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THE LANGUAGE OF BERTHOLD VON
CHIEMSEE IN *TEWTSCHÉ*
THEOLOGIE

(PART I)

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND
LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(DEPARTMENT OF GERMAN)

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PREFACE

The language of Berthold von Chiemsee is an interesting specimen of the German written by a Bavarian bishop in the first half of the sixteenth century. The influence that Luther was exerting through the use of the vernacular was soon observed and his example followed by his opponents. In *Tewtsche Theology* Berthold addresses himself to the common people and takes up, in 100 chapters, all the important teachings of the Catholic church.

In the absence of any Berthold manuscripts, I have based this investigation on the original printed edition (München, 1528), comparing it with the second edition (*ibid.*, 1852). This print, carefully edited, and printed by a Bavarian near the author's birthplace and residence, exhibits a consistent Bavarian dialect. It, no doubt, represents the author's language quite faithfully and may well be used as a source in the study of Early Modern High German, R. Brandstetter¹ and F. Scholz² to the contrary notwithstanding.

The material for the second part (Morphology) has been collected and will soon be published.

The bibliography contains the more important works of reference that have been found helpful. My thanks are especially due to Professor Francis A. Wood for many helpful suggestions and criticisms. His high ideals and thorough scholarship have been a constant source of inspiration.

¹*Luzerner Kanzleisprache*, Einsiedeln, 1892, p. 9.

²*Geschichte der deutschen Schriftsprache in Augsburg bis zum Jahre 1374*, Berlin, 1898.

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THE LANGUAGE OF BERTHOLD VON CHIEMSEE IN *TEWTSCHKE THEOLOGEY*

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The basis of this investigation is the *Tewtsche Theology* of Berthold,¹ bishop of Chiemsee. The title-page is a woodcut containing in the center the title *Tewtsche Theology* in red ink. On the right and left are pictures of the apostles Paul and Peter, respectively. The four corners are occupied by symbolical figures and the bottom by the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child on her left arm and a scepter in her right hand. Below this is the date: 15 28.

The dedication ("*DEm Hochwirdigisten Fürsten vnd Herren herrñ Matheúsen der heyiligen Rómischen kirch Cardinal vnd ertzbischof zů Saltzburg . . .*") is placed on the last leaf of the book. The dedication closes with these words: "*Geben zů Rayttenhaslach am vierden tag des Monats Decembris. Anno dñi.1.5.27.*" Below this is the colophon:

¶ Gedruckht vnd volendet in der Fürstlichen Statt München durch Hansen
Schobser puoechdrucker daselbs/am lessten tag des augstmonets.
Als man zelt nach Christi gepurd M.CCCCC.
xxviiij. jar.

The copy which I used was kindly lent to me by Professor Francis A. Wood. It bears the label: "Seminarij Clericorum S. Wolfgangi Ratisbonae."

The size of the book is 20×28 cm. It contains 501 pages with two columns to the page and 54 lines in each column. It is printed in Schwabach type and is in a fairly good state of preservation.

It contains relatively few printer's errors. They are, in order of frequency, (1) Omissions, (2) Substitutions, (3) Transpositions, (4) Insertions.

¹ Berthold Pirstinger, born in Salzburg in 1465, is mentioned as "Kammermeister" of the archbishop of Salzburg in 1495, and as "Vicarius perpetuus" in 1503; in 1508 he became bishop of the diocese Chiemsee with residence in Salzburg; in 1525 he resigned his office and retired to the monastery Raittenhaslach near Burghausen where he wrote *Tewtsche Theology* in 1527. Thereupon he changed his residence to Saalfelden where he died in 1543.

1. Omissions: The omitted letters are put in brackets: *zeme[r]cken* 7, 5,¹ *widerwd[r]tig* 20, 3, *e[r]ste* 28, 3, *g[r]óssist* 78, 10, *f[r]ümen* 83, 8; the past participles *verdulmatsch[t]* 15, 4, *verschmähe[t]* 15, 10, *verworch[t]* 24, 3; *s[t]ritigen* 16, 1, *s[t]att* 27, 7, *ha[t]* 92, 7; *glaw[b]s* 16, 6; *fei[n]den* 20, 9, *vnders[ch]idlicher* 30, 1, *schö[p]ffer* 47, 8, *angezai[g]t* 59, 6, *naturl[i]ch* 20, 2; *vna[i]nikait* 24, 4.

2. Substitutions: *verschmdhen* 15, 2, *sagan* 17, 7, *züemhfahen* 43, 6, *nachdam* 25, 1, *juft* ('Luft') 25, 4, *gewgen* ('Zeugen') 39, 10, *nach leng* ('laut') *des Ewangelj Mathei* 52, 7, *geben* ('gegeben') 54, 3, *yedem menschem* 67, 6, *newem menschen* (a. sing.) 76, 2 *Baruth* ('Baruch') 78, 2, *ob gleib* ('gleich') 85, 10, *gemaltem* (= 'gemeldetem') 85, 10.

3. Transpositions: *ederreichs* ('Erdreichs') 9, 5, *hochts güt* 22, 6, *dewflichser* 24, 1, *geergert* (2d ed. *geregert* = 'geregnet') 27, 3, *gepnuden* 28, 6, *beüdrffend* 78, 9.

4. Insertions: *nartürlicher* 7, 1, *festilkklich* 12, 5, *wirt* ('wir') 40, 5, *des adams leibs* (a. sing.) 99, 5, *potschaftigen* 27, 7 (2d ed. *poszchaftigen*, = 'boszhaftigen').

§ 2. The second edition has as a rule corrected these errors. It appeared in 1852: *Bertholds Tewtsche Theology*. Neu herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen, einem Wörterbuche und einer Biographie versehen von Dr. Wolfgang Reithmeier. München, Literarisch-artistische Anstalt, 1852.

This is a careless reprint of the first edition. It teems with typographical errors. The abbreviations of the first edition have all been expanded: e.g., *and'*, *jñ*, *seiñ*, *müeter*, *kómbt* are written *ander*, *jnn*, *seinn*, *muoeter*, *koembt*. Explanatory and controversial notes are added at the bottom of the page.

Occasionally the editor, unacquainted with the earlier language, makes changes, substituting the form or word familiar to him. So *jach* (3. p. sing. pret.) 11, 2, is replaced by *sagt*; *rúebig* (MHG. *ruowic*) is changed to *rúehig*, e.g., 48, 9; *vnnderlos* 3, 2; 25, 4 is changed to *vnnderlas*, etc.

The vocabulary is intended to explain antiquated and unusual words. Here many words have been misunderstood and falsely interpreted, e.g., *wechselpdlig* (= 'Wechselbälge'; cf. *plaspálig in d'*

¹ The references are to chapter and paragraph.

smitten 75, 3) 29, 7 is considered an adjective and defined 'tierartig'; *zesmaicken* 14, 8, and elsewhere (=MHG. *smeichen*) is given = 'schmücken'; *menigklich* (=MHG. *mennegelîh*) is defined as 'hinlänglich.'

Part One: Sounds and Spellings

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

A. ORTHOGRAPHY

§ 3. *Tewtsche Theology* presents the same orthographic inconsistencies to be found in all of the early sixteenth-century writings. On the same page the same word is often spelled in two or three different ways.

§ 4. The alphabet and the order of the letters as given in the index at the end of the book is the same as in modern German, except that *w* follows *b* and precedes *c*; *i* and *j*, *u* and *v* are each given under one head; *x* and *y* are missing. The index is headed: "¶ *Tafel vber tewtsche Theology nach ordnung des Alphabeth.*"

B. USE OF CAPITALS

§ 5. Capital letters are used:

a) At the beginning of a sentence.

NOTE.—The chapters usually begin with a capital initial twice as tall as the ordinary letters. Exceptions to this are:

(1) The capital V at the beginning of the first chapter extends down eight lines and occupies about one-half of the column in width. It is a woodcut representing an angel holding the upper ends of a large V, with the lower end resting on the ground near his left foot.

(2) The preface (*Vorrede*) begins with a large A, seven lines high. It is decorated with many flourishes.

(3) The capital W is from three to four lines high. It is found at the beginning of the following chapters: 10, 28, 37, 38, 40, 44, 46, 52, 57, 61, 83.

(4) Z resembles our capital script *z* and belongs to the same font as the W; cf. the beginning of chapters 86, 88, and 90.

b) In the beginning of 80 per cent of the proper nouns.

c) In the second personal pronoun *Ew*, *Ewr*, *Ewrer*, *Ewr*. *F*. [*ürstlichen*] *gnad*, when referring to the deity, or some important person, or for emphasis. This use is not consistent.

d) Generally in the nouns *Got*, *Pabst*, *Kaiser*, *König*, *Fürst*, *Herr*, *Bischof*, *Jhesus Christus* (frequently small initials), *Trinitat*, *Concilia*.

Obrikait, göttlicher Sun, Substantz, Ewangelj, Sacrament, Capitel; Prelat, Hertzog, Apostel, Propheten; Ambt der Preim 6, 3, Junckfraw Maria 28, 15, without being in any way consistent.

e) Sometimes the adjectives: *Christenlich, Pischoflich, Rómisch, Trifaltig, Lutherische* (e.g., 30, 5).

f) Sometimes to call attention to, or to emphasize a word when it appears in a chapter for the first time, e.g., *die Triumphierund kirch* 6, 1, but just above: *streyttunde . . . kirch. Erster staffel der lautern leiblichen creatur ist plos Elementlich wesen* 26, 1.

g) At times the capital is used quite arbitrarily without any apparent reason, e.g., "*Dañ das zil/Regel vnnd masz auch grund alles geschöpfs ist gotliche ordnung*" 39, 2.

NOTE.—Words are never written entirely with capitals as is frequently found in the seventeenth century. Berthold says: ". . . wie dise sylben GOT/wo sy mit klainem puoechstab geschribñ steet/so wol ewigē got bedeyt/als so dieselb sylben mit grossen puoechstaben gesetzt ist" 68, 6.

C. PUNCTUATION

§ 6. The punctuation marks used in *Tewtsche Theologye* are: the period, the virgule, the interrogation point, the hyphen, and the marks of parenthesis.

a) The period is used at the end of a sentence, but may also designate a rhetorical pause. That is, it often stands before a dependent clause, where modern usage requires a comma. In this case the clause frequently begins with a capital, e.g., "*der anfang Ewangelischer pūes . . . sol sein. Daz d' mensch sich lerne jnwendig erkeñen*" 76, 2; "*Vermainstu nit. Ich mócht meĩn vater pitten . . .*" 55, 4. But: "*Frag ist/Ob gottes geschöpff . . .*" 21, 1. "*Dem Hochwirdigisten Fürsten vnd Herren herrñ Matheūsen . . . meinem genedigisten herrñ. Embewt Ich Bertold Bischof etwan zū Kiembsē. mein gehorsam dienst*" (Ded.).

The period is placed before and after numerals, and between the thousands and hundreds, and hundreds and tens, e.g., "*lenger dann .1.5.27. jar*" 8, 4.

b) The virgule is used much the same as our comma, e.g., "*Luter vñ Wiclef setzen/waren leib Christi daselb zesein/aber nit substantzlich/sond' des prots substätz beleib. Karelstat/Zwingling vnd Ecolompadi machen aws der Mesz gar ain affenspil*" 16, 6.

c) The interrogation point has a peculiar form different from the modern (*?*). It is used after direct and indirect questions, e.g., "*Ain haubtstück ist/wie zû glauben sey?*" 2, 1. "*Drite frag ist. nach wew die weld formiert sey?*" 22, 3.

d) The hyphen is used at the end of a line to connect the parts of a divided word. The division may be made between almost any two letters. Even monosyllables are divided. E.g., *re-chtfertigûg* 4, 9; *beschi-cht* 4, 12; *menn-schlichñ* 13, 2; *vera-cht* 13, 5; *beste-rckt* 58, 7; *gesch-opf* 25, 1; *zeheyr-aten* 14, 14; *bi-stumb* ('Bistum') 13, 9; *zebesch-liessen* 4, 7; *sp-ruch* 6, 8; *sch-reibt* 4, 9; *pfli-gt* 8, 9; *si-ch* 10, 1; *ab-er* 10, 9; *ni-chts* 12, 9.

e) The marks of parenthesis are used: to inclose reference to an authority quoted, e.g. (*spricht Johēs*), (*wie geschriben stet*) 2, 1; (*als Paulus beschreibet*) 2, 6; (*als Pelagi⁹ vermaint hat*) 4, 4; comments by the author: e.g., "*Ob gleich Christenlicher glawb (das doch vnmöglich ist) vnrecht vnd fâl wære . . .*" 1, 7; "*Alsofft die kind von Israhel (dabey die Christen bedeyt seiñ) ausserhalb jres gotes ainen andern angepett habē . . .*" 1, 5.

f) The colon and semicolon are not found. Their places are taken by the period. E.g., "*Darauf wirt jnen der herr antwortten. Ich hab euch nye erkennt.*" 2, 5; "*Itē jñm Ewangelj steet. Ob jr nit vergebet den lewten/so wirt euch Ewr vater die sünd auch nit vergeben . . .*" 3, 8.

D. ABBREVIATIONS

§ 7. The following abbreviations are used:

(1) A wavy or a straight line over a vowel or consonant means a nasal, or a nasal and a vowel, e.g., *gûṭē* (= *gûtem*) 3, 6; *ī* (= *in*) 46, 5; *vō* (= *von*) 8, 4; (= *vom*) 23, 1; *mēschen* 8, 2; *seinē*, *seiñ* (= *seinen*) 8, 3; *mūd* 11, 1; *cōcilj* 6, 4; *ēpfahen* 47, 7; *Johēs* (= *Johannes*) 2, 1; *deym* (= *deynem*) 51, 2; *seiñ* 18, 2, etc.

Here also belong the contracted forms consisting of a preposition and the enclitic article, e.g., *voñ* (= *von den*) 51, 4; *vō* (= *vom*) 23, 1; *zuñ* (= *zû den*) 39, 5; *ausñ* 98, 9; *aufñ* 24, 5; *añ* (= *an den*) 22, 5; *iñ* (= *in den*) 37, 2; or: *zunn* (*zu den*) 51, 15; *jnn* 20, 6; or without the line: *awsm* (= *aws dem*) 26, 4; *jñs* (= *in das*) 19, 1, *ins* (= *in des*) 39, 4; *beym* (= *bey dem*) 23, 5; *vnnderm* 25, 7; *gegem* (= *gegen dem*) 56, 2; *in tempel* (a. sing.) 43, 16; *zûr* 100, 8; *zûm* 20, 8. Similarly two

pronouns: *jms* (=‘ihm es’); *euchs* (=euch es) 9, 1; *sys* (=sy sy = ‘eī eās’) 89, 8. But this contraction is very rare.

The conjunction ‘dasz’ and the general relative ‘was’ are frequently written *dz* (e.g., 3, 10), *alles wz* (e.g., 7, 8).

(2) A sign resembling our apostrophe, placed after a *d* or over a *v*, denotes *er*, e.g., *d’* (=der) 4, 12; *od’* (=oder) 4, 12; *sond’* (=sonder) Vorr. 5; *and’s* (=anders) 18, 8; *’nuft* (=vernunft) 2, 1; *’ändert* (=verändert) 6, 7.

(3) A symbol resembling a superior figure 9 (⁹) means -us, e.g., *constantin*⁹ (=constantinus) 6, 3; *salu*⁹ (=salvus) 6, 10; *Jacob*⁹ (=Jacobus), *Paul*⁹ 3, 2; *Crist*⁹ 4, 9.

(4) The abbreviation for ‘and so forth’ (German *u. s. w.*) is what corresponds in Schwabach type to **Ⓒ**, i.e., an abbreviation of *et* (‘and’) + *c* (=cetera).

CHAPTER 2. VOWELS

INTRODUCTION: VARIATION IN SPELLING

a: o

§ 8. Bavarian *o* was an open sound and this explains why it could, in some words, interchange with *a* (cf. Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, §§ 21, 22). *a* often becomes *o*, especially before liquids and nasals. Besides the words *sol*, *von*, *holen*, *gewon*, Berthold has the following words in *o*: *ermonen* 40, 5; *ermont* 1, 8, etc. (: *ermant*, once, Vorrede, 4); *ermonung* 4, 4; *bedarf* 6, 6 (18×) (: *bedarf*, once 19, 5); cf. § 30.

ā: ō

on (prep.) 4, 12; *argwon* 16, 1; *kot* 18, 5; 34, 3 (Weigand, D. W.,⁵ I, 1129, gives *kat* as the South German form); *do* (conj. or adv. of time or place); *domit* 5, 7; *dorjnn* 6, 5; *dohin* 4, 4; *doher* 20, 4 (: *darumb* 4, 14; *darein* 6, 9; *darfür* 7, 2; *damit*, twice, 13, 1; 28, 15). All other compounds with *da-* have *a*; *wo* 5, 7; *anderswo* 9, 6; *etwo* 79, 3; *annderszwohin* 28, 12; *vnderlos* 7, 3; *vnnderlos* 3, 2; *mon* 21, 1; *monschein* 21, 1; *schof* 15, 8; *schofwoll* 30, 2. For *pölder* ‘bälde’ see § 105.

For *a* in unaccented syllables, see § 31.

á:e

§ 9. *á* is regularly used for the umlaut of West Germanic *ā* (cf. § 58). It also represents the secondary umlaut of *a*, e.g., *mánlich* 32, 2; *táglich* 4, 11; *váter* 5, 6; *tág*, pl. 44, 12; *allmáchtig* 7, 1; *wássert* 10, 6; *widerwártikait* 10, 13 (: *widerwertikait* 24, 9).

§ 10. *e* represents:

(1) Germanic *e*: e.g., *geben*, *nemen*, *hertz*, *mel* 'Mehl.'

(2) The umlaut of *a*: e.g., *ellter*, *leng* ('Länge'), *hell* 'hält,' 8, 4; *fell* 4, 11 (: *fált* 9, 8), *fert* 'fährt' 27, 10; *wechszt* 34, 7 (but more commonly *wächst* 11×; *wáchszt*, once; *wachset* 5×; *wachst* 5×).

(3) *ē* (< *ai*|*h*, *w*, *r*), e.g., *ewig* 4, 11; *lere*, *sele*, *erbern* 15, 8; *gemeret* 6, 7; *schne* 29, 10. It is frequently doubled in *eere* 5, 6; *eerlich* 51, 15; always in *ee* 'Ehe' 13, 8; *eepruch* 14, 14; *ee* 'ehe' adv. and conj. 11, 6; 13, 11; *eemals*, *wee* 14, 14.

(4) The vowels in the unaccented syllables, so far as they have not been syncopated, or apocopated, or have retained their original sound; cf. §§ 115, 116, 117.

e is often dropped before *l*, and *r*, e.g., *wórtl* 7, 9; *kindl* 10, 3; *zweifl* 17, 3; *epistl* 12, 1; *mitl* 12, 5; *bibl* 17, 7; *himl* 30, 3; *apostl* 6, 5. *erweytrung* 12, 9; *lesstrung* 13, 7, etc. In all these words forms with *e* are also found. But *e* is retained in: *zehen* 17, 4; *gemahel* 17, 7; *anderer* 31, 1; *dewfelisch* 39, 16; *obuerschribener* 50, 12.

i:y:j

§ 11. *i* = Germanic *i* in accented syllables (cf. §§ 41, 44, 45). It is often written *y*, especially in the diphthong *ai*. *ai* and *ay* occur with about equal frequency; cf. *taig*, *tayg* 16, 6; *trayd* 11, 8; *traid* 43, 7. Likewise in *hie* 5, 1: *hye* 4, 12; *hieunden* 5, 4; *hyeunden* 5, 2. But *y* is always written in the adverbs and pronouns: *ye* 20, 9; 26, 5; *nye* 9, 3; 20, 3; *ytz* 9, 8; *yetz* 6, 4; *yez* 31, 8; *ymer* 67, 9; *yemer* 9, 6; *nymēr* 4, 15; *nyemandts* 4, 15; *nymants* 11, 3; *yemants* 14, 7; and in the proper noun *Ysaac* 99, 16. In the loan words: *syrop* 59, 8; *zyrck* 26, 1.

The pronoun 'jeder' is ordinarily spelled *yeder*; *ain yder* (2×); *aim yden* (4×); *ain yde* (2×); *ainer yden* (once); *ain yede* (6×); *ainer yden*; *yeglicher* (8×); *yglicher* (9×), of this pronoun the forms are about equally divided.

The pronunciation was evidently $\bar{i}$. Compare such forms as *yeben* 24, 9, the unrounded pronunciation of *ûben*, and such rhymes in Hans Sachs and Waldis: *sie:ie*; *knîe:je* (cf. Moser, *Einführung*, § 63).

y is always written in the prep. and prefix *bey* (e.g., 4, 14; 5, 4) *beyspil* 7, 5; *beysitzer* 6, 5; in the opt. of the verb *sein*, *y* predominates, e.g., *sey* 3. p. sing. (: *sej*, 3×); *seyst* (2×), *seyest* (once), *seyestu* (once): *seist* (5×), *seiest* (2×); 3. p. pl. *seyen* (once): *seiñ* (13×): *seind* (once); 2. p. pl. indic. *seyt* (13×); *seydt* (2×): *seit* (4×). But the infinitive is always *seiñ*, *sein*, *seī*, *gesein*. *y* is always written in the pers. pron. 3. p. sing. fem. and 3. p. pl. nom. and acc., *sy*.

In foreign words: *archetipus* 19, 1; *subdicon* 64, 3: *subdiacon* 94, 12. In the gen. sing. ending of proper nouns: e.g., *johānis* 23, 5, *herodis* 23, 5; *Pharaonis* 39, 2 (: *Salomons* 39, 6); *mayestat* 4, 14, *mayestet* 9, 1: *maiestat* 9, 3, *maiestet* 9, 6.

§ 12. *j* represents consonantal *i*, e.g., *junckfraw* 6, 10; *jach* (3. p. sing. pret.) 11, 2 (: *vergicht* 8, 9); it is written initially in:

(1) The adv. *ja*, e.g., 5, 7; 8, 3.

(2) The pronoun of the first person: *jch* (: *ich* 7×).

(3) The pronoun *jhener*. Exceptions: *ihen* (n. pl. masc.) 39, 4; *ihene* (n. pl. neut.) 40, 5.

(4) *jchts* 'etwas' 24, 5 (: *ichts* 3×; *an ichte anderm* 41, 6).

(5) *jm* (d. sing. masc.) (11×), *jme* (35×) (: *im*, once, 30, 6).

jn (a. sing. masc.) (3×), *jne* (23×) (: *in* 5×).

jn (d. pl.) (4×), *jne* (6×), *jnen* (28×) (: *in* 4×).

(6) Proper names: When they begin with a capital it is impossible to distinguish *i* and *j*. In the other cases *j* is regularly written initially, e.g., *jhesu* 10, 12; *juda* 9, 3; *jheronim*⁹ 36, 14, *des jobs* 85, 11; *jheremiam* 91, 10, *jheremia* 21, 5 (: *hieremiam* 65, 7, *hieremias* 39, 6); *jouinianum* 76, 4; *joseph* 23, 5.

(7) In the final position in Latin loan words: *ewangelj* (n. sing.) 4, 13; *historj* 9, 7; *cerimonj* 6, 6 (: *concilium Nicenū* 6, 2, *concili* 6, 4); in proper names: *cornelj* (n. sing.) 77, 9; *gregorij* (g. sing.) 58, 13; *eluidij* 85, 9; *Nicolaj* (g. sing.) 82, 4; *gregorj* (n. sing.) 12, 8; *Dioclecianj* (g. sing.) 13, 12.

But: *pauli* 28, 15; *cristi* 28, 15; *augustini* 72, 3; *moysi* 51, 2; *Damasceni* 54, 5; *symoni* 92, 2; *macrocosmi* 41, 2; *uniuersi* 19, 6; *centuri* 84, 4.

u:v

§ 13. *v* is written for both vowel and consonant in the initial position, e.g., *vnd*, *vmb*, *vnnder*, *vns*, prefix *vn-*; *vater*, *voligen*, *viech*, *vischen*, *vierdt*, *vesstiklich*, *visier*.

NOTE.—The umlaut is written *ü*, e.g., *über* 4, 13; 5, 5, etc. (but occasionally *vber* 7, 1; 8, 7; 72, 3).

u is written medially for both vowel and consonant. E.g., *sun*, *frucht*, *purde*, *figur*, *wurden*; *eruodert* 13, 4 (: *erfordert* 10, 1), *Prouintz* 17, 6, *beuestigung* 11, 1; *eruodrung* 17, 11; *voruodern* 'Vorfahren' 89, 2, *züuergeben* 6, 1, *obuerschribener* 50, 12, *zeuolbrigen*, *gotsuorcht* 29, 7 (: *gotsforcht* 32, 2); in the proper names *Jouiniani* 19, 9; *leui* 65, 8; *Heluidius* 15, 9.

i:y

§ 14. *i* and *y* interchange in the diphthongs *ei* (< *ī*) and *ai* (< *aī*) (cf. §§ 60, 71, 73) and in *ie* (< *ē*₂) (cf. § 59), and in most words containing *i*, e.g., *zyl* 31, 5; *zīl* 46, 4; *gestyrn* 25, 8; *gestirns* 26, 3.

NOTE.—But always *vil*, *wieuil*, *souil*, *alsuil*.

u:w

§ 15. *u* and *w* interchange in the diphthong *au* (< *ū*; *au*; *aww*) (cf. §§ 80, 81); *ewch* 12, 9; *ew* 1, 6; *ewrntthalben* 78, 1; *euch* 1, 5; *ëuch* 3, 7. *ew* always in the inst. sing. *wew*, e.g., 13, 13; 19, 5; 22, 3; 37, 11, etc.

NOTE.—*w* occasionally stands for Germ. *ō*, e.g., *zw* 24, 7; 25, 1 (: *zuo* 4, 12, etc.); *dw* Vorr. 3 (otherwise *du*).

§ 16. *ûe:û* (Cf. § 64.)

§ 17. *úe:ú* (Cf. § 65.)

ü, u:ö, ó:o

§ 18. These spellings are found side by side in the following words: *münich* 13, 5; *mónich* 11, 7; *monich* (n. sing.) 16, 6; *monich* (n. pl.) 39, 16; *münichen*, d. pl. 'Mönchen': *mónichen* 6, 4 (but the city always *München*); *befüdert* 11, 9; *eruodert* 13, 4; *eruordert* 51, 4; *vnkündig* 36, 1; *kóndig* 44, 6; *befüdern* 22, 8; *eruodern* 14, 12; *Künigen* Vorr. 6; *kónig* 13, 12; *luterischen* (usual form) 9, 5; *loterischen* 12, 1 (but always *Luther*, *Luter*); *müglich* 50, 1; *móglich* 51, 15; *mügen*:

mögen; *künnen:können*; *künne:könne* (opt.); *süllen:söllen:sollen*; *süllt:söllt:sollt* (see §§ 100, 101); *füllerey* 44, 8; 76, 5; *völle*, 'Fülle' 21, 8; *volle* 91, 8.

§ 19. Only *üe*, *ü*, *ú*, *u* are found in *versüenet* 32, 1; *versüenen* 53, 11; *versüener* 54, 5; *frǖmet* 69, 3; *fürdrer* 76, 8; *würcher* 87, 4; *getrückent* 'getrocknet' 94, 12; *gelübt* 'gelobt, versprochen' 98, 3; *verlübt* 98, 3; *erbütig* 'erbötig' (dedication); *füllerey* 44, 8; *München* (city); *truckhen* 41, 5; *guldene* 30, 9; *gulden* 13, 8; *kupfrein* 20, 1; *kupffreue* 85, 2; *künftig* 40, 4; *dürstig* 4, 12. But always *o* in *forcht* 37, 3; *gotsuorcht* 29, 7; *holtzen* 39, 4; *volle* 91, 8 (: *völle* 21, 8).

ie:u

§ 20. *ie* and *u* are found in words of the same type, e.g., *widerdriesz* 13, 3; *genies* 16, 1; 82, 1; 89, 7; *geltgenies* 89, 7; *verdrus* 13, 8; 46, 3; 50, 4; 75, 2.

ie:e (Cf. Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, § 46.)

§ 21. *ie* and *e* interchange in the following: *diemût* 3, 6, *diemûet* 10, 10; *diemûetiger* 3, 6; *gediemûetigt* 3, 6; *demûtig* 4, 14; *begier* 25, 7, *gier* 20, 4; *beger* 32, 2; *hiet* 'hätte' 1. and 3. p. sing. 87, 3; 38, 10; 39, 10; *het* (4×) 47, 11; 9, 1; *hietest* 50, 6, *hietestu* 30, 9; *hetest* 50, 6 (once); *hieten* (1. p. pl.) 39, 11 (3×); *hetten* 74, 8 (once); *hieten* (3. p. pl.) 9, 3 (8×); *heten* 17, 11 (2×), *hetten* 66, 4 (once).

i:ie

§ 22. *entschid* 6, 5; *abschid* 80, 5; *vnderschid* 7, 3; 17, 7; *vnnder-schied* 7, 4 (: *vnderschaid* 70, 9, <MHG. *underscheit*); *dinst* 9, 4; *gotsdinst* 13, 5; *dinstbar* 23, 3; *dienst* 5, 4; *diennst* 13, 8; *gotszdienst* 88, 7; *dienen* 31, 9, always with *ie*. So also *gierig* 51, 5; *begierig* 24, 5; *wierser* 'schlimmer' 3, 5; *wird* 'Würde' 49, 3; *wirde* 20, 4; *wirdig* 3, 8; *wierd* 43, 17; *wierde* 31, 1; *wierden* 62, 6; *vihisch* 45, 9, *vihische* 25, 10; *viech* 20, 1, *viechs* 85, 4; 3. p. sing. of the V class of strong verbs: *sicht*, 'sieht' 40, 7 (4×); *sihet* 24, 3 (2×), *beschicht* 'geschieht' 4, 12 (33 per cent); *siecht* 19, 1 (13×), *siehet* 36, 13 (10×), *beschiecht* 4, 12 (67 per cent).

NOTE.—But always *i* in: *gibt*; *list*; *trit(t)*; *pittet*, *pitt*, *pit*; *ligt*; *vergicht* 8, 9; in the p. p. of the I class of strong verbs: *gescriben*, *verlihen*, *abgestigen*, *beliben*, *ingespiben* 6, 8; *bewisen*, *vertzigen*, *geschichen*, 'gescheut' 10, 9;

erschinen, verschiner ('verschienener,' i.e., 'vergangener'), *abgeschiden, vermiten, gemiten, geschriren* 'geschrieen' 71,3; *getriben; gedigen* 'gediehen' 17, 8.

i before *t, tt*: *geliten* 6, 6: *gelitten* 8, 4; *gestriten* 54, 9: *gestritten* 9, 5; *geschniten* 79, 2, *gesniten* 30, 2: *abgeschnitten* 29, 3.

i before double consonants: *begriffen, beflissen, zerissen, zerpissen, geritten*.

Always *ie* in the verbs in *-ieren*; e.g., *hofieren, studieren, multiplicieren, appellieren, psallieren*, etc.

§ 23. *y:ye* (Cf. § 11.)

§ 24. *e:ô; i, ie:ü; ey, ei:eu, ew*
(See Rounding and Unrounding, §§ 105–12.)

ei:ē

§ 25. The loan word *pein* occurs with the spellings *pein* 4, 4; 10, 9 (14×); *pen* 3, 3; 4, 5 (11×); *peen* 20, 7 (once); *penen* (d. pl.) 89, 3 (once); *gepeynigt* 15, 8; *peinigen* 32, 3; *peinlichs* 54, 5.

ei, ey:â

§ 26. E.g., *zeteydingē* 74, 3: *tâdingen* (d. pl.) 11, 7 (cf. § 75).

ew, eu, eü, eû:û, ũ

§ 27. E.g., *freünd, freünd:fründ, fründtschaft* (cf. §§ 93, 94).

A. VOWELS IN ROOT-SYLLABLES

a) *The individual vowels.*—

1) Short vowels:

a

§ 28. Germanic *a* appears as *a*, e.g., *daz, land, fal, vater*; presents of the IV class of strong verbs, e.g., *faren, slahen, wachsen, tragen*; preterites of Classes III–V, e.g., *ward, warf; sprach, nam; was, jach*.

§ 29. *a* is found in the proper names *Sampson* 99, 16; *bathsaba* 85, 9.

§ 30. In Bavarian *a* was early pronounced *â*. This is shown by such rhymes as: *dorf:bedarf; art:wort* (cf. Paul, *MHD. Gram.*, § 111; Weinhold, *l.c.*, § 5). Our text shows *o* for *a* in certain words, especially before *n*, *n*+cons. and *r*, *l*+cons. E.g., *ermonen* 40, 5; *ermoungen* 5, 5; *ermont* 1, 8 (often) (: *ermant* Vorrede); *verwont* 54, 1; *mituervonten* 14, 12. Proper names: *sebold* 98, 5; *dathon* 96, 6; *Booz* 'Boas' 82, 7; *abyron* 96, 6; *Labon* 37, 3; *nom, nome, nomen*

'Name'; *bedorf* 6, 6; 11, 6, etc. (: *bedarf* 19, 5, once): *füestopffen* 71, 7 (: *füesstaffen* 71, 6).

§ 31. *a* is weakened to *e* in *het* 'hat' 9, 1; 10, 5 (: *hat* 4, 12; 4, 15); the forms are about evenly divided; suffix, *-bar*: e.g., *vogtber* 41, 4 (: *vogbar* 32, 1); *nutzber* 76, 9; *erber* 13, 8; *kriegber* 17, 5 (: *kriegbaren* 24, 8); *fruchtber* 5, 7 (: *fruchtbar* 5, 7); *augstmonets* (Ded.) (: *monats*).

NOTE.—For *herschafft* (n. pl.) 9, 6 see § 32.

But *a* is retained in *harnasch* 48, 8; *faschang* 48, 6; *albar* 'albern' 41, 7.

§ 32. *a* was mutated by *i, j* of the following syllable. This palatalization began in the eighth century (cf. Schatz, *Altbair. Gram.*, § 19; Braune, *AHD. Gram.*, § 26), and is quite consistently written *e*; e.g., *fellt* 4, 11; *geuellig* 4, 14; *gesellen* 1, 6; *krefft* (pl.) 2, 5; *herschafft* (n. pl.) 9, 6; *drey aigenscheft* (n. pl.) 7, 9 (: *drey aygenschaft* 7, 9); *brüderscheft* (n. pl.) 47, 5 (: *brüederschaft* [n. pl.] 47, 4); *ellter* (comp.) 6, 7; *kelt* (noun) 10, 13; *sterck* 21, 3; *gesst* (pl.) 21, 8; *wechszt* 34, 7 (: *wächszt* 30, 5). But: *geschläch* 54, 1; *pfárd* 42, 1; *hárber hund* 39, 2; *námlich* 15, 3; *gescháft* 12, 7; *kálbel* 13, 2.

§ 33. The secondary umlaut of *a* is usually written *á*, e.g., *mánlich* 32, 2; *táglich* 4, 11; *váter* 5, 6; *gedánckhen* (pl.) 5, 6; *tág* (pl.) 44, 12.

§ 34. The umlaut *e* was narrowed to *i* in *wirm* 'Wärme' 25, 4; *wyrm* 25, 1; *wyrme* 28, 5; *wirme* 63, 12.

e

§ 35. Germ. *e > i* | *i, ī, j* of the following syllables, e.g., *jrrdischen* 4, 11; *angesicht* 4, 14; *vihische* 25, 10; *gestirns* 26, 3; *lidrein* 'ledern' 88, 2 (: *erdene* 88, 5); *geswistriet* 'verschwistert' 67, 7; 2. and 3. p. sing. of strong verbs, e.g., *wirdestu* 5, 5; *hilft* 17, 5; *nymbst* 63, 10; *gibst* 45, 10. Loan words: *sicherer* 4, 1.

NOTE.—For *siecht:sicht*; *wierde:wirde*, see § 22.

§ 36. *e* is rounded to *ó*; e.g., *móre* (: *mere*). For other examples, see § 105.

§ 37. *e > a* in *bathsaba* 85, 9; *vīl verwarrens* 38, 7 (cf. MHG. *verwarren*); *behamischen* (<MHG. *bēhemisch*) 'böhmisch' 47, 6; *sagan* 'sagen' 17, 7; *vrbering* 41, 14 (: *vrbering* 34, 9); *nachdam* 25, 1; *gemaltem* 'gemeldetem' 85, 10; *caractarem* 59, 1 (: *character*).

§ 38. *e* is written *á* in *vbertráter* 32, 3.

§ 39. Germ. *e* regularly appears as *i* in the 1. p. sing. pres. indic. of Classes III–V of the strong verbs, e.g., *jch wird* 26, 1; *jch nym* 39, 10; *jch sprich* 75, 2; *jch lis* 7, 9; *jch gib* 14, 4 (: *übersiech jch* 84, 6). This is a South German characteristic (cf. Moser, *Einführung*, p. 57).

§ 40. In unaccented syllables *e* > *i*, e.g., *cathecuminj* (n. pl.) 43, 2; *cathecumin*⁹ (n. sing.) 43, 2; *prewtigan* 55, 6 (often) (: *preytgan* 81, 9); *senifkorn* 58, 11; *cerimonien* 78, 10. But *laberinthus* 91, 7.

i

§ 41. Germ. *i* appears as *i*, *y*, e.g., *fisch* 31, 1; *zil* 31, 5; *witz* 80, 10; *sig* 47, 10; *grysgramen* 72, 2; *hytz* 7, 7; *zewissen* 5, 3; *wissen* (1. p. pl.) 11, 1; *gewisst* 12, 1; the p. p. of the I class of strong verbs, e.g., *erschinen*, *geliten*, *gedigen*. (For other examples see § 22.)

i is found in the loan word *chrisma* 61, 3; *chrisem* 61, 2.

i is retained in unaccented syllable in *jubil jar* 89, 1.

§ 42. *i* > *e* in *schef* 'Schiff' 42, 1; 60, 14; *schefman* 42, 1; *schefmañen* 16, 1; *scheflew* 16, 1 (: *schif* 16, 1; *schiffel* 16, 1; 91, 10; *schiffart* 16, 1; *schiffung* 16, 1); *scheffscheytrüg* 75, 5 (cf. Braune, *AHD. Gram.*, § 31); *beschermen* 48, 9. Other words (e.g., *leber* 83, 1; *lernen*, *leben*) agree with modern literary German; *laberinthus* 91, 7; *Helchie* 54, 8 (Luther: *Hilkia*, Isa. 22: 20).

e is found once in *gewest* 40, 9 (< *wissen*); *wesst* 28, 16 (3. p. sing. pret. < *wissen*). But *gewisst* 9×, *vnbewisst* 6×; *vnbewist* 2×; *bewisst* 7, 6; *bewist* 73, 11; *vorgewisst* 4×.

§ 43. *i* is rounded to *ü*, especially in the neighborhood of labials, e.g., *müsch* Vorr. 3; 18, 6. For other examples see § 107.

With loss of *w*: *erküchkt* 'erquickt' 29, 9; *erkückung* 26, 1.

§ 44. *i* is retained in unaccented syllables in *kelich* 62, 2; *solich* 64, 4; *sollichen* 51, 8; *zwelef* 96, 4 (otherwise *zwelf*); *aindlif* 92, 3; *welliche* (n. sing. fem.) 6, 9 (once).

NOTE.—In some words *a*, *e*, *u* > *i* in unaccented syllables, e.g., *senifsam* 29, 10; *senifkorn* 58, 11; *senifkoerndel* 79, 1; *milich* 68, 9; 88, 2; *menig* 'Menge' 40, 4; *preütigan* 29, 4; *preytigan* 45, 11 (: *preytgam* 14, 9).

§ 45. *i* is developed as a glide vowel in *plaspdlig* 'Blasbälge' 75, 3; *wechselpdlig* 29, 7; *voligen* 78, 10; *voligt* 5, 3; *vertiligt* 9, 1.

u

§ 46. Germ. *u* either remained *u* or was later changed to *o* through *a*, *e*, *o* of the following syllable (Braune, *AHD. Gram.*, § 32).

§ 47. *u* remains *u* in *sun* 'Sohn' 5, 3; *wuñ* 83, 7; *volkūmene* 4, 15; *frūm* 5, 5; *pruñ* 7, 5; *verdrus* 13, 8; *beschluss* 15, 2; *ursprung* 22, 1; *betrug* 86, 2; *sūmer* 100, 14; *guldene* 30, 9; *truckhen* 41, 5.

NOTE.—It is written *w* in *dw* Vorr. 3 (: *du*, the common form): *zwcht* 17, 13; 25, 8 (: *zucht* 19, 11); *numals* 7, 6 (: *numals* usually).

§ 48. *u* is written in the foreign words: *pusawnen* 100, 13; *zedulmatschen* 15, 4.

§ 49. *u* is found in unaccented syllables, especially in the present participles, which have *u* in over half of the forms, e.g., *leydunt* 7, 9; *fliessunt* 28, 12; *pryñunt* 12, 6; *betreffunt* 95, 3; *obligunt* 50, 6; *wachunt* 41, 8; *slaffunder* 30, 1; *würchunt* 7, 8 (: *absteigend* 34, 4; *fliessend* 9, 6; *prinnend* 87, 3, etc.). Also in *angulñ* 44, 1 (: *angeltugenten* 44, 1); *nackunt* 76, 1 (: *nackend* 30, 4, the usual form).

§ 50. *u > o*, e.g., *wort*, *wonen*, *volckh*, *joch*, *mord*, *forcht*, *son* 'Sonne' 29, 4; *woll* 30, 2; *schofwoll* 30, 2; *holtz*, *korn*, *gold*; *Sontag* 17, 6; 51, 2; *loterischen* 12, 1 (: *luterischen* 9, 5; 15, 3); *preytgon* 'Bräutigam' 76, 6 (: *preytigan* 45, 11), *smorotzer* 88, 8; *erdorrt* 78, 1 (: *erdarrt* 78, 1). But *nunnen* (d. pl.) 13, 5; 29, 2.

§ 51. In unaccented syllables *o* is retained in *coron* 84, 5 (: *kron* 85, 8); *Nabuchodonosor* 43, 17.

§ 52. The umlaut of *u* is written *ü*, rarely *ú*. E.g., *khünfftigs* 4, 12; *erfüllt* 4, 15; *vnmöglich* (: *vnmöglichait* 77, 12; *möglich* 51, 15); *erbütig* Ded.; *künne* (: *könne*), *kürz* (noun), *sklüssel*, *tür* 42, 4; *sünden* 42, 6 (: *sünd*, *sündig*, *sünder*); *gefüdert* 83, 11.

Loan words: *mülstein* 4, 4; *natürlich*, *jüdisch*, *frücht*, *münichen* (: *mónichen*). But the city is always written *München*.

The pronunciation of this *ü* was evidently *i*. As early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was in Bavaria a tendency to unround *ü* and write it *i*; cf. Weinhold, *l.c.*, §§ 19, 32. The Bavarian dialect had a tendency to resist the umlaut. *u* was protected especially by liquids and gutturals, as is borne out by the modern dialect (Weinhold, *l.c.*, § 29). E.g., *burger* 99, 13; *lugner* 5, 1; *junger* 1, 7; *kunstliche* 7, 3; *ursprunglich* 7, 7 (: *ursprünglich* 11, 2); *jungstem* 7, 7

(:jüngsten 6, 2); *bedunckt* 84, 5; *ausgedruckt* 53, 1; *verzückung* 18, 5; *vuerruckt* 87, 3; *verkurtzen* 40, 4; *purde* 35, 6; *zû ruck* 11, 7; *kunst* (a. pl.) 12, 7; *stuckh* (pl.) 2, 5 (:stück 1, 4); *puckhen* 'bücken' 4, 15; 86, 5; *gesmuckt* 16, 4; *grundlichen* 5, 7; *gruntlichs* 15, 7; *gegrunt* 8, 2; 12, 4; *wurde* (opt.) 3, 2; 3, 12; *wurden* (opt.) 3, 5, etc. This word always has *u* in the optative; *guldene* 85, 2; *vbrigs* 4, 5; *uber* 7, 1; 8, 7 (:über 4, 13); *vermüetiger* 6, 7; *verwindet* 8, 1; *verflüssig* 10, 5; *vergiftigen* 20, 1; *vertreter* 25, 9 (:überflüssig 4, 12; übersteen 13, 1).

§ 53. The umlaut of *o* is *ô*. E.g., *götter* 5, 7; 7, 6; *wörtel* 7, 9; *ôbrister* 11, 9; *völle* 21, 8; *könig* 5, 6; 9, 3; 10, 3; 10, 4; *mörder* 3, 4; 48, 11; *ôfter* 70, 8; *völlige* 72, 7; *örtter* 4, 4; *pôlder* 'bälder' 34, 4; loan words: *rômisch* 10, 4; *mônich* 11, 7 (:münich 13, 5), *gleichförmig* 7, 4; *ôl* 4, 5; *Görg von Saxen* 13, 4; and in: *sólher* 10, 2 (:solher 5, 5); *sólhem* 14, 13 (:solhem 15, 8), etc., *hónig* 10, 6; *ôbrister* 11, 9; *ôbrist* 19, 6; *pólster* (a. pl.) 14, 14.

§ 54. In the following there is fluctuation in spelling (*ô*, *ö*:*ü*): *können*:*künnen*; *könne* (opt.):*künne*; *möglich* 51, 15:*müglich* 50, 11; *môge*:*müge*; *sóllt* 53, 6:*süllt* 25, 10:*sollt* 14, 9; *sóllen*, *sollen* (usual forms):*süllen* 40, 10.

2) Long vowels:

ā

§ 55. In Bavarian West Germ. *ā* became a very open sound (*ā̃*) as early as the thirteenth century. It differed from the old *ō* except before nasals (cf. Moser, *Einführung*, § 57).

§ 56. West Germ. *ā* appears as *a*, e.g., *ader* 63, 12; *jamer* 76, 1; *jamertal* 62, 6; *gûttat* 30, 2; *har* 17, 5; *gnad* 4, 15; 5, 2; *schlaffen* 14, 14; *slaff* 'Schlaf' 78, 7; *rat* 16, 1. In the pret. of classes IV and V, e.g. (1. p. pl.), *waren* 32, 6; (3. p. pl.) 33, 9; *sprachen* 9, 3; 14, 3; *kamen* 55, 8; *gabñ* 21, 5; *ersahen* 90, 7; *than* (p. p.); 1, 6; *war* 'wahr' 51, 14; *nach*, *schacher* 'Schächer' 4, 1.

§ 57. *ā* > *o* in: *on* 'ohne,' *wo*, *etwo* 79, 3; *anderswo*; *do* (always); *domit* (always); *dohér*; *dohin*; *dorjnn* (:daher, darjnn, dadurch, darüber, darauf, etc.; cf. § 8); *mon* 21, 1; *monschein* 21, 1; *mons* 'Mondes' 25, 4; *argwon* 16, 1; *schof* 15, 8; 76, 2; 90, 3; *schofwoll* 30, 2; *schofstal* 91, 6; 91, 17; *schofhawten* 15, 12; *korfreytags* 51, 2; *vnnderlos* 3, 2; *vnderlos* 37, 10.

NOTE.—The change *da->do-* is probably not phonetic, but due to the analogy of *wa>wo* (cf. Moser, *Einführung*, § 225).

§ 58. The umlaut of *ā* is regularly written *ä*, rarely *e*. E.g., *sälikait*, *wäre* (opt.) *fähig*, *lär*, *träger* 25, 9; *näterl* 20, 1; *jährlich* 7, 2; *jämerlichen* 98, 6; *lässt*; *schäfel* 92, 3 (: *schöffel* 91, 17); *päten* 'bäten' (opt.) 77, 1; *argwänig* 51, 2; *käs* 63, 12. *andechtiger* 6, 7 (: *andächtigt* 8, 3); *gnediklich* 9, 3; 11, 9; 21, 4; *gnedigen* 10, 11; 28, 5; *gedechtnusz* 62, 3; 23, 8; 26, 6 (: *gedächtnusz* 7, 8; 27, 5; 27, 8); *mittelmessigem* 30, 6; *geuerlich* 25, 9; *Egypten* 47, 11; *Egyptier* 44, 10; *Ethiopia* 14, 1; *Ecolompadi* 8, 2; 16, 6.

NOTE.—For *paem*, *zaem* (= 'Baum, Zaum'), see § 82.

ē₂

§ 59. Germ. *ē₂* appears in the following as *ie*, *ye*: *hie*, *hierñ*, *hierauff*, *hyerjnn* (: *hinach* 80, 10); *hier* (often); *krieg* 13, 5; *kryeg* 48, 9; *zier* 17, 3; *zyer* 15, 6; *miedt* 55, 3; the preterites of the so-called reduplicating verbs, e.g., *hiesz*, *lies*, *viel*, *empfieng*, *gieng*, *verriet*. The loan words: *brief* 17, 1; 59, 3; *priester* 13, 8; *spiegel* 21, 12; *fieber* 32, 5.

ī

§ 60. MHG. *ī* (<Germ. *ī* and other sources) is always diphthongized and written *ei*, *ey*, e.g., *weib*, *zeit*, *dein*, *geytz*, *eys* 'Eis' 26, 1; *eysnen joch* 'eisern' 37, 6; *eytl*, *weissagung*, *feind*, *wein*, *swein*, *sweinen*, *freythöf* 90, 5; *Cathrein* (name) 99, 17; *in latein* 42, 7; *drey*, *dreyzehend* *dreyerlay* 4, 11; *dreymal*; *kindlein* 58, 11; *schöflein* 95, 1; *lamblein* 100, 13.

NOTE.—*ei*: *e*, *ee* are found in the loan word *pein*, e.g., 4, 4; 10, 9; *peinigen* 32, 3; *peinlichs* 54, 15: *pen*, e.g., 3, 3; 4, 5; 4, 15, and once *peen* 20, 7. The spellings *e*, *ee* point to a narrowing of the diphthong similar to that treated in § 78.

§ 61. *ī* was retained in *drifaltig* 11, 1; *dryfacher* 4, 10; *trifach* 14, 1; *zwifach* 26, 5; *zwitracht* 48, 9; *zweifeltige* 36, 9 (cf. Braune, *P.B.B.*, 2, 133; *AHD. Gram.*, § 280; Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, § 50).

§ 62. *ī>ei* in *kunstreich* 5, 3; *kunstreicher* 7, 3; *freydenreich* 29, 9; *gnadenreiche* 53, 5. But *i* is found in the name *hainrich* 98, 5.

§ 63. *ī* was diphthongized in the suffixes *-īn* (denoting material) (§ 113, 1), *-ī* (§ 113, 3), *-līn* (§ 113, 4), *-wīs* (§ 113, 5); in the prefixes

in- (§ 113, 8), *bī-* (§ 113, 7); likewise in the loan word *vermaledeyt*, *vermaladeyt* (p. p.) 20, 1.

ō

§ 64. Germ. *ō* is written *üe*, *û*, and is, no doubt, still a diphthong (cf. Moser, *l.c.*, §§ 11, 62), e.g., *brüeder* 6, 2; *müeter* 5, 7; *pües* 10, 11; *püech* 10, 3; *plûem* 10, 3; pret. of the VI class of strong verbs, e.g., *schûef* 81, 5; *fûer* 64, 7; *hueb* 67, 5. The spelling *û* is less common, e.g., *gût* 17, 5; *mûter* 85, 8; *verflûcht* 13, 4; *beschûf* 5, 3; *hûb an* 71, 3.

It is sometimes spelled *w*; see § 15, note.

§ 65. The umlaut is written *üe*, *û*, less commonly *üe*, *ü*; or with loss of labialization: *ie*, *ye* (cf. § 111). E.g., *büecher* 7, 2; *süesz* 4, 15; *ausfüerung* 7, 3; *prüefen* 7, 8; *hüetten* 15, 2; *sûsz* 4, 15; *pûchern* 12, 2; *diemûtig* 14, 6; *geûbt* 86, 1; *vngeûbt* 85, 7; *güetigister* 32, 3; *püessender* 30, 1.

§ 66. This umlaut has been unrounded to *ye* (cf. § 111).

ū

§ 67. Germ. *ū* has been diphthongized and is written *aw*, *au*, rarely *aû*, e.g., *tawb* 'Taubē' 6, 4; *prawt* 6, 6; *fawl* 13, 6; *gawl* 42, 1; *pawch* 15, 2; *aus* 3, 9; *hauswirts* 17, 7; *hausz* 3, 5; *haûs* 97, 4; *laût* 100, 7; *gepaûten* 91, 10.

§ 68. The umlaut is written *ew*, *eû*; or unrounded to *ei*, *ey*. E.g., *fewl* (noun) 74, 6; *gepew* 91, 2; *gebewchen* 95, 10; *mewren*, 'Mauern' 97, 4; *gotszhewser* 9, 3; *springhewsern* 24, 5; *prewtigan* 55, 6; *heûser* 39, 8; 87, 9; *feûl* 44, 3; *preütigan* 29, 4.

§ 69. In most cases, however, the diphthong has been unrounded, e.g., *preitgan* 98, 2; *preytigan* 45, 11; *vorheyte* 16, 4; *peytl* 21, 5; *leyttern* 'läutern' 36, 7; *geleyttert* 54, 3; *seyer* 'Säure' 63, 2; *seyr* 4, 15; *geleyt* 'Geläute' 63, 6; *preyt* 'Bräute' 98, 6; *saltz seyl* 98, 9 (cf. Schatz, *Imst*, §§ 50, 51).

3) Diphthongs:

ai

§ 70. Germ. *ai* became *ei* in the beginning of the ninth century, which in turn became *ai* in early Modern High German. The first element of the diphthong became more open. In Bavaria this change evidently took place in early MHG. times, and was completed in the classical period of MHG. (cf. Moser, *l.c.*, § 61; Schatz, *Bair.*

Gram., § 13). In the fifteenth century this diphthong became *āa*, although the spelling *ai* was retained.

§ 71. Berthold writes regularly *ai*, *ay*, and carefully distinguishes it from the new diphthong *ei* (<*i*), except in the few instances mentioned below (§ 73). E.g., *hayl*, *prait*, *haimlich* 4, 13; *klainat* 1, 5; *ain*; *vnderainst* 17, 2; *ainfache* 6, 10; *ainfaltige* 6, 5; *aingeporē* 5, 4; *faisten* 10, 4; *taig*, *tayg* 16, 6; *pfaidē* 74, 8; *aindlif* 92, 3; *zway*, *zwaintzigist* 20, 1; *stain* 23, 5; *pain* 'Bein' 28, 5; *ayd* 14, 14; *laym* 'Lehm' 21, 5; *faym* 'Schaum' 35, 1; *sayl* 27, 10; *awflaynen* 'auflehnen' 39, 4; *abgelaint* 15, 9; 51, 18; *lainet ab* 46, 3; *hainrich* (name) 98, 5; *Kaiser* 48, 1; *kayser* 10, 4.

The suffix *-hait*, *-khait* regularly has *ai* (cf. § 114, 9).

§ 72. *-age-*, *-ege-* > *ai*, *ay* and fell together with Germ. *ai*, e.g., *trayd* 'Getreide' 11, 18; 25, 4; *traid* 43, 7; *gejaid* 'Jagd' 48, 6; *gemayd* 77, 11; *gehayt* 'gehegt' 99, 13; *maydlens* (g. sing.) 71, 3; *maister* 13, 8; 18, 18; 43, 9, *geschray* 76, 9, etc.

§ 73. Exceptions: A few words regularly have *ei*, *ey*, e.g., *fleysch*, *fleisch*; *geist*, *geyst*; *beyeinander* 38, 8; *miteinander* 54, 6; *beyeinand* 7, 5 (cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 52). The suffix *-hait* is spelled *ei* only twice: *falscheit* 16, 2; *ewikeit* 51, 16; these are probably printer's errors.

§ 74. Irregular are the following: *zeteydingē* 74, 3; *verteydingt* (p. p.) 74, 3; *spötlteyding* Vorr. 6.

§ 75. *ei*, *ey* > *ā* in *tādingen* (d. pl.) 11, 7; *vnderthāding* 'Unterhandlung' 74, 4; *heirats tādingē* (d. pl.) 99, 17. In these words *g* was first palatalized and then dropped, causing umlaut of *a*. Weinhold (*Bair. Gram.*, §§ 43, 44) has found the spelling *æ* for *ē* before *r*, *l*, *h*, in the dialects of the Tirol and explains *ā* as due to the influence of linguals.

NOTE.—*ae* is also found in the word *baebel* 'Weibel' 59, 3. The initial *b* is due to assimilation (cf. § 123).

§ 76. The spelling *ue* occurs only once in *luembs* (g. sing.) 'Lehms' 37, 1 (: *laym* 21, 5), and is probably an attempt to represent the diphthong *āa*.

§ 77. *ai* > *ē* before *h*, *r*, *w* and in final positions (cf. Schatz, *Altbair. Gram.*, § 11), e.g., *ewig* 4, 11; *lerer* 1, 6; *keren* 1, 6; *mer* 1, 7; *erste* 1, 8; *ee* (conj.) 13, 11 (adv.) 11, 6; *ee* 'Ehe' 13, 8; *eepruch* 14, 4;

ere 2, 4; *schne* 29, 10; *eere* 5, 6; *eerlich* 51, 15; *wee* (interj.) 14, 14; 15, 6; *o wee* 24, 8.

§ 78. *ai* > *ē* before the dentals *n*, *d*, e.g., *zwen* (masc.) and *bede*, *bed*, *wenigist*. This is unusual (cf. Braune, *AHD. Gram.*, § 43, *Anm.* 5; *P.B.B.*, 10, 495; 12, 551). Weigand, *D.W.*⁵, I, 188, gives the Bavarian forms as m. *bēd*, f. *bōd*, n. *beid*, parallel with *zwen*, *zwo*, *zwei*. Schatz (*Imst*, § 52) explains *e* in *bede* as *i*-umlaut of *beidiu*. As in Old Bavarian (Schatz, *Altbair. Gram.*, § 13, c) Berthold uses the *ē*-forms of *bed* in all genders, whereas he carefully distinguishes the genders in *zwen*, *zwo*, *zway*.

§ 79. *ē* is found in *Behaim* 14, 14; 69, 10 (Kelt.-Lat. *Boiohemum*); *behamischen* 47, 6.

NOTE 1.—For *ē* in the loan word *pen*, *pein*, see § 60, note.

NOTE 2.—The numeral *zwelif*, *zwelf* has shortened the diphthong *ai*. But the full sound is retained in *aindlif* 92, 3; *aindlift* 11, 1; 14, 12; 51, 13, etc.

au

§ 80. Germ. *au* has fallen together with *au* < *ū* and is written *au*, *aw*, e.g., *tauf* 6, 6; *lauf* 11, 6; *zawbrer* 11, 6; *haubt* 13, 7; *haup* 14, 13; *glawb* Vorr. 3; *lawb* 19, 5; *awch* 20, 2; 60, 8; *stawb* 53, 2; *dawcht* 'verdaugt' 68, 8; *pawm* 76, 9; *pawngarten*; *rawch* 88, 6; *rauch* 84, 7; *weichrawch* 84, 7; *weichrauchs* 84, 7; *hüttrawch* Vorr. 3; *rauchvas* 84, 7; 88, 6.

§ 81. This *au* and the *au* < Germ. *aww* soon fell together at least in spelling. As to the pronunciation, see Schatz, *Imst*, § 53. The dialect of *Imst* distinguishes the two sounds.

Here belong: *fraw* 2, 2; *shaw* 3, 6; *schawen* Vorr. 1; *abgehawt* (p. p.) 26, 3; *ausgehaut* 49, 11; *genaw* 27, 4; *hawn* 'Hacke' 72, 2.

§ 82. Before *m*, *au* > *a*, *ā*. These sounds are also found in the language of the Habsburg chancery, and in Klara Hätzlerin. Cf. Moser, *l.c.*, § 61. E.g., *pām* 'Baum' always so written except twice (see above, § 80), e.g., 19, 10; 24, 8; 26, 2; 43, 1; *pāmól* 93, 4; *feygenpām* 77, 4; *pāmstocks* 24, 8; *zām* 'Zaum' 41, 2 (thus falling together, in spelling, with *zām* 'zahn,' e.g., 47, 7); *verddung* 'Verdauung' 27, 5; *dāung* 41, 4; 64, 11; *verdāet* 28, 3; *vnuerdāts* 'Unverdautes' 73, 12.

Here also belong: *bestraēn* 'bestreuen' 72, 3; *zerstrāet* 47, 1; 68, 4; 80, 11; 91, 16; 92, 6; *awszgestrāet* 68, 4; *erstrāet* 'zerstreut' 91, 16; *zūerstrāet*, Vorrede.

§ 83. *weyrach* 'Weihrauch' (3×) 3, 5; 84, 2; 88, 6 (: *weichrawch* 84, 7, see above). In this word the diphthong was evidently shortened in the unaccented syllable. *a* is sometimes written in unstressed syllables as a kind of neutral vowel, e.g., *harnasch* 48, 8; *behamischen* 47, 6; *caractarem* 59, 1; 59, 2; *vrbaring* 43, 14 (: *vrbering* 34, 9).

§ 84. The vowel *o* in the past participles *vorgeloffen* 92, 2; *ausgeloffen* 13, 5; 15, 8; *entloffn* 15, 10 (: *auszgelauffen* 40, 8), is not to be explained as a phonetic development of *au*. They are analogical forms according to Class II (*saufen:gesoffen::laufen:geloffen*).

§ 85. Germ. *au* was umlauted to *öi* and is written *ew*, *āw*, e.g., *lewffen* (d. pl.); *glāwblich* 1, 4; cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 53.

NOTE.—Contrary to the modern literary language the following are unumlauted: *glawbig* 2, 1; *tauffer* 8, 3; *versaumen* 9, 1; *awssearn* (compar.) 16, 3; *hawfft* 53, 3; *Rawber* 24, 4 (cf. § 103).

§ 86. The umlaut of Germ. *auw* is *öi*. It is written *ew*, *eü*. But in the majority of cases it has been unrounded. E.g., *rew* 52, 3; *vnberewt* 46, 3; *junckfreüliche* 10, 7.

§ 87. The unrounded forms are the usual thing, e.g., *freyd* 7, 5; *freyden* (d. pl.) 21, 5; *erfreyen* 7, 5; *hey* 'Heu' 78, 1; 82, 3; *heypläem* (Isa. 40:6) 78, 1; *heyschrecken* 88, 2; *strey* 'Streu' 74, 5.

§ 88. Before *h* and dentals *au* > *ō*, e.g., *not* 6, 6; *gros* 6, 6; *grosz* 16, 1; *prot* 28, 3; *tod* (adj.) 52, 4; *trost* 11, 9; *plodern* 'plaudern' 13, 8; *oren* 14, 14; *lon* 39, 15; *schosz* 49, 7; *hoch* 19, 11.

§ 89. This *ō* weakened in unstressed syllables. It is written *a*, *e*, e.g., *anpas* 39, 4; *klainat* 15, 16; *monat* (a. pl.) 53, 3; *monats* (Index); *augstmonats* (Index); *augstmonets* (Index); cf. Weigand, *D.W.*⁵, I, 1054.

NOTE.—But in *armuoet* 10, 13; *armuot* 10, 12; *diemuoet* and others in *-mod* the diphthong is retained (cf. § 113, 9).

§ 90. The umlaut of *ō* (<*au*) is frequently missing, e.g., *schon* 'schön' 14, 14; *nottigt* 16, 5 (: *nöttigt* 16, 5); cf. § 100.

eu, ew

Germ. *eu* appears in OHG. either as *io* or as *iu* (Braune, *AHD. Gram.*, § 47).

§ 91. OHG. *io* becomes *ie*. It is written *ie*, *ye* (cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 54). E.g., *diemût* 3, 6; *diemûetiger* 3, 6; *gediemûetigt* 3, 6; *vier* 5, 3; *liecht* 6, 4; *liederlicher* 6, 4; *ryemen* 88, 2; *tyer* 11, 8; *widerdriesz* 'Verdrusz' 13, 3; *betrieglich* 13, 6; *tyef* 32, 4; *tyeffter* 24, 3 (: *tewffister*, superl. 11, 9); *diern* 23, 5; *zedienen* 31, 1; *dienst* 5, 5; *schieher gawl* 'scheuer' 42, 1; *ersprieslich* 42, 5; *siechtûb* 45, 7; verbs of the II class: *ziehen* 5, 4; *fliessen* 11, 7; *zepiegen* 13, 4; *liegen* 'lügen' 8, 6; *betriegen* 'betrügen' 8, 6; *zeuerliesen* 36, 10; *erkiesen* 98, 2.

§ 92. *i* for *ie* is found in *dinst* 12, 8; *dinstbar* 23, 3 (: *dienst*, *dienen*); *genissen* (1. p. pl.) 25, 4 (: *geniessen* 3. p. pl. 25, 4); *gelibt* 78, 3 (: *liebt*).

§ 93. OHG. *iu* > *öi*, written *ew*, *eü*, *eu*, *eü*. It is found in the singular of the II class of strong verbs, e.g., *jch gepewt* 3, 8; *jch lewg* 18, 8; *zewchstu* 28, 3; *flewsst* 4, 11; *fleust* 7, 8; *fleusst* 7, 10; *verlewst* 19, 10; *rewcht* 'rieht' 60, 13; *schewbt* 'schiebt' 16, 1; *lewt*, *leüt* 5, 6, *leut* 14, 5, *leüt* 66, 8; *tewr* 28, 2; *keüsch* 4, 14; *vnkewsch* (adj.) 36, 10; (noun) 31, 1; *tewffister*, phonetic form of the superlative 11, 9 (: *tyeffist* 80, 1); *neüwer* 6, 10, *newem* 6, 10; *neündt* 9, 1; *bedewt* (3. p. sing.) 7, 6; *erleücht* (p. p.) 10, 12; the instrumental singular masc. *nach wew die weld formiert sey?* 22, 3; neut. *vmb wew* 'wozu' 66, 7; the neut. numeral *drew* (nom. and acc.) 7, 7, etc. (cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 54); *tewtsch* (the usual spelling) 8, 2; *teutsch* 14, 14; *teütsch* 16, 5; the loan words *dewfel* 7, 6; *deüfel* 85, 1; *deufel* 24, 5; *deüfel* 15, 2; *crewtz* 8, 6; *krewtz* 9, 6.

§ 94. The diphthong in the following words was early identified with Germ. *iu* (cf. Braune, *AHD. Gram.*, § 49, *Anm.* 3): *freünd* (n. sing.) 72, 9; *freünd* (g. pl.) 46, 3; *freuntlich* 44, 3; *freündten* (d. pl.), *frewnds* 73, 13; *frewntschaft* 67, 7; *hewt* 6, 6; *fewr* 7, 7.

NOTE.—The spelling *ue*, *ü* is found several times: *fruend* (n. pl.) 77, 4; 82, 6 (n. sing.) 97, 2; *freundtschafft* 36, 2; *fruendschaft* 52, 2; *fründtschaft* 47, 4; *fruendñ* 46, 3.

§ 95. *öi* (< Germ. *iu*) was unrounded to *ai*, written *ei*, *ey*. E.g., *bedeyt* 6, 1; *scheihñ* 'scheuen' 8, 2; *zescheihen* 28, 7; *vnkeysch* (noun) 13, 5; *keisch* 77, 15; *creyzt* 5, 12; *kreytz* 65, 4; *kreizt* 56, 4; 72, 8.

NOTE.—This *ai* must have been identical in pronunciation with *ai* (spelled *ey*, *ei*) in the infinitive and present of I class verbs, for we find the

analogical strong p. p. *geschichen* 'gescheut' 10, 9; 80, 9 (*weichen:gewichen::scheihen:geschichen*) (cf. § 41).

b) *Vowel changes*.—

1) *Lengthening*:

§ 96. It is difficult to tell to what extent vowels were lengthened in Berthold's dialect. In general we may assume the same conditions as in the other Bavarian dialects (cf. Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, §§ 32, 36, 43, 48, 51, 55, 61, 95, and the examples there given). We have evidence only for the following lengthenings:

a) Before *r*: e.g., *gier* 20, 4; *gieriger* 54, 2.

b) Before *r*+cons. This is characteristically Bavarian; cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 82; Moser, *l.c.*, § 45, 5, e.g., *wierde* 'Würde' 85, 8; *wierd*, *gewierdigt* 29, 12 (: *wirde* 20, 4); *wierser* 3, 5.

c) Before *-h-*, *-ch-*, *-cht*, e.g., *siehest* 40, 4; *siehestu* 29, 13; *viech* 20, 1 (: *vihisch* 45, 9); *vbiersiech jch* 84, 6; *siecht* 'sieht' 19, 1; *beschiecht* 'geschieht' 4, 12.

d) Before *-d-*: e.g., *vnnderschied* 7, 4 (: *vnderschied* 7, 3). With a different ablaut: *vnderschaid* 70, 9.

2) *Umlaut*:

§ 97. In the main the writing of the umlaut agrees with modern literary German. For the individual vowels, see §§ 32, 52, 53, 58, 65, 68, 85, 86, 89.

§ 98. In the Bavarian dialects the umlaut of *a* is often prevented by double consonants (cf. Weinhold, *l.c.*, § 5).

a for *e*, *ä*: e.g., superlatives: *langst* 9, 1; *nagsten*, *Vorrede* 5; *nachsten* 2, 2; *zenagst* 23, 1; *nagster* (noun) 47, 4 (: *zenägst* 11, 7; *negste* 34, 11; *ndgst* 47, 3; *negst* 47, 3—each once); *-lich*: *angstlich* 1, 3; *manlich* 2, 6; *falschlich* 16, 3 (: *fälschlich* 3, 4); *anfanklich* 5, 2 (: *anfänklich* 9, 6); *-ig*: *ainfaltiger* 4, 14; *drifaltig* 11, 1; *bestandigem* 53, 4; *widerwartig* 31, 2 (: *vilfeltig* 7, 1; *beständige* 53, 4; *widerwärtig* 6, 7—the usual form); *-er*: *trager* 3, 12; *schacher* 4, 10; *kramer* 94, 12; *haller* 'Heller' (coin) 79, 4. Other suffixes: *bekanntnus* 4, 10; *fancknusz* 37, 6 (: *fäncknusz* 4, 15); *Trinitat* 7, 2 (: *Trinitet* 6, 1); *bestandikait* 2, 6; *aintrachtiklich* 86, 2; *schanckung* 65, 5; *getranck* 74, 2; *sage* 'Säge' 39, 4; *schamen* 'schämen' 73, 12; *wolgefärbt* 79, 2 (: *geferbte* 79, 7). 3. p. sing. of strong verbs: *wachst* 29, 13 (: *wächst* 22, 5); *beschäft* 28, 1 (: *beschäft* 20, 3); *ratt* 'rät' 28, 7 (: *rätt* 30, 8);

lasst 6, 6; *hanget* (intr.) 11, 7; *anhangt* 20, 5 (: *anhengt* 28, 16); *spate rew* 4, 1.

§ 99. *e, á* for *a*. Here belong many analogical plurals, e.g., *tágē* (d. pl.) *Vorrede* 5; *gedānckhen* 5, 6; *bestättung* 10, 13, etc.; *hárpf* 'Harfe' 77, 13; *kāmelhar* 88, 2; *belegert* 89, 3; *erderret* 48, 4; *erderrt* 93, 3 (: *erdarrt* 90, 2); *verdāmblichs* 35, 6 (: *verdamblichs* 35, 6).

NOTE.—The adjectives *senft* 32, 3 (*senftmueetikait* 14, 8; *senfftmueetikait* 33, 10) and *hertte* 71, 8, have the phonetic forms. But *zaem* 49, 7.

§ 100. *ó, ö: o: u*. E.g., *volkómen* 4, 13; *vnuolkómen* 4, 14; *kómen* (inf.) 9, 7: *komen* 24, 10: *kumen* 33, 5; *kómbt* 63, 12: *kombt* 10, 4: *kumbt* 5, 2; *sólher, sólhe; solher, solhe; absóndern* 13, 10; *abbesónderten* 13, 6; *nachgeuóligt* 24, 4 (: *nachgeuoligt* 4, 14, the usual form); *hónig* 'Honig' 4, 15.

The adjectives in *-lich* usually have no umlaut, e.g., *gottliche* 6, 4 (: *göttlichem* 10, 12); *loblich* 12, 1; *personlich* 19, 7; *todlichem* 20, 3 (: *tódllichem* 5, 6); *frolicher* (compar.) 68, 10; *destschoner* 87, 4; *schon* 'schön' 14, 14; *posem* 'bösem' 20, 4; *moglikait* 21, 6; *gespott* 14, 8 (: *gespótt* 15, 5); *geschopf* 20, 3; *soldner* 87, 4; *troste* (opt.) 28, 14; *gehört* (p. p.) 40, 11; *frombden* 45, 7 (: *frómbden* 1, 5: *frembden* 15, 4); *stosst* 25, 10: *stósst* 38, 7.

ûe, û, ü: ðe, û, u

§ 101. E.g., *thût* 52, 5 (: *thûet* 7, 8; *thût* 4, 12, the usual forms); *rûeffen* has *ûe* in all forms except two: *rûeffen* (3. p. pl.) 51, 17; *berûeft* (p. p.) 29, 13; *berûeffung* 39, 4 (cf. § 18).

û for *u*: *tünckel* 'dunkel' 10, 12; *gerücht* (3. p. s.) 'geruht' 19, 8; *gefündē* (p. p.) 62, 6; *gemürmelt* 87, 7.

§ 102. *u* for *û*: *burger* 99, 13; *burgerlichē* 4, 15; *lugner* 5, 1; *junger* 8, 7; *schûeler* 98, 2; *stuck* 5, 7; *zû ruck* 11, 7; *kunst* (a. pl.) 12, 7; *kunsten* (d. pl.) 73, 12; *vngefûr* 15, 5; *verzuckung* 18, 5; *purde* 20, 1; *gutbedunken* 6, 5; *kunstliche* 7, 3; *naturlichen* 12, 3; *ursprunglich* 14, 10; *notdurftigen* 14, 10; *jungstem* 7, 7 (: *jüngstem* 6, 2); *schûelerisch* 7, 9; *guldene* 85, 2; *pucken* 'bücken' 86, 5; *vnderdrucken* 24, 6; *verkurtzen* 40, 4; *bekumerst* (2. p. sing.) 51, 13; *wurde* (opt.) 9, 4 (the opt. preterite of the III class is always without umlaut; other examples: *sturbe* 28, 14; *punde* 59, 2; *gewung* 15, 1; *vberwunnde* 48, 13); p. p. *gegründt* 8, 2 (: *gegründt* 8, 5); *vnderdruckt* 9, 4;

ausgedruckht 53, 1; *gesmuckt* 16, 4; *vnuerruckt* 92, 3 (: *angezündt* 77, 4); *vberall* 9, 8 (: *überall* 21, 3); *vbung* 22, 9.

dw:aw, au

§ 103. Adj. in *-ig, -lich, -isch* usually have no umlaut, e.g., *glaubig* 2, 1; *glawblich* 1, 4 (: *gláwblich* 1, 4); *weytlauffiger* 7, 9; *junckfrawlichen* 10, 3; *rawberische* 20, 8.

Nouns in *-er*; *rawber* 3, 4; *tauffer* 8, 3; *vorlawffer* 9, 8; *zawbrer* 90, 2; *versaumbnusz* 53, 3; *versawmen* 3, 4; *awssern* (3. p. pl.) 20, 5; *zehauffen* 51, 13; *saubern* 34, 11; *versaumbten* 2, 5; *verlawgent* (p. p.) 13, 4; *hawfft* (3. p. sing.) 53, 3; *awssern* (compar.) 15, 6.

3) Rounding and Unrounding:

§ 104. The following vowels and diphthongs have been rounded through the influence of labials (cf. Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, § 26; Moser, *l.c.*, § 72).

§ 105. 1. *e*: *wóllen* 2, 7 (: *wellen* 3, 2, the common form); *erwólt* 14, 3; *die erwóltén* Vorr. 3 (: *erwelten* 14, 1); *frómbd* 7, 2, *frómbden* 1, 5 (: *frembden* 15, 4; *frombden* 45, 7); *schópfen* 17, 4; *geschópf* 4, 3; *zeshópfen* 73, 15; *schóflen* 'Schäfflein' (d. pl.), *schóffel* 45, 3, *schóffl* 80, 11 (: *scháfel* 92, 3; *scháflen* 83, 10); *mór* 16, 1, *móre* (a. sing.) 'Meer' 27, 10, *móres* 51, 15 (: *mere* 51, 14, *meres* 35, 4, *mersands* 40, 4); *hóre* 'Heer' 23, 7; *Feldhóre* 23, 7; *pólder* 'bálder' (compar.) 34, 4; *óp*fel 49, 11; *wóre vñ waffen* 58, 8; *zórpfenning* 66, 6; *schwóret* 51, 2 (: *sweret* 98, 7); *schóffen* 'schöpfen' 77, 1.

§ 106. The original vowel was retained in: *sweren* 51, 11; *sweret* 98, 7; *beswerer* 94, 9; *gewenen* 60, 3; *leben* (n. pl.) 'Löwen' 7, 1; *zwelf* 9, 2; *zwelif* 96, 4; *helle* 11, 5; *hellisch* 19, 10; *awsleschen* 57, 3; *leschen* 37, 11; *erderret* 'erdörret' 48, 4; *ergetzen* 48, 2; *ergetzlich* 45, 9; *ergetzlikait* 14, 9; *Fenix* 'Phönix' 16, 5; *behamischen* 'Böhmischen' 47, 6; *Behaim* 'Böhmen' 14, 14; 69, 10.

§ 107. 2. *i, ie*. E.g., *müschñ* 13, 6; *müsch* Vorrede 3, *vermüsch* 13, 6, *vermüschung* 51, 5 (: *vermüsch* 1, 1); *erfindungen* 1, 6; *fünf* 5, 4, and all compounds; *schüfprühig* 13, 6; *verspürtzt* 15, 7; *erkückt* (with loss of *w*) 11, 9; *erkückung* 26, 1; *spül* 'Spiel' 24, 3; *kützig* 35, 1; *verrünet* 'verrinnt' 48, 4; *würdest* 'wirst' 43, 7 (: *wirdest* 8, 7); *würchlichñ* 52, 3; *würchung* 59, 10; *betrüegen* 53, 4; *betrüglich* (: *betrieglich* 13, 6); *lüfrung* 58, 8; 66, 5; *sprüchworts* 78, 4 (: *sprichwort* 79, 5); *verwürft* (3. p. sing.) 87, 11; *Kützpuhel* (city) 13, 12.

§ 108. The original vowel was retained in: *wirde* 9, 6, *wirdige* 42, 6, *wierd* 22, 7; *hochwirdigist* 3, 1, *groswirdig* 22, 5; *hülf* 17, 12; *gegenwürtig* 8, 3 (: *gegenwürtige* 13, 10; see § 130); *sprichwort* 79, 5; *liegen* 13, 10; *betriegen* 13, 6; *betrieglich* 13, 6; *gewisst* 'gewusst' 12, 1, *vnbewist* 10, 17, etc.

The following vowels and diphthongs have lost their labialization:

§ 109. 1. *ō* > *e*. E.g., *empert* 'empört' 39, 1; *beschenigen* 40, 8; *kernern* 'Körnern' 65, 5.

§ 110. 2. *ú* > *i*, *y*. E.g., *finckel* 43, 1; *pixen* 'Büchse' 87, 7; *abtrynniger* 91, 14.

§ 111. 3. *üe* > *ye*. E.g., *yeben* 'üben' 13, 2; *yebung* 33, 5; *geyebt* 2, 1 (: *vben* 39, 11; *vbet* 20, 5; *geübte* 78, 5; *vngeübt* 85, 7).

§ 112. 4. *ew*, *eü* (umlaut of *ū*) > *ei*, *ey*. For examples, see § 69. *ew*, *eü* (umlaut of *aww*) > *ey*. For examples, see § 87.

ew, *eü* (< W. Germ. *iu*) > *ei*, *ey*. For examples, see § 95.

B. VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

a) Diphthongization.—

§ 113. 1. The adjective suffix *-īn* has in many cases retained *ī*, which became *ei*. In other cases *ī* > *i* > *e* (cf. § 115, 7), e.g., *fewrein* 11, 6; *kupfrein* 20, 1; *wasrein* 25, 6; *lidrein ryemen* 88, 2; *silbrein* 42, 8; *aschrein prot* 63, 2.

2. Suffix *-rīch* > *-reich* in: *kunstreich* 5, 3; *freydenreich* 29, 9; *gnadenreiche* 53, 5. But *hainrich* (name) 98, 5.

3. The MHG. suffix *-īe* > *-ey*, e.g., *artzney* 4, 15; *fantasey* 7, 3; *abgötterey* 9, 5; *jherarchey* 23, 2; *astronomey* 25, 1; *parthey* 38, 8; *policey* 40, 2; *cantzley* 41, 3; *füllerey* 44, 8; *simoney* 66, 5. But *geschray* 76, 9.

4. Suffix *-līn* > *-lein*, e.g., *hárlein* 29, 13; *füncklein* 38, 6; *Cellelein* 41, 7; *kindlein* 58, 11; *wortlein* 63, 5; *schóflein* 95, 1; *lamblein* 100, 13; *püchlein* 25, 1 (cf. § 115, 6).

5. MHG. *-wīs* > *-weis*, e.g., *vnwegweis* 16, 2; *strafweis* 57, 3; *püesweis* 98, 7.

6. MHG. *-leie* > *-lay*, e.g., *manigerlay* 4, 15; *dreyerlay* 4, 11; *welherlay* 56, 1; *manigerlaj* 5, 3, once.

7. MHG. *bī-* > *bey-*, e.g., *beysitzer* 6, 5; *beyspil* 7, 5; *beywesens* 5, 6; *beystand* 14, 10; *beyständig* 24, 4.

8. MHG. *in*->*ein*-, e.g., *eingeben* 5, 4; *ingeē* 4, 15; *einflūsz* 23, 4; *ingeistung* (=Lat. *inspiratio*) 5, 3. But *j* in: *jnwendig* 5, 1; *jnpersonale* 7, 9; *jnnhalt* 12, 3; *jngedenck* 64, 1; *jnwoner* 37, 2.

NOTE.—This is carefully distinguished from *ain*-; e.g., *ainfache* 6, 10; *aingeporē* 5, 4, etc.

9. MHG. *-muot*>*-mûet*, *-mût* in: *armûet* 1, 5; *diemût* 10, 13.

10. MHG. *-tuom*>*-thumb*, with a developed labial stop. E.g., *weiszthumb* 5, 4; *hertzogthûb* 10, 4; *priesterthûmbs* 13, 12; *jrrthumb* 14, 9; *reichtumb* 10, 12; *bistumb* 13, 9.

b) Retention of full vowels.—

§ 114. 1. *-ist*. The suffix of the superlative is regularly *-ist*, e.g., *obrist* 31, 5; *elltisten* 12, 9; *teufffister* 11, 9; *verdambtist* 13, 5; *hinderist* 15, 8; *allerwenigist* 19, 5; *grôbist* 9, 7; *clarist* 24, 2; *schônist* 24, 2; *senftist* 32, 3; *parmhertzigist* 32, 3; *gelegenist* 34, 10; *herttist* 37, 6; *glimpflichist* 39, 9; *subtilist* 51, 18; *swâriste* 52, 5; *weysist* 55, 3; *vndrist* 24, 3.

NOTE 1.—*-est* occurs only once: *klainest* 4, 12 (: *klainistē* 84, 8; *klainist* 58, 11).

NOTE 2.—Syncopated forms are: *zuo lesst* 4, 15; *hoechst* 5, 2; *am besten* 6, 9; *pesst* 43, 17; *maist* 57, 4; *jungstn* 21, 3; *langst* (adv.) 9, 1; *am ersten* 4, 12; *nagst* 77, 11; *naegst* 47, 3; *negst* 47, 3; *nachsten* 14, 8.

2. *-ig*, e.g., *fâhig*, *dûrstig*, *trifaltig*, *ewig*, *allmächtig*, *hâssig*, *wolkig*. So also the nouns: *hônig* 4, 15; *kônig* 13, 12. But *-ich* in: *billich* 4, 13; *vnzelich* 53, 9; *ayniche* 79, 7 (: *billikait* 33, 7; *ainikait* 6, 1, like *ewikait* 5, 7; *allmächtikait* 4, 15).

3. Full vowels are retained in the words *solich*, *welich* only in the following cases: *solliche* (a. sing. fem.) 24, 2; *solich* (a. sing. fem.) 7, 3; *sôlichs* (n. sing. neut.) 7, 8; (a. sing. neut.) 7, 2; 64, 4; *welliche* (n. sing. fem.) 6, 9; *kelich* (<Lat. *calix*) 62, 2 (: *kelch* 58, 11).

4. *-isch* retains *i* except when syncopated, e.g., *irdischen* 32, 1; *hellisch* 19, 10; *rawberische* 20, 8; *vihische* 25, 10; *metallischer* 26, 1; *pawrsiche* 27, 5; *Lutherische* 30, 5; *bayrisch* 63, 4; *sâxisch* 63, 4; *Hebreischer* 63, 4; *kriechischer* 63, 4; *lateinischer* 63, 4; *zânckisch* 14, 7; *gotzischen pild* 85, 3.

NOTE 3.—*-i-* is syncopated in *teutsch* and the compounds (e.g., *teutschland*), *hûbschen* 14, 6; *laysch* 'laiisch' 95, 9; *artzneisch* 58, 5.

5. The suffix for forming the present participle is *-und*, *-end*, the former predominating. The same verb occurs now with this, now with that ending, e.g., *wachsund* 26, 3 (6×): *wachsend* 29, 11 (4×).

6. The ordinal numerals from 20–100 are formed by the suffix *-ist*.

7. The suffix *-nuss* always has *u*, e.g., *pildnusz* 4, 12; *fāncknusz* 4, 15; *fancknusz* 29, 4; *zewgknusz* 5, 4; *verdienstnusz* 33, 8; *gedechtnusz* 23, 8.

8 *-sal*, *-sam* always have the full vowel, e.g., *trûebſal* 14, 11; *jrrsal* 15, 2; *sawmsal* 52, 2 (*ſeindsdlig* 52, 3, has secondary umlaut); *gehorsam* 6, 9; *grawssam* 15, 3; *seltzams* 15, 7; *rûesam* 44, 3; *mitſamkait* 33, 7; *voligsam* 38, 5.

9. *-hait* always has the full diphthong, e.g., *warhait* 5, 1; *gûthait* 5, 2; *gothait* 5, 6; *roszhait* 30, 1; *rinderhait* 30, 1; *hundhait* 30, 1; *knechthait* 79, 7; *wesenhait* 40, 4.

h is sometimes dropped in the following: *hochait* 14, 7; *swachait* 93, 2; *gleichait* 7, 1; *kranckait* 24, 7; *keyschait* 25, 9.

10. Latin *-tas*, *-tatis* appears as *-tat*, which is sometimes weakened to *-tet*, e.g., *mayestat* 4, 14: *mayestet* 9, 1; *Trinitat* 7, 2: *Trinitet* 6, 1.

11. The original vowels are retained in the following words: *mîlich* 68, 9; *kelich* 66, 2 (but *kelch* 58, 11); *senîfkorn* 58, 11; *senîfkôrndel* 79, 1; *preütigan* 29, 4 (but *preytgan* 14, 9); *zwelif* 96, 4 once (otherwise *zwelf*, *zwelffter*, etc.); *aindlif* 92, 3; *aindlift* 11, 1; 14, 12 (once *aindlefften* 92, 3); *menig* 'Menge' 40, 4.

u is found in *angulñ* 44, 1 (: *angeltugenten* 44, 1); *nackund* 76, 1 (: *nackenden* 87, 1; 43, 2).

coron 84, 5: *kron* 85, 8; *archa* 85, 2: *arch* 68, 3; *idea* 19, 1; *gehenna* 19, 10.

12. No feminine abstract nouns in *-în* are retained. No diminutives in *-chîn* occur.

c) *Shortening and weakening.*—

§ 115. 1. MHG. *bî*->*be*-, *b*-; *pe*-, *p*-. The vowel *e* is usually retained, except in 'bleiben,' which regularly syncopates. The forms with *e* are: *zebeleiben* 27, 10 (: *bleiben* 15, 7); *beleibt* 21, 2 (: *bleibt* 5, 5); *belibñ* (p. p.) 10, 8; 15, 6, etc.; *beleibliche* 27, 6.

pe- in *zepeschliessen* 68, 3; *p*- in *parmhertzig* 7, 5; *parmhertzikait* 21, 4.

2. MHG. *zuo*->*zû*->*ze*- in the infinitive, e.g., *zeuolgen* 4, 13; *zelernen* 5, 4; *zûezescharren* 87, 1.

3. MHG. *-baere* > *-bar*, *-ber*. The form *-bar* predominates. E.g., *scheinberlich* 5, 4; *fruchtber* 5, 7; *fruchtbar* 5, 7.

4. The abstract suffix *-î*, MHG. *-e* is *-e*, but in the majority of cases has been lost. It is retained in: *wyrme* 'Wärme' 28, 5; *wirme* 90, 1; *güette* 31, 6; *scherffe* 31, 8; *völle* 21, 8; *volle* 91, 8; *weihe* 94, 1. But *weich* 'Weihe' 58, 2; *hytz* 10, 13; *gantz* 6, 4; *kelt* 100, 8; *swâr* 84, 1; *menig* 84, 1; *wirm* 'Wärme' 90, 2; *lâr* 30, 10; *eytel* 30, 10; *morgenrôt* 10, 7; *swech* 35, 3; *sterckh* 44, 1; *feül* 44, 3; *leng* 61, 1; *wüest* 66, 7; *fayst* 77, 10; *feycht* 100, 8; *schôn* 21, 3; *gesund* 20, 6.

5. *-wîg* and *-rîch* have been shortened in the names *hainrich* 98, 5; *ludwig* 98, 5; *hedwigis* 98, 5. So also *fendrich* 59, 3, with analogic *-rich* and inserted *d*.

6. The diminutive suffixes *-le* and *-el* have fallen together in *l*-, written *-l*, or sometimes *-el*; e.g., *wórtl* 7, 9 (: *wórttel* 7, 9); *pfnástl* 'Dunst' 70, 8; *vorheytl* 36, 14; *zweyl* (=MHG. *zwîel*) 19, 11; the plurals *strichlen* 19, 8; *kórndlen* 63, 11 (cf. § 113, 4).

7. The adjective suffix *-în*, denoting material, has in most cases been weakened to *-en*. (For Diphthongization, see § 113, 1.) E.g., *fewren* 75, 3; *guldē* 13, 8; *erdene ding* 27, 10; *stainē* 28, 3; *hārene* 74, 8; *seyden* 74, 8; *ein lynden holtz* 79, 2; *sweinen fleisch* 76, 5; *fleischene hilf* 51, 17; *holtzen* 39, 4; *silbrene* 39, 4; *kupfren* 85, 2.

NOTE.—But the feminine derivatives always have *-in*, e.g., *gepererin* 85, 8; *abgoettin* 86, 4; *eszliñ* 'Eselin' 87, 6; *koenigin* 98, 5; *ceprecherin* 99, 11; *pfaeffin* (d. pl.) 29, 2; *goettin* 33, 2; *zerütterin* 33, 9; *pawrin* 37, 9.

8. The strong adjective ending n. s. fem., n. a. pl. neut. *-iu* > *-ëü* > *-e*. This *-e* is quite consistently retained. The few exceptions are: fem.: *gótlich trinitat* 7, 9; *ander hailsam lere* 11, 1; *gût gwonhait* 17, 5; neut.: *new gesetz* 6, 6; *all ander ding* (n. pl.) 7, 1; *durch leiblich geschöpf* 5, 3; *in ferr land* (a. pl.) 19, 4; *sündig werch* 35, 6.

9. The comparative suffix is *-er*. E.g., *gerechter* 4, 12; *ferrer* 5, 4; *merer* 6, 2; *klainer* 6, 2; *pesser* 8, 5 (adv. *bas* 14, 13; 15, 4, etc.); *pôlder* 'bälder' 34, 4.

10. The vowel of the suffix in the words *monat* 53, 3; *augstmonats*, Index; *klainat* 10, 12, has been shortened. It has been further weakened in *augstmonets* (Ded.).

NOTE.—For *armuoet*, see § 113, 9.

The words *anpas* 'Ambosz' 75, 3; *Paradis* 21, 3 likewise have short vowels in the suffix.

11. MHG. *-icht* > *-at*. E.g., *pucklat* 40, 12; *narrat* 51, 10.

12. The weakened form of the suffix *-lein* has been confused with *-el*, *-le*. In the dative plural it is impossible to distinguish them. *-len* (weakened form of *-lein*) is found in *kórndlen* (d. sing.) 57, 1; *maydlens* (g. sing.) 71, 3; *púechlen* 20, 1; *lámblen* (g. pl.) 89, 6.

13. MHG. *-ære* in nouns of agency > *-er*, e.g., *richter* 4, 12; *übeltäter* 4, 15; *lugner* 5, 1; *tróster* 6, 4; *geperer* 7, 4; *anhenger* 7, 6; *abgóttereyer* 8, 2; *partrager* 'Bahrträger' 71, 3; *Rawber* 24, 4.

NOTE.—*-er* also in other words, e.g., *adler* 24, 6; *ketzer* 6, 4; *Kaiser* 6, 3; *water*, etc.

14. For *-tat* > *-tet*, cf. §§ 31; 114, 10.

15. The numerals *zway* and *drey* have been shortened in the following compounds: *zwifache* 6, 10; *zwispileig* 14, 7; *zwithracht* 24, 4; *zweifeltige* 39, 6; *zwier* 13, 5; *zwyer* 23, 5 (= 'zweimal'); *drifaltig* 11, 1; *trifaltigen* 7, 6; *trifach* 14, 1; *drifach* 20, 3; *drifeltikait* 37, 2; *drifeltiger* 51, 8; *drifaltikait* 99, 15.

d) *Syncope*.—

§ 116. In South Germany syncopation began as early as the OHG. period. By the end of the thirteenth century the process was fully developed in Bavaria. Berthold has many syncopated forms. The principal cases are:

1. The prefix *be-* loses its vowel only in the forms of *bleiben* and *parmhertzig*; cf. § 115.

2. The prefix *ge-* often loses its vowel before *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *w* in these words: *glawb* (common form) and the compounds and derivatives; *gleich* 6, 4; *glayts* 13, 9; *glencke* 91, 8; *glüb* 'Gelübde' 14, 14; *glück*; one word with *m*: *gmúets* 64, 11; *gnad* 4, 15; *gnedigen* 28, 5, etc.; *gnüg* 36, 12; *gnügsam* 12, 3, etc.; *mitgnosoz* 27, 7; *heyratgnosoz* 99, 16; *grechter* 4, 14; *groblich* 6, 10; *gslos* 28, 3; *gschöpf* 5, 2; *lobgsang* 47, 2; *gwalt* 6, 5; *gwissen* 13, 10; *gwislich* 13, 1; *gwer* 29, 7; *gwonhait* 14, 9; *gwingt* 'gewinnt' 33, 3.

The past participle of *geen* is nearly always *gangen*. *gegangen* is found only three times: 19, 4; 23, 3; 23, 5. The compound forms never have *ge-*; e.g., *ausgangen* 21, 8; *abgangen* 11, 6; *entgegengangen* 65, 5. *komen* and *bleiben* never have *ge-* in the p. p. Other p. p.

that occasionally omit *ge-* are: *than*, e.g., 5, 3; *bracht* 6, 4; *geben* (usually), e.g., 6, 6; 6, 10; *anzaigt* 8, 3; *kert* 24, 1; *tauft* 37, 12.

NOTE 1.—*essen* always has *geessen* (e.g., 53, 3; 64, 10) in spite of the hiatus; *ngeessen* 76, 6. But the verb 'gönnen' always syncopates the *e*: e.g., *vergonnst*, *vergonst* (2. p. sing.) 47, 1; *vergoenn* (opt.) 85, 9; *vergonnen* (3. p. pl.) 96, 1; *vergoent* (p. p.) 92, 2.

NOTE 2.—Nearly all the nouns and adjectives given in this paragraph also occur with *e*, e.g., *genaden* 71, 5; *gelawbs* 77, 4 (also *zegelauben* 6, 3); *gewin* 77, 12; *gededigisten* (Ded.); *gerad* 20, 8; *gelid* 24, 6; *genaw* 27, 4; *geslos* 28, 3; *gemach* 6, 2; *dergeleichen* 34, 4.

NOTE 3.—*ge-* is found in the infinitives *gesegnen* 66, 8; *gehabn* 67, 4; in the noun *gezewgnusz* 73, 1; in the p. p. *gefeiniert* 82, 3 (: *feiniert* [p. p.] 80, 8), and before vowels in: *geacht* 4, 14; *geoffenbart* 5, 3; *geordent* 6, 6; *geaigent* 9, 1; *geewigt* 10, 1; *geurtailt* 15, 9.

3. *e* is dropped in medial syllables, especially in the suffixes *-el*, *-er* when followed by an ending, e.g., *lestrer* 15, 4 (: *lessterer* 15, 3); *lesstrung* 13, 7; *mildrung* 43, 14; *erweytrung* 12, 9; *füdrung* 42, 5; *zawbrer* 11, 6; *martrer* 8, 3 (: *zawberey* 24, 7; *rauberey* 97, 9); *verwandlung* 11, 4; *himlisch* 19, 6; *englisch* (< *engel*) 19, 6; *cantzley* 41, 13; *artzeney* 4, 3 (: *artzeney* 4, 3).

In final syllables: *engl* 21, 5; *bibl* 17, 7 (more commonly *Bibel*, e.g., 5, 3); *apostl* 6, 5; *capitl* 7, 1; *mitl* 12, 5; *zweift* 12, 5; *kindl* 10, 3; *händl* 66, 5; *wörtl* 7, 9 (: *wörtel* 7, 9); *eytl* 36, 10.

4. Syncopation is very common in the inflection of the adjective and participle, e.g., *offem* (< **offemm* < **offenm* < *offenem*) 73, 2; *zerüttem* 59, 7; *aigen* (= *aigenen*) 21, 5; *obbeschribem* (= 'oben beschriebenem') 83, 11; *sawerr* 'saurer' 64, 13; *pitter* 'bitterer' 64, 13; *genöttem* 40, 12; *beschehem* 51, 6; *vngeborem* 9, 6; *angenomer* 'angenommener' 27, 7; *gefangen* 'Gefangener' 27, 7.

NOTE.—On the other hand vowels are retained, in writing at least, where modern German syncopates, e.g., *zehen* 'zehn' 17, 4; *gemahel* 17, 7; *moerderisch* 17, 9; *beschaffener* 18, 1; *himelisch* 27, 2; *anderer* 31, 1; *slaef-ferige* 64, 9; *hungerig* 79, 3; *verpotener* 34, 1.

5. In the possessive pronoun, e.g., *seim* 'seinem' 36, 12; *ewrm* 43, 6; *meim* 53, 3; *deym* 51, 2. Likewise the vowel in the enclitic article is syncopated, e.g., *beym* 36, 12; *gegem* 'gegen dem' 56, 2; *zun* 'zu den' 56, 8; *vndern lewten* 95, 3; *awsin* 71, 7; *vbern* 'über den' 63, 5; *in tempel* 'in den Tempel' 43, 16; *voñ toden* 78, 7; *vnnderm* 58, 11.

6. The combinations *-enet*, *-elet*, *-eren*, *-elen* become *-ent*, *-elt*, *-ern*, *-eln*, e.g., *verlawgent* 13, 4; *geöffent* 14, 11; *geuechsent* (<MHG. *vehsenen*) 78, 8; *bezeichent* 13, 3; *begegnet* 13, 9; *verwandelt* 6, 6; *versamelt* 6, 5; *gehindert* 19, 2; *nidrerren* 6, 8; *besondern* 7, 5; *lautern* 8, 3; *sichtbarn* 18, 1; *anderm* 8, 9; *himeln* 9, 1; *verwandeln* 11, 6.

-emet > *-ent* (by assimilation), or *-embt* (by developing a glide sound). E.g., *gewident* (p. p.) 10, 2; *gewidentem* 100, 2; *gewidembt* 27, 9.

The analogical form *gewibembt* is also found a number of times (e.g., 31, 6), the first *b* being an assimilation of *d* to the second *b* (cf. § 123).

Forms like *geuestent* (<MHG. *vestenen*), *gewident*, *zûgegaichent* 37, 10, *geordent* 5, 2, have been the model for a large number of analogical forms, all past participles, e.g., *erherttent* 37, 12; 36, 13; 42, 11; *erherttend* (p. p.) 36, 12; *erkalltend* (p. p.) 36, 12; *behertzunde menschen* (a note says: *viri recordati*) 40, 11; *eraltent* 'altgeworden' 45, 7; *abgedrückhent* 61, 2; *belonent* 66, 5; *zûegenahendt* 67, 2; 75, 3.

NOTE.—The present participle in *-end*, *-und*, evidently also served as a model.

7. *vrbrigem* 15, 6; *vrbaring* 43, 14; *vrbering* 34, 9.

8. As a rule the *e* in the weak p. p. is syncopated, e.g., *gehört* 4, 10; *gereckt* 4, 11; *geraicht* 4, 12; *gesundigt* 4, 14; *zertrennt* 5, 2; *gemacht* 5, 7; *gesagt* 5, 5; *getailt* 7, 7; *gesetzt* 8, 6.

Verb stems ending in the dentals *d*, *t*, may either syncopate retaining the two dentals, or simplify, or retain the vowel, e.g., *zerütt* 32, 3; *erstatt* 36, 4; *verzett* 31, 1; *volendt* 57, 4; *begnadt* 32, 6; *verplendt* 32, 1; *getódt* 33, 8; *gearbait* 42, 7; *erdicht* 38, 7; *vergift* 38, 4; *verheytrat* 99, 11; *gelait* 'geleitet' 37, 11; *zerüt* 92, 5; *verkünt* 54, 2; *verkünd* 63, 4; *beklait* 43, 2; *getróst* 44, 6; *vollend* 94, 12; *gemellt* 33, 4; *gemeldet* 30, 7; *beraittet* 32, 8; *gelayttet* 42, 1; *gewarnet* 34, 1; *gelernet* 35, 5.

9. The 3. p. sing. indicative syncopates in about 80 per cent of the forms. *e* is most often retained after the dentals *d*, *t*; e.g., Class I, *neydet* 20, 4; *scheinet* 29, 4; *schreyet* 71, 3; *greiffet* 38, 6. II, *kewet* 68, 8. III, *empfindet* 45, 9; *befindet* 10, 3; *vberwindet* 8, 1 (: *empfindt* 36, 9; *empfind* 28, 17); *rynnet* 27, 10; *wirdet* 28, 3 (: *wirdt* 4, 12; *wird* 4, 11, the usual form). IV, All forms syncopate. V, All

syncopate except 'sitzen,' 'bitten,' and 'sehen,' e.g., *sitzet* 92, 1 once; *pitt* 14, 7 (10×); *pît* 37, 2 (3×):*pittet* 51, 17 (2×); *sicht* 40, 7 (4×), *siecht* 19, 1 (12×):*siehet* 36, 13 (10×), *sihet* 24, 3 (2×). VI, All syncopate except 'wachsen,' 'schwören,' 'laden.' E.g., *anwächst* 18, 7:*wächset* 22, 4; *wachset* 22, 4 (5×); *schwóret* 51, 2 (once); *sweret* 98, 7 (once); *aufladet* 71, 9 (once). Reduplicating verbs all syncopate except in these forms: *hanget* 11, 7 (2×); *schaidet* 21, 6 (7×); *abschaidet* 28, 8; (2×); *fahet* 35, 9 (2×); *empfaht* 37, 11 (4×) (: *empfächt* 7, 8; [8×]). The weak verbs syncopate except in the following: After dentals: *schätztet* 49, 4; *lawttet* 51, 10; *meldet* 54, 9; *fasset* 56, 7; *stoltzet* 87, 9; *rastet* 10, 3 (: *rasst* 10, 3); *laittet* 12, 3; *geistet* 14, 11; *redet* 12, 9. After liquids: *jrret* 16, 3; *meret* 42, 7; *keret* 42, 6; *eret* 84, 8; *spüret* 66, 2; *erwelet* 40, 6. After nasals: *lernet* 11, 1; *dienet* 13, 4; *warnet* 15, 2; *wonet* 21, 3; *lainet* ab 'lehnt ab' 46, 3. After labials: *liebet* 7, 8; *glawbet* 6, 5; *swebet* 8, 1; *vbet* 19, 8; *tobet* 42, 1; *erbet* 51, 3. After gutturals: *hacket* 39, 4; *wachet* 39, 8; *sorget* 47, 10; *fraget* 10, 5; *erweckhet* 24, 3.

The following 3. p. sing. forms syncopate like the p. p. (cf. above, 6): *ordent* 50, 1; *bezaichent* 59, 6; *verlaugent* 76, 2; *regent* 77, 7; *entlehent* 51, 4; *offent* 70, 6. Analogical forms: *nahend* (3. p. sing.) 48, 4; *erheritent* 36, 14.

The same word may occur with and without syncopation in the same sentence, e.g., *wer die kunst meret/der mert auch den schmerzen* 44, 6; *wer dieselb* (i.e., *schrift*) *verschmdhet/der versmácht cristum* 95, 10.

10 In the 2. p. sing. ind. pres. *e* is syncopated in about half of the forms. E.g., Class I, *ausztreibst* 76, 9; *bleibestu* 43, 6; *leidest* 70, 3. II, *zewchstu* 28, 3; *entzewchstu* 43, 7:*zeuchest* 43, 7. III, *prichst* 76, 9:*wirdest* 8, 7 (13×), *wirdestu* 5, 5 (10×), *würdest* 43, 7 (once); *findestu* 38, 3 (4×); *empfindest* 51, 8. IV, All forms syncopated: *nymbst* 63, 10; *nymbstu* 77, 14; *vernymbst* 51, 11; *sprichst* 99, 17. V, *list* 7, 9; *isst* 28, 3; *gibst* 45, 10 (4×), *nachgibst* 84, 1; *frisst* 76, 7:*siehest* 40, 4; 87, 10; *siehestu* 29, 13; *ansiehest* 87, 10. VI, *slegst* 80, 7:*hebest* 5, 5; *aufhebest* 50, 9. Redupl.: *felst* 43, 6; *lâsst* 43, 6; 43, 7; *vnderlâsstu* 59, 5; *slâfst* 78, 7:*schaigest* 43, 7; *empfahestu* 59, 5; *schlaffest* 71, 8; *empfahest* 77, 7; 94, 7.

NOTE.—The above list contains all the 2. p. sing. pres. ind. forms of the strong verb.

Weak verbs: *hast, hastu, habst* 39, 9 (once). Of the other weak verbs 60 forms retain *e*, while 27 have syncope.

After *f, ff, t, tz, cht*, and vowels *e* is kept, e.g., *prüefestu* 7, 9; *hoffest* 77, 3; *stoltzest* 29, 11; *richtest* 39, 8; *sdest* 57, 2; *berewest* 78, 1.

After *l, n, ng, r, g, ch, b* there is fluctuation, e.g., *mittailest* 47, 1; *erfüllest* 50, 5; *verzweifelst* 81, 7; *nachhengest* 50, 6; *erlanngst* 77, 7; *nennest* 28, 3; *vermainstu* 51, 16; *verkerest* 40, 7; *verkerst* 40, 7; *sagest* 88, 1; *sagst* 54, 8; *deckest* 76, 9; *gedenckst* 68, 8; *glaubest* 64, 10; *glaubst* 77, 3.

11. The optative of the 2. p. sing. and pl. quite regularly retains *e*. E. g., 2. p. sing. *esst* 76, 7; *lasst* 42, 4; 52, 6; *wanderst* 39, 10; *habstu* 40, 2; 43, 6; *habst* 50, 8; 79, 5; 2. p. pl. *wert* 15, 10; 37, 7 (: *werdet* 15, 2); *nachuoligt* 15, 10.

12. The gen. sing. of strong masc. and neut. nouns regularly syncopeates.

E.g., masc.: *gots* 4, 11; *leibs* 4, 15; *suns* 5, 3; *gotszdinst* 29, 4; *leibskestigung* 51, 18; *Bapsts* 6, 9; *frids* 30, 9; *artzts* 73, 12; *aussatzs* 73, 4.

e is retained only in: *geistes* 6, 5 (: *geists* 6, 6); *gotes* 9, 2; *gottes* 4, 10 (common form); *standes* 17, 10; *frides* 28, 15 (once); *lufftes* 31, 1 (: *luffts* 23, 6); *todes* 31, 2; *sames* 35, 7; *gotszdinstes* 52, 4; *traumes* 53, 3; *sunes* 60, 11; *lones* 66, 5; *pâmes* 72, 2 (: *pâms* 88, 2).

Ex. for neut.: *volckhs* 6, 6; *ambts* 6, 7; *schifs* 16, 1; *geschöpfhs* 10, 13; *pferds* 24, 5; *weibs* 24, 6; *fleischs* 28, 3; *kinds* 29, 13; *lams* 60, 11; *Landszfürsten* 8, 3; *weibszpild* 99, 15.

e is retained only in: *hóres* 'Heeres' 16, 3; *kindes* 17, 1; *gepetes* 22, 8; *meres* 40, 4, *móres* 51, 15; *enndes* 53, 9, *endes* 90, 6; *óles* 58, 6.

NOTE.—In many words, preceded by an article or possessive, the entire genitive ending is lost, e.g., *des nom* 6, 4; *ains Papst* 6, 5; *ewrs vater geist* 7, 7; *aines hafner* 21, 5; *des zorn* 32, 1; *des wollust* 36, 9; *deines halls* 39, 5. *des verdienn* 6, 10; *gesetz* 7, 6; *fleysch* 6, 1 (: *fleischs* 12, 4); *des gestyrn* 25, 8; *des hyrn* 28, 13; *des kreytz* 40, 11; *lawt des herrn wort* 51, 7; *des prot* 65, 7.

13. Compound words are frequently written without the connecting *e, i, en*. E.g., *preytgam* 14, 9; (: *preytigan* 45, 11); *müessgang* 48, 8; *taglon* 79, 1; *misstat* 80, 7 (: *missetat* 53, 3); *pószwicht* 50, 13, *poswicht* 19, 10; *gnadstüel* 85, 2; *kirchschrein* 88, 7; *kirchschatz* 84, 9; *freydgesang* 63, 6; *laystand* 64, 3; *sonschein* 78, 5 (: *sonnēschein* 77, 7;

feygenpám 77, 4; *juncckfrawnschaft* 85, 9; *juncckfrawnlichen* 54, 5; *christenlichen* 95, 2, the common form).

NOTE.—On the other hand occur such hiatuses as: *ere erpiettung* 62, 5; 64, 8; *ere erbietung* 88, 10; *geessen* (p. p.) 53, 3; *hieunden* 26, 1; *hieigen* ‘hiesigen’ 30, 1.

e) *Apocope*.—

§ 117. 1. The dative *-e* is always apocopated in masc. and neut. polysyllabic nouns. Likewise it is apocopated in the monosyllables, except in the following, where it has usually been extended analogically to the nominative and accusative.

MASCULINE

e in the dat.: *stande*, *dinste*, *leibe*, *bawche*, *drũme* 68, 7; *gotte* 73, 14; *sande*.

e in the nom.: *rate*.

e in the acc.: *rate*, 17, 5; *drame* ‘Balken’ 51, 12; *lone* 32, 1; *syge* 79, 5 (: *syg* 21, 3; 24, 3); *rũeme* 15, 5; *tenne*, 24, 5 (: *tenn* 82, 8).

The forms for the following three words are distributed as follows:

	Dat.	Nom.	Acc.
<i>same</i>	8×	5×	1×
<i>sam</i>	4×	8×	1×
<i>samen</i>	10×	1×	2×
<i>nome</i>	7×	4×	4×
<i>nom</i>	15×	5×	13×
<i>nomen</i>	3×	—	5×
<i>wege</i>	13×	6×	15×
<i>weg</i>	4×	2×	2×

NOTE.—The datives and accusatives *samen*, *nomen* are the regular weak forms. The other forms are analogical. So also the g. sing. *noms* 15, 8; *nomens* 15, 7; *sames* 35, 7.

NEUTER

e in the dat.: *pete* 5, 7 (: *gepet* 6, 1); *ende* 8, 1, *ennde* 10, 2; *lande* 8, 8 (: *land* 9, 5); *hóre* ‘Heere’ 23, 7; *móre* ‘Meere’ 28, 12; *hertze* 14, 11 (: *hertz* 13, 3; *hertzen* 11, 7); *awge* 51, 12 (: *awg* 51, 12); *ðle* 61, 2; *pilde* 86, 5.

-e in the nom.: *ennde* 7, 7.

-e in the acc.: *ende* 18, 3, *ennde* 7, 5; *Feldhóre* 23, 7; *móre* 27, 10; *pette* ‘Bett’ 74, 5; *måre* ‘Geschichte’ 36, 6.

2. In the fem. sing. final *-e* is always apocopated except in the following:

Nom.: *lere* 5, 6; *ere* 9, 1; *vnere* 15, 9; *sele* 7, 7; *erde* 10, 6; *rede* 10, 7; *helle* 96, 6 (: *hell* 19, 10); *schande* 14, 5; *purde* 35, 6 (: *purd* 52, 5); *wirde* 20, 4, *wierde* 85, 8 (: *wierd* 22, 7); *völle* 21, 8, *volle* 91, 8; *wyrme* 'Wärme' 28, 5; *weihe* 94, 1; *plûe* 'Blüte' 26, 1; *vnrûe* 23, 8; *hóhe* 60, 6; *sage* 'Säge' 39, 4; *hacke* 39, 4; *pande* (=MHG. *bande*, wk. fem.) 69, 11; *ame* 'Amme' 24, 9.

Gen.: *erde* 10, 6; *ere* 5, 5; *freyde* 60, 1; *gnade* 64, 12; *helle* 11, 5 (: *hell* 'Hölle' 40, 6); *lere* 11, 5; *lûge* 15, 8; *sele* 13, 1 (*lûg* 15, 8; *sel* 10, 9); *sûnde* 33, 3; *welde* 'Welt' 19, 11; *weihe* 94, 4.

Dat.: *erde* 24, 3 (*erd* 7, 1); *deckhe* 17, 5; *freyde* 30, 4; *giere* 85, 9; *hande* 20, 3; *helle* 16, 7 (: *vorhell* 80, 10); *lere* 8, 7; *mitte* 6, 1; *rede* 19, 7; *rûe* 9, 8; *sele* 10, 8 (: *sel* 10, 8); *schame* 73, 12 (: *scham* 73, 12); *vnrûe* 32, 3; *wierde* 22, 10; *ziere* 88, 3 (: *zier* 12, 8; *zung* 14, 8; *weld* 7, 7; *welt* 12, 2).

Acc.: *erde* 24, 3; *ere*; *frawe* 86, 4; *gabe* 61, 2; *halfe* 'Hälfte' 49, 4; *sele*; *straffe* 25, 7; *styege* 58, 1 (: *styege* 58, 1); *stymme* 85, 4; *vnrûe* 24, 9; *wirme* 'Wärme' 90, 1.

3. Nouns usually drop *-e* in the plural. In the following cases *-e* is retained:

Masc. nom.: *wege* 10, 11; *stânde* 24, 1 (: *stând* 30, 2); *deufte* 24, 7; *râte* (= 'Ratschläge') 41, 2 (= 'Ratgeber') *Dedic*.

Masc. gen.: *wege* 4, 15; *wurme* 85, 4.

Masc. acc.: *wege* 11, 1 (: *weg* 98, 3); *râte* 12, 4 (: *rât* 51, 6); *stânnde* 14, 14 (: *stând* 30, 1); *stâbe* 64, 13; *munde* 66, 7; *dienste* 76, 1.

Fem. nom.: *hende* 27, 5 (: *hend* 14, 3); *lûge* 51, 4; *Ewr lende sôllen gegürt sein* 51, 8 (: *lend* 51, 18); *zwo weihe* 94, 4.

Fem. gen.: *hende* 27, 2.

Fem. acc.: *hende* 9, 7; *hande* 58, 12 (: *hend* 17, 13, *hennd* 83, 1); *mâre* 15, 7; *lende* 64, 13.

Neut. nom.: *glide* 32, 1; *mitglide* 28, 6 (: *mitglid* 28, 6, *gelid* 32, 1); *knÿe* 84, 3; *kinde* 44, 9 (: *kind* 32, 1); *gepete* 84, 1; *pilde* 85, 6 (: *pild* 79, 2).

Neut. gen.: *glide* 28, 13 (: *glid* 17, 13); *lande* 15, 1; *pilde* 86, 1.

Neut. acc.: *glide* 24, 5 (: *glid* 91, 16); *gelide* 24, 6 (*gelid* 24, 6); *mitglide* 86, 6; *gepete* 47, 1; *pete* 14, 14; *glencke* 91, 8; *knÿe* 82, 5; *hertze* 5, 3.

4. The strong adjective ending *-e* (<OHG. *-iu*) is generally retained. But the following exceptions occur:

Fem. sing. nom.: *all ander aigen tugent* 4, 11 (or pl. ?); *mündlich potschafft* 5, 6; *gótlich trinitat* 7, 9; *ander hailsam lere* 11, 1; *gút gwonhait* 17, 5.

Neut. pl.: *new gesetz* 6, 6; *all ander ding* 7, 1; *leiblich geschöpf* 5, 3; *auswendig wort* 11, 1; *in ferr land* 19, 4; *sündig werch* 35, 6.

-e <OHG. *-a* is likewise regularly preserved. Exceptions are (mostly after *-ch*):

Fem. acc. sing.: *göttlich gnad* 4, 15; *gótlich tugent* 7, 10; *in mercklich ere* 9, 3; *gótlich haimlikait* 12, 1; *gebürlich ere* 15, 6; *zánckisch disputatio* 14, 7; *vnrechtmássig heytrat* 17, 9; *wider gemain kirch* 6, 4; *haylsam lere* 10, 10; *klain vnere* 12, 5; *in new schuld* 53, 1.

But *-e* (<OHG. *-o*) in the nom. acc. pl. fem. of the strong adjective is always apocopated, except in a few cases: *wider alle creatur* 9, 7; *bewárte schrift* 14, 14.

5. The possessive pronoun always apocopates the ending in the fem. nom. acc. sing., e.g., *vnser gerechtikait* 4, 12; *sein ewige gothait* 5, 6; *jr müeter* 5, 7; *dein rew* 14, 11; *ewr belonung* 39, 15.

Acc. sing.: *sein glorj* 5, 4; *sein stym* 6, 8; *jr pildnusz* 7, 3.

NOTE.—But the neut. pl. always retains *-e*.

Nom.: *jre kind* 5, 7; *seine wort* 11, 6; *meine wort* 11, 6; *ewre awgen* 33, 2; *anndere vnserere werch* 71, 9.

Acc.: *ewre hertze* 5, 3; *seine gepot* 8, 6, etc. But *seĩ gerecht werch* 4, 13; *ewr glüb* 15, 10.

6. The weak adjective apocopates in the nom. sing. in all genders, e.g., *der gerecht mennsch* 4, 14; *die annder gerechtikait* 4, 11; *das ander haubtstückh* 5, 1.

7. The 1. p. sing. pres. ind. of the verb generally apocopates:

Class I.1 apocopates, 4 retain *-e*.

“ II. All apocopate.

“ III. “ “ , except *pinde* 90, 4; *wirde* 100, 12.

“ IV. “ “

“ V. “ “

“ VI. “ “

Redupl. “ “ except *vnderlasse* 11, 5; *wolgefalle* 60, 2.

Weak All apocopate, except *rede* 12, 9 (: *red jch* 38, 10); *setze* 12, 9; *erzaige* 39, 2; *anzaige* 42, 6; *schame jch* 64, 5; *melde* 82, 9; *raiche* 91, 9; *lebe jch* 96, 4.

8. The imperative singular has apocope except in the following cases: *wisse* 4, 11; *weiche* 78, 1; *nyme* 43, 13 (: *nymb* 51, 14); *sihe* 7, 6; *siehe an* 42, 7 (: *siech an* 85, 5); *yse* 'isz' 74, 2; *hebe* 10, 9 (: *heb* 80, 9); *trage* 24, 9; *halte* 4, 15 (: *halt* 39, 13); *lasse* 51, 10 (: *lasz* 51, 10); *merckhe* 84, 1; *fúere* 30, 9; *hoffe* 40, 10; *pette* 50, 8; *straffe* 51, 14; *wayde* 89, 6 (: *wayd* 91, 16); *vmbgürte* 94, 12; *diene* 94, 12.

9. In the opt. 1. and 3. p. sing. -e is retained in nearly two-thirds of the cases irrespective of whether the following word begins with a vowel or a consonant.

10. The 3. p. sing. pret. ind. of weak verbs apocopates in over half of the cases, e.g., *schickt* 10, 10; *erlöset* 10, 10; *straffet* 16, 4; *anrüert* 71, 3; *begert* 91, 9; *fragt* 92, 3 (: *fragte* 10, 5; 54, 8; *erlawbte* 6, 2; *hete* 'hatte' 31, 2; *gleichte* 58, 11).

f) *Excrescent vowels*.—

§ 118. a) *i* is developed as a glide between *l*, *n*, and a guttural, e.g., *plaspǎlig* 'Blasbälge' 75, 3; *wechslpǎlig* 29, 7; *voligen* 78, 10; *voligt* 5, 3; *voligsam* 38, 5 (: *volgt* 24, 10); *vertiligen* 12, 4; *monich* 41, 5; *milich* 68, 9. For *kelich*, *solich*, see § 44.

b) *e* is developed before *n*, *l*, *r*, e.g., *steren* 'Sterne' 14, 12; *zoren* 21, 5; *hyren* 27, 8 (: *hyrn* 22, 3); *geren* 'gern' 97, 9; *von ferren* 25, 1; *garenhaspel* 91, 7; *karels* (name) 85, 6; *Karelstat* (name) 8, 2; 16, 6; *sawer* 16, 4 (: *sawr* 16, 4); *pawer* 12, 9 (: *pawr* 41, 4, *pawrn* [d. sing.] 45, 11); *fewer* 19, 10 (: *fewr* 7, 7; *sawrm* 4, 15).

c) -e is analogically attached to the 3. p. sing. pret. ind. of strong verbs. There are but few cases: *gabe* 69, 6; *stüende* 84, 7; 88, 6; *gienge* 24, 6; 81, 4; 88, 6 (: *stuend* 5×; *gab* 14×; *gieng* 9×).

d) For the -e in *wege* (n. sing.) cf. § 117.

CHAPTER 3. CONSONANTS

A. VARIATION AND CHANGES

a) VARIATION IN SPELLING

§ 119. There is considerable fluctuation in the writing of the consonants. The same word is often spelled in two or three different

ways on the same page, or even in the same sentence. The principal cases are given below:

jh:j, e.g., *jhesus:jesus*.

th:t, e.g., *thûn*, *gethan*, *than* (usual forms): *getan* 81, 5; *tâten* (opt. 3. p. pl.) 77, 1; *tât* (opt.) 37, 9; *Elizabeth* 36, 7: *Elizabet* 35, 4; *pisthûb* 73, 9: *bistumb* 13, 9; *thûr* 42, 10: *tûr* 42, 10.

Ch:c, e.g., *christus:cristus*.

j:g, e.g., *jach* (pret.) 11, 2: *vergicht* 8, 9. This is merely graphic (cf. Paul, *MHD. Gram.*, § 63).

kh:ckh:ck, e.g., *volkh* 6, 6: *volckh* 5, 4: *volck* 4, 14; *pankharten* 32, 3: *panckharden* 10, 11; 29, 7.

kh:-k-, e.g., *khreff* 41, 7: *kreff* 41, 7.

ck:k, e.g., *wickel*, *wickels* 30, 2: *wikel*, *wikels* 30, 2; *artickel*: *artikel*.

gk, gkh for *ck* in: *egkstain* 79, 1; *mugk* 86, 9; *mugkh* 68, 6.

z:tz:c, e.g., *zeschâzen* 22, 6; *zymermaister* 77, 3: *zeschâtzen* 11, 3; *tzymert* 77, 3: *cimern* (infin.) 77, 3.

-s:-sz, e.g., *pûes* 72, 7: *pûesz* 7, 7; *has* 48, 2: *hasz* 48, 2.

z for *s* is rare; e.g., *daz, dz* (conj.): *das* (dem. and art.); *Ozeam* 'Hosea' 91, 1: *Osea* 80, 11; *nichtz* 4, 12: *nichts* (usual form); *etwaz* 42, 3: *etwas*.

p:b; cf. §§ 127, 128.

pf:f. *pfligt* 'pfl egt' 6, 2: *fligt* 12, 4; *pfützen* 15, 9: *putzen* 19, 3; *empfächt* 7, 8: *emfächt* 93, 3.

d:t in the pres. part., e.g., *sprechend* 8, 6 (usual form): *sprechent* 17, 7; 30, 9; 56, 4; *sprechendt* 58, 11.

h:ch. *ch* is written in final position and before *t*, e.g., *verschmâhen* 15, 5: *verschmâcht* 11, 7; *bezeihen* 22, 10: *bezeicht* 4, 12; *siehet* 36, 13: *siecht* 19, 1; *beschehen* 6, 9: *beschicht* 4, 12. Other 3. p. sing. *beuîlht* 24, 7; *beuîlcht* 17, 13; *gerûcht* 'geruht' 14, 11; *gerûche* (opt.) 37, 2; *gedeicht* 33, 3; *erhócht* 26, 1.

ch: zách 'záhe' 20, 1; *viech* 20, 1; *weich* 58, 6 (: *weihe* 94, 1); *beuelh* 'Befehl' 17, 7, *beuelch* 41, 4; *Weichnachten* 17, 6; *weichprunn* (= 'Weihwasser') 36, 8; *zûnáchnen* 75, 3: *zûendânnen* 77, 5.

i:j:y; cf. §§ 11, 12, 14.

v, u:f; cf. § 13.

Certain words are always written with *v-*: *vater*, *vier*, *vierdt*

(*vierzehē, viertzigist*), the prep. *von, vor*; prefixes *ver-, vol-, vor-*; *vīl; vas; vīsch, vīschen; voligen; vol, vōlle*.

Others always have *f-*: *fūr* (prep. and prefix); *fünff* (*funfftzehē, funfftzig*); *freyd; frey; fāhig; frōmbd*.

c:k. As a rule *c* is found only in *ck, ch, ckh* and in foreign words. E.g., *cellen* 27, 5; *clarhait* 29, 5; *córper* 31, 5; *cossten* 32, 5; *caracterem* 32, 6; *Jacob* 37, 3; *Decembris* (Ded.); *glorificiert* 37, 11; *jsaac* 77, 10.

In words that are felt as native there is fluctuation, e.g., *creytz* 51, 2; *crewtz* 8, 6; *krewtz* 9, 6; *coron* 39, 14; 84, 5; *kron* 85, 8; *closterlew* 79, 3; *klósterlich* 79, 3.

c in *Cisco* (the Hussite *Ziska*) 47, 6; *Diocleciānj* (g. s.) 13, 12; *saduceyer* 16, 4.

x is found in *sex, sexten*; *Saxen* 13, 4; *sáxisch* 63, 4; *wax* 29, 9; *wexelpānck* 52, 1; *pīxen* 'Büchse' 87, 7.

In foreign words: e.g., *Text* 15, 4; *exempel* 37, 9; *crucifix* 85, 6.

b) DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS

§ 120. The following consonants are doubled: *f, l, m, n, r, s, t* (*dt*); the most frequent of which being: *nn, ff*.

ff: e.g., *schrīft, potschafft, fünff, zweiffel, schópffer, behellffen, verworffen, schlaffen, vorlauffer, gestrafft* 'gestraft,' *rauffen, auff*.

ll: e.g., *gehallten, milldikait, allenthalben, kallt, sellen* 'Seelen' 27, 7 (: *selen* 27, 7, usual form), *halls, allmosen, hillff, hellm, ellennd* 67, 1.

mm: Few cases, e.g., *abnehmen* 14, 10; *zenemen* 36, 9.

nn: e.g., *sonnder, mennsch, gannitze, offennlich, substanntz, anfanng, gepeinnigt, krannckhait, kunnst, dienner, waffenn, beschaffenn, erworbenenn, denselbenn*.

NOTE 1.—*nn* is rarely found in the final position.

rr: *herrschen* 31, 1 (: *herschē* 31, 7, *hersch* 25, 7); *Sarracen* 'Sarazenen' 8, 2; *Marran* 8, 2.

ss: e.g., *fesster, fesstiklich, lesstrung* 'Lästerung' 13, 7; *gesst, besstem, fasstenn, durst, pflasster* 70, 1; *Hanssen Schobsser* (a. sing.) (printer of *Tewtsche Theology*).

tt: e.g., *ettwas, gott* 4, 14 (: *got*, usual form), *wortten, erherttend, ortten, lewtten, wórttel, laittet, gepotten, tóttē, reyttē, beraittung, erlóstt* (3. p. sing.) 68, 2; *lawttend*.

NOTE 2.—But: *weter, vngewiter, pleter* 'Blätter,' *nater, peller*.

dt is found very frequently. It represents either Germanic *d* or *p*. E.g., *fründtlich*, *hannndthab*, *nodt*, *empfindtlich*, *jugendt*, *gewandt* 'Gewand,' *enndtlich*, *grundt*, *pfundt*, *pfundten*, *saydt* 'Saite' 77, 13; *gefüderdt* (p. p.) 83, 11; *erfreydt* (p. p.) 11, 9; *verkündt*.

c) LOSS OF CONSONANTS

§ 121. Labials.—

p is lost initially in *fligt* 'pfllegt' 12, 4 (: *pfligt* 6, 2, the usual form).

NOTE 1.—*p* is retained in *krump* 87, 4; *lamp* 'Lamm' 43, 11.

b is lost in *zymeln* 14, 8; *hast*, *hat* (once *habst* 39, 9); *erdenscher* 'Erdenscherben' 39, 4 (cf. Isa. 45:9); *vnrúeig* 9, 7 (: *rúeig* 48, 9; *vnrrúbiger* 'unruhig' 67, 5).

NOTE 2.—*b* is retained in *vmb* and its compounds; *lambs* 45, 11; *osterlamb* 64, 1 (: *lamp* 43, 11).

w is lost in *erkücht* 'erquickt' 26, 1; *erkückung* 26, 1; *aberts* 'abwärts' 41, 6; *rûen* (<MHG. *ruowen*) 68, 1; *kot* 15, 8; 70, 1; *solher*; *sûesse* Vorr. 4; *sûessikait*, Vorr. 3; *komen*, *kómen*.

Gutturals.—

h is often dropped in the suffix *-hait* after a guttural, e.g., *menschait* 5, 4 (: *menschhait* 10, 10); *keyschait* 25, 9; *swachait* 40, 12; *hübschait* 56, 1; *hochait* 14, 7 (: *hochhait* 58, 12); *schalkait* 87, 11; *kranckait* 32, 2 (: *krannckhait* 10, 13).

h is lost initially before *w* in *wer*, *was*, *welher*, *weder*, *werben*; often in proper names: e.g., *Ozeam* 'Hosea' 91, 1; *Ezechiel* 75, 5, *Ezechielem* 91, 16; *Ebron* (II Sam., chap. 2) 93, 1; *Abacuc* 65, 8; *Oreb* 67, 4; *Armonia* (d. sing.) 100, 3; *Armoniam* 88, 3; *ludwig* 98, 5.

h is lost medially in *Neemie* 13, 12; *Bertold* (Dedication); *Rûdbertû* 91, 14; *Rupert*, Vorr.: *Rûdbrechts* 91, 5. In some words there is fluctuation, e.g., *jheremias* (with an inorganic *h*; cf. *jhener*) 21, 5; *hieremias* 39, 6; *Hieremia* 43, 7; *Eluidius* 6, 10; *Heluidius* 15, 9; *Bernardus* 68, 10; *Bernhardus* 45, 3. *h* is always retained in *hebreiern* 100, 9.

ch is lost medially in *weyrach* 84, 2 (commonly *weichrawch* 84, 7); *laster* 39, 14; *myst* 'Mist' 29, 11; *nît* 'nicht.'

NOTE 3.—*ch* is retained in *gleichsner* 3, 8; *gleichsnerey* 13, 10.

g is lost in *kriesleütñ* 24, 8 (: *kriegsman* 24, 8); prep. *gen.*, e.g., 6, 5; 12, 3.

k is lost in *sant* 'St.' 5, 4; but more commonly *sand*, e.g., 6, 1; *süllen* 40, 10, *söllen* 5, 6, *sollen* 2, 7.

Dentals.—

t is lost in *nichs* 86, 2 (usually *nichts*); *nichding* 'nihil' (always without *t*); *teüsch* 'deutsch' 92, 3 (commonly *teütsch*, *tewtsch*); *hawp* 59, 2; *hawpsünd* 25, 9; *hawplewt* 59, 3 (: *haubt* 13, 7; *hawbts* 41, 5; *hawbtsünd* 84, 1; *hawbtfeind* 55, 8); *zû lesst* 4, 15 (regularly) (but *zû letz* 65, 1; *zu letze* 62, 7, 'zum Andenken, Gedächtnis'); *awfrech* 93, 3; *gespensz* 15, 10; *tinckhen* 'Tinte' 60, 14; *ambleüt* 94, 2; *tugenhaft* 52, 7.

Single *t* is written in *weter* 25, 6; *vngewiter* 24, 10; *kitel* 50, 12; *nater* 20, 1; *petler* 'Bettler' 87, 4; *pleter* 'Blätter' 40, 5; *fastag* 'Fasttag' 51, 2; *gûtat* 36, 7; *gwaltrager* 91, 17. *hûf* (a. pl.) 'Hüften' 12, 6 occurs without *t* (cf. Goth. *hups*).

d is dropped in *glüb* 70, 7 (: *glübd* 70, 7); *tugenhaft* 52, 7.

NOTE 4.—*d* is retained in *zend* (g. pl.) 'Zähne' 72, 2.

ss is simplified in many compound words: *auslahen* 'ausschlagen' 25, 10 (: *awssprechen* 7, 2). For loss of *s* in the gen. sing. masc. and neut. cf. § 116, 12.

s is lost initially in *prosen* 'sprossen, spriessen' 16, 6; *prost* (3. p. sing.) 10, 6; *wie die wurtz, also sein die pros daraus wachsēd* 45, 6.

Liquids.—

r is lost in *weld* 7, 3; *welt* 12, 2; *eysnen joch* 37, 6; *befüdern* 32, 5; *eruodern* 14, 12; *zum vodristen* 86, 5 (: *eruordert* 51, 4; *vordert* 77, 6; *zum vordristen* 86, 7); *hie* 5, 1 (usual form); *hieher* 5, 6; *hiemit* 9, 1; *hieunden* 5, 4; *hinach* 'nach diesem Leben' 20, 3; *hiewider* 6, 8 (: *hierauff* 11, 3; *hyerjnn* 7, 3); *nüechte* (adj. = MHG. *nüechter*).

rr is often simplified, e.g., *zerissen* 38, 8; *zerütt* 'zerrüttet' 9, 4; *zerint* 56, 7; *dareckt* 'darreckt' 49, 1 (: *zerrissen* 95, 10).

Single *l* is written in *heler* (compar. adj.) 28, 7; *keler*; *fal* 56, 6; *vileicht* 33, 2; *haylos* 37, 9; *gefalner mensch* 62, 1; *zügestelt* 52, 5; *elpogen* 5, 5.

Nasals.—

Single *m* is written in *hamer* 39, 4; *himel* 25, 2; *stym* 39, 6; *zimermans* 38, 8; *Ame* 'Amme' 24, 9; *komen* (: *kummen*, *kōmen*).

n is lost in *nu* 4, 12, the usual spelling (: *nun* 36, 5); *die gewapten* 'Bewaffneten' 59, 3, *von vngewapten* 59, 3; *nüchter* 63, 7; *brümbleter leo* 'brüllender Löwe' 24, 5.

Single *n* is written in: *doner* 25, 6; *zerint* 56, 7; *einemen* 66, 5; *sonschein* 25, 2; *getrent* 69, 4; *vnsiniger* 40, 8.

NOTE 5.—*n* is retained in *verteydingt* 74, 3; *verteydingē* 74, 3; *vnderthae-dingen* 74, 4.

d) EXCRESCENT CONSONANTS

§ 122. *Labials*.—Frequently *b* develops after *m*, or as a glide between *m* and *s*, *d*, *t*, *k*, *l*, *n*. Ex. *jch kumb* 12, 4; *fromb* 'fremd' 33, 7; *nymb* 51, 14 (: *nym* 7, 5), *rûemb* 77, 11; *vngestûemb* 25, 6 (: *vngestûem* 37, 11); in all words in *-tum*, e.g., *weiszthumb* 5, 4; *reichtumb* 10, 12; *jrrthumb* 14, 9; *suchtsiechthumb* 58, 6; *plûemben* 25, 4 (: *plûem* 10, 3); *pisthumben* 17, 6.

priesterthûmbs 13, 12; *jrrthumb* 35, 10; *rûembs* 4, 13; *embsiklich* 18, 1; *embsigen* 31, 6; *Kiembse* (Ded.); *kumbst* (2. p. sing.) 42, 10; *sambsztags* 51, 2; *frômbd* 7, 2; *frembd* 33, 7; *gezymbt* 'geziemt' 14, 8; *verplûembten* 16, 4; *reymbt* 31, 6; *berûembt* 37, 3; *geprumbt* 'gebrummt' 53, 3; *swymbt* 61, 3; *kûmbt* 4, 12; *verdambt*; *verdambtist* 13, 5; *mitsambt* 12, 2; *thumbkirch* 'Domkirche' 98, 5 (: *mitsamkait* 33, 7; *gehorsamkeit* 33, 9); *verdamblichñ* 14, 13; *nemblich* 42, 4; *brumbleter leo* 'brüllender Löwe' 24, 5; *versawmbnusz* 53, 3; *verdambnus* 53, 10 (: *verdamnusz* 13, 8).

p is developed after *m*, and between *m* and *l*, *t*, *s*. E.g., *schimpel* 'Schimmel' 75, 3; *schimplig* 81, 10; *kompt* 6, 8; *sampson* 'Simson' 99, 16.

s is added in *nyemandts* (n. sing.) 4, 15; *yemants* (n. sing.) 40, 1. The forms without *s* are rare, e.g., *nyemandt* 6, 3; *nyemand* 13, 10; *nyemant* 50, 11.

Gutturals.—

An inorganic *h* is inserted in many words; after *t*: *thûn* and in all the other forms, except a few; *thûr* 87, 5; generally in *-tum* (e.g., *jrrthumb* 14, 9; *weiszthumb* 5, 4); *sathan* 14, 5; *hanndthieren* 13, 8; *thyeren* 13, 2 (: *tyeren* 20, 1). Initially *h* is added in *helia* 88, 2, *Helie* 'Elias' 63, 2.

Between vowels: *Jhesus* (rarely *Jesus*; once *Jehsus* 56, 7); *jhener*; *jsrahel* 38, 10; *jheremias* 21, 5 (: *hieremias* 39, 6); *jherusalem* e.g., 6, 5; *Johel* 77, 6; 100, 9 (cf. § 121).

h is not yet inserted in *eraischt*, e.g., 10, 5; 31, 6.

Dentals.—

d is developed after *n*, or inserted as a glide between *n* and *l*, *r*, e.g., *jnndert* (MHG. *iener*) 8, 6; *nynndert* (MHG. *niener*) 14, 2; *jñdern* 'innern' 65, 3; *nyemand* 13, 10 (commoner spellings are nom. sing. *nyemandt* 10, 7; *nyemants* 8, 8; *nyemandts* 4, 15); *seind* (opt. 3. p. pl.) 2, 3; *nahend* 'nahe' 24, 10; *syndlich* 'sinnlich' 10, 9; *syndlikaiten* 41, 7; *persondlich* 37, 9; *gwonndlicher* 64, 4; *kórndlen* 'Körnlein' 63, 11; *hüendl* (MHG. *hüenel*) 43, 8; *aíndlift* 'elft' 11, 1; *fendrich* 59, 3.

NOTE.—*d* has not yet been developed in *mon* 'Mond' 25, 4; *des mons* 25, 4; *monschein* 21, 1.

t is added in the following words: *sibt* 'Verwandtschaft' 48, 10; *sybtschafft* 54, 1; *Bapst*, *Papst*, *Pabst*; *obst* 25, 4; *palast* 37, 9; *vorlangst* (MHG. *langes*) 14, 14; *jndert* (MHG. *iener*) 8, 6; *nahet* 'nahe' 20, 4; *nyemant* (n. sing.) 34, 3; *nyemants* (n. sing.) 8, 8; *yemants* (n. sing.) 14, 7; *aígentlich* 10, 10; *tawgentlich* 64, 4; *allen-thalben* 52, 5; *ewrñthalben* 78, 1; *ireñthalben* 78, 5; *seinenthalben* 28, 7; 100, 4.

In the 2. p. sing. pres. ind. *-t < d* by assimilation, e.g., *findestu* 38, 3; *nymbstu* 77, 14; later also *findest*, *nymbst* by false abstraction.

r is added in *gereyttert* 'gereutet' 81, 6; 100, 12.

NOTE.—The following words have not yet added *t*: *gespensz* 15, 10; *ytz* 9, 8; *yetz* 11, 1; 89, 4; *predig* 62, 1; *verdieñ* 'Verdienst' 27, 6; *selbs* and compounds; *hoffenlich* 91, 10; *offenlich* 37, 12; *wissenlich* 8, 4; *vnwissenlich* 20, 5; *ordenlich* 13, 4; *wochennlichen* 51, 2; *aígenlich* 8, 9; *wesenlich* 18, 1; *sachenhalf* 29, 7; *prechenhalf* 53, 10; *von vnsern wegen* 33, 7; *von seinen wegen* 48, 11; *von deinen wegen* 49, 12; *von ewrñ wegen* 97, 8, etc. (= 'unsertwegen, seinetwegen,' etc.).

Nasal.—

n is added in *nun* 36, 5 (usual form *nu*, e.g., 4, 12); in many past participles, e.g., *erherttent* 36, 13. For other examples, see § 116, 6.

NOTE.—*n* is not yet developed after *r* in *albar* 41, 7.

e) ASSIMILATION AND DISSIMILATION

Assimilation.—

§ 123. *n* is assimilated to *r* in *geergert* 27, 3 by metathesis for *geregert* (so 2d ed.): *regent* 77, 7.

n is assimilated to *m*: *newem menschen anlegen* 76, 2.

Partial assimilation is found in *frünckait* 'Frömmigkeit' 59, 1; *n* is here a guttural nasal.

nm > **mm* > *m* in *offem* 'offnem' 59, 4.

inb and *entb* > *emp*. E.g., *empert* 'empört' 39, 1; *emperen* 'entbehren' 29, 12; 80, 3; *empert* 'entbehrt' 64, 12; 80, 2,

entf > *empf*. E.g., *empfangen* 27, 9; *empfliehen* 27, 9; *empfanck-nusz* 43, 2; *empfrembd* 51, 4; *empfrómbdē* 51, 4; *empflohen* 98, 9; *empfindt* 36, 9; *emfächt* 98, 9.

d is assimilated to *t* in *notturft* 29, 6; 31, 9; *notturftig* 41, 2; *nottürftig* 46, 1 (: *notdurfft* 7, 7; *notdurfftiger* 41, 5); *teutsch*, *teütsch*.

rz > *rr* in *dürr* 79, 7; *erdarrt* 90, 2.

m > *n* in *gewident* 19, 7 < **gewidem*(*e*)*t*. Or **gewidem*(*e*)*t* > *gewidembt*, e.g., 27, 9, where *m* is retained, and a glide developed between *m* and *t*.

gewidembt > *gewibembt*, e.g., 31, 6, in which *d* was assimilated to the following *b*.

NOTE 1.—From *gewibembt* was formed the analogical form *gewibent*, e.g., 19, 9; 32, 5; 56, 9; 58, 7; 85, 5; 87, 7 (see § 116, 6).

In *bäbel* 'Weibel' 59, 3 *w-* was assimilated to *b*.

seydenmal 52, 1 < **seyddemmal* < *seyt dem mal*. *t* is assimilated to *d*; and *m* > *n* by dissimilation.

hast (2. p. sing.) 21, 5 < **hasst* < *habst* 39, 9.

ld > *ll*, e.g., *bemellt* (< *melden*) 48, 12; *gemellt* 5, 3; *yetzbemelte* 40, 10 (: *gemeldet* 30, 7; *gemelldet* 43, 17).

db > **pp* > *p* in *Rûprechts* 13, 5. For other forms of this name, see §§ 121, 125.

Partial assimilation is found in *sand* 'St.' 6, 1 (: *sant* 5, 4); *wolde* 'wollte' 19, 10; *panckharden* 10, 11; 29, 7 (: *pankharten* 32, 3); *das hinder* 'hintere' 31, 5; *vnder* 'unter'; *gebürd* 'gebührt' 24, 7.

gh > *kh* in the suffix *ikhait*, or more commonly *-ikait*; e.g., *ainikhait* 14, 7; *sðlikhait* 10, 12; *gerechtikait* 4, 12; *ewikait* 5, 7; *rainikait* 8, 3; *nichtikait* 11, 9; *billikait* 33, 7 (always *billich*, e.g., 4, 13).

Unassimilated forms are very rare, e.g., *ainighait* 22, 1; *traghait* 25, 7.

Analogical forms are common, e.g., *nichtigkait* 32, 7; *säligkait* 44, 6; *widerwärtigkait* 33, 10; *nichtigkait* 25, 10; *frässigkait* 76, 7 (: *fraszhait* 36, 11); *trawrigkait* 53, 4; *ewigkait* 28, 7; *frünckait* 'Frömmigkeit' 59, 1.

NOTE 2.—Regular phonetic forms are *eytelhait* 'Eitelkeit' 37, 1; 85, 5, *eytlhait* 45, 5; *mitsamhait* 44, 3.

sd > *st*; *d* becoming voiceless in 2. p. sing. of verbs, e.g., *bleibstu* 43, 6; *zewchstu* 28, 3; *findestu* 38, 3; *nymbstu* 77, 14; *siehestu* 29, 13.

The following are not yet assimilated: *lamp* 'Lamm' 43, 11; 53, 3; *hochfart* 43, 14; *krump* 28, 6; *krumper* 50, 11; *krumpen* 92, 4; *lambs* 60, 11; *anpas* (MHG. *anebōz*) 75, 3; *ympen* (MHG. *imbe*, *impe*) 91, 7.

Voiced and voiceless consonants are frequently found together medially, e.g., *abprechung* 76, 5; *abpitten* 83, 1; *erdpodñ* 51, 16; *dlperg* 64, 1; *wechselpänck* 77, 4; dentals+labials in *inprünstiklich* 56, 4; *todenpar* 'Totenbahre' 71, 3; *awgenplick* 79, 8; *anplick* 81, 10; *vnpründig* 98, 10; voiceless letters between vowels: *zepeschliessen* 68, 3; *grüpelñ* 'grübeln' 68, 5.

Dissimilation.—

mm > *nm* in *seydenmal* 52, 1 (< **seyt dem mal.*)

r > *l* in *würmeln* (Lat. *murmurāre*) 39, 4; *murmeln* (opt.) 40, 1; *gemurmelt* 53, 2.

The plural *würmel* Vorr. 3 may be for **würmer*. But it probably is a diminutive, although the sense does not require a diminutive; for *geergert* < **geregert* < **geregent*, cf. § 125.

almosner 87, 5 (rather than **almosler*) cf. Behaghel, *Gesch. der deut. Spr.*³, § 240.

In the following words one of two similar consonants has been lost: *teüsch* 92, 3 (: *teütsch* 8, 8); *ch* is lost in *weyrach* 84, 2 (but commonly *weichrawch*, e.g., 84, 7. *r* is lost in *vodrist* 9, 3; *eruodern* 14, 12; *befüdert* 11, 9 (: *erfordert* 10, 1); *eruodrung* 17, 11; *der voder* 6, 8 (: *vorder* 6, 8). *n* is lost in *vernuft* 7, 1; *vernüfftigen* 10, 9 (: *vernufft* 10, 9; *vernünfftigen* 11, 1); cf. Behaghel, *Gesch. der deut. Spr.*³, § 236.

NOTE 3.—The form *gewingt* (e.g., 22, 5) might also be explained as a dissimilation of the dental *t* and the dental nasal, the latter becoming a guttural nasal. But we have *gewingen* 16, 1 (cf. § 142).

f) NASALIZATION

§ 124. *sonst* 18, 1 < *vmbe sus*. (Cf. Behaghel, *Gesch. der deut. Spr.*³, § 163.) *heiling* 'Heiligen' 9, 3; 13, 5; *galing* 'Galgen' 2, 3; *gáling* (n. pl.) 89, 3; *aiñ aussetzung* 'einen Aussätzigen' 53, 4; *aussetzung* (d. pl.) 73, 4; *gesengung* 'Segnung' 87, 5; *vrbaring* 88, 4; *vrbering* 34, 9 (MHG. *vrbarigen*).

g) METATHESIS

§ 125. *geergert* 'geregnet' 27, 3 for **geregert* < **geregent* by dissimilation (cf. § 123); *Birgitta* 91, 14: *Brigitta* 84, 6; *-berht* > *-brecht* in *sand Rûdbrechts*, *Vorr.*; 91, 5: *Bertold* (*Vorr.* and *Ded.*) < **Berht*; *Rûdbertû* 91, 14.

Cases of apparent metathesis are: *hieremias* 39, 6: *jheremias* 21, 5; *jherusalem* 6, 5 (< **hierusalem*); *jheronimo* 65, 10 (< **hieronimo*); *heiling* 'Heiligen'; *gesengung* 'Segnung.' For these cf. §§ 121, 122, above.

h) GRAMMATICAL CHANGE

§ 126. The following verbs exhibit grammatical change: *h:g*. *bezeihen* 22, 10: *bezigen* 15, 4, *vertzigen* 16, 3; *gedeihen* 12, 4: *gedigen* 17, 8; *ziehen* 5, 4: *gezogen* 6, 5; *slahen* (and compounds, e.g., *ratslahen* 41, 6): *ratslagñ* (inf.) 41, 6; *erslueg* 64, 11; *geschlagen* 9, 1; *geslagen* 71, 1; *erschlagen* 17, 13; *empfahen* (regular form, e.g., 7, 8), *anzefahñ* 22, 8: *empfangen* (inf.) 6, 2; (p. p.) 5, 1; 6, 2; *empfieng* (3. p. sing.) 24, 2; 47, 9; 64, 7; *gefangen* 10, 12.

d:t. *meiden* 30, 3: *gemiten* 59, 5, *vermiten* 44, 8; *leiden* *Vorr.* 2; 3, 8: *geliten* 6, 6; *schneiden* 15, 6: *abgeschniten* 6, 4.

s:r. *zeuerliesen* 36, 10: *verlieren* 40, 6; *verlorñ* 9, 3; *erkiesen* 98, 2; *auserkoren* 99, 16; *wesen* 20, 2 (subst.), *was* (1. p. sing.) 34, 2; 85, 10; (3. p. sing.) always *s* except: *war* 2, 7; *waren wir* 32, 6; 33, 9.

B. THE WEST GERMANIC CONSONANTS

a) LABIALS

Germ. *b*

§ 127. Initially > *p*: *plôd* 4, 12; *pitten* 4, 12; *prot* 4, 15; *pachen* 'backen' 4, 15; *pewgt* 6, 8; *pild* 6, 10; *plûem* 10, 3; *pawer* 12, 9; *pûech* 12, 2; *parmhertzikaît* 21, 4 (: *barmhertzig* 32, 3, once); *pier* 'Bier' 63, 7; *prust* 72, 8; *panyr* 'Banner' 72, 8; *pusawn* 88, 5; *prand* 47, 6.

> *b* in *be-* (but *zepeschliessen* 68, 3); *bey* (prep. and prefix); *bin* (once, *pin* 2, 3), *bist*, *bis* (prep.), *bas*, *besser* (: *pesser* 29, 3); *bringen* (all forms); *brawch*, *brawchen*; *burgerlich*; *brief*; *Bibel*.

Fluctuation in *Bapst* 6, 7: *Papst* 6, 6, *Pabst* 17, 12; *botschaft* 5, 1: *potschafft* 5, 3; *bistumb* 13, 9: *pisthumben* 17, 6; *Bischof* 6, 3: *Pischof* 6, 6.

Medially > *p*, even between vowels and liquids, e.g., *verplendt* 4, 12; *verporgen* 4, 13; *gepunden* 5, 4; *elpogen* 5, 5; *abpet* 'Abbitte' 4, 15; *erdpoden* 100, 9; *herfürpricht* 15, 7 (: *fürbricht* 8, 8); *anpiettung* 13, 2; *eepruch* 13, 5; *verprennen* 13, 10; *zerpissen* 34, 7; *anplickh* 35, 7; *grüpel*n 'grübeln' 68, 5; *ölperg* 64, 1; *Regenspurg* 86, 4.

> *b* in *haben*, *heben*, *geben*, *ambt*, *leben*, *lebentig*, *sterben*, *werben*, *salbung*, *verbringen*, *bringen* (all forms); *gebür* 7, 8; *gebürt* 17, 7; *kälbel* 13, 2; *ain habern* 'Hafer' 34, 11; *hawbts* 41, 5 (: *hawps* 28, 6); *swebel* 'Schwefel' 44, 10; *nachbariñ* 40, 5.

Prefixes: *ab-*, *vmb-*, *vber-*; suffix, *-bar*.

Finally > *b*: e.g., *tawb* 'Tauben' 6, 4; *weib* 7, 6; *leib* 11, 6; *püchstab* 12, 2; *lawb* 19, 5; *kalb* 60, 14; *osterlamb* 64, 1; *grab* 92, 2.

> *p*: *lamp* 43, 11; *krump* 'krumm' 87, 4 (also *krumpen* 92, 4); *haup* 25, 9 (: *haupt* 83, 1; *haubt*).

enb-> *emp-* in *empert* 'empört' 39, 1; *entb*-> *emp-* in *empert* 'entbehrt' 80, 3, *emperen* 'entbehren' 35, 1.

Loss of *b*, cf. § 121.

Excrecent *b*, cf. § 122.

For *b:w*, cf. § 130.

Germ. *p*

§ 128. Initially *p*>*pf*, e.g., *pflicht* 46, 5; *pflichtig* 13, 1; *pfligt* 'pflegt' 6, 2; *pflüeg* 13, 6; *pferd* 42, 1; *pfund* 50, 13; *pfal ins fleisch* 51, 18; *pflanzen* 56, 3; *pfaff* 58, 13; *pfaffman* 13, 8; *pfenning* 13, 8; *pfister* 'Bäckerei' 63, 1; *pfaidē* (MHG. *pfeit*) 74, 8; *pfrüendt* 64, 5; *pflässter* 70, 1.

> *f* in *fligt* 'pflegt' 12, 4 (: *pfligt*).

Medially *p*>*ff*: Ex. *schlaffen* 'schlafen' 14, 14; *begriffen* 9, 2; *tauffer* 8, 3; *scherffe* 31, 7; *sawffen* 36, 11.

pp>*pf*. Ex. *schöpfer* 5, 4; *tempfen* 9, 4; *apfel* Vorr. 3; *tropfen* 40, 4; *opfern* 50, 11; *kupfer* 26, 1, *kupfrein* 20, 1; *scherpffisten* 55, 8; *gestumpfft* Vorr. 3.

Fluctuation between *ff* and *pf* in *klopfen* 36, 8: *ankloffen* 77, 5; *füestopffen* 71, 7: *füesstaffen* 53, 4; 71, 6; 73, 7; *schöpfen* 17, 4; 54, 9; *zeschöpfen* 73, 15: *schöffen* 77, 1.

Finally *p* > *pf*, *pff*, e.g., *geschöpf* 5, 1; *geschöpf* 7, 1; *kopfs* 14, 9; *kopff* 15, 1; *tämpf* 25, 6; *tempft* 36, 1; *kampf* 35, 1; *plüetstropf* 54, 3; *hárf* 'Harfe' 77, 13.

> *f*, *ff*. *lauf* 11, 6; *scharf* 15, 3, *scharff* 11, 2; *tawf* 15, 10; *pischof* 17, 12; *dorf* 37, 9; *scherff* 58, 13.

p > *b* in *brúefen* 30, 5 (: *prüefen* 7, 8); *gebrúeft* 27, 10 (: *geprüefft* 32, 7).

ps > *bs* in *lebsen* 'Lefsen' 4, 14; 5, 6.

p remains unshifted in *porten* 11, 5; *putzen* 'Pfütze' (a. sing.) 19, 3 (: *pfützen* 15, 9) (Hirt in Weigand, *D.W.*⁵, II, 419, gives *putze* as Middle German); *geplündert* Vorr. 2.

sp remains in *spera* 'Sphäre' 25, 1.

pt > *ft* in *geschóft* 'geschöpft' 17, 10.

For excrescent *p*, see § 122.

Germ. *f*

§ 129. Germ. *f* generally remains (for *f*:*v*, see §§ 13, 119). E.g., *für*, *fallen*, *fünft*, *faren*; *festen*, *feder* 12, 2; *füessen* 13, 6; *vierd* 5, 4; *vas* 7, 5; *vater* 7, 8; *volgen* 13, 10; *viech* 20, 1; *vesstiklich* 24, 3; *vischen* 26, 3; *gefunden* 12, 9; *fürfallen* 6, 5; *beuestigung* 11, 1; *züeruodern* 6, 5.

For doubling of *f*, see § 120.

andf->*emp*f-: *empfahen* 36, 12; *empflohen* 98, 9; *empfindt* 36, 9; *züempfliehen* 35, 7; *empfancknusz* 43, 2; *empfrembd* 51, 4; *empfrómbdē* 51, 4.

> *emf*- in *emfácht* 'empfängt' 93, 3.

f > *p* in *Luciper* 9, 7; 20, 1 (: *Lucifer* 19, 10).

NOTE.—Greek *φ* is often represented by *f*, *ff*. E.g., *fantasey* 7, 3; 19, 1; *Fenix* 16, 5; 26, 2; *Flegmaticus* 25, 7; *Steffanus* 62, 1; 84, 2. But: *Philippus* 6, 2; *philotes* 15, 10; *Caiphaz* 6, 7; *Joseph* 85, 9; *Phinees* (Numbers, chap. 7) 79, 8.

Germ. *w*

§ 130. Germ. *w* remains, e.g., *wir*, *wellen*, *werfen*, *werden*, *hedwigis* 98, 5; *ludwig* 98, 5; *zwo*, *zweifel*, *swert* 11, 2; *swanger* 10, 7; *schwais* 53, 2.

It has become part of a diphthong in *fraw* 2, 2; *schaw* 3, 6 (cf. §§ 80, 81).

For loss of *w*, see § 121.

w > b in many words, e.g., *leben* 'Löwen' (n. pl.) 7, 1; (g. pl.) 23, 5; *milben* (MHG. *milwe*) n. sing. 68, 6; *bábel* 'Weibel, Webel' 59, 3 (for the first *b*, see § 123); *rúebig* (MHG. *ruowic*) 48, 9; *vnrúebiger* 67, 5; *berúblich* 68, 1; 93, 1; *einspeiben* (MHG. *spīwen*) 74, 2; *ingespiiben* 6, 8; 13, 10; *ausgespiiben* 73, 5; *speibt* 28, 7; *albar* (MHG. *alwār*) 41, 7; *witib* 79, 4; 87, 11; *witiben* 85, 11; *hárber hund* 39, 2; *farb* 79, 7; *salb* 87, 7; *Balachey* Vorr.

w:b. Many words have fluctuation, the spellings being about equally distributed unless otherwise indicated. Both spellings may occur in the same sentence, e.g., *Die schuld bleibt albeg vnd zalung mües alweg beschehen* 49, 2; *synawaffen* (subst. = 'cloth in which Joseph wrapped the body of Jesus') 87, 1: *synabaffen tüech* 64, 2; *gegenwurff* 8, 5, *gegenwürffenn* 7, 3: *gegenbürf* 25, 2; *gegenbürfen* 25, 6; (= Lat. *objectum*); *zúerwegen* 50, 11: *verbegen* 45, 11; *hohenawen* 'gegen den Strom': *nawberts* 'abwärts' 77, 13 (MHG. *nouart* < *enouwe vart*; *ouwe*, *in ouwe*, *enouwe*); *gegenwürtig* 38, 1 (rounded < *gegenwirtig*, e.g., 8, 3, which is a narrowing of *-wertig*): *gegenbürtig* 63, 5; *glawbürdigen* 14, 8 (< **glawbbürdigen*); *haylwartig* 84, 1; *haylwartig* 40, 3; *widerwartig*: *hailbartig* 5, 5 (the *b*-forms are less frequent). Other words with *w*: *pueswärtige* 'buszfertige' 71, 1; *wandelwartig* 18, 3 (= *wandelbar*, which is used synonymously in the same sentence).

b) GUTTURALS

Germ. *g*

§ 131. Germ. *g* generally remains in all positions.

Initially: e.g., *got* 4, 11; *gras* 19, 5; *güte* 4, 15; *geist*.

Medially: *wege*, *legen*, *tragen*, *sagen*, *ainige* 12, 3, *flewgt* 'fliegt' 21, 8; *zewgt* 9, 1; *betreugt* 20, 5.

> *ch*: *aynichelay* 10, 11; *flewcht* 'fliegt' 14, 3.

ng > nk, *nck*, *nckh*, *ngk*. E.g., *zergánklich* 11, 6; *junkfraw* 27, 7; *lanckweil* 75, 2; *gemainklich* 18, 6; *zergenckhlichen* 80, 10; *anfángklich* 13, 1; *zergengklich* 18, 3.

gn > ckn. E.g., *zewcknuscz* 18, 8.

rg > rck. E.g., *perckwerchen* 13, 9.

gt > cht. E.g., *slecht* 'schlägt' 25, 10; *nachschlecht* 27, 2. But always *ligt* 4, 12; *erwigt* 'erwägt' 64, 9; *pfligt* 'pflegt' 6, 2.

gh > ckh in *Burckhawsen* (Index).

Finally *g = g*, e.g., *hertzog* 13, 4; *pflüeg* 13, 6; *taig* 16, 6; *sag* 17, 1; *anfang* 18, 3; *weg* 30, 6; *naig* (imper.) 11, 2; *volig* 40, 11; *betrieg* (opt.) 47, 7; *dring* 35, 3; *trag* 52, 3.

> ch in *ainich* 13, 11; *schlach* (opt.) 21, 7; (imper.) 51, 8; *billich*, *billicher* 39, 15 (always *-ch*). *g* is palatalized and becomes part of a diphthong (§ 72). For loss of *g*, see § 121.

g : j. *vergicht* 8, 3; *ausgeten* 86, 2; *jach* (3. p. sing.) 11, 12.

g > k in *kriechen* 9, 5; 15, 4; *kriechisch* 15, 3, *-gen.* *> -ing*; see §§ 124, 125.

Germ. *k*

§ 132. Initially *k > kχ*, written *k*, *kh* (cf. Schatz, *Imst*, § 75), e.g., *kónigen* 5, 4; *knecht* 27, 6; *kranckh* 35, 3; *kan* 39, 55; *kytz* 100, 13 'Kitze'; *khrafft* 7, 8; *khlain kindel* 24, 9; *khünfftige* 27, 6; *kherest* 28, 16; *kheren* 39, 15; *khind* 60, 12; *du khanst* 97, 8.

In foreign words: *k*, *c*, *ch*, e.g., *kárcher* 'Kerker' 10, 12; *kurtzer* Vorr. 4; *kicher* (Lat. *cicer*) 16, 5; *kaiser* Vorr. 3; *korherr* 79, 2; *kelch* 58, 11; *Kiembse* 'Chiemsee' (Ded.).

Clarhait 25, 9 (: *klerlich* 31, 6); *córper* 31, 5; *caracterem* 32, 6; *coron* 'Krone' 39, 14; *cellen* 27, 5; *camer* 56, 7; *closterlewt* 79, 3 (: *klósterlich* 79, 3); *Jacob* 37, 3; *Cain* 30, 9; *glorificiert* 37, 11; *circel* 38, 1 (: *zelebriert* 65, 8).

Chorinther 53, 4 (: *Corinthier* 90, 4); *Chanaā* 87, 1; *Chore* 96, 6 (gen. sing. 'Korah,' Num., chap. 16); *Christus* (: *Cristus*).

Medially *k > χ*, written *ch*, e.g., *sprechen* 12, 4; *rechen* 'rächen' 36, 11; *wûecher* 77, 12; *sachen* (d. pl.) 11, 7; *zaichen* 60, 12; *bûecher* 7, 2; *pûecher* 12, 2; *marcheyzen* (= 'Eisen zum Brandmarken,' I Tim. 4:2) 13, 10; *würchung* 20, 8; *würchlich* 22, 10; *gepachen* 'gebacken' 63, 2; *pachofen* 87, 4; *kárcher* 10, 12; *kicher* (Lat. *cicer*) 16, 5; *Machabeier* 12, 7; *Malachiam* 12, 7; *Ezechiël* 11, 2; *Manicheus* 15, 6; *Zacharias* 35, 4; *Nabuchodonosor* 43, 17; *Ewstachio* 43, 2; *Melchisedech* 65, 3.

ch > th in *Baruth* 30, 9; 78, 2, or scribal error?

Medially *kk > kχ*, written *ckh*, *kh*, *ck*; rarely *k*, *gk*. E.g., *ckh*:

merckhen 12, 1; *bedenckhen* 5, 4; *erkückhen* 9, 2; *schickhen* 11, 6; *wolckhen* 13, 6; *erstockht* 15, 2; *ackher* 43, 7.

kh: *schikhē* 12, 4; *schikhung* 14, 13; *verkhert* 12, 8; *geschikht* 19, 2; *erkhennt* 25, 6; *verkhünden* 62, 3; *türkhen* 91, 4.

ck: *erkücküg* 9, 2; *bedencken*; *hecken* (MHG. *hecken*, *hechen*) 20, 1; *zedancken* 20, 3; *drackñ* 'Drache' 23, 3; *lincker* 63, 3.

k: *verkerten* 20, 5.

gk: *egkstain* 79, 1.

c in foreign names, e.g., *Nicodemus* 87, 1; *Nicolaj* 13, 13; *Ecolompadi* 8, 2; *Eutices* 15, 9.

Finally *k* > χ , e.g., *spruch* 6, 8; *mach* (1. p. sing.) 7, 2; *püech* 12, 2; *joch* 13, 6; *pawch* 15, 2; *tüech* 30, 2; *gesmach* 'Geschmack' (here = 'Geruch') 39, 8; 66, 3; *wolgesmachs* 26, 1; *werch* 51, 11; *Baruch* 68, 6; *Amalech* 20, 9; *Melchisedech* 65, 3.

kk > *k* χ , written *ckh*, *gkh*, *gk*, *ck*, *kh*. Ex. *volckh* 5, 4; *stuckh* 6, 2; *erkückh* 'erquicke' 9, 2; *auszgedruckht* 13, 11; *glückh* 37, 10; *ránckh* 40, 4; *gedenckh zedel* 62, 3; *mugkh* 'Mücke' 68, 6 (once); *rugk* 'Rücken' 86, 9; *volck* 4, 14; *glück* 36, 11; *awgenplick* 38, 4; *drack* 'Drache' 24, 6; *volkh* 6, 6; *rokh* 51, 10.

sk > *sch*: *schaiden* 21, 2; *scherff* 58, 13; *erloschen* Vorr. 1; *schreiben* Vorr. 2; *schüeler* 7, 9; *schuld* Vorr. 6; *fisch* 31, 1; *fleisch* 10, 1.

sk > *s* (with loss of *k*) in *sóllen*, *süllen*, 5, 6; 40, 10.

k > *g* in *Gabala* 'Kabbala' 12, 1.

nk > *ng* in *gezāng* 'Gezänk' 16, 1.

Loss of *k*, § 121.

Germ. *h*

§ 133. Initially it was merely a breath, written *h*, e.g., *hertzen* 4, 14; *hanget* 11, 7; *hoch* 12, 5; *hart* 13, 6; *haubt* 14, 7; *holtz* 30, 3; *helm* 61, 3.

Medially *h* was a breath before vowels, e.g., *sehen*, *beschehen* 6, 9; *ziehen* 5, 4; *schieher gawl* (MHG. *schiech*) 41, 2.

Before consonants it was a spirant, e.g., *liecht* 6, 4; *bracht* 6, 4; *nachsten* 14, 8; *siecht* 'sieht' 19, 1 (: *sihet* 24, 3); *beschiecht* 'geschieht' 4, 12; *zewcht* 11, 9; *viechs* 85, 4; *weichprunn* 'Weihwasser' 36, 8; *Weihnachten* 17, 6; *weihnachtig* 10, 7; *nächner* 'näher' 50, 10; *gedeicht* 33, 3; *erhöcht* 30, 10; *gesmácht* 'geschmáht' 15, 4; *solher*, *solhes*, *solichs* 7, 2; 64, 4 (3×).

NOTE.—The spelling *-g-* is found before *st*. Ex. *nagsten* ‘nächsten’ 7, 8; *zenaegst* 11, 7.

Finally *h > χ*. Ex. *jach* (=‘sagte’) 11, 2; *sach* ‘sah’ 60, 14; *beschach* 65, 6; *beschech* (opt.) 7, 9 (: *beschehe* 4, 11); *hoch* 12, 5; *zách* ‘zähe’ 36, 7; *viech* 20, 1; *weich* ‘Weihe’ 42, 9; *beuelch* ‘Befehl’ 41, 4; *beuilh* (imper.) 17, 1; *schüech* 39, 13; *essich* ‘Essig’ 63, 8.

Loss of *h*, *ch*, § 121.

Inorganic *h*, § 122.

chs is often written *x*. Ex. *Saxen* 13, 4; *sáxisch* 63, 4; *sex* 12, 7; *sexsten* 6, 1; *sexten* 6, 2; *wexelpänck* 52, 1 (: *wechselpdlig* 29, 7); *wax* 29, 9; 36, 13; *pixen* (n. sing.) ‘Büchse’ 87, 7.

x is found in many Latin words, e.g., *Text*, *exempel*, *crucifix* 85, 6
igh > ikh, *ik*, see § 123.

§ 134. For *j* see §§ 11, 12, 14.

c) DENTALS

Germ. *d*

§ 135. *d > t*, written *t*, *tt*, *th*.

Initially: e.g., *taig* 4, 15; *tayl* 6, 1; *tag* 6, 2; *tempfen* ‘dämpfen’ 9, 4; *tünckel* ‘dunkel’ 10, 12; *tochter* 2, 7; *türnitz* (MHG. *dürnitze*) 94, 13; *tron* 94, 10; *tát* (opt.) 37, 9; *th*: *thyeren* 13, 2; *thûn* (regular spelling); *thát* (opt.) 8, 9; *thûelich* 2, 2; *thür* 42, 10; *thûmbkirch* ‘Domkirche’ 98, 5; *th* in proper names: *Thimothéo* 14, 10; *Theren-tius* 51, 18; *Thobia* 74, 9.

Medially: *vrtail* 4, 15; *lawttet* 5, 4; *vatter* 5, 4; *betriegen* 8, 6; *gürten* 12, 6; *getan* 81, 5 (usually *than* p. p.); *weingartten* 14, 12; *vertunckelt* 14, 1; *lebentigen* 14, 5; *reichtumb* 10, 12; *bistumb* 89, 8; *státten* 15, 1; *elter* 12, 1; *abentmal* 62, 1; *abentessen* 62, 1; *wort*, *frewntschaft* 67, 7 (otherwise with *d*); *t* in foreign words: *apoteker* 26, 4; *betlehem* 74, 8.

vnderthans 6, 9; *wolthat* 16, 1; *vnderthádingen* 74, 4; *bisthumben* 88, 2; *weiszthumb* 5, 4; *th* in foreign words: *parthey* 38, 8; *methaphysica* 12, 3; *Barthine*⁹ ‘Bartimäus’ 87, 5; *Cathecuminj* 43, 2.

NOTE.—The present participle regularly ends in *-end*, *-und*. A few words have *-ent*, namely *sprechent* 17, 7 (3×); *erheritent* 28, 14; *nachuolgenten* 43, 1; the adj. *lebentig* is regularly written with *t*.

Finally *d > t*, e.g., *not* 6, 4; *plûet* 6, 10; *gemúet* 7, 4; *zeyt* 7, 6; *tausent* 12, 1; *wort* 5, 1; *leüt* 5, 6; *prawt* 17, 7; *tritt* 13, 6; *schilt*

'Schild' 64, 14; *gegent* 'Gegend' 30, 9; *gesunt* 28, 13; *jugent* 25, 10; *Karelstat* 16, 6.

th is found once in *eingedruckth* 59, 3 (may be a misspelling); in the names *Nazareth* 54, 8; *Elizabeth* 36, 7 (: *Elizabet* 35, 4).

tadel 11, 1 has *t-*, although Kluge and Hirt (Weigand, *D.W.*⁵ II, 1018) give the HG. form as *zādal*.

d remains unshifted in *drincken* 78, 1; *drinck* 64, 8 (: *trinckt* 64, 8); *deüfel* 15, 2, usually *dewfel*, e.g., 13, 2; *tod* (adj.) 52, 4; *med* 'Met' 63, 7; *pred* 79, 2; *schnid* 'Ernte' 100, 14; *schaidel* 'Scheitel' 91, 8; *Karelstad* 16, 2; *dóten* (OHG. *toto* 'Pate') 59, 9.

In *nt t* became voiced through the influence of *n*. E.g., *vnd*, *vnder*, *sibend*, *hinder* 'hinter,' *wenden*, *hundert*, *hinden*, *hindan* 'hintan' 6, 3; *grundlichen*, *sand* 'Sankt' (less commonly *sant*, e.g., 5, 4); *feind* 20, 5; *freund* 46, 3; *hand* 20, 9; *pfund* 50, 13; *frewndlich* 72, 9; *frúndschaft* 72, 9; *plinden* 10, 5; *stannd* 6, 7.

After *l* we find fluctuation: *weld:welt*; *gelt* 52, 1: *gnadengeld* 89, 11; *wolt* 4, 12; 8, 9: *wolde* 19, 10.

d is found in the loan word *zedel* 'Zettel' 62, 3.

For loss of *d*, see § 121.

For excrescent *d*, § 122.

sd > *st* in the 2. p. sing. of the verb, e.g., *findestu* 38, 3 (cf. § 123).

Germ. *t*

§ 136. *t* > *ts*, written *z*, *tz*, rarely *c*.

Initially: *ziehen* 5, 4; *zwo* 4, 14; *zung* 11, 2; *zal* 7, 1; *zyl* 31, 5; *zymermaister* 77, 3; *zend* 'Zähne' 72, 2; *tz* in *tzymert* (3. p. sing.) 77, 3; *c* in *cimern* (subst. infin.) 77, 3.

z is found in the loan words: *zucker* 13, 6; *zyfer* 17, 11; *zerimonien* 33, 1; *zelebriert* 65, 8; *zinsz* 52, 2; *zinszman* 79, 7; *zedel* 'Zettel' 78, 2.

Medially *t* > *ss*, *s*, e.g., *wasser* 7, 1; *lassen* 6, 9; *essen* 2, 5; *wissen* 1, 1; *besser* 6, 5; *hasse* 7, 8; *nesseln* 34, 5; *fúessen* 13, 6; *hasser* 48, 3; *salsen* (d. sing. fem.) 'Salz' 64, 13; *hasst* 7, 8; *vergisst* 3, 9; *weiszhait* 5, 5; *vnderlást* 52, 2; *ersprieslich* 39, 5; *gemásen* 'gemászen' 4, 15.

After *n*, *r*, *t* > *tz*, e.g., *gantzem* 4, 14; *hertzen* 4, 14; *zeuerkúrtzen* 10, 5; *smertzlich* 32, 7; *Hertzog* 13, 4.

tt > *tz*. E.g., *setzen* 6, 5; *raitzt* 15, 5; *nutzung* 15, 6; *awfsatzung* 17, 2; *putzen* (OHG. *puzzi*) 68, 3.

z in *zescházzen* 22, 6.

Finally $t > s$, written s or sz . E.g., s : *beslus* 6, 6; *gros* 6, 6; *vas* 7, 5; *das*, *has* 48, 2; *schwais* 53, 2; *pûes* 72, 7; *einflus* 14, 10. sz : *pûesz* 7, 7; *hasz* 48, 2; *swaisz* 33, 2; *daz* (conj.) 42, 4. After l , n , and r , $t > tz$, e.g., *gantz* 10, 10; *holtz* 30, 3; *swartz* 16, 2.

$tt > ts$, written tz : *witz* 80, 10; *nutz* 6, 7; *geytz* 36, 10; *kürtz* 82, 9.

tz in loan words: *pestilentz* 48, 11; *substantz* 7, 4; *experientz* 7, 9; *malefitz* 4, 15.

tz sometimes stands for ts in the nom. sing. neut., e.g., *gûtz* 'Gutes' 23, 6.

th for t is found in *sathan* 14, 5; *prophethen* 14, 5 (but usually *propheten*).

t is not shifted in the following combinations:

tr : *trewlich* Vorr. 4; *treten*, *vbertretung* Vorr. 4; *vertrawen*, *lawtter* 1, 2; *trost* 2, 2; *pitter* 49, 11; *zyttern* 43, 2.

ft : *luft* 7, 1; *krefftig* 9, 8.

st : *stain*, *steen* 'stehen,' *stüel*, *besster*, *obrist* 24, 2.

t : tz in *geitikait* 25, 9; *geytz* 36, 10.

For $t:d$ see grammatical change, § 126.

For loss of t , § 121.

For excrescent t , § 122.

$rt > rd$ in *gebürd* (3. p. sing.) 'gebührt' 24, 7; cf. also *nahend* 'nahet' 48, 4 (with inserted n); cf. § 123.

Germ. p

§ 137. Germanic p regularly becomes d in all positions. E.g., *das* 5, 4; *durst* 10, 12; *dorf* 37, 9; *drüme* 68, 7 pl. *drümer* 'Trümmer' 13, 7; *drey*, *drew* 'drei,' *reden* 5, 4; *brüeder* 6, 2; *tádingen* 11, 7; *feder* 12, 2; *nadel* 44, 11; *meldung* 12, 2; *notdurfft* 6, 6; *erdpoden* 100, 9.

Before and after r there is fluctuation between d and t , e.g., *drifaltig* 11, 1: *trifaltigen* 7, 6; *drifach* 20, 3: *trifach* 14, 1; *werd* 'wert' 51, 7: *wert* 55, 6; *gedroet* 72, 2: *getroet* 12, 4; *werden*: *wirt jch* 19, 9; *gerad* 20, 8: *gerat* 'gerade' 20, 4.

Always t in *fürter*, Vorr. 1; 9, 3; 11, 7; *tausent* 12, 1; *toner* 'Donner' 25, 6; *jugent*, *tugent*, *tugenten*, e.g., 22, 10; *troung* 12, 3; *troet* 39, 4; *betroung* 13, 9; always *teutsch*, *teutsch*; cf. § 123.

plód 4, 12; *glid* 6, 4; *ayd* 14, 14; *mord* 15, 4; *klaíd* 15, 7; *hayd* 17, 7; *smid* 39, 4; *zend* (g. pl.) 'Zähne' 72, 2.

dd in *widder* 31, 2 (OHG. *widar*).

Germ. *s*

§ 138. Germanic *s* is generally retained. It occurs frequently, e.g., *sun* 5, 3; *sam* 29, 2; *sehen* 5, 6; *wesen* (subst.) 4, 12; *ymbplasen* 44, 1; *haylos* 37, 9; *ros* 66, 2. In combinations: *wierser* 9, 7; 63, 7; *wachsen* 58, 5; *gaisel* 39, 6; *hals* 27, 7.

s > *sch* in: *falsch* 24, 2; *falsche* 13, 6; *gefelschten* 8, 2; *felscher* 9, 4; *fälschlich* 13, 4; *felschung* 13, 10; *falscheit* 16, 2; *herrschen* 31, 1; *hersch* 25, 7; *herrsche* (opt.) 33, 9; *erknüsch* 36, 14; *grosch* 40, 5; *harnasch* 48, 8; *faschang* (MHG. *vasenaht*) 48, 6.

NOTE.—Spellings with *s* occur sporadically, e.g., *fals* 'falsch' 13, 9; *falsen* 6, 4; *falses* 6, 4; *fellser* 9, 4; *faelslich* 13, 13; *falszhait* 14, 4; once *herst* 'herrscht' 22, 6.

The combinations *sl*, *sm*, *sn*, *sw* have become *schl*, *schm*, *schn*, *schw*, although the spellings with *s* predominate. In the case of *sl*, *sm*, and *sw* two-thirds of the words have *s*. E.g., *verschlossen* 6, 2; *verslossen* 19, 8; *beslus* 6, 6; *beschluss* 15, 2; *slang* 20, 1; *schlang* 31, 2; *verschmähen* 15, 2; *zeuersmähen* 16, 2; *schmerz* 35, 1; *smertz* 32, 2; *beschneidūg* 16, 4; *besneidung* 6, 6; *schne* 29, 10; *sne* 26, 1; *schwâr* 35, 5; *swâr* 5, 7; *schwach* 28, 13; *swach* 21, 1; *schwester* 49, 13; *swester* 10, 6; *schwebet* 14, 1; *swebet* 8, 1.

For *s*:*r*, see § 126.

d) LIQUIDS

Germ. *r*

§ 139. OHG. *r* is generally retained, e.g., *reich* 50, 10; *werch* 29, 13; *werden*, *war* 'wahr,' *hertt* 'hart' 74, 2; *pitter* 'bitter' 49, 11; *mer* 4, 12.

rr occurs frequently. It may be either Germ. *rr* (*verwarrens* 'Verwirrens' 38, 7; *ferrer* 9, 2) or later assimilation or doubling (*dürr* 79, 7; *narr* 15, 7; *herrschen* 31, 1 (: *hersch* 31, 7); *herr* 26, 5; *des herren* 4, 13).

NOTE.—Many *rr* occur in the inflection of adjectives and pronouns as the results of syncope, e.g., *unserr* 'unserer' g. sing. fem. 16, 1; *unserr werch* (g. pl.) 19, 5; *sawerr* (d. sing. fem.) 64, 13; *besserr* (d. sing. fem.) 4, 11; *sonderr* (d. sing. fem.) 14, 13; *anderr* (d. sing. fem.) 19, 6; *anderr schrifften* (g. pl.) 13, 10.

This *rr* is rarely simplified. I have noted one case: *mit pitter rew* 64, 13.

For loss of *r*, see § 121.

For inorganic *r*, § 122.

For metathesis of *r*, § 125.

Germ. *l*

§ 140. Germanic *l* remains, e.g., *lerer* 1, 6; *halten* 17, 2; *vil*, *tayl* 6, 1.

l is frequently doubled, e.g., *behelit* 'behält' 7, 1; *gellten* 12, 4; *sellten* 16, 2; *gespaliten* 28, 6 (: *gespalitn* 14, 2); *gestallt* 63, 11; *betzallung* 49, 1; *pollicey* 40, 11 (: *policey* 40, 2); *gwallt* 8, 9; *alls* 'als' 11, 3; *allmosen* 36, 8. For other examples, see § 120.

r > *l* in *mürmeln* 39, 4; *murm* (opt. 3. p. sing.) 40, 1; *gemurmelt* 53, 2; cf. Dissimilation, § 123.

l for *ll*, § 121.

e) NASALS

Germ. *m*

§ 141. Germanic *m* generally remains initially and medially, e.g., *mich*, *mer*, *nemen* 38, 5; *kómen* 9, 7; *vmb* 4, 15; *lambs* 60, 11; *ræm* 22, 5; *plüem* 10, 3; *reichtumb* 10, 12; *prosem* 'Brosam' 63, 3.

m is rarely doubled. Ex. *abnemen* 14, 10; *zenemen* 36, 9.

m for modern *mm*: *hamer* 39, 4; *himel* 25, 2; *semel* 79, 1. For other examples, see § 121.

m > *n*, finally, e.g., *preytgon* 'Bräutigam' 76, 6; *preytigan* 81, 9; *pawngarten* 60, 8; *hainrich* 98, 7; *Absolon* 74, 4; *Balaan* 38, 10; *Abyron* (Numbers, chap. 16) 96, 6; *Barthine*⁹ (Mark 10:46) 87, 5; *cherubin* 85, 2.

m > *n* by assimilation: see § 123.

n is retained in *turn* 'Turm' 1, 6; 68, 8.

Germ. *n*

§ 142. Germ. *n* generally remains. E.g., *nemen*, *stain*, *zend* 'Zähne' 72, 2; *zung* 11, 2; *zepinden* 8, 7.

n > *m* in *Corozaim* (Luke 10:13) 43, 8.

n > *m* by assimilation, see § 123.

Doubling of *n*, § 120.

Loss of *n*, § 121.

Inorganic *n*, § 122.

n > *ng*. Bavarian *n* had a nasal quality medially and finally. This accounts for the change of *n* to *ng*.

igen > *igeñ* > *ing* (cf. Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, § 170). E.g., *heiling* 'Heiligen' (subst.) 9, 3; 13, 5; 63, 6; *galing* 'Galgen' 2, 3; *gáling* (n. pl.) 89, 3; *vrbaring* 88, 4; *vrbering* 34, 9 (MHG. *urbarigen*); *gesengung* 'Segnung' 87, 5; *aussetzing* 'Aussätzigen' (a. sing.) 53, 4; (d. pl.) 73, 4.

nn > *ng* in *gewingen* 'gewinnen' 16, 1; *gewingt* 22, 5; 28, 3; 32, 4; *gwingt* 33, 3; *gewinge* (opt. 3. p. sing.) 37, 6; *gewung* (opt. pret.) 15, 1.

But: *gewinnem* 33, 2; 81, 7; *besynnen* 15, 10; *zeprinnen* 97, 4; *zespinnen* 30, 2.

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