *blint*, strong and weak.

It should be noted that, in place of the ending in *-an* in inflected forms, Franconian texts often allow the ending to be coloured to *-en*, *-in*, *-ou* by neighbouring sounds: thus O. *einboronon*, *giscribene*, *gihaltenera*, *giborgenero*, *eiginaz*, *eigenen*, &c. In UG. the ending *-an* is consistent. See *PBB.* vi. 239.

Comparison of Adjectives.

- 488 IG. marked the comparative and superlative degrees by means of various suffixes which were added direct to the root of the adjective, and not to the positive stem.

(a) The comparative was formed by the addition of the suffix *-iōs* and *-iēs* to the root, and the superlative by the addition of *-isto* (i. e. the comp. suffix *-is* and *-to*). Cf. *altior*, ἐλάχιστος, κράτιστος: κρατύς.

This suffix appears in the lengthened degree as *-iōs* (cf. *maiōr* ← **maiōs*), and in the reduced degree (which in Gmc. is the general one) as *-iz* (Got. *-is*, OHG. *-ir*); cf. *magis*. If a vowel preceded, the *-i* of the suffix formed with it a diphthong; cf. root **plē*, Gk. πλέων, πλείστος.

To the comparative stem *-iz* Gmc. added the formative suffix *-n*: *-en*: *-on* (cf. Gk. ἡδίων ← **ἡδίσων*); and thus the total stem of the Gmc.

comparative became *-izen* and was declined like any other *n*-stem in Gmc., as Got. *managīza*, Gen. *managizins*, &c.; *alpeis*, comp. *alpīza*, Gen. *alpizins*, while the superlative stem-suffix *-isto* was treated like an ordinary adjective and subject to double inflection as in Got. *háuhistis*—*háuhistā*. OHG., however, adopts exclusively the *n*-stem declension for the superlative: *hōhīsto*, as for the comparative.

Beside the suffix *-iz*, *-isto* Gmc. used also a parallel formation, *-ōz*, *-ōsto*, to mark the degree of comparison; e. g. Got. *swinþs*, *swinþōza*, OHG. *hōhōro*, *hōhōsto*, beside *hōhīro*, &c. This form was in Gothic and OHG. chiefly confined to the *a*-stems. The form is due to the existence in the parent IG. language of many adjectives with a *-jo* suffix in the positive: when these formed their comparative with the *iōs* suffix (cf. Lat. *juniōrem*) the *j* was not felt to be part of the comp. suffix, but was taken to be the *i* of the positive; e. g. in IG. **neū—iōs*, comp. *neū—iōs*, *-ōn*, the *j* seemed to belong to the first component, as if *neūj—ōs—ōn*, thus the suffix *-ōz* became accepted as comparative suffix, and to it in analogy with *-isto* was formed *-ōsto*.

This new formation was no doubt helped considerably by the fact that a large class of adverbs in *-ō* existed with which the comparative ending *-ō* agreed, but it is not possible yet to prove, as some have assumed, that the comparative in *-ō* arose from the comparative of these adverbs. See *PBB.* xvii. 552.

(b) The IG. suffix *-oro* or *-tero* (cf. Gk. *παλαί-τερος*) did not live on into OHG. productively, though such forms as *astar*, *innaro*, *ūzaro*, *fardaro*, &c., preserve it. In OHG. it appears only in adverbial forms, and perhaps in the Possessive Pronoun *unsar*, &c. (464).

(c) The IG. suffixes *-amo* and *tamo* (cf. Lat. *ultimus*) have perished 489 without leaving any traces except OE. *forma*, OS. *forma*, Got. *fr-uma*, *inn-uma*, *af-tuma*. The formation of double superlatives such as *astumists* is a proof that the superlative force of *-ma* was no longer felt.

In OHG. the only living mode of comparison is that with suffixes *-iro*, *-isto*; *-ōro*, *-ōsto*. While in the older language the forms in *-ōro*, *-ōsto* were mainly confined to the *a*-stems, OHG. knew no such distinction. Many adjectives have, especially the *a*-stems, double forms, as *hōh*, *hōhīsto*, *-ōsto*, &c.; the *ja*-stems almost exclusively have forms in *-i*, *eng*, *engiro*, *engīsto*, while compound words and adjectives composed with a derivative suffix always have *-ōro*, *-ōsto*: *salig*, *saligōro*, *saligōsto*.

Dialectal peculiarities are early manifested, as Otfrið's *liaber* for the 490 more general *liobōr*, and not infrequently the comparative and superlative are formed with different vowels: e. g. the comp. *altiro* is

universal, but for the superlative UG. has *allist*, Tatian *altōsto*. Mutation caused by the *-i* is checked by the usual consonant combinations, and in UG. by combinations with *-r*, *armiro*, *altiro*, while in Franc. in the latter case it takes place: *eldirōn* (279). In Franc. often there is found in place of *-iro* the weakened form *-ero*, especially in Otfrid, but in UG. the *-ero* does not prevail until the times of Notker. Otfrid also has forms in *-ere*, *-ara*, *-oro* (*afteren*, *ziarara*, &c.), but always under the influence of a following vowel, viz. always due to vowel harmony. [Paul explains these vowels *e*, *a*, *o* as secondary developments before *r*.]

To *jung*, comp. *jungiro*, is also found a second form *jūgiro* (BR. once, Tat. three times), which must represent an older Pr. Gmc. **jūnχizō* → *jūχizō*, Got. *jūhiza*. Tatian's *g* instead of *h* must be analogical.

491 To syncope is due the form of the substantival *hērro*. *Jungōro* (Otfrid) is not a comp. in *-ōr*, but probably another case of syncope (← disyllabic **jungro*) with secondary vowel *metri gratiā*. Possibly in both cases the substantival use would account for the shortening. Other cases are *ērōn* (Is.) for *ērīn*, and *althrōm*, Gl. i. 96. 16 = *alterōm*, Pa.; cf. OS. *herro*, *jungro*, *aldrom*, &c., *PBB*. vi. 154.

In OHG., as in OE. and ON., both the comparative and superlative have only weak inflection (whereas Got. superlative could have both strong and weak): *lengiro* m., *lengira* f., gen. *lengirīn*, *-ūn*, *lengisto*, *-a*, &c.

Whatever exceptions are found are in Otfrid, ii. 6. 45: *beziremo* dat. pl., *rehterēn*, *suazerēn*, *mērēn*, *jungistemo*, *ēristeru*, *furistēn*. There is one example of the so-called uninflected form of superlative in Musp. 22, *Satanas allist*.

Sporadically (in Pa., K., R^a, O.) forms ending in *-a* for Nom. Sg. Masc. are found both of comparative and superlative: *furira*, *furista*. This is the neuter form used for the masc.

Irregular Comparison.

492 As in all IG. languages, so in OHG. some adjectives are defective, i. e. have no regular comparative and superlative, but supply these forms from other roots.

| | Got. | | | | OHG. | | |
|-----|---------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--|
| (a) | <i>gōþs</i> | <i>batīza</i> | <i>batists</i> | <i>guot</i> | <i>bezziro</i> | <i>bezzisto</i> | |
| | <i>ubils</i> | <i>zwaírsize</i> | — | <i>ubil</i> | <i>zuirsiro</i> | <i>zuirsissto</i> | |
| | <i>mikils</i> | <i>máiza</i> | <i>máists</i> | <i>mihhil</i> | { <i>mēro</i> | { <i>meisto</i> | |
| | | | | | { <i>mēriro</i> | { <i>mērōro</i> (UG.) | |
| | <i>lētils</i> | <i>minniza</i> | <i>minnists</i> | <i>luzzi</i> | <i>minniro</i> | { <i>minnistō</i> | |
| | | | | | | { <i>lezziſto</i> | |

(b) To adverbial positives the following adjectival comparative forms have been brought into use :—

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>after</i> | <i>aftro, -ero, -aro</i> | <i>aft(ē)rōsto, aftisto</i> |
| <i>ēr- ērrō</i> | <i>ēriro, -ōro, -ero</i> | <i>ēristo</i> |
| <i>furi</i> | <i>furiro</i> | <i>furisto (fursto)</i> |
| <i>forna</i> | <i>fōrdro, -dero, -dera</i> | <i>fōrd(a)rōsto, fōrdcristo</i> |
| <i>hintar</i> | <i>hintero, hintaro</i> | <i>hinteresto</i> |
| <i>oba</i> | <i>obaro, -oro</i> | <i>oberōsto</i> |
| <i>untar</i> | <i>untero</i> | <i>untarōsto, unterōsto</i> |
| <i>ūz</i> | <i>ūzēro</i> | <i>ūz(ē)rōsto, ūzarōsto</i> |

The comparative forms were clearly not felt to be such after a time, for in UG. a number of comparatives existed with an extended suffix *-ōro*, thus : *aftōro, errōro, for(ē)rōro, furirōro, hint(ē)rōro, inmarōro, oberōro, underōro*; whereas *nidari* had become purely positive with strong forms *nidarēr, -az*, and a comparative *nidarōro*, superlative *nidarōsto*.

Sidero = the late one, adj. to *sīd*, stands entirely alone, as does *entrōsto* = the last, superlative to *entero* and *culi* (Olfrið, i. 3. 7 v. 8. 55).

CHAPTER VII

NUMERALS

493 THE IG. system of counting was the decimal system: this was in prehistoric times combined with the Babylonian sexagesimal system, which has left traces of its presence in Gmc. languages down to the present day. These are:—

(1) The special form of word adopted for 11 and 12.

(2) The check made in the tens at 60.

(3) The continuance of counting by tens up to 120. Cf. ON. *tólfræðr* = 120, Mod. Germ. *Grosshundert*. (It was this counting by tens up to 120 which necessitated the adoption in Gmc. of separate units for 11 and 12 in place of the compounds 1 + 10, 2 + 10, as in Latin *undecim*, &c.)

The Cardinal Numbers.

494 (1) The numbers 1, 2, 3 are regularly inflected and distinguish a masculine and feminine form. *Ein* as a numeral has strong adjectival inflection, but generally remains uninflected in the Nom. Sing. and Acc. Sing. neut.; cases of the inflected form are rare: *einaz*, *skif* T., *einaz*, *hūs* O., *einēr*, *cinu*, *einaz*, or *ein*, *ein*, *ein*. Already in OHG. *ein* is used as indefinite article, but not at all frequently: in such cases it can be used in the plural, also with a plural noun: *in einen buachōn*, *fon einēn ostorōn*, *zi einēn gihūgtin*.

(2) *Zwēne* inflects:

| Masc. | Neut. | Fem. |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| <i>zwēne</i> | <i>zwei</i> | <i>zwā</i> , <i>zwō</i> |
| <i>zweiō</i> | | |
| <i>zweim</i> , <i>-ein</i> | | |

The Nom.-Acc. Fem. is in some UG. glosses *zuō*, *zwō*, *zō*. Isidor has twice as Gen. *zweiio*, Tatian *zweiero*. (For *quei* in Ker. Gl. cf. 148.)

(3) *Drī* inflects regularly, *drī*, *drīo*, *driiu*, Gen. *drīo*, Dat. *drim*, *driin*, but the influence of the strong adj. declension is shown in the Nom.-Acc. Masc. of late OHG. *drīe* (Isidor once *dhvīe*), and in the Gen. *driero* (cf. *zweiero*). Otfrid has a form Acc. Fem. *thriiu* beside *thrīo*,

and Notker, as usual, does not distinguish between masculine and feminine.

(4) The numerals from 4 to 14 are either—

495

(a) uninflected when used adjectivally before a noun, or

(b) inflected when used substantivally and after a noun.

In the latter case they are treated as *i*-stems, while the neuter ends in *iu*, *u* as with the strong adjectives, e. g. masculine and feminine *fiori*, *fioriu* (Franc. *fioru*), Dat. *fiorim*, *-in*, Gen. *fioreo*, *fioro*.

Otfrid writes once *siban* in place of *sibun*, *niuuan* for *niun*, and Notker often *zeen*, *zēn*. It should be also noted that in *sibun* and *zehan* the final syllable is often assimilated to the inflectional ending: *sibini*, *schiniu*.

Isidor's *schse* appears to be formed according to the adj. decl., as elsewhere *schsi* is found. Of *ahto* the Nom. *ahtowi* occurs in Gl. i. 742. 62, and a Dat. *ahtowen* is found in N.

(5) The numbers 13–19 are formed by prefixing the respective unit to *zehan*, e. g. *drīzehan*, *fiorzechan*, &c. *Drīzehan* may be inflected in both numbers, viz. N. *drīn zēnin*, the others only in *-zihan*.

(6) From 20 to 100 the tens are, in the ninth century, formed by 496 composition with *-zug* (Got. *tigus*): *zweinzug*, *drīzzug* (and *drīzzug*), &c.; but from 70 to 100 the older language (Mons. and Gl.) used compounds with *-zo*: *sibunzo*, *ahtozo*, **niunzo*, **zehanzo*, which no doubt were originally continued to 120: **einlifzo*, **zweelifzo*. The compounds with *-zug* and *-zo* are indeclinable, and are used as substantives (as *zug* = *decade*) with the genitive, *feorzuc wehhōno*, but adj. use is rare: Tatian, however, has *zweinzug thusuntin*. *-zug* is often found as *-zog*, also as *-zec*, *-zech*, *-zig* before Notker's time.

Drīzzug is usually found with the spirant *zz*, not the fricative *z*. The 497 reason is perhaps that the word was not felt to be a compound of **brī* and **tiguz*, and the *l* was therefore shifted to *zz* as if intervocal and not initial. The fricative is found sporadically by analogy to *zweinzug*, &c.

(7) For 100 the older language has only the forms *zehanzo*, *zehanzug*, 498 and more than 100 can be expressed by multiplication, e. g. 500 *finf stuntcenzig*, 200 *zwiro zehanzug*: usually, however, 200–900 are expressed by *hunt*, used as a neuter substantive, e. g. *zwei hunt phendingo*. *Hundert*, *hunder* only enter the language in the twelfth century through LG.

(8) *Dūsunt*, *tūscent* is originally a feminine substantive, and is generally treated as such, but since *dūsunt* is used uninflected, even in the plural and oblique cases—*manago thūsunt* O. v. 23. 223, *thūsunt filu managa* (for *o*) iv. 17. 17, Kelle 313, N. *driu tūscent*—it is also treated as

a neuter. On the other hand Tatian uses a plural form after the *o* declension, *zwā thūsunta*, and a Dative *thūsuntin*, where O. and Will. write *thūsanton*, *-un*. The noun after *dūsent* stands in the Gen. when *dūsent* is in the Nom. or Acc., but when in the Gen. or Dat. *dūsent* is used attributively: *zehen thūsuntā ta lentōno*, but *fiar thūsuntōn mannōn*.

(9) Units were joined to tens by *inti*: *drīzug inti ahto*. When the unit comes next the noun the latter is in apposition; if, however, the ten comes next the noun the latter must be in the Genitive: *drīzug inti ahto iār* but *iārō drīzug inti ahto*. Occasionally 8 and 9 are expressed by subtraction: *cines min dhanne fimfzuc iaarō* = by one less than 50, and Otfrid is fond of multiplication: *zwiro sehs iārō* = 12, *cinlif stundon sibini* = 77, *thria stuntōn finfzug ouh thrī* = 153.

Ordinal Numbers.

499 The ordinals 'first, second, third' are not formed from their respective cardinal numbers. 'First' is expressed by the old superlatives *ērīsto* and *furīsto*. 'Second' is given by *ander* with strong adjectival inflection until Notker, when it acquires also weak inflection. 'Third' ← **pri* + *-tjo*, *tertius*, Got. *þridja*, OE. *ðridda*, OS. *thriddio*, OHG. *drillo*.

The remainder are all formed as superlatives with *-ōsto*: *fiorzug-ōsto*, &c.

Other Numerals.

500 (1) **Distributives.** In OHG, there are but few instances: *cinluzze* = *singuli*, *zweisike* = *bini*, *driske* = *terni*, *feoriske* = *quaterni* are formed with the suffix **ko*. In Sing. they have not actually distributive meaning, but rather multiplicative: *einazēm*, *einzēn*, *io zwēne inti zwēne*, unless perhaps N. Lib. i. 41 *ūnder zuīskēn* is distributive in force.

(2) **Multiplicative numeral adjectives** are formed with the suffix *-falt*: this can be added to any cardinal number: *zwiwfalt*, *drīfalt*, &c.; and then again are often extended by the suffixes *-līh*, *-ig*, *-iclīh*.

Traces of other formations are left in *einlīh*; *viorzuhlīh* = *quadragenarius*; *zwīnal*, *zwīniling*, *gazwīnelī* = *geminus*; *fioring* = *quaternio*; *zehaning*, &c.

501 (3) **Multiplicative numeral adverbs.** These are usually formed with *stunt*, an adverbial form to *stunta*, which follows the adjectival cardinal numbers: *drīōstunt*, *viorstunt*, *zēn(zehen)stunt*, &c. Beside these there is also *cines* (Notker *cīnest*) *zwiro* = *bis*, *zwiwōr* (Old Bav.), *zwiwiron* (Tat.), which Notker makes into *zwiwiron*, *drīwōr* (H.). Instead of

stunt also *hwarb* is used: *sibun warb* = *septies*, *vier werba*, Merig.; *spurt* = *stadium* is also found: *drim spurtim* (M.) = *ter*.

NOTE.—In the ninth century the dative plural is used adverbially, *sehs stuntōm* = *sexies*, H. *sibun stundōn* = *septies*; Is. *einlif stuntōn*. Ot. Gl. ii. 289 has *viorzihan stuntā* = *quater decies*, and O. *thrīa stuntā zwēne* = 6 (i. 5. 2).

(4) 'For the first time' = *ērist*, 'for the second time' = *andera stunt*, Notker *anderēst*; 'for the third time' = *thrittūn stunt*.

(5) Fractions are rendered with *teil*: *ein teil*, *der halbo teil*, &c., *zwēne ahtoteile*. Of old fractional terms has survived *firdung* = *quadrans*.

ADVERBS

(a) Formation.

(1) Adverbs were formed from Adjectives and Participles by the 502 addition of *-ō* to the root.

The *j-* of the *jō*-stems fell before this *ō*, so that no trace of mutation is found: e. g. *snell-o*, *eban-o*, *ubil-o*, *ang-o* to *eng-i*, *fasto* to *festi*, *samfto* to *semfti*, *ilonto*.

Of the *wa*-stems only one, *garo*, formed an adverb, which is *garwo* or *garo*. *Guot* has *wela*, *wola* as adverb.

OHG. has a number of adverbial forms of adjectives compounded with *-lih*. Presumably these were originally adjectives in *-lih* corresponding to all the adverbs in *-lichō*, but in many cases the adverb alone is extant: e. g. *gernlichō*, *garalichō*, and there are no adjectival forms in *-lih*.

(2) Often special cases of the adjective are used as adverbs: 503

a. The Accusative singular neuter: *mēra*, *meista*, *filu*, *mihhil*, *ginuog*, *luzzil*.

b. The Genitive singular neuter: *alles*, *rehtes*, *wes*, *gāhes*, *frammortes*, *cinin*.

c. The Accusative singular feminine of the weak declension: *gāhūn*, *nāhun*: forms in *-inga*, as *italingūn*, *gāhingūn*.

d. The Accusative singular masculine of the weak declension: *noton*, *follon*, *ginuagon*.

e. The Dative plural: *cinazēn*, *luzīgēm* (= *paulatim*), *smalihhēm*.

(3) Pronominal adverbial forms (locative).

a. Rest. *-r*: *hiar*, *dār*, *wār* (*sār*), cf. Gk. *δεῦ-πο*.

b. Direction. *-ra*: *hera*, *dara*.

-rot: *herot*, *darot*.

-wert, *ort*: *anawert*, *frammort*.

- c. Motion from. *-na* : Notker *-nnān* : *hina, hinana, hinna, hinnān*.
 d. Time. *-nne* : *danne, denne, wanne*.
 e. Manner. *so, sus (h)uuēo, sama*.
 f. Cause. *danta*, therefore, *(h)uuanta*, wherefore.

(b) **Comparison of Adverbs.**

504 The comparative form of all adverbs is formed with *-ōr*, whether the corresponding adjective has *-ir* or *-ōr* : e. g. *reini, reiniro*, adv. *reinōr* ; *festi, festiro*, adv. *fastōr* ; *angōr*, &c. (the other adverbs show an *r* from analogy with adjectives where Pr. Gmc. *z* was not final). In the superlative the form *-ōst* largely predominates, though forms in *-ist* also occur : *langōst, fastōst*, &c., but *ērist, nāhist, jungist*, and a few others.

Irregular forms are : *baz, bezzist* ; *wirs, wirsist* ; *mēr, meist* ; *mīn, minnist*.

In W. Gmc. *mīn, baz, wirs* (Got. *mins, batis, waírs*), Pr. Gmc. **mīniz, batiz, wirsiz*, the *-iz* has fallen (131), as also in *ēr, sīd, halt*, which in early OHG. have no comparative and superlative. In later days *ēr, sīd* develop new forms, *ērōr, ērist*, and *sīdōr*.

In *mēr*, Got. *máis*, the *-r* has been retained as in the pronouns *mir*, &c., 132.

TABLE OF OHG. VERBS

GRADED VERBS

I. a. With Pret. vowel ei.

505

| | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>bitan</i> | <i>beit</i> | <i>bitum</i> | <i>gi-bitan</i> | to wait |
| <i>bizan</i> | <i>beiz</i> | <i>bizzum</i> | <i>-bizzan</i> | to bite |
| <i>blichan</i> | <i>bleich</i> | <i>blichum</i> | <i>-blichan</i> | to shine |
| <i>flizan</i> | <i>fleiz</i> | <i>flizzum</i> | <i>-flizzan</i> | to occupy oneself |
| <i>glizan</i> | <i>gleiz</i> | <i>glizzum</i> | <i>-glizzan</i> | to shine |
| <i>gnitan</i> | <i>gneit</i> | <i>gnitum</i> | <i>-gnitan</i> | to rub |
| <i>grifan</i> | <i>greif</i> | <i>griffum</i> | <i>-griffan</i> | to seize |
| <i>grinan</i> | <i>grein</i> | <i>grinum</i> | <i>-grinan</i> | to grin |
| <i>(h)nigan</i> | <i>(h)neig</i> | <i>(h)nigum</i> | <i>-hnigan</i> | to bend |
| <i>(h)rinan</i> | <i>(h)rein</i> | <i>(h)rinum</i> | <i>-hrinan</i> | to touch |
| <i>kinan</i> | <i>kein</i> | <i>kinum</i> | <i>-kinan</i> | to germinate |
| <i>kliban</i> | <i>kleib</i> | <i>klibum</i> | <i>-kliban</i> | to adhere |
| <i>liban</i> | <i>leib</i> | <i>libum</i> | <i>-liban</i> | to spare |
| <i>lidan</i> | <i>leid</i> | <i>litum</i> | <i>-lidan</i> | to suffer |
| <i>mīdan</i> | <i>meid</i> | <i>mitum</i> | <i>-mīdan</i> | to avoid |
| <i>nīdan</i> | <i>(neid)</i> | <i>(nidum)</i> | <i>-(nīdan)</i> | to envy |
| <i>rīban</i> | <i>reib</i> | <i>ribum</i> | <i>-rīban</i> | to rub |
| <i>(gi)-rīchan</i> | <i>-reich</i> | <i>-richum</i> | <i>-richan</i> | to rule |
| <i>rīdan</i> | <i>reid</i> | <i>ridum</i> | <i>-rīdan</i> | to turn |
| <i>rīman</i> | <i>reim</i> | <i>rimum</i> | <i>-rīman</i> | to obtain |
| <i>rīsan</i> | <i>reis</i> | <i>rīrum</i> | <i>-rīsan</i> | to rise |
| <i>rītan</i> | <i>reit</i> | <i>ritum</i> | <i>-rītan</i> | to ride |
| <i>rīzan</i> | <i>reiz</i> | <i>rizzum</i> | <i>-rizzan</i> | to tear |
| <i>scīnan</i> | <i>scein</i> | <i>scinum</i> | <i>-scīnan</i> | to shine |
| <i>scriān</i> | <i>screi</i> | <i>scrirum</i> | <i>-scriān</i> | to cry |
| <i>scriban</i> | <i>screib</i> | <i>scribum</i> | <i>-scriban</i> | to write |
| <i>sīgan</i> | <i>seig</i> | <i>sigum</i> | <i>-sīgan</i> | to sink |
| <i>slichan</i> | <i>sleich</i> | <i>slichum</i> | <i>-slichan</i> | to creep |
| <i>slifan</i> | <i>sleif</i> | <i>sliffum</i> | <i>-slifan</i> | to slip |
| <i>slīzan</i> | <i>sleiz</i> | <i>slizzum</i> | <i>-slīzan</i> | to cleave |
| <i>smīzan</i> | <i>smeiz</i> | <i>smizzum</i> | <i>-smīzan</i> | to throw |
| <i>snīdan</i> | <i>sneid</i> | <i>snitum</i> | <i>-snīdan</i> | to cut |
| <i>stīgan</i> | <i>sleig</i> | <i>stigum</i> | <i>-stīgan</i> | to climb |
| <i>strīchan</i> | <i>streich</i> | <i>strichum</i> | <i>-strīchan</i> | to stroke |
| <i>strītan</i> | <i>streit</i> | <i>stritum</i> | <i>-strītan</i> | to dispute |

| | | | | |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>swīchan</i> | <i>sweich</i> | <i>swichum</i> | <i>gi-swīchan</i> | to desert |
| <i>swīnan</i> | <i>swein</i> | <i>swīnum</i> | <i>-swīnan</i> | to diminish |
| <i>trīban</i> | <i>treib</i> | <i>trībum</i> | <i>-trīban</i> | to drive |
| <i>wīchan</i> | <i>weich</i> | <i>wichum</i> | <i>-wīchan</i> | to yield |
| <i>wīsan</i> | <i>weis</i> | <i>wisum</i> | <i>-wīsan</i> | to avoid |
| <i>wīzan</i> | <i>weiz</i> | <i>wizzum</i> | <i>-wīzan</i> | to reprove |

b. With Pret. vowel ē.

| | | | | |
|------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|------------|
| <i>dīhan</i> | <i>dēh</i> | <i>digum</i> | <i>gi-digan</i> | to thrive |
| <i>līhan</i> | <i>lēh</i> | <i>līwum</i> | <i>-līwan (h)</i> | to lend |
| <i>rīhan</i> | <i>rēh</i> | <i>rīhum</i> | <i>-rīhan</i> | to arrange |
| <i>sīhan</i> | <i>sēh</i> | <i>sigum (w)</i> | <i>-sigan(h,w)</i> | to sift |
| <i>spīwan</i> | <i>spē(o)</i> | <i>spī(w)um</i> | <i>-spīwan</i> | to spit |
| <i>tīhan</i> | <i>tēh</i> | <i>tīhum</i> | <i>-tīhan</i> | to attempt |
| <i>wīhan (g)</i> | <i>(wēh)</i> | <i>(wīgum)</i> | <i>-wīgan</i> | to fight |
| <i>zīhan</i> | <i>zēh</i> | <i>zīhum</i> | <i>-zīhan</i> | to accuse |

506 II. a. With Pret. vowel ou.

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>biogan</i> | <i>boug</i> | <i>bugum</i> | <i>gi-bogan</i> | to bend |
| <i>fliogan</i> | <i>floug</i> | <i>flugum</i> | <i>-fliogan</i> | to fly |
| <i>hiofan (b)</i> | <i>(houf)</i> | <i>(hubum)</i> | <i>-(h)oban</i> | to mourn |
| <i>klioban</i> | <i>kloub</i> | <i>klubum</i> | <i>-kloban</i> | to cleave |
| <i>kriochan</i> | <i>krouch</i> | <i>kruchum</i> | <i>-krochan</i> | to crawl |
| <i>liogan</i> | <i>loug</i> | <i>lugum</i> | <i>-logan</i> | to lie (<i>mentiri</i>) |
| <i>riochan</i> | <i>rouch</i> | <i>ruchum</i> | <i>-rochan</i> | to smoke |
| <i>skioban</i> | <i>skoub</i> | <i>skubum</i> | <i>-skoban</i> | to push |
| <i>sliofan</i> | <i>slouf</i> | <i>slufum</i> | <i>-slofan</i> | to slip |
| <i>stioban</i> | <i>stoub</i> | <i>stubum</i> | <i>-stoban</i> | to disperse |
| <i>triofan</i> | <i>trouf</i> | <i>trufum</i> | <i>-trofan</i> | to drip |
| <i>triogan</i> | <i>troug</i> | <i>trugum</i> | <i>-trogan</i> | to deceive |

Aorist presents. Pres. vowel ū.

| | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|------------------|----------|
| <i>lūhhan</i> | <i>louhh</i> | <i>luhhum</i> | <i>gi-lohhan</i> | to lock |
| <i>sūfan</i> | <i>souf</i> | <i>sufum</i> | <i>-sofan</i> | to drink |
| <i>sūgan</i> | <i>soug</i> | <i>sugum</i> | <i>-sogan</i> | to suck |

Roots ending in -w.

| | | | | |
|----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------|
| <i>bliuwan</i> | <i>blou</i> | <i>blūwum</i> | <i>gi-blū(w)an</i> | to beat |
| <i>hriuwan</i> | <i>(h)rou</i> | <i>(h)rūwum</i> | <i>-(h)rū(w)an</i> | to pain |
| <i>kiuwan</i> | <i>kou</i> | <i>kūwum</i> | <i>-kū(w)an</i> | to chew |

b. Pret. vowel ō.

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>biolan</i> | <i>bōt</i> | <i>butum</i> | <i>gi-bolan</i> | to offer |
| <i>diozan</i> | <i>dōz</i> | <i>duzzum</i> | <i>-dozzan</i> | to resound |
| <i>driozan</i> | <i>drōz</i> | <i>druzzum</i> | <i>-drozzan</i> | to vex |
| <i>fliohan</i> | <i>flōh</i> | <i>fluhum</i> | <i>-fliohan</i> | to flee |
| <i>fliozan</i> | <i>flōz</i> | <i>fluzzum</i> | <i>-fiozzan</i> | to flow |
| <i>friosan</i> | <i>frōs</i> | <i>frurum</i> | <i>-froran</i> | to freeze |
| <i>giozan</i> | <i>gōz</i> | <i>guzzum</i> | <i>-gōzzan</i> | to pour |

| | | | | |
|----------------|---------|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| (fir)griozan | -grōz | -gruzzum | fir-grozzan | to rub out |
| (bi)-(h)niotan | -(h)nōt | (h)nutum | bi-(h)notan | to make fast |
| kiosan | kōs | kurum | gi-koran | to choose |
| (fir)-liosan | -lōs | -lurum | fir-loran | to lose |
| (ar)-liotan | -lōt | -lutum | ar-lotan | to shoot up |
| (h)liožan | (h)lōz | (h)lužžum | gi-ložžan | to gain by lot |
| niōžan | nōž | (nužžum) | (-nožen) | to enjoy |
| riōžan | rōž | ružžum | -rožžan | to lament |
| siodan | sōd | sutum | -sotan | to boil |
| skiožan | skōž | skužžum | -skožžan | to shoot |
| sliožan | slōž | služžum | -složžan | to shut |

III. a. Pres. vowel i; Past P. u.

507

| | | | | |
|------------|---------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| bringan | (brang) | (brungum) | gi-brungan | to bring |
| brinnan | brann | brunnum | -brunnan | to burn |
| dinsan | dans | dunsum | -dunsan | to draw |
| dringan | drang | drungum | -drungan | to press |
| dvingan | dvang | d(w)ungum | -d(w)ungan | to compel |
| findan | fand | funtum | -funtan | to find |
| bi-ginnan | -gan | -gunnum | bi-gunnan | to begin |
| hinkan | hank | hunkum | gi-hunkan | to limp |
| klimban | klamb | klumbum | -klumban | to climb |
| klingan | klang | klungum | -klungan | to sound |
| krimman | kram | krummum | -krumman | to scratch |
| krimpfan | krampf | krumpfum | -krumpfan | to writhe |
| (h)linman | (h)lam | (h)lummum | -(h)lumman | to roar |
| bi-limpfan | -lampf | -lumpfum | bi-lumpfan | to occur |
| gi-lingan | -lang | -lungum | gi-lungan | to succeed |
| bi-linnan | -lan | -lunnum | bi-lunnan | to cease |
| ringan | rang | rungum | gi-ringan | to struggle |
| rinnan | ran | runnum | -runnan | to run |
| int-rinnan | -ran | -runnum | int-runnan | to separate |
| singan | sang | sungum | gi-sungan | to sing |
| sinkan | sank | sunkum | -sunkan | to sink |
| sinnan | san | sunnum | -sunnan | to think |
| skrintan | skrant | skruntum | -skruntan | to burst |
| slintan | slant | sluntum | -sluntan | to swallow |
| spinnan | span | spunnum | -spunnan | to spin |
| springan | sprang | sprungum | -sprungan | to spring |
| swimman | swam | swummum | -swumman | to swim |
| swingan | swang | swungum | -swungan | to swing |
| swinkan | swank | swunkum | -swunkan | to hurl |
| timpfan | tampf | tumpfum | -tumpfan | to steam |
| trinkan | trank | trunkum | trunkan | to drink |
| winnan | wan | wunnum | -wunnan | to strive |
| wintan | want | wantum | -wuntan | to wind |

b. Pres. vowel e. Past P. o.

| | | | | |
|--------|------|--------|-----------|---------|
| belgan | balg | bulgum | gi-bolgan | to rage |
| bellan | bal | bullum | -bollan | to bark |

| | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>brestan</i> | <i>brast</i> | <i>brustum</i> (<i>brāstum</i>) | <i>gi-brostan</i> | to burst |
| <i>brettan</i> | <i>brat</i> | <i>bruttum</i> | <i>-brottan</i> | to twitch |
| <i>dreskan</i> | <i>drask</i> | <i>druskum</i> | <i>-droskan</i> | to thresh |
| <i>fehtan</i> | <i>faht</i> | <i>fuhtum</i> | <i>-fohtan</i> | to fight |
| <i>felhan</i> | <i>falh</i> | <i>fulhum</i> | <i>-folhan</i> | to hide |
| <i>flehtan</i> | <i>flaht</i> | <i>fluhtum</i> | <i>-flohtan</i> | to plait |
| <i>geltan</i> | <i>galt</i> | <i>gultum</i> | <i>-goltan</i> | to be worth |
| <i>hellan</i> | <i>hal</i> | <i>hullum</i> | (<i>-hollan</i>) | to sound |
| <i>helpfan</i> | <i>halpf</i> | <i>hulpfum</i> | <i>-holpfan</i> | to help |
| <i>hrespan</i> | <i>hrasp</i> | <i>hruspum</i> | <i>-hrospan</i> | to snatch |
| <i>hwerfan</i> (b) | <i>hwarf</i> (b) | <i>hwurbum</i> (f) | <i>-hvorban</i> (f) | to turn |
| <i>kerran</i> | <i>kar</i> | <i>kurram</i> | <i>-korran</i> | to growl |
| <i>ar-leskan</i> | <i>-lask</i> | <i>luskum</i> | <i>-loskan</i> | to extinguish |
| <i>melkan</i> | <i>malk</i> | <i>mulkum</i> | <i>-molkan</i> | to milk |
| <i>quellan</i> | <i>qual</i> | <i>quullum</i> | <i>-quollan</i> | to spring forth |
| <i>skellan</i> | <i>skal</i> | <i>skullum</i> | <i>-skollan</i> | to resound |
| <i>skeltan</i> | <i>skalt</i> | <i>skultum</i> | <i>-skoltan</i> | to scold |
| <i>skerran</i> | <i>skar</i> | <i>skurram</i> | <i>-skorran</i> | to scratch |
| <i>smelzan</i> | <i>smalz</i> | <i>smulzum</i> | <i>-smolzan</i> | to melt |
| <i>smerzan</i> | <i>smarz</i> | <i>smurzum</i> | <i>-smorzan</i> | to pain |
| <i>snerfan</i> | <i>snarf</i> | <i>snurfum</i> | <i>-snorfan</i> | to pull together |
| <i>snerkan</i> | <i>snark</i> | <i>snurkum</i> | <i>-snorkan</i> | to link |
| <i>sterban</i> | <i>starb</i> | <i>sturbum</i> | <i>-storban</i> | to die |
| <i>swelhan</i> (g) | <i>swalh</i> (g) | <i>swulgum</i> | <i>-swolgan</i> | to swallow |
| <i>swerban</i> | <i>swarb</i> | <i>swurbum</i> | <i>-sworban</i> | to whirl |
| <i>telpan</i> | <i>talp</i> | <i>tulpum</i> | <i>-tolpan</i> | to dig |
| <i>wellan</i> | <i>wal</i> | <i>wullum</i> | <i>-wollan</i> | to roll |
| <i>werdan</i> | <i>ward</i> | <i>wurtum</i> | <i>-wortan</i> | to become |
| <i>werfan</i> | <i>warf</i> | <i>wurfum</i> | <i>-worfan</i> | to throw |
| <i>werran</i> | <i>war</i> | <i>wurram</i> | <i>-worran</i> | to confuse |

508 IV. Pres. vowel e. Past P. o.

| | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------|
| <i>beran</i> | <i>bar</i> | <i>bārum</i> | <i>gi-boran</i> | to bear |
| <i>brehhan</i> | <i>brahh</i> | <i>brāhhum</i> | <i>-brohhan</i> | to break |
| <i>bremān</i> | <i>bram</i> | <i>brāmum</i> | <i>-broman</i> | to grunt |
| <i>dwēran</i> | <i>dwār</i> | <i>dwārum</i> | <i>-dworan</i> | to stir |
| <i>helan</i> | <i>hal</i> | <i>hālum</i> | <i>-holan</i> | to conceal |
| <i>nēman</i> | <i>nam</i> | <i>nāmum</i> | <i>-noman</i> | to take |
| <i>quēlan</i> | <i>qual</i> | <i>quālum</i> | <i>-quolan</i> | to torment |
| <i>quēman</i> | <i>quam</i> | <i>quāmum</i> | (<i>-quēman</i>) | to come |
| <i>quēran</i> | <i>quar</i> | <i>quārum</i> | <i>-quoran</i> | to sigh |
| <i>rehhan</i> | <i>rahh</i> | <i>rāhhum</i> | <i>-rohhan</i> | to avenge |
| <i>scēran</i> | <i>scar</i> | <i>scārum</i> | <i>-scoran</i> | to shear |
| <i>sprēhhan</i> | <i>sprāhh</i> | <i>sprāhhum</i> | <i>-sprehhan</i> | to speak |
| <i>stēhhan</i> | <i>stāhh</i> | <i>stāhhum</i> | <i>-stohhan</i> | to prick |
| <i>swēran</i> | <i>swār</i> | <i>swārum</i> | <i>-sworan</i> | to pain |
| <i>trēffan</i> | <i>traf</i> | <i>trāfum</i> | <i>-troffan</i> | to hit |
| <i>trēhhan</i> | <i>trāhh</i> | <i>trāhhum</i> | <i>-trohhan</i> | to draw |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| <i>twe lan</i> | <i>twe al</i> | <i>twe al um</i> | <i>gi-twe lan</i> | to be mad |
| <i>zoman</i> | <i>zam</i> | <i>zām um</i> | <i>-zoman</i> | to beseem |
| <i>zeran</i> | <i>zar</i> | <i>zār um</i> | <i>-zoran</i> | to eat up |
| <i>zewehhan</i> | <i>zewah</i> | <i>zewā h hum</i> | <i>-zewohhan</i> | to tweak |

J-Present.

| | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|----------|
| <i>swe rien</i> | <i>s(w)uor</i> | <i>s(w)uor um</i> | <i>gi-sworan</i> | to swear |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|----------|

V. Pres. vowel e. Past P. e.

509

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>eꝝ an</i> | <i>āꝝ</i> | <i>āꝝ um</i> | <i>gi-eꝝ an</i> | to eat |
| <i>gi-fehan</i> | <i>-fah</i> | <i>-fā h um</i> | <i>-fehan</i> | to rejoice |
| <i>gi-feꝝ an</i> | <i>-faꝝ</i> | <i>-fāꝝ um</i> | <i>-feꝝ an</i> | to fall down |
| <i>fnehan</i> | <i>fnah</i> | <i>fnā h um</i> | <i>-fnehan</i> | to breathe |
| <i>-geꝝ an</i> | <i>-gaꝝ</i> | <i>-gāꝝ um</i> | <i>-geꝝ an</i> | to get |
| <i>jehan</i> | <i>jah</i> | <i>jā h um</i> | <i>-jehan (g)</i> | to speak |
| <i>jesan</i> | <i>jas</i> | <i>jār um (s)</i> | <i>-jeran (s)</i> | to ferment |
| <i>jelan</i> | <i>jat</i> | <i>jā h um</i> | <i>-jelan</i> | to hoe |
| <i>klenan</i> | <i>klan</i> | <i>klā n um</i> | <i>-klenan</i> | to smear |
| <i>knesan</i> | <i>knas</i> | <i>knār um (s)</i> | <i>-kneran (s)</i> | to creep |
| <i>knetan</i> | <i>knat</i> | <i>knāt um</i> | <i>-knetan</i> | to knead |
| <i>lesan</i> | <i>las</i> | <i>lār um (s)</i> | <i>-leran (s)</i> | to read |
| <i>mezꝝ an</i> | <i>maz</i> | <i>māꝝ um</i> | <i>-mezꝝ an</i> | to measure |
| <i>gi-nesan</i> | <i>-nas</i> | <i>nār um (s)</i> | <i>-neran (s)</i> | to recover |
| <i>pflegan</i> | <i>pflag</i> | <i>pflē g um</i> | <i>-pflegan</i> | to be used |
| <i>quedan</i> | <i>quad</i> | <i>quāt um (d)</i> | <i>-quetan (d)</i> | to speak |
| <i>redan</i> | <i>rad</i> | <i>(rāt um)</i> | <i>(-retan)</i> | to sift |
| <i>sehan</i> | <i>sah</i> | <i>sā h um</i> | <i>-sehan (w)</i> | to see |
| <i>gi-skahan</i> | <i>-skah</i> | <i>skā h um</i> | <i>-skahan</i> | to occur |
| <i>stredan</i> | <i>strad</i> | <i>(strāt um)</i> | <i>(-stretan)</i> | to boil |
| <i>tretan</i> | <i>trat</i> | <i>trāt um</i> | <i>-tretan</i> | to tread |
| <i>wewan</i> | <i>wab</i> | <i>wā b um</i> | <i>-weban</i> | to weave |
| <i>wegan</i> | <i>wag</i> | <i>wā g um</i> | <i>-wegan</i> | to weigh |
| <i>ubar-wehan</i> | <i>(-wah)</i> | <i>(-wā h um)</i> | <i>(-wehan)</i> | to conquer |
| <i>wesan</i> | <i>was</i> | <i>wār um</i> | <i>(-weran)</i> | to be |

J-Presents.

| | | | | |
|---------------|------------|----------------|-----------------|--------|
| <i>bitten</i> | <i>bat</i> | <i>bāt um</i> | <i>gi-betan</i> | to beg |
| <i>liggen</i> | <i>lag</i> | <i>lā g um</i> | <i>-legan</i> | to lay |
| <i>sizzen</i> | <i>saz</i> | <i>sāꝝ um</i> | <i>-sezꝝ an</i> | to sit |

VI. Pres. vowel a. Past P. a.

510

| | | | | |
|---------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------|
| <i>bahhan</i> | <i>buoh</i> | <i>buoh hum</i> | <i>gi-bahhan</i> | to bake |
| <i>dwahan</i> | <i>dwuog (h)</i> | <i>dwuog um</i> | <i>-dwagan</i> | to wash |
| <i>galan</i> | <i>guol</i> | <i>guol um</i> | <i>-galan</i> | to sing |
| <i>gnagan</i> | <i>gnuog</i> | <i>gnuog um</i> | <i>-gnagan</i> | to gnaw |
| <i>graban</i> | <i>gruob</i> | <i>gruob um</i> | <i>-graban</i> | to dig |
| <i>hladan</i> | <i>hluod</i> | <i>hluod um</i> | <i>-hladan</i> | to load |
| <i>laffan</i> | <i>luof</i> | <i>luof um</i> | <i>-laffan</i> | to lick |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>lahan</i> | <i>luog (h)</i> | <i>luogum</i> | <i>gi-lahan</i> | to blame |
| <i>malan</i> | <i>muol</i> | <i>muolum</i> | <i>-malan</i> | to grind |
| <i>sahhan</i> | <i>suoh</i> | <i>suohhum</i> | <i>-sahhan</i> | to quarrel |
| <i>skaban</i> | <i>skuob</i> | <i>skuobum</i> | <i>-skaban</i> | to rub |
| <i>slahan</i> | <i>sluog (h)</i> | <i>sluogum</i> | <i>-slagan</i> | to strike |
| <i>snahhan</i> | <i>snuoh</i> | <i>snuohum</i> | <i>-snahhen</i> | to creep |
| <i>spanan</i> | <i>spuon</i> | <i>spuonum</i> | <i>-spanan</i> | to tempt |
| <i>stantan</i> | <i>stuont</i> | <i>stuontum</i> | <i>-stantan</i> | to stand |
| <i>tragan</i> | <i>truog</i> | <i>truogum</i> | <i>-tragan</i> | to carry |
| <i>(gi-wahan)</i> | <i>wuog (h)</i> | <i>wuogum</i> | <i>-wagan</i> | to mention |
| <i>wahsan</i> | <i>wuohs</i> | <i>wuohsum</i> | <i>-wahsan</i> | to grow |
| <i>waskan</i> | <i>wuosk</i> | <i>wuoskum</i> | <i>-waskan</i> | to wash |
| <i>watan</i> | <i>wuot</i> | <i>wuotum</i> | <i>-watan</i> | to wade |

J-Presents.

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|
| <i>heffen</i> | <i>huob (f)</i> | <i>huobum</i> | <i>gi-haban</i> | to lift |
| <i>skepfen</i> | <i>skuof</i> | <i>skuofum</i> | <i>-skaffan</i> | to create |

REDUPLICATING VERBS

511 (a) Pret. Vowel *ē* → *ea*, *ia*.

| | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| <i>bāgan</i> | <i>biag</i> | <i>gi-bāgan</i> | to fight |
| <i>bannan</i> | <i>bian</i> | <i>-bannan</i> | to ban |
| <i>blantan</i> | <i>bliant</i> | <i>-blantan</i> | to blend |
| <i>blāsan</i> | <i>blias</i> | <i>-blāsan</i> | to blow |
| <i>brātan</i> | <i>briat</i> | <i>-brātan</i> | to roast |
| <i>fāhan</i> | <i>fiang</i> | <i>-fangan</i> | to seize |
| <i>faldan (t)</i> | <i>fiald (t)</i> | <i>-faltan (d)</i> | to fold |
| <i>fallan</i> | <i>fial</i> | <i>-fallan</i> | to fall |
| <i>gangan</i> | <i>giang</i> | <i>-gangan</i> | to go |
| <i>hāhan</i> | <i>hiang</i> | <i>-hangan</i> | to hang |
| <i>haltan</i> | <i>hialt</i> | <i>-haltan</i> | to hold |
| <i>heizan</i> | <i>hiaz</i> | <i>-heizan</i> | to call |
| <i>lāzan</i> | <i>liaz</i> | <i>-lāzan</i> | to let |
| <i>meizan</i> | <i>miaz</i> | <i>-meizan</i> | to cut |
| <i>int-rālan</i> | <i>-riat</i> | <i>int-rālan</i> | to fear |
| <i>salzan</i> | <i>sialz</i> | <i>gi-salzan</i> | to salt |
| <i>skaltan</i> | <i>skialt</i> | <i>-skaltan</i> | to push |
| <i>skeidan</i> | <i>skiad</i> | <i>-skeidan</i> | to part |
| <i>slāfan</i> | <i>sliaf</i> | <i>-slāfan</i> | to sleep |
| <i>spaltan</i> | <i>spialt</i> | <i>-spaltan</i> | to cleave |
| <i>spannan</i> | <i>spian</i> | <i>-spannan</i> | to span |
| <i>sweifan</i> | <i>swiaf</i> | <i>-sweifan</i> | to twist |
| <i>walkan</i> | <i>wialk</i> | <i>-walkan</i> | to full |
| <i>walzan</i> | <i>wialz</i> | <i>-walzan</i> | to roll |
| <i>fir-wāzan</i> | <i>-wiaz</i> | <i>fir-wāzan</i> | to curse |
| <i>zeisan</i> | <i>zias</i> | <i>gi-zeisan</i> | to pluck |

J-Present.

| | | | |
|-------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>erien (rr)</i> | <i>iar</i> | <i>gi-aran</i> | to plough |
|-------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|

(b) Pret. Vowel eo, io.

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------|
| <i>bluoꝝan</i> | <i>blioꝝ</i> | <i>gi-bluoꝝan</i> | to sacrifice |
| <i>būan</i> | (<i>būta</i>) | (<i>-buan</i>) | to swell |
| <i>fluohhan</i> | | <i>-fluohhan</i> | to curse |
| <i>hloufan</i> | <i>hliof</i> | <i>-hloufan</i> | to run |
| <i>houwan</i> | <i>hio</i> | <i>-houwan</i> | to hew |
| <i>hruofan</i> | <i>hriof</i> | <i>-ruofan</i> | to call |
| <i>skrōtan</i> | <i>skriot</i> | <i>-skrōtan</i> | to cut |
| <i>stōꝝan</i> | <i>stioꝝ</i> | <i>-stōꝝan</i> | to thrust |
| <i>wuofan</i> | <i>wiof</i> | <i>-wuofan</i> | to cry |

NON-GRADED VERBS

512

I. (a) Without Vowel change, Pret. suffix -ita.

| | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------|
| <i>dennen</i> | <i>dēnita</i> | <i>gi-dēnit</i> | to stretch |
| <i>frewen (ou)</i> | <i>frewita (ou)</i> | <i>-frewit (ou)</i> | to rejoice |
| <i>frummen</i> | <i>frumita</i> | <i>-frumit</i> | to profit |
| <i>knussen</i> | <i>knusita</i> | <i>-knusit</i> | to crush |
| <i>nerien</i> | <i>nerita</i> | <i>-nerit</i> | to save |

&c.

(b) Without Vowel change, Pret. suffix -ta.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|------------|
| <i>hōren</i> | <i>hōrta</i> | <i>gihōrit (-hōrtēr)</i> | to hear |
| (<i>gi</i>) <i>louben</i> | <i>-loubta (p)</i> | <i>-loubit (-loubtēr)</i> | to believe |
| <i>sāen</i> | <i>sāta</i> | <i>-sāit (-sātēr)</i> | to sow |
| <i>suohhen</i> | <i>suohla</i> | <i>-suohit (-suohtēr)</i> | to seek |
| <i>wīhen</i> | <i>wīhta</i> | <i>-wīhit (-wīhtēr)</i> | to hallow |

&c.

(c) With Vowel change, Pret. suffix -ta.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>brennen</i> | <i>branta</i> | <i>gi-brennit (-branter)</i> | to burn |
| <i>decken</i> | <i>dahta</i> | <i>-deckit (-dahtēr)</i> | to cover |
| <i>dempfen</i> | <i>dampfta</i> | <i>-dempfit (-dampftēr)</i> | to moderate |
| <i>feslen</i> | <i>fasta</i> | <i>-festit (-fastēr)</i> | to fasten |
| <i>heften</i> | <i>hafta</i> | <i>-heftit (-haftēr)</i> | to fasten |
| <i>hengen</i> | <i>hangta</i> | <i>-hengit (-hangtēr)</i> | to hang |
| <i>merren</i> | <i>marta</i> | <i>-merrit (-martēr)</i> | to hinder |
| <i>refsen</i> | <i>rafsta</i> | <i>-refsit (-rafstēr)</i> | to blame |
| <i>retten</i> | <i>ratta (retita)</i> | <i>-rettit (-rattēr)</i> | to save |
| <i>sezzen</i> | <i>sazta</i> | <i>-sezsit (-saztēr)</i> | to set |
| <i>stellen</i> | <i>stalta</i> | <i>-stellit (-staltēr)</i> | to place |
| <i>stepfen</i> | <i>stapfta</i> | <i>-stepfit (-stapftēr)</i> | to pace |
| <i>sterken</i> | <i>starkta</i> | <i>-sterkit (-starktēr)</i> | to strengthen |
| <i>trenken</i> | <i>trankta</i> | <i>-trenkit (-tranktēr)</i> | to water |
| <i>welzen</i> | <i>walza</i> | <i>-welzit (-walzēr)</i> | to roll |
| (<i>gi</i>) <i>wemmen</i> | <i>wamta</i> | <i>-wemit (-wamtēr)</i> | to stain |
| <i>werten</i> | <i>wanta</i> | <i>-wentit (-wantēr)</i> | to turn |
| <i>werten</i> | <i>warta</i> | <i>-wertit (-wartēr)</i> | to injure |
| <i>zellen</i> | <i>zalta (zelita)</i> | <i>-zellit (-zaltēr)</i> | to count |

Polysyllabic.

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| <i>bouhhanen</i> | <i>bouhhanta</i> (<i>bouhhnita</i>) | <i>gi-bouhh(i)nit</i> | to sign |
| <i>garwen</i> | <i>garwita</i> (<i>garota</i>) | <i>-gar(a)wit</i> | to prepare |
| <i>heilazen</i> | <i>heilezta</i> (or <i>-ita</i>) | <i>-heilizit</i> | to greet |
| | | &c. | |

II. Pret. suffix -ōta.

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------|----------|
| <i>dankōn</i> | <i>dankōta</i> | <i>gi-dankōt</i> | to thank |
| <i>dionōn</i> | <i>dionōta</i> | <i>-dionōt</i> | to serve |
| <i>richisōn</i> | <i>richisōta</i> | <i>richisōt</i> | to rule |
| | | &c. | |

III. Pret. suffix -ēta.

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|-----------|
| <i>folgēn</i> | <i>folgēta</i> | <i>gi-folgēt</i> | to follow |
| <i>harēn</i> | <i>harēta</i> | <i>-harēt</i> | to call |
| <i>sorgēn</i> | <i>sorgēta</i> | <i>-sorgēt</i> | to sorrow |
| | | &c. | |

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INDEXES

(The numbers refer to the sections. *n* = note or notes.)

I. SANSKRIT

abharan 291
abharata 291
ádanam 316
adhām 310
ádmi 56, 79
ahám 104, 454
ájras 80
aparám 168
áparas 168
ápas 168
asmi 289
aṣṭáu 74, 251
ásti 74
ásvas 77
áyas 86

bahus 66
bándhanam 67
bharāmi 56, 66
bhāranti 291
bharatha 291, 327
bhārēt 105
bhedāmi 66
bhrātar 66, 73, 251

catvāras 73
cid 474
cirás 77

dadhāmi 56, 67
dākṣiṇas 79
dāmas 79
damáyati 79
dán 73
dāśa 75, 170, 250
dēhī 68
dhānva 98
didēśa 87
dirghás 69
diśāti 75

dróghas 70
drúhyati 70
duhitár 67
dus 79
dvār 67

gáčchāmi 82
gamayām āsa 310
gamayāmi cakara 310
gaús 81
gharmá 90

han-ti 90
hānus 98
hāris 68
hāsás 68
hyás 68

jāmbhas 80
jānāmi 56, 80
jānas 80
jānghā 69
jānis 82
járate 81
jivás 82
juṣ- 80

kā 474
kād 77, 474
kāntā 413
kāntēna 475
kapatī 76
kravís 76

laghus 70
limpāti 85

mādhyas 67
mahānt- 80
mām 454

mātár- 85, 251
mēnuḥ 300
mṛjati 80

nabhas 66
nagnás 82
nakhás 65
naktis 74
nápāt 71, 105
nas 455
naús 111
náva 109

pac- 299
pād 71, 79, 261
pāñca 71
papaca 299
pásu- 71
pēcuh 299
piś-atás 75
pitár- 56, 71, 85, 248
pitaram 262
pūrñás 97
purús 71

rājñām 434
ric- 77
ṛkṣas 250
rudhiráh 67

sa, sā 466, 468
sādas 79
santi 262
saptá 85, 104
śatám 56, 73, 75
satyás 107
sehas 86
skhalāmi 65

smuśā 86
sphaś- 72
sphāṭali 62
śrāyati 75
śru- 75
śrāti- 75
sthagayati 81
stighnōmi 69
śvā 75
svāsṛ- III
śvaśrūs 86, 170
śvāsuras 75, 170

tād 105, 466
tam. tās 466, 468

tāmīsrā III
tānōmi 73
tanús 73
tasmai 461, 467
tasyai 468
tē 467
tiṣṭha 298
trāyas 56, 73, 108
ṛṭiyas 85
tudāti 293, 302
tul- 73
tvām 73

ud 105
udān- 79, 102

ūpa 168
upāri 168

vahāmi 68
vayām 455
vēda 79, 297, 312, 372
vētha 312
vidhāvā 67
vittha 63
vṛkas 90

yīvan- 103
yīyām 457

II. GREEK

ἀγρός 80
 ἄγχι 68
 ἄγχω 56
 αἰτεῖ 86
 ἀκούω 251
 ἀμέλγω 80
 ἀνδρός 110
 ἀνεψιός 71
 ἄρκτος 250
 ἀσκηθής 63
 ἀστήρ 147
 ἄττα 145 n

βαίνω 82
 βαίτη 78
 βίος 82
 βλέπω 78
 βούς 81, 167

γένος 80, 451
 γένυς 98
 γεύω 80
 γηρύω 81
 γιγνώσκω 56, 80
 γόμφος 80
 γυνή 82

δάκρυ 75
 δαμάω 79

δέδορκα 264
 δείκνυμι 75, 79, 257
 δέκα 75, 170, 250
 δεκάς 170
 δεξιός 79
 δέρκομαι 264
 δεῦρο 503
 δυσ- 79
 δῶμα 79

ἐγώ 104
 ἐδόθης 311
 ἔδομαι 56
 ἔδος 79
 ἔδω 79
 ἔθην 310
 εἰλήλουθα 264
 εἰμί 289
 ἑκατόν 56, 73, 75
 ἑκυρός 75
 ἐλάχιστος 488
 ἐλεύσομαι 264
 ἐμέγε 453, 454
 ἐννεφα 108
 ἔξει 315
 ἐπίβδαι 95
 ἐπίσκοπος 156
 ἐπτά 85, 107
 ἔρρωγι 308

ἐρυθρός 67
 ἐστί 74, 147
 ζευκτός 95
 ζυγόν 95, 258, 282

ἡγεμών 431
 ἦδε 471 n
 ἡδίων 488
 ἡίθεος 67
 ἡλιος 102, 103
 ἡλυθον 264,
 ἡμέρα 110

θεά 413-14
 θρέξομαι 63
 θυγάτηρ 67
 θύρα 67

ιδεῖν 372
 ἵππον 396
 ἵππος 77, 394, 398
 ἴστημι 74, 147

κάμνω 294
 καρδιά 75
 κέκλοφα 294, 298
 κλέπτῃς 99

- κλίνω 75
κλίζω 75
κμέλεθρον 102
κολωνός 97
κράτιστος 488
κρατύς 85, 153
κρέας 76
κύμβος 78
κίων 75
κώπη 76
- λείπω 77, 262, 264,
313
λυθείην 314
λυκός 90
- μάτηρ 251
μεγάλος 102
μέδομαι 79
μέμβλωκα 110
μέμνημαι 372
μεσημβρία 110
μέσος 67
μῆν 252
μήτηρ 85
μινύθω 98
μολεῖν 110
- ναῖς 111
νεφέλη 66
νίξ 74
νιός 86
- ὄ, ἦ, τό 105, 466-7
ὄδε 471
ὄδους 73, 317
(Ἔ)οῖδα 63, 79, 251,
282, 297, 372
ὀκτώ 74, 251
ὀμαλός 102
ὄνιξ 65
ὄχος 68
ὄψις 261
- παλαιότερος 488
πάπας 156
πατέομαι 101
πατήρ 56, 71, 85, 153,
248, 260, 261, 440,
442-3
πέμπε 96
πενθερός 67
πέντε 71, 90, 96, 282
πέποιθα 298, 304
πέπονθα 298
πέφυγα 298
πήχυσ 66
πλείστος 488
πλέων 488
πόθεν 77
ποικίλος 75
ποιμήν 431
πολύ 71
πολής 264, 488
πόρκος 71
ποιός 71, 79, 95
πτύω 72, 147
πυξίς 156
πώς 261
- ρήγγνμι 308
ρήτορα 443
ρίζα 79
- σιναρός 110
σινδρός 110
σκέπτομαι 147
σκιά 75, 147
σπαίρω 72, 147
στέγω 81
στείχω 69, 257, 270,
293
στίζω 147
στραβός 477
στράβων 477
στρέφω 166
στροφέω 166
σίγχε 457
- σύμβολον 96
συνέρχεσθαι 96
- ταναφός 73
τανίω 98
τείνω 73
τέσσαρες 73
τίθημι 56, 67, 385
τλήναι 73
τόδε 471 η
τρεις 56, 73
τρέμω 166
τρέπω 166
τρέχω 63
τρίβω 302
τρομέω 166
τροπέω 166
τύ 73
- ὔδωρ 79, 102
ὑπέρ 168
ὑπό 168
- φᾶγός 251
φέροι 105
φέρω 56, 66, 260, 283,
291-3, 317, 327
φεύγω 92, 262, 298, 314
φηγός 66
φόρος 260
φράζω 62
φράτωρ 66, 73, 251, 442
φύω 382
φώρ 260
- χανδάνω 69
χέω 68
χῆν 68
χθές 68
χλωρός 68
χόρτος 68
- ᾠψ 261

III. LATIN

- abdo* 95
ad 105
aes 86
aevum 86
ager 80
allior 488
ango 56
anser 68
aperio 95
aqua 77, 86
assessor, -trix 101
atta 145 n

bēta 267
bicārium 277
bos 81
breve 267

calumniā 102
canis 75
cannabis 78
cano 76
capio 71, 76, 299
caput 76
Cato 431, 432, 477
catus 477
cavea 239
cēlare 264
census 178
centum 56, 73, 75
cis 461, 473
clino 75
clocca 156
clueo 75
cluo 75
collis 97
con 153 n, 334
confero 334
cor 75
cruor 76
cum 86, 153 n, 334
cuminum 102
cuprum 116, 258, 280
curtus 203
custos 95

dacruma 75
datus 261, 262
dea 413
decem 75, 250
dens 73, 262, 317
dexter 79
diabolus 177, 258
dīco 75, 79, 257
dictāre 277
dīs 79
discus 277
domo 79
domus 79
donāre 261
duco 75

eadem 469
edo 56, 79, 252
ego 104, 257, 453
ejus 464
electuarium 238
emo, emptus 110
equus 77, 384, 396, 398
est 74, 257
eundem 96
exāmen 261
exi 315

fācere 56, 67
fāginus 457
fāgus 66, 251
(pater-)familiās 414
fere, ferto 315
fero 56, 66, 291, 293, 317
figere 68
findo 66
forāre 295
forēs 67
frāter 66, 73, 251, 264
fructūs 251
fui 382
fundo 68

garrio 81
gens 257
genuīnus 98
genus 80
gnosco 56, 80
gusto 80, 258

habēre 64
hasta 95
helvus 68
heri 68
hīscō 68
homo 68, 283
hortus 68
hostis 69, 251, 282

idem, isdem 104, 469
iens, euntis 317
instigo 147
ipsa 468
is, ea, id 461
istud, istum 105, 466

jungo 95, 304
juniorē 488
juvenis 103
juventa 103

lacrima 75
lectus 69
linquo 77, 294, 304
longus 69
lubricus 78

magnus 80, 102
maiōr 488
māter 85, 251
meditor 79
medius 67, 257, 277
memini 372
mensa 253
mensis 252
mentha 257
mēs 267

mēsa 253
meto 100
meus 457
minuo 98
mulgeo 80
mūra 270
murmurāre 230

nāvis 111
nebula 66
nepos 71
nūdus 277
nomina 434
nos 455
noster 458
novem 108
nōvi 372
nox 74, 251
nūdus 82
nurus 86

octo 74, 251
ōdi 261, 305, 372
offendimentum 67
offerre 193
oīnos 251
operāri 193
opus 168, 451

pango 304
pater 56, 71, 85, 262,
 443-4
patior 100
paucus 171
pavo 142
pecu 71, 277, 282
pellis 97
peregrīnus 230
pēs 71, 79, 257, 261
pīrum 156
piscis 71, 147, 277
pix 156, 193, 277
plecto 294
plenus 97
plus 71, 264
pondus 142
porcus 71
posco 147
praehendo 69

predicāre 156, 193
psalmum 193
psittacus 193
pumex 156
puleus 116, 142

quattuor 73
qui 466
quid 474
quidem 104
quies 77
quinque 71, 96
quod 77, 105, 474
quum 104

rādix 79
rego 261
remus 267
rēx 261
ruber 67
rufus 251
rumpo 294
rūpi 294

salba 295
scindo 304
scōla 268
scribo 95
se 459
seco 76
sedeo 79, 100, 252, 254,
 257
sentis 257
septem 85, 104, 107,
 153 n, 277
septendecim 96
sessum 100
siem 291, 314
signum 277
sim 314
similis 102
socer 75
sol 102
sons 317
specio 72, 147
speculum 267
sperno 72, 147, 294
spondeo 298
spuo 72, 147

stō 74, 147
Suēbi 265
suānus 270
sumo 110
sunt 262, 289
supercilium 264
suspicio 107

tacēre 355
lego 81
legula 178, 266
tendo 73
tenebrae 111
tenuis 73, 98
tertius 85, 499
tollo 73
trabs 56, 78
traduco 107
tres 56, 73
tu 73
tum 104
tuus 457

ultimus 489
-umnia 102
-umque 259
unda 79
undecim 493
unguis 65
unus 251
ursus 250
utor 100

veho 68, 327
velit 105, 257
venio 82
ventus 257, 277
vībro 78
vices 277
video 79, 372
vidua 67, 277
vinco 76, 109, 259
vivārium 243
vīvus 82
vocāre 261
vōx 261

IV. GOTHIC

abna 434
afar 168
afliſnan 168
afſtaſs, uſtaſs 101
afuma 489
aggwus 56, 68
agis 124
ahs 171
ahtáu 74, 251, 283
ahva 77, 86, 171, 242
aih, aigum 160, 372
aihts 271
aíhva tundi 77, 169
ainōhun 413
ains 251, 271
airpa kunds 320
airzeis 185
aíppáu 210, 231
áiw 276
áiz 86
ak 280
akrs 80, 285
alls 319
alpeis, alpiza 169, 488
ana-busns 101
and- 286
and-beitan 286
ansts 424
aqizi 120
arbáips 124
arbi 124
asans 171
at 105, 286
atta 145
augjan 109
augō 109, 150
aúhns 90
aúhsan, aúhsnē 264,
 433, 434
áukan 140, 273, 306,
 307
áusō 125, 126, 171

badi 152
bagms 109

bái 272
bairan 56, 66, 105,
 114, 151, 209, 261,
 344
báitrs 120, 285
barn 319
bart 63
batis 504
batiza 139, 284, 492
bauan 251
beidan 101, 122, 150,
 293
báiþ 298
beitan 66, 178
bērusjōs 261
bidjan 118, 152, 294,
 296, 304, 316
baþ 304
bidei 315
bigitan 69
bileiban 168
binah 372
bindan 67, 114, 152,
 264, 340
biudan 101, 150, 301
báup, budum 160, 301
báust 101
biugan 273, 301
báug, bugum 262, 264
biutan 275
bliiggwan 103, 244, 338
blinds 283, 476, 485
blōtan, blōstreis 101
bōka 66, 251, 268
bōta 139
brinnan, brunsta 98
brōþar 66, 73, 251,
 264, 267, 441, 442,
 443
brukjan 304
bugjan 284, 363
baúhts 320

dags 131, 394-400
dáigs 68

dáils 271
dáug 372
dauhtar 67, 114, 152
dáuþeins 439
dáuþjan 273
daúr 67
dáuþs 169
dáuþus 169, 273
-dēdum 311
deigan 68
digan 293, 303
dius 126
dōmjan, dōmei 119, 315

eisarn 171
ētum 265

fadar 56, 71, 85, 248,
 442-4
fāhan 259
fáihš 75
fáihu 72, 282
faír 286
faírguni 170
faírhus 171
falþan 306
far 315
faran 264, 305, 306,
 318, 349
faúr 286
fawái 171
fidwōr 73, 91
fijands 317
filhan 160, 318
filleins 97
filu 72
finf 71, 90, 91, 96,
 282
fisks 72, 147
flōðus 268
flōkan 352
fōðjan 101
fōtus 71, 79, 139, 261
fra 286

fráihnan 294, 296, 316
fráh 294, 296
fráistubni 102, 160
framaldrs 169
fráhjan 169
frawairpan 166
frawardjan 166
frēt 252, 347
frijōn 103
frijōnds 317, 446
frōdei 169
fruma 489
fugls 285
fulgins 160, 318
fullnan 355
fulls 97, 253, 262

ga- 86, 286
gabairan 334
ga-bairps 253
gadars 372
ga-daúrsta 309
gadēps 56, 67
gadigis 68
gaggan 69
gahabáida 334
ga-hvōljan 101
galáusida 334
ga-leiks 140
ga-lūkan 140, 303
gamínji 107
gamōt 372
gamunds 169
gagiman 334
ga-qiss 101
gards 68, 124
garinman 334
gaslēpan 334
gasōþjan 169
gastaúrknan 295
gasts 69, 131, 153, 251,
 282, 420, 421
ga-swultans 108
gatamjan 79
gateihan 75, 79, 257
gatwō 130
gaparban 168
gapaúrnsnan 295
gawidan 101

ga twigan 68
gawiss 101, 320
gazds 95
giba 124, 411-15
giban 95, 99, 124, 149,
 153, 264, 301, 346
gaft 63, 99
gif 315
gifts 95, 99
gistra- 68
giutan 68, 139
glaggwō 103, 244, 484
gōdakunds 320
gōps 122, 268, 492
greipan 138, 262
gráip, gripum 262
grētan 352
gulþeins 457
guma 68

haban 64, 317, 355
habái 314
habáips 320
haffjan 71, 76, 296,
 304, 306
hāhan 259, 352
haiháit 267, 300
haihald 266
hailjan 314, 355
haiils 271
haiurdeis 405
hairtō 75, 144, 430,
 435
haitan 139, 300, 306,
 352
haldan 306, 318, 352
halja 118
hallus 97
hana 76, 264, 430-5
hardus 85, 108
háubip 76, 122, 124,
 149, 209, 273
háuhs 170, 273, 488
háusjan 119, 251, 284
hawei 103
hazjan 126
hēr 253
hidrē 253
hilms 264

hilpan, halp 143, 264,
 301
himinakunds 320
himins 102, 234
hiri 315
hiuhma 170
hlaþ 298
hlahjan 228, 296
hláifs 271
hláins 75
hláupan 307
hliftus 99
hliup 75
hlūtrs 75, 120, 148
hneiwān 109
hrōþjan 304
hugjan 118
hūhrus 259
hulundi 317
hund 56, 73, 75, 253
hunds 75
huzd 95, 126
hwa 77, 106
hwairban 168
hwárw 276
hwárwā 474
hwammēh 398, 467
hwan 104
hwarbōn 168
hwas 132, 474
hwassaba 101
hwē 398
hweila 77
hwī-leiks 474
hwōpan 307, 318

ibns 102, 285
ik 104, 453
im 289, 291, 382, 383
in- 286
in-brannjan 286
innuma 489
is, ita 132, 460, 461
ist 74, 147, 257, 291
itan 56, 79, 139, 178,
 316

jah 280
jáins 472

- juggs* 109, 259
jühiza 109, 259, 284, 490
juk 140, 282
jus 132, 456
- kann* 56, 80, 372
káurn 145
káust 63
kinnus 98
kiusan 80, 125, 126
knüu 409
-kunds 320
kuni 80, 405
kunþa 309, 311
kunþs 320
kusts 258
- laggs* 69
lagjan, lagþs 118, 355
láis 125, 166, 372
láisjan 125, 126
lamb 114
lats 308
láuhmuni 170
láun 273
leiban 85
leihvan, laiþv 77, 228, 242, 271
leitils 144, 492
létan 139, 264, 265, 308, 318
lailöt 264
ligan 69, 128, 296
liugn 319
liuhaps 275
liuhtjan 275
lusans 126
- mag* 95, 99, 300, 361, 372
magapi 169
magus 109
mahts 95, 320
maihstus 226
máis 132, 504
máiza 126, 271, 492
malan 260
man 300, 372
- managei* 439
managíza 488
manasēþs 98
manna 98, 434, 448
marzjan 185
mats 181, 282
maúrgins 124
marwi 109
meins 464
meiþan 101
mēna 106, 252, 265
mēnōþs 106
mērs 265
mēs 253
midjis 67, 257
miduma 205
mikils 80, 492
miluks 80, 140
minniza 98, 492
mins 504
mis 132, 453, 455
missa 101
mitan 139
mitaps 106
mitōn 79
mizdo 266
möl 260
mulda 260
munda 309
- nahls* 74, 251, 450
namna 434
namnjan 304
naqaps 82, 120
nasjan, nasjis 119, 122, 128
nasida, nasips 122, 284, 320
nati 144
náudi-bandi 169
náuhjan 169
nēhv 242
nēhvidēdun 228
niman 293, 301, 315, 321, 329-31, 333, 344
namt 63
nēmi 314
nimanda 317
- niun, niunda* 104, 108
niutan 139
numans 301
- ōg* 372
- páida* 78, 142
- qáirnus* 277
qast 101
qap, qēþun 300
qiman 82, 345
qinō, qēns 82, 261
qius 82
- ráus* 171, 273
ráuþs 67, 251
razda 126
rēdan 265
reiki 140
rinnan 98
riqis 120
rūna 270
runs 98
- sa* 465, 466
sái 271, 466
saíþvan 171, 228, 242, 346
sáir 271
sáirwala 242
sáirws 86, 271
salbō 314
salbōn 310-12, 320, 355
salþþwa 130
sama 472
samana 102
sandjan 169
satjan 144
saps 169
sauil 102
seins 464
sētum 252, 254
si 460, 462, 464
sibja 118, 151
sibun 85, 104, 107, 149

- sidus* 122
siggwan 70, 115, 130,
 153
sigqan 130, 304
sijau 314
sik 459
silba 151, 472
sind 262, 289
sinþs 107, 169, 257
sitan 79, 128, 144,
 257, 296
siukei 275
siuks 99, 140
siuns 171
skáidan, skaiskáiþ 205,
 298
skal 65, 300, 372
skalt 297
skulda 309
skama 96
skanda 96
skapjan 118, 142, 296
skatts 144
skapjan 63
skeinan 75, 147
skildus 277, 282
skip 138
skuggwa 103, 244
sképan 138, 298
saislþ 298
sliupan 78, 138
snáirws 409
sniumundōs 132
snitwan 103
snutr 120
sō 413, 465, 468
sōkeis 294
sōkjan 140
speiwan 72, 147
spilda 62
stairnō 147, 185
staldan 298
staistald 298
standan 74, 101, 147,
 294, 304, 316
stōþ 294, 304, 350
stáutan 273, 352
steig 315
steigan 69, 124, 150,
- 257, 264, 270, 293,
 301, 335
stibna 98, 102
stiggan 130, 304
stikan 147
stōjan 108
sugil 103
sunus 425-8
sunáus 251
sunjis 107, 317
sunnō 102
swaþhra 75, 170
swaleiks 472
swaran 128
sweiban 90
sweins 270
swinþs 488
swistr III
- tagrs* 75, 144, 170
taihswa 79, 226
taihun 75, 104, 170
táikns 140, 144, 271
lauh 273
lauhht 63
tēkan 308
tigus 170, 496
tim(b)rgan 79, III
tiuhan 75, 144, 273,
 275, 337
trauan 251
triggwaba 103
trudan 293, 303, 348
tuggō 144, 430-5
tunþus 73, 144, 253,
 262, 317
tuz- 79, 286
twái 272
twaddjē 103, 236
twalif 168
twelfs 148
þagkjan 99, 259, 363
þáhts 320
þái. See *sa*
þan 104
þana 104
þanjan 73
þarf, þarft 160, 168,
 297, 372
- þaurban* 160, 168, 198,
 309
þaurfls 320
þaurþ 56, 78
þē 398, 465-6
þei 106
þeihan 259
þeina 456
þiuda 150
þiwi 419
þragjan 63
þreihan 259, 304
þreis 56, 73, 108
þridja 85, 499
þu 73, 132, 456, 457
þugkjan 270, 284
þulan 73
- ubils* 149, 492
-ubni 102, 160
uf, ufar 168
-ufni 102, 160
uf-rakjan 145
ugk 459
uh 259
ūhtwō 130
us- 286
usbeisns 101
uslukns 319
usstass 101
us-wakjan 145
uswiss 101
ūt 105
- waddjus* 103
wái 272
wáips 78
wáirþan 143, 301
wáirs 504
wáirsiza 492
wáirþan 340
wáit 79, 139, 251, 282,
 297, 312, 372
waldufni 102, 160
waljan 389
warmjan 90, 91
watō 79, 102, 107, 435
waúrd 404
waúrhts 320

waúrkan 355, 361
waúrstu 107
waúrts 79
wēihan 76, 109, 170,
 259
weis 101, 132, 453-8
wēnjan 355
wēpna 138
wēduwō 67

wīgans 170
wilda 388
wileis 131, 291, 314
wili 105, 257, 291
wiljáu 388
winds 257
wintrus 148, 285
wisan 382-3

wissa 101
witan 101, 277
wilts 189
wrikan 189
wrōhjan 189
wulfs 90
wulla 97
wullan 303

V. OLD NORSE

akr 80
apaldr 190
aptan 107
at 105
átta 74
áuka, iók 307

bar 300
bera 66
binda 67
bíta 66
bitr 120
bógr 66
bók 66
borinn 318
bōru 300, 312
bróðir 66, 73
brotna 295
bruni 98

dād 67
dagr 131, 400
dóltir 67
draugr 70
dýr 126
dýrr 67

egg 236
eir 86
ek 104, 257, 453
cla 79
cyra 126

faðir 71, 85
farip 327
fé 71
fíf 71
fiskr 71
fjall 97
fjöl 71
fjörir 73
flaumr 109
flýja 109
fólginn 318
fóstr 101
fótr 71, 79
fótr (pl.) 448
Frigg 103
frærin 126
fullr 97

gafi 63
ganga 69
garðr 68
geimi 102
gestr 69, 131
gests 421
geta 69
gina 68
gjóta 68
gloggr 103, 244
gós 68
gulr 68
gumi 68
hallr 97

halr 106
hamr 106
hani 76
hanpr 78
harðr 85
hefja 71, 76
heila 300
hifne (dat.) 102
hjarta 75
hlaupa 307
hljóð 75
hnúga 109
hofuð 76
höggva 103, 244
hóðr 106
hrafn 98
hrár 76
hund 73, 75
hundr 75
hvat 77, 105, 106
hvíla 77
hyggja 118

igær 68

jer 457
jör 77

kamb 80
kann 80
kinn 98
kjósa 80
koma 82, 303, 345

kona 82
kuðr 320
kunnr 320
kváð 300
 kváðu 300
kvíkr 82
kyn 80
kyr 81

langr 69
leggja 118
liggja 69
ljá 77
lógi 170
lúka 303

máni 106
mærr 109
meta 79
miðr 67
minni 107
mjök 80
mjólk 80
mjotuðr 106
móðir 85
mógr 109
mónoðr 106

nagl 65
namt 63
nefi 71, 105
niðheimr 66
nökkveðr 82, 129
nökkvi 111, 129
nór 111
nóll 74

ó 77, 86
rauðr 67

rökkv 120
róa, rera 300
rugr 121
runi 98

sær 86
sá, sera 300
sasi 469
silja 79
sjau 85
skal 65
skarpr 218
skedja 63
skuggi 103
slitna 295
snotr 120
snöggr 103
snær 86
snua, snera 300
sökkva 130
sólum 254
spá 72
spjalða 62
sporna 72
spýja 72
standa 74
stíga 69
stóð 350
stökkva 130
straumr 111
súga 303
svaþva 129
sygel 103
syngva 70, 130
syster 111

taka 308
tár 75

temja 79
timbra 79, 111
tindr 317
tiu 75
tjá, 1 (= *dicere*) 75, 79
tjá, 2 (= *ducere*) 75
tölfræðr 493
tonn 73, 317
tor- 79
troða 303
tryggr 103
tveggja 236
tvysva 132

þak 81
þat 105, 466
þatsi 471
þenja 73
þola 73
þrall 63
þriði 85
þrír 73
þryngva 130
þú 73
þunnr 73, 98

urt 79
üt 105

valn 79, 102
vega 68
veggr 103
veigr 76
veit 79
vera 382
vill 131, 388
-vis 320
vöþvi 129

VI. OLD SAXON AND LOW FRANCONIAN

- aþaro* 168
acus 120
aldrom 491
ant-lūkan 140
arþēd 124
ālhōm 205

bed 152
beran 151
berað 327
berēs 314
betaro 139
bīdan 122, 150
biddian 118, 152, 294
bīdi 315
bilīþan 168
bindan 152
bīodan 150
bium 382, 383
bōta 139
bregdan 205

dag 397, 399, 400,
 402
dē 466
dohter 152
dōmī 315

egiso 124
ehu-skalkōs 77
erþi 124
etan 139

farloran 126
farth 209
fiskar 400
fōt 139

gaf 123
gard 124
gast 153
geþa 124
geþan 102, 123, 124,
 149, 153
geþo 417

geþu 415
giotan 139
gil 459
gōd 122
grīpan 138

habða 309
habda 365
hanon 432
heþan 102
hellia 118
helpan 143
hēr 253
herian 126
herro 491
herla 144
hētan 139
hīr 253
hnūgan 109
hōbid 122, 124, 149
hogða 309
hord 126
huggian 118
hwie 474

jungro 491

(gi)koran 126
korn 145
kūð 320

lātan 139
lērian 126
liggian 128, 153
gi-līk 140
luttīl 144

mendian 205
mēro 126
metan 139
morgan 124

neþal 66
neriand 447
nerida 122

nelli 144
niotan 139

ōga 150
ōkian 140
opan 138
ōra 126

pēda 142
penning 175
pund 175

rīki 140

sātum (sētum) 254
scapian 142
sceppian 118
self 151
sellian 238
sēola 242
settian 144
sibbia 118, 151
siþun 149
sidu 122
singan 153
siok 140
sittian 128, 144
skarp 218
skat 144
skēthan 205
skīp 138
slāpan 138
slōþian 138
sōkian 140
slīgan 124, 150
szerian 128

tand 144, 317
tēkan 140, 144
that 466
thē 466
themu 467
then 466
theru 468
thit 472

thin 419
thiod 150
thriiddio 499
(gi)thungan 259
tiohan 144
triuuuu 244
tunga 144

uðar 168
uðil 149
unk 459
ufterthi 209

waldand 447
wāpan 138
weckian 145

werk 145
werpan 143
wēt 139
willio 238
wit 459
wliti 189
wrecan 189

VII. OLD ENGLISH

æcer 80, 285
ædm 205
æfen, æstentid 107
Ælfelm 226
æppel 120
æt 105
æw 86
āz 372
āzend 317
an 372
ān 251
apuldre 120, 190
ār 86

bær, bæron 300, 312,
 318
bana 90
bēam 109
bed(d) 152
(be)-lifan 85, 168
bēodan 150
bēom 382
beran 67, 114, 151
bere, berap 283, 314,
 327, 329
betera 139
bīdan 122, 150
biddan 118, 152
bide 315
bidreōzan 70
bindan 67, 114, 152
bītan 66
bitter 120, 285
**bleōwan* 244
blinde 283
bōc 66, 251, 268

boz 66
bōt 139
brōpor 66, 73, 251,
 268, 442
brūcan 304
bunde 313
byczan, bōhte 363

camb 80
can(n) 80, 372
ceorian 81
cēosan 80, 165
cinn 98
cnafa 121
copor 116, 120
corn 145
corpor 169
cū 81
cuman 82, 303, 345
cūp 320
cūpe 309
cwēn 82
cwepan, cwæp 162,
 300
cwic 82
cynn 80

dæd 67
dæz 131, 397-402
dāz 68
deāg 372
dēazian 90, 91
dēazol 102
dearr 372
deap 169
dēman, dēm 119, 315

dile 128
dohtor 67, 114, 152
draca 121
drēam 70
drinzan 259
dūfan 90, 91
duru 67
dyde 311

ēa 77, 86
ēacan 140
Eadwæcer 130
eafora 168
ēaze 150
eahta 74, 251, 283
eald 169
ealu 106
ēare 125, 126, 171
earfod 124
earnian 171
efen 102, 285
eza 124
enze 68
eoh 77
(æt)-eowian 109
elan, æl 79, 139, 347

fæder 71, 85, 442-4
fāh 75
faran, far, fōr 305, 315
feallan 62, 307
fearh 71
fēa(w) 171
fela (feolu) 71, 264
fell 97
feoh 71

- fēond* 317
fēorh 171
fif 71, 282
firzen 170
fisc 71
fleam 109
fleoƷan 109
fleon 163
folzen 318
fōn 259
for-leosan 165
for-loren 126
fōstor 101
fōt 71, 79, 139, 257,
 261, 448
frēond 317
frēosan 165
frōd 62
fuzol 285
full 97, 253
(mid)fyrwe 171
fyber 73
- ƷanƷan* 69
Ʒe, Ʒit 457, 459
Ʒe- 86
Ʒeard 68, 124
Ʒebyrd 253
Ʒecoren 125, 126
Ʒedōn 319
ƷefriƷnan 296
Ʒelic 140
Ʒenesan 166
Ʒeoc 140, 258, 282
Ʒeofon 102
Ʒeozop 103
Ʒeolo 68
Ʒeostra 68
Ʒēotan 68, 139
Ʒe-scaft 99
Ʒesealfod 320
Ʒepunzen 259
Ʒewis 320
Ʒiefan 123, 124, 149,
 153
Ʒief 315
Ʒiefu 124, 283, 413-
 17
- Ʒiest* 69, 131, 153,
 251, 282, 421
Ʒietan 69
Ʒinan 68
Ʒleaw 103
Ʒōd 122
Ʒōddōnd 317
Ʒōs 68
Ʒrīpan 138
Ʒuma 68, 283
- habban, Ʒehæfd* 64, 320
hælend 317
hæle(b) 106
hæneƷ 78
hama 106
hana 76, 430-5
hara 171
hātan, heht, hēt 139, 300
hēafod 76, 122, 124,
 149
heaƷ 170
hēah 170
heall 97
heard 85
hebban 71, 76
hell 118
helpan 143
hemeƷe 106
heofon 102
heorte 75, 144, 283
heortena 434
hēr 253
herian 126
kettend 317
hīeran 119, 251
hlāford 242
hleapan 307
hleapor 75
hliehhan 227
hlinian 75
hlūttor 75, 120
hmīzan 109
hōn 259
hopian 90, 91
hræfn 98, 121, 232
hræmm 98, 232
hrēaw 76
- hund* 73, 75, 253
hwæt 77, 105
hwīl 77
hwōpan 307
hwōsta 241
hycƷan 118
hyht 90
- ic* 257, 453
ierfe 124
iren 171
is (wesan) 257
- lūcan, lēc, leolc* 300
lædan 166
læran 125, 126, 166
lætan 139
lamb 114
lanƷ 69
lār 283, 413
leon 77, 164
licƷan 69, 127, 128,
 153, 296
licuma 226
līƷ 170
līpan 162, 166
lūcan 140
lunƷer 70
lytel 144
- mæƷ* 372
mæƷden 169
man 372
māra 126
mene 128
meolc 80, 140
mēowle 109
met 106
metan 79, 139
metod 106
midde 67, 257
mīnte 257
mōdor 85, 251
mōna 106
mōnaƷ 106
morzen 124

mot 372
murnan 303
mycel 80

naca 111
nacod 82, 120, 129
næzl 65
nēad 169
nefa 71, 105
neōtan 139
(ze)nered 320
nerian 119, 122, 166
neriend 317
net 144
niht 74, 251
niman 315-317
nime 329
nōwend 111

ofen 90, 91
ofer 168
open 138
oxnum 435

pād 78, 142
penning 175
pund 142, 175
pytt 116, 142
rēad 67, 251
reord 126
rice 140
riðend 317
rycze 153
ryze 121

sæ 86
sæton (sēton) 254
sannian 102
scādan 205
sceal 65, 372
sceolde 309
scearp 218
sceall 144
sceppan 63
scieppan 99, 118, 142
scild 282
scip 138
scripan 162
scūwa 103

seax 76
sēcan 140
seld 130
self 151
sendan 169
sēo 462, 468
sēoc 140
seofon 85, 104, 149
sēon 164
sēoþan 162
settan 144
sib(b) 118, 151
sidu 122
siȝe siȝor 451
sincan 130
sinzan 70, 115, 130,
 153
sittan 79, 128, 144,
 257
sīþ 169
slæpan 138
slēan, slōȝe 163
slūpan 78, 138
snīpan 162
snoru 86
snottor 120
sol 102
specan 231
spīwan 72
spurnan 72, 303
standan, stōd 74, 294,
 350
stefn 102
steorra 185
stīȝ 315
stīzan 69, 124, 150
stīncan 130
strēam 111
sūgan 303
sweor, sweȝer 75, 170
sweostor 111
swerian 128
swōti 241
syȝel 103
symbel 102

tācen 140, 144
teazor 170
tēar 75, 144, 170

temian 79
tēon (dicere) 75, 79,
 257
tēon (ducere) 75, 144,
 163
tīen 75
tīȝe 313
timbrian 79
tīnd 317
tōþ 73, 144, 317
tredan 348
trīewe 103
tuȝe 313
tunȝe 144, 283, 434
twelf 168

þæc 81
þæt 105
þāra 467
þearf, þearft 297, 372
þorfle 309
þencean 99, 259, 363
þenian 73
þeod 150
þeon 163, 259
þolian 73
þon 104
þorp 78
þrida 85, 499
þrīe 73
þrinzan 130
þū, þec 73, 457
þwēan 163
þynne 73

ūhta 130

wæpen 138
wæter 79, 102
wāt 79, 139, 251, 282,
 372
wecce(an) 145
wēzan 68
weorc 145
weorpan 143
weorþan 162
wesan 165, 382
widutwe 67
wīzan 76

wile 257
wind 257
wine 421
winter 285
wit 459

wolde 388
wrecan 189
wulle 97
wyrcean 99

wyrt 79
wyrt-walu 130, 242
yfel 149

VIII. OLD HIGH GERMAN

(For *c*, *ch*, *q*, see under *k*; for *v* under *f*; for *uu* under *w*.)

ab- 286
aba- 286
abali 168
āband 107
abgot 452
abgūtīr 452
abur 168, 198
ackar 80, 214, 285
ackus 120, 242
ādhmōt 205, 359
aer 457, 461
afalōn 168
affoltra, 120, 190
aftar 199, 488, 492
afur 199
agana 226
aha 77, 86, 242
ahha 242
ahir 171, 279, 451
ahla 414
ahlen 364
ahlo 74, 251, 279, 283,
 495
ahtowen 495
ahtozo 496
akar 214
al 141, 481
alles 503
almahūcun 221
alt 169, 205, 490,
 491
(gi-)altmissi 226
altar 205
altari 408
alterōm 491
althrōm 205, 491
alti 279
allteri 206
ambahtita 363

amēr 235
an 378
anagengi 406
anawert 503
ander 208, 279, 480,
 481, 482, 499, 501
angi 56, 68, 489
ango 502, 504
annimo (= *animo*) 234
annuci, see *antluzzi*
anst, (*h*)*ensti* 224, 234,
 424
ant- 286
antluzzi 189, 202
antseidōn 222
apanstōhēm 225
apful 120, 190, 404
ar- 286
ār 86
arabeit 124
arallēn 360
aran 171
araughit 220
(gi)arbitile 363
archa 214
ardampte 191
arhenc 353
arleskan 341
arliotan 339
arm 186, 403, 490
arouge 234
(ar)prahastun 225
aruueranēr 383
arwechu 214
arworpanan 191
aserbo 437
asni 408
ast, see *anst*
ather, see *aftar*

ather (= *ht*) 227
alto 145 *n*
ātum 205
au 424
(ke)auckan 358
augan, see *ougan*
aughidom, see *ougan*
auwa, see *ouwa*
avar 168, 198, 199
awa, see *ouwa*
awi-zoraht 109
azase 200
az 105, 286
āz 252, 265, 347
azzasi 200

ba-, pa- 286
babes 156
backan 294, 349, 351
backo 212
bāen 358
bāgan 352
bahhan, pahanne 351
bahho 212
bannan 352
bano 90
bant 452
bauhnunc 214, 220
baz 504
bēde 272
beh 156, 193, 213, 277,
 404
behhāri 277
beinberga 233
belgan 341
belgi 422
bellan 341

- beran*, Pres. 56, 66,
 114, 151, 209,
 277, 283, 291,
 292, 327, 328, 344
 Past, 300, 312, 314
 Part. 318
berg 220, 403
beru 407
berwan 341
betāri 408 (and note)
betdi (= *ti*) 206
betti 128, 152
bettōn (= *ʃ*) 206
bezen 357
bezziro 139, 284, 491,
 492
bi 399
bi- 286
bīdan 150
biezī 267
(bi)gezgan 69
bigiht 219, 235
biginman 332, 340, 342
bim, see *wesan*
hīminza 193
bīna 175
bīndan 67, 114, 152,
 204, 258, 313, 331,
 340
binnih (= *bīn ih*) 234
biogan 273, 301, 337
bīotan 150, 188, 258,
 275, 276, 337, 339
(gi)bōd 204
bira 156
(gi)birgu 278, 407
birum 383
biruan, see *buan*
biruuūs, see *buan*
bis, see *wesan*
biscof 156, 217, 403
bistu -r 231
bītan 122, 150, 336
bītdiu (= *ti*) 206
bithian (= *bithihan*)
 226
bittar 120, 148, 284,
 285
bīttan, *pīttan*, 118, 152,
 194, 240, 294, 296,
 315, 326, 330, 346,
 348
bīwāppo 196
biz 200
bīzan 66, 178, 336
blā 479, 484
blāen 353, 358
blāian 358
blantan 352, 511
blāsan 352
blat 452
blāwen 358
blāwes 484
blaz (= *ablaz*) 286
blāchan 336
blint 132, 283, 476,
 485, 486
bliuu 338
bliuwan 103, 244, 338
blou, see *bliuwan*
bluchisōe 220, 370
blūcnissa 222
bluhhen 228
bluoan 224, 236, 243,
 358
bluoian 236
bluostar 101
bluowen 243, 358
(gi)blūwan 244, 337,
 338
boohhum 212
(gi)borgenro 487
borōm 295
boug 403
boum 109
brang 342
brātan 352
brāwa 243
brehchanne 213
brehhan 194, 213, 344
bremān 344
brennan 111
brestan 294, 341, 343
bret 452
brettan 205, 341
brief 177, 267
bringan 327, 334, 342
brāhta 342, 363
brinnan 98 *n.* 294,
 340
brōt 205
bruadaren 445
bruather 208
brungan 334, 342
brunia 239, 438
brunna 239
brunst 111
brūochen 270
bruoder 66, 73, 251,
 268, 441-5
brust 450
bū 410
buach 213, 450
būan 243, 354, 356
buhche (= *hh*) 213
buhsa 156
bumis 156
buog 66
buohha 66, 251, 268,
 450
buoz 413
buoza 139
burdin 413, 418, 440
burg 220, 222, 450
burgara 130
Burgund- 317
burio 437
(gi)burt 253
buti 331
butin 440
būwan 251

dā 231
dach, see *tag*
dah 81, 146
dahda 203
dahta 362, 363
dāhta 99, 259, 363
(fir)damnōn 205
danchōēn 370
danchōn 215
dang 215
(chi)danc 214
danne, *denne* 503
danta 503
dār, *dara*, *darot* 503

daranna 234
darbēn 168, 209
darf 297, 313, 376
dorfla 309
daʒ 105, 141, 201,
 465, 466
decken 146, 203, 362,
 363
dehein 228
deismo 226
deit, duit, duat, see *tuon*
denen 73
denken 99, 259, 328,
 363
der 132, 397, 464–8
deser, dhese, disēr 469–
 472
deses 181, 471, 472
dewen 357
dez 211
dezemōn 205
dheodum 418
d(h)rato, drādo 204,
 208
dhuahal 207
dicanne 220
dihan, dīan 163, 226,
 259, 336
dih̄tōn 205, 277
diki 439
dikkamēs 325
dīn, dhīna 482
dinsan 340
dinstar 111
diota 150
diozan 339
dir 132, 456, 457
dirro, see *deser*
dil 141, 202
diu 419
diu, des te 465–8
diufa 168, 199
diufilir 452
diup 275
diʒ 202
dolēn 73
dorf 56, 78, 143, 191,
 402
dorrēn 280

dorstuner 234
drankta 214
dreskan 341
drewen 357
drī, d(h)rīe 56, 73, 108,
 494
driageri 408
drīfalt 500
drigil 63
drim spurtim 501
dringan 130, 259, 304,
 340
driozan 339
driror 501
drisiuuit 203
driske 500
drilto 85, 499
drīzehan 495
drīzzug 496–7
druhdlin, 203
dū, thū, 73, 207, 456
dugidi 204
dūhta 229, 270, 363
(pi)dungan 208, 241,
 243
dungum 343
dunni 73, 98
(er)duompt 366
durfan 168, 198
durfdige 203
durufi, durufiti, thurfteo
 203, 237, 285
duruh, dure, durg 226,
 227
(duruh)siuntlihc 213
dwahan 163, 241, 349,
 350
dweran 344

ēa, ēha, ēwa 86, 243
eban 102, 285, 502
ebene 195
ebur 278
eddo 210
edilink (=g) 219
egeslihc (=h) 213
egiso 124
ehir 279
eht 271

ei 236, 452
eigan 334, 380
eigen, eīs 236
eigenen 487
eiginaz 487
(h)eigun 224, 380,
 486
eih 424
ein 201, 251, 271,
 494
einazzēm, einzen 500
einbēri 404
einboronon 487
einēn 494
ines(t) 501
einizēn 202, 503
einfolto 280
einic 219, 220
einigeru 234
einin 503
einig 500
einlif(stuntōn) 501
einlihc 500
einluzzi 500
einwigi 406
eiris 272
eiscōn 217
(er)eittar 148
eittarghebon 220
eldirōn 205, 490
elfa (= helfa) 226
ellian 237
elliu 279, 481
elo 484
elti 279
emetzīgaz 201
emezzihc 225
(ge)endiōt 237
endriū 279, 481
enēr 235, 472
engi 68, 489
ēnihc 222
ensebben 351
enteōn 359
entero 492
enti 237, 406, 492
(ki)entiōt 35
eo (iō) 242, 246, 276
ēo, ē 410

eocalihc 213, 223
eogihuar 225
eoman 449
eonaldre 205
ewih 203
epfilin 404
er 132, 277, 460, 461-4
er 457
er- 286
ēr 492, 499, 501, 504
ērahhar 130
erbi, erve 124, 176
erda 278
erdo, erdho 210, 231
erdrīhes 213
ēririn, ērrōn 491
erlauppe 196, 358
erm (= er imo) 463
erren, erien 352
elhes- 210
etho 210
euangelio 177
ēwīkemo 221
ez 461
ezzan 56, 79, 139, 146,
 178, 316, 328, 347
ezzen 146

fad 190
fāhan 219, 234, 259,
 352, 353
falenza 190
fallan 62, 352
falli 422
falo 479, 484
faltan 306, 352
(gi)fank (= g) 219,
 221
fao 484
far- 286
fāra 414
far(a)h 71, 452
faran 234, 279, 305,
 306, 324, 327, 328,
 349
farra 190
farri, ferri 279
fart 424

farwa 189
farwen 279
fasten 234, 360
fasto 279, 502
fastōs (=st) 203
fater 56, 71, 85, 153 n,
 204, 248, 396, 441-5
faterlōs 204
fēh 75
(gi)fehan 346
fehlan 341, 343
fehu, fihu 71, 277,
 282, 425, 426, 428
fel 97
felhan 318, 341
(gi)folhan 318, 341
feozug (=feor-) 496
fer- 286
fēra, fiara 266
vergo 238
ferio 238, 437
fesa 168
festeōm 486
festi 279, 479
festinunc 413
fethdhahha 210
feliro 437
fettah 210
(gi)fezzan 346
fiant 236, 317, 446,
 447
ficcot 202
ficise 200
ficislichō 200
fiēn 317
viffoldamo 283
vīgandum 236
filleol 237
fillorane 231
filu 71, 503
fimf 71, 232, 282
findan 162, 208, 209,
 334, 340, 342
fiuf stunteēnzig 498
fiugar 403
fiustar 111
(gh)fiustril 220
fior, feor 495, 496, 499,
 500, 501

fiordung 501
fioring 500
fioriske 500
vior werba 501
fir- 286
firino (pl.) 416
firstammisi 187, 233
fiug 217
fisk 71, 147, 217, 277,
 403
fizuz 200
flanzōn 192
flas 227
flēgen 190
flehtan 294, 341
fleisc, fleisg 214, 217
fleisges 217
fleislich (=skl) 218
flewēn 357
fliogan 337
fliohan 163, 339
fliozan 339
flūzan 336
(gi)flohan 163, 339
flohat (=float) 225
floscans 201
(far)fluahhan 354
flūc, fluic 219
fluochōn 354
fluot 268
fnehan 346
fō, fōh 171, 245, 484
foalaccit 202
fogal 131, 285, 403
fol, voll 97, 253, 280
folc, folh 214, 215
follon 503
folnissa 418
folwassan (=hs) 227
fona 280
fonne (=fone) 234
for- 286
foraha 170
forahlīhhun 203
forahla 285
forasago 436
fordro 488, 492
forlāzseno 201
forna 492

forscōn 147, 217
vorwe 280
framidi 279
frammort 186, 242,
 503
frao 243, 245, 479,
 484
frauven 330, 357
fravali 279
frecchi 213
 (ka) *frehtohēm* 225
frezzan 334, 347
fridō 277, 283, 426,
 427
frīge 236
friosan 165, 339
 (gi) *froran* 126, 165
friscit 201
frunt 317, 446, 447
frō 245, 246, 484
frouwa 245
frouwen, freuuen 245,
 246, 357
frummen 186
fruot 62
fuir, vugir 236
fulli 280
fund 190
fuotar 203
fuoz 71, 79, 139, 259,
 423, 448
fuozziū 427
fuozzum 448
fur- 286
 (ki) *furaptin* 285
furhten 285
furi 491, 492, 499
 (ka) *furibit* 285
furlin 227

ga (ka, cha) 153 n,
 286
gabissa 168
gābunmēs 326
gaf, cabis 123, 221
gāhes, gāes 229, 503

gāh(ing)ūn 503
galan 349
gāngēn, 316, 381, 386,
 387
gangan 69, 352, 386
gank (=g) 219
gans 68, 424
garalīcho 502
gar(a)wēr 285, 484
garota 189, 364
gart 68, 124
garwen 189, 279, 364
gar(w)o 479, 484,
 502
gast, kast 69, 131,
 153, 251, 279, 282,
 420-2
 (ga) *zwineli* 500
gāzun 286
gazza 130
geba (kebo) 124, 240,
 283, 411-18, 436
geban 99, 123, 124,
 149, 153, 220, 277,
 301, 323, 329, 346
geistlichun 203
geist 387
g(h)eist 220
gellan 294
gelo 68
gellan 341
 (ge) *nāthih* 155, 219
gener, see *jener*
gernlīcho 221, 502
gesān, see *sehan*
gēslichō 203
gestaron 68
gevan, kepan 123, 149,
 153, 334
 (ge) *vanen*, see *fāhan*
 (er) *geven* 176
gewi, gouwi 245, 246,
 408
gewōn 246
gezgan 346
gi, chi, ki- 86, 286
gī 457
giē, (bi)gienc 219, 353,
 387

ginēn 68
ginuach 222
ginuagon 503
ginuog 503
giozan 68, 139, 339
g(h)iri 220
g(h)irūni 220
git 459
githic 219
glawwer 103, 244, 484
glizan 336
glocka 156
glou 103, 244, 484
gluoen 358
gnadie 222
gnagan 349
gneht 214
gnītan 336
gold 280
goman, commana 449
gomo 68, 283, 449
gorōti 214
got 268
gol, god, colto 204, 206,
 221, 280, 396
gotchundi 214
gōtlīch 213
goumumēs 359
grā, grāo 189, 243,
 479, 484
grab, grebir 452
graban 196, 334, 349
grābo, grāveo 168
grīfan 138, 336
grim, chrimmiū 223
grīnan 336
griozan 339
guallichī 231
guan, see *winnan*
guat, coat 268
guis, see *wizzan*
guldin 280
gūmigan 214
gund-fanon 208
gungiron, see *jung*
gunnan, see *an*
 (bi) *gunnon* 332
gunste, see *jung*
guollīh 185

guot, guoth 122, 206,
268, 492
gutin 280

(*gr*)*haban* 161
habēn 64, 186, 236,
284, 295, 314, 316,
317, 320, 355, 361,
365, 368, 369, 370,
371, 380

habōn 369
haffent 327
hafode 155
-haft 226
-hafti 279
hāhan 259, 352
halb 413
halōn 280

(*gr*)*halōtunmēs* 326
halum 264, 344

hals 403
halspauch 222
hall 504
haltan 306, 352
hamo 106
hanaf 78

(*gr*)*hancdi* 219
hangan 334
hano, henin 76, 184,
279, 430-6

hant, hentin 427, 428
hapta 365
hapf(bandun) 199
hār 452
har(a)mscara 232, 285
harmlihho 279
harti 85, 153
hartin 440

Hartmuotan 396
haso 171
hasze 201

haupt, houwil 149, 194
hawwan 244, 353

(*er*)*haven* 351
hebig, hefig 168, 177,
198
hebis, see *habēn*

heffen 71, 76, 161, 177,
198, 294, 296, 306,
327, 349, 351

hefihanne 225
heikinin 224
heil 271

heilac 219
heilant 447
heilanto 237
heilezen 202
heilina 440
heimort 242

heiz 146
-heiz 226
heizan, heizgan 139,
201, 300, 306, 322,
334, 352

helan 317, 343, 344
helfant 447
helfāri 408

helid, helidos 106, 400 *n*
hella 118
hellan 341, 343

helli 237, 439
helm 264
hel(p)fan 143, 191,
258, 329, 341

hēll 266
hemidi 106
hepfu 198 (see *heffen*)

heptidun 199
(h)er 224, 472
hēr, hiar 231, 253, 266,
472, 503

hera 503
herçin 202
(h)erda 224

heri 279, 406
herien 126, 369
heri(h)unga 219, 225,
238

herio 369
herist 224
herizoho 229
herot 503

hērro 185, 491
herza 75, 144, 184,
430-8

hevis 177, 294
herwi 245, 246
(h)ēreigon 224

hēs, hiaz 267, 300, 352
hia, hic 231
higiski 236, 243
hīhun 243
hīen 236, 243
hilfa 191

himil 102, 234, 403
himilisches 217
hīna(na) 473, 503
hinkan 340

hinna, hinnān 503
hintar 492
hinwarth 209
hiofan, hiuban 337, 338

hīrsi 408
hirti 405-7
hirz, hiruz 200
hīta 243

hitamum 472
(h)iu 224
hiu, hio 353
hiuru 472
hiute 279

hiutu 472
hīwi, hīgi 236, 243
hizza 146
(h)ladan 349, 350
(h)lahhēn 228, 296,
351

ki-(h)latanan 350
(h)leib 271
(h)lēo, (h)lē 410
ki-(h)liad 350
(h)lifan 336

(h)limman 340
(h)linēn 75
(h)liozan 339
(h)liuhenti 225
(h)liu-mund 75

hlōh 351
(h)lōset 225
(H)ludwig 155, 184,
219, 396

(h)luoen 358
(h)lūtīt 225
(h)lūtītar 75, 120, 148
(h)lūtītru 225

(h)neickan 223
 (h)nīgan 109, 336
 (h)niuwān 338
 hocta 284
 hof 168
 hoffen 90
 höh, hō 170, 229, 273,
 488, 489
 (ki)hōhhu 228
 hōhina 440
 hohubit 225
 hōi 226
 hōibet 274
 -hold 226
 (ge)hollen 343
 holōn 280
 holz 280, 402, 452
 homigh 219
 (chi)hordon 363
 hōren 119, 237, 251,
 284, 327, 332, 363,
 366
 horendo 205
 (gi)hōrie 237
 horo 410
 hōrran 119, 185, 239,
 358
 houbit 76, 122, 124,
 149, 194, 209, 273
 hou 170
 houwi 245, 246
 (h)rabān 98, 232
 (h)ramm 98, 232
 (h)rao, rō 245, 484
 (h)regilo 225
 (h)reini 479
 (h)reinnan 483
 (h)rēo, hrō 76, 410
 (h)respan 341
 (h)reuue 199
 (h)rīnan 336
 (h)rind 225, 451, 452
 (h)ringā 225
 (h)rinnit 225
 (h)ris 452
 (h)riusa 322
 (h)ros 225
 (h)rucca 220
 (h)rucki 408

(h)ruofan 353
 (h)rusti 225
 (h)seō 225
 (h)uaszero 211
 hūcze 224
 (h)ūe 229
 hu(g)gen, huckan 118,
 220, 223, 284
 hugiu 427
 huki 421
 (gi)hukka 223
 huldin 208
 hundert 498
 hungar 284
 hungarran 284, 364
 (h)uns 224
 hunt 56, 73, 75, 253,
 498
 huon 452
 huosto 241
 hurolob 224
 hūs 402
 (h)wanne 503
 (h)wanta 503
 (h)wār 503
 (h)warb 501
 (h)waz 77, 105, 474
 (h)weder 474
 (h)weijōn 236
 (h)welih 474
 (h)weo, (h)wio 242,
 246, 276, 503
 (h)wer 132, 189, 474
 hwerdar 210, 225
 hwerfan 161, 168, 198,
 341, 343
 (h)wīl 413
 (h)wīla 77
 (h)wīolih 474
 (h)wītte 225
 (h)wīz 189

 ia, ie, eo 276
 iah 235
 iamēr 235
 iār 188
 ibilo 279
 -ida 418

ih, ik, 'ig, ihch, 132,
 213, 257, 453-5
 ikaruta 242
 ilemus 326
 illan, ilan 364
 ilonto 502
 imbīz 187, 233
 imbōt 233
 in-, int- 286
 inbiet 329
 (in)blāhenen 353
 imbōt 233
 (in)ginno 322
 (in)gringunt(ir) 327
 inhezso 322
 ink 459
 innaro 488, 492
 innenwendun 219
 instandemēs 325
 inteiz 226
 intluchhante 213
 intphāhan 197, 221,
 327-8, 353
 intprennent 194
 intrātan 352
 intrihhen 228
 intrinnan 340
 intseffen 351
 intstupta 191
 intsuab 351
 io 242, 276
 ir 132, 456, 457,
 460-4
 ir- 286
 irdisc(h) 217, 278
 irhuggu 220
 irleidda 206
 irlikent 223
 irquigken 214
 irrechen 214
 irri 185
 irruophent 190
 isern 171
 ist 74, 147, 257, 291
 it 141
 italingūn 503
 itniugiū 243
 iu 244, 456, 457, 464
 iū, jū 235

iung 188
iungundi 234
iſ 460, 461, 468

j, see also *i*
(gi)jegen 347
jehan, gehan 229, 235,
 322, 346, 347
(bi)jehamēs 235
jenēr 235, 472
jesan 235, 346
jetan, getan 235, 346
joh 140, 258, 280, 282
jugund 103, 208
jung 109, 259, 284,
 490, 491
jungist 504

ka, see *ga-*
kalb, chalp 451, 452
kalo 484
kamb 80
kamf 191
kan(n) 56, 80, 378
kar 452
karkari 408
kaumantien 483
keisar 284
Kelbirisbach 451
kempfo, kenfo 191, 215,
 232, 437
kēr, chēre 214, 371
kerran 81
kevia 239, 438
chilichā 230
khorunka 215, 221
kīnan 336
kind, chind 205, 208,
 214, 257
kindilin 404
kinni 98
kiosan 80, 165, 339
kīp, see *geban*
chirichūn 214, 215
chirihha 230
Kirst 231
kiuwan 338

kleban 277
kledda, kletta 210
kleipta 194
klenan 346
kletan 346
kliban 277, 336
klimban 304, 340
klingan 340
klioban 337
(bi)chnāa = bichnāe 329
knabo, knappo 121
(bi)chnādī 363, 366
kneo, knio 189, 246, 409
knetan 346
kneth (= hi) 227
knussen 181
chone, conela 241
konsta 111, 378
coran 280
(gi)koran 125, 126,
 165
korn 145, 231
choroēn 370
kortar 169
chosōge 236
kostōn 221, 258
krast 214
kresan 346
kretan 346
Kriach, Chrēh 266
krimman 340
krimpfan 340
kriochan 337
krippea 176
Christan 396
christiāniun 237
cruce 211
(gi)krumpti 194
chrūt 452
kumft 111
cumflāchēm 223
-kumi 421
cumil, kumin 102, 234
kund, chunt 208, 334,
 378
kunig, khuninc 215,
 234, 403
kuninch 222
kuningin 412

kunnan 111, 187, 233,
 309, 378
kunni, 80, 187, 188,
 233, 237, 405-7
kunst 111
kuo 81, 424
kupfar 116, 120, 258,
 280
curi 280
curtilachchan (= hh)
 213
churtmassi 203
kurz, kurt 203
chussī 404
kust 258
kuti 424
(ge)kūuuan 338
quec 82, 212, 214,
 215, 241
quedan, cheden 162,
 189, 241, 346, 347
chat (quedan) 241
cheg 215, 241
quegkez 214
(er)chichit 241
choat (quedan) 241
choden (quedan) 241,
 347
quei (zwei) 202, 494
quelan, chelen 241, 344
quellan 341
queman (comen) 82, 111,
 189, 241, 326, 334,
 344, 345
quhāmi 214
quhoman 214
quīs (quedan) 323, 324,
 327, 347
cumu, 241, 345
quena (quenala) 82, 241
queran 344
quīfalōn, twīfalōn 148
quīrn 277
quīro 202
chuuedēm 330

lā, see *lāzan*
laffan 349
lahan 349

lahhi 408
lamb, lembir 114, 131,
 451, 452
lang 69, 279, 491
langōst 504
lanideri 408
lantpūani 447
lantscheffi 217
lāo 484
lastar 226
lāta 243
(gi)laubin 188, 237
(kakan)lauffeem 330
lauph 194
(chi)laupnissa 194
laz 324
lāzan 139, 265, 308,
 325, 352, 353
lazcende 202
lazgēn 146
lebēn, liban 155, 277,
 365
legende 223
lecisto, lezzistr 200,
 492
ledic, lidic 277
lefs 403
leggen 356
lehhan 344
leidezen 202
leidhor 208
leih 403
leit 209
leiten 166, 179, 358
lengi 279
lentin 418, 440
leobar 479
leotkar 227
(gi)lepphēs 192
lēra 283, 414
lēren, lērran 125, 126,
 166, 239, 358
lesan 165, 346-7
leven 155, 176
lezzen 146, 362
liaber, liober 490
lib 195, 196
(bi-)liban 85, 168,
 194

licchentan 223
(fir)liche, (far)lich
 227, 228
lichicera 202
licuma (= lichama) 226
lidan 161, 162, 166
lie 353
liehen 229
liehti 229
lietz 201
liggen 69, 127, 128,
 153, 219, 220, 223,
 296, 346, 38, 371
ligi 371
-lih 279
(gi)lih (ge-lig) 140,
 213
lihan 77, 164, 229,
 242, 246, 271, 336
(bi)limpfan 191, 340
(gi)lingan 340
(bi)linnan 340
liogan 276, 337
lioht 227, 275
liosan 165, 339
liotfaz 227
lioth, lieth 227
liph 194
lippanti 196
lirnan 277
liublīh 276
liučilōm 202
liuf 353
liuhten 257, 275
liuth 206
loh 452
lōha 170
lokōn 214
lōn 273
lonōt 204
lōs 165
lōssan 181, 225
lotar 203
loub 452
(gi)louben 194, 196,
 220, 364, 371,
 463
loufan 306, 334
loug 170, 237

luggi, luki 219, 220,
 223, 483
lugin 440
lūhhan 140, 303, 339
luhhir 452
luht 199
(ge)lumplih 191
lungar 70
lu(z)cila 202
luzzigēm 503
luzzil 144, 480, 492,
 503
(gi)macchōst 213
(gi)mahchaz 213
mag, mach 155, 184,
 219-22, 300, 313,
 379
māg 403
māgacozo 202
magafin 169
mahti 279
malan 349
mālōn 229
man(n) 187, 233, 396,
 448, 449
manake 221, 284, 439
mandhendi 205
māno 106, 252, 265
mānōd 106
manslecken 223
māreo 486
māri, māro 188, 265,
 483
maro 484
martolōn 230
martyr 403
masas 397
math 227
meddila 206
meghin 220
meg ih 279
Mein- 222
(chi)meini 220
meist 503, 504
meisto 492
meizan 352
mckin 221

melkan 341
melo 189, 260, 285.
 410
menden 205
mendi 439
menigi 279, 439
menni 128
mennisgo 217
mēr 504
mēren 491
mēro 126, 271, 492
merren 185
metamo 205
meto, mito 426
mezzan 79, 139, 346
mezzi-sahs, messires
 181
mias, meas 253, 267
miata, mēta 266
mīdan 101, 162, 336
mīcheliu 213
mihhil 80, 213, 492,
 503
milli 439
miltnisso 416
miluh 80, 140
mīn 98, 492, 504
mīn 453, 457, 464,
 482
minneōn 359
minni, minnea 107, 188.
 419
mīnza 257
(pi)smicit 202
miskan 364
missen 211
mīst 226
mīl 399
mīthont 210
mīlti 67, 257, 277,
 483
mo 463
mohta 99, 280, 379
morgen 124
mucca 223
muccūn 220
muillen 279
mundrī 205
(bi)muniun 222

muocn, muogen 229.
 358
muos 181
muosa 101
muoter 85, 204, 251.
 441-5
muos 101, 181, 380
mūra 270
murmurōn 230
mūs 424

nackot, nahhut 82, 120.
 129, 212, 242
nāen 358, 363
nagal 65
nāh 242
 nāhōr, naher 229
nahho 111, 129
nāhist 504
naht, nath 74, 227,
 251, 450
namaafōsto 226
namo 279
nan 463
naz 146
nazscent (zz) 201
nebul 66, 278
nefo 71, 105
neieina 219
neigta 219
neman, Pres. 186, 240,
 277, 283, 314, 323-9
 Past 325, 487
 Part. 317, 334, 487
nemnian, nennen 232,
 366
neoman 449
neonaldre 205
nerien, ner(i)gan 119,
 122, 166, 185, 188,
 238, 240, 284, 316,
 320, 357, 361, 367,
 447, 486
(gr)nesan 166, 346-7
nest 277
nezzen 146
nezzi 144, 407
niāzan 276, 329

nīd 403
nīdan 336
nīdari 492
nih 203
(gr)nīdan 340, 343
nīosan 339
nīozan 139
 nīssa, -nīssi 279, 418
niunto 108
niuuān 495
nohein 228
nollas, noles 280
nōt 169, 204
noton 503
noz 452
nuzzi 483

ob- 286
oba 168, 492
obaro 492
Odalgher 223
odho, odo 210
ofan 90
offan 138, 190, 284
offerunc 193
offonōn 284
offphano 190
oh 280
olde 280
onda 280
offerōn 193
ōra 125, 126, 171, 438
order 210
ōrrēn 226
ortforma 280
Olahhar 130
ōth 208
oug 213
ouga 150, 434, 438
ougen 109, 219, 222,
 223, 325, 364
ouhhōn 140, 273, 307
ouwa 86, 171, 244

p, ph, pf
pacchet 351

- pachim* 422
pāgant 328, 352
palgi 422
pech, see *beh*
peit, see *pfait*
pendinc 191, 192, 234
perac 285
perahtnissi 194
perpurnemus 326
petoem 330
Petrusan 396
peziruno 234
pfad 192
pfarra 192
pfāwo 142
pfait 78, 142
pfennig 192, 234
pflegan 78, 190, 192, 346
phiegün 353
phinōn 192, 334
phlanzōn 192
pī 195, 286
picrapan, see *graban*
piligrīm 230
pīna 175
piporgen 286
pis (to *wesan*) 383
piscauwōhe 225
piscluoc (to *slahan*) 211
piuuerbio 322
(ca)pleruzsi 354
plōh 191
plōzan 354
pluhhendi 228
Polōnan 396
predigōn 156, 175, 193, 222
preitet 334
priesda 203
priestar 175
prīnit 234
prooth 205
prucge 223
prukhumēs 213
prunno 195
(p)salmo 193
(p)silich 193
puah 213, 450
- pfunt*, *phunt* 142, 192
purgeo 237, 450
puzzi, *phuzzi* 116, 142
- rabo*, *rappo* 121
rad 101, 107
rarta 126
rask 101, 107
rāt 403
rātan 265, 267, 352
recchan 145
rechan 344
recken 145
reda 239
redan 346
redia 237, 239, 438
redinu 414
red(i)ōn 359
regan 403
(gi)rehfestigōt 203, 334
rehhan 189
rehhita 362
rehlīhhu, *retliche* 203, 227
re(c)ht 184, 203, 227
rehterēn 491
rehtes 503
rehtiu 237
rehtnissu 414
Rein 222
reinōr 504
(ar)rekila 362
resū 440
rīchisōia 236
riemo 267
rīfēn 360
rīhan 336
rihces 213
(ar)rihctil (= *ht*) 227
rīhi 140, 213
rihtet 334
rīman 336
rimpsan 340
rīngan 340
rīnnan 98 n, 187, 233, 277, 340
- rinnant* 328
riochan 337
riozan 339
rippi 128
rīsan 336
risi 421
rīlan 204, 277, 336
riumda 205
riuwān 244, 338
rīzan 336
roc, *rog* 227
roggo, *rokko* 121
rōr 171, 273
rōrreōno 239
rōt 67, 251
rottendit 206
ruaba 198
(gi)ruamptin 232
ruggi 153, 223
rūmta 186
rūna 270
ruofa 168
ruogen 189
ruoh 229
ruomgerni 232
(gi)ruort 366
- sa*, *se*, *sia* 463
sachit 279
sāen, *sāian* 224, 236, 243, 358
sagēn 220, 227, 327, 360, 365
sagetus 371
sah, *sach* 164, 184, 228, 229
sāhen, *sāwen* 229, 243, 358
sahhan 349
sahhu 414
sahs 76
sal, *sol*, see *skal*
salbōge 236, 370
salbōn 236, 289, 295, 312, 314, 316, 317, 320, 333, 334, 355, 361, 368-71

salig 489
 salo 484
 (far)salt, (ka)salt 284,
 366
 salleri 408
 salvon 155
 salzan 352
 sama 472
 samanaftlic 226
 samfle 502
 -sami 279
 sangheri 408
 santunt (ir) 327
 sār 503
 sarpf, sarf 218
 (gi)sāsznissi 201
 salumēs 359
 (gi)sazfēr 366
 sbrēhan, see sprēhan
 scaaf, scāph 190
 scado, scedin 279
 scaffi. -scaf 279, 424
 scaftin 351
 scalh 212, 214, 215
 scallan 307
 scario 437
 sceffan 191
 scefmanna 449
 scepheri 408
 scepphion 192, 237
 scheffidhes 214
 (bi)schein 217
 (gi)scier 371
 scin 217, 319
 scīnan 336
 scirm 217
 sclaf 211
 sclahan 211
 sclāphun 190, 211
 selecter 211
 screiph 194
 (ki)screrot 354
 scriān 231, 236, 336
 scriban 194, 214, 322,
 336, 486
 scrīgīl (=scrīū) 236
 scrintan 340
 (ge)scriphle 199
 scrirun 231

(ge)scriven 155
 scuha 229, 270
 sculd 214, 334
 sculdic 219, 221
 scuola 268
 sē 271, 466
 sean 226
 secchia 214, 237
 seckil 212
 segan 277
 shan 164, 184, 229,
 242, 346
 sehhan 228, 241
 sehse 495
 sekila 212
 sēla 246, 414
 selb, selvo 151, 155;
 176, 194, 472
 selida 130
 sellen, sellicn 238, 284,
 366
 (gi)sello 437
 semfti 232
 sēn 229
 sen'awa 242
 (vor)senchil (=k) 214
 senden 169
 sēo 86, 189, 242, 271,
 410
 sēr 271
 sero 410
 sēula 242, 246
 (gi)sewan 164, 229,
 246, 347
 sextun 227
 (ka)sezcida 202
 sezzen 144, 279, 327,
 356, 362, 366, 463
 sgalto 217
 sgero 217
 sia, sio, sī 460-3
 sibbe, sipbea 176
 sibun, siban 85, 104,
 149, 153, 277, 495
 sibunzo 496
 sīdero 492
 sicho 229
 siela 241
 sigan 336

sigehaf 203
 siginūft 233
 sigiu 427
 sih 459
 shan 336
 (ga)sihil 323, 327
 (ki)sil 226
 sin, sīnan 382, 383,
 457, 460, 461, 464,
 481, 482
 sind, sinthes 208, 257,
 403
 sindun 383
 singan 70, 114, 130,
 153, 219, 221, 326,
 328, 330, 340
 sinkan, see singan
 sinkan 130, 304, 340
 sinnan 107, 340
 siodan 162, 339
 sioh 140, 275
 sippia, sibbia 118, 151,
 188
 sīt, sīd 209, 504
 situ, sidiu 122, 277,
 427, 428
 siu 277, 460, 462,
 463, 466
 siuhhi 275
 siuuen 246
 siwun 149
 sizcenti 202
 sizzen, Pres. 79, 128,
 144, 240, 257,
 296, 316, 328,
 346, 348, 357
 Past 146, 252, 254
 skaban 349
 skadōn 63
 skaffan, skaffōn 146,
 351, 364
 (gi)-skaf 99
 skahāri (eri) 213, 408
 skal, scol 65, 214, 218,
 280, 377, 379
 skaltan 352
 skama 96
 skanta 96
 skato (awes) 410

skauwōn 244
skaz 144, 403
skehan 346
skeidan 205, 352
skellan 341
skeltan 341
skeltunga 277
skepfant 447
skepfen 99, 118, 142,
 146, 198, 296, 349,
 351, 364
skeran 344
skerian 238
skēro, skiāro 266
skerran 341
skif 138
skūlt 204, 277, 282,
 423
skūmbāre 233
skīnan 75, 147
skioban 337
skiozan 339
skirmda 205
skrōtan 354
skutīta, -tla 179, 362
skuwo 103
slāfan 138, 175, 190,
 306, 352
sliaf 267, 352
slāfōn 369
slahan, slān 163, 229,
 279, 313, 349, 350
(gi)slahti 279
slecter (=ht) 227
slēo, slē 484
slīchan 336
slīfan 336
slīhtlī 203
slintan 340
sliofan 78, 138, 337
sliozan 339
slūmo, slūmo 234
slīzan 336
sluogi 313
smalihhēm 503
smelzan 341
smerzan 341
smīzan 336
snahhan 349

snello 502
snēo, snē 189, 409, 410
snerfan 341
snerhan 341
snīdan 162, 209, 336
(aba)snit 209
snūmo 234
snottar 120
snura 86
so 503
so (Pron.) 463
sōhken 213
solan 218
sole(h)es, solemo 472
solih 212, 472
soma 280
sorc-haft, -sam 222
sorga 241
sou 410
spahidu 414
spallan 62, 307, 326,
 352
spambette 233
spanan 296, 349
spannan 296, 352
spano 322
spattiu 483
spechan 231
spēhōn 72, 147
spēo, spē, spēh 189, 335
spiagal 267
spīgan 335
spīhiri 213
spinnan 340
(ge)spiren 335
spī(w)an 72, 147, 189,
 242, 243, 246, 335
spornōn 72
spottōn 210
sprāha, sprākha 213
sprehhan 193, 215, 344
sprikhil 213
sprincuorc 202
springan 175, 340
sprinet 234
spriu 244, 410
spurt 501
spurnan 147, 294, 303,
 343

spuun 335
stafła 362
staimbortchludun 233
stān, slēn 147, 316,
 350, 381, 386, 387
stantan 74, 205, 304,
 349, 350, 387
stapot 191
starh, starach 215, 285
stecko, stēhho 212
stega 277
stehchalēr 213
stehhan 146, 147, 344
stehho 212
stehc 225
stēpfen 362
slēist 387
sterban 194, 341
sterno, sterro 147, 185
sterozun 354
steteo 424
stīg 315
stīgan 69, 124, 150,
 220, 257, 270, 277,
 293, 301, 335, 336
stinma 98, 102, 186,
 232
stinkan 130, 304
stiohan 337
stiriz 354
stozan 273, 353, 354
strāo, strō 245, 246,
 410
strauwen 357
stredan 346
stredunga 277
strengi 220
strewen 357
strīchan 336
strītan 336
strōm 111
stūen 356
stunt 413
(sehs)stuntōm 501
suannan 187, 233
suar 241
suazerēn 491
suazzi 241
suēr 229

sūfan 303, 339
sūgan 303, 339
suht 99
(bi)suikhe 213
suintan 277
sumar 280
sūmman 186
(gi)sund 204
sun(u) 425-8
sund 377
sundiōno 204, 237
sunne 102
sunte 237, 240, 412
sunteōn 359
sunthar 206
suntrigun 234
suo 424
suohhen 140
suonotakin 221
suozzi 241
sus 503
sutun 162
suuozzi 241
suaūmmen 241, 340
swalwa 129, 189
swarz 189
swechan 344
swehur 75, 170, 278
swEIFan 352
swelhan 341
swellan 341
swerban 341
swerien 128, 240, 295,
 327, 349, 351
suor 241
suuor 241
swester 111, 441-5
swīchan 336
swīgar 86, 170, 278,
 445
swīgēn 90
swimman 108, 258,
 277, 285, 340
swīn 270, 452
swīnan 336
swīngan 340
swīntan 304
sworga 241

tag, tac 131, 186, 222,
 394, 395-402
tal 452
tar 309, 323, 376
tāl 56, 67, 424
tawēn 357
teig 68
teil 271, 501
(ar)teillan 204, 358
telban 341
tempal 178
terwen 357
Th, see also *D*
thannana 234
thegan 403
thegēin 219
theih (=thaz ih) 468
theob 275
thesēr 469, 470
thicho 223
thictōla 206
thiūue 468
thiūwōn 419
thruhtīn 203, 206, 227,
 396
thruoēn, druoen 210,
 358
(thuruh)skluog 211
thuruphtigōn 190, 199,
 225
thuuihal 207
tili, tilli 128, 408
tisk, tisc 205, 277
tiūfal, diubil 177, 199,
 205, 258, 452
tiūffi, diūfi 190, 205
tiuri, diuri 204, 257,
 439
tōd, dōt 169, 204, 208,
 273
tohter 67, 114, 152,
 441-5
tōr 171
torren 209
lou 243, 410
loufen 273
toug 375
tougan 102
touwen 357

tracko, trahho 121
tragan 349
trān 229
trechan 344
treffan 344
treso 242, 410
tretan 346, 348
trīban 336
trinkan 334, 340
triofan 337
triogan, treogan 70,
 337
triuhaft, triuafstē 226,
 244
triuawa 244
triuawi 103, 244
trōif 274
tropfo 190, 192
troum 70
trūbo 209
trūen 210, 224, 243
trumum 210
trūwan 251
tūfar, tūbar 168
tumpheil 194, 195
tumpnissi 194
tuo, tuoie, tuoge 385
tuom 187
tuomen 119
tuomī 315
tuomtag 232
tuon 311, 314, 316,
 381, 384, 385
turi 67, 424
tusig 171
tūsunt 209, 498
tuuifolda 280
twelan 189, 344
twīngan 158, 189, 209,
 340, 343
uaran 197 (see *faran*)
ubar 168, 195, 280
ubarhepfenti 198
ubarhlaupnissi 190
ubil, upil, uwil 149,
 196, 224, 492, 502
uþper 196
uþþigi 196

uch, iuch 457
ūcze 201
ūhta 130
ulagīn 197
ummaht, unmaht 233
ummel 233
un 234
un- 233
unbigihtic 219
unchūschida 217
undar, zwisken 500
underōro 492
-unga 418
ungaanteōt 359
ungamachu 286
ungipahaniū 351
unhreīnitha 225
unker 459
unkihigitēr 243
unmezhaft 224
unolda 226
unrehdtes 203
unrehlichon 203
unsemphli 199
unsēr, -az, -u 464
unsic 213, 453-7
unsipberon 176
unt- 286
untar 492
untarmerchi 214
unthurf 203
untwichan 286
unwirdic 219
unza 234
uolla 197
uor 197
ur 286
urhepphantiū 198
urtrühlichō 203
ūz 105, 488, 492
uzserōm 201
uzspiget, uspiget 243,
 335
uzsumman 241
ūzzenwendium 219

wā 231

wachar 214
(duruch)uuachēem 330
wado 129
wāen 224
wāfan 138
(gi)wahan 349, 350
wāhen 224
(gi)wahinen 350
wahsan, wassen 181,
 226, 227, 328, 349
waldendeo 486
wales 225
walkan 352
-wall 242
waltant 188, 447
walth 206
(ki)walthil 279
walzan 307, 352
wān, wānu 322, 369
wānda 205
wānga 438
wāniū 237, 328, 369
wanne 503
(gi)want 366
wanta 225, 503
(bi)wāppo 196
wār 503
waram 285
warch 222
wārra 239
warza, uarca 202
waskan 107, 349
wasmo (= waxsmo)
 226, 227
wat 141
watan 349
uatih 234
(gi)watin 407
waxsanne 227
waxsmo 227
waz, was 201, 225,
 474
wazhan 211
wazgar, wazssar 79,
 102, 178
weban 346
wech 222
wecken, weechan 145,
 214, 362-3

wedar 225, 474
wegan 68, 326, 346
wehan 346
wuehlihc 213
wehsalōn 277
wueih 474
weiz 79, 101, 139, 181,
 201, 225, 251, 277,
 282, 297, 323, 327,
 372, 374
weizi 408
wela, wola 502
welchēr, welēr 474
welih 212, 474
wellan, wollen 131,
 204, 257, 291, 322,
 327, 370, 388, 389
wellan 341
wellen 389
(gi)welli 279
wēnag 272
wēo, wio 474, 503
wer 455
wer (hwer) 189, 474
werach 285
werdan 162, 208, 209,
 324, 329, 334, 340,
 341
uuerdunc 413
werfan, werban 161,
 198
werhliute 215
werien, werihan 225,
 238
werinprahtan 396
werk, werch 145, 214,
 215
weroltti 206
werpfan, werfan 143,
 191, 198, 341
werran 341
uuerwan 199
wes 503
wesa 329
wesan 165, 234, 240,
 346, 382, 383
was 165, 347, 383
wuese 234
weslen (= wehslen) 226

westir 451
wetan 346
wetar 203
wexasal 227
wiari 408
wiāri 243
wīchan 336
widarōn 210
widerort, wīdarot 231
wie, wīe 276, 474
wif 155
wīfan 336
wīgant 170, 447
(gi)wīggi 219
wīhan 76, 109, 170,
 259, 336
wīhc 222
wīhd 203
wihtir 452
willeon 188, 237, 238
wīnberi 233
wīndan 304
wīni 408, 421
wīni(g)a 239
wīnnan 294, 340
(g)wīnnen 241
wīnt 257, 277, 423
wīntan 340
wīntar 147, 203, 285
wīof 353
wīolih 474
wīor (= wīo er) 463
wīpfil 78
wīr 132, 455
wīurche 214
wīrdar 210
wīrdic, wīrdih 155,
 219, 222
wīrdineozamas 326
wīrdrōta 210
wīrdria 210
wīrouh 226
wīrs 492, 504
wīrpar 210
wīs 413, 415
wīsc̄ta, wīsta 218
wīsk 90
wīssa 101, 277, 374
wīssan 181, 358

wīsungu 414
(ki)wīszīda 201
wīwō 426
wīwūwa 67, 277
wīzan 336
wōdan 131
wōlar 231
-wōlf 242
wōlla 97
wōmba 280
wōnanti 360
wōrt 231, 404
wōrekko 146
wōulpa 119
wōunsgendo 217
wōunskēn 364
wōunsta 364
wōuntan 334
wōuntar, wōunder 203
wōuntarlīhc 213
(gi)wōunxti 217
wōuo 474
wōuofan 307, 353
wōurfum 258
wōurken, wōirkan 214,
 355, 363
wōurz 79
wōurzala 130, 242, 284
wōurzun, wōurzun 202,
 413
za-, ze-, zi- 286
zā, zūo 286
Zachariasan 396
zāhar 75, 144, 170,
 279
(c)zāla 202
zāltaz (= zāltā iz) 463
zānd 73, 144, 317
zāplāhannēr 353
ze gunste (= jungisti)
 235
zēhan 75, 170, 495
zēhaning 500
zēhanzo 498
(bē)zēhinēt 213

zēhinū 495
zēihan 213
zēihhan 140, 144, 212,
 271
zēisan 352
zēl(lyen) 279, 284, 322,
 356, 361, 366, 367,
 371
(gi)zēl (= zēli) 371
zēlluh (= zēllu, ih)
 454
zēman III, 344
zēmman 79
zēn, zēen 229, 495
zēnstunt 501
zēran 344
zēri 266
zēsō 410, 484
zēsōwa 79, 226, 242
zēwen 357
ziagal 178, 266, 267
ziari 266, 490
zīdh 209
zīhan 75, 79, 87, 257,
 277, 313, 335, 336
zīmbrōn (zīmbarōn) 79,
 III
zīm 317
zīns 178
zīohan 75, 144, 163,
 229, 258, 273, 275,
 313, 337
zīori 439
zīsamēne 102
zīsceido 322
zō 494
zō (= zōh) 227
zor(a)ht 285
zucholus 371
-zug 170, 496
zugil, zūhil 229
zūhhun 228
zumft, zūnft III, 232
zunga 144, 283, 430,
 434, 435
zunon 234
zūpfen 233
zur- 79
zurkank 286

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>zurlust</i> 286 | <i>zweinzug</i> , <i>cuaeincug</i> | <i>zweifal</i> 500 |
| <i>zwā</i> 494 | 202, 496 | <i>zwiġ</i> 155, 219 |
| <i>zwehlhan</i> 344 | <i>zwelif</i> 168 | <i>zwīnal</i> 500 |
| <i>z(e)zwei</i> (= <i>zwei</i>) 285, | <i>zwēne</i> 189, 272, 494 | <i>zwīnelinc</i> 500 |
| 494 | <i>zwiēcchēm</i> 223 | <i>zwirō(r)</i> 132, 501 |
| <i>zweiero</i> 494 | <i>zweifal</i> , <i>zowīval</i> 199, | <i>zwirow zehanzug</i> 498 |
| <i>zweio</i> 103 | 241 | <i>zwise</i> 500 |
| <i>zweijo</i> 236 | <i>zweifalōn</i> 148 | |

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